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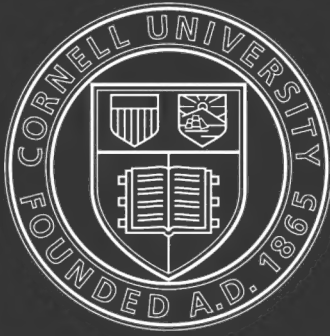
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The Victoria History of the
Counties of England

EDITED BY WILLIAM PAGE, F.S.A.

A HISTORY OF
YORKSHIRE

VOLUME III

THE
VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE COUNTIES
OF ENGLAND

YORKSHIRE



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INSCRIBED
TO THE MEMORY OF
HER LATE MAJESTY
QUEEN VICTORIA
WHO GRACIOUSLY GAVE
THE TITLE TO AND
ACCEPTED THE
DEDICATION OF
THIS HISTORY



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He exercised his metropolitan prerogative in consecrating the fifth Archbishop of Canterbury at Lincoln; but the death of Eadwine at Hatfield (633) gave Northumbria back to paganism for a time. Paulinus accompanied Queen Ethelburga in her flight to Kent, and remained there as Bishop of Rochester. In Swaledale James the Deacon remained, preaching, baptizing, and teaching his converts the music of the liturgy.⁹ When Christianity recovered ground under Oswald the scene of its activity was transferred to Bernicia. Aidan, a monk from Iona, was sent into Northumbria by the Scottish bishops, of whom Oswald asked aid, and fixed his see in the monastery of Lindisfarne.¹⁰ Oswald re-united the two provinces of Eadwine's kingdom, but it is doubtful how far Scottish Christianity extended into Deira. On Oswald's death, his kingdom was again divided. His brother Oswiu ruled in Bernicia; Oswin, son of a cousin of Eadwine, became king of Deira. Dissension between them developed into open war, and Oswin, in the hour of defeat, was murdered treacherously at Gilling near Richmond (642).¹¹ For some time after the accession of Oswiu to the undivided throne, the Scottish mission maintained its ascendancy in Northumbria. Oswiu founded a monastery on the site of Oswin's murder. Missionaries from Northumbria went, under his sanction, to convert the Middle Anglian kingdom,¹² and Cedd was sent by him, at King Sigeberht's request, to preach Christianity to the East Saxons.¹³ Æthelwald, Oswiu's nephew, who ruled Deira under him, granted Cedd, as a place of retirement, the site on which rose the monastery of Lastingham.¹⁴ In 655, Oswiu avenged the deaths of Eadwine and Oswald at the battle of Winwæd. One result of the victory was the foundation, by Oswiu, of six monasteries in Deira.¹⁵

About this time, Hilda, a princess of the house of Eadwine, founded the monastery of Streonshalh, afterwards known as Whitby. Here, in 664, the future of Northumbrian Christianity was decided. The Scottish episcopate of Northumbria had been continued from Aidan to Finan, and from Finan to Colman, who appears to have included Deira in his jurisdiction.¹⁶ The Scottish celebration of Easter, a week in advance of the Roman, held the field. James the Deacon, and Oswiu's queen, Eanfled, followed the Roman use.¹⁷ Oswiu's son Alchfrith, who shared his father's throne, had learned the Roman custom from his friend Wilfrid.¹⁸ Wilfrid, born about 634, had been educated at Lindisfarne, but drawn by a natural attraction to Rome, had unlearned Scottish usages there. In Gaul he received minor orders, and narrowly escaped sharing the martyrdom of his friend, the Archbishop of Lyons. Returning to Northumbria, he gained the close friendship of Alchfrith, and received from him the grant of the monastery of Ripon, where he replaced a Scottish abbot and his monks.¹⁹ Here he was ordained priest by the Frankish bishop, Agilberht. He came forward at the Council of Whitby as the spokesman of the Roman party against his Scottish teachers. His victory was complete; Oswiu decided to follow the Roman use, and

⁹ Bede, *Hist. Eccl. lib. ii, cap. 20.*

¹² *Ibid.* 21.

¹³ *Ibid.* 22.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 25. Eddius Stephanus, 'Vita Wilfridi' (*Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], i, 14), calls him 'Eboracæ civitatis episcopi metropolitani.'

¹⁷ Bede, *op. cit.* iii, 25.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*; cf. Eddius, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), i, 12.

¹⁹ Bede, *op. cit.* iii, 25. Eddius, the chief authority for the life of Wilfrid, does not mention this fact.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* iii, 3.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 14.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 23.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 24.

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Colman retired from a district in which he could no longer hold his own. Tuda, his successor at Lindisfarne, died not long after, and Wilfrid was chosen to succeed him.

Wilfrid evidently aimed at reviving the metropolitan jurisdiction of York. His hatred of Scottish heresy led him to go for consecration to Compiègne in Gaul.²⁰ This journey, and his delay in returning, seem to have been the first causes of a quarrel with the Northumbrian princes. When he came back to Northumbria he found a Bishop of York appointed in his place, Ceadda, the brother of Cedd, an Englishman who had received his education in an Irish monastery and adhered to the Scottish party. Wilfrid retired to Ripon and to the work of a missionary bishop in Kent and Mercia until, in 669, Archbishop Theodore procured his acknowledgement as Bishop of York.²¹ The next nine years were an epoch of prosperity for Wilfrid, who was not only an administrator and leader of a party, but also a devotee of religious art. He restored the ruined church at York begun by Eadwine and continued by Oswald.²² At Ripon and Hexham he built basilican churches,²³ and when travelling through Mercia he was accompanied by his cantors, masons, and teachers of nearly every art. From the Continent he brought back relics and vestments, and the wonderful development of Northumbrian art in his day probably owed much to his personal influence.²⁴ However, his power, his large possessions, and his unconciliatory temper made him unpopular with Oswiu's son, Egfrith.²⁵ In 678, he was deprived of his diocese. Theodore consecrated three bishops to three subdivisions of the see. Bosa took the place of Wilfrid at York. Not long after, Eadhaed, Bishop of Lindsey, driven from his see by Mercian conquest, occupied Wilfrid's monastery at Ripon, perhaps as the capital of a new diocese.²⁶ For eight years Wilfrid was a fugitive, preaching in Frisia, pleading his case at Rome, wandering in Mercia and Wessex, and living as apostle and bishop of the South Saxons at Selsey. Once he returned to Northumbria to enforce Pope Agatho's decree of restoration, and endured a lengthy imprisonment.²⁷ In 686 Egfrith's successor, Aldfrith, restored to him his

²⁰ Compiègne is mentioned by Bede alone as the place of consecration (op. cit. iii, 28). Eddius says that the ceremony took place in Gaul (*Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], i, 18, 19), but adds that it was performed by twelve bishops.

²¹ Eddius, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), i, 21, attributes the appointment of Ceadda to Oswiu's annoyance with Wilfrid. His vexation at Wilfrid's long absence in Gaul was doubtless fanned by the Quartodeciman sympathizers at court. Bede (op. cit. iii, 28) does not make this clear, although later writers, e.g. Eadmer (*Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], i, 174), positively assert that Oswiu was instigated by the Scottish party. Ceadda, on the restoration of Wilfrid, retired for a time to Lastingham (Bede, op. cit. iv, 3), but was soon summoned to be Bishop of Mercia.

²² Eddius, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), i, 23.

²³ *Ibid.* 25, 32, 33.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 47, 48, 83.

²⁵ Bede, op. cit. iv, 12. Eddius, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), i, 34, attributes the banishment of his hero to the envy of Queen Eormenburh. Wilfrid's support of Etheldreda, the first wife of Egfrith, against her husband and her acceptance of the veil at his hands (Bede, op. cit. iv, 19) would explain the king's prejudice against him.

²⁶ Bede, loc. cit. The third bishop was Eata, who became Bishop of the Bernician province, with his see probably at Lindisfarne. The *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* places the battle which led to the Mercian recovery of Lindsey in 679 on the Trent, and Florence of Worcester says that Eadhaed was set over the church of Ripon in 681. Eadhaed is reckoned as Bishop of Ripon in the lists prefixed to the MSS. of Florence of Worcester. But in 685 he signed as 'Lindissi Episcopus.' (Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* i, 29 from MS. Dodsworth, ix, fol. 108.) On the whole this indicates that, as Abbot of Ripon, he still maintained a territorial style which he had lost and another bishop was using.

²⁷ Eddius, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), i, 49, 50.

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church at Hexham, and eventually Ripon and the see of York. But this reconciliation lasted only five years.²⁸ Wilfrid, again driven from Northumbria, found a refuge in Mercia, where the diocese of Leicester reckons him among its bishops. A synod held at Austerfield, near Bawtry, deprived him of all his Northumbrian possessions except Ripon (703). Wilfrid appealed to Rome, enumerating his benefactions to the church of Northumbria—the true Easter, the Roman tonsure, the primitive liturgical music, the Benedictine rule.²⁹ His friends were shunned as excommunicated persons by those who had seized his possessions.³⁰ A council called at Rome by Pope John VI was attended by Wilfrid and his accusers. Cleared of their charges against him, he returned to England with letters recommending him to the Kings of Mercia and Northumbria,³¹ and ordering the Archbishop of Canterbury to call a fresh synod to restore him to his see. Aldfrith was unwilling to receive him, but soon afterwards, on his death-bed, desired his recall.³² A synod was called by King Osred in 705, and met at a place by the Nidd. Bosa, who had returned to the see of York, and John, Bishop of Hexham, were present, and attempted to support the decrees of Austerfield.³³ Wilfrid was restored to Ripon and Hexham, and spent the rest of his life as Bishop of Hexham. Bosa seems to have died about this time, and John was translated to York.³⁴ Wilfrid, visited by a disease which had attacked him on his journey from Rome, died in 709 at Oundle, one of the monasteries which he had founded on his domains in Mercia. His impetuosity of temper and his intolerance of opposition must be admitted. His advocacy of Roman and Gallican customs, and his scorn for his early teachers, made him enemies among the supporters of Scottish rites. But the victory which he won at the synod of Whitby was permanent. The better sense of his enemies prevented the re-introduction of customs which isolated Northumbria. By his missionary activity in Mercia and Sussex he exercised a unifying influence upon English religion of more importance than his dissensions with Ecgfrith and Aldfrith. In every part of England which felt the power of Northumbrian religion Wilfrid's personal influence was a prominent factor, and helped incalculably to extend the work which had been begun in England by Augustine. He was buried in his church at Ripon.³⁵

John, who ruled the see of York from 705 until 718, is the second saint of the church of York.³⁶ His life was that of an untiring teacher and

²⁸ Eddius, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), i, 63. The chronology of Wilfrid's restoration in 686 is uncertain: Bede (op. cit. iv, 29) says that he held the see of Lindisfarne for a year, between the death of Cuthbert and the appointment of Eadberht. Florence of Worcester (an. 686) makes him Bishop of Hexham, and (an. 687) of Lindisfarne after the death of Cuthbert. As Eata, Bishop of Hexham, died apparently in 686, Wilfrid probably held his see for a time, and after the death of St. Cuthbert in 687, united it with Lindisfarne. On Wilfrid's recovery of the see of York or soon after, Eadberht was probably consecrated to Lindisfarne and St. John of Beverley to Hexham.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 65, 67, 68, 69. For the probable identity of Ouestraefelda or Estrefeld with Austerfield, see Raine's note in *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), i, 65.

³⁰ *Ibid.* i, 70: 'vasa de quibus nostri vescebantur, lavari prius, quasi sorde polluta, jubebant, antequam ab aliis contingerentur.'

³¹ *Ibid.* i, 88. The chief witness to Aldfrith's dying words was his half-sister Ælfled, Abbess of Whitby, who testified to their tenor at the Council of Nidd. (*Ibid.* i, 91.)

³² *Ibid.* i, 91.

³³ See Bede, op. cit. v, 3.

³⁴ Bede, op. cit. v, 19; Eddius, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), i, 99.

³⁵ Bede, op. cit. v, 2-6, relates the life and miracles of St. John, from whom he had received holy orders. The 'Vita Sancti Johannis,' written by Folcard, Abbot of Thorney, between 1066 and 1070, and the 'Miracula' by William Kecell or Ketell and others, are printed in *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), i, 239-347.

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preacher. Little is known of its actual details, but the stories of his miracles apparently belong to the district immediately round Beverley,³⁷ and he is chiefly famous as the founder of the monastery of Beverley, where he died in 721, about three years after he had resigned his see, and had consecrated to it his pupil, the younger Wilfrid.³⁸ About 732, Wilfrid II followed the example of St. John, and was succeeded by Ecgberht, a Northumbrian prince. His episcopate, which lasted for thirty-four years, is remarkable for the revival of the metropolitan dignity of York. He visited Rome some three years after his consecration, and received the pall from Gregory III.³⁹ As metropolitan, he consecrated bishops to the suffragan sees of Hexham and Whithorn.⁴⁰ We here meet with the claim of the Archbishop of York to exercise jurisdiction over the bishops of Scotland. Paulinus had been the sole bishop of Eadwine's kingdom, and the extent of his diocese was limited only by the boundaries of Eadwine's conquests. In practice, these stopped at the Forth, but the conquest and Christianization of the northern tribes was a possible achievement. Since that day, the Northumbrian diocese had been subdivided. The restoration of the pall to York gave its bishop provincial authority over the prelates of the ancient united monarchy, and he was not slow to exercise it over districts which were thus theoretically within his scope.⁴¹

In the time of Ecgberht's successor, Ethelbert or Albert, York became for the first time the effective centre of the diocese. The monastic system, which prevailed at Ripon and Beverley, never took root at York. Ecgberht's episcopate synchronized with the regulation of the system of canonical chapters by St. Chrodegang. It seems probable that a body of canons, modelled more or less on St. Chrodegang's system, served the church of York in Ecgberht's days. A school of clerks grew up in connexion with the metropolitan church, and Ethelbert, a relative of Ecgberht, became its master.⁴² His pupil Alcuin speaks with enthusiasm of a range of teaching which included grammar, rhetoric, song, astronomy, physical geography, natural history, and theology. When, in 780, Ethelbert retired, he gave over the school to Alcuin, with his library. The list of the authors contained in this library is given by Alcuin. Aristotle, Cicero, Virgil, Lucan, Statius, represented classical literature; later philosophers, historians, grammarians,

³⁷ Wetadun or Betendune (Bede, *op. cit.* v, 3; Folcard, *Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], i, 248) is usually identified with Watton. The *villa* of Earl Puch (Bede, *op. cit.* v, 4) is called by Folcard (*Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], i, 249) South Burton, and Earl Addi's church (Bede, *op. cit.* v, 5; Folcard, *Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], i, 350) was in the neighbourhood.

³⁸ The date of St. John's resignation is not absolutely fixed. The anonymous 'Chronicon Pontificum,' which was continued by Stubbs, in *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 329, says that he spent four years at Beverley, with which the metrical continuator of John of Allhallowgate agrees (*ibid.* ii, 472, l. 113). The *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* an. 721; Folcard, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), i, 259, and Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 329, state that he was a bishop for thirty-three years, eight months, and fourteen days. His consecration to Hexham probably took place in 687. See note 28 above.

³⁹ *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* an. 735. Symeon, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 253, 254. Ecgberht's application for the pall may have been a direct consequence of the letter addressed to him by Bede (*Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], i, 413).

⁴⁰ *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* an. 737, 763. Frithwald, Bishop of Whithorn, who died in 763, was consecrated at York in 733 or 734. His successor received consecration at Adlingfleet.

⁴¹ During the reigns of Oswiu and his successors and the pontificate of Wilfrid, the Archbishop of Canterbury exercised what was practically metropolitan influence in Northumbria. The subdivision of York diocese in 678, as well as the first restoration of Wilfrid in 669, were the work of Archbishop Theodore, and Archbishop Berhtwald was present at the synods of Austerfield and the Nidd.

⁴² Alcuin, 'Carmen de Pontt. et Sanctis Eccl. Ebor.' *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), i, 391, l. 1430.

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poets, the principal fathers of the Church, and, among recent writers, Bede and Aldhelm are mentioned.⁴³ The fame of the school suffered eclipse by Alcuin's retirement to the court of Charles the Great, but in the annals of English scholarship, Northumbrian Christianity may lay claim to a premature eminence.

Ethelbert also rebuilt his cathedral church, which was burned down in 741.⁴⁴ Eanbald and Alcuin were, under his direction, the architects of the new church, which with its lofty walls, its aisles, its high-pitched roofs, glass windows, and panelled ceilings, and with its thirty altars, rivalled the basilicas of Ripon and Hexham.⁴⁵ This church stood until the disastrous events of 1069. Ethelbert appointed Eanbald his coadjutor before his death, which took place in 780.⁴⁶ Eanbald died in 796, and was succeeded by a namesake, a pupil of Alcuin. One or other of these prelates presided over a synod of the Northumbrian church at Pinchanhalch.⁴⁷ But the history of their episcopates coincides with the civil dissensions of the Northumbrian kings, and the early invasions of Northumbria by the Northmen.⁴⁸ Of Wulfsige (812) and Wigmund (831) next to nothing is known,⁴⁹ and the dates of their accessions are merely approximate. In 867, when Wulfhere was archbishop, the Danish army came to York. Wulfhere escaped to Addingham in Wharfedale, and subsequently was expelled from his diocese,⁵⁰ to which, however, he afterwards returned.

To Ethelbald (895) and to the obscure Rodewald, succeeded Wulfstan. In 926 Northumbria was united by Athelstan to his kingdom.⁵¹ Wulfstan was appointed archbishop by Athelstan, who in 930 granted the district known as Amounderness, including South Cumberland and North Lancashire, from the Cocker to the Ribble, to the church of York.⁵² Athelstan is also accounted the founder of the liberties of Ripon and Beverley.⁵³ Wulfstan, in 943, rebelled with Anlaf, the son of Sihtric, against Athelstan's half-brother Eadmund, and held Leicester against him.⁵⁴ In 947,

⁴³ Alcuin, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), i, 395, 396, ll. 1535-61.

⁴⁴ Angl.-Sax. Chron. an. 741, mentions the burning of the city. Roger of Hoveden (*Chron.* [Rolls Ser.], i, 6) notes the burning of the *monasterium*, giving the date as Sunday, 23 Apr. (second Sunday after Easter).

⁴⁵ Alcuin, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), i, 394, ll. 1506-19.

⁴⁶ Angl.-Sax. Chron., Symeon of Durham, and Roger of Hoveden agree in fixing the accession of Eanbald I and the death of Ethelbert in 780; Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 336, agrees with them; Dixon and Raine, *Fasti Ebor.* 106, incline to 782.

⁴⁷ A synod here is noticed by Angl. Sax.-Chron. an. 787, and by Roger of Hoveden (*Chron.* [Rolls Ser.], i, 12). Hoveden (op. cit. i, 16), following Symeon of Durham, notes another synod at 'Pinchanhal' in 798 under the presidency of Eanbald II. The form 'Pinchanhalch' is that used by Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 336, 337, who places the synod under Eanbald II. Possibly there were two separate councils at this unidentifiable spot.

⁴⁸ See Angl. Sax.-Chron. an. 793 [795], 798 [800].

⁴⁹ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 338, says that 'Wlsius' was archbishop for eleven years, and 'Wimundus' for twelve, and that there was an interregnum of sixteen years after Wigmund's death. Roger of Wendover places Wulfsige's death and Wigmund's accession in 831 (Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* [Rolls Ser.], i, 375), and gives 854 for Wigmund's death and the accession of Wulfhere (ibid. 383). Hoveden says that Wulfhere received the pall in 854 (op. cit. i, 36).

⁵⁰ Angl.-Sax. Chron., Hoveden, and Wendover give accounts of this disaster sub an. 867. Symeon of Durham says, 'Inter has strages remotius se agebat apud Hatyngham episcopus,' and notes his expulsion: 'taking place with that of King Ecgberht 'post septem annos'; *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 255.

⁵¹ Angl.-Sax. Chron. an. 926; Rog. Wendover (Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* [Rolls Ser.], i, 447).

⁵² *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 1-5.

⁵³ Ibid. ii, 263, 264. Dixon and Raine, *Fasti Ebor.* 79, 90; *Sanctuarium Dunelmense, &c.* (Surt. Soc.), and Dr. J. T. Fowler, *Mem. of the Ch. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 33, 34.

⁵⁴ Angl.-Sax. Chron. an. 943.

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Wulfstan and the Northumbrian witan swore fealty to Eadred. But next year Wulfstan was implicated in a second revolt.⁵⁵ Eadred harried Northumbria, and burned the minster at Ripon.⁵⁶ Wulfstan's punishment seems to have been delayed till 952, when he was imprisoned at Jedburgh. Expelled from his diocese he retired to Dorchester, where he 'obtained a bishopric,' and in 957 died at Oundle. His successor at York was a Dane, Oskytel.

In 972, Oskytel was succeeded by his kinsman, Oswald, Bishop of Worcester.⁵⁷ Educated under the protection of Oda, the Danish Archbishop of Canterbury, and instructed in the Benedictine rule at Fleury, he became one of the prime movers in the restoration of monastic discipline. 'Impiger monachus' is the epithet given to him by his anonymous biographer. Seven monasteries in the diocese of Worcester owed their origin or reformation to him,⁵⁸ and he was the joint founder of the fenland monastery of Ramsey. When Edgar the Peaceable sent him to York, he was allowed to retain his bishopric of Worcester, in order that his monks there might not be deprived of his pastoral care.⁵⁹ In Yorkshire, the monasteries destroyed by the Danes had been deserted and in ruins. Oda, some years previously, had visited Ripon and had carried away the body of St. Wilfrid, as the Canterbury monks constantly asserted, or of his later namesake, to Canterbury.⁶⁰ Oswald paid the ruined church a visit, and found there the remains of one of the Wilfrids and of other Saxon abbots.⁶¹ These he appears to have enshrined at Ripon.⁶² It is probable that he rebuilt the church and re-established the monastery. His biographer clearly states that he revived the monastic life at York,⁶³ but monastic reform seems to have been less actively pursued in Northumbria than in Mercia. Oswald lived till 992. Aldulf, Abbot of Peterborough, succeeded him at York and Worcester, and translated his body from its burial-place in Worcester Abbey to a new shrine.⁶⁴ Danish invasions, before Oswald's death, had begun to disturb the country anew. In such circumstances, efforts after monastic revival must have had little chance of success. An invasion in 993 drove the congregation of St. Cuthbert from Chester-le-Street southward with their patron's body. They rested for a while at Ripon, before their final removal

⁵⁵ *Angl.-Sax. Chron. an. 948* ; Rog. Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 56. See also William Malmesbury, *West. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 7.

⁵⁶ *Angl.-Sax. Chron. an. 948* ; Rog. Hoveden, loc. cit. *Angl.-Sax. Chron. and Flor. Worcester* give the date of Wulfstan's translation to Dorchester as 954 ; Hoveden and Wendover as 953.

⁵⁷ The anonymous 'Vita Oswaldi,' printed in *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), i, 399 seq., is a work of very high historical value. Raine also prints Eadmer's 'Vita' and 'Miracula Sancti Oswaldi' (ibid. ii, 1 seq.), the 'Vita Sancti Oswaldi' by Senatus, Prior of Worcester (ibid. ii, 60 seq.), and two short lives of the saint, the second by Capgrave (ibid. ii, App. 489 seq.).

⁵⁸ So Oswald's anonymous biographer, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), i, 439.

⁵⁹ Eadmer, ibid. ii, 28, says that this was due to St. Dunstan.

⁶⁰ Oda asserts this in the preface, attributed to him, which precedes the metrical life of St. Wilfrid by Tridegoda, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), i, 106, and the story is told by Eadmer, 'Vita Wilfridi,' ibid. i, 224, 25. Eadmer, however, wrote as a partisan of Canterbury, and his admission that 'aliquantula pars' of the body was left at Ripon may have been made in order to evade the fact that Oswald and his earlier biographer seem to have had no doubt as to the authenticity of the relics discovered at Ripon.

⁶¹ See *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), i, pref. p. xliii.

⁶² 'Vita Oswaldi,' *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), i, 462. Eadmer's account, ibid. ii, 30, is confused and vague, owing to his desire to emphasize the translation of the relics to Canterbury by Oda.

⁶³ Ibid. i, 462. Raine makes the passage refer to Ripon ; of which it is doubtless true. But it refers in the first place to York : 'de loco in quo ejus pontificalis cathedra posita est, quid referam, quidque dicam ?'

⁶⁴ Eadmer, 'Miracula S. Oswaldi,' *Hist. Ch. York*. (Rolls Ser.), ii, 45 seq. The translation took place on 5 Apr. 1002. (Hoveden, *Flor. Worcester, Wendover.*)

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to Durham. More than a century earlier, during the inroads which destroyed the early Saxon monasteries, they had visited Yorkshire, and after wandering through the northern dales, had made a temporary stay at Crayke, near Easingwold, which King Ecgrifith had given to St. Cuthbert.⁶⁵

In 1002 Wulfstan II, a monk of Ely,⁶⁶ succeeded to York and Worcester. He has left us, in his homily to the English, a vivid picture of the days of the later Danish persecutions, coloured with grief at the distress of his country.⁶⁷ He died in 1023; but, in 1016, the arrangement by which York and Worcester were held together seems to have come to an end; for a bishop was then appointed to Worcester.⁶⁸ Wulfstan's successor at York, Ælfric Puttoc, was appointed Bishop of Worcester by Harthacnut in 1040, but was ejected next year to make room for the bishop whom he had supplanted.⁶⁹ Ælfric, who had been provost of the monastery of Winchester, went to Rome in 1026, and received the pall from John XIX. He took part in the coronation of Edward the Confessor in 1043. In his own diocese he was a benefactor to the college of secular priests at Beverley, whose authentic history begins with his translation of the body of St. John, and his gifts of land to the foundation.⁷⁰ He died at Southwell, and was buried at Peterborough.⁷¹ The next archbishop, Kinsius or Cynesige (1051-60), continued Ælfric's work at Beverley.⁷² Under these prelates, monks by education, the secular churches of the diocese flourished. Ealdred, who became archbishop in 1060, had been a monk of Winchester and Abbot of Tavistock, and was consecrated Bishop of Worcester in 1046.⁷³ Nicholas II, who granted him the pall after some demur, seems to have made his resignation of the see of Worcester a condition of the grant.⁷⁴ What Worcester lost in Ealdred it gained in St. Wulfstan, whom Ealdred consecrated in 1062.⁷⁵ The church of York had not recovered the losses which the Danes had inflicted on it during the past two centuries; and Ealdred kept twelve manors from the possessions of the see of Worcester for himself and his expenses.⁷⁶ His statesmanship was of service to him with William I; and he was the leader of the company which proffered submission to the Conqueror at Berkhamstead. He had crowned Harold: he crowned William and Queen Maud. But, in 1069, the arrival of the Danish fleet in the Humber, and the defection of Eadgar the Atheling and Waltheof, caused him such anxiety that he died

⁶⁵ Symeon of Durham, followed by Hoveden (*Chron.* [Rolls Ser.], i, 42), gives the date of the first wanderings of St. Cuthbert's body as lasting from 875 to 882. The final removal to Durham took place in 995.

⁶⁶ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 342. Flor. Worcester, an. 1023, &c., says that he was buried at Ely. Flor. Worcester, Hoveden, and Wendover call him an abbot.

⁶⁷ 'Sermo Lupi ad Anglos quando Dani maxime persecuti sunt eos, quod fuit in dies Æthelredi regis.' Hatton MS. in Bodl. (Jun. 99) is the most perfect copy.

⁶⁸ Flor. Worcester, sub anno.

⁶⁹ Ibid. sub anno 1040.

⁷⁰ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 343.

⁷¹ Stubbs (ibid.), Hoveden, Wendover, and Flor. Worcester give the date of Ælfric's death as 1051; Angl.-Sax. Chron., an. 1050, gives the day as 22 Jan.

⁷² Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 344.

⁷³ Flor. Worcester, Hoveden, Wendover, sub anno.

⁷⁴ See letter of Nicholas II, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 5 seq. The story of Ealdred's visit to Rome is told in Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 346, 347.

⁷⁵ Flor. Worcester, sub anno. Stigand was under interdict; but it was to Stigand, not to Ealdred, that Wulfstan made his profession of obedience; and Ealdred disclaimed any purpose of extorting submission from him.

⁷⁶ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 348.

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within a week of the news.⁷⁷ Under Ealdred, the secular clergy of the church of York, who had probably replaced the monks soon after Oswald's death, were brought under regular discipline. Their services and dress, their shortcomings in almsgiving and attention to the needs of the poor, their neglect of the faithful departed, were reformed.⁷⁸ At York and Southwell he provided a frater for the canons, and founded prebends at Southwell. At Beverley he completed the frater and dorter, built a new presbytery to the church, and covered the whole building westward to Cynesige's tower with a painted ceiling. The church was enriched with a *pulpitum* of brass, gold, and silver, and a rood of German smith-work.⁷⁹

William's nominee to the see of York, Thomas, Treasurer of Bayeux, found his diocese a desert. The cathedral, set on fire by the Norman garrison of York, was in ruins. Three canons only remained out of seven. Thomas had to wait six months for consecration, until Lanfranc was appointed to Canterbury. When the time came, Lanfranc required him to make a profession of obedience. Lanfranc had the support of William. A primate with equal rights to those of Canterbury might prove an active abettor of rebellion in the north.⁸⁰ On the other hand, Thomas could plead the terms of Pope Gregory's famous letter on his own behalf. After some dispute, Thomas contented Lanfranc with a verbal profession.⁸¹ The dispute was renewed at the consecration of Anselm at Canterbury in 1093. Thomas refused to consecrate until the words *primatem totius Britanniae* were left out of Anselm's petition.⁸² A further source of controversy with Anselm was the consecration of Robert Bloett to the see of Lincoln. Thomas claimed Lindsey as part of his diocese ;⁸³ and he had laid his interdict on the consecration of Lincoln Cathedral. Eventually he accepted an agreement under some compulsion ; but the claim to Lindsey was agitated at intervals for some time afterwards.⁸⁴ Another result of the quarrel with Canterbury was the loss by Thomas of the possessions which Ealdred had retained in the diocese of Worcester ;⁸⁵ while, on the other hand, his agreement about Lincoln gave him the priory church of St. Oswald at Gloucester.⁸⁶

⁷⁷ Stubbs, *op. cit.* ii, 349, 350, Hoveden, *Flor. Worcester*. All agree with *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* in the date of his death as 11 Sept. The Danish landing had taken place before 8 Sept.

⁷⁸ Folcard, *pref.* to 'Vita S. Johannis,' which is dedicated to Ealdred, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), i, 141.

⁷⁹ The description is in Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 353, 364. It recalls Bishop Bernward's nearly contemporary work at Hildesheim.

⁸⁰ The chief authority for the history of the controversy from Thomas I to Turstin is Hugh, precentor of York, whose narrative is printed in *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 98 seq.

⁸¹ Hugh, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 101. Lanfranc and Thomas went together to Rome to receive the pall from Alexander II in 1071 ; Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.* v, 2. For an account of their visit, and their controversy there, see Dixon and Raine, *Fasti Ebor.* 148, 149

⁸² Hugh, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 104, 105.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 105, 106. Stow, Louth, and Newark were claimed by the archbishops as 'propriae Sancti Petri Eboracensis.'

⁸⁴ The church of Newark, which belonged to the Bishops of Lincoln, and was granted by them to the Gilbertine priory of St. Katharine, was a fertile source of dispute. See R. E. G. Cole, 'The Priory of St. Katharine without Lincoln,' in *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* xxvii, 264 seq. The ordination of the vicarage of Newark, consequent on a serious dispute between two claimants, was made by Abp. Kemp at Southwell, 30 Sept. 1428 ; *York Epis. Reg.* Kemp, fol. 37.

⁸⁵ Hugh, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 108. The matter was settled at a synod held at 'Pedred' in 1070, according to *Flor. Worcester* and Hoveden, but probably rather later. Wulfstan had appealed for restitution on the death of Ealdred.

⁸⁶ See grant by William II ; *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 21 (*York Epis. Reg.* Greenfield, fol. 45). Selby Abbey was also granted to Thomas as part of the compensation for Lindsey.

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In the north Thomas consecrated and received professions of obedience from not only the Bishop of Durham,⁸⁷ but Bishops of St. Andrews and Orkney.⁸⁸ The metropolitan right of York over the Scottish bishops was insisted on by Paschal II, after the death of Thomas.⁸⁹ In his own diocese Thomas found sufficient difficulty in combating the nine years' paralysis which followed the harrying of Northumbria. The Norman grantees were unready to take possession of fees in a country which was a solitude, preyed upon by wild beasts and sparsely peopled by savages.⁹⁰ The evil name of the district made the acquisition of new possessions for the church of York an unprofitable task. Thomas's great achievement was the rebuilding of his cathedral, the restoration of the canons' buildings, the foundation of the four chief dignities of the church, and among them of the office of *magister scholarum* or chancellor, and the establishment of the prebendal system. He died at Ripon, but was buried in his cathedral church.⁹¹

In the Domesday Inquest the ecclesiastical property in the county amounted to over twelve hundred carucates, of which about 950 were held by the archbishop as tenant in chief. In York he had the regalities of his *scyra*,⁹² where his *curia* was, and held a third part of one of the remaining five *scyrae* into which the city was divided after the building of the castle.⁹³ His most important manor in the county was Sherburn-in-Elmet, which with its berewicks contained 96 carucates and 352 acres of meadow-land.⁹⁴ Next in size came Otley, with 60 carucates 6 bovates,⁹⁵ in great part waste. The liberty of Ripon, in addition to St. Wilfrid's league⁹⁶ and two bovates in Aldfield, included 43 carucates distributed over fourteen berewicks.⁹⁷ Twenty-one and a half more carucates were in the soke of Ripon.⁹⁸ All the berewicks except Markington lay waste.⁹⁹ Patrington, with four berewicks, contained 35 carucates 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ bovates.¹⁰⁰ In Bishop Wilton, with five berewicks, were 30 carucates 7 bovates.¹ There were 32 carucates in Weaverthorpe, including two berewicks, and six carucates in Helperthorpe. The soke of Weaverthorpe included 26 carucates 4 bovates.²

⁸⁷ He consecrated William of St. Carilef at Gloucester, 2 Jan. 1080-1, and Ranulf Flambard in St. Paul's, 5 June 1099; Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 363. His confirmation of the privileges of the church of Durham (*Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], iii, 17 seq.) carries, as Raine noted, very little evidence of its authenticity.

⁸⁸ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 363, mentions Foderoch, Bishop of St. Andrews, and Ralph, Bishop of the Orkneys; but see Dixon and Raine, *op. cit.* 167. The obedience of Scotland to York was agreed upon by the king, the legate, and the English bishops and abbots at Windsor in 1072. This council fixed the Humber and the northern boundary of the diocese of Lichfield as the dividing line between the two provinces; Malmesbury, *Gest. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 353.

⁸⁹ Bull in *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 22.

⁹⁰ 'Inter Eboracum et Dunelmum, nusquam villa inhabitata; bestiarum tantum et latronum latibula magno itinerantibus fuere timori'; Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Regum* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 188.

⁹¹ Hugh, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 107 seq.; Stubbs, *ibid.* ii, 362 seq. Thomas died 18 Nov. 1100. Hugh, with Hoveden and Flor. Worcester, says that he died at York. Stubbs, *ibid.* ii, 364, gives Ripon as the place.

⁹² Dom. Bk. fol. 298a, col. 2. 'In hac scyra habet archiepiscopus quantum rex habet in suis scyris.'

⁹³ *Ibid.* fol. 298a, col. 1.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 302b, col. 1.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 303b, col. 1. Sixteen berewicks are mentioned, lying for the most part in Wharfedale.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 303b, col. 2. 'Totum circa ecclesiam i leuga.'

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 'T.R.E. valuit Ripum xxxii lib., modo vii lib. et x sol.' Similarly for Otley the return is: T.R.E. x lib.; T.R.W. iii lib.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 302a, col. 2.

¹ *Ibid.* fol. 302b, col. 2; 34 carucates 7 bovates, according to the recapitulation.

² *Ibid.* fol. 303a, col. 1.

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Only one carucate and six bovates, included in St. Wilfrid's league, are mentioned as held by the Ripon chapter.³ The land of St. Peter comprised about 270 carucates in the county,⁴ and that of St. John of Beverley between 190 and 191 carucates.⁵ The largest manor held by the canons of York was North Newbald (28 carucates 2 bovates).⁶ About 154 carucates, more than a half of their property, lay waste, mostly within the district ravaged in 1069. About 60 carucates, held by Ulf before the Conquest, formed part of his donation to St. Peter.⁷ Most of the property of the York chapter lay in the vale of York and in Ryedale; that of the Beverley canons lay in that part of the wapentake of Harthill close to Beverley, and in Holderness.⁸ The carucate of St. John in Beverley was quit from geld.⁹ T.R.E. it had yielded £24 to the archbishop and £20 to the canons. Now it continued to yield £20 to the canons, but only £14 to the archbishop. About 45 carucates of the canons' land lay waste.

Seven manors, comprising 81 carucates, belonged to the Bishop of Durham and St. Cuthbert before the Conquest.¹⁰ Nearly a half of this property was waste. Two large manors in the East Riding, with some minor property, were granted by William I to the bishop. King Edward's manor of Howden, with eighteen berewicks, contained 51 carucates 6 bovates, and had soke of 20 carucates 6 bovates. All the berewicks and part of the soke-land lay waste. In Morcar's manor of Welton, with four berewicks, there were 39 carucates, and 35 carucates 5 bovates in soke-land. Most of the soke-land lay waste.¹¹ The Yorkshire property of the bishop amounted to 243 carucates 5 bovates, of which not much less than half was uncultivated.

The Abbot of St. Mary's appears in the list of tenants in chief;¹² but no

³ Dom. Bk. fol. 303*b*, col. 2.

⁴ The actual number, mentioned as 'Terra Archiepiscopi,' is 236 carucates 4 bovates. Add to this 31½ carucates on fol. 298*a*, col. 2; *b*, col. 1. This makes a total of 268 carucates.

⁵ One hundred and ninety carucates 5 bovates. Of this, however, the archbishop held 70 carucates after the Conquest, contained in 23 berewicks. See note 8.

⁶ Dom. Bk. fol. 302*b*, col. 2.

⁷ In the *Nomina Villarum* of 1316 (Surtees Soc.), p. 368, the following *villae* formed the liberty of St. Peter: Cottam, Langtoft, Newbald, Barnby-on-the-Moor, Dunnington, in the East Riding; Osbaldwick, Strensall, Haxby, Stillington, Husthwaite, Carlton Husthwaite, Tollerton, Alne, in the North Riding; and Acomb in the Ainsty. It may be added that, in the same survey, the *villae* held by the archbishop in the liberty of Ripon were these (ibid. 331): Ripon, Littlethorpe, Bishop Thornton, Stainley, Bishop Monkton, and Sharow; the canons held Bridge Hewick and Skelton; thirteen *villae* were held by other proprietors. In the liberty of Beverley (ibid. 318), Beverley belonged to the archbishop, and ten *villae* were held by lay tenants.

⁸ The entries relating to Beverley in Dom. Bk. occupy fol. 304*a*, col. 1 & 2. The berewicks of the manor of Beverley (col. 2) were twenty-five in number, three in Harthill, the rest in Holderness. Two in Harthill were held by the canons; the remaining twenty-three seem to have been the archbishop's.

⁹ Dom. Bk. fol. 304*a*, col. 1. Cf. fol. 298*b*, col. 2, where the privileges of the chapter-lands are thus mentioned: 'in omni terra S. Petri de Euruic et S. Johannis et S. Wilfridi et S. Cutberti et S. Trinitatis . . . rex . . . non habuit nec comes nec aliquis alius aliquam consuetudinem.'

¹⁰ Ibid. fol. 304*b*, col. 2. These lay in the North Riding, viz., in Howgrave and Hutton Conyers with their soke, Crayke, Sessay with its soke, Knayton with one berewick, Brompton-in-Allertonshire, Girsby, Deighton, and Winton (near Sigston).

¹¹ Ibid. fol. 304*b*, col. 1, 2. Morcar's manor of Lund also belonged to the Bishop of Durham. In these manors we have the nucleus of the important *enclaves* of the see of Durham in Allertonshire and Howdenshire. In 1316 the *villae* held by the bishop were as follows [*Nom. Vill.* (Surtees Soc.), 316, 340]:—In the liberty of Howden: Howden, Kilpin with Thorpe and Belby, Skelton, Saltmarshe, Knedlington, Asselby, Barmby Marsh, Eastington, Newland and 'Grenhaik,' Riccall and Cliff, Hemingbrough and Brackenholme, a moiety of South Duffield, Walkington with Risby, Welton, Brantingham, Ellerker, and Melton. In the liberty of Allerton: Northallerton, Thornton-le-Beans, Romanby, Borrowby, Knayton with Brawith, Brompton, Osmotherley, and Sowerby-under-Cotcliffe. Twenty-six *villae* in Howdenshire and twenty-three in Allertonshire were held of the bishop by various proprietors.

¹² Dom. Bk. fol. 298*b*, col. 2. 'Abbatis de eboraco.'

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corresponding section occurs in the text of the Survey. He held five manors of Berenger de Toden in Ryedale and the neighbourhood, comprising 20½ carucates.¹³ The Abbot of Selby appears as tenant of 7 carucates in the archbishop's manor of Sherburn-in-Elmet.¹⁴ For the present the secular chapters were the principal ecclesiastical landowners after the bishops.

Eight churches in York are mentioned in the Survey,¹⁵ 50 in the East Riding, 49 in the North Riding and Richmondshire, and 70 in the West Riding; 39 priests in the East Riding, 48 in the West, 29 in the North, are mentioned in connexion with as many churches. Two churches at Wakefield had three priests between them; ¹⁶ at Topcliffe there was a church and two priests.¹⁷ At Easington in Cleveland there was a church without a priest.¹⁸ In certain places, where no church is named, clergy are mentioned—two priests at Withernsea,¹⁹ one priest at Bainton,²⁰ Swine,²¹ two places in the West Riding,²² and four places in the North Riding; ²³ two clerks at Patrington²⁴ and Everingham,²⁵ one clerk at Brandesburton,²⁶ a prebendary at Over Poppleton.²⁷ The statistical value of these entries for our purpose is limited: in no sense can Domesday be used as a Norman diocesan calendar. It is interesting, however, to read of churches at Kirk Hammerton,²⁸ Hovingham,²⁹ and Skipwith,³⁰ where important fragments of late Saxon date remain, while Kirkdale and Stonegrave may with some certainty be added to the list. The archbishop owned the church of Cowlam.³¹ Anschetil held the manor and church of Ainderby Steeple of the Earl of Richmond.³² An entry of some architectural interest relates to Byland.³³

Thomas was succeeded at York by Gerard, Bishop of Hereford, who had taken an active part with William II against Anselm.³⁴ The contention with Canterbury was renewed, and Gerard, unwilling to profess obedience to Anselm, and ready to seize an advantage for York, prosecuted the cause of

¹³ Dom. Bk. fol. 314*a*, col. 1. The manors were 'Chirchebi' (probably Kirkby Misperton), 'alia Chirchebi,' Lasingham, Spaunton, and Dalby (in Pickering Lythe) with 'Fornetorp.'

¹⁴ See note 94 above.

¹⁵ Dom. Bk. fol. 298*a*, col. 1: The Bishop of Durham held All Saints'; the Count of Mortain had the church of St. Cross; William Percy had St. Mary's (Castlegate), and held the advowson of St. Cuthbert's of Earl Hugh. Ibid. col. 2: Hugh Fitz Baldric had St. Andrew's by purchase; St. Martin's (Coney Street) belonged to Erneis de Burun; Holy Trinity (Micklegate) to Richard Fitz Erfast; and another church to Odo Balistarius. Among York proprietors the Bishop of Coutances must also be reckoned, with some tenement property; *ibid.* fol. 298*a*.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 299*b*, col. 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 323*a*, col. 2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 305*a*, col. 1.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 323*b*, col. 1.

²⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 307*a*, col. 1.

²¹ *Ibid.* fol. 302*a*, col. 2.

²² *Ibid.* fol. 319*b*, col. 1: Widuntorp (Wildthorpe ?); fol. 330*b*, col. 2: Ritone (Rigton in Bardsey parish).

²³ *Ibid.* fol. 305*b*, col. 2: Slingsby; fol. 327*a*, col. 2: Chirchebi (Kirkby Knowle) and Sudtune (Sutton-under-Whitestone-Cliff); fol. 327*b*, col. 1: Martrebi (Marderby in Feliskirk parish).

²⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 302*a*, col. 2.

²⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 302*b*, col. 2.

²⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 304*a*, col. 2.

²⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 303*b*, col. 1. One other entry may be cited from fol. 324*a*, col. 2, in connexion with the soke of Beeford (East Riding), which lay in Dodintone (Dunnington), &c.: 'nunc presbyter drogonis [de Bevrere] habet ibi unam carucatam.' See also Sherburn-in-Elmet, note 94 above (p. 10).

²⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 329*b*, col. 1.

²⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 327*b*, col. 2.

³⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 328*a*, col. 1.

³¹ *Ibid.* fol. 303*a*, col. 1.

³² *Ibid.* fol. 310*a*, col. 1.

³³ *Ibid.* fol. 320*b*, col. 2: 'In Begeland . . . presbyter et ecclesia lignea.'

³⁴ Ord. Vit. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. x, c. 15. Gerard was nephew of Walkelin, Bishop of Winchester (*ibid.* x, 2). For Mapes's story of the cause of his translation to York, see Dixon and Raine, *op. cit.* 159: it is certain, however, that Maurice, Bishop of London, and not Gerard, crowned Henry I (Ord. Vit. *op. cit.* x, 15; Hoveden, Wendover, Flor. Worcester).

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Henry I before Paschal II.³⁵ Having secured his pall, he came home with a somewhat inaccurate report of the pope's goodwill to the king.³⁶ At the Council of Westminster (1102) he behaved intemperately to Anselm,³⁷ but in attempting to consecrate the royal nominees whom Anselm had refused to recognize he was foiled by their scruples.³⁸

The arbitrary conduct of Henry helped on a reconciliation between the two archbishops. At the Council of London (1107) Gerard professed verbal obedience to Anselm, and took part with him in the consecration at Canterbury of the bishops who had scrupled to receive consecration from himself.³⁹ A letter attributed to Gerard asks Anselm for advice in dealing with the canons of York, who in spite of the decisions of 1107 kept their wives. Some were non-resident; others refused to profess obedience. Gerard himself, in former days, had sold the reversion of a prebend to the holder's son. When he offered to restore the price, the purchaser would not take it; he now begs Anselm to annul the sale.⁴⁰ Although Gerard here affects to regard monasticism as 'the happy state of the primitive church,' he increased the possessions of the canons over whose shortcomings he thus mourned. He founded the prebend of Laughton-en-le-Morthen, and gave them the churches of Aldborough (near Boroughbridge), Driffild, Kilham, Pickering, and Pocklington. To Selby Abbey he gave the church and soke of Snaith.⁴¹ He died at Southwell in May 1108.⁴²

The dispute with Canterbury was renewed on the election of Thomas, provost of Beverley, to the archbishopric. Thomas II was a nephew of Thomas I, and his nomination apparently was urged by the chapter of York.⁴³ As archbishop-elect he joined with Anselm in promulgating the decrees of 1107 against marriage of the clergy.⁴⁴ His chapter nevertheless encouraged him vehemently to refuse obedience to Canterbury,⁴⁵ but the king, after the death of Anselm, ceased to support the cause of York; and Cardinal Ulric, the papal legate, sent from Rome with the pall, declined to advise the chapter.⁴⁶ Thomas eventually submitted, because, so his supporters stated, he was too fat to bear hardships and the strain of conflict.⁴⁷ He was

³⁵ Hugh, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 110, says that at Rome 'in pluribus causarum actionibus scientia et facundia ejus laudata et approbata.'

³⁶ Church, *St. Anselm*, 308, 309. The testimony of Eadmer, on which Church's account is founded, was doubtless biased against the York version of the story; but its outlines are probably correct.

³⁷ Hugh, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 110.

³⁸ Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 161.

³⁹ Flor. Worcester, *Chron. an. 1107*; Hoveden, *op. cit.* i, 164. Hugh does not mention Gerard's profession: Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 365, 366, chose to disbelieve in it. Both Flor. and Hoveden call Gerard Anselm's suffragan. The actual character of the profession was a compromise: see *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 14, 15.

⁴⁰ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 23 seq. Some wrongdoers who called forth special complaints were those 'qui archidiaconi infra diaconi ordinem sunt constituti.'

⁴¹ Hugh, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 111. The royal grants by which Gerard obtained these churches are printed *ibid.* iii, 29 seq.

⁴² Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 366. For circumstances connected with the death and burial see *Fasti Ebor.* 162, 163.

⁴³ Hugh, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 111, 112. Henry I was about to promote him to the see of London, when the canons asked for his consecration to York. The later unpopularity of Gerard with his chapter, owing doubtless to his submission to Anselm and his intended reforms, is implied by Hugh in the brevity with which he treats Gerard, and the language in which he greets Thomas.

⁴⁴ Flor. Worcester, *sub anno*; Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 165.

⁴⁵ Hugh gives the text of their letter to him on the point, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 112 seq. They found praise for Gerard's conduct in 1102 (*ibid.* ii, 114); 'Respice ad Girardum archiepiscopum! hoc probe, hoc viriliter, hoc egit egregie!'

⁴⁶ Hugh, *ibid.* ii, 122, 123.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* ii, 124.

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consecrated in St. Paul's, 27 June 1109, by the Bishop of London, during the vacancy at Canterbury.⁴⁸ The terms of his profession, made to no archbishop in person, were safeguarded by the king's order; and the Bishop of Durham declared publicly that it was allowed by royal dispensation only, without prejudice to any future archbishop.⁴⁹ The legate attempted, now that matters were settled, to bring Thomas to book for making his profession, but without success.⁵⁰ Thomas lived for less than five years after his consecration. His biographers praise his virtues.⁵¹ While adding to the possessions of the church of York⁵² his chief activity lay in regulating the chapter of Southwell and founding their church, the *ecclesia matrix* of Nottinghamshire, and in establishing canons at Hexham,⁵³ which had passed to the see of York after the disgrace of Bishop Flambard. Under Turstin, Augustinian Canons were established in St. Wilfrid's northern basilica.

Six months after the death of Thomas II, Turstin, a sub-deacon, canon of St. Paul's and secretary to the king, was promoted to the see, which he ruled for twenty-six years (1114-40).⁵⁴ He received deacon's orders from the Bishop of Winchester; but, anxious to avoid receiving the priesthood in the province of Canterbury, he was ordained priest in Normandy by Ranulf Flambard.⁵⁵ Before visiting Normandy he was enthroned at York by the Bishop of Chester.⁵⁶ In Ralph d'Escures, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, he found an astute opponent who had influence with the king. The controversy about the profession dragged on through Turstin's pontificate. At Salisbury (1116) Turstin formally resigned his see to the king;⁵⁷ but Henry was unwilling to appoint, and the chapter of York to receive, another archbishop.⁵⁸ In 1118 the king gave him back the see; and Turstin revisited York.⁵⁹ But Ralph, in spite of papal mandates, refused to consecrate. Calixtus II summoned Ralph and Turstin to a council at Reims (1119), and ordered Ralph to consecrate without delay.⁶⁰ Eventually, in October 1119, Calixtus himself consecrated Turstin at Reims, and invested him with the pall.⁶¹ The king forbade Turstin to return to England,⁶² and for some two years he remained with the pope in France.⁶³ At Gap, in March 1119-20, Calixtus forbade any profession of obedience to Canterbury,⁶⁴ and gave power to the suffragans of York to consecrate their metropolitan, if the

⁴⁸ Hugh, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 124, 125.

⁴⁹ Ibid. The profession is given in *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 33, 34.

⁵⁰ Ibid. ii, 126, 127.

⁵¹ Ibid. ii, 128. See the glowing character of Thomas given by the chapter of York in their petition for consecration (*Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], iii, 33), and the story told by Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 168-9. Thomas was still young when he died.

⁵² Hugh, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 127.

⁵³ Ibid. At Hexham, two secular canons were sent to assist the hereditary priest, Eilaf, in restoring his church and its services; see Savage and Hodges, *Hexham Abbey Record* (1907), 28. Turstin visited 'Hes-toldesham' immediately after his enthronement (Hugh, *Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], ii, 130).

⁵⁴ Ibid. ii, 129. Thomas died 19 Feb. 1113-14, according to Hugh; 24 Feb. according to Hoveden, *op. cit.* i, 168. Turstin was appointed 16 Aug. 1114.

⁵⁵ Hugh, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 129, 130, 132.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 130.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 137.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 140.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 149, 150. Turstin had gone to Normandy with Henry in 1117 (*ibid.* 140).

⁶⁰ See letters, *ibid.* 159, 160. A long letter of complaint from Ralph to Calixtus about Turstin (MS. Cotton, Claudius, E v.) is printed *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 228 seq.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 164, 165. The pall was granted on the twelfth day after the consecration (*ibid.* 167).

⁶² *Ibid.* 166, 167.

⁶³ Hugh speaks of the honour in which he was held by the pope and cardinals (*ibid.* 173); 'in conciliis, et causis, et judiciis erat inter illos quasi unus ex illis,' &c. See also *ibid.* 175, 176.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 179.

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Archbishop of Canterbury refused.⁶⁵ Turstin was recalled to England in 1121, after his mediation had averted a war between England and France.⁶⁶ An immense crowd witnessed his re-enthronement at York with enthusiasm. His popularity was increased by his remission of the annual chrism-money, 6*d.* from parish churches, 4*d.* from chapels, and of fees for sacraments.⁶⁷ His troubles began anew with the death of Ralph and the succession of William of Corbeuil to the throne of Canterbury.⁶⁸ Visits to Rome were made in 1123 and 1125 by both archbishops; and the favour shown there to Turstin did not improve his position at home.⁶⁹ The king attempted to arrange a compromise, by which, in return for a profession, verbal on Turstin's part, but absolute on that of his successors, the sees of Bangor, Chester, and St. Asaph were to pass to the province of York.⁷⁰ Archbishop William took advantage of a vagueness in wording; and Turstin would make no profession.⁷¹ He was present at the council held at Westminster by John of Crema, the cardinal-legate (1125).⁷² But at Christmas 1126 he was not allowed to place the crown on the king at Windsor, and his cross-bearer was thrust out of the chapel.⁷³ About 1127 the king's sympathies apparently veered towards Turstin,⁷⁴ and further records of the dispute are wanting.

Turstin also engaged in a controversy as to the metropolitanical claims of York over the Scottish bishoprics. The English suffragans of York were the Bishop of Durham, and, after 1133, the Bishop of Carlisle.⁷⁵ There was no doubt about the suffragan position of the Bishop of Whithorn: Galloway had formed part of the Northumbrian kingdom, and the see was of Northumbrian foundation.⁷⁶ On its revival (1125), its Scottish incumbent looked to Turstin for consecration,⁷⁷ and made his profession to him.⁷⁸ The connexion of Galloway with York lasted in name until the creation of the archbishopric of St. Andrews in 1472.⁷⁹ Norwegian kings recognized the Archbishop of York from time to time as metropolitan of Man and perhaps

⁶⁵ Calixtus also issued a bull (in *Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], iii, 41 seq.) confirming the churches of Hexham, Beverley, Ripon, Southwell, and St. Oswald at Gloucester to the see of York.

⁶⁶ Hugh, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 188, 190, 191. Turstin's mediation was exercised by Michaelmas, 1120. His recall seems to have been hastened by Henry's grief at the loss of the White Ship; he crossed from Normandy at the end of January 1120-1.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 191, 192.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 199, 200; William was consecrated by his own suffragans, 'Eboracensi ecclesie injuria irrogata.' Turstin offered to consecrate William at Canterbury, but the offer was refused.

⁶⁹ Hugh tells the story of the two visits at length (*ibid.* 201-16).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 211. St. Asaph is described as 'tertium inter hos duos medium sed pro vastitate et barbarie episcopo vacantem.'

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 213, 214. The vagueness of wording lay in the description of St. Asaph mentioned above; 'sed Willelmus episcopus de tertio episcopatu sine nomine nec mentionem se audisse constanter negavit.'

⁷² Flor. Worcester, Chron. an. 1125.

⁷³ *Ibid.* an. 1126; Rog. Wendover (Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* [Rolls Ser.], ii, 153).

⁷⁴ Hugh, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 218.

⁷⁵ See letter of Innocent II to Stephen (*Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], iii, 60, 61), from which it appears that the formalities for the erection of the see of Carlisle were not completed till 1136. About 1130 Innocent wrote to Turstin, giving him power to make 'novas parochias' in his province, 'indempnitate matris ecclesie conservata.'

⁷⁶ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* v, 23.

⁷⁷ Honorius II, to elect of Candida Casa, 5 id. Dec. (1125) (*Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], iii, 48, 49).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* iii, 60.

⁷⁹ The valuable documents relating to the election of Gilbert of Melrose as Bishop of Whithorn in 1235 by the canons of the Premonstratensian cathedral priory are to be found in Raine, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 144 seq. A series of documents, indicative of the declining authority of York over Whithorn, are printed from Reg. Melton in *Letters from Northern Registers* (Rolls Ser.), 287-9, 335-9, 374, 375.

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of Orkney.⁸⁰ Man was closely connected with Furness Abbey ;⁸¹ and even after its bishop was a suffragan of Trondhjem it was more convenient for him to seek consecration at York.⁸² Thomas I and Gerard consecrated bishops of Orkney.⁸³ But the second of these, at any rate, was not recognized in his diocese ;⁸⁴ and Ralph, whom Turstin consecrated, was a wanderer in France and the north of England. He assisted at the consecration of Turstin,⁸⁵ and took the place of the archbishop at the battle of the Standard.⁸⁶ From 1154, when Orkney became a suffragan see of Trondhjem, we hear no more of the claim of York. Thomas I was said to have consecrated a bishop of St. Andrews.⁸⁷ Thomas II consecrated bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and sent chrism and holy oil to Glasgow by one of his clerks.⁸⁸ After Turstin's consecration, Calixtus II forbade the irregular consecration of Scottish bishops, and insisted on their obedience to their metropolitan.⁸⁹ In 1122 John, Bishop of Glasgow, obstinately refused his profession to Turstin.⁹⁰ Three successive popes commanded his obedience without effect.⁹¹ The Scottish bishops were encouraged in independence by their kings,⁹² and the petition of Alexander I for the consecration of the Bishop of St. Andrews by Canterbury complicated the dispute. Turstin consecrated the bishop in 1128, but forbore, at the request of David I, to require his profession.⁹³ This act weakened the bond between York and Scotland. Nearly half a century later, William the Lion, when forced to make peace with Henry II, acknowledged the supremacy of the English Church.⁹⁴ But in 1188, Clement III, deciding between two claimants to St. Andrews, recognized the independence of the Scottish bishops.⁹⁵ The claims of York were never seriously advanced again ; although Henry VIII in 1541 asked Archbishop Lee to examine into the claim of his Church over Scotland in connexion with his own claim to the Scottish crown.⁹⁶ Turstin maintained that the King of Scots was the English king's man.⁹⁷ Although illness prevented him from

⁸⁰ See letters of Olaf 'rex Insularum' to Turstin and the chapter of York relative to the bishop-elect of the Isles (*Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], iii, 58 seq.). The attitude of the kings towards the rights of York over Orkney is more equivocal. Calixtus II in 1119 orders the Kings of Norway to receive a bishop [Ralph] consecrated at York (*ibid.* 39) ; and Honorius II in 1125 complains to King Sigurd of an intruder in the see who probably was supported by the king.

⁸¹ See letters of Olaf mentioned above : the Abbot of Furness was the apostle of Man, and the right of electing the bishop was a privilege of the monastery (see letter of Innocent IV to Archbishop Gray, 15 Feb. 1243-4, *ibid.* 157, 158).

⁸² Letter of Innocent IV, *ibid.* 158. The relation of the see of Man to its metropolitans is discussed by Hill, *Hist. Engl. Dioceses*, 334 seq.

⁸³ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 363, 367.

⁸⁴ This may be inferred from the fact that William, a Norwegian bishop, was consecrated to the see of the Orkneys about 1102. See Geoffrey Hill, *Hist. Engl. Dioceses*, 331.

⁸⁵ Hugh, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 164, 166.

⁸⁶ His speech to the English forces is given at length by Henry of Huntingdon, *Hist. Angl. lib. viii*, followed more briefly by Hoveden and Wendover.

⁸⁷ See notes 88, 89, p. 10.

⁸⁸ The consecrations of Turgot, Prior of Durham, to St. Andrews, and of Michael to Glasgow, are mentioned by Hugh, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 126, 127. See also *ibid.* iii, 37.

⁸⁹ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 40, 41.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 44-47.

⁹¹ Calixtus II, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 47 ; Honorius II (*ibid.* 49, 50) ; Innocent II (*ibid.* 61, 62).

⁹² The attitude of David I is gauged by a letter of Innocent II to Turstin, about 1135 (*ibid.* 63, 64) : 'super oppressionibus atque molestiis tibi et Eboracensi ecclesie, prout accepimus, a rege Scotie et Johanne Glesguensi episcopo irrogatis, affectione paterna compatimur.'

⁹³ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 51, 52.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 83, 84.

⁹⁵ The text of the bull is given by Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 347 seq.

⁹⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvii, 898.

⁹⁷ Hugh, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 215.

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being present, the victory of the northern barons over the Scots on Cowton Moor (1138) was due in no small degree to Turstin's initiative.⁹⁸

The growth of monasticism was much furthered by Turstin, the last few days of whose life were spent in Pontefract Priory.⁹⁹ Secular canons of the greater churches of his jurisdiction, who had taken vows as monks or canons regular, were allowed to keep two-thirds of their prebendal incomes.¹⁰⁰ At the beginning of his episcopate, the chief religious houses of Yorkshire were the Benedictine abbeys of Selby, St. Mary's at York, Whitby, and the Cluniac house at Pontefract.¹ Soon after his election, the priory of Augustinian canons afterwards known as Bolton was founded at Embsay (1120). About a year later, Walter l'Espece founded Kirkham Priory. Other Augustinian houses founded in his pontificate were Guisborough (1129), Warter (1132), Bridlington, Drax, and Nostell. Newburgh was founded in 1145. In 1131 Walter l'Espece founded the first Cistercian monastery in Yorkshire at Rievaulx. The order had already been established in the diocese at Furness (1127), and Turstin in 1132 powerfully assisted the foundation of Fountains Abbey. About 1134 a monastery was established at Hode by the community which finally (1147) removed to the present Byland Abbey. In 1145 Fors Abbey (afterwards Jervaulx) was founded, and in 1147 were founded Roche, Sawley, and Barnoldswick (afterwards Kirkstall). Meaux was founded in 1150. To much the same date belong the Gilbertine houses of Malton and Watton. Premonstratensians settled at Easby in 1152. Many smaller monasteries and nunneries were founded during the reigns of Stephen and Henry II. Before the end of the century the Premonstratensian houses of Egglestone and Swainby, the parent of Coverham, were in existence.²

The influence of the religious orders was felt in the dispute over the election of a successor to Turstin. The Treasurer of York, William Fitz Herbert, a nephew of King Stephen,³ was elected by a majority of the chapter. The election was opposed by Osbert, one of the archdeacons. The Abbots of Fountains and Rievaulx, and the Priors of Guisborough and Kirkham, accused William of simony. William was supported by the Abbots of York and Whitby, and by the Bishop of Orkney,⁴ and remained for some time in possession. However, Eugenius III, a Cistercian, aided by the advice of St. Bernard,⁵ deposed him, and consecrated Henry Murdac, Abbot of Fountains, in his place.⁶ Murdac was elected archbishop in July 1147, with some contention, the Dean of York and Hugh Pudsey, the treasurer,⁷

⁹⁸ Henry of Huntingdon, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 262.

⁹⁹ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 387, says that he resigned his archbishopric, entered the monastery on 25 Jan. 1139-40, and died on 5 Feb. From this point the chronicle of the archbishops is continued by the Dominican Thomas Stubbs, whose name is usually applied to the whole tripartite chronicle.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* ii, 386.

¹ For the dates of these various foundations see 'Religious Houses' below.

² Page, *Yorkshire Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc. 1894), i, pref. p. vii, notices that after 1250 the only monastery established in the county was Haltemprice Priory, first founded at Cottingham in 1322. But the Charterhouses at Hull and at Mount Grace, founded in 1378 and 1396, must also be reckoned.

³ Vita S. Willelmi, auctore anonymo, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 270 seq., and Stubbs, *ibid.* 390. His father was Count Herbert; his mother Emma, the king's sister.

⁴ Stubbs, *ibid.* 389-91. A fuller account, mainly derived from John of Hexham, is printed *ibid.*

⁵ On St. Bernard's part in the dispute, see a note by Morison, *Life and Times of St. Bernard*, 351, 352.

⁶ Murdac, probably a Yorkshireman, had been a monk at Clairvaux and Abbot of Vauclair in Laon diocese, before going to Fountains. See Dixon and Raine, *op. cit.* 210-13.

⁷ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 393 (second account). Both dean and treasurer had been appointed by William. The election took place at St. Martin's Priory, outside Richmond, on 24 July. Pudsey's candidate was Master Hilary, a clerk of the Curia.

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protesting, and was consecrated by Eugenius at Trèves.⁹ Some of William's party already had taken their revenge on the Cistercians by sacking Fountains.⁹ Pudsey stirred up the citizens of York against Murdac; the men of Beverley were fined by Stephen for admitting him. Unable to enter York, he retired to Ripon, and excommunicated the treasurer and citizens.¹⁰ In 1150-1 he was enthroned at York;¹¹ but when, two years after, he excommunicated those who had taken part in the election of Pudsey to the bishopric of Durham,¹² the city once more rose against him, and he had to flee. He died at Sherburn in the same year (1153);¹³ and Anastasius IV restored William,¹⁴ who had spent most of the interval in Sicily,¹⁵ and may be fairly absolved of complicity in the excesses of his partisans. His return to York was greeted by a multitude of citizens and country-folk (9 May 1154). The wooden bridge over the Ouse broke down beneath the crowd, but no loss of life followed, and William was held responsible for a miracle.¹⁶ Thirty days later he died in his palace.¹⁷ The circumstances of his restoration impressed the minds of men deeply. Stories of his prophetic gifts and miracles wrought at his tomb went abroad,¹⁸ and he received canonization in 1226.¹⁹

His successor was Roger of Pont l'Evêque, Archdeacon of Canterbury, who received consecration from Archbishop Theobald.²⁰ Roger, in spite of his connexion with Canterbury, had no mind for submission. The jealousy between the two metropolitan sees came to its height in his quarrel with Becket, to whom he showed his enmity at the Council of Northampton, and before the pope at Sens.²¹ In 1170 Roger crowned Prince Henry during Becket's exile. This brought about his excommunication by Alexander III,²² and Becket's friends held him guilty of instigating the murder which took place in December.²³ A year later he solemnly exculpated himself before the Archbishop of Rouen.²⁴ He continued the contest with Becket's successor. At the synod of Westminster (1175) his proctors asserted his right to carry his cross erect, and claimed the sees of Lincoln, Chester, Worcester, and Hereford as members of the northern province, appealing to Rome on these points, and on the immunity of St. Oswald's at Gloucester from the jurisdic-

⁹ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 394 (second account). The date of the consecration was 7 Dec. 1148.

⁹ Ibid. 392, 393; *Mem. of Fountains* (Surt. Soc.), i, 101, 102. This took place while the election was as yet undecided, and seems to have been the ultimate cause of William's deposition.

¹⁰ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 394.

¹¹ Ibid. The date was 25 Jan.

¹² Ibid. ii, 395. Geoffrey of Coldingham (*Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres* [Surt. Soc.], p. 4) says that St. Bernard joined Murdac in opposition. Murdac excommunicated Pudsey's partisans, but absolved them at Beverley, at the request of Archbishop Theobald (ibid. i, 5).

¹³ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 395.

¹⁴ Ibid. 396.

¹⁵ Ibid. 392; 'ad Rogerum regem Siciliae, cognatum suum, divertit, et cum eo plurimis diebus commoratus est.'

¹⁶ 'Vita S. Willelmi,' *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 275, 276.

¹⁷ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 397. Hoveden (op. cit. i, 213), Wendover (Matt. Paris, op. cit. ii, 203), and others relate the tradition that he was poisoned in the Eucharist. This scandal is the theme of the hymn (MS. Cotton. Titus, A. 19, 150) given by Dixon and Raine, *Fasti Ebor.* 231, 232.

¹⁸ Various 'Miracula S. Willelmi' form an appendix to his anonymous life (*Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], ii, 278 seq.).

¹⁹ See bull of Honorius III, 18 Mar. 1225-6 (*Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], iii, 127 seq.).

²⁰ See Dixon and Raine, op. cit. 234, with authorities. The consecration took place in Westminster Abbey on 10 Oct. 1154.

²¹ Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 224 seq.

²² Ibid. ii, 6. The text of the bull is given.

²³ See especially the Archbishop of Sens' letter to the pope; ibid. an. 1172.

²⁴ Wendover gives the date as 6 Dec. (Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* [Rolls Ser.], ii, 284.)

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tion of Canterbury. The last question was settled by the papal legate in favour of York.²⁵ In 1176, at Northampton, Roger argued with William the Lion and the Scottish bishops, in opposition to the plea of independence urged by the Bishop of Glasgow.²⁶ Richard of Canterbury put forward his own claim to Scottish obedience at the same council, but without success.²⁷ During the legatine synod at Westminster in the same year a struggle between Roger and the attendants of Richard took place. The king intervened and arranged a truce between the archbishops.²⁸ At the Lateran council of 1179 a decree on the profession of obedience was issued in favour of Roger.²⁹

Roger aided Geoffrey Plantagenet (1174) in taking the castle of Malzeard from the Mowbrays.³⁰ At the end of the rebellion he made a treaty with Hugh Pudsey by which the subordination of Hexham to the church of Durham was limited, and the payment of synodals by the churches of St. Cuthbert in Yorkshire was excused.³¹ In 1177 an agreement on the claims of York over Lindsey was arranged with Geoffrey Plantagenet.³² Roger rebuilt the quire of York Minster³³ and the church of Ripon.³⁴ He also built the palace at York,³⁵ and founded the chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels on the north side of the cathedral. The canons objected to its neighbourhood, and Roger made arrangements by which its warden was to contribute towards their ceremonies on Holy Thursday.³⁶ Alexander III wrote to the archbishop on the shortcomings of the canons, who drew their prebendal stipends while neglecting their churches, and were in some cases guilty of worse sin.³⁷ In another letter the pope commented on the admission of mere priests, not canons of York, to celebrate mass at the high altar of the minster.³⁸

Roger died in November 1181, and was buried at York.³⁹ His treasure

²⁵ Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 77. The question of cross-bearing was left undecided: a truce of five years was arranged between the archbishops. Two letters from Alexander III to Roger—(1) 28 Jan. (1160-1); free licence to carry cross erect: (2) n.d. Reversal of a decision against Roger in an appeal by Archbishop Becket—are printed in *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 69, 70, 73, 74.

²⁶ Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 91, 92, seq.

²⁷ *Ibid.* The arguments for the supremacy of Canterbury over Scotland had been pleaded by Archbishop Ralph in his letter to Calixtus II in 1119 (in *Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.] ii, 228 seq.).

²⁸ Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 92, 93.

²⁹ Dixon and Raine, *op. cit.* 244.

³⁰ Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 58.

³¹ Text in Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 70, 71, and *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 79 seq. The churches of St. Cuthbert are enumerated as follows:—In the archdeaconry of John, son of Letold (Cleveland): Hemingbrough, Skipwith, Northallerton, Birkby, Osmotherley, Sigston, Leake, North Otterington, Crayke, Holtby; in the archdeaconry of Geoffrey (York): All Saints, Pavement, St. Peter the Little (now demolished), and a mediety of Holy Trinity, all in York; in the archdeaconry of the treasurer (East Riding): Howden, Welton, Brantingham, Walkington. Hoveden's text differs somewhat in detail from that in the Reg. Mag. Album of the chapter, from which that in *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.) is printed.

³² Bull of Alexander III, 16 July 1177, printed in *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 85.

³³ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 398: 'chorum . . . cum cryptis ejusdem . . . de novo construxit.'

³⁴ See letter in Walbran, *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 97, and *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 82, in which Roger grants 'operi Beati Wilfridi de Ripon, ad aedificandam basilicam ipsius, quam de novo inchoavimus, mille libras veteris monetæ.'

³⁵ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 398.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 398, 399. Roger's ordination of this chapel (often called St. Sepulchre's) is printed in *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 75 seq.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 78, 79.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 82, 83.

³⁹ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 400, says that he died on 26 Nov. at Sherburn. But Hoveden, *op. cit.* ii, 264, gives the date of his death as 22 Nov. at York, and says that he had gone there from 'Cawda,' where he was taken ill. Hoveden's account is too circumstantial to be received with doubt: 'Cawda' is almost certainly an error for 'Cawod.' Cawod was part of the barony of Sherburn, and thus Stubbs's statement may be partially reconciled with Hoveden's. On the probable site of Roger's tomb see Dixon and Raine, *op. cit.* 250.

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was confiscated by the king,⁴⁰ and the see remained vacant till 1189, when the canons elected the king's half-brother, Geoffrey Plantagenet, bishop-elect of Lincoln. Hubert Walter, Dean of York, and the Bishop of Durham were absent from the election, and obtained a stay of confirmation from Richard I. The king, having made Hubert Bishop of Salisbury, and sold the earldom of Northumberland to Pudsey, evidently thought that he could proceed with safety, and confirmed the election at Pipewell Abbey (16 September 1189).⁴¹ Geoffrey was about thirty years old, in deacon's orders, with tastes which he felt were unsuited to his dignity.⁴² He received priest's orders at Southwell from the Bishop of Whithorn,⁴³ disregarding the claim of the Archbishop of Canterbury to ordain and consecrate him. His consecration, deferred by quarrels with his chapter and the king, was performed by the Archbishop of Tours (18 August 1191).⁴⁴ The disputes concerned the royal appointment of Henry Marshal to the deanery of York, and of a kinsman of Pudsey to the treasurer'ship.

Geoffrey made peace with his opponents, and recovered his confiscated temporalities, in December 1189.⁴⁵ But on 5 January 1189-90, coming to vespers in the minster, he found that the dean and treasurer had begun service without him. The dean tried to continue the office; but when Geoffrey began it afresh the treasurer ordered the lights to be put out. The Epiphany services were suspended; and the citizens were hardly restrained from doing violence to the offended dignitaries. Geoffrey went abroad in February, was forbidden to return by the king, and hindered from obtaining consecration by the opposition of the Pudseys, but nevertheless obtained the grant of the pall. Meanwhile, in York, the Jews perished by massacre and mutual slaughter during March; and a visit at Eastertide from the king's chancellor, William Longchamp, left the chapter under interdict.

After his consecration in 1191 Geoffrey came to England. He was imprisoned in Dover Castle by Longchamp, and delivered by order of John. He sat in the council which deprived Longchamp, and was enthroned at York on 1 November.⁴⁶ Hugh Pudsey was soon visited with excommunication; and Geoffrey did not scruple to excommunicate his deliverer John for holding intercourse with the recalcitrant bishop. The nuns of Clementhorpe appealed against his appropriation of their house to Godstow Abbey, where his mother lay buried.⁴⁷ On the promotion of Marshal to the see of Exeter, Geoffrey bestowed the deanery on his brother Peter; but Peter was abroad and could not be installed.⁴⁸ To avoid accepting a royal nominee, Geoffrey gave the office to one of his clerks, Simon of Apulia.⁴⁹ Shortly after he

⁴⁰ Hoveden, *op. cit.* ii, 264-5.

⁴¹ The history of Geoffrey's stormy pontificate until 1201 is given at some length by Hoveden, whose account has been mainly followed here. For other authorities, see footnotes to his life in Dixon and Raine, *op. cit.* 251 seq.

⁴² Dixon and Raine, *op. cit.* 256, quote Giraldus's statement that Geoffrey declined at first the offer of the archbishopric by the canons, on the ground of his sporting tastes.

⁴³ Hoveden gives the date of the ordination as 29 Aug. This must be a mistake for 28 Sept., as the Bishop of Whithorn had been consecrated only on 17 Sept. at Pipewell, by the Archbishop of Dublin.

⁴⁴ Dixon and Raine, *op. cit.* 261, from Giraldus Cambrensis.

⁴⁵ He bought them back with a promise of 3,000 marks for the Crusade. His inability to raise this sum caused subsequent difficulty with Richard. Dixon and Raine, *op. cit.* 258 seq.

⁴⁶ Dixon and Raine, *op. cit.* 263.

⁴⁷ Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 188.

⁴⁸ Peter was Archdeacon of Lincoln.

⁴⁹ Simon became Bishop of Exeter in 1214, succeeding Marshal there as at York.

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asserted that this appointment was merely temporary, and tried to restore Peter. The canons, however, elected Simon, and Geoffrey then gave the dignity away to Philip Peytevin, Archdeacon of Canterbury. He thus bred strife with the chapter; and when he asked some of the canons to devote a quarter of their incomes to the ransom of Richard I, he was refused. Richard was grateful to him for his loyalty during John's rebellion, and was ready to mediate in the quarrel; but the canons had suspended service in the minster, and Geoffrey, instead of going to Richard, stayed to finish out the fight at York. He placed his clerks in the church, and was liberal in excommunications: the citizens restored the canons. Four of the dignitaries took their case to Rome, and obtained the provision of Simon to the deanery.⁶⁰ Unable to procure a final decree on their rights of presentation, they accused Geoffrey before the pope of various crimes, including his love of hunting and hawking, which some of them formerly had been willing to overlook. The pope appointed a commission in June 1194. It met at York in the following January, and assessed the damages claimed by the canons at about 3,000 marks. Geoffrey was abroad, and time was allowed him in which to make his appeal at Rome.⁶¹

In 1194 the old dispute about the cross arose with Hubert Walter, now Archbishop of Canterbury. Hubert was at Nottingham on Lady Day with his cross erect: Geoffrey, although he stayed away from Richard's coronation on 17 April, was allowed to have his cross borne before him at Waltham, six days later, whereupon Hubert sent commissioners to York, who deprived Geoffrey of all his manors but Ripon. At Michaelmas, when the dignitaries came back from Rome with a decree in their favour, Pudsey was called in to remove the archbishop's interdict from the church.

Geoffrey now went abroad, and found Richard well disposed to his claims. But in 1195 the king once more seized his temporalities.⁶² In his absence the commissioners published their report; and on 11 June Hubert Walter came to York as legate. The canons joined with Geoffrey's officers in refusing to acknowledge him as archbishop or primate. Hubert did not press the point, but succeeded in promulgating a number of decrees at a synod, and deposing the infirm abbot of St. Mary's, who appealed to Rome. Some months later, at Northallerton, he confirmed the election of Philip Peytevin to the bishopric of Durham, left vacant by the death of Pudsey in March.⁶³

⁶⁰ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 92 seq. (17 May 1194). The dignitaries were Hamon, the precentor; Ralph, Archdeacon of York; Geoffrey Muschamp, Archdeacon of Cleveland; and William Testard, Archdeacon of Nottingham. From the letter of Celestine III to the commissioners (8 June 1195), ap. Hoveden (op. cit. iii, 292-3), it appears that the abbots of St. Mary's and Selby, and eleven Premonstratensian abbots, laid information against Geoffrey, either in person or by deputy.

⁶¹ Hoveden gives two separate accounts of the commission and of Geoffrey's appeal at Rome, an. 1194-5. The sequence of events is made clear by a comparison of the dates in his account. Hugh of Lincoln, as we should expect, behaved with great magnanimity on the commission, and refused to suspend Geoffrey until he had had time to make his appeal. For the report of the commissioners and details of the damage, see *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 99 seq.

⁶² Hoveden (*Chron.* [Rolls Ser.], iii, 287) says that Geoffrey's arrogance was the cause of his deprivation. Letters in his favour were issued by Richard from Mamers in Maine, 3 Nov. 1194, one of which requires amends to him from the men of Beverley, and the other orders the deprivation of the Archdeacon of Cleveland and two of the canons.

⁶³ Peytevin was elected at Durham, 4 Jan. 1195-6 (G. Coldingham, *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres.* [Surt. Soc.], 17). Hoveden (op. cit. iii, 308) says that the confirmation at Northallerton took place on the fifth day after Christmas, 1195.

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By Christmas 1195 Geoffrey reached the ebb of his fortunes. He failed to appear at Rome, and was suspended. But in 1196, coming to Rome in person, he procured the removal of the suspension. The king, however, would not restore his temporalities. In 1198, Geoffrey was summoned to meet the chapter in Normandy before the king. He arrived first, and was quickly reconciled to his brother, who sent him on a mission to Rome.⁵⁴ Shortly after, the canons arrived, and persuaded the king to resume the temporalities. Richard, anxious to make peace, found Simon and the canons as obstinate as Geoffrey.⁵⁵ Innocent III favoured Geoffrey, and when John came to the throne he was at last able to return to England.⁵⁶ He entered into a bond with the chapter to accept the decision of a new commission; and in 1200 he gave the kiss of peace to Dean Simon and two other members of the chapter at Westminster.⁵⁷ Before the end of the year, he quarrelled with John, and was once more deprived of his temporalities and had to buy back his peace at York in Lent, 1201.⁵⁸ The kiss of peace had healed no disputes with the chapter. Nominations to the chancery, the archdeacons of York⁵⁹ and Cleveland,⁶⁰ and the provostship of Beverley,⁶¹ were fruitful in strife. Honorius, Archdeacon of Richmond, who had been the friend and nominee of Geoffrey, became his enemy; and the last recorded dispute of this pontificate arose from Geoffrey's claim to the privileges of the archdeacon. On this occasion he received a severe letter from Innocent III.⁶² Bickerings with John continued until 1207, when Geoffrey refused to levy a thirteenth in his province, and left the kingdom.⁶³ He died abroad in 1212.⁶⁴

No more serious fault can be charged against Geoffrey than intractable temper and wilfulness, which were met by equal obstinacy in his opponents.⁶⁵

⁵⁴ He did not go there, but apparently returned to argue with the chapter at Les Andelys. He appealed personally to Innocent III in 1198.

⁵⁵ The chapter refused the three prelates appointed as judges by Richard, and demanded to be tried by a commission of secular canons.

⁵⁶ Geoffrey did not return for the coronation of John; and he was with the king in Normandy afterwards. Hubert Walter and the justiciary, Geoffrey Fitz Peter, entered a protest to the king against his return.

⁵⁷ The commissioners present at this scene were the Bishop of Salisbury and the Abbot of Tewkesbury.

⁵⁸ Geoffrey had excommunicated his unruly subjects at Beverley. John was at Beverley on 25 Jan. 1200-1, and stayed, for a consideration, with John le Gros, one of the excommunicated. He came to York at Mid-Lent.

⁵⁹ The archdeaconry of York had been disputed in 1195. An agreement had been come to, by which Geoffrey's nominee was put in possession of the title and 60 marks annual pension, while his rival took actual possession of the office as his deputy. In 1199, when Peter of Dinant had become Bishop of Rennes, Geoffrey tried to introduce another nominee of his own, but was opposed by Adam of Thorner, who held that the office and title were now in his sole occupation.

⁶⁰ The dispute as to the archdeaconry of Cleveland was mixed up with that relating to the vacant chancery in 1201. Geoffrey tried to instal Ralph of Kyme in the first office, and being unsuccessful, claimed the chancery for him.

⁶¹ Geoffrey nominated his brother Morgan to the provostship. Morgan was one of the candidates elected to the bishopric of Durham in the vacancy following Bishop Peytevin's death. His election was quashed at Rome (Coldingham, *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*. [Surt. Soc.], 31; Graystones, *ibid.* 35).

⁶² Geoffrey gave the archdeaconry on this occasion to Roger of St. Edmunds, whose presentation to it by the king had been a source of contention in 1196.

⁶³ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 400, 401; Wendover (Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* [Rolls Ser.], ii, 520).

⁶⁴ Godwin, quoted by Dixon and Raine, *op. cit.* 278, is the only authority for the statement that Geoffrey died at Grosmont in Normandy.

⁶⁵ The dying confession of Ralph of Wigtoft, one of his clerks, disclosed a plot to poison Dean Simon (Hoveden, *op. cit.* iv, 15-16). Doubtless, Simon believed Geoffrey guilty of complicity; but his connivance was not mentioned or implied by the chief culprits. So much of Stubbs' praise of the archbishops is conventional that one cannot put much value on his character of Geoffrey (*Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], ii, 100) as 'vir . . . magnae abstinentiae et summae puritatis'; but there is no evidence to the contrary apart from one or two phrases in an abusive poem quoted, Dixon and Raine, *op. cit.* 278 n.

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His reluctance to accept the archbishopric, his intervention on behalf of his enemies during the riot at York in 1189–90, are points in his favour. In 1201 he was at York to receive the missionary Abbot of Flay, whose exhortations on the hallowing of the Lord's Day had a profound effect in Yorkshire.⁶⁶ Documents are preserved in the registers of later archbishops, which throw light on Geoffrey as a diocesan. Among these is an ordination of a vicarage in Kirkby-in-Malhamdale Church, appropriated to the convent of West Dereham. This, the first recorded ordination of a vicarage in the diocese, is dated from Patrington, 5 July 1205.⁶⁷

No election to the see was made till 1215, when the canons chose Simon Langton, brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The election was quashed by the pope, on appeal from John.⁶⁸ The chapter then elected the king's nominee, Walter Gray, Bishop of Worcester.⁶⁹ He received his pall from Innocent III at Rome, where he had gone to the Lateran Council, and to take part in the appeal against Langton's election. Gray had been Chancellor of England; and during his long pontificate his relations with the Crown were consistently friendly. He was employed in positions of high trust, as in 1242, when he was regent of the kingdom during the king's absence in Gascony.⁷⁰ The dispute with Canterbury was less actively pursued by him. Honorius III forbade him, in 1218, to carry his cross in the southern province.⁷¹ In 1223, when the king ordered him to join in receiving the King of Jerusalem in London, Gray, reflecting that this appearance might lead to a quarrel with Stephen Langton, went out of his way to his manor of Churchdown, and wrote for advice to the justiciar of England.⁷² At the synod of London (1237), Gray and Edmund Rich abode by the legate's decision that the Archbishop of Canterbury should sit on his right hand, the Archbishop of York on his left.⁷³ Gray acted with similar judgement towards his suffragans. Although, after the death of Bishop Marsh (1226), he delayed the consecration of the nominee of the Prior and convent of Durham,⁷⁴ he consecrated three Bishops of Durham and three of Carlisle, and received written professions from at least one bishop of each see. Gilbert, whom he consecrated to Whithorn in 1235, acted as his deputy at the dedication of Yedingham Priory Church (1241) and of the chapel in Helmsley Castle.⁷⁵

Gray is the first archbishop of whose register we possess any part. From this we can gain a clear idea of his diocesan work. The chief abuse with which he had to contend was the marriage of the secular clergy. Sons of parochial clergy had even obtained several benefices without a dispensation. Honorius III issued a bull at his request (1221) condemning

⁶⁶ Some of the miraculous punishments of Sabbath breaking at Beverley, Nafferton, and Wakefield, are noted by Hoveden, *op. cit.* iv, 170–1.

⁶⁷ *York Reg. Giffard* (Surt. Soc. cix), 255, 256. Whitaker, *Richmondshire*, i, 252, notices an institution by Archdeacon Honorius in 1198 to the vicarage of Langton-on-Swale from the Coucher book of Easby Abbey. No ordination is extant.

⁶⁸ Wendover (Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* [Rolls Ser.], ii, 628, 629).

⁶⁹ The date of his consecration to Worcester was 5 Oct. 1214. He was chancellor 1205–14.

⁷⁰ See Dixon and Raine, *op. cit.* 284 seq. for a summary of Gray's public charges.

⁷¹ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 113.

⁷² *York Reg. Gray* (Surt. Soc.), i, App. no. xxi, 145–6.

⁷³ Matthew Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 417.

⁷⁴ The see was left vacant for two years and four months, until the translation of Poore from Salisbury.

⁷⁵ *York Reg. Gray* (Surt. Soc.), 90 n. 119 n.

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the custom of hereditary succession in the rectories of the diocese.⁷⁶ Married clergy and their sons, who had succeeded to their fathers' livings, were to be deprived and replaced by suitable persons. Thus, William, rector of Rowley, who had succeeded his father, was deprived and received in compensation the tithes of a chapelry in the parish.⁷⁷ Peter, rector of Weaverthorpe, appealed to the pope against the efforts of Gray to eject him (1226). The pope ordered the archbishop to let him stay there till another benefice should be forthcoming; ⁷⁸ but Gray deprived Peter about 1228.⁷⁹ Hereditary succession is not one of the abuses mentioned by Alexander IV to Gray in 1255; clerical immorality is censured, but no reference is made to marriage.⁸⁰ Non-residence is the subject of a letter from Gregory IX (1231), requiring personal residence, or the appointment of a vicar. Persons holding several benefices were to reside in one, and appoint vicars to the rest: in case of neglect, the archbishop was to present, and, if necessary, institute vicars.⁸¹ Alexander IV gave the Chapter of York permission to withhold the prebendal incomes of non-resident canons.⁸²

Instances of appointments of foreigners to benefices occur at Stanwick (1226),⁸³ Lastingham (1229),⁸⁴ Adlingfleet (1234),⁸⁵ and Birkby (1238).⁸⁶ John, known as Romanus, was Canon and Sub-dean of York, Archdeacon of Richmond (1241-56), and afterwards Treasurer of York. His name is connected with the building of the north transept and the central tower of the minster⁸⁷; and his son became archbishop. In 1220 Honorius III decreed that, on the death of papal clerks provided to English benefices, the right of presentation should revert to the original patrons.⁸⁸ This did not check the abuse. In 1232 Robert Thweng revenged the collation of his church of Kirkleatham to a foreign clerk without his consent by heading, under the assumed name of William Wither, a band of marauders, who sold the corn of the Roman clergy in England.⁸⁹ His case was taken to Rome, and supported by the English barons, and in 1239 Gregory IX revoked the collation, and ordered the institution of Thweng's presentee. It was ordained that henceforth no presentations to foreigners were to be

⁷⁶ *York Reg. Gray* (Surt. Soc.), App. no. xv (pp. 140-141): also *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 115.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* pt. i, no. lxi, cxxiii, cxxvii (pp. 15, 26, 28).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* App. no. xxviii (p. 153).

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* pt. i, no. clviii (p. 32). On 18 Sept. 1228, however, a Peter de Wiveretorp was instituted to the church of Rowley (no. cxxiii, p. 26), which looks like strict obedience to the pope's commands.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* App. no. lxxix (pp. 215, 216): 'pro manifesta concubinarum cohabitatione' is the phrase used. It does not necessarily imply that no marriage ceremony had been gone through.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* App. no. xli (pp. 165, 166).

⁸² *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 173: 'his exceptis, qui nostris vel fratrum nostrorum immorantur obsequiis.'

⁸³ *Ibid.* pt. i, no. xxxv (p. 9), 'Master Lawrence, canon of Aquileia.'

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* no. cxxxv (p. 28), 'Cozoni, scriptor of the pope'

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* no. cclxxxix (p. 67), 'Cinchinus Romanus, clericus.'

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* no. ccclix (p. 82), 'Master Greg' de Monte Longo, notary of the pope.'

⁸⁷ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 409.

⁸⁸ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 113, 114. *York Reg. Gray* (Surt. Soc.), App. no. xii (pp. 137, 138 n).

⁸⁹ Roger Wendover (Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* [Rolls Ser.], iii, 217, 218). Thweng's rising was apparently part and parcel of a rising mentioned in the previous year, when Cincius, a Roman clerk, and canon of St. Paul's, was seized by armed men between St. Albans and London. Cincius was probably the person mentioned above, note 85. The pope made John Romanus one of the commissioners to inquire into the rising in the north.

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made without the consent of patrons.⁹⁰ As an effect of this and subsequent mandates, two appointments to livings in 1254 may be noted. St. Mary's Abbey presented Roger of Meulan to Stokesley, nominally held by Stephen of Anagni, and Roger Heselton to Rudston, which was said to be occupied by 'Wyschardus transmontanus.'⁹¹

Numerous ordinations of vicarages occur in Gray's register and the register of the dean and chapter.⁹² Gray placed the dignities and prebends of the church of York on a substantial footing. In 1218 he separated the treasurership from the archdeaconry of the East Riding, and endowed it with a portion of the prebend of Sherburn, dividing the remaining portion into the prebends of Wistow and Fenton.⁹³ In 1221 he appropriated the church of Hornby to the common fund of the chapter.⁹⁴ This church was granted to him by St. Mary's Abbey, probably in return for the appropriation to them of the rectories of Catterick, West Gilling, Overton, and a mediety of Middleton Tyas.⁹⁵ Kirkby Ouseburn, granted to Gray by Fountains Abbey, was appropriated to the chantership;⁹⁶ and West Acklam, obtained from Thornton Abbey, was annexed to the chancellorship.⁹⁷ On 1 May 1228 Gray made an arrangement with the abbey of Aumale about its advowsons in Holderness. Six churches, Preston, Mappleton, Withernwick, Burton Pidsea, Wawne, and Tunstall, he reserved to his own use. In compensation he allowed the convent to appropriate Aldbrough, Skeckling, and Kilnsea, restored to them the rectories and vicarages of Paull, Owthorne, and Withernsea, granted them certain tithes and pensions, and renewed a grant of the chapel of Birstall.⁹⁸ He annexed Preston to the newly created sub-deanery, to which he collated John Romanus.⁹⁹ Burton Pidsea was appropriated in 1230 to the church of York to provide stipends for the vicars;¹⁰⁰ Mappleton was annexed to the archdeaconry of the East Riding, Wawne to the chancellorship, Tunstall to the sub-chantership, Withernwick to the prebend of Holme.¹ In October 1240 Gray ordained vicarages in the three churches of the prebend of Fenton, viz. Sherburn, Kirk Fenton, and St. Maurice in Monkgate.² Similar ordinations were made in the churches of Wetwang, Fridaythorpe, and Kirkby Wharfe, annexed to the prebend of Wetwang.³ In 1242 the

⁹⁰ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 612-14.

⁹¹ *York Reg. Gray* (Surt. Soc.), pt. i, no. dli, dlv (pp. 119, 120). Roger of Meulan is probably the bishop of that name who was consecrated to the see of Chester, Coventry, and Lichfield, 10 Mar. 1257-8.

⁹² Gray's provisions for the ornaments of churches in his diocese should be noticed (*ibid.* App. no. lxxxi (1), pp. 217 seq.). The parishioners were to supply chalice, missal, the principal set of vestments for celebrant, deacon, and sub-deacon, copes for use on festivals by the celebrant and the rulers of the quire, a processional cross, 'alia crux minor pro mortuis,' holy-water stoup, pax, paschal candlestick, censer, 'lucerna cum tintinnabulo,' lenten veil, candlesticks for processional use, the church books, a frontal for the high altar, three surplices, a pyx, a banner 'pro rogationibus,' the bells with their ropes, the font 'cum serura,' christmatory, images in the church, an image of the patron-saint in the chancel. They were charged with the repair of all the above, the lighting of the church, the repair of the nave, the glazing of windows in nave and tower, the inclosure of the churchyard, &c. The rectors or vicars were held responsible for the repair of the chancel, with its roof and windows, desks and foot-stools, &c., with the repair of the rectory, &c.

⁹³ *Ibid.* App. no. viii (pp. 132, 133).

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* App. no. xi (pp. 136, 137 : Sept. 1220).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* App. no. xviii (pp. 143, 144).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* pt. i, no. cviii (pp. 22, 23).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* pt. i, no. cxxvi (pp. 26, 27).

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* pt. i, no. ccxx (pp. 52, 53).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* App. no. lvii (p. 185 seq.)

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* App. no. lviii (pp. 189, 190). This stall was held at the time by the Archdeacon of York.*

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prebend of Wilton was annexed to the treasurership.⁴ In 1252 vicarages were ordained in the churches of the Dean of York, Pocklington, Pickering, and Kildham. The eight chapels of Pocklington were formed into four vicarages, the four chapels of Pickering into two.⁵ This was done at the request of Sewall de Bovill, then dean; and as Sewall held the prebend of Fenton in 1240⁶ he may have quickened Gray's zeal for vicarages, which was less noticeable in the case of the Holderness churches. Doubtless the decrees of the synod of 1237 had their influence.⁷ An arrangement with Nostell Priory in 1248 was the foundation of the prebend of Weaverthorpe, while Nostell impropriated in compensation the churches of Tickhill, South Kirkby, and Rothwell.⁸ In March 1252 Gray ordained vicarages in Batley, Warmfield, and Feliskirk, also churches appropriated to Nostell.⁹ Ordinations of South Kirkby and Rothwell occur in 1253,¹⁰ of Skeckling in 1253,¹¹ of Mappleton in 1254, and, also in 1254, of the prebendal church of Market Weighton, whose advowson Gray had recovered from the monks of Durham.¹² The vicarage of Conisbrough was ordained in 1252, the rectory belonging to Lewes Priory.¹³ A doubt as to the status of Braithwell Church was examined (1247) by the ruridecanal chapter of Doncaster; the church was declared a chapel of Conisbrough, and a vicarage ordained therein.¹⁴ Rectories divided into medietyes were sometimes consolidated. Godfrey of Ludham was collated in 1228 to a mediety of Penistone: ¹⁵ in 1233 the other mediety was conferred on him, and a rival presentee quieted by a pension.¹⁶ The medietyes of Beeford were united in 1249, and right of alternate presentation granted to the patrons.¹⁷ Whitby Abbey claimed (1253) a mediety of Hutton Bushell; the rector of the other mediety urged consolidation. Gray decided in favour of Whitby, and ordained that after the death of the litigant rector the other rector should enjoy both medietyes, and the convent should have the next right of presentation to the united benefice.¹⁸

The relations of Gray with the monasteries of his diocese were friendly. His system of dealing with monastic advowsons, exemplified above, was to the advantage of regulars and seculars alike. St. Mary's Abbey, however, claimed exemption from visitation more than once; and Honorius III had to issue several mandates enjoining obedience on the monks.¹⁹ Some years later, St. Mary's and Selby Abbeys fell into disgrace by pleading the clauses of worthless charters against opponents of greater subtlety.²⁰ In 1242 Gray as regent tried to wring the purchase of a year's wool from the Cistercian abbots. They pleaded that they could do nothing without the assent of the

⁴ *York Reg. Gray* (Surt. Soc.), App. no. lxiv (p. 198).

⁵ *Ibid.* App. no. lxxvi (p. 211 seq.).

⁶ *Ibid.* App. no. lvii (see note 2 above).

⁷ See *Matt. Paris, Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 428-9.

⁸ *York Reg. Gray* (Surt. Soc.), App. no. lxx, lxxi (p. 205 seq.). By the same arrangement a mediety of Mexborough was annexed to the archdeaconry of York.

⁹ *Ibid.* pt. i, no. dxxii-dxxiv (p. 112).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* no. dxxxvi, dxxxix (pp. 115, 117).

¹¹ *Ibid.* no. dxxxv (pp. 114, 115).

¹² *Ibid.* no. dxlix, dxlviii (pp. 118, 119). For the prebend of Weighton see also no. ccxvi, ccxvii.

The Prior of Finchale seems to have been the actual impropiator of Weighton, Finchale being a cell of Durham (see no. clxxii, pp. 35, 36).

¹³ *Ibid.* no. dxxviii (p. 113).

¹⁴ *Ibid.* no. ccclv (pp. 100, 101).

¹⁵ *Ibid.* no. cxxii (p. 26): for the other mediety see no. xciii (p. 20).

¹⁶ *Ibid.* no. ccxlv (p. 57).

¹⁷ *Ibid.* no. ccclxxxvi (p. 106).

¹⁸ *Ibid.* no. dxxxvii (p. 115 seq.).

¹⁹ *Ibid.* App. no. xxvii (p. 152) and note.

²⁰ *Matt. Paris*, op. cit. v, 362-3. St. Mary's had pleaded forged privileges already in its resistance to the archbishop; see letter of Honorius III, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 131, 132.

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general chapter ; which they were forbidden to attend in consequence.²¹ The secular foundations of the diocese flourished under Gray.²² For Ripon he secured the church of Stanwick, by composition with the canons of Easby,²³ and in 1241 he gave the chapter the church of Nidd.²⁴ When he travelled he was allowed by Honorius III to have the four dignitaries of the church of York in attendance, when necessary, and thus he was able to keep in touch with diocesan business.²⁵ He conveyed the manor of Bishopthorpe in trust to the chapter of York.²⁶

The works of the transept of York,²⁷ the quires of Beverley²⁸ and Southwell,²⁹ and the west front of Ripon,³⁰ were furthered by him ; while the older portions of Bishopthorpe and the chapel of the palace at York³¹ belong to his rule. In 1224 he translated the body of St. Wilfrid to a new shrine at Ripon³² ; in 1226, he procured the canonization of St. William, whose shrine at York henceforward became a centre of devotion.³³

Gray died 1 May 1255 at Fulham.³⁴ Henry III seized the opportunity of appropriating the revenues of the archbishopric. The chapter elected their dean, Sewall de Bovill, the friend and disciple of Edmund Rich ; but Henry objected to Sewall's illegitimate birth.³⁵ Sewall was eventually consecrated³⁶ ; but his short pontificate was a heart-breaking struggle with the foreigners who were intruded into the benefices of the diocese. A foreigner, armed with a papal provision, came into York Minster one day at an hour when no one was about, and was installed dean by two companions. Sewall was interdicted for resisting the intrusion, and had to buy off the intruder with an annual pension.³⁷ Further resistance to papal demands led to his excommunication.³⁸ On his death bed (1258) he addressed a letter

²¹ Matt. Paris, *op. cit.* iv, 234-5.

²² Among his benefactions to York should also be mentioned the appropriation of Knaresborough Church to the prebend of Bickhill (*York Reg. Gray*, no. ccxviii, 51) in 1230, and Thockrington Church, Northumberland, to the stall held by Master Laurence of St. Nicholas (*ibid.* App. no. xxii (4), p. 148) in 1222. See also App. no. xxx (p. 154 seq.).

²³ *Ibid.* pt. i, no. cxix (p. 24 seq.) ; ccxix (pp. 51, 52) ; ccxl (p. 57).

²⁴ *Ibid.* no. ccccv (p. 91).

²⁵ *Ibid.* App. no. xxxii (p. 157 seq.) ; also *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 136, 137.

²⁶ *Ibid.* App. no. lxi (p. 192 seq.) ; also *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 155 seq. The date is 22 March 1240-1.

²⁷ *Ibid.* pt. i, no. xl (p. 10), App. no. lx (pp. 190, 191) ; also *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 135, 136, 153 seq. The date of the first document is 18 July 1226 ; of the second document that mentioned in the preceding note. See also Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 402.

²⁸ *York Reg. Gray* (Surt. Soc.), pt. i, no. ccxxv (pp. 55, 56) : 16 July 1232.

²⁹ *Ibid.* no. cclxxvii (pp. 64, 65) : 23 Nov. 1233.

³⁰ *Ibid.* no. cclxxviii (p. 65) : 27 Nov. 1233.

³¹ Now the chapter library.

³² *York Reg. Gray*. (Surt. Soc.), App. no. xxiii. The translation took place on Christmas Day. See note 60, 61 above (p. 7) ; also *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 124, 125.

³³ See *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 127 seq. ; 133, 134 ; 138 seq.

³⁴ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), pp. 495, 496. Stories of Gray's avarice are told by Wendover, *ibid.* iii, 299, 300.

³⁵ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), v, 516. Romanus the elder died in 1256 ; the king seized on his prebend and other possessions.

³⁶ He was consecrated at York by his suffragans, 23 July 1256 (Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], ii, 404). See *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 174, 175, for a document (*York Reg. Giffard* [Surt. Soc. cix], 251), by which the chapter, on 1 Oct. 1255, bound themselves to pay 200 marks to the subchanter for his prosecution of the candidature of Sewall at Rome, and pledged the church of South Burton, and the manor and church of Brotherton, as security for payment.

³⁷ Matt. Paris, *op. cit.* v, 586, 624. The foreign intruder was Cardinal Giordano Orsini (d. 1287) : he was probably represented by a proxy at the fraudulent installation.

³⁸ *Ibid.* *op. cit.* v, 653.

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to Alexander IV, deprecating the partiality which had been shown to his opponents.³⁹ About a week before his death he ordained vicarages in the prebendal churches of the chapel of St. Sepulchre. Six of these, Thorp Arch, Collingham, Bardsey, Otley, Calverley, and Hooton Pagnell, were in Yorkshire; the rest were in the deanery of Retford in Nottinghamshire.⁴⁰

Godfrey of Ludham (1258–64) also left the deanery for the archbishopric. He was consecrated at Rome,⁴¹ and on his way home passed through London with his cross erect.⁴² In 1260 the citizens of York incurred excommunication for hanging a woman who was a tenant of the chapter, in face of an inhibition.⁴³ Godfrey also found the men of Beverley a thorn in his side, and excommunicated them for breaking his parks.⁴⁴ The registers of Sewall and Ludham unfortunately no longer exist. With Walter Giffard, translated by papal provision from Wells (1265) after the abortive election by the chapter of their dean John Langton, the registers again begin.⁴⁵ Giffard continued the dispute with Canterbury, appealing to the curia on the subject of the use of the cross, and sending his proctor to Boniface of Savoy with a formal notice of appeal.⁴⁶ His chief anxiety was caused by the constant exactions of the Holy See, as he was often short of money, and was forced to borrow at heavy interest from Italian money-lenders.⁴⁷ In 1270 he writes to excuse himself from coming to Rome, pleading the troubled state of the kingdom, and his duty of staying at home and making peace. He cannot remain in his own diocese: his debts are heavy, and he has to meet a debt of £3,000 which Ludham had contracted. 'I am worn out with work; I am continually weary; I am obliged to consume the whole of my substance, not only my spiritual but my temporal inheritance; and I have been so harassed by overwhelming vexations ever since my appointment, that now I may scarcely hope for power to breathe.'⁴⁸ Giffard was hardly able to afford the sums which he sent to Rome for the cardinals whose help he needed.⁴⁹ When Cardinal Ottobon asked him to confer a prebend on one of his clerks, Giffard answered that he could barely provide for his own clerks and had nothing to give.⁵⁰ Ancherus, cardinal-deacon of Santa Prassede, claiming a prebend at York, was pacified only by an annual

³⁹ Matt. Paris, op. cit. 692–3.

⁴⁰ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 175 seq.

⁴¹ Stubbs (*Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], ii, 405) gives the date of his consecration as 23 Sept. 1258, but gives the name of his consecrator wrongly as Urban IV (not Alexander). 22 Sept. is the right date. (Dixon and Raine, op. cit. 300.)

⁴² Matt. Paris, op. cit. v, 725.

⁴³ See mandate from Alexander IV, dated Anagni, 23 Dec. 1260 (*Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], iii, 183 seq.). Stubbs says that Ludham laid the city under interdict from Ash Wednesday to 3 May, in his third year, which, reckoning from his consecration, would be 1261. The date and contents of the papal letter show that the interdict was probably pronounced by the Bishop of Lincoln as commissioner in 1261.

⁴⁴ *York Reg. Giffard* (Surt. Soc. cix), 151. This excommunication was confirmed by Archbishop Giffard.

⁴⁵ Giffard's register has been printed by Mr. William Brown for the Surtees Society, 1904. Mr. Brown kindly allowed the present writer to make use of the proofs of his edition (since published) of Wickwane's, and of his transcript of Romanus' registers.

⁴⁶ *York Reg. Giffard* (Surt. Soc. cix), 140 seq.

⁴⁷ See e.g. *ibid.* 110, 115, where payments of money to Florentine, Sieneſe, and Lucchese merchants are noted.

⁴⁸ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 35, 36. The letter is dated 25 March 1270, from Hampton Episcopi (now Hampton Lucy), a manor of his brother, the Bishop of Worcester, near Stratford-on-Avon.

⁴⁹ See the letter, e.g. written from London, 31 July 1272, to the cardinal of Sta Prassede (*Lett. N. Reg.* [Rolls Ser.], pp. 44, 45).

⁵⁰ *York Reg. Giffard* (Surt. Soc. cix), 245.

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pension.⁵¹ Pierre de Charny held the prebend of Fenton⁵²; Percival of Lavagna, brother of Ottobon, was sacrist of St. Sepulchre's.⁵³

A commission appointed in 1275 was authorized to inquire into several details bearing on the state of the diocese. First comes the question of plurality. The commissioners were asked *inter alia* to report upon pensions paid from churches, appropriated churches, to require accounts from guardians of churches and commendatories, to find out absentee clergy or clergy with licences to reside elsewhere for study; to examine the behaviour of religious; to return names with details of irregular and excommunicate clergy, clergy with paramours, clergy ordained outside the diocese, superfluous private oratories, illegitimate clergy or heads of monasteries; to report on the conduct of archdeacons; on farmers of churches, vicarages in appropriated churches, alienated church property, incorrigible clerks and lay-folk, clergy guilty of fornication and simony, perjurers, neglect of canonical hours, and rectors and vicars not in full orders.⁵⁴ Instances of plurality were not far to seek. Cases like that of Giffard's proctor at Rome, who held the church of Heselton with another in Lincoln diocese,⁵⁵ were probably unavoidable; but there were flagrant examples such as that of Bogo de Clare, who obstinately contended for institution to Adlingfleet,⁵⁶ or William Percy, who, without taking holy orders or obtaining a dispensation, was rector of several churches, wasting their revenues, neglecting the fabrics, and grieving his diocesan's conscience.⁵⁷ Many beneficed clerks remained in minor orders, or delayed submitting to be ordained even when they held vicarages.⁵⁸ In an ordination list for Michaelmas 1268, the vicar of Rotherham is a candidate for deacon's orders.⁵⁹ At Easter 1269, the vicars of Helmsley and South Kirkby are among the deacons, and the vicar of Warmfield is among the sub-deacons.⁶⁰ The synod of 1237 had made priesthood obligatory on vicars of more than a year's standing.⁶¹ Giffard enforced its decree on the obstinate vicar of Carnaby.⁶² The chapter of Craven reported (1268) that the rector of a mediety of Linton was said to be married.⁶³ The rector of West Rounton, probably a layman, was found to have been married publicly at Goldsborough.⁶⁴ Giffard ordained vicarages in the East Riding churches which belonged to Bardney Abbey,⁶⁵

⁵¹ *York Reg. Giffard* (Surt. Soc. cix), 170, 171, 224, 225. Urban IV granted the prebend of Warhill to Ancherus. Ottobon asked Giffard to confer it on the precentor of Chartres. Ancherus was willing to resign it, but claimed the prebend of Newbald instead, which was actually held by the chancellor, William Wickwane.

⁵² *Ibid.* 26, 133, 134. When Charny became Archbishop of Sens, the prebend was given to Pierre de Montbrun. He became Archbishop of Narbonne in 1273, and it was then bestowed upon an Orsini.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 148, 149.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 266 seq.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 8.

⁵⁶ A letter to the archbishop from Orvieto (*ibid.* 9 seq.) gives details of the progress of this dispute at the Curia.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 265. Sir William Percy appears in various passages of the register as rector of Catton (*ibid.* 52) and Seamer in Pickering Lythe (*ibid.* 57). He was also rector of Nafferton (*Cal. Pat.* 1292-1301, p. 123). In the letter from Orvieto mentioned above (note 56), Adam of Filleby is said to have thirty benefices 'absque dispensacione, defectum etatis habens, ordinis, et sciencie; quod absurdum fuerat cuilibet audienti.'

⁵⁸ The continuance of this irregularity forms the burden of notices of ordination given by subsequent archbishops.

⁵⁹ *York Reg. Giffard* (Surt. Soc. cix), 193-4.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 193.

⁶¹ *Matt. Paris*, op. cit. iii, 426.

⁶² *York Reg. Giffard* (Surt. Soc. cix), 209, 210.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 26.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 290.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 55 seq. These vicarages were Hunmanby, Reighton, Argam, Burton Fleming, Wold Newton, and Muston.

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and made an arrangement with Warter Priory by which the canons impropriated Lund, while surrendering three advowsons.⁶⁶ The church of Bishophthorpe was appropriated to Clementhorpe Priory and a vicarage ordained ;⁶⁷ and a commission was issued to tax vicarages in the churches of Pontefract Priory.⁶⁸ The medieties of Mexborough were consolidated, and annexed to the archdeaconry of York.⁶⁹ Medieties of churches were common : Rotherham, St. Mary Bishophill senior, and St. Mary Castlegate in York, were churches thus divided.⁷⁰ Some cases of riotous clerks and lay-folk occur in Giffard's register. John of Stonegrave attempted to occupy Stonegrave Church by force, while under excommunication.⁷¹ Some 'satellites of Satan' broke into the house of a canon of Ripon at Forcett ;⁷² and in a long list of *crucesignati* occur several names of persons guilty of assaults on clergy.⁷³

Giffard favoured the friars of his diocese. The Friars Minors and Preachers he writes, shine in the church of God like the brightness of the firmament.⁷⁴ They have been raised in the latter days like Enoch and Elias before the last judgement : they are two olive-trees of perpetual greenness.⁷⁵ He ordained Dominicans from Pontefract and Tickhill, Franciscans from Beverley, Carmelites and Friars of the Sack from York.⁷⁶ In 1275 Giffard ordered his receiver to provide for the entertainment of the Dominican provincial chapter at York.⁷⁷ He granted a licence to Franciscans to hear confessions throughout the diocese (1267) ;⁷⁸ and ordered (1276) the Cistercian nunneries to continue to confess to the friars, in spite of an inhibition from the abbots of their order.⁷⁹ The friars, however, received confessions indiscriminately, as at Beverley, and absolved contumacious persons who were refused absolution by their parish priests. They were forbidden to receive penitents from the parishes of St. Mary and St. Martin without the vicar's licence.⁸⁰

This is not the place to discuss the monasteries ; but it may be noted that Giffard's visitations of Selby Abbey⁸¹ and Swine Priory⁸² show that the state of some religious houses called for thorough reform. Parochial disputes were in many cases referred for settlement to ruridecanal chapters. The chapter of Doncaster inquired at Darfield (21 November 1267) into the

⁶⁶ *York Reg. Giffard* (Surt. Soc. cix), 50-1. The advowsons in question were those of Wheldrake, Nunburnholme, and Thorpe Chapel.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 59, 60. The vicar is to have all the fruits of the altarage, and two marks yearly from the chamber of the nuns ; 'et qualibet die Dominica unam refeccionem in domo vestra, qualem ceteris familiaribus honestis vestris ex consuetudine erogatis, qua si contentus absque murmure nolit esse, careat ipsa quousque quae apud vos sunt placide receperit et grantanter.' The vicar is to repair the chancel ; but if a new one is built, the nuns are to join with him in repaying expenses. An assignation of vicarage and garden follows.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 251 ; Kippax, Silkstone, and Todwick.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 22, 23, 24, 31.

⁷² *Ibid.* 180.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 200, 201.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 161, 162.

⁷³ This list begins fol. 122 d. and is continued on fol. 129, 129 d., 130, 130 d., 134, 134 d., 135 d., 140 d. It is printed continuously by Brown, *York Reg. Giffard* (Surt. Soc. cix), 278 seq. and in *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 46 seq. Henry of Rillington has attacked the parish priest of Rillington ; William of Driffield has laid hands on two clerks, Simon Orre and Robert of Langtoft. Another fault mentioned was *irregularitas*, i.e. ordination by a prelate other than the candidate's own diocesan.

⁷⁴ *York Reg. Giffard* (Surt. Soc. cix), 295.

⁷⁵ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 9, 10.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 271.

⁷⁹ See note 74 above.

⁷⁶ *York Reg. Giffard* (Surt. Soc. cix), 189 seq.

⁷⁸ See note 75 above.

⁸⁰ *York Reg. Giffard* (Surt. Soc. cix), 226, 227.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 324 seq. : 8 Aug. 1275. See also the following section on the 'Religious Houses.'

⁸² *York Reg. Giffard* (Surt. Soc. cix), 146 seq. ; see also *ibid.* 248, 249.



WALTER GRAY (1215-1255)



WALTER GIFFARD (1266-1279)



WILLIAM GREENFIELD (1306-1315)



THOMAS THORESBY (1352-1373)

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right of presentation to a mediety of High Hoyland,⁸³ and at Doncaster (11 April 1268) settled the right of presentation to Badsworth.⁸⁴ At Doncaster (14 May 1268) a similar inquiry was made about Barnby-on-Don;⁸⁵ and at Hooton Pagnell (28 November 1268) a disputed vacancy at South Kirkby was examined.⁸⁶

Giffard died 25 April 1279.⁸⁷ The chapter met 22 June, and elected their chancellor, William Wickwane. The election was declared invalid and quashed by Nicholas III, who provided Wickwane to the see, and consecrated him at Viterbo (19 September).⁸⁸ The new archbishop travelled homewards through Kent with his cross erect. At Rochester it was broken by order of the official of Archbishop Peckham; and a second riot took place in London.⁸⁹ In his appeals against the claims of Canterbury and Durham, Wickwane approached the curia with excessive humility, reminding one cardinal of the zeal with which he had arranged the farming-out of a prebend belonging to Napoleone Orsini,⁹⁰ and congratulating Martin IV on his election with exaggerated suavity.⁹¹ If Wickwane swelled the flood of foreign preferment to English benefices, he was earnest in his diocesan duties. Almost his whole episcopate was spent in his diocese.⁹² He made several visitations of monasteries: during May and June 1280 he visited seven houses of regular canons in the archdeaconries of York and Nottingham.⁹³ From April to June 1281 he travelled through the archdeaconry of Richmond, visiting religious houses and the chapters of the various deaneries.⁹⁴ Passing through Amounderness, Copeland, Kendal, and Lonsdale, he came to Coverham on 1 June, and thence went through the deaneries of Catterick and Richmond into Cleveland.⁹⁵ On his way to Hexham, he made a disastrous attempt, in face of strong resistance, to visit the church of Durham.⁹⁶ He was more successful in a dispute over right of common pasture with the men of Beverley, whose ringleaders interrupted his sermon in the minster.⁹⁷ He laid the town under an interdict; and forced the chief offenders to make public penance.⁹⁸ Other offenders were the intruding

⁸³ *York Reg. Giffard* (Surt. Soc. cix), 21.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 25.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 27.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 28.

⁸⁷ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 406.

⁸⁸ *York Reg. Wickwane* (Surt. Soc. cxiv), 305; Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 407.

⁸⁹ *York Reg. Wickwane* (Surt. Soc. cxiv), 178-83. Wickwane's letter to the pope is printed in *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 60 seq.; see also *ibid.* 59, 60.

⁹⁰ *York Reg. Wickwane* (Surt. Soc. cxiv), 180. Napoleone, 'stirpis masculine memoriale magnificum et tocius parentele predilectum flosculum,' remained for many years an incubus on the church of York.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 191, 192.

⁹² Evidence of dated documents in *York Reg. Wickwane* (Surt. Soc. cxiv). See chronological itinerary, *ibid.* 343-8.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 130-48.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 116-19. Writing from Clapham in Lonsdale on 4 April, he demands full details as to churches, chapels, and vicarages in the western deaneries of the archdeaconry, the names of the clergy, their orders and the time and place of their ordination, holders of pluralities, names of non-residents and of those who have delayed to take priest's orders, patrons of churches, holders of pensions, vicarages which have ceased to be served, appropriated churches, churches to be dedicated or reconciled, and cases of intruders into churches. With the last article but one we may couple the statement of Stubbs (*Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], ii, 408), that Wickwane 'maximam partem ecclesiarum suae diocesis . . . suo tempore dedicavit.'

⁹⁵ See note 92 above.

⁹⁶ *York Reg. Wickwane* (Surt. Soc. cxiv), 153-78. See also Graystones, *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres.* (Surt. Soc.), 58-69.

⁹⁷ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 66, 67.

⁹⁸ There are many documents relating to this case in the register. The most important are the notice of interdict which followed an appeal from the offenders to Canterbury (6 Aug. 1281, *York Reg. Wickwane* [Surt. Soc. cxiv], 109, 110), and the directions to the deans of Beverley and of the Christianity of York for the reconciliation of the penitents (2 Nov. 1281, *ibid.* 14, 15, 40, 41).

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presentee and his supporters, who in 1280 seized Ferriby Church and made it a centre for their depredations;⁹⁹ and the monks of Pontefract, whom Wickwane excommunicated for holding the church of Silkstone with an armed force against his nominee.¹⁰⁰ In 1284 Silkstone Church was appropriated to the priory, and a vicarage ordained, the collation to which was reserved to the archbishop.¹ Among instances of casual lawlessness are a case of bloodshed in the church of Ainderby Steeple² and an affray between two men at the door of Paull Church.³ Robert Berley incurred a whipping from the pope's penitentiary for beheading certain clerks⁴; a priest named Robert Carnaby cut off the ear of another priest and laid violent hands on other clerks,⁵ and there are one or two cases of clerical immorality.⁶

Wickwane did his best to check the exactions of his officers. The clergy of Holderness complained to him of the unnecessary pomp with which his official and their dean came to hold chapters.⁷⁻¹⁷ In May 1281, writing to his official, who had requested him to appoint a common serjeant, he inclosed some such complaints, with words of reproof, declining to multiply such offices to the impoverishment of the clergy, and ordering the rural deans to perform the duties of apparitors and sequestrators.¹⁸ His directions for an ordination at Blyth show his anxiety at the reluctance of the beneficed clergy to take priest's orders.¹⁹ In 1284 he censured the misbehaviour of certain clerks attending the theological school.²⁰ He issued a commission on plurality, and summoned pluralists to appear before him.²¹ He endeavoured to promote the preaching of the friars, and warned the Cistercian proctors in Scarborough Church against opposing the Franciscans in their sacred mission.²²

At the translation of St. William, which took place in York Minster on 9 January 1283-4,²³ Edward I and his queen were present, and on the same day Wickwane consecrated Anthony Bek, who had done much to procure the translation, Bishop of Durham.²⁴ Towards the end of 1284 the archbishop went abroad, and died at Pontigny on 26 August 1285.²⁵ His zeal and piety gained him the reputation of a saint,²⁶ and while he lacked the geniality of Giffard, the practical side of his character may be noted in his arrangements for stocking the farms on his various lordships.²⁷

The diocesan energy of Wickwane was continued under his successor, John le Romeyn, better known as Romanus, a son of the celebrated treasurer.

⁹⁹ A large number of documents refer to this case, especially *York Reg. Wickwane* (Surt. Soc. cxiv), 98-105. Wickwane visited Ferriby himself, and found that the intruding rector, Richard Vescy, and his accomplices had turned the church into a castle. A mandate of sequestration was issued on 13 Nov.; *ibid.* 105, 106.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 213, 214, 273, 274.

¹ *Ibid.* 292-4.

² *Ibid.* 28. The Bishop of Moray was commissioned to reconcile the church, 15 Nov. 1283.

³ *Ibid.* 91, 92.

⁴ *Ibid.* 37, 38.

⁶ *Ibid.* 85, 86.

⁶ *Ibid.* 93. This is the worst example.

⁷⁻¹⁷ *Ibid.* 248, 249.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 214, 215.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 219. Cf. 90.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 308.

²¹ *Ibid.* 95, 96.

²² *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 79.

²³ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 407; *York Reg. Wickwane* (Surt. Soc. cxiv), 294; *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 210, 211; *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 80, 81.

²⁴ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 407, 408; Graystones, *Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres.* (Surt. Soc.), 64, says that, immediately after consecrating Bek, Wickwane tried to make him excommunicate the Prior of Durham. Bek very properly refused.

²⁵ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 408.

²⁶ Stubbs (*ibid.* 407) calls him St. William Wickwane. Fuller (*Cb. Hist.* bk. iii, § vi, par. 14) says that he was 'esteemed a petty saint in that age.'

²⁷ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 210 seq.

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He was consecrated at Rome in 1285-6;²⁸ and his journey home was the subject of the usual inhibitions from his fellow archbishop.²⁹ His relations with Durham were at first friendly; and Bishop Bek brought about an agreement by which the archbishop was recognized as exercising jurisdiction during a vacancy of the see.³⁰ However, in 1292 Romanus ordered his vicar-general to excommunicate Bek for disregarding his mandates and imprisoning his clerks³¹; but Edward I, who valued Bek's services in the Scottish disputes, upheld his actions and fined Romanus 4,000 marks for acting *ultra vires*.³² At York, Romanus had to contend with opposition from the dean and chapter over the matter of visitation. A compromise conceded to the archbishop the right of visitation once in five years, but under conditions that limited his power of correction.³³ In October 1293 he presented a rector to the church of Adel, alleging the inability of the excommunicated priory of Holy Trinity to present;³⁴ and in the following January he laid the prior under the greater excommunication for contumacy.³⁵

Most creditable to Romanus, considering his own origin, was his opposition to the attempt made by Cardinal Matteo Rubeo Orsini to annex the prebend of Fenton to his hospital in Rome.³⁶ He brought to an end the dispute over Bogo de Clare's claim to the church of Adlingfleet.³⁷ Pluralism was impossible to check. Apart from the intrusion of foreign nominees,³⁸ native dignitaries held several benefices together. Thus John Clarell, canon of Southwell, and provost of the chapel in Tickhill Castle, held fourteen churches in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire.³⁹ John of Craucumbe, Archdeacon of the East Riding, held churches in addition to those appropriated to his office and stall.⁴⁰ Bogo de Clare, beneficed in many dioceses, was rector of Tickhill, Settrington, Hemingbrough, Acaster Malbis, and a mediety of Doncaster.⁴¹ As Treasurer of York, Bogo left the vestments unrepaired, the censers broken; the bells were ill-hung, and the clock was out of order. The deputy-treasurer used the best silken altar cushions for his bed. His people did not guard the church properly at night, and a quarrel among them, one Easter eve, had led to a riot in the city. Dean Newark ordered Bogo to set these things right, or they would be revealed to the king.⁴²

After the assessment of livings in the diocese, made in September 1293, Romanus states that several clergy complained that their benefices were taxed beyond their true value.⁴³ In 1292 he allowed Bolton Priory to appropriate

²⁸ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 408, 409. The date was 10 Feb.

²⁹ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 82 seq.

³⁰ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 212 seq. The agreement bears date 2 Nov. 1286.

³¹ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 97 seq.

³² *Cal. Close*, 1288-96, pp. 330-4. The story of the imprisonment of the archbishop (Dixon and Raine, op. cit. 346) is not borne out by the internal evidence of his register, and may be doubted.

³³ 21 Nov. 1290; *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 216 seq.

³⁴ York Epis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 44.

³⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 45.

³⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 104, 109, 109 d. : 'altare nudatur Ebor. ecclesie et circumamictitur Sancti Spiritus hospitale (fol. 109).

³⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 34, 34 d., 36.

³⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 91-109 d.

³⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1292-1301, p. 120. See also Dixon and Raine, op. cit. 324, 325 n.

⁴⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1292-1301, p. 213. On the dorset of Bishop Sutton's Institution Rolls for Lincoln Archdeaconry, m. 18, is a memorandum of a dispensation from Honorius IV to John of Craucumbe, allowing him to hold the living of Burton-on-Trent (Burton Joyce, Notts.) and another with his archdeaconry.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*; York Epis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 103 d.

⁴² *York Reg. Wickwane* (Surt. Soc. cxiv), 286.

⁴³ York Epis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 44 d.

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the chapel of Carlton-in-Craven; the floods of Wharfe and a murrain had seriously depreciated their property, and the subsidy of the tenth, for the relief of the Holy Land, had brought them still lower.⁴⁴ The number of churches appropriated to religious houses in Yorkshire at the time of the taxation of Nicholas IV is difficult to estimate with accuracy, but about eighty instances can be gathered from Romanus' register.⁴⁵ Romanus confirmed the appropriation of the church of Tadcaster to Sawley Abbey (1290),⁴⁶ of Cantley to Wallingwells Priory (1289),⁴⁷ of Harswell to Selby Abbey (1294),⁴⁸ and of Lund to Warter Priory (1290).⁴⁹ He appointed the friars to preach the Crusade throughout the diocese on Holy Cross Day 1291,⁵⁰ but he refused to accept the theory which substituted their ministrations for those of the parish priest, and his written judgement on the subject enforced confession once a year to the latter.⁵¹

Difficulties with the chapter notwithstanding, Romanus was zealous for the church of York. He attempted to curb non-residence, especially among the clergy who served St. Sepulchre's.⁵² He annexed the church of Brayton for a time to the archdeaconry of York.⁵³ On 6 April 1291 he laid the foundation stone of the nave of the minster, at its north-eastern corner.⁵⁴ In the later years of his life he quarrelled with the chapter of Beverley, appropriating the vacant provostship, and expelling the guardians appointed by the canons.⁵⁵ His death took place at Bishop Burton 11 March 1295-6.⁵⁶ During his pontificate took place the expulsion of the Jews from England. Romanus wrote to his official and the dean of the Christianity of York, forbidding any injury to the York Jews between the order for expulsion and their departure.⁵⁷

Henry of Newark, Dean of York, succeeded Romanus. He was consecrated at home by Bishop Bek, a favour obtained by request of the king.⁵⁸ The formalities and payments required by the Curia were expensive enough without a special journey to Rome, and Newark, in a letter to one of the cardinals, begs some delay in paying the customary *servitia*. The Scots, by laying waste his manor of Hexham, had deprived him for the present of half his temporal revenue.⁵⁹ His proctor at Rome was slow in doing business, and was severely blamed by Newark for his remissness.⁶⁰ Newark's con-

⁴⁴ York Epis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 41, 41 d. The mother church at Skipton had been appropriated to Bolton Priory by Turstin.

⁴⁵ See especially fol. 27 d., 87, where various religious houses are summoned to give reason for thirty-one impropriations; fol. 54 d., a mandate to abstain from proceedings against Newburgh Priory for failing to have vicars in their churches (cf. fol. 57 d., licence to Newburgh to let the churches of Thirsk and Kirkdale); fol. 63 d., obedience of the Abbot of Thornton for Humbleton, North Frodingham, and Garton.

⁴⁶ Ibid. fol. 36 (commission to tax vicarage).

⁴⁷ Ibid. fol. 33 d., 34 (ordination of vicarage).

⁴⁸ Ibid. fol. 40 d., 66, 66 d. The chapels of Hambleton and Gateforth were also appropriated (40 d.).

⁴⁹ Ibid. fol. 61, 63.

⁵⁰ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 93 seq.

⁵¹ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 102, 103.

⁵² *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 214, 215.

⁵³ York Epis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 42, 42 d. (ordination of vicarage). The annexation was to last during the tenure of the archdeaconry by William of Hambleton. The advowson then reverted to Selby Abbey, who appropriated the church. A vicarage was ordained 27 May 1348 (York Epis. Reg. Zouche, fol. 22).

⁵⁴ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 409, 410.

⁵⁵ York Epis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 106 d., 107, 108.

⁵⁶ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 410.

⁵⁷ York Epis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 38.

⁵⁸ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 410; *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 123, 124.

⁵⁹ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 133, 134.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 134, 135.

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secration did not take place until two years after his election ; he survived it little more than a year,⁶¹ and the chapter, early in November 1299, elected Thomas of Corbridge, sacrist of St. Sepulchre's.⁶² He was consecrated by Boniface VIII on 28 February 1299-1300.⁶³ His journey home gave rise to a wrangle with Archbishop Winchelsey.⁶⁴ Then the convent of Durham besought his aid against Bishop Bek,⁶⁵ and at Beverley he deprived the pluralist provost, Aymo de Carto, and resisted the attempts of the king to restore him.⁶⁶ The king, during the recent vacancies of the see, had granted dignities and prebends to several foreigners and non-residents. Corbridge's preferment in St. Sepulchre's, and his prebend, had been given to John Bush ;⁶⁷ while the pope had granted the sacristship to an Italian. The latter did not live long, and is said to have repented his non-residence on his death-bed. Boniface gave the nomination to Corbridge, who appointed Gilbert Segrave, a canon of Lincoln, disregarding the royal candidate. Edward I confiscated the temporalities of the see, retaining them till Corbridge's death.⁶⁸ Corbridge thus suffered for a courageous attitude towards abuses of patronage. In two churches of the chapter of York, Weaverthorpe and Burton Leonard, he ordained vicarages ;⁶⁹ in Myton-on-Swale and Overton Churches, both appropriated to St. Mary's Abbey, and in East Witton, appropriated to Jervaulx.⁷⁰ Nafferton Church was appropriated to Meaux Abbey in May 1303, and a vicarage ordained ; but a final ordination was made the year after by Archbishop Greenfield.⁷¹

Corbridge died at Laneham-on-Trent 22 September 1304, and was buried at Southwell.⁷² The chapter elected the king's chancellor, William Greenfield, Dean of Chichester, who had been a canon of York.⁷³ Owing to the disturbed state of the papal succession, it was not until January 1305-6 that the archbishop-elect was consecrated at Lyons. On his return he had to buy the temporalities of his see from their guardian,⁷⁴ and when he sent his *servitium camerae* to Rome at Christmas he was obliged to request time for further payments.⁷⁵ Almost at once he was called upon to defend the Scottish border against Robert Bruce, who had been crowned at Scone in March 1305-6.⁷⁶ Fugitives from Scotland took refuge in the north under pressure of war and poverty. A nun of the dispersed house of Coldstream was suffered to live in an anchorage at Doncaster.⁷⁷ Danger united Greenfield and his suffragans closely. On 29 May 1311, Richard of Kellawe,

⁶¹ Newark was elected 7 May 1296, consecrated 15 June 1298, and died 15 Aug. 1299 (Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], ii, 410) ; York Epis. Reg. Newark, fol. 20 d.

⁶² *Cal. Pat.* 1292-1301, p. 455.

⁶³ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 411.

⁶⁴ Dixon and Raine, op. cit. 357.

⁶⁵ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 144, 145.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 166, 167.

⁶⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1292-1301, p. 512.

⁶⁸ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 411, 412 ; cf. Dixon and Raine, op. cit. 356.

⁶⁹ Lawton, *Coll.* 281, 552.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 449, 452, 574.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 306. Ducarel's Repertory in Lawton, op. cit. 600, 601, gives several references.

⁷² Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 412, who gives the year wrongly as 1303.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 413. Greenfield, a relation of Giffard (*York Reg. Giffard*, [Sur. Soc. cix], 121), was promoted by him to canonries at Southwell and Ripon (*ibid.* 67, 92, 271).

⁷⁴ 21 Mar. 1305-6. The temporalities were estimated at £3,134 19s. 5d. (*Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], iii, 235 seq.).

⁷⁵ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 179 seq.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 180. Greenfield told Clement V (*ibid.* 177, 178), in a letter from Newcastle 20 Oct. 1306, that he had been inquiring about the relics at Scone.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* i, 169 seq.

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Bek's successor, was consecrated in York Minster and professed obedience. In addition to the Bishops of Carlisle and Whithorn, the Bishop of Argyll helped to consecrate.⁷⁸ Greenfield and Kellawe worked together in defending the border. They held a council of clergy and nobles at York in January 1315, at which the clergy agreed to contribute 2*d.* in the mark towards defensive operations.⁷⁹ At the same time the prelates resisted any attempt to over-tax the clergy, and in 1312 communicated the refusal of the northern convocation of the aid of 12*d.* in the mark, which Edward II demanded for the Scottish war.⁸⁰ In 1314 Greenfield ordered his official to inhibit Sir Nicholas Meynell from pressing the clergy of Bulmer and Ryedale into military service.⁸¹ At the beginning of his rule Greenfield had ten knights with the king in Scotland.⁸² He allowed one of the vicars of Beverley Minster to take the standard of St. John northward in 1310,⁸³ and promoted preaching against the Scots, sending Dr. Gower, rector of Wheldrake, to a *rendezvous* at Northallerton (20 January 1314-15) for that purpose.⁸⁴

Greenfield ordained vicarages in the treasurer's churches of Alne and Acomb,⁸⁵ in the dean's church of Kilnwick Percy,⁸⁶ in the prebendal churches of Ampleforth, Bishop Wilton, Salton, and Strensall.⁸⁷ Other ordinations of vicarages by Greenfield were in the churches of Brafferton, appropriated to Newburgh; Edston Magna, to Hexham; Sancton, to Watton; and Skipsea, to Meaux.⁸⁸ Greenfield died at Cawood 6 December 1315, and was buried at York 'with the honour due to so great a father.'⁸⁹

William Melton, his successor, was elected at the instance of Edward II.⁹⁰ His consecration took place at Avignon in October 1317.⁹¹ The historical interest of his episcopate is centred in the Scottish wars. In September 1319 a detachment of Scots attacked York. Melton met them at Myton-on-Swale. His 10,000 men were largely recruited from his clergy, the ordinary militia being with Edward II at Berwick, and were completely defeated by the invaders. The Scots derisively called the battle the Chapter of Myton, from the number of clergy in it.⁹² In November, Melton, asking a number of the abbots and priors in his diocese for an aid, pleaded that Hexham, Ripon, Otley, and Sherburn had been laid waste; his army, including many of his tenants, had been slain at Myton; his horses, carriages, arms, vessels of silver and brass, had been lost there by the clumsiness of their guardians.⁹³ He reckoned in July 1318 that the possessions of the archbishopric had been reduced to half their value. Tadcaster Church was destroyed. The Scots

⁷⁸ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 233 seq.

⁷⁹ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 233, 234, 237, 243, 244.

⁸⁰ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 210, 211.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 235, 236.

⁸² *Ibid.* 179 seq. (see note 75 above).

⁸³ *Ibid.* 198.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 242, 243.

⁸⁵ Lawton, *Coll.* 432, 46.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 350.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 512, 328, 535, 461.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 426, 516, 363, 414. Featherstone, appropriated to Nostell, may possibly be counted as well (*ibid.* 124).

⁸⁹ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 414, 415.

⁹⁰ Melton's benefices, including the provostship of Beverley, are enumerated by Dixon and Raine, *op. cit.* 398-400. See *Cal. Pat.* 1307-13, pp. 2, 92, 116, 117, 286, 350, for various preferments between 1307 and 1311.

⁹¹ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 415.

⁹² See Dixon and Raine, *op. cit.* 402, 403, for an account of the battle and authorities.

⁹³ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 295, 296. See also *ibid.* (294) for a letter to the rural dean of Sherburn about the goods of archiepiscopal tenants who had died at Myton.

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had encamped in Pannal Church and burned it on departing. A detachment of their army had lain in Fountains Abbey; its granges and outbuildings were so ruined by fire and pillage that its goods were insufficient to maintain the monks. Nidderdale, Airedale, and Wharfedale, with Allertonshire, were plundered, and their churches depreciated in value.⁹⁴ In 1320 Bolton Priory, which had shared the disaster, was brought to extremities by a mur- rain, as in 1292; the canons were temporarily dispersed among other Augustinian houses.⁹⁵ In 1322 Northallerton Church was burned by the Scots,⁹⁶ who ravaged the North Riding.⁹⁷ The canons of Marton, the nuns of Rosedale and Moxby, were dispersed and quartered in other convents.⁹⁸ In 1328 the commissioners for taxing the goods of Egglestone Abbey found nothing to tax.⁹⁹ Clerks were carried off by the invaders, and forced to take full orders at the hands of excommunicated Scottish prelates.¹⁰⁰ Meanwhile the king demanded subsidies to pursue the war,¹ and in 1333, for example, Edward III ordered five abbots and the Prior of Bridlington to send him a stout cart, well bound with iron, and five horses for the campaign of Halidon Hill.²

The Scottish war loosened the tie which bound Melton to one of his suffragans, the Bishop of Whithorn,³ and a dispute with Bishop Beaumont of Durham led to litigation and acts of violence on both sides.⁴ Controversies arose about the archbishop's jurisdiction at Hull.⁵ At Beverley his right of assize of bread and ale was questioned, and his bailiffs assaulted⁶; at Ripon (1337) his prison for condemned clerks was broken open, and the gates of his manor broken down.⁷ York was disturbed by quarrels between the Abbot of St. Mary's and the citizens over the jurisdiction of Bootham.⁸ In 1328 the dean and chapter claimed protection from the king against the archbishop, with whom they were at variance.⁹

Melton's public life did not hinder his work in his diocese. He held regular ordinations and confirmations, visited the sick willingly and absolved the bodies of all dead persons which were brought to him.¹⁰ There was no decrease in the number of non-residents and foreigners instituted to rich benefices.¹¹ Appropriations to monastic houses and prebends went on at the usual rate and, in 1323, Melton obtained temporary leave from John XXII to appropriate the church of Bolton Percy to his table.¹² But at least twenty-six ordinations of vicarages are recorded in his time. Among these

⁹⁴ Melton to the Treasury (*Lett. N. Reg.* [Rolls Ser.], 279 seq.).

⁹⁵ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 306 seq.

⁹⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1321-4, p. 344.

⁹⁷ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 315, 316, mentions especially the Scottish inroads on the archdeaconry of Richmond.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 318 seq.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 352 seq. See also *Cal. Pat.* 1330-4, p. 463.

¹⁰⁰ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 330, 331; *ibid.* 317, 318.

¹ *Ibid.* 344 seq.

² *Cal. Pat.* 1330-4, p. 446.

³ See note 79 above, p. 15, for references.

⁴ Graystones, cap. xlii (*Hist. Dunelm. Script. Tres.* [Surt. Soc.], 105, 106); *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 358, 359, contains the archbishop's complaint to John XXII. The spirituality of Allertonshire was the main ground of dispute.

⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1330-4, p. 200.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 575, 576.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1334-7, p. 511.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 27, 28; *ibid.* pp. 15 seq.

⁹ *Ibid.* 1327-30, p. 336.

¹⁰ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 416.

¹¹ See e.g. two Gascon prebendaries mentioned, *Cal. Pat.* 1324-7, p. 43; Gaucelin, cardinal priest of SS. Marcellinus and Peter, prebendary of Driffeld and parson of Hemingbrough (*ibid.* p. 44); and two cardinals, claiming in succession the treasurer'ship of York against Walter of Bedwin (*ibid.* p. 151; *ibid.* 1330-4, p. 186).

¹² Lawton, *op. cit.* 54.

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may be noted the long deferred ordination of Skipton Church (1326)¹³ and of Swine (1338).¹⁴ To the new foundation at Haltempreice were appropriated Wharram Percy (1327) and Cottingham (1338).¹⁵ In 1331 Aberford Church was appropriated to Oriel College, Oxford.¹⁶ Melton established his right of visitation over the chapter of York in 1328.¹⁷ His liberality to the minster made the completion of the nave possible.¹⁸ The new work in the nave of Beverley Minster was begun in his time and the decoration of the chapter-house of York probably finished. An important document is his composition with the Archdeacon of Richmond, allowing to the archdeacon his extraordinary powers, but reserving to himself the right of occasional visitation of the archdeaconry.¹⁹ He appointed the ex-Archbishop of Armagh his assistant in 1333,²⁰ and commissioned John, Bishop of Glasgow, who was a refugee in England, to ordain in the diocese.²¹

A curious feature of the religious life of Yorkshire at this time was the popular devotion paid to Thomas of Lancaster at Pontefract. Since St. William, the county had produced one canonized saint, Robert Flower, the hermit of Knaresborough.²² A year after Thomas's execution (1322) unauthorized pilgrims were crowding to his tomb 'with as much danger to their bodies as to their souls.'²³ Melton forbade these assemblies; but after the death of Edward II Henry of Lancaster pressed an inquiry into the miracles wrought at his brother's tomb,²⁴ and Melton wrote to John XXII about canonization.²⁵ Archbishop Zouche countenanced the devotion; a chapel was built on the site of Thomas's execution,²⁶ and Legh and Layton long afterwards found the girdle of the earl revered for the assistance which it afforded to women in travail.²⁷ Another Yorkshire saint who met with recognition before the end of the century was John Thweng, Prior of Bridlington, who died in 1379.²⁸

A month after Melton's death at Cawood the chapter elected their dean, William la Zouche (May 1340).²⁹ Edward III had another nominee in the field, and the cause was debated by the rivals at Avignon.³⁰ Eventually

¹³ Lawton, *op. cit.* 26 (see note 44 above, p. 34).

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 603, 'Ducarel's Repertory.'

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 284, 334.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 45.

¹⁷ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 416.

See also Dixon and Raine, *op. cit.* 412, 412 n.

¹⁸ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 417. The seated statue of a prelate over the west door is no doubt that of Melton.

¹⁹ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 248 seq.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 253, 254.

²¹ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 299, 300.

²² Matt. Paris mentions miracles at Robert's tomb in 1239 (*Chron. Maj.* [Rolls Ser.], iii, 521). The growth of unauthorized devotions in the county is illustrated by a mandate from Melton (9 Apr. 1315) forbidding the adoration of an image of our Lady recently placed in the church of Foston-on-the-Wolds (Lawton, *Coll.* 298).

²³ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 323 seq.

²⁴ Letter in *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 339, 340.

²⁵ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 340 seq.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 385.

²⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, p. 141. An office of St. Thomas of Lancaster, containing *inter alia* a hymn beginning 'Pange lingua gloriosi comitis martyrium,' is quoted in *Political Songs* (ed. Wright, Camd. Soc. 1840), 268 seq.

²⁸ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 420, 421, contains a letter from the Vicar-General of York, dated 26 July 1386, on the subject of the miracles reported at Prior Thweng's tomb. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxix, 451.

²⁹ Melton died 5 Apr. (Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], ii, 417).

³⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1340-3, p. 110: appointment of royal proctors to object against appointment of Zouche at Avignon, accusing Zouche of treachery and murder. Edward's candidate was William of Kilsby; Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 417, 418.

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Clement VI consecrated Zouche, and the king withdrew his objections.³¹ The two great events of Zouche's primacy were his redemption at Neville's Cross (1347) of Melton's failure at Myton,³² and the Black Death. In July 1348 the plague was threatening Yorkshire; it lasted till the end of 1349.³³ Nearly one half of the parish priests of the arch-deaconries of York and Cleveland are said to have perished.³⁴ To supply the deficiency four additional ordinations a year were permitted.³⁵ Hugh, Archbishop of Damascus, conferred orders and dedicated graveyards for Zouche.³⁶ Meanwhile the visitation of Durham was disputed between Zouche and Bishop Hatfield. On 6 February 1348-9 clerks of the bishop made a disgraceful scene in York Minster.³⁷ Zouche, however, was mindful of the spiritual welfare of his flock, insisted on the observance of festivals, especially those of the Blessed Virgin,³⁸ and incurred excommunication by resisting a papal provision to the deanery of York.³⁹ His chapel on the south side of the quire of York Minster recalls his memory.⁴⁰ He ordained a large number of vicarages. Egglestone Abbey impropriated Rokeby Church in 1342, and Great Ouseburn in 1348.⁴¹ Easby, another sufferer from the Scots, impropriated Manfield (1347).⁴² Meaux Abbey, impoverished by the Black Death, impropriated Keyingham (1349).⁴³

John of Thoresby, translated from Worcester in 1351, was the first archbishop translated to the see since Giffard. Zealously earnest for the good of his much-tried people, Thoresby assiduously held visitations, and provided his clergy with an epitome of the religious teaching which he desired them to give.⁴⁴ His ordinations of vicarages include Harewood, appropriated to the monastery of Bolton (1353), Hemingbrough, to Durham (1356), All Saints Pontefract, to Pontefract (1361), and Appleton-le-Street, to St. Albans (1358).⁴⁵ He also appropriated Huntington Church to the sub-chantor and vicars-choral of York (1354),⁴⁶ and ordained vicarages in other churches belonging to the chapters of York, Beverley, and Howden.⁴⁷ In two respects his pontificate marks an epoch in the history of the see. He brought the strife with Canterbury to an end; the use of the cross by one primate in the other's province was allowed, but the title of *primas totius Britanniae* was ceded to Canterbury.⁴⁸ And, on 30 July 1361, Thoresby laid the foundation stone

³¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1340-3, pp. 502, 504, 514.

³² *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 387 seq.

³³ In York it lasted from about the Ascension (21 May) to St. James's Day (25 July) 1349; Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 418.

³⁴ C. Creighton, ap. Traill and Mann, *Social Engl.* ii, 188.

³⁵ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 401, 402.

³⁶ *Hist. Ch. York.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 268 seq. Chapels dedicated include Fulford, Cleasby, Seamer-in-Cleveland, Brotton, and Easby-in-Cleveland.

³⁷ *Lett. N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 397 seq.

³⁸ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 254 seq.

³⁹ See notice of Zouche in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* lxiii, 420 seq.

⁴⁰ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 418, 419; will of Zouche and licence from dean and chapter to build chapel, printed in *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 271 seq.

⁴¹ Lawton, op. cit. 582, 557.

⁴² *Ibid.* 580; *Cal. Pat.* 1345-8, p. 362.

⁴³ Lawton, op. cit. 400.

⁴⁴ For an account of this work, issued in Latin and English in 1357, see Dixon and Raine, op. cit. 469 seq. Both versions have been edited by T. F. Simmons and H. E. Nolloth (*Early Engl. Text. Soc. orig. series*, no. 118, 1891).

⁴⁵ Lawton, op. cit. 63, 440, 146, 513.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 445.

⁴⁷ Mediety of Bubwith (1365), Welwick (1361), Laxton (1370); Lawton, op. cit. 331, 421, 348. The other mediety of Bubwith, in which a vicarage was also ordained, was impropriated by Byland Abbey.

⁴⁸ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 419. The agreement is in York Epis. Reg. Lawrence Booth, fol. 77.

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of the new eastern arm of York Minster. He lived to finish the Lady Chapel.⁴⁹ When Æneas Sylvius visited York in 1435 he spoke of the light interior of the completed church, its walls of glass, and its slender clustered piers.⁵⁰

Thoresby and his successor, Alexander Nevill, received mandates from the pope and king to proceed against heretics in their diocese.⁵¹ Innocent VI tells Thoresby that such heretics are said to impugn the necessity of good works to salvation, and the doctrine of original sin. Whatever his attitude towards heretics may have been, Nevill's sixteen years of office (1374-88) were mainly spent in useless quarrels with his chapter. He drove vicars out of Beverley Minster, replacing them by unwilling substitutes from York.⁵² The expelled vicars, after some wretched years of fugitive wandering, obtained restoration ;⁵³ and Nevill, after a long process, was cast in his suit before the curia. His support of Richard II combined with unpopularity at home to effect his downfall. The Parliament of 1388 attainted him of treason.⁵⁴ He attempted to escape abroad, but was taken at Tynemouth,⁵⁵ and was eventually banished. Urban VI translated him to the see of St. Andrews—an empty honour, as Scotland recognized the anti-pope.⁵⁶ Nevill died at Louvain in 1392.⁵⁷

To Nevill succeeded Thomas Arundel, Bishop of Ely, translated in 1388.⁵⁸ He was translated to Canterbury in 1396. His successor, Robert Waldby, Bishop of Chichester, spent the forty weeks of his primacy in London, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.⁵⁹ In June 1398 Innocent VII translated Richard Scrope from Coventry and Lichfield.⁶⁰ The new archbishop received Bolingbroke on his landing, and gave a qualified support to his claims. But the attitude of Henry IV to the Church drove Scrope into opposition. Making common cause with the survivors of Shrewsbury, he excommunicated the king.⁶¹ On 29 May 1405 he assembled his men on Shipton Moor, near York, declaring his intention of seeking redress, by peaceful discussion, from the taxes with which the Church was burdened. The king's representatives lured him to a conference ; he walked with his cross erect into the trap, and was taken prisoner to Pontefract. The king was at Bishopthorpe, and Scrope was brought to trial in his own hall, where a judge appointed by Henry on the refusal of the Chief Justice pronounced sentence of death.⁶² Scrope was beheaded near Clementhorpe Priory ; four vicars-choral of the

⁴⁹ Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 420, 421. With Thoresby, Stubbs's portion of the *Chron. Pontif.* ends ; and his continuator soon begins to be far less full in detail.

⁵⁰ Æn. Sylvius, *Commentaria*, v, quoted by Creighton, *Hist. Papacy*, iii, 55.

⁵¹ *Cal. Papal Letters*, 18 Aug. 1355 (iii, 565) ; *Cal. Pat.* 1381-5, p. 487.

⁵² *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 423.

⁵³ *Cal. Pat.* 1385-9, p. 465 : commission to restore vicars, &c.

⁵⁴ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 424 ; *Cal. Pat.* 1385-9, pp. 401-2, &c.

⁵⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1385-9, p. 484.

⁵⁶ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 424 ; *Cal. Pat.* 1385-9, p. 504. The same compliment was paid to Archbishop Arundel in 1398.

⁵⁷ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 424.

⁵⁸ Mandate to restore temporalities, 14 Sept. 1388 (*Cal. Pat.* 1385-9, p. 504). Arundel received his pall at Cambridge on the same day ; *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 425. The account of his episcopate in *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 425 seq., is chiefly a recitation of his gifts to the minster.

⁵⁹ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 427, 428.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 428, 429.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 430 seq. Scrope's 'Articuli contra Henricum Quartum' (MS. C.C.C. Camb. 197, fol. 85-98) are printed in *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 292 seq.

⁶² Narrative of Scrope's rebellion in *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 288 seq.



ALEXANDER NEVILL (1374-1392)



HENRY BOWET (1409-1423)



ROBERT WALDERBY (1397-1398)



ROBERT WALDERBY (1397-1398)

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minster buried his body next day with maimed rites.⁶³ The Yorkshire commons saw in Scrope, as in Thomas of Lancaster, the champion of liberty against royal exactions.⁶⁴ Tradition smote his judge with leprosy.⁶⁵ Miracles were reported from his tomb, and a cult came into existence which royal commissioners found hard to suppress.⁶⁶

The 15th century is nearly covered by the episcopates of Henry Bowet, translated from Wells (1407), John Kemp, translated from London (1426) and to Canterbury, William Booth, translated from Coventry and Lichfield (1452), George Nevill, translated from Exeter (1465), and Lawrence Booth, translated from Durham (1476). Kemp and Nevill held the chancellorship of England for a time with the archbishopric; while Kemp became a cardinal-priest in 1439, and a cardinal-bishop after his final translation. Nevill suffered by the Wars of the Roses, in which he played an adroit but not very successful part.

Evidence of the active church-life of this century in Yorkshire, as elsewhere, is present in the number of parish churches built and enlarged during its course. The churches of Tickhill, Rotherham, Harewood, and Thirsk were almost entirely rebuilt. Large additions were made to important parish churches like Wakefield, Halifax, and Silkstone. The nave and tower of Holy Trinity at Hull were completed. In 1404 Bishop Skirlaw of Durham founded the chapel of Skirlaugh in Swine parish.⁶⁷ Contracts for the building of Catterick Church (1412) and the south aisle of Hornby Church (1410) still exist.⁶⁸ In 1424 the Bishop of Dromore, Bowet's suffragan, consecrated the rebuilt church of Bolton Percy.⁶⁹ The east window was filled about fifty years later with stained glass: in the lower lights are full-length figures of Archbishop George Nevill and his predecessors Scrope, Bowet, Kemp, and William Booth. In 1458 John, Bishop of Philippi, consecrated a church at Cowthorpe, built by Sir Brian Roccliffe on a new site.⁷⁰ Side by side with the work of rebuilding and enlargement went on the foundation of chantries. The chantry had taken the place of the monastery as an object of popular bequest. The stipend of the chantry-priest served not only to commemorate the founder, but to provide the parish priest with much-needed help. Pious parishioners often united in applying land and goods to the maintenance of a chantry-priest where the parish was large and services many. At Rotherham the chantry-priest at the altar of the Holy Cross, whose stipend was founded by John and Isabel Palden (1421), aided the parochial clergy in their Lenten task of hearing confessions and houseling the penitent. Parishioners founded stipends for priests to say the eight o'clock mass every Saturday at the Lady

⁶³ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 433.

⁶⁴ See the list of seven reasons for his execution in *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 304, 305.

⁶⁵ Narrative quoted in note 62 above. The author of the 'Martyrium' of Scrope (*Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], ii, 306 seq. : see note above), following Stubbs (*ibid.* 433), says that the king himself was struck with leprosy on his way to Ripon from Bishopthorpe, and passed a wretched night at Hammerton. Both stories are probably apocryphal.

⁶⁶ Three letters from the Chapter Acts, 1410-29, fol. 43, are printed in *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 291 seq. Offerings intended for Scrope were to be laid at St. William's tomb. The Duke of Bedford (21 Sept. 1405) ordered the 'clausure de charpenterie' erected round the tomb of Scrope to be taken down, and a barrier to be made 'pour fare estoppoill a les faux foles que y veignent par colour de devocion.'

⁶⁷ Lawton, *Coll.* 418.

⁶⁸ Printed by H. B. McCall, *Richmondshire Churches* (1909).

⁶⁹ Lawton, *op. cit.* 55. The person responsible for the rebuilding was Thomas Parker, rector, who died 1423.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 60.

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altar, and the six o'clock mass daily at St. Katherine's altar.^{70a} The commissioners of Henry VIII reported of the chantry of St. Nicholas in Doncaster Church, founded 1323, that there are 'MM howslyng people and above within the sayd paryshe, wherof the sayd incumbent and other vij prystes, now resiaunt in the sayd churche, can skant here the confessions of the sayd parochians from the begynnyng of Lente unto Palme Sunday, and then ministre the blessed Sacrement all the sayd weke, with other requisite besines to be doon in the sayd churche.' Every day matins, mass, and evensong were sung in quire, and there were six masses, at 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 a.m.⁷¹ At some places, as Bedale, Well, and Skipton, a chantry-priest was also schoolmaster of the place.⁷² Bishop Alcock of Worcester obtained licence in 1482 to found a chantry in the high church at Hull, whose incumbent was to teach a free grammar-school in Hull, to pay 40s. to a clerk to teach children to sing, and half a mark to each of the ten best scholars.⁷³ Rotherham's college in his native town was founded to provide masters of grammar, writing, and song for the children of the neighbourhood, and to provide a common dwelling-place for the chantry-priests of the parish church, who hitherto had lodged in laymen's houses, 'to their scandal and the ruin of other folk.'⁷⁴ The schools of Giggleswick and Sedbergh had their foundation in stipends attached to chantries for the maintenance of teaching-priests.⁷⁵

Another form which the foundation of chantries took was the provision of chapels-of-ease in large and scattered parishes. Where a river, often in flood, divided the parish, this was very necessary. On the lower waters of the Aire, Whitley Chapel was founded in Kellington parish, Haddlesey in Birkin, and Airmyn, Carlton, Hook, and Rawcliffe in Snaith.⁷⁶ At Pockley, in the parish of Helmsley, a stock of sheep was appropriated by the parishioners to the maintenance of a chaplain.⁷⁷ The extremities of the enormous parish of Halifax were served by one or more chaplains at Elland and Heptonstall.⁷⁸ The large parishes of the dales, Aysgarth, Wensley, and Catterick, also received necessary subdivision.⁷⁹ In other cases chapels such as that on Wakefield Bridge, founded 1398, or St. Mary Magdalen's Chapel at Doncaster, founded 1413, were useful for sick persons in time of plague, who were cut off from their parish church.⁸⁰

It is difficult to obtain absolutely accurate statistics as to the growth of chantry foundations in Yorkshire. In many cases, when the commissioners required a return, the documents relating to the foundation had been lost, or the foundation rested merely on custom. In York Minster at least nine chantry priests, in addition to the clergy of St. Sepulchre's Chapel, served altars in the church during the 13th century. Sixteen received stipends during the 14th century. Nine more are recorded between 1413 and 1459. In 1461 George Nevill, Bishop of Exeter, afterwards archbishop, and his brother the king-maker, founded St. William's College for the chantry-priests,

^{70a} *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.) i, 205 seq.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* ii, 495, 496, 245.

⁷² *Ibid.* ii, 340. Alcock became Bishop of Ely, and was founder of Jesus College at Cambridge.

⁷³ *Ibid.* i, 200, 201; will of Abp. Rotherham, in *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 341 seq.

⁷⁴ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 410, 414.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* ii, 509.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* i, 105, 106, 104, 113.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* i, 175 seq.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 280, 285, 286, 288.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 297, 298, 421.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* ii, 312, 313; i, 180.

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under a provost.⁸¹ Six chantry-priests were endowed during the rest of the 15th century, and three during the 16th, the last foundation being dated 1537. In each of the three important deaneries of Ainsty, Doncaster, and Pontefract, one chantry can be traced to a definite foundation in the 13th century.⁸² In the 14th, two chantries in the Ainsty are dated, one being that of six priests at Harewood (1366); eleven in Doncaster; and five in Pontefract deanery. For the 15th century the numbers are: Ainsty, seven; Doncaster, eleven; Pontefract, thirteen. For the first half of the 16th: Ainsty, three; Doncaster, eight; Pontefract, nine. During the pontificate of Rotherham, nine chantries were founded in Pontefract deanery. Seven in Pontefract and five in Doncaster belong to Wolsey's pontificate.⁸³ Small chantry colleges at Lowthorpe (1333) and Sutton-on-Hull (1347) were founded in the 14th century.⁸⁴ The peculiar foundation of Kirkby Overblow belongs to 1362.⁸⁵ In 1367 Maud, Lady Marmion, founded a chantry for a warden and two priests at West Tanfield.⁸⁶ Sir Richard Scrope received licence in 1393 to found a chantry in Bolton Castle for a warden and five other priests, which appears to have been founded a few years later as the college of Wensley.⁸⁷ Of collegiate churches, the most important were Hemingbrough, founded in 1426 by the Prior and convent of Durham,⁸⁸ and Middleham, founded in 1478 by Edward IV, at the request of the Duke of Gloucester.⁸⁹ Howden Church had been made collegiate as early as 1267.⁹⁰ The divided rectory of Osmotherley (1322) also may be counted among collegiate foundations.⁹¹

Associations of parishioners, such as those who combined to put in chantry-priests here and there, were probably in many cases guilds, whose chaplain the chantry-priest became. Such guilds are mentioned in connexion with chantries at Snaith, Whitgift, and Doncaster.⁹² At Tickhill the incumbent of the guild chantry was admitted by the inhabitants to sing mass at 6 a.m. on Mondays and Saturdays, and the Jesus mass at 9 a.m. on Fridays.⁹³ The guild of Corpus Christi at York had its altar and chaplain in Holy Trinity, Micklegate. This guild, incorporated in 1458, but of earlier origin, organized the festival plays of Corpus Christi Day. On the second day of the feast they held a procession through the city with the Blessed Sacrament, and on the following day a solemn mass and dirge. In their gildhall they provided eight beds for the lodging of poor strangers, which were kept by a woman at their expense; ten pensioners were maintained by them yearly.⁹⁴ Another York guild was that of St. Christopher, founded by licence dated

⁸¹ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 7 seq.

⁸² *Ibid.* ii, 233 (Ferrybridge); i, 158 (Bolton-on-Deerne); ii, 289 (Rothwell).

⁸³ *Ibid.* The returns for Doncaster Deanery are in vol. i, for Ainsty and Pontefract in vol. ii.

⁸⁴ Lawton, *Coll.* 305, 415, 416. Archbishop Melton's ordinances for the college at Lowthorpe will be found in *Cal. Pat.* 1330-4, pp. 426-8. For the Harewood chantry, see *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 222.

⁸⁵ Lawton, *op. cit.* p. 65.

⁸⁶ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 106, 107.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* ii, 558, 559.

⁸⁸ Lawton, *op. cit.* 440, 441; *Cal. Pat.* 1422-9, p. 382.

⁸⁹ Lawton, *op. cit.* 568, 569; *Cal. Pat.* 1477-85, p. 67.

⁹⁰ Lawton, *op. cit.* 345.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 499; *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 124. To these notices of chantries and colleges should be added the mention of the appropriation of Barnby-on-Don Church (1344) to the chantry of Cotterstock, Northants (Lawton, *op. cit.* 174), and of Dewsbury and Wakefield (1349), Sandal Magna (1356), and Kirkburton (1357), to St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster (*ibid.* 120, 161, 152, 141).

⁹² *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 284, 288, 289; i, 181, 182.

⁹³ *Ibid.* i, 186.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* i, 54; Drake, *Eboracum*, 246.

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12 March 1395-6, to which the gild of St. George was united at a later date. In 1426 this gild founded two chantries in the minster; and in 1446 its master and brethren joined the lord mayor and commonalty in building the present gildhall.⁹⁵ At Beverley, Hull, Ripon, Rotherham, Wakefield, and other towns important gilds were erected; and, as at Beverley and Wakefield, some of these organized the religious dramas of the Corpus Christi festival.⁹⁶ The gild of the Holy Trinity at Hull, founded 1369, and incorporated by charter of 20 Henry VI, survives as the Brotherhood of Trinity House.⁹⁷

In 1480 Lawrence Booth was succeeded by Thomas Scott, Bishop of Lincoln and Chancellor of England, better known as Rotherham.⁹⁸ He was not enthroned until a year after his translation.⁹⁹ Much of his diocesan work was transacted by a suffragan and vicar-general. Since the beginning of the 14th century the archbishops had employed the occasional help of suffragans,¹⁰⁰ to whom they assigned definite stipends. The Bishop of Sodor and Man was commissioned to celebrate orders in 1351 and 1353.¹ In 1359 Geoffrey, Archbishop of Damascus, was appointed suffragan by Thoresby, who employed at least four other suffragans at different times, not counting the Bishops of Carlisle and Norwich.² During the 15th century successive Bishops of Dromore were suffragans. One of these consecrated churches for Archbishop Bowet in 1424,³ and dedicated Holy Trinity at Hull in 1425.⁴ Three chapels were consecrated by the bishop who helped Rotherham—Middlesmoor (1484), Wentworth (1491), and Hook (1499).⁵ Ordinations were also conducted by him.⁶ Various bishops *in partibus* aided the archbishops during the 15th century; and the Bishop of Negropont consecrated Huddersfield Church for Archbishop Savage in 1503.⁷

Rotherham died in 1500.⁸ His three successors emphasized the detachment of the archbishop from his see. Thomas Savage, translated from London (1501), was never publicly enthroned at York. At Beverley he was enthroned by proxy: for the first time, none of the banquets and rejoicings at the incoming of a new archbishop were held. His biographer calls him a mighty hunter, and mentions his household of tall servants, and his works of rebuilding and repair at Cawood and Scrooby.⁹ Christopher Bainbridge, translated from Durham (1508), spent five out of the six years of his archiepiscopate at Rome, and died there, poisoned, as his servants maintained, by the connivance

⁹⁵ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 82; Drake, *op. cit.* 329, 330.

⁹⁶ See, with reference to the Yorkshire gilds and dramas, Ten Brink, *Hist. Engl. Literature* (Engl. trans. 1895), ii, 256 seq. Some important Yorkshire gilds are enumerated by Page, *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), i, pref. p. ix.

⁹⁷ Lawton, *op. cit.* 389.

⁹⁸ Translated 3 Sept. 1480; *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 439.

⁹⁹ 8 Sept. 1481; *ibid.* 439, 440.

¹⁰⁰ Irish bishops were frequently employed, e.g. the Bishop of Annaghdown by Greenfield, and the Bishop of Leighlin, appointed suffragan by Zouche in 1344.

¹ Dixon and Raine, *op. cit.* 446, 458.

² *Ibid.* 458, 459 note, 460 and note, 475 note.

³ Viz. St. Crux and St. Helen's-on-the-Walls, York; Bolton Percy, Wigginton, and a chapel in Seamer (Pickering Lythe) parish (Lawton, *op. cit.* 9, 11, 55, 473, 312).

⁴ *Ibid.* 388.

⁵ *Ibid.* 569, 241, 158.

⁶ Leigh Bennett, *Archbishop Rotherham* (1901), 130.

⁷ Lawton, *op. cit.* 137. The Bishop of Philippi consecrated Cowthorpe Church in 1458; see note 70 above.

⁸ At Cawood, 29 May 1500 (*Hist. Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.], ii, 440).

⁹ *Ibid.* 442.

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of the Bishop of Worcester, Silvestro de Gigliis.¹⁰ Bainbridge was made a cardinal by Julius II.¹¹ On his death (1514) the archbishopric was given to Wolsey, then Bishop of Lincoln, who was created cardinal in 1515.¹² Although Wolsey was careful to assert his dignity in competition with Archbishop Warham,¹³ he delayed his installation until the last year of his life,¹⁴ and held three English sees in succession with his archbishopric.¹⁵ His progress into Yorkshire (1530) was marked by belated spiritual energy. He stayed two nights at Nostell Priory, spending six hours of the intermediate day in confirming children. Before leaving next day he confirmed about a hundred more, and some two hundred at Ferrybridge.¹⁶ He remained at Cawood for nearly a month, purposing to be installed on 7 November, and to spend the rest of his life in his diocese.¹⁷ On 4 November the Earl of Northumberland arrested him at Cawood, and two days later he set out on the southward journey, which ended at Leicester on St. Andrew's Day.¹⁸

The secularization of the office of archbishop was reflected in the case of lesser dignities. When the Queen-dowager of Scotland came to York at Whitsuntide 1517, her entertainers were the Abbot of St. Mary's, the Dean of York, and Thomas Dalby, Archdeacon of Richmond.¹⁹ Dalby, who resided at York, was constantly quarrelling with the rest of the chapter.²⁰ His successor, William Knight, reopened the controversy about his rights as archdeacon with Archbishop Lee.²¹ Thomas Magnus, Archdeacon of the East Riding, was canon of Lincoln and Windsor, and Dean of the chapel at Bridgenorth;²² his Yorkshire preferments included the sacristship of St. Sepulchre's,²³ the wardenship of St. Leonard's Hospital,²⁴ the rich rectory of Bedale, and the rectories of Kirkby-in-Cleveland and Sessay.²⁵ Brian Higdon, Dean of York, held the rectory of Stokesley; no vicar is mentioned under him in the survey of 1534-5.²⁶ From that survey and other sources it appears that between three and four fifths of the rectories in the diocese were appropriated. A hundred belonged to collegiate bodies and chantries, the Dean and canons of York claiming over seventy. About 250 more were appropriated to various monasteries.²⁷ Among religious houses in other counties which inappropriated Yorkshire churches were Durham Abbey and its cell of

¹⁰ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 443. See *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 5252 (14 July 1514, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici announces death of Cardinal of York), 5253, 5254, 5349, 5356, 5365, 5396, 5405, 5448, 5449, 5465, 5651, 5664. The culprit was a certain Rainaldo da Modena, who implicated the Bishop of Worcester; but the evidence against the latter was not very strong.

¹¹ 10 March 1510-11 (Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste* [1899], iii, 661, 662). His title was Santa Prassede.

¹² 10 Sept. 1515 (*ibid.* [1906], iv, 81). His title was Santa Cecilia in Trastevere.

¹³ Cavendish, *Life of Wolsey* (ed. Ellis, 1899), 19.

¹⁴ See account of his interview with Dean Higdon at Cawood; *ibid.* 199 seq.

¹⁵ i.e. administration of Bath and Wells 1518-24, Durham 1524-9, Winchester 1529.

¹⁶ Cavendish, *op. cit.* 195, 196.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 199, 201.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 207 seq.

¹⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii, 3336: Magnus to Wolsey, 3 June 1517.

²⁰ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 444, mentions a dispute between him and Bainbridge; see *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 5169.

²¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vi, 1440, 1441, 1451. See Whitaker, *Richmondshire*, i, 38.

²² *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxxv, 324; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 3579.

²³ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 5.

²⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 17.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 245, 89, 98. Bedale was worth £92 7s. 8d. gross, £89 4s. 8d. net. He was also vicar of Kendal, Warden of Sibthorpe College, Notts, and Prebendary of Llanbadarn Odwyn in the church of Llanddewi Brefi (*ibid.* v, 268, 186; iv, 397).

²⁶ *Ibid.* v, 89.

²⁷ *Ibid. passim.*

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Finchale, and the Lincolnshire abbeys of Bardney and Thornton.²⁸ The Nottinghamshire houses of Welbeck, Rufford, and Lenton held one church each.²⁹ Other appropriations have been noticed in their place. To these should be added Kirkleatham, appropriated to Staindrop College (1412); Welton, to the Lancaster chantry in Lincoln Minster (1439); and Slaidburn, to St. Katherine's chantry in Eccles Church (1456).³⁰ In 1387 the monks of Durham appropriated the churches of Bossall and Fishlake to their college in Oxford; ³¹ and Rudby, at a much later date, was annexed to Wolsey's Oxford college.³²

Most of the appropriated churches were served by regularly appointed vicars. The churches in Cleveland belonging to Guisborough and Whitby were served by temporary curates, provided by the impropropriating house.³³ This arrangement in so large and hilly a district must have led to much neglect. The want of a learned clergy, capable of giving instruction, was felt by those who most dreaded religious change. The Augustinian Canons held their general chapter at Leicester in 1518. The Prior of Guisborough presided and the Prior of Bridlington preached. A letter was read from Wolsey emphasizing the necessity of learning as the greatest bulwark of the Catholic faith, and commenting on the lukewarm studiousness of the order.³⁴ Lack of scholarship was even more noticeable among the secular clergy. In 1535 Archbishop Lee, an unwilling spectator of change, wrote to Cromwell: 'we have very few preachers, as the benefices are so small that no learned man will take them.'³⁵ In 1537 he asked Cromwell to remember his request for preachers and the appointment of resident clergy in the church of York. He had ordered the archdeacons to present reports of clergy able to preach; he found 'in the archdeaconry of Nottingham not one; in the others very few.'³⁶ The sum of clergy able and willing to preach, in fact, amounted to twelve.³⁷

By the time that Lee, who had succeeded Wolsey in 1531, was writing these letters, many changes had come about. In 1534 the king became supreme head of the Church of England; and in 1536 the lesser monasteries were suppressed. Lee himself was a timorous participant in the Pilgrimage of Grace, but took the oath of allegiance at the surrender of Pontefract Castle. The greater monasteries were dissolved in 1539, and in 1545, the year following Lee's death, the first Act for dissolving the chantries was passed. Lee took the middle course, which was best for the true friends of the old order. In 1534, amid the controversies following the declaration of the royal supremacy, he wrote that he had discharged a friar who preached purgatory, 'in the avoidance of controversy.'³⁸ He visited convents, especially nunneries, with the paternal care of Wickwane or Romanus. But careful visitation could not save the monasteries. Their possessions were a fatal attraction to the would-be spoiler, while the aims of those who saw in scholarship an ornament and preservative of orthodoxy had been pursued at the expense of

²⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 300, 303; iv, 81, 73.

²⁹ Lawton, *op. cit.* 489, 371, 269.

³⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 89.

³¹ *Ibid.* 91: 'non habent vicarios in eisdem sed curatos conductivos.'

³² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii, App. 48 (16 June 1518).

³³ *Ibid.* ix, 704.

³⁴ *Ibid.* xii, 1093.

³⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 704.

³⁶ Gasquet, *Hen. VIII and the Engl. Mon.* (1888), i, 23.

³⁷ *Ibid.* v, 171, 173, 147.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 424, 193.

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some of the smaller and less active English houses. Wolsey had received a bull (1518) authorizing him to visit monasteries. The Bishop of Worcester, who transmitted the bull, doubted whether Yorkshire houses would take the visitation kindly.³⁹

The pressing task of reforming parochial clergy was expressly left to the discretion of the bishops: the bull confined itself to more profitable objects of investigation. While reform was necessary, and in some cases suppression may have been, the haste with which the royal commissioners, seventeen years later, performed their visitation, makes any condemnation of Yorkshire monasteries in general or detail impossible.⁴⁰ Legh and Layton came to Yorkshire as suppressors ready to accept general evidence of an unfavourable character.⁴¹ Their work was done with cynical dispatch; and their transactions showed that personal profit was a powerful consideration with them.⁴² They procured, by private agreement, the resignation of the Abbot of Fountains. No monk of the house, they reported, was fit to succeed him; but Marmaduke Bradley, a prebendary of Ripon, was ready to give Cromwell 600 marks for the office, and to pay the king £1,000 in firstfruits.⁴³ On the day appointed for Bradley's election, Layton stayed in York to induce the Prior and convent of Marton to surrender their house 'of £140 good lands and only forty marks of it in spiritual tithes.'⁴⁴ The financial zeal of the commissioners would not be slow to detect shortcomings in the religious life; and the evidence on which those shortcomings incurred the charge of wholesale criminality is open to suspicion of the gravest nature. The immediate benefit to religion of the suppression was negative. The possessions of the abbeys enriched lay proprietors; appropriated churches simply changed hands; the parochial clergy were in no better case than before; fortunes made out of monastic spoils were devoted to ends mainly secular. One scheme was contemplated, of great religious advantage to the unwieldy diocese of York. This was the erection of the archdeaconry of Richmond into a see with its cathedral at Fountains.⁴⁵ In 1541 the archdeaconry was separated from the see of York, only to be included in the new see of Chester.⁴⁶ The Bishop of Chester was assured of a revenue, but north-west Yorkshire was practically left without a bishop.

The suppression of the monasteries brought no profit to the Yorkshire commons; and their orthodox and conservative minds were distressed at the change. The details of the Pilgrimage of Grace belong rather to the political than the religious history of the county; but its object was primarily

³⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii, 4399 (7 Aug. 1518).

⁴⁰ Gasquet, *op. cit.* i, 286 seq. Froude, *Hist. Engl.* ii, 315, 316, admitted the haste of their journey, in which he followed their movements incorrectly, without recognizing the incompatibility of such haste with the minuteness of detail which he associated with their reports.

⁴¹ Gasquet, *op. cit.* i, 287, 288, quotes Layton's letter of 13 Jan. 1535-6, in which he says: 'This day we begin with St. Mary's Abbey, whereat we suppose to find much evil disposition, both in the abbot and the convent, whereof, God willing, I shall certify you in my next letter.' Even if Layton's suspicions were true, this was hardly the frame of mind in which to conduct a minute and impartial inquiry.

⁴² Layton became Dean of York in 1539, and pawned the plate of the minster (*ibid.* 344).

⁴³ *Ibid.* 336, 337; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 137.

⁴⁴ Gasquet, *op. cit.* ii, 26, 27; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 271.

⁴⁵ Cott. MS. Cleopatra, E iv, fol. 305 (Gasquet, *op. cit.* ii, 445).

⁴⁶ Whitaker, *Richmondshire*, i, 38. By this arrangement it was specially provided that the Bishop of Chester was not to claim exemption from metropolitan jurisdiction, as representing the Archdeacon of Richmond.

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religious. Its leaders expressed the popular discontent at the suppression. Aske gave voice to the general indignation. One of the notable beauties of the land, he said, had been destroyed; property which had been employed in almsgiving and entertainment of travellers was engrossed by the king and the farmers of abbey lands. The abbeys of western Yorkshire had supplied spiritual refreshment to the untaught dalesmen; they had given hospitality to traders who went up and down the passes between Yorkshire and Lancashire.⁴⁷ The insurgents re-peopled Sawley Abbey with its abbot and monks.⁴⁸ But the disastrous end of the rebellion only made the dissolution of the greater houses inevitable. The Abbot of Sawley was hanged at Lancaster; the Abbot of Whalley suffered in sight of his own abbey; the Abbots of Jervaulx and Fountains were hanged at Tyburn.⁴⁹ Jervaulx Abbey was dismantled, and the lead stripped from the roofs; Sir Arthur Darcy suggested to Cromwell that the abbey would be a suitable stable for the royal stud of mares.⁵⁰ The quire of Bridlington Priory and the shrine of St. John Thweng were pulled down in May 1537; the Duke of Norfolk took away the valuables of the monastery in plate, vestments, and kind.⁵¹ Vengeance for the rebellion thus anticipated, in several of the greater Yorkshire monasteries, the final act of suppression.

In spite of general orthodoxy, heretics seem to have appeared in the diocese during the later part of the 14th century.⁵² Archbishop Bowet reported to Henry V (1421) the case of one John Tailor or Bilton, condemned as obstinate and impenitent, who was now handed over to the secular arm. Tailor denied transubstantiation of the elements in the Eucharist, and the necessity of confession to a priest. He argued that, 'sithen seint Peter was slayne,' no priest had power to shrive, and that Holy Church with his death had ceased to be. The Trinity consisted of Father, Mother, and Holy Ghost: Jesus Christ was the child of Mary, but not the Son of God: the Son of God was not yet come.⁵³ These assertions were little more than random utterances of a foolish talker. In 1511, Roger Gargrave, a parishioner of Wakefield, confessed before the Chancellor of York that he had blasphemed the Sacrament of the altar, 'openly saying, that if a calff were vpon the alter I wold rather worship that then the said holy sacrament; allegying scripture for me in fourme folowing, *Tunc imponent super altare tuum vitulos*; and furthermore shewing and openly affirming that the date was past that God determyned hyme to be in fourme of brede.' Gargrave abjured his heresies, which he was said to have imbibed from a priest at Lincoln, and was sentenced to do public penance in York Minster.⁵⁴ In 1528 Gilbert Johnson, a 'Dutch' carver, resident in York, and Robert Robinson, of Hull, abjured their heresy. Johnson had denied necessity of confession to a priest, the power of the clergy to excommunicate, and the efficacy of prayers for the dead. 'Holie brede,' he said, 'is good and vertuouse for a man or woman that is hungrie, and the holie water for a man or woman whan they er hott, to cast upon them to cole them therwith.' He refused to carry his candle on Candlemas day, saying 'what

⁴⁷ Gasquet, op. cit. ii, 94, 95.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 168; Froude, op. cit. iii, 34.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 171, 172, 437 note.

⁵⁰ Harl. MS. 421, fol. 135, 136.

⁵¹ Ibid. 107.

⁵² Gasquet, op. cit. ii, 173, 174.

⁵³ See note 51 above, p. 40.

⁵⁴ York Epis. Reg. Bainbridge, fol. 75.

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vertue is therby?’ He declined to fast for anyone’s pleasure but his own, and said that priests were worse than Judas, for ‘Judas sold Almyghtie God for xxxd., and prestes will sell God for half a penny.’ Robinson denied the divine origin of fasting, and said that ‘God maide neuer prayers,’ and that St. Peter was neither pope of Rome nor priest; he would not confess to a priest, even if he were ‘at the poynte and article of deith.’ Robinson was sentenced to do public penance in York Minster and at Hull. Johnson’s penance was to be performed at York, during the processions of Rogation-tide and the octave of the Ascension. Johnson was to be beaten at the four corners of York market-place by the Dean of York, Robinson at Hull, by the curate of Holy Trinity.⁵⁵ Under Archbishop Lee two cases of heretical ‘Dutchmen’ occur from the archdeaconry of Nottingham.⁵⁶ In the second of these a special offence was the introduction into England of the German translation of the New Testament; the accused undertook to abstain from using or selling any books of Luther or his followers. Lee carefully watched the conduct of preaching in his diocese. The Prior of Carmelites at Doncaster and the Warden of the Franciscans abused their licences by preaching against each other, a scandal which necessitated a commission of inquiry (1534).⁵⁷ In 1535, Richard Browne, vicar of North Cave, recanted the statements that the Sacrament of the altar was only a symbolic rite, and that confession might be made to a layman.⁵⁸ A woman, Denise Johnson, in 1540 abjured her denial that the Sacrament was the body of Christ.⁵⁹

Another enemy with which the archbishops and their officers had to contend was the power of superstition over the people. Resort to the help of a wizard had been a charge preferred against Abbot Whalley of Selby in the 13th century.⁶⁰ A Rotherham wizard confessed to Archbishop Rotherham at Scrooby (1481) that he had used charms to cure sick folks, and had dealings with a familiar spirit.⁶¹ In 1509 Bainbridge’s vicar-general examined an extraordinary case. Thomas Jameson, a merchant, sometime Lord Mayor of York, went with a priest named James Richardson to consult a wizard at Knaresborough about the recovery of a runaway servant. The wizard inflamed their fancies with the story of a chest of gold, hidden at a place called Mixendale Head, in Halifax parish, ‘and vpon the same chist a sword of mayntenance, and a booke covered with blakke ledder.’ A canon of Drax was called in to help with the magical preparations necessary, and in the end, nine persons, including the canon and another priest, met to perform incantations in a house at Bingley. Richardson and Jameson brought two wafers which Richardson proposed to consecrate as a defence against the familiar in time of conjuration, but the wizard said that this would prevent the spirit from appearing. The details of this meeting give a curious picture of the intermingling of superstition with traditional veneration for religious objects.⁶²

⁵⁵ York Epis. Reg. Wolsey, fol. 131 d. 132, 132 d.

⁵⁶ Ibid. Lee, fol. 82 d. 83; 89 d.—91.

⁵⁷ Ibid. fol. 91, 91 d.

⁵⁸ Ibid. fol. 99 d. 100.

⁵⁹ Ibid. fol. 141 d. As a result of the passing of the Six Articles (1539) Valentine Frees, son of the first York printer, and his wife were burned on Knavesmire (Ornsby, *Dioc. Hist. York*, 283: see Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (ed. Cattley), iv, 695).

⁶⁰ *York Reg. Wickwane* (Surt. Soc. cxiv), 24, 25.

⁶¹ York Epis. Reg. Rotherham, quoted without reference by Leigh Bennett, *Archbishop Rotherham* (1901), 110, 111 note.

⁶² York Epis. Reg. Bainbridge, fol. 68 seq.; *Arch. Journ.* xvi.

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In 1542 Archbishop Lee exchanged the manors of Beverley, Skidby, and Bishop Burton with the king for the dissolved priory of Marton and several monastic manors.⁶³ Robert Holgate, translated from Llandaff (1545) continued the policy of exchange, surrendering the manors of the see for impropriations and advowsons.⁶⁴ After the attainder of Sir Francis Bigod (1537) the king granted the rectory of Lythe with others to Holgate, who appropriated it and ordained a vicarage. This appears to be the last case of appropriation in the history of the diocese.⁶⁵ Holgate, a native of Hemsworth, had been Prior of Watton and Master of Sempringham. On resigning the property of the order he became Bishop of Llandaff, and was president of the North from 1538 to 1550. An eager reformer, he married a wife in 1549. In 1554 he was deprived by Mary and sent to the Tower, but was released and allowed to retire to Hemsworth.⁶⁶ The prejudiced testimony of his contemporaries makes an accurate judgement of his character difficult to form. He was named among the Yorkshire commissioners appointed by the second Act for dissolution of the chantries, which revived the Act of 1545, but covered a larger number of foundations, and specially mentioned the religious reason for their suppression.⁶⁷ The new returns reported upon the character and attainments of the chantry priests. One priest at Hornby was definitely reported as not meet to serve his cure.⁶⁸ Several were reported to be sickly, blind, or impotent, including three at Doncaster.⁶⁹ In point of learning there was some variety. Otherwise the actual returns form a striking and suggestive contrast to the probably fictitious *comperta* of the monastic visitors. The extremists now at the head of affairs could not conscientiously spare the chantries. They followed the monasteries, and their proceeds were absorbed by the Protector's expedition to Scotland, or applied to the purposes of private owners.⁷⁰ Another Act of 1547 provided for the union of parishes in the city of York. The preamble states that the prosperity of the city had so dwindled that some of the benefices had sunk to a yearly value of 26s. 8d., so that it was impossible for a good curate to hold them.⁷¹ Chantry priests and unfrocked monks were the last resort, the city was 'replenished with blind guides and pastors,' and the people kept in ignorance of their duty towards God, the king, and the commonwealth. New livings were to be formed with values not exceeding £20 a year; superfluous churches might be pulled down and their stipends devoted to the repair and enlargement of others; the former patrons were to be allowed to have right of alternate presentation to the new livings, the incumbents of the suppressed churches were to keep their stipends during life, if they agreed to perform service as required. If not, they were to keep only a third.⁷² The Act was not carried into execution until January 1584-5, when twenty-nine benefices were united into eleven.⁷³ Holgate founded schools at York, Old Malton, and Hemsworth.⁷⁴

⁶³ Drake, *Eboracum*, 451.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 452.

⁶⁵ York Epis. Reg. Holgate, fol. 22; Lawton, *Coll.* 493.

⁶⁶ Drake, *op. cit.* 452.

⁶⁷ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 371, 372. See *ibid.* vol. i, pref. p. xii.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* ii, 498.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 390, 391.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* i, pref. pp. xiii, xiv.

⁷¹ The church of St. Peter-the-Little was a case in point. *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 245.

⁷² Add. MSS. 33595, fol. 16 (copy of Act).

⁷³ *Ibid.* fol. 17.

⁷⁴ Lawton, *op. cit.* 39, 527, 199, 200. Holgate seems to have appropriated Beswick chapelry, in Kilnwick parish, to his school at York (*ibid.* 351). The rectory of Kilnwick-on-the-Wolds had been appropriated to his priory of Watton.



CARDINAL THOMAS WOLSEY (1514-1530)



TOBIAS MATTHEW (1606-1628)

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Queen Mary translated Nicholas Heath from Worcester in 1555. He received his pall in October, and was enthroned in January 1555-6.⁷⁵ In the same year he succeeded Gardiner as lord chancellor. Deprivation and imprisonment had not ruined his tolerant temper, and historians like Fuller praise his moderation.⁷⁶ The Marian persecution left Yorkshire almost untouched; the single burning recorded, that of Richard Snell of Bedale, took place in the diocese of Chester.⁷⁷ Heath recovered much of the alienated property of the see and, by a series of exchanges in London, obtained a site for York House, near Charing Cross.⁷⁸ His tenure of the archbishopric was brief. He proclaimed Elizabeth, and was one of the two moderators who presided over the futile theological dispute at Westminster in 1559,⁷⁹ but he opposed the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, and was deprived on 5 July.⁸⁰ He was imprisoned in 1560, but released in 1563, and was allowed to end his days in peace.⁸¹

At the end of August 1559 the royal visitors began their visitation of the Yorkshire clergy. The southern and western deaneries were visited first at Pontefract, Halifax, and Otley. From 6 to 9 September the commissioners were at York. They were at Hull and Beverley on 11 and 12 December, at Malton and Northallerton on the 14th and 15th. On 18 September they were at Richmond.⁸² From these visitations a large number of clergy were absent, and incurred the guilt of contumacy.⁸³ Some deprivations took place as an immediate consequence, and several of the clergy deprived under Mary were restored to their benefices.⁸⁴ Among the clergy whose benefices were sequestered was the suffragan Bishop of Hull, Robert Pursglove, Archdeacon of Nottingham and formerly Prior of Guisborough.⁸⁵ Respite was given to the great majority of the recusants. Meanwhile the sees of the northern province were left vacant, and the temporalities administered by the council of the North.⁸⁶ In June 1560 William May, Dean of St. Paul's, an active reformer and one of the ecclesiastical commissioners of 1559, was nominated to the archbishopric. He died on the day of his election, and his place was not filled till February 1560-1, when Thomas Young was translated from St. David's. William Downham became Bishop of Chester on 4 May 1561.⁸⁷ On 5 May a commission was issued to Young, now president of the North, and other visitors to administer the Oath of Supremacy throughout the province.⁸⁸

⁷⁵ Drake, *op. cit.* 453.

⁷⁶ Fuller, *Ch. Hist. Brit.* bk. viii, sect. ii, § 19.

⁷⁷ Dixon, *Hist. Ch. Engl.* iv, 653, gives the name as Sewell. In Cattley's edition of Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* viii, 739, it is Snell. Dixon says that the burning took place at Bedale. Foxe gives the impression that it took place at Richmond; and this is borne out by the Richmond parish registers.

⁷⁸ Drake, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*; Fuller, *op. cit.* bk. ix, sect. i, § 11.

⁸⁰ Gee, *The Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion*, 1558-64 (1898), 36.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 144, 194, 195. Heath was excommunicated in Feb. 1560-1 for failing to attend church. He died in 1579.

⁸² *Ibid.* 77-79, 81.

⁸³ Dr. Gee (*ibid.* 83-5) gives the names of absentees in York diocese, and (87, 88) those in Chester diocese. Some of the place-names given cannot be identified with absolute certainty from the lists. Bishops Hull (84) is probably one of the Bishophill churches in York; Wormsley (83) and Fockton (84) should probably be Womersley and Folkton. The lists are from the commissioners' report in S.P. Dom. Eliz. x.

⁸⁴ List of restitutions (*ibid.* 89), from the same source. The Yorkshire benefices thus filled up with Bulmer, Burnsall, Doncaster, Hutton (?), Kirkby in Cleveland, Ripley, Sedbergh, Settrington, Whiston, the archdeaconry of Richmond, and the mastership of St. Nicholas' Hospital at Richmond.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 78.

⁸⁶ Gee (*ibid.* 165) notes, from one of the Zurich letters, the statement that the revenues of the sees 'did gloriously replenish the Exchequer.'

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 166.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 167.

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Young set about his work with zeal.⁸⁹ If much else was changed, the archbishop still held to his right of visiting Durham diocese, and the Bishop of Durham was still resolute in resisting him.⁹⁰ In June 1563 Young reported that the North was quiet, but the nobility, gentry, and clergy were still to be feared.⁹¹ A list of 'recusants which were abroad and bound to certain places,' made probably about August 1562, gives the names of some of the most formidable clergy. The Bishop of Hull was confined to the neighbourhood of Ugthorpe; he is described as 'very wealthy and stiff in papistry, and of estimation in the country.'⁹² The number of clergy deprived in the county between 1559 and Young's visitation seems to have included, apart from Archbishop Heath and his suffragan, the Archdeacons of York and Richmond, six prebendaries of York, five parochial clergy in the archdeaconry of York, six in the East Riding, three in Cleveland, and three in Richmond. To these must be added the Archdeacon of Chester, rector of Ripley, and the Bishop of Carlisle, rector of Romalldkirk.⁹³ Subsequent deprivations include three parochial clergy in the West Riding, two in the East Riding, three in Cleveland, and one in Richmond.⁹⁴ These lists are only approximate; the main inference is that the majority of the contumacious clergy of 1559 eventually took the oath. Dr. Palmes, the recusant Archdeacon of York, deprived in 1559, was imprisoned in 1561, and so continued in 1563.⁹⁵

In 1566-7 Young consecrated Richard Barnes as his suffragan with the title of Bishop of Nottingham.⁹⁶ The archbishop died in 1568, leaving behind him a reputation marred by his destruction of the hall of the palace at York.⁹⁷ Some credit must be given to his ability in the difficult task of conciliating the North. No important rising had taken place since the final suppression of the Pilgrimage of Grace. In 1548 the dissolution of the chantries had been followed by an attempted insurrection at Seamer, near Scarborough. A receiver of chantry lands and three others were murdered. The ringleaders were executed at York (1549).⁹⁸ In 1569, however, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland headed the Rising of the North. On 14 November mass was restored at Durham and Ripon; little more than a month later the rebellion was over. The punishment which followed fell with excessive severity on the poorer classes.⁹⁹ While cowing further efforts at insurrection, it kept alive that steady recusancy of which later Yorkshire records afford so many traces.

Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, was translated to York, June 1570,¹⁰⁰ and set to work to enforce the statutes of 1559. His injunctions, issued before visitation, required the destruction of altars, vestments, mass-books, chalices, and rood-lofts, and the erection, at least in larger churches,

⁸⁹ *Cal. S.P. For. Eliz.* 1561, p. 135.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 1564-5, p. 168.

⁹² *S.P. Dom. Eliz. Add.* xi, 45, printed in Gee, *op. cit.* 179 seq.

⁹³ Gee, *op. cit.* 252 seq. (App. i).

⁹⁴ *Cal. S.P. For. Eliz.* 1564-5, p. 168.

⁹⁵ Stubbs, *Reg. Sacr. Angl.* 107.

⁹⁷ Drake, *op. cit.* 454. It was said that he wanted the lead to buy an estate for his son, but he was cheated of the profit. The story comes from Sir John Harrington's appendix to Godwin's *De Praesulibus Angliæ*, and is noticed by Fuller, *op. cit.* bk. ix, sect. ii, § 14.

⁹⁸ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), i, pref. p. xvi.

⁹⁹ See Froude, *Hist. of Engl.* ix, 177 seq.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 226.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 288 seq. (App. iii).

¹⁰⁰ Drake, *op. cit.* 454.

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of a reading-desk in the nave for morning and evening prayer.¹ On 16 July 1571 Grindal reported the end of his visitation to the Earl of Leicester. He complained of the ignorance of the clergy and the smallness of stipends. 'Ofentymes wher ther are a thowsand or fyftene hundrethe people in a parishe, there is neyther parson nor vicare, but onlie a stipende of seaven or eight pounds for a curate.' No incumbents could be found to take such livings, which were often served by the curate of the next parish.² These evils were touched by John Best, Bishop of Carlisle, in a letter to Parker written in 1567. Best begs to be permitted, like his predecessor, to hold Romalldkirk Church *in commendam*; in renewing which grant 'Your grace shall both stay the covetous gripe that hath the advowson for his prey, the unlearned ass from the cure where I have now a learned preacher, and bind me as I am otherwise most bound to serve and pray for your grace's long continuance in honour and godliness.'³ Strype gives an amusing instance of ignorance in the case of a presentee to Harthill (1574). At his examination he translated the words *vestri humiles et obedientes* in his presentation form, by 'your humbleness and obedience.' Asked 'Who brought the children of Israel out of Egypt?' he answered, 'King Saul.' The question 'Who was first circumcised?' was beyond him, and he was rejected.⁴ It is noteworthy that Grindal does not accuse Yorkshire of the dissolute living which his commissary found in Lancashire and Cheshire,⁵ but the records of Halifax, at a somewhat later date, give no favourable picture of the morality of one remote Yorkshire district.

Grindal's articles of visitation, and the injunctions issued (1572) to the Dean and chapter of York, manifest his uncompromising temper.⁶ Strype remarks on his severity to Papists.⁷ The disturbed state of the North gave such severity its excuse, and even when we find royal officers taxing the scanty pensions of the religious and chantry priests who were still alive, to provide a subsidy,⁸ we may admit that the taxation provided a means of controlling funds which might have been employed by agents of rebellion. Grindal attacked not only adherents of the old faith, but the moderate interpretation of reformed doctrine, expressing more definitely what Holgate already had implied, and Young, who, like Grindal himself, had been a refugee in Germany, had held. Puritanism now placed itself in antithesis to the old beliefs in a district which hitherto had heard little of subversion of dogma. The way for further disruption was prepared, and the rift between the two Anglican parties soon began to show itself. Grindal was translated to Canterbury in 1576, and Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London, was preferred to York.⁹ Sandys had been a royal commissioner in Yorkshire in 1559.¹⁰

¹ Strype, *Life of Grindal* (ed. 1831), 247 seq. A large number of rood-lofts were left, and were not destroyed till the 18th century. Probably it was considered necessary to destroy the beam and figures alone without touching the loft.

² Add. MSS. 32091, fol. 242.

³ Letters printed in Whitaker, *Richmondshire*, i, 137, 138.

⁴ Strype, *op. cit.* 274.

⁵ See note 2 above.

⁶ See Ornsby, *Dioc. Hist. York*, 350, 351. Grindal held a visitation of the dean and chapter in Apr. 1575 (Strype, *op. cit.* 279).

⁷ Strype, *op. cit.* 273.

⁸ T. M. Fallow, 'Names of Yorkshire Ex-religious, 1573,' *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xix, 100 seq. (from Subs. R. bdle. 65, no. 349).

⁹ Drake, *op. cit.* 454. Grindal was translated 15 Feb.; Sandys was enthroned 13 Mar. 1575-6.

¹⁰ Report in S.P. Dom. Eliz. x, 1 (in Gee, *op. cit.* 90).

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Although he had sought refuge with the foreign reformers during the reign of Mary, his views were those of a cautious Anglican, resenting 'all such rude and indigested platformes as have been more lately and boldly then either learnedly or wisely preferred,' and the reducing of the Church of England to 'the state of a small private church.'¹¹ Sandys had an unfortunate genius for quarrelling, and he was soon on bad terms with his dean, Matthew Hutton, whose orders were Genevan. An attempt to visit Durham officially was resisted by the dean, William Whittingham, another prominent Genevan divine. In 1578 Whittingham's proceedings led to the appointment of a commission consisting, among others, of Sandys, Hutton, and the Earl of Huntingdon, who, as President of the North, incurred Sandys' enmity by coveting Bishopthorpe. The commission met in the chapter-house at Durham. Sandys broached the subject of Whittingham's orders. Hutton took up their defence and an unedifying wrangle followed. The commissioners went to dinner. The archbishop neither ate, nor drank, nor spoke, but after dinner was bitter against Hutton. He apparently dismissed all dignity in contrasting his own learning with that of the dean, and sneering at the dean's preaching as 'a lytle heapinge upp of doctors and poets, lytle ædifyinge.' It is little wonder that the commission was a failure.¹² The quarrel was continued at York; articles were issued against the dean; and eventually Hutton had to make his submission.¹³ Sandys' want of self-restraint, and irritation at the not ill-founded charge that he was enriching his family at the expense of the church, led him into counter-charges against the chapter, and reflexions on the engrossment of leases by his predecessor.¹⁴ An excellent and pious man, he displayed a weakness in his public dealings, which on at least one occasion nearly led to the triumph of baser enemies than Hutton.¹⁵ He died in 1588 and was buried at Southwell.¹⁶ His immediate successor was John Piers, translated from Salisbury in 1589, when Dean Hutton became Bishop of Durham. In 1594 Piers died, and Hutton returned to York as archbishop.¹⁷

Some idea of the condition of Yorkshire parish churches at this time may be gained from the visitation returns from the churches within the Dean of York's peculiar, between 1568 and 1602.¹⁸ These churches were Pickering and Pocklington with their former chapels and Kilham.¹⁹ The articles of inquiry administered to the wardens and 'fidedigni' of each parish were framed on the injunctions of 1559. No return bears witness to any direct infringement of the Act of Uniformity. The sins of the incumbents are mainly on the side of omission. At Barnby-on-the-Moor in 1595 there was no

¹¹ Will of Archbishop Sandys, quoted by Drake, *op. cit.* 455.

¹² Add. MS. 33207, fol. 5 seq. Ibid. fol. 13, occurs a document endorsed by Hutton, 'The Dean of Duresme's testimonials concerning my orders at Geneva.'

¹³ Lansd. MS. 50, fol. 78, 79; 'the Speech to be used by the Deane of Yorke.'

¹⁴ Sandys to Burghley, *ibid.* fol. 72, 73, beginning 'The Deane spitteth out his venome still, and hath used means to infect the verie Court. There is no end of his malice.'

¹⁵ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* 1, 283 seq.

¹⁶ Drake, *op. cit.* 455.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 456 seq. For Piers' character and virtues see Fuller, *op. cit.*, bk. ix, sect. viii, § 9.

¹⁸ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xviii, 197-232, 313-41.

¹⁹ For the ordination and consolidation of these benefices by Gray, see note 5, p. 26. The chapels formed into vicarages by Gray were these:—From Pickering: Allerston-with-Ebberston, Ellerburn-with-Wilton; from Pocklington: Barnby-on-the-Moor-with-Fangfoss, Allerthorpe-with-Thornton, Givendale-with-Millington, Hayton-with-Belby, Kilwick Percy. Goathland was a chapel of Pickering, Yapham-with-Meltonby of Pocklington.

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homily-book ; the late vicar took it to Fangfoss and left it there. The non-provision of quarter sermons at Pickering is noted three times. At Ellerburn in 1596 there were no quarter sermons, but they were provided in 1599. There was no Bible 'of the largest volume' at Millington in 1570, nor at Wilton in 1595. The Kilham register was missing in 1602. The dean was twice presented for not disbursing a fortieth of his living to the poor of Pickering. He was responsible for the decay of some of the fabrics.²⁰ Pickering, Ebberston, Fangfoss, and Kilham were chronic cases of structural ruin. In 1594 and 1595 the vicar of Fangfoss was presented for neglecting service on Wednesdays and Fridays, and occasionally on Sundays and holydays: he made no attempt to catechize, when there was no sermon he omitted to read a homily. At Pocklington in 1601 the vicar had no communion service at weddings, in 1602 he had no Wednesday or Friday service, save on Ash Wednesday, and held no catechizing. The vicar of Pickering in 1602 was said to be careless about wearing a surplice during service. He was removed in 1615 by the dean, who had been summoned as ordinary before the Privy Council.²¹ At Allerston in 1594 there was no curate, and there had been no communion since Easter. At Wilton things were more satisfactory, although during the earlier visitations the vicar was presented for neglecting service on Wednesdays and Fridays, and afternoon service on Sundays and holydays. At a later date things improved, but morning prayer was said at eight and afternoon prayer at two o'clock, probably because the vicar was due for similar services at Ellerburn. At Goathland in 1601 there was no pulpit. Necessary repairs, chiefly of churchyard fences, were taken in hand where possible ; but, as at Kilham, where an assessment for mending the steeple windows was made in 1593, parishioners were occasionally unwilling to pay their part.²²

After the accession of James I more energy was shown in restoring churches and providing chapels in large parishes. One of the old collegiate chapters was revived. Beverley had been dissolved in 1544, when the clerical staff of the minster was reduced to a vicar and three curates.²³ A commission was appointed in the same year to reform Ripon ; but the chapter was dissolved under Edward VI. Archbishop Sandys made an effort to procure its revival ;²⁴ and in 1604 the corporation of Ripon petitioned Anne of Denmark for its re-foundation. With her aid the chapter, consisting of a dean and six prebendaries, was revived and endowed out of the Crown lands.^{24a} The archbishop at this time was Tobias Matthew, translated from Durham on Hutton's death (1606).²⁵ Under his care, some-

²⁰ John Thornborough, who succeeded Hutton as dean, held his deanery with the bishoprics of Limerick (1593-1604) and Bristol (1604-17), resigning it on his translation to Worcester. Although his non-residence was an evil, he was no exceptional case, and the dilapidation of Ebberston, Fangfoss, and Kilham had begun long before his time.

²¹ Minute of Privy Council ap. Pickering parish register, printed in *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xviii, 200, 201.

²² References in *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* ut sup. The visitations 1568-94 are printed pp. 209-31 ; 1595 (Pocklington, Belby, Fangfoss), p. 232 ; 1595 (rest)-1602, pp. 315-41.

²³ Lawton, *Coll.* 319 ; Hiatt, *Beverley Minster* (1898), 31. The staff was further reduced to a vicar and one curate temp. Elizabeth.

²⁴ Sandys had a scheme, in which he was encouraged by Burghley and Richard Hooker among others, for founding a theological college in the Bedern, the common house of the prebendaries' vicars under the old régime (Hallett, *Cathedral Church of Ripon* [1901], 30).

^{24a} J. T. Fowler, *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 257, 258. A fresh charter was granted in 1607, and the subdeanery erected.

²⁵ Drake, op. cit. 458.

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thing was done towards subdivision of large parishes in the West Riding. A chapel was built at Denby in Penistone parish (1627).²⁶⁻²⁸ Ecclesall Chapel in Sheffield was restored for service in 1622.²⁹ The vicarage of Halifax had been held since 1593 by Dr. John Favour, who was preferred by Matthew to stalls at Ripon, Southwell, and York, and in 1617 to the precentorship of York.³⁰ Favour's thirty years' tenure of his benefice was remarkable for his efforts to restrain the immorality and superstition prevalent in his parish.³¹ He obtained the restoration of the alienated chapelry of Rastrick: a new chapel was built, in which 'ordinarye service was so distinctly done and redd and psalmes so well tuned and songe . . . it pleasyd Mr. Dr. Favour (to encourage the people in weldoinge) to preache there in May 1606.'³² Favour's religious ideals excluded harshness to Nonconformists.³³ He set great store by preaching: on the last Wednesday in every month an 'exercise' was held at Halifax, at which two sermons were preached. These were noted down in manuscript by Elkanah Wales, afterwards curate of Pudsey, and his brother; and among those who took part in the exercises were two Nonconformist lecturers named Boys and Barlow, who were protected by Favour, with the connivance of the archbishop.³⁴

Matthew, while sharing the zeal of his age against Papist recusants, was a representative of the moderate Anglican school. He is said to have 'died yearly in report'; and on one of these false alarms, the importunate Archbishop of Spalato was a disappointed candidate for York.³⁵ Matthew died in 1628, at the age of eighty-two.³⁶ His successor, George Montaigne, Bishop of Durham, died little more than a fortnight after his enthronement.³⁷ Samuel Harsnett, translated from Norwich in 1629, enjoyed the see for only two years.³⁸ He belonged to the Laudian school of thought, averse alike from 'all modern Popish superstitions, as all novelties of Geneva.'³⁹ In

²⁶⁻²⁸ Lawton, op. cit. 210.

²⁹ Ibid. 224.

³⁰ For an interesting account of Favour, see W. J. Walker, *Chapters on the Early Registers of Halifax Parish Ch.* (1885), 1 seq. See also Fowler, *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 277 seq.

³¹ The Chantry Commissioners of 1548 estimated the number of houseling people in Halifax, Elland, and Heptonstall at 8,500; *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.) ii, 421.

³² W. J. Walker, op. cit. 27.

³³ A book was published by him (1619) in favour of his conception of primitive Christianity. Its title is curious: *Antiquitie triumphing over Noveltye: whereby it is proved that Antiquitie is a true and certaine Note of the Christian Catholic Church and Verity, against all new and late upstart heresies, advancing themselves against the religious honour of old Rome, whose ancient faith was so much commended by St. Paul's pen, and often sealed with the blood of many Martyrs and worthy Bishops of that Sea* (sic).

³⁴ W. J. Walker, op. cit. 36. For Elkanah Wales, see Calamy, *Nonconformists' Mem.* (ed. Palmer, 1803), iii, 444.

³⁵ Fuller, op. cit. bk. x, sect. vi, § 9. Spalato left England in 1622: Neile, afterwards archbishop, is said by Heylyn (*Cyprianus Anglicus* [1671 ed.], 103) to have been the author of the pamphlet called *Spalato's Shiftings in Religion*. In Harl. MS. 2128, fol. 160, is a receipt for 15*s.* (26 Feb. 1623-4) from two Greeks, 'deputed and authorized by the Archbishop of Dirach, Spate, and Mussak' to receive money collected for him in the county by virtue of letters patent. Briefs are mentioned directed to the parishes of Leeds, Gargrave, Pannal, Keighley, and Water Fryston. Who was this prelate?

³⁶ Drake, op. cit. 459, who notes Matthew's activity as a preacher. See Lansdowne MS. 973, fol. 41 d. for an account relating to Matthew's hospitality at Bishopthorpe during the Christmas seasons of 1624 and 1625.

³⁷ Drake, *ibid.* See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxxviii, 277, for the clever but indecorous jest which was said to have won him the see. Milton, *Of Reformation in England* (1641), bk. i, has a taunt at 'old bishop Mountain' which may have been justified by facts.

³⁸ Drake, op. cit. 461.

³⁹ Will of Archbishop Harsnett, quoted by Drake, *ibid.* Harsnett's brass at Chigwell, Essex, represents him with mitre, cope, rochet, chimere, and pastoral staff.

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his time a chapel was provided at Armley, to serve the needs of that part of the parish of Leeds. It was built in 1630, but was not consecrated till 1674.⁴⁰⁻⁴¹ On Harsnett's death a fit successor was found in Richard Neile, Bishop of Winchester. Neile, who apparently little relished the translation for his own sake,⁴² was a faithful partisan of Laud,⁴³ and endeavoured to secure strict conformity to Anglican usage. Before visiting his province in 1633, he issued ninety-seven articles of inquiry which follow closely in most respects the requirements of 1559. The first two concern the repair of the church, vicarage, and churchyard, the profanation of the churchyard, and superstitious bell-ringing on holydays or their eves. As necessaries for common prayer are named a Bible of the largest volume; a prayer book and book of homilies; a convenient pulpit; a decent seat for the minister to read service in. There should be a chest for the registers, and a poor man's box with three locks. The 'decent table' should be conveniently placed, with cover of silk or 'other decent stuffe,' and a fair linen cloth at communion. A silver communion cup with a cover is required, and 'a fayre standing pot or two of pewter or purer metall' for the wine. The minister should wear in church 'a comely surplesse with sleeves' and a hood: in public, a coat, cassock, or cloak over doublet and hose; light-coloured clothes and stockings should be avoided. Prayer should be said or sung every Sunday and holyday, and on eves; the litany on Wednesdays and Fridays. Care is to be taken to instruct children on Sundays before evening prayer. Excommunicated persons are to be denounced every six months. Communicants must receive the sacrament kneeling. The wardens should be admonished, after the second lesson at morning and evening prayer, to look after absentees from church: they are to walk out of church during service, to see who are abroad in any ale-house or elsewhere. Other articles concern pluralities, lack of curates in parishes, and licences to preach. Unlicensed lectures and exercises, public fasts not appointed by authority, and unauthorized exorcisms are also to be reported.⁴⁴

These inquiries point to a desire for decency and reverence, without prescribing any very advanced standard of ritual. Neile, like Laud, regarded Popery and Nonconformity as the Scylla and Charybdis of Church and State, and his articles inquire strictly into any suspicion of Popery or Papist parishioners.⁴⁵ His certificate of this visitation refers chiefly to the dioceses of Chester and Carlisle.⁴⁶ In January 1636-7 he sent in a certificate of visitation for his own diocese. He comments on his clemency to 'unconformable ministers': while holding himself 'bound in conscience and duty to God, his Majesty, and the most happy established church' to oppose

⁴⁰⁻⁴¹ Lawton, *op. cit.* 93 (wrong date of consecration).

⁴² Heylyn, *Cyprianus Angl.* 214. 'Neile's known sufficiencies had pointed him unto the place, but he was warm at *Winton*, and perhaps might not be perswaded to move toward the North, from whence he came not long before with so great contentment.' Neile had been Bishop of Durham 1617-28.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 165.

⁴⁴ *Articles to be Inquired of, in the Metropolitall Visitation, &c.* 1633. London, 1633; 16 pp.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*; article 14 (pt. ii, no. 5) relates to unbaptized children in the parish, or children suspected of papist christening; article 20 (*ibid.* no. 11) asks for information as to popish priests in the parish; and article 21 (*ibid.* no. 12) asks whether the clergyman of the parish is suspected of popish inclinations.

⁴⁶ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1633-4, pp. 443, 444.

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Puritanism, he has never yet deprived a Puritan minister.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, the work of church extension in the diocese had gone on. Neile reports that four new chapels had been built during 1636.⁴⁸ These were probably Wibsey in Bradford parish, Hunslet in Leeds, Attercliffe in Sheffield, which were all consecrated by the Bishop of Sodor and Man in this year,⁴⁹ and Harwood Dale in Hackness.⁵⁰ Halton Gill Chapel, in Arncliffe, was rebuilt in the same year.⁵¹ On 21 September 1634 the archbishop had consecrated St. John's Chapel at Leeds, which had been founded by a local layman named John Harrison. Neile demurred to the vesting of the patronage in the corporation and vicar of Leeds, and insisted that, if the choice of the curate were not left to the archbishop, the vicar should have the right of vetoing an unsuitable appointment. He thought the chapel was too near the parish church, and that there might be a danger of rival pulpits.⁵² The curate, Robert Todd, was a Puritan, 'a great textuary, and a very scriptural preacher.' At the consecration the sermon was preached by John Cosin, then Archdeacon of the East Riding, on the text 'Let all things be done decently and in order.' In the afternoon Todd, expounding the words of the catechism, 'Yea, verily, and by God's help so I will,' was suspected of attempting to confute Cosin, and was deprived for twelve months.⁵³ The fabric and fittings of St. John's still remind us of a most interesting period in English church architecture and ritual. When Charles I visited York in May 1633 he commented severely on the state of the minster, and ordered the mean houses which blocked the west and south fronts, and a house which was actually built up inside the transept, to be taken down. The quire was much blocked by seats for women of quality. These were to be removed and replaced by movable benches. A seat for the Lord President's wife was to be made beyond the stalls on the north side; and a seat for the council might be left before the throne, where the president sat with the archbishop.⁵⁴ The admission of the laity to the stalls led to disputes for precedency, and Charles's anxiety on this point is justified by a dispute which arose in the same year between the lord mayor and the chapter, the lord mayor claiming the right to sit in the stall of the Archdeacon of York.⁵⁵

Neile's efforts for conformity were much hampered by the colony of Frenchmen and Dutchmen who were carrying out the drainage of Hatfield Chase. Sir Philibert Vernatti, their employer, allowed them to use a barn for their services. Their discipline was Presbyterian: they baptized in a dish, and received the sacrament sitting. Bishop Williams of Lincoln gave them his approval; and they prepared to build a church across the Lincolnshire

⁴⁷ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1636-7, p. 409. Cf. note 53 below. Neile instances the case of a 'poor, melancholic, brainsick, unconformable man,' whom he had treated with consideration.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Lawton, *op. cit.* 116, 96, 223.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 302.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 245.

⁵² Copy of letter, Lansdowne MS. 973, fol. 32 d. (Bishopthorpe, 1 Sept. 1634).

⁵³ Calamy, *Nonconf. Mem.* iii, 439, 440. Todd had previously served cures at Swinefleet, Whitgift, and Ledsham. John Shaw, appointed lecturer at All Saints', Pavement, 1637-40, by the Puritan party in York corporation, came under Neile's displeasure: see *Yorkshire Diaries* (Surt. Soc.), 129 seq. for some side-lights on Neile's attitude towards Puritanism. The strongly partisan feeling of the writer detracts from their value.

⁵⁴ Lansdowne MS. 973, fol. 56 d.-58 d.: copy of letter ap. S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cccxxxix, 56.

⁵⁵ Lansdowne MS. 973, fol. 58 d.-59 d. In Add. MSS. 33595, fol. 19 seq. is an *inspeximus* (11 June 1526) of 'a decree for precedency of place betwene the citizens of Yorke and them of the spiritual court,' made by Bowet in 1411.

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der. Neile refused them countenance unless they conformed, forbade persons in his diocese to attend their service, and complained to the king through Laud of these strangers 'that take the bread out of the mouths of English subjects by overbidding them in rents of land, and doing more work for a groat than an Englishman can do for sixpence.'⁵⁶ For a time he placed an interdict upon them. Their minister departed; the materials for their chapel were sold,⁵⁷ and they went to the parish church, where they behaved devoutly. Neile begs Laud to procure copies of the prayer-book in French and Dutch for them.⁵⁸ Somewhat later they obtained liberty of worship, and built their chapel at Sandtoft in Lincolnshire.⁵⁹ Neile has been blamed for his firm insistence on conformity, and for unwillingness to license chaplains in private families. He told Laud, however, that he was ready to tolerate such rates at poor stipends, provided that they kept to the prayer-book at family prayers.⁶⁰ The danger lay, not merely in the possible foundation of Puritan conventicles, but also in the risk of affording shelter to seminary priests.

Since the penal statutes of Elizabeth's reign, the main attention of the spiritual and secular authorities had been directed to Papist recusants. The statutes were active against suspected priests. In 1591, for example, a priest named Robert Thorpe was taken, early in the morning of Palm Sunday, by justice and a posse of constables, at a house in Menethorpe, where he was supposed to be going to say mass. He and his host were dragged out of their beds and hanged at York Castle on 31 May.⁶¹ Few parishes in the county failed to contribute their share of recusants and non-churchgoers to quarter sessions and assizes. The district round Bubwith and certain places in Holderness show the largest number of returns in the East Riding.⁶² The list of 1604, for Craven, contains the well-known names of Tempest Broughton and Pudsay of Bolton-by-Bowland, but is unexpectedly small.⁶³ Lists of the later part of the 17th century contain several entries from Thedbergh, Broughton, Ingleton, Austwick in Clapham parish, and other places in Staincliffe and Ewcross wapentakes.⁶⁴ Round Masham and Kirkby Malzeard, and in Wensleydale and Swaledale, Papists were numerous.⁶⁵ Stanwick St. John in Teesdale, and the whole neighbourhood of Barnard Castle, generally returned a large number. One hundred and seven recusants are mentioned in Stanwick parish in 1604⁶⁶: from the hamlet of Aldbrough one, sixty were presented at Richmond quarter sessions in January 1673-4.⁶⁷ The chief families of the district were strongly Romanist: Rokeby, Wycliffe, Airlington, Catherick, Metham, Metcalfe, Gascoigne, Tunstall, Pudsay, and

⁵⁶ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cccxxxvii, 47.

⁵⁷ Reference as note 47 above.

⁵⁸ S.P. Dom. Chas. I, cccxxxi, 71.

⁵⁹ Ornsby, *Dioc. Hist. York*, 376.

⁶⁰ See note 47 above, p. 58. Ornsby, *op. cit.* 381, refers to Neile's refusal to consecrate Sir Henry Ornsby's private chapel at Red House, in Moor Monkton parish (see also *Yorkshire Diaries* [Surt. Soc.], 421).

⁶¹ E. Peacock, *A List of the Roman Catholics in the County of York in 1604* (Bodl. Lib. MS. Rawlinson 452), 124 n.

⁶² *Ibid.* 134 (Bubwith), 122-129 (Holderness).

⁶³ *Ibid.* 17-22.

⁶⁴ See *Depositions from the Castle of York, 17th cent.* (Surt. Soc. xl), 133 (25 March 1664), 138, 139, 167, 168 (6 July 1669), 182 (8 July 1670).

⁶⁵ Peacock's list, *op. cit.* 73 seq., contains names of forty recusants and thirty-four non-communicants from Masham, 106 non-communicants from Kirkby Malzeard (36 seq.), thirty-eight recusants and twenty-four non-communicants from Grinton-in-Swaledale (67 seq.).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 81, 82.

⁶⁷ *Quarter Sess. Rec.* (N. R. Rec. Soc.), vi, 195 seq.

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Meynell are names which recur in various lists. Another district in which large presentations were normal was the neighbourhood of Hovingham; Hovingham and its hamlets and Brandsby were seldom without their quota.⁶⁸ Places like Thornton-le-Street varied considerably in numbers.⁶⁹ Cleveland, however, abounded in recusants, Stokesley, Guisborough, Crathorne, Brotton, Skinningrove and Egton, presenting numbers which suggest the stimulating effect of persecution. Fifty-five are named at Egton in 1604⁷⁰: at the quarter sessions of July 1614, 137 were presented⁷¹; in April 1674 the number had risen to 227, while 113 were reported from Lythe.⁷² The Cleveland recusants were principally of the poorer classes, fishermen and labourers from Brotton and Skinningrove, tradesmen and labourers from Egton, pewterers and other tradesmen from Stokesley. Propagandists were not wanting: men and women are noted as dangerous seducers from Ugthorpe, Yarm, Newland near Hull, and other places.⁷³ Companies of players, apprehended under the Vagrancy Act, were suspected of popish tendencies; one of these, consisting of labourers, weavers, and others, was presented at Helmsley in January 1615-16, with various gentlemen and farmers who had given them entertainment in Cleveland and on the Richmondshire border.⁷⁴ £1,100 in fines were levied at Malton in October 1625 from gentlemen suspected of harbouring recusants; £1,300 in the following October at Richmond.⁷⁵ Earlier in October 1626 large sums were levied in the same way, and letters from the king and Archbishop Abbot were read, asking Archbishop Matthew and his suffragans for returns of Papists in the diocese and province.⁷⁶ Under Matthew's rule no year is without its long list of recusants, non-churchgoers, and suspected marriages and baptisms.

Neile's successor at York (1641) was a man of very different sympathies, John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln. The enforcers of conformity were now themselves to feel the pressure of intolerance. The resident Yorkshire clergy, at the time of the Civil War, seem to have been pious and industrious. Pluralism was still a crying evil; and vicars and curates in many places felt the sting of poverty. Cosin held his archdeaconry with the deanery of Peterborough, a prebend at Durham, the rectory of Brancepeth, and the mastership of Peterhouse.⁷⁷ John Neile, nephew of the archbishop, was Archdeacon of Cleveland, prebendary of North Newbald, and rector of Beeford in Holderness, and held stalls at Southwell and Durham.⁷⁸ Williams, while at Oxford with Charles I, preferred a Welshman, vicar of Ruabon, to a stall at York.⁷⁹ We can hardly expect to find pluralism unaccompanied by

⁶⁸ *Quarter Sess. Rec.* (N. R. Rec. Soc.), iii, 174 seq. (1 Oct. 1623; long list from Brandsby); 207 seq. (30 Sept. 1624, Brandsby, Hovingham, &c.); 293 (2 Oct. 1627, Brandsby); 338 seq. (3 Oct. 1632, Brandsby, Hovingham), &c. &c.

⁶⁹ Fair lists from Thornton-le-Street occur *ibid.* iii, 192 (7 Oct. 1623); and 247 seq. (12 Oct. 1625; specified from North Kilvington), fifty-nine were presented 20 Jan. 1673-4 (*ibid.* vi, 195 seq.), when sixty were presented from Aldbrough in Stanwick (as note 67 above), and sixty from Eryholme.

⁷⁰ Peacock, *op. cit.* 97-100.

⁷¹ *Quarter Sess. Rec.* (N. R. Rec. Soc.), i, 63-5.

⁷² *Ibid.* vi, 204 seq. Ugthorpe, to the neighbourhood of which we have seen Bishop Pursglove confined, is in Lythe parish.

⁷³ Peacock, *op. cit.* 109, 104, 137. The seducers at Ugthorpe and Newland were women. At Melsonby (*ibid.* 87) is mentioned 'Marke a milner . . . a great persuader of the people to recusancie.'

⁷⁴ *Quarter Sess. Rec.* (N. R. Rec. Soc.), ii, 110, 111.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* iii, 241, 276, 277.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 270-72.

⁷⁷ Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy* (1714), pt. ii, 58.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* ii, 83.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 84.

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er evils. An official of the Archdeacon of Cleveland was accused (1618) several counts of petty extortions, worthy of Chaucer's 'sompnour.'⁸⁰ In 1613 the curate of Skelton was presented at Thirsk for keeping an ale-house.⁸¹ The vicar of Brompton-in-Pickering-Lythe was fined (1626) for extorting burial fee, and again in 1627.⁸² In 1641 Christopher Fisher, clerk, of Old Kirby, was sent to York Castle for reviling Mr. Tankard, who, he said, was 'more fitter for a swineherd than a justice of the peace.' Fisher secured soldiers to rescue him on his way to prison.⁸³ Brawlings in churches and churchyards were generally due to the insubordinate laity, but may in some cases be traced to the more noisy recusants.⁸⁴ Walker's list of the clergy deprived by the committees for removing scandalous ministers is probably far from complete: the greater number included, apart from members of chapters, belonged to well-known places in the West Riding, while Richmondshire and Cleveland are practically unrepresented. In 1643 Henry Robinson, vicar of Leeds, Puritan in religion but Royalist in politics, had to flee for safety, and wandered about the country seeking refuge with the royalist garrisons and with compassionate patrons, but not escaping imprisonment.⁸⁵ Thornton, rector of Thirsk, was dragged to Cawood Castle at a horse's tail.⁸⁶ After the conspiracy of Pontefract, Beaumont, vicar of South Kirkby, was executed.⁸⁷ The vicar of Kirkburton was dragged over the dead body of his wife by his murderers.⁸⁸ Dr. Bradley was turned out of his rectories of Castleford and Ackworth; his library was surrendered by a man to whom he had entrusted it.⁸⁹ Mr. Blakestan of Northallerton was expelled by the intruding minister in the middle of service.⁹⁰ A few deprived clergymen obtained all livings, where they remained in poverty and comparative peace.⁹¹ But in other cases where respite was allowed expulsion came. Dr. Kay of Rothwell was driven out of Wragby Church, where the owner of Westwell Priory had connived at his preaching.⁹² Edward Dodsworth was driven out of Badsworth as late as 1655.⁹³ In one case at least, deprivation was incurred on the most frivolous grounds. The vicar of Darrington was informed against for addressing God in terms borrowed from the Book of Common Prayer, and was imprisoned till his fine was paid. The words were 'Almighty God, our heavenly Father,' and the opening words of the Lord's Prayer.⁹⁴

Presbyterian discipline was established at York in 1644. Four ministers, appointed by the State, divided their services between the minster and All

⁸⁰ *Quarter Sess. Rec.* (N. R. Rec. Soc.), ii, 171, 172, 173, 201. On p. 172 this official, by an oversight, is wrongly on the part of the justices' clerk, is called 'Archdeacon of Cleveland.'

⁸¹ *Ibid.* ii, 16.

⁸² *Ibid.* iii, 270, 289.

⁸³ *Ibid.* iv, 204, 205.

⁸⁴ See *Quarter Sess. Rec.* (N. R. Rec. Soc.), iii, 311, for a disturbance at Whitby in 1631, and iv, 52, for a sacrilegious sacrilege at Raskelf in 1641.

⁸⁵ Walker, *op. cit.* ii, 349.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 385.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 212. Lawton, *op. cit.* 229, says that he was shot. A different account of his death is given by the author of the journal of the *Third siege of Pontefract Castle* (Surt. Soc. xxxvii), 105.

⁸⁸ J. Walker, *op. cit.* ii, 408.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 85.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 212. The intruder invaded the pulpit and made 'a long prayer and longer sermon.'

⁹¹ e.g. William Bridges, curate of Barwick-in-Elmet (*ibid.* 413), who got the living of Saxton, worth £10 a year, and lived with great difficulty and the aid of charity. He was threatened with death by the ministers for using the prayer-book at Saxton.

⁹² *Ibid.* 290.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 234.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 408.

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Saints', Pavement, the church in which the citizens took the Solemn League and Covenant. Edward Bowles, the chief of these, preached and expounded scripture every Sunday, and took his part in week-day lectures and expositions.⁹⁵ Dr. Edward Richardson took the place of dean and chapter at Ripon.⁹⁶ A committee of ministers sat weekly in the chapter-house at York, to supersede 'ignorant and scandalous' ministers.⁹⁷ Little wilful damage was done to the fabrics of Yorkshire churches during the Commonwealth period, though much harm had been done in places directly affected by the war, for which both parties were responsible. St. Nicholas's Church at York was totally ruined,⁹⁸ and St. Olave's greatly damaged.⁹⁹ Irreparable injury was done to Pontefract Church.¹⁰⁰ The glass of the east window at Ripon was destroyed by Parliamentary soldiers in 1643.¹ But in time of peace every precaution was taken to keep churches in repair. The parliamentary surveyors carefully noted examples of decayed fabrics.² Impropropriators and churchwardens were presented continually at quarter sessions for neglecting to attend to the buildings.³ It is true that the recommendations of the parliamentary survey for re-modelling boundaries and creating new parishes included the demolition of superfluous churches and chapels.⁴ An order was made for the removal and rebuilding of Adel Church in a more central position, which the parishioners were ready to carry out at their own expense.⁵ Schemes for subdividing large parishes anticipated much that has taken place in recent times. Five new parishes were recommended to be made in the chapelries of Leeds,⁶ eight in Halifax,⁷ four in Ecclesfield⁸ and Snaith,⁹ three in Almondbury,¹⁰ two in Birstal,¹¹ Braithwell,¹² Bradford,¹³ Darfield,¹⁴ Huddersfield,¹⁵ Sheffield,¹⁶ and Silkstone.¹⁷ Parish churches were

⁹⁵ Calamy, *op. cit.* iii, 455, 456. See note in *Yorkshire Diaries* (Surt. Soc.), 157. Bowles exercised great political influence in York, and was said to be 'The spring that moved all the wheels' within the city.

⁹⁶ J. Walker, *op. cit.* ii, 89; Calamy, *op. cit.* iii, 445, 446; cf. Lawton, *op. cit.* 539.

⁹⁷ *Yorkshire Diaries* (Surt. Soc.), 140. Shaw was secretary to the committee, and burned their minutes at the Restoration.

⁹⁸ Lawton, *op. cit.* 21.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 33.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* (Parl. Surv. xviii, 393), 146. St. Giles's chapel in the market-place became the parish church in 1778 (149). The eastern arm of Scarborough Church was ruined by royalist fire from the neighbouring castle.

¹ Hallett, *Cathedral Church of Ripon* (1901), 34.

² See their reports, e.g. on Howden (Lawton, *op. cit.* 296), Withernsea (385), and Gisburn (255).

³ See *Quarter Sess. Rec.* (N. R. Rec. Soc.) v, 117 (Wigginton), 119, 120 (Kirkby Moorside, both 5 Oct. 1652); presentations of parishioners for refusing to pay assessments towards repair, *ibid.* 195 (Thirsk, 2 Oct. 1665), 204 (Hutton Rudby, 17 Jan. 1655-6), 251 (Sowerby, 6 Oct. 1657).

⁴ e.g. Thorp Arch (Lawton, *op. cit.* 81), Over Poppleton (71). At York (33) the commissioners recommended the union of St. Olave's and St. Helen's Stonegate with St. Michael's-le-Belfry, 'and the materials of the same churches may be disposed of, as the lord mayor and aldermen . . . shall think most convenient, for the public use of the said city in reference to church maintenance.'

⁵ Lawton, *op. cit.* 84.

⁶ Viz. St. John's, Leeds; Beeston; Farnley, with Armley, Bramley, and Wortley; Holbeck; Hunslet (*ibid.* 89, 93, 95, 96).

⁷ Coley with Lightcliffe; Cross Stone with Heptonstall; Elland with Rastrick; Sowerby; Illingworth; Luddenden; Ripponden (*ibid.* 128 seq.).

⁸ Bolsterstone; Bradford; Midhope; Stannington (*ibid.* 189 seq.)

⁹ Carlton in Balne; Heck, with Hensall, Balne, and part of Whitley; Hook, with Airmyrn and Goole; Rawcliffe (*ibid.* 155 seq.).

¹⁰ Honley; Marsden; Meltham (*ibid.* 106, 107).

¹¹ Cleckheaton, with Hunsworth and Wyke; Tong (*ibid.* 111, 112).

¹² Bramley; Hellaby with Woodlaiths (*ibid.* 177).

¹³ Haworth; Wibsey (*ibid.* 114, 116).

¹⁴ Wombwell; Worsborough (*ibid.* 182).

¹⁵ Scammonden; Slaithwaite (*ibid.* 139).

¹⁶ Attercliffe; Ecclesall (*ibid.* 223, 224).

¹⁷ Barnsley; Cawthorne (*ibid.* 226, 228).

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to be built where they were needed.¹⁸ The chapel of Meltham was consecrated in 1651 by Bishop Tilson of Elphin¹⁹; and chapels were built at Rawdon, in Guiseley parish (1653),²⁰ East Hardwick, in Pontefract (1653),²¹ Bramhope, in Otley,²² and Stannington, in Ecclesfield.²³

The new order of things, however, did not make for religious peace. Two 'able and painful' ministers were contending about 1650 for the church of Arksey, one pleading the authority of the Great Seal, the other that of the Committee for Plundered Ministers.²⁴ In 1645 John Shaw was appointed lecturer at Trinity Church in Hull, and fell out with the vicar, Mr. Styles, over the privilege of preaching on Sunday mornings. A further dispute arose over the mastership of the Charterhouse at Hull.²⁵ Styles was deprived of his living and the mastership for demurring to the execution of the king.²⁶ Shaw succeeded him in the mastership; but his claim to the benefice was disputed by the governor's candidate, John Canne. Each disputant disparaged the other with some heat, and Canne in particular accused Shaw of corruption in municipal politics.²⁷ A new minister of Hull was appointed; Shaw continued to be lecturer, while Canne was allowed to preach to the garrison in the chancel of Holy Trinity. A wall was built to shut off the chancel; and Shaw attracted large congregations in the nave.²⁸ He tells us that his exclusion of profane persons and 'dangerous seducers' from the communion caused much opposition and persecution,²⁹ and that he 'found Hull, like Jeremy's figgs, the good very good, and the bad very bad.'³⁰

The Yorkshire Puritan clergy were not wanting in ability, zeal, and scholarship. The parliamentary survey, however, notes depreciatingly of the minister of Driffield that he 'preaches at both churches of Great Driffield and Little Driffield after his fashion.'³¹ At Walton, near Wetherby, it found the minister 'a man of evil life and conversation, who preacheth not above four times in the year, and he frequently useth the book of Common Prayer.'³² The parson of a mediety of High Hoyland was guilty of the same practice.³³ Royalist clergy gave some trouble. In 1651 Edward Mainwaring, of Sowerby, near Thirsk, was presented at Malton for marrying people privately and using the Prayer Book.³⁴ About the same time Robert Ashton was charged with bastardy at York Assizes. This eccentric person, a native of Askew, near Lastingham, had been banished from county Durham, and settled at Leeming, where he practised physic without licence, and was accused of keeping a disorderly ale-house with a bowling-alley and butts.

¹⁸ e.g. churches were recommended at Heck (note 9), Hellaby (note 12), and Stannington (note 8). The building of Stannington chapel was probably the practical outcome of this scheme.

¹⁹ Lawton, op. cit. 107.

²⁰ Ibid. 86. The chapel was consecrated by Archbishop Dolben.

²¹ Lawton, p. 151 (Charity Com. Rep. xii, 646).

²² Lawton, op. cit. 99.

²³ Ibid. 191; Hunter, *Hallamshire* (ed. Gatty), 468, gives date as 1652 or 1653.

²⁴ Lawton, op. cit. 171 (Parl. Surv. xviii, 490).

²⁵ *Yorkshire Diaries* (Surt. Soc.), 424, 425 (App.). Shaw had been Vicar of Rotherham and afterwards lecturer at All Saints', Pavement, York (see note 53 above, p. 58).

²⁶ Ibid. 425. The deprivation took place early in 1651, J. Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, pt. ii, 371, says 'about 1647,' and says that Styles was subsequently offered the vicarage of Leeds.

²⁷ *Yorkshire Diaries* (Surt. Soc.), 428; ibid. 143, 144; note in App. ibid. 422, 423. Canne had been pastor of the Brownists in Amsterdam.

²⁸ Ibid. 144.

²⁹ Ibid. 142.

³⁰ Ibid. 141, 142.

³¹ Lawton, op. cit. 295.

³² Ibid. 81.

³³ Ibid. 201.

³⁴ *Quarter Sess. Rec.* (N. R. Rec. Soc.), v, 97

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With these irregularities he combined the practice of reading Common Prayer in his house, calling people together with a bell, preached and read prayers in Leeming Chapel, and healed the king's evil on the 30th of every month, dressed in a long white garment.³⁵ Ashton was fined £80 in October 1651, and £12 for practising physic contrary to law, and was to be kept in York Castle until he entered on a bond for £200, with sureties bound in £150 each.³⁶ A clergyman at Pocklington prayed publicly before his sermon for Charles II.³⁷ Lay Royalists disturbed congregations. In 1650 a man brought 'a pockitt dagger with two large knives' to Fishlake Church, and boasted that he 'hoped to doe his King more service therewith than any Cropp did the Parliament with his longe sword.'³⁸ At Little Ouseburn a Royalist named Watters came into church one Sunday, passed by his own pew, and climbed into that of a Roundhead gentleman over the locked door, so that the constable had to sit in the pew all sermon time.³⁹ Suspicious persons were arrested near Malton, and charged with being seminary priests.⁴⁰ A man was charged at Malton in 1651 for keeping crucifixes in his house without acquainting the justices; ⁴¹ and in 1656 an order was made for the public burning of popish articles, confiscated by a body of searchers, in the market-place at New Malton.⁴²

The most severe menace to the new order of things, however, came from the new sect of Quakers. 'The truth,' says George Fox, 'sprang up . . . to us, so as to be a people to the Lord . . . in Yorkshire in 1651.'⁴³ In that year Fox, preaching at Balby, convinced two of his chief lieutenants, William Dewsbury and Richard Farnsworth.⁴⁴ Fox travelled into the East Riding, meeting with encouragement from leading Puritan laymen. His appearance at Beverley Minster gave rise to the report that an angel or spirit had spoken in the church.⁴⁵ A minister near Hutton Cranswick, 'a great high-priest, called a doctor,' was preaching on Isaiah lv, 1, when Fox cried out to him, 'Come down, thou deceiver, dost thou bid people come freely, and take of the water of life freely, and yet thou takest £300 a year of them for preaching the scriptures to them?'⁴⁶ From York, where he attempted to controvert 'priest Bowles,' and was thrown out of the minster, Fox journeyed into Cleveland. A large meeting of Friends was started at Borrowby.⁴⁷ He was opposed by parish ministers and by the Cleveland ranters, but 'the Lord's everlasting power was over the world, and reached to the hearts of people, and made both priests and professors tremble . . . so that it was a dreadful thing to them, when it was told them, 'The man in leathern breeches is come.'⁴⁸ He was sometimes offered the use of

³⁵ *Depositions from the Castle of York* (Surt. Soc.), 36 seq.

³⁶ *Quarter Sess. Rec.* (N. R. Rec. Soc.), v, 88 : see also pp. 61 seq., 85. Ashton apparently was not in holy orders.

³⁷ *Depositions from the Castle of York* (Surt. Soc.), 24. See also pp. 9, 10, for the refractory conduct of Mr. Dunwell in administering baptism at St. Mary's Bishophill Senior (1647).

³⁸ *Ibid.* 31.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 62, 63.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 44 seq.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 98.

⁴² *Ibid.* 220, 221.

⁴³ George Fox, *Journal* (3rd ed. 1765), 662.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 49 : see also J. W. Rowntree, *Essays and Addresses* (ed. Joshua Rowntree, 1905), 1 seq. for three valuable chapters on 'The Rise of Quakerism in Yorkshire,' with notices of early Friends, and an illustrative map. Dewsbury followed up Fox's work in the North and East Ridings, and convinced Thomas Thompson of Skipsea, a famous East Riding preacher.

⁴⁵ Fox, *op. cit.* 50.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 51.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 52.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 52-55. He tells us that the ranters 'took tobacco, and tasted ale in their meetings.'

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: pulpits which the priests lolled in';⁴⁹ and found a friend in Mr. Boys, minister of Goathland, who accompanied him in his wanderings through moors. At one place Fox felt moved 'to famish' his congregation in words,' and sat in silence on a haystack for some hours, while Boys ordered them to wait until his lips were loosed.⁵⁰ In 1652 Fox was arrested at Patrington, but set at liberty,⁵¹ and was mobbed at Tickhill, where the parish clerk struck him in the face with the Bible.⁵² He travelled through Kettlewell and Bradford into Craven, and by way of Pendle Hill, from the top of which the Lord let him 'see in what places he had a great people gathered,'⁵³ to Sedbergh and the dales. Here he had a vision of 'a great people in white raiment by a river-side, coming to the Lord.'⁵⁴ After preaching in the dales, he went into Westmorland and Lancashire.⁵⁵ Between 1654 and 1680 Fox paid nine visits to different parts of Yorkshire.⁵⁶ From a meeting at Synderhill Green, near Halifax (1654), sixty ministers were sent to work in other parts of England.⁵⁷ Near Skipton (1660) a meeting of male and female Friends was called to provide for persecuted Friends at home and Friends abroad.⁵⁸ In 1665 Fox was removed from his prison at Lancaster to Scarborough Castle, where his room lay open to the sea, 'so that the water came over my bed, and ran about the room, that I was fain to wash it up with a platter.'⁵⁹ Imprisonment only kindled his zeal; and in 1667, arriving at York from a winter journey in the dales, he cries, 'I am my holy element, and holy work in the Lord; glory to His name for ever!'⁶⁰

The spiritual activity begun by Fox spread with remarkable quickness. James Naylor, convinced at Wakefield in 1651, was a victim to that exaltation of spirit which to Fox himself was strength, and lost himself in spiritual delusion.⁶¹ Of Fox's chief Yorkshire helpers, William Dewsbury spent nineteen months in prison; Thomas Tayler of Skipton spent ten years in Stafford gaol, and months in other prisons; Thomas Aldam of Warmsworth was in York Castle for two years and a half.⁶² Early Quaker enthusiasm was marked by a meeting at Malton in 1653, attended by 200 persons, which lasted more than three days, and included a bonfire of vanities.⁶³ Fox's methods of plain speech were imitated all over Yorkshire. A woman was fined £200 (1652) for calling to the minister of Selby during sermon, 'Come down, come down, thou painted beast, come down.'⁶⁴ John Pickering of Thimbleby (1654) disputed about tithes with his minister, refusing to pay for the maintenance of one who prayed in his 'Babylon pulpit against us humble ones,' and referring to the Protector as 'the beast who is fallen from his

⁴⁹ Fox, op. cit. 56.

⁵² Ibid. 63.

⁵³ Ibid. 66.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 57, 58.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid. 59, 60.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 67-9.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 114 seq. (1654); 265 (1657); 299 seq. (1660); 350 (1663, a passing visit to N. W. Yorkshire and Sedbergh); 377 seq. (1665-6); 392 (1666, short visit to Cleveland); 404 seq. (1669); seq. (1677); 541 (1679-80).

⁵⁷ Ibid. 114.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 300, 301. Cf. J. W. Rowntree, op. cit. and Isabel M. Hall, 'An Extinct Monthly Meeting' (1883), *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* (July 1903), 354.

⁵⁹ Fox, op. cit. 378, 379.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 497.

⁶¹ Ibid. 49; see Rowntree, op. cit., for short biographical notice.

⁶² Rowntree, op. cit. Fox mentions Aldam's imprisonment, op. cit. 63. Thomas Thompson (see note 44) was in York Castle for nine years for refusing to go to church or pay for the repair of Skipscaugh-ple-house' (Rowntree, op. cit. 24).

⁶³ Rowntree, op. cit. 17.

⁶⁴ *Depositions from the Castle of York* (Surt. Soc.), 54.

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first principles.’⁶⁵ Service at Little Ouseburn was interrupted by Christopher Bramley, who said to the minister ‘Thou art going into the throne of pride,’ and disturbed the sermon by protesting against the application of the text, ‘Thy word is a lantern unto my feet,’ to the Bible. He was expelled from church, but thrust a paper ‘containing much scandalous and reviling matter’ through the keyhole.⁶⁶ There can be little doubt that, in enthusiasm for the inward light, denunciation of a paid ministry, and their protest against idolatry of the letter of Scripture,⁶⁷ some early Quakers drifted into antinomianism. A Westmorland man and woman, apprehended at Beverley (1653) for posting papers on the market-cross, gave answers which indicate that they held doctrines akin to those of the ‘family of love.’⁶⁸ A wandering prophetess named Jane disturbed the peace of New Malton in 1652, holding meetings at night which attracted the wives, and caused anxiety to the husbands of the town. One man who came to look after his wife was thrown downstairs; and the deposition of a youth who went for a walk with Jane in the wolds, and was given a drug by her to cast out an evil spirit, justifies the suspicion with which irregular apostles were regarded.⁶⁹ But the new enthusiasm, in its genuine forms, gave its converts courage to endure persecution. There were a thousand Quakers in English prisons in 1656: six years later the number was more than quadrupled.⁷⁰ Presentations before justices for ‘unlawful assembly under the colour of religious worship’ became increasingly common.⁷¹ Five monthly meetings existed in Yorkshire in 1665: in 1669 the number was increased to fourteen.⁷² Between 1677 and 1716, 149 particular meetings are known in the North and East Ridings.⁷³ After the Act of Toleration (1689) the North Riding justices licensed over eighty meeting-houses; ⁷⁴ while 100 were licensed in the West Riding. Friends continued to bear ‘faithful and Christian testimony against receiving and paying Tithes, Priests’ Demands, and those called Church Rates’; ⁷⁵ and imprisonment in consequence was not unknown.⁷⁶ But the 18th-century Quakers of Yorkshire were a respected and well-to-do body, exclusive in their discipline, earnest in promoting education, and occasionally incurring unpopularity, when one of them would not sacrifice his principles to take part in public rejoicings.⁷⁷ The Methodist movement thinned their ranks; and in 1758 the number of particular meetings had shrunk to seventy.⁷⁸ At a later time an old Quaker said

⁶⁵ *Depositions from the Castle of York* (Surt. Soc.), 65, 66.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 71, 72 (28 Mar. 1655).

⁶⁷ See *ibid.* 72, 73, note: a woman interrupted a sermon at Tadcaster, saying that the B b'e ‘was not the Word of God, but only a dead letter.’

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 163, 164.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 55 seq. One is loath to connect this half-witted impostress with the Quakers; but her meetings were held in the house of a noted Friend, Roger Hebden, a Malton draper. The great Malton meeting, however (see note 63 above), did not take place till a year later. Hebden gave up his shop to enter the Quaker ministry, and died in 1695. His *Plain Account of Christian Experiences* was published in 1700 (Rowntree, *op. cit.* 18–21).

⁷⁰ Rowntree, *op. cit.* (chron. app.).

⁷¹ See, e.g. *Quarter Sess. Rec.* (N. R. Rec. Soc.), vi, 56, 79, 151.

⁷² Rowntree, *op. cit.*; Fox, *op. cit.* 404, 405, from which it appears that between 1665 and 1669 the five monthly meetings had grown to seven. The fourteen meetings were: York, Guisborough, Malton, Richmond, Scarborough and Whitby, Thirsk, Elloughton (called Cave after 1743), Kelk or North Wolds (Bridlington after 1712), Owstwick, Balby, Brighouse, Knaresborough, Pontefract, Settle.

⁷³ Rowntree, *op. cit.*

⁷⁴ See list in *Quarter Sess. Rec.* (N. R. Rec. Soc.), vii, 102, 103. At the same sessions five Quakers and a Nonconformist minister took the necessary declarations of exemption (Thirsk, 8 Oct. 1689).

⁷⁵ Questions at yearly meeting, quoted by I. M. Hall, in *Friends’ Quarterly Examiner* (July 1903), 354.

⁷⁶ A. O. Boyes, *The Richardsons of Cleveland*, 31, mentions, e.g., Friends from Lothersdale imprisoned in 1796.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 17 (case of Isaac Richardson of Whitby).

⁷⁸ Rowntree, *op. cit.*

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monthly meeting, 'We know we are few, and we own we are weak, but love one another.'⁷⁹ Their educational activity, however, was prominent these days of decline. Ackworth school was founded in 1779 by Fothergill and others.⁸⁰ William and Esther Tuke conducted from 1784 1813 the proprietary girls' school at York for which Lindley Murray wrote his English grammar.⁸¹ A boys' school was started in 1823 in the premises of the quarterly meeting. Schools at Rawdon and Great Ayton were founded in 1823 and 1841;⁸² while the Flounders Institute at Ackworth came into being in 1847.⁸³ The decline of Quakerism was due not only to the growth of Methodism, but to loss of the old enthusiasm, and to the closeness with which marriages with non-Friends entailed expulsion from the society.⁸⁴ Notes from Thirsk monthly meeting (1797) point to the severity with which marriage outside the society and extravagance in dress were regarded.⁸⁵ During the 19th century, monthly meetings decreased in number. Thirsk meeting, dissolved in 1827, was divided between York, Guisborough, and Darlington. Richmond was joined to Westmorland quarterly meeting in 1816; Guisborough to Durham quarterly meeting in 1850. The Pickering meeting, composed of the old Scarborough and Malton meetings, joined with Hull, composed of Owstwick, Cave, and North Wolds, in 1858. In 1853 the Thirsk House, which now comprises most of the West Riding, took in Knaresborough and Settle.⁸⁶ Of late years, a revival of enthusiasm has been noticeable among Friends, whose personal influence in the county is still great; although the number of particular meetings was in 1899 only thirty-two, the number of professing and attending members is slightly on the increase.⁸⁷

Among the Puritan 'priests,' so obnoxious to Fox, were many Royalists. Anna Kirby of Wakefield suffered imprisonment for praying publicly for Charles I, and was implicated in Sir George Booth's plot (1659).⁸⁸ The most famous of Yorkshire Nonconformists, Oliver Heywood, who ministered at Coley Chapel, near Halifax, preserved a 'quiet and peaceable attachment' to the Stuarts.⁸⁹ Among the commissioners who went to Breda in 1660 were Edward Bowles;⁹⁰ and John Shaw of Hull became chaplain to Charles II, and was present at his coronation.⁹¹ All, however, were strongly attached to their own form of worship. Bowles is said to have refused the deanery of York as the price of his conformity. A friend complained to him that the common prayer was dry: 'that,' said Bowles, 'may be the reason why our

⁷⁹ Boyes, *op. cit.* 34.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 156 seq.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 145 seq.; Rowntree, *op. cit.*

⁸² Rowntree, *op. cit.*

⁸³ See *An Account of Charitable Trusts and other Properties within the compass of Durham Quarterly Meeting*, London, 1886, pp. 58 seq.

⁸⁴ Rowntree, *op. cit.* 61, speaks of this as 'suicidal madness.'

⁸⁵ Hall, *op. cit.* 358, 360. Quotations on this second point occur *ibid.* from the quarterly meeting of 1712, which recommends Friends 'to refrain from having fine tea-tables set with fine china, seeing more for sight than service.'

⁸⁶ Rowntree, *op. cit.* The Scarborough and Malton meetings were united as Pickering in 1789. wick and Cave were united 1775, and called Hull after 1803. The Bridlington meeting (North Wolds) re-opened in 1810 for a time.

⁸⁷ Statistics in Rowntree, *op. cit.* In 1669 there were 279 meetings in Yorkshire: 294 are marked in *ibid.* The number of professing Yorkshire Friends in 1899 was 2,632 (*ibid.* 34, 35).

⁸⁸ Calamy, *Nonconf. Mem.* iii, 454.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 428 seq.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 456.

⁹¹ *Yorks. Diaries* (Surt. Soc.), 153.

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vicars-choral run to the alehouse as soon as they have done reading it.'⁹² The liturgy, said Thomas Sharp of Adel, was 'defective in necessities, redundant in superfluities, dangerous in some things, disputable in many, disorderly in all.'⁹³ A fortnight before the Restoration, John Botts preached violently at Darfield, advocating armed resistance to the king.⁹⁴ The minister of Horbury declared somewhat later that 'those that have taken the protestation, and, after, come to the Common Prayer of the Church, are perjured persons before God and man.'⁹⁵ Dr. Lake was preferred after the Restoration to the vicarage of Leeds; the lecturer, Christopher Nesse, occupied his afternoon sermons with confuting what Lake had preached in the morning.⁹⁶ Shaw, at Hull, had been blamed for acknowledging Charles II in 1660: in 1661 some of his congregation found his 'ministry too sharp for their lives,' and complained to Bishop Sheldon. He was inhibited from preaching in the church, but was allowed to keep his mastership of the Charterhouse. However, his preaching here attracted people from the town churches; and he eventually had to retire to Rotherham. His active ministry closed with the silencing of Nonconformist preachers on 24 August 1662.⁹⁷ Bowles died three days before that date.⁹⁸ Shaw, in spite of occasional alarms, died in peace (1664).⁹⁹ Kirby died under excommunication, and was buried in his own garden.¹⁰⁰ Heywood, excommunicated in Halifax Church in 1662 and 1680, led a wandering life on the borders of Lancashire and Yorkshire: after the Declaration of Indulgence in 1679 he settled at Northowram. Driven away in 1680, he was imprisoned for 'riotous assembly' in 1685, but returned to Northowram after James II's declaration, and died in 1702.¹ Cornelius Todd, ejected from Bilton Ainsty, suffered imprisonment later on at Pontefract. In 1674, preaching at the opening of a meeting-house in Leeds, he reminded the soldiers who came to interrupt him that, even in the time of Nero, St. Paul had been allowed to preach in his own hired house.² Sir John Jackson of Hickleton sheltered the minister of the place as his chaplain, and his wife as housekeeper; and Nathaniel Denton of Bolton-on-Dearne, 'a picture of an old puritan,' found a temporary pulpit in Hickleton Church.³ Richard Whitehurst, ejected from Laughton-en-le-Morthen, continued to preach in his friends' houses: to avoid capture, he preached in a lobby between two rooms, with a thin curtain between him and his hearers.⁴ Some of the Puritan clergy conformed: Henry Swift of Penistone, after much persuasion, consented to take the Oxford oath, and to read a few prayers.⁵ Robert Todd of St. John's, Leeds, still went to church after his ejection.⁶ But the majority separated from the Church to which they could no longer conscientiously belong. The events of 1662 proved to the nonconforming bodies, as to the Churchmen of twenty years before, the truth of the saying, *persecutio est evangelii genius*.

⁹² Calamy, op. cit. iii, 457; J. Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii, 83, says that Dr. Richard Marsh had been nominated dean by Charles I at Oxford: he was installed 17 Aug. 1660.

⁹³ Calamy, op. cit. iii, 421.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 85 n.

⁹⁵ *Yorks. Diaries* (Surt. Soc.), 154 seq.

⁹⁶ Ibid. 161.

⁹⁷ Calamy, op. cit. iii, 455. See *Depositions from the Castle of York* (Surt. Soc.), 97, for a charge of persistent Nonconformity against Kirby.

⁹⁸ Ibid. iii, 424, 425.

⁹⁹ Ibid. 442.

⁹⁴ *Depositions from the Castle of York* (Surt. Soc.), 83.

⁹⁶ Calamy, op. cit. iii, 441.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 157.

¹ Calamy, op. cit. iii, 428 seq.

² Ibid.

⁵ Ibid. 443.

⁶ Ibid. 440.

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Accepted Frewen, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, reaped the reward his royalist devotion by his translation to York in 1660.⁷ He died in 1664; and neither he nor his successor, Richard Sterne, translated from Ely (1664–1683),⁸ left much mark on the church-life of the diocese. In October 1663 plans for a Puritan rising in the north were discovered. The Yorkshire insurgents encamped in Farnley Wood, near Leeds; but they were unripe for rebellion. Some twenty ringleaders were executed.⁹ This, however, did not still discontent. In 1665 a body of Quakers attacked the parson of Helmsley during a funeral, and tore his surplice and prayer-book.¹⁰ During the plague of 1665 a Londoner was heard to say at Rothwell, ‘Now is the time, if we will stir, for the Anabaptists and Quakers are not afraid of the plague.’¹¹ A preacher named Gill denounced the king and queen as tyrants at Mirfield in September 1666;¹² and in 1667 the Independents concocted another abortive plot at Sowerby, near Halifax.¹³ In 1679 the rebellion of the Scottish Covenanters encouraged a gentleman at Rotherham to wish ‘the Church down and the priests buried in their surplices; for I know no good they do, but are a great charge to the parish in washing them.’¹⁴ The discovery of the so-called ‘popish plot’ in 1678 re-awakened the zeal of the authorities against recusants. An attempt had been made to establish a nunnery in Yorkshire. A site was found at Dolebank, near Ripley, and a Mrs. Lascelles was made abbess. The chief promoter of the scheme, Sir Thomas Gascoigne of Barnbow, was arrested on the information of his servant, Robert Bolron, the chief of a band of informers who emulated Thomas Oates in the north.¹⁵ The confessor-designate to the nuns, John Cornwallis, sought refuge at Broughton Hall, but was arrested on his way there.¹⁶ In August 1679 a priest named Nicholas Postgate was executed at York.¹⁷ Gascoigne was acquitted in 1680; but Cornwallis remained in prison. Early in 1679 four men and four women were presented to the North Riding justices for hearing mass on two occasions near Grinton.¹⁸ Occasional punishments for hearing and saying mass are reported from Yorkshire before this date; and very full lists of recusants occur between 1660 and 1680.¹⁹ At the ‘popish plot’ stimulated persecution; and even the idle gossip of two peasant women at Scawton was reported to the justices, and punished by fine.²⁰

The Laudian revival had never taken hold of Yorkshire. Sterne, who had attended Laud on the scaffold, seems to have done nothing to improve the negligence of discipline in his cathedral church. The remarks made by the vicars-choral receive some confirmation from the complaints of John Dolben, who was translated from Rochester to York in 1683.²¹ The

⁷ Drake, op. cit. 463.

⁸ Ibid. 464.

⁹ See *Depositions from the Castle of York* (Surt. Soc.), 102 seq. Raine, *ibid.* Intro. pp. xviii seq., gives a fuller account of the plot and its consequences.

¹⁰ Ibid. 129, 130.

¹¹ Ibid. 134. The plague and great fire were regarded as divine judgements on the royal family.

¹² Ibid. 146, 147.

¹³ Ibid. 157, 158.

¹⁴ Ibid. 239.

¹⁵ Ibid. 232, 233 n., 242 seq.

¹⁶ Ibid. 232 seq.

¹⁷ Ibid. 230 seq.

¹⁸ *Quarter Sess. Rec.* (N. R. Rec. Soc.), vii, 18.

¹⁹ See *Depositions from the Castle of York* (Surt. Soc.), 119–123 (1664, 487 names); 136–40 (1665–6, names); 166–71 (1669, 760 names); 179–84 (1670, 775 names); *Quarter Sess. Rec.* (N. R. Rec. Soc.), 195–202, 204 seq. (both 1674); vii, 36–38, 41–44 (both 1680).

²⁰ *Quarter Sess. Rec.* (N. R. Rec. Soc.), vii, 12, 13.

²¹ Drake, op. cit. 465. See J. Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii, 107. Dolben in earlier years had been in the defence of York against the Roundheads, and had fought at Marston Moor. He was wounded in the Royalist cause. His mother was a sister of Archbishop Williams.

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weekly celebration of the communion, enjoined on the chapter by Archbishop Holgate, had fallen into disuse soon after the Reformation. A monthly celebration had been established in 1617, in addition to the usual communions at the chief festal seasons. Dolben, aided by the precentor, Thomas Comber,²² succeeded with some difficulty in restoring the weekly celebration. Dr. Peter Samways, who had been ejected from Cheshunt in Hertfordshire during the Civil War, became rector of Wath, near Ripon, after the Restoration, and shortly after received the living of Bedale and a stall at York. At Bedale he established a monthly communion every first Sunday, and every second Sunday at Wath. For the thirty-two years of his incumbency morning and evening prayer were said daily at Bedale. Samways preached on Sunday mornings, and expounded the day's gospel in the afternoon.²³ He was a vehement anti-papist, and was said to have disputed on transubstantiation at Wath with the Duke of York. After the accession of James II he came into conflict with his diocesan, Bishop Cartwright of Chester. On the deprivation of Bishop Ken in 1690 he was offered, but refused, the see of Bath and Wells.²⁴

Archbishop Dolben held his see less than three years. He died in April 1686.²⁵ Three months before his death there was a riot in York Minster at the funeral of Lady Strafford. The soldiers who guarded the hearse were attacked, and the mob tore down the escutcheons which had been placed round the quire.²⁶ Lawlessness and sacrilege were inevitable consequences of the constant change of government and revival of persecution.²⁷ After Dolben's death, James II placed the compliant Bishop of Chester in charge of the vacant see.²⁸ It was filled in 1688 by the translation of Thomas Lamplugh from Exeter, as a reward for his opposition to the landing of the Prince of Orange. He was enthroned the day after the arrival of William at St. James's.²⁹ Bishop Cartwright followed James into exile: Lamplugh swore allegiance to William and Mary, and assisted Bishop Compton at their coronation.³⁰ Most of the Yorkshire clergy readily accepted the new order of things; and few names of importance occur in the list of Yorkshire non-jurors.³¹ The coming of William brought peace to the dissenting bodies, but a sword to the Papists. The President of Douay, James Smith, had appeared at York (1687) as vicar apostolic of the north, under the title of Bishop of Calliopolis, and had been solemnly welcomed, not with-

²² *Works and Letters of Denis Granville* (Surt. Soc. xxxvii), 175, 176, 181, seq.; (xlvii), 85 seq.

²³ J. Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii, 363 seq.

²⁴ J. Walker, *op. cit.*

²⁵ Drake, *op. cit.* 465.

²⁶ *Depositions from the Castle of York* (Surt. Soc.), 278 seq.

²⁷ See *ibid.* 126 n, 281, 282. The wild condition of parts of the West Riding continued to be notorious till the very end of the 18th century. Numerous cases of alleged witchcraft occur, notably from the Halifax and Huddersfield districts, in *Depositions from the Castle of York* (Surt. Soc.); see especially 28 seq. 38, 51, 52, 74, 75, &c., and the case, 75 seq., in which the bewitched person was a Miss Mallory of Studley. Cf. the references in note 62, 49, and Wesley's accounts of the mobs at Halifax and Roughlee (*Journal*, 22 and 25 Aug. 1748) and Huddersfield (9 May 1757).

²⁸ J. Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii, 363.

²⁹ Drake, *op. cit.* 466. Macaulay, *Hist. of Engl. cap.* ix, tells the story of Lamplugh's flight from Exeter.

³⁰ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxxii, 31.

³¹ There is a rough and inaccurately spelt list in Hickeys' prefatory life to Kettlewell's *Works* (1729), i (app. pp. xi, xii). Samuel Crowborough, Prebendary of York and Archdeacon of Nottingham, and John Milner, vicar of Leeds, are the principal names among some twenty-three beneficed Yorkshire clergy in York and Chester dioceses.

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it some disturbance by the Romanist clergy.³² Now the penal laws were revived, a strict watch was kept on papists, and orders were issued for seizing their horses and arms.³³ Places like Egton still afforded refuge to recusants, who were hunted down at intervals; ³⁴ but in 1696 only nine Papists were returned to Archbishop Sharp as existing in so populous a place as Leeds.³⁵

The archbishopric, on Lamplugh's death (1691), was given to John Sharp, Dean of Canterbury, who as Dean of Norwich and rector of St. Giles-in-the-Fields had been threatened with suspension under James II.³⁶ Like his predecessor, Sharp was a Yorkshireman by birth.³⁷ As archbishop, he showed much religious zeal and tact.³⁸ One practical outcome of his knowledge of the diocese of York was his collection of manuscripts, relating to each several parish, and supplementing the voluminous collections made by his contemporary, James Torre of Snyder.³⁹ Sharp died in 1714, and his successor was William Dawes, a pious but undistinguished prelate, who was translated from Exeter (1724-43), who was somewhat more conspicuous as a courtier than a scholar.⁴⁰ Thomas Herring, translated from Bangor in 1743, and to Canterbury in 1747, a kindly and accomplished man, has left in one or two of his letters a record of his diocesan work which has some bearing on the religious life of the age. His arrival at Bishopthorpe brought him into a 'round of compliments and entertainments,' from which he retired to perform his diocesan visitation. 'I bless God for it,' he writes, 'I have finished the work, not only without hurt, but with great pleasure to myself, and I return home with great satisfaction of heart for having done my duty, and acquired a sort of knowledge of the diocese, which can be had by nothing but personal inspection.' He reckoned that in his progress he had confirmed above 60,000 people; probably haste in administering the rite stood in the way of accurate computation.⁴² Among the clergy of the diocese at this time was Laurence Sterne, who became vicar of Sutton-on-the-Forest in 1738, received a stall at York in 1741, obtained the living of Stillington on his marriage in 1743, and the perpetual curacy of Coxwold in 1760.^{42a} Herring, as Archbishop of Canterbury, mentioned Sterne's name for a vacant prebend at Canterbury in 1752.⁴³ A more theologically minded incumbent was Archbishop Blackburne's son, Francis, who, as rector of Richmond and Arch-

³² Ornsby, *Dioc. Hist. York*, 402, 403. Lord Danby wrenched Smith's pastoral staff from him; it is still preserved in the vestry of York Minster.

³³ See *Quarter Sess. Rec.* (N.R. Rec. Soc.), vii, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 101, &c. (all instances in 1689).

³⁴ *Ibid.* vii, 213: a warrant against John Danby of Egton Bridge upon information for saying mass 13 July 1708; *ibid.* 215: 32s. 6d. to be paid to the chief constables of Langbaugh for charges in taking up Roman Catholics at Egton, &c. (5 October 1708).

³⁵ Lawton, *op. cit.* 89.

³⁷ Lamplugh was a native of Thwing; Sharp, of Bradford.

³⁸ See Thomas Sharp, *Life of John Sharp, D.D.* (ed. T. Newcome, 1825). In pt. ii, pp. 115 seq., his diocesan work is noticed at length.

³⁹ See Lawton, *op. cit.* Introd. pp. xii, xiii.

⁴⁰ Drake, *op. cit.* 469.

⁴¹ Much slander about Blackburne was collected by Horace Walpole; see Walpole's *Letters* (ed. Cunningham), i, 235 (21 Mar. 1742-3); ii, 250 (22 Apr. 1751); ix, 472 (11 Dec. 1780), also the short memoir of his times drawn up by Walpole, *ibid.* i, 74.

⁴² *Letters from Dr. Thomas Herring . . . to William Duncombe, Esq.* 1728-57 (1777), 62 seq. (15 Sept. 1743).

^{42a} *Dict. Nat. Biog.* liv, 199 seq. Sterne's Yorkshire preferments were due to his uncle, Jaques Sterne, grandson of Archbishop Sterne and Precentor of York.

⁴³ Herring to Duke of Newcastle, Add. MSS. 32726, fol. 470 (22 Apr. 1752). Sterne's name is the second of the two candidates: Herring's language about both is rather ambiguous.

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deacon of Cleveland, created some sensation by his pronounced latitudinarianism.⁴⁴ There is no reason to suppose that men like Sterne did not 'perform those rites and ceremonies which are instituted by the Church of England' with decency and decorum; but there was need of a strong influence from outside to quicken spiritual fervour.⁴⁵

Nevertheless at no time were the spiritual activities of the Church altogether neglected. To the time of Sharp belong the returns known as 'Notitia Parochialis,' which show that many Yorkshire clergy were alive to the dangers of the time.⁴⁶ The vicar of Pontefract complained that the chapel at Knottingley was turned into a meeting-house.⁴⁷ At Heptonstall, Nonconformity was on the increase: the curate could not obtain the small annual stipend due to him from the vicar of Halifax, and depended entirely on the charity of a diminishing congregation.⁴⁸ Luddenden Chapel, also in Halifax parish, was without a curate; this the churchwardens attributed to the decay of the woollen trade, which doubtless had its effect on the vicar's stipend, but did not prevent Nonconformists from building chapels.⁴⁹ Some clergy complain of the lack of parochial libraries, as at Hawnby in Bilsdale; ⁵⁰ the rector of Treeton said that there was 'scarce a book in the whole parish but what are in my own library.'⁵¹ On the other hand there was a good library at North Grimston, the bequest of Archdeacon Thurscross; ⁵² and a vicar of Stainton-in-Cleveland had left his books for the use of his successors.⁵³ Sharp consecrated new chapels-of-ease to Thornhill and Flockton (1699),⁵⁴⁻⁵ and to Kildwick at Silsden (1712).⁵⁶ Blackburn, in person or by deputy, consecrated the chapel of Ripponden, in Halifax parish (1737),⁵⁷ and the important churches of Holy Trinity at Leeds (1727),⁵⁸ and St. Paul at Sheffield (1740).⁵⁹ There was no lack of rebuilding during the 18th century. In 1707 Sir John Bland of Kippax paid for the rebuilding of the steeple of St. Giles' at Pontefract.⁶⁰ Tinsley Chapel was rebuilt and furnished in 1710 by the Hon. Thomas Wentworth,⁶¹ the ruined chapel of High Worsall, in a detached part of Northallerton parish, was rebuilt in 1719.⁶² A brief was granted in 1728 for the rebuilding of Yarm Church.⁶³ The fine church of Kirkleatham was

⁴⁴ See Whitaker, *Richmondshire*, i, 90 seq.

⁴⁵ William Mason, the friend of Gray and Horace Walpole, rector of Aston, near Rotherham, 1754-97, Precentor and Canon of York, and Prebendary of Driffild, should not be forgotten. Although irreproachable in faith and morals, he was, like Herring, essentially of his age; and the spirit of the delightful humour shown in his letters to Walpole (printed in the footnotes to Cunningham's edition of Walpole's correspondence) is eminently secular. He was, however, constantly resident at Aston, and was evidently much esteemed by his friends and parishioners.

⁴⁶ Lawton, *op. cit.* Intro. pp. xi, xii.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* (Not. Par. no. 653), 147.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 131.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 133.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* (Not. Par. 1057), 519. Hawnby is apparently the 'Hornby' mentioned by Wesley, *Journal* (7 July 1757), where the lord of the manor had turned the Methodists out of their houses, and forty or fifty of them were living in some little houses which they had built at the end of the village.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 237. 'Thank God, the whole living is worth more than thirty pounds.'

⁵² *Ibid.* 276. Timothy Thurscross, Archdeacon of Cleveland and vicar of Kirkby Moorside 1635-8, was a worthy representative of the Laudian school of churchmen, see *Yorks. Diaries* (Surt. Soc.), 420 seq.

⁵³ Lawton, *op. cit.* (Not. Par. no. 1058), 502.

⁵⁴⁻⁵ *Ibid.* 160.

⁵⁶ Whitaker, *Hist. and Antiq. Craven* (ed. Morant, 1878), 219.

⁵⁷ Lawton, *op. cit.* 134.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 91.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 222; the church had been built twenty years before. See history of the dispute about the presentation in Hunter, *Halamshire* (ed. Gatty), 273, 274.

⁶⁰ Lawton, *op. cit.* 149.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 216.

⁶² *Ibid.* 497.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 510.

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tirely rebuilt under a faculty issued in 1756.⁶⁴ These are a few instances out of many ; and credit must be given to this much-abused age for its zeal in retrieving past neglect. Repair, however, did not forbid occasional destruction. Thus at Burton Agnes (1730)⁶⁵ and Cowlam (1713) chancels were shortened. Cowlam lost its tower and probably its aisles in 1735.⁶⁶ Bessingby Chapel was shortened in 1765,⁶⁷ and faculties for ‘contracting’ at Holkton Church were obtained in 1771 and 1772.⁶⁸ In the first half of the century chancel-screens were sedulously removed by the archdeacons.⁶⁹ Churches were crowded with galleries like those which still remain at Whitby. John Hobson of Dodworth Green notes (30 November 1726) : ‘Sunday last was the first time that I sat in the new seat in the loft which Mr. James Oates has builded in Silkston Church.’⁷⁰ Doncaster, Rotherham, and Scarborough Churches suffered severely in this way.⁷¹ Restoration was seldom free from the *plumbi sacra fames* : and, as the century wore on, slate roofs became increasingly common in place of the old leaden ones.⁷² It was only with difficulty that Bishop Cleaver of Chester prevented the removal of the lead from Knaresborough Church at the end of the century.⁷³

For Matthew Hutton (1747–57), as for Herring, York was the stepping-stone from Bangor to Canterbury. John Gilbert, translated from Salisbury in 1757, was succeeded by another Bishop of Salisbury, Robert Hay Drummond (1761–76), and Drummond by William Markham (1776–1807), who had been appointed Bishop of Chester in 1771.⁷⁴ Under these archbishops, the work of building and restoring churches was pursued with increasing activity. If ideals of worship were not high, the need of decent places of worship was respected. Archbishop Gilbert, moreover, introduced a change for the better by confirming candidates separately, instead of in batches.^{74a} Methodism had its effect on the Church’s energy. We have seen that Nonconformity had made progress already, especially in the West Riding. Presbyterians and Quakers were the leading bodies ; but Independents of various denominations had made their way, as, for instance, at Barnoldswick, where there was a settlement of Baptists from 1717 onwards.^{74b} About 1740 John Nelson, a mason, returned from London to his native place, Birstal, full of the preaching of John Wesley. Nelson was opposed by the Moravians, who urged his friends ‘not to run about to church and sacrament, and to keep their religion to themselves.’^{74c} On 26 May 1742 Wesley preached his first sermon in Yorkshire at noon on the top of Birstal Hill ‘to several hundreds of plain people.’ The same evening he preached on Dewsbury Moor.⁷⁵ His former friend, Benjamin Ingham, the Moravian leader, resented Wesley’s inquiries into the spread of quietist doctrine. On 3 June Wesley, at Mirfield, found

⁶⁴ Lawton, op. cit. 490.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 292.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 273, 274.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 287.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 298.

⁶⁹ For details, see C. B. Norcliffe, ‘The Chancel-Screens of Yorks.’, *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* vi, 177 seq.

⁷⁰ *Yorks. Diaries* (Surt. Soc.), 276.

⁷¹ Faculties for galleries mentioned ap. Lawton, op. cit.

⁷² Instances in Lawton, op. cit. *passim*. At Bessingby (see note 67, above) the lead was to be sold, and the roof covered with pan-tiles.

⁷³ Whitaker, *Richmondshire*, i, 263. Ibid. i, 250, is a note of the plausible deal central tower added to the fabric of Langton-on-Swale Church.

⁷⁴ Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Angl.* iii.

^{74a} *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxi, 330, 331.

^{74b} Lawton, op. cit. 247.

^{74c} Wesley, *Journal* (ed. F. W. Macdonald), i, 372, 373 (26 May 1742).

⁷⁵ Ibid. i, 373. Cf. *ibid.* iv, 11 (30 Apr. 1774).

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that Ingham had been preaching an hour before him.⁷⁶ Moravianism in Yorkshire left permanent influence in the settlement of Fulneck, near Pudsey, founded in 1748; but its success in opposition to Methodism was temporary.⁷⁷ At Great Horton in 1745 Wesley found eighty of its disciples reduced to 'scarce ten:' the remainder presumably, as at Tadcaster, had thrown in their lot with him.⁷⁸ Opposition from those in authority was more formidable. In 1744 Nelson was imprisoned at Bradford and York; he tells us that the publicans of Birstal united with the vicar in procuring his arrest.⁷⁹ Twice on Easter Day, 1747, at Heworth and Acomb, he was stoned by a York mob, and at Acomb was stamped upon and left for dead by a zealous opponent.⁸⁰ Wesley was stoned at Leeds in September 1745 and the following January.⁸¹ In 1748 a mob from Colne attacked him at Rough Lee, on the edge of Lancashire; and no redress could be obtained from the magistrate.⁸² His first visit to Hull (1752) was marked by a riot in which 'many behaved as if possessed by Moloch,' and he and Mrs. Wesley were forced to take refuge in the coach of a lady, and drive from the field with missiles pouring through the windows.⁸³ As late as 1757 the mob at Huddersfield 'appeared just ready to devour' him.⁸⁴ Wesley welcomed danger, and in later years often deplored the lack of persecution. Even in 1748, when he had most to fear from the crowd, he found the Methodists of Armley 'quite unnerved by the constant sunshine.'⁸⁵

Between 1742 and 1790 Wesley paid no less than forty-two visits to the north of England, including on each occasion one or two visits to Yorkshire. At first he visited chiefly the neighbourhood of Birstal and Sheffield, where Methodism had been planted by David Taylor, subsequently a Moravian.⁸⁶ In 1743 he was invited to Wensley by the vicar, Mr. Clayton. His sermon puzzled the parishioners 'but, at length, one deeper learned than the rest, brought them all clearly over to his opinion, that he was a Presbyterian papist.'⁸⁷ His first visit to Cleveland was in 1745, when he went three times to Osmotherley.⁸⁸ In 1752 he extended his field eastward to Hull and Pocklington.⁸⁹ He was at Robin Hood's Bay in 1753,⁹⁰ and thenceforward there were few parts of Yorkshire which his pastoral visits did not include. His energy was extraordinary. On 15 April 1745, after preaching at Northalerton in the evening, he consented to ride over to Osmotherley and preach

⁷⁶ Wesley, *Journal* (ed. F. W. Macdonald), i, 376 (3 June 1742).

⁷⁷ Wesley went to look at Fulneck, while it was being built, ii, 6, 17 (29 Apr. 1747). He was shown over the settlement 17 Apr. 1780; and his distrust of Moravianism is manifest in the comment, 'But can they lay up treasure on earth, and at the same time lay up treasure in heaven?' (iv, 180).

⁷⁸ Wesley, *ibid.* i, 497 (25 Apr. 1745). The reference to Tadcaster occurs iii, 262 (23 July 1766).

⁷⁹ Southey, *Life of Wesley* (ed. 1890), 278 seq.: the account is taken from Nelson's journals. Cf. Wesley, *op. cit.* i, 468 (15 May 1744). Nelson was pressed for a soldier; his recusancy involved imprisonment. He was delivered by the intercession of Lady Huntingdon.

⁸⁰ Wesley, *ibid.* ii, 15, 16 (20 Apr. 1747).

⁸¹ *Ibid.* i, 522, 544, 545 (12 Sept. 1745; 21 Jan. 1745-6).

⁸² *Ibid.* ii, 74 seq. (25 Aug. 1748).

⁸³ *Ibid.* ii, 374 (9 May 1757).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* ii, 223, 224 (24 Apr. 1752).

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* ii, 73 (20 Aug. 1748).

⁸⁶ Wesley's first visit to Sheffield is recorded by him, *ibid.* i, 381, 382 (14-18 June 1752).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* i, 447 (30 Oct. 1743). From a note of 14 June 1744 (iv, 18) it would seem that the Moravians had done pioneer work for Wesley in these parts before dissension arose.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* i, 494, 522, 527 (15 Apr., 16 Sept., 21 Oct. 1745). On his first visit he exclaims on the wisdom of God in bringing him, 'without any care or thought of mine, into the centre of the Papists in Yorkshire.'

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* ii, 223, 224 (24, 25 Apr. 1752). See note 83, above.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* ii, 255 (8 May 1753).

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there the same night. Next morning at five he preached to a crowd, some of whom had sat up all night for fear of losing a second sermon. The same evening at eight he was preaching at Sykehouse, on the border of Lincolnshire.⁹¹ This was in the days of his prime ; but forty-three years later, he was able to preach at Stokesley, Guisborough, and Whitby in the same day ; and, five days after, to ride from Bridlington to Malton, preach there at noon, and preach at Beverley the same evening.⁹² His last sermons in Yorkshire were preached at Beverley and Hull, and the day after his last birthday he left Yorkshire for the last time.⁹³

From the beginning of his travels Wesley had friends among the clergy of the county. The vicars of Halifax and Dewsbury met him on friendly terms ;⁹⁴ and in April 1752 he was invited to preach in Wakefield Church.⁹⁵ Opposition never ceased altogether. In June 1755 he was asked to preach in one of the York churches ; but one of the residentiaries threatened the incumbent with the words, ‘ Sir, I abhor persecution : but if you let Mr. Wesley preach it will be the worse for you.’⁹⁶ In 1757 there were signs of opposition at York to open-air preaching ; and the churchwarden at Pocklington had the bells rung to encourage the mob.⁹⁷ The same thing happened at Bridlington in 1772.⁹⁸ In April 1780 Wesley was excluded from the church at Haworth by a new vicar ;⁹⁹ and in June 1784 he heard the vicar of Scarborough preach against his opinions. ‘ All who preach thus,’ he exclaims in sorrow, ‘ will drive the Methodists from the Church, in spite of all that I can do.’¹⁰⁰ Although important churches like Leeds, Halifax, Huddersfield, Hull, and Bingley opened their doors to him,¹ his own independence of action and the growth of meeting-houses alienated many Churchmen.² Archdeacon Blackburne entertained him at Richmond in 1786, but feared to cause offence by asking him to preach ;³ the vicar of Selby invited him to the abbey church in 1788, but changed his mind.⁴ The austerity of Methodism and its sacramental teaching were dreaded by the sound Protestants of that age, who objected even to the figure of an angel blowing a trumpet which had been placed on the sounding-board of the pulpit at Halifax.⁵ Revivals were stumbling-blocks to evenly-balanced minds. One of these, early in 1760, took place at Otley, with the usual manifestations of personal testimony and ‘ loud and ardent cries’ for salvation, in a meeting of ‘ poor and illiterate persons.’⁶ The Church made no effort to keep excitable

⁹¹ Wesley, *Journal* (ed. F. W. Macdonald), i, 494.

⁹² *Ibid.* iv, 436 seq. (13, 19 May 1788).

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* i, 376 (2 June 1742) ; ii, 17 (28 Apr. 1747) ; cf. ii, 220 (10 Apr. 1752).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* ii, 221 (12 Apr. 1752).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* ii, 384, 385 (14, 15 July 1757).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* iv, 181 (23 Apr. 1780).

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* iv, 506 (25–29 June 1790).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* ii, 299 (7 June 1755).

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* ii, 482 (22 June 1772).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* iv, 288 (20 June 1784).

¹ For Leeds, see *ibid.* iv, 154, 217 (2 May 1779 ; 5 Aug. 1781) : on both occasions there was a large number of communicants, 700 or 800 in 1779, 1100 in 1781 ; Halifax and Huddersfield, iv, 10 (17 Apr. 1772) ; Hull, iv, 344 (18 May 1786) ; Bingley, iv, 151 (19 Apr. 1776), and on several other occasions.

² Wesley’s interest in the growth of meeting-houses may be seen *ibid.* ii, 463, Hutton Rudby (7 July 1758) ; iii, 177, Yarm (24 Apr. 1764) ; iii, 263, Bradford (27 July 1766) ; iii, 413, Doncaster (11 July 1770), &c., &c.

³ *Ibid.* iv, 341 (9 May 1786). Wesley notes, *Journ.* iii, 355 (20 Dec. 1768), an implication of Papist leanings brought against him in Blackburne’s pamphlet on the penal laws against Romanists.

⁴ *Ibid.* iv, 439 (26 June 1788).

⁵ *Ibid.* iv, 151 (15 Apr. 1779). For suspicions about Wesley himself, see notes 87 and 3, above.

⁶ Letter to Wesley from Otley, *ibid.* iii, 494, 495 (13 Feb. 1760). Cf. Wesley’s extraordinary account of the revival at Kingswood School, iii, 420 seq. (18–30 Sept. 1770). Such events may well have awakened mistrust in otherwise well-disposed persons.

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converts of this type, who were susceptible to any preacher who took the trouble to interest himself in them. Thus it was that Wesley had to complain of defections to various types of Nonconformity. Of the success of the 'Anabaptists' at Bingley he said in 1766, 'I see clearer and clearer none will keep to us unless they keep to the Church. Whoever separate from the Church will separate from the Methodists.'⁷

Yet, although the Church did not exert herself to keep the Methodists, Wesley's influence was eventually powerful. Henry Venn the elder, at Huddersfield, and William Romaine, chaplain to Lady Huntingdon, at Ledston Park, were among Wesley's friends in Yorkshire,⁸ and their names are eminent in the history of the evangelical revival in the Church. His early friend, Mr. Clayton of Wensley, showed the kinship between evangelical doctrine and reverent worship. Wesley found that the thirty houses or so in the chapelry of Redmire furnished fifty communicants.⁹ The ministry of William Grimshaw at Haworth from 1742 to 1762 proved the quickening power of Methodism on the clergy who accepted its tenets. When Grimshaw came to Haworth, Methodism was a new thing to him; but his personal experience had turned his mind to its doctrines, and he became their chief apostle in Craven, 'ready to go to prison or death for Christ's sake.' Wesley often preached at Haworth; Grimshaw guided him through the neighbouring hill-country, and was his companion in the riot at Rough Lee.¹⁰ Communicants, sometimes 1,000 in number, filled the church, 'and scarcely a trifle among them.' Grimshaw preached three times a month in each of the outlying hamlets of his parish, and lectured on Sunday evenings to the poor who were ashamed to come to church in rags. In accepting constant invitations to preach in the neighbourhood, he used 'his body with less compassion than a merciful man would use his beast.' Long after the novelty of Methodism had ceased his vivid manner of preaching attracted strangers from a distance, and his burial was 'more ennobling than a royal funeral,' attended as it was by a multitude of his disciples, weeping 'for the guide of their souls, to whom each of them was dear as children to their father.'¹¹

One substantial result of the religious feeling kindled by the evangelical revival is seen in the increased provision of church fabrics which attended it. In Markham's archiepiscopate a considerable number of churches were rebuilt; two new churches were consecrated in Leeds, and one in each of the towns of Sheffield, Hull, and Wakefield.¹² The seventy years covered by the rule of Markham and his successor, Edward Venables Vernon Harcourt, translated from Carlisle (1808-47), were in fact a most important epoch of religious transition. Under Harcourt the subdivision of large parishes was prosecuted with much energy. The parliamentary grant which provided for the erection of new churches in populous districts was applied to the West Riding with noticeable effect. In 1821 new chapels were begun under this grant at Pudsey and Stanley. In 1823 two chapels in Dewsbury parish,

⁷ Wesley, *Journal* (ed. F. W. Macdonald), iii, 265 (4 Aug. 1766).

⁸ Wesley preached in Kippax Church 25 July 1761 (*ibid.* iii, 70). Romaine read prayers, and Venn arrived while they were in church. Cf. *ibid.* iii, 484 (13 July 1772), where he speaks of 'Ledstone' Church.

⁹ *Ibid.* i, 469 (20 May 1744).

¹⁰ See note 82, above.

¹¹ Wesley, *ibid.* iii, 84 seq. (1 Apr. 1762), wrote a short memoir of Grimshaw, concluding with a copy of one of Grimshaw's 'plain, rough letters' to the society in London.

¹² Lawton, *op. cit.* 92, &c.

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one in Bradford, and St. Mark's at Leeds, were taken in hand. St. George's at Sheffield was consecrated in 1825, and between that time and 1832 the grant was used to rebuild five chapels and for the building of three chapels in Leeds parish, two in Sheffield, four in Almondbury, four in Huddersfield, three in Halifax, two in Birstal, and one each in Bradford, Hull, Kirkburton, and Ripon.¹³ From other sources much enlargement and rebuilding was effected, notably in Halifax parish. The benefactions of individual clergymen were responsible for the chapels of Skircoat near Halifax and Holy Trinity at Ripon.¹⁴ Lord Fitzwilliam provided a chapel at Swinton: the Misses Harrison of Wadsley built a chapel on their manor.¹⁵ The formation of new ecclesiastical parishes followed as a necessary consequence, Barnsley in Silkstone, Sharow in Ripon, and Morley in Batley, being among the earliest instances. This increase in the number of churches and parishes was followed in 1836 by the subdivision of the dioceses of York and Chester. The new see of Ripon was made to include a large portion of the West Riding, with the addition of the deaneries which had lain in the diocese of Chester since 1541; while by the inclusion of Nottinghamshire in Lincoln Diocese the see of York was restricted to the archdeaconries of Cleveland and the East Riding and the southern and eastern portions of the West Riding.¹⁶ The last Bishop of Chester to bear rule in Yorkshire was John Bird Sumner (1828-48). Charles Thomas Longley, head master of Harrow, became first Bishop of Ripon (1836-56), and eventually, after translation to Durham (1856) and York (1860), succeeded Sumner at Canterbury in 1862.

There is no very intimate connexion between Yorkshire and the early history of the Tractarian movement, but the revival of Church life and practice which that movement entailed speedily leavened the county. In spite of Wesley's insistence on the value of the sacraments, preaching was regarded by the evangelical school in the Church as the main essential of public worship, while the old-fashioned type of Churchman looked on any form of change with disfavour. Weekly communion was once more established in York Minster by Archbishop Harcourt, but not till 1841.¹⁷ Meanwhile a voice was heard here and there in favour of a more exalted conception of the history and duties of the Church. In 1819 the learned John Oxlee, rector of Scawton, upheld the power of the keys in a sermon preached at Thirsk before the diocesan chancellor, and in subsequent discourses and treatises maintained the doctrine of apostolical succession and opposed Unitarian opinions.¹⁸ The greatest practical impetus to the principles of the Oxford movement in Yorkshire was given by the appointment of Walter Farquhar Hook in 1837 to the vicarage of Leeds. No startling developments in ritual accompanied his ministry, but a new parish church, worthy of the importance of the town, was built, active parochial work in schools and institutes was started, and the frequent services of the church were accompanied by increased dignity and reverence. In 1844 the great parish was subdivided by Act of Parliament, and as a result of Hook's incumbency some twenty

¹³ Lawton, *op. cit.* 92, &c., under the various parishes, arranged according to the old rural deaneries.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 135, 542, 543.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 241, 191.

¹⁶ See details in the Appendix.

¹⁷ Ornsby, *Dioc. Hist. York*, 401 n.

¹⁸ See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xliii, 17, and a notice by G. Wakeling, *The Oxford Church Movement* (1895),

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churches were built within its boundaries, among which was St. Saviour's, built by the munificence of Dr. Pusey between 1842 and 1845. Hock became Dean of Chichester in 1859: the church of All Souls, built 1876-80, commemorates his work in Leeds. A later vicar of Leeds, John Russell Woodford, is commemorated by the basilican church of St. Aidan, built 1892-4. Under Hook's successors between thirty and forty new churches have been built in Leeds, and his work has been continued with the same moderation and tact. Other large parishes have found the benefit of the frequent services, open churches, and general parochial activity of which Hook was the pioneer in Leeds. Charles John Vaughan was vicar of Doncaster from 1860 till 1869, where he began his work of training candidates for ordination. Among those parish priests whose work has been carried on on the lines of more advanced Tractarianism should not be forgotten John Sharp, vicar of Horbury from 1834 till 1899. The Evangelical school of thought, less susceptible to the Oxford movement, has maintained a high position in Yorkshire. Two Deans of Ripon, William Goode (1860-5) and Hugh McNeile (1868-75), have been famous as opponents of Tractarianism. The Simeon Trustees acquired a large number of Yorkshire livings, including the benefices of Beverley Minster, Bridlington, Trinity Church, Hull, and Sheffield; and Hull, the birthplace of William Wilberforce, and Sheffield in particular have been centres of spiritual thought and teaching of this type.

Thomas Musgrave (1847-60) was translated from Hereford to York on the death of Archbishop Harcourt. In 1860 Longley came from Durham and was translated to Canterbury two years later. His successor, the broad-minded Evangelical, William Thomson (1863-90), translated from Gloucester and Bristol, inaugurated a new era in the diocese by bringing himself more closely into touch with his clergy and laity than had been the habit of the older type of bishop. William Connor Magee, the brilliant preacher and orator, translated from Peterborough in 1891, died very shortly after his translation, and was succeeded by William Dalrymple Maclagan, previously Bishop of Lichfield, who resigned the see in October 1908.¹⁹ Since 1836 most of the important towns of Yorkshire, with the exception of York, Sheffield, Hull, and the rapidly growing Middlesbrough, had lain in Ripon diocese, over which, after Longley's translation to Durham, an earnest evangelical, Robert Bickersteth, previously Treasurer of Salisbury, had presided (1857-84). He was succeeded by the present bishop, William Boyd Carpenter. In 1877 a Bishops Act was passed, which provided for the formation of new sees at Wakefield and three other English towns. The new bishopric, which relieved Ripon of a large and populous district, was not actually founded till 1888, when the Bishop-suffragan of Bedford, William Walsham How, became its first bishop. On his death in 1897 his successor was the Bishop-suffragan of Dover, George Rodney Eden, who still rules the see. The great area and population of the county call for further subdivision of the sees of York and Ripon, and there is a prospect of a South Yorkshire see before long, with its centre at Sheffield. The provisions of the Acts of 1534 and 1888-9 have been utilized by the creation of three bishops-suffragan in the diocese of York, bearing the titles of Hull, Beverley, and Sheffield, and

¹⁹ His successor is the Most Reverend Cosmo Gordon Lang, previously Bishop-suffragan of Stepney.

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one in the diocese of Ripon, who, taking his title under the old Act from Penrith, was enabled by the amended Act to change it for that of Richmond. A second bishop-suffragan has lately (1905) been appointed for Ripon diocese with the title of Knaresborough. In the minsters of York and Ripon the county possesses two noble cathedrals whose services are well maintained under deans who are fully alive to the value of the treasures which they guard. Fortunately in 1836 the cathedral of Ripon was able to begin its existence with a full chapter, the gradual reduction of which to a dean and four residentiaries was provided for by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Wakefield Cathedral, starting life as a mere parish church, was not so happy, and residentiary canonries still remain to be provided: the cathedral, however, was enlarged in 1905 by a handsome eastern extension, and no pains have been spared to make it worthy of its dignity. A clergy training school was founded privately, as we have seen, by Dr. Vaughan at Doncaster, but this was not a diocesan institution. In Ripon diocese there are two theological colleges, the clergy school at Leeds founded in 1876 by the vicar, Dr. Gott, afterwards Bishop of Truro, and the college at Ripon founded by the present bishop in 1900. Of recent years the Community of the Resurrection has established a training college for candidates for holy orders at Mirfield in Wakefield Diocese.

Yorkshire was under the care of a vicar apostolic of the Church of Rome until the erection of the Roman hierarchy in England. The West Riding now constitutes the diocese of Leeds, while the North and East Ridings, with the greater part of York, form the diocese of Middlesbrough. A new cathedral has been built recently at Leeds. The most important Roman establishment in the county is the Benedictine Abbey of Ampleforth in the North Riding. Some of the more important Nonconformist colleges and schools have been mentioned. To these may be added the Wesleyan colleges at Sheffield, founded in 1838, and at Headingley, founded in 1867-8, the Baptist college at Rawdon near Leeds, removed from Horton in 1859, the Independent college at Bradford, founded 1888 by the amalgamation of Airedale and Rotherham Colleges, both founded in 1856; and the Methodist New Connexion college at Ranmoor near Sheffield, founded in 1863-4. Among the oldest Nonconformist places of worship in the county is Mill Hill Chapel in Leeds, originally Presbyterian, of which Ralph Thoresby, the Leeds antiquary, was one of the proprietors.²⁰ This became Unitarian in the course of the 18th century, and Dr. Priestley ministered here from 1767 to 1773. Upper Chapel at Sheffield, also Presbyterian, became Unitarian during the 18th century.

²⁰ See Thoresby, *Diary* (ed. Hunter, 1830), i, 182, 206. The present chapel is a modern building.

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APPENDIX

ECCLIASTICAL DIVISIONS OF THE COUNTY

At the time of the Conquest the whole of Yorkshire formed part of the diocese of York. The date of its subdivision into archdeaconries is uncertain. Durandus the archdeacon is among the witnesses of the deed by which the first Norman archbishop confirmed the privileges of the church of Durham,¹ and was present at the consecration of Anselm by Thomas I.² Conan the archdeacon appears as witness in 1088 to a deed executed by Stephen, Earl of Brittany and Richmond.³ It seems highly probable that Durandus was Archdeacon of the church of York, and that Conan may have been archdeacon of the district within the jurisdiction of Earl Stephen, and therefore the first recorded Archdeacon of Richmond. William son of Durandus is the first possible Archdeacon of East Riding, about 1130;⁴ and an archdeacon with apparent jurisdiction over Cleveland occurs much about the same period.⁵ During the 12th century, at any rate, the territorial limits of the archdeaconries were recognized. The agreement between Roger and Hugh Pudsey as to the jurisdiction of St. Cuthbert in Yorkshire mentions the archdeaconries of John son of Letold, of Geoffrey, and of the treasurer.⁶ The first of these was clearly the archdeaconry of Cleveland, and included the churches of St. Cuthbert not only in the North Riding but also in the wapentake of Ouse and Derwent, which was included in Cleveland Archdeaconry until so recently as 1896.⁷ The second was the archdeaconry of York; the third the archdeaconry of East Riding, which continued an appanage of the office of the treasurer until the time of Archbishop Gray. A document, probably of rather later date, definitely mentions the archdeaconries of 'Austreing' and 'Westreing';⁸ and, during the quarrels of Geoffrey with the chapter, the various archdeacons, especially those of York, Cleveland, and Richmond, played a principal part. Before the end of the 12th century, then, four archdeaconries had been formed in Yorkshire, corresponding very nearly to the main civil divisions of the county, the three Ridings and Richmondshire. The archdeaconry of Richmond, however, included a vast tract of country in Lancashire, Westmorland, and South Cumberland, in addition to its portion of Yorkshire.

The rural deaneries apparently came gradually into existence about the same time, with boundaries conditioned to some extent by those of the wapentakes. The territorial area of the deaneries is by no means usually defined where the deans are mentioned. For instance, in one charter of Rievaulx Abbey of the 12th century, we find the signature of 'Engelramnus, decanus de Ridale et Pikingalith'; and it is not unlikely that 'Walterus, decanus de Bulemer' may be another territorial designation.⁹ But the ordinary style is represented by 'Robertus, decanus de Helmeslac,' which implies simply that the rural dean of the district was parson of, or lived at, Helmsley.¹⁰ From the signature of Engelramnus it is evident that one rural deanery could include more than one wapentake; and in the arrangement of deaneries which we can fairly state as existing by the middle of the 13th century there was by no means strict attention to the actual boundaries of the civil divisions. The deaneries of the East Riding corresponded with some exactness to the wapentakes whose names they bore, but certain wapentakes seem from an early date to have been entirely merged in deaneries bearing other names. Thus the deanery of Ainsty included, in addition to the Ainsty, the wapentakes of Barkston Ash, the greater part of Skyrack, and that part of Claro Wapentake south of the Wharfe, that part north of the Wharfe being in Boroughbridge Deanery. The wapentake of Birdforth was divided between three deaneries, Hallikeld and Osgoldcross each between two.

¹ Printed in *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 17 seq. The authenticity of this document may be questioned; but, even if it is a forgery, the names of the witnesses must have some historical basis.

² Stubbs, *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 359; See Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Angl.* (ed. Hardy), iii, 130.

³ Le Neve, *op. cit.* iii, 135.

⁴ *Ibid.* 141.

⁵ See Atkinson, *Rievaulx Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), 50 note, as to the uncertainty of the chronology of the early Archdeacons of Cleveland.

⁶ Printed in *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 79 seq.

⁷ John son of Letold signs the agreement as 'archidiaconus ecclesie Ebor.'

⁸ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 75 (Reg. Mag. Alb. iii, fol. 3, 4).

⁹ *Rievaulx Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), 174.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 82. Cf. 49, 'Walterus decanus de Rudestein,' i.e. Rudston in Dickering Wapentake; *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* 1838, v, 104; 'Galfridus decanus de Forsett,' &c. 'Rogerus decanus de Katerich' (*Rievaulx Chartul.* 87 seq.) does not imply the existence of the deanery of Catterick under that name at this time: Roger, parson of Catterick, was probably dean of a district corresponding to the later deanery of that name.

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A list of contributions from the diocese towards the expenses of the crusade undertaken by Edward I before his accession to the throne is contained in Archbishop Giffard's register.¹¹ The names are arranged under the four archdeaconries, and fifteen of the deaneries of the diocese are mentioned under the names which they bore until their subdivision in modern times. In Richmond Archdeaconry, the deanery of Lancaster is named twice, but the second time 'Loncastre' is probably an error for Lonsdale. The deanery of Boroughbridge is not mentioned, but this is included before the end of the century in *Pope Nicholas' Taxation*. This disposes of the seventeen deaneries of the diocese in Yorkshire, whose extent is set forth below. About the third quarter of the 13th century, therefore, that arrangement of deaneries was in working order which was to continue for nearly six centuries, until the growth of population, and the natural tendency to divide the burden of responsibility, led to the inevitable removal of historic landmarks.

The list in question places under special headings persons coming under the jurisdiction of 'Beverlacum,' i.e. the chapter of Beverley, the provostry of Beverley, the deanery of Whitby Strand, the liberty of Selby Abbey, the liberty of the Dean of York, and the liberty of Howden. The deanery of Whitby Strand may be identified with the liberty of Whitby Abbey; but the parishes of Whitby Strand Liberty were usually after this date divided between the deaneries of Cleveland and Dickering, and no further mention of the deanery occurs. The remaining divisions were peculiar jurisdictions, over which a dean or an official with decanal power was appointed. The archbishops appointed their own deans in their liberties and bailiwicks; a number of these appointments are to be found in Archbishop Romanus' register. The convent of Durham appointed a *custos* of their spiritualities in Howdenshire and Allertonshire, who was instituted by the archbishop.¹²⁻¹³ The peculiars belonging to the Dean and Chapter of York lay scattered about the county: among the benefices held by William de Walcote, clerk and receiver to Queen Philippa, in 1353, was that of the archdeaconry of St. Peter's, York,¹⁴ which may imply that the liberty of St. Peter, like other large and scattered jurisdictions, had its own archdeacon. These peculiar jurisdictions, in some cases, continued their existence in the shape of courts for purposes of administration long after the offices to which they were attached were dissolved. Eventually, they were gradually included within the limits of the rural deaneries.

In 1541 the archdeaconry of Richmond passed from the diocese of York to that of Chester. In 1836 the Yorkshire portion of this archdeaconry, with the archbishop's liberty of Ripon, and the deanery of Craven, most of the deanery of Pontefract, and eventually the western part of the deanery of Doncaster, from the archdeaconry of York, were formed into the diocese of Ripon. In 1888 the portions of the old deaneries of Pontefract and Doncaster just alluded to were formed into the diocese of Wakefield. The archdeaconries of the diocese of Ripon were at first Richmond (including Ripon) and Craven. The northern part of Wakefield Diocese forms the archdeaconry of Halifax, the southern part is the archdeaconry of Huddersfield. The archdeaconries of Craven and Richmond were curtailed in 1894 by the creation of a new archdeaconry of Ripon corresponding to the south-eastern part of the diocese; but in 1905 the north-western boundaries of this archdeaconry were slightly re-arranged, and a new deanery of Nidderdale erected in the archdeaconry of Richmond.

A new archdeaconry of Sheffield was formed in 1884 from the most populous portion of the old deanery of Doncaster. In the diocese of York there are thus four archdeaconries, in that of Ripon, three, and in that of Wakefield, two.

In the following account of the rural deaneries, mediaeval parishes only are mentioned under each heading; but where necessary, the names of mediaeval chapelries have been given, and any local discrepancies between ecclesiastical and civil divisions have been noted. Owing to the very large number of modern ecclesiastical parishes and districts, and their occasional origin from two or three old parishes, no attempt has been made to enumerate them.

The archdeaconry of York or West Riding comprised the city and Ainsty of York, and the whole of the West Riding with the following exceptions:—

(1) Acaster Selby, in the Ainsty, formed part of the parish of Stillingfleet in the archdeaconry of Cleveland and deanery of Bulmer. In 1861, being now a separate benefice, it was united with the deanery of Ainsty, and in 1869 became part of the deanery of Bishopthorpe, but still remained under the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon of Cleveland. Since the dissolution of the deanery of Bishopthorpe (1896) it has been

¹¹ *York Reg. Giffard* (Surt. Soc. cix), 277 seq.

¹²⁻¹³ Special sections of Reg. Romanus are devoted to the bailiwicks in the archbishop's jurisdiction, and to the spiritualities of Howden and Allerton.

¹⁴ *Cal. Papal Pet.* i, 243. But William de Walcote was at this time Archdeacon of East Riding (Le Neve, *Fasti*, iii, 142), and probably this is the office referred to.

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in the deanery of Ainsty, and since its union with Appleton Roebuck (previously in Bolton Percy parish) in 1875 has been part of the archdeaconry of York.

(2) Eighteen parishes in Claro Wapentake were in the archdeaconry of Richmond and deanery of Boroughbridge, in connexion with which their subsequent division will be found treated. Kirkby Malzeard, also in Claro, was in the archdeaconry of Richmond and deanery of Catterick.

(3) The wapentake of Ewcross (four parishes) was in the archdeaconry of Richmond and deanery of Lonsdale.

(4) The parish of Rossington, in the soke of Doncaster, and in Strafforth and Tickhill Wapentake, Bawtry and Austerfield, parts of the parish of Blyth, and Auckley and Blaxton, parts of the parish of Finningley, formed part of the archdeaconry of Nottingham and deanery of Retford. In 1836 these portions of the county were transferred to the diocese of Lincoln. Rossington was united to the deanery of Doncaster in 1856; but the remaining places continued outside the diocese of York, and now form part of the diocese of Southwell, archdeaconry of Nottingham, and deanery of Bawtry.

(5) The chapelry of Saddleworth, in Agbrigg Wapentake, formed a division of the parish of Rochdale from early times, in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, archdeaconry of Chester, and deanery of Manchester. In 1541 it became part of the diocese of Chester, and is now, with its daughter parishes, in the diocese and archdeaconry of Manchester, and deanery of Ashton-under-Lyne.¹⁵

(6) The chapelry of Whitewell, in Staincliffe Wapentake, was part of the parish of Whalley, in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield as above. In 1541 it became part of the diocese of Chester, and is now a benefice in the diocese of Manchester, archdeaconry of Blackburn, and deanery of Whalley.

The following peculiar jurisdictions were locally within the limits of the archdeaconry, or in parts of the West Riding adjacent to it:—

(1) The archbishop's liberty of Ripon included the parish of Ripon with its chapelries,¹⁶ extending into the wapentake of Claro. In 1541, though locally isolated from the diocese of York, it remained a peculiar of the archbishop, and so continued until the formation of the diocese of Ripon in 1836, when it became part of the deanery of Boroughbridge. The rural deanery of Ripon, originally formed in 1848, is now composed of the greater part of the old parish, with the addition of Kirkby Malzeard and Masham, but the north-western extremities of the parish, including Pateley Bridge, were given in 1905 to Nidderdale deanery in the archdeaconry of Richmond.¹⁷

(2) The Dean and Chapter of York had peculiar jurisdiction of the following parishes in York:—St. Andrew, St. John del Pyke, St. John Hungate, St. John the Evangelist, St. Lawrence, St. Mary Bishophill the Younger with Copmanthorpe and Over Poppleton, St. Martin Coney Street with St. Michael-le-Belfry, and St. Sampson (appropriated to the vicars-choral in 1393). By the union of 1585 St. Wilfrid's appears to have become part of their peculiar, in common with other suppressed rectories, and St. Nicholas', at any rate after 1644, was reckoned in it. Brotherton was also a peculiar of the dean and chapter.¹⁸

(3) The following parishes were in the peculiar jurisdiction of the dignitaries and prebendaries of the church of York, contentious jurisdiction being reserved to the dean and chapter: Mexborough with Ravenfield chapelry,¹⁹ Archdeacon of York; Handsworth, and Laughton-en-le-Morthen with its chapelries of Anston, Firbeck, Letwell with Gildingwells, Thorpe St. John's, Thorpe Salvin, and Wales,²⁰ Chancellor of York (prebend of Laughton appropriated 1484); Acomb,²¹ Treasurer of York; ²² Bilton Ainsty, ²³ Preben-

¹⁵ Formerly part of the deanery of Manchester.

¹⁶ i.e. the prebendal churches of Studley Magna (Claro), Bishop Monkton, Sharow, and Skelton. There were also chapels of later origin at Bishop Thornton, Pateley Bridge, and Winksley-cum-Grantley (the last in Claro).

¹⁷ Modern divisions of the old parish of Ripon: (1) Archdeaconry of Ripon, deanery of Ripon; Ripon and ten new parishes or districts; (2) Archdeaconry of Richmond, deanery of Nidderdale; two new parishes and part of another.

¹⁸ The peculiars of the chapter and prebendaries formed the liberty of St. Peter.

¹⁹ Locally in the deanery of Doncaster.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Locally in the deanery of Ainsty.

²² The treasurership was dissolved in 1547; but the peculiar court of Acomb continued to exist for purposes of probate and administration.

²³ Locally in the deanery of Ainsty.

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dary of Bilton; Bramham,²⁴ Prebendary of Bramham; ²⁵ St. Maurice without Monkgate,²⁶ Kirk Fenton, and Sherburn with Micklefield chapelry,²⁷ Prebendary of Fenton; Wadworth,²⁸ Prebendary of South Cave; ²⁹ Kirkby Wharfe,³⁰ Prebendary of Wetwang; Wistow with the parochial chapelries of Cawood and Monk Fryston,³¹ Prebendary of Wistow.

(4) The Abbot and convent of Selby had peculiar jurisdiction of Selby,³² Snaith with its chapels, Adlingfleet³³ (appropriated to Selby in 1307), Brayton,³⁴ and Whitgift,³⁵ and certain other places. This appears by a decree of Archbishop Bowet's chancellor in 1409.³⁶ Brayton was temporarily appropriated by Archbishop Romanus to the archdeaconry of York, and Harswell (E.R.) was appropriated to Selby, apparently in compensation.³⁷ Brayton appears to have reverted to the jurisdiction of Selby. After the surrender of Selby Abbey in 1539, Selby and Brayton formed the peculiar court of Selby, while Whitgift, and Snaith with its chapelries of Airmyn, Carlton, Goole, Hook, and Rawcliffe, formed the peculiar court of Snaith.³⁸

The deaneries in the archdeaconry of York were five in number, viz. Christianity of York, Ainsty, Craven, Doncaster, and Pontefract.

(1) The deanery of the Christianity of York embraced the city of York with its immediate suburbs, including portions of the Ainsty and North and East Ridings.³⁹ *Pope Nicholas' Taxation* of 1291 names the following churches: All Saints in North Street, All Saints in the Marsh,⁴⁰ St. Crux, St. Dennis, St. George, Holy Trinity in King's Court, Holy Trinity in Micklegate, St. Nicholas, St. Martin in Micklegate, St. Michael at the Bridge,⁴¹ St. Olave, and St. Saviour. In addition to these, the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* names All Saints Peaseholme, Holy Trinity in Goodramgate, St. Helen on the Walls, St. Helen in Stonegate, St. Margaret, St. Mary Bishophill the Elder, St. Mary in Castlegate, St. Peter the Little, St. Peter-le-Willows, and St. Wilfrid. These parishes, with one or two others omitted in both lists, had absorbed other parishes during the mediæval period, and were re-arranged entirely by the union of 1585.

(2) The deanery of Ainsty included the Ainsty of York, with the exception of Acaster Selby and the chapelries already accounted for; the wapentake of Barkston Ash; the greater part of the wapentake of Skyrack; and the southern part of that of Claro. The following churches are mentioned in *Pope Nicholas' Taxation*:—(a) in the Ainsty: Acaster Malbis, Askham Bryan, Askham Richard, Bilbrough, Bolton Percy, Healaugh, Hutton Wandesley (or Long Marston), Moor Monkton, Rufforth, Wighill; (b) in Barkston Ash; Birkin, Drax, Ledsham, Newton Kyme, Ryther, Saxton, Tadcaster;⁴² (c) in Skyrack: Aberford,⁴³ Adel, Barwick-in-Elmet, Garforth, Guiseley, Harewood, Kippax, Leeds, Swillington, Thorner, Whitkirk; (d) in Claro: Cowthorpe, Fewston, Kirk Deighton, Kirkby Ferrers (i.e. Kirkby Overblow), Leathley, Pannal, Spofforth.⁴⁴ In addition to these, the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* mentions, exclusive of peculiars: (a) Bishopthorpe, Thorp Arch;⁴⁵ (c) Bardsey, Collingham, Otley; (d) Hampsthwaite,⁴⁶ Weston.

In the deanery of Ainsty were locally included the archbishop's deaneries of Otley and Sherburn, and in the chantry returns of the reign of Henry VIII the three deaneries are

²⁴ Locally in the deanery of Ainsty.

²⁵ This prebend, appropriated to the Prior of Nostell, was dissolved in 1540, when Bramham became part of the peculiar of the dean and chapter.

²⁶ Locally in the deanery of the Christianity of York.

²⁷ Locally in the deanery of Ainsty.

²⁸ Locally in the deanery of Doncaster.

²⁹ This prebend was alienated by its last incumbent in 1549. The peculiar court of Wadworth maintained an independent existence.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³⁰ Locally in the deanery of Ainsty.

³³ Locally in the deanery of Pontefract.

³⁴ Locally in the deanery of Ainsty.

³⁵ Locally in the deanery of Pontefract.

³⁶ Lawton, op. cit. 5.

³⁷ See note 53, p. 34. The appropriation of Harswell was only temporary: the chapelries of Brayton were appropriated to Selby by Romanus (see note 48, p. 34). ³⁸ Lawton, loc. cit.

³⁹ viz. Copmanthorpe, Over Poppleton, and part of Dringhouses (Ainsty), Clifton and Heworth (North Riding), Fulford and Naburn (East Riding).

⁴⁰ i.e. All Saints', Pavement.

⁴¹ i.e. St. Michael Spurriergate.

⁴² Oxton and Catterton, in this parish, are in the Ainsty.

⁴³ Partly in Barkston Ash.

⁴⁴ The *Ecclesiastical Taxation* also mentions Bilton, Brayton, and Selby, subsequently peculiars.

⁴⁵ Walton, probably a chapel to Thorp Arch (see Lawton, op. cit. 81), is mentioned in neither survey as a separate benefice.

⁴⁶ At the time of the 1291 taxation Hampsthwaite was in the deanery of Boroughbridge and archdeaconry of Richmond. It was regarded in the earlier part of the 13th century as a chapel of Aldborough: see *Cal. Pat.* 1225-32, p. 174.

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included under one head.⁴⁷ Subsequently the parishes of Adel, Guiseley, Leeds, and Otley (Skyrack), and Fewston, Hampsthwaite, Leathley, Pannal, and Weston (Claro), with their chapelries,⁴⁸ were formed into the deanery of Old Ainsty; while the remainder were comprised in that of New Ainsty.

(3) The deanery of Craven embraced the wapentake of Staincliffe, with the parishes of Bingley and Ilkley⁴⁹ in Skyrack Wapentake. The following churches are mentioned in the *Ecclesiastical Taxation*: Addingham, Arncliffe, Bolton-in-Craven,⁵⁰ Bracewell, Broughton, Burnsall, Carlton, Gargrave, Giggleswick, Gisburn, Keighley, Kildwick, Kirby Malham, Linton, Long Preston, Marton, Great Mitton, Skipton, Slaiburn, and Thornton; Bingley and Ilkley. To these should be added Gilkirk,⁵¹ Horton-in-Ribblesdale,⁵² and Kettlewell.⁵³

(4) The deanery of Doncaster embraced the soke of Doncaster, with the exception of Rossington; the wapentake of Strafforth and Tickhill, with the exceptions already mentioned as in the archdeaconry of Nottingham; the greater portion of the wapentake of Staincross; and part of the wapentake of Osgoldcross. The following churches, exclusive of peculiars, are mentioned in *Pope Nicholas' Taxation*. Adwick-le-Street, Adwick-on-Dearne, Arksey, Armthorpe, Aston, Barnby-on-Don, Barnbrough, Bolton-on-Dearne, Braithwell, Brodsworth, Cantley, Conisbrough, Darfield,⁵⁴ Dinnington, Doncaster, Ecclesfield, Edlington,⁵⁵ Fishlake, Harthill, Hatfield, Hickleton, Hooton Pagnell, Hooton Roberts, Maltby, Melton-on-the-Hill, Rawmarsh, Rotherham, Sandal Parva,⁵⁶ Sheffield, Sprotbrough, Thrybergh, Thurnscoe, Tickhill, Todwick, Treeton, Warmsworth, Wath-on-Dearne, Whiston, and Wickersley, in Strafforth and Tickhill; Darton, Felkirk, Hemsworth, High Hoyland, Penistone, Royston, Silkstone, and Tankersley, in Staincross; Badsworth, Burghwallis, Campsall, Kirk Bramwith, Kirk Smeaton, Owston, and South Kirkby, in Osgoldcross. Stainton, originally a chapelry of Tickhill, is mentioned in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* as a separate benefice; and Marr, a chapelry of Hickleton, appears to have been accounted parochial before the Reformation.⁵⁷

(5) The deanery of Pontefract embraced the northern and eastern portions of the wapentake of Osgoldcross; the wapentake of Agbrigg and Morley with the exception of the chapelry of Saddleworth; and a small portion of the wapentake of Staincross. The following churches are mentioned in *Pope Nicholas' Taxation*: Ackworth, Adlingfleet, Castleford, Darrington, Featherstone, Ferry Fryston, Kellington, Pontefract, and Womersley, in Osgoldcross; ⁵⁸ Almondbury, Batley, Birstal, Bradford, Calverley, Crofton, Dewsbury, Emley, Halifax, Huddersfield, Kirkburton, Kirkheaton, Methley, Mirfield, Normanton, Rothwell, Sandal Magna, Thornhill, Wakefield, Warmfield, and Woodkirk, in Agbrigg and Morley. To these should be added Whitgift,⁵⁹ in Osgoldcross, mentioned in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*; East Ardsley, in Agbrigg and Morley; and Wragby,⁶⁰ in Osgoldcross and Staincross wapentakes.

The Archdeaconry of East Riding comprised the whole of the East Riding, with the exception of the wapentake of Ouse and Derwent. Fulford and Naburn, in this wapentake, were chapelries in the deanery of the Christianity of York and York archdeaconry: the rest of the wapentake was in the archdeaconry of Cleveland and deanery of Bulmer. Portions of the wapentake of Pickering Lythe and the liberty of Whitby Strand, in the North Riding, were included in the archdeaconry of East Riding.

The following peculiar jurisdictions were locally within the limits of the archdeaconry:

(1) The jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of York included Bishop Burton, Bubwith,⁶¹ Burton Pidsea,⁶² Helpthorpe,⁶³ and Weaverthorpe.⁶⁴

⁴⁷ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 211.

⁴⁸ Old chapels existing before the time of the Commonwealth were as follows: Thruscross (Fewston); Horsforth (Guiseley); Thornthwaite (Hampsthwaite); Leeds St. John, Beeston, Bramley, Chapel Allerton, Farnley, Headingley, Holbeck, Hunslet (Leeds); Baildon, Burley, Denton, Farnley, Pool (Otley).

⁴⁹ Part of Ilkley is in the wapentake of Claro, in which also are included parts of Addingham, Burnsall, and Skipton.

⁵¹ i.e. St. Mary-le-Gill, at Barnoldswick.

⁵⁰ i.e. Bolton-by-Bowland.

⁵³ No returns for the deanery of Craven remain in *Valor Eccl.*; but the printed edition (*Rec. Com.*), v, 143, gives the returns from the *Liber Valorum*, in which Gilkirk and Horton appear as curacies.

⁵⁴ Worsborough, formerly a chapelry of Darfield, is in Staincross Wapentake.

⁵⁵ Now united with Warmsworth.

⁵⁶ i.e. Kirk Sandall.

⁵⁷ See Lawton, *Coll.* 206. Frickley with Clayton (*ibid.* 195) should also be mentioned; it was a parish church at the time of the Parliamentary Survey.

⁵⁸ Also Snaith, a peculiar of Selby Abbey at a later date.

⁵⁹ Formerly peculiar.

⁶⁰ A donative chapelry after the dissolution of Nostell Priory.

⁶¹ Locally in the deanery of Harthill.

⁶² Locally in the deanery of Holderness.

⁶³ Originally a chapel of Weaverthorpe.

⁶⁴ Locally in the deanery of Buckrose.

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(2) The peculiar of the Dean of York included Kilnwick Percy,^{64a} Kilham,⁶⁵ and Pocklington with its old chapelries of Allertorpe with Thornton, Barnby Moor with Fangfoss, Hayton with Belby, and Millington with Givendale.⁶⁶

(3) The following parishes were in the peculiar jurisdiction of the dignitaries and prebendaries of the church of York, with contentious jurisdiction reserved to the dean and chapter : Mappleton,⁶⁷ Archdeacon of East Riding ; Great and Little Driffeld,⁶⁸ Precentor of York (prebend of Driffeld appropriated 1485) ; Wawne⁶⁹ and East Acklam,⁷⁰ Chancellor of York ; Preston-in-Holderness,⁷¹ Sub-Dean of York ; Tunstall,⁷² Sub-Chanter of York ; Bishop Wilton,⁷³ Treasurer of York (prebend of Bishop Wilton appropriated 1241) ; Wharram-le-Street,⁷⁴ Prebendary of Bramham ; ⁷⁵ Bugthorpe,⁷⁶ Prebendary of Bugthorpe ; Holme-on-the-Wolds⁷⁷ and Withernwick,⁷⁸ Prebendary of Holme ; Langtoft with Cottam⁷⁹ chapelry and North Grimston,⁸⁰ Prebendary of Langtoft ; North Newbald,⁸¹ Prebendary of North Newbald ; South Cave,⁸² Prebendary of South Cave ; ⁸³ Weighton with Shipton chapelry,⁸⁴ Prebendary of Weighton ; Elloughton,⁸⁵ Fridaythorpe, and Wetwang with Fimber chapelry,⁸⁶ Prebendary of Wetwang.

(4) The peculiar of the Prior and convent of Durham included Brantingham with Ellerker chapelry, Eastington, Howden with its chapelries,⁸⁷ Walkington, and Welton.⁸⁸

(5) The provostry of Beverley was a peculiar jurisdiction including the churches of Beverley, Cherry Burton, Leconfield, Middleton-on-the-Wolds, Scarborough, and South Dalton, in Harthill Wapentake ; and Brandesburton, Halsham, Leven, Patrington, Rise, and Welwick in Holderness. Ottringham, mentioned by Lawton, is not included in the list given in *Pope Nicholas' Taxation*.

The deaneries of the archdeaconry of East Riding were four in number, viz., Buckrose, Dickering, Harthill, and Holderness.

(1) The deanery of Buckrose was co-extensive with the wapentake of the same name. The following churches, exclusive of peculiars, are named in *Pope Nicholas' Taxation* : Birdsall, Burythorpe, Cowlam, Kirby Grindalythe, Kirby Underdale, Langton, Norton, Rillington, Scrayingham, Settrington, Sherburn-in-Harford-Lythe, Skirpenbeck, Thorpe Bassett, West Heslerton, Westow,⁸⁹ Wharram Percy, Wintringham, and Yedingham ; Sledmere is mentioned neither here nor in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.

(2) The deanery of Dickering comprised the wapentake of Dickering, a portion of the wapentake of Harthill, and portions, in the North Riding, of the wapentake of Pickering Lythe and liberty of Whitby Strand. The following churches, excluding peculiars, are mentioned in *Pope Nicholas' Taxation* : Argam, Boynton, Bridlington, Burton Agnes, Burton Fleming,⁹⁰ Carnaby,⁹¹ Filey,⁹² Flamborough, Folkton, Foston-on-the-Wolds, Foxholes, Ganton, Garton-on-the-Wolds, Hunmanby, Lowthorpe, Nafferton, Rudston, Thwing, Willerby, and Wold Newton,⁹³ in Dickering Wapentake ; Scalby, Scarborough, and Seamer, in Pickering Lythe, and Hackness in Whitby Strand. To these should be added Muston,⁹⁴ Reighton,⁹⁵ and Ruston Parva, in Dickering.⁹⁶

(3) The deanery of Harthill included the wapentake of Harthill with the greater part of the extra-urban portion of the county of Kingston-upon-Hull,⁹⁷ and the wapentake of

^{64a} Locally in the deanery of Harthill.

⁶⁵ Locally in the deanery of Harthill.

⁶⁶ Locally in the deanery of Dickering.

⁷⁰ Locally in the deanery of Buckrose.

⁷³ Locally in the deanery of Harthill.

⁷⁵ See note 25.

⁷⁷ Locally in the deanery of Harthill.

⁷⁹ Locally in the deanery of Dickering.

⁸¹ Locally in the deanery of Harthill.

⁸⁴ Locally in the deanery of Harthill.

⁸⁷ viz. the prebendal chapels of Barmby Marsh and Laxton.

⁸⁸ The remaining members of this peculiar will be found in connexion with the archdeaconry of Cleveland. *Pope Nicholas' Taxation* enumerates them under the heading 'Prebendar' Hoveden, et spiritual' de Hovedensh'.

⁹⁰ Originally a chapel of Hunmanby.

⁹² The church and part of the parish are in Pickering Lythe wapentake, N. R.

⁹³ Originally a chapel of Hunmanby.

⁹⁶ Ruston Parva is not mentioned in the *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.). *Pope Nicholas' Taxation* mentions 'parva Kelk' in addition to the churches above (Rec. Com. 336).

⁹⁷ Hull appears to have been in this deanery originally, as a chapel of Hessle ; and is reckoned as such in the *Liber Valorum*. At the time of the erection of the diocese of Ripon, when Lawton's *Collections* first appeared, Hull was a member of the deanery of Holderness.

⁶⁵ Locally in the deanery of Dickering.

⁶⁷ Locally in the deanery of Holderness.

⁶⁹ Locally in the deanery of Holderness.

⁷¹ Locally in the deanery of Holderness. ⁷² Ibid.

⁷⁴ Locally in the deanery of Buckrose.

⁷⁶ Locally in the deanery of Buckrose.

⁷⁸ Locally in the deanery of Holderness.

⁸⁰ Locally in the deanery of Buckrose.

⁸³ See note 29.

⁸⁶ Locally in the deanery of Buckrose.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

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Howdenshire.⁹⁹ The following churches, exclusive of peculiars, are mentioned in *Pope Nicholas' Taxation*: Aughton, Bainton, Bubwith, Burnby, Catton, Cottingham, Ellerton, Etton, Everingham, Full Sutton, Goodmanham, Harswell, Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, Hotham, Huggate, Hutton Cranswick, Kilnwick-on-the-Wolds, Kirkburn, Lockington, Londesborough, Lund, North Cave, North Dalton, Nunburnholme, Rowley, Sancton, Skerne, Sutton-on-Derwent, Warter, Watton, Wressell, in Harthill; Hessle, Kirk Ella,⁹⁹ and North Ferriby, in Hullshire. To these should be added Wilberfoss, in Harthill.¹⁰⁰

(4) The deanery of Holderness included the wapentake of Holderness with the town and a portion of the county of Hull.¹⁰¹ The following churches, exclusive of peculiars, are mentioned in *Pope Nicholas' Taxation*: Aldbrough, Atwick, Barmston, Beeford, Birstal,¹⁰² Catwick, Colden Parva, Easington, Garton, Goxhill, Hilston, Hornsea, Humbleton, Keyingham, Kilnsea, North Frodingham, Ottringham, Owthorne, Paul with Thorngumbald chapelry, Roos, Routh, Skeckling with Burstwick and Ryhill chapelries, Skipsea, Sproatley, Sutton-on-Hull, Swine, Winestead, and Withernsea.^{102a} To these should be added Holmpton, Marfleet, Nunkeeling, Ulrome, Riston, and Withernsea.¹⁰³ Hull seems to have entered the deanery at a later date.

The archdeaconry of Cleveland embraced the wapentake of Ouse and Derwent in the East Riding, with the exception of Fulford and Naburn; a small portion of the Ainsty of York; and the whole of the North Riding west of Richmondshire, with the exception of (1) Over Dinsdale and Girsby, portions of the parish of Sockburn, in the diocese and archdeaconry of Durham, and deanery of Darlington; (2) Appleton Wiske, in Langbaugh Wapentake, a chapelry of Great Smeaton in the archdeaconry and deanery of Richmond; (3) small portions of the wapentake of Allertonshire included in the parishes of Pickhill and Wath,¹⁰⁴ archdeaconry of Richmond and deanery of Caterick; and (4) a small portion of the wapentake of Bulmer, close to York. In 1896 the portion of the East Riding within the archdeaconry was transferred to the archdeaconry of the East Riding.

Peculiar jurisdictions locally within the limits of the archdeaconry were as follows:—

(1) The peculiar of the Dean of York included Pickering with its old parochial chapelries of Allerston with Ebberston, Ellerburn with Wilton, and Goathland.¹⁰⁵

(2) The following parishes were within the peculiar jurisdiction of the dignitaries and prebendaries of the church of York, viz.: Alne, Skelton, and Wigginton,¹⁰⁶ Treasurer of York;¹⁰⁷ Ampleforth¹⁰⁸ and Heslington,¹⁰⁹ Prebendary of Ampleforth; Stockton-on-the-Forest,¹¹⁰ Prebendary of Bugthorpe; Hustwaite with Carlton chapelry,¹¹¹ Prebendary of Hustwaite; Gate Helmsley,¹¹² Prebendary of Osbaldwick; Riccall,¹¹³ Prebendary of Riccall; Salton,¹¹⁴ Prebendary of Salton; ¹¹⁵ Stillington,¹¹⁶ Prebendary of Stillington; Osbaldwick with Murton chapelry,¹¹⁷ and Strensall with Haxby chapelry,¹¹⁸ Prebendary of Strensall; Warthill,¹¹⁹ Prebendary of Warthill.

(3) The peculiar of the Bishop of Durham in Allerton and Allertonshire included Birkby with Hutton Bonville chapelry, Cowesby, Leake with Nether Silton chapelry, North Otterington, Osmotherley, and Thornton-le-Street.¹²⁰ Crayke, locally in the wapentake of Bulmer, was reckoned a member of the bishopric of Durham until 1841.

(4) The peculiar of the prior and convent in the same district included Northallerton with its chapelries, Kirby Sigston, and West Rounton. Their jurisdiction in the East Riding extended over Hemingbrough, Holtby, and Skipwith, locally in the deanery of Bulmer.

⁹⁹ Locally in this deanery, but a peculiar of the Prior and convent (afterwards Dean and Chapter) of Durham.

⁹⁹ Elneley, Olveley (*sic*). 'Elveley' is the usual form.

¹⁰⁰ The *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.) is wanting for a great part of the deanery of Harthill. The *Liber Valorum* mentions the convent of Wilberfoss, to which the parish church was appropriated.

¹⁰¹ Probably a late inclusion. See note 97 above.

¹⁰² Or Skeffling.

^{102a} Hollym was a chapel of Withernsea.

¹⁰³ Marfleet is not mentioned in *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.). Riston formed a joint benefice with Hornsea.

¹⁰⁴ viz. Holme and West Rounton in Pickhill; and Norton Conyers, in Wath.

¹⁰⁵ Locally in the deanery of Ryedale.

¹⁰⁶ Locally in the deanery of Bulmer.

¹⁰⁷ See note 22. After the dissolution of the treasurership, these places formed a separate peculiar jurisdiction.

¹⁰⁸ Locally in the deanery of Ryedale.

¹⁰⁹ Locally in the deanery of Bulmer.

¹¹⁰ Locally in the deanery of Bulmer.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Prebend annexed to priory of Hexham, and dissolved 1540.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Locally in the deanery of Bulmer.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ Locally in the deanery of Cleveland.

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The deaneries of the archdeaconry of Cleveland were three in number, viz. Bulmer, Cleveland, and Ryedale.

(1) The deanery of Bulmer comprised the wapentake of Bulmer, with the exception of the immediate suburbs of York; and parts of the wapentakes of Birdforth and Allertonshire;¹²¹ the wapentake of Ouse and Derwent in the East Riding, with exceptions already noted; and Acaster Selby in the Ainsty of York, being part of the parish of Stillingfleet. The following churches, excluding peculiars, are mentioned in the *Ecclesiastical Taxation*: Bossall,¹²² Brafferton,¹²³ Brandsby, Bulmer, Crambe, Dalby, Easingwold, Foston, Huntington, Myton-upon-Swale, Newton-upon-Ouse, Over Helmsley, Overton, Sheriff Hutton, Sutton-on-the-Forest, Terrington, Thormanby, Whenby, and Wigginton,¹²⁴ in Bulmer Wapentake; Coxwold with Over Silton chapelry, Feliskirk, Kirby Knowle, South Kilvington,¹²⁵ South Otterington, and Thirsk, in Birdforth; Sessay, in Allertonshire; and Dunnington, Elvington, Stillingfleet, and Wheldrake, in Ouse and Derwent. To these should be added Marton-on-the-Forest, in Bulmer; Topcliffe, in Birdforth;¹²⁶ and Thorganby, in Ouse and Derwent.¹²⁷

(2) The deanery of Cleveland embraced the liberty of Langbaugh, the greater part of the liberty of Whitby Strand and wapentake of Allertonshire, and a portion of the wapentake of Birdforth. The following churches, exclusive of peculiars, are mentioned in *Pope Nicholas' Taxation*: Great Ayton, Crathorne, Danby, Easington, Guisborough, Hinderwell, Rudby, Ingleby Arncliffe, Ingleby Greenhow, Kildale, Kirkby in Cleveland, Kirkleatham, Kirk Leavington, Lofthouse, Lythe with its chapels,¹²⁸ Marske, Marton, Middlesbrough,¹²⁹ Ormsby, Skelton, Stainton, and Stokesley, in Langbaugh; Fylingdales, Sneaton, and Whitby with Eskdale chapel, in Whitby Strand; Hawny and Welbury, in Birdforth. To these should be added Carlton-in-Cleveland and Yarm, in Langbaugh.¹³⁰

(3) The deanery of Ryedale embraced the wapentake of Ryedale, the greater part of the wapentake of Pickering Lythe, and a portion of the wapentake of Birdforth. The following churches excluding peculiars, are mentioned in *Pope Nicholas' Taxation*: Appleton-le-Street, Barton-le-Street,¹³¹ Great Edston, East Gilling, Helmsley, Hovingham,¹³² Kirkby Moorside, Kirkdale, Lasingham, Old Malton, Normanby, Nunnington, Oswaldkirk, Scawton, Slingsby, and Stonegrave, in Ryedale; Brompton, Hutton Bushell, Kirby Misperton, Levisham, Middleton, Sinnington,¹³³ Thornton Dale, and Wykeham, in Pickering Lythe.

The archdeaconry of Richmond included, within the limits of modern Yorkshire, the wapentakes of Gilling East and West, Hang East and West, the wapentake of Hallikeld, now in the North Riding; and, in the West Riding, the wapentake of Ewcross and the northern part of that of Claro. The extraordinary privileges of the Archdeacon of Richmond are enumerated in an agreement made in 1331 between the archdeacon and Archbishop Melton: they included the custody of vacant benefices, power of sequestration, examination and confirmation of elections to benefices, institution and induction of incumbents, examination and presentation of candidates for orders, and other privileges which, so far as the other archdeaconries were concerned, resided with the archbishop.¹³⁴ In 1541 the archdeaconry became part of the new diocese of Chester. Its Yorkshire portion was detached in 1836 to form the archdeaconry of Richmond in the diocese of Ripon. In 1894 the archdeaconry was subdivided: the new archdeaconry of Ripon took its southern portion, while the parishes in Ewcross Wapentake were transferred to the archdeaconry of Craven.

¹²¹ Allertonshire was divided into the peculiar jurisdictions of the Bishop and convent of Durham.

¹²² Part of this parish is in Birdforth Wapentake. ¹²³ Part of this parish is in Hallikeld Wapentake.

¹²⁴ Wigginton had not yet become a member of the treasurer's peculiar.

¹²⁵ Omelington (*sic*): a later note has Kinelerpton (*sic*).

¹²⁶ Dishforth and Marton-le-Moor, chapelries of Topcliffe, are in Hallikeld Wapentake.

¹²⁷ Topcliffe is mentioned in *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com. v, 101). It was appropriated to the fabric of the church of York, and seems therefore to have been within the jurisdiction of the dean and chapter.

¹²⁸ viz. Egton, and possibly Ugthorpe.

¹²⁹ Middlesbrough was a cell of Whitby Abbey, situated locally in the parish of West Acklam, formerly a chapelry of Stainton. West Acklam is probably meant here: but at the time of the *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com. v, 80) the church was still regarded as a chapel.

¹³⁰ These churches, however, were probably chapels, Carlton of Hutton Rudby, Yarm of Kirk Leavington. See Lawton, *op. cit.* pp. 477, 510. *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com. 335) also includes the castle church of Whorlton among the churches of the deanery.

¹³¹ Coneythorpe, in this parish, is in Bulmer Wapentake.

¹³² Scackleton, in this parish, is in Bulmer Wapentake.

¹³³ Little Edston, in this parish, is in Ryedale Wapentake.

¹³⁴ *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 248 seq.

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The following peculiar jurisdictions were locally within the limits of the archdeaconry.

(1) The peculiar of the Dean and chapter of York included Aldborough with Dunsforth Chapel, Burton Leonard,¹³⁵ and Hornby.¹³⁶

(2) The following parishes were in the peculiar jurisdiction of the dignitaries and prebendaries of the church of York: Little Ouseburn,¹³⁷ Precentor of York; Knaresborough,¹³⁸ Prebendary of Knaresborough with Bickhill; Masham with Kirkby Malzeard and its chapelries,¹³⁹ Prebendary of Masham.¹⁴⁰

(3) Middleham¹⁴¹ was a royal peculiar, exempted from all metropolitan, archiepiscopal, &c., jurisdiction in 1481.

The Yorkshire deaneries of the archdeaconry were three in number, viz. Boroughbridge, Catterick, and Richmond. It also included a portion of Yorkshire in the deanery of Lonsdale.

(1) The deanery of Boroughbridge comprised the northern part of the wapentake of Claro, and a portion of the wapentake of Hallikeld. The following churches, excluding peculiars, are mentioned in *Pope Nicholas' Taxation*: Allerton Mauleverer, Copgrove, Farnham, Goldsborough, Marton with Grafton, Great Ouseburn, Ripley, South Stainley, Staveley, and Whixley, in Claro; Cundall and Kirby-on-the-Moor, in Hallikeld Wapentake. To these should be added Hunsingore and Nun Monkton¹⁴² in Claro.

(2) The deanery of Catterick included the wapentakes of Hang East and West, most of the wapentake of Hallikeld, and portions of the wapentakes of Claro and Gilling East. The following churches are mentioned in the *Ecclesiastical Taxation*: Aysgarth, Coverham, Downholme, Fingall, Grinton,¹⁴³ Hauxwell, Middleham, Spennithorne, Thornton Steward,¹⁴⁴ Wensley, East Witton, and West Witton, in Hang West; Bedale,¹⁴⁵ Catterick,¹⁴⁶ Kirkby Fleetham, Patrick Brompton,¹⁴⁷ Scruton, Thornton Watlass, and Well, in Hang East; and Burneston, Kirklington, Pickhill,¹⁴⁸ Wath,¹⁴⁹ and West Tanfield, in Hallikeld.¹⁵⁰

(3) The deanery of Richmond included the greater part of the wapentakes of Gilling East and Gilling West, with a small portion of the wapentake of Langbaugh. The following churches are mentioned in the *Ecclesiastical Taxation*: Barningham, Bowes, Brignall, Easby, West Gilling, Kirkby Ravensworth, Marrick, Marske, Melsonby, Richmond, Rokeby, Romalldkirk, Stanwick,¹⁵¹ Startforth, and Wycliffe, in Gilling West; Ainderby Steeple, East Cowton, Croft, Danby Wiske, Kirby Wiske, Langton-on-Swale, Manfield, Middleton Tyas, and Great Smeaton, in Gilling East. To these should be added Cleasby, in Gilling East.¹⁵²

(4) The wapentake of Ewcross formed part of the deanery of Lonsdale. The following churches are mentioned in the *Ecclesiastical Taxation*: Bentham and Sedbergh. To these should be added Clapham and Thornton in Lonsdale.¹⁵³

These parishes formed part of the diocese of Ripon after 1836, but were not formed into a separate deanery until 1848. The deanery of Clapham, then formed, remained in the archdeaconry of Richmond until 1894, when it was united to the archdeaconry of Craven.¹⁵⁴

¹³⁵ Locally in the deanery of Boroughbridge.

¹³⁶ Locally in the deanery of Catterick.

¹³⁷ Locally in the deanery of Boroughbridge.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Locally in the deanery of Catterick.

¹⁴⁰ The peculiar court of Masham continued to exist after the dissolution of the prebend. Middlesmoor and Hartwith-with-Winsley were chapels of Kirkby Malzeard.

¹⁴¹ Locally in the deanery of Catterick.

¹⁴² Both mentioned in *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com. v, 255, 256). *Pope Nich. Tax.* also mentions Hampsthwaite in this deanery (Rec. Com. 307): see note 46 above.

¹⁴³ Melbecks, formerly in this parish, is in Gilling West Wapentake.

¹⁴⁴ Appropriated to the Archdeacon of Richmond, and afterwards to the Bishop of Chester.

¹⁴⁵ Langthorne, part of Bedale, is in Hallikeld Wapentake.

¹⁴⁶ Of the chapels of Catterick, Hipswell is in Hang East Wapentake, Hudswell is in Hang West, and Bolton-upon-Swale is in Gilling East.

¹⁴⁷ Part of Patrick Brompton is in Hang West.

¹⁴⁸ See note 104.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ The following old chapelries may be noted: Askrigg, Hardrow, Hawes, Lunds, and Stallingbusk (Aysgarth), Muker (Grinton), Hunton (Patrick Brompton), Bolton and Redmire (Wensley), Leeming (Burneston).

¹⁵¹ Prebendal church of Ripon.

¹⁵² The church was consecrated in 1329, as a chapel to Stanwick.

¹⁵³ Clapham was appropriated to the Archdeacon of Richmond, and afterwards to the Bishop of Chester. Old chapelries are Ingleton, Chapel-le-Dale (Bentham), Dent, Garsdale, and Howgill (Sedbergh), Burton in Lonsdale (Thornton).

¹⁵⁴ The deanery contains four old parishes, and nine new parishes.

THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES OF YORKSHIRE

INTRODUCTION

The county of York was remarkable for the number and importance of its religious foundations. Of the Benedictine Order there were only four houses for men, but of these St. Mary's, York, Selby and Whitby, were all of the first rank, and Monk Bretton is interesting as having been originally a Cluniac house. Of the ten Benedictine nunneries none were of importance. The striking feature of Yorkshire religious life, however, was the predominance of the Cistercian Order; Byland, Fountains, Jervaulx, Kirkstall, Meaux, Rievaulx, Roche and Sawley, forming a group of Cistercian monasteries that cannot be paralleled elsewhere in England, and there were twelve houses for women of the same order, though most of these were quite small. It is noteworthy that in the case of the nunneries of Swine and Wykeham the early records speak of certain canons being attached to the convents.¹ The Cluniac Order, after the secession of Monk Bretton in 1279, was represented by the monastery of St. John's, Pontefract, and the nunnery of Arthington. The two Carthusian houses of Hull and Mount Grace were comparatively late foundations, and there was at Grosmont a small priory of the Grandimontine Order.

Ten houses of Austin Canons were founded before the middle of the 12th century, and of these Bolton, Bridlington, Guisborough, Newburgh and Nostell, were of considerable importance. Another house of this order, that of Haltemprice, was founded as late as 1320. The only convent of Austin Nuns, that established at Moxby about 1165, originally formed part of the priory of Marton, founded about 1135, as a double house for nuns and canons. The Gilbertine Order, in which the double community was the rule, had three houses in the county, and the Premonstratensian Canons also had three abbeys. But the most remarkable house of Canons Regular was the priory of North Ferriby of Austin Canons of the Order of the Temple; they are sometimes erroneously said to have been affiliated to the Knights Templars, but were in reality a cell of the abbey of the Temple of the Lord at Jerusalem and in no way connected with the Knights of the Temple of Solomon; at a later date these canons seem to have been considered as ordinary Austin Canons.

Both military orders, of the Temple and of the Hospital, had extensive possessions in Yorkshire and each appointed a chief preceptor or master for

¹ Cf. Godstow, *V.C.H. Oxon*, ii, 73; and Nuneaton, *V.C.H. Warw.* ii, 66.

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the county. The Knights Templars had eight preceptories, but after the dissolution of the order in 1310, although most of these estates passed to the Hospitallers, Ribston was the only house which maintained a separate existence as a commandery.

The different orders of friars were well represented in the county. In York itself there were houses of Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, Austins, and of the short-lived Order of the Sack. In 1257 Walter de Kirkham, Bishop of Durham, granted 4 acres of land at Osmotherley for the establishment of a priory of Crutched Friars,² and in 1347 Thomas Lord Wake of Liddell had royal licence to grant a toft and 10 acres in Blakehowe Moor in Farndale for the foundation of a house of the same order,³ but in neither case does the design seem to have been carried out. In the same way Master William de Alverton's proposed foundation of Austin Friars at Northallerton in 1340,⁴ and the house of Minoreesses which Sir William de la Pole began to found at Hull in 1365,⁵ came to nothing. At Knaresborough there was an important establishment of Trinitarian Friars.

The list of hospitals which follows is lengthy, but it is probably not complete; so many small hospitals are known to us only from single references that it is almost certain that others must have escaped notice altogether. At the head of the list is St. Peter's, or St. Leonard's, of York, the largest and wealthiest of all the early English hospitals. The identification of the smaller, and for the most part unendowed, hospitals in the city is no simple matter, many of them being known by more than one name.

Of collegiate churches the most important were the Minster at York (associated with which were the Bedern, St. Mary and the Holy Angels and St. William's College), Ripon and Beverley, all three being of pre-Conquest origin. Sir Richard le Scrope in 1393 had licence to found a chantry of six chaplains, one of whom was to be warden, in his castle of Bolton, and at the same time to give to the abbey of Easby lands for the support of six canons and twenty-two poor men.⁶ In 1399 he obtained a fresh licence to transfer the proposed endowment from Easby to the church of Holy Trinity, Wensley, making this church collegiate and attaching a hospital to it,⁷ but although this licence was confirmed by Henry IV⁸ it does not appear that either of the proposed colleges at Bolton or Wensley was actually constituted. Another abortive college was begun by Richard III, who proposed to found a college of a hundred priests in connexion with York Minster.⁹ Several altars were actually erected¹⁰ and the collegiate house begun, if not completed,¹¹ before Richard's defeat and death put an end to the scheme. A quasi-collegiate chantry of twelve priests was established in Kirkleatham church in 1353,¹² but was dissolved when the rectory was appropriated to the college of Staindrop (county Durham) in 1408.¹³ A similar chantry of six priests was formed at Harewood in 1353,¹⁴ and a semi-collegiate chapel was founded at Wilton-in-Cleveland by Sir William Bulmer in 1528,¹⁵ but neither these nor Osmotherley,

² Pat. 41 Hen. III, no. 1.

⁴ Pat. 14 Edw. III, pt. ii, no. 5.

⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1391-6, p. 224.

⁸ *Ibid.* 1399-1401, p. 344.

¹⁰ *Fabric R.* (Surt. Soc.), 87.

¹² Torre's MS. fol. 59.

¹⁴ *Cal. Close*, 1349-54, pp. 520-2.

³ Pat. 21 Edw. III, pt. ii, no. 6; Dugdale, *Baronage*, i, 541.

⁵ *Cal. Papal Letters*, iv, 91.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1396-9, p. 489.

⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, pt. i, fol. 100.

¹¹ *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), iv, 79.

¹³ *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1401.

¹⁵ *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), v, 319.

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which church was held by three portionaries, sometimes called canons or prebendaries, were true colleges. The alien priories were few and, with the exception of Holy Trinity, York, unimportant.

Selby Abbey is said to have owed its existence to the settlement of a hermit at that place, and instances of hermits occur in Yorkshire records with some frequency. In 1315 King Edward II sent Lambert le Flemmyng of Ypres with four other hermits to reside at Knaresborough,¹⁶ and three years later he gave 76s. 6d. to the six hermits of 'Haywra' in Knaresborough Forest, of whom Brother Lambert was the proctor.¹⁷ This hermitage was probably of early date, as in 1267 John Floterdasse killed 'a certain hermit dwelling in le Wra.'¹⁸ At Knaresborough also was the hermitage of St. Robert, which continued to be occupied until at least the middle of the 14th century.¹⁹ Mention may also be made of Matthew Danthorpe, hermit, who in 1399 tactfully built a chapel at Ravenspur to commemorate the landing of Henry IV.²⁰ Instances of the more strictly secluded class of anchorites are to be met with in the archiepiscopal registers and elsewhere.²¹

HOUSES OF BENEDICTINE MONKS

1. THE PRIORY OF MONK BRETTON

The priory of Monk Bretton was founded early in the reign of Henry II by Adam Fitz Suain for monks of the Cluniac order.¹ He gave to God, St. Mary Magdalene of Lund, and Adam, at that time Prior of Bretton, and the monks there, the whole of Bretton with some mills and other property.² From the mention of an existing prior, this foundation charter must be later in date than the letter which the Prior of La Charité-sur-Loire addressed to him as his 'dear and special friend and benefactor,' and in which he granted leave for the founder to choose a prior and other monks to form the convent from St. John's Pontefract and other houses of the Cluniac order in England.³ On the strength apparently of this Pontefract claimed jurisdiction over Monk Bretton almost as if it were a cell only, and not merely, as seems to have been contemplated, an independent daughter house.

In his letter to Adam Fitz Suain, the Prior of La Charité, to whose house Pontefract was affiliated, had granted that the monks of Bretton should freely elect their prior, but the Prior of Pontefract if requested by the convent of Bretton

should attend the chapter, with the patron, for the election.

These relations between Pontefract and Bretton led to disputes and ill feeling, and Pope Alexander IV⁴ in 1255 issued a mandate directing the Dean and Archdeacon of Lincoln to make inquiry and decide between the two houses. The monks of Pontefract had, rightly or wrongly, regarded Monk Bretton as a cell of their house, and the Prior of Pontefract had claimed a right to the appointment of the Prior of Monk Bretton, which Monk Bretton had refused. As a consequence the sub-prior of Monk Bretton reported in 1267 that this convent had been without a prior for fifteen years, the monks claiming the free election of their prior, and the Prior of Pontefract claiming to present to the post, and actually presenting Adam de Northampton, whom the daughter house refused to accept.⁵ An agreement was arrived at in 1269 as follows: Monk Bretton was to pay 20s. a year to Pontefract *ad pitantiam*, and the monks of Bretton were to have the free election of their prior and were to be free from all kind of subjection or obedience to Pontefract.

When, however, the monks of Bretton elected a prior they were to send for the Prior of Pontefract to Pontefract, and not elsewhere, that the elect might be installed by him. If the prior was not at Pontefract, the Prior of Bretton was to be installed by the sub-prior, or third Prior of Pontefract, but the Prior and convent of Pontefract were to have no right of objecting to the elected Prior of Bretton. The Prior and convent of Pontefract were to obtain a confir-

¹⁶ Exch. Acts. 376, no. 7.

¹⁷ Lib. R. Chan. 11 Edw. II, m. 13.

¹⁸ Assize R. 1051, m. 11.

¹⁹ See account of the Friary of Knaresborough below.

²⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1399-1401, p. 209.

²¹ e.g. *Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 108.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 131.

² *Ibid.* 136, no. i.

³ *Ibid.* no. ii.

⁴ *Ibid.* 137, no. iii.

⁵ Assize R. 1050, m. 13.

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mation of this order by the Priors and convents of Cluny and La Charité and the monks of Bretton then at Cluny were to be set free and return to Bretton.

Either the Prior and convent of Pontefract failed to leave Bretton to itself, or the monks of the latter house decided that their independence could only be secured by a total and complete severance of their house from the Cluniac order. For at a visitation of the English Cluniac houses made in 1279⁶ by order of the Abbot of Cluny the visitors reported as follows, regarding Monk Bretton :—

On Monday preceding the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (8 September) we arrived at the priory of Monk Bretton, accompanied by certain officers of the sheriff . . .

Knocking at the outer gate, we demanded admittance in the name of our Lord Abbot, on whose service we had come to carry out the visitation of the house. To this we received no answer. Again and again the knocking was repeated, but to our continued demand for admission the portal-gate remained persistently closed. A certain person, however, whose name was William de Riote, seemed to be acting for the prior and sub-prior and the rest of the convent, on this occasion, and upon him, in presence of all, we proceeded to pass sentence of excommunication ; which being done publicly and in writing, we took our departure. The same day we immediately reported the matter to the king, and to the sheriff, and in due course received the following commands and instructions :—By the king we were ordered to take into custody the above William de Riote ; and the sheriff directed us to force or make good our entrance into the priory. As for myself, I quitted the spot, but left the Prior of Montacute to await the necessary warrants and summonses. On their arrival we returned to Monk Bretton Priory, accompanied by the bailiff and other sheriff's officers. On entering the priory, he at once proceeded to the church, and knocked at the door of the chapter-house. Certain of the inmates, habited in the dress of the order, were there ; some were sitting in the cloisters. The visiting prior then entered the chapter-house, in order to carry out the duties of his office, but not a single monk appeared, and being asked the reason, the fraternity affirmed, one and all, that they had no intention of attending ; their prior was away, and they would not attend without him. Upon this the Prior of Montacute, in presence of the entire assemblage, proceeded to pass sentence of excommunication upon the said William, the prior, the sub-prior and the whole contumacious community, proclaiming them so excommunicated on the part of the Abbot of Cluny, and revoking at the same time the compact or agreement which was in existence between the priories, declaring it null and void. Upon this the Prior of Pontefract withdrew at once, without either eating or drinking or holding any further communication between them. It will be imperative to interfere very seriously in this matter, and consider what measures are to be adopted.

⁶ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xii, 398, quoting Duckett, *Visit. of Engl. Cluniac Houses*.

This revolt was followed up at the beginning of the following year by the subjection of the monks as Benedictines to Archbishop Wickwane. It has hitherto escaped attention that within just a century after its foundation the priory of Monk Bretton ceased to be a Cluniac house, and remained Benedictine, pure and simple, till the Dissolution. Four months after the refusal of the convent to respond to the demands of the Prior of Montacute as Cluniac visitor, Archbishop Wickwane visited the house, and on 4 January 1280-1,⁷ was received by William de Richale, the prior, and the 'whole concourse' of the convent in the chapter-house, where the prior, sub-prior, and all the monks, individually, promised canonical obedience to the archbishop and embodied their vows in a deed, signed and sealed by the prior with his seal, the seal of the convent being also appended *unanimes consentis nostris assensu*. The archbishop then proceeded with his visitation, and those things which he found worthy of correction he expounded 'vive vocis oraculo eisdem, medicinaliter corrigenda.'

From this time forward special emphasis seems to be laid on the fact that Monk Bretton was a Benedictine priory, both in the Papal Letters and also in the Archiepiscopal Registers. An attempt was, however, made to re-assert jurisdiction over the house for the Abbot of Cluny in 1289-90,⁸ which Archbishop Romanus strenuously contested, with the result that afterwards no more seems to have been done in the way of trying to force Monk Bretton to continue its connexion with the order of Cluny. The house continued, however, to pay £1 yearly to the priory of Pontefract up to the time of the dissolution of the latter.⁹ Archbishop Romanus wrote to Henry, Earl of Lincoln, that certain persons of the Cluniac order were endeavouring to hold *visitationem absurdam* in the monastery of Monk Bretton which belonged to his jurisdiction, and in which he and his predecessors had hitherto been in full and peaceable possession of visiting and correcting.¹⁰ The archbishop called upon the earl not in any way to aid the Cluniacs on this occasion. This letter to the Earl of Lincoln was accompanied by another¹¹ to the Dean of Doncaster, and Mgr. William de Stokes, vicar of Felkirk, enjoining them to repair to Monk Bretton, and the doors of the

⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 135b.

⁸ Ibid. Romanus, fol. 35.

⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 42, 'de priore et conventu de Monk Burton 11.'

¹⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 35. 'Nos et predecessores nostri.' This a distinct over-statement of the case, as it was his immediate predecessor, Wickwane who, as already recorded, was first received by the prior and monks only nine years before, and then in the face of the opposition of the representatives of the Abbot of Cluny.

¹¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 35.

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monastery being closed against such presumers, they were to warn them when they arrived to retract their error and withdraw. Otherwise they were to denounce these disturbers solemnly excommunicate.

What actually took place does not appear, but on 10 May 1290¹² the archbishop gave Brother William, Prior of the monastery of Monk Bretton, 'nobis et ecclesie nostre Ebor' immediate subjectum et ab obediencia ordinis Cluneacensis exemptum,' who for long time had gained praise within and without the diocese for his religious life and for a long period had borne rule in the monastery, a general letter of commendation to those whom he might visit. There is another letter dated 29 May¹³ from the archbishop to the king on behalf of the prior, who is again said to be exempt from Cluniac jurisdiction and directly subject to the archbishop. The archbishop informed the king that William de Richale 'non est fugitivus aut vagabundus,' and he prayed the king to revoke a letter sent to the Sheriff of York, on behalf of the Cluniac order, so that neither the monastery nor the archbishop's jurisdiction over it should be weakened. The next information is the resignation of Prior Richale on 21 September 1291,¹⁴ and the confirmation in the chapter-house of Monk Bretton of William de Eboraco, one of the monks, elected in his stead.

In 1293¹⁵ the archbishop held a visitation of the house and sent on 6 September his *decretum* thereon. The prior was not to be an acceptor of persons, and was to remember that the goods of the house were common property. The brethren were to be punished for their faults, but not in the presence of laymen. The cellarer, when not occupied with business inside or outside the house, was to sleep in the dormitory, and be present at matins and say mass. Brother William de Waddeworth, whose fault is not stated, was to be sent to Whitby,¹⁶ to undergo a penance there. The sub-cellarer was to abstain from upbraiding the brethren, and to behave more respectfully (*honestius*) than he was wont to do to the archbishop. If any monks were incorrigible, the prior was to inform the archbishop. Brothers Roger de Kelsey, Walter de Holgate, and Nicholas de Pontefracto, were to undergo their penances devoutly. It is not said what faults they had been guilty of, but Roger de Kelsey was not to go out of the cloister for a year, and was to take the last place in the convent. Walter de Holgate was not to go out for half a year, and was to be the third last (*tercius ultimus*) in the convent, during that time.

¹² York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 35b.

¹³ Ibid. fol. 36.

¹⁴ Ibid. fol. 40.

¹⁵ Ibid. fol. 44.

¹⁶ *Whitby Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 626. Monk Bretton was to pay 50s. yearly for his maintenance at Whitby.

Nicholas de Pontefracto was to keep his place in the convent, but was not to go out for a quarter of a year; and on Wednesdays and Fridays all three were to fast on bread, ale and vegetables.

Richard de Halghton succeeded William de Eboraco as prior in November 1304.¹⁷ His rule, though a long one, did not end happily. On 2 July 1323¹⁸ Archbishop Melton wrote to John de Collyingham, sub-prior, and John Boyle, precentor of the monastery, as to the wasteful expenditure of their house, and directed them to demand, in his name, from their prior, the keys of the treasury and of other buildings, to lock up all the property belonging to the house, in the sight of three or four of the older and wiser of their brethren. He further enjoined that all the money for their wool or any other money coming to them was to be safely kept in the manner above noted, so that the prior meantime could not lay hands upon it. Boyle appears to have been also one of the bursars, and on 16 July¹⁹ the archbishop wrote that it was reported that brother John Boyle was not of sufficient industry to hold the office of bursar, and if this were so, they were to remove him, and choose another better fitted for the office. The archbishop also intimated his intention of visiting the monastery, when other matters would be corrected. There is no record of the proceedings at such a visitation, but on 22 August²⁰ the archbishop deposed the prior, charging him with wasting the goods of the monastery and perjury committed in the chancery court of the king, by pledging the priory in £1,000 to Godfrey de Staynton and William Scot, and other misdeeds. Richard de Halghton's deposition was followed by the election of his successor,²¹ at which twelve monks recorded their votes, the late prior not being one of them.

William de Went received five votes, and William de Staynton three. The archbishop quashed the double election of William de Went and William de Staynton, made *in discordia*. As, however, most voted for William de Went, the archbishop on 26 September appointed him to the office.²²

Richard de Halghton after his deposition left the house for a time, which accounts for his vote not being recorded at the election. He returned, however, shortly afterwards, *absque magno strepitu*, as the archbishop described it in a letter to the prior and convent dated 20 November 1323.²³ He was to have his former order as a monk, and if he conducted himself well and served God laudably, the archbishop intended, at the instance of the

¹⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. sed. vac. fol. 44b (1304, not 1305 as *Mon. Angl.* v, 135).

¹⁸ Ibid. Melton, fol. 158b.

¹⁹ Ibid. fol. 159.

²⁰ Ibid. fol. 160.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid. fol. 160b.

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queen and others, to provide more generously for him. On 3 January following²⁴ the archbishop directed that Richard de Halghton was to have a separate chamber within the monastery and one of the monks as his chaplain, according to the ordinance of the prior, as well as a double portion of allowance of the food of a monk, 20s. a year *pro speciebus* and clothes from the convent, as well as a portion for a servant.

The troubles of the house did not, however, cease, although unfortunately little more than hints are given as to what was going on. Pope John XXII issued a mandate, dated in November 1326,²⁵ to the Prior of Thornholme to go to the Benedictine monastery of Bretton and inquire as to a charge by Henry de Sandal, one of the monks, against William de Went the prior, of dilapidation and other crimes. The prior was charged with having made William Bassett, an apostate Friar Preacher, sub-prior, against the will and protest of the monks. Robert de Langestoft, who was excommunicate and a forger of papal letters, had been made cellarer, and the monks who would give evidence on these points had been shut up, and in the archbishop's absence the prior had obtained favour by gifts to nobles and powerful men of the city and diocese. A report was to be sent to the pope and the prior cited before him. What report was sent is not known, but William Bassett, the apostate Friar Preacher, was no credit to Monk Bretton and caused a great deal of trouble. On 20 August 1331²⁶ Archbishop Melton sent him to Whitby for punishment as a sower of discord in the convent, and as having admitted the sin of incontinence. In his letter to Whitby the archbishop said that Bassett had been found guilty *de excessibus enormibus*. He returned after a while to Monk Bretton, and in 1340 made complaint of the excessive correction from which he had suffered in the monastery of Monk Bretton.²⁷ The complaint against William de Went cannot have been substantiated, for he retained office for the next seven years and resigned in July 1338.²⁸

In 1380-1 the prior was taxed at 27s. 0½d., and there were ten other monks each taxed at 3s. 4d.²⁹

In 1404 another complaint reached Rome from the convent itself against its prior, and on

²⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 160b.

²⁵ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ii, 254. The deliberate description of Monk Bretton as Benedictine should be noted. Other similar allusions occur in *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ii, 254; iv, 303; v, 117, 200, 604, and are almost universal in the Archiepiscopal Register when Monk Bretton is mentioned.

²⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 187. Monk Bretton was to pay 5 marks a year to Whitby for his keep.

²⁷ *Ibid.* sed. vac. fol. 49b.

²⁸ *Ibid.* Melton, fol. 215b.

²⁹ Subs. R. bdle. 63, no. 12.

19 April 1404³⁰ Boniface IX issued a mandate to the Archbishop of York to summon William, Benedictine Prior of Monk Bretton, and if he found, as the recent petition of the convent contained, that he had dilapidated and alienated its goods and continued to do so, to deprive him, license the convent to elect another prior, and confirm the election. Apparently the complaint of the convent was substantiated, for on 20 December 1404³¹ Archbishop Scrope confirmed the election of John de Crofton as prior, *vice* William de Ardesley resigned.

Monk Bretton was one of the greater houses, which escaped dissolution under the earlier Act. Its temporalities³² were derived from property, mostly in its immediate neighbourhood, but including a few small possessions in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Lancashire. The spiritualities were the two consolidated moieties of the church of Bolton-on-Deerne, the churches of Monk Bretton *alias* Lund, Darton, Royston, and Hickleton. The gross annual revenue was £323 8s. 2d., and the clear value £239 3s. 6d.

The house was surrendered on 21 November 1539³³ by the prior and thirteen monks. Their goods and cattle were sold for £347 3s. 8d., the lead of the church amounted to 39 foddors and there were seven bells.

The plate³⁴ belonging to Monk Bretton at the time of the Dissolution was as follows: 'Item. j crosse of wodd plated w^t silver. Item. an oder wodd crosse having the iiij evangelistes enameled. Item. fyve chalices. Item. j little pixe gylt. Item. ij crewetes. It. j gret squair salt w^t cou' parcell gilt. It. j oder squair salt w^tout cou' parcel gilt. Item. xij spoones. It. j standing piece w^t cou' gylt. It. j pounced piece. It. ij little pieces. It. iij masors. It. j goblet w^t cover parcell gilt.'

There were fourteen monks pensioned at the Dissolution.³⁵ William Browne the prior received £40 a year; Thomas Normanton, sub-prior, and William Roieston, cellarer, each £7; three others £6 each, seven £5 6s. 8d., and one (John Pontefract) £6 13s. 4d.

PRIORS OF MONK BRETTON

[CLUNIAIC]

Adam (the first prior)³⁶

Roger, early 13th century³⁷

Adam II, occurs 1227³⁸

³⁰ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 604.

³¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Scrope, fol. 43.

³² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 42.

³³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 135.

³⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 1172.

³⁵ *Ibid.* xiv (1), p. 67.

³⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 136, no. i.

³⁷ Harl. Chart. 83, C. 36.

³⁸ Baildon, *Mss. Notes*, i, 140.

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Adam de Norhampton, intruded, occurs
1259³⁹ and 1266⁴⁰
R— 1267⁴¹
William de Richale, occurs 1279⁴²

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William de Richale, occurs 1280,⁴³ resigned
1291⁴⁴
William de Eboraco, confirmed 1291,^{44a}
occurs 1297^{44b}
Richard de Halghton, confirmed 1304,⁴⁵
deprived 1323⁴⁶
William de Went, 1323,⁴⁷ resigned 1338⁴⁸
William de Appleby, confirmed 1338⁴⁹
William de Staynton, occurs 1347,⁵⁰ died
1349⁵¹
Hugh Brerley, confirmed 1349⁵²
John de Birthwaite, 1363,⁵³ occurs 1370⁵⁴
William de Ardesley, 1387,⁵⁵ resigned 1404⁵⁶
John de Crofton, 1404,⁵⁷ resigned 1407⁵⁸
Thomas Dolldale or Dowdale, confirmed
1407,⁵⁹ died 1425⁶⁰
John de Crofton (second time), elected 1425⁶¹
Richard de Ledes, occurs 1435,⁶² 1442,⁶³
1452,⁶⁴ 1484⁶⁵
William Batley, elected 1486,⁶⁶ died 1494⁶⁷
Robert Drax, confirmed 1494⁶⁸
Roger⁶⁹
Thomas Tickhill, confirmed 1504⁷⁰
William Browne, confirmed 1523⁷¹

³⁹ Harl. Chart. 112, F. 28.

⁴⁰ Assize R. 1050, m. 13.

⁴¹ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* 155.

⁴² As William de 'Riolo,' *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xii, 398.

⁴³ York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 35*b*.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* Romanus, fol. 21. ^{44a} *Ibid.*

^{44b} Lansd. MS. 405 (Cartul. of Monk Bretton), fol. 14*d*.

⁴⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. sed. vac. fol. 44*b*.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* Melton, fol. 160*b*.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*; Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 140, gives 'Went-brig' as an alternative form of his name, but it is always 'Went' only in the Registers, where it frequently occurs.

⁴⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 215*b*.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 140.

⁵¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 39.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 135.

⁵⁴ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 140.

⁵⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 135.

⁵⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Scrope, fol. 43.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* ⁵⁸ *Ibid.* sed. vac. fol. 290.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* ⁶⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 408*b*. ⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 140. ⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Cott. Chart. xxviii, 88.

⁶⁵ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 99.

⁶⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 135.

⁶⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, fol. 83.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* ⁶⁹ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 99.

⁷⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Savage, fol. 37.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* Wolsey, fol. 71*b*.

A seal, apparently of the 12th century, is a vesica, 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 2 in.; showing a full-length figure of St. Mary Magdalene, the patron saint. Of the legend only the word *MARIE* remains.⁷²

2. THE ABBEY OF SELBY

The abbey of St. Mary and St. German of Selby claimed the Conqueror for its founder, but its origin was due to Benedict, a monk at Auxerre. The legend¹ is that Benedict, when a monk at Auxerre, was warned in a dream by St. German to go to England, whither he came, bringing with him as a relic a finger of the saint. Somehow he got to Salisbury, where a person named Edward gave him a beautiful wrought golden shrine to hold the relic, which was afterwards exhibited at Selby. He left for the place in Yorkshire indicated to him in the vision, and established himself as a hermit about the year 1068, at the place which afterwards became known as Selby. Here he was found by Hugh, the Sheriff of Yorkshire, by whom he was brought into contact with William the Conqueror, then possibly at York. The Conqueror granted a small piece of land on which to build the monastery, and this grant he largely increased by a subsequent charter a year or two afterwards.

Why William the Conqueror should have chosen Selby for founding the monastery has always been unexplained. Probably Canon Fowler's suggestion is the true explanation of the matter, viz., 'that Hugh the sheriff was so impressed by the holiness and reputation of Benedict and his wonder-working relic that he induced the king to provide that in place of an anchor-hold, there should spring up an abbey, of which the anchorite should be the first abbot.'²

The date of the foundation charter seems to be fixed at about 1070. Symeon of Durham says that Selby Abbey *sumpsit exordium* in 1069, and as Bishop Remigius, one of the witnesses, was consecrated in 1070, the latter seems to be the probable date of the charter.³ In the foundation charter⁴ the king granted to Abbot Benedict leave to found an abbey in 'Salebya,' in honour of Our Lord Jesus Christ, His blessed Mother the Virgin Mary, and St. German, Bishop of Auxerre, and gave the abbey its own court, with *sac* and *soc*, and *tol* and *theam*, and *infangenthef*, and all the better customs as the church of St. Peter of York.

⁷² *Cat. of Seals, B.M.* 3657; Harl. Chart. 84, B. 28.

¹ The 'Historia Selebiensis Monasterii,' written in 1184, which contains the legend as to Benedict, is printed in the *Coucher Bk. of Selby*, i, p. [1]-p. [54].

² *Coucher Bk. of Selby* (ed. J. T. Fowler), i, p. vii.

³ *Ibid.* 12 n.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iii, 499, no. i; *Coucher Bk. of Selby*, i, 11.

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More than eighty charters, confirmations, and other royal deeds in favour of Selby Abbey are recorded in the Coucher Book,⁵ and the grants of land and other property from different donors were enormous. They are epitomized by Burton alphabetically according to the places themselves, on sixteen folio pages of his work.⁶

A dispute as to the extent of the province of Canterbury arose in 1067, when Remigius moved his see from Dorchester in Oxfordshire to Lincoln. The Archbishops of York had always claimed that Lindsey belonged to their diocese and province, and eventually William Rufus settled the matter by giving Lindsey to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Selby Abbey and the priory of St. Oswald at Gloucester to the Archbishop of York. His charter states⁷ that he had given to Archbishop Thomas and his successors the abbey of St. German 'sicut archiepiscopus Cantuariensis habet episcopatum Rofensem.' It seems that Gundulf recognized the archbishop as *patron* of the see of Rochester, so that what the king gave was probably the patronage of Selby. The archbishop apparently regranted their privileges to the monks not long after, and they afterwards elected their abbots by licence from the crown.⁸

On 1 April 1233 Archbishop Gray held a visitation of the abbey of Selby,⁹ and the injunctions he gave on that occasion are among the earliest examples extant of anything of the kind. First, he enjoined the abbot to apply the highest care as to the observance of the discipline of the order and rule. He was to arrange the business of the house, according to the rule of the blessed Benedict, with the advice of four of the more skilful of the house, chosen by himself and the convent. With their advice he was to appoint two cellarers, one within the house, and the other for external affairs. The abbot, by the advice of his four associate monks, was to appoint two bursars who were to receive all the money coming to the monastery, which was to be expended for the common utility of the house, according to the decision of the abbot and other officers.

The refectory, kitchen, infirmary, and *camera* were to be competently provided for, lest by defect of necessities the servants of God should murmur, or should procure things less honest outside. Diligent and fit officials were to be appointed to every office. The proper number of monks was to be made up.¹⁰ The archbishop

⁵ Fowler, *Coucher Bk. of Selby*, i, 11-102, where they are printed in *extenso*.

⁶ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 388-404.

⁷ *Coucher Bk. of Selby*, i, p. ix, n., where it is reprinted in full from *Fasti Ebor.* i, 151 n.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iii, 485. Numerous records of the issue of a *congé d'élire* are extant on the Patent Rolls.

⁹ *Archbp. Gray's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), Add. 327.

¹⁰ What that number was does not appear.

ordered that his *scriptum* was to be recited three times in the current year by the abbot in the presence of the convent, at appropriate terms, lest aught be neglected through forgetfulness. He reserved, however, to himself power to interpret, relax, or correct, or do anything else, which might seem to him to be good for the utility of the monastery.

On 31 May 1256¹¹ Pope Alexander IV granted a faculty to the Abbot of Selby to use the ring, mitre, pastoral staff, tunic, dalmatic, gloves and sandals, and to bless altar-cloths and other church ornaments, and to give the first tonsure. This faculty appears to have fallen into disuse not long after it was granted, for on 11 April 1308 Archbishop Greenfield sent a formal letter to the abbot and convent, saying that he had inspected the Apostolic Letters, and, with consent of the dean and chapter, he granted that the abbot might use the foresaid insignia,¹² which *per aliqua tempora* the abbot of the monastery had omitted to use.

When Archbishop Giffard visited the monastery and its dependent cell of Snaith, by commission, in 1275¹³ several of the monks were charged with loose living, including the abbot, and many of the complaints referred to misconduct with married women. The abbot at that time was Thomas de Whalley, who had previously held the abbacy and been deprived.¹⁴ Things did not mend, and on 8 January 1279-80¹⁵ Archbishop Wickwane made a visitation of the abbey in person, when it was found that the abbot did not observe the rule, did not sing mass (*missam non cantat*), did not preach or teach, and seldom attended chapter, he did not correct as he was bound to do, rarely took his meals in the refectory, never slept in the dormitory, rarely entered the quire, rarely heard matins out of bed, did not visit the sick, publicly ate flesh meat before laymen in his manors and elsewhere outside the precincts of his monastery, and even in the monastery on Wednesdays indiscriminately, was haughty and malicious (*injuriousus*) towards his brethren, quarrelsome, and a disturber in the convent, despised and neglected

¹¹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 331.

¹² York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, fol. 70b. In the *Monasticon* (iii, 485) and elsewhere this grant is wrongly ascribed to Pope Alexander II in 1076. Pope Alexander II died 21 April 1073, three years before the supposed grant, which was really made by Alexander IV, nearly 200 years later.

¹³ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 325.

¹⁴ He had been abbot 1254-66, when he was deprived. In 1270, on the death of Abbot David, he was again elected, but the archbishop quashed the election on account of defects of procedure; he however appointed Thomas de Whalley to the abbacy, and notified the king of the appointment on 4 July 1270 (*Giffard's Reg.* 217-20).

¹⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 105.

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altogether the statutes of the archbishops, and, in short, was negligent and ill-disposed in all that pertained to divine affairs and regular discipline, and was altogether incorrigible. More than this, he had alienated, without consent of his convent, lands, manors, tithes, corrodies, &c. The lands were specified, including the manor of Chellow near Bradford, and that of Stainton in Craven.

He had given three estates, which are specified, to his brother John, who in 1275 had been charged with immorality. He had given a pension of 4 marks to his nephew Thomas. The tithes of Driffeld, and the money he had received from alienations he had made, he had spent as he liked. Owing to his neglect he had lost the rent and tithe of various places, which are named. In the liberty of Snaith he had handed over the manors to be kept by his relatives, *garcionibus et rybaldis*, and when he received anything from them for corn and other things sold, he spent it as he liked, without rendering an account. He appointed obedientiaries according to his will, who were favourable to him, and from whom he got money and other goods of the house. He cut down and sold groves, and spent the money as he liked. Worse still was proved against him. He was found guilty of incontinence with the lady of Whenby (*domina de Queneby*) and with a girl, Bodeman, living at the monastery gate, who, as reported, had borne him offspring. He was perjured, too, for he swore before his last installation that he would restore the charters of Stallingborough as soon as he was installed, and hitherto had not done so. He was excommunicate, both because he had not paid the pope's tithe and had turned to other uses the tithes of the chapel of Wheatley assigned for alms, as also for despising the statutes of Archbishop Gray, and because he had laid violent hands on Brother Robert de Eboraco to the effusion of blood, and also on William de Stormeworthe, dragging him from the quire. He had also laid hands on Thomas de Snayth, clerk, drawing blood from him, whom he had appointed to recover certain tithes at Snaith. He was further charged with incantation and sorcery, in procuring Elys Fauvelle to seek for the body of his brother, who had been drowned in the River Ouse, and on this he spent a large sum of money. Thus for these reasons he was excommunicate, but had taken part in divine affairs in spite of it. This string of misdeeds of all sorts having been proved against the unworthy abbot, the archbishop pronounced formal sentence of deposition, and transferred the deposed abbot to the monastery of Durham, there to undergo a penance appointed for the good of his soul. On Tuesday before the feast of the Epiphany Thomas de Whalley formally confessed himself to have been duly moved by the archbishop, and submitted himself to the sentence passed upon him.

In 1306¹⁶ Archbishop Greenfield held a visitation of Selby, when it was again apparent that matters were seriously amiss. One of the monks, Henry de Belton, for his enormities was handed over to the Abbot of St. Mary's, York, to be sent to their far-off cell of Rumburgh, in Suffolk, at an annual charge of 4 marks, to be paid by Selby; but from a subsequent letter of the archbishop it would seem that he was being detained at St. Mary's, and the archbishop then directed the abbot to dispatch him, with a safe convoy, to St. Bees. Another monk, Thomas de Wilmerley, was sent at the same time and at the same costs to Whitby; both had prescribed penances appointed them, and the archbishop further commissioned his official to inquire into the miserable condition of another monk, Thomas de Eyton.¹⁷

On 20 March 1315¹⁸ the dean and chapter, *sede vacante*, wrote to the Abbot and convent of Whitby in regard to Robert de Brune, a monk of Selby, whom the archbishop had transferred there to undergo a penance. The Abbot and convent of Whitby had reported well concerning him, and for the future he was to hold among them *locum suo statu competentem*, and on Wednesday to have the same food as the rest, but on Fridays he was to have only bread, ale, vegetables and one kind of fish, until his case should merit further favourable consideration.

On 9 April 1322¹⁹ Abbot John de Wystow II sent to Archbishop Melton a full account of the status of the monastery on the feast of St. Stephen, 1320, when his predecessor Simon de Scarborough died. The monastery was still in debt to the amount of £551 8s., and was then burdened by pensions and fees amounting to £44 16s. 8d. yearly, also fifteen corrodies of food and drink to fifteen persons daily during their lives, of whom eight were receiving daily food for themselves and their servants (*garcionibus*) and seven food for themselves only, eleven of them also receiving clothes (*robas*) yearly. Besides this, the grain of the monastery was deficient. The revenues and rents, which the abbot's predecessor and the cellarer of the house were accustomed to receive in different places, had, at the time of his decease, depreciated by more than 100 marks a year.

Archbishop Melton held a visitation of Selby on 10 July 1324,²⁰ when he found the house heavily in debt and burdened by pensions.

¹⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, fol. 59.

¹⁷ On 26 Nov. Archbishop Greenfield addressed a letter to the presidents of the Benedictine chapters to recall Thomas de Shyrburn, monk of Selby, who two years previously had left his monastery without leave and was wandering about the country; York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, ii, fol. 59.

¹⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. sed. vac. fol. 91b.

¹⁹ Ibid. Melton, fol. 153.

²⁰ Ibid. fol. 164.

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The abbot and all the officials were exhorted to use moderation. The infirmary, it was stated, was built in an improper and base position, so that the sick brethren were in danger from the stench and infected atmosphere; if that was so, then, as soon as the means of the house permitted, another infirmary was to be built.

Markets and sales in the cemetery of the church were inhibited, and linen cloths were not to be bleached there by women.

All the monks were to be uniform as to habit according to the old fashion, and neither to introduce any novelties, nor to sell their habits, but they were to receive necessary habits from one of the *vestiarii*, and the old ones were to be given to poor persons asking for them.

On 27 December 1335²¹ Archbishop Melton reported to the abbot and convent, that at his recent visitation of their monastery he had found six of their number gravely defamed of crimes and excesses mentioned in the articles he sent to them.

Adam de la Breuer was defamed *super lapsu carnis* with Alice, daughter of Roger the Smith of Selby, and of incontinence with her sister also. He was commonly drunk, riotous and a sower of discord among the brethren. He gossiped carelessly and improperly with women in the cloister, church, and elsewhere, and particularly with the before-mentioned Alice and her sister, to the scandal of the order. Moreover he abstracted different things belonging to the monastery, having secret little places in his clothes adapted for his thefts. He had abused every one of the monks who had told the truth at the visitation. He was wont to leave the quire before the conclusion of divine service, not having sought, or obtained, leave to do so. He sent alms and other goods of the house to the women with whom he had been often convicted.

Thomas de Hirst sent alms and gave other aliments of goods of the house to Margaret the maidservant of Felicia, and six other women dwelling in the town of Selby. He behaved lasciviously and dissolutely both in public and *occulte* with women, by which means evil suspicion had arisen within and without the monastery. He also frequently furtively abstracted different things belonging to the monastery.

John de Whitgift frequently gossiped with Margaret Mortimer and other women in the church and elsewhere, contrary to his profession and the honesty of religion. In addition, he sent alms and other goods of the house to a certain suspected woman.

Robert de Flexburgh was very spiteful and malicious to his companions, calling them eavesdroppers and liars. He had often been convicted of incontinence with certain women of the

town, and he sent them alms and other goods of the house. In spite of the inhibition of the superior and other members of the convent he had not desisted from gossiping with suspected women, publicly and *occulte*.

Robert de Pontefracto sent presents and many other goods belonging to the house to a certain Maye de Pontefracto, owing to which the suspicion of a carnal connexion between them had arisen. Nicholas de Houghton was a sower of discord among the brethren. He adhered too much to, and gossiped with, a certain woman, with whom he had been convicted and corrected *super lapsu carnis*. The following penances were to be imposed on these monks.

Adam de la Breuer for a whole year was to bewail his sins imprisoned in a building safe and remote from the concourse of men, and especially from the access of women to him. Each Wednesday and Friday he was to be taken to the chapter, and from every one present he was, in a humble manner, to receive a discipline, which done, he was to return to his penance, and on those days was to have bread, soup, and light ale, and on other days the ordinary food as served to other monks, delicacies being, however, excepted.

Brothers Thomas de Hirst, John de Whitgift, Robert de Flexburgh, for the same period, were not to go outside the cloister, or in any way to talk with women, without the special licence of the abbot or his vicegerent, and then openly in the presence of two monks. On Wednesdays and Fridays they were to have only bread, soup and light ale, and in chapter to receive the blows of discipline from all the convent.

Among general defects the archbishop found that the roofs of the conventual church were very defective and that the *latrina* of the infirmary was so foul that the evil odour from it was highly offensive to persons sitting in the cloister.

The year following²² the archbishop issued another set of injunctions, many of them being the common form of *decreta* following a visitation. He found the monastery heavily in debt, and pensions, &c. were not to be granted, except with consent of the convent, and special licence of the archbishop. The bursars, cooks, and other officers were to render yearly accounts to the abbot or his deputy, and certain of the more discreet members of the convent. Women were not to bleach clothes in the churchyard. No monk was to accept money for his garments, and the sick were to be properly attended to.

This appears to be the last recorded visitation of Selby in the Registers, but in a volume in the Record Office entitled 'Registrum de Tempore Galfridi de Gaddesby,²³ Abbatis de Seleby,' there

²¹ Ibid. Melton, fol. 209b.

²² Geoffrey de Gaddesby was abbot 1342-64. The volume is sometimes wrongly alluded to as a 'Selby Chartulary.'

²¹ York Archiepis. Reg. sed. vac. fol. 206b.

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is a list of questions to be put at a visitation of Selby in 1343.²⁴ These questions are too long to be quoted in full, but they are very important in showing that besides the personal inquiries into matters which might come under the visitor's notice on these occasions, a series of questions had to be formally replied to, very probably in writing. The questions proposed to the abbey of Selby on this occasion included inquiries such as whether the abbot or prior was circumspect in all matters, whether after the notice of the visitation or the rumour that it would be held became known the president had in any way imposed silence as to any matters, and whether the *conversi* as well as the brethren had been summoned. Then come questions as to silence, correction of abuses, immorality, &c. Two questions at the end are of interest: one is whether all go to confession at least once a month, and the other whether all receive the Sacrament on the first Sunday in the month.

In 1380-1²⁵ the abbot was taxed at £9 12s. 1¾d. and there were twenty-five monks, each taxed at 3s. 4d.²⁶

In 1393²⁷ Pope Boniface IX granted a relaxation of enjoined penance to penitents who visited and gave alms for the conservation of the chapel of the Holy Cross in the Benedictine monastery of Selby.

The Abbots of Selby were from early times summoned to Parliament. The privilege was not always appreciated, and when Abbot Geoffrey de Gaddesby was summoned to the Parliament of 18 Edward I, he excused himself personal attendance owing to his feebleness of body and sent one of his monks, Walter de Haldenby, with Thomas de Brayton, clerk, to represent him.²⁸

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535²⁹ the total value is set down at £719 2s. 6¼d. Among the reprises the following alms are mentioned:—6 quarters of fine grain at 5s. the quarter, and 3 oxen distributed in pieces to the poor, of the foundation of William the Conqueror, 70s. in all; money given to poor and indigent strangers yearly 40s.; money annually given to poor persons coming within the cloister of the monastery on Maundy Thursday, of the foundation of William the Conqueror, 40s.; also 50s. similarly given yearly on the anniversary of Walter 'Skirley,' Bishop of Durham.

In the kitchener's office an heifer or two swine were given to the poor on the Monday before

²⁴ 'Selby Chartul.' (P.R.O.), fol. 4.

²⁵ In 14 Hen. VIII the clear annual value of Selby was reckoned at £606 12s. 6d. (Subs. R. 64, no. 300).

²⁶ Subs. R. 63, no. 12.

²⁷ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 455.

²⁸ 'Selby Chartul.' fol. 6.

²⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 12-14.

Lent and on Maundy Thursday a 'mase'³⁰ of herrings worth 6s.

The abbey was surrendered on 6 December 1539, and the surrender enrolled on 6 February following. There were twenty-three monks besides the abbot, Robert Selby *alias* Roger (not Rogers), including Robert Mydley the prior, and James Laye, Prior of Snaith. Twenty-two were priests and two were acolytes only. The abbot received a pension of £100 a year, the prior £8, the others £6 6s. 8d., £6, or £5 each, the two acolytes receiving only 53s. 4d. a year.

ABBOTS OF SELBY³¹

Benedict, 1069-97
Hugh de Lacy, 1097-1123
Herbert, 1123-7
Durand, 1127-37³²

(A vacancy of two years)

Walter, 1139-43³³
Helias Paynel, 1143-53
German, 1153-60
Gilbert de Vere, 1160-84

(A vacancy 1184-9)

Roger de London, 1189-95
Richard I³⁴ (prior), 1195-1214
Alexander, 1214^{34a}-21³⁵
Richard, 1221,^{35a} resigned 1223^{35b}
Richard (sub-prior of Selby), 1223³⁶
Hugh de Drayton, 1245, died 1254
Thomas de Whalley, 1254, deprived 1263
David de Cawod, 1263-9
Thomas de Whalley,³⁷ restored 1270, deprived again 1280

³⁰ According to *Whitaker's Almanack* (1908), 452, herrings are still sold on the west coast of Scotland, the Isle of Man, and Ireland by the 'Maze,' which consists of five long hundreds of 123 each. Of course, the older measure in Yorkshire may possibly have been different in quantity.

³¹ This list is practically that in the *Coucher Bk. of Selby*, i, index, 402, checked by the *Calendars of Patent Rolls*. A few additional particulars are given as to some of the abbots.

³² Resigned under compulsion and became a Cluniac; *Coucher Bk. of Selby*, i [29].

³³ Formerly Prior of Pontefract (a Cluniac house); *ibid.* [21].

³⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iii, 495.

^{34a} *Rot. Lit. Pat.* (Rec. Com.), i, 125.

³⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iii, 496. In 1221 the abbot resigned on account of old age, and was succeeded by Richard, Prior of St. Ives, a cell of Ramsey.

^{35a} *Ibid.*

^{35b} He entered a stricter order in 1223; *Cal. Pat.* 1216-25, p. 363.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 364. After him, and before Hugh, Burton and others insert Alexander, but from Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iii, 496, it appears he was prior, not abbot.

³⁷ In 1270 not 1269; *Archbishop Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 217.

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William de Aslakeby (prior), 1280, died 1293
 John de Wystow I (sub-prior), 1294, re-
 signed 1300
 William de Aslaghby (sacrist), 1300, died 1313
 Simon de Scardeburg (prior), 1313, died 1321
 John de Wystow II,³⁸ 1322, died 1335
 John de Heslyngton (a monk), 1335, died 1342
 Geoffrey de Gaddesby, 1342, died 1368³⁹
 John de Shirburn, 1369, died 1408
 William Pigot, 1408, died 1429⁴⁰
 John Cave, 1429, died 1436
 John Ousthorp, 1436, died 1466⁴¹
 John Sharrow, 1466,^{41a} died 1486
 Lawrence Selby, 1487-1504
 Robert Depyng (monk of Crowland),⁴²
 1504-18
 Thomas Rawlinson, 1518-22
 John Barwic, 1522-6
 Robert Selby, 1526-40

The 11th-century seal⁴³ is a vesica, 2¾ in. by 2 in., with a figure of St. German seated and blessing and holding his crozier. The legend is:—

SIGILLV̄ SCI GERMANI SELBIENSIS ECLESIE

The counterseal is a Roman gem carved with the head of the Emperor Honorius and the inscription DN HONORIVS AVG set in a vesica, 1½ in. by 1 in. having the legend:—

✠ CAPVD NOSTRV̄M CRISTVS EST

Abbot Richard sealed, c. 1224, with a vesica,⁴⁴ 2¾ in. by 1⅝ in., showing St. German seated and holding his crozier and delivering another crozier to the abbot who kneels before him. The legend is:—

✠ RICARD' DEI GRA MINISTER HUM
 CL'E SCĪ GERMANI DE SELEBI

3. PRIORY OF SNAITH

The church of St. Lawrence, Snaith,¹ about the beginning of the episcopate of Gerard,² the

³⁸ That he was different from the other abbot of the same name is clear from allusions to him in the Register of Geoffrey Gaddesby, e.g. *Coucher Bk.* ii, 37² &c.

³⁹ *Cal. Close*, 1364-8, p. 449.

⁴⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1422-9, p. 541.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 1461-7, p. 550; York Archiepis. Reg. G. Nevill, fol. 13. He is also called 'Westhorpe'; Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 196.

^{41a} *Cal. Pat.* 1461-7, p. 534.

⁴² York Archiepis. Reg. Savage, fol. 43b.

⁴³ *Cat. of Seals, B.M.* 3981; Harl. Chart. 44 fol. 16.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 3984, lxxv, 10.

¹ Lawton (*Coll. Rerum Eccl.*) erroneously gives 'St. Mary' as the dedication (155), doubtless following Bacon in *Liber Regis*.

² Gerard's episcopate was 1101-8.

Archbishop of York, was granted by him to the Abbot and convent of Selby.³ Afterwards Snaith became a small Benedictine cell under the jurisdiction of Selby.⁴ 'On 14 May 1310 the sentence of William Greenfield, Archbishop of York, was pronounced upon the appropriation of the church of Snaith . . . to the Abbot and convent of Selby, and it shall be lawful for them at their will and pleasure to place and remove two of their monks in the church of Snaith, to be continually resident; and by a secular priest (by them to be substituted and displaced) to hear the confessions of the parishioners, and to administer baptism to children, and so perpetually to serve, without any ordination of a vicar.'⁵

Before this ordination the church of Snaith had been a source of considerable revenue to Selby, being valued in 1292 at no less a yearly sum than £153 6s. 8d.⁶

A quarrel arose in 1393 between the abbot and the Duke of Lancaster concerning the church and manor of Snaith. It was attempted to include them in the liberty of the duchy. But the abbot maintained his privileges, and on 8 October 1393 issued a decree from the chapter-house affirming the rights of the abbey.⁷

Shortly after this, complaints were made because the abbot had not caused a vicarage to be ordained, but had simply had a stipendiary chaplain. The whole matter concerning the services and rights of Snaith, and the reciprocal relations of the abbey and its cell, were then settled by a decree, dated 14 March 1409, issued by Richard Pittes, the archbishop's chancellor. The settlement affirmed the complete jurisdiction of the abbey over the priory, Snaith being declared to be 'canonically united to the abbot and convent,'⁸ and the decree was confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of York on 30 March 1409.

Although the cell of Snaith consisted only of two monks, one of them was styled prior, and on 12 October 1535 an order was issued from the manor court at Snaith 'that the prior, sub-monk, and all the priests of the church of Snaith, shall not go forth from their own houses, or the house in which they table together, after 8 o'clock after noon in winter, and 10 o'clock after noon in summer, on pain of forfeiting to our Lord the King 6s. 8d. for each offence.'⁹

When Selby surrendered on 6 December 1539,¹⁰ Snaith, the dependent cell, naturally went with it, and in the list of abbey pensions occurs:

'Jacobus Laye nuper prior de Sneath
 £6 os. od.'¹¹

³ Torre, *Peculiars*, 1381. ⁴ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 401.

⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, fol. 78.

⁶ Lawton, *Coll. Rerum Eccl.* 155.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Torre, *Peculiars*, 1382.

⁹ *Priory and Peculiar of Snaith*, 35, 36.

Lawton, *Relig. Houses*, 35.

¹¹ Morrell, *Hist. of Selby*, 113.



SELBY ABBEY (11TH CENTURY)



SIMON DE WARWICK,
ABBOT OF ST. MARY'S YORK
(1258-1296)



SELBY ABBEY (*counterseal*)
(11TH CENTURY)



ST. MARY'S ABBEY, YORK
(11TH CENTURY)

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Sir William Babthorpe and his fellow-commissioners on 23 May 1540 gave the valuation of the 'sell or parsonage of Snaythe,' over and above the stipends of two parish priests and one chantry priest, as £12 2s. per annum.

PRIORS

John Selby, occurs 1439¹²

James Laye, occurs 1539, 'last Prior'¹³

4. THE ABBEY OF WHITBY

While the history of the monastery of Streonshalch, so intimately associated with the Abbess Hilda, forms an important chapter in the early history of Christianity in the north of England, that of the Benedictine house, which after a lapse of two centuries was founded on its site, is devoid of exceptional interest or importance.

The story of the re-founding of the monastery by William de Percy is not very clear, for there are extant three accounts, practically contemporary with one another, which differ as to many of the facts related. These three accounts are: one given in the 'Abbot's Book' of Whitby, another by Symeon of Durham, and the third by Stephen, the first Abbot of St. Mary's, York.¹ The latter differs greatly from the two former, which agree well in the main lines of the story. The comparison and criticism of the three has been very thoroughly made by Dr. Atkinson.²

A certain Reinfrid, who had been a most valiant soldier of William the Conqueror, moved by sorrow at the wasted holy places at Whitby and elsewhere in the north, entered the monastery of Evesham with the intention of becoming a monk capable of repairing some of the mischief. After some time spent there, he returned to the north and journeyed to Streonshalch, otherwise called Prestebi and Hwitebi.³ He approached William de Percy, from whom he received the ruined monastery of St. Peter, with 2 carucates of land, and there he set to work to resuscitate the monastic life. He was joined by many, including Serlo de Percy, the founder's brother, and numerous other gifts were made to the revived house, which followed the Benedictine rule. From the description of the old monastery when it was given to Reinfrid it comprised about forty roofless and ruined *monasteria vel*

oratoria,⁴ which calls to mind some of the Irish monastic ruins at the present day with their numerous chapels and cells.

The original gift of William de Percy⁵ included the monastery of St. Peter at Whitby (or Streonshalch), the town and port of Whitby, the parish church of St. Mary there, and its six dependent chapels of Filing, Hawsker, Sneaton, Uggelbarnby, Dunsley, and Aislaby (to follow the modern spelling), five mills (including that of Ruswarp, still existing), the town of Hackness with its two mills, and the parish church of St. Mary there, and the church of St. Peter at Hackness 'where our monks served God, died, and were buried,' and various other gifts enumerated in the 'Memorial' in the abbot's book. The latter authority relates that Prior Reinfrid, having ruled the monastery many years, was accidentally killed at Ormesbridge by a piece of timber falling upon him, and that he was buried in the cemetery of St. Peter at Hackness, when he was succeeded by Serlo de Percy as prior.⁶

From William the Conqueror the monastery received two undoubted charters. One⁷ granted to the church of Whitby and Serlo the prior and the monks all the liberties over their lands and men which by royal power he was able to grant to any church. He also conceded and confirmed to them and their men buying or selling, freedom from the customs and demands of kings, earls, and barons, and their bailiffs. No man was to meddle with their lands, men, forests, or game within their boundaries, nor with their waters of the port of Whitby, or elsewhere, or other possessions.

By the other charter,⁸ addressed to Thomas (de Bayeux), Archbishop (of York, 1070-1100), Earl Alan, and Ralph Paynel, the king granted to the church of St. Peter of Presteby and of Whitby, and to Prior Serlo and the monks there, that their church should have the same laws and customs as the churches of St. John of Beverley, Ripon, and St. Peter of York. The witnesses to this deed, granted at York, were Lanfranc, Archbishop (of Canterbury 1070-89), Osmund, bishop,⁹ and William de Percy.

The story of the re-founding of the monastery which goes by the name of Stephen of Whitby,¹⁰ Abbot of St. Mary's, York, and was evidently intended for the glorification of Abbot Stephen, says that he joined the re-founded abbey under Prior Reinfrid in 1078, and that a few days afterwards Reinfrid and the rest of the community compelled him, by urgent solicitations, to assume

¹² Baildon, *Mon. Notes*.

¹³ Morrell, *Selby*, 113; *Priory and Peculiar*, 35.

¹ For the first see *Whitby Chartul.* 1-10. For Symeon of Durham's account see *Introd. chap. ii* of the same vol., p. xxxii, and for Stephen's story, *ibid.* p. xxxiv.

² *Whitby Chartul.* *introd. chap. ii.*

³ According to *Domesday* held by William de Percy of Hough, Earl of Chester.

⁴ *Whitby Chartul.* 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.* 147 (no. 184).

⁸ *Ibid.* 495 (no. 555).

⁹ Dr. Atkinson, *Whitby Chartul.* 496 n. adds 'Bishop of Winchester.' There was no Bishop of Winchester of that name. It was no doubt Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury (c. 1078-99).

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iii, 529. The account is also printed in *Whitby Chartul.* i, p. xxxiv.

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the office of prior; and then soon after this, through the combined pressure of the king and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, he was unwillingly made Abbot (not prior) of Whitby. The founder, William de Percy, seeing the improvements made in the place, repented of his foundation gift, and persecuted the monks, who were also greatly troubled by pirates and robbers, so that they appealed to the king, who granted them the old monastery of Lastingham, and they began to build there. While they were still at Whitby he (Stephen) went to Lastingham, and received episcopal benediction as abbot of that place as well. William de Percy, according to this account, still continued to persecute Stephen and the monks of Whitby, till eventually he drove them away to Lastingham, where they remained a few years, and then, by the gift of Earl Alan, they moved to St. Olave's, York, and eventually formed the nucleus of St. Mary's Abbey.

There is undoubtedly a substratum of truth in the story, and the probability is that (as Dr. Atkinson suggests)¹¹ Stephen conceived himself, and was conceived by a not insignificant party of the brethren, a suitable successor to Reinfrid, on the latter's death. The Percys preferred that one of themselves, Serlo de Percy, should succeed, and therefore brought pressure to bear which made Stephen with certain of his followers migrate to Lastingham, and very soon afterwards to York. The 'Memorial' is quite definite in its statement that Serlo succeeded Reinfrid, and makes no mention whatever of Stephen. It should be noted, too, that Serlo de Percy became Prior (not abbot) of Whitby.

From William Rufus the monastery of Whitby received the gift of the church of All Saints, Fishergate, York.¹² How the monastery was raised from a priory to an abbey has not been explained; but it seems quite certain that Serlo, as prior, retired to the cell of All Saints, Fishergate, and that his successor in the superiorship of the monastery of Whitby was his nephew William de Percy, who is mentioned by name as abbot in a document dated 1109.¹³ He was succeeded by Nicholas, whose name occurs in a charter of Pope Honorius who died in 1130. The next abbot was Benedict, who in consequence of troubles in the monastery resigned about 1148 or 1149¹⁴ and retired to the cell of All Saint's, Fishergate. The monks consulted Archbishop Murdac, who refused to confirm Benedict's resignation unless one of three persons nominated by himself was elected abbot. These three were Thomas Grammaticus, monk of St. Albans, Richard, Prior of Peterborough, and German, Prior of Tynemouth.¹⁵ The Prior of Peterborough was elected because he was deemed the most prudent and of noble lineage.

¹¹ *Whitby Chartul.* i, p. lxxxv.

¹² *Ibid.* 5.

¹³ *Ibid.* 329 (no. 382).

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 8 (no. 3.)

¹⁵ Afterwards Abbot of Selby.

Walter, the Prior of Whitby, and one of the monks named Martin, were sent to Peterborough. The monks of Peterborough eventually consented, and Martin, Abbot of Peterborough, sent him to King Stephen, then at York. The king received his homage as abbot, and Richard entered the monastery on the Sunday after the octave of Pentecost. There were thirty-six monks in the monastery. Abbot Richard of Peterborough ruled the house as a loving father for more than twenty-six years, and died early in the morning of 1 January 1175. He was buried in the chapter-house (which he had built) by the side of Abbot William. During his abbacy a raid was made by the King of Norway, who laid hands on all that he could carry off, and wasted the rest.

In the second year after the death of Abbot Richard I, Richard de Waterville, a monk of St. Nicholas, Angers, and Prior of Monks Kirby, was elected Abbot of Whitby. He entered the monastery as abbot on 29 June 1176 when there were thirty-eight monks, who received him with honour. Abbot Richard de Waterville and his convent granted the town of Whitby a charter erecting it into a free borough; but this charter was rendered void in the time of his successor, Abbot Peter, who gave 100 marks fine that the burgesses should not make use of the liberties granted in the charter until it had been decided in the king's court whether the abbot and convent had power to make the grant.¹⁶ The burgesses of Whitby proffered four score marks that they might have a confirmation,¹⁷ but eventually King John refused to confirm it, and it became null and void. Abbot Peter died in 1211, and the kingdom being under an interdict the revenues of the abbey were seized by the king, who appointed an abbey warden.¹⁸ At the end of three years Nicholas, the papal legate, appointed John de Evesham abbot.¹⁹ He held office till 1222, when Roger de Scardeburg succeeded. During his time the abbey 'received a great accession of territory and wealth, and was at the zenith of its grandeur.'²⁰

The only visitation recorded was held by Archbishop Melton in person on 4 October 1320,²¹ and six months later he sent his *decretum*, containing a series of injunctions, many of which are in what may be termed the 'common form' of such documents. The archbishop found the monastery heavily in debt, and all possible mod-

¹⁶ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 80 n.

¹⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* i, 407.

¹⁸ Young, *Hist. of Whitby*, 265 n.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 264. ²⁰ *Ibid.* 265.

²¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 235. It should be mentioned, however, to Whitby's credit, that Archbishop Wickwane visited the monastery in 1280, but issued no *decretum*, because there was no fault revealed on that occasion. York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 135.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

eration in food, drink, and other matters was enjoined. The revenues of their church of Great Ayton in Cleveland, by unanimous consent, were assigned for the relief of their debts.

Then follow the usual directions forbidding the revealing of chapter secrets, inordinate going to and fro of seculars in the cloister, infirmary, and private parts of the monastery, and an order that none but mature and respectable persons were to dine in the refectory. The sick monks were to be duly cared for, &c.

All the monks were to be uniform as to their habit, according to the old ordinances, and were to avoid novelties of dress. They were not, in future, to accept money to get clothes, but were to receive them from the vestry, giving back their old clothes for the new ones. The monastic alms were to be duly distributed by the almoner and his servants, and were not to be given to workpeople, &c. The archbishop forbade all the monks, under pain of suspension from divine rights, to go out of the monastery with bows and arrows. In the matter of recreation, the abbot was to grant most relaxation to those who most needed it. The prior was to keep convent in church, refectory, dormitory, and cloister, unless engaged in attending on notable guests, or hindered by sickness, or the needful affairs of the house, or some other legitimate reason. The abbot was to consult the older and more prudent members of the convent in the difficult affairs of the house. He was to allow no monk to reside in the family or be in the service of any secular person without the archbishop's special licence. All money coming to the house was to be delivered to two resident bursars, who were to spend the money as seemed best on the needs of the house. A cellarer was to be appointed to mind the outside affairs, and to his office was to pertain all that had hitherto been the duty of the bursars, except the receipt and expenditure of the money. The abbot, on receipt of the *decretum*, was with five or six mature and discreet monks to audit an account of the goods of the house made by the officials, and make the state of the monastery known to the whole convent in chapter. No attendant or manservant who was burdensome to the house, or who was defamed of the vice of incontinence or any other grievous crime, was to be retained. The abbot, prior and monks were not to keep their own or other people's hunting dogs in the monastery, nor were they to admit any, except those needed for the house, and the cloister doors were to be so guarded that they could not get in. If any dog did get in, such dog was to be caught, *et rigide castigetur*.

An earlier entry²² relates to William de Wadworth, a monk of Monk Bretton, whom Archbishop Romanus sent to Whitby in 1293

²² York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 34*b*.

to undergo a penance. He was to be last in quire, cloister, dormitory and refectory, and on Wednesdays and Fridays was to fast on bread, ale and vegetables. He was to keep convent continuously, and to abstain from the celebration of divine service. His offence is not definitely stated. Two monks of Selby were also sent by Archbishop Greenfield to Whitby for penances.²³

Abbot Thomas de Malton resigned in 1322,²⁴ when, in recognition of his faithful labours as abbot, provision was made for him during the remainder of his life. He was to have a chamber called 'Camera Astini' with all that pertained to it, kept in order by the abbot and convent; also daily for himself and a monk-associate food and ale to the same amount as that given to three monks. He was also to have daily provision for a valet, a cook, and a man-servant (*garcione*), whom he should choose to serve him. Further, he was to receive yearly 12 marks of silver, and decent clothing. For his valet and man-servant two coats (*robas*) of the abbot's livery (*de liberatione abbatis*), or 25*s*. He was to have the profit of the manor of Eskdale, &c., and the forester appointed by the abbot was to find him, at the abbot's cost, necessaries for keeping up the buildings and repairing the ploughs, &c., and reasonable amount of firebote for burning at the abbey, and at Eskdale. He was, in addition, to receive fifteen cartloads of turves yearly at Whitby, and from the sacrist 3 lb. of wax at the feast of St. Michael, and also, from the abbot's chamber, for lights for himself, 10 lb. of Paris wax at All Saints. Besides these benefits, he was to have a competent equipage for riding to and from Whitby and Eskdale when he desired, and when entertaining guests, what was needed from the cellar and kitchen as the abbot had.

Thomas de Haukesgarth (Hawsker)²⁵ was elected abbot in Thomas de Malton's place, and the archbishop (as was often the case with the larger monasteries), claimed the right to demand on the creation of a new head of the house the payment of a pension to a person nominated by himself,²⁶ in this instance William de Cliffe.

In 1328 Edward III²⁷ directed the archbishop to appoint trustworthy men to survey the benefices pertaining to Whitby Abbey destroyed

²³ *Whitby Chartul.* 629, 630.

²⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 238, &c.; *Whitby Chartul.* 636.

²⁵ He must not be confused with a later Thomas de Haukesgarth, monk, who in 1374 was sent by Archbishop Thoresby for a two years' sojourn in Selby Abbey (York Archiepis. Reg. Thoresby, fol. 182*b*), and who again appears in 1393, when Prior of Middlesbrough, as voting at the election of Peter de Hertilpoole as abbot. (Young, op. cit. 391 n.)

²⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 240*b*; *Whitby Chartul.* 647.

²⁷ Close, 2 Edw. III, m. 28; York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 249.

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by the Scots, and to make new valuations, as the abbey and benefices were unable to pay the tenth on the old valuation.²⁸ In 1380-1 there were, besides the abbot, nineteen monks,²⁹ and in 1393 twenty monks voted at the election of the abbot.³⁰

The monastery of Whitby, in common with all other religious houses, was often engaged in litigation. One of the most important disputes in which Whitby was involved was with the newly-founded priory of Guisborough, early in the 12th century, respecting the tithes and parochial dues of 12 carucates of land in the parish of Middlesbrough, which church had been given to Whitby by Robert de Brus.³¹ The canons of Guisborough claimed in right of their church of Stainton, of which Middlesbrough Church was a chapel only. The dispute was settled by Robert de Brus, that the canons should receive the tithes and dues of 6 carucates, and the monks the dues of the others as belonging to their church of Middlesbrough, which henceforward was to be accounted a mother church, no longer dependent on Stainton.³²

The Abbot of Whitby was a spiritual baron, and certain of the abbots before Edward III were summoned to Parliament.³³ He had also the use of the mitre and other pontifical *insignia*, but at what time this privilege was conceded has not been ascertained. It is alluded to in an indult of Boniface IX of 1401³⁴ to Thomas (de Bolton) Benedictine Abbot of Whitby, to whom and whose successors the use of the ring and pastoral staff, as well as of the mitre, had been granted, that they might also give solemn benediction at table within the monastery and elsewhere, provided no bishop or papal legate were present.

A few wills relating to the abbey of Whitby may be mentioned. On 29 April 1479 John Salman of Newbiggin, Yorkshire, bequeathed his body to be buried in the quire of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Hilda before the high altar in a place selected by the abbot, and among his executors he named Dominus Thomas Pickeryng, Abbot of the monastery of Whitby.³⁵ On

²⁸ In the 'Taxatio' of Pope Nicholas, the temporalities of Whitby according to the old taxation had been £109 10s., and according to the 'nova taxatio' were only £50.

²⁹ Subs. R. 63, no. 12.

³⁰ Young, *Hist. of Whitby*, 391, n.

³¹ He gave Middlesbrough Church on condition that there should be certain of the monks 'qui Deo et S. Hyldae de Wytebi deserviant'; *Whitby Chartul.* 95. Middlesbrough was afterwards the most important cell the abbey possessed.

³² Young, *Hist. of Whitby*, 327. [An account of the 'disputes and agreements' of the abbey is given by Dr. Young, op. cit. chap. xi.]

³³ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 81.

³⁴ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 398.

³⁵ Reg. of Wills, York, iv, fol. 170.

10 July 1474 Nicholas Langecheester, burgess of Scarborough, bequeathed *2s. nove fabricae monasterii de Whitby*.³⁶ On 12 October 1474 Dompnus John Nyghtyngale, rector of Sneaton, bequeathed his body to be buried in his monk's habit in the church of St. Peter and St. Hilda, Whitby (in which house he had been professed), in the north part of the church. This is interesting as a case where a Benedictine monk had been appointed to a secular cure.³⁷

The abbey was surrendered by Henry Davell, the abbot, and the convent on 14 December 1539,³⁸ the clear annual value being estimated in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* at £437 2s. 9d.³⁹

PRIORS OF WHITBY

Reinfrid c. 1078

Serlo de Percy, before 1087

ABBOTS OF WHITBY⁴⁰

William de Percy,⁴¹ occurs 1107

Nicholas,⁴² died 1139

Benedict,⁴³ resigned 1148

Richard I, succeeded 1148,⁴⁴ died 1175

Richard II⁴⁵ (de Waterville) succeeded 1177

Peter,⁴⁶ before 1190, died 1211

(A vacancy of three years)

John de Evesham,⁴⁷ appointed 1214, died 1222

Roger de Scardeburg,⁴⁸ 1223, died 1244

John de Staingrave, (sub-prior) succeeded 1245,⁴⁹ resigned 1258^{49a}

William de Brineston, 1259,⁵⁰ died 1265^{50a}

Robert de Langetoft,⁵¹ 1265, died 1278

William de Kirkham,⁵² 1278, died 1304

Thomas de Malton, 1304,⁵³ resigned 1322⁵⁴

Thomas de Hawkesgarth, 1322,⁵⁵ resigned 1355⁵⁶

³⁶ Ibid. fol. 217.

³⁷ Ibid. fol. 223b.

³⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 683.

³⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 83.

⁴⁰ According to the story of Stephen, Abbot of York, he succeeded Reinfrid first as prior and was then made abbot. As to this see the history of the abbey.

⁴¹ *Whitby Chartul.* 239 (no. 382).

⁴² Charlton, *Hist. Whitby*, 86.

⁴³ *Whitby Chartul.* 8.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 10; formerly Prior of Peterborough.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 80; Young, *Hist. Whitby*, 264.

⁴⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* i, 407.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Pat. 29 Hen. III, m. 4.

^{49a} *Gal. Pat.* 1258-66, p. 7.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 8.

^{50a} Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* i, 407.

⁵¹ The first Abbot of Whitby summoned to Parliament, *ibid.*

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Proclamation of an election, 7 Kal. Nov. 1304, of an Abbot of Whitby, no name given, York Archiep. Reg. sed. vac. fol. 43.

⁵⁴ Ibid. Melton, fol. 239b.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid. Thoresby, fol. 73b.

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William de Burton, succeeded 1355⁶⁷
 John de Richmund,⁶⁸ succeeded 1374, died
 1393
 Peter de Hartlepool,⁶⁹ 1393, died 1394
 Thomas de Bolton,⁶⁰ 1394, died 1413
 John de Skelton,⁶¹ 1413, died 1437^{61a}
 Hugh Ellerton, D.D.,⁶² 1437, died 1462
 Thomas Pickering,⁶³ 1462, died 1475
 William Colson,⁶⁴ 1475,⁶⁵ died 1499⁶⁶
 John Lovell,⁶⁷ 1499, died 1501
 William Evesham,⁶⁸ succeeded 1501
 John Benested, 1505,⁶⁹ died 1514⁷⁰
 John Bednell,⁷¹ 1514, died 1516⁷²
 John Whitby,⁷³ confirmed 7 July 1516
 Thomas York,⁷⁴ confirmed 18 January 1517
 John Hexham *alias* Topcliffe, confirmed
 13 April 1527,⁷⁵ resigned 1537⁷⁶
 Henry Davell,⁷⁷ elected 1538, surrendered the
 abbey 14 December 1539

The 13th-century circular seal,⁷⁸ 2 in. in diameter, shows St. Hilda, the patron saint, standing under a canopy and holding crozier and book, between two altars each having a priest before it consecrating the chalice. Above the head of each priest is a dove, having a wafer in his beak, and above the birds are the sun and moon. The legend is :

SVBVENIAT FAMVL' NOBIL' HILDA SVIS

The 13th-century seal⁷⁹ *ad causas* shows St. Peter standing, with the legend :

SIGILL' SĀI PETRI ET SĀE HILDE DE WYTEBY AD
 CĀS

5. THE PRIORY OF MIDDLESBROUGH, CELL OF WHITBY

Robert de Brus,¹ founder of the priory of Guisborough, granted the church of St Hilda of

⁵⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Thoresby, fol. 73*b*.

⁵⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* i, 407.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* ⁶⁰ *Ibid.* ⁶¹ *Ibid.*

^{61a} *Cal. Pat.* 1436-41, p. 18.

⁶² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* i, 407. ⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Prior of Middlesbrough. York Archiepis. Reg. W. Booth, fol. 64*b*.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* G. Nevill, fol. 174.

⁶⁶ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 80.

⁶⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* i, 408. ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* ⁷⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, i, 4720.

⁷¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* i, 408.

⁷² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii (2), 1951.

⁷³ York Archiepis. Reg. Wolsey, fol. 18.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 33. He was Prior of St. Andrew's, Northampton; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ii (2), 3833.

⁷⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Wolsey, fol. 86.

⁷⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* i, 408. ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Cat. of Seals*, B.M. 4328, D.C., E. 39.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 4329, lxxv, 17.

¹ *Whitby Chartul.* 95 (no. 91).

Middlesbrough, with consent of his wife Agnes and Adam his son, to the abbey of Whitby, with land in Newham, on condition that there should be monks serving God and St. Hilda in the church of Middlesbrough, who might be sufficiently maintained by the revenues of that church, the surplus being received by the mother church of Whitby.

Dr. Atkinson argues² that this grant was in the nature of a confirmation of a previous gift to Whitby, made by Hugh, Earl of Chester, whose lands had passed to Robert de Brus, as in the convention between the abbey of Whitby and the priory of Guisborough, made in the presence of Robert de Brus, Whitby laid its claim to the ecclesiastical dues of Middlesbrough *propter donum Hugonis Cestrensis comitis*.

Various local grantors made a number of gifts of land in the neighbourhood either to the church of Middlesbrough alone, or to the church of Middlesbrough and the monks of Whitby jointly.³

A dispute, already mentioned,⁴ between the Augustinian canons of Guisborough and the Benedictines of Whitby ended in the church of Middlesbrough being made a mother church, independent of Stainton. The gift of Middlesbrough Church to Whitby was confirmed by Henry I, and in 1130 by Archbishop Thurstan.⁵

From some unknown cause the cell became very much impoverished, and at any rate in the middle of the 15th century, if not much earlier, was only occupied by a prior and an associate monk. In 1452⁶ Archbishop W. Booth granted leave to Robert Godale, monk of Whitby and prior of the cell of Middlesbrough, that, owing to its poverty, the prior or his monk-associate might serve the parish church and minister to the parishioners in place of a secular chaplain, thus saving the expenses of the latter. This leave the archbishop repeated in 1459⁷ to William Colson, who had then become prior.

In November 1521 Thomas (York),⁸ Abbot of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul (*sic*), of Whitby, informed William Clarkson, Prior of the cell of St. Hilda the virgin of 'Myddilburge juxta Teyse,' and Thomas Braben, monk of the said cell, that he had commissioned William Johnson prior, and John Topcliffe,⁹ bursar of

² *Ibid.* introd. chap. p. xlvi.

³ The Middlesbrough charters mostly occur in *ibid.* pp. 95-116. Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 83, 84, has a list of them in alphabetical order. They are again set out with identifications, &c., in *Ancient Middlesbrough*, by R. L. Kirby (Woolston), 1900.

⁴ *Whitby Chartul.* 214 (no. 271).

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 631.

⁶ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xviii, 71, quoting York Archiepis. Reg. W. Booth, fol. 147*b*.

⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. W. Booth, fol. 64*b*.

⁸ *Conventual Leases (P.R.O.)*, Yorks. no. 994.

⁹ *Alias* John Hexham, Abbot of Whitby 1527-37.

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Whitby, to visit the cell, and make canonical corrections.

According to a return made in 1527 the clear annual value of the priory of 'Middilburgh' was £12.¹⁰ The return in 1535¹¹ of the receipts refers only to the early gifts to the cell already alluded to, and it appears from this record that the cell had received no additional gifts afterward. It also appears that 12*d.* in money was spent weekly in alms to the poor folk of Middlesbrough, according to the ordinance of Robert Brus, the founder,¹² for his soul.

John Hexham the late Abbot of Whitby (1527-37), who as John Topcliffe, bursar, visited the cell in 1521, obtained from the convent of Whitby a lease of their property at Middlesbrough (then worth £25 18*s.* 5*d.*), and of this he was in possession at the Dissolution. He continued at Middlesbrough as 'occupier' of the property there, and died in 1557, when he left 10*s.* to the poor of Middlesbrough, and 15*s.* 4*d.* to the township.¹³

PRIORS OF MIDDLESBROUGH

Thomas de Hawkesgarth, occurs 1386,¹⁴ 1393¹⁵

Stephen de Ormesby, occurs 1397-8¹⁶

Robert Godale, occurs 1438,¹⁷ 1452¹⁸

William Coulson, occurs 1459,¹⁹ 1471²⁰

William Clarkson, occurs 1521,²¹ resigned before 1527²²

John Hexham, occurs 1527²³ (in April of which year he was elected Abbot of Whitby)

6. THE PRIORY OF ALL SAINTS, FISHERGATE, YORK, CELL TO WHITBY ABBEY

In the vicinity of Fishergate Bar, York, and probably on a portion of the present cattle

¹⁰ Subs. R. 64, no. 303.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 632.

¹² Evidently he and not the Earl of Chester was reckoned the original founder, in spite of the statement in the *Conventio*.

¹³ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xviii, 72. *Whitby Chartul.* 504.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 316; Young, *Hist. Whitby*, 391 n.

¹⁵ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xviii, 68, citing York Archiepis. Reg. Newark, fol. 214*b.*

¹⁶ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 138.

¹⁷ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xviii, 71.

¹⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. W. Booth, fol. 64*b.*

¹⁹ York Reg. of Wills, iv, fol. 30.

²⁰ Conventual Leases (P.R.O.), Yorks. no. 994.

²¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, v, 907 (1532), quoted *Whitby Chartul.* 719, where a proposal is cited as made 19 Hen. VIII (1527-8) that John Hexham, Prior of Middlesbrough, should be made Abbot of Whitby, and William Clarkson made 'Prior of Medilsburgh and Newham.' This would mean for a second time, and he must have resigned between 1521 and 1527.

²² *Ibid.*

market, there stood in Norman times the parish church of All Saints.¹ This church was granted by William Rufus (1087-1100) to the Prior and convent of Whitby, with all its belongings, as a perpetual alms, on the condition that some of the monks should always be resident there and that they should pray for the king and his heirs.²

The election of William de Percy as first Abbot of Whitby took place in 1109,³ and a charter of Nigel de Albin, addressed to Thomas, Archbishop of York (1108-14), shows that Serlo, formerly Prior of Whitby, had then become prior of the cell. There is no reference to Whitby in the document, but a special mention of All Saints, naming Serlo as the prior and referring to 'the other monks of that place.'⁴

The gift of All Saints to Whitby was confirmed by Archbishop Thurstan (1114-40) 'free and clear from every episcopal usage,' and with the same liberties as Beverley and Ripon Churches possessed.⁵

Pope Eugenius III (1145-53) made a confirmation to Whitby of its various possessions, among them being All Saints, Fishergate.⁶ The charter was addressed to Abbot Benedict, who upon his resignation in 1148 retired to the cell of All Saints.⁷

The cell is named in two charters of confirmation of about this date, one of King Stephen (1135-54),⁸ the other of Archbishop Murdac (1145-53).⁹ In the latter All Saints was ratified as 'a proper cell for the monks of Wyteby free and clear from every episcopal usage.'

The revenues of the cell were derived from certain lands at Bustardthorpe which had been given *ad hoc*, and some other properties in the neighbourhood.¹⁰ The land at Bustardthorpe¹¹ was doubtless that restored to 'Serlo Prior,'—the 'half carucate of land in Thorp with the dwellings on it,'—by Nigel de Albin,¹² mentioned in a remarkable deed printed in Surtees' *History and Antiquities of Durham*,¹³ and quoted by Dr. Atkinson.¹⁴ But the accounts were not kept separate, says Dr. Young,¹⁵ from the parent house at

¹ Drake, *Ebor.* 250.

² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* i, 75; *Whitby Chartul.* (Surt. Soc. lxi), 5.

³ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*.

⁴ *Whitby Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), 206-7; Atkinson, *Whitby* (1894 ed.), 110, 111.

⁵ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 84; Charlton, *Whitby*, 86.

⁶ *Whitby Chartul.* 119.

⁷ Charlton, *Whitby*, 110; *Whitby Chartul.* 8.

⁸ Charlton, *Whitby*, 114.

⁹ *Ibid.* 117.

¹⁰ Young, *Whitby*, 359.

¹¹ Bustardthorpe was between Bishopthorpe and Middlethorpe; the whole district was Thorp, it was afterwards divided into Bishopthorpe, Bustardthorpe, Middlethorpe, Nunthorpe and Clementhorpe.

¹² *Whitby Chartul.* 206-7.

¹³ *Op. cit.* iii, 395.

¹⁴ *Whitby Chartul.* 207.

¹⁵ Young, *Whitby*, 359.

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Whitby. It was a small cell, with but few monks resident, in the valuation of York churches 1413-22, the value of All Saints Church being put down as £1.¹⁶ Doubtless the needs of the monks would be supplied from the abbey at Whitby, all deficiencies being made up from the abbey revenues. Every trace of the small priory has disappeared, and as many changes have taken place in that part of York where it used to stand it is difficult to locate the site of the cell.

7. GOATHLAND, QUASI-CELL OF WHITBY

The ecclesiastical establishment at Goathland was at first a hermitage. Henry I,¹ by a charter addressed to Archbishop Thomas (1109-14), Nigel de Albin and Osbert, Sheriff of Yorkshire, granted to Osmund the priest and the brothers of 'Godelane' that place for entertaining the poor, and the brothers were to hold it free of all interference from the king's foresters and others, in perpetual alms, and Nigel de Albin and the sheriff were to give them seisin.

By a later charter,² addressed to the same persons, the king granted that Osmund the priest and the brothers of Goathland might transfer themselves and their hermitage with all its appurtenances to the Abbot and convent of Whitby, in perpetuity, to be received to the habit of religion in the chapter of the monks. The king enjoined the abbot and monks to receive the brethren to the rule of St. Benedict, and confirmed the hermitage with all its appurtenances to the abbey of Whitby.

King John³ confirmed the grants made by Henry I, which included also the gift of a carucate of land, and from a certain William Boie the brothers had also received a toft in Lockington, both of which were transferred to Whitby. There is really no evidence that the hermitage of Goathland, after it passed into the possession of Whitby, became a cell of the abbey. Apparently the hermitage had at one time or other been turned into a house for the abbot. On 22 December 1538⁴ Henry Davell, Abbot of Whitby, leased to Robert Cokerell of 'Godland' for eighty-one years at a yearly rent of 20s. 'one fermehold in Godland called the Abbot House.' Nothing is known of Goathland after it passed to Whitby.

¹⁶ Drake, *Ebor.* 234.

¹ *Whitby Chartul.* 161. Dr. Atkinson gives good reasons for expanding the 'T Archiepiscopo' of the charter into Thome rather than, as Burton and the *Monasticon*, into Turstino.

² *Ibid.*

³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 545.

⁴ Conventual Leases (P.R.O.), Yorks. no. 929.

8. HACKNESS, QUASI-CELL OF WHITBY

Although the name of Hackness is so closely associated with that of the monastery of Whitby, both its relation to the post-Conquest Benedictine monastery and its history are somewhat obscure.

William de Percy gave to the re-founded monastery not merely the site at Whitby on which the earlier house had stood, but also the church of St. Peter at Hackness, and certain land there, which in the Domesday Survey is spoken of as the land of St. Hilda.⁵ When Prior Reinfrid was accidentally killed at Ormesbridge he was buried at Hackness.

It would seem, though there are discrepancies in the dates, that Prior Serlo and the monks left Whitby for Hackness⁶ owing to the depredation by robbers, who hid themselves in the woods in the daytime, and the over-sea pirates who ravaged the monastery at Whitby. They do not seem to have remained very long at Hackness, and Serlo died about 1100 at Whitby. There is no doubt that some of the monks remained at Hackness and that afterwards there was a certain undetermined number of Whitby monks there; but, in the common acceptance of the term, Hackness cannot be correctly spoken of as a distinct cell, such for instance as Middlesbrough. It had no separate government under a subordinate prior, and its accounts were entered in the compotus rolls of the abbey with those of the other manors and granges. It was, in fact, part of the corporate body of the monastery of Whitby under the direct government of the abbot and convent, and was never a separate subordinate establishment, dependent on the parent house, as a cell is generally understood to have been. It is spoken of as a *manerium*,⁷ and not a cell, as Middlesbrough is. Unfortunately its subsequent history is a blank, all that is known is that a certain number of the Whitby monks generally resided there. Burton says their number was probably determined by the abbot,⁸ and it is said elsewhere that at the Dissolution there were four monks at Hackness.⁹

9. ST. MARY'S ABBEY, YORK

On the north side of the Ouse at York there stood in pre-Conquest days the church or *monasterium* of St. Olave,¹ which in the days of the Conqueror had come, together with 4 acres of

⁵ Young, *Hist. Whitby*, 257.

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* ii, 634, no. 2. They began to construct a *monasterium* at the church of St. Mary Hackness (not St. Peter's) also granted by William de Percy.

⁷ *Whitby Chartul.* 746.

⁸ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 83.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iii, 634.

¹ See account of Whitby Abbey, above.

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land around it, into the hands of Alan Rufus, son of Eudo, Count of Bretagne.² This church and land were given by the earl to Stephen, a monk of Whitby, on which to found a Benedictine abbey.³

Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux and his canons looked askance upon the settlement of Benedictines in York in the neighbourhood of the Minster.⁴ Alan's right to the church and land was disputed by the cathedral authorities, the archbishop himself laying claim to them.⁵ The matter was eventually settled by the king giving to the archbishop the church of St. Stephen in York instead of St. Olave's, and the abbot further propitiated the prelate by a gift of land in Clifton and Heslington. In 1088 King William Rufus visited York and saw how inadequate were the premises at St. Olave's for the requirements of the brethren, and he conferred upon them additional lands adjacent to their dwelling, and the year after he himself laid the foundation stone of a new house, which was dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, the Danish ascription of their old church being superseded.⁶

The abbey had not long been founded before a number of cells were established and made dependent upon it. That of Wetheral in Cumberland seems to have been the first. Afterwards there followed St. Bees in the same county, St. Martin's near Richmond, Rumburgh in Suffolk, Sandtoft and Haines in Lincolnshire, St. Mary Magdalen at Lincoln, and later on Warmington in Northumberland and Marsk in Notts.⁷ At what date the cell of Wetheral was founded is not known for certain,⁸ though Drake says it was given to the abbey at the time of the foundation by the Earl of Cumberland.⁹ It was at all events confirmed to the abbey in 1131-2 by King Henry I. Henry I also confirmed to the abbey its various possessions, and made it quit of aids and tallages, enjoying the same privileges as those possessed by the minsters at York and Beverley.¹⁰

During the abbacy of Geoffrey,¹¹ 1131-2, the Benedictine rule had become somewhat slack, and some of the brethren of St. Mary's were pining for a more rigid rule, such as Cistercian foundations would offer; the prior, Richard, and the sub-prior were among the number. The

abbot tried to put an end to the movement, but the malcontents appealed to the archbishop, Thurstan, who sympathized with them; and finally in 1132 thirteen of them left St. Mary's amid a turbulent scene and found their way to the valley of the Skell, where the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains was established, Richard being chosen as its first abbot.¹²

A trouble of a different kind came to the abbey five years later, when the house was much injured in the great fire of 1137.¹³

The abbey, as we have seen, was founded in the reign of William I, and on a greater scale by William II. Henry I confirmed its possessions and privileges,¹⁴ which Henry II afterwards ratified,¹⁵ as also did Henry III and most of his successors.¹⁶ These privileges were very great: (1) exemption from royal exactions; (2) immunity from all pleas and quarrels; (3) soc, sac tol, tem, infangthef and utfangthef¹⁷; (4) freedom from attendance and service at county courts, tithings, wapentakes, and hundreds; (5) the possession of a prison and gallows. Moreover: the town of Bootham with its fair, market and liberties belonged to them¹⁸: and a vast district in and around York became known as 'the Liberty of St. Mary.'

The Archbishop of York had the right of making an annual visitation of the abbey, but the first extant record of any archiepiscopal survey was one made by the southern Primate. In 1195 Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, was suspended from his spiritual duties,¹⁹ and Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, went to York as papal legate. On Tuesday 13 June he visited the abbey of St. Mary, being received by the monks in solemn procession. Afterwards, assembled in the chapter-house, the monks complained of the incompetency of Robert their abbot through weakness and physical infirmity, and Archbishop Hubert deposed him from the abbacy.²⁰ After a short vacancy the king gave the abbacy in 1197 to Robert Longchamp, Prior of Ely, brother of the chancellor.²¹ On 6 March 1226 a papal mandate was issued to Archbishop Walter Gray, authorizing him to visit the abbey once a year, or twice if need arose, and correct any abuses by counsel of the religious and sometimes of five or six of the better canons of the cathedral church,²² and on 26 February in the following year a papal mandate was issued to the abbot and convent

² Lawton, *Relig. Houses*, 36.

³ Drake, *Eboracum* (small ed.), ii, 221; Harl. MS. 236 (Chartulary of St. Mary's), fol. 1.

⁴ *Fasti Eboracenses*, 156.

⁵ Lawton, *Relig. Houses*, 37.

⁶ *Ibid.*; Drake, *Eboracum*, 579.

⁷ *Brit. Assoc. Handbk.* (1906), 146; *Mon. Angl.* iii, 544.

⁸ Lawton, *Relig. Houses*, 38.

⁹ Drake, *Eboracum* (small ed.), ii, 227.

¹⁰ Pat. 33 Edw. I, m. 23.

¹¹ Miscalled Godfrey in the *Monasticon* (iii, 538).

¹² *Fasti Ebor.* 204-7.

¹³ Allen, *Hist. of Yorks.* 57.

¹⁴ Pat. 33 Edw. I, m. 23.

¹⁵ Drake, *Eboracum* (small ed.), ii, 228.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Pat. 10 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 21 d.

¹⁸ Drake op. cit. ii, 230.

¹⁹ *Fasti Ebor.* 266.

²⁰ Drake, *Eboracum*, 424.

²¹ Ralph de Diceto, *Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 151.

²² *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 108.

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it they were to receive the archbishop in order that he might correct what was amiss according to the rule of St. Benedict.²³

About this time there seems to have been no abuse on the part of the abbey authorities with respect to their indulgences and privileges. These were suspected by the archbishop and certain skilled lawyers as being false, and on 5 May 1225 the pope ordered them to be submitted to himself for purposes of examination.²⁴ On 15 March next following a papal letter was directed to the archbishop quashing an indulgence in the name of Pope Celestine giving power to the abbot to excommunicate invaders of the abbey properties, as it had been found to be false, and revoking anything that had been done by its aid.²⁵

Pope Honorius III, it appears, had ordered the abbot and convent to make provision for twelve laymen and clerks in churches of which the patronage belonged to them. This impoverished them considerably, so that some who wished to join the convent had to buy their own habits. In consideration of this Pope Gregory IX granted licence to the house to convert to their use the church of Kirkby Lonsdale and to put in a chaplain to serve it.²⁶ Similar licences were granted in connexion with the churches of St. Michael, Popleby,²⁷ and Gainford, in the diocese of Eborac. An indulgence to the abbot to use the mitre, ring, pastoral staff, sandals, and other pontifical insignia, with the faculty of blessing vestments and giving solemn benediction when a bishop or legate was present,²⁸ granted by Innocent IV in 1245, was confirmed by Pope Martin V on 13 January 1418, Thomas the then abbot receiving the further privilege for himself and successors to bless altar linen, &c., to receive vows of chastity, to bless and give the veil, &c., and to give solemn benediction at mass and at other matins and vespers and at table, in the presence of a Catholic bishop or papal legate.³⁰

Many of the dissensions and troubles of the house arose from its relations with the mayor, council and citizens of York. In 1262 a member of the abbot's men were actually killed in a quarrel, some of his houses in Bootham destroyed, and the abbot, Simon de Warwick, fled to flight and was absent from the house for a period of two years.³¹ A commission was granted in 1311 on complaint by the abbot to the mayor and bailiffs 'levied toll, murage, cartage and pavage on his men coming to the city with their goods, and also carriage, although by the king's confirmation of the charters of his predecessors the abbot's men are exempt from such; (that they) hindered his men

coming to the city to buy provisions for him and his convent, compelled his men staying within his liberty of Bouthum to contribute, together with the commonalty of the city, divers aids, tallages, and contributions assessed upon the commonalty, and carried away their goods, and did not permit them to replevy the same.'³² In this same year one of the monks, Stephen de Oustwyk, was assaulted at the cell of 'la Maudeleyne' at Lincoln and imprisoned.³³

On 22 March 1319 Archbishop Melton held a visitation of the abbey, and on 4 May 1319³⁴ he issued a long *decretum* to the abbot and convent. No serious offences had been disclosed at the visitation, but emphasis was laid on the unsatisfactory financial condition of the house, which was owing no less a sum than £4,029 2s. 1½d. Needless expense, therefore, was strictly prohibited, and in the matter of granting corrodies and pensions the convent was to be consulted. The monks were forbidden to shave one another, and the abbey was forthwith to be provided with *uno barbitonsore artificiali*, who was to shave both young and old monks. Once a year at least, twice if possible, the abbot, prior, or the presiding monk was to call to his aid two of the senior monks and cause each monk to open his chest and carol for inspection. In case of refusal they were to be broken open, and any article illicitly received and secreted was to be confiscated to the common use. The sacrist, as formerly, was to have the tithes, rents and provisions pertaining to his office, and was to keep in order the church ornaments, the clock, the ornaments of the stalls, the *lectos sacristarum*, &c. He was to provide tapers, wine, light and other essentials, especially the fourteen tapers on every great festival. The service which the abbey was under obligation to perform for John de Ponte and Thomas de Fridethorp was to be duly said. The tithes of the chapel of Croom, and an annual rent of 20s. for the benefit of the sick in the infirmary³⁵ was being used for the whole as well as the sick: this was to be remedied. The common seal was to be kept in the treasury and the statutes and Melton's injunctions were to be read in chapter once a month.³⁶

The dispute between the abbey and citizens was renewed and greatly intensified in 1334. The citizens complained that the abbot usurped their

²³ Pat. 4 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 5 d.

²⁴ Ibid. 5 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 20d., 19d.

²⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 134.

²⁶ In the York Museum is the mortar of the infirmary, made in the early 14th century. It is a beautiful example, made of bell-metal and weighing 76 lb. and on it is the inscription: 'Mortariu. Sci. Johis. Ewangel. de Ifirmaria. Be. Marie. Ebor. Fr. Wills. de Touthorp. me. fecit. A°D. mcccviij.' (For description and plate see *Museum Handbk.* 185-6).

²⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 133-4.

²⁸ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 116.

²⁹ Ibid. 102.

³⁰ Ibid. 109.

³¹ Ibid. 190.

³² Ibid. 188.

³³ Ibid. 191.

³⁴ Ibid. 222.

³⁵ Ibid. vii, 58.

³⁶ Lawton, *Relig. Houses*, 37.

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rights and liberties within the city and suburb, refused to allow measures to be tested, abused the power of excommunication for base motives, interfered with the city bailiffs, and assumed the office of a coroner, &c., &c.³⁷ The abbot ably defended himself, denying the various charges of illegality. These angry disputes went on until at last Archbishop Thoresby brought them to an agreement in 1343.³⁸

In the year 1344 Archbishop Zouch made a visitation of St. Mary's. He questioned by what right the abbot and convent received the tithes, portions and pensions from a great many places which were specified. They exhibited a number of papal bulls and other 'evidences,' and the archbishop declared their title good and sufficient.³⁹

The public records abound with references to the great Benedictine abbey of St. Mary. The abbot had his seat in Parliament; exercised jurisdiction over many towns, villages, churches and dependent houses⁴⁰; was frequently in a position to furnish loans to the sovereign⁴¹; supplied necessaries in the time of war⁴²; acted as collector at various periods for tenths and fifteenths,⁴³ papal and royal; had his London residence and several country houses⁴⁴; and had numerous possessions in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and many other counties. Licences in mortmain granted to the abbey⁴⁵ for the acquisition of various properties were numerous, and also the appropriation of churches,⁴⁶ the royal permission to elect new abbots when vacancies arose, and the seizure and restitution of the temporalities.⁴⁷

In addition to manors, lands and vills, the advowsons of a great number of churches belonged to the abbey, many of which were appropriated and vicarages ordained in some of them. In the city of York there were seven such churches; in other parts of the county thirty-three; and several in other counties.⁴⁸

Indults were granted to the abbot, Thomas, in 1415 and 1417,⁴⁹ to hear the confessions of the monks and to grant absolution, imposing penance. This abbot was elected Bishop of Rochester⁵⁰ on 7 April 1421.

³⁷ Pat. 8 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 23.

³⁸ Drake op. cit. (small ed.) ii, 231; *Eboracum*, 434.

³⁹ *Men. Angl.* iii, 566-7, quoting York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 9.

⁴⁰ *Brit. Assoc. Handbk.* (1906), 146.

⁴¹ Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 30.

⁴² Pat. 7 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 13.

⁴³ *Ibid.* m. 28.

⁴⁴ *Brit. Assoc. Handbk.* (1906), 145.

⁴⁵ Pat. 8 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 7.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 32 Edw. I, m. 22.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 13 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 20.

⁴⁸ Lawton, *Relig. Houses*, 38, 39.

⁴⁹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vii, 59.

⁵⁰ Before his consecration he was appointed Bishop of Hereford by papal bull, 17 Nov. 1421. (*Le Neve, Fasti*, i, 465).

Archbishop Lee visited St. Mary's Abbey on 7 September 1534,⁵¹ and issued his injunctions the following year, 11 September 1535.⁵² He ordered that the Benedictine rule should be strictly kept, and that offending monks should be duly punished. The abbot, whom he addressed as John,⁵³ was charged with being, according to report, too familiar with Elizabeth Robinson, a married woman, of Overton. He was ordered to abstain from all intercourse with her or any other suspect woman, and to reside always in the monastery unless hindered by legitimate cause. The monks were ordered not to wear worsted or other costly garments, as some of them had been in the habit of doing, but all were to wear garments of cheap material and of the same colour. Once a year, in the presence of the whole convent or certain members elected *ad hoc*, the abbot should render an account of the state of the house and his administration of it. Wine was not to be sold in the abbey precincts nor any wine-stand permitted therein, and the abbot was not to use silk in his hood or sleeves, nor gilt spurs, saddles or bridles. These injunctions were issued from Bishopthorpe on 11 September 1535, just a week before the king inhibited the archbishop from making any further visitations.⁵⁴

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*⁵⁵ a very interesting account is given of the alms and distributions at St. Mary's Abbey. There was a distribution made daily to three poor people at the time of the high mass, for the soul of William Nesfield and of his foundation. Like alms were distributed on the anniversary of Dom. William Wells, formerly Bishop of Rochester. A 'widow-right' was distributed every Sunday to ten widows, each receiving 1*d.* Similarly, of the foundation of William the Conqueror, a distribution was made to the ten above-named widows and to ten other poor people, called 'Frereright,' and to other poor people in bread and ale, of 105 qrs. of wheat at 5*s.* per qr. and of 135 qrs. of barley malt among the said poor and others in want coming to the monastery or Wednesdays and Saturdays each week. There was also the interesting educational charity already dealt with.⁵⁶

With the passage of the years the properties of various kinds belonging to St. Mary's became enormous. In the Taxation of 1291 they are valued at £758 3*s.* 4*d.*,⁵⁷ and at the Dissolution the abbey was worth no less an annual sum than

⁵¹ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* (1902), 425.

⁵² *Ibid.* 426.

⁵³ The abbot of this date was William Thorntor alias Dent (*L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 552).

⁵⁴ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* (1902), 446-7, 426.

⁵⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 6.

⁵⁶ *V.C.H. Yorks.* i, 421.

⁵⁷ For details see *Men. Angl.* iii, 561.

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£2,085 1s. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.⁵⁸ The dissolution took place in 1539, the house being surrendered by the abbot, William Thornton, *alias* Dent,⁵⁹ and fifty monks on 26 November, when the abbey and the site fell to the crown.⁶⁰ The abbot received a pension of 400 marks, the prior, Guy Kelsaye, one of 20 marks, and on the pension lists are the names of forty-seven other monks, but the amount of their pension is not specified, the place being left blank.⁶¹

ABBOTS OF ST. MARY'S⁶²

Stephen de Whitby, first abbot, died 1112
Richard^{62a}
Geoffrey, occurs 1122, 1128,^{62b} died 1132
Severinus⁶³ or Savaric,^{63a} died 1161
Clement, died 1184
Robert de Harpham, deposed 1195⁶⁴
Robert de Longchamp, appointed 1197,⁶⁵
died 1239
William de Roundel, occurs 1241,⁶⁶ died
1244
Thomas de Wardhull, elected 1244,⁶⁷ died 1258
Simon de Warwick, elected 1258,⁶⁸ died 1296⁶⁹
Benedict de Malton, succeeded 1296,⁷⁰ occurs
1302,⁷¹ resigned 1303⁷²
John de Gilling, 1303,⁷³ died 1313⁷⁴
Alan de Nesse, 1313,⁷⁵ died 1331⁷⁶
Thomas de Multon, 1331,⁷⁷ resigned 1359
William Maneys, occurs 1380,⁷⁸ died 1382⁷⁹

⁵⁸ Speed. The *Monasticon* gives the value as £1,550 7s. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.; The *Valor Eccl.* 1535 gives the gross £2,091 4s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. the nett £1,650 or. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. *Mon. Angl.* iii, 540.

⁵⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xv, 552.

⁶⁰ Lawton, *Relig. Houses*, 39.

⁶¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* loc. cit.

⁶² From *Mon. Angl.* iii, 538, 539, except where otherwise stated.

^{62a} The date of Richard's death and Geoffrey's election is erroneously given in *Mon. Angl.* as 1131.

^{62b} *Hist. of Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 199; iii, 51-2.

⁶³ Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Regum* (Rolls Ser.), 201.

^{63a} *Hist. of Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 222.

⁶⁴ In *Mon. Angl.* (iii, 538), he is said to have died and been succeeded by Robert Longchamp in 1189; but an abbot Robert was deposed in 1195 (see above), and Longchamp, who was elected in 1197, was called 'Robertus secundus' in *Chron. Mon. de Melsa* (Rolls Ser.), i, 354.

⁶⁵ Ralph de Diceto, *Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 151-2.

⁶⁶ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 231.

⁶⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1232-47, p. 436.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 1247-55, p. 640.

⁶⁹ *Pat.* 24 Edw. I, m. 14.

⁷⁰ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 231.

⁷¹ *Pat.* 31 Edw. I, m. 17.

⁷² *Ibid.* 6 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 3.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 7 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 20.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 5 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 14.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* pt. ii, m. 33; pt. i, m. 3.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 4 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 42.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 6 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 33.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 4 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 42.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 6 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 33.

William Bridford or Brydford, 1382,⁸⁰ died 1389⁸¹

Thomas Stayngreve, 1389,⁸² died 1398

Thomas Pygot, 1398, died 1405⁸³

Thomas de Spofforth, succeeded 1405, resigned 1421, Bishop of Hereford 1422

William Dalton, succeeded 1422, died 1423⁸⁴

William Wells, succeeded 1423,⁸⁵ Bishop of Rochester, 1436

Roger Kirkby, elected 1437,⁸⁶ died 1438⁸⁷

John Cottingham, elected 1438,⁸⁸ died 1464⁸⁹

Thomas Booth, succeeded 1464,⁹⁰ resigned 1485,⁹¹ died same year⁹²

William Sevons, elected 1485,⁹³ Bishop of Carlisle 1495, Bishop of Durham, 1502, continued abbot till 1502

Robert Worhope, succeeded 1502

Edmund Thornton, elected 1507

Edmund Whalley, elected 1521, occurs 1530⁹⁴

William Thornton or Dent, elected 1530, last abbot, surrendered 1539⁹⁵

The 11th-century seal⁹⁶ is a vesica, 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. by 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in., with a design of our Lady crowned and seated, holding the Child and a book. Above the Child is the sun and on the left side is a (?) lily. Only a few words—

SIGILLVM SANCTE MARIE . . .

remain of the broken legend. The counterseal, a vesica 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $\frac{3}{4}$ in., shows an arm and hand holding a long cross, with the legend—

SIGNVM SALVTIFERVM

The seals of two early abbots are in the British Museum. That of Robert de Longchamp,⁹⁷ 1197-1239, is a vesica, 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ in., with the abbot standing and holding crozier and book. The legend is—

SIGILL' ROBERTI DEI GRACIA ABBIS SCE MARIE
EBOR'.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* m. 27. ⁸¹ *Ibid.* 13 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 20.

⁸² *Ibid.* m. 12.

⁸³ *Cal. Pat.* 1405-8, p. 15; occurs as John Pygot, 1405; *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild* (Surt. Soc.).

⁸⁴ *Pat.* 1 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 15.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* pt. ii, m. 12, 13.

⁸⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1436-41, p. 56; he was Prior of St. Bees. ⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 203.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 207.

⁸⁹ *Pat.* 4 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 14.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* m. 11.

⁹¹ *Pat.* 2 Ric. III, pt. iii, m. 17, 2.

⁹² *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild* (Surt. Soc.).

⁹³ *Ibid.* m. 14. Probably this name should be read Senous, as the bishop is usually called Senhouse.

⁹⁴ *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild* (Surt. Soc.).

⁹⁵ Lawton, *Relig. Houses*, 39.

⁹⁶ *Cat. of Seals*, B.M. 4385; Harl. Chart. 44 D. 20.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 4390, lxxv, 36.

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The seal⁹⁸ of Simon of Warwick, 1258–96, is a vesica of similar design with the legend—

s' SYMONIS DĪ GRĀ ABBATIS SĒE MĀR EBORACI

The seal for tithes⁹⁹ in use at the beginning of the 14th century is a vesica, 1¼ in. by 1⅞ in., with our Lady and the Child, and the legend—

s' ABBĒIS EBOR' AD DECĪAS DEPVTATĪV.

10. THE PRIORY OF ST. MARTIN, RICHMOND, CELL OF ST. MARY'S ABBEY, YORK

The cell of St. Martin, Richmond, has very little known history. About 1100 Wymar, steward to Stephen, Earl of Richmond, gave to God, Blessed Mary of York, and the monks serving God there, the chapel of St. Martin of Richmond with other possessions. Whereupon a cell of nine or ten monks from St. Mary's Abbey, York, was established at St. Martin's¹⁰⁰ and afterwards the hermitage or chapel of St. Thomas of Bordelby or Bordebank was given by the abbey to St. Martin's, for the reception of leprous brethren.¹⁰¹ Many other grants were made to the cell.

The cell was confirmed by Pope Eugenius III in 1146.¹⁰²

The Taxation of 1291 gives the spiritualities of the cell as consisting of pensions from seventeen different churches amounting to £25 14s. 8d., and the temporalities as £6 os. 8d., making a total of £31 15s. 4d.¹⁰³ In the account of the Provincial Council of 1311, which dealt with the case of the Templars, the Abbot of St. Martin's as well as the Prior of St. Martin's is separately entered among those summoned.¹⁰⁴ The former must necessarily be a clerical error. From a Subsidy Roll of 1380–1 it would seem that there was then only one monk at the cell besides the prior.¹⁰⁵ Archbishop Zouch issued a notice of his intention to visit the Prior and convent of St. Martin's on Saturday, 1 October 1345,¹⁰⁶ but nothing is recorded as to the visitation. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*¹⁰⁷ the temporalities are reckoned at £19 7s. 5d. and the spiritualities at £26 12s. 4d., making a total of £47 16s. (sic).¹⁰⁸

PRIORS OF ST. MARTIN'S

John Popilton¹⁰⁹ (first prior)
Herbert (? c. 1200)¹¹⁰
John,¹¹¹ occurs 1258
Roger,¹¹² occurs 1300
William,¹¹³ (? temp. Henry VII)
John Matthew, occurs 1528,¹¹⁴ as John Mather 1535¹¹⁵

HOUSES OF BENEDICTINE NUNS

11. THE PRIORY OF ARDEN

About 1150,¹ Peter de Hoton founded the nunnery of St. Andrew at Arden, and Roger de Mowbray, chief lord of the fee, confirmed the gift, and soon afterwards the nuns received other grants, all of which were confirmed by King John on 28 February 1201,² but in the royal confirmation Roger de Mowbray and not Peter de Hoton is named as the founder.³ In 1290 Elizabeth *domina de Hoton*, widow of William de Carleton, confirmed to Margaret, then prioress, and the nuns the lands originally granted, and on 2 February 1405 Geoffrey Bygod, heir of Peter de Hoton and Elizabeth widow of William

de Carleton, again confirmed the gift of his ancestors, delivered the evidence of the gift to Alice, the prioress, and was accepted as a founder, to be prayed for by the convent.

Soon after the foundation of the house,⁴ a dispute arose between the nuns of Arden and the monks of Byland, and in 1189 a compact was entered into between the two houses in the presence of Jeremy, Archdeacon of Cleveland,

⁹⁸ *Cat. of Seals*, B.M. 4391, lxxv, 37.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 4393, lxxv, 35.

¹⁰⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iii, 601.

¹⁰¹ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 272. In neither instance is there any hint as to the date of the gift of this chapel by the mother house to the cell, nor how St. Mary's Abbey originally obtained possession of it.

¹⁰² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iii, 602.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* 602, 603.

¹⁰⁴ *Rec. of Northern Convocation* (Surt. Soc.), 32.

¹⁰⁵ Subs. R. 63, no. 12.

¹⁰⁶ York Archiepisc. Reg. Zouch, fol. 67.

¹⁰⁷ *Op. cit.* v, 11a.

¹⁰⁸ In *Mon. Angl.* (iii, 610), rentals and lordships in Cumberland and Westmorland of considerable value are by mistake assigned to the cell of St. Martin. The mistake has been followed by Lawton, *Relig. Houses of Yorks.* 40.

¹⁰⁹ Leland, *Coll.* i, 25.

¹¹⁰ Egerton MS. 2827, fol. 289.

¹¹¹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 174.

¹¹² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iii, 605.

¹¹³ B. Willis, *Mitred Abbeyes*, ii, 282.

¹¹⁴ *Valor Eccl.* v, 10b.

¹¹⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 284. See also B.M. Add. Chart. 20544.

² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 286.

³ Roger de Mowbray, as founder, had his obit observed yearly at the time of the *Valor Eccl.* (v, 86).

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 285.

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in Hawnby Church. The monks condoned the nuns in regard to all dams, inclosures for animals, the rough words of their men, and other irregularities; while Muriel, the prioress, and the nuns conceded to Byland free transit and passage for the abbot and convent's carriages over the lands of the nuns; and both parties agreed never more to urge any cause against the other in court, but to amend any wrongs which the one might do to the other in a friendly manner between themselves.⁵

Nothing further is heard of Arden till October 1302,⁶ when Archbishop Corbridge committed the care of the temporalities of the house to brother Robert de Colville, canon of Newburgh. In 1304⁷ Juliana, the prioress, wrote to the dean and chapter (*sede vacante*), asking to be relieved of her office as she had been stricken by paralysis, and was incapable of ruling the house. Accordingly the dean and chapter issued a mandate on 21 November 1304 to the Archdeacon of Cleveland to install the new prioress.⁸

In 1306,⁹ Archbishop Greenfield, in consequence of a visitation of Arden, wrote to the prioress and convent that for the good of their house and other causes he had absolved Brother Robert de Dent, *conversus* of Arden, from his vow and profession of obedience, and that Dent had made oath on the archbishop's pectoral cross that he would urge no claim against the house of Arden. The archbishop was sending him to Furness, and had written to the abbot to receive him, and as Dent had done much for the nuns of Arden, he charged them 40s. for some new clothes for him, and half a mark for his expenses to Furness. The archbishop also dealt with the case of Joan de Punchardon,¹⁰ one of the nuns, who had become a mother. She was recalled by the archbishop to Arden, and was there to undergo salutary penance till she manifested signs of contrition. The nuns were for the future to have as confessors two brothers of the order of Friars Minor, approved by the archbishop for hearing confessions and imposing penances. There were not to be more than two, and their names were to be submitted to the archbishop speedily. The nuns were to provide a master or guardian of their goods, and specially one to look after their husbandry.

This letter was followed by a *decretum*,¹¹ in which orders were made for the general regulation of the nunnery. The rule of St. Benedict was to be observed in all its articles. Those convicted of faults were humbly to submit to correction. When the prioress kept her

⁵ The monks of Byland first settled at Hood Grange near Arden, and retained till the Dissolution a large portion of the lands at Hood.

⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Corbridge, fol. 26b.

⁷ Ibid. sed. vac. fol. 43. ⁸ Ibid. fol. 44.

⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, i, fol. 86b.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

chamber she was to have a nun with her, not always the same, but now one, then another, so that no sinister suspicion of levity could arise. The infirmary was to be properly managed. No one was to be received as nun by compact, as that involved the guilt of simony, but a nun was only to be received from the promptings of love. No girls or boarders were to be taken, nor any nuns or sisters, nor was any man to be received as a *conversus* without the special licence of the archbishop or his successors. Within eight days from the receipt of the *decretum*, all secular girls staying in the house without authority were to be removed, as well as every useless servant who was a burden to the house: also all dogs and puppies, so that the straitened revenues of the house might be devoted to the poor. None of the nuns' wood was to be sold, more particularly large trees, without licence, and no corrodies were to be granted. The officers of the house were to render proper accounts, twice, or at least once a year, and all the buildings, especially the church, refectory, and chapter-house, which needed repair, were to be attended to.

On 28 August, 1311,¹² Archbishop Greenfield wrote to the prioress and convent that Clarice de Speton, one of their nuns, who had been guilty of incest with Geoffrey de Eston, bailiff of Bulmershire, had appeared before him in a contrite mind, that he had granted her absolution, and he enjoined the nuns to receive her kindly, and impose on her the proper penance.

In January 1314¹³ Archbishop Greenfield confirmed the election of Beatrice de Cotton as prioress, and directed that an inventory of all the goods of the house should be made. On 13 November 1320¹⁴ Archbishop Melton issued a proclamation that Margaret de Punchardon, nun of Arden, had asked that she might be inclosed in a proper and worthy place, so that she might serve God more strictly by leading the solitary life. The archbishop had made inquiry as to her past life, and found her worthy, and in May following¹⁵ he ordered her inclusion in the house of St. Nicholas, Beverley, *ob frugem melioris vite* in company with Agnes Migregose, already a recluse there.

In January 1323-4¹⁶ Archbishop Melton appointed Thomas Fox, rector of Gilling, and John de Speton custodians of the affairs of the nuns; and in February 1328-9¹⁷ he issued a commission touching the election of a prioress in place of Isabella 'Couvel' (Colville) who had resigned. A short time afterwards¹⁸ Beatrice de Holm, nun professed of the house, was elected

¹² Ibid. fol. 100.

¹³ Ibid. ii, fol. 104b, 105.

¹⁴ Ibid. Melton, fol. 234b.

¹⁵ Ibid. fol. 282b.

¹⁶ Ibid. fol. 243b.

¹⁷ Ibid. fol. 251.

¹⁸ Ibid.

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prioress, but owing to irregularities in the process of election the archbishop quashed it, and then directed the rector of Hawkley to install Beatrice de Holm as prioress of Arden. She cannot have proved satisfactory, for in 1331¹⁹ the archbishop directed commissioners to visit Arden, and, if necessary, depose the prioress, and arrange for the election of a successor. What was done is unfortunately not recorded. On 28 June²⁰ in the same year the Prior of Newburgh and the vicar of Feliskirk made return for the king's exchequer as to the taxing of Arden, that the nuns possessed no ecclesiastical benefice, and that their whole lay property scarcely exceeded by 20s. a year '*miseram sustentacionem earundem*,' and that there was nothing else to be taxed.

In November 1334,²¹ and again in 1350,²² commissions were issued to hold visitations of the nunnery, but as nothing is said as to the result of these visitations perhaps it may be charitably assumed that there was nothing seriously amiss.

On 16 July 1372²³ Archbishop Thoresby directed the prioress and convent to re-admit one of their nuns, Margaret Colville, who had apostatized and been guilty of incontinence with Robert Wetherbird, a layman.

On 6 October 1392²⁴ Archbishop Arundel appointed commissioners to receive the resignation of the prioress, and confirm the election of her successor, Eleanor,²⁵ against whom very serious complaint was made a little more than three years later.

On 24 February 1396²⁶ Mr. John de Southwell, commissary of the dean and chapter *sede vacante*, held a visitation of Arden. Eleanor, the prioress, stated that she was elected when twenty-six years old. She admitted that during the whole time she had held office she had never consulted her sisters as to the affairs of the house, that whenever she had the common seal in her private keeping, even when away from the priory, she had used it for entering into obligations on the part of the house. She further admitted that silence was not observed, and that talking went on even in the quire during service. On the other hand she complained that the *sacrista*, when monished by her, still neglected her duty, and that the bells were not rung as

they should be, in consequence of which the services were not held at the proper time.

Christiana Darell, a nun, stated that the prioress sent three young nuns out to make hay early in the morning, that they did not return before dark, and so divine service *nondum est dictum*. She further alleged that the prioress received all the revenues of the house, and spent them as she liked, without the knowledge of her sisters, and that sometimes she had the common seal in her private keeping, and sometimes gave it to Elizabeth Darell, so that she could use it at pleasure. Moreover, a covered piece of silver, and a maser, worth at least 40s., had been pawned and were lost, and the official seal of the prioress was in pawn with another maser. She complained that their corrody, or allowance of ale, was badly and irregularly delivered, and that owing to the prioress's neglect in buying corn, she had had to pay 11d. a bushel for wheat, when it might have been had for 9d., 8d., or 7d.

Elizabeth Darell, another nun, said that for a whole year the prioress had the common seal in her private keeping. She stated that when the prioress took office, the house was in a sound financial condition and that they only owed 15 marks, and that the prioress had received many sums of money, by gift and in alms.

Elizabeth Steyne, Alice Barnard, Agnes de Midelton and Elizabeth de Thornton, nuns, said that the seal of the prioress and a maser were together in pledge for 5s.; that the prioress incited the secular boys and laymen to chatter in the cloister and church; also that there were no candles at the altar, nor had they light to say matins and other canonical hours, and the paschal candle had been deficient all the time the prioress had held office. They said they did not get their corrodies when due. Sometimes the delay was for a fortnight, and at others for a month, so that they had to drink water. They added a much graver charge, that the prioress slept in her chief chamber outside the dormitory, without a reasonable cause, during the greater part of the summer, and that she was defamed with a certain John Bever, a married man, that they had slept together in a house at night, and that on one occasion they lay alone together within the priory, in the prioress's chamber. They stated further that when the prioress took office the house only owed 15 marks, but that at the time of the visitation it was heavily in debt, although the prioress had received several sums of money, as from John Aslakby 9 marks, from Dan Henry, the nuns' chaplain, 4 marks, from William de Thornton 7 marks, from Robert Howm 4 marks, from the Lady de Roose 20s., from Henry Erden 2 marks, and from Robert Barbour 20s. The prioress had also received money for a wood she sold, and concealed the sale from them. She had moreover sold and destroyed many plantations, without their consent, and disposed of the

¹⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 254.

²⁰ Ibid. fol. 253. ²¹ Ibid. fol. 199b.

²² Ibid. Zouch, fol. 168b.

²³ Ibid. Thoresby, fol. 192.

²⁴ Ibid. Arundel, fol. 43b.

²⁵ An account for her three years of office was produced at the inquiry, which makes it clear that she had been elected in 1392, though her name is not given at that date.

²⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. sed. vac. The commission to visit is on fol. 206. The account of the visitation (a very rare entry in the York Registers) is on fol. 208, &c. The latter is printed (not quite accurately), *Test. Ebor.* i, 283 n. &c.

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proceeds as she liked. Further, the roofs and walls of the buildings were dilapidated. A list of the debts follows, and the nuns proceeded to say *unanimi voce* that when the prioress was elected there were ten pairs of sheets of good linen, but they were destroyed and the prioress had had no new sheets made during her time. They had only two albs, one of these was turned to secular use for sifting flour and was often found on the beds of the lay folk in the stable. They also complained that the prioress sold four large trees since the last visitation, without consulting the nuns. The prioress had received from the executors of Henry Erden 2 marks to pray for his soul, and she concealed this from her sisters. A new vestment was pawned by the prioress, in consequence of which it had been soiled and was worthless and had not been hallowed. A financial statement is added, showing the receipts and expenditure for the first three years of the prioress's term of office, viz. : in the first year, receipts £22 7s. 6d., expenditure £27 6s. 8d. Second year, receipts £25 3s., expenditure £40. Third year, receipts £26 9s. 6d., expenditure £27 3s.

The action which was taken as a result of these revelations is not recorded, but it is reasonable to presume that it must have resulted in the deposition of the prioress.

In 1444 Archbishop Kemp²⁷ granted an indulgence for two years to all who should assist towards the repairs of the house of Arden, and on 5 May 1459²⁸ Archbishop William Booth wrote from London to the nuns, saying that he had heard that the office of prioress was vacant by the death of the late prioress, and he directed them to proceed without delay to the election of her successor. Owing to the distance and the inaccessible position of Arden he had deputed the official of Cleveland to act in his stead. There is again a long break, and it is only at the time of the Dissolution that we obtain any more information as to Arden.²⁹

The commissioners supervised the priory on 8 May 1536, and it was suppressed on 25 August following.³⁰ There were then six sisters : three received pensions of 20s. each, two 10s. each, and one 6s. 8d. The sum of 40s.

²⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 90.

²⁸ Ibid. W. Booth, fol. 65.

²⁹ On 1 Oct. 1527 Sir Ninian Markenfield, or Markingfield, kt., in his will says : 'I yeve to the Prioires of Arden and the Covente of the same, where I am founder, to pray for my sall and all Cristen salles x^s' (*Test. Ebor.* v, 233). From the will of John Storer (4 Aug. 1506) we learn that there were then a prioress and seven sisters at Arden (*York. Reg. of Wills*, vi, 165*b*). On 3 Mar. 1490 William Bonester, chaplain of the monastery of Arden, bequeathed his body to be buried in the church of the monastery of St. Andrew of Arden (*York. Reg. of Wills*, v, 444).

³⁰ Aug. Off. Views of Accts. bdle. 17.

was granted to one of the sisters, Elizabeth Johnson, who was deaf and over eighty years of age, towards her sustenance. Fourteen servants and two boys were in the service of the nuns. All the plate which the house then possessed was a gilt chalice, weighing 14½ oz., and a flat piece of white silver, weighing 8 oz., and there were two bells in the 'campanile,' valued together at 10s. In 1291 the priory of 'Erden' was rated at £10.^{30a} The clear value of the house according to the *Valor* of 1535 was only £12 0s. 6d.^{30b} The nuns also had an image of St. Brigit, to which women made offerings for cows that had strayed, or which were ill.³¹

A corrody had been granted in 1524 to Alice widow of William Berre of 'Sonlow Coytt' for a payment of £12.³² She was to have 'mett and drynke as their convent hath' at their common table, or, when sick, in her own room, also 'on honest chambr with sufficient fyer att all tyme, with all such sufficient apperell as shalbe nedful.' Alice Berre (or Birrey as she is there called) was living in 1536, when she received 68s. 4d. as part payment for the commutation of her corrody.³³ Another corrody was granted to the nuns' chaplain.³⁴ 'For the gud and diligent seruice y^t oure wellbe loued sir thomas parkynson, preste, hav done to vs in tyme paste,' they granted him for his natural life a corrody, or annual rent, viz. : that he shall have 'by yere, and yeres, meitt and drinke at the table of the forsaid prioress' and annual wages of 40s. 'with one leueray gown of the walew or price of' 13s. 4d. 'Also, we assygne unto the said sir thomas, one chambre, next unto the frater, with vij laides of Wode, and we grante to y^e said sir thomas parkynson, to have every weke vnto his chambre three louffes of wheat brede, and ij gallons of the beste aile. And forther, we grante vnto hyme, yerly, the gressing of one horse in summer tyme, and hay, prouender, letter, and stable rowme, in wynter tyme, lykwyse as the prioress, or cownt horse, for the tyme, with shone and naleses to the said horse.' The deed is dated 18 May 1529. In 2 and 3 Philip and Mary³⁵ Thomas Parkynsonne was receiving annually 56s. 8d. in commutation of this corrody.

PRIORESSES OF ARDEN

Muriel,³⁶ occurs 1189

Agatha,³⁷ occurs 1242

^{30a} *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 305*b*.

^{30b} *Op. cit.* (Rec. Com.), v, 86.

³¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 137, &c.

³² Conventual Leases (P.R.O.), Yorks. no. 5.

³³ Aug. Off. Views of Accts. bdle. 17.

³⁴ Conventual Leases (P.R.O.), Yorks. no. 4.

³⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 285 n.

³⁶ Ibid. no. ii : occurs as 'M.' in 1187 : Egerton MS, 2823, fol. 31 d.

³⁷ Dugdale, *op. cit.* iv, 286, no. iv.

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Alice, occurs 1273
 Margaret,³⁸ occurs 1289
 Juliana,³⁹ resigned 1304
 Beatrice de Cotton,⁴⁰ elected 1314
 Isabella Colville,⁴¹ elected 1324
 Beatrice de Holm,⁴² elected 1329
 Eleanor, occurs 1396⁴³
 Alice,⁴⁴ occurs 1405
 Elizabeth,⁴⁵ occurs 1436
 Margaret,⁴⁶ or Marjorie Danby, confirmed
 17 February 1502

12. THE PRIORY OF ST. STEPHEN, FOUKEHOLM

It is not known when, or by whom, this small and poorly-endowed nunnery near Northallerton was founded. It is first mentioned in an undated Plea Roll of the time of King John,¹ when Maud, widow of William, brought an action against Robert de Alverton and the prioress of St. Stephen's, about her dower in a toft of land at Thirsk. It is again mentioned about 1240, when Acilla, prioress of St. Stephen's, and her convent vested all the temporal property of the house in William de Colville, the patron, and his heirs, so that when Acilla died a prioress might be elected in her place with consent and good will of William de Colville or his heirs; also that no one should be appointed *magister* or *custos* of the house, except by William de Colville and his heirs. Neither should the prioress and nuns receive any nun, or sister, or any secular man, or woman, or boys in their house, without such consent. The prioress and convent also conceded for themselves and their successors that all contentions moved between Philip de Colville their patron, father of William de Colville also their patron, on the one side, and themselves on the other, should be completely ended.

In 1292-3² one of the Yorkshire Assize Rolls has an entry respecting it. It is there called the nunnery of St. Stephen of Foukeholm, in Birdforth. The house was, however, in the township of Thimbleby and parish of Osmotherley. The probable explanation is that Foukeholm, though in Thimbleby, was so close to the boundaries of the wapentake of Birdforth that it was misdescribed, by error, as being within the latter. The entry records that William, chaplain of Yarm,

was indicted before the justices itinerant at York for the abduction of Cecilia, a nun of St. Stephen of Foukeholm. The nun returned of her own accord to St. Stephen's. At the same time, John le prior of 'Osmunderlay' (Osmotherley,) and William the son of Aldus', were indicted for breaking into a house belonging to the prioress.

In 1312³ Richard de Kellow, Bishop of Durham, commissioned the warden of the spirituality of Allerton and the master of the hospital of Lazenby to act as judges in a case between the prioress and nuns of St. Stephen's and the prebendaries or portioners of Osmotherley as to the chapel of St. Stephen, and the obventions of the same. The nuns of St. Stephen's, of the Benedictine order, are mentioned in a papal mandate, 23 May 1330,⁴ of John XXII.

In 1349 Alice Gower⁵ was confirmed as prioress, and at the same time Elena de Angrom, a nun professed of the house, who had apostatized, appeared and was ordered to resume her habit of religion in the house, a penance being imposed for her apostasy. Agnes de Not', a sister of the house, was also on the same occasion summoned to appear and recognized the new prioress.

This is the last time St. Stephen's nunnery is mentioned. It seems not improbable that the ancestors of the Colvilles had founded it.⁶ The Colvilles were also benefactors to St. James's Hospital, Northallerton, which when the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* was compiled held some of the former property of the priory, viz. the cow-pastures of the Nunhouse.⁷ A farm still bearing this latter name perpetuates the memory of the almost forgotten nunnery, which is not mentioned by Burton, Dugdale, or Tanner, and had well-nigh passed out of mind till Mr. W. Brown drew attention to it.⁸

Only a fragment of a seal is known. It is the upper part of the seal. It bears a figure standing, apparently female, with a crown, and bearing a sceptre in the left hand.⁹

PRIORESSES OF FOUKEHOLM

Acilla, occurs c. 1240¹⁰

Alice Gower, confirmed 1349¹¹

¹ *Reg. Palat. Dunelm.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 187.

² *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ii, 320.

³ York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 168.

⁴ The deed by Acilla the prioress suggests this.

⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 85.

⁶ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* ix, 334-7. Mr. Brown found the deed by the Prioress Acilla among his family documents at Arncliffe Hall. He calls the nunnery that of St. Stephen of Thimbleby. It is usually called St. Stephen's only, but in one case cited in the text it is called the priory of St. Stephen's of Foukeholm, and in 1252 it occurs in a list of Yorkshire nunneries to which the king gave silver chalice as 'Fuckeholme': Lib. R. (Chan.) 36 Hen. III, m. 19.

⁷ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* ix, 335.

⁸ *Ibid.*; Cott. MS. Nero D. iii, fol. 62.

⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 168.

³⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 285, no. i.

³⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. sed. vac. fol. 43b.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* Greenfield, ii, fol. 104b.

⁴¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 284.

⁴² York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 251.

⁴³ *Ibid.* sed. vac. fol. 208.

⁴⁴ Add. Chart. 20544.

⁴⁵ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 2.

⁴⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Savage, fol. 62.

¹ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* ix, 334, from which almost the whole of the information here given has been derived.

² *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* ix, 334.

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13. THE PRIORY OF MARRICK

The priory of Marrick was founded at the beginning of the reign of Henry II by Roger de Aske.¹ The foundation charter is addressed to Archbishop Roger, who was consecrated in 1154, but as the archbishop's charter of confirmation says that the founder made the grant with consent of Conan, Earl of Richmond, the foundation cannot have been earlier than 1165, when Conan became seised of the earldom of Richmond.²

The founder granted the church of St. Andrew³ of Marrick, with a carucate of land there. Earl Conan⁴ confirmed the gifts of Roger de Aske, and those of other of his barons (*barones mei*).

Roger de Aske,⁵ son of Conan, and grandson of the founder, confirmed the grants of his grandfather and father, and added other lands. Besides other lands in Marrick, the convent received many donations in most of the adjoining villages and also the hospital known as the Spital on Stainmoor, which was given by Ralph son of Ralph, lord of Moulton, and which continued in the possession of the convent till the Dissolution, the nuns paying a chaplain there £4 13s. 4d. according to the foundation of Conan, Earl of Richmond. An alphabetical list of these is given by Burton,⁶ and the charters relating to them and other gifts have since been printed in full.⁷

The priory was in the archdeaconry of Richmond, the records of which are mostly defective. A visitation was held in 1252, during the archbishopric of Walter Gray, but whether by the archbishop or by the archdeacon is not evident. Both the archbishop and the Archdeacon of Richmond appear to have held episcopal visitations of the monasteries in Richmondshire.⁸

The 'inquisition' was held on Tuesday before the feast of St. Denys 1252, and 'articles' were sent for the observance of the nuns, most of which are of the usual general nature.⁹ The prioress was to be affable to her nuns, treat them kindly, correct their excesses privately in chapter, and inflict for equal faults the

same punishments, lest those whom she most loved she might spare most and oppress others. She was to give leave to none to go out unless the sickness of friends or some other worthy reason demanded it, and then only in company with a prudent and mature nun, and a time for return was to be fixed under a severe penalty. The nuns were not to sit with guests or anyone outside the cloister after curfew (*ultra coverfu*), nor for long, unless the guests arrived so late that it was impossible to serve them sooner, nor was a nun to remain alone with a guest after others had left. The guests were not to stay more than one night, as the means of the house barely sufficed for the maintenance of the nuns, sisters, and brethren.

No woman or man was to be admitted except with the bishop's licence. If any woman or man were admitted, that person would be expelled from the house, without hope of mercy, and the prioress would be deposed, and any other nuns who agreed would be condemned to fast on bread and water for two months, Sundays and festivals excepted. No girls or women were in future to be taken as boarders or to be taught without special licence, but as many secular women might be employed as were required for such work as it was not decorous for the nuns or sisters to do.

No corrody whatever was to be sold in future without consent. The whole number of oxen, cows, horses, and stock of every kind was to be entered in two rolls, one of which was to remain with the convent, and the other with the *custos* of the house, who had been appointed to look after the outside business and guardianship of the granges, so that the property of the house might be apparent at any visitation.

No letters were to be sealed with the common seal, except by consent of the whole convent, or at least of the wiser part, and of the master. Sales of wool and of stock were forbidden, except with consent of the master.

Nothing further is known of the history of Marrick till the period of the Dissolution. For some unknown reason, by Letters Patent, dated 9 September 1536,¹⁰ it was exempted from dissolution with the other lesser monasteries, but on 17 November 1540 it was surrendered by Christabella Cowper and sixteen nuns. The clear annual value in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*¹¹ was £48 18s. 2d., and among the reprises are certain alms distributed, viz. to the poor on Maundy Thursday, 16s. 8d., and on the same day given to the poor at the gates of the monastery, in

¹⁰ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* v, 238.

¹¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 237. The return is signed by Richard Baldwyn 'magister ibidem' which, taken in connexion with the allusions to and important position of the master in the articles of 1252, points to the conclusion that the master was a permanent officer at Marrick.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 244.

² *Misc. Topog. et Gen.* (1838), v, 100.

³ Several deeds speak of the church of St. Mary and St. Andrew, and some of St. Mary alone. It is possible that the uncertain double dedication may have arisen from the nuns' church and the parish church being under the same roof. The same uncertainty of dedication occurs in the case of Nunkeeling.

⁴ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* v, 102.

⁵ *Ibid.* 103.

⁶ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 269-71.

⁷ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* (1838), v, 101-24, 221-38, where will also be found a facsimile of a most interesting ground plan of the monastic church and buildings taken at the time of the Dissolution.

⁸ A visitation of Nun Monkton in 1397 by Thomas Dalby, Archdeacon of Richmond, is recorded in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 194.

⁹ The late Mr. T. M. Fallow omitted the reference to this visitation, and search has failed to discover it.

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accordance with the charters of the church of Downholme and of Thomas Horneby and others, £4 1s. 1d.; similar alms yearly given to weak and sick persons coming to the priory building, according to the charter of Adam de Kyrkby, 12s.; also 11s. 6½d. a year to poor folk at the obit of Roger de Aske the founder; 38s. 4d. at the obit of Hugh Magnaby and Geoffrey de Forcett, benefactors; and 10s. at the obit of Thomas Richardson—the whole amounting to £9 4s. 8½d., a large sum for so small a monastery. The prioress received a pension of 100s.¹² and the other nuns pensions varying in amount from 66s. 8d. to 20s.

PRIORESSES¹³ OF MARRICK

Agnes,¹⁴ c. 1200
 Alina, c. 1280¹⁵
 Isabella Surrais, occurs 1250, 1257, 1263
 Margaret, occurs 1282
 Alice de Helperby, occurs 1293
 Juliana, occurs 1298
 Margaret, occurs 1321, 1327^{16a}
 Elizabeth de Berden, occurs 1326, 1333
 Elizabeth, 1351¹⁶
 Maud de Melsonby, occurs 1376
 Elizabeth, occurs 1391
 Agnes, occurs 1400, 1406,¹⁷ 1413
 Alice de Ravenswathe, occurs 1433, 1449
 Cecilia Metcalf, occurs 1464, 1498, died 1502
 Agnes Wenslawe, occurs 1502, died 1510
 Isabella Berningham, occurs 1511, died 1511
 Christabella Cowper, occurs 1530

14. THE PRIORY OF NUNBURNHOLME¹

Dugdale² states that the priory of Nunburnholme (or Brunnum) was founded by the ancestors of Roger de Merlay, lord of the barony of Morpeth, whose daughter and co-heir married in 1265–6 William, Baron of Greystoke. This is corroborated³ by Drs. Layton and Legh in

¹² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 246.

¹³ From the list in *Misc. Topog. et Gen.* v, 239, where in each case the proofs are given.

¹⁴ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* v, 253; Cott. MS. Nero D. iii, fol. 22.

¹⁵ Anct. D. (P.R.O.), B. 3682.

^{16a} Plac. de Banco, Hil. 7 Edw. III, m. 24 d.

¹⁶ Assize R. 1129, m. 17 (probably the same as E. de Berden).

¹⁷ Baildon's MS. notes.

¹ There is a very strange mistake in Dugdale (*Mon. Angl.* iv, 279, no. 3 and p. 278), where this little Benedictine nunnery is confused with the house of Augustinian nuns at Burnham in Buckinghamshire.

² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 278, 279, no. i, ii.

³ *Ibid.* iv, 278.

their *comperta*, that 'Lord Dakers' was founder, and agrees with Burton,⁴ who says the priory was founded in the reign of Henry

Very little is known as to the possessions the priory, or from whom they were received. According to the later evidence of the *Va Ecclesiasticus*⁶ the possessions comprised merely the site of the monastery and demesne lands, a small property in nine or ten places in the neighbourhood. The external history of the house is practically a blank, and not much known of its internal affairs. The outstanding incident of interest is the claim which its prior made, and which she substantiated, that the monastery of Seton in Coupland was a cell of the house of Nunburnholme.⁷ How this relationship came about has not been explained.

The Registers at York have very few entries about Nunburnholme. The first allusion is the record of a donation of 20s. from Archbishop Giffard as alms to the nuns in 1270.⁸ An inquiry by Archbishop Wickwane was addressed on 19 March 1279–80⁹ to the Prior of Wartas to Avice de Beverley, who, having left the house, desired to return. The prioress and convent said that Avice de Beverley, formerly nun professed of their house, had thrice left of her own will to lead a more ascetic life elsewhere; further that fourteen years at least had elapsed since she last left them, but they believed she had lived a chaste life, though when with them she was constantly disobedient, and she had been thirty years a nun of their house before she left it.¹⁰ Avice de Beverley 'nun of Killing [Nunkeeling] was elected as Prioress of Nunburnholme on the death of Joan de Holm, that if this was the same person, she had apparently not returned to Nunburnholme.

In 1310¹¹ the archbishop directed the rector of Londesborough to confirm the election of a new prioress, the office being vacant by the death of Avice de Beverley. If the statement of the prioress and convent in 1279–80 is correct, then she had been absent for fourteen years, and had previously been a nun for thirty years, Avice de Beverley cannot have been much less than ninety years of age at her death, and over eighty when, as a nun of Nunkeeling, she was elected prioress of the house in which she had been originally professed, but probably they overstate the facts. On 14 June 1313¹² Archbishop Greenfield granted the Prioress of Nunburnholme

⁴ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 57.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 279, no. i.

⁶ *Op. cit.* v, 129. In the Ministers' Accounts (Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 280) are fuller details of the former property of the dissolved priory.

⁷ See below.

⁸ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 123.

⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 118b.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Greenfield, i, fol. 103.

¹¹ *Ibid.* fol. 122.

¹² *Ibid.* ii, fol. 118

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licence to visit 'cellam vestram de Seton in Coupland vestro monasterio subjectam,' taking with her two honest nuns of her house, in order to visit the nuns of Seton 'tam in capite quam in membris, prout ad vos pertinet visitare.' Having visited Seton she was to return *absque more dispendio* to Nunburnholme.

No indication has been found elsewhere that Seton was a cell to Nunburnholme, and this discovery is of considerable interest. It is remarkable that a small and obscure nunnery like Nunburnholme should have possessed a cell, but something very similar was in contemplation in regard to a cell at Coddendam in Suffolk which was to belong to Nun Appleton.¹³

In 1314¹⁴ Archbishop Greenfield committed the care of the house to William, rector of Londesborough. He was to go there three or four times a year and hear the accounts of the ministers and *prepositi* of the house read over, as the archbishop had found that the nuns had no expert person who could look after the business of their poorly-endowed house.

Archbishop Melton held a visitation of Nunburnholme in 1318¹⁵ by commission, and as a result directed that divine service was to be duly performed according to the season. No pensions were to be granted, no persons of either sex over twelve years of age were to be maintained as boarders, nor was anyone to be received to the habit of nun, sister, or *conversus*, without special licence of the archbishop. The prioress was to take her meals in the refectory with the other nuns, and sleep with them in the dormitory, unless ill or engaged in business or entertaining notable guests. Scandal having arisen from the frequent access and gossiping of secular persons, both men and women, with certain of the nuns, the prioress and sub-prioress were ordered not to allow such access to the nuns. The prioress and other nuns were stringently ordered not to use mantles, tunics or other garments, over long or adorned in a manner which did not accord with religion. The secrets of the chapter were not to be revealed.¹⁶

Nothing more is known of the history of the house till the era of the suppression. In 1521¹⁷ there were only five nuns besides the prioress. On 22 May 1536 the house was 'supervised,' and was suppressed on 11 August following.¹⁸

¹³ See as to this in the account of Nun Appleton.

¹⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, ii, fol. 120.

¹⁵ Ibid. Melton, fol. 275.

¹⁶ In 1534 Archbishop Lee held a visitation of Nunburnholme, and sent injunctions to the prioress and nuns, similar to those sent to Sinningthwaite on 14 Oct. 1534; *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xvi, 446.

¹⁷ *Test. Ebor.* v, 135. The will of John Tong, 'baillie of Burneholme.' Agnes Robynson, Margaret Craike, Cecillie Thomlynson, Margaret Somerby, and Elene Harper, were the five nuns.

¹⁸ Aug. Off. Views of Accts. bdl. 17.

There were at that time also five nuns besides the prioress,¹⁹ and they had in their employment twelve servants 'and diverse poor people working there.' There were two small bells in the 'campanile,' valued together at 10s., also a chalice and a salt with a cover, all parcel gilt, weighing 19 oz., and under 'superstition' Drs. Layton and Legh²⁰ reported that the nuns had a piece of the Holy Cross.

According to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*²¹ the gross annual value of the house was £10 3s. 3d., and its clear annual value £8 1s. 10d. This was an improvement on a return made in 1525²² when the clear annual value was only £4 6s. 8d. It was the smallest and poorest house in the county which survived till the Dissolution.

PRIORESSES OF NUNBURNHOLME

Milisant, occurs 1206²³

Avice, occurs 1282²⁴

Joan de Holm, died 1306²⁵

Avice de Beverley, succeeded 1306,²⁶ died c. 1310²⁷

Idonea de Pokelyngton, resigned 1316²⁸

Elizabeth Babthorp, died 1456²⁹

Joan Darell, died 1485-6³⁰

Agnes Wellows, elected 1485-6³¹

Elizabeth Thweng, confirmed 1523,³² resigned 1534³³

Elizabeth Kylburne, succeeded 1534³⁴

15. THE PRIORY OF NUNKEELING

This nunnery was founded in 1152 by Agnes de Arches, also called Agnes de Catfoss,¹

¹⁹ In an account of money paid, the prioress was given 26s. 8d., three nuns 33s. 4d. each, 'another' 23s. 4d., and 'another' 20s. In each case the word 'another' has been erased and 'alii' (*sic*) substituted for it, which makes the exact number indicated perhaps uncertain; Aug. Off. Views of Accts. bdl. 17.

²⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 137, &c.

²¹ *Op. cit.* v, 129.

²² S.P. Dom. 28 Feb. 1526 (return made by Brian Higdon).

²³ *Yorks. Fines, John* (Surt. Soc.), 101.

²⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 278.

²⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, i, fol. 103.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 278.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. W. Booth, fol. 108; (her successor's name is not given).

³⁰ Ibid. Rotherham, i, fol. 45.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 278.

³³ York Archiepis. Reg. Lee, fol. 26b. (The late prioress is called 'Isabella Twyng'.)

³⁴ Ibid.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 185. The chartulary of this house, Cott. MS. Otho C. viii, was practically destroyed by fire in 1731.

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in honour of St. Mary Magdalene² and St. Helen for the health of the soul of her husband, Herbert St. Quintin, and for the souls of Walter and Robert, her sons, and those of her parents and friends.³

Agnes, the prioress, and the convent of Keeling in June 1299 covenanted to celebrate every year the obit of Master William de Haxby, canon of Beverley. They also undertook to malt 3 bushels of good wheat yearly against the anniversary, so that each nun on that day might have a gallon of ale well worth a penny, and pittance of the same value.⁴

In 1281-2⁵ Archbishop Wickwane wrote to the convent of Nunkeeling forbidding them to receive anyone as nun or sister, or to admit anybody to live in the nunnery without his special licence, and in 1294⁶ his successor, Archbishop Romanus, appealed to the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, collectors of the tenth, on behalf of the nuns of 'Killing,' whose poverty was so great that the means of their house scarce sufficed for their food and raiment. On 15 July 1310⁷ Archbishop Greenfield wrote to the prioress and convent that in consequence of what had been revealed to his commissaries they were within three days of the receipt of his letter to remove Isabella de St. Quintin from the office of cellarer in the presence of the whole convent. She was not to be appointed to any other office, and was to keep convent, quire, &c., and not go outside the house. Two secular women in the house, Beatrice and Nella Scot, were to be removed.

In 1314⁸ the same archbishop held a visitation of the priory, and issued a *decretum*. No nun was to be absent from divine service on account of her being occupied with silk work (*propter occupationem operis de serico*). The keys of the cloister were to be in custody of the sub-prioress and another worthy nun, and the sub-prioress and her colleague were to be studiously careful in the matter of locking the doors. The prioress and sub-prioress were to inquire diligently, and see who the persons were by whom the alms of the house had been pilfered and diminished, and if they found that the *elemosinaria* had committed fraud or been negligent, she was to be removed from office.

No young nun concerning whom sinister suspicion might arise was to have her meals with the brothers or other persons, either religious or secular, in the hall of the *hospitium*, or elsewhere outside the inner cloister, neither was a nun to tarry for any length of time in those places

with such persons, or converse with them, except in the presence of a nun of mature age. No nuns were to make themselves remarkable as regards their girdles or shoes, or wear anything unsuitable to religion.

The prioress was not to allow the nuns to go out except on the business of the house, or to visit friends and relations, and then such a nun was to have another as companion, and was not to be away longer than fifteen days. All the money due to the house was to be received by two bursars, elected by the convent.

The prioress was to keep convent in quire at divine service, she was to have her meals in the refectory and sleep in the dormitory, unless hindered by entertaining notable guests, or other lawful causes. In important business she was to take counsel with her sisters, and all were forbidden to lease manors, sell corrodies, or receive to the habit of a nun, a sister, or a *conversus*, any person, or to take boarders, or to retain girls in the house after they were twelve years old.

On 23 July 1316,⁹ the see of York being vacant, the commissioners of the dean and chapter visited the nunnery, and on 11 August Avice de la More, the prioress, resigned her office into the hands of the dean in the chapter-house at York. The new prioress then elected was Isabella de St. Quintin,¹⁰ who a few years before had been deprived of the office of cellarer for misconduct and pronounced ineligible for office in the house. The dean and chapter quashed the election as canonically defective in procedure, but appointed her to the vacant office on 19 August, and on 21 September¹¹ the dean and chapter wrote to the new prioress and the convent, making provision for Avice de la More, who for a long period had laudably and usefully superintended the house. She was to have a chamber for herself in their monastery, and a nun of the house assigned her by the prioress as a companion. She was to receive for her sustenance bread, ale, cooked food and victuals daily as two nuns of the same house, and her nun associate as one nun.

On 27 July 1318¹² Avice de la More, on account of her conspiracies, rebellions, and disobedience to her prioress, had to be warned to desist, or she would be deprived of the provision made for her when she ceded the office of prioress. But besides warning her the archbishop ordered her each Friday to say the seven penitential psalms with the litany, humbly and devoutly, and on those days she was to receive a discipline in chapter, and to fast on bread, ale, and vegetables, with one service of fish.

Dionisia Dareyns, for her disobedience and other things, was not to go out of the precincts except in worthy company. Each Friday she

⁹ Ibid. sed. vac. fol. 95b.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid. fol. 96.

¹² Ibid. Melton, fol. 269b.

² Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 163, no. 3.

³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 186.

⁴ Poulson, *Hist. and Antiq. of Holderness*, i, 377.

⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 20, 175 d.

⁶ Ibid. Romanus, fol. 67 d.

⁷ Ibid. Greenfield, i, fol. 124.

⁸ Ibid. ii, fol. 123b.

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was to receive a discipline until she showed signs of true contrition. Avice de Lelle was strictly forbidden to go outside the inner cloister of the house, in any manner, or to talk to Robert de Eton, chaplain, or any other secular person whomsoever. She had confessed incontinence, and was to undergo the penance appointed by the rules of the order, and this was not to be mitigated until she had shown signs of true contrition and amendment, concerning which the prioress and convent were to certify the archbishop.

On Thursday before the translation of St. Thomas the Martyr in the same year,¹³ the archbishop again visited the house and a month later (30 January) sent a series of injunctions very similar to those of 1314. As regards taking boarders, the archbishop granted the prioress and convent licence, on 21 May 1319,¹⁴ to take Margaret de Tweng to board in the house, at her own charges.

Dissensions appear to have arisen again in the following year, and the archbishop issued a commission on 3 December 1319,¹⁵ inquiring as to the rebellious nuns of the house of Keeling, clamorous information having reached his ears that certain of the nuns had laid aside the obedience and devotion to which they were bound by their vows and had intrigued for the injury and confusion of the house and their sister nuns. They had revealed the secrets of the chapter to seculars and to adversaries outside.¹⁶ At the same time the archbishop wrote to Avice de la More that he had learnt with a bitter heart that she had broken her vow of obedience in arrogancy and elation of heart towards her prioress, who was placed in charge of her soul and body, and without whom she had no proper will.¹⁷ The archbishop exhorted her in the Lord to desist from such behaviour, and study to live according to rule.

There is after this a long silence in the Registers as to Nunkeeling, except records of the election and confirmation of prioresses of the house. On 4 March 1444¹⁸ Archbishop Kemp wrote to Joan Bramston, the prioress, on behalf of Alice Dalton, one of the nuns who had been guilty of immorality and had apostatized. She had undergone a penance at Yedingham, where she had exhibited much contrition, and now desired to be received back at Nunkeeling, and this the archbishop directed to be done.

On 8 October 1487¹⁹ Archbishop Rotherham granted licence to the prioress and convent to celebrate yearly the day of the deposition of the glorious confessor, St. John of Bridlington, as a

double feast, and ordered 'officia divina de propria historia dicti gloriosi confessoris, ipso die dicenda, legenda, et cantanda' in the monastic church.

Nunkeeling was one of the religious houses in the county which for some unknown reason escaped immediate dissolution with the rest, being refounded by Letters Patent on 14 December 1537, but it surrendered in 1540.²⁰ The deed of surrender has no signature, but the convent seal is attached. The last prioress, Christine Burgh, or Brughe, belonged to the Richmondshire family of that name, and after the Dissolution she settled at Catterick, where she survived till 1566. In her will²¹ she describes herself as 'Cristine Burghe of Rychemond in the countie of Yorke, gentywoman, and laite Prioress of the laite dissolved nunrie of Nunkyllyng,' and directs that her body is to be buried in the choir of Richmond Church. One bequest is to 'Isabell Bane, gentywoman, some tym a sister of Nunkyllyng,' to whom she left 'one old ryall.'²² The total of her effects was valued at £14 10s. 10d.

In a list of the members of the convent which seems to have been drawn up on 30 May 1536²³ 'Nonnekelyng' is described as of the Order of St. Benedict; Joan Alanson, aged sixty, was prioress, and the other nuns were: Cristine Burgh (46), Agnes Hall (54), Alice Stapleton (40), Margaret Sedgewick (46), Elizabeth Bayne (40), Joan Mason (55), Isabella Mettam (36), Alice Mason (36), Alice Thomlynsen (36), Dorothea Wilberfosse (25), and Joan Bowman (26). They are described as 'All good religious persons of good maner,' and against each name is written in the margin 'religion,' indicating that each desired to remain bound by her vows.

In 1526 the house was valued at £22 15s. 6d.²⁴ clear, and at the suppression at £35 15s. 5d.²⁵

PRIORESSES OF NUNKEELING

Avice, occurs 1250^{26a}

Agnes de Beverley, confirmed 1267²⁸

Agnes la Ruisse, occurs 1273,²⁷ 1300²⁸

²⁰ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 385.

²¹ *Richmondshire Wills* (Surt. Soc.), 191.

²² In 1548, when an inquiry was made as to the payment of pensions, return is made, 'Cristen Burgh of thage of lx yeres pencion by yere vij li and is paid,' of Isabell Bane the note is 'abest'; Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 76, no. 23. 'Isabell Beine' was still in receipt of her pension of 46s. 8d. in 1573; *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xix, 102.

²³ Suppression Papers (P.R.O.), ii, 139.

²⁴ S.P. Dom. 1526. (Return signed by Brian Higdon.)

²⁵ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 385.

^{26a} Assize R. 1046, m. 62.

²⁶ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 70.

²⁷ Add. MS. 26736, fol. 174.

²⁸ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, 163.

¹³ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 273b.

¹⁴ Ibid. fol. 276b. ¹⁵ Ibid. fol. 280.

¹⁶ Ibid. fol. 281.

¹⁷ 'Et sine qua velle non habes proprium.'

¹⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 87.

¹⁹ Ibid. Rotherham, i, fol. 78.

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Avice de Mora,²⁹ sub-prioress,³⁰ succeeded 1303,³¹ resigned 1316³²
 Isabella de St. Quintin, 1316,³³ occurs 1329³⁴
 Isabella de Burton, admitted 1400³⁵
 Joan Bossall, occurs 1423³⁶
 Joan Berneston,³⁷ occurs 1434,³⁸ resigned 1453³⁹
 Joan Trym, sub-prioress, 1453,⁴⁰ died 1493⁴¹
 Eleanor Rooce, confirmed 1493⁴²
 Margaret Fulthorpe, confirmed 1504⁴³ died 1505⁴⁴
 Isabella Metham, confirmed 1505⁴⁵
 Joan Alanson, sub-prioress, confirmed 1522⁴⁶
 Christine Brughe, confirmed 1537⁴⁷

The 13th-century seal⁴⁵ is a vesica, 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 2 in., with a full-length figure of the patron saint holding the cross. Of the nearly destroyed legend there remains :

. . . IGILL . . . NE DE KILLIN . . .

16. THE PRIORY OF NUN MONKTON

This house appears from a confirmation by Archbishop Henry Murdac (1147-53),¹ to have been founded in the reign of Stephen by William de Arches and Ivetta his wife, who granted to God and St. Mary and to Maud their daughter and the nuns of Monkton 6 carucates of land in Monkton, and half a carucate in Hammerton, and the churches of 'Torp' (Thorp Arch)² Hammerton, 'Escham' (Askham

²⁹ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 145.

³⁰ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 387.

³¹ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 145.

³² *Ibid.* fol. 258.

³³ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 387.

³⁴ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, 163.

³⁵ Harl. MS. 6969, fol. 87.

³⁶ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, 163.

³⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. W. Booth, fol. 106.

³⁸ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, 163. ³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. W. Booth, fol. 106.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* Rotherham, i, fol. 79. ⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.* Savage, fol. 53. ⁴⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 56.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* ⁴⁶ *Ibid.* Wolsey, fol. 58.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Lee, fol. 31.

¹ *Cat. of Seals, B.M.* 3349; Harl. Chart. 44 E. 56.

² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 194.

³ The church of Thorp Arch was also given by Adam de Brus and Ivetta de Arches to St. Sepulchre's chapel at York. An agreement between the nuns and the chapter of the chapel was confirmed by Archbishop Walter Gray in 1226. The nuns were to possess all they had in 'Torp,' including its chapel of 'Waleton' (Walton), when the suit began, but to cede all their right to the church of 'Torp,' and the charter of Archbishop Henry Murdac (above mentioned) as well as others of Archbishops Roger and Geoffrey touching the church; *Archbishop Gray's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 2; Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 87.

Richard), and 'Kirkby juxta Useburn' (Kirkby Wharfe). The latter church Elias de Ho had granted at the counsel of William de Arches.

The way in which the name of William and Ivetta's daughter, Maud, is introduced can only mean that she was prioress of the house.

Nun Monkton, although close to York, was within the archdeaconry of Richmond, and on that account the archbishops' registers have very little about it.

In 1278 Mary the prioress and her nuns bound themselves to John de Bellewe and Laderne, his wife, to keep the obit of their daughter Alice with a pittance of half a mark in value, and also the obits of John and his wife after each of them died, in return for 10 acres of land and the quitclaim of a five-shilling rent in Thorp Arch.³

At an inquisition in 1307⁴ it was found that the ancestors of Nicholas de Stapleton at the time of the vacancy of the house were accustomed to have the custody of the house and to place guards in the same at their will, but at no time received anything of the issues of the house by reason of that custody.

The patronage of Nun Monkton priory had come to Nicholas de Stapleton from his mother Sybil, daughter and co-heir of John Bellewe, to whom it came from the Bruces, as representing the founder, William de Arches.

An account of the visitation of Nun Monkton by Thomas Dalby, Archdeacon of Richmond, on 30 April 1397⁵ gives a very unfavourable description of the condition of the nunnery at the time. It was objected against the prioress, Margaret Fayrfax,⁶ that she wore different kinds of furs, and even grey furs, and silk veils. She also held the post of *bursaria*, and had alienated a large amount of timber, to the value of 100 marks. She frequently indulged in too much companionship with John Monkton, and invited him to festivities

³ Add. Chart. 17962 (1).

⁴ *Yorks. Inq.* (ed. W. Brown), iv, 144.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 194.

⁶ Margaret Fayrfax was the sister of John Fayrfax rector of Prescot, who by will dated 7 June 1393 (*Test. Ebor.* i, 186) left to the prioress and convent of Monkton his white vestment embroidered with golden stars, and his silver-gilt cross with Mary and John, also a silver-gilt chalice. To Margaret Fayrfax, the prioress, his sister, he left a silver-gilt cup with a cover, another silver cup with a cover, a maser with a silver-gilt cover, a silver box for sweetmeats, six silver spoons, an *armilansa* of black cloth, furred with grey, a silver basin and 10 marks of silver. To Margaret de Cotam, nun of Monkton, 13s. 4d. She succeeded as prioress.

Margaret Fayrfax was a candidate for the office of prioress on the death of Margaret de Willesthorp, when Isabella Nevill was elected, ten votes being cast for her against two for Margaret Fayrfax. There were fifteen nuns entitled to vote; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 193 n.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

(*convivia*) in her chamber. She frequently wore a surplice (*superpellitio*) without a mantle, in quire and elsewhere, contrary to the manner of the dress of nuns and the ancient custom of the priory. The nuns who had lapsed into the sin of fornication she reinstated far too easily. She allowed nuns to receive presents from their friends for their maintenance. John Monkton, by whom the house had suffered scandal, frequently played *ad tabulas* with the prioress in her chamber, and she supplied him with drink.

Peremptory injunctions were issued to the prioress and nuns on 8 July 1397 that John Monkton *alias* Alanson, Don William Aschby, chaplain, William Snowe, and Thomas Pape were not to have conversation or companionship (*comitivam*) with them, or with any nun of the house, except in the presence of two of the older and honest nuns, under pain of excommunication. The nuns were not to allow clerks to frequent their priory without a reasonable cause.

Nuns who were ill were to be compelled to go to the *infirmitorium* and were to be supplied there with necessaries from the revenues of the church of Askham. None were to use silk clothes, especially not silken veils nor valuable furs, nor rings on their fingers, nor tunics pleated (*laqueatis*), or with brooches (*fibulatis*), nor any *jupis*, anglicé 'gounes,' after the fashion of secular women. Nor for the future were the commemorations of souls to be in any way omitted, under the pain for two whole weeks *carentie camisarum quarumcunque*.⁷

The little nunnery of Monkton affords two instances of the expenses incurred in the 'making' of a nun.

In 1429-30,⁸ Richard Fayrfax 'scwyer, on tyme lorde of Walton,' made arrangements that his daughter 'Elan' should be made a nun of Nun Monkton, and with that object he enfeoffed his nephew, Mr. Brian Fayrfax, clerk, and his brothers Guy, John, and Thomas and a certain Edmund Woodcok in the manors of Walton and Folifayt (Follifoot) of an annual rent of 5 marks 'gangyng out of ye milne of Thorpparch,' and other property, willing 'yat my doghtir Elan be made nun in ye house of Nun Monkton, and yat my saydes feffis graunt a nanuel rent of fourty schilyngs gangyng out ye maners of Folifayt and Acaster Malbis . . . terme of ye lyffe of ye sayd Elan to ye tym be at sche be a nun.' His feoffees were to pay 19 marks 'for ye making of ye sayd Elan Nun.' He naively added that 'if sche will be no nun' his wife and feoffees were to marry her at their discretion. She became a nun, however, and as 'dompna Elena Fayrefaxe' was admitted to the Corpus Christi Guild, York, in 1445.⁹ The other instance is headed, 'Expensae factae super et pro Elizabetha Sywardby facta

moniali in Munkton,'¹⁰ and is part of the inventory of the effects of Elizabeth widow of William Sywardby (or Sewerby as the name is now spelt.) She had bequeathed to her niece Elizabeth, daughter of John Sewerby, a considerable sum to enable her to become a nun of Nun Monkton. The sums expended were £3, which the prioress and convent of Nun Monkton claimed by custom to have as their fee; £3 13s. 7½d. for Elizabeth Sewerby's habit, and other 'bodily utensils,' as well as a 'competent' bed; £3 11s. 4d. expenses on Sunday next after the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (7 September) 1470, spent on the prioress and convent and the friends of Elizabeth Sewerby; and 2s. to brother John Hamylton for preaching on the occasion.

A copy of a survey (29 Henry VIII) of the demesnes of Nun Monkton Priory after its dissolution is printed in the *Monasticon*,¹¹ but there is an earlier survey for 27-8 Henry VIII.¹²

PRIORESSES OF NUN MONKTON

Maud de Arches (first prioress), temp. Stephen¹³
 Agnes, occurs 1224-7¹⁴
 Amabel, occurs 1240¹⁵
 Avice, occurs 1251,¹⁶ 1268¹⁷
 Mary, occurs 1278¹⁸
 Mariota, occurs 1278-9¹⁹
 Alice de Thorp,²⁰ died before 1346
 Margaret Willesthorpe,²¹ confirmed 1365, died 1376
 Isabel Neville, elected 1376²²
 Margaret Fayrfax, occurs 1393²³
 Margaret Cotam,²⁴ occurs 1404
 Maud de Goldesburgh, elected 1421,²⁵ occurs 1429²⁶
 Margaret Watir, occurs 1473²⁷
 Margaret, occurs 1514²⁸
 Joan, occurs 1535²⁹

¹⁰ *Test. Ebor.* iii, 168. In both instances a payment had to be made prior to the admission of the new nun. This was a simoniacal transaction frequently denounced by the archbishops in visitation *decreta*. A voluntary offering might be made, but the claim to receive £3 at Nun Monkton according to custom was an infringement of the rule.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 195.

¹² Mins. Accts. Yorks. 27-8 Hen. VIII, no. 119.

¹³ See above.

¹⁴ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 165.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 193.

¹⁸ Add. Chart. 17962 (1).

¹⁹ Assize R. 1055, m. 46.

²⁰ *Test. Ebor.* i, 31.

²¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 193.

²² Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 88.

²³ *Test. Ebor.* i, 189.

²⁴ Baildon's MS. Notes.

²⁵ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 88.

²⁶ Baildon's MS. Notes.

²⁷ *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild, York*, 92.

²⁸ Willis, *Mitred Abbies*, ii, 280.

²⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 255.

⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 194.

⁸ Add. Chart. 1782.

⁹ *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild*, 44.

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17. THE PRIORY OF THICKET

The small nunnery of Thicket, in the parish of Wheldrake near the River Derwent, was founded in the reign of Richard I by Roger Fitz Roger,¹ whose gifts were confirmed by King John in 1203-4.

A commission issued 23 April 1301, to the Prior of Ellerton,² to receive the profession of the Lady Elizabeth de Lasceles, as a regular nun of the house, in the presence of the prioress and convent. On 5 February 1302-3³ the archbishop wrote to the prioress and convent respecting Alice Darel, of Wheldrake, an apostate nun of their house, directing that if she returned to them in a contrite spirit they were to impose upon her the penance provided by their rule, but if she did not willingly undergo it, then they were to place her in some secure chamber, under safe custody.

On 1 February 1308-9⁴ Archbishop Greenfield issued injunctions to the prioress and convent, as a result of a recent visitation of the house, that the repairs to certain of the buildings which had been found necessary at the last visitation were to be immediately carried out. The nuns, and especially the younger of them, were, unless ill, to keep convent and be diligent in attendance at divine services. The archbishop enjoined that in future servants and other seculars should in no wise be allowed to go into the kitchen and sit, and take their meals there as they chose, and so witness the private affairs (*secreta*) of the nuns. The prioress was to keep convent in church, refectory, dormitory and other due places, unless lawfully hindered, and when she had a meal in her chamber she was to have at table with her one of the nuns, first one and then another.

Corrodies, annual pensions, long leases of granges, were strictly forbidden, as was the reception of any person as nun, sister or *conversus*, or the retention of girls over twelve or secular women as boarders, without the archbishop's special licence.

Another visitation⁵ was held in 1314, when the archbishop again issued a long *decretum* containing a series of injunctions almost wholly the same as those just recited. The archbishop further directed that no person admitted as a sister was to be allowed to accept or wear the nuns' black veil.

Four years later,⁶ in 1318, Archbishop Melton visited Thicket and promulgated a *decretum* concerning it, containing a series of injunctions general rather than specific in character. The

house was heavily in debt, and in consequence the prioress and all the nuns were enjoined to use all possible economy. The sick, so far as the means of the house allowed, were to have lighter food substituted for that which they were receiving.

In 1335⁷ Elizabeth del Haye was elected prioress, but on account of informality the archbishop quashed the election. As, however, all the nuns had voted for her, he appointed her, and directed the rector of Wheldrake to proceed to the priory and install her in office.

On 26 January 1343-4⁸ Archbishop Zouch wrote to the prioress and convent concerning Joan de Crakenholme, their sister nun, who was coming to them absolved from her crimes of apostasy in frequently leaving the house, laying aside her habit, as well as other excesses which are not stated. For her notorious sins the archbishop had imposed the following, in addition to her private penance. She was not to wear the black veil, or speak to any secular person of either sex, or with her sister nuns, except by leave of the prioress. She was not to go out of the cloister into the church, but was to be confined in a secure place near the church, in such a way, however, that she could be at matins and masses celebrated in the church, she was to do such things as were burdensome and not of honour, attending nevertheless divine service. She was not to dispatch any letter, or receive any sent to her. Each Wednesday and Friday she was to have bread, vegetables and light ale, and was to eat and drink on the bare ground, and on each of those days was to receive a discipline from the prioress and each of the nuns in chapter. She was to take the last place in quire, and not to enter the chapter except to receive her discipline, and was to retire immediately she had received it. Two nuns were to be appointed by the prioress as her guardians, to see to the execution of the archbishop's orders, and the prioress was to have all carried out as a terror to others. It is one of the most severe punishments visited on any monk or nun recorded in York Registers, but it was not the only one which Archbishop Zouch had to inflict on a nun of Thicket, for he wrote on 20 April 1352⁹ to the prioress, to punish Isabella de Lyndesay, a nun whose faults had been recently revealed at a visitation held by his commissaries, and the prioress was to report before Pentecost how she had behaved during the performance of her penance.

Archbishop Rotherham issued on 16 October 1484¹⁰ a letter asking for help for the house of the nuns of Thicket, whose fields and pasturage had been inundated by floods, and who had suffered much loss by the death of their cattle.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 384; Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 280.

² York Archiepis. Reg. Corbridge, fol. 24. This is the only allusion hitherto met with in the York Registers relating to the formal professing of a nun.

³ *Ibid.* fol. 37b. ⁴ *Ibid.* Greenfield, i, fol. 94b.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii, fol. 105b. ⁶ *Ibid.* Melton, fol. 231.

⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 323.

⁸ *Ibid.* Zouch, fol. 154b.

⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 173.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Rotherham, i, 208.

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Among the suppression papers is a list of the nuns, which has been subsequently altered at a date three years later, as the ages of some of the nuns are altered and made three years older.¹¹ This is the case with similar lists of the inmates of other houses. The names of twelve nuns are given, and they are said to be 'all of good liffyng.' In the first draft Katherine Chapman, aged forty-eight, is mentioned as prioress, but the name has been crossed out and 'Agnes Bekwith prioress 46,' is written at the top of the list. The names of two others are also struck out: either they had left the house, or were dead. It seems as if the list had been used for checking purposes, as one of the nuns (Dorothea Ryght), whose age had already been changed from thirty to thirty-three, was afterwards struck through.

There is a note that Henry Wylkynson, the nuns' chaplain, had his appointment by way of a corrody granted 10 April 1526 by Katherine, prioress 'of the monastery of oure lady sant Mary of Thykhed of Sannt Benett ordre,' and that he during his life shall 'abyde and continue styll in service as chapeleyn in ye said priory.'¹²

In the reign of Edward VI complaint was made that many of the pensions promised to the ex-religious had not been paid. Inquiry was made, and in the East Riding return made in the sixth year of his reign (1552-3), the names of seven ex-nuns of Thicket are given.¹³ In this it is only definitely stated that one of the number, Margaret Swale, had received the money due to her. In 1573 Agnes Beckwith alone survived,¹⁴ when she received her pension of £6 13s. 4d., 12s., however, being deducted as a subsidy paid to the queen.

There is no valuation of Thicket Priory in the *Taxatio* of 1292. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* the total revenues were £23 12s. 2d., and the clear annual value £20 18s. 4d.¹⁵ The house possessed no spiritualities, its property lay in West Cottingwith with Thorganby, Sutton-on-Derwent, Norton, Sand Hutton, Wheldrake, Escrick, Green Hammerton, York City (two *parva cotagia*), Spaldington and Allerthorpe.¹⁶

PRIORESSES OF THICKET

Sibilla,¹⁷ occurs 1218

Eva,¹⁸ occurs 1231

¹¹ The original date of the Thicket list seems to have been 13 June 28 Hen. VIII (1536), which has been altered to 27 Aug. 31 Hen. VIII (1539); Suppression P. (P.R.O.), ii, 48.

¹² Ibid. 58.

¹³ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 76, no. 23.

¹⁴ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xix, 100-4. She was apparently forty-six years of age in 1539; Suppression P. (P.R.O.), ii, 48.

¹⁵ Op. cit. v, 94.

¹⁶ Suppression P. (P.R.O.), ii.

¹⁷ Feet of F. Hil. 3 Hen. III, file 141, no. 53.

¹⁸ Ibid. East. 15 Hen. III, file 23, no. 19.

Joan, occurs 1280-1304,¹⁹ 1306²⁰
Alice de Alverthorpe,²¹ confirmed 1309
Elizabeth del Haye,²² appointed 1335
Hawise,²³ occurs 1412

Alice Darwent,²⁴ occurs 1432

Beatrice,²⁵ occurs 1479

Mary Dawson,²⁶ occurs 1497

Katherine Chapman, a nun of St. Clement's York, confirmed 1525,²⁷ occurs 1535²⁸

Agnes Beckwith²⁹

18. THE PRIORY OF WILBERFOSS

It is not evident when, or by whom, the priory of St. Mary Wilberfoss was founded. Leland states¹ that Alan of Catton was the founder, and in a confirmation in 1464² by George, Duke of Clarence, at that time patron and founder, it is said that Alan gave his hall (*aula*) in Wilberfoss, and all other lands. Alan's charter is, however, preceded by one by Jordan son of Gilbert, who granted the nuns the church of Wilberfoss with its chapel of Newton and 7 bovates of land. In neither case is any definite date indicated, but the confirmation of Jordan's gift of the church of Wilberfoss by his overlord, William de Percy, is addressed to Henry,³ Archbishop of York (who died in 1153), and the ratification was granted by Archbishop Roger,⁴ who succeeded in 1154.

Henry II confirmed the gifts to the nuns, as their charters testified, and Henry III in 1227 confirmed several other grants of land fully specified. In 1282-3⁵ Archbishop Wickwane wrote to the nuns that he had learnt from public report that they had burdened their house at the instance of great persons by receiving nuns, and taking secular women and girls as boarders. This he strictly forbade. On 7 May 1294⁶ Archbishop Romanus committed the custody of the house to Robert, rector of Sutton-on-Derwent.

A visitation of Wilberfoss was held by commissioners of Archbishop Greenfield in 1308,⁷ and the archbishop sent a *decretum*, much of

¹⁹ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 192-280; Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i.

²⁰ Baildon's MS. Notes.

²¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, fol. 118b.

²² Ibid. Melton, fol. 323.

²³ Baildon's MS. Notes. ²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild, York*, 104.

²⁶ Ibid. 145.

²⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Wolsey, fol. 82.

²⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 94.

²⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, p. 551.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 354.

² Ibid. 356, no. v. ³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. 355, no. ii.

⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 20, 175.

⁶ Ibid. Romanus, fol. 67b.

⁷ Ibid. Greenfield, fol. 95.

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which is in common form. Special features are that the nuns were not to linger in the *hostilaria* or elsewhere for amusement with outsiders after compline, and that they were not to wear red, or unsuitable clothes, nor supertunics too long, like secular women, as some had begun to do.

The doors of the church, dormitory, and those round the cloister were to be closed at the proper time. At the election which followed the resignation of Emma de Waltringham in 1310⁸ the names of the nuns are given: Emma de Waltringham, the late prioress, comes first, and it is said 'consentit in dominam Margaretam de Alta Ripa, et eligit eam,' Beatrice de Neuton, the sub-prioress, comes next; then follow in order Matildis Gurneys, Matildis Dine, Alicia Vghtred, *sacrista*, Maria de Preston, Margareta Chauncy, *celeraria*, Hawisia de Barton, Isolda Cayvill, *cantrix*, Elena Gra, *alia sacrista*, Helewis de Langtoft, *senex domina*, Matildis de Wyktoft, Lucia de Collurn, *hostelaria*, Margareta de Brampton, *alia celeraria*, Agnes Dareyns, Juliana Darreyns, Isabella de Milington, Agnes de Lutton, and Johanna de Portington; nineteen, who all voted for Margaret Dawtrey. From this it appears that there were then twenty nuns, and it is added, 'nec sunt plures moniales in domo predicta.'

In 1312⁹ one of them, Agnes de Lutton, got into trouble, and Archbishop Greenfield imposed the usual penance for immorality.

A commission was issued in 1319¹⁰ for the election of a prioress, but no names are mentioned.

In 1348¹¹ Archbishop Zouch wrote to Isabella Spyns, the prioress, commending her for her good government, and granting her, if she decided to resign, to occupy for life certain buildings adjoining the common cellar. These had been constructed by contributions from her relations and friends.

In 1397 the house was in a bad financial state, and the Chapter of York (both see and deanery being vacant) issued a letter¹² on behalf of the nuns, whose revenues had become so small that they were insufficient for their sustenance. In 1409¹³ Archbishop Bowett issued a commission to inquire respecting the excesses and defects of Eleanor Dakyrs, the prioress.

Little is known of the subsequent history of the nunnery. In 1526 its clear annual value

⁸ The account of the election occurs on three slips of parchment, inscribed between folio 118 and folio 119 of Archbishop Greenfield's register.

⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, ii, fol. 94b.

¹⁰ Ibid. Melton, fol. 276.

¹¹ Ibid. Zouch, fol. 193.

¹² Ibid. sed. vac. fol. 217. Pope Boniface IX had also granted, on 20 Dec. 1389, a relaxation of penance to penitents who on the feast of the dedication visited and gave alms towards the conservation of the church of the Benedictine priory of Wilberfoss; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 393.

¹³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 354.

was returned as only £12, the smallest of any monastery in the East Riding except Nunburnholme.¹⁴ There were at the Dissolution eleven nuns¹⁵ including Elizabeth Lord, the prioress, 'all of good conversation.' Against all the names, except that of the prioress and the three younger nuns whose names come last, is written the word 'religion,' indicating that they desired to keep their vows. The prioress received a yearly pension of £8, the others either 33s. 4d. or 26s. 8d., two however only receiving 20s.

PRIORESSES OF WILBERFOSS

Christiana, occurs 1231 to 1235¹⁶

Letitia, occurs 1240¹⁷

Isabella, living 1276¹⁸

Emma, occurs 1298¹⁹ (de Waltringham), resigned 1310²⁰

Margaret Dawtrey, elected 1310²¹

[Name unknown] elected 1319²²

Isabella de Spyns, occurs 1348²³

Agnes, occurs 1396²⁴

Eleanor Dakyrs, occurs 1409²⁵

Emmota Farethorpe, occurs 1438²⁶

Elizabeth, occurs 1464²⁷

Anne Kirkby, confirmed 1475,²⁸ resigned 1479²⁹

Margaret Easingwald, confirmed 1479,³⁰ died 1512³¹

Elizabeth Lord, confirmed 1512,³² last prioress

¹⁴ S.P. Dom. 1526 (Return made by Brian Higdon).

¹⁵ Suppression P. (P.R.O.), ii, 64.

¹⁶ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 226. ¹⁷ Ibid. ¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Coram Rege R. 155, m. 26.

²⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, fol. 119.

²¹ Ibid. ²² Ibid. Melton, fol. 276.

²³ Ibid. Zouch, fol. 193.

²⁴ Baildon's MS. Notes.

²⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 354.

²⁶ Reg. of Wills, York, iii, fol. 542. John Appilby of Wilberfoss by will (17 Sept. 1438) bequeathed 'domine Emmote Farethorpe priorisse de Wilberfosse unum lectum ad electionem suam propriam,' and named her his executrix.

²⁷ Mentioned in charter of confirmation; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 356, no. v.

²⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. G. Nevill, fol. 175.

²⁹ Ibid. L. Booth, fol. 111. ³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid. Bainbridge, fol. 42b. Her gravestone was moved to Pocklington Church, where it still remains; *Arch. Journ.* v, 337.

³² Ibid. Elizabeth Lord after the Dissolution went to live at York, where her sister had married George Gale, goldsmith and Lord Mayor of the city in 1534 and 1549. Elizabeth Lord died in 1550-1. In her will (*Test. Ebor.* vi, 307) she directed that her body was to be 'buried in the grownde within the church of the Holie Trinitie in Gotheromgate, in the ladie quere, nyghe unto my broder's stall in the said church.' In 1553 the site of the priory of Wilberfoss was granted to her brother-in-law, George Gale; *Reg. of Corpus Christi Guild, York*, 174 n.

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19. THE PRIORY OF YEDINGHAM

The priory of Yedingham, sometimes called that of Little Mareis,¹ from the site on which the house was built, was founded before 1163² by Helewise de Clere.

In 1239³ a compact was entered into between John, Prior of Guisborough, and Emma, Prioress of Yedingham, and their respective convents, that Guisborough should give the nuns 4 oxgangs of land in Sinnington, with tofts, crofts, &c., the nuns paying the canons yearly 15*s.* at Sherburn, and undertaking to support the chapel of St. Michael at Sinnington, and other buildings for the better entertaining the canons when there, with clean litter, candles, and fuel; and to have mass celebrated in St. Michael's chapel thrice a week. This was not the parish church, but a chapel north of it.

On 16 August 1241⁴ the church of Yedingham was consecrated by Gilbert, Bishop of Whithern, suffragan of Archbishop Gray, in honour of the most blessed Virgin Mary, at the instance of Emma de Humbleton, the prioress, and the convent. The bishop granted an indulgence of 100 days to those present, and directed that the anniversary should be kept as a perpetual festival, with an indulgence of forty days to those who came to it. It is not quite clear whether this was the church of the monastery, or the parish church.

On 1 March 1279-80⁵ Archbishop Wickwane appointed Robert de Brus of Pickering to the custody of the house of the nuns of Yedingham and its temporalities, hoping that he might by his diligence, God helping, be able to supply the defects of the poor servants of Christ serving God there.

Monitions forbidding nuns of different houses to take anyone to their habit without special licence from the archbishop are commonly met with in the injunctions issued after visitations. Records of the granting of any such licences are very rare, but on 23 March 1309-10⁶ Archbishop Greenfield wrote to Yedingham about one Agnes de Daneby, whose honest conversation he approved, and he permitted the prioress and convent to receive her *ad habitum et velum*. Her age is not given, but she is alluded to as *puella*.

At his visitation of Arthington Archbishop Greenfield dealt with the case of Isabella de

Berghby, which is fully described in the account of that house. There is nothing said there as to sending her away from her house, but on 28 September 1312⁷ the archbishop wrote to the nuns of Yedingham that at his recent visitation of the house of Arthington, of their order,⁸ he had found Isabella de Berghby had acted contrary to the honesty of religion, and he therefore sent her to them for a season, to undergo penance.

In 1314⁹ Archbishop Greenfield allowed the prioress and convent to receive Alice daughter of Roger de Wyghton to the habit of the *conversae* in their monastery; at the same time very strictly enjoining them that no sister *conversa* was, on any account, to be allowed to wear the black veil on her head, but was to use a white veil. In this entry the lay sisters are called *conversae*, and *sorores conversae*, whereas elsewhere they are usually called *sorores*¹⁰ only, in contradistinction to the nuns (designated *dominae* or *moniales*) on the one hand, and the *conversi*, or lay brothers, on the other. The *conversi* seem to have been attached to most of the nunneries.¹¹

In 1314 Archbishop Greenfield held a visitation of Yedingham,¹² and issued a series of injunctions to the nuns. No nun was to be absent from service 'propter occupationem operis de serico.' Going to and from the kitchen through the cloister, by secular men and women, was on no account to be allowed. The prioress was to depute a mature and honest nun to shut the doors round the cloister at proper hours, and if that nun was negligent, she was to correct and chastise her. The parlour of the house was on no account in future to be used by lay people. The prioress was to be careful that none of the nuns made themselves conspicuous as to their girdles, or other ornaments. Rebellious nuns were to be openly corrected before the convent and not secretly, for that was agreeable with divine and human law. The sick were to be tended according to their needs, and as the means of the house allowed.¹³ The prioress was not to

⁷ Ibid. ii, fol. 93.

⁸ The expression 'of your order' should be noted. Arthington was a Cluniac house, Yedingham Benedictine.

⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, ii, fol. 105.

¹⁰ 'Le sisterhouse' at Yedingham is spoken of in the grant to Emma Hert, quoted later.

¹¹ Many instances occur, as at Arden, Marrick, Swine, and several other nunneries in the county.

¹² York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, ii, fol. 101.

¹³ Earlier in the same year the archbishop had granted licence to Margaret de Shyrburn, one of the nuns ill of dropsy, that a secular girl, Maud de Meteham, who used to wait upon her, but who had had to leave on attaining the age of twelve, might return, and serve her as before, and that for the sake of improving her health she might with honest company visit her friends and relatives; York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, ii, fol. 104*b*.

¹ So called e.g. in 'Fee Farm Roll, Aug. Off.' cited by Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 277, no. xii; also 'moniales de Parvo Marisco' confirmation of Henry II, Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 275, no. ii, &c.

² This limit of date is ascertained as John, Treasurer of York, is a witness. In 1163 he became Bishop of Poitiers; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 275, no. ii.

³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 273.

⁴ Ibid. 275, no. iii.

⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 12*b*, 115.

⁶ Ibid. Greenfield, i, fol. 96*b*.

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be too rigid nor too gentle, but was to mingle oil with wine in making corrections. The usual injunctions were given as to limiting exents to fifteen days, and not selling corrodies, &c., or taking boarders without special licence. Richard de Breuse, kt., who through his wife Alice had become patron, conceded to the nuns the right to choose a prioress upon each vacancy, who was to be presented to the patron for the time being, and also to the archbishop, and he and his wife renounced all personal claim in the choice of a prioress.¹⁴

In 1494 Innocent IV granted the prioress and convent the right of electing a discreet priest to be their confessor.¹⁵

Two entries only occur in the Taxation in 1291, the temporalities of the house in the archdeaconry of Cleveland (£35 18s. 2d.), and the church of Yedingham (£6 13s. 4d.).¹⁶ On 29 July 1456¹⁷ Archbishop Booth granted an indulgence of forty days to all penitents who contributed to the reparation of the conventual church and of the buildings of the priory of Yedingham, which on account of the notorious poverty of the house were ruinous: some had actually fallen, and others threatened.

A grant was made 14 July 1530 to Thomas Stokall, priest, of the 'parish priestshipp' of Sinnington, and in December 1538 the reversion of the same was granted to Thomas Hew, priest, immediately after Sir Robert Stokall, who then held the same. The latter, it may be added, still held the post in 33 Henry VIII, and in the account of John Beckwith, receiver, the rent of the rectory of Sinnington is set down at £5 18s. 4d., besides £4 the stipend of Robert Stokall, curate.¹⁸ It is evident from these grants that Sinnington must have been a donative in the absolute gift of the house of Yedingham.

There are a great many other leases and grants, dating from about 1350 to the Dissolution, belonging to Yedingham among the Conventual Leases at the Record Office; one especially, dated in the chapter-house of Yedingham 12 May 1352,¹⁹ is of interest. It is a grant made from Alice Pykering, prioress, and the convent of Yedingham of a yearly *corrodiu moniale*, given in return for an unspecified sum of money to Emma daughter of Nicholas Hert of Westerdale. She was to receive, among other benefits, each week seven conventual loaves of wheat, 3½ *lagenas* of the convent ale, and to be provided with flesh, fish and cheese from the kitchen, like a nun of the house, and was to share in all small pittances

¹⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 275, no. iv; Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 286.

¹⁵ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 286.

¹⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 274.

¹⁷ Conventual Leases (P.R.O.), Yorks. no. 1096.

¹⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 278.

¹⁹ Conventual Leases (P.R.O.), Yorks. no. 1075, 1079.

like a nun. Further, she was to have ten sheep, and ten ewes with lambs till the time of their separation, at the convent's charge and in their pasturage. A certain building called 'le chesehouse,' with solar and cellar, was assigned her to dwell in, and in return she promised to work faithfully as long as she could, 'circa lactinia'²⁰ infra dictam domum del' chesehouse,' according to the orders of the prioress and cellaress. When, however, 'amplius laborare non poterit causa senectutis vel infirmitatis,' then the convent was to grant Emma Hert an honest place for her bed and other belongings in their house *que vocatur le sisterhouse*, for the rest of her life.

At the Dissolution²¹ there were nine nuns besides Agnes Bradrigge, aged forty-one, the prioress, who received a yearly pension of £6 13s. 4d.; two of them received yearly pensions of 40s., and the others of 26s. 8d. They are described as 'all of good maner of liffyng,' and against each name, except one, the word 'religion' is written in the margin, indicating an intention to remain in their vows.

When an inquiry was made as to the payment of pensions, the return (7 Edward VI)²² for the North Riding says Agnes 'Braddreges' and Agnes Butterfield 'appeared not,' Joan 'Horton' appeared with her patent, Anne Paycok appeared not, Elizabeth Ferman appeared with her patent, and Jaine Foster appeared with her patent, 'and is behynde for a holle yere at Michelmas last past.'

PRIORESSES OF YEDINGHAM

Sibil,²³ 1219
 Beatrice²⁴
 Emma de Humbleton, 1241²⁵
 Gundred, 1280²⁶
 Margaret Scard,²⁷ 1290²⁸
 Alice,²⁹ 1300³⁰
 Alice, 1335³¹
 Joan Percehay, 1348³²
 Margaret de Lutton,³³ died 1345
 Alice de Pickering, elected 1352³⁴
 Gundreda³⁵

²⁰ *Lactinia*, milk foods, cheese, &c.

²¹ Suppression P. (P.R.O.), ii, 76, 81.

²² Exch. Accts. bdlc. 76, no. 24.

²³ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 229.

²⁴ *Guisborough Chartul.* ii, 306.

²⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 275.

²⁶ Fine R. Trin. 8 Edw. I, fol. 60-110.

²⁷ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 287.

²⁸ Baildon, *ut supra*.

²⁹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 275.

³⁰ Baildon, *ut supra*.

³¹ Conventual Leases, Yorks. no. 1063. Dugdale says (*Mon. Angl.* iv, 275) that Alice died in 1331. If so, the next prioress bore the same name.

³² *Test. Ebor.* i, 53.

³³ Burton, *ut supra*.

³⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 274. Alice was prioress in 1358; Conventual Leases, Yorks. no. 1080.

³⁵ Burton, *ut supra*, possibly the same as Gundred, misplaced here.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Margaret de Ullam, resigned 1405³⁶
 Margaret, 1439³⁷
 Idonia, 1445³⁸
 Isabella Heslerton,³⁹ 1457, died 1499
 Cecilia Dew, confirmed 27 March 1499⁴⁰
 Joan Tonnstale, confirmed 1507⁴¹
 Elizabeth Whitehead,⁴² confirmed 1521
 Agnes Bradrigge, confirmed 16 February
 1525 (the last prioress)⁴³

The circular 12th-century seal,⁴⁴ 1½ in. in diameter, shows our Lady standing and crowned, and holding a fleur de lis and a book: of the legend only v̄ s̄c̄e M remains.

20. THE PRIORY OF ST. CLEMENT, YORK

The priory of St. Clement was founded about 1130,¹ by Archbishop Thurstan, whose grants were confirmed by the dean and chapter.²

In 1192³ Archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet granted the priory of St. Clement to the abbey of Godstow, but the nuns appealed to the pope, and Alice the prioress is said to have gone to Rome to plead their cause in person. The archbishop excommunicated the nuns, but by the papal decision in their favour they regained their independent position.

Late one evening in the first year of the 14th century certain men came to the priory gate leading a saddled horse. Here Cecily, a nun, met them, and, throwing off her nun's habit, put on another robe and rode off with them to Darlington, where Gregory de Thornton was waiting for her, and with him she lived for three years or more.^{3a}

Archbishop Greenfield, writing to the prioress on 15 April 1310,⁴ dealt with the case of Joan de Saxton, one of the nuns, on whom

at some time previously a severe penance had been imposed for misbehaviour. The penance itself the archbishop mitigated, but to avoid scandal, Joan de Saxton was not to go out of the cloister, but was to keep convent in all respects, and hold no conventual office. For recreation and solace she might go into the orchards and gardens of the monastery, accompanied by the nuns. Twice a year, if necessary, she might receive friends in the presence of the prioress, or other discreet nuns, but she was to have nothing to do with the Lady de Walleys, and if the Lady de Walleys was then in their house, she was to be sent away before Pentecost. The archbishop further forbade the nuns to have girls over twelve years of age as boarders, and they were only to keep washerwomen and other necessary servants in the house.

On 2 November in the same year the archbishop gave permission to the nuns to receive Isabella of Studley Roger, near Ripon, *ad velum et habitum*.⁵

In 1316,⁶ when the office of prioress became vacant by the death or resignation of Custance Basy, who had been elected in August of the previous year, discord prevailed in the convent, one party electing Agnes de Methelay and the other Beatrice de Brandesby. The see being vacant, the dean and chapter appointed Agnes de Methelay.

Archbishop Melton held a visitation of the house in 1317,⁷ and on 25 January following sent to the prioress and convent a list of injunctions. Many are exhortations in common form, relating to the due observance of the rule. The archbishop had found that the Friars Minor of York, every alternate week during the year, and the Friars Preachers of York, in the same manner, for a long time had been receiving fourteen conventual loaves. The nuns were to show the friars the archbishop's order, and were to cease from supplying them with these loaves, so long as their house was burdened by debt, and then they were not to give the loaves to the friars without a special leave of the archbishop or his successors. It also appeared that on the death of any nun of the house, the friars aforesaid received for a whole year the full livery of the deceased nun. This also the archbishop forbade. Secular women dwelling in the house were not to hold colloquies with the nuns, lest evil suspicion should arise. Little girls, or males of any age whatever, or secular women were not to be permitted to sleep in the dormitory with the nuns.

The frequent access of men and women to the house was not to be allowed, lest evil or scandal should arise.

In 1324⁸ there is again evidence of internal

³⁶ Burton, *ut supra*.

³⁷ Baildon, *ut supra*.

³⁸ Burton, *ut supra*.

³⁹ Was prioress 1457. Conventual Leases, Yorks. no. 1088.

⁴⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, fol. 165.

⁴¹ Burton, *ut supra*. She was prioress in 1512, Conventual Leases, Yorks. no. 1093.

⁴² A nun of Yedingham. York Archiepis. Reg. Wolsey, fol. 81, admitted to Corpus Christi Guild, York, 1523, and here she is called Isabella: Reg. *Corpus Christi Guild* (Surt. Soc.), 201.

⁴³ A nun of Yedingham. York Archiepis. Reg. Wolsey, fol. 81.

⁴⁴ *Cat. of Seals, B.M.* 3607, lxxv, 21.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 323. Hugh, Dean of York, one of the witnesses, died in 1138.

² *Ibid.* 325, no. iii.

³ *Ibid.* no. 3; Drake, *Eboracum*, 248.

^{3a} Assize R. 1107, m. 21 d.

⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, fol. 77b.

⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 84b.

⁶ *Ibid.* sed. vac. fol. 85.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Melton.

⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 162b.

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trouble⁹ in the house, for the archbishop issued a commission to inquire into the defects alleged in St. Clement's, and the prioress resigned.

Isabella de Stodley, who had been admitted a nun on 2 November 1315, by permission of Archbishop Greenfield, had been guilty of apostasy and *super lapsu carnis*, besides other excesses. She had been sent by Archbishop Melton to Yedingham, to undergo a penance imposed upon her, and on 30 August 1331¹⁰ he directed that she was to return to St. Clement's, adding that if she were disobedient to the prioress or quarrelsome with her sisters, or indulged in blasphemy, he would transfer her to some other house to remain there permanently.

St. Clement's Church, which served for the nuns, was also the church of the parish, and on 12 July 1464¹¹ Archbishop William Booth transferred the feast of the dedication, which fell on St. William's day (when the church was deserted on account of the parishioners attending the metropolitan church, where St. William's body and relics were preserved), to the Sunday after the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul each year. It seems from the frequent allusions to the anchorite of St. Clement's that it was a permanent position formerly attached to the church. In 1467 it was held by Alice Derby.¹²

In 1391¹³ Pope Boniface IX granted a relaxation of enjoined penance to penitents who on the feast of St. Clement visited and gave alms for the conservation of the Benedictine priory of St. Clement without the walls of York. The will of a lady, who was probably a boarder in the house in the middle of the next century, contains a little information of interest. Elizabeth Medlay, of the house of St. Clement's in Clementhorpe, in the suburbs of York, directed in her will dated 6 January 1470¹⁴ that her body was to be buried in the conventual church of St. Clement before the altar of St. Katherine. To the high altar she bequeathed her best coat, to the prioress 16*d.*, and to each nun 12*d.*, and appointed the Lady Margaret Delaryver, the prioress, an executor.

St. Clement's does not appear at any time to have had more than ten or a dozen nuns, and its revenues when the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* was compiled only show a clear annual value of £55 11*s.* 9*d.*¹⁵

The nunnery was supervised by the commissioners on 13 June 1536,¹⁶ and suppressed on

⁹ On 11 Aug. 1318 Archbishop Melton directed the (rural) dean of Beverley that Johanna de Ledes, who had apostatized from St. Clement's, York, was to be sent back to her convent. York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 270*b.*

¹⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 187*b.*

¹¹ *Ibid.* W. Booth, fol. 222.

¹² York Reg. of Wills, iv, fol. 100*b.*

¹³ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 373.

¹⁴ York Reg. of Wills, iv, fol. 160*b.*

¹⁵ *Val. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 2.

¹⁶ Aug. Off. Views of Accts. bdl. 17.

31 August following. There were eight nuns and nine servants. In the account of Leonard Beckwith three bells in the campanile are valued at 17*s.*; there was also a chalice (12 oz.) valued at 44*s.*; a silver cup (5 oz.) valued at 16*s.* 8*d.* and 'ij birral glasses cum reliquijs inclus' in argento,' valued at 5*s.* Drs. Layton and Legh reported that the nuns had at St. Clement's, as it was believed, some of the milk of the Blessed Virgin in veneration, and that pilgrimages were made there *ad sanctam Sytham*.

The report as to the payment of pensions in 6 Edward VI for the city of York is as follows: Clementhorpe.¹⁷—Isabell Warde [the late prioress] £6 13*s.* 4*d.* (56 years old), alive and paid; Agnes Snaynton 60*s.* (56 years), alive; Agnes Ardyngton 46*s.* 8*d.* (60 years), alive; Agnes Symson 46*s.* 6*d.* (60 years), paid; Jane Gower 40*s.* (50 years), alive; Jane Watson 40*s.* (three score years), behind for one year; Margaret Carter 40*s.*, died 6 August 4 Edward VI; Matild' Kilborn 40*s.* (60 years), alive; Agnes Archer 40*s.* (38 years) behind for one whole year; Dorothe Mawe 40*s.* (46 years), alive, behind for a year; Margaret Elton, 'not herde of'; Agnes Johnson 40*s.* (40 years), alive; Jane Fairfax 34*s.* 4*d.* (40 years), alive; Elizabeth Parker 34*s.* 4*d.*, 'dyed three yeres agone'; Elene Bayne 34*s.* 4*d.* (30 years), alive; Agnes Asleby 34*s.* 4*d.* (40 years), alive.

PRIORESSES OF ST. CLEMENT, YORK

Alice, occurs 1192¹⁸

Alcelina, occurs 1221¹⁹

Agnes, occurs 1235,²⁰ 1245^{20a}

Margaret, occurs 1268²¹

Agnes de Wyten, occurs 1279,²² 1280²³

Alice, occurs 1299²⁴

Custance Basy, confirmed 28 August 1315²⁵

Agnes de Methelay, appointed 1316,²⁶ resigned 1324²⁷

Alice de Pakenham, died 1396²⁸

Beatrice de Remington, confirmed 1396²⁹

Margaret Holtby, resigned 1456³⁰

Margaret Delaryver, occurs 1470,³¹ died 1489³²

Christabella Longcastre, confirmed 1489³³

¹⁷ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdl. 78, no. 85.

¹⁸ Drake, *Eboracum*, 248.

¹⁹ Feet of F. Mich. 5 Hen. III, file 16, no. 14

²⁰ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 235.

^{20a} Assize R. 1045, m. 44 d.

²¹ Feet of F. Trin. 52 Hen. III, file 51, no. 67.

²² Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 235.

²³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 324.

²⁴ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 235.

²⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, ii, fol. 88*b.*

²⁶ *Ibid.* sed. vac. fol. 85.

²⁷ *Ibid.* Melton, fol. 162*b.* ²⁸ *Ibid.* sed. vac.

²⁹ *Ibid.* Arundel, fol. 60. ³⁰ *Ibid.* W. Booth, fol. 8.

³¹ York Reg. of Wills, iv, fol. 160*b.*

³² York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, fol. 61*b.*

³³ *Ibid.*

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Margaret Carre, elected November 1515,³⁴
died 1516³⁵

Margaret Frankelayne, appointed (lapse)
2 December 1516,³⁶ died 1518³⁷

Isabella Warde appointed (lapse) 8 November
1518³⁸

The 12th-century seal,³⁹ a large vesica 3 in.
by 2 in., has a full-length figure of St. Clement

the patron saint, blessing and holding a book.
The legend is :

SIGILLVM SANCTI CLEMENTIS PAPE DE EBOR.

A 13th-century seal,⁴⁰ a vesica 2½ in. by 1¾ in.
has a figure of the patron saint. All that remains
of the legend is :

SIGILL . . . BNDTINO . . .

HOUSES OF CISTERCIAN MONKS

21. THE ABBEY OF BYLAND

In 1134¹ twelve monks with their abbot, Gerald, left the abbey of Furness to establish and inhabit a daughter house at Calder, on a site granted by Ralph Meschin. They were settled at Calder for four years building their monastery, when the Scots, under King David, demolished their work and despoiled their property. They returned to the mother house at Furness, but were refused admittance, because Gerald refused to resign his office of abbot or release his monks from their vows of obedience to him. It was urged, on the part of the Abbot and convent of Furness, that it would be inconsistent with monastic order and discipline for two abbots with their separate convents to inhabit the same monastery together. No allowance being made for the unfortunate Abbot and monks of Calder, who were only seeking temporary shelter in the mother house, Gerald and his monks determined to renounce both Furness and Calder, and seek a new and independent site for their monastery elsewhere.

They had but little with them when they left Furness, only some clothes (*vestes*) and books in a wagon drawn by eight oxen, and their condition was pitiable in the extreme, but they had heard of Archbishop Thurstan's benevolence to the monks who six years before had left St. Mary's, York, and were settled at Fountains, and they decided to seek his kind offices. As they were approaching Thirsk, on their way to York, they met the steward of Gundreda widow of Nigel de Albini and mother of Roger de Mowbray, a youth

then in ward to King Stephen, but soon to come into possession of his vast estates. Being struck with the miserable condition of the unfortunate monks, he bade them go to the castle of Thirsk, where his mistress was then residing, in order that they might sup at her table.

Gundreda watched the approach of the monks from an upper window. Being much edified by their behaviour and conversation, she sheltered them temporarily under her roof, providing for their wants and promising them a place of abode and permanent means of subsistence. As, however, they could not follow her about she sent them to her uncle (or nephew) Robert de Alneto, an ex-monk of Whitby, then living as a hermit at Hood near Thirsk, where she provided for them until her son Roger came of age. While there Abbot Gerald visited Thurstan at York, and sought his help. The archbishop wrote to Roger de Mowbray, who, having entered into possession of his property, granted the monks the tenth of the victuals provided for his household, and a *conversus* named Lyngulf was deputed to follow Roger de Mowbray's household, and make a daily collection of the victuals which he was to send to Hood. When, however, Roger de Mowbray was away at a distance, Lyngulf sold the victuals and transmitted what he received for them to the abbot. This was obviously inconvenient, and in 1140 Roger de Mowbray, instead of a tithe of his victuals, granted the monks a cow pasture at Cambe and lands at Wildon, Scackleton in the parish of Hovingham, as well as the vill of Ergham.

When the monks had been a little time at Hood and were beginning to acquire property, fear was felt lest the Abbot of Furness should claim a right of paternity over them. Abbot Gerald went therefore to Savigny, and explained why they had left Calder and how they had been rejected by the Abbot and convent of Furness. In a general chapter of the order, held in 1142, a full release was granted from the jurisdiction of the Abbot of Furness. Abbot Gerald returned to England, but died at York on his way home. His body was taken to Hood by his monks, and buried there. Roger, who had been sub-cellarer

³⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Wolsey, fol. 13.

³⁵ Ibid. fol. 20b.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid. fol. 40b.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ *Cat. of Seals, B.M.* 4400, lxxv, 30.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 4401, lxxv, 31.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 349, no. viii. 'Incipit Fundatio Domus Bellelandae edita à Philippo Abbat tertio Domus praedictae sicut ipse audierat à predecessore suo Abbate Rogero et aliis senioribus hujus Domus.' From the 'Registrum de Bellalanda' (now lost). See also a paper by Mr. J. R. Walbram, *Assoc. Sac. Rep.* (1864), 219.

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at Calder, was elected in his place. He was master of the novices at Hood, but had only one novice under him at the time, to whom he was speaking concerning the observances of the rule, when (the chronicler relates) suddenly and without warning, all the monks surrounded him and bore him in their arms to the high altar of the oratory, proclaiming him as their abbot with a loud voice in the name of the Holy Trinity. In Easter week following he was blessed as abbot by the archbishop at Sherburn, on the presentation of Roger de Mowbray, who was present at the ceremony.

When the monks had been four years at Hood and many persons had joined them, the place became too small, and in 1143 Roger de Mowbray gave them his vill of *Bellalanda super Moram*, [Old Byland] with its church and all its appurtenances. Having made this grant, he caused the monks to build a small cell by the River Rye, not far from Rievaulx Abbey, which had been founded twelve years before by Walter l'Espece. Here Abbot Roger and his monks stayed for five years. At the desire of Roger de Mowbray Hood was given to the Augustinian priory which he founded at Newburgh.

As Old Byland, from its nearness to Rievaulx, was unsuitable for the new abbey, Roger de Mowbray gave the monks in 1147 two carucates of land near Coxwold, and the monks set to work to clear the ground, and built a small stone church, a cloister, and other buildings and offices. But when Roger de Mowbray had left for Normandy troubles arose. Robert Dayville, lord of Kilburn, greatly hindered the monks, asserting that they had inclosed part of his vill of Kilburn. Hugh Malbys, lord of Scawton, also harassed them, as did Guy de Boltby. In consequence of these difficulties Abbot Roger went in 1147 to Savigny, where he attended the general chapter (which gave Jervaulx as a daughter-house to Byland). He assured Abbot Serlo and those present that his monastery was amply endowed, if he and his monks were allowed peaceable possession of their property. He left before the chapter was ended, and hastened to Roger de Mowbray, who promised speedy and efficient help. Fortified with letters from him to the disturbers of the rights of the monks, he returned to England. On Roger de Mowbray's return a settlement was effected.²

These troubles ended, new ones arose, the Abbot of Calder asserting that Roger and his convent belonged to that house, and not to Savigny. Abbot Roger replied that had there been an Abbot of Calder when Hood was given, there might be some claim for Calder, but as Calder was vacant at the time, the gift was to Savigny, to whom he and his monks were subject. The next year the Abbot of Savigny held a visitation

of his houses in England, and the question was referred to Aelred, Abbot of Rievaulx. The Abbot of Furness put in his claim above that of the daughter-house of Calder, but Aelred decided against the claims of Furness. With this, the troubles of the monks of Byland in maintaining their property and independence came to an end, but Roger de Mowbray, in order to make everything sure for the future, confirmed all his gifts to Byland before the Archbishop and chapter of York.

The monks remained thirty years at Stocking, and while there cleared the woods and drained the swamps, and no doubt began the abbey church on the site now occupied by its ruins. On the eve of All Saints (30 October) 1177 they made their fourth and final move to what was then called Whiteker, but to which they conveyed the name of their house of Bellalanda, and which has since borne the name of Byland from it. Abbot Roger ruled the convent for the long space of fifty-four years, at Old Byland, Stocking and Whiteker (Byland). He had often wished to resign, but when he had pleaded this with St. Bernard he was persuaded to continue in office. At length, worn out and enfeebled by age, he resigned, but lived nearly three years longer as an inmate of the monastery. There seems some difficulty in accounting for the removal from Stocking, where the monks had built a stone church and cloister, and other offices and structures. Possibly these were too small, for the church is described as a small one, and it may be that on that account they thought well to begin a new monastery close by, on a larger scale.

By far the most important event in the after history of Byland must have been the 'battle of Byland Abbey' as it has been called, fought on the high ground between the abbeys of Rievaulx and Byland, on or about 14 October 1322, but as to what befell Byland Abbey on that occasion we do not know. King Edward is said by some to have been at Byland Abbey when the news of the discomfiture of his forces and the capture of the Earl of Richmond by the Scots reached him. By others it is said that he was at Rievaulx Abbey. At whichever of the houses he was sojourning he fled precipitately to York, leaving a large treasure and much silver plate behind him, which fell into the hands of the Scots.

Burton³ gives a long list of the possessions the abbey received from different donors.⁴

² Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 329-38.

⁴ Egerton MS. 2823 is a chartulary of Byland. A large number of original charters of the abbey are said to have been destroyed when St. Mary's tower at York was blown up in 1644, and others were burnt in a bookseller's shop at Bristol about 1860. The British Museum possesses a number of early charters relating to Danby, Whitby and elsewhere. Add. Chart. 7409-32.

² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 352.

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ABBOTS OF BYLAND

Henry II⁵ took the abbey into his protection, and granted the monks and their men the privilege of being free in all cities, boroughs, markets, fairs, bridges, and ports throughout England and Normandy.

Of spiritualities the abbey held the church of Old Byland, granted by their founder; a moiety of the church of Bubwith, given in 1349 by John de Mowbray for the good of the soul of his wife Joan, who was buried before the high altar of the abbey church; and both moieties of Rillington. Pope Clement VI on 23 January 1344⁶ confirmed the appropriation of the church of Rillington to Byland, of their patronage, and of the value of 30 marks according to the old taxation, but of 15 according to the new. The monastery had suffered by the incursons of the Scots, an allusion probably to the devastation caused at the time of the battle in 1322, besides that of other raids. As it was a Cistercian house, exempt from episcopal visitation, the Registers at York contain little concerning the abbey of Byland beyond the elections of several of the abbots, and their benediction by the archbishop. Its internal history after Abbot Philip's record comes to an end with the removal to the final site in 1177 is almost blank. From a Subsidy Roll we learn that in 1380-1,⁷ besides the abbot, there were eleven monks and three *conversi*. The abbey received, it is not known why, Letters Patent dated 30 January 1537,⁸ to continue, but it surrendered 30 Henry VIII, when pensions were granted to the abbot (£50) and twenty-three monks; one other, John Harryson, received no money pension *quia habet vicariam de Byland*.

At the time of the Dissolution there were seven bells, 100 fodder of lead, 516 oz. of plate. The gross annual value is given in the *Monasticon* as £295 5s. 4d., and the clear income as £238 9s. 4d.⁹ In 1527¹⁰ the clear annual value was returned as £217 13s. 4d.

The return of the commissioners as to the payments of grants to ex-religious in the North Riding, dated 20 February 1553,¹¹ records that John Alanbrige, the late abbot, appeared with his patent and said that his pension of £50 was behind one year at Pentecost then last past; Robert Baynton (£10) 'appeared not,' nor did Richard Pereson (£5 6s. 8d.); Robert Leaf had died, five others appeared with their patents, as did also Thomas Metcalf, who appeared with his patent for £5 6s. 8d., but the commissioners say he 'did not axe it.'

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 343.

⁶ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 114.

⁷ Subs. R. 63, no. 12.

⁸ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 339. As the clear annual value was above £200, it did not come within the scope of the earlier Act, and the matter is a little puzzling.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Subs. R. 64, no. 303.

¹¹ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 76, no. 24.

Gerard, died 1142¹²
 Roger, occurs 1146,^{12a} resigned 1196¹³
 Philip, succeeded 1196¹⁴
 Hamo, occurs 1199-1200¹⁵
 Herbert, occurs 1209¹⁶
 Robert, occurs 1223,¹⁷ 1230¹⁸
 Henry de Bathersby, occurs 1231,¹⁹ 1268²⁰
 Adam de Hustwayt,²¹ occurs 1272,²² 1283²³
 Thomas, occurs 1285²⁴
 John, elected 1288,²⁵ occurs 1293²⁶
 Henry, elected 1300,²⁷ occurs 1302²⁸
 William, elected 1302²⁹
 Adam, occurs 1310,^{29a} 1315³⁰
 John de Wynkburn, occurs 1316,³¹ 1318³²
 John, elected 1318³³
 John, elected 1322³⁴
 John de Miton, occurs 1332³⁵
 Walter de Diceford *alias* de Jarum,³⁵ elected 1334,³⁶ occurs 1342³⁷
 John, elected 1349³⁸
 William, elected 1357³⁹
 Robert de Helmeslay,⁴⁰ elected 1370, occurs 1381⁴¹

¹² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 350.

^{12a} *Ibid.* 572, no. v: he also occurs as contemporary with Archbishop Henry Murdac (1147-54): Egerton MS. 2823, fol. 48.

¹³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* 353.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 354.

¹⁵ *Yorks. Fines, John* (Surt. Soc.), 2.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 160.

¹⁷ Feet of F. file 17, no. 8 (8-10 Hen. III).

¹⁸ *Ibid.* file 22, no. 23 (12-14 Hen. III).

¹⁹ Occurs as Henry in a number of Feet of F. from 15 to 39 Hen. III: H. de Bathersby is said in 1292 to have been abbot forty years before: Assize R. 1100, m. 84.

²⁰ Egerton MS. 2823, fol. 55.

²¹ *Ibid.* fol. 104: Agreement between Adam de Hustwayt, Abbot of Byland, and William de Ellerbek, Abbot of Rievaulx (1268-85).

²² Feet of F. file 54, no. 27: Add. Chart. 20546.

²³ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 27.

²⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 344.

²⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 30b.

²⁶ Pat. 21 Edw. I, m. 6.

²⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Corbridge, fol. 23b.

²⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 345.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

^{29a} Egerton MS. 2823, fol. 80.

³⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 345.

³¹ York Archiepis. Reg. sed. vac. fol. 91b.

³² Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 27.

³³ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 227b.

³⁴ *Ibid.* slip between fol. 238 and fol. 239.

³⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 257b.

^{36a} Egerton MS. 2823, fol. 67.

³⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 345.

³⁷ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 27.

³⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 166b.

³⁹ *Ibid.* Thoresby, on slip at fol. 175.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 190.

⁴¹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 27.

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Geoffrey de Pykering, occurs 1397,⁴² 1400⁴³
 William (Helperby),⁴⁴ occurs 1435-69⁴⁵
 Thomas Kylburn, occurs 1479⁴⁶
 John Ferlington, elected 1499⁴⁷
 John Ledes *alias* Alanbridge, elected 1525⁴⁸

The little circular 13th-century seal,⁴⁹ $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter, has a half-length figure of our Lady with the Child, and the legend:—

✠ AVE [MARIA]

An abbot sealed c. 1186 with a little vesica,⁵⁰ $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 1 in., showing the standing figure of himself, holding staff and book. Abbot Walter (?) in or about 1210 used a seal⁵¹ of similar design. Both of these have the legend:—

SIGILLUM ABBATIS DE BELLELANDA

Another abbot's seal,⁵² used in 1186, has a design of an arm and hand holding a crozier, with the legend:—

✠ SIGILLVM ABBATIS BELLELANDE

22. FOUNTAINS ABBEY

At the time that the work of St. Bernard had begun to make itself felt in England, when the abbey of Rievaulx had just been founded,¹ the great Benedictine house of St. Mary in York, under the rule of its third abbot, Geoffrey, was somewhat lax as to its internal discipline,² and as the reports reached the brethren of the more rigorous form of monasticism being observed in such places as Rievaulx, the monks of St. Mary began to long for a stricter rule. The one first influenced seems to have been the sacrist, Richard, and others soon joined him. The prior of the house, also named Richard, shared their views, and before long became the leader of the dissatisfied group of thirteen brethren.³ The abbot remonstrated, but the thirteen, led by the prior, made their wishes known to Archbishop Thurstan, who at once sympathized with them. The archbishop

⁴² York Archiepis. Reg. Waldby, fol. 6.

⁴³ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 7.

⁴⁴ The surname Helperby occurs on a fragment of an antiphoner shown to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope on 1 July 1905, and then belonging to Mr. F. C. Eales.

⁴⁵ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 27.

⁴⁶ Occurs on the fragment of the antiphoner above mentioned as abbot on feast of Assumption 1479, when John Ferlington, afterwards abbot, entered the cell of the novices.

⁴⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 345. ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Cat. of Seals, B.M.*, 2818; Add. Chart. 20546.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 2819; Cott. Chart. v, 13.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 2821; xlix, 14.

⁵² *Ibid.* 2822; lxxiv, 27.

¹ In 1131 (*Surt. Soc. Publ.* lxxvii, 116). ² *Ibid.*

³ *Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, p. xxvi.

paid a visit to the abbey on 9 October 1132, accompanied by Dean Hugh⁴ and many others. On their arrival at the chapter-house they were refused admission and a tumultuous scene followed, the archbishop placing the abbey under an interdict and himself and friends having to seek refuge in the church. When they left they were accompanied by the thirteen malcontent monks; Richard the prior,⁵ Gervase the sub-prior,⁶ Richard the sacrist,⁷ Walter⁸ the almoner,⁹ Robert the precentor,¹⁰ Ranulph,¹¹ Alexander (?),¹² Geoffrey,¹³ Gregory, Thomas, Hamo, Gamel and Ralph,¹⁴ and they were joined by Robert, a monk of Whitby.¹⁵

For nearly three months these brethren were the guests of the archbishop. But during that time the abbot did his utmost by force, threat, entreaty and other means to persuade them to return. Two of them yielded, Gervase and Ralph, but the former rejoined the group, whilst the latter 'made terms with his flesh, and his belly clave to the ground.' These thirteen brethren—the twelve and Robert of Whitby—spent Christmas Day with the archbishop at Ripon, and the following day he led them along the valley of the Skell to a spot 3 miles from Ripon, which with land adjacent he gave to them as the site of their future monastery. Richard the prior was elected the first abbot of the abbey of Fountains,¹⁶ on the morrow of the Feast of the Nativity, 1132.¹⁷

They formally decided to adopt the Cistercian rule, and put themselves in communication with St. Bernard,¹⁸ explaining their circumstances and origin and asking that they might be admitted to the order. St. Bernard replied expressing his delight at their decision, and wrote also to the archbishop, extolling him for his goodness to the suffering monks.¹⁹ He dispatched one of his monks, Geoffrey, to initiate them into the new rule, who, on his return to Clairvaux, gave so glowing a report²⁰ of all he had witnessed in the valley of the Skell that the little society was at

⁴ He afterwards retired to Fountains, where he died.

⁵ First Abbot of Fountains.

⁶ Afterwards Abbot of Louth Park.

⁷ Second Abbot of Fountains.

⁸ Waltheof is given in *Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, p. xxv.

⁹ Abbot of Kirkstead.

¹⁰ *Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, p. xxix.

¹¹ Abbot of Lisa (*ibid.* p. xlvi).

¹² First Abbot of Kirkstall.

¹³ Abbot of Haverholme (*Surt. Soc. Publ.*, xlii, p. xli).

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. xxxiii.

¹⁵ Saint Robert of Newminster, of which he was abbot.

¹⁶ The dedication was St. Mary, the ordinary appellation being Fountains.

¹⁷ *Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, p. xxxiv.

¹⁸ Raine, *St. Mary's Abbey*, 51.

¹⁹ *Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, p. xxxv.

²⁰ Raine, *St. Mary's Abbey*, 52.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

once augmented by the addition of seven clerks and ten novices.²¹

Great suffering lay before the infant community, however. A famine arose, and so scarce was food that they had to cook for themselves herbs and leaves, and the famous elm under which they sheltered 'conferred on them a two-fold blessing, affording protection in winter and providing food in summer.'²² But after two years of this privation, the brethren felt that they must seek relief, and the abbot repaired to St. Bernard, asking that he and his community might be received at Clairvaux. To this request the saint acceded, one of the Clairvaux granges being destined for their use.²³ But just at this time, during Abbot Richard's absence, the Dean of York, Hugh, resigned his deanery and retired to Fountains, carrying with him his great wealth,²⁴ and a collection of scriptural works, and the contemplated migration to France was abandoned.²⁵

The charter of foundation, which still exists at Studley, is undated, but as William the dean was a witness,²⁶ it was not drawn up, evidently, until Hugh the dean had retired to the abbey. Before Fountains reached her majority²⁷ she was the mother abbey of seven Cistercian establishments—Newminster,²⁸ founded 1138; Kirkstead,²⁹ 1139; Woburn,³⁰ 1145; Lisa,³¹ 1146; Vaudey,³² 1147; Kirkstall,³³ 1147; and Meaux,³⁴ 1150. Thirteen was the regulation number of monks, according to the Cistercian *Consuetudines*, for commencing a new abbey of that order, and these various emigrations from the parent house would be a drain upon the monks; but the abbey of Fountains suffered no diminution of vigour, and with the passage of the years the supply of brethren seemed to increase. In 1147 there was a great contention about William Fitz Herbert's deposition from the northern primacy. The Cistercians had opposed his election, and the Abbot of Fountains, Murdac, led the opposition. When William was suspended his partisans rushed to Fountains to seize the abbot, but though he was in the church, prostrate in adoration before the altar, he was missed; the church was set on fire, and the abbey sacked.³⁵ Abbot Murdac became archbishop in William's stead, and the fabric rose 'far more beautiful than it

had been before.'³⁶ Before the end of the century the conventual buildings were well advanced, and in 1204 Abbot John of York began the work of enlarging the church eastwards. The church was finished in 1245 by Abbot John de Cantia,³⁷ who built and finished the nine altars, the cloister, infirmary, pavement, and guest-house for poor and rich.³⁸

Near the end of the 12th century, during an outbreak of the plague, the poor crowded to the abbey in such numbers that the ordinary accommodation was inadequate, and improvised tents were fitted up. Nurses and priests were provided for their temporal and spiritual needs, and whilst in many places ordinary Christian burial was dispensed with, at Fountains those who succumbed to the plague were buried with the full rites of the Church.³⁹

During the 13th and 14th centuries, but specially during the 13th, there was scarcely a year that was not characterized by some considerable grant or donation to the abbot and convent. A long list, consisting of 61 folio pages, of these various gifts is supplied by Dr. Burton.⁴⁰

But, notwithstanding all these riches lavished upon the abbey, there was still need for economy and care, and towards the end of the 13th century the monks were found to be in great poverty. This was partly due to the great expenses that had been incurred in the costly building,⁴¹ and partly because of internal laxity,⁴² the archbishop at that time writing to the Cistercian houses in England that the monks at Fountains had become the diversion of all men.⁴³

In their financial troubles the convent, it seems, had gone for relief to the Jews, and in 1274 we find Philip de Wylgheby appointed abbey custodian because the house was in debt to the king, by reason of a loan in the king's Jewry, and also owing money to divers creditors.⁴⁴ In the same year, on 9 November, a grant was made to Anthony Bek, clerk of the household, of all debts, &c., wherein the abbot and convent are bound to Jews.⁴⁵ On 24 June 1275 Edward I acquitted the abbey of £900 owed by them to Joces and Bonamies, Jews of York, which the king gave to Antony Bek, to whom the money had been paid by the abbot and convent.⁴⁶ The debt on the abbey had been £6,373, but in 1290 this liability had been reduced to £1,293.⁴⁷ In the following year, 1291, John de Berewin,

²¹ *Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, p. xxxvi. Burton in *Mon. Ebor.* 142, says 'ten priests and laymen.'

²² *Hospitium in hyeme, in aestate pulmentum* (*Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, 49).

²³ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 142.

²⁴ Drake, *Eboracum* (small ed.), v, 158.

²⁵ *Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, p. xxxvii. ²⁶ *Ibid.* 156.

²⁷ *Fasti Ebor.* 214. ²⁸ *Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, 58.

²⁹ *Ibid.* pp. xl, xli. ³⁰ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xv, 273.

³¹ In Norway, *Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, 89. ³² *Ibid.* 93.

³³ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 287.

³⁴ *Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, 94. Meaux was 'novissima filiarum quas genuit mater nostra, et cessavit iterum parere' (*Dugdale, Mon. Angl.* v, 302).

³⁵ *Fasti Ebor.* 216.

³⁶ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xv, 276.

³⁷ Lawton, *Relig. Houses*, 55; Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 142.

³⁸ *Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, 136.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 61.

⁴⁰ *Mon. Ebor.* 148-209.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 142.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 98.

⁴⁴ Pat. 2 Edw. I, m. 7.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* m. 2.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 3 Edw. I, m. 17.

⁴⁷ *Surt. Soc. Publ.* lxvii, p. vi.

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king's clerk, was appointed by Edward I to the custody of the abbey, to apply the revenues to 'the relief of the impoverished condition into which it had fallen.'⁴⁸ And that no additional debt might be incurred, 'no sheriff, bailiff or other minister or other person whatsoever was to lodge in the abbey or its granges during the said custody.'⁴⁹ The monks suffered considerably through the invasions of the Scots,⁵⁰ so much so that on 25 November 1319 the king exempted them from taxation.⁵¹

In the year 1317 some of the abbey granges were in a ruinous condition,⁵² and frequent invasions were made by the Scots. Edward III therefore in 1327 issued a mandate to the abbot ordering him and other abbots to stay at home and give their attention to the custody of their respective abbeys, inasmuch as the Scots, 'our foes and rebels,' were making attacks on the kingdom, 'perpetrating murders, robberies, fires, and other inhuman evils.'⁵³

In 1344 certain 'satellites of Satan, unmindful of their salvation,' had irreverently invaded the granges, manors, and other properties of the abbey, and on 26 August the chapter of York in the dean's absence issued a mandate to excommunicate all such felonious intruders into the monastic possessions.⁵⁴

In the year 1363, a petition sent to the abbey of Clairvaux, asking that the brethren at Fountains might convert many of their ruined granges into 'vills' and farm them out to secular persons, was granted. These granges, now 'perished, burnt and reduced to nothing' by the 'wars of the Scotch and English,' were at Aldborough, Sleningsford, Sutton, Cowton, Cayton, Bramley, Bradley, Kilnsea, and Thorpe.⁵⁵

On the death of Abbot Robert Burley, in 1410, Roger Frank, one of the monks, was appointed on 30 July as his successor.⁵⁶ There was a great disturbance in consequence, Frank being expelled and John Ripon⁵⁷ elected abbot. Ripon petitioned Parliament in 1414 that the expelled abbot should be made to restore certain properties of great value which he had appropriated. But he was informed that sufficient remedy was to be obtained from the common

law. Then Frank petitioned Parliament asking for restoration to his abbacy, declaring that Ripon had been appointed by a bull purchased from the pope by means of which he himself had been ousted.⁵⁸ In the end the king referred the matter to his ambassadors at the council of Constance, but their decision is not known, though Frank was certainly not restored, Ripon retaining the abbacy till his death in 1434.⁵⁹ Sometime (1410-15) during the great papal schism the anti-pope John XXIII granted an indult to the Abbot John and his successors at Fountains to use the mitre and ring and pastoral staff and all other episcopal *insignia*, and to give in the monastery and in the churches of its daughter monasteries, &c., solemn benediction after mass, vespers and matins, provided that no bishop or papal legate were then present; to consecrate altars, vessels, chalices, corporals, &c.; to promote monks of the order to all minor orders, &c., to rehabilitate the monks, &c. This indult, however, was annulled on 5 May 1428 by Pope Martin V.⁶⁰ But the privilege must have been renewed subsequently, for certainly the Abbots of Fountains wore the mitre, and in the inventory of church goods made just before the Dissolution the mitre figures more than once. One mitre had 'edges of silver and gilt and set with round pieces of silver, white like pearl, and flower'd of silver, and gilt in midward.' It weighed 12 oz. and was valued at £2 12s. Another mitre was of silver gilt and set with pearl and stone. Its weight was 70 oz. and it was valued at £15 3s. 4d. The pastoral staff and ring and the other 'episcopal insignia' are also found in the inventory,⁶¹ and are clear evidence that the head of Fountains, in later times at all events, was a 'mitred abbot.'

In 1443 Sir John Neville was charged before the Privy Council, on pain of £1,000, to bring the men who had been lately making a riot at the abbey. He pleaded ignorance of the parties, but promised to have them brought, and he was charged to keep the peace with regard to the house, 'so that by him, nother by his, nother by their abettement, nother procuring, any harme in body, nother in goods, be done to the saide Abbot, convent, nother to their servantz, nother welwillers.'⁶² A commission was issued the next year by Archbishop Kemp against certain anonymous 'sons of iniquity' who had infringed the liberties of the house; they were to be warned that within three months they must make restitution under pain of the greater excommunication.⁶³

⁴⁸ Ibid. 212.

⁴⁹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 288.

⁵⁰ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vii, 144.

⁵¹ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 144.

⁵² *Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, 222, 223.

⁵³ Ibid. 223-5.

⁴⁸ Pat. 19 Edw. I, m. 13.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ So much damage was done by destruction, fire, and robbery that the whole *communa* of the abbey did not suffice for the daily sustentation of the brethren. York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 129 (under date 26 July 1318).

⁵¹ Rymer, *Foedera*, iii, 802.

⁵² *Surt. Soc. Publ.* lxvii, p. vii.

⁵³ Scotch R. 1 Edw. III, m. 3 d.

⁵⁴ *Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, 199, 200.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 203, 204, quoting the original licence at Studley Royal.

⁵⁶ Ibid. lxvii, p. vii; York Archiepis. Reg. Bowett, fol. 265.

⁵⁷ Abbot of Meaux: *Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, 211.

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William Thirsk, who was at the head of the house in 1526,⁶⁴ was evidently not a great success. About 1530⁶⁵ the Earl of Northumberland wrote through Thomas Arundel to Cardinal Wolsey complaining of his bad rule, and suggesting, with the evident approval of the brethren, that if 'matter of deprivation' could be found, he should be removed from the abbacy and a new election be made.⁶⁶ Thirsk, it appears, was visitor-general of the Cistercian houses, and when the Abbot of Rievaulx was deposed, the king asked Thirsk to confirm the act. He hesitated to undertake this and certain other contingent matters,⁶⁷ and when afterwards he took part in the 'Pilgrimage of Grace,' he was tried and found guilty and was hanged at Tyburn in 1537. Thirsk had resigned the abbacy on 20 January 1536 to Legh and Layton, who accused him of incontinence and theft and termed him an idiot, but promised him a pension of 100 marks.⁶⁸ After his enforced resignation he retired to the abbey of Rievaulx and 'appears to have been partly persuaded to join the Pilgrimage' by hopes of regaining his abbacy.⁶⁹

When the religious houses were visited, Fountains of course was easily seen to be among those not to be dissolved in the first instance. The Dean of York and Edward the Abbot of Rievaulx made an inventory of the abbey plate, goods, &c., which is given in full by Burton⁷⁰ and the Surtees Society's publication.⁷¹ The total value of the plate was over £900, that in the church alone being valued at £519 15s. 5d. The number of cattle of various kinds is also given. Of horned cattle there were 2,356, of sheep 1,326, horses 86, swine 79. The total annual revenue from various rents, &c., at this time was £1,239 6s. 3½d., the outgoing £123 8s. 1½d., and the clear remainder £1,115 18s. 2d.⁷²

The surrender of the abbey was made on 26 November 1539⁷³ by Abbot Marmaduke Bradley, the prior, and thirty brethren,⁷⁴ all priests. On 28 November pensions were assigned to the abbot (£100), prior (£8) and monks (£5 to £6 13s. 4d.).⁷⁵

It was intended that the revenues of Fountains should be applied to the foundation of a bishopric of Fountains to include the archdeaconry of

Richmond with jurisdiction over Lancashire. A draft of the scheme,⁷⁶ which embraced a bishop, dean, six prebendaries, and six minor canons, besides choristers and masters of the grammar and song schools and other contemplated officers and charges, estimated the total cost at £589 6s. 8d. Allowances were also made for tenths and first-fruits, making the total £669 13s. 9d. This, together with the amount of pensions, £277 6s. 8d., would nearly have exhausted the 'clear remainder' of the abbey revenues, which was £998 6s. 8½d.⁷⁷ But the scheme was not consummated.

ABBOTS OF FOUNTAINS⁷⁸

Richard, first abbot,⁷⁹ elected 1132, died 1139⁸⁰
 Richard, succeeded 1139, died 1143⁸¹
 Henry Murdac, succeeded 1143, died 1153⁸²
 Maurice, succeeded 1146, resigned
 Thorold,⁸³ succeeded 1146, resigned⁸⁴
 Richard,⁸⁵ died 1170
 Robert de Pipewell,⁸⁶ succeeded 1170, died 1179
 William,⁸⁷ died 1190
 Ralph Haget,⁸⁸ died 1203
 John de Eboraco,⁸⁹ elected 1203, died 1209⁹⁰
 John Pherd,⁹¹ Bishop of Ely 1220
 John de Cancia, succeeded 1220, died 1247
 Stephen de Eston,⁹² occurs 1251-2, died 1252
 William de Allerton, occurs 1256, died 1258
 Adam, died 1259
 Alexander, died 1265
 Reginald, occurs 1268-9, died 1274
 Peter Aling, elected 1275, resigned 1279⁹³

⁷⁶ Aug. Off. P. xxiv, fol. 77.

⁷⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 312.

⁷⁸ This list is taken from Baildon's *Mon. Notes* except where otherwise specified.

⁷⁹ *Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, 130.

⁸⁰ Buried at Rome (*ibid.*).

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² Apparently held the primacy and abbacy conjointly.

⁸³ Maurice and Thorold were appointed by Archbishop Murdac, and in the 'President's Book' are not called fourth and fifth abbots. Richard is called fourth abbot.

⁸⁴ Thorold came from Rievaulx, to which he returned after his resignation.

⁸⁵ Richard, like Maurice and Thorold, until 1153 ruled the abbey 'under the Archbishop.'

⁸⁶ Formerly Abbot of Pipewell.

⁸⁷ Formerly canon of Guisborough and Abbot of Newminster.

⁸⁸ Originally a soldier, Abbot of Kirkstall 1182-90.

⁸⁹ 'President's Bk.' *Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, 154.

⁹⁰ Died 14 June 1209 (*Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, 133). Formerly Abbot of Louth Park.

⁹¹ Called 'Johannes Elien' in President's Bk.

⁹² Formerly cellarer of Fountains, afterwards Abbot of Sawley and then Abbot of Newminster.

⁹³ 'Cessavit aut depositus fuit Petrus' (*Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, 139).

⁶⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 288.

⁶⁵ *Ante* 4 Nov. 1530, the date of Wolsey's arrest.

⁶⁶ *Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, 252.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 260.

⁶⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 137.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* xiii (2), 500. ⁷⁰ *Mon. Ebor.* 143-7.

⁷¹ *Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, 288-95.

⁷² Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 146, 147.

⁷³ *Surt. Soc. Publ.* lxvii, p. x.

⁷⁴ The number of monks varied. In 1380-1 the abbot was taxed at 10s. 7½d., thirty-three monks at 3s. 4d. each, and ten *conversi* at 1s. each (Subs. R. 63, no. 12).

⁷⁵ *Mon. Angl.* v, 313.

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Nicholas, elected 1279, died 1279
 Adam,⁹⁴ elected 1280, died 1284
 Henry de Otley, elected 1284, died 1289 (?)
 Robert Thornton, occurs 1289,⁹⁵ died 1306
 Robert Bisshopton, occurs 1307,^{95a} died 1310
 William Rigton, succeeded 1311,⁹⁶ resigned
 1316
 Walter de Cokewold, occurs 1316,⁹⁷ resigned
 1336
 Robert Copgrave, occurs 1336,^{97a} 1342,^{97b} died
 1346
 Robert Monkton, occurs 1346, died 1369
 William Gower, succeeded 1369,⁹⁸ resigned
 1383⁹⁹
 Robert Burley, succeeded 1383,¹⁰⁰ died 1410
 Roger Frank, succeeded 1410, expelled
 John Ripon, occurs 1413, died 1434
 Thomas Paslew, succeeded 1435,¹⁰¹ resigned
 1442
 John Martin, succeeded 1442,¹⁰² died 1442
 John Greenwell, occurs 1444, 1471
 (5 February)
 Thomas Swynton,¹⁰³ occurs 1471, resigned
 1478
 John Darneton, succeeded 1478¹⁰⁴
 Marmaduke Huby,¹⁰⁵ occurs 1494, 1516

⁹⁴ 'Adam Ravenswath' (*Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, 140).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*; *Cal. Pat.* 1281-92, p. 319.

^{95a} *Ibid.* 1301-7, p. 547.

⁹⁶ He was blessed in the sixth year of Archbishop Greenfield's pontificate, which seems to point to 1310 as the date of his appointment (*York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield*, a slip between fol. 52 and 53), but the President's Book says he was made abbot 6 Apr. 1311 (*Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, 141).

⁹⁷ The Dean and chapter of York asked R. the Bishop of Durham, the primacy being then vacant, to bless Walter de Cokewold, Abbot of Fountains, in some church or chapel in York diocese (*York Archiepis. Reg. sede vac.* fol. 84).

^{97a} *Duchy of Lanc. Misc. Bks.* vii, 1.

^{97b} *Year Bk.* 16 *Edw. III* (Rolls Ser.), 283. The plea quoted gives Adam as abbot in 1290, followed by Robert, Hugh, and William, temp. *Edw. I.*, and Walter, temp. *Edw. II.* It seems impossible to reconcile this succession with our list.

⁹⁸ He was blessed, 25 Nov. 1369, in the chapel at Bishopthorpe (*York Archiepis. Reg. Thoresby*, fol. 293b).

⁹⁹ Gower was blind in his old age and died in 1390 (*Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, 145).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*
¹⁰¹ On 26 Mar. 1435 the Bishop of Dromore was commissioned to bless Thomas Passelew, Abbot of Fountains and receive his oath of obedience; *York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp*, fol. 392 d.

¹⁰² Oath of obedience, 14 Sept. 1442 (*ibid.* fol. 45).

¹⁰³ Called Thomas Wynston in *York Archiepis. Reg. Alex. Nevill*, fol. 136b, but in 1478 he is called Thomas Swynton (*ibid.* Booth, fol. 87), as he is in 1476; *Cal. Pat.* 1467-77, p. 602.

¹⁰⁴ He was cellarer when he was unanimously elected (*Surt. Soc. Publ.* xlii, 150 n.).

¹⁰⁵ In his time was built the noble tower still remaining. He was 'made Abbot' in 1494 (*ibid.* 230 n.), *York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham*, i, fol. 83.

William Thirsk, occurs 1526,¹⁰⁶ hanged 1537
 Marmaduke Bradley, occurs 1537, last abbot.

The seal¹⁰⁷ of an abbot of the beginning of the 13th century is a vesica, 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. by 1 in. It has a figure of the abbot standing and holding staff and book, with the legend—

SIGILLVM ABBA ONTANIS

The 16th-century seal¹⁰⁸ of the court is circular, $\frac{7}{8}$ in. in diameter, with a design of our Lady holding the Child. The legend is—

✠ CVRIA B. MARIÆ DE FONTIBVS

23. THE ABBEY OF JERVAULX

The story of the origin and foundation of the abbey of Jervaulx is told at great length in the lost Register of Byland Abbey, quoted in the *Monasticon*.¹ The writer records that a certain knight, Akarius Fitz Bardolph, gave to a monk of Savigny, Peter de Quinciaco by name, and other monks of that house who were for some reason then residing in the neighbourhood, part of his land at Fors, in Wensleydale, where they might found an abbey. How these monks came to be in those parts is not explained, but it seems not unlikely that they were sojourning, for some reason or other, at the court of Alan, Earl of Richmond. The lands which Fitz Bardolph gave them, and other grants, made or to be made, Alan as his over-lord confirmed.

Alan instructed Peter to inform him when the first building was to be erected, that he might be present. All being ready, Peter sought the earl as he had been told to do, and the latter, coming to the place where the first building was to be raised, summoned by name four or five of the knights who had accompanied him, and said *jocundo vultu quasi in ludendo*, 'We all have great lands and possessions, now therefore let us help with our own hands and build this house in the name of Our Lord, and let each of us give land, or revenue, in perpetual alms for the maintenance of the part which each shall have raised.'² Some readily assented, but others refused, except conditionally. In this way the first house of wood was built in 1145.

Soon after this Earl Alan, visiting Savigny, informed the abbot that Brother Peter and the

¹⁰⁶ A commission was given, 22 Oct. 1526, to Matthew, Bishop of Calcedon, to bless Bro. William Thirsk, Abbot of Fountains. (*York Archiepis. Reg. Wolsey*, fol. 84.)

¹⁰⁷ *Cat. of Seals, B.M.* 3170; lxxiv, 46.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 3169; D.C.H. 35.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 569-74.

² *Ibid.* no. iii.

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other monks had begun an abbey in his lordship, not far from his castle of Richmond, and he gave the abbey, then it is said rather planned than in being, to the abbot, who accepted it but unwillingly, not being favourably disposed to the scheme.

Peter, the zealous promoter of this new *plantatio*, wrote to the Abbot of Savigny asking him to send an abbot and convent to inhabit the new monastery. The Abbot of Savigny, however, remembering the dangers, labours and injury which his monks had sustained who had been sent to different places in England to construct abbeys, wrote to Brother Peter that he had acted most foolishly in beginning the abbey without the advice of the house of Savigny.³

In 1146⁴ Abbot Roger of Byland set out to attend a general chapter at Savigny, and Brother Peter begged him to take a letter to the abbot and bring back a reply.

The matter was brought before the chapter general, at which, besides Abbot Roger, the only abbots present from England were those of Quarr and Neath, and the question was discussed by the fifteen abbots present.

Eventually the Abbot of Savigny, to whom Jervaulx had been confirmed by Conan, Alan's heir and successor, decided not to send an abbot and convent of monks from Savigny. The chapter general decided, however, that the new abbey should be subjected to Byland, the nearest house of the order to it. As Abbot Roger could not stay longer, he constituted the Abbot of Quarr his proxy. When the chapter was over, Serlo, the Abbot of Savigny, delivered to the Abbot of Quarr the charter of the gift of Jervaulx to Byland, and enjoined the abbot to visit all the order in England that year, and if he found that a convent could be maintained at Fors, then he was to deliver the charter to the Abbot of Byland and put him in full possession of Fors. If, however, he found that Fors could not maintain a convent, then he was to retain the charter and tell Brother Peter to take good care of Fors and develop it for the proper use of the Abbey of Savigny. At the following Easter the Abbot of Quarr visited Byland, accompanied by a monk of Savigny named Matthew. When the formal visitation was over, Brother Peter conducted the Abbots of Quarr and Byland to Jervaulx, and there the Abbot of Quarr gave Brother Peter the sealed letters of the Abbot of Savigny and told him that the new *plantatio* had been committed to Byland.

Brother Peter addressed the Abbot of Quarr, telling him that he and his two associates to whom the site had been given in the first instance had toiled there much, and that, blessed be the Most High, they had 5 ploughs at work,

40 cows with their young, 16 mares with their foals given by the earl, 5 sows with their young, 300 sheep, and 30 skins in tan, and wax and oil for two years, and they were confident that they could find bread, ale, cheese and butter for the first year, and they believed that an abbot and convent could begin with what there was in the place till it should please God to provide more bountifully for them. He added that if the Abbot of Byland promised to send an abbot and convent with perpetual succession, they would hand over the place with all its substance. This the Abbot of Byland promised to do. Upon this the charter of Serlo was read by the Abbot of Quarr.

Brother Peter then handed all over to the Abbot of Byland, and with his two fellow monks and a *conversus* made profession to him. Another *conversus* refused this profession and returned to Savigny with the monk Matthew. The Abbot of Byland then entrusted Brother Peter with the care of the place, which he often visited, and he appointed one monk to the office of the hostelry and a *conversus* as tanner.

On his way to a general chapter of the Cistercian order in 1147 Abbot Roger of Byland went to Savigny, and was told that if he wished to fulfil his engagement with the Abbot of Quarr and Peter de Quinciaco no obstacle would be raised. He then promised that shortly after his return home he would fulfil his engagement.

On the third day of the general chapter at Citeaux, the Abbot of Citeaux, according to rule, ordered that the names of the abbeys founded during the year should be entered in the Cistercian Table, and at the suggestion of St. Bernard and of the Abbot of Savigny, the name of the abbey of Jervaulx was inscribed in the table of Citeaux. When Abbot Roger returned home to Byland he ordered the cellarer to convey the better bell of the parish church of Old Byland, on a wagon, to the abbey of Jervaulx. This was speedily done, and after the feast of the Circumcision (1 January) Abbot Roger went to Jervaulx and stayed there till the Purification (2 February), arranging the external and internal affairs of the place. Then, leaving, he ordered Brother Peter and his two associate monks to be at Byland on the first Sunday in Lent. When that Sunday arrived, Abbot Roger said that he had delayed completing his promise in order to do it better and more securely, and now invoking the divine grace he ordained and constituted in the name of the several persons of the Holy Trinity Brother John de Kinstan abbot. Upon this nomination all rose at once, and lifting John de Kinstan on their arms, bore him to the high altar, exclaiming '*Tu es abbas Jorevallis.*' John de Kinstan was one of those who left Calder with Abbot Gerald and began the Abbey of Byland.

³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* no. v.

⁴ Ibid.

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Then Abbot Roger named Brother Peter and his two associates and nine monks of the convent, absolving them from their profession to him that they might make profession to Abbot John, and on Wednesday, 8 March 1150,⁵ Abbot John with the twelve monks set out for Jervaulx. Abbot John was received by Akarius the founder and many nobles. He appointed Brother Edwald his prior and Brother Peter cellarer.

Although throughout this account the new foundation has been generally spoken of as that of Jervaulx, it must be borne in mind that it was the earlier house at Fors, some 16 miles higher up the valley than the subsequent site of Jervaulx Abbey, that is alluded to. It was afterwards called *Vallis Grangia*, and is still known as Dale Grange. For four years the new abbot and convent lived there, but in the fifth year such heavy rains fell in those parts at Michaelmas that, when the monks ought to have been harvesting, all their seeds perished.

In consequence of this, Abbot Roger sent them five measures (*skeppas*) of grain for sowing, and they bought more elsewhere. Still they were in need, and seeing the sterility of the land, which on account of rain and intemperate atmosphere would not mature their crops, they often contemplated returning to their mother house, but were prevented by fear of the scorn of the men, who would say 'These monks began to build, but were not able to finish.' When Abbot Roger came, according to custom, to visit them, he found Abbot John and his convent in dire distress for the reasons mentioned. They had spent that year more than all the money they had received for wool and beasts, in buying corn. Abbot Roger, therefore, to relieve their necessity, sent them again five measures (*skeppas*) of grain, and ten of malt, against the autumn. Moreover, with the assent of the convent of Byland, he gave them 10 bovates of land in Ellington.

Peter, the cellarer, urged against returning to Byland and went to Earl Alan in Brittany, where he showed the earl, with tears, their desolation, so that the latter wrote to Abbot John not to leave Jervaulx, and that he would assist them well on his return to Richmond. Alan, however, was a long time in coming to England, and as Abbot John had nothing with which to maintain his convent for a whole year, he sent five of his monks to board at Byland and three to Furness. Nearly two years elapsed before Earl Alan came to Richmond, when Abbot John showed him the grave defects from which the convents were suffering, and asked his help, because if he did not afford them assistance the convent would have to leave the sterile district.

⁵ This and the previous nomination and election of John de Kinstan as abbot give the year 1150 as that of the formal inauguration of the new abbey, and the commencement of the abbacy of John de Kinstan.

Alan replied that he would speak to his steward and others as to the complaint, and would do what they advised. He took Peter the cellarer with him and granted him a large pasturage in Wensleydale. Conan, his son, as the site appeared to him useless and insufficient for building the abbey, gave to Abbot John his waste and uncultivated land in East Witton, and in 1156 Abbot John and the convent moved from Fors to the site in East Witton.

The writer having related all these incidents as to the origin of Jervaulx Abbey lapses into the marvellous, but it is a very pretty story that he tells. He says that after Abbot John and his monks had set out from Byland, as they spent the night in a village, the name of which he had often heard but had forgotten, Abbot John had a dream or vision. He seemed to be in the cloister at Byland, and Abbot Roger had directed him to set out with a number of monks for a far-off place, there to receive orders (*ad ordines recipiendos*), and as he was passing out he beheld in the middle of the cloister a most noble lady, richly clothed, whose beauty excelled all earthly beauty, and who bore on her left arm a beautiful boy, whose face was as the brightness of the moon. The boy plucked a branch from a tree in the middle of the cloister and then they vanished from his sight. The abbot and his companions departed, but when they had gone a little way they found themselves straitly shut in within a place surrounded with thorns and brambles and rocks, and there seemed no escape. In despair the abbot suggested that they should say their office. No sooner had they done so than there appeared the beautiful lady with her boy whom Abbot John had seen in the cloister. A colloquy proceeded between the abbot and the lady; eventually the abbot addressed her: 'Good lady, I humbly ask thee that thou wilt guide me and my companions, wandering in this unknown and straitened place, into the way to that city where the monks with God's help ought to be established. This I ask for the love of thy friends at Byland, to which house we all belong.' The lady replied that they had been of Byland, but were then of 'Jorevall.' When she named 'Jorevall' he greatly marvelled, and said, 'Good lady, show us the way to Jorevall, for thither are we bent.' Then she looked at her son and said, 'Most sweet son, for the love thou hast ever to me, be thou their guide.' And the boy, holding out the branch he had plucked at Byland, said, with a bright and joyous countenance, 'I am going forward, follow me without fear.' At length they reached an uncultivated and forbidding spot, where the boy planted the bough, saying, 'Here shall God be adored and invoked after a short time.' In a moment the bough grew into a most beautiful tree, full of white birds. The monks were to rest there, for that was the

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place they sought. Having planted the bough the boy vanished. Abbot John slept no more that night, but rose early in the morning, and he and his monks went on by moonlight. At daybreak they reached a village, and as some of the inhabitants looked out of their windows, they saw a number of persons in white pass by, and one of them said, 'What a number of white men are passing!' Abbot John hearing this hid in the shade by a wall, to learn what else might be said, and another man asked his companion, 'Do you know who these are?' and the other said, 'No.' Then he replied, 'It was told me yesterday at the hall that an abbot and twelve monks were migrating from Byland to Jorevall.' A third man who heard this, came out of his house, and took observations of the moon and stars and signs of the heavens, and said, 'These men are moving at a propitious time, and in a short period of thirty or forty years they will be in such a condition as to suffer from no deficiencies.' Abbot John hearing these words, it is said, hastened to his companions well comforted. The latter part of the story of the monks passing through the village has a matter-of-fact look of truth about it, while the vision or dream is one of those pretty mediaeval tales which tend to relieve the monotony of monastic history.

Hervey, son and heir of Akarius,⁶ by charter consented to the removal from Fors to the new and better site, on condition that he did not lose his patronage of the house or cease to be a partaker in the prayers and good works done in it. In 1156,⁷ therefore, the construction of the new abbey at Witton began, and the new house soon received fresh gifts from different donors.⁸

In 1268⁹ John, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, confirmed to the monks their abbey of Jervaulx, built in honour of the Blessed Mary, and he also confirmed all the gifts which the monks had of his ancestors, or any other persons in a number of places which are named, and by a later charter, dated 1281,¹⁰ he enlarged the rights of the monks very considerably in his forest of Wensleydale.

Little, however, is known for a long period of the history of Jervaulx. As a Cistercian house it was exempt from archiepiscopal visitation, and like the other houses of the order there are very few entries in the Registers as to it, and none which throw light on its internal life.

In 1279 the Cistercian Annals¹¹ record the murder of Philip, Abbot of Jervaulx, by one of

his monks. His successor, Abbot Thomas, was accused of complicity but was acquitted, the jury finding that the crime had been committed by William de Modither, one of the monks, who had fled and was outlawed.¹²

The abbey was so impoverished in 1403¹³ that Boniface IX granted a dispensation to Abbot Richard [Gower] that, seeing he could not decently keep up his estate and burdens, he might hold for life a benefice in the gift of himself and the convent, or any other benefice with cure, even if of lay patronage.

On 7 July 1409¹⁴ Pope Alexander V granted that Abbot Richard, who had been sent by the clergy of York to the general council then recently held at Pisa, and his successors, might wear the mitre, ring, and other pontifical *insignia*, and in the monastery and its subject priories and the churches belonging to it give solemn benediction after mass, vespers and matins, provided that no bishop or papal legate were present.

The gross annual value of the house, including temporalities and spiritualities, in 1535¹⁵ was £455 10s. 5d., but the reprises reduced the clear value to £234 18s. 5d. Among the reprises were the pensions of three chaplains celebrating at the altar of St. Stephen in the metropolitan church of York, of the foundation of the lord of Upsall, £20; £10 13s. 4d. to two chaplains in the chapel of Lazenby, of the foundation of John Lithgranes. Among the alms distributed were bread and white and red herrings, given to poor hermits and boys (*pauperibus hermitis et pueris*) costing £4 13s. 4d. yearly; alms on Maundy Thursday to parishioners of Aysgarth 6s. 8d., East Witton 6s. 8l., and Ainderby Steeple 3s. 4d.

The last abbot, Adam Sedbergh, joined the Pilgrimage of Grace, and suffered death by hanging at Tyburn in June 1537,¹⁶ when the monastic property was forfeited to the king.¹⁷

The letter of Richard Bellycis, written on 14 November 1538¹⁸ to Cromwell, may

¹² Assize R. 1064, m. 31 d.

¹³ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 1. Three years previously (1400) the same pope had granted Richard Abbot of Jervaulx an indult for him and his successors and for the monks when they went out of the monastery for a reasonable cause to eat meat on lawful days. *Ibid.* 329.

¹⁴ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 159. The grave-slab of Abbot Peter de Snape (d. 1436) at Jervaulx has a mitre on it (Cutts, *Manual of Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses*, plate lxxv, where it is figured); as has also the grave-slab of Abbot Thornton, now in Middleham Church. An illustration of the latter is given in Atthill's *Collegiate Ch. of Middleham* (Camd. Soc.), p. xx.

¹⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 241.

¹⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 567.

¹⁷ Exch. Inq. p.m. (Ser. 2), file 237, no. 24.

¹⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 567; Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 372, &c.

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 573, no. xii. ⁷ *Ibid.* 567.

⁸ A charter of Hen. III, 12 Feb. 1228, confirms a number of grants of lands, &c., mostly in the immediate district which different persons had made to the Abbot and monks of Jervaulx. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 576, no. xxi.

⁹ *Ibid.* 575, no. xvi.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* no. xvii.

¹¹ Martene, *Thesaurus Anecd.* iv, 1465.

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well conclude this account of Jervaulx. He writes :

I have taken down all the lead of Jervaux, and made it into pecys of half foddors, which lead amounteth to the number of eighteen score and five foddors, with thirty and four foddors and a half that were there before : and the said lead cannot be conveyt [conveyed] nor carried until the next sombre, for the ways in that countre are so foul and deep, that no caryage can pass in wyntre. And as concerninge the raising and taking down of the House, if it be your lordship's pleasure, I am minded to let it stand to the next spring of the year, by reason of the days are now so short, it would be double charges to do it now. And as concerninge the selling of the bells, I cannot sell them above fifteen shillings the hundred [weight]; wherein I wolde gladly know your lordship's pleasure, whether I sholde sell them after that price, or send them up to London ; and if they be sent up surely the caryage will be costly from that place to the water.

ABBOTS OF JERVAULX¹⁹

- John de Kinstan 1150,²⁰ occurs 1170²¹ (first abbot)²²
 John Brompton, occurs 1193²³
 William, occurs 1198,²⁴ 1209,²⁵ (third abbot)²⁶
 Thomas, occurs 1218^{26a}
 Eustace, occurs 1224²⁷ to 1254²⁸ (fifth abbot)²⁹
 Thomas, occurs 1258³⁰
 Philip, murdered 1279³¹
 Thomas, occurs 1280³²
 Ralph, occurs 1289,³³ 1300³⁴
 Simon de Miggelle, confirmed 1304³⁵
 John, died (or resigned) 1312³⁶ (eighth abbot)³⁷

¹⁹ There were twenty-three abbots of Jervaulx, and the grave-slabs of six which remain record their order of succession, and are valuable helps towards arranging a complete list. There seems to have been one abbot whose name is not now known. The six whose grave slabs are preserved are John de Kinstan, William, Eustace, John, Peter de Snape and Robert Thornton.

²⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 571, no. vi.

²¹ Ibid. 567, quoting Cole MS.

²² Grave-slab at Jervaulx.

²³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 567, quoting Willis.

²⁴ Ibid. ²⁵ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 92.

²⁶ Grave-slab at Jervaulx.

^{26a} Le Neve's MS. Cal. Feet of F. 2 Hen. III.

²⁷ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 92.

²⁸ Feet of F. file 47, no. 20, Hil. 38 Hen. III.

²⁹ Grave-slab at Jervaulx.

³⁰ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 92.

³¹ Assize R. 1064, m. 31 d.

³² Ibid ; Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 92.

³³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 567, quoting Willis.

³⁴ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 92.

³⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. sed. vac. fol. 33.

³⁶ Ibid. Greenfield, ii, slip between fol. 175 and 176.

³⁷ Grave-slab at Jervaulx : should, apparently, be *eleventh*.

- Thomas de Gristhwayte, confirmed 1312³⁸
 occurs 1338^{38a}
 Hugh, occurs 1342³⁹
 John, occurs 1349⁴⁰
 John de Rokewyk, occurs 1398⁴¹
 Richard Gower, elected 1399⁴²
 Peter de Snape, elected 1425⁴³ (seventeenth abbot)⁴⁴
 John Brompton II, confirmed 1436,⁴⁵ occurs 1464⁴⁶
 William Jerome, occurs 1469^{46a}
 William Heslington,⁴⁷ elected 1475⁴⁸
 Robert Thornton, elected 1510⁴⁹ (twenty-second abbot)⁵⁰
 Adam Sedbergh, elected 1533⁵¹ (last abbot)⁵²

The 14th-century seal⁵³ is a vesica, 2½ in. by 1½ in., showing the abbot standing in a canopied niche holding staff and book. On his right is a shield of the arms of St. Quintin—three chevrons with a chief vair, and on his left another shield charged with a saltire. The legend is broken away.

A second seal,⁵⁴ somewhat similar but more elaborate in design, has an additional shield of arms in the base which appears to be barry.

24. THE ABBEY OF KIRKSTALL

On a bed of sickness Henry Lacy, grandson of Ilbert de Lacy, to whom the Conqueror had given with other possessions the lordship of Blackburnshire, vowed that if he recovered he would found an abbey of the Cistercian order. Having recovered, he made a grant to the Abbot of Fountains of the village of Barnoldswick, close to the boundaries of Yorkshire and Lancashire, and within his lordship of Blackburn.¹

³⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, ii, slip between fol. 175 and 176.

^{38a} *Cal. Pat.* 1338-40, p. 178.

³⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 65.

⁴⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 567 (Query 'de Newby' mentioned 1378, Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 92.)

⁴¹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 121.

⁴² York Archiepis. Reg. Scrope, fol. 100b.

⁴³ Ibid. sed. vac. fol. 408.

⁴⁴ Grave-slab at Jervaulx.

⁴⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 392b.

⁴⁶ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 92.

^{46a} Ibid.

⁴⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 567.

⁴⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. G. Nevill, fol. 175

⁴⁹ Ibid. Bainbridge, fol. 20b.

⁵⁰ Grave-slab, Middleham Collegiate Ch.

⁵¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 567.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ *Cat. of Seals, B.M.* 3315, lxxxiv, 68.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 3316, lxxiv, 69.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 530, &c. no. i, ii, from which the earlier history of the house and its foundation is derived. The chartulary (Duchy of Lanc. Misc. Bks. vii), printed by the Thoresby Soc., contains much information as to the endowment of the abbey.

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Thither certain brothers were dispatched, who built some humble offices, and according to the custom of the order imposed a new name on the place, calling it Mount St. Mary's (*Mons Sancte Marie*). Henry Lacy, however, was not the chief lord of the grant he had given, which he held of Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, by a yearly payment which had lapsed for many years, and about which Lacy had said nothing to the Abbot of Fountains. At a later period this led to trouble, and the temporary dispossession of the monks.

Alexander, Prior of Fountains, was chosen abbot of the new convent, and on 18 May 1147 he left Fountains for Barnoldswick with twelve monks and ten *conversi* to colonize the fifth abbey, in order of time, peopled from Fountains, the abbot of which became in consequence its *pater abbas*.

The church of Barnoldswick was an ancient church, having four parochial villages (*villas parochiales*) dependent on it, and two hamlets. The parishioners were accustomed to attend the church on feast days with their priest and clerks, and this disturbed the quiet of the monks. So the abbot pulled down the church in spite of the remonstrances of the parishioners. A sharp contention, not unnaturally, arose, and the parishioners took their case to the papal court, where the pope in person decided for the monks and against the parishioners. Afterwards the abbey was moved and a new parochial church erected on a fresh site, else it is not impossible that a decision less obviously unfair to the parishioners might have been given.

The monastery at Barnoldswick suffered very much from the forays of robbers, probably Scots, and also from the climate. Barnoldswick was cold and bleak and the 'importunity of the clouds,' as the writer describes it, almost every year spoil the monastic crops. For more than six years the monks existed in great poverty, and Abbot Alexander began to look about for another place to which the monastery could be transferred. It so happened, the chronicler relates, that when on a journey on the business of the house, he passed through a well-wooded and shady valley called Airedale, he found, on a level place in it, certain hermits. Charmed with the place, he asked their manner of life, to what order they belonged, whence they came, and who had given them the place. One of the hermits, Seleth by name, who appeared to be their master, told the abbot that he was a native of the south of England, and that a voice had sounded to him in sleep, saying, 'Arise, Seleth, and go to the province of York, and seek diligently in the vale called Airedale for a certain place called Kirkstall, for there shalt thou make ready a future habitation for the brethren who serve my son.' Asking who this son might be, the answer was, 'I am Mary, and my son is Jesus of Nazareth the Saviour of the

world.' Seleth, placing his hope in God, had set forth from his home, and not without difficulty had reached the spot where the abbot found him. From shepherds who kept their flocks there he had at first obtained the place. For many days he was alone, feeding on roots and vegetables, and depending on the alms which Christian charity brought him. Afterwards other brothers joined him, having for rule a common life, according to the order of the brothers of Leruth, owning no property, but seeking food and clothing by the work of their hands.

The abbot recognized the suitability of the place for the construction of the abbey, and not without a little guile, as he took his leave of the hermits, began to warn them as to the health and safety of their souls, pointing out the danger of following their own will, their fewness in number, disciples without a master, laymen without a priest, persuading them to a better rule of religion. Then he went direct to Henry Lacy, and pointed out the poverty of the monks, and that he had found a place more particularly suitable, the lord of the soil being a certain knight, William of Poictou. The abbot calling together the hermits, some joined the community and others accepted a money compensation for their right. William of Poictou, at the instance of Lacy, granted the monks the place which had belonged to the hermits, and on 20 May 1152 the monks moved from Barnoldswick to the new site. They secured possession of certain land on the south up to the slope of the hill, and having cut down the wood, cultivated the soil, and made it fruitful. Henry de Lacy greatly helped them with provisions and money. With his own hand he laid the foundation of the church and completed it at his own cost.

When the monks left Barnoldswick that place was reduced to the status of a grange. It has been already mentioned that Henry de Lacy held it of Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and that the annual fee of 5 marks and a hawk had not been paid for many years. Hugh Bigod, however, as the overlord of Henry de Lacy substantiated his claim to Barnoldswick in the king's court and dispossessed the monks. Later, however, Henry II prevailed on the earl to give the grange (for the redemption of his sins) in pure and perpetual alms.

The first abbot, Alexander, ruled the house for thirty-five years, and during his time the church and other buildings were built and roofed. He was a true abbot, in deed and in name, the chronicler records, and in a good old age was gathered to his fathers.

In 1156 Pope Adrian IV (Nicholas Brake-spear) confirmed the church and all their possessions to the monks, and took them under his protection.² Henry II also granted them a con-

² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 536, no. xiv.

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firmation of the property which the abbey then possessed.³

Abbot Alexander was succeeded in 1182⁴ by Ralph Haget, who had also been Prior of Fountains. His rule was not successful, and although renowned for sanctity he seems to have lacked business capacity. Perhaps it may have been more his misfortune than mismanagement, for he was afterwards elected Abbot of Fountains, but Kirkstall became impoverished in his time. The important grange of Micklethwaite was alienated, and the monks seem to have blamed him for that loss, for which he was not responsible, as well as others, such as that of a golden chalice and a text of the Gospels, which he had given to Henry II to gain his good will. For the nine years of his abbacy he remained at Kirkstall with his monks struggling with poverty until he was chosen Abbot of Fountains in 1191, and was succeeded by Lambert, one of the twelve monks who forty-two years before had left Fountains to found the Abbey of Barnoldswick.

Abbot Lambert⁵ is described as a man of extraordinary innocency and simplicity, and one who took little part in the temporal affairs of the house, relying rather on his brethren's advice.

In his time the grange of Cliviger was claimed from the monks by Richard of Eland, and the abbot, regarding the claim as a just one, resigned Cliviger to Robert Lacy, the son of the founder, and then patron of the abbey, who gave instead of it a place called 'Akarinton.' Removing the inhabitants from Akarinton, he formed it into a farm or grange, but some of the ejected inhabitants burnt the grange with all its belongings, besides killing the three *conversi* who had been put in charge of it. Robert Lacy dealt very severely with the evildoers, whom he banished, making them first rebuild the grange and abjure all right to it and pay money beyond the cost of repairing the damage done to the monks. The record concludes by saying that Abbot Lambert died in a good old age after having held office for thirty years, but his real term of office appears to have been about five years.⁶

The next abbot was Turgis, a man who practised extreme asceticism even for those days of hard living. It is said that he wept so copiously at his devotions and while saying mass, that others could hardly wear the same sacerdotal vestments.

Helias, a monk of Roche, who succeeded Turgis in the abbacy, endeavoured to obtain from King John the grange of Micklethwaite, which Henry I had seized during the abbacy of Ralph Haget, but the king would only consent

to grant the grange if the abbot would take the manors of Bardsey and Collingham to farm, paying yearly the sum of £90.⁷

At the time of the appointment of Hugh Grimston in 1284⁸ the abbey was enormously in debt, owing no less a sum than £5,248 15s. 7d. besides 59 sacks of wool. The new abbot must have set vigorously to work to reduce this debt, for by July 1301 the house owed £160 only, while its farm stock comprised 216 draught oxen, 160 cows, 152 yearlings and bullocks, 90 calves, and 4,000 sheep and lambs.

In 1380-1⁹ besides the abbot there were sixteen monks and six *conversi*.

In 1394-5¹⁰ the alien œll of Burstall in Holderness, belonging to the abbey of St. Martin near Albemarle in France, was sold to the Abbot and convent of Kirkstall, who thus became possessed of several churches and considerable property in the east of Yorkshire, which they retained till the Dissolution.

The entrance of women within the precincts of Cistercian monasteries of men was very strictly forbidden, but Pope Boniface IX having granted indulgences to those persons of either sex who visited the conventual church of Kirkstall on certain days, Robert Burley, Abbot of Fountains, *pater abbas* of Kirkstall, agreed in 1401 to tolerate *pro tempore* the admission of women to the church only on condition that they visited no other of the monastic buildings and were not received there by the abbot or monks.¹¹

In 1432¹² John Colyngam resigned the office of abbot, and his successor, also named John, with the convent made provision for him. He was to receive a yearly pension of 20 marks for life, and to have a chamber assigned for his free use, called 'the White Chamber.' Besides this, his portion of bread, ale and victuals was to be that of two monks, and he was to have lights, with wood for fuel. He was to take rank everywhere immediately after the existing abbot, and, if he so wished, might take his meals in the abbot's chamber. A servant was to be assigned to him as to the abbot, and if ill a monk was to be deputed by the abbot or prior to look after him.

Possibly because a visitation of all the Cistercian houses of men in England was in progress at the time, this agreement was confirmed by the three abbot visitors, William, Abbot of

⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 534, where King John's charter, dated 4 May 1205, is printed (no. vii), from the original formerly in St. Mary's Tower, York.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 528, n.

⁹ Subs. R. 63, no. 12.

¹⁰ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 298, where an alphabetical list of the churches, lands, &c. which passed to Kirkstall will be found.

¹¹ Cott. Chart. iv, 39.

¹² York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 368b.

³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 535, no. xiii.

⁴ Ibid. 531.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ See list of abbots below.

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Clairvaux, John, Abbot 'de Theolosco,' and John [Ripon], Abbot of Fountains. Indeed, the resignation of Abbot Colyngam may have resulted from this visitation of the abbey, although nothing is said to that effect.

A very large amount of property was gradually acquired by the abbey of Kirkstall. It mainly lay in the neighbourhood of the abbey, in Blackburnshire, and in the East Riding, the latter being the property purchased from the abbey of St. Martin near Albemarle.¹³

In the Taxation of 1291 the temporalities were valued at £68 5s. 8d.¹⁴ The returns for part of Yorkshire in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII are defective, and the portion relating to Kirkstall is missing.

The monastery was surrendered by John Ripley, abbot, and the convent on 22 November 1540.¹⁵

ABBOTS OF KIRKSTALL

Alexander (first abbot) 1147¹⁶
 Ralph Haget, succeeded 1182¹⁷
 Lambert, succeeded 1191¹⁸
 Turgesius,¹⁹ c. 1196²⁰
 Helias de Rupe, occurs 28 February
 1203-4²¹
 Ralph of Newcastle, occurs 29 September
 1209,²² 1230²³
 Walter, after 1230²⁴
 Martin, occurs 1237²⁵
 Maurice, occurs 1236-7,²⁶ died 1249²⁷
 Adam, succeeded 1249,²⁸ occurs 1256,²⁹
 1258³⁰
 Hugh Mikelay, confirmed 1259,³¹ died
 1262³²
 Simon, confirmed 1262,³³ died 1269³⁴
 William de Ledes, 1269³⁵
 Robert, c. 1271-5³⁶

¹³ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 288-96.

¹⁴ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 325.

¹⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 550, no. liii.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 530, 531, no. ii.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 531, no. ii; Abbot of Fountains 1191-1203.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* ¹⁹ *Ibid.* 528 n.

²⁰ *Guisborough Chartul.* ii, 41.

²¹ *Yorks. Fines, John* (Surt. Soc.), 20; a monk of Roche.

²² *Ibid.* 157.

²³ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, fol. 85.

²⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 528. (No date given there, but he comes after Ralph, so after 1230.)

²⁵ Feet of F. Yorks. file 30, no. 16; 20-3 Henry III.

²⁶ *Archbp. Gray's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 328.

²⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 528. ²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Lancs. Fines*, i, 129.

³⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 503, no. vii.

³¹ *Ibid.* 528. ³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.* ³⁴ *Ibid.* ³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Mentioned in 1370 as abbot temp. Hen. III and Edw. I; Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 112.

Gilbert de Cotles, Cothes or Cotes, 15 August 1275 (for three years, one month, and four days) re-elected 12 December 1278 (?) and was abbot till 1 August 1280,³⁷ occurs 1280³⁸

Henry Karr, succeeded 1280³⁹

Hugh Grimston, confirmed 27 February 1288-9⁴⁰

William de Parlington, occurs 1290⁴¹

John de Birdsall, elected 1304,⁴² occurs 1311⁴³

Walter, elected 1313⁴⁴

William, occurs 1337,⁴⁵ 1348^{45^a}

Roger de Ledes, confirmed 1349⁴⁶

Ralph, occurs 1351⁴⁷

John Topcliffe, occurs 1356,⁴⁷ 1368⁴⁸

John de Thornberg, occurs 1369,⁴⁹ 1378⁵⁰

John de Bardsey, occurs 1392,⁵¹ 1396, 1399⁵²

William Stapleton, occurs 1414⁵³

John de Colyngam, resigned 1432⁵⁴

John, occurs 1432⁵⁵

William Grayson⁵⁶ or Graveson, occurs 1452,⁵⁷ resigned 1468⁵⁸

Thomas Wymbirslay, confirmed 1468,⁵⁹ occurs 1498⁶⁰

Robert Killingbeck, elected 1499⁶¹

William Stokdale, elected 1501,⁶² occurs 25 February 1506-7⁶³

John Ripley, 1508⁶⁴

William Marshall, elected December 1509⁶⁵

John Ripley (second time), elected 15 May 1528,⁶⁶ surrendered the abbey 22 November 1540⁶⁷

³⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 528.

³⁸ Feet of F. Yorks. file 60, no. 115, 8 Edw. I. The first two forms of his surname are in Dugdale and Burton, 'Cotes' in Baildon.

³⁹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 529.

⁴⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 33.

⁴¹ *Coram Rege R.* 125, m. 50 d.

⁴² York Archiepis. Reg. Corbridge, fol. 21.

⁴³ Add. Chart. 16782.

⁴⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, slip between fol. 77 and 78.

⁴⁵ Duchy of Lanc. Misc. Bks. vii, fol. 83. ^{45^a} *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 4.

⁴⁷ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 375.

^{47^a} As 'John'; Assize R. 1130, m. 17b.

⁴⁸ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 107. ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 529 (from Whitaker's *Hist. of Craven*). ⁵¹ Baildon's MS. Notes.

⁵² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 529.

⁵³ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 410.

⁵⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 368b.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* ⁵⁶ *Ibid.* G. Nevill, fol. 16.

⁵⁷ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 107.

⁵⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. G. Nevill, fol. 16.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* ⁶⁰ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 107.

⁶¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 529.

⁶² York Archiepis. Reg. Savage, fol. 11.

⁶³ *Test. Ebor.* iv, 256.

⁶⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 529.

⁶⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Bainbridge, fol. 9b.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* Wolsey, fol. 94.

⁶⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 550, no. liii.

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The 14th-century seal⁶⁸ is circular, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter, showing our Lady crowned and seated with the Child, and the legend:—

SIGILLVM COMMVNE DE KYRKESTAL

A 13th-century abbot's seal,⁶⁹ a vesica $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{8}$ in., shows the abbot standing between two heads of saints with this legend:—

. . . BATIS DE KIRKESTALL

The seal⁷⁰ of Abbot John de Birdsall (1304-11) is a small vesica $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $\frac{3}{4}$ in. with a design of a naked arm, the hand holding a crozier between two suns and as many moons.

Abbot William, sealed in 1343 with a vesica⁷¹ $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. with a full-length figure of himself holding crozier and book.

25. ABBEY OF MEAUX

The abbey of Meaux or Melsa was founded in 1150 by the Earl of Albemarle, William le Gros, lord of Holderness,¹ in lieu of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land which he had vowed to undertake. Adam, a monk of Fountains, was invited by the earl to select a site for the proposed abbey and decided upon Meaux in Holderness, a well-wooded and well-watered district to the east of Beverley, in the midst of which was an eminence called St. Mary's Hill. Striking his staff into the ground he exclaimed, 'Here shall be ordained a people worshipping Christ.'² This site the earl had already begun to empark for his own use, and he tried to substitute some other place, but the monk remained firm.³ Temporary buildings were at first erected, and a chapel close by, and then on 28 December 1150 the earl sent to Fountains Abbey for thirteen brethren, including the monk Adam who was to be first abbot. These 'religious' entered their new home on 1 January, and the abbey became the last of seven religious houses springing from Fountains, 'all daughters of one mother'⁴ and all founded before the parent abbey had attained her majority.⁵

In the *Chronica* two well-arranged tables are given of the lands, &c., acquired during the abbacies of the first eighteen heads of the house. In these lists 129 places are particularized where the properties were situated.⁶ Between 1160 and

1182 a stone church and dormitory were begun⁷; in 1182-97 this church was demolished and a new one begun,⁸ and in the same period a stone refectory, wash-house and kitchen were built,⁹ and a refectory for the lay-brethren begun¹⁰; in 1197-1210 the cloisters were started and another new church, which was finally finished, its high altar being consecrated in 1253¹¹; in 1220-35 the infirmary was taken in hand¹²; in 1249-69 the belfry was erected and the great bell 'Benedict' hung in it, and a granary also built¹³; in 1286-1310 a chamber east of the cemetery was erected, and the abbot's chamber east of the infirmary.¹⁴ The fourteenth abbot (1310-39) and one of the monks, John of Ulram, decorated the high altar with paintings, and a chapel was commenced over the abbey gateway; William, the eighteenth abbot (1346-69), made numerous alterations and improvements and founded the great 'Jesus' bell; and in 1396-9 three bells were added.¹⁵

This development of the monastic buildings was dictated by the exigencies of the brethren from time to time. During the first abbacy strenuous efforts were made to raise the number of monks to forty; later on it sprang up to fifty; about 1235 another was added by a benefaction *ad hoc*; another soon followed in the same way; and in 1249 there were no less than sixty monks. A century later, 1349, the number had gone down to forty-two, in 1393 there were only twenty-eight,¹⁶ and at the Dissolution there were no more than twenty-five including the abbot.¹⁷

But besides the monks there were varying numbers of *conversi* or lay brethren. By the year 1249 there were no less than ninety of them, in 1349 there were only seven,¹⁸ and in the period 1372-96 there were none.¹⁹

The first abbot, Adam, had been one of the little band of monks who in 1132, discontented with the laxity of the Benedictine Abbey of York, had founded Fountains Abbey. Since then he had been active in establishing new foundations at Woburn and Vaudey,²⁰ and he now threw himself enthusiastically into the task of fostering the infant community at Meaux. But his zeal outran his discretion, and liberal as were the endowments which he secured for the abbey, they were insufficient to support the forty monks whom he had drawn together. Although he gave up his own tunics to clothe the novices, circumstances were too strong for him, and in 1160 the convent had temporarily to be broken up.²¹ Morti-

⁶⁸ *Cat. of Seals*, B.M. 3364, xlix, 15; lxxiv, 72.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 3366, lxxiv, 73.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 3367; Add. Chart. 16688.

⁷¹ *Cat. of Seals*, B.M. 3368, xlix, 16.

¹ *Chron. Mon. de Melsa* (Rolls Ser.), i, p. xiii.

² Lawton, *Relig. Houses*, 58 n.

³ *Chron. de Melsa*, i, pp. xiv-xvi.

⁴ *Fasti Ebor.* 214.

⁵ Fountains Abbey was founded in 1132.

⁶ *Chron. de Melsa*, i, 50-69.

⁷ *Ibid.* 178.

⁸ *Ibid.* 217.

⁹ *Ibid.* 326.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* ii, 119.

¹¹ *Ibid.* iii, 240.

¹² *Ibid.* iii, 240.

¹³ Poulson, *Holderness*, 314.

¹⁴ *Chron. de Melsa*, iii, p. xxxvii.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. xlii.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 107.

⁶ *Ibid.* 234.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 217, 326.

¹² *Ibid.* 433.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 238.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. xxxvii.

²⁰ *Ibid.* i, 76.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

fied by his failure, he meditated resignation, under pretext of a journey to Rome, undertaken in connexion with his unauthorized surrender of certain charters to Archbishop Roger.²² Accordingly in 1160 he resigned and retired to an anchorite's cell in the newly-founded priory of Watton, where he lived for seven years, until the church and his cell were burnt down, when he returned to Meaux, dying there in 1180.²³

The second abbot, Philip, Prior of Kirkstead, who succeeded in 1160, bore office for twenty-two years and maintained the numbers and spiritual discipline of the house, though he did not greatly increase its wealth. During the rule of his successor the house was involved in a costly lawsuit with the powerful Sir Robert de Thurnham; bad seasons, with a failure of crops, hit the monks hard, and to crown all, they had to raise 300 marks for the ransom of King Richard. Once more the convent had to be broken up,²⁴ the monks dispersed amongst the different houses of the order, but after fifteen months William de Rule, rector of Cottingham, feeling the approach of his death, became a novice in the abbey, bringing with him £200. This enabled the convent to reassemble, but Abbot Thomas, a worthy man of no great ability, feeling his own incompetence, resigned in December 1197.²⁵ By the advice of the father Abbot of Fountains the monks elected Alexander, a monk of Ford Abbey, who was intimate with the justiciary, Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury. By his influence the justiciary was induced to appeal to Robert de Thurnham on behalf of the monks, but it was not until the sudden death of his master, King Richard, in 1199 that Sir Robert consented to restore the lands in dispute. Other costly lawsuits followed, and Abbot Alexander, a man of character and courage, led the opposition of the Cistercians to King John's demands for an aid or grant of money.²⁶ He further instigated Archbishop Geoffrey and the expelled bishop to complain to the pope against the king; and on a second demand for an aid from the Cistercians he alone resisted this infringement of their privileges. Meaux was also one of the three English houses which maintained the privileges of the order by continuing to celebrate mass during the Interdict.²⁷ His courageous conduct made him a marked man and brought down the king's vengeance upon his house, so that once more almost all the monks had to leave the abbey, fortunately obtaining hospitality from Earl Baldwin of Albemarle. To avert further catastrophe Abbot Alexander resigned in 1210 and retired to Ford, where he died two

years later.²⁸ Meanwhile the abbey had purchased the king's goodwill by a fine of 1,000 marks. The payment of this large sum by the succeeding abbot, Hugh, formerly Prior of Meaux, so crippled the abbey that the monks had once more to abandon it for a short time, and as all the English Cistercian houses were suffering from the king's exactions and could hardly support their own members, some of the monks went to St. Mary's, York, some to Bridlington Priory, some to Cistercian houses in Scotland, and the rest were quartered in batches in neighbouring castles and villages.²⁹

The convent reassembled at the beginning of November 1211, and settled down to their normal life, building, acquiring property, and quarrelling with their neighbours. About 1260, during the abbacy of William of Driffeld, the sub-prior of Meaux was instrumental in averting an armed struggle between the military tenants of Holderness and the royal forcessent to coerce them into rendering certain disputed feudal services.³⁰ Abbot William, a man of wonderful sanctity but inferior as an administrator to his predecessor, Michael Brun, died in 1269, and a few years later we find the abbey burdened with a debt of nearly £4,000.³¹ Roger, the thirteenth abbot, who succeeded in 1286, considerably reduced the debt, but the most important event of his rule was the surrender to the king in 1293 of the abbey's manor of Wick, where Edward I founded the port of Kingston-on-Hull. Besides granting lands in exchange the king caused Master Richard of Ottringham to place under Meaux a chantry which he was founding and endowing.³² By the terms of this chantry seven monks were to reside at Ottringham, but as this resulted in a scandalous relaxation of the monastic rule the chantry was removed, thirty years after its foundation, to a chapel just outside the gates of the monastery.³³

Abbot Adam of Skyrne by the time of his death in 1339 had reduced the debt of the house to below £400, but it was speedily brought up again by the mismanagement of his successor, Hugh de Leven, and by the inundation of the monastic estates on the sea-coast.³⁴ During Abbot Hugh's rule a crucifix was carved for the quire of the lay brethren by a man who was so much of a religious enthusiast that he only worked upon it on Fridays, fasting, and so much of an artist that he employed a nude model.³⁵ The crucifix proving miraculous, leave was obtained for women to visit it, but as a source of income this expedient proved disappointing, as more came out of curiosity than devotion, and their entertainment cost more than their alms brought in.

²² *Chron. de Melsa*, i, 107. He had, however, retained duplicates of the charters, by which the monks afterwards recovered the lands; *ibid.* 94.

²³ *Ibid.* 107.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 233.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 234.

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. xxxiv.

²⁷ Martene, *Thesaurus Anecd.* iv.

²⁸ *Chron. de Melsa*, i, 329.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 354.

³⁰ *Ibid.* ii, p. xx.

³¹ *Ibid.* 156.

³² *Ibid.* 192-5.

³³ *Ibid.* 295-6.

³⁴ *Ibid.* iii, p. vii.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 35.

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On the Friday before Passion Sunday 1349, as the monks were singing 'He hath put down the mighty from their seat' they were flung to the ground by an earthquake shock, and the meaning of the portent was seen later in the year when on 12 August Abbot Hugh and five monks died of the Black Death, which in that one month carried off twenty-two monks and six lay brethren, and at its departure left only ten survivors out of a congregation of fifty.³⁶ With rents diminished by the death of tenants and lands untilled for lack of labour the new abbot, William of Dringhow, was forced to raise ready money by ruinous sacrifices, and the cellarer, John Ryslay, was not slow to turn this to his own advantage. Ryslay bribed the Abbot of Fountains to visit Meaux in 1353 and deprive Abbot William, and when the monks elected Thomas of Sherborne the visitor refused him because he was blind in one eye and appointed John Ryslay.³⁷ The new abbot continued to persecute his deprived predecessor and tried to take away his allowance, but Dringhow escaped and fled to Rome, where he got himself re-appointed and issued a citation against Ryslay, who at once resigned, in July 1356, and eventually retired to Roche Abbey.³⁸ Robert of Beverley was at once elected, and Dringhow was persuaded to acquiesce in his election by the grant of a very liberal allowance. On the death of Abbot Robert, in November 1367, William of Dringhow was again elected. Ryslay was then at Rome and commenced proceedings against Dringhow, but the latter obtained his adversary's recall by the Abbot of Roche, and held office till his death in 1372.³⁹

William of Scarborough, who was elected in 1372, appears to have had an artistic temperament; he enriched the fabric of his church, but was extravagant and lax in discipline. After more than twenty years' rule, when he was nearly eighty, he desired to resign, but his monks, who appreciated his laxity and feared the advent of a stricter disciplinarian, refused their assent, and it was only by the intervention of the Duke of Gloucester, patron of the abbey, that he was able to retire from office in 1396.⁴⁰ The ensuing election was hotly disputed, but eventually the bursar, Thomas Burton, a man of considerable ability, was appointed. Very soon, however, a faction within the convent began to try to unseat him, and two monks were sent to a general chapter of the order which was sitting at St. Mary of Graces, London, to protest that Burton had been forced upon the abbey by the Duke of Gloucester and the Abbot of Fountains. The Abbots of Roche and Garendon were appointed to inquire into the

matter, but upon arriving at Meaux found the abbey held against them by armed force by Robert Burley, Abbot of Fountains, and Abbot Thomas Burton, who had meanwhile sent to Rome to procure a bull annulling all the commissions issued by the chapter held at St. Mary of Graces. This bull appears to have been brought to them by a foreign monk, Sigismund;⁴¹ and when the visiting Abbots of Roche and Garendon returned, accompanied by the representative of the patron, the Duke of Albemarle, they were admitted and confronted with the bull annulling their powers. By their good offices, however, a compromise was effected and peace restored. Soon afterwards Abbot Burton went to Vienna to represent the Yorkshire abbots at a general chapter and had the honour of taking the place of the absent schismatic Abbot of Clairvaux. On his return the Abbot of Fountains held a visitation and revived all the old trouble by trying to punish those who had formerly disobeyed Abbot Burton. The offenders appealed to Rome, and Burton, to save his house the expenses of protracted litigation, resigned on 24 August 1399, and devoted himself to writing the history of his abbey until his eyesight failed, some eight years before his death, which occurred in 1437.⁴²

The successor of Burton was William Wendover, who had been degraded from the post of prior for his opposition to the late abbot.⁴³ He was a man of learning and many merits, but unbusinesslike, and during his rule the officials of the convent abused their powers, the bursar, Robert Lekynfeld, even accumulating so much money that he was able to go secretly to Rome and get himself appointed Bishop of Killaloe, in which capacity he acted as suffragan to the Bishop of Lichfield.⁴⁴

Meaux had a splendid library and a wonderful collection of relics, a list of books and treasures being given in the *Chronica*.⁴⁵

The abbey was surrendered on 11 December 1539 by the last abbot, Richard Stopes, who received a pension of £40.⁴⁶ The prior, George Throstyl, received a pension of £6, fourteen of the twenty-three monks pensions of £6, and the remaining nine pensions of £5 each, all being in priests' orders.⁴⁷

The gross value at the Dissolution was £445 10s. 5½d., and the net £298 6s. 4½d.⁴⁸

⁴¹ Early Chan. Proc. bde. 29, no. 153.

⁴² *Chron. de Melsa*, i, pp. lviii-lxx; iii, 239-76.

⁴³ *Ibid.* iii, 277-8.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 279.

⁴⁵ Poulson, *Holderness*, 304 et seq.; 311 et seq.

⁴⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 670.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Lawton, *Relig. Houses*, 59. At the end of the 14th century the income of the house appears to have been about £530 gross, or £430 net; *Chron. de Melsa*, ii, p. lx; Poulson, op. cit. 303.

³⁶ *Chron. de Melsa*, iii, 37.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 87, 94.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 110, 111.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 166-7.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 229-32.

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ABBOTS OF MEAUX⁴⁹

Adam, 1150-60
 Philip, 1160-82
 Thomas, 1182-97
 Alexander, 1197-1210
 Hugh, 1210-20
 Geoffrey, 1220-1
 Richard, 1221-35
 Michael Brun, 1235-49
 William, 1249-69
 Richard, 1269-70
 Robert, 1270-80
 Richard de Barton, 1280-6
 Roger de Driffeld, 1286-1310
 Adam de Skyrne, 1310-39
 Hugh de Leven, 1339-49
 William de Dringhow, first abbacy, 1349-53
 John de Ryslay, 1353-6
 Robert de Beverley, 1356-67
 William de Dringhow, second abbacy, 1367-72
 William de Scarborough, 1372-96
 Thomas Burton, 1396-9
 William Wendover, 1399
 John Ripon, resigned 1413⁵⁰
 John Hoton, occurs 1436, died 1445⁵¹
 Philip Dayvill, elected 4 March 1445, died 1458
 John Sutton, elected 7 October 1458, resigned 1463
 William Deryff, confirmed 1 September 1463
 Ralph Same, received benediction 17 December 1471
 John Clapham, received benediction 4 September 1488
 Richard Stoppes, received benediction 22 November 1523, surrendered 1539

An abbot's seal⁵² has an abbot with his crozier.
 Legend—

SIGILLUM ABBATIS DE MELSA

The early 14th-century seal⁵³ is circular, 2 in. in diameter, having the Virgin enthroned in a niche with trefoiled pointed arch, crocketed and supported on slender shafts; the Child, with nimbus, on the left knee. In the field on each side a lion, and above them on the right a crescent, on the left a sun. Legend—

+ VIRGO PVDICA PIA NOSTRI MISERERE MARIA

⁴⁹ Names extracted from *Chron. de Melsa*, i-iii, except where otherwise specified in notes.

⁵⁰ In 1413 John Ripon became Abbot of Fountains; *Cal. Pat.* 1413-16, p. 145.

⁵¹ Names and dates of last seven abbots from Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 388.

⁵² Poulson, *Holderness*, 314.

⁵³ *Ibid.* where see note on the discovery of the matrix in 1834 at Meaux. This seal is erroneously described in the *Cat. of Seals, B.M.* (i, 820), under St. Mary's Abbey, York, as an 'uncertain seal.'

26. THE ABBEY OF RIEVAULX

The abbey of Rievaulx, the earliest Cistercian monastery in the county, was founded in 1131 by Walter Espec,¹ who gave to certain of the monks sent to England about 1128 by St. Bernard from Citeaux land near Helmsley, in the valley of the Rye, on the north side of which the monastery was built. From its position it received the name of Ryevale, or Rievaulx.

Although the house was meagrely endowed by the founder, it speedily received other donations of land of considerable extent and value, so that within probably half a century from the foundation of the abbey it had acquired possession of no less than 50 carucates of land besides other property; all are fully described in alphabetical order by Burton.²

It has been suggested that the mission of monks sent to England by St. Bernard from Citeaux was largely directed to Yorkshire, through the influence of Archbishop Thurstan.³ Not only did Rievaulx send out a detachment of monks to people the abbey of Warden in Bedfordshire, founded by Walter Espec in 1135, almost before the settlement at Rievaulx itself can have been fairly established, but in the year following another colony went to inhabit the abbey of Melrose, founded by David I in 1136; and in 1142 yet a third body of monks left Rievaulx for the abbey of Revesby in Lincolnshire, founded by William de Roumare, Earl of Lincoln, and in 1146 or 1148 another draft of monks went to Rufford.

All this points to the fact that the number of monks who first came to Rievaulx must have largely exceeded the number usually sent to form a new convent, and it implies that Rievaulx was regarded as the source from which other Cistercian monasteries might be peopled. This may explain Walter de Gant's gift of Stainton as the site of an abbey to be founded (*ad abbatiam construendam ibi*) by Rievaulx,⁴ as well as the gift by Olaf, king of Man, of land in that island, for the foundation of an abbey at Rushen. The strain on their numbers in founding the abbeys already mentioned perhaps exhausted the power of the monks of Rievaulx to undertake the work proposed to them by King Olaf, and his gift was afterwards transferred to Furness, the abbey of Rushen being colonized from that house.⁵

As to Stainton, the same reason may have prevented the monks of Rievaulx from establishing a monastery there, and so led them to exchange Walter de Gant's land with Henry II for other land nearer Rievaulx than Stainton,

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 274.

² Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 358.

³ *Chartul. of Rievaulx* (Surt. Soc.), Introd. p. xxxvii.

⁴ *Ibid.* 261.

⁵ *Ibid.* Introd. p. liv.

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which was in the parish of Downholme, not very far from Richmond.⁶

Having founded the abbey of Warden, Walter Espec entered the abbey of Rievaulx as a monk, and died and was buried there.⁷

Quite early in the history of the house a strange agreement was entered into between the monks of Rievaulx and the canons of Kirkham,⁸ whereby the latter were to cede to Rievaulx the whole of Kirkham, with its church and the canons' buildings, gardens, and mills, as well as Whitwell and Westow, and 4 carucates of land in Thixendale, and of their stock a wagon and 100 sheep, on condition that the patron would give them the whole of Linton and 'Hwersletorp.' Their prior and his assistants (*sui auxiliarii*) were to build them a church and other monastic offices. It seems that there must have been a proposal that Kirkham should become Cistercian (a proposal which caused a division in that house), and that it was intended that Rievaulx should take over Kirkham as a Cistercian monastery, the dissentient canons having a new house built for them elsewhere. It is clear that Walter Espec was living⁹ when the agreement was drawn up, and his preference for the Cistercian order as evidenced by his entry as a monk at Rievaulx, may have made him wish that his three foundations, Kirkham, Rievaulx, and Warden should be of the Cistercian order; the agreement, however, fell through.

Another incident in the early history of the house is also difficult to understand. It is revealed in a rescript from Pope Alexander III (1159-81)¹⁰ to the Bishop of Exeter, the Abbot of St. Mary, York, and the Dean of York directing them to see that amends were made for the spoliation of the property of the abbey of Rievaulx by certain persons named, and the strange thing is that the offenders were some of the chief benefactors of the abbey. Robert and William de Stuteville had been guilty of various acts of depredation, and the pope ordered that within thirty days they were to make restitution, under pain of excommunication. Seven other offenders are named, including Roger de Mowbray and his son Nigel.

In 1143 Roger de Mowbray granted Old Byland to the convent of monks who had left Calder, intending that they should build their monastery on the south side of the River Rye, but the site was too near Rievaulx, and each house heard the bells of the other. In consequence of this the monks of Byland moved further off, but the lands of the two houses were coterminous, and to avoid possible disputes an agreement was entered into between Aelred,

Abbot of Rievaulx, and Roger, Abbot of Byland, about 1154.¹¹ This agreement began by a mutual engagement of masses and prayers for deceased brothers of the two houses and a combined action against oppression or misfortune by fire or otherwise, and then defined the relations of the two houses as to their adjoining lands, both the homeland of the two houses and their properties at a distance, where they adjoined each other. As to the homelands, the Byland monks conceded to their brethren of Rievaulx that they should have their bridge so constructed that it should hold back the wood they conveyed by the River Rye, and also a road from the bridge through the wood and field of Byland to a place called Hestelsceit, 18 ft. in width, which the monks of Byland were to keep in repair. They were to have mutual rights on each others' banks of the river. The monks of Byland should peaceably retain the house they had built at Deepdale (near Cayton), and all that they possessed or might obtain in Gristhorpe, Falsgrave, Seamer, Irton and West Ayton, except the meadowland of the last-named, none of which they were to hold except with the consent of the monks of Rievaulx. In Hutton and Brompton neither house was to accept anything for the purpose of building without the consent of the other. The beasts of the grange of Griff (belonging to Rievaulx) were to have pasturage within the wood of Scawton only from Burnsdale to Sproxton, the rest of Scawton was to remain the property of the Byland monks. Then followed in the agreement a description of the boundaries between other of their properties both at hand and in the West Riding. This *conventio karitatis* was in 1170 again confirmed with certain additions, Sylvanus being then Abbot of Rievaulx and Roger still holding office at Byland.

A very severe rebuke was addressed by Alexander III to Archbishop Roger Pont l'Evêque¹² for placing Rievaulx under an interdict and threatening the monks with excommunication until they should pay his clerk the tithes from which they had been exempted by papal authority. Another letter¹³ from the same pope rebuked Bishop Hugh and the Prior of Durham for extortion in the matter of the annual payment to be made by the abbey in consideration of the tithes of Cottam. In 1243¹⁴ Innocent IV extended a papal grant to the Abbot and convent of Rievaulx, exempting them from payment of tithes of property acquired after the said indulgence in regard to which they were being molested by prelates and clerks of the diocese of York.

Rievaulx being a Cistercian abbey and so exempt from episcopal visitation, very little is

⁶ *Chartul. of Rievaulx* (Surt. Soc.), Introd. p. lviii.

⁷ *Ibid.* 264.

⁸ *Ibid.* 108.

⁹ *Ibid.* Introd. p. xxiv.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 194, no. cclxii.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 176, no. ccxliii.

¹² *Ibid.* 191.

¹³ *Ibid.* 192.

¹⁴ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 199.

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known of its internal affairs or history. One incident of interest is recorded in 1279. William de Aketon, a monk of Rievaulx, evidently wishing to abandon monastic life, came to the prior, Nicholas of York, and said that he was a leper and could no longer dwell with the brethren, and therefore begged leave to depart. Another monk, Jordan de Normanton, came up and wished to examine William to see if he really was leprous, whereupon the malingerer drew his knife and stabbed him in the hand and fled into the woods. Abbot William de Daneby was at once told, and he immediately sent two of the monks to pursue him. The fugitive was caught in the woods and so severely beaten that he died a few days after he had been brought back to the monastery.¹⁵ William de Daneby seems to have succeeded another Abbot William, who had apparently been deposed and banished, as in 1279 it was reported that certain lay brethren of Rievaulx who had been concerned in the murder of John de Slarebrond had been sheltered by 'William, then Abbot of Rievaulx, now a monk of Byland.'¹⁶ In 1380-1¹⁷ besides the abbot and prior, John de Layton (or Lanton), there were thirteen other monks and three *conversi*.

In 1406¹⁸ a glimpse of the inside life of the abbey is afforded, with one of those little touches which give life to a picture, by a mandate of Pope Innocent VII, which states that each monk in priest's orders was bound in turn for a week at a time to sing mass solemnly (*alta voce ad notam*) at the high altar, and to say the invitatory, such monks being called *ebdomadarii*, but that Thomas Beverley had an impediment of tongue, on account of which he could not do this becomingly, so he was granted a dispensation from performing the office.

What is generally known as the battle of Byland took place in October 1322, and must have greatly affected the two abbeys of Rievaulx and Byland, but nothing certainly is known as to what happened to Rievaulx in consequence of it. The encounter between the English and the Scots took place on the high ground between the

two houses and near Byland, but according to the most trustworthy accounts the English king was at Rievaulx and not Byland Abbey when he received news of the defeat of his army.¹⁹ He fled at once to York for safety, leaving, according to the chronicler of Lanercost, his silver plate and a great treasure behind him at Rievaulx. This fell into the hands of the Scots, and we are left to realize the sinister significance of the words *et monasterium spoliaverunt* without being told any details of the spoliation.

The concluding years of Rievaulx were stormy, and it is clear that the abbot, Edward Kirkby, was ill affected towards the impending religious charges. It was desirable, therefore, to get him out of the way. On 1 September 1533²⁰ the king's commissioners complained that Abbot Kirkby had written a letter 'to the slaundare of the kinges heygnes, and after the kynges lettars receyved, dyd imprison and otharways punyche divers of hys brethren whyche ware ayenst him and hys dissolute liwing; also dyd take from one of the same, being a very agyd man, all hys money.' Further they complained that 'all the cuntre makythe exclamations of this Abbot of Rywax, uppon hys abhomynable liwing and extortions by hym commytyd, also many wronges to divers myserable persens don, whyche evidently duthe apere by bylles corroboratt to be trwe with ther othes corporal, in the presens of the commissionars and the said abbott takyn, and upon the same xvi witnessys examynyd, affermyng ther exclamations to be trwe.' The commissioners concluded by stating that they had 'remowyed hym from the rewle of hys abbacie and admynistration of the same.'

The convent refused to accept the deprivation as canonical, and did not proceed to elect a successor. On 13 September²¹ another commission was issued, addressed to the Abbots of Fountains and Byland, recounting that the abbacy of Rievaulx was vacant owing to the deposition of the late abbot by four of the royal commissioners, and that the licence of the Earl of Rutland, the patron, had been given for the election of a new abbot. The commissioners were ordered 'to reparaire unto the sayd monasterie to procure, by all the lawfull means and ways ye can, the convent of the same to proceed with the licence of our sayd cousin, theyr patron, to the election of a new abbote, and to certifie unto us all that ye and the sayd convent shall have doon therein, for that we moche desyre the goode establishment of the sayd monasterie as we doo of all others.'

The Abbot of Fountains being engaged on a mission to Cockersand Abbey, the Abbot of Byland reported that on 15 October,²² accom-

¹⁵ Assize R. 1064, m. 27.

¹⁶ Ibid. m. 28.

¹⁷ Subs. R. 63, no. 12. In 1318, the king, on petition of the Abbots of Rievaulx and Byland, had directed the archbishop to make a new taxation of those abbeys and other benefices wasted by the incursions of the Scots. That was of course before what is known as the Battle of Byland, when still further destruction was made. *Rievaulx Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), 426.

¹⁸ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 176. In 1402 Boniface IX granted a faculty to John de Firthby, Monk of Rievaulx and papal chaplain, to dispose of his books and certain other movables for the expenses of his funeral, and the remuneration of his servants or kinsmen and others, and after deducting his debts, to convert them to other pious and lawful uses. He was to be liberal to his monastery. Ibid. v, 546.

¹⁹ *Rievaulx Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), Introd. p. lxxxi.

²⁰ Ibid. Introd. pp. ciii-ix.

²¹ *Yorks. Star Chamb. Proc.* (Yorks. Rec. Ser.), 48.

²² Ibid. 49.

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panied by Brian Lewty, notary, Dan Robert Harom, Prior of Byland, and Dan Thomas Wenesley 'my chapleyn,' he had visited Rievaulx, 'and did procure by all the lawfull means and wayes I couth the convent of the same to proceed to the election of a new abbcte, and theym beyng in nombre xxiiijth secretly and oon by oon, did call before me, the abbote beyng absent, and then examynyng by inquisicion according to the statutes of my religion, exortyd, aduertysed, and induced as byfore to proceed to election according to the tenor and effect of youre sayd grace is commission, soo that none of theym did know what was the answer of the other.' Only seven of the twenty-three monks would consent to a fresh election or admit that Abbot Kirkby had been duly deprived. The detailed answers of each of the monks are given in the Abbot of Byland's report,²³ and they evince the courage and constancy of monks.

Abbot Kirkby, without admitting the validity of his deprivation, appears to have acquiesced in his forcible removal, and even went so far as to prevent the *Te Deum* at the installation of Robert Blyton, Abbot of Rufford, as Abbot of Rievaulx.²⁴ This forcible intrusion of Abbot Blyton was only effected after a further letter had been sent to the Abbots of Fountains and Byland ordering them to procure the election of a new Abbot of Rievaulx at once.²⁵

A yearly pension of £44 was confirmed to Abbot Kirkby by the convent on 7 May 1534, but from two letters written by him to Cromwell²⁶ it appears that Abbot Blyton refused to pay the pension, and endeavoured to excuse the convent from an obligation to pay more than half the promised sum. In these letters Abbot Kirkby speaks of himself as 'Abbott of Rievall' (one indeed being signed 'Edward Abbott of Rievall'), and of Blyton as 'the Incumbent Abbott at Rievall.' Inclosed in the second letter is a transcript of a letter which Cromwell had previously written to Blyton, and which Abbot Kirkby asked him to enforce. In this letter Cromwell is made to say that if Blyton continued to withhold the appointed pension, 'and handle your saide predecessour after such extreme fascion then vpon hys forther complaint to the Kynge and hys councell of his iniuries and wronges end also iniuste depriving from hys saide Abbaye I assure youe I can no less doo of good conscience and equitie then to fynde some meanes to restore hym to hys abbaye agayne like as I have heretofore written to youe in that behalfe.' It has been commonly believed that Abbot Kirkby

suffered death at Tyburn for complicity in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and it is pleasant to find that this was not the case. His later history is unknown.

The value of the temporalities in 1291 was £241 10s.,²⁷ and in 1535²⁸ the gross income amounted to £351 14s. 6d., the clear annual value being £278 10s. 2d. The house was surrendered on 3 December 1538.²⁹ At the suppression there were twenty-one monks in addition to the abbot who received yearly pensions, varying from £7 13s. 4d. to £4, the abbot's pension being 100 marks.³⁰ At the inquiry³¹ as to the payment of pensions in the North Riding thirteen names are entered. Of one (Richard Jenkynson) it is said 'is dead, how long of goo it is to be inquired, he died at London *ut dicitur*.' Three others appeared with their patents and were seriously behind, 'and did axe it and cold not gett it.' Six others appeared, and three did not.

Although there is no record of any indult to the Abbots of Rievaulx to wear the mitre, there is an indication that they possessed this privilege. In an account of the plate possessed by the abbey at the Dissolution is included not only a 'crouche' of silver, but also a 'mitour of paest set with perles.'³²

ABBOTS OF RIEVAULX³³

William I, 1131, died 1145
 Maurice, 1145
 [Waltheof]³⁴
 Aelred, 1147, 1160, 1164, died 1167
 Sylvanus,³⁵ occurs 1170
 Ernald, 1192, resigned 1199
 William Punchard, occurs 1201-2, died 1203
 Geoffrey (or perhaps Godfrey), 1204
 Warin, occurs 1208, died 1211
 Helyas, resigned 1215 (Abbot of Melrose 1216)
 Henry, 1215, died 1216
 William III, 1216, died 1223
 Roger, 1224 to 1235, resigned 1239
 Leonias, 1239, died 1240
 Adam de Tilletai, 1240-60.

²⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 277.

²⁸ *Valor Eccl.* v, 144.

²⁹ *L. and P. Hen VIII*, xiii (2), 983.

³⁰ *Ibid.* xiv (1), 67.

³¹ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 76, no. 24. The return for the North Riding is dated 20 Feb. 1553.

³² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 1172.

³³ This list is that compiled by Dr. Atkinson, *Rievaulx Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.) pp. lxxxvii, cix. Any alteration is indicated in the notes.

³⁴ Dr. Atkinson throws considerable doubt on the statement that Waltheof could ever have been Abbot of Rievaulx. *Ibid.* p. lxxxix.

³⁵ After Aelred, and before Sylvanus, the lists of abbots usually include a Roger and a Bernard, both of whom Dr. Atkinson seems rightly to reject. *Ibid.* p. xci.

²³ *Yorks Star Chamb. Proc.* (Yorks. Rec. S.r.), 49-51.

²⁴ *Rievaulx Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), Intro. pp. ciii-ix.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Misc. Letters, temp. Henry VIII (Ser. 2), xxxv, 76-8. The letters are undated and are placed in the Calendar under the year 1534, but must have been written a year or two later.

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Thomas Stangrief, occurs 1268³⁶
 William IV (de Ellerbeck),^{36a} 1268-75³⁷
 William Daneby, 1275-85³⁸
 Thomas I, 1286-91
 Henry II, 1301
 Robert, 1303
 Peter, 1307
 Henry, occurs 1307³⁹
 Thomas II, 1315
 Richard, occurs 3 June 1317⁴⁰
 William VI, 1318
 William de Ingleby, occurs 1322⁴¹
 John I, 1327
 William VIII (de Langton), 1332-4
 Richard, 1349
 John II, occurs 1363⁴²
 William IX, 1369-80
 John III, occurs 1380⁴³
 William X, 1409
 John IV, occurs 1417⁴⁴
 William (XI) Brymley, 1419
 Henry (III) Burton,⁴⁵ 1423-29
 William (XII) Spenser, 1436-49
 John (V) Inkeley, 1449⁴⁶
 William (XIII) Spenser, 1471, 1487⁴⁷
 John (VI) Burton,⁴⁸ 1489-1510⁴⁹
 William (XIV) Helmesley,⁵⁰ 1513-28

³⁶ Baildon's MS. Notes.

^{36a} William de Ellerbeck was abbot before 1305 (Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 179) and contemporary with Adam de Hustwayt, Abbot of Byland (c. 1270-83); Egerton MS. 2823, fol. 104.

³⁷ Apparently deposed; see above.

³⁸ Abbot in 1279 (see above); presumably the Abbot William who made his profession of obedience in 1275; *Chartul. of Rievaulx*, no. xcvi.

³⁹ Baildon's MS. Notes.

⁴⁰ *Gal. Pat.* 1313-17, p. 697 (omitted by Dr. Atkinson).

⁴¹ Baildon's MS. Notes.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Dr. Atkinson inserts an Abbot John between these, but the Archiepiscopal Register (sed. vac. fol. 321) is definite. A commission was issued, 10 Nov. 1423, to Nicholas, Bishop of Dromore, to bless Brother Henry Burton, monk of Sawley of the Cistercian order, elected Abbot of Rievaulx, vacant by the free resignation of William Brymley (*sic*) late abbot.

⁴⁶ Commission to John, Bishop of Philippopolis, 8 April 1449, to bless John Ingkelay *vice* William Spenser, resigned; York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 420b.

⁴⁷ The question whether he was the same person as Abbot William XII is discussed by Dr. Atkinson (*Rievaulx Chartul.* Introd. p. cii), and decided by him in the negative, but not altogether conclusively.

⁴⁸ Commission to William, Bishop of Dromore, to bless John Burton, 29 Jan. 1489-90; York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, fol. 62b.

⁴⁹ *Test. Ebor.* v, 21.

⁵⁰ Commission to John, Bishop of Negropont, to bless William Hemsley, 18 Nov. 1513; York Archiepis. Reg. Bainbridge.

Edward Kirkby,⁵¹ 1530-1533
 Rowland Blyton⁵² 1533-8

The 12th-century⁵³ seal is a vesica with the abbot seated receiving a confession from one of his monks. Of the legend there only remains:

† . . . N . . . ERTI A TEGO CLAVSA
 REVELO

An abbot's seal⁵⁴ in use at the end of the 12th century is a vesica, 1½ in. by 1 in., with the abbot seated reading at a lectern and holding his crozier. The legend is:

† SIGNVM ABBATIS RIEVALLIS

A 13th-century abbot's seal⁵⁵ has a full-length figure of the abbot holding his crozier and a book. The legend is:

† SIGILLVM ABBATIS DE RIEVALLE

27. THE ABBEY OF ROCHE

The abbey of Roche derived its name 'de Rupe' from a supposed miraculous sculpture of a crucifix, found by one of the monks on a rock, adjacent to which the monastery was afterwards built.¹ It was the joint foundation of Richard de Buili and Richard Fitz Turgis, who gave two adjoining sites, divided by a small stream, agreeing with each other that both should be accounted founders, irrespective of the position selected for the abbey buildings.

The site actually selected was that granted by Richard de Buili on the Maltby side of the stream, and the monks who colonized it came from Newminster, the abbot of which, in consequence, became the *pater abbas* of Roche.²

On 7 April 1186 Pope Urban II confirmed to Osmund, the fifth abbot, and his monks some twenty gifts of land, in addition to the sites given for the building of the abbey by the two co-founders.

John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, regarding the magnificence of the stonework of the abbey, and also the paucity of its monks, gave the church of Hatfield to the abbey for the main-

⁵¹ Deprived 1533; *Yorks. Star Chamb. Proc.* (Yorks. Rec. Ser.), 48-51. See also *Rievaulx Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), Introd. pp. ciii-ix.

⁵² Formerly Abbot of Rufford.

⁵³ *Cat. of Seals*, B.M. 3905, lxxv, 1.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 3906; Cott. Chart. v, 13.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 3909, xlvi, 675.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 505.

² John de Buili confirmed his father's gift, and allowed the monks to inclose the land between 'Maltebi' (Maltby) and 'Sanbec' (Sandbeck) except two roads, viz. 'Bolgate' and the road from Blida (Blythe); B.M. Add. Chart. 20583.

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renance of thirteen additional monks,³ and on 13 May 1346⁴ Archbishop Zouch made a formal appropriation of Hatfield Church to the abbey, and ordained a perpetual vicarage in the church. Hatfield Church was the only spirituality which the abbey of Roche possessed.⁵ The abbey also obtained many other gifts of land and other properties, which are set out alphabetically in detail by Burton.⁶

Not much is known of the internal affairs of the house until the period of the Dissolution. The patronage, which had descended to John son of William Lyvett of Hooton Levitt, was sold on 20 February 1377-8 to Richard Barry, citizen and merchant of London.⁷ In 1380-1 the abbot was taxed at 45s. 0½d., Hugh Bastard was prior, and he and twelve other monks forming the convent were taxed at 3s. 4d. each; there was one *conversus* taxed at 12d. At the time of Pope Nicholas's taxation, a century earlier, the only spirituality was Hatfield Church, valued at £46 13s. 4d., while the temporalities amounted to £138 11s. 10d. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, the church of Hatfield was set down at £41 14s. 8d., and the temporalities at £220 4s. 8d., making a total of £260 19s. 4d. Among the 'Elemosina' was £1 distributed every Maundy Thursday, 29s. for wax daily burnt before the sacrament of the altar, of the foundation of Richard Furnival, and 5s. yearly on the obit of Thomas de Bellewe.

Drs. Layton and Legh reported in 1536 that pilgrimage was made to the image of the crucifix discovered (as it was believed) in the rock, and that it was held in veneration. Charges of gross immorality, as usual, were brought against five of the monks,⁸ and another monk, John Robynson, suspected of treason, was imprisoned at York, but his signature is appended to the deed of surrender with those of the other seventeen monks, who with their abbot were supposed to have signed the document in the chapter-house on 23 June 1538.⁹

The abbot was assigned £33 6s. 8d. as his yearly pension, and was to have his books, the fourth part of the plate, the cattle and household stuff, a chalice and vestment and £30 in money at his departure. The sub-prior (Thomas Twell) received a pension of £6 14s. 8d. and the bursar (John Dodesworth), one of the monks charged with gross misconduct in the notorious

comperta, £6. Eleven other monks who were priests received £5 each; and four novices 66s. 8d. each.¹⁰

By far the most important and interesting document relating to Dissolution times is a graphic account of the despoiling of the monastic buildings, written in 1591.¹¹ No doubt it describes scenes which, with varying details, took place all over the country after the dissolution of the religious houses.

So soon [the account reads] as the Visitors were entred within the gates, they called the Abbot and other officers of the House, and caused them to deliver up to them all their keys and took an inventory of all their goods both within doors and without; for all such beasts, horses, sheep, and such cattle as were abroad in pastures or grange places, the Visitors caused to be brought into their presence: and when they had done so, turned the Abbot with all his convent and household forth out of doors.

Which thing was not a little grief to the Convent, and all the servants of the House departing one from another, and especially such as with their conscience could not break their profession; for it would have made a heart of flint to have melted and wept to have seen the breaking up of the House, and their sorrowful departing, and the sudden spoil that fell the same day of their departure from the House. And every person had every good thing cheap, except the poor Monks, Friars, and Nuns, that had no money to bestow of anything: as it appeared by the suppression of an Abbey hard by me, called the Roche Abbey, a House of White Monks: a very fair builded House, all of freestone; and every house vaulted with freestone and covered with lead (as the Abbeyes was in England as well as the Churches be). At the breaking up whereof an Uncle of mine was present, being well acquainted with certain of the monks there. . . . But such persons as afterward bought their corn and hay or such like, found all the doors either open, or the locks and shackles plucked away, or the door itself taken away, went in and took what they found, filched it away. Some took the Service Books that lied in the Church, and laid them upon their wain coppes to piece the same: some took windows of the Hayleith and hid them in their hay; and likewise they did of many other things: for some pulled forth the iron hooks out of the walls that bought none, when the yeomen and the gentlemen of the country had bought the timber of the Church. For the Church was the first thing that was put to the spoil; and then the Abbot's lodging, Dorter, and Frater, with the cloister and all the buildings thereabout within the Abbey walls; for nothing was spared but the oxhouses and swinecoates, and such other house of office, that stood without the walls; which had more favour showed them than the very Church itself: which was done by the advice of Cromwell, as Fox reporteth in his Book of Acts and Monuments. It would have pitied any heart to see what tearing up of lead there was, and plucking up of boards, and throwing down of the sparres: when the lead was

³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 502 n.; *Cal. Pat.* 1345-8, p. 16.

⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 13.

⁵ It is remarkable that in the taxation of 1291 the church of Hatfield is set down as appropriated to Roche Abbey; *Pope Nich. Tax* (Rec. Com.), 299.

⁶ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 319-23.

⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 501.

⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, p. 138.

⁹ *Ibid.* xiii (1), 1248.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* (2), App. 25.

¹¹ Ellis, *Orig. Letters* (Ser. 3), iii, 32-4, from Miss Graham, *St. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines*, 199-202.

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torn off and cast down into the Church, and the tombs in the Church all broken (for in most abbeys were divers noble men and women, yea and in some Abbeys, Kings, whose tombs were regarded no more than the tombs of all other inferior persons: for to what end should they stand, when the Church over them was not spared for their cause), and all things of price either spoiled, caryed away, or defaced to the uttermost.

The persons that cast the lead into the foddors, plucked up all the seats in the choir, wherein the monks sat when they said service, which were like to the seats in minsters, and burned them and melted the lead therewith all: although there was wood plenty within a flight shot of them; for the Abbey stood among the woods and the rocks of stone: in which rocks was pewter vessels that was conveyed away and there hid; that it seemeth that every person bent himself to filch and spoil what he could: yea, even such persons were content to spoil them, that seemed not two days before to allow their religion and do great worship and reverence at their Mattins, Masses, and other Service, and all other their doings: which is a strange thing to say, that they that could this day think it to be the House of God, and the next day the House of the Devil; or else they would not have been so ready to have spoiled it. For the better proof of my saying, I demanded of my father, thirty years after the Suppression, which had bought part of the timber of the Church, and all the timber in the steeple, with the bell-frame, with others his partners therein (in the which steeple hung viii, yea ix bells; whereof the least but one could not be bought at this day for xxⁱⁱ, which bells I did see hang there myself more than a year after the Suppression), whether he thought well of the Religious persons and of the Religion then used? And he told me, Yea: for, said he, I did see no cause to the contrary. Well, said I, then how came it to pass that you was so ready to destroy and spoil the thing that you thought well of? What should I do? said he. Might I not as well as others have some profit of the spoil of the Abbey? for I did see all would away; and therefore I did as others did.

ABBOTS OF ROCHE

Durand (first abbot), 30 July 1147, ruled twelve years
 Denis (1159), ruled twelve years
 Roger de Tickhill (1171), ruled eight years
 Hugh de Wadworth (1179), ruled five years
 Osmund (1184), ruled twenty-nine (?) years
 Reynold (1213?), occurs 1223,¹² ruled fifteen years
 Richard (1228?), occurs 1229, 1240-1, ruled sixteen years
 Walter (1244?), occurs 1246-7, ruled fourteen years
 Alan (1258?)
 Jordan
 Philip, occurs 1276-7¹³

¹² *Lincs. Fines*, 165.

¹³ Pat. 5 Edw. I, m. 18 d. All the preceding names are derived from the 'Successio Abbatum,' printed from the copy in St. Mary's Tower (Dugdale,

Robert,¹⁴ occurs 1280-1, 1282
 Thomas,¹⁵ confirmed 1286
 Stephen,¹⁶ confirmed 3 November 1286, occurs 1293^{16a}
 Robert,¹⁷ confirmed 18 December 1299
 John,¹⁸ confirmed 30 May 1300
 William,¹⁹ confirmed 9 December 1324
 Adam de Gykeleswyk,²⁰ confirmed 4 November 1330
 John,²¹ occurs 1341
 Adam,²² confirmed 1347 (?)
 Simon de Bankwell,²³ confirmed 25 October 1349
 John de Aston,²⁴ confirmed 1358
 John de Dunelmia,²⁵ occurs 1364
 Robert²⁶ de Kesseburg,²⁷ elected 1396, occurs 1404²⁸
 William,²⁹ occurs 1413, 1438
 John Wakefield,³⁰ confirmed 1438

Mon. Angl. v, 505, no. xiv). A thirty-nine years' rule is assigned to Abbot Osmund, which would bring the date of the accession of Reynold (who ruled fifteen years) to 1223, and the accession of Richard, the immediate successor of Reynold, to the year 1238. It is known, however, that Abbot Richard was in office in 1229 (*Cal. Pat.* 1225-32, p. 305). Probably xxxix is an error for xxix, as the number of years during which Abbot Osmund was abbot. This seems to bring all into order, and is therefore followed. This document also states that in the abbacy of Hugh de Waddeworth the house became heavily indebted to the Jews, and that in the time of Osmund the fifth abbot, who had been cellarer of Fountains, King Richard released to the house 1,300 marks owed to the Jews.

¹⁴ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 183.

¹⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 501.

¹⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 11, 29.

^{16a} *Cal. Close*, 1288-96, p. 323.

¹⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Corbridge, fol. 8.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 42.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Melton, slip between fol. 162 and 163.

²⁰ *Ibid.* slip between fol. 187 and 188.

²¹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 184.

²² York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, slip between fol. 118 and 119.

²³ *Ibid.* fol. 13.

²⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 501.

²⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Thoresby, fol. 131. There appears to have been a sentence of the papal court (not here recorded) in a case of John de Dunelmia, 'se asserens abbatem monasterii de Rupe,' against a certain brother John de Retford, 'pro monacho dicti monasterii se gerentem.' It looks as if John de Retford had done harm to the goods of the monastery and its abbatial dignity, besides molesting John de Dunelmia. It may have been a dispute as to the priorship, but the entry in the Register does not say. The archbishop was one of the commissioners delegated to pronounce the sentence of the court.

²⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 501.

²⁷ *Test. Ebor.* i, 213.

²⁸ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 626.

²⁹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 183.

³⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 392.

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John Gray,³¹ confirmed 1465, resigned 1479
 William Tykell,³² 1479
 Thomas Thurne,³³ 1486
 William Burton,³⁴ confirmed 29 February
 1488
 John Merpath,³⁵ confirmed 1491
 John Heslington,³⁶ confirmed 1503
 Henry Cundal, last abbot

The 15th-century seal³⁷ is a vesica, 2 in. by 1½ in. It is much damaged. The device appears to be a figure of our Lady, the patron saint. The legend cannot be read.

A seal³⁸ of a 13th-century abbot is a vesica, 1½ in. by 1⅓ in., with a full length figure of him, holding crozier and book, between on either side a crescent and two stars. The legend is :

† SIGILLVM ABBATIS DE RVPE

28. THE ABBEY OF SAWLEY

Sawley Abbey was founded by William Percy II, son of Alan Percy the Great¹ on 6 January 1147-8,² when Abbot Benedict with twelve monks and ten *conversi* came from Newminster.

Dr. Whitaker,³ however, has printed a charter from the Towneley MSS. (which is not free from certain difficulties), according to which Swain the son of Swain had sold to Robert Abbot of Newminster 11 carucates in 'Sallaia' and land and wood beyond Suaneside and Cliderow,⁴ for the foundation of an abbey of the Cistercian order.

In the foundation charter⁵ William de Percy states that he has given to God and the church of St. Mary, and to Benedict the abbot and the monks of the abbey of Mount St. Andrew, which he had built, Sawley and 'Dudelant,' and 'Helwinesthorp' and all their appurtenances, as well as a carucate in Rimington, which Norman the son of Huchtred had given them, and two bovates in 'Hilleclaiia,' given by Robert his steward, which two latter gifts he confirmed.

Forty years⁶ later a question arose whether the monks would not have to abandon Sawley, owing

to their inability to obtain the necessary sustenance from the land, the climate being so cloudy and wet that the crops, when white unto harvest, rotted on the stalk. The Abbot of Clairvaux and the abbots visitors of the house had the matter in consideration, when Maud de Percy, Countess of Warwick, daughter of the founder, in order to save the abbey from demolition or removal, granted the monks the church of St. Mary of Tadcaster with the chapel of Hazlewood, and an annual pension from the chapel of Newton, and a carucate of land at Catton ('in qua secundum carnem nata fui').

William Percy, who according to the *Genealogia Perciorum*,⁷ printed in the *Monasticon*, in the account of Sawley, was the great-grandson of the founder, granted his manor of Gisburn in Craven to the abbot and convent, for the maintenance of six monks, who were to be priests, in the abbey,^{7a} and in 1313⁸ his son Henry de Percy, considering their poverty, gave to the abbot and convent the church of St. Andrew of Gargrave. Its value had been 50 marks, but owing to the Scottish wars was in 1320 only 30 marks.⁹ Many other grants were made to the abbey, and several of the deeds relating to them are printed in the *Monasticon*.¹⁰

Unlike other houses of the Cistercian order, the situation of that of Sawley was not secluded, but was by the highway passing north and south. In consequence of this the monks had to show more hospitality to travellers than was perhaps the lot of other houses, and it was specially exposed to the raids made by the Scots.

In 1296¹¹ Stanley Abbey was removed to Whalley, not far from Sawley, and this led to a complaint that the new position of the abbey at Whalley was prejudicial to Sawley, and moreover was in contravention of the customs of the Cistercian order. The monks of Sawley further complained¹² that the monks of Whalley had obtained a lease of the tithes of the church of Whalley, which the monks of Sawley had hitherto farmed for their maintenance; that the monks of Whalley went round Craven and bought in the Abbot of Sawley's market all kinds of grain, and had thus raised the price of grain; and not only had they to pay a higher price, but they had to carry the grain over 40 or 60 miles of very bad road. Butter and cheese, fish, poultry, salt, iron, &c., since the coming of the monks to Whalley, were sold dearer to the monks of Sawley. The timber, with which the monks of Sawley ought to build and keep up their buildings, was dearer because the monks of Whalley were building, and intended to build for

³¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Geo. Nevill, fol. 11.

³² Ibid. L. Booth, fol. 104.

³³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 501.

³⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, fol. 232.

³⁵ Ibid. fol. 241.

³⁶ Ibid. Savage, fol. 96.

³⁷ *Cat. of Seals*, B.M. 3917, lxxv, 3.

³⁸ Ibid. 3918, lxxii, 99.

¹ *Whitby Chartul.* 688, n. 7; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 516, no. xxii.

² Harl. MS. 112 (Chartulary of Sawley), fol. 1.

³ *Hist. of Craven*, 36.

⁴ Dr. Whitaker's suggestion that Cliderow is probably an error for Grindleton seems not unlikely.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 512.

⁶ Ibid. no. v, 'per quadraginta annos et amplius.'

⁷ Ibid. v, 511 n.

^{7a} *Percy Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), 145.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 512, no. iv.

⁹ Harland, *Hist. Acct. of Salley Abbey*, 8.

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 512-15.

¹¹ Ibid. 639.

¹² Ibid. 641.

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the future, and the sellers of bark (*tanae*) in those parts, hoping that the monks of Whalley were going to have a big tannery, charged more for bark, in consequence of which the tannery of Sawley was almost destroyed. It may be noted, in passing, that the need of purchasing grain confirms the report of the infertile character of the land about Sawley at that period.

This complaint was dealt with in a general chapter of the Cistercian order in 1305,¹⁵ when it was decided that if the monks or *conversi* of either abbey transgressed against the other, the delinquents were, without delay, to be sent to the injured party to be punished in chapter there, at the judgement of the president. If the monks of Whalley had any saleable tithes (*decimas venales*) which the Abbot and convent of Sawley considered needful for their use, they should be as speedily and freely sold to them as to other persons, but for the price which others would give. The decision might reasonably be expected to have given rise to continual disputes between the two monasteries. There is, however, no evidence that any further disputes actually arose.

On 19 September 1306,¹⁴ for some reason which so far has not been discovered, Archbishop Greenfield passed sentence of excommunication on John de Houeden, abbot, John de Eton, prior, William de Stokesley, sub-prior, Robert de Kereby, cellarer, Henry de Bolton, sub-cellarer, John Tempest, sacrist, Richard de Ebor, sub-sacrist, John de Semer, *frater conversorum*, Richard de Edesford, bursar, William de Osbal[ton . . . ?], William de Nodesaye, porter, Robert de Fontibus (*conversus*), hostilar, Simon de Lytton (*conversus*), master of the Forest, Roger de Hoton, master of Tadcaster, and Roger de Crathorn, master of Bereghby.

In 1350¹⁵ Pope Clement VI, who in 1343 had ordered that the Jubilee at Rome, first observed in 1300, should be kept every fiftieth year, issued a grant to a monk of Sawley, Richard de Fishwyk, to return to his monastery, which he had left without leave, in order to visit Rome for the general indulgence of the Jubilee of that year. In 1381¹⁶ the receipts of the abbey appear to have been £347 14s. 7½d., and the expenditure £355 13s. 10½d. At that time¹⁷ there were in the abbey besides the abbot sixteen other monks. At the suppression there were twenty-one monks and thirty-seven servants.¹⁸ In 1412¹⁹ the abbot and convent obtained an indult from Pope John XXIII to

eat flesh meat on lawful days, whenever they left their monastery for reasonable causes.

The Abbots of Sawley were summoned to Parliament on nine occasions from 1294 to 1307.²⁰ According to the *Taxatio* of 1291, the spiritualities of the abbey were the church of Tadcaster, valued at £36 13s. 4d., and that of Gargrave, valued at £33 6s. 8d. The temporalities of the abbey were valued at £54 10s.²¹

There is no full account of the possessions of Sawley in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, merely a statement that the clear annual value, in spiritualities and temporalities, reached the sum of £147 3s. 10d.²² A rather earlier return, made in 1522-3,²³ gives the clear annual value at £159 16s. 7d. Sawley Abbey, therefore, came within purview of the earlier Act, 27 Henry VIII, cap. 28, which dissolved all the monasteries whose annual revenue was below £200. In 1536²⁴ Thomas Bolton was abbot, but William Trafford must have succeeded him in that year, for he took part as abbot (with his prior) in the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536.²⁵ There is no record of his election in the York Registers, and it was possibly never formally confirmed. On 10 March 1537²⁶ he was hanged at Lancaster for high treason. Abbot Trafford²⁷ belonged to an old Lancashire family, and was the second son of Sir John Trafford of Trafford, by Elizabeth daughter of Sir Thomas Assheton of Ashton-under-Lyne.

Among the Suppression Papers²⁸ one records the 'goodes praysed at Sawlaye and gyven by the Kinges highnes unto Sir Arthur Darcy Knight' as follows: 'Belles, lead, vestymentes and copes, and other necessaries praysed unto' £109 10s. 11d. 'Item. Corne in the garners, and in the ffeldes' £62 15s. 4d.; total £172 6s. 3d. In another paper, much of which is lost,²⁹ the total of the stock and goods reaches the sum of £300 12s. 7d.

ABBOTS OF SAWLEY

Benedict, 1147³⁰
 Geoffrey de Eston, 1186³¹
 Adam, before 1193³²
 Stephen, occurs 1226,³³ 1230³⁴

²⁰ Harland, *Hist. Acct. of Salley Abbey*, 43.

²¹ *Ibid.* 36.

²² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 144.

²³ Subs. R. 64, no. 300.

²⁴ Aug. Off. Views of Accts. bdl. 17.

²⁵ Harland, *Hist. Acct. of Salley Abbey*, 48.

²⁶ *Ibid.* ²⁷ *Ibid.* 47.

²⁸ Suppression P. iii, no. 62. ²⁹ *Ibid.* 75.

³⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 511. ³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Harland, *Hist. Acct. of Salley Abbey*, 42 (temp. Robt de Lacy, who died that year).

³³ *Archbp. Grey's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 328.

³⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, fol. 85; as a witness, 'S.'

¹⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 641.

¹⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, fol. 76b; see also fol. 57b.

¹⁵ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 382.

¹⁶ Harland, *Hist. Acct. of Salley Abbey*, 25; quoting Whitaker.

¹⁷ Subs. R. 63, no. 12.

¹⁸ K.R. Aug. Views of Accts. bdl. 17.

¹⁹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 391.

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Walter, occurs c. 1236³⁵
 Warin, occurs 1246,³⁶ 1255^{36a}
 William (?)³⁷
 Hugh, occurs 1265,³⁸ 1269³⁹
 Thomas, occurs 1278,⁴⁰ 1280,⁴¹ 1290,⁴² de
 Driffild⁴³
 Roger, occurs 1299,⁴⁴ 1302⁴⁵
 John de Houedon, confirmed 1303,⁴⁶ excom-
 municated 1306,⁴⁷ absolved 1313⁴⁸
 John de Heton, confirmed 1321⁴⁹
 John, occurs 1351,⁵⁰ John de Gisburne, 1354⁵¹
 Geoffrey, occurs 1366⁵²
 John, occurs 1372,⁵³ 1381,⁵⁴ 1394^{54a}
 William,⁵⁵ 1418
 William, occurs 1433,⁵⁶ 1443,⁵⁷ William de
 Ingylton, died 1453⁵⁸
 Thomas Bradley, 1453,⁵⁹ died 1467⁶⁰

Robert Wode, 1467⁶¹
 William Holden, confirmed 1468⁶²
 Richard, occurs 1480⁶³
 Thomas Burton, confirmed 1502⁶⁴
 Henry Hammond, occurs 1506⁶⁵
 Thomas Bolton, confirmed 1527,⁶⁶ occurs
 1 January 1536⁶⁷
 William Trafford, 1537⁶⁸ last abbot

A 12th-century seal⁶⁹ of the abbot is a small vesica, 1½ in. by 1 in., showing his figure at full length holding crozier and book. The legend—

✠ SIGILLVM ABBATIS DE SALLIA

is carelessly cut, the two last words being reversed.

HOUSES OF CISTERCIAN NUNS

29. THE PRIORY OF BASEDALE

Licence was granted 'about the year 1162'¹ by Adam de Brus, as chier lord, to Ralph de Nevill, to found 'an abbey of nuns' at Hutton, near Guisborough.² Ernald de Percy³ also granted to Ralph de Nevill the gift which he had made to the nuns of Hutton of land and a mill in 'Torp.'

Nothing is known of the house at Hutton, where it cannot have long remained, and the allusion to the grant of land at 'Torp' indicates, perhaps, its actual removal, thus early in its career, to Thorp, afterward and yet known as Nunthorpe.

³⁵ Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A.317; is a co-witness with Sir Richard, then Abbot of Roche. For reasons stated under Roche Abbot Richard's date has been put at 1228-44.

³⁶ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 190.

^{36a} *Percy Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), 52.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 90.

³⁸ Whitaker, *Hist. of Craven*, 56.

³⁹ Feet of F. Trin. 53 Hen. III, file 53, no. 20.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.* file 60, no. 116, 132.

⁴² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 511.

⁴³ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 190.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Corbridge, fol. 16b.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Greenfield, fol. 57b.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 76b.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* Melton, slip between fol. 152 and 153.

⁵⁰ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 407.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 534.

⁵² Harland, *Hist. Acct. of Salley Abbey*, 42, who says that he was sponsor to Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, in that year.

⁵³ Harl. MS. 112, fol. 51 d.

⁵⁴ Harland, *Hist. Acct. of Salley Abbey*, 42.

^{54a} Harl. MS. 112, fol. 107 d.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*; but query whether he was prior only.

According to the *Monasticon*, 'toward the latter part of the reign of King Henry the second by the benefaction of Guido de Bovingcourt they settled at Basedale, in the parish of Stokesley.'⁴ It must have been quite at the end of the reign of Henry II, or even at the beginning of that of Richard I, that the move was made to Basedale, for among the witnesses to Guy de Bovingcourt's charter are Peter, Abbot of Whitby, and Raold, Prior of Guisborough.⁵ Though the nuns removed from Nunthorpe they still retained their property there until the Dissolution.

In Guy de Bovingcourt's gift to the nuns, for the souls of Robert Bovingcourt, Bernard de Baliol, and his own, &c., is no mention of Basedale, but only of Stokesley and Westerdale, within whose bounds Basedale lies.⁶

Burton⁷ has compiled an alphabetical list of the property of the nuns, a great portion of which had been confirmed to them by Henry III in 1245-6.⁸

⁵⁶ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 190.

⁵⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 511.

⁵⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. W. Booth, fol. 381b.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* An account of his election was sent to the archbishop by the Abbot of Newminster.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* G. Nevill, fol. 15b.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* ⁶² *Ibid.* fol. 108b.

⁶³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 511.

⁶⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Savage, fol. 89b.

⁶⁵ Harland, *Hist. Acct. of Salley Abbey*, 42.

⁶⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 511.

⁶⁷ Aug. Views of Accts. bdle. 17.

⁶⁸ Harland, *Hist. Acct. of Salley Abbey*, 48.

⁶⁹ *Cat. of Seals*, B.M. 3965, lxxv, 5.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 507.

² *Ibid.* 508, no. i.

³ *Ibid.* no. iii.

⁴ *Ibid.* 507.

⁵ *Ibid.* 509, no. viii.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 250, 251.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 508, no. vi.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Basedale nunnery was situated about 8 miles from the parish church of Stokesley, and Isabella the prioress⁹ obtained from the abbot (Robert de Longchamp) and the monks of St. Mary's, York, the patrons of Stokesley Church, with consent of Gerald the parson of Stokesley, the right to have a cemetery at Basedale, in which the nuns, sisters and *conversi* who had assumed their habit at Basedale might be buried, but all their servants and men were to be buried at Stokesley, and were to receive the sacraments at the mother church.

In the *Taxatio* of 1291 Basedale was valued at only £5 6s. 6d.,¹⁰ by far the least of any house in Cleveland. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* the clear annual value was only £20 1s. 4d.¹¹

On 17 May 1304¹² Archbishop Corbridge committed the custody of the goods of the nuns of Basedale to Roger de Kellehay, rector of Crathorne. Troubles soon afterwards arose in the house, which culminated in an order (dated 15 May 1307)¹³ for the deprivation of the prioress (Joan de Percy) on account of her dilapidation of the goods of the house, and her excesses and perpetual and notorious misdeeds (*crimina*). The name of her successor is unknown, but on 13 September¹⁴ in the same year the archbishop granted her licence to have her meals in her own chamber on Sundays and the third and fourth *ferias* in each week. Joan de Percy then had left the house, taking with her some of the nuns, and on 21 September¹⁵ the archbishop wrote to the official of York to warn Joan and the others that they were to return without delay, and not to go outside the precincts (*septa*) of the monastery, but serving God in the cloister under the yoke of obedience, were in humility to take heed to the salutary monitions of their prioress. In July in the year following¹⁶ the archbishop wrote to the Prioress and convent of Sinningthwaite, sending Joan de Percy to them, as she had been guilty of disobedience at Basedale.¹⁷ On 13 October 1308¹⁸ the archbishop wrote to the prioress and convent regarding the miserable state of Agnes de Thormondby, one of their nuns, concerning whom he had heard that, on three separate occasions, she had yielded *carnis*

decepta blandiciis, and left her order. They were to take her back, as she returned humbly and in a contrite spirit, and to impose on her the salutary penance of their rule.

On Wednesday after the feast of St. Michael 1315,¹⁹ Archbishop Greenfield held a visitation of Basedale, when he issued a series of injunctions which are practically the same as others directed at the same time to Handale, the two being almost word for word the same, from which it may be inferred that they throw little or no light on the internal affairs of either house, being couched very much in what, in legal language, is known as 'common form.' From the general character of the injunctions it may be assumed that the little nunnery had resumed its normal state of peace, and that nothing was then seriously amiss.

Troubles, however, again arose, and on 18 March 1343²⁰ Archbishop Zouch issued a commission to inquire into the truth of the articles urged against Katherine Moubray, the prioress, and if her demerits exacted it, to depose her, unless she resigned. It does not appear what took place, but only two years later the archbishop appointed other commissioners, on 3 May 1345,²¹ to inquire into abuses there, and if necessary depose the prioress, and see to the election of a successor. The two commissions following one another so rapidly point to anything but a happy state of affairs.

In June 1359²² the prioress desired to resign owing to her age and debility, and on 9 June 1378²³ Archbishop Alexander Nevill ordered John, Prior of Guisborough, to receive the resignation of Alice Page, probably the prioress elected in 1359, who from infirmity of age and weakness of body could no longer govern the house.

On 13 August 1524²⁴ Joan Fletcher, a nun of Rosedale, was confirmed as Prioress of Basedale. Her record in her office of prioress is a bad one, and from fear of deposition she resigned and also cast aside her habit and left the house. There are two letters respecting her, written by Archbishop Lee on 1 September 1534,²⁵ one addressed to the Prioress and convent of Rosedale, to which after her apostasy she had been sent back to do penance, and the other addressed to Basedale. She had set a bad example at Rosedale, and shown no sign of true repentance, so the archbishop transferred her to Basedale, which she had once ruled as prioress, that where she had not been ashamed to sin, there she might lament her sins. He exhorted the nuns of Basedale to receive her with affection, but not to permit her to go outside the

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 509, no. vii. As Robert de Longchamp was abbot from 1197, and as Susanna was prioress about 1230 (*Whitby Chantul.* i, 233) the date of the concession must have been c. 1197-1230.

¹⁰ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 325.

¹¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 87.

¹² York Archiepis. Reg. Corbridge, fol. 29.

¹³ *Ibid.* Greenfield, i, fol. 88.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 88b. ¹⁵ *Ibid.* ¹⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 90.

¹⁷ A commission had been issued on 3 Feb. 1308 for the visitation of Basedale and other houses, and it was at this visitation, of which no other particulars are given, that Joan de Percy's disobedience was revealed (*ibid.* fol. 95b).

¹⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 93.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* ii, fol. 108.

²⁰ *Ibid.* Zouch, fol. 154.

²¹ *Ibid.* fol. 157.

²² *Ibid.* Thoresby, fol. 177.

²³ *Ibid.* A. Nevill, fol. 41.

²⁴ *Ibid.* Wolsey, fol. 77.

²⁵ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xvi, 432.

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precincts of their monastery without the archbishop's special licence. Joan Fletcher was alive at the Suppression,²⁶ when there were, including her, eleven nuns in the house, which is described as 'Prioratus monasterii de Basedale ordinis Sancti Bernardi Cisterciensis.' Drs. Layton and Legh²⁷ reported that the nuns had as it was supposed (*ut putatur*) the milk of the Blessed Mary in veneration.

PRIORESSES OF BASEDALE

Isabella,²⁸ occurs between 1189 and 1230
 Susanna,²⁹ occurs c. 1230
 Elena,³⁰ occurs 1283
 Joan de Percy,³¹ elected 1301
 Katherine Moubray,³² occurs 18 March
 1343-4
 Alice Page,³³ resigned June 1377
 Elizabeth Cothom,³⁴ confirmed 1460, resigned
 1481-2³⁵
 Elizabeth Davell,³⁶ elected March 1481-2,
 resigned 1497³⁷
 Agnes Thomlynsen,³⁸ elected August 1497
 Margaret Bukton,³⁹ elected November 1523
 Joan Fletcher,⁴⁰ elected August 1524
 Elizabeth Raughton,⁴¹ elected 1527

30. ELLERTON IN SWALEDALE

There is some difference of opinion as to the date of the foundation of the priory of Ellerton in Swaledale.¹ Dodsworth gives alternative founders: Warner the chief steward of the household of the Earl of Richmond, or his son Wymar, temp. Henry II,² and Dr. Burton, probably relying on this statement, places Eller-

ton in his list of foundations of that reign.³ The first recorded prioress, Alice, was at the head of the priory in 1227.⁴

Confusing this house with the priory of Ellerton on Spalding Moor, some writers have called it a *Gilbertine* nunnery.⁵ It was an establishment of Cistercian nuns,⁶ Leland describing it as 'a priori of white clothid nunnes, standing in a valle . . . a mile beneth marik priory.'⁷

The above-named Alice the prioress was the respondent in an action brought in 1227 by the Prior of Kirkham.⁸ The dispute had reference to the last presentation to the church of Whixley, but what was the finding is not known, though the matter was renewed the following year on 5 February 1228 at Westminster.⁹

In 1274 the little priory had some trouble with one of the sisters, Maud, the daughter of Roger de Hunmanby. For some reason or other she was excommunicated and remained obdurate. Archbishop Giffard therefore gave notice of her excommunication to Master Roger de Seton and his fellow-justices of the King's Bench, informing them of her persistent contumacy and offence—that she was 'contemning the keys of the Church,'—and asking them to shun and repel her by every legitimate means, until she came to the primate to seek the benefit of absolution.¹⁰

Of the possessions of this house, 'one of the humblest of all monastic foundations,'¹¹ very little is known. Two bovates of land in Ellerton belonged to it in 1287, and the prioress, it seems, with the heir of Thomas de Hereford, held the manor of Ellerton-cum-Stainton.¹² In 1347 the Scots, making an inroad into Swaledale, entered the nunnery and carried away seven charters and writings; one of these was a grant from Robert de Wicliff to Margaret, the prioress at that time, of an annual rent of 6s. 8d.¹³ At the Dissolution the revenues of the house were derived from rents and fermes in Barforth, Barton, Bellerby, Carlton, Constable Burton, Hornby, Melsonby, Richmond, Studdow, and Walburn,¹⁴ and amounted to £14 14s. 8d. per annum. The value of the priory site with the gardens, mills, meadows, and glebe annexed to it, was £1. The outgoing were 4s. 2d., leaving a clear balance of £15 10s. 6d. The abbey of Egglestone also paid to the priory an annual sum of £3 6s. 8d. for the finding of a chaplain for the chantry founded by Thomas Cleasby for his own soul and those

²⁶ Suppression P. ii, 15.

²⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, p. 137, &c.

²⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 509, no. vii.

²⁹ *Whitby Chartul.* i, 233.

³⁰ Feet of F. Yorks. file 61, no. 28 (Hil. 11 Edw. 1).

³¹ York. Archiepis. Reg. Corbridge, fol. 25.

³² *Ibid.* Zouch, fol. 154. She was not necessarily deposed then; the commission was to depose if necessary; another conditional order to depose a prioress (no name) occurs in 1345 (*ibid.* fol. 157).

³³ *Ibid.* A. Nevill, fol. 41.

³⁴ *Ibid.* W. Booth, fol. 60.

³⁵ *Ibid.* Rotherham, i, fol. 166.

³⁶ *Ibid.* ³⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 164.

³⁸ *Ibid.* ³⁹ *Ibid.* Wolsey, fol. 72b.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 77.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* fol. 87; a nun of Keldholme.

¹ Considerable confusion has arisen in consequence of there being more than one Ellerton in Yorkshire; Ellerton on Spalding Moor, where was a Gilbertine priory; Ellerton on Swale, to the south-east of Richmond; and Ellerton in the parish of Downholme, also 'on Swale,' where the nunnery was situated.

² Dods. MSS. vii, fol. 30.

³ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 56. 'Pat. 12 Hen. III, m. 7 d.

⁴ See e.g. Murray's *Yorkshire* (1904), 365.

⁵ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 263. ⁷ *Itin.* v, 113.

⁶ Pat. 12 Hen. III, m. 7 d. ⁹ *Ibid.* m. 6 d.

¹⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Giffard, fol. 133.

¹¹ Whitaker, *Richmondshire*, i, 316.

¹² *Kirkby's Inquest* (Surt. Soc.), 326.

¹³ Clarkson, *Hist. of Richmond*, 322.

¹⁴ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 263.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

of his heirs.¹⁵ From the survey in the Augmentation Office, the total revenue from all sources, temporal and spiritual, was £21 19s. 3d.¹⁶

The priory was visited in 1536 by Layton and Legh,¹⁷ who returned the 'founders' or patrons at that time as William Aselby, William Thuresby, and Ralph Spence. It was surrendered in 1537 by Joan, the last prioress.

PRIORESSES OF ELLERTON

Alice, occurs 1227¹⁸
 Petronilla, occurs 1251¹⁹
 Ellen, occurs 1268²⁰
 Sibil, occurs 1299²¹
 Margaret, occurs 1347²²
 Mary Gray, date uncertain²³
 Alice Sherwood, occurs 6 August 1429²⁴
 Joan, occurs 1535, last prioress²⁵

31. THE PRIORY OF ESHOLT

The small Cistercian nunnery of St. Mary and St. Leonard at Esholt, in the parish of Guiseley, is said to have been founded at the latter part of the reign of Henry II or the beginning of that of Richard I by Geoffrey Haget or Simon Ward.¹ There is, however, much uncertainty both as to the real date of the foundation, and as to the original founder. The Wards were afterwards the patrons, and at the Dissolution it was said that the founders were the ancestors of Christopher Ward.²

The nuns of Sinningthwaite received a grant of the whole of Esholt from the members of the family of Ward,³ but there is no indication that Esholt was ever subject to Sinningthwaite, though perhaps Esholt may have been an independent offshoot from Sinningthwaite and originally peopled with nuns from the latter place.

A large number of grants of land and confirmations are printed in the *Monasticon*,⁴ and there are several others in the British Museum, which have not been printed, relating to Esholt.

By the gift of Margaret Clifford, widow, the house of Esholt became possessed of the church

of Belton, in the Isle of Axholme, and this gift was confirmed by Richard II on 1 June 1379.⁵

In 1303⁶ Juliana de la Wodehall, who had been elected prioress in December 1300, tendered her resignation to the archbishop, who refused to accept it, and wrote that he had not been certified of the state of the house, nor of the reason which made her desire to resign; he therefore commanded her to retain the care of the house as prioress, until he had discussed the state of the house with the patron, Simon le Ward, or until he was able to visit those parts. Possibly the prioress's desire to resign was due to a recent scandal which is the subject of a letter addressed to her and her convent by the archbishop in the preceding March⁷ regarding Beatrice de Houkesward, a nun, who had left the house pregnant, and whom they were not to re-admit without the archbishop's special licence. On 22 September 1315⁸ Archbishop Greenfield wrote to the Prioress of Esholt peremptorily ordering her to remove within six days all the secular women boarders over the age of twelve years, and to admit no more without special licence. On the previous day he had confirmed the election of Isabella de Calverley as prioress.⁹

In 1318¹⁰ Archbishop Melton held a visitation and issued injunctions to the prioress and nuns. The house was heavily in debt, and all were ordered to use moderation. The prioress was forbidden, under pain of removal, to grant pensions, or to alienate or lease for long periods any of the granges, nor was she to receive any person to the habit of the nuns or sisters or brothers *conversi*, or to retain as boarders any women or girls over twelve years of age without the archbishop's special licence. There is a long silence in the Registers till 1445,¹¹ when Archbishop Kemp granted an indulgence of 100 days, valid for two years, to all who should help towards the reparation or new construction of the campanile of the house or priory of the poor nuns of 'Asshold,' which recently fell to ruin, or who should assist in the maintenance and the relief of the nuns themselves, whose lands near the River Ayre, which had been cultivated at much cost and which maintained the nuns, had been flooded.

A dispensation, dated 1 October 1472,¹² *super defectu natalium*, was granted to Joan Ward, nun of Esholt; she was afterwards prioress, and was no doubt connected in some way with the family of the patron. On 28 November in the same year¹³ another Joan Ward made her will, in which she bequeathed her best gown (*togam*),

¹⁵ Clarkson, *Hist. of Richmond*, 321.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, p. 142.

¹⁸ Pat. 12 Hen. III, m. 7 d.

¹⁹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, 56.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ De Banco R. 27 Edw. I, m. 142.

²² Clarkson, *Hist. of Richmond*, 325.

²³ *Mon. Ebor.* 263.

²⁴ Dean and Chap. of York, Parchment Bk. E, fol. 44.

²⁵ Gale, *Reg. Hon. de Richmond*, App. 91.

¹ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* ix, 321 n. See also Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 139, for grant of site, &c., at Esholt.

² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 469.

³ *Ibid.*; Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 139.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 470-4.

⁵ *Ibid.* 471, no. viii.

⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Corbridge, fol. 18.

⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 206.

⁸ *Ibid.* Greenfield, ii, fol. 89.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Melton, fol. 231b.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Kemp, fol. 98.

¹² *Ibid.* Geo. Nevill, fol. 148.

¹³ York Reg. of Wills, iv, fol. 7.

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lined with 'fiches,' and a gilded girdle, with white tissue, to be sold, and a vestment bought with the proceeds for 'Abbatie de Hashold.' She also left a pair of coral beads adorned with 'calsedons' to be sold and the proceeds to be expended on 'the paynting of an ymage of our lady de pete at the Abba of Hassholde.' Yet a third Joan Ward, the relict of Roger Ward, the elder, of Givendale, kt., appears at this period. She made her will 14 November 1473,¹⁴ and left her body to be buried 'infra ecclesiam religiosam Abbathie de Esholt,' with 20s. to the prioress and convent. In 1497¹⁵ Joan Ward, the prioress, resigned, and on 30 August Elizabeth Lasynby was elected as her successor.

In 1535¹⁶ Dr. Clyf, vicar-general of the archbishop, visited Esholt, and on 10 September the archbishop sent the prioress and convent a long list of injunctions in the English language. All the nuns were to be obedient to their prioress and observe 'Sanct Bennett rule which they have professid.' The prioress was to provide at once sufficient locks and keys for the cloister doors, and the doors were to be securely locked every night immediately after compline, and not opened again till seven o'clock the next morning in winter, or six in summer. A noteworthy order follows, 'that the prioresse suffer no ale-house to be kept within the precinct of the gates of the saide monasterie.' Apparently the nuns at Esholt brewed more ale than they needed and sold the surplus. The dorter was to be locked every night 'unto service tyme.' No manner of person 'of what degre so ever he be seculer or religiose' was to be allowed 'to lie, or to be loged' within the cloister, or any chamber opening into it. No sister was to go out of the precinct of the monastery without some just cause, and the prioress was to cause some part of St. Bennett's rule to be read daily in the chapter-house, in the presence of all the sisters.

At the back of certain chambers where the sisters worked on the south side of the church, there was an open way leading to the waterside and to the bridge across the water. There was no wall or door to shut it off, 'so that many ylles may be committed by reason hereof; wherfore in avoydyng such inconveniences that myght follow yf it shuld so remayne' the prioress was ordered 'incontinent without delay afre the recept herof' to cause a high wall to be built 'in the said voyde place.'

The archbishop then dealt with the case of 'Dame Joanne Hutton nun professed' who 'contarie to her profession and vowe made to all mighty God, to the great daunger of her sowle, and yll example of odre religious parsons, hath lyved incontinentlie and unchast, and hath brought forth a child of her bodie begotten.' The arch-

bishop therefore, 'willinge to reforme the same horrible crime,' enjoined the prioress to put 'dame Joanne' in prison, or in some secret chamber within the dorter, and that neither the sisters nor any person was to speak to her without leave of the prioress. She was to 'kepe abstinence' every week, viz. on each Wednesday and Friday to have bread and ale only, and abstain from all flesh, fish, butter, eggs, cheese, and milk. On other days she was to eat 'as the convent fareth.' Each Friday she was to have in the presence of the sisters such discipline in the chapter-house 'as ys accustomed to be hadd and done for like offences'¹⁷ and the prioress was to keep her in prison and continue the penance for two years, unless the archbishop directed otherwise.

At the time of the Suppression there were eleven nuns.¹⁸ Joan Jenkynson, aged forty, the prioress, heads the list, and received a pension of £6 13s. 4d. Her name is followed by that of Elizabeth Pudsey, also called 'prioress' (that is the ex-prioress); she was over seventy and is described as 'decrepita et non abilis ad equitandum, neque eundum, ben recommendid to hir friends'; Agnes Bayn (52); Agnes Cokyn (47); Joan Hollynraker (?) (54) 'decrepita et non abilis ad equitandum, neque eundum. Md. she is not able to be carried for she is lame, contynew in her habit with her friends'; Elizabeth Mawde (47); Barbara Dogeson (36); Joan Hutton (30); Joan Burton (27); Agnes Wood (27); Agnes Dogeson (40). Against each name (except those of the prioress and the ex-prioress) is written 'contynew in her religion' or simply 'contynew.'¹⁹

The clear annual value of the house in 1535 was only £13 5s. 4d.²⁰

PRIORESSES OF ESHOLT

Agnes, occurs 1219²¹
 Alice, occurs 1299^{21a}
 Juliana de la Wodehall,²² confirmed 1300
 Joan de Hartlington²³
 Isabella de Calverley,²⁴ elected 1315, occurs
 1327,²⁵ 1349²⁶
 Isabella de Calverley,²⁷ elected 1363
 Maud Ward,²⁸ occurs 1392
 Emma Porter,²⁹ occurs 1416
 Emma Burgh, occurs 1459^{29a}

¹⁷ Surely a significant expression.

¹⁸ Suppression P. ii, fol. 25, 34, 238 d.

¹⁹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 470.

²⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 16.

²¹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 57. ^{21a} *Ibid.*

²² York Archiepis. Reg. Corbridge, fol. 6b.

²³ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 140.

²⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, ii, fol. 89.

²⁵ Add. Chart. 16906.

²⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 470, no. i.

²⁷ *Ibid.* v, 470.

²⁸ Add. Chart. 17105. ²⁹ *Ibid.* 17093.

^{29a} Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 57.

¹⁴ York Reg. of Wills, iv, fol. 7b.

¹⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, fol. 135b.

¹⁶ These injunctions are printed in full in *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xvi, 451-3.

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Elizabeth Lasynby,³⁰ elected 1475
 Joan Ward,³¹ occurs 1480, 1487,³² 1493,³³
 resigned 1497³⁴
 Elizabeth Lasynby,³⁵ elected 1497
 Agnes Firth,³⁶ elected 1505
 Margaret Roche,³⁷ elected 1507, resigned
 1512³⁸
 Elizabeth Pudsey,³⁹ elected 1512
 Joan Jenkinson,⁴⁰ occurs c. 1536

32. THE PRIORY OF HAMPOLE

The priory of Hampole, or Hanepole, was founded about 1170¹ by William de Clarefai and Avice de Tany, his wife,² whose gift and that of the churches of Adwick and Melton were confirmed by Archbishop Roger (1154-81), which gives a limit to the date of the foundation.

Roger, the son of Ralph de Tilli and Sibilla de Clarefai, confirmed to the nuns all the grants and concessions of his grandmother, Avice de Tany, and his mother Sibilla, as his brother Ralph had also by his charter confirmed them to the nuns.

In 1331³ William son of William, lord of Sprotbrough, confirmed in detail the gifts of his ancestors and other benefactors to the nuns of Hampole in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire. The nunnery, according to Burton,⁴ who has given a short and imperfect list of the places where the nuns had property, stood in a pleasant vale lying east and west, in a fine country on the high road leading from Wakefield to Doncaster. In his time there were some slight remains of the monastic buildings.

According to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*⁵ the gross annual revenue was £83 6s. 11d., and the clear value £63 5s. 8d.

In 1267⁶ Archbishop Giffard wrote to the prioress to receive no one as nun or sister without his special leave, as the number then in the house exceeded its means.

In the following year⁷ a *custos* of the house is mentioned, but no name given.

In February 1275-6⁸ the archbishop directed the nuns with those of the other Cistercian houses to choose their confessors from the Friars Minor,

in spite of an inhibition of the abbots of the order. His successor, Archbishop Wickwane, in 1280⁹ appointed Richard, vicar of Wath, to the charge and custody of the house in spiritual and temporal affairs, and in 1283¹⁰ commissioned the Prior of Nostell to visit Hampole, but there is no record of the visitation itself.

The custody of the house was committed in 1308¹¹ by Archbishop Greenfield to Roger, vicar of Arksey, and on 14 June¹² in the same year he issued injunctions to the prioress and nuns, in general terms. No nun, except the *hostilaria*, was to eat or drink in the guest-house, unless with worthy people, no secular persons were to sleep in the dormitory, and nobody was to be admitted to the habit of nun, sister or *conversus*, without the archbishop's special licence. In July 1311¹³ he wrote to the prioress and convent that he had lately heard, from certain trustworthy persons, that the nuns did not eat in common in their refectory, but separately in divers chambers and other places; he therefore ordered that they were to have their meals together, unless perchance any one was ill, or otherwise legitimately hindered. In 1312¹⁴ the archbishop, having at a recent visitation found that Hampole was heavily burdened by debts, had ordered that no liveries or corrodies were to be granted without leave. He had, however, learnt that the prioress had received a certain little girl (*puellulam*),¹⁵ by name Maud de Driffeld, niece of the Abbot of Roche, and another named Jonetta, her own niece, at the instance of Dominus Hugh de Cressy her brother, that after a time they might be admitted to the habit and profession of nuns of the house, and moreover had sold or granted corrodies very burdensome to the house; the archbishop ordered diligent inquiry as to these matters. If they were found as stated, then the nuns were to be forbidden to receive Maud and Jonetta to the habit of nuns in any manner whatever, until they heard otherwise.

On 28 February 1312-13¹⁶ Agnes de Pontefracto, a nun of the house, was elected prioress, and on 7 March¹⁷ following Custance de Cressy, nun of the house, was transferred to Swine, *propter varias inobediencias*. It seems pretty clear, from what had occurred, that Custance de Cressy

³⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Geo. Nevill, fol. 172b.

³¹ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 140.

³² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 471, no. xvi.

³³ *Ibid.* no. iii.

³⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, fol. 133.

³⁵ *Ibid.* ³⁶ *Ibid.* Savage, fol. 43.

³⁷ *Ibid.* sed. vac. fol. 522.

³⁸ *Ibid.* Bainbridge, fol. 39b.

³⁹ *Ibid.* ⁴⁰ Suppression P. ii, 25.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 486.

² *Ibid.* 487, no. ii. ³ *Ibid.* no. iii.

⁴ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 264.

⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 43.

⁶ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* 20.

⁷ *Ibid.* 160.

⁸ *Ibid.* 295.

⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 28.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 172.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Greenfield, fol. 70b.

¹² *Ibid.* fol. 108b.

¹³ *Ibid.* ii, fol. 54.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 58.

¹⁵ The reception of girls of tender age as future nuns is indicated in a licence from Archbishop Greenfield in 1310 to the Prioress and convent of Hampole to receive Elena daughter of the late Reyner Sperrri, citizen of York, eight years of age and 'bone conversacionis et vite,' as a prospective nun (*ibid.* fol. 30). A licence to take a young girl, Agnes de Langthwayt, as a boarder was granted to Hampole by Archbishop Greenfield in 1313 at the instance 'nobilis viri Ade de Evelyngham.' (*Ibid.* fol. 730.)

¹⁶ *Ibid.* ii, fol. 62.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 63b.

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was the refractory prioress who had been removed and Agnes de Pontefract elected in her place. In 1314¹⁸ the archbishop granted licence to the nuns to have William de Calverleye, of the order of Friars Minor, as their confessor.

In the week before Pentecost in the same year, Archbishop Melton visited Hampole, and as a result, but not till 5 December following, he sent on a series of injunctions.¹⁹ The house was found to be heavily in debt, and he exhorted all to be economical, and with the help of their discreet *custos*, or master, to strive to be relieved of their debts. All contained in his predecessor's *decretum*, as well as that in his own, was to be observed, and the whole read in chapter. The prioress and sub-prioress were enjoined that they were to correct and even chastise nuns who used new-fashioned narrow-cut tunics and rochets, contrary to the accustomed use of their order, whatever might be their condition or state of dignity, and henceforth all the nuns were to use uncut garments of the old fashion, long time observed in the house, to the honour of religion. The archbishop also ordered that all the irregular *clamides* of the nuns, to wit those of black colour, should be removed within half a year, and that in future they should use *clamides* of russet colour according to the old fashion of the house and institutes of the order; and four scapulars were to be provided for the nuns whose duty it was to wait on the convent at dinner (*in prandio*).

No secular servants were to sleep in the dormitory, nor were any brethren of religious orders, relatives of the nuns, to be allowed to spend the night in the inner guest-chamber of the house. No male children over five years of age were to be permitted in the house, as the archbishop found had been the practice. The prioress was exhorted to show no personal favouritism. Joan de Vernour was to have a room in the outer court of the house for her abode, which the convent had granted her for her life. Writing to the Dean of Doncaster, on 14 July 1324,²⁰ the archbishop directed him to make Thomas de Rayneville undergo the penance imposed upon him for committing the sin of incest with Isabella Folifayt, nun of Hampole. The penance was that on a Sunday, while the major mass was being celebrated in the conventual church of Hampole, Thomas de Rayneville was to stand, wearing a tunic only and bare-headed, holding a lighted taper of a pound weight of wax in his hand, which after the offertory had been said he was to offer to the celebrant, who was to explain to the congregation the cause of the oblation. Also that on two festivals *more penitencium* he should be beaten (*fustigetur*) round the parish church of Campsall. The Dean of Doncaster was to see that this penance was performed, and was to report how the culprit had conducted himself

during it. Evidently it was not carried out at the time, for on 16 August 1326²¹ the archbishop repeated the direction for its performance.

On 1 January 1353²² Archbishop Thoresby issued a commission to inquire into the state of the house, which, according to the public report, through unwise rule and other causes, was in such a condition of financial collapse that the dispersion of its nuns was threatened, unless it could be quickly and generously assisted. What was discovered was to be corrected and reformed, and if reasonable cause demanded it, the prioress was to be deposed, and another elected.

On 8 December 1358²³ the archbishop wrote to the prioress and convent on behalf of Alice de Reygate, one of their nuns, who, with weeping countenance, had prostrated herself at his feet, confessing that she had broken the vow of her profession and been guilty of immorality with an unmarried man. The archbishop directed that she was to be received back *more penitentis*, but was not to wear the black veil. She was to take the last place in the convent, and receive daily disciplines in chapter, until he saw good to order otherwise.

On 20 August 1411²⁴ Archbishop Bowett held a visitation of Hampole, and sent on 20 October a long series of injunctions. Several are of a general character, exhorting the prioress and her nuns to charity one with another and the due observance of their rule; the prioress to use circumspection in regard to the recreations of the nuns, now summoning one and then another, and in making corrections not to be a malicious acceptor of persons. She was to punish and chastise so that the punishment of one might be a continual fear of the others, and if any proved incorrigible, or resisted her, she was to certify the name of that nun without delay to the archbishop, 'ut ipsa juxta ipsius demerita debite castigetur.' All the nuns were exhorted to obey the prioress, without reluctance or murmuring. None having any complaint against the prioress were to ignore the archbishop's authority and call in the aid of any secular or regular power. Any wishing to complain, if another sister joined with her, was to have access to the archbishop, the necessary expenses being given to her by the prioress. If the prioress refused her leave for this, or delayed it beyond three days, she and her nun associate were to have access to the archbishop without incurring a charge of apostasy.²⁵ Any receiving gifts or legacies from friends were at once on returning to reveal them to the prioress. No person, secular or religious, greatly suspected,

¹⁸ Ibid. fol. 166b.

²² Ibid. Thoresby, fol. 15b.

²³ Ibid. fol. 103.

²⁴ Ibid. Bowett, fol. 101.

²⁵ That is, they might go out of the monastery without leave of the prioress, or even against her order, that they might lay their complaint before the archbishop, and yet not be charged with apostasy.

¹⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, ii, fol. 85b.

²⁰ Ibid. Melton.

²¹ Ibid. fol. 162b.

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was to hold any colloquy with any of the convent, &c.

The archbishop enjoined the prioress in virtue of her vow of obedience, that Alice Lye, her nun who held the office of *hostilaria*, or anyone who succeeded her in office, should henceforward be free from entering the rooms of the guests to lay the beds, but the porter should receive the bedclothes from the *hostilaria* at the lower gate, and when the guests had departed he should give them back to her at the same place. All the nuns were enjoined not to allow any seculars, or religious men, or their own servants, or relatives or others of the male sex, to pass the night in the inner guest-house, or within the inner doors of the house. And none of the nuns, the prioress excepted, were to retain any one, clerk or layman, serving them, but having dismissed such for the avoiding of scandal, they might get a worthy woman, not suspected, who should serve and minister to them.

The secular servants of the house, and the *corrodarii*, who attracted to them other secular persons from the country by whom the house was burdened or the nuns disturbed, were to be forthwith removed and were not to be allowed to enter the door without special leave of the prioress, sub-prioress, or cellaress, and if these *corrodarii* were otherwise introduced for the day the livery of the introducer was to be withheld. Nor were secular *corrodarii* to remain in the house, except for the hour of receiving the livery, unless they had needs for their continuous stay there. The prioress was not to allow any of the *corrodarii* or others to retain suspected women with them in the house. The portions allowed the nuns were to be augmented according to the means of the house, with the consent of the majority and wiser part of the convent. The prioress was to take efficient action with all speed to recover the pension of 40s. due from the church of Greetwell in Lincoln diocese, and also the rental of 50s. due from John Fitz William, lost through neglect.

On 10 September 1426²⁶ Archbishop Kemp licensed brother John Wotton of the order of Friars Minor to hear the confessions of the nuns of Hampole.

Among the leases granted by the nuns of Hampole is an indenture dated 6 September 1516,²⁷ by which 'dame Agnes Ynse prioresse w^t all the hoyll convent assent in the monastery of owr blessed lady of Ampull of ye order of cysternencis' granted to Sir William Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, then dwelling at Sutton upon Derwent, 'for to be steward of owr forsaid howse tennamentes and landes for ye terme of ye for sayd Syr William Percy knyghtes lyfe.' Sir William was to keep the

courts for the convent and their tenants were to be at his command. For his work as steward the convent agreed to pay him 20s. a year.

A list of the nuns at the time of the Dissolution²⁸ is headed by the name of Isabella Arthington the prioress, aged fifty, and Joan Gascowyne the sub-prioress, aged sixty. There were twelve others whose ages ranged from fifty to two aged nineteen. Against each is written 'religion,' and it is said 'all be of good conversation.'

PRIORESSES OF HAMPOLE

Denise, occurs 1284^{28a}
 Custance de Cressy, resigned 1312²⁹
 Agnes de Pontefract, elected 1312,³⁰ died 1319-20³¹
 Margaret de Hecke, elected 1319-20³²
 Maud, occurs 1348³³
 Elizabeth Fairfax, succeeded after 1380³⁴
 Elizabeth, occurs 1392-1414³⁵ (as Isabel 1406)³⁶
 Agnes, occurs 1433³⁷
 Alice, occurs 1433, 1439³⁸
 Margaret Banastre, died 1445³⁹
 Margaret Normanville, confirmed 1445,⁴⁰ resigned 1452⁴¹
 Agnes Clarel, confirmed 1452⁴²
 Elizabeth Rawdon, resigned 1483⁴³
 Isabella Wheteley, confirmed 1483,⁴⁴ resigned 1503-4⁴⁵
 Elizabeth Arley, confirmed 1503-4,⁴⁶ resigned 1512⁴⁷
 Agnes Ynche, elected 1512⁴⁸
 Isabella Arthington, confirmed 1517⁴⁹

33. THE PRIORY OF HANDALE, OTHERWISE GRENDALE

This small nunnery, under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was founded in 1133¹

²⁸ Suppression P. ii, fol. 176. It is entitled 'Prioratus sive domus monialium beate Marie de Hampall ordinis sancti Augustini et de regula sancti Benedicti Cistercien.'

^{28a} Cott. MS. Nero D. III, fol. 58b.

²⁹ Perhaps deprived, York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, ii, fol. 62, 63b.

³⁰ Ibid. fol. 62.

³¹ Ibid. Melton, fol. 137b.

³² Ibid.

³³ Baildon's MS. Notes.

³⁴ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 265.

³⁵ Baildon's MS. Notes (perhaps the same as the preceding.)

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 84.

³⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 406b.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid. W. Booth, fol. 376.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid. Rotherham, i, fol. 41b.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid. Savage, fol. 36.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid. Bainbridge, fol. 27b.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid. Wolsey, fol. 36.

¹ Atkinson, *Cleveland Anct. and Modern*, 249.

²⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 28.

²⁷ Conventual Leases, Yorks. (P.R.O.), no. 279.

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by William Percy of Dunsley, in the parish of Loftus-in-Cleveland.

The advowson of the priory was granted in the reign of King John by Richard Percy to Richard Malebisse and his heirs who were to pay yearly to the convent 1 lb. of incense in lieu of all services.²

The earliest allusion in the Archbishopial Registers appears to be the appointment by Archbishop Giffard of William de Bardenay, monk of Whitby, as guardian of Handale and Basedale nunneries, in 1267-8.³ Just twenty years later, Archbishop Romanus⁴ wrote to the Master of Sherburn Hospital near Durham asking him to admit Basilia de Cotum, one of the nuns of Handale, who was stricken with leprosy, and who for fear of contagion could not dwell among healthy women.

On the Saturday after the feast of St. Michael 1315⁵ Archbishop Greenfield held a visitation of the house, and the short series of injunctions which he then issued are the only injunctions in the Registers, as issued to Handale, and they are in general terms almost identical with those sent to Basedale at the same time.

On 13 May 1318⁶ Archbishop Melton issued a commission to Thomas [de Mydelsburg], rector of Loftus, to administer the temporal goods of the Prioress and convent of Handale, to receive the account of the servants, and to substitute more capable ones for those who were useless, and to do whatever appeared to him to be for the benefit of the house. On 12 January 1388⁷ the dean and chapter, *sede vacante*, issued a letter on behalf of Handale, suffering from its poverty, but with the exception of notices of the election of prioresses, there is nothing of importance in the Registers. Two of the records of the election of prioresses (Joan Scott in 1504⁸ and Anne Lutton in 1532⁹) are significant as they expressly describe Handale as belonging to the Cistercian order.

Of the external affairs of the house almost the only item of interest that is known is a suit in 1301,¹⁰ when John de Aslakeby and John Etwatre of Yarm had to answer a complaint made by Ivetta, Prioress of Handale, that they, with certain other persons who are named, had seized and imprisoned her at Yarm, and committed other misdeeds for which she claimed £40

as damages. It was not till 1 July 1303 that the jury found for the defendants, and decided that they had made no trespass on the prioress, as she had alleged.

At the time of the Suppression¹¹ there were ten nuns. It is noted that 'they all be of good liffyng,' and against six of the names 'religion' is written in the margin, indicating their desire to continue in their vows. Joan Scott, the late prioress, is second in the list, and after her name is added 'aet. 90⁷ blynd.' At a subsequent period her name has been struck through with a pen, and the word 'objit' written in the margin. Anne Lutton the prioress was assigned a yearly pension of £6 13s. 4d. Three of the senior nuns received pensions of 33s. 4d., and the five juniors 26s. 8d. each.

Handale is not included in the taxation of Pope Nicholas. In 1527¹² its clear annual value was returned at £20, and in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*¹³ at £13 19s. only. The alms distributed weekly for the soul of Robert Percy, who is called the founder, were two measures (*modios*) of corn, and 3d. in money, amounting to £4 9s. 2d.

When a return was made in 1553¹⁴ as to the payment of the pensions to ex-religious, it was stated that, as regarded Handale, Alice Brompton (16s. 8d.) *mortua ut dicitur*; Margaret Lowdham (33s. 4d.), Isabell Norman and Cecille Watson (each 26s. 8d.) appeared with their patents.

PRIORESSES OF HANDALE

- Beleisur, occurs 1208¹⁵
- Bella,¹⁶ occurs 1240
- Avice, occurs 1262,¹⁷ 1269¹⁸
- Ivetta, occurs 1287,¹⁹ 1305²⁰
- Cecilia de Irton, confirmed 7 June 1313,²¹
resigned 4 May 1314²²
- Mariota de Herle, succeeded 1314,²³ resigned 1318²⁴
- Alice de Hoton, elected 1318,²⁵ resigned 1320²⁶
- Agnes, elected 1320²⁷
- Katherine de Gilling, occurs 1413,²⁸ 1417²⁹

¹¹ Suppression P. ii, fol. 1. ¹² Subs. R. 64, no 303.

¹³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 87.

¹⁴ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdlc 76, no. 24.

¹⁵ *Yorks. Fines, John* (Surt. Soc.), 149.

¹⁶ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 86.

¹⁷ *Guisborough Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 201.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 223.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 154.

²⁰ Baildon's MS. Notes.

²¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield ii, fol. 96b.

²² *Ibid.* fol. 108. Both dates as to confirmation and cession of Cecilia de Irton in the *Monasticon* (*Mon. Angl.* iv, 74) are wrong.

²³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 74.

²⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 228b.

²⁵ *Ibid.* ²⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 234b.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 86.

²⁹ Baildon's MS. Notes.

² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 74.

³ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 54.

⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 306.

⁵ *Ibid.* Greenfield, ii, fol. 108.

⁶ *Ibid.* Melton, fol. 228b.

⁷ *Ibid.* Arundel (sed. vac.), fol. 9. In 1390 Boniface IX granted indulgences to those who on the feast of the dedication visited and gave alms for the conservation of the church and priory of Handale, *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 393.

⁸ *Ibid.* Savage, fol 63.

⁹ *Ibid.* see fol. 38.

¹⁰ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 86.

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Cecilia, 1504³⁰ resigned 1504³¹
 Joan Scott,³² confirmed 1504, resigned
 1532³³
 Anne Lutton,³⁴ confirmed 1532

34. THE PRIORY OF KELDHOLME

The small nunnery of St. Mary of Keldholme in the parish of Kirkby Moorside was founded by Robert de Stuteville in the reign of Henry I.¹ The founder gave the site on which the house was built, and the adjacent land, which is almost entirely surrounded by a curve of the River Dove, so the nuns are in some of the earlier deeds spoken of as *moniales de Duva* instead of *de Keldholm*.²

The foundation charter is not extant, but there are two charters of confirmation, granted by King John in the second year of his reign, printed in the *Monasticon*,³ which describe the foundation gifts with some minuteness of detail. The nuns of Keldholme never obtained the grant of any church, their possessions were always small, and possibly on this account the priory is omitted from the Taxation of Pope Nicholas in 1291.

The patronage of the house passed from the Stutevilles to the Wakes, lords of Liddell, by the marriage in the early part of the 13th century of Joan, heiress of Nicholas de Stuteville, to Hugh Wake.⁴ Edmund de Holand, Earl of Kent, died seised (11 Henry IV) of two parts of the advowson of Keldholme, then valued at £2 yearly.⁵

There is remarkably little known of the history of the house, and almost all that is recorded of it relates to violent disputes and internal disorders in the 14th century, which called for the intervention of the archbishop. A letter (9 December 1287) from Archbishop Romanus to the nuns directed them to receive back one of their members, Maud de Tiverington, who had apostatized.⁶ On 30 December 1299, the see being vacant, the Chapter of York addressed a letter to the prioress and convent on behalf of another nun, Cristiania de Styvelington, who *instigante diabolo* had also apostatized, but having appeared before the chapter had manifested repentance, and desired to be allowed to return. The chapter directed that she was to be re-

admitted, but was to undergo the salutary penance prescribed by the rules of the order.⁷

On 15 July 1301 Archbishop Corbridge issued a mandate to the sub-prioress and convent to elect a successor to Emma de Stapelton who had resigned.⁸ There is no mention of the election which must then have taken place, but the prioress then chosen, whose name is not known, must have died, for Archbishop Greenfield (18 April 1308)⁹ issued a commission to inquire about the vacancy. If this had been caused by a resignation the archbishop would have known of it, as the resignation had to be placed in the hands of the archbishop, and accepted by him. The commissioner was directed to inquire when the vacancy had occurred, and how long Keldholme had been without a prioress, and whether the vacancy had extended for six months and thus the appointment lapsed to the archbishop. This was followed on 21 April by a letter from the archbishop to John de Newerk, relating that as the election had lapsed, and as Emma de Ebor', one of the nuns, was reported to be the most fit for the post of prioress, he appointed her to that office.¹⁰

About the same time an order was sent to the official of the Archdeacon of Cleveland¹¹ directing him to proceed, according to the tenor of a previous mandate, the contents of which do not appear, against Beatrix de Roston, Anabella de Lokton, and certain other women of the monastery of Keldholme, concerning whom it had anew come to the archbishop's ears that they, together with Orphanía de Nueton, Isabella de Langetoft, Mary de Holm, and Joan de Roseles, nuns of the house, contrary to their duty, refused obedience to their prioress.¹² As six nuns refused obedience and were probably at least half of the whole convent, it is not a matter for surprise to learn that Emma de Ebor' resigned the office of prioress, to which she had only just been promoted by the archbishop.¹³ On 5 August the archbishop addressed a letter to the Archdeacon of Cleveland, stating that he had accepted the cession of Emma de Ebor', and that as he found no one in the house capable of assuming rule therein, he had carefully considered the matter, and had appointed Joan de Pykering¹⁴ (a nun of Rosedale) who, from the testimony of trustworthy persons, was deemed competent, to be Prioress of Keldholme. As a number of persons, whom the archbishop named, had openly and publicly obstructed the appointment of the new prioress, the archdeacon was to proceed immediately to Keldholme, and give her corporal possession, and at the same time

³⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 74.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² York Archiepis. Reg. Savage, fol. 63.

³³ *Ibid.* see fol. 38.

³⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 74.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 664; Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 380.

² Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 380 n.

³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 665.

⁴ G.E.C. *Complete Peerage*, viii, 35, note (b).

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 664.

⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 51.

⁷ *Ibid.* sed. vac. fol. 29.

⁸ *Ibid.* Corbridge, slip inserted between fol. 24 and 25.

⁹ *Ibid.* Greenfield, fol. 88b.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 89.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.* fol. 92.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

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was to admonish the dissentient nuns named, that they and all others must accept Joan de Pykering as prioress from the date of her nomination, and reverently obey her. The lay folk were to cease their opposition, under pain of the greater excommunication. One of the latter, who is not mentioned in the letter, Nicholas de Ripplinghall, was dealt with a little later by the archbishop, who imposed the following penance. On the second Sunday in Lent he was to go bareheaded to the cathedral church of York, clad in a tunic only, holding a taper of a pound weight and after the procession was to go before the high altar, and humbly offer the lighted taper and receive a discipline there from the archbishop's penitentiary. The following Sunday he was to do the same in Kirkby Moorside Church and, after the Gospel, offer the taper and receive a discipline there from the vicar or parish clerk, and on the next two Sundays he was to do much the same in the conventual church of Keldholme.¹⁵

On 3 September the archbishop issued a mandate to the official of Cleveland, stating that at the visitation of Keldholme he had found the four nuns, Isabella de Langetoft, Mary de Holm, Joan de Roseles and Anabilla de Lokton, incorrigible rebels. Within eight days Isabella was to be sent to Handale, Mary within fifteen days to Swine, Joan within three weeks to Nun Appleton, and Anabilla within a month to Wallingwells, there to perform the penances imposed upon them.¹⁶ The stern action of the archbishop had, however, little effect, and on 1 February following, the archbishop addressed a letter to the sub-prioress and convent, commanding them that they one and all, without delay, should direct a letter under their common seal, to the lady Joan Wake, lady of Liddell, stating that they had admitted Joan de Pykering unanimously as their prioress, and intended to obey her in all things as such, and asking the lady Joan Wake to direct that the said prioress should have possession of the temporalities and free administration in the same.¹⁷

On 5 February the archbishop issued another commission to correct the crimes and excesses revealed at a visitation of Keldholme and described in an annexed schedule, which schedule has not been copied into the Register.¹⁸ Very shortly afterwards (17 February) he directed the same commissioners to inquire whether Joan de Pykering desired, for a good reason, of her own free will to resign, and if they found that she did, they were to enjoin the sub-prioress and convent to proceed to the canonical election of a new prioress.¹⁹ This was followed by the election, on 7 March, of Emma de Stapelton as

prioress for the second time,²⁰ and on the same date an order was sent to Keldholme, forbidding the sale of corrodies, or granting leases of the convent's property for long periods, and directing that each year the accounts of the house were to be made up within the octave of All Saints.²¹ On 6 March the archbishop wrote to Esholt,²² ordering the prioress and convent of that house to receive Emma de Newcastle, nun professed at Keldholme, who had been found guilty, at the recent visitation, of conduct contrary to the honesty of her rule. She was to go to Esholt for a time, and there perform the penance assigned her. She was to be last in quire, cloister, refectory and dormitory. A similar letter was sent at the same time to Nunkeeling²³ respecting Maud Bigot, another nun of Keldholme, who was temporarily transferred to that house, under like conditions.

After this, if silence in the Registers may be accepted as a sign of improvement, the troubles which had distracted the little nunnery for a time, at least, came to an end. On 7 April 1310 the archbishop committed the custody of the temporalities of the nuns of Keldholme to Richard del Clay, vicar of Lastingham.²⁴ On Monday after the feast of St. Margaret 1314 the nunnery was again visited, and the archbishop issued a number of injunctions to the nuns.²⁵ Many of them are the ordinary exhortations to the due observance of the rule, which almost assume a common form in these decrees, but a few had special reference to the condition of the house. The necessary repairs were to be carried out, specially as regarded the roofs, as soon as could be. Secular finery and singularity of dress was to be avoided by the nuns, nor were they to wear anything but such as befitted religion. No nun or other person belonging to the house was to take away books, ornaments or other things belonging to the church, without the express consent of the prioress and convent. The prioress was strictly enjoined that puppies (*caniculos*) were excluded from entering quire, cloister, and other places, and nuns who offended in regard to this were to be punished.

Trouble again manifested itself, and on 27 October 1315²⁶ the archbishop directed Richard del Clay, the *custos* of the monastery, to proceed at once to Keldholme, and summon before him in chapter Emma de Ebor' (who it will be remembered had been prioress for a short time in 1308) and Mary de Holm, who, like daughters of perdition, were disobedient and rebels against their prioress. Having read the

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid. fol. 96.

²² Ibid.

²³ This is remarkable, as Nunkeeling was a Benedictine house, and it was not the custom to send members of one order to houses of another order to undergo penances.

²⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, fol. 99b.

²⁵ Ibid. fol. 101b.

²⁶ Ibid. fol. 108.

¹⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, fol. 72b.

¹⁶ Ibid. fol. 92b.

¹⁷ Ibid. fol. 93b.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid. fol. 95b.

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archbishop's letter in the mother tongue in chapter, he was to admonish the two nuns for the first, second, and third times, that they must humbly obey their prioress in all lawful and canonical injunctions, monitions, and commands. They were not to meddle with any internal or external business of the house in any way, nor were they to go outside of the inclosure of the monastery, or to say anything against their prioress, under pain of expulsion and of the greater excommunication.

Archbishop Greenfield died on 5 December 1315,²⁷ and on 13 February following the dean and chapter directed the nuns to elect a new prioress in place of Emma de Stapelton, who had resigned, oppressed by age.²⁸ It is a curious comment on the vigorous action of the archbishop only a short time before, to find that one of the two nuns whom he had so severely censured was elected as the new prioress. Emma de Ebor' was now confirmed in office for the second time on 7 March 1315.²⁹ Mary de Holm, who had been reproved as a disobedient nun, transgressed more seriously, and on 6 June 1318³⁰ Archbishop Melton wrote to the prioress and convent directing them to compel Mary de Holm to undergo the penance enjoined her for the vice of incontinence committed by her with Sir William Lyly, chaplain. The new archbishop had previously visited the house, and on 4 May 1317³¹ had addressed a number of injunctions to the nuns, but they are all couched in general terms and do not reveal anything in particular relating to Keldholme.

After this the Registers³² tell very little about Keldholme, and nothing is known as to its external history. One of the elections, that of 20 August 1467,³³ is described rather fully. There were then eight nuns in the house, viz. Katherine Anlaby (the late prioress), Elizabeth Browne, Alice Norton, Agnes Wright, Christiana Redesdale, Joan Fleshewer, and Margaret Talbot. They met in chapter, and having sung *Veni Creator Spiritus*, delegated the election for fifteen days to Archbishop Rotherham, who appointed Elizabeth Davell, at that time Prioress of Basedale.

²⁷ Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Angl.* (ed. Hardy), iii, 105.

²⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. sed. vac. fol. 91.

²⁹ Ibid. ³⁰ Ibid. Melton, fol. 232b. ³¹ Ibid.

³² Mr. W. Brown has printed (*Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xvi, 456) an account of the penance imposed 20 July 1321 by Archbishop Melton (York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 236b) on Maud of Terrington, an apostate nun of Keldholme, who here seems to have lapsed morally, besides apostatizing. She was to have a cell apart from the others, was to stand during the quire offices, was to fast on bread and pulse on Wednesdays, and bread and water on Fridays, was to be flogged bare-footed round the cloister, was to offer herself to be spurned by the nuns, wear no 'camisia,' or black veil, and was to recite two psalters, &c., weekly.

³³ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, fol. 164.

The royal commissioners visited Keldholme on 8 June 1535, and the house was suppressed on 5 or 7 August following.³⁴ There were then five nuns besides the prioress, Sir John Potter³⁵ the chaplain, and twelve servants and boys. In the account of Leonard Beckwith, from Michaelmas 1535 to Michaelmas 1536, a parcel-gilt chalice and paten weighing together 6 ounces, and two bells valued at 10s. are accounted for.³⁶ Under 'Surperstitio' Drs. Legh and Layton reported that there was a piece of the true cross at Keldholme, and a finger of St. Stephen which was wont to be offered 'parturientibus.'³⁷

There are no Ministers' Accounts of the house, and all that is known as to its revenues about this time is obtained from the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*,³⁸ where they are set down at £29 6s. 1d.

PRIORESSES OF KELDHOLME

Sibil, occurs temp. Henry I³⁹

K—— occurs 1208-9⁴⁰

Basilia, occurs November 1208⁴¹

Ellen, c. 1260 (?)^{41a}

Beatrice de Crendale, resigned 1293-4⁴²

Emma de Stapelton, confirmed 1293-4,⁴³
resigned 1301⁴⁴

(Name unknown, elected 1301,⁴⁵ died 1307)

Emma de Ebor, appointed April 1308,⁴⁶ re-
signed August 1308⁴⁷

Joan de Pykering, appointed August 1308,⁴⁸
resigned March 1308-9⁴⁹

Emma de Stapelton (second time), confirmed
1308-9,⁵⁰ resigned 1315-16⁵¹

Emma de Ebor (second time), confirmed
1315-16⁵²

³⁴ K.R. Aug. Off. Views of Accts. bdl. 17.

³⁵ By an 'endentur,' 3 Feb. 1532-3 'dame Elisabeth Dael prioress off the monastery offoure lady of Keldholme' and the convent granted Sir John Potter a yearly rent for life, and also 'comon of paster for on horse to go at rugthbarth in somer and sufficient hay and provanter for on horse off the said John to rydde on in wenter in the nedful besenes of the house' also two chambers 'called the chaplen chamber wher in the said Sir John now lith and sufficient fuell called fier wode yerly to be takyn with in ther woddes att Keldholme foresaid,' &c.; Conventual Leases, York (P.R.O.), no. 322.

³⁶ K.R. Aug. Off. Views of Accts. bdl. 17.

³⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, p. 137 et seq.

³⁸ Op. cit. v, 145.

³⁹ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 380 n.

⁴⁰ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 98.

⁴¹ *Yorks. Fines, John* (Surt. Soc.), 152.

^{41a} Cott. MS. Claud. D, xi, fol. 3.

⁴² York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 57.

⁴³ Ibid. fol. 35.

⁴⁴ Ibid. Corbridge, slip between fol. 24 and 25.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid. Greenfield, fol. 89.

⁴⁷ Ibid. fol. 92.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid. fol. 95b.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid. sed. vac. fol. 91.

⁵² Ibid.

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Margaret de Aslaby, resigned 1406⁵³
 Alice Sandeforth, elected 1406⁵⁴
 Agnes Wandesforth, died 1461⁵⁵
 Ellen Wandesforth,⁵⁶ died 1464⁵⁷
 Katherine Anlaby, resigned 1497⁵⁸
 Elizabeth Davell, appointed 1497,⁵⁹ died
 1534⁶⁰
 Elizabeth Lyon, elected 1534⁶¹ (last prioress)

35. KIRKLEES PRIORY

The Cistercian nunnery at Kirklees in the parish of Dewsbury was founded during the reign of Henry II by Reiner le Fleming, lord of the manor of Wath-upon-Dearne,¹ whose grant was confirmed some time before 1240 by William, Earl Warenne, and in 1236 by Henry III.² From the years 1306 to 1315 there appears to have been some scandal at Kirklees, especially with regard to three of the nuns, Alice Raggid, Elizabeth Hopton, and Joan Heton.

In 1397 Sir John Mountenay, kt., John Amyas, and others gave the priory 50 acres and the advowson of the church of Mirfield³ to provide a chaplain for ever for the soul of Sir John de Burgh at Kirklees. Boniface IX (1400-4) allowed the nuns of Kirklees to appropriate Mirfield Church and to take corporal possession on the death or retirement of the then rector.⁴ The prioress could appoint or remove at will a fit priest, either secular or regular, but in 1403 Archbishop Scrope ordained a perpetual vicarage there. In 1412 John de Burgh bequeathed 13s. 4d., and in 1407 Sir William Scot, kt., of Great Halyton left 10 marks to the fabric of the nuns' church, and 10 marks to the nuns. In 1535 all the temporalities and spiritualities were only worth £20 7s. 8d. gross value, and £19 8s. 2d. net.⁵

The priory was not dissolved in 1535, but a grant was given for its continuance in 1538 for divine worship and hospitality. Cecilia Topcliffe was to be prioress, and the convent was to consist of those who had been there on 4 February 1536, and they might enjoy all their possessions as before the passing of the Act.⁶ Eighteen months

⁵³ York Archiepis. Reg. sed. vac. fol. 268. ⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 664. ⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. sed. vac. fol. 438.

⁵⁸ Ibid. Rotherham, i, fol. 164.

⁵⁹ Ibid. ⁶⁰ See fol. 41.

⁶¹ Ibid. As Isabell Lyon she appeared with her patent in 7 Edw. VI, when inquiry was made as to the payment of pensions to ex-religious, and was the only ex-religious from Keldholme who did so; Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 76, no. 25.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 739.

² *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xvi, 319-68 *passim*, quoting Kirklees MSS. 29.

³ Ibid. xvii, 422. ⁴ Ibid. 420-34.

⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 67.

⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), g. 1115 (19).

later, in 1539, Joan Kyppes surrendered the priory, which had then eight inmates. At that date the whole property amounted to £29 18s. 9d.⁷

PRIORESSES OF KIRKLEES⁸

Sybil, occurs 1240
 Alice le Mousters, occurs 1305⁹
 Margaret of Claworth, elected 1306
 Alice Screvyn, elected 1308
 Alice, occurs 1328¹⁰
 Elizabeth Stainton (date uncertain)
 Margaret Savile, elected 1350
 Alice Mountenay, occurs 1403
 Cecilia Hick, occurs 1473,¹¹ died 1491
 Joan Stansfield, elected 1491, died 1499
 Margaret Tarlton, elected 1499
 Margaret Fletcher, 1505
 Cecilia Topcliffe, 1527
 Joan Kyppes, surrendered November 1539

36. THE PRIORY OF NUN APPLETON

About 1150 Eustace de Merch¹ and Adeliz de St. Quintin, his wife, with consent of their heirs Robert and William, granted to God, St. Mary, and St. John the Evangelist, and to the prior² and nuns abiding in the territory of Appleton, near the River Wharfe, the place which Juliana held, and other land subsequently. The foundation charter states that Adeliz de St. Quintin and her son and heir Robert de St. Quintin re-granted this to Brother Richard, and the nuns serving God there, for the souls of Robert, the son of Fulk, and his parents.³ This grant was confirmed by St. Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, between 1162 and 1171.⁴

King John in 1205 confirmed these and many other grants made to the nuns,⁵ and curiously enough the gift of the church of St. Mary Coddenham is included in the grant, though as will be subsequently shown it had passed in 1184 to Royston Priory. Early in the reign of Henry II⁶ Eustace de Merch, who, in virtue of his marriage with Adeliz de St. Quintin, was possessed of the church of St. Mary of Coddenham [in Suffolk], granted that church to Nun Appleton that a

⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 739.

⁸ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xvi, 321, where the authorities for each name are given.

⁹ Assize R. 1107, m. 24.

¹⁰ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 106.

¹¹ *Corpus Christi Guild Reg.* (Surt. Soc.).

¹ B.M. Cott. MSS. xii, 46.

² This with the previous donation to 'Brother Richard and the nuns' is noteworthy, though what is indicated is not clear.

³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 652, no. i.

⁴ Ibid. 653, no. ii.

⁵ Ibid. no. vi.

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 655.

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monastery of nuns might be established at Coddendam, 'de congregacione et professione et ordine sanctimonialium de Apeltuna.' It is extremely doubtful whether any steps were taken, beyond the making of this grant, towards the foundation of this proposed cell, or nunnery. At any rate Coddendam Church, given by its patron Eustace de Merch, is mentioned in a papal confirmation in 1184⁷ of the possessions of the newly-founded priory of Royston in Hertfordshire. On 17 February 1275-6⁸ Archbishop Giffard wrote to the Prioress of Appleton, in common with other Cistercian prioresses in his diocese, that the Friars Minor were to hear their confessions, as had been the custom, in spite of the inhibition of the abbots of the order, who possessed no jurisdiction, ordinary or delegated, over the nuns.

In 1281⁹ Archbishop Wickwane issued a series of injunctions to Nun Appleton. The prioress was to be more diligent in her duty than heretofore. No nun was to appropriate for herself any present of clothing or shoes, given her by anyone, without the consent of the prioress. All that the prioress received in money or kind for the use of the monastery, she was not to receive alone, but in the presence of two or three of the older and wiser of the nuns and at the end of the year she was to reckon up before the seniors, chosen for that purpose, the receipts and expenditure of the house. No one was to be received as nun or sister of the house, or even to live there, without the archbishop's special licence, but honest hospitality for a day or night was not meant to be forbidden, so that no occasion of sin or scandal arose. Locks on forcers and chests the archbishop forbade, unless the prioress, very often inspecting the contents, should make other honest order in this respect. The refectory and cloister were to be better guarded from strangers than was wont, lest the good fame of the nuns should vanish hereafter more than it had already done.

One of the great troubles against which, from the first, the archbishops had to contend was that of the nuns receiving secular women to board with them. It was constantly forbidden, generally on the ground of expense, but probably the presence of women of the world had a secularizing effect, and did not conduce to the religious life of the nuns. Writing from Cawood, on 5 March 1289-90,¹⁰ Archbishop Romanus forbade the nuns to take any women as boarders, or to admit anyone to their habit, without his special licence. Almost in exactly the same terms Archbishop Corbridge wrote on 17 February 1302-3,¹¹ forbidding them also to allow anyone

to remain at the convent's expense, the house being already heavily in debt.

On 9 May 1306¹² Archbishop Greenfield appointed Roger de Saxton to the care of the goods of the nunnery. The same archbishop addressing the Prioress and convent of Appleton, *of the order of St. Benedict*, on 4 January 1307-8,¹³ directed them to send Maud de Bossall to Basedale¹⁴ in Cleveland for a while, she having been for many years unruly and disobedient, setting a bad example to the other nuns. In the same year the archbishop granted licence that Agnes de Saxton¹⁵ might be admitted a sister of the house, and directed that the *custos* of the house was to have his meals daily in the chamber assigned to him, unless it happened that the prioress was having her meals in her own chamber, on account of entertaining strangers, in which case, for the sake of company, the *custos* might join them. A year later, 27 January 1308-9,¹⁶ the prioress and convent were directed to re-admit Maud de Bossall on her return from Basedale. In September 1309¹⁷ the archbishop appointed his receiver, William de Jafford, to audit the accounts of the convent, and also wrote to the prioress and convent that Avice de Lyncolnia, niece of William de Jafford, might remain for four years in the monastery without prejudice to their house. A letter from the archbishop (12 November 1309)¹⁸ directed that Maud de Ripon, a nun who had incurred the sentence of the greater excommunication for apostasy, and had been absolved, was to be re-admitted. The trouble as to taking boarders seems to have come to the fore again in 1316,¹⁹ for on 5 November in that year the dean and chapter, *sede vacante*, forbade the nuns to take any kind of secular women as boarders, without special licence.

Archbishop Melton held a primary visitation of Nun Appleton on 7 April 1318,²⁰ on which occasion he issued a long list of injunctions, many of which are exhortations and commands of a general character, or similar to those of his predecessors. Among those which are not so is an inhibition that no brothers of any order were to be received *ad hospitandum*, unless, perchance, they arrived so late that it was impossible not to lodge them, and rather inconsequently it is added that two sets were not to be received at the same time, until the house was relieved of debt.

¹² Ibid. Greenfield, i, fol. 56.

¹³ Ibid. fol. 68*b*. The nunnery was, of course, Cistercian, but is spoken of in general terms as of the order of St. Benedict.

¹⁴ 'Erden' has been crossed out and Basedale substituted.

¹⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, i, fol. 69. Agnes, no doubt, was related to the 'custos' appointed in 1306.

¹⁶ Ibid. fol. 72.

¹⁷ Ibid. fol. 74*b*, 75.

¹⁸ Ibid. fol. 76.

¹⁹ Ibid. sed. vac. fol. 86.

²⁰ Ibid. Melton, fol. 131.

⁷ B.M. Cott. MS. Aug. ii, 124.

⁸ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 295.

⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 136

¹⁰ Ibid. Romanus, fol. 35*b*.

¹¹ Ibid. Corbridge, fol. 20.

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No nun was to leave the cloister to talk or sit at night time with such brothers. Secular persons were forbidden to enter the cloister at unlawful times, except for honest and urgent causes, lest their going to and fro should interfere with the quiet and devotion of the nuns. Not more than two or three nuns from one family were to be admitted into the house without special licence for fear of discord arising.²¹

The archbishop straitly enjoined all the nuns not to leave their monastery by reason of any vows of pilgrimage which any of them might have taken. If any had taken such vows, then such a one was to say as many psalters as it would have taken days to perform the pilgrimage so rashly vowed.

In 1320²² Elizabeth de Holbeck, the prioress, resigned owing to her old age and bodily weakness, having, as the archbishop wrote to the nuns, laboured with efficacy while her strength lasted. She was succeeded by Isabella Normanvill. On 21 April 1335²³ the archbishop granted licence to the convent to relax the penance imposed on Joan de Scardeburg, one of the nuns, but does not say for what offence it had been imposed.

Archbishop Zouch issued (February 1346)²⁴ a series of injunctions, as a result of a visitation. Many are in general terms, and like others of the kind. He began by reproofing the prioress for grave neglect of duty, to the scandal of her house, and the nuns were admonished to lay aside every trace of pride and arrogance, and in the spirit of humility to obey their superiors. In regard to Katherine de Hugate, one of the nuns, who, miserably defiled by a carnal lapse, had retired from the house in a state of pregnancy, the archbishop ordered that if she returned, she was to be very severely punished, according to the appointed penance of their order, and her penance, or any like penance imposed on a nun or sister for a similar offence, was not to be mitigated in any degree, except by special licence of the archbishop. Margaret, a sister of the house, who had retired in a similar state, was on no account to be taken back, as the archbishop had found that in the past she had on successive occasions relapsed, and become pregnant. The infirmary was too limited in capacity, and the archbishop directed that certain chambers on the west part of the church, beyond the *locutorium*, or parlour, in which certain of the nuns, contrary to the honesty of religion, were abiding, were to be pulled down within a year, so that the infirmary might be extended. The doors of the church, cloister, and *locutorium* for long time past had been negligently guarded; this was to be corrected, and no secular woman

of any description was to sleep or pass the night in the dormitory. The guests who flocked (*hospites confluentes*) to the house were to be admitted to the hostelry constructed for that purpose. The internal officers in charge of the food and drink had done their work badly, to the loss of the house, and the nuns were to substitute efficient servants in place of those who were useless, who were to be discharged. Lest the nuns might overstep the means of their house, no one was to be received as nun or sister, without special licence.

In 1489²⁵ Archbishop Rotherham issued a series of injunctions for the nuns of much the usual character, but being in English it may be conveniently quoted in full. They reveal no serious offences, the worst being that of visiting the ale-house. The nearness to the River Wharfe was something in the nature of a temptation, being a favourite resort, and also being near the water highway between York, Selby, and Hull, accounted for the *hospites confluentes* mentioned by Archbishop Zouch in his *decretum* above quoted.

First and principally we commaunde and injoyne, yat divine service and ye rewles of your religion be observed and kept accordyng to your ordour, yat ye be professed to.

Item yat ye cloistre dores be shett and sparn²⁶ in wyntre at vij, and in somer at viij of the clok at nyght, and ye keys nyghtly to be delyvered to you Prioress, and ye aftir ye said houres suffre no persone to come in or forth w'out a cause resonable.

Item yat ye Prioress suffre no man loge undir the dortir, nor oon the baksede, but if hit be such sad persones by whome your howse may be holpyne and secured w'out slaundir or suspicion.

Item yat ye Prioress and all your sistirs loge nyghtly in ye dortour, savyng if ye or your sistirs be seke or deseasid, yen ye or yei so seke or deseased to kepe a chambre.

Item yat noon of your sistirs use ye ale house nor ye watirside, wher concurse of straungers dayly resortes.

Item yat none of your sistirs have yeir service of mete and drynke to yer chambre, but kepe ye ffrater and ye hall accordyng to your religion, except any of yaim be seke.

Item yat none of your sistirs bring in, receyve, or take any laie man, religiose, or secular into yer chambre or any secrete place, daye or knyght, nor w' yaim in such private places to commyne, ete, or drynke, w'out lycence of you Prioress.

Item yat ye Prioress lycence none of your sistirs to go pilgremage or viset yer frendes w'oute a grete cause, and yen such a sistir so lycencyate by you to have w' her oon of ye moste sadd and well disposid sistirs to she come home agayne.

Item yat ye graunte or sell no corrodies nor lyveres of brede, nor ale, nor oyer vitell, to any person or persones from hensforward w'out yauctorite and speciall lycynce of us or our Vicar generall.

²¹ From the formation, no doubt, of cliques in the house.

²² York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 142.

²³ Ibid. fol. 199b.

²⁴ Ibid. Zouch, fol. 14b.

²⁵ Ibid. Rotherham, i, fol. 245. It is printed but with many errors; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 654, no. vii.

²⁶ 'Sparn,' i.e. fastened by a spar or bar of wood.

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Item yat ye se such servauntes as longeth to your place come in to mete and drinke, and not to have yer lyveres of brede and ale outwarde, but if ye thynk hit necessarye and for the welthe of your house.

Item yat ye take no perhedinauntes²⁷ or sogerners into your place from hensforward, but if yei be children or ellis old persones, by which availe biliklyhood may growe to your place.

In Archbishop Savage's Register²⁸ there is an entry recording the institution of John Cristall, chaplain, to the chantry of St. John the Baptist, in the conventual church, which had become vacant by the profession of John Harpham, the late chaplain, as a Carthusian monk, in the chapter-house of Mount Grace.²⁹ The chantry had been founded by John Latham, a wealthy ecclesiastic of the diocese of York, Master of Trinity College, otherwise Knolles Almshouses, Pontefract, and Canon of Beverley, probably 'the greatest benefactor the little nunnery of Appleton ever had.'³⁰ After directing in his will that his body was to be buried in the church of the priory of Nun Appleton, in the chapel before the altar of St. John the Baptist, he left to the prioress 13s. 4d., and to each nun 6s. 8d., and each of them were, if possible, to recite a psalter for him on that day. The celebrant was to have 20d., and for constructing a new roof to the conventual church he bequeathed £26 13s. 4d. He condoned any debts due from the prioress and convent to him, and left to Joan Ryther, the prioress, if she survived him, a plain silver piece, and a large feather bed with a bolster, for the use of the convent but to remain with the prioress during her life. For her own use he bequeathed a silver-gilt piece with its cover, a new maser gilt, standing on a foot, and certain beds, cloths, sheets, &c. (which are minutely described) on the condition that the prioress, in recompense for all these bequests, would during her life say *placebo* and *dirige* with *commendatio* for his soul, and those of his parents. To the prioress and convent for the use of the chaplain of his chantry, Latham bequeathed his large *Portiforium*, two chalices, a 'paxebrede' of silver, and his missal of York use, with all necessary cloths for the apparel of the altar of St. John Baptist, the chaplain being bound to pray for him. He also left the prioress and convent two small 'salina Anglice saltelers,' of silver with a cover. To Isabella Burdet, sub-prioress, he bequeathed three silver spoons, to pray for him. Joan Ryther, the prioress, with two other persons, he appointed his residuary legatees and executors. Joan Ryther probably belonged, Canon Raine observes,

²⁷ The 'perhedinauntes,' more correctly 'perhenedinauntes,' were the boarders so often alluded to in the injunctions to nunneries.

²⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. Savage, fol. 79.

²⁹ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 212.

³⁰ *Test. Ebor.* iii, 173 n.

to the old family of Ryther of Ryther, as did no doubt her predecessor Agnes de Ryther.

According to the *Taxatio* of 1291 the priory held temporalities in the diocese of Lincoln to the amount of £13 13s. 10d., and in the diocese of York to the amount of £23 15s. 10d. besides a pension of £3 6s. 8d. from the church of Ryther.³¹ There is no record of the value of the house in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, but in a return of 1522-3 the clear value of the priory of Nun Appleton is set down as £29 2s. 1d.³² This, however, can only apply to its revenues in the county of York. According to the *Monasticon* Dugdale and Speed had preserved a note that its clear value at the time of compiling the *Valor* was £73 9s. 10d.³³

The office of prioress³⁴ would seem to have been vacant at the Dissolution. At any rate the pension list, dated 4 or 5 December 1539, begins with Elinora Normanvell, late sub-prioress, who received £2 6s. 8d. She is followed by eighteen other nuns, one of whom, Agnes Snaynton, received £3. Of the rest two received a like pension to the sub-prioress, the rest less.

PRIORESSES OF NUN APPLETON

Alice,³⁵ occurs 1235
 Mabel, occurs 1262^{35a}
 Hawise,³⁶ occurs 1277, 1285,³⁷ resigned 1294³⁸
 Isolda,³⁹ occurs 1300
 Joan de Normanvill,⁴⁰ confirmed 1303,
 occurs 1306⁴¹
 Elizabeth de Holbeke,⁴² confirmed 1316,
 resigned 1320⁴³
 Isabella Normanvill,⁴⁴ elected 1320
 Margaret de Nevill,⁴⁵ resigned 1334
 Idonia,⁴⁶ occurs 1342
 Lucy de Gaynesburgh,⁴⁷ died 1367
 Agnes de Egmonton,⁴⁸ confirmed 1367
 Emma de Langton,⁴⁹ occurs 1388, 1397⁵⁰
 Idonia Danyell,⁵¹ occurs 1404, 1408,⁵² died
 1426
 Elizabeth Fitz Richard,⁵³ confirmed 1426

³¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 652.

³² Subs. R. 64, no. 300. ³³ Dugdale, loc. cit.

³⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 654.

³⁵ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 159.

^{35a} *Cal. Bodl. Chart*, 697. ³⁶ Baildon's MS. Notes.

³⁷ *Coram Rege* R. 95, m. 7.

³⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 46b.

³⁹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 159.

⁴⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Corbridge, fol. 16b.

⁴¹ Baildon's MS. Notes.

⁴² York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, fol. 85b.

⁴³ *Ibid.* Melton, fol. 142.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 142b. ⁴⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 199.

⁴⁶ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 159.

⁴⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Thoresby, fol. 142b.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* ⁴⁹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 159.

⁵⁰ Baildon's MS. notes. ⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 364. ⁵³ *Ibid.*

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Agnes de Ryther,⁵⁴ occurs temp. Henry VI
Joan de Ryther,⁵⁵ pardoned 1454, occurs
1459,⁵⁶ 1470⁵⁷
Maud Tailbusse,⁵⁸ confirmed 1489, died
1506
Anne Langley,⁵⁹ appointed by lapse 1506

The 13th-century seal⁶⁰ is a vesica, 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. by 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ in., showing a full-length figure of the Blessed Virgin holding cross and book. The legend runs—

✠ SIGILLV SANCTE MARIE SANCTI IOHANNIS
DE APELT⁷

37. THE PRIORY OF ROSEDALE

The priory of Rosedale was founded in the reign of Richard I by Robert, the son of Nicholas de Stuteville, and was under the invocation of St. Mary and St. Lawrence.¹

An inspeximus by Edward II of King John's charter confirming the founder's grant² and enumerating a number of other donations is set out by Burton.³

On 17 October 1306,⁴ in consequence of a visitation, Archbishop Greenfield issued injunctions to the prioress and convent. Most were of the usual character, as to the due observance of the rules of the order. Charity was to be cultivated, corrections made in chapter without favour, the nuns not to quarrel, the infirmary to be kept from the going to and fro of seculars, and confessors were not to be indiscriminately chosen by the nuns, but two brothers of the order of Friars Minor were to be chosen, and their names submitted to the archbishop.

On 22 August 1310⁵ Archbishop Greenfield ordered an inquiry as to certain unspecified

⁵⁴ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 279. Her grave-slab, charged with a shield impaled, 'dexter three crescents for Ryther, sinister blank, semy of quarterfoils, probably the arms of the nunnery,' was taken from the nunnery chapel, and for many years served to stop water at a mill, till it was placed in Bolton Percy Church by Mr. T. Lamplough, the rector. The inscription on it, according to Drake is, or was, ' + Orate pro anima Agnetis de Ryther quondam priorisse hujus monasterii . . . xxxiii que obiit primo die mensis Martii MCCCC . . . cujus anime propitietur Deus. Amen.' Drake, *Eboracum*, 386.

⁵⁵ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 159.

⁵⁶ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 279.

⁵⁷ *Test. Ebor.* iii, 175, 178.

⁵⁸ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 279.

⁵⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Savage, fol. 48b. She is called Langton in Conventual Leases and elsewhere.

⁶⁰ *Cat. of Seals*, B.M. 2661; Harl. Chart. 44 A. 5; 44 H. 2.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 316.

² *Ibid.* 317, no. i.

³ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 378, 379.

⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, i, fol. 87.

⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 100b.

articles urged against the prioress. The nuns and *conversi* were to be sworn and examined privately, all secular persons being removed from their presence. The accounts of the prioress, from the time of her administration, as well as those of the bailiffs and other officials and servants bound to render accounts were to be examined, and the prioress was ordered to render to the commissioners full and complete accounts from the time of her promotion, as well as a statement of the then position of the house, and a further letter was sent by the archbishop to the sub-prioress and nuns, telling them to render an account of the house to the commissioners, as it was when the prioress took office and as it was at the time he wrote. Evidently the charge was one of maladministration. Whether the charges proved against her were those of wilful wrongdoing or merely of incompetent management, Mary de Ros resigned the office of prioress *sentiens se impotens*, and on 30 September⁶ the archbishop directed the sub-prioress and convent to elect 'aliam idoneam et honestam de vestri monasterii gremio monialem in priorissam,' but before any election was made Mary de Ros died, and on 1 January 1311 the king, as patron during the minority of Thomas Wake, granted the nuns leave to elect a new prioress.⁷

Another visitation of the house was held on Saturday, 28 September 1315,⁸ as a result of which Archbishop Greenfield issued another set of injunctions. A certified statement, showing the credit and debit accounts of the house, was to be sent to the archbishop before the feast of St. Nicholas. The prioress was to see that the defects in the roof of the cloister and other buildings were repaired, alms were to be only given to the poor as the means of the house allowed. An elderly nun of good fame and honest conversation was to have charge of the cloister keys, the sick were to be duly tended, and any nun disobedient and rebellious in receiving correction was for each offence to receive a discipline from the president in chapter and say the seven penitential psalms with the litany, and if still rebellious, the archbishop would impose a more severe penance.

The archbishop forbade all to accept presents from anybody, or give any, except with the consent of the prioress. Under pain of the greater excommunication no nun was to cause a girl or boy to sleep, under any consideration, in the dormitory, and if any nun broke this command the prioress, under pain of deposition from office, was to signify her name to the archbishop without delay. All nuns of the house were forbidden to wear mantles or other garments of a colour or shade different from

⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 101.

⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1307-13, p. 301.

⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, i, fol. 107b.

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those accustomed to be worn by religious, and no unprofessed sister was to wear the black veil.

The prioress and sub-prioress were ordered not to allow puppies to enter the quire or church, which would impede the service and hinder the devotion of the nuns. Those nuns who were allowed out to visit their parents or friends were to return within fifteen days, and no corrodies were to be granted, or boarders, &c., received without the archbishop's special licence.

On 17 May 1321⁹ Archbishop Melton wrote to the Prioress and convent of Handale, that he was sending to them Isabella Dayvill, nun of the house of Rosedale, *vestri ordinis*, who, contrary to the honesty of religion, had apostatized. She was to undergo her appointed penance in their house, was to be last in the convent, was to talk to no one, secular or religious, and not to go out of the precincts of the monastery. Every Friday she was to fast on bread and water, and every Wednesday to abstain from fish, and on each of those days was to receive a discipline in chapter from the hands of the president.

On 21 November 1322,¹⁰ owing to the ravages of the Scots, the monastery of Rosedale suffered so severely that the nuns were dispersed, and the archbishop wrote to Nunburnholme to receive Alice de Ripplinghale, to Sinningthwaite to receive Avelina de Brus, to Thicket to receive Margaret de Langtoft, and to Wykeham on behalf of Joan Crouel, nuns of Rosedale; and it is noted that another nun, Eleanor Dayvill, entered the house of Hampole, with letters from the queen. If Isabella Dayvill was still at Handale this would account for six nuns, and as there is no mention of the prioress it is probable that she, and probably another nun to keep her company, were able to remain at Rosedale. This would bring up the number to eight, and it appears that another nun, Joan de Dalton, had been previously sent away, for the archbishop (3 June 1323)¹¹ ordered that she should be re-admitted. This would account for nine nuns belonging to Rosedale, and that is believed to have been the number usually forming the convent. From the date of Joan de Dalton's re-admission it is evident that the dispersion of the nuns did not extend beyond six months.

In 1326¹² Brother Adam, late a *conversus* of this house, with tears and prayers, kneeling before the prioress and convent in the presence of witnesses, asked forgiveness for his many offences against the convent and sought release from his vows and profession. They released him from the profession of obedience he had made in their house to God, Blessed Mary,

and Blessed Lawrence, he on his part renouncing all right he had in the house of Rosedale, and this they notified to the archbishop.

In a taxation of Rosedale in 1378-9,¹³ eight nuns are named, including Joan Colvyle the prioress. On 1 September 1534 Archbishop Lee dealt with the case of Joan Fletcher,¹⁴ who had been professed as a nun at Rosedale and was subsequently appointed prioress of the neighbouring nunnery of Basedale. That office she had resigned to avoid deposition, and she was sent back to Rosedale by the archbishop to undergo the penance he had imposed upon her. But as she had shown no sign of repentance the archbishop wrote to the Prioress and convent of Rosedale to send her to Basedale again, which house she once ruled as prioress, that where she was not ashamed to sin, there she might lament her misdeeds. The archbishop speaks of Basedale and Rosedale as houses of the order of St. Benedict, and the question has been mooted as to whether Rosedale was a Cistercian or a simple Benedictine house. In at least three places in the Registers Rosedale is definitely stated to be Cistercian,¹⁵ and in one instance, indeed, as of the order of St. Augustine.¹⁶ This may be compared with the description of Hampole in the Suppression Papers,¹⁷ 'prioratus sive domus monialium beate marie de Hampall ordinis sancti Augustini et de regula sancti Benedicti Cisterciensis,' and of Kirklees as 'ordinis sancti Barnardi et de regula sancti Benedicti Cisterciensis,'¹⁸ and Arthington as 'domus monialium Cluniensis ordinis sancti Benedicti.'¹⁹

At the time of the suppression there were eight nuns besides the prioress. The house was supervised on 7 June and suppressed on 17 August 1535. The nuns, at the time of the suppression, employed twelve men and boys. There were two small bells in the 'campanile,' valued together at 10s., of gilt plate a chalice and three maser bands are reckoned, weighing 24 oz., and of plate parcel-gilt there was a chalice and a goblet with a [? cover] weighing 21 $\frac{3}{4}$ oz.²⁰

¹³ Subs. R. 63, no. 11. In 1291 the old taxation was £22, the new £5: *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 325. In 1527 the clear annual value was £25 os. 5d. (Subs. R. 64, no. 303), and according to *Valor Eccl.* (v, 144), £37 12s. 5d.

¹⁴ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xvi, 431.

¹⁵ York. Archiepis. Reg. Geo. Nevill, fol. 102b; Wolsey, fol. 62, 86b. On 29 Sept. 1290 Archbishop Romanus sent Elizabeth Rue, nun of Swine, to Rosedale *vestri ordinis*.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Thoresby, fol. 134b.

¹⁷ Suppression P. ii, fol. 176.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 189.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 227. In all cases the Benedictine rule was that professed with certain 'reforms.' Cistercian abbots in their oaths of canonical obedience used the phrase 'secundum regulam sancti Benedicti.'

²⁰ K.R. Aug. Views of Accts. bdl. 17.

⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 238.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 240.

¹¹ *Ibid.* fol. 241.

¹² *Ibid.* slip between fol. 244 and 245.

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PRIORESSES OF ROSEDALE

- Alfreda, occurs 1246²¹
 Juliana, occurs 1252²²
 Isabella Waloue, occurs 1281²³
 Mary de Ros, resigned 1310²⁴
 Joan de Pickering, confirmed 1310-11²⁵
 Isabella Whiteby, resigned 1336²⁶
 Elizabeth de Kirkeby Moresheved, confirmed
 1336²⁷
 Joan Colvyle, occurs 1378-9²⁸
 Isabel de Lomley, occurs 1399²⁹
 Katherine de Thweng, before 1410³⁰
 Alice Gower, occurs 1413³¹
 Margaret Chambirlayn, resigned 1468³²
 Joan Bramley, elected 1468³³
 Margaret Ripon, died 1505³⁴
 Joan Badesby, appointed 1505³⁵
 Matilda Felton, confirmed 1521³⁶
 Mary Marshall, confirmed 1527³⁷

38. THE PRIORY OF SINNING- THWAITE

Sinningthwaite Priory, in Bilton-in-Ainsty, was founded about 1160 by Bertram Haget, who gave the site,¹ and the gift was confirmed by his overlord, Roger de Mowbray,² who at the same time confirmed other gifts made to the nuns by Geoffrey Haget the founder's son, when they received his sister.³

From Gundreda Haget, another daughter of the founder, the nuns received the advowson of the church of Bilton.⁴ In 1293, however, the prioress and convent made over the church of Bilton⁵ to Archbishop Romanus, who founded the prebend of Bilton in St. Peter's, York, out of it, and in 1295⁶ ordained a perpetual vicarage of Bilton, in the patronage of the prioress and convent.

²¹ Feet of F. file 38, no. 11 (Trin. 30 Hen. III).

²² Ibid. file 44, no. 79 (Mich. 36 Hen. III).

²³ York Archiepis. Reg. Thoresby, i, fol. 134b.

²⁴ Ibid. Greenfield, i, fol. 101.

²⁵ Ibid. fol. 102.

²⁶ Ibid. Melton, fol. 262.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Subs. R. 63, no. 11.

²⁹ Cal. Pat. 1399-1401, p. 155.

³⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 317.

³¹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 188.

³² York Archiepis. Reg. G. Nevill, fol. 100.

³³ Ibid. ³⁴ Ibid. Savage, fol. 65.

³⁵ Ibid. ³⁶ Ibid. Wolsey, fol. 61b.

³⁷ Ibid. fol. 86b; a nun of Appleton.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 463.

² Ibid. 464, no. i.

³ Besides this member of the founder's family, his great-granddaughter Euphemia afterwards became prioress.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 464, no. iii.

⁵ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 325.

⁶ Lawton, *Coll. Rerum Eccl.* 52.

All the different gifts are recorded by Burton in his usual manner.⁷ The most important, as raising a difficult question, was the gift of Esholt in Guiseley by Simon Ward, Maud his wife, and William Ward his son, which is dealt with in the account of Esholt Priory. Probably some of the nuns from Sinningthwaite afterwards formed a separate nunnery there.

As a Cistercian house the convent of Sinningthwaite contested the right of the archbishop to visit them and appealed to the pope in 1276⁸ against a visitation of Archbishop Giffard, but the decision, though not recorded, was evidently against them, although echoes of a claim by Cistercian abbots of authority over nunneries of their order are to be met with here and there in the Archbishops' Registers, but only to be repudiated. In 1276⁹ Archbishop Giffard ordered the nuns to have Friars Minor as confessors in spite of the inhibition of the Cistercian abbots, who had no jurisdiction over them.

Among the privileges granted in 1172¹⁰ by Pope Alexander III to Sinningthwaite was that of receiving clerks or laymen fleeing from the world (*a seculo fugientes*), as *conversi* (*ad conversionem vestram*), coupled with a prohibition of the brethren or sisters of Sinningthwaite leaving their monastery without licence.

Archbishop Romanus wrote on 12 June 1286¹¹ to the nuns to receive back Agnes de Bedal, one of their number who had apostatized, and on 22 January following¹² sent another letter in favour of a certain Margaret de la Batayle, who desired to enter their house as a nun. Rather more than two years later (12 April 1289)¹³ he committed the custody of the monastery of Sinningthwaite to Robert de Muschamp, rector of the church of 'Dichton' (Kirk Deighton) and on 18 August 1294¹⁴ he issued a commission to Mag^r Thomas de Wakefield, Chancellor of York, and Mag^r Robert Nassington to receive the cession of the Prioress of Sinningthwaite and to confirm the election of her successor.

Archbishop Corbridge had to interfere in 1300 on behalf of a certain Maud de Grymston,¹⁵ who, having undergone her year of probation, was to have received the black veil and been admitted a nun. This the prioress and convent had refused for some reason, to the scandal of their order, and the archbishop, writing from Scrooby on 21 December, ordered them to admit her.

On Tuesday after the Conversion of St. Paul 1314-15,¹⁶ Archbishop Greenfield visited the

⁷ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 325-7.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 464-5.

⁹ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 295.

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* 466, no. vii.

¹¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 26.

¹² Ibid. fol. 29. ¹³ Ibid. fol. 33.

¹⁴ Ibid. fol. 46. ¹⁵ Ibid. Corbridge, fol. 8.

¹⁶ Ibid. Greenfield, ii, fol. 83b.

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house and issued a series of injunctions. Due care was to be taken of the nuns who were ill, and sick nuns in the infirmary should be attended to according to their state and the nature of their illness, so far as the means of the house allowed. The prioress and sub-prioress were not to permit boys or girls to eat flesh meat in Advent or Sexagesima, or, during Lent, eggs or cheese, in the refectory, contrary to the honesty of religion, but at those seasons when they ought to eat such things they should be assigned other places in which to eat them.

Mendicant friars were not to enter the private places of the house, but were to be received outside the cloister and inner cloister of the nuns, in the hall of the *hospitium*, or some other exterior building appointed for the purpose. However, they might hear the confessions of the nuns in the church. No one admitted as a sister was to wear the black veil, and the prioress was not to place sisters above nuns, contrary to the rules and the honesty of religion.

The prioress and all the nuns were ordered not to allow William de Tymberland, or any other man, to sleep in the wool-house under the dormitory of the nuns, or elsewhere within the inner cloister, whence it would be possible to have access to the nuns, or for the nuns to have access to that building.

The archbishop concluded with the usual prohibition as to giving excoats for longer periods than fifteen days, or without good cause, as well as selling corrodies, granting long leases, and taking boarders, &c.

Archbishop Melton in 1319¹⁷ strictly forbade frequent goings to and fro in the cloister, either by the priests who held corrodies (*per presbyteros corredianos*), or their servants who were in the habit of fetching their food and liveries through the middle of the cloister. Such were to be delivered in outside places appointed for the purpose. Those offending were each time to fast on bread and water on Wednesday.

It would seem as if the nuns had hitherto been dependent on the good offices of their relatives and friends for their clothing, as the archbishop directed that as it had appeared at his visitation that those nuns who had no elders, relatives, and friends (*senes, parentes et amicos*) lacked necessary clothes, and so were afflicted by the cold contrary to the honesty of religion, such nuns so lacking the assistance of friends should have the necessary clothes as the means of the house allowed.

The prioress was enjoined to take counsel with the older nuns, and in all writings under the common seal a faithful clerk was to be employed, and the deed was to be sealed in the presence of the whole convent, the clerk reading the deed plainly in the mother tongue and

explaining it, and those who spoke against it on reasonable grounds were to be heard, and if necessary the deed was to be corrected. The prioress and convent were to provide themselves with a competent gardener for their curtilage, so that they might have an abundance of vegetables. No nuns or sisters, &c., were to be taken, or girls over twelve retained without special licence.

Archbishop Zouch on 1 February 1343¹⁸ wrote to the Prioress and convent of Sinningthwaite concerning Margaret de Fonten, one of their nuns who had left the house pregnant, but as she had only done so once, her penance was mitigated and she was not to be locked up, but not allowed to go out of the cloister and church.

On 25 May 1482¹⁹ Alice Etton, nun of Sinningthwaite of the Cistercian order, received a dispensation *super defectu natalium*, and on 29 May²⁰ her election as prioress was confirmed by Archbishop Rotherham. At a later period the house had fallen heavily into debt, and Archbishop Lee (13 February 1534)²¹ granted the nuns licence to pledge jewels to the value of £15 in consequence of the reduced state of the nunnery. At the end of the same year²² Anne Goldesburgh resigned the office of prioress, and the convent deputed the choice of her successor to the archbishop. He appointed Katherine Foster, who is described as a nun of the order of St. Benedict, and a yearly pension of £10 was assigned to Anne Goldesburgh, which she was receiving at the Dissolution.

In September 1534 Archbishop Lee visited Sinningthwaite, and issued injunctions in English which have been printed in full by Mr. W. Brown²³; an outline must suffice here. The prioress was to provide that the doors of the cloister were locked every night 'incontinent as compleyn is done,' and not unlocked in winter till 7 o'clock the next morning, or in summer not till 6 o'clock. Every night the prioress was to provide that the door 'of the dortore be surely and fast lockyd, that none of the susters may gett ou3tt vntill service tyme, ne yet any parsonne gett in to the dortore to them.' No secular women of any kind were to sleep in the dorter. Henceforth no secular or religious persons were to have any resort to any of the sisters 'onles it be their fathers or moders or other ther nere kynsefolkes in whom no suspicion of any yll can be thought.' The prioress was to admit no one to her own company 'suspectly or be in familier communication with her in her chamber or any odre secreet place.'

The sisters and nuns were to keep no secular women to serve them, unless sickness demanded it.

¹⁸ Ibid. Zouch, fol. 153b.

¹⁹ Ibid. Rotherham, fol. 20.

²⁰ Ibid. ²¹ Ibid. Lee, fol. 89b.

²² Ibid. fol. 106.

²³ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xvi, 440

¹⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 134.

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The 'firmarresse' (infirmarian), if there were one, was to see that the sick were in want of nothing. Silence was enjoined 'in the quere, in the cloyster frater and dorter according to their rule under payne of cursyng.' All the sisters were to eat and drink 'both dynner and sooper in oon housse at oon table,' &c., unless ill, and all the sisters were to sleep in the dorter. The granting of 'corrodies, pensions, or lyveres,' and leases, &c., was placed under the restriction of the archbishop's licence being required.

The prioress was not to admit anyone 'to the professid habite of a nune, or a suster, or a converse,'²⁴ or allow anyone to sojourn within the precinct of the monastery, without the archbishop's special licence.

The prioress and convent were not to take any person, secular or religious, to hear her or the nuns' confessions without the archbishop's licence.

No money was to be received for admitting a nun, or converse²⁵ by reason of a previous compact, 'for such admissions be dampnable and be plane simonye'; free gifts need not be refused. The nuns were to be present at divine service, and the prioress was to provide them with 'sufficient meatt and drinke at convenient hoeres, that is to sey, that their dynner be ready at xj of the clok or sone after, and their sooper at v of the cloke or sone after.'

The priory of Sinningthwaite was supervised by the commissioners on 10 June 1535,²⁶ and suppressed on 3 August following. Anne Goldesburgh, *quondam priorissa*, received £4 10s. as her half year's pension, 10s. apparently being meanly deducted from the full sum. Richard Huley and Thomas Holme are mentioned as the chaplains, and Katherine Foster as '*nuper priorissa*.' There were nine nuns besides the prioress, and eight servants and other labourers. A chalice, wholly gilt, with its paten, weighing together 11 oz., was all the plate belonging to the priory.

PRIORESSES OF SINNINGTHWAITE

Christiana, occurs 1172²⁷

Agnes, occurs 1184²⁸

²⁴ This indicates three classes of persons admitted to the habit of a nunnery: (1) the nuns, (2) the lay-sisters, and (3) the converses. The first were distinguished in habit by wearing the black veil (and, as a penance, its disuse was often enjoined), the lay-sisters wore a white veil. The conversi were clearly men, as shown by the names of 'conversi' attached to nunneries. Hence the allusion to the 'fratres' of several nunneries (Sinningthwaite among them).

²⁵ Here in the fourteenth paragraph of the Injunctions the word is evidently used in an extended sense, covering both the lay sisters and the 'conversi' or lay brothers.

²⁶ K.R. Aug. Views of Accts. bdle. 17.

²⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 465, no. vi.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 466, no. viii.

Euphemia, occurs 1219²⁹

Isabella, occurs 1276³⁰

Margaret, resigned 1314-15³¹

Elizabeth le Waleys, resigned 1320³²

Sybil de Ripon, confirmed 1323,³³ occurs 1327^{33a}

Margaret Fitz Simon, occurs 1344³⁴

Margaret Hewit, died 1428³⁵

Agnes Sheffield, confirmed 1428³⁶

. . . de Etton,³⁷ occurs 1444

Alina, occurs 1444³⁸

Margaret Banke,³⁹ died 1482

Alice Etton, confirmed 1482,⁴⁰ died 1488⁴¹

Elizabeth Squier, confirmed 1488⁴²

Anne Goldesburgh, confirmed 1526,⁴³ resigned 1534⁴⁴

Katherine Foster, appointed 1534⁴⁵

39. THE PRIORY OF SWINE

The priory of Swine was founded by Robert de Verli,¹ at some period prior to the death of King Stephen, for his gift of the church of St. Mary of Swine was confirmed to the nuns there by Hugh Pudsey, Archdeacon of the East Riding and Treasurer of York, which offices he vacated in 1154, when he became Bishop of Durham.

At first there is evidence that the house was in some form a double monastery of men and women.

In a charter of Erenburgh, wife of Ulbert Constable,² the brothers and sisters serving God at Swine are alluded to, and in a charter of Edward I in 1305³ is an *inspeximus* of an undated charter of Henry II to the brethren and nuns of the house of Swine, taking their house, lands, and possessions under his protection, and granting them certain liberties. There is also, in the same charter of Edward I, an *inspeximus* of a charter of confirmation by Henry II to the 'brethren and nuns' of Swine of their lands in

²⁹ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 327; see also *Yorks. Inq.* i, 276.

³⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 464, no. v.

³¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, ii, fol. 60b.

³² *Ibid.* Melton, fol. 141.

³³ *Ibid.* fol. 158, a prioress (name unknown) intervened between her and Eliz. de Waleys.

^{33a} Plac. de Banco, Mich. 2 Edw. III, m. 213.

³⁴ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 203.

³⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 322.

³⁶ *Ibid.* ³⁷ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 327.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, where the name is printed Aliva, an obvious error for Alina.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, fol. 20.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* fol. 124.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.* Wolsey, fol. 98.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* Lee, fol. 10b.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 493.

² *Ibid.* 494, no. i.

Chart. R. 98 (7 Nov. 33 Edw. I).

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

frankalmoign. Again, in 1344,⁴ in a charter of Edward III, the former charters of Edward I and Henry II are spoken of as made to the 'master and canons of the house of Swine,' while the second charter of Henry II is more particularly alluded to as having been to the 'church of St. Mary of Swine and the nuns' there. The matter is not altogether clear. There is no indication that Swine was in any way connected with Sempringham, or the Gilbertine order, but its constitution, as revealed by a visitation of Archbishop Giffard in 1267-8,⁵ is something very like a Gilbertine house, with its canons and *conversi*, and the nuns and lay-sisters. It is however noteworthy that when appealing for outside assistance in regulating its affairs, Archbishop Romanus⁶ did not apply to Sempringham, but to the Abbot of Prémontré and the abbots of that order, assembled in their general chapter.

In 1236⁷ Saer II of Sutton quitclaimed to the prioress, Sybil, and her successors the advowson of Drypool, and also gave certain marsh lands. The prioress, on her part, granted that she and her successors would find a suitable chaplain and clerk, vestments, and all necessaries for a service in the chapel of St. George at Ganstead for the souls of Saer, his ancestors and successors, and a free chantry in his manor of Southcoates, such as he formerly had at his own charges.

Among the later benefactors of Swine should be mentioned the munificent Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham,⁸ a native of the parish, whose sister was at one time prioress. By his will, dated 7 March 1403-4,⁹ Bishop Skirlaw bequeathed £100 to the monastery of the nuns of Swine for a perpetual obit, and by a codicil (1 August 1404)¹⁰ signed in the great hall of the manor-house of Howden, in the presence of his sister Joan, Prioress of Swine, the bishop bequeathed 100s. to Katherine Punde, one of the nuns of Swine.

According to the Taxation of 1291 the church of Swine was rated at £53 6s. 8d.,¹¹ and the temporalities of the prioress at £48. In a return made in 1526¹² the clear yearly value was stated to be £78, and according to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*¹³ £83 3s. 9½d.

When Archbishop Giffard held a visitation on 13 January 1267-8¹⁴ it was found that Amice de Rue (presumably one of the nuns) was a

slanderer, untruthful, careless, hurtful and rebellious towards the convent, and so were nearly all the others when the faults of the delinquents were made known in chapter, to such an extent that the prioress, or her vicegerent, without the help of the archbishop was unable to effect corrections, as the observance of the rule required. Silence was not kept in church, cloister, refectory, or dormitory. Three nuns, sisters by birth and profession, by name Sybil, Bella, and Amy, often rebelled against the corrections made by the prioress, and three other sisters, Alice de Scuteville, Beatrix de St. Quintin, and Maud Constable joined them. The sick nuns were badly provided for, and had little more to eat than those who were well had in the refectory, though Saer de Sutton had formerly given half a bovat of land to provide for the sick nuns and sisters, of which they received nothing. Alice Brun and Alice de Adeburn had received their veils simoniacally.¹⁵ Money which had been given to the convent out of charity for pittances, and purchasing shifts (*camisias*) and other necessaries, the prioress received, and it would be better kept by two honest nuns, and never put to other uses. The nuns were not properly provided with shoes, only receiving one pair a year; similarly, as regarded clothes, they scarcely received a single tunic in three years, and a single cloak in twenty, unless they were able to beg more from relatives and secular friends. The prioress was a suspected woman, too credulous, and too ready of tongue, breaking out in correction and frequently for equal offences dealt unequal punishments, and with long-continued hatred persecuted those she hated, until an opportunity came for wreaking her vengeance; so that the nuns, when they realized that they would receive too heavy a punishment, contrived by the threats of their neighbours that the severity would be mitigated. There were many discords between the nuns and the sisters, and the sisters maintained that they were the equals of the nuns, and might wear the black veil like nuns, which was not the custom in other houses.¹⁶ Two windows, through which the food and drink of the canons and *conversi* were passed, were not properly kept by the nuns, called *janitrices*, so that suspected confabulations between the canons and *conversi* on the one part, and the nuns and sisters on the other, frequently took place.

The door which led to the church was very carelessly kept by a secular servant, who allowed the canons and *conversi* to enter in the dusk that they might hold conversations with the nuns and

¹⁵ That is, no doubt, payment beforehand had been made to the monastery on condition that they were to be received as nuns, a fault often condemned.

¹⁶ On 21 June 1311 Archbishop Greenfield issued a general order that nuns only, and not sisters, were to use the black veil in the diocese of York; York Archiep. Reg. Greenfield, ii, fol. 24.

⁴ Chart. R. 139 (21 June 18 Edw. III).

⁵ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 146.

⁶ York Archiep. Reg. Romanus, fol. 61b.

⁷ Feet of F. Yorks. file 30, no. 1 (East. 20 Hen. III).

⁸ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 253.

⁹ *Test. Ebor.* i, 309.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 314.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 493.

¹² Dom. P. 1526 (return by Brian Higdon), see *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 2001.

¹³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 114.

¹⁴ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 147-8.

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sisters. The door used to be diligently kept by a faithful and active *conversus*. The household of Robert de Hiltun, kt., wandered dissolutely about the cloister and parlour, and in a very suspicious manner conversed with the nuns and sisters, whence danger was suspected. Robert himself was very troublesome, and for fear of his oppression the canons of the house lately, without the consent of the convent, gave him a barn full of corn, which should have been for the maintenance of the convent. The canons and *conversi*, under pretence of taking care of the external property of the house, wasted it, which, if it were carefully looked after, would suffice for the maintenance of all. The nuns were only receiving bread, cheese and ale, and on two days in the week they only had water. The canons, however, and their accomplices were having plenty, and were daintily provided for. It was found that the house of Swine could not maintain more nuns or sisters than were then there. Moreover, the house was in debt to the amount of 140 marks at least, and on that account the archbishop decreed that no one was to be received as nun or sister without his consent. The correction of these matters, if not carried out by the canons and convent within a short time, the archbishop specially reserved to himself to effect, as soon as he had leisure.

It is not improbable that the disclosures made at this visitation had as their ultimate result the removal of the canons not many years later.

On 15 March 1267-8¹⁷ the archbishop wrote 'religiosis mulieribus et fil' in Deo dilectis priorisse et canonicis de Swyne' a letter which dealt generally with the conduct of the nuns and sisters. Nothing is said about the canons, but a *custos* of the house is alluded to, and for the better providing of the convent, 40 marks was to be entrusted to one of the brothers.¹⁸

That the separation of the canons and nuns of Swine was being effected about this time seems also clear from a letter addressed by Archbishop Romanus on 3 September 1287¹⁹ to the abbots of the Premonstratensian order, then assembled in their general chapter, asking that Brother Robert de Spalding, canon of Croxton, of their order, whom with special consent of the abbot he had appointed master of the house of the poor women of Swine, might be allowed to hold that office, so that he could assist by his circumspect industry in relieving the poverty and downfall which threatened. Here Swine is alluded to as a house of women, as if it were intended to lay special stress on the fact that it was no longer a double monastery.

¹⁷ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* 249.

¹⁸ The word 'frater' was commonly applied to a *conversus*. The *conversi* continued at Swine after the removal of the canons.

¹⁹ *York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus*, fol. 61*b*.

In 1289²⁰ another member of the St. Quintin family is met with as a nun, and on 10 May the archbishop directed the prioress to restore the black veil to her, which on account of her demerits had been taken from her for a year. On 4 January 1289-90,²¹ the archbishop wrote to the Abbot of Croxton, asking that Brother R. de Spalding might be allowed to continue his work at Swine till Easter. The abbot had recalled him just at a time when his labours were bearing fruit, and the archbishop asked that he might remain till he had been able to render a complete statement of affairs, which would be, God willing, before Easter. Less than a month later (30 January),²² the archbishop addressed a general letter *universis*, &c., saying that R. de Spalding, whom his abbot had recently permitted to be appointed master of the nuns of Swine, had laboured most industriously and commendably in regard to the affairs of the house. On 28 September,²³ Josiana de Anlagby was appointed prioress, Cecilia de Walkingham having resigned, and on the following day the archbishop commissioned the Master²⁴ and Prioress of Swine to inquire the names of the nuns who acted disobediently towards them, and did evil to the house on the occasion of the creation of the new prioress, that they might be sent to Rosedale *vestri ordinis*,²⁵ there to dwell in penance.²⁶ The master and prioress were also ordered to send Elizabeth de Rue to Nunburnholme²⁷ under the charge of a brother of the house and a horseman. The archbishop further directed by a letter to the Master and Prioress of Swine that they were to restore to Elizabeth de Arranis,²⁸ their nun, the veil of consecration (*consecracionis velum*) which she had laid aside on account of her transgression, but she was the more firmly to persevere with the rest of her penance. On 3 April following²⁹ the archbishop appointed Robert Bustard, canon of the house of St. Robert of Knaresborough, Master of Swine in place of Robert de Spalding, but next³⁰ year he wrote to the Master of St. Robert's that he had not administered the affairs of Swine circumspectly, and the archbishop asked that he might be recalled to Knaresborough. In another letter,³¹ to the prioress and convent, the archbishop stated that for reasons which he did not care to give at the time, Helewyse Darains, one of their nuns, was to be sent to Wykeham for a time, while a nun of that house, of good and praiseworthy conversation, was to come to them.

Archbishop Newark notified the convent of a proposed visitation on Tuesday after the feast of

²⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 62.

²¹ *Ibid.* fol. 62*b*.

²² *Ibid.* fol. 63.

²³ *Ibid.* fol. 63*b*.

²⁴ 'Commissio Magistro et Priorisse de Swyna. *Ibid.*

²⁵ Rosedale was a Cistercian house.

²⁶ *York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus*, fol. 63*b*.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 64

³⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 64*b*.

³¹ *Ibid.* fol. 66.

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St. Giles in his first year (1 September 1298),³² and from a part of the injunctions which he gave on that occasion, which are legible, it appears that silence was to be more properly observed, and the doors more diligently guarded; the nuns were not to use large collars, barred girdles, or laced shoes (*zolariis longis, zonis barratis et sotularibus laqueatis*).

Archbishop Corbridge issued a commission on 9 April 1303³³ to Roger de Mar, succentor of York, to correct the matters discovered at the visitation of Swine, and to inquire into the temporal and spiritual condition of the house, and to confirm, if needed, the election of a new prioress. There does not, however, appear to be any record of the visitation itself.

In 1306³⁴ a letter was addressed by Archbishop Greenfield to the rural dean of Beverley, as to a case promoted against John, the son of Thomas the Smith of Swine, for fornication committed with Alice Martel, nun of Swine. On 2 February 1308³⁵ the archbishop wrote to Joan de Moubray, the prioress, and the convent, forbidding them to make any alienations or new leases of their lands or rents or other property, to the injury of the house, and on 21 April³⁶ following he forbade them to take boarders, &c. Whether these two letters directly led to her resignation or not does not appear, but a little afterwards³⁷ the archbishop directed the nuns to make due provision for Joan de Moubray, their late prioress. Once again we hear of a case of immorality in a letter addressed in 1310³⁸ to Roger de Driffild (*quondam abbati*) of Meaux concerning Brothers Robert de Merflet and Stephen de Ultram his fellow monks, who had been guilty of incontinence and incest with Elizabeth de Ruda, nun of Swine.

On 26 January 1318³⁹ Archbishop Melton issued a commission to Richard de Melton, rector of Brandesburton, to inquire into the excesses of the nuns of Swine, and on 20 February⁴⁰ he sent the nuns a long list of injunctions, in which he enjoined the prioress and sub-prioress to keep convent, and ordered that his predecessor's injunctions were to be observed. The prioress for the time being was to see that the house was reasonably served with bread, ale and other necessaries. The prioress and convent, according to their rule, were to say matins with the other canonical hours each day of the year with note, unless lawfully prevented. The

prioress and all who had administration of the goods of the house were without delay to have the dormitory covered, so that the nuns might quietly and in silence be received in it, without annoyance from storms, and they were to have the roofs of other buildings repaired as soon as might be. No nun able to be present at divine offices was to be excused from them on account of any external occupation, unless the great need of the house demanded it, and as to that the archbishop charged the conscience of the prioress as she would answer to the Most High. The prioress was to make both old and young nuns keep to the cloister at due times, and especially the young ones who had not yet rendered their service. All the nuns, not being sick, were to sleep in the dormitory, and not in different places, causing scandal to arise against them. No brothers or other guests were to be received inside the inner door, to eat, drink, or pass the night under any condition. No nun was to presume, under pain of the greater excommunication, to use supertunics, barred girdles, in one combination of garment, outwardly or inwardly cut, or ornamented in a curious fashion.

On 2 January 1319-20⁴¹ the archbishop wrote to the prioress and convent to receive Symon called Chapeleyne and Geoffrey Palmer *in fratres vestros et conversos*—an interesting fact, as bearing further on the existence of *conversi* attached to houses of nuns.

In September 1320⁴² the prioress, Josiana de Anlaghby, resigned on account of old age, and the archbishop directed the nuns to make due provision for her, who for a long period had laudably performed her duty.

In 1335⁴³ William Bomour, *conversus* of the house of the nuns of Swine, on account of his excesses, which had been found out at a recent visitation, was transferred for a time to the monastery of Sawley at the cost of the house of Swine. In 1358⁴⁴ Archbishop Thoresby ordered the nuns to receive back one of their number, Anne de Cawode, who had twice broken her vow and left their house, but no very bad record seems to be charged against her, except the bare fact of her apostasy.

In 1410,⁴⁵ at the request of the Prioress and convent of Swine and the vicar and inhabitants of the parish, Archbishop Bowett transferred the feast of the dedication of the church of Swine from 7 August to the Sunday next before the feast of St. Margaret each year, so as not to interfere with the ingathering.

The house, here said to be 'of the order of St. Bernard,' although well under the £200 limit, was exempted from suppression on 1 October

³² York Archiepis. Reg. Newark, fol. 6, and on 15 Sept. 1298 he created Dominus W. Derains, rector of Londesborough, Master of Swine. Ibid.

³³ Ibid. Corbridge, fol. 38.

³⁴ Ibid. Greenfield, fol. 34b.

³⁵ Ibid. fol. 112.

³⁶ Ibid. fol. 113.

³⁷ Ibid. fol. 118.

³⁸ Ibid. slip between fol. 121 and 122.

³⁹ Ibid. Melton, fol. 273b.

⁴⁰ Ibid. fol. 274.

⁴¹ Ibid. fol. 278.

⁴² Ibid. fol. 279b.

⁴³ Ibid. 323.

⁴⁴ Ibid. Thoresby, fol. 198b.

⁴⁵ Ibid. Bowett, fol. 175.

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1537, Helen Deyn then being prioress;⁴⁶ she must have died or resigned shortly after this date, as the priory was surrendered on 9 September 1539⁴⁷ by Dorothy Knight, the prioress, and nineteen nuns.⁴⁸

It is interesting to trace two of these ladies later. In 1552-3,⁴⁹ when an inquiry was made on complaint of the non-payment of pensions to ex-religious, it was reported: 'Elizabeth Grymston of thage of xxxvj yeres and pencon by yere xliij^{ij} viij^d and is married to oon Pykkerd of Welwek, and paid.' Of another it is reported: 'Elisabeth Tyas morant apud Tykhill, and now married to oon John Swyne gentelman, and pencon by yere xls and paid.'

Dorothy Knyght, the late prioress, was also alive 'of thage of l yeres and pencon xiiij^{ij} vj^s viij^d and paid.' Elizabeth Clifton (another nun) 'of thage of xl yeres and pencon by yere lxxv^s viij^d, and haith sold her pencon to' [], while Elizabeth Elsley 'pencon by yere xls and remaynyth w^t master Barton at Northallerton as it is seid.'

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- Helewis, occurs 1227,⁶⁰ mentioned 1236⁶¹
- Sibil, occurs 1236⁶²
- Maud, occurs 1240-1⁶³
- Sibil, occurs 1252⁶⁴
- Mabel, occurs 1280⁶⁵
- Gundreda, resigned 1288⁶⁶
- Cecilia de Walkingham, confirmed 1288,⁶⁷ resigned 1290⁶⁸
- Josiana de Anlagby, confirmed 1290,⁶⁹ occurs 1293⁶⁰
- Joan de Moubray, occurs 1308,⁶¹ resigned 1309⁶²
- Josiana de Anlagby (second time), resigned 1320⁶³
- Cecilia, occurs 1338⁶⁴
- Joan Skirlaw, occurs 1404⁶⁵
- Isabel Chetwynd, occurs 1437⁶⁶
- Maud Wade, resigned 1482⁶⁷

⁴⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 1008.
⁴⁷ *Ibid.* xiv (2), 141. ⁴⁸ *Ibid.* xv, p. 553.
⁴⁹ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 76, no. 23.
⁵⁰ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 207.
⁵¹ Feet of F. file 30, no. 1 (East. 20 Hen. III).
⁵² *Ibid.*
⁵³ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 207. ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*
⁵⁵ Feet of F. file 59, no. 57 (Hil. 8 Edw. I).
⁵⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 62 [for Walkington in the ordinary lists read Walkingham].
⁵⁷ *Ibid.* ⁵⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 63b. ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
⁶⁰ *Coram Rege R.* 137, m. 5 (Trin. 21 Edw. I); see as to her sister Margery, an idiot, 1289, *Yorks. Ing.* ii, 89.
⁶¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, fol. 112.
⁶² *Ibid.* fol. 118.
⁶³ *Ibid.* Melton, fol. 279b.
⁶⁴ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 207.
⁶⁵ *Test. Ebor.* i, 314. ⁶⁶ Baildon, MS. Notes.
⁶⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, fol. 32b.

- Joan Kelk, confirmed 1482⁶⁸
- Beatrice Lowe, confirmed 1498⁶⁹
- Cecilia Eland, confirmed 1506⁷⁰
- Elena Dene, confirmed 1520,⁷¹ occurs 1537⁷²
- Dorothy Knight, surrendered the house 1539⁷³

The circular seal⁷⁴ 1½ in. in diameter, used in King Stephen's time, has a representation of our Lady seated, holding a lily, sceptre, and a book. The legend is:—

† SIGILLVM SCĒ MARIE DE SVINE

The second seal⁷⁵ is a vesica, 2 in. by 1⅔ in., having our Lady crowned and seated and holding the Child. Below is the prioress kneeling in prayer. The legend is:—

† S' PRIOR SCĒ MARIE DE SVINA

40. THE PRIORY OF WYKEHAM

The priory of St. Mary¹ of Wykeham was founded about 1153² by Pain Fitz Osbert for Cistercian³ nuns.

The grants of land made by different donors are enumerated by Burton⁴ in alphabetical order, but the authorities he cites in support are in the appendix to his work, as yet unpublished.

With regard to the church of Wykeham a deed is printed in the *Monasticon*.⁵ It is by

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* ⁶⁹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 493.
⁷⁰ *Ibid.*
⁷¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Wolsey, fol. 52b.
⁷² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii, 1008: 'Helen Deyn.'
⁷³ *Ibid.* xv, p. 553.
⁷⁴ *Cat. of Seals, B.M.* 4133; Add. Chart. 26108.
⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 4135, lxxv, 12.

¹ In the charter of confirmation by King John 'St. Michael,' and also in a deed by the dean rural and chapter of Ryedale; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 670, no. iii, vi.

² When Henry Murdac was Archbishop of York, and Bernard Prior of Bridlington.

³ Speed, relying on Gervase of Canterbury, says that Wykeham was a house of Gilbertine canons and nuns, and the editors of the *Monasticon* (v, 669 n.) mention a deed in which one Walter de Harpham is spoken of as 'rector domus de Wickham' together with the convent, no mention being made of a prioress, but there is nothing to indicate that the 'rector' of Wykeham mentioned was in any other position than that of a 'custos,' or guardian of the house. A parallel case occurs in regard to Nun Appleton (where there is no idea that there were religious of both sexes) in a charter of Eustache de Merch which is addressed 'priori et sancti monialibus' of that house (B.M. Cott. MS. xii, fol. 46). Afterwards the house is definitely described as Cistercian in the Registers at York.

⁴ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 255-7.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 670, no. v.

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Hugh, Prior of Bridlington, reciting an earlier one by Bernard (prior c. 1150), addressed to the Archbishop of York, which records that Wlmar, priest of Wykeham, and two other persons 'Urca filius Karli,' and Gamellus, of whom Wlmar held a portion of the church, had together appeared, and offered at the altar of Bridlington all the right they possessed in the church of Wykeham, and as a sign of their gift Wlmar had offered three candles in the presence of many witnesses. This right, which Bridlington had so obtained in the church of Wykeham, Prior Hugh (occurs 1189-92) and his convent conceded to the nuns of Wykeham.

The priory, church, cloisters, and twenty-four other houses or buildings having been accidentally burnt down at Wykeham, and the nuns losing all their books, vestments, chalice, &c., Edward III relieved them for twenty years of an annual payment of £3 12s. 7d. for lands held by them in the honour of Pickering, part of the duchy of Lancaster.⁶ It seems possible that the fire had really taken place some years previously, for in 1321⁷ the church of All Saints was spoken of as ruinous, and was pulled down, and a chapel erected on or near the site by John de Wychem, in honour of St. Mary and St. Helen. This by the king's licence was granted to Isabel, the prioress, and the convent, and was endowed by him with 12 marks annually, for the finding of two chaplains to celebrate in it for the soul of John de Wychem and others.⁸ The ordination of the chapel was confirmed by Archbishop Melton in 1323.⁹

In 1314¹⁰ Archbishop Greenfield held a visitation of the priory of Wykeham, when he issued a set of injunctions, almost identical with others sent to Yedingham at the same time. No nun was to absent herself from divine service by reason of her occupation *operis de serico*. Goings to and fro of seculars, men or women, through the cloister to the kitchen, or other places inside the house, were not in future to be permitted. The parlour was not to be used by the lay folk of the house. The prioress was to take care that the nuns did not make themselves conspicuous as to their girdles, or any other part of their habit, or wear anything except what was conformable with religion.

Rebellious nuns were to be punished in the presence of the convent and not secretly, as such open treatment was in accordance with divine and human law.

Something was probably wrong in 1351,¹¹ for Archbishop Zouch issued a commission for the visitation of the houses of Wykeham and

Yedingham, the commissioners being instructed to correct abuses, but there is no record of what took place in consequence of the visitation.

In the early part of 1444¹² Archbishop Kemp stated that recently at a visitation of the priory of Wykeham very grave defects and crimes were detected against the person of Isabella Westirdale, prioress of the said priory, who after she had been raised to that office had been guilty of incest with many men, both within and outside the monastery. He therefore deprived her, and immediately upon her deprivation sent her to the house of the nuns of Appleton, there to remain for a season.

The next time the archbishop had to deal with Wykeham is scarcely more creditable to the reputation of the house. It is a curious story. The archbishop writing on the last day of February 1450¹³ to Elizabeth, the prioress, called upon her to re-admit an apostate nun, Katherine Thornyf, who, seduced by the Angel of Darkness, under the false colour of a pilgrimage in the time of the Jubilee, without leave of the archbishop or his officials, or even of the prioress, set out on a journey to the court of Rome, in company of another nun of the house, who, as it was reported, had gone the way of all flesh, and on whose soul the archbishop prayed for mercy. After the death of this nun, Katherine Thornyf had lived in sin with a married man in London. She had come to the archbishop, humbly seeking absolution. This he had granted her, and as she was penitent, he sent her back for re-admission. Whether the original intention of the two nuns was genuine, or whether the Jubilee was made an excuse for leaving their monastery, is doubtful.

In the Taxation of 1291 the temporalities were rated at £22 15s.¹⁴ In 1527 the clear annual value was returned as only £20,¹⁵ but in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* at £25 17s. 6d.¹⁶

Among the Suppression Papers¹⁷ there is a list of the nuns, twelve in number, besides their prioress¹⁸ and their pensions. As in the case of other houses the ages are entered, and have been changed three years later. In the margin is written 'Religious,' probably meaning they desired to abide by their vows, and it is said 'All of good lyffing.' Katherine Nendyk heads the list as prioress, and among the names of the nuns is that of Isabella Nendyk, evidently a

¹² Ibid. Kemp, fol. 89b.

¹³ Ibid. fol. 72.

¹⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 671.

¹⁵ Subs. R. 64, 303. (A return made by Brian Higdon, Dean of York.)

¹⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 145.

¹⁷ Suppression P. ii, fol. 95.

¹⁸ According to Tanner there were only nine, but the list gives the names, ages, and pensions of thirteen, including the prioress.

⁶ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 257.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 242.

¹⁰ Ibid. Greenfield, ii, fol. 101b.

¹¹ Ibid. Zouch, fol. 172.

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member of the same family. A corrody was also held by Thomas Nendyk. The prioress received a pension of £6 13s. 4d. Her will¹⁹ is dated 7 May 1541. She was then living at Kirkby Moorside, where she desired to be buried. Among her bequests was one 'to eght of my susters that was professide in Wikham Abbey to everie one of them vjs. viijd. to be taken of the gauge or pledge of Sir William Ewrie Knyght.' She also left to 'Isabell Nandike my nece one rabande of ij yerdes of silke and ij silver aglettes.' At the inquiry in 7 Edward VI²⁰ as to the payment of pensions nine names occur under Wykeham. Six appeared with their patents (including Isabel Nendyk), and in each case an entry is made that they were unpaid for a whole year. Three 'appeared not,' and perhaps were dead.

PRIORESSES OF WYKEHAM

Eva, occurs 1235²¹
Emma de Dunston, confirmed 1286,²² re-
signed 1300²³
Isabella, occurs 1321,²⁴ 1337²⁵
Isabella, occurs 1388,²⁶ 1398²⁷
Alice, occurs 1424²⁸
Isabella de Westirdale, deposed 1444²⁹
Elizabeth, occurs 1450³⁰
Elizabeth Edmundson, died 1487³¹
Katherine Warde, elected 1487³²
Alice Horneby, elected 1502,³³ died 1508³⁴
Katherine Nendyk, elected 1508³⁵

The 13th-century seal³⁶ is a vesica, 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. by 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in., with our Lady crowned, sceptred, and seated, holding the Child. Of the legend only the word SIGILLV remains.

HOUSE OF CLUNIAC MONKS

41. PRIORY OF PONTEFRACT

The priory of St. John of Pontefract was founded in 1090¹ by Robert de Lacy. The house was dedicated to the honour of St. John² the Evangelist, and subjected to the Cluniac monks of La Charité-sur-Loire,³ the order being then popular and in 'good odour and honest fame.'⁴ The first monks, it appears, had formerly lived in the St. Nicholas' Hospital, and had come from the house of La Charité a few years previously.⁵ St. Nicholas' being near the new monastery was now given to the monks for the use of the poor, and the collegiate chapel of St. Clement was not to be conferred

upon any other body of religious than the monks of St. John.⁶

The establishment of the priory was for the good estate of the founder and the souls of William I, the founder's parents—Ilbert and Hawise—and all his ancestors and heirs;⁷ and the endowment included the churches of Ledsham, All Saints, Kippax, Darrington, and Silkstone. This donation was further enlarged by the founder, c. 1090 and c. 1112, when he conferred upon the house the chapel of Cawthorne, and other chapels, lands, and tithes.⁸

The Prior of St. John's was not appointed by election of the convent, but by the mother-house of La Charité, and to this French monastery the priory at Pontefract had to send a yearly payment. But, as was the case with many alien houses, this payment was confiscated during the reign of Edward III.⁹

Toward the end of the year 1139 the aged Archbishop Thurstan, who in his youth had made a vow that he would ally himself to the Cluniac order of monks, decided to fulfil his vow. In extreme old age he bade solemn farewell to the clergy at York, and entered Pontefract Priory, taking the monastic vows there on 25 January 1140. He did not, however, long outlive this step. On 5 February he died. Just before his death he recited the office of the dead, and chanted the *Dies irae*, and then, 'whilst the rest were kneeling and praying around him, he passed away to await in the land of silence the coming of that Day of Wrath, so terrible to all, of which he had just spoken.'¹⁰

¹⁹ *Test. Ebor.* vi, 131, where attention is drawn to a short pedigree of Nandwick in Glover's *Visitation* (Foster's ed.), 557.

²⁰ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 76, no. 24 (dated 20 Feb. 7 Edw. VI).

²¹ Feet of F. Mich. 19 Hen III.

²² York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 50.

²³ Ibid. Corbridge, fol. 23.

²⁴ Ibid. Melton, fol. 242.

²⁵ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 257.

²⁶ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 228.

²⁷ Baildon's MS. Notes. ²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 89b.

³⁰ Ibid. fol. 72.

³¹ Ibid. Rotherham, i, fol. 55b. ³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid. Savage, fol. 62. ³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid. sed. vac. fol. 546b.

³⁶ *Cat. of Seals*, B.M. 4377, lxxv, 19.

¹ *Yorks. Arch. Rec.* xxv, 2.

² The donation is 'to God and St. Mary and St. John and my monks in Pontefract' (*Mon. Angl.* v, 122).

³ Padgett, *Pontefract*, 43.

⁴ Foundation Charter, *Yorks. Arch. Rec.* xxv, 17.

⁵ Fox, *Pontefract*, 301, and Padgett, op. cit. 43.

⁶ *Yorks. Arch. Rec.* xxv, 18.

⁷ Boothroyd, *Pontefract*, 319.

⁸ *Yorks. Arch. Rec.* xxv, 18, 25, 26.

⁹ Fox, *Pontefract*, 302. ¹⁰ *Fasti Ebor.* 208.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

When, some years afterwards, his grave¹¹ was opened, the archbishop's remains were said to be found 'sweet-smelling and undecayed.'¹²

The priory buildings were destroyed in the Anarchy, and Gilbert de Gaunt, who had claimed the estates but afterwards acknowledged himself in error,¹³ made compensation for the demolition by a donation of property at South Ferriby, Lincs.¹⁴ About 1153, during the rebuilding of the priory, the monks received a temporary residence at Broughton¹⁵ from Alice de Rumelli, and in 1159 this new house was consecrated by Archbishop Roger.¹⁶

In 1156 the priory of Monk Bretton, or Lund, was founded as in some way subordinate to the priory of Pontefract. Difficulties and disputes soon arose between the two houses; and were only finally settled by the renunciation of the order of Cluny by Monk Bretton in 1280, and its subsequent continuance as a Benedictine Priory till the Dissolution. The subject is dealt with more at length in the account of Monk Bretton.

Copies of a great number of charters are given in the *Monasticon*¹⁷ and in the *Chartulary*,¹⁸ and the various possessions of the house are consequently known in minute detail. A bull of Pope Celestine, c. 1190, also conferred the right of interment on the priory, and gave to the house, during the time of any general interdict, the privilege of celebrating the Divine offices with closed doors, in a low voice, without bells—persons excommunicated and interdicted being of course excluded from sharing such privilege.¹⁹

A charter was issued in 1229 by Archbishop Walter Gray, dealing exclusively with the 'pensions' to be paid to St. John's by its various churches: All Saints', Pontefract, 12 marks; Darrington 1 mark; Ledsham 6 marks; Kippax 4s.; Silkstone 100s.; Slaidburn 6 marks, and Catwick 3 marks.²⁰

Evidently there was some disturbance in the priorate in January 1268, for when Godfrey and his convent presented 'Ralph the deacon' to Ledsham, no archiepiscopal inquisition was ordered, as the prior and some of the canons were excommunicated by authority of the legate.²¹ This same year, 1268, we are told that certain of the monks had entered into the monastery at Bretton.²²

¹¹ Before the altar in the Priory Church; *Yorks. Arch. Rec.* xxv, p. xxi.

¹² John of Hexham, *Hist.* col. 268.

¹³ *Yorks. Arch. Rec.* xxv, p. xx.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* ¹⁵ *Ibid.* 2.

¹⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 118.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 118 et seq.

¹⁸ *Yorks. Arch. Rec.* xxv.

¹⁹ Lawton, *Relig. Houses*, 51.

²⁰ *Yorks. Arch. Rec.* xxv, 73.

²¹ York Archiepisc. Reg. Giffard, fol. 13.

²² *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 27.

In 1277 the prior, Godfrey, with some of his monks, and others, were charged with the deaths of 'Thomas son of Raymond, Thomas de Ireton, and Richard de Scauceby, monks.' An inquiry was ordered to deal with the affair, the king having been informed that appeals had been maliciously procured against the prior.²³

In 1279 a visitation of the Cluniac houses was made, and on 18 September the Abbot of Cluny and others came to the priory at Pontefract. At that time the brothers numbered twenty-seven, including the prior. It was found that the monks were leading good lives, that the daily offices were duly performed, the buildings in a good state of repair, the church well appointed, and the food sufficient till the next harvest. When the prior entered upon his office, twelve years before, the house was in debt to the extent of 3,200 marks, but the liabilities had been reduced to 350 marks or even less; and, besides this, the prior had obtained a small property of 2 carucates. It was also found that fifteen years previously the priory had incurred an obligation of 400 marks, the convent making themselves liable for the amount to help the brethren at Monk Bretton: such amount, however, had been secured by bonds held from the smaller house.²⁴

Reference has been made to the pensions received by the priory in 1229 from its churches. By the year 1291 things had changed considerably. Vicarages had been ordained in some of the churches, and the old pension system was being superseded, the monks receiving a much greater proportion of the revenues. The following comparison shows the financial benefit which had accrued to the priory:—

	1229	1291
All Saints', Pontefract	£8 0 0	£30 0 0
Ledsham	4 0 0	10 0 0
Silkstone	5 0 0	57 6 8
Darrington	0 13 4	13 6 8
Catwick ²⁵	2 0 0	2 0 0 ²⁶

In 1294 royal protection was granted to the prior because he had given to the king a moiety of his goods and benefices according to the taxation last made for a tenth for the Holy Land,²⁷ and in 1310 Guichard, the prior, was nominated attorney for the Abbot of Cluny.²⁸ This same Guichard was himself going 'beyond seas' in 1313, and received letters nominating attorneys for him.²⁹

²³ Pat. 5 Edw. I, m. 5 d.

²⁴ Padgett, *Pontefract*, 48.

²⁵ No vicarage had been ordained at Catwick; the pension therefore remained unchanged.

²⁶ *Yorks. Arch. Rec.* xxv (pp. xxxii, xxxiii).

²⁷ Pat. 22 Edw. I, m. 27.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 3 Edw. II, m. 9.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 7 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 20.

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The town of Pontefract became famous during the reign of Edward II as the place where Thomas the Earl of Lancaster was executed by the king's order. His body was interred in 1322 in the priory church near the high altar. Many miracles were said to have been wrought at his shrine, and a chantry chapel³⁰ was afterwards founded to the memory of 'Saint' Thomas.³¹

Little seems to have been known of the priory during the 15th century. The valuation of the house in 1535³² was £472 16s. 10½d., the outgoings £137 4s., leaving a clear remainder of £335 12s. 10½d., and this ensured the maintenance of the priory when the smaller houses were dissolved. The commissioners arrived at the priory in November 1538, and their report was very complacent: 'quietly takine the surrenders and dissolved the monasterie of Pountfrette, wher we perceyved no murmure ore gruge in any behalfe bot wer thankefully receyvede.'³³

The date of the surrender is 23 November 1539,³⁴ and pensions were granted to the prior (£50) and twelve brethren,³⁵ the prior, James Thwaytes, being further appointed Dean of St. Clement's for life.

PRIORS OF ST. JOHN'S³⁶

Martin, temp. Hen. I
 Walter, occurs c. 1120,³⁷ 1135
 Reynold, occurs 1139
 Adam, occurs c. 1145,³⁸ 1156
 Bertram, occurs c. 1170³⁹
 Hugh, occurs 1184, 1195
 Walter, occurs 1219
 Robert, occurs 1225
 Hugh, occurs 1226
 Walter, occurs 1230
 Fulk

³⁰ This chapel was built c. 1361 on the top of the hill where the execution took place. In 1359 blood was said to have been seen flowing from the tomb of the martyred earl, his belt was reported to give assistance to women in child-bearing, and his hat to cure pains in the head. (Torre's MS. 53.)

³¹ Padgett, *Pontefract*, 48.

³² *Valor Eccl.* v, 66.

³³ Padgett, *Pontefract*, 50.

³⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 576.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ List in *Chartul. of Pontefract*, 681.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 59. Abbot of Selby 1139

³⁸ *Ibid.* 64. First Prior of Monk Bretton.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 66.

Stephen, occurs 1235
 Peter, occurs 1238, 1239
 Dalmatius, occurs 1241-63⁴⁰
 S., occurs 1267⁴¹
 Godfrey, occurs 1268⁴²-83⁴³
 Rayner
 William, occurs 1300
 Guichard de Cherleu, elected 1311
 Simon de Castleford, occurs 1316
 Stephen de Cherobles, appointed 1322,⁴⁴ occurs 1343⁴⁵
 Simon Balderton, occurs 1366⁴⁶
 John Tunstal, occurs 1387, 1402
 William Helagh, succeeded 1404; occurs 1409
 Richard Haigh, occurs 1413-37
 William, occurs 1442-46
 John, occurs 1439
 Nicholas Halle, occurs 1452
 Richard Brown, occurs 1475,⁴⁷ 1481⁴⁸
 John Flynt, occurs 1499
 Richard Brown, occurs 1507, 1520
 James Thwaytes, last prior, surrendered 1539

The 12th-century seal⁴⁹ is a vesica, 2½ in. by 1¾ in., having the eagle of the evangelist holding a scroll in his claws. The broken legend reads:—

† SIGILL S̄CI IOH EL' TE DE PONTEFRAC TO

A counterseal⁵⁰ of the 12th century is a vesica, 1½ in. by 1⅛ in., having the head of St. John, with the legend:—

† VIRGO EST ELECTVS A DOMINO

The 13th-century seal⁵¹ of Prior Godfrey shows a conventional representation of the house with the prior seated within reading from a book on which are the words I P̄NCIPIO, the beginning of St. John's Gospel. The legend is:—

† S' FR̄IS GODEFRIDI P̄ORIS POT̄IS FRAC TI
 EBORAC̄ DYOC̄ CLVN̄ OR̄

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 516.

⁴¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Giffard, fol. 9 d.

⁴² *Ibid.* fol. 13.

⁴³ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* 35, App. 11.

⁴⁴ Pat. 16 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 25.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 17 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 35 d.

⁴⁶ Pipe R. 40 Edw. III.

⁴⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1467-77, p. 564.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 1476-85, p. 285.

⁴⁹ *Cat. of Seals, B.M.* 3852, lxxiv, 96.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 3853, lxxiv, 97.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 3854, xlix, 45.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

HOUSE OF CLUNIAIC NUNS

42. THE PRIORY OF ARTHINGTON

The priory of Arthington, the only house of Cluniac nuns in the county,¹ was founded by Peter de Arthington, either at the end of the reign of Stephen, or at the beginning of that of Henry II, as appears from an award made about Michaelmas, 26 Henry VI (1447), in a dispute between John Arthington and the prioress and convent.² Peter de Arthington gave the nuns 'the place the whilk the said abby is byggyd on, with all the appurtenaunces.' Peter de Arthington's son, Serlo, confirmed and added to his father's gift. Serlo de Arthington's son, another Peter, again confirmed the gifts of his father and grandfather, and added 'one acre of land in Tebecroft, and also all the watyre that thai may lede to make yam a milne with, and to thair other usez necessarez.'

Alice de Romeli gave a moiety of 'Helthwait,' and pannage for forty hogs in her wood of Swinden, and common of pasture for the nuns' cattle in the same wood.³ These latter gifts were confirmed by Warin Fitz Gerald,⁴ the king's chamberlain, and William de Curcy,⁵ her son, the king's steward, subject to the condition that each of them, and their heirs, should have the right to nominate a nun in the house of Arthington. There is a grant by Edward I, dated 6 December 1306,⁶ to Master Andrew de Tange (for the time it remained in the king's hands, by reason of the minority of Robert, the son and heir of Warin de Insula) of the right of presenting a girl as a nun of Arthington, a vacancy having occurred there by the death of a nun who was last placed there by the ancestors of the said Robert.

The church of Maltby, near Doncaster, was given to Arthington, and formally appropriated to it by Archbishop Alexander Nevill in 1377-8.⁷ The nunnery also received other grants of land in the neighbourhood, which are enumerated by Burton in his account of the house,⁸ but it was always a small house.

¹ It is included among the Benedictine houses in the *Monasticon* (vol. iv, 518), and Mr. Baildon (*Mon. Notes*, i, 3) heads the list of prioresses 'Benedictine Nuns.' But the Archiepiscopal Registers constantly, with few exceptions, allude to it as of the Cluniac Order, as does the list of nuns in the Suppression Papers at the Record Office (vol. ii, 227).

² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 518.

³ *Ibid.* 519.

⁴ *Ibid.* no. iii.

⁵ Pat. 35 Edw. I, m. 42.

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 519.

⁷ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 88

⁸ *Ibid.* 520, no. ii.

A commission was issued on 20 July 1286,⁹ by Archbishop Romanus, to R. de Pickering, H. Sampson, and R. de la Ford, to visit the house, and this was followed by a letter from the archbishop to the nuns, stating that the visitation had revealed their condition to be so poor and depressed that the income of the house scarcely sufficed for their maintenance. He enjoined them therefore, in virtue of their obedience, not to alienate any land without his special licence. Seven years later (perhaps matters had not improved) the same archbishop, on 16 June 1293,¹⁰ appointed Adam de Potrington, rector of Kippax, curator and guardian of the temporalities and spiritualities of the nuns of Arthington. On 20 January 1299-1300¹¹ the chapter (*sede vacante*) granted licence to the sub-prioress and convent to elect a successor to Maud de Kesewik, deceased, and on 27 February¹² directed William de Yafford, chaplain, to 'superintend' all the movable goods belonging to the monastery of Arthington at the time of the death of Maud de Kesewik.

In 1303¹³ Archbishop Corbridge wrote to the Dean of Pontefract regarding the miserable condition of Custance de Daneport of Pontefract, who some time previously, deceived by the blandishments of the world, had left her house of Arthington, in which for many years she had been a nun, and had apostatized. She was to be received back and undergo the proper penance prescribed by their rule.

On 9 June 1307¹⁴ a visitation of Arthington was held, and Archbishop Greenfield at once wrote to the prioress and convent concerning four of the nuns, two of whom, Dionisia de Heuensdale and Ellen de Castleford, were (pending the issue of general injunctions resulting from the visitation) forbidden to go outside the convent precincts. Two others, Agnes de Screvyn (who had resigned being prioress in 1303) and Isabella Couvel, appear to have asserted that certain animals and goods belonging to the monastery were their private property. These they were to be monished to resign within three days to lawful and honest uses, according to the judgement of the prioress.

There must have been discontent in the house rather later, as on 13 March 1311-12¹⁵ the sub-prioress and convent were ordered to render due obedience to Isabella de Berghby, their

⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 27.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 42b.

¹¹ *Ibid.* fol. 27b.

¹² *Ibid.* Greenfield, fol. 63b.

¹³ *Ibid.* Corbridge, fol. 19b.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* ii, fol. 55b.

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prioress, who had been placed in charge of the house, and Isabella Couvel was joined with her in the care of the conventual property. This was followed on 30 August¹⁶ by a letter to Mr. Walter de Bebiry, Dean of Ainsty, directing him to go to Arthington and inquire as to Isabella de Berghby and Margaret de Tang, nuns of the house, who had left it. He was to find out with whom they had gone, and where they were living. It is clear that Isabella de Berghby had resented having another nun associated with her in the management of the affairs of the nunnery, and had cast off her habit and gone abroad into the world. As to her companion nun, who seems to have been a less worthy person, we hear more afterwards. Although Isabella de Berghby had gone off in this fashion, she does not seem to have formally quitted the post of prioress; and no successor seems to have been elected or appointed till she took steps to return. On 19 September 1312¹⁷ (eighteen months after her departure) Maud de Batheley, a nun of the house, was confirmed in office, and four days later the archbishop wrote to the new prioress and her convent that Isabella de Berghby had come to him in the spirit of humility, and he had absolved her from the sentence of the greater excommunication which she had incurred by leaving her house, and that he sent her to them. They were to receive her back, but she was to take the last place in quire, cloister, dormitory, and refectory, and was not to go outside the cloister. The archbishop also imposed a penance on Margaret de Tang. On 18 September 1315¹⁸ Archbishop Greenfield visited Arthington, and issued a series of injunctions to the nuns. An account of all the goods of the house was to be made up by all the officers every year before the feast of St. Andrew, and shown to the prioress and three or four of the more discreet nuns. The sick were to be properly tended in the infirmary according to their needs, and as the means of the house allowed; silence was to be duly kept, and all who could were to be present at the services. The archbishop further enjoined that no woman who was received as a sister of the house should be allowed to accept or wear the black veil.¹⁹ The prioress and sub-prioress were not to allow boys or any secular persons to sleep in the dormitory. In future, when the prioress or sub-prioress allowed any of the nuns to visit their parents or friends, a limit of fifteen days was to be fixed for them to return in. If they did not return then, or if they were late, without a legitimate cause, they

were to be punished in chapter. Leave to go out was only to be granted once or twice in the year.

In 1318²⁰ Archbishop Melton held a visitation of Arthington, and issued a long series of injunctions, many of which were repetitions of those of his predecessor. He exhorted that unity and true concord, without which there is no true religion, should be nurtured, and that no quarrels should prevail among the nuns. There are the usual directions as to the due performance of divine service, and the proper observance of silence. All the nuns were to be assiduous in their attendance at divine service, and those who were remiss in this were to be punished by the prioress and sub-prioress, and if that did not suffice, their names were to be sent to the archbishop, and he would see that they were so chastised that the punishment of one should be a warning to the other nuns. The sick were to be duly tended, &c., and no outside secular persons whosoever were to be allowed to frequent the cloister, infirmary, or other private place. As the archbishop found the house burdened with various debts he enjoined all possible economy. The old *consuetudines* of the house were to be kept, and the dormitory, refectory, and other buildings, which were defective in their roofs, were to be repaired without delay. The then prioress, and all her successors, were enjoined that in sales of wool, and all other important business matters, the convent, or at least the greater and wiser portion, should be consulted. A carucate of land at 'Burghdon,' belonging to the house, was to be cultivated and sown, if it were unanimously found that this would benefit the nunnery.

The prioress, and three or four more mature and discreet nuns, were to have an account of all the goods drawn up, showing also the debts and credit of the house, and the corrodies, pensions, and other obligations in full, under the convent seal, for the archbishop. The injunction as to the non-use of the black veil by the lay sisters was repeated, as well as the direction that boys and secular persons were not to sleep in the dormitory with the nuns. The prioress and sub-prioress were to eat with the nuns in the refectory. The directions of Archbishop Greenfield as to visiting friends were repeated, with the addition that each nun to whom such leave was given was to have another nun of good report with her. The prioress was to keep convent in quire, cloister, refectory, and dormitory, unless lawfully hindered, and under pain of deposition she was ordered not to grant corrodies, pensions, or liveries, or lease for undue length of time any manors or granges, and further was to make no alienation of the immovable goods of the house, nor to take any nun, sister, or *conversus*, or to have any secular women as boarders, without the archbishop's

¹⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, ii, fol. 57.

¹⁷ Ibid. fol. 57b.

¹⁸ Ibid. fol. 58b.

¹⁹ The archbishop had, in 1311-12, issued a general order that nuns only and not sisters were to use the black veil in his diocese (ibid. fol. 24). The disuse of the black veil was often part of the penance imposed on nuns guilty of serious offences.

²⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 132.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

special licence. These salutary regulations were to be read at least once a month in chapter distinctly *in lingua materna*.

In 1319²¹ we hear again of Margaret de Tang who in 1312 had left the house with the prioress, Isabella de Berghby. On 7 April Archbishop Melton sent her to Nunkeeling to undergo penance for her 'demerits' at Arthington. Her penance was the usual type prescribed for immorality: she was to fast on certain days, be last in quire, &c., and receive the usual disciplines. Again in 1321²² she was in trouble, and it seems probable that if she ever reached Nunkeeling she had again broken loose and apostatized, for on 5 May the archbishop wrote to the Prioress and convent of Arthington about her. He says that, forgetful of her habit and vow taken in their house, she had apostatized, and committed grave and serious excesses, contrary to the honesty of religion. He had, however, absolved her, and sent her back to Arthington to perform her appointed penance. The prioress and convent were to put her in some secure place, and the access of secular persons to her was forbidden. She was to say the whole of the service as a nun, and two nocturns of the psalter, and if her case needed it she was to be bound by the foot with a shackle (*ad modum compedis*), but without hurting her limbs or body. When the prioress was assured of her contrition, the prioress was to inform the archbishop. Afterwards, when restored to the convent, she was to be the last in church and refectory, and was not to enter the chapter to hear the secrets, but every day was to receive a discipline, and a beating (*fustigationem*) up to the cloister, all secular persons being excluded. The prioress was also to inform the archbishop how Margaret behaved from the day of her return. Next year²³ the archbishop appointed the Prior of Bolton to supervise the state of the house, and on 22 February 1327,²⁴ with consent of the prioress, appointed Robert de Tang custos of the house.

The next information about Arthington in the Registers is that in 1349²⁵ Isabella de Berughby, a nun of the house, was elected prioress. She was, no doubt, the prioress, Isabella de Berghby, who apostatized in 1312. If she was, for instance, thirty years old in 1312 (and the appointment of Isabella Couvel to assist her in the care of the conventual property may have been due to her youth and inexperience), she would only have been sixty-seven in 1349. It may be assumed therefore that in spite of her misbehaviour in the interval this was her second term of office.

²¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton fol. 276.

²² Ibid. fol. 146.

²³ Ibid. fol. 153b.

²⁴ Ibid. fol. 172b.

²⁵ Ibid. Zouch, fol. 37. The *Monasticon* (iv, 519) and other lists give the name here as 'Beningley,' but in Zouch's Register the spelling is quite clearly 'Berughby.'

In the Register of Archbishop G. Nevill a very curious error occurs regarding the election on 19 August 1475²⁶ of Katherine Willesthorp as prioress. Both in the margin and in the text, including the prioress's vow of obedience, the priory is spoken of as that of 'Arnecliff,' a name which cannot ever have belonged to it, and the mistake must be a clerical error, curiously consistent throughout. On 17 May 1492²⁷ Elizabeth Popeley was confirmed in office as prioress, and little more than two years afterwards, on 26 August 1494,²⁸ she was deprived for incontinence and having given birth to a child, and for wasting the goods of the house. Owing to her contumacy and disobedience she was deprived of a vote in the election of her successor, Margaret Turton.

At the time of the Suppression²⁹ there were nine nuns in the house, including the prioress, Elizabeth Hall, aged forty-five, and against each name, except that of the prioress, is written 'continue,' meaning that they desired to continue in their vows, and there is a note, 'All these persons (including the prioress) be of good religious liffying and not slanderid.' Their ages ranged from seventy-two to twenty-five years. The list is headed '*Domus monialium Arthyngton clunienc' ordinis Scti Benedicti.*'

The house was surrendered by Elizabeth Hall, the prioress, and the convent on 26 November 1540.³⁰ The clear annual value, according to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, was only £11 8s. 4d.,³¹ and at the date of the surrender³² the demesne lands were valued at £5 8s. 4d., the site of the priory, with its storehouses, orchards, gardens, and other things within the precincts, being only valued at 5s. a year.

Drs. Layton and Legh reported³³ that the nuns had the Girdle of the Blessed Mary, as was believed.

In 1543 the site was granted to Archbishop Cranmer.³⁴

²⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. G. Nevill, fol. 172b. The vow of obedience is as follows: 'In Dei nomine. Amen. I dame Kateryn Willesthorpe Prioressse chossen of the house of Arnecliff swere and faithfully promyttis obedience vnto my most Reu'nt fader in God George be the mercy of God Tharchebisshop of York, prymate of England and legate off the courte of Rome and to all his successors lawfully enterynge and too all y^e officers and mynistres in all maner of commaundmentes. So God help and thies holy Euangelistez.' Ibid. fol. 172b.

²⁷ Ibid. Rotherham i, fol. 78b.

²⁸ Ibid. fol. 82.

²⁹ P.R.O. Suppression P. ii, 227.

³⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 519.

³¹ *Valor Eccl.* v, 16. There was a chantry founded in the conventual church by Richard de Clifford *dominus de Westmorland*, valued at £6 annually, and then held by Parcival Wharton, chaplain.

³² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 522, no. x.

³³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 363.

³⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 519.

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PRIORESSES OF ARTHINGTON

Sara, 1241³⁵
 Eleanor, mentioned 1299³⁶
 Maud de Kesewik, died 1299³⁷
 Agnes de Skrevin, succeeded 1299,³⁸ resigned
 1302³⁹
 Agnes de Pontefract, succeeded 1302⁴⁰
 Isabella de Berghby, 1311⁴¹
 Maud de Batheley, confirmed 1312⁴²
 Isabella Dautry, died 1349⁴³
 Isabella de Berughby (second time?), elected
 1349⁴⁴

Isabel de Eccope, occurs 1413 to 1420⁴⁵
 Sibil Plesyngton, occurs 1437⁴⁶
 Alice Raucestre, died 1463⁴⁷
 Marjorie Craven, elected 1463⁴⁸
 Katherine Willesthorp, confirmed 1475,⁴⁹
 died 1484⁵⁰
 Alice Mawde (*sacrista*), appointed *per lapsum*
 1484,⁵¹ died 1492⁵²
 Elizabeth Popeley, confirmed 1492,⁵³ deprived
 1494⁵⁴
 Margaret Turton, elected 1494,⁵⁵ died 1496⁵⁶
 Alice Hall, elected 1496⁵⁷
 Elizabeth Hall, elected 1532⁵⁸

HOUSES OF CARTHUSIAN MONKS

43. THE PRIORY OF KINGSTON-UPON-HULL

Tickell¹ says that the site of the Hull Charterhouse was originally occupied by a small religious house, 'which appears to have been erected by Edward the First, and given by him, along with other lands in Myton lordship, to Sir William de la Pole. . . . This house, at first, was a College of six Priests: but they disagreeing among themselves were turned out, and the Friars minor succeeded; who, behaving no better than their predecessors, soon shared the same fate. This determined Sir William to pull down all the old buildings, and to erect, on the site of those buildings, a large monastery for the reception of Nuns of the Order of St. Clare.' Unfortunately no authority is cited for all these statements, although they are probably correct. The Letters Patent of Edward III² show

that William de la Pole's original intention, for which he had obtained the king's licence, was to found a certain hospital of chaplains and poor folk, and to endow it with property in Kingston-upon-Hull and Myton, but that afterwards, in place of the proposed hospital, he determined on founding a religious house of thirteen nuns of the order of St. Clare,³ one of whom was to be called abbess; a certain number of poor persons were to be maintained under their charge, and for this the royal licence had been granted that he might divert his originally proposed endowments of the hospital to the nuns, and also give the advowsons of the churches of Frisby, North Cave, and Foston to the nuns or sisters and the poor persons. William de la Pole dying before his scheme was carried out, his son and heir, Michael de la Pole, obtained from Edward III⁴ power to alter the scheme, and in place of the nuns of the order of St. Clare to found a monastery for thirteen monks of the Carthusian order, one of whom was to be prior, and besides this, as originally proposed, there were to be thirteen poor men and thirteen poor women, one of the former of whom was to be master; the prior and monks and the master and the poor folk might live together, or separately, according to the ordinance which Michael de la Pole, or his heirs or executors, should determine. In consequence of this latter provision, although the Charterhouse and the hospital were more or less distinct there was a close connexion between them, the prior of the monastery was given a certain authority over the affairs of the hospital, and it was commonly known as the Charterhouse Hospital.

By charter dated 18 February 1378⁵ Michael de la Pole founded in his messuage outside the walls of Kingston-upon-Hull a religious house

³⁵ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* xxxvi, App. 182.
³⁶ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 3.
³⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. sed. vac. p.m. H. Newark, fol. 27.
³⁸ *Ibid.* ³⁹ *Ibid.* Corbridge, fol. 15b.
⁴⁰ *Ibid.* ⁴¹ *Ibid.* Greenfield, ii, fol. 55b.
⁴² *Ibid.* fol. 57b.
⁴³ *Ibid.*; Zouch, fol. 37. ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*
⁴⁵ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 3.
⁴⁶ Baildon's MS. Notes.
⁴⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. W. Booth, fol. 26.
⁴⁸ *Ibid.* ⁴⁹ *Ibid.* G. Nevill, fol. 172b.
⁵⁰ *Ibid.* Rotherham, i, fol. 13b.
⁵¹ *Ibid.* fol. 119. ⁵² *Ibid.* 78b.
⁵³ *Ibid.* ⁵⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 82.
⁵⁵ *Ibid.* ⁵⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 92.
⁵⁷ *Ibid.* ⁵⁸ *Ibid.* Lee, fol. 2b.

¹ *Hist. of the Town and County of Kingston-upon-Hull*, 195. From the foundation charter of Michael de la Pole it would seem that a building called the *Maison Dieu* had previously occupied the site, and from the expressions used, it would seem that the chapel was given to the monks for their use.

² Pat. 51 Edw. III, m. 10.

³ See the mandate of Urban V, issued 17 Jan. 1365. *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 91.

⁴ Pat. 51 Edw. III, m. 10.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 20, no. ii.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

for thirteen monks of the Carthusian order, to the honour of God, the glorious Blessed Virgin Mary His Mother, the Blessed Michael archangel, and all archangels, angels, and holy spirits, and St. Thomas the Martyr, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, and other saints of God, which house he desired should be called the house of St. Michael of the Carthusian order. With assent of the prior of the Great Charterhouse, he appointed Walter de Kele prior of his house, which he endowed with the messuage aforesaid, containing 7 acres of land, lately parcel of the manor of Myton, and called the *Maison Dieu*, together with a chapel and other buildings erected there for their habitation, and also the advowson of the church of Foston, the manor of Sculcoates, &c. The monks were enjoined to pray for King Richard, for Katherine the founder's mother,⁶ and Katherine his wife, Edmund his brother, and Michael his son and heir, Alexander Nevill, Archbishop of York, and a large number of other distinguished persons separately named.

In the reign of Henry IV John Colthorpe and Alice his wife endowed a cell for a monk of the order of the house, who was daily to say mass for their souls and for those of all faithful departed.⁷ This cell, which was what would ordinarily have been termed a chantry, possibly augmented the number of monks. It was endowed with a rental of 20s. yearly, arising out of a manor in Essex. This the monks exchanged with Michael de la Pole for land in Myton. When the cell became vacant, the prior and convent were to appoint another monk within three months; if they neglected to do so, they were to forfeit £40 to the mayor and commonalty.

Richard II joined the prior and convent in a petition to Pope Urban VI, stating that the monastery had been founded for a prior and twelve monks, but had not been sufficiently endowed; that the patronage of the church of Hoggestorp (Hogsthorpe) in Lincoln diocese had been given to it by lay patrons. Urban VI thereupon appropriated Hogsthorpe Church to the monastery for five years, and Boniface IX in perpetuity, the values of the church and monastery not exceeding 120 and 180 marks, respectively. This appropriation had been included in a subsequent general annulment of appropriations by Pope Boniface in 1412, and the prior and convent petitioned Innocent VII that the appropriation of Hogsthorpe to their monastery might hold

good, in spite of the general annulment. On 23 June 1406 he granted their petition, and confirmed the appropriation.⁸ Subsequently the monks complained that John Brynnesley, priest, of the diocese of Lincoln, had despoiled them of their church of Hogsthorpe in spite of this confirmation, and consequently Alexander I, on 2 July 1409, directed the Archbishop of York to appropriate the church to them in perpetuity.⁹

The total annual value of the house in 1535 was £231 17s. 3d., and the clear annual value only £174 18s. 3d.¹⁰ It therefore came under the operation of the Act for the suppression of the lesser monasteries, but it received the king's licence to continue,¹¹ though why it was selected for exemption is not known.

Among the Suppression Papers¹² there is a list of the members of the community compiled in 1536; against the names of all, except that of the prior, 'religion' is written in the margin. The names are: Ralph Mauleverey, prior (age 47), Robert Brewet (60), Robert Fuyster, claustral vicar (60), Robert Halle (60), Ralph Smyth (60), James Scooles (54), William Remyngton procurator (42), Adam Rede, sacrist of the church (32), John Rochester, James [] 'de London' (40), Nicholas Swyfte, priest, not professed (27), Helizeus Furnes, novice (30), and Brother William Gentil, *conversus* (34).

In the *Monasticon*¹³ another and shorter list is given of pensions assigned 9 December 1539. Besides the names of Mauleverey, Brewet, Hall, Remyngton, and Rede, against whom pensions are entered in the preceding list, two other names are added, viz., William Browne and Thomas Synderton, each of whom received £6 13s. 4d., the same as Brewet, Hall, Remyngton, and Rede. Some of these can be traced in the pension inquiry list in the sixth year of Edward VI.¹⁴ Ralph Mauleverey, the late prior, died on 10 May 1552. William Remyngton and William Browne received their pensions of £6 13s. 4d. Of Thomas Synderton the record is 'abest.'

PRIORS OF HULL CHARTERHOUSE

Walter de Kele (first prior), 1378¹⁵

John Craven, occurs 1410¹⁶

⁸ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 81.

⁹ *Ibid.* 162.

¹⁰ *Valor Eccl.* v, 126.

¹¹ Tickell, *Hist. of the Town and County of Kingston-upon-Hull*, 162.

¹² Suppression P. ii, 199.

¹³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 22. The two lists no doubt are those taken at the first suppression and at the final surrender. There were only seven monks, including the prior, in the later list, thus indicating the change that had taken place in the personnel of the house in the interval.

¹⁴ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 76, no. 23.

¹⁵ Foundation Chart. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 21, no. ii.

¹⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 19.

⁶ The will of Katherine, relict of William de la Pole, senior, kt., dated 1 July 1381, directed that her body was to be buried in the quire of the church of St. Michael juxta Kyngestone super Hull of the Carthusian Order. *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 119.

⁷ Tickell, *Hist. of the Town and County of Kingston-upon-Hull*, 200. John Colthorpe had been mayor in 1389, and he and his wife were buried in St. Mary's Church, Hull, where, in Tickell's time, an inscription asking for prayers for their souls still remained.

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Roger Billyngton, occurs 1412¹⁷ (Roger Rillington occurs 1415¹⁸)
 Richard, occurs 1423¹⁹
 John, occurs 1428.²⁰ John Wodrington, occurs 1430²¹
 John Caunsfeld, occurs 1433,²² 1439²³
 Peter Burton *alias* Johnson, died 1459-60²⁴
 Rauf, occurs 1514²⁵
 Rauf Smyth, occurs 1529²⁶
 Ralph Mauleverey (last prior),²⁷ died 1552²⁸

44. THE PRIORY OF MOUNT GRACE

The Carthusian Priory of Mount Grace, in the parish of East Harlsey, was founded about the year 1398 by Thomas Holand, Duke of Surrey.¹ The royal licence having been granted to him by Richard II, Thomas Holand commanded the monks to pray for the king and queen and several members of the royal family, as well as for himself and his heirs, and for John Ingelby and Eleanor his wife, and many others. With the assent of the prior of the Grande Chartreuse he nominated the first prior and dedicated the priory to the honour of the Blessed Virgin and St. Nicholas; but the latter part of the dedication was soon forgotten, and the priory was known as the House of the Assumption of the most Blessed Virgin in Mount Grace. Richard II was a generous benefactor of the priory; in March 1399 he granted the monks there a charter of liberties and franchises in general terms, including the right to mine lead, and in May of the same year, at the request of the Duke of Surrey, he bestowed upon them the alien priories of Hinckley in Leicestershire, Carisbrooke in the Isle of Wight, and Wareham in Dorset, and lands belonging to the alien priory of Saint Mary of Lire, at Evreux, in Normandy, to hold as long as the war between England and France should continue. In spite of the fact that the Duke of Surrey was slain fighting against Henry IV, Mount Grace still enjoyed royal favour; Wareham Priory was lost soon after Henry's accession, and as £1,000 had been paid for it, and its annual value was £245, the king granted the monks £100 a year from the Exchequer till they should receive lands of that value, and a tun of the better red wine of Gascony to be received at Hull every Martinmas. Henry V confirmed the gift of Hinckley in 1412

¹⁷ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 81, no. 7.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* no. 10. No doubt the same person.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* no. 11. ²⁰ *Ibid.* no. 13. ²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 100. ²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Reg. York Wills, ii, fol. 429.

²⁵ Tickell, *Hist. of Town and County of Kingston-upon-Hull*, 143 n.

²⁶ *Test. Eb'r.* (Surt. Soc.), v, 27.

²⁷ Suppression P. ii, 199.

²⁸ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 76, no. 23.

¹ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xviii, 253-69.

for the endowment and support of five monks, chaplains of the house, to pray for the good estate of himself and Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, and in 1421 he gave the monks four alien priories, Long Bennington, Minting and Hagh (Hough-on-the-Hill) in Lincolnshire, and Field Dalling in Norfolk, and the yearly grant of £100 was then redeemed.

The advowson of the priory passed to Edmund Holand, brother of Thomas Duke of Surrey, and his wife Lucy Countess of Kent was seized of it on her death in 1421. In 1438, on the death of Sir William Ingelby, the patronage valued at 20s. a year was in his possession, but it is not known how the advowson passed to the Ingelby family. The Prior and convent of Mount Grace petitioned Parliament in 1439 for a confirmation of their title, stating that after the founders' death they dared not continue building on account of the number of claimants to the estate; the required confirmation was made by Henry VI in the following year.

In 1456 Sir James Strangways of Harlsey Castle and Elizabeth his wife obtained licence to grant the advowson of the church of Beighton, in Derbyshire, to Mount Grace, and in 1462 the king granted in frankalmoin the manor of Atherstone, in Warwickshire, part of the alien priory of Great Ogbourne, in Wiltshire, for the relief of the poor estate and expenses of persons gathering there weekly. Another royal gift in 1471 was that of the manor in Yorkshire of the alien priory of Begare in frankalmoin; in return three masses were to be said daily for the king and for the souls of his family. In 1508 the Prior of Mount Grace accepted from the Prior of Guisborough a lease for a term of fifty years of the chapel of East Harlsey and manor of Bordelby at a yearly rent of £8; if the rent were in arrear the canons of Guisborough might distrain and re-enter upon the land. The lessees promised to keep a chaplain to celebrate divine service, and if they repaired the quire this should not operate to the prejudice of the lessors.² In the will of Sir Thomas Strangways, 1522, mention is made of a Lady Chapel at Mount Grace, and directions are given for the priest who sang masses there; it may have been built shortly before this date.

In 1534 some of the monks tried to avoid taking the oath of royal supremacy, but they were imprisoned and the prior finally surrendered the monastery. Mount Grace was valued at £382 5s. 11½d. gross and £323 2s. 10½d. net. Of this sum £104 6s. 8d. was derived from spiritualities in Lincolnshire, £164 from lands in various counties, and the remainder from property in Yorkshire. Expenditure on rents and salaries amounted to £59 3s. 1d.^{2a} In December 1539

² *Ibid.* vii, 479-93.

^{2a} *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 84-5.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

pensions amounting to £195 were allotted to the brethren, the prior was given £60 with the house and chapel called the Mount, eight of the priests received £7 each, and eighteen others smaller payments.

PRIORS OF MOUNT GRACE

Robert Tredwye or Tredewy, 1398³
 Edmund, occurs 1399⁴
 Nicholas Luff, occurs 1413,⁵ 1415,⁶ 1416⁷
 Robert Layton, occurs 1421⁸
 Thomas, occurs 1428⁹
 Thomas Lockington, occurs 1436,¹⁰ 1437,¹¹
 1439¹²
 Robert, occurs 1449,¹³ 1454¹⁴
 Robert Leke, occurs 1469,¹⁵ 1473¹⁶
 Thomas, occurs 1475,¹⁷ 1476¹⁸
 Thomas, occurs 1497¹⁹

Henry Eccleston, occurs 1501,²⁰ 1506²¹
 John, occurs 1527-8,²² 1531-2²³
 William (?) Fletcher, occurs 1532-3²⁴
 John Wilson, occurs 1537-8,²⁵ 1538²⁶

The seal of the house²⁷ used in 1520 is a vesica, 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. by 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ in., with a design of the assumption of our Lady and the prior seated under an arch in the base. An H above his right shoulder perhaps refers to Prior Henry Eccleston. The legend is:—

SIGILL' . . . ONIS : BEĒ : MARIE : IN MONTE GRĒ

Prior John Wilson's seal,²⁸ a vesica, $\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $\frac{5}{8}$ in., shows him seated, wearing his mitre, and blessing. The legend is:—

S' PRIORIS DOMUS MONTIS GRACIE

HOUSE OF GRANDIMONTINES

45. THE PRIORY OF GROSMONT

About 1200 Joan Fossard, wife of Robert de Torneham, gave to the prior and brothers of the order of Grandmont¹ a mansion in the forest of Egton, and land which was to extend along the River Esk for 7 'quarantans,' and towards the hill for 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ 'quarantans,' measured by a rod of 20 ft. The brothers were to have 200 acres of land round their house, with the woods, and timber for building and other requirements, and a toft at Sandsend. This charter was confirmed by her husband, who made an additional

gift of land, and both charters were confirmed by King John in the fifteenth year of his reign (1213-14).²

On 13 April 1228³ Archbishop Gray confirmed to the prior and brothers of the order of Grandmont the grant of the advowson of the church of Lockington, made by Robert de Torneham and Joan his wife, daughter of William Fossard, and afterwards by Peter de Mauley and Isabella his wife, with licence of the pope.

Peter de Mauley III, grandson of the fore-named, in 1294⁴ made a new grant of the mill, &c. of Egton, to Roger de Creswell, corrector of the order of Grandmont in Eskdale, and the brothers of the same place belonging to the English nation, imposing an obligation that they were to have two more chaplains who were to celebrate daily in their church of St. Mary, for his and his wife's and other of his relations' and ancestors' souls, and yearly to commemorate his father and mother and Nicholaa his wife.

Burton⁵ states that the house was peopled from an 'abbey' in Normandy, but does not

³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 28, no. i.
⁴ Pat. 22 Ric. II, m. 5.
⁵ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 81, no. 7.
⁶ As 'Nicholas Love'; *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xviii, 71.
⁷ As 'Nicholas'; Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 144.
⁸ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 258.
⁹ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 81, no. 13 (probably Thomas Lockington).
¹⁰ *Rievaulx Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), 351.
¹¹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 144.
¹² *Ibid.*
¹³ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 81, no. 20.
¹⁴ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 144. ¹⁵ *Ibid.*
¹⁶ *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild, York*, 88.
¹⁷ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 82, no. 15.
¹⁸ Ingledew, *Hist. of Northallerton*, 264, 266.
¹⁹ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xviii, 71.
²⁰ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* xxxvi, App. 35.
²¹ *Rievaulx Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), 357.
²² Conventual Leases, *Yorks. (P.R.O.)*, no. 542.
²³ *Ibid.* no. 519.
²⁴ *Ibid.* no. 524. The membrane is dirty, but the Christian name appears to be William.
²⁵ *Ibid.* no. 533. ²⁶ *Ibid.* no. 547.
²⁷ *Cat. of Seals, B.M.* 3663, xlix, 18.
²⁸ *Ibid.* 3665, xlix, 20.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1025. There were several Grandimontine priories (but no abbey) in Normandy, but it was to the one abbey of the order near Limoges (then only a priory) that the gift was made, though Grosmont became a cell to a house of the order in Normandy.

The mother-house of Grandmont became an abbey in 1318, and was annexed to the See of Limoges by a bull dated 6 August 1772, when the order was also suppressed; *Le Clergé de France, par M. L'Abbé Hugues du Tems*, Paris 1775, iii, 319.

² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1025, no. 1.

³ *Archbishop Gray's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 22.

⁴ Atkinson, *Cleveland, Ancient and Modern*, i, 202 n.

⁵ *Mon. Ebor.* 275.

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give any authority for the statement, and although possibly the first brethren came from a Grandimontine priory in Normandy, it seems that in 1294 the brothers were Englishmen, and the fact that the head, who bore the designation of 'corrector,'⁶ was Roger de Cresswell (or of Cresswell) looks as if the brothers had, perhaps, at that time come from the cell at Craswall, in Herefordshire, which, like that of Grosmont, was originally dependent on one of the Grandimontine houses in Normandy. In 1394-5 the Abbot of Grandmont obtained licence from Richard II to sell the advowson and property of the priory of Eskdale (as it was called) to John Hewit *alias* Serjeant, and thereupon, says Burton,⁷ it seems to have become a *prioratus indigena*.

There is a good deal of obscurity attached to the Grandimontine order, founded in 1076 by St. Stephen de Muret, and its rules and customs. Their houses in Normandy and Anjou were richly endowed by the English kings. The members of the order wore the black cassock with a large scapular. St. Stephen denied that his religious were monks, canons, or hermits. Mabillon ranks them as Benedictines, others among Augustinians. Hélyot denies both assertions.⁸

The house at Grosmont seems, from the manner in which the members are spoken of, to have continued to belong to the order, and though indigenous would probably be in connexion with the abbey of Grandmont, much as the Cistercians were with their head house abroad. After the suppression of the two other alien priories of the order at Adderbury and Craswall, Grosmont would be the only Grandimontine house in England, and it is a matter for regret that nothing is known as to its subsequent history or internal affairs.

On 24 February 1387⁹ Pope Urban VI directed the Abbot of Whitby to make inquiry concerning the action of the Prior and convent of 'Gramont' in Eskdale of the order of 'Grandemont' in the diocese of York. The pope had heard that they and their predecessors had made alienations of their properties and rights to the grave injury of the house. The abbot was to see that any such alienations thus unlawfully made were revoked.

In 1527¹⁰ the clear annual value of the

⁶ In 1229 'the prior and brethren of Grandimont in Eskdale' are spoken of (*Archbishop Gray's Reg.* 29). In 1301 Archbishop Corbridge addressed a notice of visitation 'magistro sive priori,' the two latter words being an interlineation (York Archiepis. Reg. Corbridge, fol. 24*b*).

⁷ *M:n. Ebor.* 275.

⁸ *Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome* (Monastic Section), 190.

⁹ B.M. Harl. Chart. 43, A. 47.

¹⁰ Subs. R. bdle. 64, no. 303.

priory of Grosmont was returned at £14. According to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*¹¹ the gross value was then only £14 2s. 2*d.*, and the clear annual value £12 2s. 8*d.*

At the time of the suppression the house was described as 'Prioratus sive domus fratrum vocatorum Boni Homines, beate Marie de Grande Monte.'¹² Five names are given: Brothers James Egton (aged 68), Lawrence Birde (50), William Semer (36), Edmund Skelton (36), Robert Holland (31).

There is a note, 'Md. to remember Sir William Knagges, sometye a fryer in the seid house of Gromont, to help hym to some yerely pension or lyvyng for his cosyn his sake, att Beacham.' Mention is also made of Sir John Banks, late prior eighteen years past.¹³ The entire charges upon the monastery are given as alms bestowed for the founders four times a year, viz. on Good Friday, Easter Even, the vigil of Pentecost, and on Christmas Eve, 26s. 8*d.* a year; also given to the poor on the four principal obits of the founders annually to the value of 13s. 4*d.*¹⁴

At the inquiry as to the payment of pensions in 1553,¹⁵ the commissioners stated, as to Grosmont, that James Ableson, whose pension was £4, 'did not appear.' Edmund Skelton, pension 66s. 8*d.*, and Robert Holland, with the same pension, appeared. No such name as 'Ableson' appears in the list of members of the house, and the probable explanation is that James Egton, whose name heads the list of brothers in the first list, is the same person as James Ableson named in the second.¹⁶

PRIORS OF GROS MONT

Roger, occurs 1287¹⁷ (prior)

Roger de Cresswell, occurs 1294 (corrector)¹⁸

William Whitby, occurs 1469¹⁹

John Banks, *circa* 1518²⁰

James Egton, *alias* Ableson, occurs 1536²¹

¹¹ *Valor Eccl.* v, 86.

¹² Suppression P. ii, 162.

¹³ *Ibid* 171.

¹⁴ These would be those imposed in 1294 by Peter de Mauley III for his father and mother and his wife Nicholaa, with no doubt his own obit, added after his death.

¹⁵ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 76, no. 24.

¹⁶ Atkinson, *Hist. of Cleveland, Ancient and Modern*, 203 n. From the position of his name and his larger pension, it is not improbable that he was prior at the time of the surrender.

¹⁷ *Guisborough Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 154.

¹⁸ Atkinson, *Cleveland, Ancient and Modern*, i, 202 n. Possibly the two Rogers were the same person.

¹⁹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 72. He is called prior. Probably when the house became independent and ceased to be a cell the corrector gave place to a prior.

²⁰ Suppression P. ii, 162.

²¹ *Ibid.* 171.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

HOUSES OF AUSTIN CANONS

46. THE PRIORY OF BOLTON

The priory of Austin canons, afterwards moved in 1151¹ to Bolton, was originally founded at Emsay² in Skipton, by William Meschines and Cecilia de Romeli his wife, lady of Skipton, in 1120.³ The foundation charter,⁴ addressed to Archbishop Thurstan, records that they had given to Reynold, the prior, the church of Holy Trinity of Skipton, with the chapel of Carleton and the whole vill of 'Emmesey,' for a church of regular canons.

By a separate charter,⁵ Cecilia de Romeli granted to the church of St. Mary and St. Cuthbert of Emsay, and the canons there, the whole vill of Kildwick, and her son-in-law William, nephew of the king of Scotland, and Aeliz de Romeli his wife,⁶ confirmed to the church of Emsay the church of All Saints of Broughton in Craven.

In 1151,⁷ with the consent of Aeliz de Romeli, then patroness,⁸ the canons were moved to Bolton, where she gave, with consent of her son William, the capital manor of Bolton in exchange for other lands. This exchange was confirmed by Henry II.⁹ A charter of Aeliz de Romeli, confirming the gifts of William de Meschines and her mother, gives full details of the boundaries of the lands given to the canons 'ecclesie tunc apud Embesiam, nunc apud Boelton comorantibus.'¹⁰

There was some connexion between Bolton and the priory of Huntingdon which is not very clear. The church of Skipton was part of the foundation gift of William de Meschines and Cecilia de Romeli to the canons when at Emsay, but in a charter of confirmation by Henry I to the priory of Huntingdon is included¹¹ 'ecclesiam S. Trinitatis de Scipeton cum omnibus sibi pertinentibus sicut idem Willelmus [Meschin] eam eis [canonicis de Huntingdon] dedit et confirmavit.' There are two charters printed¹² relating to the 'subjection' of Bolton to Huntingdon, which, however, throw little light on the

matter, especially as the church of Skipton seems to have belonged without any real interruption to Bolton. Neither makes allusion to the church of Skipton as the reason of the subjection, or states what the Prior and canons of Huntingdon meant by their claim; but the second of the deeds, entitled 'Carta de Absolutione Prioris de Boelton de Subjectione Prioris de Huntendone,'¹³ addressed to G[oeffrey], Archbishop of York 1191 to 1206, by R[oald], Prior of Guisbrough, and W [],¹⁴ Prior of Marton, states that as the apostolic commissaries of Celestine III (1198 to 1216) they had declared the Prior and canons of Bolton free from all subjection to Huntingdon. However, in the Compotus Roll, Michaelmas 1324 to Michaelmas 1325,¹⁵ the canons of Bolton paid £5 6s. 8d. *pro pensione de Huntyngdon*. The whole affair is, unfortunately, obscure.

Dr. Whitaker, speaking of the establishment as revealed from the accounts of the priory from 1290 to 1325,¹⁶ says that it consisted of a prior, who had lodgings with a hall and a chapel, stables, &c., detached from the main building, and that there were fifteen canons and two *conversi*,¹⁷ besides the *armigeri* or gentlemen dependent on the house, who had clothing, board, and lodging, the *liberi servientes* within and without, and the *garciones* or villeins. Of free servants, *intra curiam*, there were about thirty, such as the master carpenter, the master and inferior cook, brewer, baker, &c., and Dr. Whitaker's estimate is that the establishment consisted of more than 200 persons, but many of them were engaged on distant manors and granges.

On 2 December 1267¹⁸ Archbishop Giffard visited the priory of Bolton, when it was found that Brother Hugh de Ebor' possessed private money, which it was said he had placed at deposit, or handed to his brother at York, or his sister, a nun of St. Clement's. He was also charged with incontinence, but that charge was not proved. The whole convent had conspired by oath against the predecessor of William de Danfield, the existing prior. John de Pontefract,

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 201, 203, no. v.

² *Ibid.* 203, no. ii.

³ *Ibid.* no. i.

⁴ *Ibid.* no. ii.

⁵ *Ibid.* no. iii.

⁶ *Ibid.* no. iv.

⁷ *Ibid.* no. v.

⁸ In 1 Edw. I (1272-3) the king was patron; Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 121.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 204, no. vi.

¹⁰ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 115. The legend that the priory was founded by Aeliz de Romeli after her son had been drowned while hunting is clearly unsupported by facts.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 80, no. ii.

¹² *Ibid.* 205, 206, no. xv, xvi.

¹³ *Ibid.* 205, no. xv.

¹⁴ No prior of Marton whose name began with W is known at this period. Henry was prior in 1203 and 1237. There would appear to be an error of the copyist or a misprint.

¹⁵ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 125.

¹⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 202, citing *Hist. Craven* (ed. 2), 369-84.

¹⁷ In 1380-1 besides the prior there were thirteen canons and five *conversi*.

¹⁸ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 145.

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the cellarer, was not fit for his office, and there were many others much better suited for it. Silence was not duly kept, and the sick not well attended to, nor duly and humanely visited. John de Ottele, a novice, did not willingly do his duty according to rule. The cellarer and sub-cellarer, whenever they could, absented themselves from divine service, and did not take their meals with the convent, but frequently, after the refecton of the convent, feasted themselves in the refectory. The prior appointed custodians of the manors without consulting the convent, and these it was believed rendered no accounts. The accounts of the obedientiaries were not rendered to the convent. It appeared by the prior's own admission and by a writing which he delivered to the archbishop, attested by his seal, that he had excommunicated brothers William Hog and Hugh de Ebor'.

The monastery owed various creditors the sum of £324 5s. 7d., but the debt was not one of usury, as it was not owed to merchants but to neighbours. It had been incurred by the predecessors of the present prior. Nicholas de Broc, sub-prior, was aged and feeble, and not competent for the spiritual rule of the house, and voluntarily resigned. The convent was directed to elect another fit for the charge, but as the canons were not at first unanimous, the archbishop induced them to agree, and Ralph de Eston was elected. The prior then confessed, certain of the convent attesting it, that the statement contained in the writing he had handed to the archbishop, saying that he had excommunicated William Hog and Hugh de Ebor', was untrue. The archbishop reserved the punishment to be inflicted on the prior for the untruthful writing. Brothers William Hog and Hugh de Ebor' were ordered to amend their ways, which had perturbed the convent, under threat of removal to other houses. Possibly the prior was deposed, for Richard de Bakhampton was prior in January 1274-5, when he resigned, and a yearly pension of £20, with the use of certain dwellings at Ryther, was assigned him in recognition of his services.¹⁹ His successor was William Hog, the previous disturber of the peace of the convent, to whose election the royal assent was given on 18 March 1274-5.²⁰ He must have come into collision with the archbishop almost immediately, for he was suspended, and on 29 September 1275²¹ the archbishop issued a notice of an intended visitation for 7 October²² following,

¹⁹ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 264, 305, &c.

²⁰ Pat. 3 Edw. I, m. 6; *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 304.

²¹ *Ibid.* 302.

²² *Ibid.* It may have been in connexion with these disputes that an inquisition was held at Skipton on 28 Feb. 1274-5, when the jurors stated on their oath that from the foundation of the priory the lords of Albemarle in time of vacancy had only one man as

when a number of articles of inquiry as to the prior were to be propounded, among them being one as to whether he had continued to act as prior after his suspension. The visitation was duly held on the day appointed, and it was then found by the confession of William Hog and that of other of the canons that they had conspired contrary to canon law against the archbishop. The prior admitted that after his suspension he had caused himself to be ministered to 'in mensa cum tuallia ut priori,' and in the prior's chamber as before, also that he had gone to York to secure the liberation of certain canons whom the archbishop had in custody for correction, and that he had invoked the lay authority, both that of the Sheriff of York and of others, and had caused the common seal to be set to a certain proxy for this end, by reason of which the goods of the monastery were squandered. It was further found that, owing to his neglect, certain properties had been lost because fealty had not yet been made to the Countess of Albemarle.²³ Moreover, after notice of the visitation had been given he had commanded the canons in virtue of their obedience to agree with one another in what they said at the visitation. Further, he had turned out of the priory the archbishop's servant who brought the letters thither. All these offences proved, the archbishop then and there pronounced sentence of deposition on the prior. On 19 October all the canons, to the number of thirteen, including the sub-prior, whose names are given, recorded their votes in favour of John de Lund, except the latter, who voted for Thomas de Alna, and on 3 November 1275 the king signified to the archbishop his assent to the election thus made.²⁴

Five years later Archbishop Wickwane held a visitation of Bolton, on 16 May 1280,²⁵ when he issued a series of injunctions. Carols with locks, and boxes (those of the obedientiaries alone excepted) were forbidden, and the locks of any, wherever suspected, were to be opened by the prior and three approved members of the house. Money payments for clothes and shoes were not to be made, but such were to be delivered to each from the common tailor's shop.

The entrances to and exits from the cloister and church were to be kept from the incursions of outsiders. If any attempted to go out with-

warden of the gates of the priory to defend the house from injury, and that the canons without asking leave from their patrons of Albemarle could freely elect a prior, whom they presented to the said patrons, but whereas the priory held of their patrons in chief 6½ carucates of land, in the mean time they were seized, though they had no other rights therefrom, and when the prior was installed he paid the accustomed relief for the said carucates. *Yorks. Inq.* i, 151.

²³ For lands, &c., at Harewood.

²⁴ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 312.

²⁵ *York Archiepis. Reg.* Wickwane, fol. 24b, 134.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

out good reason he was to fast on bread and water on the day following. Wanderings over the moors and in the woods *totaliter interdici-mus ab hac hora*.

Each canon and *conversus* was to confess regularly to the prior according to rule. No drinking, &c., was allowed after compline, except in cases of necessity, and at all times drinking and food which tended to pleasure or lasciviousness, with any unlawful and disordered actions, was wholly proscribed. Gossiping, which had prevailed in the absence of the prior, the archbishop also forbade. Silence was to be observed according to rule, and no letter received or sent by anyone without leave of the president. Faults were to be proclaimed in love and not vindictively, and not more than was necessary was to be said. Worn-out clothes were to be given to the poor, and no one was to be admitted canon or *conversus* without the archbishop having first approved of his behaviour. No boarder was to be taken without the archbishop's express permission.

Certain serious defects in church, chapter-house, and other buildings, were to be speedily repaired.

Corrections in chapter were to be made without favour, with good zeal, and the sweetness of charity. All were to obey the prior, and the prior was to direct, and deal with all in true affection.

A visitation was held by Archbishop Romanus on 15 July 1286,²⁶ when John de Lund resigned and was specially commended for his services, an annual pension and provision being made for him. The archbishop, however, found the priory so heavily in debt that it could not conveniently support its members. It would seem that certain of the goods had been assigned to individual members. This allocation he revoked, in order to relieve the depression from which the house was suffering, but it is not clearly stated what it was that had been done and which he annulled. His injunctions, which are very brief, find no other fault with the condition of the monastery. On 30 May 1291²⁷ the archbishop wrote to the prior and convent to readmit William de Insula, an apostate canon of the house, and two years later (18 April 1293),²⁸ as the canons were suffering from losses owing to floods and mortality of their cattle so that they were unable to maintain their customary hospitality, he allowed them to consolidate the chapelry of Carlton in Craven with their church of Skipton. On 25 October 1320²⁹ Archbishop Melton wrote to the Prior and convent of Worksop that the monastery of Bolton, of their order, had been so wasted by the invasion of the Scots, who on various occasions had destroyed its live stock and set fire to its property, that it could no longer support its

college of canons, or maintain due hospitality; and he therefore sent William de Rotherham, one of the canons, to reside with them for a time, at an annual charge of 5 marks payable by Bolton. In like manner Thomas de Menyng-ham was sent to Nostell, Thomas de Coppelay (soon afterwards prior) to Thurgarton, Laurence de Wath to Shelford, Robert de Ripon to Guisborough, Symon (or Richard)³⁰ de Ottelay to Drax, John de Selby to Warter, and Stephen de Thirnehalm to Kirkham. How long the dispersion lasted is not exactly known, but the house seems to have soon recovered, and according to the account already alluded to of its revenues and reprises from Michaelmas 1324 to Michaelmas 1325, the income was £444 17s. 4½d., whereas in 1535 the revenues were only £302 9s. 3d., in the whole, and but £212 3s. 4d. clear.

In 1367³¹ Archbishop Thoresby confirmed a chantry founded in the conventual church by Thomas de Bradeley and John de Otteley. It was to be served by a secular chaplain, or failing a secular, by a regular, who was to do service for the souls of Thomas de Ottirburn and Maud his wife, and those of John de Bradeley and Mary his wife.

On 14 November 1471³² Archbishop George Nevill confirmed the election of Christopher Lofthouse as prior, in succession to William Man', resigned, when the following provision was made for the latter. He was to receive £7 6s. 8d. yearly in money, and was assigned a chamber for his habitation at the west end of the common hall of the priory, with a garden and the easements belonging to it, sufficient fuel to burn in his chamber, and fourteen loaves of white bread called *lez miches*, of like weight to those which each of the canons was wont to receive, and fourteen *lagenas* of the better ale, and flesh, fish, and other eatables, to the amount which two canons were wont to receive. Besides this, William Man' was, during his life, to have a servant to attend him, who every week was to be supplied with seven loaves called *le leverey loves*, half of them to be of white bread, and the other half *de mediocri sive de medio pane*, also seven loaves *deterioris panis* of the same weight

³⁰ 'Pro frater Symone de Otteley vel Ricardo de Otteley' (Ibid. Melton, fol. 141b, &c.). In 1378-9 there were nineteen members of the house including the prior and sub-prior (Subs. R. [P.R.O.], bdl. 63, no. 10), and in 1380-1 the prior, thirteen canons, and five *conversi* (Ibid. no. 12). On 27 Feb. 1397 the chapter of York (sed. vac.) summoned the prior and convent to appear before certain commissioners to give account of the reputed disregard of the rules which prevailed at Bolton, and on 13 Apr. following they commissioned Richard de Skypse, vicar of Slaidburn, to correct the abuses revealed at the 'inquisition,' but no particulars are given.

³¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Thoresby, fol. 146b.

³² Ibid. G. Nevill, fol. 139, &c.

²⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 27.

²⁷ Ibid. fol. 39.

²⁸ Ibid. fol. 41b.

²⁹ Ibid. Melton, fol. 141b.

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as the loaves which the chief forester of the priory was accustomed to receive, and meat, fish, and other food such as the chief forester had, and two *lagenas* of the better ale, and two *deterioris cervisie*.

In 1482³³ Archbishop Rotherham issued a set of injunctions; the majority are in general terms, and refer to the due observances of the canonical life. The frequent access to and gossiping at the priory of women is forbidden, as grave scandal had arisen from it in regard to the prior and some of the canons. Neither the prior nor canons were to hold private confabulations with any suspected women, either in the church or other secret places, within or outside the priory, by which evil report might arise. The priory was heavily in debt, and the prior and convent were enjoined to abstain from burdensome expenses, as far as possible, for the honour of the house, so that it might soon be freed from debt. Owing to its debts they were forbidden to grant pensions, fees, or annual rents to any persons whatsoever under the common seal or otherwise, or to sell corrodies, or liveries, or to make grants or alienations of their possessions, or of their woods, or to grant long leases of their manors, without archiepiscopal licence.

All the moneys, accruing from whatever source, were to be delivered to the prior, and be in his custody, and at his disposal, and a trustworthy and discreet canon was to be deputed to keep an indentured roll, in which all the receipts were to be entered. No one was to keep a useless servant, who was a burden to the house, or one *super incontencie vicio graviter diffamatus*.

An oath of Gilbert Marsden, the prior, follows the injunctions, by which he promised that he would not waste or dissipate the goods of the priory, and would fulfil all the injunctions of the archbishop, and if he failed in this, then he undertook to resign his office, and forgo all claim to a pension. It may be surmised that all did not proceed satisfactorily,³⁴ for the next year Gilbert Marsden resigned, and on 10 July Archbishop Rotherham confirmed the election of Christopher Wood in his place. Whether Prior Marsden resigned under compulsion, or voluntarily, is not clear, but a dispute arose between the prior and convent on the one part, and the two retired priors, Christopher Lofthouse and Gilbert Marsden, on the other, which was settled on 29 October 1483³⁵ by William Poteman, the archbishop's vicar-general. Christopher Lofthouse was to be appointed to the vicarage of Long Preston and have a chaplain with cure of souls in charge of the parish for him, who was to occupy the vicarage house and have glebe to the value of 53s. 4d. annually, Lofthouse receiving a pension of 21 marks

³³ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, fol. 20b.

³⁴ Ibid. fol. 37.

³⁵ Ibid. fol. 45b.

yearly, and all the profits of the church of Harewood, till 2 February next ensuing. Gilbert Marsden was to have an annual pension of 25 marks and arrears of 53s. 4d., and, it is oddly added, the use of a certain silver bowl as long as he wished; but he was to redeem that bowl with another he had pledged within a year, or pay the prior and convent their value, and as long as he lived, unless the archbishop with consent of the prior and convent directed otherwise, was to urge no other claim against the prior and convent.

In 1528³⁶ Prior Richard and the convent of Bolton granted to William Wall the office of porter, assigning him certain wages and livery of food. 'The sayd Wylliam shall loke upon all strangears and take and brynge thame to oyr offycers w^t in, for y^e well and y^e worshyp of y^e sayd hows of Bolton. Also y^t he or hys servaunt shall loke upon y^e gest beddes as hays beyn accustomed, and to loke upon all meyn persons comyng to y^e sayd hows, and se y^t thay be logyd accordyng to y^r degre. And also y^e sayd Wylliam shall se y^t all pore folkes resortyng to y^e sayd hows for Almes shalbe servyd as custome hays beyn. And also yt ys covenantyd and grantyd betwyx y^e sayd parteys, yt y^e sayd Wylliam shall not have w^t in y^e demayns of y^e sayd hows nother cow nor hors w^t owt a specyall lycence, and y^t he shall not kepe in y^e yate hows nother hys wyff, ne no other woman, except he be agyd or dyseasyd and may not help himself.' He was further to suffer no misrule, or allow the presence of any suspected person, under pain of forfeiting his appointment. William Wall was living at the Dissolution, when this appointment was commuted at 53s. 4d. annually.

A lease made in 1537³⁷ deals with property at Embsay, and described the boundaries of the land there 'by meres or boundes from oon certeyn stone lying on Byrkbanke, wherupon ther is wrought by a mason oon Anlett of that oon syde and a Toone and a bolte³⁸ on that other syde, and so frome that stone to other stones so marked.'

The will of Richard Moone, the last prior, was proved at York 28 July 1541.³⁹ He bequeathed his body to be buried in the chancel of the church of Catton (in the East Riding, near Stamford Bridge). The will proceeds: 'I give and bequeath xx marc at Bolton, and in the parishing wher I was borne to power people. Itm. my chales to Preston⁴⁰ church wher I was borne, to serve the parishe with. Itm. my vestment, silver crewettes, and all other thinges belonging to my altare, to serve theme that

³⁶ Conventual Leases, Yorks (P.R.O.), no. 29.

³⁷ Ibid. no. 16.

³⁸ An interesting description of a rebus of the name Bolton.

³⁹ York Reg. of Wills, xi, fol. 553.

⁴⁰ Long Preston Church in Craven.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

comes to her [hear] service at Bolton. Item to the repayinge of the saide church of Bolton vjⁱⁱ xiijs viij^d.

Prior Moone and fourteen canons surrendered the house on 29 January 1540. A yearly pension of £40 was assigned to the prior, and sums varying from £6 13s. 4d. to £4 were granted to the canons.

PRIORS OF BOLTON

Reynold, 1120⁴¹
 John, occurs 1212,⁴² 1219⁴³
 Robert, occurs 1222,⁴⁴ 1227⁴⁵
 Thomas, occurs 1233⁴⁶
 Adam, occurs 1255⁴⁷
 Henry, occurs 1263⁴⁸
 William de Danfield, occurs 1267,⁴⁹ 1271⁵⁰
 Richard de Bakhampton, confirmed 1270,⁵¹
 resigned 1274-5⁵²
 William Hog, confirmed 1275,⁵³ deprived
 1275⁵⁴
 John de Lund, or Landa, confirmed 1275,⁵⁵
 occurs 1327,⁵⁶ resigned 1330⁵⁷
 Thomas de Coppeley, died 1340⁵⁸
 Robert de Harton, confirmed 1340,⁵⁹ died
 1369⁶⁰
 Robert de Ottelay, confirmed 1369,⁶¹ occurs
 1385⁶²
 Robert de Grene, occurs 1397,⁶³ 1398⁶⁴
 John Farnhill, occurs 1413,⁶⁵ resigned 1416⁶⁶
 Robert Catton, succeeded 1416,⁶⁷ occurs
 1423,⁶⁸ died 1430⁶⁹
 John Farnhill (again) 1430⁷⁰
 Lawrence, occurs 1439⁷¹
 Thomas Boston, occurs 1448-9,⁷² resigned
 1456⁷³

⁴¹ First prior (at Emsay); Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 203, no. ii.

⁴² Baidon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 12.

⁴³ Feet of F. file 14, no. 59 (Hil. 3 Hen. III).

⁴⁴ Baidon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 12.

⁴⁵ Feet of F. file 18, no. 13 (Mich. 11 Hen. III); 19, no. 90.

⁴⁶ Ibid. file 26, no. 13 (Trin. 17 Hen. III).

⁴⁷ Baidon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 12.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 145.

⁵⁰ Add. Chart. 20927 (as William only).

⁵¹ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 32. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 202, gives him the *alias* of Burlington.

⁵² Ibid. ⁵³ Pat. 3 Edw. I, m. 6.

⁵⁴ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 307.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 312. ⁵⁶ Add. Chart. 16706.

⁵⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 202.

⁵⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. sed. vac. fol. 50. ⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid. Thoresby, fol. 155. ⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Baidon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 12.

⁶³ *Cal. Papal Letters*, v, 59.

⁶⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 202.

⁶⁵ Baidon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 12.

⁶⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Bowett, fol. 35b. ⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Baidon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 12.

⁶⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 356. ⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Baidon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 12.

⁷² Ibid. (from Knaresborough Ct. R.).

⁷³ York Archiepis. Reg. W. Booth, fol. 8.

William Man', elected 1456,⁷⁴ resigned 1471⁷⁵

Christopher Lofthouse, confirmed 1471⁷⁶

Gilbert Wilson, occurs 1477⁷⁷

Gilbert Marsden, occurs 1482,⁷⁸ resigned
 1483⁷⁹

Christopher Wood, 1483,⁸⁰ resigned 1495⁸¹

Thomas Ottelay, 1495,⁸² resigned 1513⁸³

Richard Moone, 1513,⁸⁴ last prior⁸⁵

The seal⁸⁶ of Bolton Priory bore a representation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Child. Legend:—

SIGILLUM SANCTE MARIE DE BOLTON

47. THE PRIORY OF BRIDLINGTON

The great Augustinian priory of Bridlington was founded by Walter de Gant in the reign of Henry I.¹ The priory received gifts from a large number of donors, and soon became one of the richest religious foundations in the county. Burton has given a list of its possessions,² occupying no less than thirty-four folio pages of his work. The founder himself, besides 13 carucates, &c., at Bridlington, gave five churches, and the moiety of another, and at the Dissolution the priory possessed sixteen churches besides several chapelries. In addition to its temporalities King Stephen gave 'the port and harbour of Bridlington, with all kinds of wreck of the sea which shall in future happen on or issue in all places within the Dykes called Earl Dyke, and Flaynburg Dyke.'³

Ralph son of Ralph de Nevill granted the canons stone from the quarry of Filey for building their monastery and its offices, with access for fetching the stone over his land.⁴

The founder's gift of the church of Grinton in Swaledale led to a strange complaint on the part of the prior and convent to the pope. The Archdeacon of Richmond had, they said, travelled on his visitation with a retinue of ninety-seven horses, twenty-one dogs, and three hawks, and

⁷⁴ Ibid. [The name is written Man' as if contracted.] ⁷⁵ Ibid. fol. 8b.

⁷⁶ Ibid. G. Nevill, fol. 139.

⁷⁷ *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild, York*, 101.

⁷⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, fol. 20b.

⁷⁹ Ibid. 37. ⁸⁰ Ibid. ⁸¹ Ibid. 88. ⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid. Bainbridge, fol. 40b. ⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Surrendered the house 29 Jan. 1540-1; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 202.

⁸⁶ Ibid. vi, 203.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 234. Among the witnesses to the Foundation Charter was Archbishop Thurstan. Pope Calixtus II (1119-24) confirmed to Guicheman, the first prior, all the grants made by the founder; Prickett, *Priory Ch. of Bridlington*, 15.

² Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 213-46.

³ Prickett, *Priory Ch. of Bridlington*, 20.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 288, no. xiv.

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in a brief hour (*hora brevis*) had consumed more than would have maintained their house for a considerable period. This led to a mandate from Innocent III (1198–1216), protecting the canons from undue exactions from archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and their officers, and restricting the equipages of those persons to what the eleventh Lateran Council had permitted, which only allowed an archdeacon to travel with seven horses on such occasions.⁵

On 30 January 1279–80⁶ Archbishop Wickwane held a visitation of Bridlington and issued a number of injunctions. First he ordered that the monastic alms were not to be put to any illicit uses, but were to be duly distributed. No one, without reasonable cause, was to go into the infirmary, or pretend that he was not able to attend the service of God. The prior was not to give leave to any brother to wander about the country, or to visit friends or relations, without need; and in giving leave to go out, the prior was to be careful that scandal was not brought on the monastery. Suspected boxes with locks were forbidden.⁷ The prior was to see to the repair of the roof of the dormitory without delay. No canon was to dwell alone in any manor, or elsewhere, particularly not at Blouberhous,⁸ to the injury of his reputation. Under pain of anathema, any persons who were professed, and had appropriated anything, were to restore it at once to the prior for the common use of the house. The prior was to direct his convent with zeal, and to follow the counsel of the elders, and not that of the young members of the house, and was not to be an acceptor of persons. A worthy and industrious sub-prior was to be appointed (*ordinari*)⁹ without delay. The canons and *conversi* were not to keep the sporting dogs or horses of other persons. Odo, the brother of Thomas de Aunewycke, was not to remain longer in the office of *granetarius*, unless it pleased the convent otherwise. The prior was to see that the office of sacrist was more diligently fulfilled than hitherto, and that useless and mean persons, who consumed the goods of the monastery, were expelled.

⁵ Burton, *M. n. Eber.* 212. From King John, in 1200, the prior and canons obtained licence for a yearly fair of two days on the eve and festival of the Assumption (14 and 15 Aug.), as well as a weekly market in Bridlington; Prickett, *Priory Ch. of Bridlington*, 22.

⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 117b. The heading is *correcciones facte apud Bridelingtone*, from which it may be inferred that these injunctions were to correct abuses revealed at the visitation, and not cautions only for the better rule of the house.

⁷ The objection was that things might be given to individual canons, and be irregularly retained by them as private property.

⁸ i.e. Blubberhouses, in the parish of Fewston.

⁹ From the use of the word *ordinari* it seems as if the intention was to create a new office.

Following on this the archbishop, on 1 March 1279–80,¹⁰ sent Reynold de Thyrum, one of the canons, to Nostell, to undergo the due rigour of regular discipline; he was not to be permitted, either in the prior's chamber, or elsewhere in private places, as had been his wont, to lead an easy life, unless sickness or other necessity existed.

Six months later (1 September 1280)¹¹ Archbishop Wickwane wrote to the prior and convent that having regard to the slender state of their monastery, and the restricted space of their dormitory, &c., they were to take no one as canon or *conversus* before the next visitation, without his special licence. No corrodies, meanwhile, were to be granted, and all their canons living outside in manors were to be immediately recalled unless their fidelity, and also their absence, was unanimously approved by all. In April 1286¹² Archbishop Romanus visited Bridlington, and formulated the following (among other) injunctions. The cloister, in which the regular life flourished, was to be well kept from the going to and fro of secular persons, and no mean, but worthy persons only, were to take their food there, according to the judgement of the superior. The sick were to be better tended. Nuns, or secular women, were not to be received within the precincts of the monastery, great ladies alone excepted, who could not be refused without grave inconvenience. The almoner was to be more careful. No one was to receive presents without the leave of the president. The old clothes of the canons were to be given to the poor, and no liveries, corrodies, or annual pensions were to be sold without the archbishop's special leave. Drinking after compline was forbidden. The superfluous and suspected exits towards the new cloister of the *vivarium* were to be speedily closed. Useless servants of the house (and especially the useless servants in the infirmary and hostelry) were to be removed. Jews were not to be admitted to the hospice of the monastery. This the archbishop deemed to be senseless and absurd (*absonum et absurdum*). The convent was not to eat meat on Wednesdays, as that was *inhonestum*. A reader (*lector*) was to be provided for the canons, who would instruct and teach them in the Sacred Page.

Buffoons were to be repelled, who raised laughter to the injury of silence. Serfs were not to have manumission, nor were lands to be sold without the archbishop's knowledge.

No canon or *conversus* was to have horses, or a horse in turn, without the expressed assignment of the prior. No woman was to approach the place of the canons in the quire; and the minor or young canons were to exhibit reverence and obedience to the older ones. The prior was to keep convent, be present at chapters, and sleep in

¹⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.* fol. 119b. ¹² *Ibid.* Romanus, fol. 61.

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the dormitory. The prior and sub-prior were to punish faults equitably in chapter, and the sub-prior was to guard the cloister more vigilantly. John de Swaledale, who occupied the office of sacrist against the will of the prior and convent, was to be removed. Geoffrey 'Niger' of Kilham and Walter de Spaunton were forbidden to go out of the cloister for a year, and Walter, whose most recent demerits had notoriously accumulated, was to be kept alone in safe custody, and on one day each week was to fast on bread and water, till the archbishop should order differently. Geoffrey 'Rubeus' of Kilham and Peter de Herrington were to be kept within the precincts of the monastery for half a year, Adam de Wyhton for a quarter of a year, and Reginald de Thyrum for two months. And by 'cloister' the archbishop stated that he understood the four inside angles by which the dormitory, chapter-house, and refectory were contained.

On 27 April 1291¹³ the archbishop directed the sub-priors of Kirkham and Warter to proceed to Bridlington and make inquiry concerning a certain Simon, a novice, whose disregard of the duties of his profession as regarded divine service, &c., had caused murmurs to arise among the canons.

On 8 October 1295¹⁴ the archbishop wrote to the prior and convent in respect of Brother J. de Ockham, one of the canons, whom they had suspected of suffering from leprosy, in consequence of which they had foolishly suspended him from ministering at the high altar or celebrating the Lady mass, not considering how full of peril such a censure was, if not made on reasonable grounds. The archbishop had had the canon carefully examined by doctors, who found that he was wholly free from the disease, and he enjoined the convent to admit him 'ad omne genus communionis fraterne, illo non obstante.'

On 25 February 1301-2¹⁵ Archbishop Corbridge sent Peter de Melbourne, who had resigned the priory of St. Oswald's Gloucester, to Bridlington for a time.

In 1309¹⁶ Archbishop Greenfield wrote respecting Canon Simon le Constable, who, priding himself on his noble birth, refused to conform to the rule, and as a corrupter of morals was to be transferred to Guisborough, whither the prior was ordered to send him, with a decent equipage, necessary habit, and honest company. In another letter the Prior of Guisborough was ordered to receive him; the latter exhibited some reluctance in the matter, which is perhaps explained by the nature of Simon le Constable's offence, indicated by the terms of his penance. A rather long correspondence took place in

regard to the case.¹⁷ The penance imposed on Simon le Constable, while at Guisborough, was briefly as follows: ¹⁸ he was not to minister in any office at the altar, and was to abstain from receiving Holy Communion. Every day, secretly prostrating himself before one of the altars, he was to say the seven penitential psalms and litany, with grief and lamentation, and continual smiting of his breast, in expiation of his heinous sins. Every day from the prior, sub-prior, or president he was to receive, in the spirit of humility, privately, a discipline. In addition he was to read daily attentively, by himself, in secret, the eighteenth and nineteenth chapters of Genesis and the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. From these portions of the Bible which he had to read it is manifest what his sin had been.

On 20 February 1313¹⁹ Archbishop Greenfield promulgated a general sentence against all those who adored a certain image of the Blessed Virgin in the monastery of Bridlington.

On Saturday after the feast of St. John of Beverley 1314²⁰ Archbishop Greenfield held a visitation of Bridlington, and issued the following injunctions. The services of our Lady, and those for the departed, and others said without music, were to be distinctly and clearly recited; there was to be no gabbling of the verses of the psalms, one side beginning before the other had finished. None were to make any innovations in the habit worn within or without the house. Alms were to be duly collected by the almoner, and given to the poor in charity, &c. The prior was to keep convent in church, cloister, refectory, and dormitory, unless looking after notable guests, or otherwise lawfully hindered. The prior and sub-prior were not to license claustral canons to wander about the country. In recreations the prior was to be circumspect, and grant the greater favour to those whom he saw most to need it. He was to take counsel with his canons in difficult matters, and was not to permit canons to dwell, as members of the household, with secular persons without the archbishop's special licence.

The archbishop, as usual, found the house heavily in debt, and he forbade the sale of pensions, liveries, or corrodies, and exhorted all to use such economy that their house might speedily recover itself. The archbishop, while visiting the house on 13 May 1314,²¹ admonished Gerard, the prior, that within a year he should cause a

¹⁷ All the letters and documents are printed in full in the *Guisborough Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 379-85.

¹⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, i, fol. 112.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* ii, fol. 119. At a later period Thomas Covell, vicar of Topcliffe, by will dated 1463 left to the high altar of the monastery of Bridlington 8*d.*, 'item offerendos ad ymaginem Beate Marie in eadem ecclesia vocatam Melrose' 12*d.*, and also a bequest to the image of St. Eloy in the same church. York Reg. of Wills, ii, fol. 483.

²⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 121*b.*

²¹ *Ibid.* fol. 120.

¹³ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 64*b.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 68*b.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Corbridge, fol. 35.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Greenfield, i, fol. 99.

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competent chamber, with a chimney and other necessaries, to be made for the prior, and for the reception of the archbishop when visiting the priory, under a penalty of £20.

Archbishop Melton held a visitation of Bridlington on 6 April 1318,²² and issued a series of general injunctions. One item, that the canons were to keep no superfluous dogs or horses, is apparently the only thing out of the common. The house was then heavily in debt, as before, and the same restrictions and exhortations were made. Rather later in the year one of the canons, Richard de Kirkeby, was sent to Bolton for correction.²³

In 1321²⁴ there was another visitation, when a short and unimportant series of injunctions was issued; but it must have been a time of some internal disorder or mismanagement, for the sub-prior and cellarer were removed from office, the prior resigned somewhat later, and Richard de Kirkeby was again sent away, this time to Shelford, but what was the cause of all the trouble does not appear. There is, however, an unusual and perhaps significant order, addressed to the sub-prior and convent on 3 September,²⁵ that as Peter de Wynthorp had resigned the office of prior and his resignation had been accepted by the archbishop, his seal of office ought no longer to remain unbroken in his possession, and that having summoned him to chapter they were to receive the seal from him, and in the presence of the whole convent break it, and reduce it to a mass (*et in massam redigatis*).

On 15 July 1324²⁶ Archbishop Melton held another visitation of Bridlington, when he directed that the sub-cellarer was to render weekly accounts of the daily expenses, and of all kinds of food. All were to abstain from inviting strangers, and to refrain from all superfluous expenses; whatever was left of the food in the refectory or other places was to be given as alms to the needy poor.

On 3 January 1362-3²⁷ Archbishop Thoresby issued a commission to confirm the election of a prior who was destined, not long after his death, to receive formal canonization. John de Thweng belonged to an old Yorkshire family which derived its name from Thwing, a small parish in the East Riding. The Thwengs also owned Kilton and Kirkleatham in Cleveland, and another member of the family rendered himself conspicuous,²⁸ as patron of the church of Kirkleatham, in opposing the papal encroachment on the rights of patrons. Members of the family were benefactors to the priory of Guisborough, and a

shield bearing their arms (three popinjays) is still to be seen carved on the splay of the noble east window of the priory church there.

John de Thweng was noted for his sincere piety and genuine goodness of life. He ruled the priory with zealous care for many years, and soon after his death stories began to be told of miracles he had wrought in his lifetime, and of others which had taken place at his tomb. Eventually Archbishop Alexander Nevill²⁹ issued a commission to inquire into the matter, which reported to the pope, and on 24 September 1401³⁰ Pope Boniface IX issued a decree formally canonizing the late Prior of Bridlington, who was henceforth known as St. John of Bridlington. In the decree the pope declared that the Blessed John, sometime prior of the Augustinian priory of Bridlington, although born of honourable parents,³¹ had from his tender years frequented churches. Before he had completed his fourteenth year he had made his profession as a canon of Bridlington. After being promoted to holy orders he filled divers offices, and was elected prior, showing an example of a severe and holy life. The pope mentions some miracles worked by him before and after his death, viz., the multiplication of corn in the priory barn, his walking on the sea to rescue certain men in a rowing-boat caught in a storm, his raising to life five persons. He had healed a woman ill of the plague, a cousin of one of the canons, also a halt and impotent man, as well as others possessed with devils, and others deaf and dumb. For other of his miracles the pope referred the faithful to the authentic books in which they were set forth, and for a proof of them to the votive offerings at the tomb and the pictures (*ymagines*) placed there. Further the pope ordained 10 October, the day of his death, as his feast day, and for his office the office of a confessor, not a bishop. To all penitents who on the saint's feast day visited his sepulchre the pope granted relaxation of seven years and seven *quadragesimae* of enjoined penance.

The body of the saint was removed to a shrine at the back of the high altar, which became a place of pilgrimage. In this case, without accepting the marvels recorded in the papal decree, Bridlington's sainted prior was much more worthy of the distinction than others elsewhere. Possibly because of the glory which St. John's life shed on the house of which he had but recently been prior, Pope Alexander V³² on 15 October 1409 granted that Prior Thomas and his successors should wear the mitre, ring, and other pontifical *insignia* in the priory and

²² York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 273.

²³ Ibid. fol. 228.

²⁴ Ibid. fol. 285b.

²⁵ Ibid. fol. 285.

²⁶ Ibid. fol. 296b.

²⁷ Ibid. Thoresby, fol. 207b.

²⁸ Sir Robert de Thweng, temp. Henry III; see Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 44, and elsewhere, as to him and the action he took.

²⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Alex. Nevill, fol. 99.

³⁰ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 458.

³¹ The inference intended would seem to be that, although born to a life of ease and comfort, he had devoted it to religion.

³² *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 161.

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in subject places and churches belonging to it; they could also give solemn benediction after mass, vespers, and matins, provided that no bishop or papal legate were present.

On 12 July 1448³³ Henry VI granted to the prior and convent, besides many franchises and immunities, that they should have three fairs yearly, viz., on the vigils, feasts, and morrows of the Nativity of the B.V.M. (8 September), the Deposition of St. John late prior of 'Brydelington,' and the Translation of the same St. John. Seven years later (20 July 1452)³⁴ the prior and convent agreed that in return for exemptions made by Letters Patent, releasing them from contribution of tenths, aids, subsidies, &c., they would, in every mass sung at the high altar and also in all masses said by any of the canons, pray for the good and prosperous estate of the king and of Queen Margaret, with the collect 'Deus in cujus manu corda sunt Regum,' in which special mention was to be made by name of the king and queen, while living, and when they had departed this life they would sing a mass of *Requiem*.

On 18 July 1444³⁵ the prior and canons entered into an agreement with the inhabitants of Bempton in the parish of Bridlington. The inhabitants had of old, with licence of the prior and convent, built a chapel in Bempton in honour of St. Michael, and at their own charges had undertaken to have it and the cemetery consecrated, in order to receive the sacraments and be buried there. They further undertook to keep the chapel in repair. It was arranged that their chaplain was to have a penny at the purification of women, and at the burial of the dead, and *in singulis missis suis* a penny, commonly called *bevedmesse penny*, with other commodities accustomed before the consecration of the chapel. The prior and convent were to find bread and wine, and 2 lb. of wax to be made into four tapers, two at Michaelmas, and two at Easter. This agreement is interesting as showing the position of inhabitants in a parish served by a monastery.³⁶

At a visitation held by Archbishop Kemp in 1444,³⁷ Robert Warde, the prior, being no longer able to perform the duties of his office, resigned, and a pension was assigned him during the remainder of his life. He was to have, *inter alia*, the habitation called the chamber of John Gisburn, formerly prior, with its garden and easements. Each day he was to receive two 'honest' services of flesh or fish, or other meats from the kitchen, such in quantity as that

served to two canons, also a service called the 'Yomanmesse' for himself, or those who ministered to him; and from the cellar, daily, two white loaves of the greater weight and one white loaf of the lesser weight, with a loaf called the 'yomanlofe.' At every *tonellacio* in the monastery he was to have (*blank*) flagons of conventual ale from the brewery, and daily from the cellar two flagons of the same, and *unam quartam* of wine except on Wednesdays and the vigils preceding festivals of the Blessed Virgin Mary. On the days when wine was customarily served to the brethren he was to be content with the same allowance as that given to the others. In addition he was to have a yearly allowance of 100s.

The church of St. Mary of Scarborough, which had originally been granted to the abbey of Cîteaux, was granted (on the seizure of the properties of alien houses) to Bridlington.³⁸ By a charter addressed to Peter Ellard³⁹ (prior 1462-72) Edward IV confirmed this grant of his predecessors out of veneration for St. John of Bridlington. Thus it has come about that Scarborough although in the North Riding is within the archdeaconry of the East Riding.

There is a letter, dated 13 October 1453,⁴⁰ from Archbishop William Booth, addressed to Robert, the prior, and canons of Bridlington acknowledging the receipt of a certain *libellum* which they had sent to him, *de regularibus observantiis* of the monastery. The *libellum* contained forty folios, and the archbishop approved it, with the exception of the chapter as to the sale of corrodies. Such were not to be sold without his special licence, but except that chapter the *libellum* was to be read before the convent in chapter twice a year, during Advent and Lent. On 27 October⁴¹ following the archbishop granted the prior licence to hear confessions. On 20 December 1463⁴² the same archbishop commanded the prior to warn all the officials and administrators of the goods of the house to render a true account before the auditors whom he had appointed.

There is not much of importance to add as to the later history of the priory. In 1380-1 there had been twenty-four canons taxed besides the prior, and a single *conversus*.⁴³ In 1526 the clear annual value was returned as £524 15s. 8½d.,⁴⁴ and at the Dissolution £547 6s. 11¼d.⁴⁵ Twice a Prior of Bridlington was summoned to Parliament,

³³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1056.

³⁹ Prickett, *Priory Ch. of Bridlington*, 26.

⁴⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. W. Booth, fol. 156.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* fol. 154b.

⁴² *Ibid.* fol. 121b.

⁴³ Subs. R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 63, no. 12.

⁴⁴ S.P. Dom. 1526, return made by Brian Higdon, Dean of York. Two pensions of 100s. each are returned as payable to Sir William Constable, kt., and Richard Pigot, pensioners in the monastery of Bridlington at this date.

⁴⁵ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 248.

³³ Chart. R. 21-4 Hen. VI, no. 5.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 29-39 Hen. VI, no. 26.

³⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 448.

³⁶ The case of Bempton may be compared with that of Horsehouse Chapel in Coverham, alluded to in the account of that house.

³⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 197.

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viz., Geoffrey de Nafferton in 1295 and Gerard de Burton in 1299.⁴⁶

The last prior, William Wood, took part in the Pilgrimage of Grace, was attainted of high treason on 17 January 1537,⁴⁷ and with the Abbots of Fountains and Jervaulx, the ex-Abbot of Rievaulx and the ex-Prior of Guisborough, was put to death, the property of the house being then treated as forfeited to the Crown.⁴⁸

A letter is extant from Prior Wood to Thomas Cromwell,⁴⁹ the exact date of which is uncertain, in reply to one advising the prior to recognize Henry VIII as patron and founder, or to appear before one of the king's councillors. Prior Wood pleaded that he was 'detyeined with divers infirmities' of body 'and in lyke manner am feble of nature, so that without great jeopardie of my lyffe, I cannot, nor am not hable to labor in doing of my deuty to appere before your mastershipp,' &c. The prior therefore sent his brother to represent him.

Another letter, printed more than once elsewhere, is from Richard Bellasys, one of the commissioners for the suppression of monasteries,⁵⁰ to Cromwell, and bears date 14 November 1538. After relating how he had treated Jervaulx Abbey, the writer goes on to say, 'As for Byrdlington I have doyn nothing there as yet, but spayrethe itt to March next, bycause the days now are so short, and from such tyme as I begyn I trust shortly to dyspatche it after such fashion that when all is fynished, I trust your Lordshipp shall think that I have bene no evyll howsbound in all such things as your Lordshipp haith appoynted me to doo.'

PRIORS OF BRIDLINGTON

Guicheman,⁵¹ occurs before 1124
Adebold,⁵² occurs before 1141
Bernard,⁵³ occurs between 1147 and 1168
Robert⁵⁴ (*cognomento Scriba*), 1160

⁴⁶ Prickett, *Priory Ch. of Bridlington*, 85.

⁴⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 284. ⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Prickett, *Priory Ch. of Bridlington*, 31.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 34. The letter is also printed, with slight variations of spelling in each instance, in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 567 (Jervaulx); *ibid.* vi, 285 (Bridlington); Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 372.

⁵¹ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 212, 249, note a.

⁵² Ibid. 249, he occurs temp. Thurstan, Archbishop, and Hugh, Dean of York.

⁵³ Ibid. Robert de Chesney, Bishop of Lincoln 1147-68, confirmed the church of 'Baumber' to Bernard, prior, &c.

⁵⁴ Prickett, *Priory Ch. of Bridlington*, 85, 86, where see a short account of his works. He is spoken of as the fourth prior. In *Rievaulx Chartul.* (no. xliii, p. 21) is a deed witnessed by Henry Murdac, archbishop 114-58, which is also witnessed by Roger, Prior of Bridlington. Dr. Atkinson (p. 22 n.) suggests that Roger may be an error for Robert.

Gregory,⁵⁵ occurs before 1181

Hugh,⁵⁶ occurs 1189-92

Helyas,⁵⁷ occurs 1199-1202

Hubert,⁵⁸ occurs 1218 and 1227⁶⁰

Thomas,⁶⁰ occurs 1231-49

John,⁶¹ 1250, resigned 1255⁶²

Geoffrey de Nafferton, 1260,⁶³ resigned July 1289⁶⁴

Geoffrey de Nafferton⁶⁵ (second time), confirmed 4 August 1289

Gerard de Burton,⁶⁶ occurs 1295, resigned 1315⁶⁷

Peter de Wynthorpe,⁶⁸ 1315, resigned 1321⁶⁹

Robert de Scardeburg,⁷⁰ 1321, died 1342⁷¹

Peter de Appleby,⁷² 1342, resigned 1356

Peter de Cotes,⁷³ 1356, resigned 1362

John de Thweng (St. John of Bridlington),⁷⁴ confirmed 1362, occurs 1368⁷⁶

William de Newbould, 1379⁷⁶

John Qweldryg, occurs 1398,⁷⁷ 1400⁷⁸

John, occurs 1408⁷⁹

Thomas, occurs 1409⁸⁰

John de Gisburne, occurs 1420,⁸¹ died 1429⁸²

Robert Warde, 1429,⁸³ resigned 1444⁸⁴

Robert Willy, elected 1444⁸⁵

Peter Hellard, elected 1462,⁸⁶ resigned 1472⁸⁷

Robert Bristwyk, 1472,⁸⁸ resigned 1488⁸⁹

⁴⁴ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 249, note e.

⁴⁵ Ibid. note f.

⁴⁷ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 18.

⁴⁸ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 249, note h.

⁴⁹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 18.

⁶⁰ Ibid. ⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 308.

⁶³ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 18.

⁶⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 62 d.

⁶⁵ Ibid. fol. 40.

⁶⁶ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 18.

⁶⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, ii, fol. 120.

⁶⁸ Ibid. fol. 126. ⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid. Melton, fol. 284. ⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid. Zouch, fol. 175b.

⁷³ Ibid. Thoresby, fol. 195. ⁷⁴ Ibid. fol. 207b.

⁷⁵ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 18.

⁷⁶ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 249.

⁷⁷ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 129.

⁷⁸ Baildon's MS. Notes.

⁷⁹ Ibid. Probably the same person.

⁸⁰ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 161.

⁸¹ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 249, note w. ⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 342.

⁸⁴ Ibid. ⁸⁵ Ibid. fol. 51.

⁸⁶ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 249, note y.

⁸⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Nevill, fol. 146.

⁸⁸ Ibid. He died in 1493 according to the inscription on his grave: 'Hic jacet dominus Robertus Brystwyk quondam prior hujus loci qui obiit Anno Domini MCCCC nonagesimo iii Cujus anime propicietur Deus Amen.' The stone was found in 1821, and in the stone coffin below were the remains of the prior, the hair of the beard and the serge in which the body was wrapped being undecayed. Prickett, *Priory Ch. of Bridlington*, 27.

⁸⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, fol. 157b.

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John Curson, 1488,⁹⁰ resigned 1498⁹¹
 Robert Danby, 1498,⁹² died 1506⁹³
 John Ynglish,⁹⁴ 1506, died 1510⁹⁵
 John Hompton,⁹⁶ 1510, died 1521⁹⁷
 William Brownefete,⁹⁸ confirmed 1521
 William Wode,⁹⁹ confirmed 1531
 Robert,¹⁰⁰ occurs 1537.

The 14th-century seal¹⁰¹ is a vesica, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in., with a design of the coronation of our Lady. The counterseal, a vesica $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $1\frac{5}{8}$ in., has a crowned figure of our Lady in a niche, holding the Child in her left hand and a flower in her right. The legend is:—

S' CAPITVLI SĒE MARIE DE BRIDELINGTON

The 12th-century seal¹⁰² of Gregory, Prior of Bridlington, is a vesica, $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in., having four heads of saints, each in a circular band inscribed with a name. These are MARIA, PAVLVS, AVGVSTINVS, NICHOLAVS. Of the legend there only remains:—

. S TERCI' HOSPES

48. THE PRIORY OF DRAX

This house was founded by William Paynel in the reign of Henry I,¹ with the advice of Archbishop Thurstan. In the foundation charter William Paynel records that he had given to the canons serving God and St. Nicholas in the territory of Drax the island (*insulam*)² called Hallington and Middleholm, on which the priory church was founded, as well as other land in the neighbourhood.

In addition the founder gave the parish church of Drax, the churches of Bingley, Middle Rasen, and two others in Lincolnshire, and that of Saltby in Leicestershire:

From other benefactors the priory received gifts, scattered over a wide area,³ most of which have

⁹⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, fol. 157b.

⁹¹ Ibid. fol. 153b. ⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid. Savage, fol. 58. ⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid. Bainbridge, fol. 14b. ⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid. Wolsey, fol. 56. ⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid. sed. vac. fol. 621.

¹⁰⁰ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 18.

¹⁰¹ *Cat. of Seals, B.M.* 2711; Harl. Chart. 44, B. 22.

¹⁰² Ibid. 2713; Harl. Chart. 44, I. 3.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 194.

² Ibid. 195, no. 1. 'The site of this house was on the south side of the River Ouse, nearly opposite where the Derwent enters therein. The land being so low that it would be overflowed by every little flood, nay, I believe I may say, by the highest spring-tides, if not prevented by the height of strong banks: but the ground whereon the house was built is a little ascent above the rest, and was moted (sic) about; most of which, especially on the south and east sides, is very apparent.' Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 100.

³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 194.

been carefully extracted by Burton from the chartulary of Drax.⁴ Edward I granted the canons free warren in their lands of Carlton, Camblesforth, and Newhay, if not in his forest.⁵

On 10 August 1280⁶ Archbishop Wickwane visited the priory of Drax, and delivered a number of injunctions in the chapter house. First, he directed that henceforward, in transacting the common affairs of the house, the prior was not to be influenced by the heedless and disordered counsel of anybody, as he had hitherto been, inducing the contempt of seculars, offending his brethren, and injuring the monastery. He was to act according to the counsel of the convent. Further, the prior was enjoined to avoid all malicious plotting with evil wishers of the monastery, and quarrels and foolish rebukings of his brethren, at least in the presence of laymen, but he was to correct and chastise in a convenient and private place, and was to be more diligent and circumspect in the spiritual rule and temporal business of the house. Brother William de Snayth, who had lately been dismissed from being sub-prior, was not to hold any office, but was to give himself to monastic contemplation, be more courteous to his brethren, and not so much addicted to his bed, &c. Hugh de Rykhale, on account of his contentions which had distracted the convent, was to have the lowest place among the priests in cloister and convent, was to conform to rule, and hold no office or *solempnis honor* of the monastery, without the archbishop's express assent. As he had inordinately eaten flesh meat, he was to abstain from flesh on Sundays during the current year.

Elyas, the sub-cellarer, who wandered about to the injury of the monastery, was not to go outside cloister or church. The archbishop removed from the house a layman, John de Weland, on account of his demerits, and denounced him as excommunicate, for having laid violent hands on Laurence de Lincolnia,⁷ one of the canons.

Elyas, a canon who violently struck John de Lincolnia⁸ his fellow-canon and was not yet absolved, was daily, till the feast of All Saints, in full chapter to humble and prostrate himself before God, in the presence of John de Lincolnia, heartily imploring his prayers, and those of the whole convent.

Twice a year the prior *sub congruo testimonio* was to open and examine everyone's carol, and

⁴ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 100-12.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 194.

⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 246, 134.

⁷ On 11 Dec. 1288 Archbishop Romanus granted licence to Laurence de Lincolnia and another canon, Bartholomew de Donecastria, that 'ad arciorem religionem se transferant,' York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 32.

⁸ Probably the same person of the name who soon afterwards was elected prior.

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anything found therein was to be appropriated to the common use of the house.

No base persons were to be admitted to meals in the refectory, and no laymen, except lawyers and doctors, were to interfere with the private affairs of the infirmary. No meals or drinkings except such as were absolutely necessary were to take place after general compline, and all warming and unlawful relaxation at the infirmary fire was wholly forbidden at all times. Further, the monastery was not to be burdened by the relatives of the prior, and no canon or brother was to receive money or payment for work. Other punishments for faults discovered, the archbishop deferred, hoping for amendment. Fifteen years later Archbishop Romanus held a visitation of the priory on 13 October 1295,⁹ and in a *decretum* sternly forbade the presence of any unworthy (*inboneste*) persons in the refectory. Only worthy (*boneste*) persons were to have their meals there, according to the judgement of the president. Gossiping and relaxations, especially in the prior's chamber and the refectory after compline, or after the convent had retired to bed, were forbidden. No corrodies were to be sold without the archbishop's special licence. The bursar was to render accounts twice a year to the seniors, and they were to make the state of the house known to the convent.

Silence was to be duly observed, and no claustral canon was to go out without leave, and those who did were to be punished. They were on the other hand to be carefully engaged in divine service, the mass of the Blessed Virgin, and the study of books. The cloister and infirmary were not to be open to lay people, specially women. The carols of everyone were to be inspected once a year, so as to exclude all suspicion of private possessions. A lamp was to burn continually every night in the dormitory to remove any possible chance of fault. The sick were to be properly tended and useless servants removed. The almoner was cautioned to be more careful. Gifts were not to be received by any member of the convent without leave. Old clothes were to be given to the poor. Canons of ill repute were not to have leave to go out, nor were they to be promoted to office. No intercourse was to be held with women, and especially not with those who were suspected. The prior and sub-prior were to correct faults equitably, and licence to go out was not to be granted except for good reasons.

At the archbishop's previous visitation (concerning which the Register is silent) J. de Eboraco only partly cleared himself of crimes alleged against him, and J. de Neuhay not at all. The archbishop therefore ordered that for four years J. de Eboraco was, each Friday, to have bread, ale, and vegetables only, and Brother J. de

Neuhay for seven years the same, except on Fridays in Lent and Advent when he was to have bread and water only. They were both suspended from the celebration of divine services, and were to take the lowest places among the priests, while undergoing this penance. A memorandum is added, that on 31 December 1295, the archbishop left it at the discretion of the prior to dispense these penances when he deemed proper.

In 1324¹⁰ Archbishop Melton issued a letter on behalf of the priory, in which he stated that the priory, because of the inundations of the Rivers Ouse and Aire which surrounded it, the frequent invasions of the Scots and other enemies, and the loss of cattle, had become so impoverished that it was hindered from its works of piety and hospitality.

The church of Bingley, as already noted, was one of the founder's gifts to the priory.¹¹ The gift was confirmed by Archbishop Roger, and the prior and canons appear to have frequently appointed one of their number to serve it. A strange episode is related in this connexion in the Register of Archbishop Bainbridge,¹² in which John Wilkynson, canon of Drax, was involved. A rumour had been set about that, as Wilkynson in his examination put it, 'there was a grete good in the cuntrey which myght be gote, if there was any connyng men in the cuntrey.' In other words, that there was some hidden treasure at a place called Mixenden near Halifax, which could be obtained by a series of incantations. It is, perhaps, one of the most extraordinary stories of mediaeval necromancy on record. Six persons were charged with the offence, the chief of whom was Thomas Jameson, who had served the office of Sheriff of York in 1497, and been lord mayor in 1504, but the canon of Drax had taken no small share in the venture.

One of the witnesses, Henry Banke, chaplain of Addingham, said that he had heard Brother John the parish priest of Bingley state in the house of Christopher Hardwick of Addingham 'that there was as moch goode in a place besides Halifax as wold raunsome a kyng; and that oone Leventhorp nowe dede had seene the foote of the kist, and the devell sitting upon it, and that he had put a swerd to remove it, and he nypped it a soundre in the myddist, as it had been a rish; and the said Sir John said it coold never be gott but with losse of a Cristen sole.' The evidence of 'Sir John Wilkynson chanon of Drax, sworne and examyned,' is entered in the Register. He admitted having made 'a cerkill' of 30 ft. compass, and that he had agreed to call

¹⁰ Ibid. Melton, fol. 161b.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 195, no. i.

¹² York Archiepis. Reg. Bainbridge, fol. 70, etc. All the documents relating to the case, transcribed by Canon Raine, are printed in the *Arch. Journ.* xvi, 72-81.

⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 47b.

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up a spirit called Belphares, and he related how, when a boy of twelve, he had been present at an invocation made at Wakefield by 'a scholar of Orlyauce' (Orleans), for a pair of bedes; he had seen 'in a glasse, a woman that had the beides in her hand, and a sprite, crowned like a Kyng, in a chare of gold, and the clerke said that he was a sprite.' He admitted that he and Jameson, and another priest, James Richardson, 'were sworne upon a booke, and confere to gadir to make a lamina for invocation of a sprite called Obirion,' that Jameson had agreed to send a horse for him to Otley 'the Fridaie afore the first chaunge of Marche, to come to Yorke to hyme (Jameson), to make the lamyna, which must be made betwixt the chaunge of the mone and the pryme, and that was Mondaie, Tuysdaie, and Wednesdaie; and to make their invocation on Thursday after at v of the cloke in the mornynge, at Yorke, in a chambir to be provided to the said Sir James (Richardson), havyng iiij wyndowes, that is to say in every quarter oone.' He said that Jameson came to Bingley on St. Matthew's Day, and showed him that Richardson had made all ready, and desired him to go to York, and 'wirke the warke' with Richardson. He admitted that his books were at Drax Abbey, and that Richardson had brought eighteen singing loaves, which he himself had given to one of the others; but he denied that he had ever said that he would consecrate them, or that they should appear in the likeness of a child to the sprite, but he confessed that they were all agreed that the ground where 'the cerkyll' was should be hallowed, and that a collect was copied out of the mass book, to be recited at the hallowing of the incense and fire, and that in the 'book of experiment' was the collect for the hallowing of the 'great holy water.' He admitted that he had said that their works might be done as well in one place as in another, for he 'cowde make the spirite Belphares carye it wherdir he wold,' and he also said that he had stated 'opynely that the goode cowde not be had without losse of a Cristen Saule, and therefore he wold not execute it.' The story is too long to be dealt with here, as it only bears incidentally on Drax, whose canon figured so conspicuously in it. All the six persons charged were found guilty, and punishments were awarded. They had to walk through the streets of York on the Sunday following, carrying banners with grotesque characters and symbols, and were to be publicly scourged by the dean of Christianity at certain stages. On the Thursday before the Nativity of St. John the Baptist much the same penance was to be performed at Bingley.

By a deed dated 5 December 1531,¹³ the prior and convent covenanted with Robert Threpland

and Alys his wife that they should dwell at a grange called the Abbey Grange, and be servants to the prior and convent. Robert Threpland was to be 'sergeaunte and oversear' of all their husbandry, as other 'sergyauntes' had been, and Alys his wife was to 'kepe the deyrre house of the sade pryor and conventes at the sade graunge.' For this service done 'in the most commodious and profitable maner that they can for the sade pryor and convent,' they were to receive as follows:—Robert was to have meat and drink in their hall as had been in times past, but if he happened to be impotent, and unable to come to the hall, then he was to have his reasonable meat and drink delivered by the cook and butler to such persons as he might send. In addition he was to have 13s. 4d. yearly 'and a cote clothe.' His wife was to have every week 'two lofes of white breyde, and two lofes of browne breyde, ij galons of the best ale, and foure galons of the worse ale, and one meile of meite from the kechyn, ons on the day, every day in tyme of lent, and also al other days in the yere except Wednysdays, Frydays, and Saturdays and all fastynge days,' and 6s. 8d. for her wages, 'and a garthynstede to sawe too pekkes of hemp sede in.' If she was unable to do her work, then she was to provide 'an honest woman to do the sade office, and huswyfery, so that hit be done after a clenly and profitable fashion.' Robert and Alys, during their lives, were to have 'gressynge for ij whyes that never bare calfe.' After the death of Robert or Alys one whye was to belong to the prior and convent. Also Robert and Alys might keep 'one swyne' on condition that after their deaths the pig so kept should belong to the prior and convent. For this appointment they paid the prior and convent £10 in ready money. It is an interesting and characteristic example of the way in which such monastic appointments were negotiated.

The priory was supervised on 15 June 1535,¹⁴ and suppressed on 24 August following. Among the charges then paid were 30s. *pro vadiis novem confratrum* from the Nativity of St. John Baptist, each receiving 3s. 4d. At the suppression on 24 August 1535¹⁵ there were ten canons, two of whom received 26s. 8d. each and the others 23s. 4d. each. There were also twenty-nine servants and boys.

In the account of Leonard Beckwith, from Michaelmas 1535 to Michaelmas 1536,¹⁶ the revenue derived from Drax was £141 10s. 10d. This may be compared with the clear value of £78 15s. 1d. in 1522,¹⁷ and that of £92 7s. 5d. clear value in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.¹⁸ Leonard

¹⁴ K.R. Aug. Views of Accts. bdl. 17.

¹⁵ Ibid. In 1380-1 besides the prior there were seven canons; Subs. R. (P.R.O.), bdl. 63, no. 12.

¹⁶ K.R. Aug. Views of Accts. bdl. 17.

¹⁷ Subs. R. (P.R.O.), bdl. 64, no. 300

¹⁸ *Valor Eccl.* v, 65.

¹³ Conventual Leases, Yorks. (P.R.O.), no. 176.

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Beckwith's account states that there were six bells in the 'campanile,' valued at £20, and William Emson, the late prior, received a pension of £18. There were of plate wholly gilt two chalices with patens, and three maser bands, together 42 oz.; and of silver parcel-gilt a chalice and paten, and two salts, with one cover, together 32 oz.

PRIORS OF DRAX

Norman, occurs 1178¹⁹
 Alan, occurs 1205,²⁰ 1226²¹
 Robert, succeeded and occurs 1227,²² 1234²³
 John de Rasen, occurs after Prior Robert²⁴
 Gernagan, c. 1243²⁵
 Robert, occurs 1252²⁶
 Adam, occurs 1272²⁷
 Thomas de Camesale, occurs 1282,²⁸ resigned
 1286²⁹
 Elyas de Burton, confirmed 1287,³⁰ occurs
 1289³¹
 War . . . , occurs 1291³²
 John de Lincoln, confirmed 1291,³³ occurs
 as John only 1295³⁴
 Henry de Shirewoode, 1301,³⁵ died 1332³⁶
 Gilbert de Ounsby, confirmed December 1332
 (*quaere, alias de Eboraco*),³⁷ 1334³⁸
 John de Saxton *alias* Sapertun,³⁹ elected
 1349⁴⁰
 John de Wiggeton, occurs 1354⁴¹
 Thomas de Shirburn, occurs 1360,⁴² 1368,⁴³
 1388,⁴⁴ died 1391⁴⁵
 Richard de Ledes, elected 1391⁴⁶
 John de Usflet, occurs 1393,⁴⁷ 1398⁴⁸

¹⁹ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 114, note *a*.

²⁰ *Yorks. Fines, John*, 93.

²¹ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 114, note *b*. ²² *Ibid.* note *c*.

²³ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 38.

²⁴ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 114, note *d*.

²⁵ *Ibid.* note *e*. ²⁶ *Ibid.* note *f*.

²⁷ *Ibid.* note *g*. ²⁸ *Ibid.* note *h*.

²⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 28.

³⁰ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 114, note *i*.

³¹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 38.

³² Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 114, note *l*. Burton places him after John de Lincoln. Mr. Baildon has altered this order, and his change is followed here.

³³ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 38.

³⁴ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 38.

³⁵ *Ibid.*; *Cal. of Inq. p.m.* 10-20 Edw. II, 264.

³⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 191*b*.

³⁷ *Ibid.* Zouch, fol. 35*b*.

³⁸ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 38.

³⁹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 195.

⁴⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 35*b*, where he is said to have succeeded Gilbert de Eboraco, deceased.

⁴¹ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 114, note *p*.

⁴² York Archiepis. Reg. Thoresby, fol. 106*b*.

⁴³ *Ibid.* fol. 138*b*.

⁴⁴ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 38.

⁴⁵ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 114, note *q*.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* ⁴⁷ *Ibid.* note *r*.

⁴⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. Scrope, fol. 18*b*.

William Selby, died 1429⁴⁹

William Chippyndale, elected 1429⁵⁰

John, occurs 1465,⁵¹ 1475⁵²

Thomas Hankoke⁵³

Richard Wilson, elected 25 October 1507,⁵⁴

occurs thence till 1529-30⁵⁵

William Emson, occurs 1531 to 1536,⁵⁶ last prior (pensioned)

The 12th-century seal⁵⁷ is a vesica, 2½ in. by 1¾ in. It shows a figure of the patron saint in his pall, blessing and holding his crozier. The legend is:—

✠ SIGILLVM SANCTI NICOLAI EPISCOPI

The 12th-century seal⁵⁸ of the chapter is similar in design, but larger, and the legend is longer. All that remains of it is:—

SIGILLVM CAPITVL . . . NICH . . . DE DRA . . .

The prior's seal⁵⁹ of the same date is a vesica, 1½ in. by 1¼ in., and has a half-length figure of the prior praying. The legend is:—

✠ SIGILLVM PRIORIS DE D

49. THE PRIORY OF GUISBOROUGH

The Augustinian priory of Guisborough (or Gisburne, as the place was usually called in the Middle Ages) was founded by Robert de Brus, who endowed it on a magnificent scale. The Foundation Charter¹ records that he had founded the house by the counsel and advice of Pope Calixtus and Archbishop Thurstan.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* Kemp, fol. 346.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 114, note *t*.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 195.

⁵⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. sed. vac. fol. 519*b*.

⁵⁵ Conventual Leases, Yorks. (P.R.O.), no. 114, 146, 148, 153, 157, 160, 164, 170. In 1523 he became Bishop of Meath by papal provision and 'died about 1529' (Cotton, *Fasti Eccl. Hibernicae* iii, 115). In leases 157 (6 Nov. 1529) and 160 (31 Dec. 1529) he is called 'Richard Bishop late of Meath, prior,' &c. In 1533-4 he was in possession of land in Roxby, co. Lincoln (Conv. Lease, no. 158), and is then called 'my Lorde Richarde Bushopp of Meth.' He had, before then, resigned the priory of Drax. On 28 June 1531 he was commissioned by Wolsey to bless William Wode, Prior of Bridlington (York Archiepis. Reg. Wolsey, fol. 623). His name as Prior of Drax appears for the last time in lease 160 (31 Dec. 1529).

⁵⁶ In about twenty Conventual Leases between the above dates inclusive. In only 172 (4 May 1533), and 175 (13 Apr. 1535) does his surname, Emson or Empson, appear.

⁵⁷ *Cat. of Seals, B.M.* 3073, lxxiv, 39.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 3074, lxxiv, 41.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 3075, lxxiv, 12.

¹ *Guisborough Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 1-5.

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Walter of Hemingburgh, a canon of Guisborough who wrote within 200 years of the founding of the priory, states that the year of its foundation was 1129.² Pope Calixtus, however, who confirmed the act of foundation by Robert de Brus, died in 1124. Camden and others give 1119 as the year of the foundation, and although no ancient authority can now be quoted for it, that year³ seems not improbably the correct date. Anyhow, it is certain that the foundation cannot have been earlier than 1119 or later than 1124.

'The generosity of the founder enabled the canons to make a start under very favourable circumstances. Twenty-nine carucates with the advowsons of ten churches and other gifts speak for themselves . . . All through its history the Bruses and their descendants continued to be the munificent benefactors to the canons of Guisborough. The chief estates of the latter in Cleveland, at Hart in Durham, and in Annandale, were entirely due to gifts from that family or from sub-inefeudatories of theirs. It is true they had other benefactors, such as Alice de Rumilly in Cumberland, the Lascelles in Lincolnshire, the Bardolfs at Barningham, and the Stutevilles in the East Riding; but their grants were not of great value, and cannot be compared with the gifts received by the convent from the Bruses and their descendants. Guisborough, which at the time of the Reformation was the fourth richest monastery in Yorkshire, being surpassed only by St. Mary's, Fountains, and Selby, may be called without any exaggeration the creation of this family.'⁴

The chartulary records a large number of gifts from people of small possessions, who could only afford to give a few acres, or even roods. These deeds, which are mostly of the middle of the 13th century, show that a great religious house like Guisborough was popular, not only with people of higher rank as the Bruses, Percies, and Lascelles, but with the franklins and yeomen of the time. Among the charters there are twenty-two entitled *Cartae Elemosinariae*⁵ containing small gifts to the canons on behalf of the poor, but distinct from the ordinary property of the house. A few of them specially direct what particular use the gift is for, as, for example, fuel for the poor, or 'ad lumen inveniendum pauperibus qui ibi hospitantur.'⁶ These deeds, of about the middle of the 15th century, indicate that the canons had some sort of hospital for the poor in connexion with the priory before the hospital of St. Leonard of Lowcross came into their possession. These charters are followed by sixty-three

which relate to the building of the church which was burnt down in June 1289.⁷

On the death of Peter de Brus III the patronage of the priory passed to Agnes the wife of Walter de Fauconberg, and Lucy the wife of Marmaduke de Thweng. By a charter dated London, 26 October 1275,⁸ Walter and Agnes de Fauconberg and Marmaduke and Lucy de Thweng granted the canons the right of electing a new prior when a vacancy occurred without first obtaining their licence, but stipulated that the new prior upon his election should be presented alternately to the Fauconbergs at Skelton and to the Thwengs at Danby for confirmation.

An event occurred in the early part of the 13th century which does not throw a pleasant light on the methods which the convent pursued, in one case at least, in endeavouring to enrich itself. The canons had obtained a large amount of land in the parish of Kirkleatham, and wished to get possession of the well-endowed church of that parish as well.⁹ They obtained three grants of it, in almost identical terms, from William de Kilton, the patron, and they proceeded at once to get a confirmation of it from King John in 1210. In 1221 Maud the niece and heiress of William de Kilton in conjunction with her husband Richard Dawtrey claimed that William's grant had been obtained from him on his deathbed, and when he was not in full possession of his senses. At first the prior traversed this statement, and maintained that William de Kilton made the grant when in good health and able to know what he was doing. The case was adjourned, and in 1228-9 Michael the prior released his claim, thus practically admitting the truth of the assertion made, of undue influence brought to bear on William de Kilton.

Among the early grants of a special nature made to the canons, those of a number of *salinae* at Coatham¹⁰ ought to be mentioned. The *salinae* were situated on low marshland which was overflowed by the higher tides with sea-water. Artificial hillocks were raised on the marsh land, on to the top of which the sea-water was baled, and there evaporated by fires made with a powdered coal which is still washed ashore and made use of by the cottagers. Several of these hills, locally known as salt hills, still remain with their furnaces overgrown and hidden. Many of the religious houses possessed one or more,¹¹ and in one or two instances it has been possible to identify the particular *salina*, or salt hill, belonging to a certain house.

² See, as to the question of the date of foundation, *Guisborough Chartul.* Introd. pp. vi-x.

³ Pope Calixtus II was elected on 1 Feb. 1119.

⁴ *Guisborough Chartul.* i, Introd. pp. xvi-xvii.

⁵ *Ibid.* 142-8.

⁶ *Ibid.* 147, no. ccli.iii.

⁷ *Ibid.* i, 148-64.

⁸ *Ibid.* 98, no. ccxvi.

⁹ For a full account of this affair see *Guisborough Chartul.* ii, Introd. p. vii; 96, no. dcccxlvi-dccclii, A.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* ii, 113-16, 121-3, D.

¹¹ e.g. Byland, Ellerton on Spalding Moor, Handale, &c.; *Guisborough Chartul.* ii, Introd. p. ix.

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The constant raids of the Scots greatly damaged the property of the canons.¹² In 1276, before the wars with Scotland began, the goods, temporal and spiritual, of the house (excluding their property in Scotland) were valued at 2,000 marks.¹³ Sixteen years later they were heavily in debt, and in 1328 commissioners appointed to inquire into the matter certified that £36¹⁴ was all that the canons could be fairly called upon to contribute as their share of the tenth on their temporal property in Yorkshire.

Besides the property in the more immediate neighbourhood, the canons received gifts of land in Lincolnshire, Cumberland, and elsewhere, especially in Annandale, where Robert Brus, lord of Annandale, second son of their founder, gave them the churches of Annan, Lochmaben, Kirkpatrick, Cummertrees, Redkirk, and Gretna, with dependent chapels.¹⁵ From Ivo de Charchem, or Karkem, they received, between 1180 and 1190, the church of Hessele, in the East Riding.¹⁶

In 1280 Archbishop Wickwane found much that needed correction; ¹⁷ in the first place he ordered the rule of St. Augustine to be strictly followed. No one was to go outside the cloister after compline, for the sake of frivolity (*causa lasciviae*) or drinking, under the pretext of entertaining guests. The canons were not to keep expensive schools for rich or poor, unless the Chancellor of York deemed that it would be for the good of the monastery. The infirmary was filled with persons shamming illness. These were to be turned out and punished, and the really sick treated with greater compassion. In the refectory the food was to be all of one kind and divided equally. Alms were not to be bestowed on unworthy subjects, and a costly and extravagant household was to be put down at once.

Silence was to be observed more strictly in the cloister, whilst in the quire all were enjoined to take part in the praises of God. Any who were silent in quire were to be forthwith expelled by the rulers of the quire and their attendants unless excused by illness. In their recreation the canons were adjured in Christ to prefer discourses that tended to edify, rather than scurrilous or lewd tales. Keeping accounts was to be committed to the charge of young and sharp-witted men, who would clearly understand what was going on. Quarrels were to be avoided, and instead of proclaiming neighbours' faults each was to speak for himself. Gifts were not to be received without the superior's leave, and were at once to be assigned to common use. Expeditions outside the priory were strictly forbidden, unless in accordance with the rule. Agents who became rapidly enriched by managing the

manors were to be removed at once. The *conversi*, if skilled in the management of temporal affairs, were to be made use of, so that their sagacity might avail to the benefit of the house.

The prior was not to be too lenient or, worse still, fearful in correcting, but, as a considerate and prudent prelate, was to instruct and teach the flock committed to his charge. The sub-prior, in hearing confessions and in other matters which belonged to his office, was to act with such moderation and care that at the Last Judgement he might receive a recompense full of peace. Certain canons, William de Beverley, Stephen de Kyrkeby, William de Scelton, Walter de Stocton, and John de Salkoc, the first four of whom had already been blamed in the earlier part of the *decretum*, and who had made themselves notorious for quarrelling and caballing, were debarred from promotion and were committed to the prior and sub-prior for condign punishment. Finally, the archbishop exhorted all, by the witness of the Cross, not to rejoice in or hasten one another's fall, but to show true compassion in all things, with all fear lest a like calamity should befall themselves.

The most important event in the earlier history of the priory is undoubtedly the fire in 1289, by which the conventual church was completely destroyed, when, according to Walter of Hemingburgh,¹⁸ a number of most valuable books on theology, as well as nine chalices, the vestments, and sumptuous images, perished, owing to the carelessness of a plumber who with his two men had gone to repair the roof of the building, and left the fire not properly extinguished in the roof. The wind blowing the sparks about set fire to the beams. In consequence of this disaster the prior and convent petitioned¹⁹ the king for licence to impropriate their churches of Easington, Benningholme, and Heselton, and licence was granted 18 Edward I (1290) for that purpose, but the impropriation does not appear to have taken place.²⁰ The reparation of the church must have taken a considerable time, for in 1309 Archbishop Greenfield granted an indulgence of forty days to all who contributed to the rebuilding of the conventual church, which by the sudden fury of a fire had been devoured, together with the buildings, books, and other properties of the convent. In 1311 Richard de Kellow, Bishop of Durham, granted a similar indulgence on account of the fire.²¹

¹⁸ *Guisborough Chartul.* ii, 353, where Hemingburgh's account is reprinted in full.

¹⁹ *Anct. Pet.* 15414. ²⁰ *Guisborough Chartul.* 354.

²¹ The canons also excused themselves to Edward II from granting a livery (*liberationem*) to Robert de Ryburgh, who was named for it by the king (in place of Henry le Charecter, who had previously held it on the nomination of Edward I), on the score of their impoverishment owing to the fire and the raids of the Scots, &c.; *ibid.* 356.

¹² *Guisborough Chartul.* ii, Intro. p. ix.

¹³ *Ibid.* i, 102, no. ccxix.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* ii, Intro. p. ix n. ¹⁵ *Ibid.* ii, 340-52.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 255.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* Intro. p. xiv.

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Although details of the visitations of Guisborough, with the exception of that of 1280 by Archbishop Wickwane, are not entered in the registers, there are many allusions to visitations of the house. In 1308 Archbishop Greenfield held a visitation, and as a result two of the canons were sent, Hugh de Croft to Bridlington, and Geoffrey de Caldebek to Kirkham, there to undergo penances imposed upon them for misbehaviour, the character of which is not specified, although the penances are detailed.

Hugh de Croft was to keep convent in quire, cloister, refectory, and dormitory. He was to say two psalters weekly, and to be the last among the priests, and for three months was to abstain from saying mass. He was to keep silence during the common colloquy, and say the seven penitential psalms with the litany by himself in the cloister. He was not to attend chapter or receive or send out letters, nor was he to speak to any secular or religious person except in the presence of the president, and on no account was he to go outside the precincts of the monastery. Each Friday he was to have bread, ale, and vegetables only, and on each vigil of the Blessed Virgin to fast on bread and water.

The penance of Geoffrey de Caldebek was much the same, but he seems not to have been a priest, and there is no inhibition in his case forbidding him to say mass, but he was not to be promoted to higher orders without the archbishop's special licence.

In 1309²² the prior and convent had to receive a certain canon of Bridlington, Simon le Constable, whose offence is named in the account of that house, and it was with evident disgust and reluctance that the Prior of Guisborough yielded to the archbishop's order and admitted him.

In 1327²³ the archbishop had to deal with the case of Stephen de Aukeland, a canon of the house, who had before taking orders, or entering the Augustinian Order, been technically guilty of the crime of usury, in conjunction with his mother, by lending ten shillings in usury. He applied to his prior for leave to go to obtain absolution of the pope. This being refused, he cast aside his canon's habit and went to Avignon, whence he brought back to the archbishop an absolution from John de Wrotham, the papal penitentiary. The archbishop sent him back to Guisborough, imposing upon him, for hidden sins confessed to the archbishop, a severe penance. He was to keep convent in all things, and was to hold no claustral office, nor was he to go outside the precincts of the convent without the archbishop's special licence. Each Wednesday and Friday he was to fast, to receive a discipline from the president in chapter and, prostrate before the altar of the Blessed Virgin, to say the

seven penitential psalms with the litany, humbly imploring divine grace and the help of the saints. He was to abstain from celebrating and all ministrations of the altar and be last in the convent. In 1315²⁴ two commissions were issued to correct the defects, crimes, and excesses discovered at the visitation.

The canons of Guisborough in 1319²⁵ utterly refused to admit one of the Templars, Robert de Langton, who had been sent first to Bridlington on the dispersion of the order, and had been transferred by the pope to Guisborough. The canons were only induced to obey under threat of excommunication.

About this time the priory seems to have been reduced to great straits. On 23 April 1323²⁶ Archbishop Melton was constrained to allow the convent to sell two or three corrodies, and to let to farm for a year their church of Kirkburn. Again, on 27 March, they had to ask for further licence to sell more corrodies and to let the church of Kirkburn for two years.

In 1380-1 the convent consisted of a prior, twenty-five canons, and two *conversi*.²⁷

On 19 October 1523²⁸ James Cokerell, the prior, was instituted to the rectory of Lythe near Whitby, which for some time he held *in commendam*. A very strange and simoniacal arrangement was entered into with the previous rector, who resigned on condition that the prior and convent paid him £200 on the feast of St. Mark next ensuing, and bound themselves to give him a yearly pension of £44 during his life, by even portions half-yearly, on the feast of St. Mark and St. Martin in winter, to be delivered to him 'at the founte situate in the body of the cathedrall church of Saynte Paule of London betwene the howores of eght and eleven of the clok before none on every of the saide festes.' This agreement bears date 4 November 1523.²⁹

²⁴ Ibid. 391, 392. ²⁵ Ibid. Introd. p. lvii; 392.

²⁶ Ibid. 398.

²⁷ Subs. R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 63, no. 12.

²⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. Wolsey, fol. 107.

²⁹ Ibid. fol. 108b. This use of the font in St. Paul's is mentioned in another grant by the Prior and convent of Guisborough, dated 14 June 29 Hen. VIII (1537), where they granted to Ralph Sadleyr a yearly rent of £40, to be paid in quarterly portions 'in ecclesia cathedrali sancti Pauli London super petram infra ecclesiam predictam existentem vocatam the ffontstone'; Conventual Leases, Yorks. no. 213. It also occurs in an annual pension of £6 granted 1 June 1530 by the Abbot and convent of Whitby to Ralph Belfield, which was to be paid 'in ecclesia cathedrali Sancti Pauli London super fontem baptismalem inter horas octavam et undecimam ante meridiem' (ibid. no. 993). Mention is also made of an annual rent of £118 to be paid 'uppon the ffontstone in the Temple Church, London,' 3 Jas. I; *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xix, 474. As to 'The Old Fount Stone' on which money was paid in Christ Church, Dublin,

²² *Guisborough Chartul.* 379.

²³ Ibid. 385.

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The clear annual value in 1535 was £628 6s. 8d.³⁰ The prior and convent paid £8 a year for a student at the university, and among the reprises were alms, including the portion of a canon daily given to thirteen poor persons in bread, ale, and meat, in honour of the Blessed Virgin for the souls of Robert de Brus, the founder, and Agnes his wife, amounting to 100s. yearly. Also alms on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (15 August), given in bread and meat to all poor folk coming to the monastery, for the soul of Robert de Brus, amounting to 60s. Alms at the obit of Peter de Brus II for 1,000 poor, 66s. 8d. yearly. Alms at the obit of William de Brus, brother of the founder, 40s. Alms given at the seven principal feasts for the soul of Peter de Brus, in bread, viz., 7 quarters of wheat, 46s. 8d. Daily alms from Ash Wednesday to Maundy Thursday in feeding three poor persons, 33s. 4d. Alms on Maundy Thursday in bread, money, and herrings, to thirteen poor persons, 40s. Alms yearly given to thirteen poor widows for the soul of Marjorie de Brus, 13 quarters of wheat, £4 6s. 8d. Daily alms during Lent, 3 quarters of peas, 12s. The whole amounted to £24 5s. 8d. It can be easily understood from this what a loss to the poor the dissolution of the larger monasteries must have been.

At the Dissolution there were twenty-five inmates of the house who received various pensions, which were to begin on 25 March 1540. When an inquiry was made in 1552³¹ Robert Pursglove, the late prior, appeared, and complained that he was in arrear a whole year. One of the canons, Henry Alaynby, was deceased; another, Gilbert Harryson, appeared with his patent, and was behind for half a year, 'and axed it and they saied they had no money'; Christopher Malton was said to be 'dwelling in Lyllye in Hartforthshire'; John Harryson was 'behind for a yere and a half at Michelmas last and requyred payment; and Walter Whallay and he (*sic*) answered that his bokes was at London and when he saue his bokes he wold pay hym.' Eight canons on the roll, besides Henry Alaynby, did not appear, and eleven, including those above mentioned, appeared with their patents, and against seven no other entry is made to show whether they were paid or not.

It was at first proposed on the dissolution of the priory to found a collegiate church of secular

and which was removed at the 'restoration' of that building by the late Mr. G. E. Street, see *The Cathedral Ch. of Holy Trinity, Dublin*, by William Butler, 1901, p. 10. Money payments were made on the tomb (or shrine) of St. Alkelda in the nave of Middleham Collegiate Church; *Richmond Wills* (Surt. Soc.), 129 n. The stone was removed at the last 'restoration.'

³⁰ *Valor Eccl.* v, 80.

³¹ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 76, no. 25.

canons in its place.³² The scheme provided for a dean, four prebendaries, six petty canons 'to syng in the quier,' four singing men, six choristers with a master, a gospeller and epistoler, and a grammar schoolmaster, a steward, auditor, and four poor men. It need hardly be said that the scheme only existed on paper.

PRIORS OF GUISBOROUGH³³

William de Brus, occurs temp. Archbishop Thurstan³⁴
 Cuthbert, occurs 1146-54
 Ralph, occurs c. 1174-80
 Raold, occurs 1199
 Lawrence, occurs 1211-12
 Michael, occurs 1218-34
 John, occurs 1239-51, 1257
 Ralph de Irton, occurs 1262, elected Bishop of Carlisle 1280
 Adam de Newland, occurs 1280
 William de Middlesburg, elected 1281
 Robert de Wilton, elected 1320-1
 John de Derlington, elected 1346
 John de Horeworth or Hurworth, elected 1364, resigned 1393
 Walter de Thorp, elected 1393
 John de Helmesley, occurs 1408
 John Thweng, elected 1425
 Richard Ayreton (Prior of Healaugh Park), elected 1437
 Thomas Darlington, elected 1455
 John Moreby, elected 1475
 John Whitby, resigned 1491 and re-elected, resigned 1505
 John Moreby (second time ?), elected 1505, blessed 1511³⁵
 William Spires, elected 1511³⁶
 James Cokerell, elected 1519, occurs 1534
 Robert Pursglove *alias* Sylvester, occurs 1537, 1539

The 12th-century seal³⁷ is a vesica, 2½ in. by 1¾ in., with our Lady seated and reading from a book on a lectern. The legend is—

† SIGILLVM SANCTE MARIE DE GISEBVRN

³² *Henry VIII's Scheme of Bishopricks* (ed. Cole, 1838), fol. 44.

³³ This list is taken from that in the *Guisborough Chartul.* ii, Introd. pp. xxxix-xlvi, where authority is given for each name and date.

³⁴ It is said that he was brother of the founder, and died in 1145. 40s. in alms were annually distributed at the obit of William de Brus, brother of the founder: *Valor Eccl.* v, 80.

³⁵ Commission to John, Bishop of Negropont, to bless John Moreby, Prior of Gisburn, 10 Sept. 1511; York Archiepis. Reg. Bainbridge, fol. 23b.

³⁶ Confirmation of the election of William Spires as Prior of 'Gisburn,' 13 Dec. 1511; York Archiepis. Reg. Bainbridge, fol. 24b.

³⁷ *Cat. of Seals, B.M.* 3186, lxxiv, 49.



ST. JOHN'S PRIORY, PONTEFRACT
(12TH CENTURY)



GUISBOROUGH PRIORY
(12TH CENTURY)



KIRKHAM PRIORY (12TH CENTURY)



HALTEMPRICE PRIORY (*obverse*)
(14TH CENTURY)



HALTEMPRICE PRIORY (*reverse*)
(14TH CENTURY)

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The circular 13th-century seal,³⁸ 2½ in. in diameter, has on its obverse our Lady crowned and seated and holding the Child, with this inscription at the sides—

AUE MARIA GRACIA PL'

On either side of her chair kneels a canon, with a sun above his head.

The reverse has St. Augustine seated in a similar chair, blessing and holding his staff. At the sides are the words—

ORA ꝥ NOB' B̄E AVGV'

Above the kneeling canons are moons. The legend is too much destroyed to be legible.

50. THE PRIORY OF HALTEMPRICE

With the exception of the two charterhouses at Hull and Mount Grace,¹ the Augustinian priory of Haltemprice was the last founded of Yorkshire monasteries. More than seventy years had elapsed since the establishment of any monastery in Yorkshire, and rather more than a century since the foundation of that of Healaugh Park,² the most recent of the Augustinian priories, when Thomas Wake, lord of Liddell, began his foundation of the priory of the Holy Cross at Haltemprice.

In December 1320³ Pope John XXII issued a mandate to the Archbishop of York to license Thomas Wake to found a monastery of the order of St. Augustine in his town of Cottingham, and to incorporate the church of the said town, being of the founder's patronage, with it. An abbot or prior was to be appointed, and the number of canons determined. In Cottingham, however, a secure title to the site could not be obtained, and on 26 June 1322⁴ Edward II granted licence by Letters Patent to Thomas Wake to confer a messuage in Newton on a religious house of whatever order he wished to be built there, and also to endow it with a carucate of land and other property, as well as with the advowson of the church of Cottingham. The original site was evidently in Cottingham itself, and Newton, about two miles south of Cottingham, was within the parish. On 1 January 1325-6⁵ Pope John XXII issued a bull, addressed to the archbishop, reciting that Thomas Wake had begun to build an Augustinian monastery in his town of Cottingham, and had erected the church and other of its buildings, and that several canons

of the house of Bourne in the diocese of Lincoln had, with the leave of their abbot, taken up their abode in it, and were celebrating mass and divine offices, but that it had been found that owing to certain statutes, constitutions, and customs of the kingdom of England, the heirs or successors of the founder would have power to demolish it. The pope granted licence that the monastery should be removed to another fit place, and when so founded, the archbishop was to order the canons, and unite the church of Cottingham to it. The monastery therefore was removed to Newton. By his foundation charter, dated the Sunday after the Conversion of St. Paul (25 January) 1325-6,⁶ Thomas Wake granted to God, Blessed Mary, and all saints, in honour of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and for his soul, and those of his wife, his father and mother, and his ancestors and heirs, &c., to the canons regular of *Alta Prisa* his manors and vills of Newton, Willerby, and Wolfreton, with the rents and services of the free tenants and serfs, ordaining that those three vills Newton (*que nunc Hawtemprice vocatur*), Willerby, and Wolfreton should be made a liberty, with a court of frankpledge distinct from Cottingham, and should have assize of bread and ale, &c. He also gave half the toll of the market of Cottingham, and of the fairs there,⁷ and the advowsons of the churches of Cottingham, Kirk Ella, Wharram Percy, and Belton in the Isle of Axholme.⁸ The advowson of Kirk Ella⁹ had originally been given to the abbey of Selby by Gilbert de Tyson, and confirmed to that house by Richard I, and it continued a rectory while it belonged to Selby. On the request of Thomas Wake, Edward III granted licence in 1328 to the Prior and convent of Haltemprice to give certain land in Hessele to Selby in exchange for the advowson of Kirk Ella, and to appropriate the church to their priory. The original grant of this church by Thomas Wake in 1325 suggests that the arrangement with Selby was in contemplation, but had not been effected in law. It was not, indeed, until 1331 that the Abbot and convent of Selby granted the church of Kirk

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 519.

⁷ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 313. According to Burton (p. 314) the founder granted the custody of St. Leonard's Hospital at Chesterfield to the priory of Haltemprice, but this is not mentioned in the original charter. Burton refers to his appendix (which has not been printed) for authority for this statement.

⁸ Boniface IX confirmed the appropriation of Belton Church to Haltemprice on 1 June 1399, the value not exceeding 90 marks, and that of Haltemprice not exceeding 400. The church was to be served by one of their canons, or by a secular priest removable at their pleasure. *Cal. Papal Letters*, v, 185.

⁹ See as to the church of Elveley (Kirk Ella) Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 315.

³⁸ *Cat. of Seals*, B.M. 3187, 50, 51.

¹ Hull 1377; Mount Grace 1396.

² *Circa* 1218. ³ *Cal. Papal Letters*, ii, 210.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 519.

⁵ Add. Chart. 20554 (printed, but not quite accurately, in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 520, no. ii).

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Ella to Thomas Wake (and not to Haltemprice), and not till 1343 that Archbishop Zouch, on the death of Robert de Spirgurnell, then rector, appropriated the church to Haltemprice, and ordained a vicarage therein, which was to be held by one of the canons of Haltemprice. The appropriation of the churches of Kirk Ella and Wharram Percy to Haltemprice was confirmed on 13 June 1352 by Pope Clement VI.¹⁰

Other gifts were made to the priory, and in 1361¹¹ John de Meaux gave or confirmed the manor of Willerby and 6 acres of land there, on condition that during his life the canons should pay him the sum of £32 yearly, and that three canons, while he lived, and six afterwards, should perform matins with the other hours, mass, vespers, and compline, with *Dirige* and *Placebo* for his soul and the souls of Maud his wife, Geoffrey de Meaux his father, and the lady Scolastica his mother, Joan, Countess of Kent, and all faithful departed. On 10 September 1325¹² Archbishop Melton directed the Archdeacon of the East Riding and his official to go 'ad locum juxta Cotingham situatum,' which certain canons of the monastery of Bourne in the diocese of Lincoln were inhabiting, the report of whose excesses had reached the archbishop's ears, and to inquire as to them, and correct abuses. The expression *juxta Cotingham* seems to imply that the house was not then in Cottingham, and therefore at Newton, otherwise Haltemprice, but it was not until eighteen months later (5 May 1327¹³) that Thomas de Overton, a canon of Bourne, was appointed first Prior of Haltemprice. The rule of the first prior was brief, for on 28 January 1328-9¹⁴ the archbishop directed Denis Avenel, Archdeacon of the East Riding, to inquire into the election of Robert Engaigne as Prior of Haltemprice, vacant by the death of Thomas de Overton. The new prior had been elected by Brothers Walter de Hekyngton and Henry de Northwell, it being reported that there were only these three canons belonging to the priory at the time. The archdeacon replied on 28 February¹⁵ that he had made the necessary inquiry, and having found that all had been rightly done, he had installed the new prior. Prior Robert de Hickling, who held office for the first time from 1349 till 1357,¹⁶ when he was succeeded by Peter de Harpham, on whose resignation in 1362¹⁷ he was elected for a second term of office, does not seem to have been a successful ruler of the house, for in 1367¹⁸ Archbishop Thoresby ordered an investigation of the state of the house of Haltemprice, which

public report declared was so gravely burdened by debt, and in so parlous a state owing to the indiscreet rule of the prior and the carelessness of the officials, that absolute ruin was threatened. To the prior¹⁹ the archbishop wrote that Robert de Burton, one of the canons, was to be associated with him in the rule of the house till Michaelmas, without whose assistance he was to do nothing pertaining to the temporal business of the house.

On 10 November 1400²⁰ Boniface IX granted an indulgence of the 'portiuncula' to penitents who visited and gave alms on the feasts of the Annunciation and St. Michael to the church of the Augustinian priory of 'Hautinprisse,' with an indult for the prior and six other confessors, secular or religious, deputed by him, to hear confessions, and on 21 May 1402²¹ the same pope granted an indult to the Augustinian Prior and convent of 'Hautenpriis,' who by the institutions and customs of their order were bound to wear sandals (*ocreas*), that in future they might wear shoes (*calciamentis seu sotularibus basis et communibus*).

On 3 September 1411²² Pope John XXIII, having learnt that the building and foundation of the Augustinian priory of St. Mary the Virgin and the Holy Cross of 'Hautenpris' had been begun in times not far remote, and by reason of its founder's death was not completed and its endowment left insufficient, and, further, that the bell-tower of its church had been lately blown down, ruining the church and certain of the priory buildings, and that a fire had destroyed the costly priory gate and a number of the adjoining offices, and that a number of the other buildings were in ruin, so that the monastery was scarcely habitable for the prior and convent, regranted the indulgence of the 'portiuncula' for a period of ten years. This is the only information there is as to these disasters which had befallen the priory at this period. In 1424,²³ Richard Worleby having resigned the office of prior, John Thwyng (sub-prior) was elected by the other ten canons.²⁴

When Henry VI in 1440 granted a charter to the town of Kingston-upon-Hull, constituting it a county of itself, the whole of the site of the priory was included in the county of the town. This, says Burton,²⁵ led to a dispute, which was referred to Bryan Palmes, serjeant-at-law, and others. The award was that the prior had all such liberties, franchises, and royalties as the lordship of Cottingham ever had, but that while Cottingham carried its felons and murderers to

¹⁰ *Cal. Papal Letters*, iii, 468.

¹¹ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 317.

¹² York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 297b.

¹³ *Ibid.* fol. 301.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 311.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Thoresby, fol. 197b.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 217b.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 311.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 207.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 217b.

²⁰ *Cal. Papal Letters*, v, 376.

²¹ *Ibid.* 515.

²² *Ibid.* vi, 295.

²³ York Archiepis. Reg. sed. vac. fol. 349.

²⁴ In 1380 there were eight canons besides the prior. Cler. Subs. R. bdl. 63, no. 12.

²⁵ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 315.

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York Castle, the monastery of Haltemprice, being in Hullshire, carried theirs to Hull.

The commissioners supervised the house on 26 May 1536²⁶ and suppressed it on 12 August following; Robert Collynson was then prior, and there were nine 'confratres.' Law expenses are recorded in going to London and Hull in actions 'versus homines ville de Hull.' There were forty servants and boys at the time of the suppression. As to superstition, Drs. Layton and Legh²⁷ say that there was a 'peregrination' to Thomas Wake for fever, and that an arm of St. George was had in veneration, and a piece of the Holy Cross, and the girdle of the Blessed Virgin, esteemed salutary to women in child-birth.

The clear annual value in 1535 was £100 os. 3½d.²⁸

In the return 6 Edward VI,²⁹ as to the payment of pensions, the commissioners reported under 'Alt'price'—'Robert Collynson nuper prior de Hawdymprice obiit circa x^m diem octobris ultimo elapso [1551] t his pencon was by yere xx li.' No other names are given, from which it may be surmised that no members of the house were then alive.

PRIORS OF HALTEMPRICE

- Thomas de Overton, 1327,³⁰ died 1328³¹
 Robert Engayne, elected 1329,³² resigned³³
 John de Hickling, confirmed 1331³⁴
 Thomas de Elveley, confirmed 1332,³⁵
 resigned 1338³⁶
 William de Wolfreton, 1338,³⁷ died 1349³⁸
 Robert de Hickling, 1349,³⁹ resigned 1357⁴⁰
 Peter de Harpham, 1357,⁴¹ resigned 1362⁴²
 Robert de Hickling, elected 1362⁴³ (query
 second time), occurs 1367⁴⁴
 Peter (query de Harpham a second time),
 occurs 1370⁴⁵
 Robert Claworth, died 1391⁴⁶
 William de Selby, confirmed 1391-2,⁴⁷ occurs
 1414⁴⁸
 Richard Worleby, occurs 1415,⁴⁹ 1423,⁵⁰
 resigned⁵¹

²⁶ K.R. Aug. Views of Accts., bdl. 17.

²⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, p. 137.

²⁸ *Valor Eccl.* v, 127.

²⁹ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdl. 76, no. 23.

³⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 301.

³¹ Ibid. fol. 310. ³² Ibid. ³³ Ibid. fol. 215.

³⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 519. ³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 327.

³⁷ Ibid. ³⁸ Ibid. Zouch, fol. 196b.

³⁹ Ibid. ⁴⁰ Ibid. Thoresby, fol. 197b.

⁴¹ Ibid. ⁴² Ibid. fol. 207.

⁴³ Ibid. ⁴⁴ Ibid. fol. 217.

⁴⁵ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 80.

⁴⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Arundel, fol. 31b.

⁴⁷ Ibid. ⁴⁸ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 80.

⁴⁹ Baildon's MS. Notes.

⁵⁰ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 80.

⁵¹ York Archiepis. Reg. sed. vac. fol. 349.

John Thweng, elected 1424 (occurs 1425,
 1430-5, 1437)⁵²

Robert Thweng, occurs 1435, 1439

Thomas Dalehouse, elected 1441,⁵³ resigned
 1457⁵⁴

Robert Holme, confirmed 1457⁵⁵

William Maunsel, elected 1471-2,⁵⁶ died
 1502⁵⁷

William Kirkham, 1502,⁵⁸ died 1506⁵⁹

John Wymmersley, 1506,⁶⁰ died 1514⁶¹

John Nandike, confirmed 1514,⁶² occurs 1517⁶³

Nicholas Haldesworth, elected 1518⁶⁴

Richard Fawconer, elected 1528,⁶⁵ resigned
 1531⁶⁶

Robert Colynson, elected 1531-2,⁶⁷ last prior

The remarkable 14th-century seal is circular, 2¾ in. in diameter. On the obverse,⁶⁸ inclosed in an octofoil, having fleurs de lis and leopards' heads alternately in the spandrels, is a representation of the house, with two banners on its roof of the arms of Thomas, Lord Wake of Liddell, the founder. On the right is a shield of his arms, two bars with three roundels in the chief, and on the left is a burelly shield which perhaps represents the arms of the Stutevilles of Liddell, whose heiress was great-grandmother of the founder. Below is a third shield charged with a cross paty. The legend is

✠ CEO EST LE SEAL LABBE E LE COVENT DE
 COTINGHAM QVE NOVS THOMAS WAKE SINGNOVR
 DE LIDEL AVOMES FOVNDE.

The reverse,⁶⁹ in an architectural octofoil, shows a three-storied architectural composition with a rood in the uppermost compartment. Below, the prior kneels between St. Peter and St. Paul, and at the bottom are five praying canons. Outside this design are two kneeling figures. That to the left is the founder, Thomas,

⁵² There seems to be some confusion here. John Thwyngne has been found as prior by Mr. Baildon in 1425, 1430, 1435, 1437, while Robert Thwyngne as prior occurs in the same list in 1435 and 1439.

⁵³ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 448b (a canon of Guisborough).

⁵⁴ Ibid. W. Booth, fol. 109.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid. Geo. Nevill, fol. 142. Is called 'Manuell', Conventual Leases, York, no. 263 (10 Dec. 1496), and an *alias* 'Marshal,' Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 318.

⁵⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Savage, fol. 51.

⁵⁸ Ibid. ⁵⁹ Ibid. fol. 59.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid. Bainbridge, fol. 145b.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Conventual Lease (as John Nendyk), no. 264.

⁶⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Wolsey, fol. 36b.

⁶⁵ Ibid. fol. 192b.

⁶⁶ Ibid. Lee, fol. 22.

⁶⁷ In Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 80, an *alias* 'Colson' is given. His name occurs in several Conventual Leases, and always as in the Archiepiscopal Registers Colynson or Collynson.

⁶⁸ *Cat. of Seals, B.M.* 3004, lxxiv, 36.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 3005, D.C., F. 13.

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Lord Wake, with his arms upon his ailettes; that to the right is his wife. Above each of them is a banner of Wake, and the same arms are repeated on a small shield at the base of the composition. The legend on this side is a continuation of that on the obverse, and runs

✠ EN L'AN DE L'INCARNACION MILL' CCCXXX
SECOVND E AL HONOUR DE LA VERAI CROYZ E
DE NRE DAME E SEYNT PERE E D' SEYT POVL.

51. THE PRIORY OF HEALAUGH PARK

The priory of Healaugh Park originated in a hermitage in the wood of Healaugh.¹ Bertram Haget granted to Gilbert, a monk of Marmoutier, and his successors, the hermitage land in the wood of Healaugh and other cleared spaces of ground there, as defined by certain bounds set out in his charter.² Geoffrey Haget, his son, confirmed to God, St. Mary, and the church of St. John *de Parco*, and to the monk Gilbert and his successors dwelling there, the lands and woods as his father's charter had defined them.³ Among the witnesses to this charter was Abbot Clement [of St. Mary's, York], who succeeded in 1161 and died in 1184.⁴ The date, therefore, must be between those limits, which makes the original foundation of the hermitage considerably earlier than has usually been supposed.

In 1203⁵ Henry, Prior of Marton, and the convent of that house, quitclaimed any right they might have over the hermitage in the park of Healaugh. Bertram Haget had four daughters, one of whom, Alice, inherited Healaugh. She married John de Friston, and their daughter Alice married Jordan de Santa Maria, and with him, *circa* 1218,⁶ definitely established the Augustinian Priory at the place where the earlier hermitage had existed. By their charter⁷ they granted to God, St. John the Evangelist of Healaugh Park, and William, prior, and canons there, the site of the monastery and other lands and rights. William, the first prior, was installed on the feast of St. Lucy (13 December) 1218. He was prior for thirteen and a half years, and died in 1233.⁸ Very soon after its foundation the priory received from Alan de Wilton a grant of the hospital of St. Nicholas *juxta Yarm*,⁹ of which, probably, he was the founder. The hospital remained in possession

of the priory till the Dissolution, the convent sending one of its canons to take charge of it.

Their other possessions, of considerable extent though not of much value, are set out in alphabetical order by Burton.¹⁰ Their two churches were Wighill (adjoining Healaugh), given before 1288,¹¹ and Healaugh, granted to them about 1398¹² and appropriated in 1425.¹³ They also had at one time a moiety of the church of Leathley, to which they presented,¹⁴ and at the Dissolution were receiving a pension from that church.¹⁵

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*¹⁶ the total revenues of the house were returned at £86 6s. 6d., the reprises being £19 2s. 7d., leaving a clear annual revenue of £67 3s. 11d. only.

Archbishop Wickwane visited Healaugh on 11 May 1280 and issued the following injunctions.¹⁷ The rule of St. Augustine and the statutes of Godfrey, his predecessor, were to be read (*recitari*) at the beginning of each month, and observed. Habits and shoes were to be given to each member by a common minister of the house, as required, and the distribution of money [for their purchase] abandoned. The canons were not to be sent out singly, or permitted to remain in the service of great people. They were not, especially after compline, to drink with guests outside the cloister or elsewhere, and were forbidden to walk about in the adjacent woods or other places, unless of necessity, and with the leave of the president. No corrodies or other wasteful burdens for the house were to be granted. Silence was to be decently observed, and the accounts made up yearly. Flesh meat was not to be eaten by the strong and healthy members, against the requirements of the rule, on the second and fourth ferias of the week. A sub-prior was to be appointed without delay, and the canons were on no account to receive any female as a guest or to stay at the house without the archbishop's special licence. Trouble appears to have arisen a few years later, and in 1294¹⁸ Archbishop Romanus instructed his official to terminate certain contentions between the prior and some of the canons.

Archbishop Greenfield in 1307¹⁹ found the house burdened with corrodies and annuities beyond its means, and much impoverished by sales of land.

¹ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 281.

² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 438, no. i. ³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See above, p. 111.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 438, no. ii.

⁶ *Ibid.* 438, 439, no. iv, v.

⁷ *Ibid.* 439, no. v.

⁸ Cartul. de Parco Helagh (Cott. MSS. Vesp. A, iv), fol. 16.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 636, no. ii.

¹⁰ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 281-4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Pat. 21 Ric. II, m. 36.

¹³ Lawton, *Coll. Rerum Eccl.* 63.

¹⁴ *Archbishop Gray's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 29, 40; *Archbishop Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 32.

¹⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 441, no. x.

¹⁶ *Valor Eccl.* v, 8.

¹⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 24b, 134.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Romanus, fol. 46.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Greenfield, fol. 63.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Archbishop Melton visited Healaugh in 1320,²⁰ on which occasion he ordered his predecessor's *decretum* to be read in chapter and diligently observed. As he found the monastery heavily charged with debts, pensions, corrodies, and liveries, the prior and all the officials were to use all possible moderation. The sick canons were to be properly treated according to the character of their illnesses, and an elderly and discreet canon was to have charge of them. Divine service was to be devoutly celebrated according to the different seasons, and canons in priests' orders were not to surcease from the celebration of masses.

All the money, without any deduction, was to be handed to two bursars who, according to the direction of the prior, would spend it on the needs of the house. No one was to retain any servant who was burdensome to the house, useless, or who was defamed of the vice of incontinence or any other crime. Their manor at Yarm was held on condition of celebrating for the souls of the founders, and also for hospitality; this was to be done as hitherto.

All the canons were enjoined that if they had any of the goods of the house they should return them to the prior and help to recover any lost goods. The secrets of the chapter were not to be revealed. A chamberlain was to be appointed who would provide the canons with clothes and habits as funds allowed.

William de Marisco had given the house two carucates of land in Marston and Hoton for a daily chantry for his soul in their house, and this chantry was to be performed, and they were bound to find two tapers on festivals throughout the year in the chapel of Hoton for the souls of William de Marisco and his wife.

The prior, sub-prior, cellarer, and other officials having administration of the goods of the house were to be careful that their fellow canons were properly provided with meat and drink.

The visitation resulted in the resignation, on the day following,²¹ of William de Grymston, the prior, which was made in full chapter before the archbishop and his clerks, and at the same time Henry de Shepeley, the sub-prior, also resigned. After this, the canons all voted for Robert de Spofford, the cellarer, except himself. He was thereupon installed, and Brother Richard de Bilton was elected sub-prior, and Brother Stephen de Levynghon, cellarer.

Four years later Stephen de Levynghon and another canon, Nicholas de Cotum, appear in a very bad case of immorality. The archbishop, writing to the prior on 13 September 1324,²² said that to the scandal and shame of their order and habit, 'in carne enormiter sunt collapsi.' He therefore enjoined a severe penance upon them.

They were continuously to keep convent, quire, refectory, dormitory, and chapter, unless hindered by sickness, were to take the lowest place in the convent, not to go outside the precincts of the monastery in any way, or hold conversation with women. Each Wednesday and Friday they were to receive a discipline in chapter from the president, and on each of those days to say the seven penitential psalms with the litany before the altar of the Blessed Mary. Each week they were to say one psalter, and every Wednesday to fast with one service of fish and vegetables, and every Friday in like manner to fast on bread and ale only; and they were to hold no administration or office in the house.

It is certainly surprising that the next entry in the archbishop's register should record, on 12 August 1333,²³ the admission of Stephen de Levynghon to the office of prior on the death of Robert de Spofford.

In 1344²⁴ Archbishop Zouch, regarding the wasted condition of the priory, burdened by debt and other ills owing to careless government, directed, once again, that no alienations, &c., were to be made without his special licence. Matters do not seem to have improved, for just ten years later an indulgence was granted for forty days by Archbishop Thoresby, in 1354,²⁵ to those who helped the house, which, poorly endowed, had its buildings dilapidated, and its stock reduced by pestilence. In 1380-1²⁶ there were six canons besides the prior. In 1401²⁷ Boniface IX granted an indult to the Augustinian Prior and convent of St. John the Evangelist's, Healaugh Park, who by the institutions and customs of their order were bound to wear sandals (*ocreas*), to wear, in future, shoes. On 5 May 1460²⁸ Archbishop W. Booth notified the sub-prior and convent that he had accepted the resignation of Thomas Cotyngham, their prior, and directed them to elect a successor. They elected William Berwyk, vicar of Wighill, and a canon professed in their house. The archbishop, however, wrote to Christopher Lofthouse, canon of Bolton,²⁹ stating that he had heard of the pretended election of Berwyk, and had annulled and quashed it, and with the licence of the Prior and convent of Bolton he appointed him Prior of Healaugh. Why the archbishop took this action does not appear, nor how the canons of Healaugh received it, but Christopher Lofthouse was installed on 22 May 1460, and was prior for more than thirteen years, 'et furatus est bona hujus domus.'³⁰

²⁰ Ibid. fol. 195b.

²⁴ Ibid. Zouch, fol. 17.

²⁵ Ibid. Thoresby, fol. 17.

²⁶ Subs. R. bdl. 63, no. 12.

²⁷ *Cal. Papal Letters*, v, 498.

²⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. W. Booth, fol. 15b.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Cott. MS. Vesp. A. iv; the list of priors begins fol. 1b.

²⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 142.

²¹ Ibid. fol. 137b. ²² Ibid. fol. 168.

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However, William Berwyk succeeded Lofthouse, and the chartulary recording his name as prior says, 'qui fuit vicarius de Wechall et canonicus de nostra propria domo verus'; and of William Bramman, vicar of Healaugh, who in 1475 succeeded Berwyk, it is said 'et erat canonicus proprius in hac domo rasmus.'

Upon Thomas Cotyngnam's resignation³¹ the archbishop assigned him the following provision: He was to have a chamber at the south end of the nave of the conventual church, which was to be divided into two rooms for his habitation, as well as a specified allowance of food, and a servant; and further the archbishop decreed that, if the said Brother T. Cotyngnam wished, he was to use a chamber which he was wont to occupy at the time of the synods, at York, and the moiety of a stable within a certain mansion of the convent opposite the cemetery of the Friars Preachers of York. He was, in addition, to receive 10 marks in money yearly.

In 1534 Archbishop Lee visited Healaugh Park, and his injunctions to the prior and canons on that occasion have been printed.³² All were to obey the rule of St. Augustine strictly, the prior was directed to see that the cloister doors were closed and locked immediately after compliance, and not reopened till six o'clock in the morning in summer, or seven in winter, the keys being safely kept. No corrodies, pensions, or fees (*feoda*) were henceforth to be granted, or granges let without the archbishop's licence, and the prior was not to let lands or pastures, or cut or sell wood, without the consent of the whole convent. No one was to be professed, nor any other person permitted to reside within the precincts of the monastery, without the archbishop's licence. The prior was in no manner to admit women to his company except in the presence of two of the canons, who could hear and see what took place, and the same regulation was to apply to the canons. Those who broke this rule would be deemed guilty of incontinence. The infirmary, which threatened to fall into ruin, was to be repaired before Michaelmas.

On 30 November 1519³³ Peter the Prior and the 'monastery' of Healaugh Park granted to Sir John Fountaunce, 'broder of ye same howse,' 'y^r parsonagh in Helaugh w^t a laith, a kowhowse, w^t all y^e lande, closys, medow, wode, and pastur, w^t y^e appurtenances thair unto belongyng, after ye deseise of Sir Thomas Pendreth, now incumbent' &c., for thirty-one years, paying to the prior and convent £3 yearly, and on 14 May 1520³⁴ John Fountaunce, canon of Healaugh Park, O.S.A., was instituted by Cardinal Wolsey to the vicarage of Healaugh, vacant by the death of Thomas

Penreth. On 8 March 1530³⁵ Richard, prior, and the convent agreed to pay Richard Stryan, 'vychar of Helaghe,' £6 a year, and granted him 'one toft and one croft callyd ye vychareg, w^t all other smalle dewtes belongyng to ye chyrche of Helaghe, y^t ys to say dirige grotis, weddyng grotis, w^t all other dewtes pertenynge to y^e same, as haythe beyn customarye to ye curet.' On the other hand, Richard Stryan, who was clearly a secular clerk, covenanted 'never for to clame, ne intytyll, no chanony-shall dewty, nor devydent, of ye sayde pryor, convent, nor of y^r successors, nor promocyon, ne vote in y^e chaptor howse, nor to mell of no conventuall consell, from ye day of ye makyng herof, vnto ye terme of hys lyffis ende.'

The house was visited by the commissioners on 9 June 1535³⁶ and suppressed on 9 August following. There were then five canons besides the prior, Richard Roundale, and eight servants, boys, and other workmen. In the account of Leonard Beckwith for a year from Michaelmas 1535, the revenue is set down at £114 10s. 10d., and four bells are accounted for, valued at £13 6s. 8d.

PRIORS OF HEALOUGH PARK³⁷

William de Hamelech, 1218, died 1233
 Elias, 1233, resigned 1256
 John Nocus, 1257, resigned 1260
 Hamo de Ebor, 1260, resigned 1264
 Henry de Quetelay, 1264
 Adam de Blide, 1281
 William de Grymston, 1300
 Robert de Spofford, 1320
 Stephen Levyngton, 1333
 Richard,³⁸ 1357
 Thomas de Yarom, 1358
 Stephen Clarell, 1378³⁹
 John Byrkyn, 1423, resigned
 Thomas York, 1429⁴⁰
 Richard Areton, 1435⁴¹
 Thomas Botson, 1437⁴²
 Thomas Cotyngnam, 1440
 Christopher Lofthouse, 1460

³⁵ Conventual Leases, Yorks. (P.R.O.), no. 303.

³⁶ K.R. Aug. Views of Accts. bdle. 17.

³⁷ This list is taken from the Chartulary, fol. 16 (Cott. MS. Vesp. A. iv). The list in all cases where it can be checked by the Registers seems correct, and is, no doubt, full. It contains dates of election, &c., and by whom confirmed and installed.

³⁸ His name, as tenth prior, has been added in fainter ink at a later period.

³⁹ 'Fuit prior per xlv annos, novem menses et tres dies.'

⁴⁰ 'Stetit per sex annos, et postea depositus fuit.'

⁴¹ 'Stetit in prioratu per annum et tres menses et translatus est ad Gisburn.'

⁴² 'Stetit in prioratu quasi per duos annos et translatus est ad Bolton.'

³¹ York Archiepis. Reg. W. Booth, fol. 16b.

³² Yorks. Arch. Journ. xvi, 438.

³³ Conventual Leases, Yorks. (P.R.O.), no. 309.

³⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Wolsey, fol. 49.

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William Berwyk, 1471
William Bramman, 1475
William Ellyngton, 1480
Peter Kendayll,⁴³ confirmed 1499
Richard Roundale, confirmed 1520⁴⁴

The 13th-century seal⁴⁵ is a vesica showing the prior standing on a carved corbel. Legend:—

† SIGILL' SANTI IOHIS DE PARCO

52. THE PRIORY OF KIRKHAM

The Augustinian priory of Kirkham was founded about 1130,¹ and was the earliest of the three religious houses which owed their existence to Walter Espec. In his foundation charter,² addressed to Archbishop Thurstan and Geoffrey, Bishop of Durham, Walter Espec records that he had given to God and the church of the Holy Trinity of Kirkham, and to the canons serving God there, the whole manor of Kirkham, with the parish church and the churches of Helmsley, Garton, and Kirby Grindalythe, and other property, including (in Northumberland) the whole vill of Carham-on-Tweed, a *mansura* at Wark, the whole vill of Titlington, and the churches of Ilderton and Newton-in-Glendale (now known as Kirknewton). As Thurstan and Geoffrey were contemporaries in the sees of York and Durham from 1133 to 1139, the date of this charter is definitely fixed between those years.

There is no reference to any son or child of the founder,³ and no suggestion whatever in support of the legend that Walter Espec was led to found Kirkham and his two other monasteries of Rievaulx and Warden out of grief at the loss of his only son by an accident. That story is told with such definiteness of detail in a chartulary of Rievaulx, that, were it not incidentally negated by the silence of all contemporary accounts, including the foundation charters of the monasteries in question, it would almost carry a conviction of truth with it. The legend, as told in the chartulary under the heading 'Fundatio monasteriorum de Kyrkham Ryevalx et Wardon, &c.,'⁴ is that Walter Espec, *miles strenuus*, married,

when quite young, a certain Adelina, who bore him a son named Walter. The son was a handsome youth, and greatly devoted to riding swift horses. One day, mounting and urging his steed beyond control, it stumbled against a small stone cross at Frithby and threw him, breaking his neck. The father, inconsolable at his bereavement, consulted his uncle William, then rector of Garton, at whose advice he made Christ his heir, founding three monasteries at Kirkham, Rievaulx, and Warden, appointing his uncle William, who had received monastic instruction in the house of St. Oswald, Nostell, the first Prior of Kirkham, which he endowed to the extent of 1,300 marks a year.⁵ Of the founder himself a vivid picture has been drawn by Aelred, the third Abbot of Rievaulx, in his account of the battle of the Standard.⁶ He describes Walter Espec as at that time an old man, full of days, of quick wit, foreseeing in counsel, sober-minded in peace, wary in war, always keeping friendship with his companions, and faith with kings; a tall, big man with black hair, a full beard, an open and free countenance, with large and keen-sighted eyes, and a voice like a trumpet. Noble in the flesh, Aelred says, but nobler far for his Christian piety.

The most important incident in the early history of Kirkham is undoubtedly the proposed cession to the abbey of Rievaulx of Kirkham itself, and a considerable amount of its property, on the condition that the patron gave other lands to the canons in lieu of those which were to pass to Rievaulx. The proposal never took effect. The document in the *Rievaulx Chartulary*⁷ is headed *Cyrographum inter nos [Rievallenses] et Kirkham*. It begins: 'These are the things which we have conceded and given to the monks of "Rievall," for the love of God, and the well-being of our souls, for peace, and the honour of our prior, and at the will and desire of our patron.' They are enumerated as 'Kirkham with the church and our buildings, and our garths, gardens, and mills, and everything in that place except one barn . . ., Whitwell, and Westow, and 4 carucates in Thixendale (those 4, to wit, which our patron hitherto holds in his possession), and a wagon, and 100 sheep of our stock,' and then follows the condition under which the concession had been made, viz., 'that

⁴³ The prior who caused the Chartulary with the list of priors to be written. Confirmed 27 May 1499: York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, fol. 138.

⁴⁴ The last prior, confirmed 29 March 1520. York Archiepis. Reg. Wolsey, fol. 53.

⁴⁵ Egerton Chart. 516.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 207. The date there given for the foundation, 1121, appears to be too early. ² Ibid. 208.

³ The gifts were made with the assent of his nephews, for the welfare of the souls of his and their parents.

⁴ Cott. MS. Vitell. F. 4.

⁵ Dr. Atkinson rejects (*Rievaulx Chartul.* p. xlv) this sum as a gross exaggeration; but when, in 1321, the convent returned a statement of their revenues to the archbishop, they stated that in time of peace they were wont to receive 1,000 marks a year from their Northumberland property alone.

⁶ Cited Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 209.

⁷ *Rievaulx Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), 108, no. cxlix. The date of this document, which, as shown later on, was compiled within the lifetime of Walter Espec, must be anterior to 1154, for he died as a monk of Rievaulx on 15 March in that year. Ibid. 265.

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our patron shall give us all Linton and "Hwersletorp" with all the appurtenances belonging to the same vill.' The chirograph then proceeds: 'And our prior and his assistants shall build us a church, chapter-house, dormitory, refectory, and other houses of sufficient size, as an infirmary, cellar, hospice, bake-house, stable, granary, barn, and establish a good mill there, if possible, at the least cost; the church to be covered with shingle, and the claustral offices thatched. The charters and evidences of Linton, and of all our possessions, shall be acquired by us. . . . Be it known also that we shall retain with the church of Westow the carucate of land belonging to it, and the monks shall pay us tithes of land they may cultivate in that parish, in Whitwell, and in the demesne lands of our patron. . . . All our moveables, when we leave Kirkham we shall take away, that is to say crosses, chalices, books, robes, and all church ornaments, including stained glass windows,⁸ for which we will make them white ones. One bell shall remain for them according to our choice. Vessels, and utensils, and necessary articles, whether at Kirkham, or Whitwell, it shall be lawful for us to take away. This, however, is to be known, that we will not depart from our place, or lose our prior, until the things agreed between us are accomplished. If perchance within a year we shall have changed our place, the property and rents of our church, as they now are, shall for the whole year be in our hands and possession, for the acquittance of our debts. In like manner the property and rents of Linton shall be in the hands of the monks, for constructing our buildings. . . . Be it known also, that all the canons and brothers of Kirkham now living shall have the same position in the Cistercian chapter and order as monks of that order.'

There are several points to be noted. In the first place the concession is spoken of in the past tense—'we have conceded and given' (*concessimus et donavimus*), which implies that the interchange was very near actual accomplishment, and can only have fallen through because some or all of the conditions were not fulfilled. Then the *advocatus noster*—our patron—must allude to Walter Espec himself, and not, as Mr. Walbran has surmised, Lord de Ros⁹; but the chief

⁸ 'Et fenestras vitreas coloratas nobis retinemus, pro quibus illis albas faciemus.' *Rievaulx Chartul.* 109. A very notable allusion. The Cistercians rejected stained windows.

⁹ See *Rievaulx Chartul.* p. xxiv. This is clear from the clause as to the 4 carucates in Thixendale which it is said (*Rievaulx Chartul.* 108) 'advocatus noster adhuc tenet in manu sua.' In what is called the 'Secunda Fundatio' of Kirkham, Walter Espec granted the canons 4 carucates in Thixendale, and after his death 4 more carucates of land there (*Rievaulx Chartul.* 160). These latter are those alluded to as still in Walter Espec's possession.

point is, what did the chirograph imply, and what would have taken place if its conditions had been carried out? A clue seems to be given in the final clause that each canon and brother was to have a like standing in the Cistercian chapter and order. This can hardly mean anything else than that it was proposed to hand over Kirkham to Rievaulx, perhaps as a cell, or at any rate as a Cistercian house, and that those canons and brothers of the Augustinian order who became Cistercians were to have the same position they held reserved to them as monks; while it looks as if a new house at Linton was to be established, where we may suppose that the dissentient canons of Kirkham would be formed into an Augustinian monastery. It must not be forgotten that Walter Espec became a Cistercian monk himself, and he may have wished that his three houses should all be of the Cistercian order.

In 1203¹⁰ Innocent III ordered that persons presented to the Archbishop of York for institution by the Prior and convent of Kirkham should be admitted to their churches. There had evidently been some obstruction on the part of the archbishop, but its nature, or the ground on which it had been based, is not known.

Gregory IX decided, in 1240,¹¹ on behalf of the Prior and convent of Kirkham, that the acquisitions of lands made by the Cistercians within the parishes belonging to Kirkham were not in any way to prejudice their right to the tithes.

In 1253,¹² when the chapel in the castle of Helmsley was dedicated by the Bishop of Whithern, the prior and convent protested against it as an infringement of the rights of their church of Helmsley, given them by their founder. Archbishop Giffard, on 19 May 1269,¹³ commissioned Magr. Philip de Staunton, if he saw fit on visiting Kirkham, to receive the resignation of the prior, which the archbishop had deferred doing. The prior, who had pleaded his feeble state, was probably Hugh de Beverley, mentioned as prior in 1268.

On 4 February 1279–80¹⁴ Archbishop Wickwane held a visitation, and issued a series of injunctions. In the first place he ordered that laymen and outsiders were on no account to enter the infirmary, except doctors and others whose duty was to look after the sick. The prior and sub-prior were several times in the year to have the carols of the canons in the cloister and elsewhere opened in their presence and their contents shown to them. No one was to accept garments (*indumenta*) or other things, as the gift of any person, without the special leave of the president, and then such were to be delivered, not to the recipient, but wisely and discreetly by the president to some one else. Fools, low

¹⁰ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 15.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 187.

¹² *Archbp. Gray's Reg.* 119 n.

¹³ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* 131.

¹⁴ *York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane*, fol. 117b.

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buffoons, and tramps were firmly forbidden access to the refectory. The sick were to be properly tended. None of the canons were in future to go to the infirmary to warm themselves. The alms were to be given to the poor, and not to the stipendiaries of the house, as had hitherto been done. No eatables were to be transferred elsewhere from the refectory.

The prior was enjoined to correct the excesses of his brethren more often and quickly. The doors were to be better guarded from the access of useless and unworthy persons. The canons and *conversi* were to be distinguished according to the due requirement of their grade, and juniors were not to be placed over their betters. Becoming equality in necessary matters according to the rule was to be observed towards everyone.

The servitors and attendants of the house were not to burden the monastery with their children or relations, but such were to be removed at once. The archbishop forbade all strife and noise in beginning proses and chants. The canons were forbidden after compline, for the sake of drinking, or under any pretext of unbecoming levity, to visit guests or friends, or to go to them, except they had a necessary or useful reason for doing so, and then only with the leave of the president.¹⁵ Drinking with guests or friends in the absence of the prior was altogether prohibited. The prior was to hear the confession of each at least once in the year. The canons, moreover, were not to visit the houses of nuns or other suspected places.

In 1314¹⁶ Archbishop Greenfield issued a series of injunctions as the sequel of a visitation held on Wednesday after Trinity Sunday. The defects in the chapter-house, dormitory, and infirmary were to be repaired as soon as possible. As certain of the secular servants of the house did not show proper deference to the canons, the prior was ordered to correct and chastise such servants, and if any were incorrigible or rebellious, they were to be discharged.

As certain of the cellarers of the house claimed to have a perpetuity in their office, the archbishop ordered that no cellarer should hold office for more than two years, and this on condition that he behaved well. If at the end of two years he was found to have been useful and apt for his office, he might be re-elected by the prior and five or six of the seniors. When the prior found a cellarer unfit for the office he was to be removed by the prior and another appointed without delay. As the monastery was heavily in debt, all were enjoined to strict moderation.

¹⁵ There is a letter (23 July 1289) to the Bishop of Norwich as to a canon of Kirkham who was a fugitive from the house, and 'in vestra civitate deprehensum'; Reg. Romanus, fol. 62b.

¹⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, ii, fol. 100.

In 1318¹⁷ Archbishop Melton held a visitation of Kirkham. He ordered Archbishop Greenfield's *decretum* and his own to be read weekly every Wednesday and Friday. The injunctions are of a general character, and the grave faults the archbishop would deal with separately later. They do not appear to be recorded.

On 10 November 1321¹⁸ John de Jarum [or Yarm] was elected prior in succession to Robert de Veteri Burgo, who had died on Sunday before the feast of SS. Simon and Jude (28 October 1321). According to an entry in the Register headed *Status Domus de Kirkham*, the monastery was then in debt to the amount of £843 15s. 9½d. of borrowed money. It was burdened at the same date with £12 a year in pensions, there were also twenty-two corrodies, two of which had been sold in the time of Prior William, four in the time of Prior John, and sixteen in the time of Prior Robert.

The expenses of the house from the death of Prior Robert to the installation of Prior John on Wednesday the feast of St. Katherine (25 November) had amounted to £140 10s., which had been borrowed. Moreover, much would have to be bought in the way of wheat, malt, peas, oats, as well as provender for horses, and forty oxen for ploughing would have to be purchased at 13s. 4d. each, and thirty horses (at 20s. each). The total debts, in addition to the money for the necessaries above mentioned, amounted to £1,089 12s. 5d., besides the twenty-two corrodies, estimated at £73 6s. 8d. a year.

A memorandum is added, that in time of peace the priory received 1,000 marks of silver annually from its rents in Northumberland, but had received nothing from that source for the past seven years.

In 1331¹⁹ a serious charge was brought against Prior John de Jarum that he had committed adultery with Clemencia, wife of Thomas de Boulton, kt. The archbishop summoned him to appear in the cathedral church on Thursday after the feast of Pentecost and answer the charge. The prior duly appeared, but none of his accusers responded to the summons. The archbishop thereupon pronounced sentence in favour of the prior, and restored him *fame pristina*, as it is expressed.

Reports of strife between the prior and canons having reached the ears of Archbishop Thoresby in 1353,²⁰ a commission of inquiry was issued on 23 August 1353.

In 1357²¹ the financial state of the house was very bad. It owed £1,000, much the same sum as it had owed thirty years before, and from a letter addressed by the archbishop to the prior as to the *desolabilis status* of the house, it would

¹⁷ Ibid. Melton, fol. 269b.

¹⁸ Ibid. fol. 285-7.

¹⁹ Ibid. fol. 314b.

²⁰ Ibid. Thoresby, fol. 21.

²¹ Ibid. fol. 179b.

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appear that the only means of relieving the stress which prevented the priory from supporting the full number of its canons and maintaining due hospitality, was to send some of the canons for a time to other houses of the same order, and licence to do this was conceded by the archbishop.

A letter from the archbishop, dated 10 April 1372,²² refers to the case of John Strother, a canon who, at the archbishop's recent visitation, stated that he had been compelled by threats by his father, William Strother, to make his profession as a canon of the house against his will. He sought licence from the archbishop to visit the apostolic see and obtain a release from his vows. This the archbishop granted.

In 1380²³ the house contained the prior and sixteen canons. The clear income of the house in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* is reckoned at £269 5s. 9d.²⁴

Burton²⁵ has, in alphabetical order, a list of the places where the priory held property. The house was surrendered 8 December 1539²⁶ by John Kildwick and seventeen canons.

PRIORS OF KIRKHAM

- William, first prior, c. 1130²⁷
- D. or O., c. 1134²⁸
- Walleus otherwise Waltheof, c. 1140²⁹
- Geoffrey, between 1147 and 1153³⁰
- William (de Muschamp), occurs c. 1191-2³¹
- Walter, occurs c. 1195^{31a}
- Drogo, occurs c. 1195-9³²
- Andrew, occurs c. 1200-10³³
- Walter, occurs before 1226³⁴
- William, occurs 1219-28³⁵
- Richard, occurs 1235-46³⁶
- Roger, occurs 1252³⁷
- Hugh de Beverley, occurs 1258,^{37a} 1268³⁸
- William de Wetwang, occurs 1304³⁹
- John de Elveley, confirmed 1304,⁴⁰ resigned 1310⁴¹

²⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Thoresby, fol. 196.

²⁸ Subs. R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 63, no. 12.

²⁹ *Valor Eccl.* v, 103-4; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 208.

³⁰ Burton, *Mcn. Ebor.* 374-7. ³¹ *Ibid.* 377.

³¹ *Rievaulx Chartul.* 171 n.

³² *Ibid.* ²⁹ *Ibid.* ³⁰ *Ibid.*

³³ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 377 n.; *Rievaulx Chartul.* 26.

³⁴ Cott. MS. Claud. D. xi, fol. 229.

³⁵ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 377 n.

³⁶ B.M. Harl. Chart. 111, C. 21.

³⁷ *Rievaulx Chartul.* 172 n.

³⁸ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 101.

³⁹ *Ibid.* ³⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Cott. MS. Nero, D. iii, fol. 30, 32 d.

⁴¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 209, no. iv; Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 101.

⁴² York Archiepis. Reg. Corbridge, fol. 41. ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.* Greenfield, fol. 117b. In *Recs. of Northern Convocation* (Surt. Soc.), 58, one 'Gerard of Burton' is named as Prior of Kirkham, who was present at the

Robert de Veteri Burgo, 1310,⁴² died 1321⁴³

John de Jarum, 1321,⁴⁴ died 1333⁴⁵

Adam de Wartria, 1333,⁴⁶ died 1349⁴⁷

John de Hertelpole, 1349,⁴⁸ resigned 1362-3⁴⁹

William de Driffeld, elected Feb. 1362-3,⁵⁰ died 1367⁵¹

John de Bridlington (sub-prior), elected 1367⁵²

John de Helmeslay, elected 1398,⁵³ died 1408⁵⁴

Richard de Ottelay, elected 1408⁵⁵

William Frithby, died 1457⁵⁶

Nicholas Naburne (sub-prior), elected 1457,⁵⁷ died 1462⁵⁸

Thomas Irton, elected 1462⁵⁹

William Perle, succ. 1470,⁶⁰ died 1504⁶¹

Thomas Bowtre, appointed (by lapse) 25 September 1504⁶²

John Kildwick, elected 1518⁶³

The seal,⁶⁴ used as early as 1191, is a large vesica, 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. by 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in., showing our Lord in Majesty, with the legend:—

SIGILLVM SANCTE TRINITATIS DE CHIRCAM

The 13th-century prior's seal⁶⁵ is a vesica 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. by 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., of similar but more elaborate design, having the prior kneeling in the base between two water bougets. On either side of the majesty is a water bouget between two Catherine wheels, which devices refer to Walter Espec, the founder, who bore arms of three Catherine wheels, and to Lord de Ros, in whose honour the house had for arms three water bougets with a crozier in pale over all. Of the legend there remains:—

. . . . PRIORIS DE KIRKEHAM

Provincial Council at York in 1311-12, which dealt with the Templars, and, it is added with a (?), 'executed after the Northern Rebellion of 1337.' Immediately after his name comes that of Robert Oldburg, 'prior of Kirkham,' who, it is suggested, was Prior of Warter. There is, however, no hiatus in the list of Priors of Kirkham about this time which could be filled by 'Gerard of Burton.'

⁴² York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, fol. 122b.

⁴³ *Ibid.* Melton, fol. 285.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 325.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 320.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 320.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Zouch, fol. 202b.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* Thoresby, fol. 208.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.* fol. 218.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.* sed. vac. fol. 230.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 295b.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 295b.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* W. Booth, fol. 110b.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 118b.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 118b, 119.

⁶⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 207.

⁶¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Savage, fol. 53b.

⁶² *Ibid.* Wolsey, fol. 39b.

⁶³ The last prior. He died 1552. 'John Kildwyk lait prior of Kirkham, obijt circa primum diem Maij hcc anno sexto Regis nunc, and his pension by yere £50.' Exch. K.R. Accts. (P.R.O.), bdle. 76, no. 23.

⁶⁴ *Cat. of Seals*, B.M. 3360; Cott. Chart. v, 13.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 3363, lxxiv, 71.

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53. THE PRIORY OF MARTON

The priory of Marton was founded, as a double house of Augustinian canons and nuns, by Bertram de Bulmer, who lived at the end of the reign of Stephen and the beginning of that of Henry II.¹ The nuns did not remain there long, but moved to Molveby (or Moxby, as it is now called, a mile and a half from Marton) and there formed an independent establishment on land given them by Henry II.² Henry de Nevill,³ grandson of the founder, confirmed his ancestor's grant of the vill of Marton with its church and other gifts of land by Richard de Runtcliffe and Roger de Punchardune. Henry Nevill further gave to the canons of St. Mary of Marton his manor of Woodhouse,⁴ except two bovates of land in Appletreewick, which he intended to give to the nuns of Monkton.

From some unknown donor the canons obtained the church of Sheriff Hutton,⁵ and in 1322 Archbishop Melton ordained a vicarage in the church, ordering, *inter alia*, that the canons were to pay out of its revenues the large annual sum of 20 marks to the abbey of St. Mary, York. The canons had also the church of Sutton, in which Archbishop Walter Gray ordained a vicarage in 1227.⁶

The priory of Marton was in financial straits in 1280,⁷ when Archbishop Wickwane directed that a complete statement of the temporalities of the house should be compiled for the Prior of Warter and Roger the archbishop's chaplain, who were to report to the archbishop. The prior was to retain the name and office, as such, under his vow of obedience till the archbishop ordered otherwise. On 2 August⁸ the archbishop accepted the resignation of Walter, the prior, on account of age and decrepitude, and 'ad quietam tuam et augmentum contemplacionis,' and on the same date wrote to R. de Nevill, the patron, that on account of the poverty of the priory he was promoting Brother Gregory de Lesset as prior, and in the formal letter to Gregory de Lesset, canon of Newburgh, appointing him Prior of Marton, dated 4 August, the appointment is said to be made with the consent of the patron and of all the canons of the house. A concurrent letter was sent to the Prior and convent of Newburgh, asking that Gregory de Lesset might be released from the office of sub-prior of that house, and allowed to go as prior to Marton. The archbishop, on 11 August, made a

public declaration⁹ that he had only made this appointment under the pressure of necessity, and that his action was not to be to the prejudice in future of the priory or its patron. A few months later (on 13 December 1281¹⁰) the archbishop wrote to the prior and convent that, having beheld with paternal pity the almost irreparable ruin to which they and their house had been brought by their wantonness and demerits, he had appointed Thomas, Archdeacon of Cleveland, to carry into effect the ordinances made for the house as a result of a recent visitation. Subsequently¹¹ he commanded the prior and convent to send certain of their less useful brethren to religious houses in which holy religion waxed more strongly. He had also sent the Prior of Newburgh to their house, and, according to the prior's arrangement, the archbishop directed that the canons were to send Brothers John de Esyngwald and Laurence to other religious houses, to be named by the archbishop. In a letter to the Prior and convent of Newburgh¹² the archbishop referred to the reformation of the monastery of Marton. He had learnt that its temporalities had almost come to an end; religious honesty was undone, the observance of the rule was shamelessly banished, and troubled businesses had taken the place of pious zeal. He saw how honest and pleasing to God was the behaviour of the congregation of Newburgh, and on that account he ordered them to send certain wise and honest of their number to Marton, at the nomination of the prior of that house, to the assistance and relief of Marton. No doubt Gregory de Lesset, so recently sub-prior of Newburgh, wished to be strengthened in his work of reformation at Marton by the help of some of his late brethren at Newburgh.

Laurence, one of the two canons of Marton who were to be sent away, must have been exceptionally troublesome, for the archbishop, addressing on 5 August 1283¹³ the Priors of Nostell and Newburgh, presidents of the general chapter of canons regular in the province of York, stated that at the visitation of Marton the congregation of his brethren there could not submit to his reprobate and perverse behaviour among them, and that the prior had no safe place there in which to shut him up, especially as no iron bolt could resist him, but he loosened it as he would, and got out. The archbishop asked them to find some safe place of detention, that he might undergo salutary penance.

In 1286¹⁴ Gregory de Lesset left Marton and returned to Newburgh. During his rule at Marton he seems to have obtained from that house a manor in Craven, and Archbishop Romanus ordered that this was to be restored to Marton, and that Gregory was to give up the writings he had about

¹ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 265.

² *Ibid.* 268. The nearness of Moxby to Marton seems to suggest that an entire separation of the two was not originally intended.

³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 199, no. ii.

⁴ *Ibid.* no. iii.

⁵ Burton, *Mon Ebor.* 266.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 12 d., 115.

⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 13, 115 d.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 35 d.

¹¹ *Ibid.* fol. 138 d.

¹² *Ibid.* fol. 35 d., 138.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Romanus, fol. 50 d.

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it to the Prior of Marton. If, however, he had contracted any reasonable debts on account of it, the Prior of Marton was to answer for them, and satisfy the creditors. The Prior and convent of Marton were to pay to Newburgh, as long as Gregory lived, a yearly sum of 40s., and half of this the Prior of Newburgh, at his discretion, was to give as a solace to Gregory, and the other half was to be for the general use of Newburgh. If, however, Marton had secretly or openly sustained any kind of charge by Gregory's action, then the whole sum was to go to the house of Newburgh, but this only if he were properly convicted or confessed. These directions were conveyed to Marton and Newburgh by similar letters, *mutatis mutandis*, dated 11 October 1286.¹⁵ There is no record of the election of Gregory de Lesset's successor, but his name transpires a year later, when, on 27 October 1287, the archbishop issued a mandate to the sub-prior and convent of Marton to elect a prior in succession to Brother John de Wylton, resigned.¹⁶ Their choice fell on William de Bulmer, the sub-prior, but the archbishop quashed the election 'non vicio persone sed forme,' and eventually appointed John de Lund,¹⁷ canon of Bolton. Although no fault was then found with William de Bulmer, he got into serious trouble at a later period, but in what way is not said. In 1308¹⁸ Archbishop Greenfield sent him to Drax, to undergo a specified penance, and Marton was to pay 4 marks annually for his maintenance there. In 1314¹⁹ Archbishop Greenfield held a visitation of Marton, and issued injunctions of a general character, almost identical with others sent to Newburgh at the same time. The archbishop had, however, to deal with some serious cases of immorality. Alan de Shirburn, one of the canons, had confessed to incontinence with Joan daughter of Walter de Cartwright, and Juliana wife of William 'le Mazun' of York, living in Bootham, and with Maud Bunde of Stillington. The archbishop enjoined the following penance: he was to keep convent in cloister, quire, dormitory and refectory continuously, unless sick or otherwise legitimately prevented. He was not to go outside the precincts of the monastery, or the outer door, except in honest company and with the licence of the president. He was to hold no office in the monastery, without special licence. Every day he was to say a nocturn of the psalter. Each Wednesday and Friday he was to say the seven penitential psalms with the litany, humbly and devoutly prostrated before the altar of the Blessed Virgin, and on those days he was to fast on bread, ale, and vegetables. Once a week, at least, he was to confess his sins humbly and devoutly. He

was not to speak to any woman, without the licence of the president, who was to hear what was said. The prior was to tell Brother Stephen of this, and make him a copy of the penance, and also notify the archbishop how Alan de Shirburn performed what was enjoined him. Brother Stephen, who was to have a copy of the penance, was Stephen de Langetoft, another canon, who had owned at the visitation to the vice of incontinence with Alice de Hareworth, dwelling at Marton, and with Agnes de Hoby. He was to perform the same penance as Alan de Shirburn.

Another misdoer was Brother Roger de Scameston, a *conversus* of the house, who confessed to misconduct of the same kind with Ellen de Westmorland living at Brandsby, with Beatrix del Calgarth wife of John de Ferlington, Eda Genne of Marton, Maud Scot of Menersley, and Beatrix Baa, relict of Robert le Bakester of Stillington. The penance imposed on him was that every Wednesday he was to fast on bread, ale, and vegetables, and every Friday on bread and water, and in no manner whatever was to go outside the precincts of the monastery. Every Wednesday and Friday he was to receive a discipline from the president. Every day before the altar of the Blessed Virgin, fasting, he was to say, fifty times, the Lord's Prayer with the Salutation of the Blessed Mary, humbly and devoutly. Once a week, at least, he was to confess his sins. He was not to speak to any woman, nor was he to be placed in any office until the archbishop saw fit to deal otherwise with him.

On 16 June 1304²⁰ Archbishop Corbridge issued a commission to William de Wirkesall to go to Marton and correct faults discovered at a recent visitation, but there is nothing said as to what was amiss.

Archbishop Melton notified the house on 5 May 1318²¹ of his intention to visit it, and on 15 June the prior, Simon de Branby, resigned. The sub-prior and canons elected no other as their prior than Alan de Shirburn, who had so grievously misbehaved only four years before. The archbishop quashed the election on the ground of irregularity, and appointed a canon of Bridlington, Henry de Melkingthorp, and at the same time commissioned Roger de Heslington, official of the court of York, and John de Hemingburgh, dean of Christianity, to correct the faults disclosed at the visitation.²² A few days later (27 July²³) the archbishop wrote to the Prior of Bridlington to send Robert de Scarbrough and Stephen de Snayth, two of his canons, as he had appointed them sub-prior and cellarer, respectively, of Marton, in order to

¹⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 50 d.

¹⁶ Ibid. fol. 51.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid. Greenfield, fol. 90b.

¹⁹ Ibid. fol. 99b.

²⁰ Ibid. Corbridge, fol. 29.

²¹ Ibid. Melton, fol. 227.

²² Ibid. fol. 228.

²³ Ibid. fol. 269.

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correct the abuses of that house. The Prior of Bridlington was to take John de Maltby and Stephen de Langetoft from Marton. All points to continued disorder and misrule at Marton, and Melton was not the man to treat lightly such a condition of affairs. Henry de Melkingthorp resigned in 1321, and the canons elected Robert de Tickhill, one of their number, to succeed him. This election the archbishop also quashed, but appointed Robert de Tickhill *jure devoluto*, provision being made for Melkingthorp.²⁴ The following year, however, witnessed the dispersion of the canons of Marton *propter destruccionem Scotorum*. In a letter of 3 November 1322²⁵ to the Prior and convent of Bridlington, the archbishop related that owing to the recent hostile incursion of the Scots the monastery of Marton was devastated, its animals and property despoiled, its villages, manors, and estates, as it were, devoured by fire, so much so, that it could not support the college of canons serving God there. He therefore sent to Bridlington Brothers Alan de Shirburn and John de Soureby. At the same time similar letters were sent to Warter for Simon de Branby, to Drax for William de Craven, to Thurgarton for John de Malteby, to Shelford for Stephen de Langetoft, and to Newstead in Shirwood for Ingram de Semer, canons of Marton. This accounts for seven of the members, and apparently the prior, sub-prior, and cellarer, who are not named, continued at or near the spot, for on 18 November the archbishop granted licence *quibusdam canonicis dicte domus de Marton* to remain in a suitable and honest place, and to say mass and divine offices, in places legitimately set apart for that purpose. No doubt they remained in order to superintend the reconstruction of their house, and the repairing of the mischief done by the Scots.

On 17 July 1351²⁶ William de Wakefield, one of the canons professed in the house, was found guilty of divers crimes, excesses, and errors which are not named. He was then, according to the rules of the order, imprisoned, and Archbishop Zouch ordered that he was to be deprived of any office he held in the house, and care was to be taken lest his crimes did harm to others. He was not to receive or send letters, and other restrictions were placed upon him.

The prior and canons seem to have been ready to lend a willing ear quite at the last to the royal commissioners, and quit their habit voluntarily, before they were compelled to do so. According to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* the clear annual revenue was £151 5s. 4d.²⁷ In 1527 it was returned as £131 16s. 6d.²⁸

²⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 236.

²⁵ Ibid. fol. 240. ²⁶ Ibid. Zouch, fol. 171.

²⁷ *Valor Eccl.* v, 93-4.

²⁸ Subs. R. (P.R.O.), bdl. 64, no. 303. (Return made by Brian Higdon.)

In the account of Laurence Beckwith for a year from Michaelmas 1535,²⁹ the receipts from Marton amount to £219 5s. 8d., and Thomas Godson, the late prior, is named as being rector of Sheriff Hutton. This was evidently a sinecure appointment, as Richard Moreton is elsewhere spoken of as receiving £10 as perpetual vicar of Sheriff Hutton. Two of the canons, George Burgh and George Sutton, had bought cattle from the monastery before the suppression, and 'Mr.' George Davy, whom Thomas Yodson had succeeded as prior in 1531, was still alive. He had, on his resignation, received under the common seal of the house a yearly pension for life of £13 6s. 8d. by equal portions on the feasts of St. Martin and Pentecost at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the conventual church, between the hours of ten o'clock and noon. The house was formally 'suppressed' on 19 May 1536, when Thomas Yodson was paid £25 13s. 4d. for his expenses with his servants in London from 2 March to 4 May, with certain legal charges, and his expenses going and returning. George Sutton, one of the canons, received £4 for riding to London, at the order of the visitors, stopping there, and returning. Eight canons, *pro vadiis*, received 20s. each from 1 March to 4 May. There were thirty-seven servants then in the employment of the house. The house was finally surrendered by the prior and fifteen canons on 9 February 1535-6, and on 3 March 1535-6 Thomas Barton delivered to Cromwell a letter from the Prior of Marton. If the prior left the place, Barton wished to have it, as the house was near where he was born, and his ancestors were benefactors to it. It was well wooded and not worth less than £200.³⁰

PRIORS OF MARTON

Herniseus, occurs before 1181³¹

Henry, occurs 1203,³² 1227³³

Richard, occurs 1235³⁴

Simon, occurs 1238³⁵

John, occurs 1252³⁶

Walter, resigned 1280³⁷

Gregory de Lesset (sub-prior of Newburgh), appointed 1280,³⁸ resigned 1286³⁹

John de Wylton, elected 1286, resigned October 1287⁴⁰

²⁹ Aug. Views of Accts. (P.R.O.), 17.

³⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, 322.

³¹ *Whitby Chartul.* 185. (He occurs as a witness to a deed with Cuthbert, Prior of Guisborough, who had ceased to be prior of that house before 1181.)

³² B.M. Healaugh Chartulary (Cott. MS. Vesp. A. iv), fol. 7b.

³³ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 128.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Egerton MS. 2823, fol. 43.

³⁶ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 128.

³⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 13, 115b.

³⁸ Ibid. ³⁹ Ibid. Romanus, fol. 50b.

⁴⁰ Ibid. fol. 51.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

John de Lund, appointed 1287⁴¹
 Alan de Morton, confirmed December 1304⁴²
 Simon de Brandby, succ. 1307,⁴³ resigned
 1318⁴⁴
 Henry de Melkingshorp, appointed 1318,⁴⁵
 resigned 1321⁴⁶
 Robert de Tickhill, succ. 1321⁴⁷
 William de Craven, confirmed 1340,⁴⁸ died
 1344⁴⁹
 Hugh de Rickhall, 1344,⁵⁰ died 1349⁵¹
 John de Thresk, 1349,⁵² resigned 1357⁵³
 Robert, occurs 1369⁵⁴
 William, occurs 1370,⁵⁵ Easter 1371⁵⁶
 Robert de Hoton, occurs Trinity 1371,⁵⁷
 1388⁵⁸
 Robert de Stillington, occurs 1403⁵⁹
 John de Goldsborough, occurs 1436⁶⁰
 Robert Cave, resigned 1443⁶¹
 Henry Rayne, confirmed 1443⁶²
 Christopher Latoner, confirmed 1506⁶³
 John Caterik, confirmed 1519⁶⁴
 George Davy, resigned 1531⁶⁵
 Thomas Yodson, confirmed 7 June 1531⁶⁶
 (last prior)

The 13th-century seal⁶⁷ of the chapter is circular, 2 in. in diameter, showing our Lady seated in a throne between the sun and moon. The legend is:—

SIGILL' CAPITVLI SĒE MARIE DE MARTONE

Henry, the second prior, sealed with a vesica,⁶⁸ 1½ in. by 1½ in., having a figure of himself standing, with the legend:—

† SIGIL' HENRICI PRIORIS DE MARTV̄

The seal⁶⁹ of Prior John de Thresk (1349-1357) is a vesica, 1¾ in. by 1¼ in., with our Lady crowned and seated with the Child, and the prior kneeling below. The legend ran:—

S' IOH'IS DE THRESKE PRIORIS DE MARTVN

⁴¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 51.

⁴² Ibid. sed. vac. fol. 38b.

⁴³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 198.

⁴⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 227.

⁴⁵ Ibid. fol. 227b. ⁴⁶ Ibid. fol. 236b.

⁴⁷ Ibid. fol. 236. ⁴⁸ Ibid. sed. vac. fol. 69b.

⁴⁹ Ibid. Zouch, slip between fol. 156 and 157.

⁵⁰ Ibid. ⁵¹ Ibid. fol. 165b. ⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 198. A commission for the election of a prior was issued 1 Dec. 1357, but no names are mentioned; York Archiepis. Reg. Thoresby, fol. 174.

⁵⁴ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 128.

⁵⁵ Ibid. ⁵⁶ Ibid. ⁵⁷ Ibid. ⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Baildon's MS. Notes.

⁶⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 198.

⁶¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 203. ⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid. Savage, fol. 69. (The name is written Laton' or Latov', indicating Latoner or Latover.)

⁶⁴ Ibid. Wolsey, fol. 48.

⁶⁵ Ibid. fol. 619. ⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ *Cat. of Seals, B.M.* 3620, lxxiv, 79.

⁶⁸ Ibid. 3621, lxxiv, 80. ⁶⁹ Ibid. 3622, lxxiv, 82.

54. THE PRIORY OF NEWBURGH

Roger de Mowbray in 1145¹ gave to God and the church of St. Mary 'de Novo-Burgo,' and the canons there serving God, the site itself and all the east part of 'Cukewald' (Coxwold) beyond the fishpond (*vivarium*), the church of St. Mary of Hood, with the land and wood under the adjoining hills, as the monks of Byland had formerly possessed it.² Also the church of Coxwold, with its subordinate chapels, viz.: Kilburn, Thirkleby, and Silton, the church of Tresc (Thirsk), together with the chapel of St. James. Robert de Mowbray also granted the canons and their men who dwell in Thirsk all the liberties and privileges which his burghesses possessed in the burgh, of buying and selling in the market-place and outside it free of toll and stallage.

Besides these gifts Robert de Mowbray confirmed the donation of the church of Welburn with 6 bovates, and the valley where the church stood with the chapel of Wombleton,³ and the churches of Kirby in Ryedale (Kirby Moor-side), Kirby near Boroughbridge (Kirby Hill), and Cundall with their endowment lands. Nigel⁴ the son of the founder, and William the grandson, confirmed these and other gifts.

By a separate charter Roger de Mowbray⁵ granted to the canons of Newburgh the churches of Masham, Kirkby Malzeard, 'Landeford,' Haxey, Owston, 'Appewrda,' and Belton; Samson de Albin, to whom Nigel, Roger de Mowbray's father, had given them, *assentiente pariter et donante*. To this grant Roger, Abbot of Byland, was one of the witnesses. Samson de Albin⁶ made a separate grant of the churches in question to Augustine, prior of the church of St. Mary of Newburgh, with certain conditions.

A further grant⁷ was made by Roger de Mowbray for the soul of his father Nigel, and his mother Gundreda, his own soul, and that of Adeliz his wife, to God, 'Sanctae Marie de Insula desubtus Hode,' and to Augustine the prior, and the canons serving God there, in perpetual alms, of the church of St. Andrew in York, 'quae est ultra fossam in Fischergata.' Among the witnesses to this charter were William the dean and the chapter of York, and Samson de Albin.

The priory of Newburgh was peopled from Bridlington, and the canons who came for that purpose at first settled at Hood, which had been vacated by the monks of Byland. This latter grant of Roger de Mowbray would seem to have been made to the canons while settled at Hood,

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 317.

² Ibid. 318, no. i.

³ The church of Welburn has become extinct, as well as its dependent chapel of Wombleton.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 318, no. ii.

⁵ Ibid. 319, no. iii.

⁶ Ibid. no. iv.

⁷ Ibid. 320, no. v.

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and before they moved to Newburgh, when Hood became a cell of that house.

There is interpolated in Archbishop Giffard's register⁸ an undated sentence of deposition, pronounced by his predecessor, Godfrey de Ludham (1258-64), against a prior of Newburgh, whose name, unfortunately, is not given. It is not improbable, however, that Prior John, whose name occurs in 1252-3, may have been the prior in question. Whoever the prior was whom the archbishop deprived, his faults, as recorded in the sentence, stamp him as a very bad ruler. He did not, it is related, correct the brethren equitably, but excused some and detestably made known the private confessions and penances of others. Of his own initiative he imputed crimes to others, and had entered into a conspiracy against the archbishop's visitation of the house. He had made the brethren take a wicked oath not to tell the archbishop the things that needed correction, and had forbidden them, under threat of excommunication, to reveal matters to the archbishop. Although he took a corporal oath that he would reveal all, except secret faults, many faults that were not secret, though repeatedly asked, he refused to reveal. He was thus a perjured man, besides being a waster of the goods of the church, keeping an extravagant and superfluous household. For these, and many other faults concerning which the archbishop was silent, he decreed him removed from the rule of the priory. The brethren were absolved from obedience to him, and directed to provide the monastery with a new prior.

On 22 June 1259⁹ Pope Alexander IV granted an indulgence to the Prior and Augustinian convent of Newburgh, that they might cause those of their churches and chapels in which vicars had not been appointed to be served, as heretofore, by their chaplains, and that vicarages should not be taxed, or perpetual vicars appointed against their will, notwithstanding any contrary indult granted to the archbishop.

On 18 September 1275¹⁰ Archbishop Giffard held a visitation of Newburgh, when it was found that the monastery was in debt to no less an amount than £737 16s. 10d. A certain *camera* had been uselessly built *apud Fresch*.¹¹ No other buildings were to be constructed without the assent of the wiser and older of the convent, and the necessary works of the great house were to be preferred. The prior was too lenient with the obedientiaries, and was ordered to be more strict. The sub-prior was easily provoked, he was to keep his temper under pain of removal from office. The cellarer was dealing in horses as merchants did, which was incongruous with religion. He was not to do so,

under pain of removal from office, as in commerce between buyer and seller it was difficult to avoid sin. This inhibition was extended to all obedientiaries. The cellarer did not speak civilly to his brethren or to those outside, as he should, that the house might obtain the favour of many. Under pain aforesaid, he was to conduct himself with gentleness and courtesy. The *custos* of the fabric did not render accounts of his expenses, either beyond the sea¹² or at home, nor did he conduct himself properly in his office. When he had rendered his account the office was to be given within a month to some one else who was able to conduct it. The gardener, who was too much given to roving about, and did not do his work as he should, was to be removed within fifteen days and another appointed. There were gossipings among the brethren, and laymen and seculars were too often about the chamber of the late prior, which was not seemly. Such offences were to stop, and none were to go to the ex-prior's chamber without the licence of the prior or sub-prior.

Archbishop Wickwane held a visitation of the priory on 16 February 1279-80,¹³ when the following *correcciones* were made: All were to obey their prior honestly, and no one was to sham illness, nor was such a one by any means to be admitted to the infirmary, but rather as a deceiver he was to be expelled and punished.

No one, after compline, was to go into the cloister for ribaldry or drinking, and if any one visited a guest or friend, with the leave of the president, he was not to eat or drink there. The prior, taking with him the sub-prior, was four times a year to examine all the chests and carols, lest the poison of private ownership should defile any one in the sight of God.

The refectory-almshouses, and those of the whole monastery, were to be distributed 'in usus ipsius Dei vivi' and the poor, and not unlawfully intercepted. If any one, at lauds or matins, was negligently silent, he was to be suspended at once, and expelled from the consort [of the others] until he repented. The original and full state of the prior was restored, his coadjutors being removed, provided the prior took counsel of the convent and was active in resisting rebels and dangers.

Those were to be preferred for the schools and offices who would fully instruct in divine service, and discreet guardians of good fame and conversation were to be deputed for the management of the property and the granges. Obedientiaries who dimitted office were not to keep anything. All the convent were to see that Divine service was celebrated distinctly, and that every letter to be sealed in full congregation of the convent was openly and publicly sealed.

⁸ *Archbishop Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 216.

⁹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 365.

¹⁰ *Archbishop Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 328.

¹¹ An evident error for Tresch, otherwise Thirsk.

¹² 'In partibus transmarinis.'

¹³ *York Archiepis. Reg.* Wickwane, fol. 12.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

The keeping of useless or wasteful servants, and also of a superfluity of dogs, was strictly prohibited. No woman was to be received as guest except the honourable wife of the patron, who, for one night only, might stop at the monastery. No one was to receive payments or gifts without the consent of the president, and then was not to keep such himself, but they were to be assigned to common use by the prior or president. Hunting, moreover, on the part of the canons and unlawful outings were wholly forbidden, and the doors and exits of the monastery were to be better guarded than they had been. William de Foxholes, Robert Wrot, William de Endreby, and Anselm de Pontefract, whose morals and deeds had hitherto been discordant with the rule, were committed by the archbishop for correction to the prior and sub-prior.

A certain Roger, a *conversus* of the house, had, to the scandal of the order, left it. Archbishop Romanus, on 26 May 1286,¹⁴ wrote to the prior to receive him back to his habit again. He was, no doubt, the same as Roger de Soureby, concerning whom the archbishop in his *decretum* of 11 October of the same year¹⁵ (which deals mainly with Marton),¹⁶ directed that as he was penitent he was to be admitted to the house, but sent to reside at Hood.

On 29 December 1292,¹⁷ the archbishop ordered the public excommunication of Robert de Wetwang, who, nineteen years before, had entered Newburgh as an Augustinian canon, and was at the time an apostate, wandering about to the great peril of his soul and the scandal of the people, leading a very dissolute life.

On 28 September 1312¹⁸ Archbishop Greenfield commissioned two of his clerks to receive the purgation of the Prior of Newburgh, who stood charged with certain unspecified acts of incontinence. Two years later the archbishop wrote (3 April 1314) to the prior,¹⁹ that during a recent visitation held in the city of York, a canon of Newburgh, John de Baggeby, had sinned carnally with a certain Alice de Hextildesham, and had confessed his sin. The archbishop sent him to the prior to be punished.

On Monday after the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr in the same year²⁰ the archbishop held a visitation of Newburgh, on which he sent a *decretum* to the prior and canons, couched in terms common to such documents, and throwing little light on its internal affairs, except that the house was heavily in debt and burdened by pensions and liveries.

In May 1318²¹ a visitation of Newburgh was held for Archbishop Melton, who issued a long series of injunctions, which are, however, for the most part of a general character. Charity was to be nurtured, Divine services properly performed, and especially those of our Lady and for the departed, and others said without note, which were not to be gabbled, and one side was not to begin the verse of a psalm before the other side had finished. Seculars were to be restrained from frequent use of the cloister and infirmary and other private places. No strangers were to eat in the refectory except mature and worthy persons. The sick were to be attended to as their needs required and the means allowed, and they were to have a discreet and modest canon, at the appointment of the prior, who should say the canonical hours, and celebrate mass to their edification and solace. All the members of the house were to use the accustomed habit, and avoid novelties in dress.

In July 1328²² Archbishop Melton ordered three canons, for disobedience, to be sent to other houses of the order—John de Thresk to Cartmel, John de Kilvington to Hexham, and William de Wycome to St. Oswald's, Gloucester. Four other rebellious canons were to receive a weekly discipline.

It was the custom for the archbishop to claim a pension for someone nominated by himself, on the occasion of the creation of a new abbot or prior, in certain of the monasteries. The custom prevailed in regard to Newburgh, and on 2 August 1323²³ Archbishop Melton wrote to the prior and convent to assign a decent annual pension to Richard de Whatton, clerk, *virtute creacionis novi prioris*. Apparently the new prior was John de Cateryk, who had been elected two years before.

In 1366²⁴ Archbishop Thoresby gave notice of his intention to visit Newburgh, because a rumour had reached him that the house, by the indiscreet rule of the prior and the carelessness of the officials, was very greatly in debt and almost bankrupt. The result of the visitation is not recorded. In 1380-1²⁵ the convent comprised the prior and fifteen canons.

In 1404²⁶ one of those little gleams of light which help to make the daily routine of the house more realistic is thrown upon the scene by an indult granted by Pope Boniface IX to William Chester, priest and Augustinian canon of Newburgh; seeing that by the customs of the priory each of the canons, being a priest, was bound in a certain order to say mass week by week, in a loud voice and with music, such

¹⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 50.

¹⁵ Ibid. fol. 54b.

¹⁶ A summary will be found under the account of that house.

¹⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 54.

¹⁸ Ibid. Greenfield, ii, fol. 25.

¹⁹ Ibid. fol. 98. ²⁰ Ibid. fol. 99.

²¹ Ibid. Melton, fol. 230.

²² Ibid. fol. 250b. ²³ Ibid. fol. 241b.

²⁴ Ibid. Thoresby, fol. 184.

²⁵ Subs. R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 63, no. 12.

²⁶ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 609.

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canons being called *ebdomadarii*, and seeing that he, on account of an impediment of his tongue, could not conveniently do so, he was to be free for life from such obligation.

Archbishop George Nevill gave notice of a visitation of Newburgh on 11 October 1465,²⁷ and a letter is preserved in his register from the prior, William Helmesley, giving the names and offices of the persons summoned to appear before the archbishop. The offices were those of sub-prior, sacrista et magister fabricarum, magister tannarie, elemosinarius, cellerarius, magister sartrie, magister firmarie, cantor, hostiarius,²⁸ magister granarie, sub-cellarius, sub-cantor, sub-sacrista, rectorarius. The result of the visitation itself does not seem to have been entered in the register.

In the *Taxatio* of 1291²⁹ the ancient assessment of Newburgh is put at £81 7s. and the new assessment at £20.

In 1527³⁰ the clear value was returned as £300, and in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*³¹ the total income was returned as £457 13s. 5d. and the clear value at £367 8s. 3d. The priory of Newburgh held property in Durham, Leicestershire, and Lincolnshire, besides Yorkshire.³²

Drs. Legh and Layton³³ record, as superstition at Newburgh, that the canons had the girdle 'Sancti Salvatoris,' which, as it was said, was good for those in child-birth. They had also in veneration an arm of St. Jerome.

There were seventeen canons besides the prior, William Lenewodd, at the dissolution,³⁴ four of whom were deacons. The prior received a yearly pension of £50, and the others sums varying from £16 13s. 4d. to £4 each.

When an inquiry was made in the seventh year of Edward VI³⁵ as to the payment of pensions in the North Riding the following return was made as to Newburgh: William Edward

(106s. 8d.) appeared with his patent; John Flint (106s. 8d.) 'is dead the xth day of July in the first yere of Kinge Edward the Sexte' [1547]; Robert Tenant (100s.); Rowland Foster (100s.); Thomas Grason (£4); James Barwyke (£4); and William Graye (£4) appeared with their patents and were for the most part a year in arrear.

On 18 December 1537³⁶ the council in the north wrote to the king that 'of late a young fellow, Brian Boye, late servant to the Prior of Newburgh as keeper of St. Saviour's Chapel (whereunto many pilgrims resort), said that the prior has spoken unfitting words of your highness.' The prior and Boye were examined together, and the prior swore that it was false. Boye was commanded home to his father, and although there was no other evidence against the prior they say 'we have thought right to sequester him till the king's pleasure is known at St. Leonard's, York,³⁷ a house of the same order, with our fellow Mr. Magnus.'

PRIORS OF NEWBURGH

Augustine³⁸
 Richard, occurs 1169-70³⁹
 Swein, occurs before 1195⁴⁰
 Barnard, occurs 1199⁴¹
 M. . . , occurs 1199⁴²
 D. . . , occurs 1202⁴³
 Philip, occurs 1225^{43a}-31⁴⁴
 Ingram, occurs 1246-9⁴⁵
 John, occurs 1252-3⁴⁶
 William de Louthorpe (mentioned 1284)⁴⁷
 John de Skipton, 1250-1⁴⁸
 Robert, occurs 1279,⁴⁹ 1280⁵⁰ (de Hovingham)⁵¹

³⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 534.

³⁷ St. Leonard's was an Augustinian hospital.

³⁸ There is some doubt about the succession of the first four priors, but it seems probable from Roger de Mowbray's grant of St. Andrew's Church, Fishergate, York (Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 320, no. v), when the canons were at Hood, that Augustine, who is named in the charter, was the first prior.

³⁹ *Pipe R.* 16 *Hen. II* (Pipe R. Soc.), 44.

⁴⁰ *Rievaulx Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), 113.

⁴¹ *Guisborough Chartul.* ii, 55; Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xix, fol. 73.

⁴² *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 7.

⁴³ *Coucher Bk. of Selby*, ii, 141.

^{43a} Cott. MS. Nero D. iii, fol. 51.

⁴⁴ *Baildon, Mon. Notes*, i, 145.

⁴⁵ Feet of F. file 39, no. 85; file 41, no. 25.

⁴⁶ *Baildon, Mon. Notes*, i, 145.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ As 'Schipton'; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 317. Mentioned 1329 as Skipton; *Baildon, Mon. Notes*, i, 145.

⁴⁹ Feet of F. file 57, no. 20 (Trin. 7 Edw. I).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* file 59, no. 91 (Mich. 8 Edw. I).

⁵¹ *Baildon, Mon. Notes*, i, 145.

²⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Geo. Nevill, fol. 19.

²⁸ *Hostiarie* is the actual reading. It should perhaps be either *magister hostiarie* or *hostiarius*.

²⁹ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 325.

³⁰ Subs. R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 64, no. 303.

³¹ *Valor Eccl.* v, 92.

³² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 317-18.

³³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, p. 137.

³⁴ *Ibid.* xiv (1), p. 67. One of the canons named in the list, Thomas Ripon, 'otherwise called Wardroper, preste,' made his will 21 April 1543, and left his 'bodie to be buried within the church of Cookwolde. . . Also I bequeathe to everie brother of Newburgh beinge at my buriall xijd.' . . . The will, which has much else of interest in it, contains bequests to the canons still living: to Sir Gilbert Kirkbie, two half portasses; to Sir William Barker, a bonnet; to Sir William Graie, a velvet cap; to Sir William Edward, two cloth tippets, &c.; to Sir William Johnson, 'one swerd,' and to Sir John Flynnte, a sarcenet tippet. Reg. York Wills, xiii, fol. 138.

³⁵ K.R. Exch. Accts. (P.R.O.), bdle. 76, no. 24.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

William de Empingham, confirmed 28 Jan. 1280-1⁶² (or Implingham⁶³), occurs 1282,⁶⁴ 1284⁶⁵

John de Foxholes, elected 1304,⁶⁶ resigned⁶⁷

John de Hoton, elected 1318,⁶⁸ died⁶⁹

John de Cateryk, elected 1321,⁶⁰ died 1331⁶¹

John de Thresk, elected 1331⁶²

Thomas de Hustewayt, appointed 1351⁶³

John de Kylvington, occurs 1359 (Query, an intruder)

John de Thresk (Query, a second time), died 1369

Thomas de Hustewayt, elected 1369⁶⁴

John Easingwold, occurs 15 July 1437,⁶⁵ died⁶⁶

John Millom, confirmed 4 Aug. 1437,⁶⁷ died⁶⁸

William Helmesley, confirmed 15 Dec. 1459⁶⁹

Thomas Yarom, elected 1476⁷⁰

John Latover, elected 1483, resigned⁷¹

Thomas Barker, elected 16 June 1518⁷²

John Ledes, elected 1524⁷³

Robert, occurs 1535,⁷⁴ 1536⁷⁵

William Lenewodd,⁷⁶ 1538

⁶² York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 22.

⁶³ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 145.

⁶⁴ Ibid. ⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Corbridge, fol. 29.

⁶⁷ Ibid. Melton, fol. 225.

⁶⁸ Ibid. ⁶⁹ Ibid. fol. 237.

⁶⁰ Ibid. ⁶¹ Ibid. fol. 254b.

⁶⁹ Ibid. There is a good deal of confusion at this period. On 20 and 26 July John de Thresk occurs as prior (*Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 369), but on 4 June 1351 Archbishop Zouch confirmed a pension granted by the prior and convent for John de Thresk on his resignation (Reg. Zouch, fol. 171). Again, on 17 May 1358 Archbishop Thoresby granted a letter of provision for him, in which he is spoken of as 'late prior.' On 30 May 1369 Pope Innocent VI directed Bishop Gynwell of Lincoln, on the petition of Thomas Hustewaite, Canon of Newburgh, who had obtained the priory of Newburgh by the authority of Archbishop Melton on the resignation of John de Thresk, which was unlawfully occupied by John de Kyllington (Kilvington), who had obtained it simoniacally, to inquire into and punish the crimes and excesses committed by the clergy of the said church (*Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 607). Finally, Archbishop Thoresby's register records that on 12 Sept. 1369 Brother Thomas de Hustewayt was confirmed as prior *vice* John de Thresk deceased (York Archiepis. Reg. Thoresby, fol. 188b).

⁶³ Appointed by Archbishop Melton (*Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 607).

⁶⁴ For these three priors see 62.

⁶⁵ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 145 (pardon).

⁶⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 392.

⁶⁷ Ibid. ⁶⁸ Ibid. W. Booth, fol. 64b.

⁶⁹ Ibid. ⁷⁰ Ibid. sede vac. fol. 490b.

⁷¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 317. (Perhaps Latoner; see, under Esholt, Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 470.)

⁷² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 317.

⁷³ Ibid. ⁷⁴ *Valor Eccl.* v, 92.

⁷⁵ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 145.

⁷⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1) p. 68 (pension list).

The earliest seal,⁷⁷ of 12th-century work, is a vesica, 3 in. by 2 in., the obverse having our Lady crowned, sceptred, and seated, holding the Child. The legend is:—

SIGILLVM SANCTE MARIE DE NEVBVRGO

The reverse is an antique gem in a vesica, 1½ in. by 1¼ in., with the legend:—

SIGNV̄ OBEDIENCIE ET PIETĀTS.

The 12th-century seal⁷⁸ of the secretary of the chapter is another antique gem in a vesica, 2½ in. by 1⅝ in., with the legend:—

† s' SECRETAR' CAPITVLI BEATE MARIE DE NOVOBVRGO

The second seal⁷⁹ of the abbey is a 13th-century vesica, 3 in. by 1⅝ in., showing our Lady crowned and sceptred and seated in a richly-decorated chair between two censing angels. She holds the Child on her left knee, and is blessing with her right hand. Below is the prior with two monks. The legend is:—

SIGILLVM A CTE MARIE DE NOVOB

The 12th-century seal⁸⁰ of Prior Barnard is a small vesica, 1¾ in. by 1 in., with a seated figure of a saint, and the legend:—

. . . . NARD PRIOR' DE NOVOBVRGO

55. HOOD

(CELL OF NEWBURGH)

Hood is first heard of as the place where Robert de Alneto, the uncle or nephew of Gundreda the wife of Nigel de Albin and an ex-monk of Whitby, was leading the life of a hermit. It was to Robert de Alneto that Gundreda directed Abbot Gerald and his convent after they had left Calder, and at Hood they first settled, Robert de Alneto himself becoming a member of the community.⁸¹

It was in 1138 that Roger de Mowbray granted Hood to Abbot Gerald and his convent, and after four or five years' sojourn there they moved to Old Byland, and while at Byland⁸² Abbot Roger, at the request of Roger de Mowbray, their founder, and Sampson de Albin, gave Hood to

⁷⁷ *Cat. of Seals*, B.M., 3676; Cott. Chart. v, 13.

⁷⁸ Ibid. 3678, lxxiv, 88.

⁷⁹ Ibid. 3679, lxxiv, 87.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 3680, lxxiv, 86.

⁸¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 343. The whole of the earlier history of Hood will be found there in the account of Byland Abbey. For charters relating to Hood itself see *Mon. Angl.* vi, 322.

⁸² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 351.

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certain canons of Bridlington, who were coming to colonize Roger de Mowbray's new foundation of Austin canons at Newburgh. Hood remained in the possession of the canons of Newburgh, and became a cell of that house, and so continued till the Dissolution.

In a visitation of that house on 11 October 1286⁸³ Archbishop Romanus ordered that a refractory *conversus*, named Roger de Soureby, was to go to Hood, and apply himself to agriculture, and hold the tail of the plough, in place of a paid servant. He was to fast each Wednesday and Friday on bread, ale, and vegetables, and receive three disciplines a week from the Canon President of Hood, to whom he was to confess at least once a week.

In 1332 Archbishop Melton visited the church, or chapel, of Hood, by commission.⁸⁴ Brother John de Overton, the canon celebrating at Hood, and certain lay parishioners appeared, and the commissioners made certain corrections which have not been entered in the Register. The visitation reveals the fact that the church, or chapel, had in some manner parochial rights, and parishioners belonging to it.

56. THE PRIORY OF NOSTELL

The origin of the great and wealthy priory of Nostell is not free from obscurity. It seems quite certain that on or near the site where the Augustinian priory was afterwards founded there was a hermitage dedicated in honour of St. James¹ in which a certain unknown number of hermits were congregated. It has been said that the priory of Austin canons which succeeded them was founded by Ilbert de Lacy in the reign of William Rufus,² and that the order of Austin canons was first introduced into England at Nostell by a certain 'Athelwulphus or Adulphus, confessor to Henry I.'³ It is clear, however, that the canons were not settled at Nostell till the time when Thurstan was Archbishop of York, which was not till 1114,⁴ and therefore, although undoubtedly the first house of the order in Yorkshire, others, such as Colchester, founded in 1105, took precedence as earlier foundations in England. That Ilbert de Lacy had in some manner made arrangements for the establishment of a monastery at Nostell is very probable, but its actual foundation must be assigned to his son Robert, in the reign of Henry I.

The story of the foundation, as told in a manuscript compiled when Robert de Quixley, who succeeded in 1393, was prior, is briefly as

⁸³ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 50b.

⁸⁴ Ibid. Melton, fol. 257.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 89; Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 300.

² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 89. ³ Ibid. 37.

⁴ Ibid. 92, no. ii (Charter of Henry I).

follows.⁵ Henry I was accompanied on an expedition against the Scots by his chaplain, Ralph Adlave,⁶ who fell ill, and was detained at Pontefract. When convalescent, and on a hunting expedition, he came across the hermits, whose mode of life so impressed him that he decided to do what he could to found a priory there, and when the king returned obtained the royal consent. Ralph Adlave then became an Augustinian canon, and by the king's direction assumed the position of head of the establishment, which then consisted of eleven brethren. Henry I favoured the new establishment, and made a grant of 12d. a day to it from the king's revenues in Yorkshire. Others followed the king's example as benefactors, chief of whom was Robert de Lacy, in whose fee of the honour of Pontefract Nostell was situated. He granted to God and the church of St. Oswald of Nostell and the canons regular there half a carucate of land where the canons' church was situated, together with the churches of Warmfield, Huddersfield, Batley, and Rothwell, besides other land and property.⁷

Henry I⁸ confirmed these gifts of Ilbert de Lacy or Robert his son,⁹ to the church of the blessed Oswald, king and martyr, near the castle of Pontefract in a place called 'Nostla,' in which canons regular had been established (*constituti sunt*) by Archbishop Thurstan. Besides confirming the grants of Robert de Lacy, he confirmed those of other benefactors, which included a considerable number of churches, both in Yorkshire and elsewhere, two of which were Bamburgh in Northumberland, which became a rich cell of Nostell, and Bramham, which was made a prebend in the church of St. Peter, York, annexed to the priorship of Nostell. In addition, the king granted the canons the same liberties and customs as those possessed by the mother church of the blessed Peter of York. Thus, at the very outset, the priory of Nostell was richly endowed, and possessed of a large number of churches. The king confirmed all, for the souls of his father, William the Great (*Willelmi Magni*), king of the English, Queen Maud his mother, Queen Maud II his wife, William his son, and all faithful departed.

Henry II confirmed the grants again,¹⁰ including some others and that of a fair at Nostell, granted by Henry I on the feast of St. Oswald and two succeeding days. The possessions of the priory are set out by Burton,¹¹ and he has prefixed to them an account, derived from the

⁵ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 300.

⁶ For the reasons for supposing the name 'Ralph Adlave' to be an error see note 38.

⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 91, no. i.

⁸ Ibid. 92, no. ii.

⁹ 'Sicut unquam Ilbertus de Laceio, vel Robertus filius ejus,' &c.

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 93, no. iv.

¹¹ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 301-9.

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manuscript before mentioned, of the growth of the monastic buildings under the successive priors. The site was changed, at a very early date, to one a little northward of the original chapel or church of St. Oswald, by authority of a bull of Calixtus II.¹² The change was made to bring the monastery nearer to a certain pool, often referred to in the charters.

In 1153¹³ Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, then lord of Pontefract, disputed the canons' right to the site on which they were building the house. But he relinquished his claim when he joined the Crusade.

The priory had no less than five cells attached to it, the two more important being Bamburgh in Northumberland, and Breedon in Leicestershire. A third was that of Hirst in the Isle of Axholme, Lincolnshire, and the two others those of Woodkirk otherwise Erdislaw, and Scokirk otherwise Tockwith in York. Much of the revenues of the priory was derived from Bamburgh, and when, at times, the revenues from Bamburgh failed, owing to Scottish raids, the priory felt the loss severely.

The churches which the canons possessed in whole or part numbered over thirty, besides others from which they received a pension, or of which they only possessed part.¹⁴

In 1312,¹⁵ when Prior William de Birstall resigned, the produce of Bamburgh was sold for £383 11s. 9d. The priory had then a large number of servants, viz., eleven in the malt-house and bakery, five in the kitchen, besides the master and cook, three in the brewhouse, nine in the smithy and carpenter's shop, five carriers, sixteen ploughmen, besides others at manors, making in all seventy-seven. In autumn the reapers' expenses ran to £1,274, and the kitchen expenses £224 18s. 4d., besides what was taken out of the stores. The farm stock included 2,540 sheep, 100 cows, four bulls, seventy-two oxen, sixty-one heifers, and thirty-three calves. There were then twenty-six canons in the house.

In 1328 the priory was held by several creditors to whom it owed £1,012 4s. 1d.; the profits of Bamburgh had been lost for fifteen years, amounting in the whole to £4,450, and the church of Birstall, which used to bring in £100 a year, for six years had only brought in £40, so that the canons had lost £360.

In three years the canons lost 1,200 sheep, fifty-nine oxen, and 400 cows, calves, &c., but in two years John de Insula, prior, managed the affairs so well that he was able to pay off £540 of the debt, and left £319 in the treasury.

In 1372, when Prior Thomas de Derford died, he left 8,000 sheep in the pastures, and 800 marks of silver in the treasury. Yet in 1390,

¹² Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 301. ¹³ *Ibid.* ¹⁴ *Ibid.* 309.

¹⁵ These particulars have been derived by Burton (*Mon. Ebor.* 301, 302) from the manuscript volume previously mentioned.

when Prior Adam de Bilton resigned, the house owed 1,200 marks.

In 1217¹⁶ Pope Honorius III inhibited the Prior of St. Oswald, on the petition of the sub-prior and convent, from receiving any person as canon, or disposing of any of the benefices, without the consent of the convent, or the major part of it.

A very strange story is revealed in another mandate, issued by the pope in the same year, to the archbishop.¹⁷ The prior and convent had complained to the pope that the archbishop had despoiled them of two of their churches, viz., South Kirkby and Tickhill, and they related that the archbishop had broken the cross, and cast to the ground the sacred host, which the canons and their lay brothers held in their defence, and that he had expelled them from their churches, beating some so severely that one was said to have died, and others were dangerously hurt. The archbishop likewise, as they said, had broken down the altars, excommunicated the prior and canons, and absolved clerks, vicars, and others from payment of their dues. The entry in the papal register is cancelled. It ordered the archbishop to restore the churches within fifteen days, and make compensation. It is impossible to believe that Archbishop Gray took any personal part in such an affray; but there was probably some unseemly scuffle in one of the churches between his officials and certain canons and *conversi* during which the host was thrown (probably by accident) to the ground, and some present were more or less hurt. It is interesting to find the canons protecting themselves by carrying the host.¹⁸

Archbishop Wickwane held a visitation of Nostell Priory in 1280,¹⁹ and there is a brief memorandum in his register stating that no injunctions were issued *quia omnia bene*. On 25 October 1290²⁰ Archbishop Romanus sent Gilbert de Ponteburgo, who had just resigned the office of Prior of Thurgarton,²¹ back to

¹⁶ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 42. ¹⁷ *Ibid.* 44.

¹⁸ In the foundation charter of Robert de Lacy the church of South Kirkby is included as one of his gifts. In the confirmation of Henry I it is said to have been given by Hugh de Laval; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 92. Tickhill was given by Archbishop Thurstan. There had been previous trouble as to the prebend of Bramham, which, in 1216, the pope ordered the dean and chapter to restore to the prior and convent; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 45.

¹⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 35. The statement that all was well at the visitation is one of the very few entries of the kind in any of the registers. St. Mary's York, Warter, and Whitby were similarly distinguished on this occasion.

²⁰ *Ibid.* Romanus, fol. 36b.

²¹ He was elected Prior of Thurgarton 9 July 1284. There seems to have been a charge of incontinence brought against him at Thurgarton; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 190.

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Nostell, of which house he had been canon, and in which he had been professed, and the archbishop desired the Prior and canons of Nostell to receive him with loving-kindness. On 6 October 1291²² the archbishop confirmed the election of William de Birstall as prior, and also issued a mandate to the Dean and Chapter of York, that as the sub-prior and convent had canonically elected him, 'vobis mandamus quatinus ipsum ratione prebende sue in nostra Ebor. Ecclesia in fratrem et canonicum admittentes, stallum in choro et locum in capitulo debite assignatis, in persona ipsius, modo consueto,' &c. The prebend of Bramham consisted of the impropriations of the churches of Bramham, Wharram-le-Street, and Lythe.²³ It was annexed, when first founded, by Archbishop Thurstan to the priory of Nostell, and continued to be held by the prior till the Dissolution.

As a result of a visitation of the house, Archbishop Greenfield on 28 October 1313²⁴ wrote to the prior and canons that Brother William Wyler, Prior of their cell at Breedon, and Henry de Dermor, master or warden of their church of Bamburgh, who were accused of certain excesses, were to be recalled at once, to answer for themselves and receive due punishment needed; and in another letter of the same date²⁵ he ordered that Brother Benedict de Suddele, who, by his own admission, had misbehaved, was to be sent for the expiation of his crimes to their cell in the Isle of Axholme, and undergo a penance there. On the 19th²⁶ of the same month he ordered Brother John de Dewesbury to be sent to Breedon under very similar conditions, and on 24 November²⁷ Brother Thomas de Giderhowe was dispatched to Bridlington.

On Monday after the feast of St. Luke 1320²⁸ Archbishop Melton held a visitation, as a result of which he sent on 10 November a long *decretum* to the prior and canons.

The house was overburdened with debts, pensions, liveries, and corrodies, all the members were therefore exhorted to be as economical as possible, till they were solvent. The sick were to have lighter food, and a doctor was to be appointed to attend the infirmary. The services were to be duly celebrated, and those of our Lady, or for the dead, or others said without note, were not to be gabbled, but recited distinctly, and aloud, and one side was not to begin a verse before the other had ended. As Brothers John de Wath and Benedict de Suddeley residing at Woodkirk, Brother John de Pontefracto at Hirst, and Brothers William

de Norton and Henry de Huddresfield at Bamburgh, as well as the four canons of Breedon, had not, as it was said, been summoned to the visitation, the archbishop directed that the prior was in future to summon all such brethren to visitations.

Corrodies, &c., were not to be granted, or woods sold, without the archbishop's licence. Two bursars were to be appointed, *idonei et fideles*, to receive all rents and profits and take proper charge of them, as in other houses.

Efficient officers were to be appointed, both external and internal, and accounts were to be presented to the prior and five or six of the older and wiser canons, and then shown to the chapter.

The mission of canons to the cells, and their recall, was to be with the consent of the convent, as well as of the prior, or at least with the consent of the seniors.

Without delay the prior was to see that the guest-house was better provided with bed-clothes than had been wont, lest by defect in a small matter the house should get a bad name.

No women should enter the outer door to ask for the liveries or corrodies, but such were to be asked for by men, lest, under colour of entry of women, sins, or any other illicit acts, should be committed.

As certain of the charters and muniments had been sent, not long ago, to Breedon, for the conservation of their cell there, and in part ought to come back to the monastery, and as the Prior for the time being of Breedon refused to return them, the archbishop directed that someone, chosen by the whole consent of the entire convent, was to be sent there and bring them back. As regarded the mission and revocation of canons to and from Breedon, with consent of the chapter, the prior was directed that the old method was to be followed.

The archbishop found at the visitation that certain young canons were of old accustomed to study in the cloister, and on feasts of doubles to make collations in turn in chapter, and so were more studious. The old custom was to be followed.

Blind and feeble canons were not to be compelled to keep convent, but were to be in the infirmary, unless their devotion and powers led them to church.

Writing in April 1323²⁹ to the Prior and convent of Bolton, Archbishop Melton stated that the monastery of Nostell was suffering from various oppressions, and being unable to maintain its members he sent Brother Thomas de Mannyngham, one of its canons, to their house.

Archbishop Zouch in 1351³⁰ directed the prior to punish certain of the canons who, regardless of their yoke of obedience, had committed many

²² York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 40.

²³ *An Accurate Description and Hist. etc. of the Church of St. Peter, York* (York, 1770), ii, 186.

²⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, ii, fol. 71.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid. ii, fol. 71b.

²⁷ Ibid. fol. 712b.

²⁸ Ibid. Melton, fol. 142b.

²⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 150.

³⁰ Ibid. Zouch, fol. 59.

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insolences both within and outside the monastery; but who they were, or what were their offences, is not recorded.

In 1364³¹ Urban V granted a faculty to Thomas, Prior of St. Oswald's, Nostell, to dispense six canons of his monastery to be ordained priests in their twenty-second year, many having died of the pestilence.

In 1380³² there were fifteen canons besides the prior.

In 1438 the priory was so impoverished by lawsuits, the expense of re-building their church and other causes, that the king granted to the canons the hospital of St. Nicholas, in Pontefract.^{32a}

The Archbishop of York claimed an annual pension of 5 marks from the priory for any clerk he might name, on the creation of a new prior, and on 9 May 1480³³ Archbishop Rotherham claimed the pension for John Wigmore, his clerk, on the election of William Melsonby to the vacancy created by the death of Prior William Assheton.

For some reason not known, Melsonby resigned 'dolo, fraude, et metu quibuscumque cessantibus,' two months after his election,³⁴ and the archbishop directed that he was to have the mansion or rectory of the parish church of Bamburgh for his dwelling, with all the tithes.

The gross revenue³⁵ according to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* was £606 9s. 3½d., and the clear annual value £492 18s. 2d. Drs. Legh and Layton record as superstition that a pilgrimage was made here to St. Oswald. The house was surrendered by Robert Ferrer, prior (afterwards Bishop of St. David's), and twenty-eight canons on 20 November, 1540,³⁶ and the site was afterwards granted to Dr. Legh,³⁷ one of the notorious commissioners.

PRIORS OF NOSTELL

Athelwold,³⁸ 1121, occurs 1122
Savardus, elected 1153

³¹ *Cal. Papal Letters*, iv, 37.

³² Subs. R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 63, no. 12.

^{32a} *Cal. Pat.* 1436-41, p. 190.

³³ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, fol. 126b.

³⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 127b.

³⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 62.

³⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 91.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ The list in Burton (*Mon. Ebor.* 310), and others copied from Burton, place Ralph Adelavus or Adelave first, with the date 1121, followed by Adelwald, who became first Bishop of Carlisle in 1133, and had been chaplain to Henry I. Mr. Baildon (*Mon. Notes*, i, 152) suggests that these were one and the same person. This seems certainly correct, as in a charter concerning land at Twyford, between the canons of St. Paul's, London, and William Cranfort, in 1122, among the witnesses occurs 'Adeloldo priore Sancti Oswaldi' (*Hist.*

Geoffrey, died 1175

Anketil, elected 1175, died 1196

Robert de Wodekirk succeeded, died 1199

Ralph de Bedford, died 1208

Robert (?), 1208^{38a}

John, occurs 1209,^{38b} 1218³⁹

Ralph (?), occurs 1219-27⁴⁰

John, occurs 1231-6,⁴¹ died 1237⁴²

Ambrose, died 1240⁴³

Stephen, resigned 1244⁴⁴

Ralph succeeded,⁴⁵ occurs Easter 1244,⁴⁶ died 1246⁴⁷

Robert de Behal succeeded 1246,⁴⁸ died 1255⁴⁹

William de Clifford,⁵⁰ occurs 1255,⁵¹ died 1277⁵²

Richard de Wartria, elected 1276,⁵³ occurs 1285⁵⁴

Thomas, occurs 1286⁵⁵

Richard de Wartria,⁵⁶ occurs Trinity 1291,⁵⁷ died August 1291⁵⁸

William de Birstall, elected 1291,⁵⁹ resigned 1312⁶⁰

Henry de Aberford, elected 1312,⁶¹ resigned 1328⁶²

John de Insula, appointed 1328,⁶³ occurs 1331⁶⁴

John de Dewsbury, confirmed 1331,⁶⁵ died 1336⁶⁶

MSS. Com. Rep. ix, App. i, 65). The prefixing of the name Ralph to the form Adelave must be an error. Le Neve gives a number of variants of the form of the name of the first Bishop of Carlisle, as e.g., Adulfus, Aethelwulfus, Arnulphus, Aelulfus, Adelulfus, Adelwaldus (*Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae* [ed. Hardy], iii, 229). The other five succeeding names and dates are taken from Burton (*Mon. Ebor.* 310).

^{38a} After the death of Ralph de Bedford Roger de Lacy, a patron, informed Archbishop Geoffrey that one Robert had been elected prior. Cott. MS. Vesp. E. xix (Chartulary of Nostell), fol. 14 d.

^{38b} *Ibid.* fol. 166 d.

³⁹ *Cal. Papal Letters*, i, 52.

⁴⁰ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 152, but John occurs in the Chartulary (fol. 9, 10) as prior in 1219, 1222, 1225, 1227.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 91.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Baildon, loc. cit.

⁴⁷ Dugdale, loc. cit.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Baildon, loc. cit.

⁵² Dugdale, loc. cit.

⁵³ He was elected on 30 December, while Henry de Lacy, the patron, was outside the county; he might therefore have presented himself to the steward of Pontefract, but he preferred to go the longer distance to the patron; Chartulary, fol. 16.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 10 d.

⁵⁵ Baildon, loc. cit.

⁵⁶ Dugdale, loc. cit.

⁵⁷ Baildon, loc. cit.

⁵⁸ Dugdale, loc. cit.

⁵⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 40.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* Greenfield, ii, fol. 55.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.* Melton, fol. 172b.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Baildon, loc. cit.

⁶⁵ Dugdale, loc. cit.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*; Chartulary, fol. 16.

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Thomas de Derfeld,⁶⁷ Driffeld,⁶⁸ or Derford,⁶⁹ occurs 1350,⁷⁰ died⁷¹

Richard de Wombwell, confirmed 1372,⁷² occurs 1378⁷³

Adam de Bilton, succeeded 1385, occurs Oct. 1390^{73a}

John de Ledes,⁷⁴ confirmed 1390,⁷⁵ died 1393⁷⁶

Robert de Quixley, confirmed 1393,⁷⁷ died 1427⁷⁸

John Huddersfeld [*alias* Blythebroke, occurs 1438⁷⁶], confirmed 1427,⁸⁰ occurs 1437, 1452,⁸¹ 1455⁸²

Stephen Melsanby, occurs 1446⁸³

John, occurs 1470⁸⁴

William Assheton, confirmed 1472,⁸⁵ died 1489⁸⁶

William Melsonby, confirmed 11 May 1489,⁸⁷ resigned July 1489⁸⁸

Thomas Wilcok, confirmed 29 July 1489⁸⁹

Richard Hirst,⁹⁰ occurs 1489,⁹¹ 1498⁹²

Richard Marsden, confirmed 1505⁹³

Alvered Comyn, confirmed 1524⁹⁴

Robert Ferrer, last prior,⁹⁵ surrendered 20 November 1540⁹⁶

The seal⁹⁷ of Nostell is circular, and shows St. Oswald seated on a chair decorated with wolves' heads; in his right hand a cross and in his left a sprig of laurel; legend:

SIGILLV SČI OSWALDI REGIS MR DE NOSTELL.

⁶⁷ Dugdale, loc. cit.

⁶⁸ As Thomas de 'Driffeld,' confirmed 30 April 1337; York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 213. His successor Ric. de Wombwell was elected to the vacancy caused by the death of Thomas de 'Derfeld'; *Ibid.* Thoresby, fol. 165*b*.

⁶⁹ Dugdale, loc. cit.

⁷⁰ Baildon, loc. cit.

⁷¹ Dugdale, loc. cit.

⁷² York Archiepis. Reg. Thoresby, fol. 165*b*.

⁷³ Baildon, loc. cit.

^{73a} Chartulary, fol. 27 d.

⁷⁴ Dugdale, loc. cit.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Arundel, fol. 43.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* Kemp, fol. 364.

⁷⁹ Baildon, loc. cit.

⁸⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 364.

⁸¹ Baildon, loc. cit.

⁸² Chartul. fol. 70.

⁸³ Baildon, loc. cit.

⁸⁴ Baildon's MS. Notes.

⁸⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. G. Nevill, fol. 148.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* Rotherham, i, fol. 125*b*.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 126*b*. Melsonby, not Meltonby.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* ⁹⁰ Dugdale, loc. cit.

⁹¹ Conventual Leases, Yorks. (P.R.O.), no. 260, 261.

⁹² Chartul. fol. 113.

⁹³ York Archiepis. Reg. Savage, fol. 42*b*.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* Wolsey, fol. 75.

⁹⁵ Dugdale, loc. cit.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 91.

57. THE PRIORY OF WARTER

The priory of Warter was founded in 1132,¹ by Geoffrey Fitz Pain, otherwise Trusbut, who conferred upon it the church of Warter and 6 bovates of land in the fields of that place.

Geoffrey,² son of William Trusbut, confirmed and supplemented the gifts of his predecessor, and his brother Robert³ Trusbut, by a separate charter, conceded the grants of Geoffrey Fitz Pain and Geoffrey Trusbut, and added to them the church of All Saints, Melton.

All these grants were confirmed by Henry III,⁴ and in 1245⁵ by Pope Innocent IV. The pope, in addition, granted that clerks or laymen fleeing from the world might be received *ad conversionem*, and retained without dispute. Any of their brethren, having made profession in their church, might not leave without the prior's licence, save for a more ascetic life (*artioris religionis*). The chrism, holy oil, consecrations of altars or basilicas, the ordinations of clerks, the canons were to receive from the diocesan bishop. In time of a general interdict they might (*suppressa voce* and the bells not rung) celebrate divine service with closed doors, excommunicate and interdicted persons excluded. No one was to build an oratory in their parish without their leave and that of the diocesan.

Robert de Ros,⁶ patron or the priory in 1279, having seen the charters of his ancestors, confirmed them to God and the church of St. James of Warter, and John the prior, and the canons.

In other ways, and from other benefactors, the priory obtained property in a considerable number of villages.⁷

In 1277,⁸ to save it from ruin, Archbishop Giffard annexed the hospital of St. Giles at Beverley to Warter, with consent of the chapter of York and the brothers of the hospital, ordering that the priests and *conversi* then in the hospital should in future abide there or at Warter, according to the ordinance of the prior and convent.

The prior and canons also obtained possession of the churches of Askham, Clifton, and Barton in the diocese of Carlisle, which were confirmed to them by Innocent IV. Also the churches of Melton, and a portion of Ulceby in Lincolnshire. They also had, at one time, besides Warter, the churches of Lund, Wheldrake, and Nunburnholme in Yorkshire; but in 1268,⁹ when the archbishop appropriated Lund to the priory,

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 297.

² *Ibid.* 299, no. ii.

³ *Ibid.* no. iii.

⁴ *Ibid.* no. iv.

⁵ *Ibid.* no. ix.

⁶ *Ibid.* no. vii.

⁷ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 381-4.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 301, no. xii. The annexation of the hospital was confirmed by the king. Chart. R. 14 Edw. I, no. 39.

⁹ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 384.

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the patronage of Wheldrake and Nunburnholme was ceded to the archbishop and his successors.

In 1358¹⁰ Archbishop Thoresby ordained, in regard to Warter, that one of the canons should be the vicar, and have a competent portion allowed him among his brethren.

Henry III¹¹ granted the prior and canons a market at Warter, and a fair on the feast of St. James; but the latter was forbidden by the king in 1328, on account of certain murders committed at it.

On 21 December 1245 Innocent IV granted an inhibition to the Prior and convent of Warter, that no one should oblige them to pay tithes of wool and milk, demanded contrary to apostolic privileges, to rectors of parishes in which the beasts of the monastery were pastured.

Archbishop Wickwane on 14 December 1280¹² wrote to John de Queldrike that as he, considering his feebleness and incapacity, had tendered his resignation of the priorship, which he had laudably exercised for some time, desiring to spend the rest of his life in contemplative leisure and divine services, in peace from the turbulent waves of the age, he, the archbishop, accepted the resignation. A notice was sent to the sub-prior and convent to elect a successor, and this was followed by a letter from the patron, R. de Ros,¹³ to the archbishop, relating that John de Thorp had been elected, and that *quantum in nobis est* he had admitted him to office, and humbly and devotedly asked the archbishop 'eundem ad regimen dicti prioratus benigne si placet admittere velit.' This is one of the few instances in Yorkshire in which the patron of a religious house appears as taking part in an election. The archbishop in this case annulled the election as irregular, but on account of John de Thorp's qualifications for the office, which he enumerated, appointed him prior.¹⁴

In the summer of 1280¹⁵ the archbishop held a visitation of the house, and no injunctions were sent *quia omnia bene se habuerunt*—a pleasing

¹⁰ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 383.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 384 n. In 38 Henry III (1253-4), Robert, Prior of Warter, was summoned to show why he raised a certain market and fair in Warter to the injury of the free market and free fair of the Earl of Albemarle in Pocklington. The prior relinquished the market in Warter, and in return the earl granted the prior and his successors leave to hold a fair each year on the feast of St. James in the said vill. Feet of F. file 47, no. 14 (Mich. 38 Henry III).

¹² York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 174b.

¹³ *Ibid.* There is also a curious entry, marked in the margin 'pro speciebus emendis,' in Archbishop Wickwane's register. It is a grant, addressed by J. de Queldrike, the prior, on 14 March 1279-80, to the sub-prior and convent, of 30s. a year to buy spices with, for improvement in singing the psalms. *Ibid.* fol. 118 and 118b.

¹⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 174b.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 135.

and most unusual entry. Eight years later, however, in 1288,¹⁶ Archbishop Romanus sent one of the canons, Ingeram de Munceus, to Kirkham, with a letter to the prior and convent, ordering them to admit and keep him in their house, as the archbishop hoped that their holy conversation might reform his morals.

On 13 October 1291¹⁷ the archbishop confirmed a provision which had been made by Robert de Brunneby, the sub-prior, and the convent, for their prior, John de Thorp, whose labours are highly spoken of. He was to have a chamber on the south side of the infirmary, with a chapel, cellar, and garden attached to it, 20 marks a year, and his portion of bread and ale. To these the archbishop added in his *decretum*, after visiting Warter, that as an acknowledgement of his vigilance and labours, and in response to his just request, he was dispensed from taking his meals in the refectory, sleeping in the dormitory, or rising for matins, except at his own inclination.

The visitation had revealed everything in good order, as the archbishop stated in the *decretum* alluded to above, dated 23 February 1292-3.¹⁸ All was well, 'nec apud vos, benedictus Altissimus, quicquid corrigendum reperimus.' There was one exception, and that related to Brother Simon de Skyrna, who had voluntarily confessed in the presence of the whole convent, before the archbishop, that he had sinned against John de Thorp the prior. His correction was left to the prior, who, having God before his eyes, was to enjoin on him a salutary penance. If Simon de Skyrna did not devoutly undergo it, or conform himself in charity to the others, the archbishop would, on hearing an evil report of him, speedily remove him elsewhere.

In the following year¹⁹ the archbishop had to deal with the complaint of a number of the parishioners that they were unlawfully compelled by the prior to make an offering in the parish church of Warter on the feast of All Saints. It was alleged that Godfrey, Archbishop of York, had directed this. Archbishop Romanus held an inquiry *in porticu dicte ecclesie*, on Wednesday, the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle, 1293, the complainants and a 'multitude' of the parishioners being present. Briefly, it was found that Archbishop Godfrey never issued the supposed order. The parishioners admitted that they would freely make the offering, and the archbishop decided that it was to be regarded as their voluntary act, and not made under compulsion.

In the year 1300²⁰ the patron of the priory, William de Ros, and others, complained to Archbishop Corbridge that certain manslaughters had been committed in the village of Warter by

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Romanus, fol. 62.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 65 and 66.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 66.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 67b.

²⁰ *Ibid.* Corbridge, fol. 33.

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the canons' men, and that they were providing for the homicides with the goods of the house. The archbishop at once ordered them not to receive or defend or provide for the homicides out of the goods of their house, which were for their use and that of the poor.

In 1380-1²¹ the Prior of Warter was taxed at 29s. 8d., and there were ten canons each taxed at 3s. 4d.

On 1 July 1388²² John Claworth, sub-prior, and John Hemyngburgh, Robert Takell, and Richard de Beverley, canons of the house, were appointed administrators in the place of William Tyveryngton, who was suspended from office owing to his notorious waste of the property of the house, and for other reasons. Shortly after this, Archbishop Arundel took up the rule of the diocese, and on 21 November 1388 the suspended prior resigned. The election of his successor took place on 11 December following,²³ when, after mass of the Holy Ghost, the canons, twelve in number, proceeded to the election by way of scrutiny, the three scrutators being John Claworth, the sub-prior, John de Hemyngburgh, and William de Tyveryngton, the late prior. All voted for John de Hemyngburgh, except himself, and he was declared duly elected, and was thereafter confirmed and installed. It was his second term of office, and he resigned again in 1392,²⁴ when Robert Takell succeeded him.

William York, vicar of the parish church of Warter, was elected prior on 1 March 1453,²⁵ in succession to Robert Hedon, who had resigned. Five years later (16 August 1458)²⁶ Archbishop William Booth suspended William York from the priorship owing to his waste of the goods of the house, and appointed John Stranton the sub-prior and John the cellarer temporary custodians of the goods of the priory.

Archbishop Kemp in 1440 had forbidden all abbots, priors, or others to sell, without the special licence of their diocesans, within the province of York, any wood, fallen or not. Public report, however, had it that William York had sold trees that had not fallen, as well as those that had, at 'Setonwoddes, Seynt Loy Woddes, and Brokhirst,' belonging to the priory, in no small quantity, so that the woods themselves were nearly destroyed. Besides this, he had sold various trees recently growing within the precinct of the priory. Houses, moreover, and buildings belonging to the priory, through his neglect and carelessness had fallen to the ground. His general dilapidation of the property

had been to the grave injury of the house, and the archbishop peremptorily cited him to show cause why he should not be deposed from office. The result was that York 'renounced' the priorship, and on 13 October²⁷ the archbishop sent a monition to him that he was to remove himself within three days from the priory, and was not to molest the prior or his brethren. A concurrent order was sent²⁸ to William Spenser, the new prior, that he was to remove William York within three days from the priory, retaining the monastic belongings which he had, but allowing him to keep his own. He was to be kept from consorting with the brethren, lest by his malice and evil ambition he should make the sheep who were whole dissatisfied, overthrow the monastery, and bring to naught the observance of religion. He was, however, granted on 25 November²⁹ a pension of 8 marks a year for his maintenance, and on 8 December the archbishop granted him letters testimonial, and a licence to study at any university. In this way, it seems, Warter got rid of him.

In 1526³⁰ the clear annual value was returned at £118, and according to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*,³¹ £144 7s. 8d.

In 1534 Archbishop Lee included it among the houses which he visited. The injunctions which he then issued have been printed,³² and only a brief summary is needed here. The first portion of the injunctions were of a general character. These include, however, a direction that immediately after compline the cloister doors were to be locked and the keys kept by the prior or some discreet brother deputed by him, and were not to be unlocked until 6 o'clock in the morning in summer, and 7 in winter. A more important injunction forbade the prior, or any canon, to talk to women except in the presence of two other canons who could witness what was said and done. Any who infringed this restriction would be held guilty of incontinence. May this be charitably taken to explain some of the cases of incontinence (which are common) as being technical in character, rather than actual breaches of the moral law?

The special injunctions to Warter directed that the canons were to sleep in the dormitory, each in his own appointed bed. They were to eat together in the refectory, on common food, and were not to use belts adorned with gold or silver, or wear gold or silver rings, and were not to go out without the prior's leave, and the prior was only to grant leave for good reason. The prior was to hold an inquiry twice a year to prevent private proprietorship, and once a year

²¹ Subs. R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 63, no. 12.

²² York Archiepis. Reg. Arundel (sed. vac.), fol. 2 [the registers sed. vac. before Arundel's rule are contained in his register, not in the 'Sede Vacante' volume].

²³ Ibid. Arundel, fol. 12. ²⁴ Ibid. fol. 35.

²⁵ Ibid. W. Booth, fol. 68. ²⁶ Ibid. fol. 198b.

²⁷ Ibid. fol. 203b.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid. fol. 114.

³⁰ State Papers (P.R.O.), 1526 (return by Brian Higdon).

³¹ *Valor Ecc.* v, 126.

³² *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xvi, 445.

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was to render an account of all receipts and expenses to the convent.

There were ten canons at the Dissolution, and the priory and its entire property was granted in 1536-7 to Thomas, Earl of Rutland, so that there was no time for returning to the Court of Augmentation the annual account.³³

PRIORS OF WARTER ³⁴

Joseph
 Ralph
 Richard (abbot)
 Yvo (abbot), occurs 1132 ³⁵
 Nicholas, occurs 1206 ³⁶
 Richard, occurs 1209 ³⁷
 Thomas, occurs 1223, ³⁸ ruled six years
 Ranulph, occurs 1229, ³⁹ ruled six years
 John Leystingham, occurs 1235, ⁴⁰ ruled six months
 John de Dunelm, occurs 1236, ⁴¹ ruled eight years
 Robert de Lund, succeeded 1249, ⁴² ruled fifteen years
 John de Queldrike, succeeded 1264, ⁴³ ruled sixteen years
 John de Thorp, succeeded 1280, ⁴⁴ ruled thirty-three years
 Richard de Welwyk, succeeded 1314, ⁴⁵ ruled forty-four years
 Robert de Balre, succeeded 1359, ⁴⁶ ruled four years, resigned ⁴⁷

³³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 298.

³⁴ In the *Monasticon* (*Mon. Angl.* vi, 298, no. i) is a document entitled 'De prima fundatione ejusdem et de Successione Priorum,' which gives a list of the priors with certain notes about them, and the lengths of their rule, &c., ending with William Spenser (elected 1458). The list, so far as it can be checked with the registers, seems fairly correct. The third and fourth are called abbots, but on what ground is not explained. It should be noted that there is no place for Robert, who is said, in the ordinary lists, to have become prior in 1271. He is not named in the 'Successio,' and the Register of Archbishop Wickwane (fol. 174*b*) is explicit that John de Thorp immediately succeeded John de Queldrike, between whose names Robert has been thrust.

³⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 297.

³⁶ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 210. ³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 297. ³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid. ⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid. ⁴² Ibid.

⁴⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 174*b*.

⁴⁵ Ibid. Greenfield, ii, fol. 123.

⁴⁶ Ibid. Thoresby, fol. 200.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

William de Ferriby, confirmed 1364, ⁴⁸ ruled sixteen years
 Henry de Holm, succeeded 1380, ⁴⁹ ruled three years, died
 John de Hemyngburgh, 1383, ⁵⁰ first time ruled one and a half year
 William de Tyveryngton, 1385, ⁵¹ ruled four years, deposed and expelled
 John de Hemyngburgh, confirmed 11 Dec. 1388, ⁵² second time, ruled two and a half years, died ⁵³
 Robert Takell, elected 1392, ⁵⁴ ruled seventeen years
 Thomas Ruland, succeeded 1410, ⁵⁵ ruled ten years seven months, resigned
 William Warter succeeded, occurs 1423, ⁵⁶ ruled twenty-five years, died ⁵⁷
 Robert Hedon, confirmed 1445, ⁵⁸ ruled eight years nine months, resigned ⁵⁹
 William York, elected 1453, ⁶⁰ 'renounced' priorship and expelled, ⁶¹ ruled four years
 William Spenser, succeeded 1458 ⁶²
 John Preston, confirmed 1483, ⁶³ died ⁶⁴
 Thomas Bridlington, confirmed 1495, ⁶⁵ resigned ⁶⁶
 Thomas Newsome, elected 1498, ⁶⁷ died 1526 ⁶⁸
 William Holme, confirmed 1526 ⁶⁹

⁴⁸ Ibid. fol. 211.

⁴⁹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 297.

⁵⁰ Ibid. ⁶¹ Ibid.

⁵¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Arundel, fol. 13.

⁵² So in 'Successio' (Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 299, no. i), but in Arundel's Register, fol. 35, it is said that Robert Takell was elected on the resignation of John de Hemyngburgh.

⁵⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Arundel, fol. 35. In Mr. Baildon's MS. Notes the Christian name is altered from Robert to John (Takell). Robert is the name in every case in which it occurs in the registers, is also that in the 'Successio,' and as 'Robert Takyll, Prior of St. James, Wartre,' he occurs, *Cal. Papal Letters*, v, 230. Pardon to Robert Takell, Prior of Warter, and John Etton his fellow canon, who were in the field in the company of Richard, late Archbishop of York, against the king, 10 Aug. 1409; *Cal. Pat.* 1405-8, p. 55.

⁵⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 297.

⁵⁶ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 210.

⁵⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp. fol. 403.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid. W. Booth, fol. 389. ⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid. fol. 203*b*. (His resignation, *ibid.* fol. 112*b*.)

⁶² Ibid. fol. 113.

⁶³ Ibid. Rotherham, i, fol. 43.

⁶⁴ Ibid. fol. 89*b*.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid. fol. 155.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid. Wolsey, fol. 84*b*.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

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HOUSE OF AUSTIN NUNS

58. THE PRIORY OF MOXBY

The nunnery of Melseby, or Moxby, to use the modern form of the name, originated in the foundation by Bertram de Bulmer of a double monastery for canons and nuns of the Augustinian order at Marton, either at the end of the reign of Stephen, or the beginning of that of Henry II.¹ The canons and nuns did not long continue under the same roof, and Henry II gave the adjacent territory of Moxby to the nuns, whither they removed before 1167.² The nuns continued to follow the Augustinian rule,³ and their house and chapel were under the invocation of St. John the Evangelist.

The nuns obtained the church of Whenby, which was formally appropriated to them by Archbishop Wickwane in 1283.⁴

On 16 March 1267-8⁵ Archbishop Giffard directed the Prior of Newburgh to visit the prioress and nuns. Archbishop Wickwane⁶ in like manner commissioned Magr. Thomas de Grimston, his clerk, to visit the nunnery in December 1281. On 14 December 1289⁷ Archbishop Romanus appointed William, vicar of Thirkleby, as master of the nuns of Melseby, and on 8 May 1294⁸ he committed the custody of the nunnery to Master Adam Irnepurse, vicar of Bossall.

The next we hear is that Sabina de Apelgarth,⁹ one of the nuns, had apostatized. Robert Pickering, acting as vicar-general of Archbishop Greenfield, wrote on 24 April 1310 to the prioress and convent instructing them to receive her back, as she was returning in a state of penitence.

On Tuesday before the feast of St. Nicholas 1310¹⁰ Euphemia the prioress, feeling no longer capable of ruling the house, resigned, and on 12 December, Alice de Barton, a nun of the house, was elected prioress.

As a result of a visitation in 1314,¹¹ Archbishop Greenfield ordered that before the feast of All Saints each year a full account of the income and expenditure should be made. No nuns in good health were to be in the infirmary, while the sick were to be tended as their illnesses needed and means allowed.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 566.

² Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 268. Moxby was about a mile and a half south of Marton. After the separation of the two houses, they appear to have had very little connexion with each other.

³ *Ibid.* ⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Archbishop Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 54.

⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 350.

⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 50. ⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 57b.

⁹ *Ibid.* Greenfield, ii, fol. 92b.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 101b. ¹¹ *Ibid.* fol. 100b.

No corrodies, &c., were to be granted, or boarders or girls over twelve taken without special licence. In a subsequent letter of 12 August¹² the archbishop appointed Brothers Benedict de Malton and Thomas de Hustwayt, Friars minors, confessors to the nuns. Archbishop Melton held a visitation of the house on 5 May 1318,¹³ and the next day sent a *decretum* to the nuns. No fresh debts were to be incurred, especially large ones, without the consent of the wiser portion of the convent and the archbishop's special licence. As to the bread and ale called "levedemete," which the Friars minors were accustomed to receive from the house, if it was owed to them, it was to be given as due; if not, it was not to be given without the will of the president.

Nuns who ought to keep convent were to do so. They were to enter and leave the dormitory together. The cloister doors were to be well kept by day, and locked in good time at night, the prioress or sub-prioress having secure charge of the keys. The nuns were not to go out of the precincts of the monastery often, and were not at any time to wander about the woods, nor eat or gossip with brothers or other seculars.

The prioress was to take her meals in the refectory, and be more frequently in the convent than she had been, unless sickness hindered her. She was to have a nun of honest conversation associated with her, within and outside the monastery, and a waiting-maid. She was to conduct herself piously, without offensive rancour, nor was she to follow her own will, but to make use of the counsel of her sisters.

Nuns and other circumspect servants and guardians were to be appointed in granges and offices, for the benefit of the house. Relatives were not to visit the nuns for a longer period than two days. Until the archbishop directed otherwise, Sabina de Apelgarth was to be removed from all offices she held, to keep convent continuously, at divine service, and not to go out of the monastery on any account. No one convicted of incontinence, or *de lapsu carnis*, was to remain in office.

In 1322¹⁴ came the dispersion of the nuns, owing to the raid of the Scots. On 17 November Sabina de Apelgarth and Margaret de Neusom were sent by the archbishop to Nun Monkton, Alice de Barton, the prioress, to Swine, Joan de Barton and Joan de Toucotes to Nun Appleton, Agnes de Ampleford and Agnes de Jarkesmill to Nunkeeling, and Joan de

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.* Melton, fol. 226.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 240.

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Brotherton and Joan Blaunkfront¹⁵ to Ham-
pole.¹⁶

The dispersion cannot have lasted long, for on 24 January 1325¹⁷ Joan de Barton appeared before the archbishop, and for certain lawful reasons resigned. The reason for resignation is apparent from a penance enjoined upon her for having been guilty *super lapsu carnis* with the chaplain, Laurence de Systeford.¹⁸ The details of the penance imposed upon her, as to fasting and prayers, are in accordance with what was usual in these cases. She was to be shut up in a room by herself, and on no account to go outside the convent precincts for a year, and not to wear the black veil. The penance is dated 3 September 1325.

A visitation held in March 1327-8¹⁹ resulted in a series of injunctions to the nuns. As the house was heavily in debt, corrodies, pensions, &c., were not to be granted without the archbishop's special licence. Some of the necessary buildings were ruinous and unroofed, especially the bake-house, brew-house, &c. These were to be repaired as soon as possible.

The nuns for the future were to wear mantles, tunics, and other garments, according to the statutes of the rule.

Sabina de Apelgarth, for 'certain reasons,' until the archbishop ordered otherwise, was to be removed from all office and administration in the house, she was to keep convent in divine service, at fit times and places, and not to go outside the doors, nor was she to send or receive letters, &c. Joan Blaunkfront's penance was relaxed.

This *decretum* was followed on 26 March²⁰ by the confirmation of a new prioress (Joan de Toucotes) in place of Sabina de Apelgarth, whose misconduct had led to her removal from office by the archbishop.²¹

On 16 January 1423²² Alice Dautry, who had been prioress for twenty-six years, resigned owing to feebleness of body, and Joan Lassels was unanimously elected her successor *per modum inspiracionis Spiritus Sancti* by Emma de Holder-

¹⁵ Pope Clement VI, 18 July 1345, gave orders for Joan Blankefrontes, Augustinian nun of Molesey, who had left her order, to be reconciled to it. *Cal. Papal Letters*, iii, 188.

¹⁶ On a slip between fol. 241 and fol. 242 is the original letter from the Prioress and convent of Mun-
keton (Nun Monkton), of the order of *St. Benedict*, to Archbishop Melton acknowledging the archbishop's letter as to the reception of two nuns of Molesey of the order of *St. Augustine*.

¹⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 244.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 244b.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 248b.

²⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 248b.

²¹ Though in the *decretum* her 'removal' from all office is spoken of, it is said in the entry of the confirmation of her successor's election that she resigned. Probably she was constrained to do so. York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 248b, 249.

²² *Ibid.* fol. 324b.

nesse, sub-prioress, Alice Goldesburgh, Alice Dautry, Margaret Grene, Agnes Hancotes, Alice Moreton, Agnes Butteler, and Margaret Skypton, nuns of the house.

The house was supervised by the commissioners on 28 May 1536 and suppressed on 4 August following.²³ There were then eight sisters, and Elizabeth Warde, one of the nuns, held a corrody granted her by the prioress and convent for life. The commissioners gave her 66s. 8d., for which sum she released all claim she had in the corrody. She was *impotens et surda*, and in consideration of her poverty and feebleness the money was paid over to a certain honest man, who then and there pledged his faith to take care of Elizabeth Warde for life.

Among other payments made was that of 4d. to two men for the carriage of the evidences of the late priory to the house of a certain 'Magister Moyses.'

PRIORESSES OF MOXBY

Euphemia, occurs 1304-5,²⁴ resigned 1310²⁵

Alice de Barton, confirmed 1310,²⁶ occurs 1322²⁷

Joan de Barton, resigned 1324²⁸

Sabina de Apelgarth succeeded,²⁹ resigned 1328³⁰

Joan de Toucotes, confirmed 1328³¹

Elizabeth Nevill,³² died 1397³³

Alice Dautry, confirmed 31 Jan. 1397-8,³⁴ resigned 1423³⁵

Joan Lassels, confirmed 1423-4³⁶

Alice Moreton, died 1465³⁷

Margaret Skipton, elected 1465³⁸

Agnes de Tute, confirmed 1475³⁹

Philippa Jennyson, confirmed 1530-1,⁴⁰ last prioress

²³ For these particulars see K.R. Aug. Views of Accts. bdle. 17. In 1527 the clear annual value of the house was returned at £33 15s. (Subs. R. [P.R.O.], bdle. 64, no. 303). According to the *Valor Eccl.* v, 87, it was only £26 2s. 10d.

On 24 July 1475 Robert Shirwyn, pewterer, of York, bequeathed to Katherine his sister, a nun of Moxby, 6s. 8d.; and to the house of the nuns 'in vasis electricis' to the value of 10s. Reg. York. Wills, iv, fol. 91.

²⁴ Pat. 32 Edw. I, m. 27.

²⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, ii, fol. 101b.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.* Melton, fol. 240.

²⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 244.

²⁹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 566; and see above.

³⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 248b.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² 'Was the next prioress,' Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 566.

³³ York Archiepis. Reg. sed. vac. fol. 215.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 324b.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 456.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.* G Nevill, fol. 172.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* sed. vac. fol. 607.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

HOUSE OF AUSTIN CANONS

OF THE ORDER OF THE TEMPLE OF THE LORD AT JERUSALEM

59. THE PRIORY OF NORTH FERRIBY

According to Tanner, and others who have followed him, the house of North Ferriby was founded as a preceptory of Knights Templars, and after the suppression of the Templars became an ordinary priory of canons of the order of St. Augustine, and so continued till the suppression of the lesser monasteries.¹ Torre's statement² is as follows: 'North Ferriby. Priory of St. Marie's. The house or priory of N. Ferriby was founded by William de Vescy. At first for three brethren of the Order of the Temple of St. John Jerusalem in England, to which number he added five more, which completed eight brethren for the future, when he gave them the church of N. Ferriby to be appropriated to them. The common seal of the priory of North Ferriby was thus, when William, prior, and brethren thereof, granted to Robt. Robelott a certain toft in Austelmerly and an acre in Elveley.'³ Then follows a rude sketch of a seal, similar to that figured in *The Temple Church* (Bell's Cathedral Ser.), 62, but with no legend. In reality these canons were in no way connected with the Knights Templars. There were at Jerusalem two 'Temples.' The one, called the Temple of Solomon, was a palace, and from it the Knights Templars derived their name. The other, the Temple of the Lord, was a church served by a community of Austin canons under an abbot; it was to this abbey that North Ferriby was a cell.³

Archbishop Giffard wrote, on 25 September 1270,⁴ to the rector of Kirk Ella, and the bailiff of Beverley, that he had heard that the Prior of Ferriby, of the order of the Temple of the Lord, proposed to go to foreign parts by direction of his abbot, and meant to sell the corn and stock or the house, and to take away two-thirds for the cost of his journey, leaving only one-third for the sustenance of the brethren at home. If this were done the property of the house would be wholly insufficient for maintaining the brethren and guests, for which it was specially assigned. The commissioners were ordered to admonish the prior either to abandon the project and look elsewhere for the expenses of his journey, or to take a less sum, as they might appoint, in order that the archbishop might not have to put a stop

to his journey, or the brethren be driven to beg in a manner not seemly. The commissioners were also to enjoin the brethren to take good care of their business matters and property, and not to consent to the prior's proposal. If the prior or the brethren disregarded the admonition, compulsion was to be used by suspension or excommunication.

In March 1271-2⁵ Brother Walter de Sancto Eadmundo, claiming to be (*qui se dicit*) Prior of Ferriby, complained that the archbishop's official had issued certain mandates in which it was implied that he was an intruder and an ungodly person. The archbishop desired the Dean of York, in his stead, to hear the complaint, and to decide what ought to be done.

Archbishop Melton sent on 29 September 1334⁶ a monition to the Prior and brothers of the house of the Temple of the Lord of Ferriby, of his intention to visit the house on 14 May following, but there does not appear to be any record of the visitation itself. Fifteen years later there is evidence of the presence of the Black Death.⁷ The sickness itself is not alluded to, but there can be little doubt that it accounts for the fact that on 24 July 1349 Brother John de Beverley was elected prior, in succession to Walter de Hesill, deceased, and that the very next entry in the register records the election of John de Preston as prior on 3 August following, in succession to Brother John de Beverley, deceased—an interval of ten days only between the elections.

On 27 August 1372⁸ Archbishop Thoresby confirmed a provision made by John, the prior, and the convent, for their late prior John de Hedon. First of all he was to sit *in fronte chori*, in the second stall after the prior, on that side, when he wished to attend, but he was excused from all keeping of quire, and also of chapter, unless summoned for the business of the house, and the good of his soul, according to the discipline of the rule. He was to have a general licence for going in and out of the priory and its precincts. He was to have a competent and honest chamber within the priory, *cum oratorio, chiminio, et privato*, to be kept up at the cost of the house. If he were ill, or became blind, he was to have a canon to minister to him, 'tam in missis quam aliis horis divinis.' He was to have three loaves daily, two of them *de meliori pascu*

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 589.

² Torre MSS. pt. ii, 1094.

³ *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xxvi, 498-501.

⁴ *Archbishop Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 251.

⁵ *Ibid.* 66.

⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 291.

⁷ *Ibid.* Zouch, fol. 197b.

⁸ *Ibid.* Thoresby, fol. 229.

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and the third *de secundarie*. He was also to have a *lagena* and a half of the better ale of the house, together with full secondary messes from the kitchen after the prior, both at noon (*ad nonam*) and at supper, such as two canons received, in the hall or refectory. He was to have a servant at his choice, assigned him by the prior, at the charges of the house. He was also to have five marks of silver yearly, for his clothing, and further he was to have every year 4,000 turves from the moor of Inclemore for fuel.

In 1380-1⁹ there were, besides the prior, five canons.

On 18 July 1396¹⁰ Pope Boniface IX conferred on John de Thornton, priest, 'Augustinian canon of the priory of Ferriby of the order of the brethren of the Temple,' the dignity of papal chaplain. Five years later, on 13 February 1401,¹¹ the same pope granted a dispensation to 'John Marton, canon of the priory of North Ferriby, of the Order of the Temple of our Lord of Jerusalem, under the rule of St. Augustine,'¹² who made his profession in North Ferriby and was in priest's orders, to hold any offices, &c., even principal, of his order.

The property of the priory seems to have consisted of lands in the immediate neighbourhood,¹³ but nothing of importance except the church of North Ferriby, which was appropriated to the priory, one of the canons being usually appointed to the vicarage. In 1526¹⁴ the clear annual value of the priory was returned as £48 1s. 7d. According to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*¹⁵ the total annual revenues amounted to £95 11s. 7½d., the reprises to £35 10s. 5½d., leaving a clear annual value of £60 1s. 2d.

Just at the end of its history there was a very quick changing about of priors, suggesting an endeavour to secure as much in the way of pensions as possible. On 5 June 1532¹⁶ a commission was issued to confirm the election of Brother John Bawdewynne, late vicar of Ferriby, who had been elected prior *vice* Thomas Burgh, resigned. On 20 June¹⁷ Thomas Burgh, the ex-prior, was instituted to the vicarage of Ferriby. On 24 September 1534¹⁸ John Bawdewynne had resigned, and Brother Thomas Androwe, canon of the house, was elected. All three were living at the suppression, John Bawdewynne

having changed places with Thomas Androwe and become prior for the second time as late as 7 June 1535,¹⁹ when Androwe was assigned a yearly pension²⁰ of £3 6s. 8d., together with victuals for himself and a servant, *quandam parlorum vocatam M^r Riddleston parlor* with a chamber constructed over it, and a certain chamber *contigua valvis de Ferribie*, and every winter *unum le chawdrey* of coals, and pasturage and hay for two horses, &c.

John Bawdewynne secured a pension in 1534 of £5 6s. 8d., &c. Thomas Burgh had also secured one dated 22 June 1532, which was commuted at the Dissolution for an annual sum of £7 6s.

The house was visited on 24 May 1536 and suppressed on 13 August following;²¹ there were six canons and thirty-four servants and other boys.

Drs. Legh and Layton record under 'superstitio' 'hic colitur Sanctus Gatianus.'²²

PRIORS OF NORTH FERRIBY

- Simon, occurs 1240²³
- Walter de St. Edmund, occurs 1270,²⁴ 1272²⁵
- Robert, occurs 1284²⁶
- William, occurs 1300-1²⁷
- Walter, occurs 1315,²⁸ 1327^{28a}
- Walter de Hesill, died 1349²⁹
- John de Beverley, elected 24 July 1349,³⁰ died³¹
- John de Preston, elected 3 August 1349³²
- John de Hedon, resigned 1372³³
- John, elected 1372³⁴ (? John de Killom), died 1389³⁵
- William Anlaby, succeeded John de Killom, elected 1389,³⁶ occurs 1397³⁷
- John Hoton, occurs 1425,³⁸ 1426³⁹
- Thomas Beverley, died 1498⁴⁰

¹⁹ Ibid. fol. 27*b*. ²⁰ Ibid. fol. 29*b*.

²¹ K.R. Aug. Views of Accts. bdle. 17.

²² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 137.

²³ Feet of F. file 31, no. 29 (Trin. Hen. III).

²⁴ *Archbishop Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 66.

²⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 591.

²⁶ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 59.

²⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Corbridge, fol. 32; Plac. de Banco, Trin. 2 Edw. I, m. 51.

²⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 590.

^{28a} De Banco R. (P.R.O. Lists), 756.

²⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 197*b*.

³⁰ Ibid. ³¹ Ibid. ³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid. Thoresby, fol. 229. ³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid. Arundel, fol. 18. ³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Baildon's MS. Notes.

³⁸ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 59.

³⁹ Baildon's MS. Notes.

⁴⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, 154. On 27 Mar. 1449 Archbishop Kemp had issued a commission to Magr. Robert Dobbis to receive the resignation of the Prior of Ferriby (ibid. Kemp, fol. 133), but there is no record of the election which must have followed.

⁹ Subs. R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 63, no. 12.

¹⁰ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 297.

¹¹ Ibid. v, 397.

¹² Other instances of the use of this full title occur down to the Dissolution, though the mother abbey had long disappeared.

¹³ These are enumerated in the Ministers' Accounts, 28 Hen. VIII; printed Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 590.

¹⁴ State Papers (P.R.O.), 1526 (return by Brian Higdon).

¹⁵ *Valor. Eccl.* v, 128.

¹⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Lee, fol. 23.

¹⁷ Ibid. fol. 23*b*. ¹⁸ Ibid. fol. 25*b*.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Thomas Cottingham, confirmed 1498⁴¹
John Thornton, confirmed 1513,⁴² occurs 20
November 1516⁴³
Thomas Burgh, 1521,⁴⁴ occurs 16 August
1529,⁴⁵ 10 February 1531–2⁴⁶
John Howlme, occurs 3 July 1532⁴⁷

John Bawdewynne, confirmed 1532,⁴⁸ resigned
1534⁴⁹
Thomas Androwe, confirmed 24 September
1534,⁵⁰ resigned 7 June 1535⁵¹
John Bawdewynne (second time), succeeded
7 June 1535⁵²

HOUSES OF THE PREMONSTRATENSIAN ORDER

60. THE ABBEY OF COVERHAM

Towards the end of the reign of Henry II, Helewise, daughter and heiress of Ranulph de Glanville, chief justice of England, founded a monastery of Premonstratensian canons at Swainby in the parish of Pickhill,¹ with the consent of her son and heir, Waleran, then living. She died in 1195 and was buried at Swainby, but afterwards her remains were removed to Coverham and buried in the chapter house. The first foundation at Swainby is said to have been in the year 1190, but there is evidently an error in the date in the account of the foundation of the house, printed by Dugdale from a roll in St. Mary's Tower, York,² for Henry II, who confirmed the gifts made to the canons of Swainby, died in July 1189. There is, however, no reason to doubt the other statements in the account. The roll goes on to relate that Ralph the son of Robert, lord of Middleham, removed the canons to Coverham,³ and granted them the church of Coverham, and

many lands and tenements by fine in the king's court in 14 John (1212–13). The charter of Henry II is set out in full in an *inspeximus* of 22 Edward III⁴ (1338–9), by which it appears that Henry II confirmed the gifts described as those of Waleran (Helewise's son) to the church of St. Mary of 'Sweinesby' and the canons there. These were the church of Coverham, the land of Swainby, 16 acres in Kettlewell, with pasturage there for 1,000 sheep and 40 beasts, with tithes and lands elsewhere, all of which his mother had given to the canons.

After the removal to Coverham in 1212, gifts of land in several other places were made to the canons. These are arranged in alphabetical order by Burton.⁵ Besides their temporal possessions, the church of Downholme was given to them about 1300 by the Scopes of Bolton, and the gift was confirmed by Archbishop Corbridge, but no vicarage was ordained.⁶ They also became possessed, but when or by whom it was given is unknown, of a moiety of the church of Kettlewell. It must have been early in their history, for according to Burton⁷ the canons presented to this moiety in 1229, although in the printed volume of Archbishop Gray's Register⁸ no mention is made of their presentation, and it is said that the patronage was in dispute. The other moiety of the church belonged to the patronage of the Lords Gray of Rotherfield, and on 4 December 1344⁹ this moiety was appropriated by the archbishop's authority to the abbey, and a perpetual vicarage with cure of souls was ordained in the patronage of the abbot and convent. In 1388, the moieties of the church having become united in the possession of Coverham, Archbishop Alexander Nevill made a new appropriation of Kettlewell to the abbey, reserving annual pensions of 8*s.* 4*d.* to the archbishop, and 5*s.* to the Dean and Chapter of York. The vicar was to have the rectorial mansion and £5 annually from the abbot and convent.

Sedbergh Church was given to the abbey by Sir Ralph le Scrope, and a perpetual vicarage ordained there in 1332.¹⁰ The abbey also

⁴¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, 154.

⁴² Ibid. Bainbridge, fol. 43*b*.

⁴³ Conventual Leases, Yorks. (P.R.O.), no. 196.

⁴⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 590.

⁴⁵ Conventual Leases, Yorks. (P.R.O.) no. 193.

⁴⁶ Ibid. no. 195 (as 'Thomas' only).

⁴⁷ Ibid. no. 201.

⁴⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 590.

⁴⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Lee, fol. 25*b*. ⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid. fol. 28*b*. Dugdale (*Mon. Angl.* vi, 590)

gives 6 June 1532 as the date of John Bawdewynne's confirmation as prior for the first time. If this is correct, he and John Howlme, whose name as prior occurs on 3 July 1532, would seem to have been one and the same person.

⁵² Ibid.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 920. ² Ibid. no. i.

³ Coverham is 11 miles from Swainby in a direct line, and considerably farther by any possible road. The connexion of the canons of Swainby with Coverham before they were moved there is indicated by the foundation gift of Coverham Church to the canons. The site of the original monastery at Swainby is marked 'Site of Priory' on the one-inch map of the Ordnance Survey, 1870. In 1840 it was said that 'no traces of the building now remain, except in the unevenness of the ground where it is supposed to have stood.'—White, *Hist. Gazetteer and Dir. of the E. & N. Ridings*, 569.

⁴ Dugdale, loc. cit. no. ii.

⁵ *Mon. Ebor.* 418–25.

⁶ Ibid. 419.

⁷ Ibid. 420.

⁸ *Archbishop Gray's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 20.

⁹ Burton, op. cit. 420.

¹⁰ Ibid.

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possessed the church of Seaham in the bishopric of Durham.¹¹

From a licence in mortmain granted by Edward II in 1331-2,¹² it appears that the abbey had been destroyed by the Scots, who had also greatly impoverished its possessions.

In 1350¹³ one of the canons, John de Eboraco, like many other religious in other houses, left his monastery, without leave of his superior, in order to visit Rome and obtain the general indulgence offered to those who went there for the Jubilee. On 1 May 1351 he obtained from Pope Clement VI leave to return to his monastery which he had left in the August previous.

In 1380-1,¹⁴ besides the abbot, who was taxed at 15s. 9d., there were fifteen canons taxed at 3s. 4d. each, and one *conversus* taxed at 12d.

The list of the community in 1475 shows, besides the abbot, sixteen canons and two novices;¹⁵ of the canons all held some office; one was parish priest, others were vicars of Kettlewell, Sedbergh, Thorlaby, Redmire, and Downholme; the obedientiaris mentioned are sub-prior, sub-cellarer (neither prior nor cellarer is entered), cantor, succentor, sacrist, sub-sacrist, circator, fraterer, and storekeeper. On the occasion of Bishop Redman's visitation in 1478, the abbey of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Coverham was recorded to be a daughter of the abbey of Newhouse.¹⁶ At this visitation one of the canons confessed incontinence, another accused of the same offence was acquitted, and a third, about whose life, while vicar of Sedbergh, suspicion had arisen, was unanimously given a good character. Silence and other ceremonial observances were not well kept, but the bishop evidently had a good opinion of the abbot, John Bromfeld, as he appointed him his sub-delegate for the north.¹⁷ A visitation in 1482¹⁸ revealed no faults of importance, but in 1486 one canon was punished for incontinence, another, apparently a novice, had abandoned the order and was expelled, and the sub-prior was rebuked for laxity and not rising for matins.¹⁹ Two years later, in December 1488, John Bromfeld resigned the abbacy²⁰ and John Askogh was elected in his place. The ex-abbot was assigned a pension of 20 marks, a room, a liberal allowance of food, two attendants, and the use of the abbot's horses; he was also exempted from attendance in quire, and was allowed to visit his friends when he chose.²¹ The generous provision made for the ex-abbot proved demoralizing, and

in 1491²² Bishop Redman found that he had incurred by his demerits certain punishment which the bishop remitted on promise of amendment. Another canon was also restored to the position which he had forfeited, and the visitor gave great praise to Abbot Askogh for his good rule, and especially for the way in which he had restored the buildings. At his visitations in 1494, 1497, and 1500,²³ the bishop found the abbey in excellent condition, the convent on the last occasion thanking God that they had chosen so good an abbot.

In 26 Henry VIII (1534-5)²⁴ the total value of the abbey was £207 11s. 8d., and the clear annual value £160 18s. 3d. The temporalities were wholly derived from property in Yorkshire, and amounted to £116 14s. 8d. (This included £12 allowed for the site of the abbey and its demesnes.) The spiritualities were the churches already named, viz., Coverham £20, Sedbergh £41 10s., Downholme £7 10s., Kettlewell £8 10s., and Seaham £13 10s.

Among the reprises were alms²⁵ given for the soul of Ralph, Earl of Westmorland, 20s; and 40s. given to poor folk on Maundy Thursday, according to ancient custom, in bread and red and white herrings, and money to boys (*pueris*), hermits, and other poor folk.

The gift of the church of Coverham to the abbey involved the cure of souls in the parish, and among the conventual leases relating to Coverham there is an indenture dated 9 April 1530²⁶ between the Abbot and convent of Coverham and fifty-two persons, mostly heads of families in the parish, as to service in the chapel of Horsehouse. It witnesses that the abbot and convent . . . 'is fully agreyd y^t a Brother off y^e foresayd monastery off Coverham shall remane and mynyster the serveyce off God, y^t is to say Matyns, Messe, and Evynsong, at y^e chapell off Sanct Botulphe at Horshows, except syche days as hayth bene accustomed before tyme to cum downe to y^e parysche chyrche, at y^e commandment off y^e aforesayd Abbot or Curatt. So y^t y^e dewtes belongyng to the y^e parysche chyrche be no thyng mynesched. Yt is agreyd y^t y^e days off custom is Cristymes day, Candyllmes day, Palme Sunday, Ester day, Weit Sunday, Trynyte Sunday, and the dedication day, wth other days necessary for y^e well off y^e chyrche, and helthe off y^e sowles, and that y^e aforesayd abbot and convent schall pay 3erely to the afore sayd Brother iiij nobles off y^e party, and the aforesayd nabores and y^e successorres schall pay 3erely to y^e fore sayd brother iiij marcs, at fower tymes in y^e 3ere, by evyn porcons, by fower men apontyd by y^e sayd abbott & brotheres,' &c.

¹¹ Burton, op. cit. 425 (a wrong pagination for 421).

¹² Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 921, no. ii.

¹³ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 386.

¹⁴ Subs. R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 63, no. 12.

¹⁵ Gasquet, *Coll. Anglo-Premonstratensiana* (Roy. Hist. Soc.), 310.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 311.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 314.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 60, 319.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 312.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 316.

²¹ *Ibid.* 69.

²² *Ibid.* 322.

²³ *Ibid.* 324, 327, 328.

²⁴ Burton, op. cit. 425 (for 421).

²⁵ *Ibid.* 422.

²⁶ Conventual Leases, Yorks. (P.R.O.) no. 142.

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In the Minister's Accounts of Christopher Mansell for the year 27-8 Henry VIII,²⁷ the demesne lands of Coverham were valued at £13 19s. 10d.; they included a close called 'Cristecrosse' and a water-mill. The temporalities, which were derived from lands in a number of parishes, mostly in Richmondshire or the neighbourhood, realized £81 5s. 7d., while the spiritualities, comprising the rectories of Coverham (£26), of Sedbergh (£50), of Downholme (£7 16s. 8d.) of Kettlewell (£10 9s. 4d.), and Seaham (£14 13s. 4d.), reached £108 19s. 4d.

There were reprises, £6 to the chaplain of Redmire, 100s. to the chaplain of Thoraby, and the same to the chaplains of Downholme and Coverham, the latter being also styled parish curate. It is said that nothing was paid to the chaplain celebrating in the chapel of St. Botolph, called Horsehouse, beyond 3s. 4d. paid by the inhabitants of Coverdale of the 26s. 8d. annually due, according to the agreement between them and the abbot and convent, because the Prior of Coverham had paid it.

Drs. Layton and Legh²⁸ recorded that the abbot and convent had the iron girdle (*cingulum*) of Marie Nevell offered to women in child-bed, and that the abbot Christopher Rokesby was 'vehemently suspected' of incontinence.

ABBOTS OF COVERHAM

- Philip, occurs 1202²⁹
- Conan, occurs 1222-31³⁰
- John, occurs 1252³¹
- William, occurs 1262³²
- Nicholas, occurs 1287³³
- John, occurs 1300,³⁴ also 1307³⁵
- Bernard, occurs *circa* 1320³⁶
- William de Aldeburg, confirmed 1331³⁷
- Gilbert, occurs between 1345 and 1348³⁸
- Robert, occurs 1351³⁹
- Elias, occurs 1371⁴⁰
- John, occurs 1406,^{40a} 1414,⁴¹ 1415⁴²

²⁷ Mins. Accts. Yorks. 27-8 Hen. VIII, 119, m. 5.

²⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, p. 137.

²⁹ *Yorks. Fines, John* (Surt. Soc.), 72.

³⁰ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 34.

³¹ *Ibid.* ³² *Ibid.* ³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Corbridge, slip betw. fol. 59 and fol. 60. ³⁵ Baildon's MS. Notes.

³⁶ Occurs in a notice dated 'apud Sanctam Agatham die Lune in crastino Sancti Bartholomei' in conjunction with John, Abbot of Newhouse, and Thomas, Abbot of Egglestone, recording the election of Nigel de Ireby as Abbot of Easby, in succession to Abbot Philip, resigned, but no year is mentioned. York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 445b.

³⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 452.

³⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1345-8, p. 453.

³⁹ Assize R. 1129, m. 17.

⁴⁰ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 34.

^{40a} Cott. MS. Nero, D. iii, fol. 52.

⁴¹ Baildon, loc. cit.

⁴² *Ibid.*

- Cuthbert de Rydemer, confirmed 21 May 1414,⁴³ occurs 1426 and 1430⁴⁴
- Gauden, occurs 1435,⁴⁵ 1437⁴⁶
- John Bromfeld or Brownflete, confirmed 1470,⁴⁷ resigned 1488
- John Askogh, confirmed 1488⁴⁸
- Thomas Sides, confirmed 1511⁴⁹
- Christopher Salley, confirmed 1519⁵⁰
- Christopher Halton, confirmed 1521⁵¹
- Christopher Rokesby, 1528⁵²

61. THE ABBEY OF ST. AGATHA, EASBY

The abbey of St. Agatha, Easby, was founded by Roald, Constable of Richmond Castle, in 1152.¹ Another generous benefactor was Thorphin son of Robert de Burgo, whose daughters, Maud and Agnes, gave the churches of Manfield and Warcop (Westmorland).²

In the year 1284 a complaint was made by John de Hellebeck and John de Bellerby that the abbot, John, and his fellow canons had deprived them of the use of a mill at Bolton-on-Swale. The abbot claimed an annual rental of 2s. from the mill, which he had as a gift from Robert de Hellebeck. The jury found that the abbot's servants had stripped off the iron and other instruments of the mill, so rendering it useless. The verdict was given against the abbot, and the damages were assessed at 10s.^{2a} On 28 September 1294 the abbot, with the heads of a number of other religious houses, received a grant of protection for one year, which was renewed on 10 December 1295, the grant being made to these persons because they had given a tenth to the king.³

⁴³ York Archiepis. Reg. Bowett, fol. 30b.

⁴⁴ *Yorks. D.* (Yorks. Arch. Rec.), 141.

⁴⁵ Baildon, loc. cit.

⁴⁶ Baildon's MS. Notes.

⁴⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. G. Nevill, fol. 121.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* Rotherham, i, fol. 58.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* Bainbridge, fol. 21.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* Wolsey, fol. 42b.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* fol. 54b.

⁵² Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 920. (On 6 Apr. 1586, a witness in a lawsuit, whose memory extended for sixty years, mentioned two abbots, Horseman and Raper, of Coverham, as within his recollection. It would seem that those names were probably aliases for Halton and Rokesby, respectively. Other witnesses mentioned Abbot Horseman.—Exch. Dep. East. 28 Eliz. no. 3.)

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 927; Easby Chartulary, Egerton MS. 2827, fol. 2.

² Egerton MS. 2827, fol. 2-6. Warcop Church seems to have been transferred to the Premonstratensian abbey of Shap in Westmorland. *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 293-4.

^{2a} Speight, *Romantic Richmondshire*, 108.

³ Pat. 24 Edw. I, m. 21-2.

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In 1301 the abbot was feeble, and on 28 January he received a letter from the king, because 'of his debility,' nominating as his attorneys for three years two of his fellow canons, Thomas de Catering and Roger de Wautz.⁴ The abbot's name is not given, but it is evident that it was John de Novo Castro, who had been abbot for forty years.

In 1309 the Abbot of St. Mary's complained that 'Roger⁵ the Abbot of St. Agatha's, Robert de Latton, Hugh de Laton, Thomas de Cateryk, William de Langeton, John de Byscpton, and John Belle, canons of St. Agatha's' with many others, carried away his goods at Bolton, 'Bereford,' and 'Apelby,' co. York, whilst he was under the king's protection.⁶

There must have been a change in the abbacy soon after this, for on 12 May 1313 'A. Abbot of St. Agatha's' is one of a number of witnesses named in a royal confirmation of one of the charters of Egglestone.⁷ This 'A' does not occur in any list of the heads of the abbey. There seems at this time to have been a considerable amount of unrest and change in the headship of the house.⁸ In fact, in the year 1311 there were living the Abbot William Burelle and three ex-abbots, Richard de Bernyngham, William de Ergom, and Roger de Walda. This we know from a very curious story related by Whitaker.⁹ In 1311 Robert de Eglisclive, who, with his father and grandfather, had long detained from the abbot and canons 220 acres of moorland in Barden, on examining the abbey charters acknowledged the wrong and made restitution. The dispute had continued during the time of five abbots, the four above-named and John de Novo Castro. Eglisclive sought and obtained absolution, but he was anxious for the souls of his ancestors, and he persuaded the abbot and the three ex-abbots to go to the graves of his father, his grandfather, and his mother (Emma), and pronounce the sentence of absolution over them all. In consideration of this gracious act, Eglisclive released to the abbey the moorland in question according to the boundaries set forth in the charter.

In 1316 and 1317¹⁰ 'protection' was again granted to the abbot, and in 1320 he was appointed one of several to audit the accounts of the collectors of a 'tenth' for the Scotch war, which had been levied in the tenth year of the king's reign and 'paid to the Scots' by reason of the truce entered into with them.¹¹

⁴ Pat. 29 Edw. I, m. 31.

⁵ This would be Clarkson's additional abbot 'ante 1311' (*Richmond*, 375).

⁶ Pat. 3 Edw. II, m. 30 d.

⁷ Ibid. 6 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 10. ⁸ See list *postea*.

⁹ *Richmondshire*, i, 111; Egerton MS. 2827, fol. 239.

¹⁰ Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 10; 11 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 34.

¹¹ Ibid. 13 Edw. II, m. 9 d.

Some time before the reign of Edward III Thomas de Burton, the lineal descendant of the founder Roald, sold his patrimony to Henry, Lord Scrope of Bolton,¹² and with it passed the patronage of the abbey, the Lords Scrope being afterwards the reputed founders.¹³

During the reign of Edward III, c. 1330, the donations previously conferred upon the abbey received the royal confirmation. These donations included the gifts of the founder, of Roger de Mowbray, Alan Bygod, the Scropes, and many others.¹⁴ In 1380 licence was granted to Richard le Scrope to concede to the canons his manor of Brompton-on-Swale,¹⁵ and then in 1392 or 1393 (16 Richard II)¹⁶ the community was considerably enlarged by the same benefactor, who received the king's licence to bestow upon the house an annual rental of £150. This benefaction was made for the purpose of maintaining ten additional canons and two secular priests, and they were to celebrate divine service for the good estate of the king and his heirs during their lives, &c., and also to support twenty-two poor men in the said abbey for ever.¹⁷

Just before this donation the famous armorial controversy of 1385-90 had been waged between the Scropes and the Grosvenors. During an expedition into Scotland in 1385 Lord Scrope, it appears, carried his accustomed arms, 'azure a bend or,' when to his amazement he found the same arms borne by Sir Robert Grosvenor. Scrope challenged Grosvenor's right, and a suit was commenced, at first before the Lord High Commissioner, and afterwards before John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. The evidence brought forward throws much light on the history of the times, and it gives us a glimpse inside the monastic church. One of the chief witnesses was the Abbot John,^{17a} whose evidence was very valuable to the cause of Lord Scrope.¹⁸

At first it was decided that Grosvenor was to difference the arms by the addition of a silver border.¹⁹ This Sir Robert refused to do, and

¹² *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* 1853, p. 321. In the *Monasticon* this transaction is said to have taken place during the reign of Edw. III. The writer of the *Assoc. Society's* paper is very emphatic that it was before (see p. 322). See also vol. for 1869, p. 60.

¹³ Lawton, *Relig. Houses*, 96.

¹⁴ Ibid. Clarkson, *Richmond*, 349; Pat. 3 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 6.

¹⁵ Pat. 3 Ric. II, pt. iii, m. 17.

¹⁶ 1392, *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* 1853, p. 322.

¹⁷ Clarkson, op. cit. 355 from Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. iii, m. 10.

^{17a} Another important witness was the Abbot of Selby. The famous stained glass shield which he mentioned as existing in his abbey: azure a bend or, and which played such a prominent part in the settlement, has recently been identified. It is in a curiously confused condition.

¹⁸ *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* 1853, pp. 324-5.

¹⁹ Longstaffe, *Richmondshire*, 30.

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made an appeal to the king, who declared that Grosvenor was not entitled to the arms at all. Grosvenor then threw the blame upon his counsellors, and sought the pardon of Lord Scrope, which was readily granted, including the heavy costs.²⁰

This Lord Scrope, who during his life had so greatly benefited the abbey, added to his benefactions in the will which he made in 1400,²¹ the provisions of which were carried out after his death in 1402.²² He bequeathed, *inter alia*, a cup with a cover, which had been presented to him by the Lord Prince,²³ two gilt candlesticks, two gilt cruets, a chalice, a censer, a little gilt bell, and an embroidered alb, amice and stole.²⁴ A second cup was bequeathed to Lord Roger, the heir, and he in 1403 left it to his son Richard, who in 1419 bequeathed it to Marmaduke Lumley to be made into a chalice.²⁵

In May 1424 a commission was issued to Nicholas, Bishop of Dromore, to dedicate the conventual church of St. Agatha.²⁶ Probably there had been considerable alterations made about the beginning of the 15th century, and this episcopal act was a kind of re-dedication; or, as the churchyard is specially mentioned, the matter may have been primarily concerned with that.

In 1475 there were, besides the abbot, William York, nineteen canons, of whom one was 'canon of Garsdale,' a parish in the West Riding where the abbey had a grange with a chapel,^{26a} and two others were vicars of Easby and of Manfield.²⁷ Three years later, when Bishop Redman visited the abbey,²⁸ there was practically no change in the constitution of the house except that William Ellerton, who at the earlier date had been cellarer, was now abbot. He was ordered to deal generously with his predecessor, who had resigned: presumably this was William York, but his name does not appear in the list of canons. The state of the abbey was excellent, and a similarly satisfactory report was made at the next visitation, in 1482, except that one of the brethren, John Nym, had to be excommunicated for apostasy.²⁹ John Nym evidently repented of his bad ways, as we find him in 1488 acting as 'circator.' William Ellerton was still abbot in

1488 and had under him sixteen priest canons, three deacons, and two novices.³⁰ Bishop Redman found the general state of the house satisfactory but had to imprison one of the canons for continual disobedience; another was suspected of incontinence, but cleared himself by the oaths of four compurgators. In 1491 one of the brethren, William Bramptone, had to be sent away from the house for various reasons; at the same time fault was found with the abbot for the careless way in which the seal was kept, and orders were given for the better instruction of the younger members of the convent.³¹ Not long after this visitation Abbot Ellerton died, and on 6 March 1492 Bishop Redman, by authority of the father-Abbot of Newhouse, superintended an election at St. Agatha's, when William Clyntes, the sub-cellarer, was unanimously elected.³² Clyntes, however, died within a year of his appointment,³³ and on 6 February 1493 William Lynghard was elected. A visitation in 1494 showed a certain laxity in the observance of the rules of the order,³⁴ but neither on this occasion nor in 1497³⁵ were any grievous faults discovered. At the last recorded visitation, however, in 1500, Canon Thomas Bukler, who was acting as vicar of Manfield, was found to have broken the rule by making a will, disposing of property as his own which of right belonged to the abbey. With this exception the state of the house was satisfactory.³⁶

Various grants were made to the canons from time to time for the purpose of enabling them to give relief to the poor. Once a week they were to distribute to five such people as much meat and drink as cost £3 15s. 11d. per annum. This charity had been founded 'for the soul of John Romaine,' Archdeacon of Richmond.^{36a} For the same benefactor they provided also 15s. a year to be similarly expended on one poor person 'every day,' and the abbey was to give to ten poor people on the anniversary of the archdeacon's death a meal of the value of 10d., and to various chaplains the sum of 10s. on that day. Another charity provided for the giving to one pauper every day a loaf of bread called 'Payseloffe,' or 'Loaf of Peace,' together with a flagon of ale and a mess of food, from the feast of All Souls to the feast of Circumcision each year, the sum provided being £1 6s. 8d. On St. Agatha's Day £4 was to be distributed in corn and salted fish to the poor and indigent, and a similar distribution was to be made on Maundy Thursday and the two following days.³⁷

²⁰ Longstaffe, loc. cit.

²¹ *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* 1853, p. 323.

²² Clarkson, op. cit. 355.

²³ Probably Edward the Black Prince (*Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* 1853, p. 323).

²⁴ *Ibid.*; Clarkson, op. cit. 355.

²⁵ *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* 1853, p. 323.

²⁶ Lawton, *Relig. Houses*, 96.

^{26a} At the beginning of the 14th century there were two or more canons in residence at the chapel of St. John the Baptist in Garsdale. Egerton MS. 2829, fol. 187.

²⁷ Gasquet, *Coll. Anglo-Premonstratensiana* (Roy. Hist. Soc.), no. 165.

²⁸ *Ibid.* no. 167-8.

²⁹ *Ibid.* no. 169.

³⁰ *Ibid.* no. 171.

³¹ *Ibid.* 62.

³² *Ibid.* 177.

³³ *Ibid.* 182.

^{36a} These alms were performed in return for the gift of the manor of Stanghow; Egerton MS. 2827, fol. 259.

³⁷ Clarkson, op. cit. 351.

³¹ *Ibid.* no. 173.

³² *Ibid.* 101.

³³ *Ibid.* 179.

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An interesting document has been handed down from the year 1534—interesting because drawn up just before the Dissolution, and also because it shows the friendly relations existing between the abbey and the Scrope family. In 1533 Lord Scrope died. On 2 August of the next year the abbey authorities issued this charter: ‘Be it known unto all people present and to come, that we, Robert, the abbot of the monasterie of our blessed Lady S. Marie and Saynt Agatha, virgyne and martyre, nye unto Rychmonde, of the order of Premonstratense, have recevede the day of making hereof the Rt. Hon. John Lord Scrope of Bolton as our veray trewe and undoubted founder of our said monasterye, with procession and such other solempnitie and ceremonies as doth perteyne and belong thereunto, according as our predecessours have heretofore at all times receyvede his noble ancestours, as founders of the same: Grantinge unto the sayde John Lord Scrope of Bolton, and his heires for ever, by these presents, as much as in use is, not only to be partakers of our praers, suffragies, and other devoute and meritorious actes and good deids, but also all other customes, dueties, pleasours, and comodites, which dothe apperteyne and belonge unto the just title and right of a founder, and as haith bene accustomed and done by our predecessours unto his auncestors, our founders heretofore. In witness whereof, we, the said Abbot and Convent, have put our seale to these presents the Seconde day of Auguste, in the 26th yere of the reigne of our most drede Sovereigne Lord King Henr the 8th.’³⁸

It was in the following year that the Act was passed—March, 1535—for dissolving the smaller monasteries. The visitors, Legh and Layton, found a considerable amount of immorality at Easby, as they said: ‘5 sod., 1 incon., 2 seek release, founder, Lord Scrope, rents £200.’³⁹ St. Agatha’s came, therefore, under the Act.

The date of the dissolution of St. Agatha’s is variously given. Clarkson says it took place in 1535, being surrendered by ‘Robert Bampton, last abbot, and seventeen canons.’⁴⁰ The house appears in the list of ‘Monasteries under £200’ in 1536.⁴¹ The Dissolution had practically taken place before 22 September 1536, for on that date Chr. Lasselles offered to the Treasurer and Court of Augmentations the fine of £600⁴² ‘for S. Agathes, let to Lord Scrope for £300.’

The canons at St. Agatha’s did not take the Dissolution without resistance, however. On 22 February 1537 Henry VIII wrote to the Duke of Norfolk that he was to ‘see to the

lands and goods of such as shall be now attained, that we may have them in safety, to be given, if we be so disposed, to those who have truly served us. . . . As these troubles have been promoted by the monks and canons of these parts, at your repair to . . . S. Agatha’s and such places as have made resistance, . . . you shall without pity or circumstance, now that our banner is displayed, cause the monks to be tied up without further delay or ceremony.’⁴³

In a letter from Norfolk to Cromwell, dated 28 June 1537, the duke wrote: ‘You will also receive by the bearers in a bag, sealed with my seal, the Convent Seal of S. Agatha’s.’⁴⁴

Among the monastic leases for 1537–8 appears one to ‘John, Lord Scrope; S. Agatha’s Mon., Yorks., with the rectories of Manfield, Stanwyks, and Easby, and certain tithes and pensions.’⁴⁵

In the Augmentation Office for 1538 there are the following St. Agatha items among the treasurer’s accounts: a vestment or ‘albe’ of cloth of gold and red velvet; a suit of copes and vestments of red silk adorned with archers; two tunicles and a cope adorned with kings and bishops, vestments with albes and a cape of crimson velvet upon velvet adorned with ‘strykes’ of gold.⁴⁶

The value of the various properties belonging to the abbey at the Dissolution was £188 16s. 2d.⁴⁷ The deductions in pensions, charges, alms, &c., amounted to £76 18s. 3d., leaving a clear balance of £111 17s. 11d. The charges include payments to chaplains celebrating at St. Saviour’s, York, for the soul of Richard Walter; at Wensley for Richard Scrope; at Middleham for Richard Cartmell and Richard late Earl of Salisbury; at Kirkby Lonsdale for William Middleton; at Melsonby for Master Alan de Melsamby;⁴⁸ in St. Silvester’s chapel in Skirpenbeck for John Romayn, archdeacon of Richmond.⁴⁹ There is no mention of the chaplain whom they were bound to maintain at St. James, Stapleton, for the soul of Nicholas de Stapleton.^{49a} There were seventeen canons,⁵⁰ besides the abbot, and there would be the usual poor dependants and servants. The abbot, Robert Bampton, received a pension of 40 marks.⁵¹

ABBOTS OF ST. AGATHA⁵²

Martin, c. 1155⁵³

Ralph, 1162,⁵⁴ 1191

⁴³ Ibid. xii (1), 479.

⁴⁴ Ibid. (2), 159.

⁴⁵ Ibid. xiii (1), p. 588.

⁴⁶ Ibid. (2), 457.

⁴⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 235–6.

⁴⁸ Egerton MS. 2827, fol. 58.

⁴⁹ Ibid. fol. 260.

^{49a} Ibid. fol. 46, 52.

⁵⁰ *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* 1853, p. 329.

⁵¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), p. 575, quoting Aug. Bk. 232, fol. 30 (date, 1536–7).

⁵² Paildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 45.

⁵³ Egerton MS. 2827, fol. 307.

⁵⁴ Gasquet, op. cit. ii, 1.

³⁸ *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Rep.* 1853, pp. 325–6; Longstaffe, op. cit. 41; Whitaker, *Hist. of Richmondshire*, i, 110.

³⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 364.

⁴⁰ *Richmond*, 351.

⁴¹ Cott. MS. Cleop. E. iv, fol. 290b.

⁴² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 481.

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Geoffrey, occurs 1204-9⁶⁵
 Elias, occurs 1224, deprived 1228
 Robert de St. Agatha, occurs 1230⁶⁶; 'R,'
 1230⁶⁷
 Roger de St. Agatha, instituted 17 Oct. 1237⁶⁸
 Henry, occurs 1241-6⁶⁹
 William, occurs 1255
 John de Novo Castro, occurs 1260,⁸⁰ 1300
 Thomas, occurs 1302
 Richard de Bernyngham, instituted 1 Nov.
 1302,⁶¹ died 1307
 Will. de Ereholm,⁶² appointed 28 Apr. 1307⁶³
 Roger de Walda, occurs *ante* 1311;⁶⁴
 'Roger,' occurs 1309⁶⁵
 William de Burelle, elected 1310, occurs
 1311⁶⁶
 A., occurs 1313⁶⁷
 Dom. Philip de Siggeston, appointed 15 June
 1315
 Nigel de Ireby, appointed 25 Aug. 1320⁶⁸
 John de Percebrigg, appointed 22 July 1328
 John de Thexton, occurs 1330
 Thos. de Haxley ('Harley'),⁶⁹ appointed 16
 Oct. 1345;⁷⁰ occurs 1351⁷¹
 William Isaac, occurs 1375⁷²
 John, occurs 1392,⁷³ 1402,⁷⁴ 1412
 William Langle, occurs 1412 and 2 Feb.
 1429⁷⁵
 Robert Preston ('Robert') occurs 1422,⁷⁶
 1447,⁷⁷ 1449,⁷⁸ 1453,⁷⁹ 1458⁸⁰
 Thos. Rayner, occurs 11 Sept. 1449⁸¹
 Richard Hilton, occurs 11 Sept. 1459⁸²
 Robert Preston, occurs 1469-70⁸³
 William Yorke, occurs 4 Apr. 1470-5⁸⁴
 Roger de Newhouse, occurs 28 Dec. 1475⁸⁵

⁶⁵ Gasquet, loc. cit.

⁶⁶ Clarkson, op. cit. 375.

⁶⁷ Dugdale, op. cit. 922.

⁶⁸ Clarkson, loc. cit. Baildon regards Robert and Roger as the same abbot, giving 'Roger, 1230; Fine, 1231.'

⁶⁹ Gasquet, loc. cit.

⁷⁰ Egerton MS. 2827, fol. 160.

⁷¹ Clarkson, loc. cit.

⁷² *Mon. Angl.* 'Erlom.' ⁶³ Clarkson, loc. cit.

⁷³ *Ibid.* ⁶⁵ Pat. 3 Edw. II, m. 30 d.

⁷⁴ Clarkson, loc. cit.

⁷⁵ Pat. 6 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 10.

⁷⁶ Clarkson, loc. cit.

⁷⁷ Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 922. ⁷⁰ Clarkson, loc. cit.

⁷⁸ Assize R. 1129, m. 17.

⁷⁹ Clarkson, loc. cit.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* ⁷⁴ *Ibid.* ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 45.

⁸² 4 Jan. Clarkson, loc. cit.

⁸³ Dugdale, loc. cit.

⁸⁴ 13 Jan. 1453. Clarkson, loc. cit.

⁸⁵ Baildon (*Mon. Notes*) finding him 'pardoned' in 1458. There is a clash of dates here, but it is probable that Robert was abbot more than once.

⁸⁶ Clarkson, loc. cit. ⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Egerton MS. 2827, fol. 138, 222.

⁸⁸ Dugdale, loc. cit.

⁸⁹ Clarkson, loc. cit.

William Ellerton, occurs 1478, died 1491⁸⁶

William Clintes, appointed 1491⁸⁷

William Lingard, appointed 6 Mar. 1492⁸⁸

Robert Bampton, appointed 16 Oct. 1511,⁸⁹
 occurs 1522,⁹⁰ 'last abbot'

The late 12th-century seal, 2½ in. by 1½ in. is a pointed oval, showing St. Agatha standing on a carved corbel under a canopy with trefoiled arch and turrets, supported on slender columns, in the right hand a book, in the left hand a palm branch.⁹¹ Legend:—

SIGILLVM EC[C]LESIE : SANCTE : AGATHE⁹²

A later 14th-century seal, 2½ in. by 1½ in., is also a pointed oval, apparently a copy of previous seal. Legend:—

S' COE ABBIS MONASTERII + SĒE + AGATE⁹³

Several of the letters are inverted.

An abbot's seal of late 12th-century, about 1⅞ in. by 1½ in., is a pointed oval. The abbot seated, in the right hand a pastoral staff, in the left a book. Legend:—

. . . GILLVM . A SANCTE . AGATHE⁹⁴

62. EGGLESTONE ABBEY¹

The Praemonstratensian abbey of St. John the Baptist of Egglestone lay in the parish of Rokeby on the extreme northern edge of the ancient earldom of Richmond. Documentary and structural evidence points to the years 1195 to 1198 as a probable date, and a member of the Multon family was in all likelihood the original donor. Camden says Conan IV, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, founded this house, but as he died in 1171 this is not probable. The first document relating to Egglestone is a fine, dated 1198, between Ralph Multon and his overlord Ralph Lenham on account of the former having alienated all the lands which he held of him at Egglestone without his sanction to the abbot and convent there.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 376.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Dugdale, loc. cit.

⁸⁹ Clarkson, op. cit. 376.

⁹⁰ *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild* (Surt. Soc. lvii), 136.

⁹¹ Clarkson (op. cit. 352) says an *Olive* branch, and states that this seal was attached to the deed of resignation.

⁹² *Cat. of Seals, B.M.* i, 543.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* Of this seal and no. 1 there are engravings in Clarkson, *Richmond*, 352.

¹ This account is taken from *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xviii, 129-83, except where other references are given.

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This Ralph Multon was probably the founder.² Ralph Lenham confirmed Multon's gift to the abbot, to be held of him in perpetuity for the annual payment of 6 marks of silver for the sixth part of one knight's fee for all services; for this concession Ralph Multon gave 15 marks.³ About 1200 Gilbert Lee conveyed to the abbey the manor of Kilvington, for the support of nine canons in addition to those already there (probably three). We find, in consequence, that in 1478 the abbey was said to have been founded in 1200 by Gilbert de Leya.⁴ This gift led to a serious dispute in 1248, when Philip son of Gilbert claimed that the nine canons should be of his presentation, and produced a charter to that effect from Abbot Nicholas, complaining that owing to the refusal of his nominees he had suffered damage to the extent of 40 marks. The jury found that the charter of Nicholas had not been signed with the common seal, but nevertheless in 1251 Philip's claims were recognized and a compromise arrived at, and the abbot paid £5 for all arrears and damages incurred by the loss of service due from the knight's fee. Robert Stic-hill, Bishop of Durham (1260-74), confirmed Gilbert's grant of Kilvington, reserving to the church of Thornton-le-Street in fee farm the sum of 5 marks a year. In 1272 John of Bri-tanny, Earl of Richmond, founded a chantry for six chaplains, to be supplied from Egglestone, to celebrate divine service daily in the chapel of Richmond Castle. For its maintenance he gave property in Moulton worth £25 yearly.

Egglestone Abbey remained very poor, and taxes in arrear were remitted from time to time, £27 8s. 4½d. in 1318, £16 2s. 7d. in 1328, and £3 13s. 4d. in 1333. Various archbishops tried to assist the abbey by authorizing the appropriation of churches. In 1330 Archbishop Melton, for the yearly payment of 2s., allowed the abbey and convent to appropriate the church of Startforth, given them early in the 13th century by Helen of Hastings. In 1340 Maud, widow of Brian Fitz Alan, granted the advowson of Rokeby Church and lands there, and this was also appropriated in 1342 by the leave of Arch-bishop Zouch. In 1348, to compensate for damage done by the royal army before the battle of Neville's Cross, Sir Thomas Rokeby gave the church of Great Ouseburn, and the same archbishop authorized its appropriation for 15s. a year. Sir Thomas Fencotes gave the abbey the advowson of Bentham Church with

£10 a year in 1357, but notwithstanding these additions to their income the abbey was removed from the Clerical Subsidy Roll in 1380. Thomas Greenwood, canon of York, left 26s. 8d. to the 'poor' monastery to pray for his soul in 1421. In 1535 all the temporalities and spiritualities of Egglestone amounted to £65 12s. 6d. The total expenses of the abbey, including £3 6s. 8d., to each of the chaplains at Startforth, Ellerton, Romaldekirk, and Richmond, amounted to £28 18s. 3d., leaving a net income of £36 8s. 3d.

Of the internal history of the abbey we have a few particulars. About 1285 a report reached the Abbot of Prémontré that the Abbot of Egglestone had been guilty of incontinence.⁵ Commissioners were at once sent to inquire into the matter and found that the whole scandal had been concocted by three canons. Of these the chief offender was already doing penance at Welbeck for other misdeeds, and was now sentenced to be banished to 'some far-distant church of the order'; the second canon was sent to Torre Abbey, in Devon; and the third was to do penance at Egglestone.⁶ Some twenty years later there was again dissension in the house. William de C. seems to have re-signed the abbacy, possibly under pressure, about 1309, and to have been treated by his successor and the canons with harshness, his good name defamed, and himself expelled from the abbey. The Abbot of Prémontré therefore ordered the Abbots of Dale and St. Agatha's to go to Egglestone and persuade the brethren to receive their late abbot back as a member of their house; failing this they were to place him in Welbeck Abbey at the expense of Egglestone.⁷ The Abbot of St. Agatha's apparently thought that there was something to be said on the other side;⁸ and in any case the convent of Egglestone refused either to receive William de C. or to pay for him. The Abbot of Welbeck likewise refused to take him in without pay,⁹ and two or three years passed before the unfortunate man found a home in the abbey of Torre.¹⁰

Bishop Redman visited Egglestone in 1478, when he found little to complain of except that some of the canons were lax in rising for matins and that silence was not properly observed. There were at this time fourteen canons besides the abbot, and one of these, Thomas Burton, was allowed in 1481 to go to either Oxford or Cambridge for study. It was probably this student who was found next year to have appropriated and pawned three books.¹¹

² A descendant, Thomas Multon, ob. 1314, was patron of the abbey. His daughter and heiress, Margaret, married Lord Dacre. A Lord Dacre was patron in 1478 and at the Dissolution.

³ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* ut sup. quoting Feet of F. Yorks. file 1, no. 17.

⁴ Gasquet, *Coll. Anglo-Premonstratensiana* (Roy. Hist. Soc.), no. 397.

⁵ Gasquet, op. cit. 389.

⁷ Ibid. 391.

⁹ Ibid. 393-4.

¹¹ Ibid. 401.

⁶ Ibid. 390.

⁸ Ibid. 392.

¹⁰ Ibid. 396.

The offender is called *William* Burton, but no such name appears in the list of canons.

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Both in 1482 and 1488 the bishop found fault with the canons for not keeping silence and for not wearing their cloaks at proper times.¹² From the list of the brethren in 1491 we find that only the abbot and six canons were continually in residence, eight other canons serving the churches of Great Ouseburn, Rokeby, and Startforth, and the chapels of Ellerton, Richmond, Romalldkirk, Arkendale, and Askrigg.¹³ In 1494 the question of the cloaks was still the most important matter dealt with,¹⁴ but in 1497 one of the canons had taken part in a quarrel which had resulted in the death of his adversary,¹⁵ and although not directly responsible he was banished for seven years to Halesowen,¹⁶ to appease the anger of the dead man's friends; another canon had also to undergo penance for being present at the fatal quarrel, though he had done his best to keep the peace. The canon who had been vicar of Startforth had turned apostate and had made over his vicarage to Thomas Tollerton, who was recalled as unsuitable. The bishop forbade the brethren to go out without leave, and especially to visit the town of Barnard Castle, a prohibition which he repeated in 1500,¹⁷ adding that none were to carry long knives either within or without the abbey. Provision was to be made for the cantarist of Richmond, that he should not in future have to go about like a beggar. The last recorded visitation, in 1502,¹⁸ revealed many serious defects, and the canons were ordered to cease from quarrelling and not to go out of the abbey without leave; boys were not to sleep in the dormitory, and the abbot was not to lease estates for long terms without consulting the convent.

The abbey was exempted at the suppression

of 1535 and re-founded in 1537, but finally surrendered in 1540. A pension of £13 6s. 8d. was granted to the abbot, and smaller sums, in all amounting to £30 13s. 4d., to the sub-prior, six priests, and one sub-deacon.

ABBOTS OF EGGLESTONE¹⁹

Ralph de Moleton, occurs 1198²⁰
 William
 Nicholas, c. 1200
 Stephen, c. 1205^{20a}
 Robert, occurs 1216
 William, occurs 1226
 Hamo, occurs 1235,^{20b} 1239
 Robert, occurs 1250-4²¹
 Roger, (?)
 John of Easby, occurs 1296, died 1307
 Thomas of Durham, elected 1307
 William, elected 1309
 Bernard of Langton, elected 1313
 John of Theakston, elected 1330
 Alexander of Easby, elected 1349
 William of Startforth, elected 1351
 John, occurs 1364
 Peter of Easby, elected 1377
 John English or Inglys, occurs 1401,²² died 1411
 John of Wells, elected 16 Feb., ob. 27 Sept. 1411
 Thomas Morton, elected 27 Sept. 1411
 Thomas Rayner, elected 1445, retired 1449
 Richard Hilton, elected 1449
 John Woolston, elected 1455
 Robert Ellerton, elected 1476
 William Westerdale, elected 1495
 John Wakefield, elected 1503
 Thomas Darnton *alias* Shepherd, 1519-40

HOUSES OF THE GILBERTINE ORDER

63. THE PRIORY OF ELLERTON ON SPALDING MOOR

Early in the 13th century¹ William Fitz Peter granted to God, Blessed Mary and the order

¹² Gasquet, *op. cit.* 401, 403.

¹³ *Ibid.* 405.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 406.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 408.

¹⁶ He was back at Egglestone in 1500; *ibid.* 410.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 411.

¹⁹ The authority for this list is *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xviii, 129-83.

²⁰ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 51.

^{20a} Cott. MS. Nero D. iii, fol. 52 d.

^{20b} Egerton MS. 2823, fol. 31.

²¹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 51.

²² *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 414. Granted leave to resign his abbacy if he so desired.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 975. Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, is named in and is a witness to the foundation charter; as he was deprived in 1207 or 1208, the date of foundation must be before 1209.

of Sempringham land in Ellerton, and other property in the neighbourhood, for founding a priory of canons of the order, and for the entertaining (*ad pasendum ibidem*) thirteen poor persons.² About the middle of the century Peter, the son of Peter de Mauley, confirmed to the canons all that they had of his fee, including 'totum situm abbathe in Elretona,' with the church of the same vill.

Alan of Wilton³ gave to God, Blessed Mary, and St. Lawrence, and for the sustenance of the canons and thirteen poor folk, 12 acres in Howm (Holme-on-the-Wolds) and other

² *Ibid.* 976, no. i. Gilbert, second master of Sempringham, and John, Prior of Ellerton, acknowledged themselves bound (c. 1220) to provide for the maintenance of thirteen poor persons 'in hospitali ecclesie de Elreton' as had been arranged between themselves and William son of the founder; *ibid.* 977, no. vi.

³ *Ibid.* no. vii.

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lands, &c., including 12 skeps of salt from his salt works in West Coatham. In this charter first occurs the additional invocation of St. Lawrence. Alan de Wilton⁴ also gave 6 bovates of land in Habton for a light at the altar of St. Lawrence in the canons' church, and for the maintenance of a chaplain to celebrate at that altar.

In April 1387⁵ it was agreed that German Hay, then patron, and his successors, lords of the manor of Aughton, should nominate eight of the poor supported by the convent, in addition to one who had previously been in the patron's nomination, and the prior and convent were to celebrate the obits of German Hay and Alice his wife, the prior, if possible, officiating in person. The indenture does not reveal any grant, other than a general confirmation of his ancestors' gifts, as a reason for these concessions.

A good many other possessions were granted to the prior and convent, and, as usual, are set out in alphabetical order by Burton.⁶

Archbishop Romanus, in 1286,⁷ wrote to the master of the order of Sempringham to receive a canon of Ellerton who had left his house. In 1417⁸ there is a record of the appointment of John Zuesflet, canon of Ellerton, as temporal *custos* of their church of Aughton. Otherwise the history of Ellerton is almost a blank till the time of the Dissolution. In 1380-1 there were four canons besides the prior. In 1526⁹ the clear annual revenue was returned at £63. Tanner says that there were nine religious in the house,¹⁰ but there was the same number at the surrender as in 1380-1,¹¹ which looks as if that were the normal strength of the establishment. Possibly he has included the poor who were maintained in the house, and whose number may have dwindled considerably.

The house was surrendered on 11 December 1538¹² by John Golding, prior, and four canons. Golding had only become prior that year,¹³ and there is some mystery as to the fate of his predecessor, Prior James Lowrance. The convent of Watton had elected him their prior in 1536. They had done this under compulsion, Robert

Holgate the actual prior being still alive. Lowrance, it is said, 'would never take it upon him, nor did they (Watton) receive him for such indeed, but wanted him (Lowrance) to bear the name (of Prior of Watton) only, for fear of the commons.' He continued Prior of Ellerton till early in 1538, and then disappears from view; possibly he died a natural death as his name is absent from the list of pensions. John Golding first occurs as prior about a month before the Dissolution.¹⁴ He alone of the members of the house of Ellerton was alive in 6 Edward VI,¹⁵ when he was fifty-three years of age; his pension was £13 6s. 8d.

PRIORS OF ELLERTON ON SPALDING MOOR

John, occurs 1219,¹⁶ 1230¹⁷
 Ivo, occurs 1240¹⁸
 Geoffrey, occurs 1246,¹⁹ 1248²⁰
 Henry, occurs 1252,²¹ 1269²²
 Adam de Scarborough, occurs 1282²³
 Robert, occurs 1294²⁴
 Ralph, occurs 1305²⁵
 Alan,²⁶ occurs 1335,²⁷ 1336²⁸
 William, occurs 1348,²⁹ 1371³⁰
 John Barnby, occurs 1436,³¹ 1437³²
 Thomas Finche, occurs 1437,³³ 1438³⁴
 Giles, occurs? 1439³⁵
 Henry Bell, occurs 1497,³⁶ 1506-7³⁷
 Robert, occurs 1531,³⁸ 1533³⁹
 James Lowrance, occurs 1534 to 1538⁴⁰
 John Golding, occurs 7 Nov. 1538,⁴¹ surrendered the house 11 Dec. 1538⁴²

¹⁴ Conventual Leases, Yorks. (P.R.O.), no. 187.

¹⁵ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdl. 76, no. 23.

¹⁶ Feet of F. file 14, no. 78 (Hil. 3 Hen. III).

¹⁷ Ibid. file 22, no. 3, 21 (Trin. 12-14 Hen. III).

¹⁸ Ibid. file 32, no. 99 (Trin. 24 Hen. III).

¹⁹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 53.

²⁰ Feet of F. file 41, no. 19 (Mich. 32 Hen. III).

²¹ Ibid. Hil. 36 Hen. III.

²² Baildon, loc. cit.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Feet of F. file 66, no. 4 (East. 22 Edw. I).

²⁵ Baildon, loc. cit.

²⁶ Baildon's MS. Notes.

²⁷ Ibid. ²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 53.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Baildon's MS. Notes.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 53.

³⁵ Subs. R. (P.R.O.), bdl. 66, no. 411.

³⁶ *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), iv, 123.

³⁷ Ibid. 92.

³⁸ Conventual Leases, Yorks. (P.R.O.), no. 187.

³⁹ Ibid. no. 84.

⁴⁰ Ibid. no. 183, 190, 191; *Valor Eccl.* v, 128.

⁴¹ Conventual Leases, Yorks. (P.R.O.), no. 187.

⁴² *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. 20.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* 918, no. ix.

⁵ Ibid. 977, no. iv.

⁶ *Mon. Ebor.* 259-62. William son of Ingram Aguillun granted to God, Blessed Mary, and the canons and poor persons of Ellerton, Roger Colwin of Cathwell with all that belonged to him. Among the witnesses to the charter is William Fitz Peter, the founder; Add. Chart. 20553.

⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 59.

⁸ Ibid. Bowett, fol. 186.

⁹ State Papers (P.R.O.), 1526 (return by Brian Higdon).

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 975.

¹¹ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. 2.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Cf. Conventual Leases, Yorks. (P.R.O.), no. 191, and no. 187; Graham, *St. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines*, 182 &c. citing authorities.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

64. THE PRIORY OF MALTON

The priory of St. Mary at Malton was founded in 1150 by Eustace Fitz John, and endowed by him with the churches of Malton, Winttingham, and Brompton, and the vill of Linton; his son William confirmed the gift. The canons had charge of three hospital houses for feeding the poor, one in Wheelgate, another at Broughton, and a third on an island in the Derwent, on the Norton side of the river, the gift of William Flamville. William de Vesci gave the canons the church of Ancaster and the chapel of Sowerby. Burga, his widow, added the church of Norton, and Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, confirmed the gift of Walter Nevill of the church of Walden in Hertfordshire.¹ Walter Fitz Alan endowed the Gilbertines with land at Newton-upon-Ayr in Scotland, but the Master of Sempringham declined to build there, and leased the land to the Abbot and convent of Paisley for 40 mark a year, to be paid to the Priors of Malton and St. Andrew's at York.² The possessions of Malton were confirmed in 1178 by a bull of Alexander III, declaring it to be unlawful to disturb the church of the Blessed Mary at Malton, to take away its possessions, and to harass the canons by any vexations 'now or in the future,' and King John also issued a confirmatory charter. A bull of Innocent III settled a dispute about the tithes of Sowerby belonging to the church of Winttingham, and Sir William Lascelles, kt., gave 2 bovates of land and swore to keep the terms of the agreement³; another bull of Innocent IV to the Prior of Malton asserted that apostolic indulgence was not limited to the house of Sempringham as some affirmed.⁴

Archbishop Walter Gray presented to the vicarage of Brompton in 1237 'so that at other times no prejudice shall arise against the Prior and convent of Malton, who hold the patronage'; in 1245 an inquisition on the matter was held, and it was found that the right of presentation belonged to the Prior and convent of Malton. The living of Langton was also in the gift of the prior.⁵ The accounts of Malton are extant from the years 1244 to 1257.⁶ At this time the canons held land in forty-nine parishes, and had 250 tenants paying rent amounting to £60; they had a mill at Swinton let for 16s. and another at Rillington let for 15s. In 1253, for instance, the receipts of Malton were £691 16s. 5d., the expenditure £687 os. 10d. The papal subsidy and tallage

in that year was £140 13s. 4d. About two-thirds of the revenue was derived from wool, and in a good year this might amount to £400; most of the land was therefore devoted to pasture, and considerable sums were spent in buying corn—in 1254 as much as £138 13s. 4d. During the years for which the accounts remain, £478 14s. 5d. was spent in purchasing lands, and £197 17s. in hiring meadows. Yet in spite of this apparent prosperity Malton Priory had many debts; these amounted in 1255 to £251 13s. 4d. and were possibly the result of direct borrowing from the Jews. The Prior of Malton frequently paid the debts of benefactors to the priory; thus, in 1244, William of Richborough gave to the house 7 bovates in Welham, and 36½ marks of silver were paid to the Jews on his behalf, besides 3 marks, the dower of his mother, Albreda. William Redburn's debts to the Jews were also settled, and Ralph Bolbeck's gift of 60 quarters of salt and common lands and meadows were rewarded by a settlement of his debts and provision for two men and two horses whenever he came to Malton.⁷

Besides the transactions with the Jews, the assizes of the forest added considerably to the expenditure of the convent; £16 was paid for pleas in 1249, and between the years 1243 and 1257 £94 14s. 3d. were given as bribes to the sheriffs and bailiffs of the forest of Pickering.⁸ Malton also suffered, as did Watton, from Agnes de Vescy and her ministers who, in 1283, assaulted two of the brethren, drove away cattle, and denied them food, and yet would not let them be replevied. The townsmen of Malton also made distrains on the prior contrary to his charters, and purveyors seized corn from the convent for the Scotch wars. In 1405 the prior and convent joined Scrope and Mowbray in the rebellion against Henry IV.⁹ Although in 1535 the revenue was under £200, Robert Holgate's influence prevented the dissolution of the priory, which survived for four years longer. The prior was accused of taking part in the Pilgrimage of Grace and arrested, but his fate is unknown; in 1538 the commissioners in the North wrote to Cromwell that Malton would surrender if there were any commissioners to receive it, and in December 1539 the prior and nine canons gave up the last Gilbertine house. The prior received a pension of £40, and eight canons £4 each.¹⁰

PRIORS OF MALTON

Gilbert, occurs 1169¹¹
 Roger, occurs 1178¹²
 Ralph, occurs 1195¹³

⁷ Graham, op. cit. 123, 124. ⁸ Ibid. 79-81.

⁹ Ibid. 153. ¹⁰ Ibid. 197.

¹¹ Chartul. fol. 7. ¹² Ibid. ¹³ Ibid. fol. 218 d.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 970-2; cf. Cott. MS. Claud. D. xi, Chartulary of Malton.

² Graham, *St. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines*, 47.

³ Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 973.

⁴ Graham, op. cit. 99. ⁵ Ibid. 109.

⁶ Ibid. 126, 127; Chartul. fol. 266-76.

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Cyprian, occurs 1201, 1203¹⁴
 Adam, occurs 1214,¹⁵ 1219¹⁶
 William, occurs 1235,¹⁷ resigned 1256¹⁸
 John, occurs 1256,¹⁹ 1270²⁰
 William de Anecaster, c. 1278²¹
 Robert, occurs 1278,²² 1280-4²³
 Ranulph de Richmundia,²⁴ c. 1285
 Geoffrey, occurs 1288²⁵
 William Baudewyn, alias de Scarburg,²⁶ occurs
 1290,²⁷ 1296²⁸
 William, occurs 1305²⁹
 Thomas de Pokelyngton, occurs 1322³⁰
 William, occurs 1336³¹
 John de Wintrington, 1337,³² 1340³³
 John, occurs 1343³⁴
 John de Wintringham, occurs 1350³⁵
 Robert de Skakelthorp, occurs 1360,³⁶ 1365³⁷
 William de Bentham, occurs 1368, 1379³⁸
 William de Beverlaco, occurs 1380-1³⁹
 Geoffrey de Wymeswold, occurs 1405⁴⁰ (as
 Geoffrey, occurs 1425⁴¹)
 John Wardale, occurs 1433,⁴² 1435⁴³
 Richard Heworth, occurs 1459,⁴⁴ 1487⁴⁵
 Roger, occurs 1517⁴⁶
 Richard Felton, occurs 1524-5⁴⁷
 William Todde, occurs 1526 to 1537⁴⁸
 John Crashawe⁴⁹

¹⁴ Chartul. fol. 206, 214.

¹⁵ *Yorks. Fines, John* (Surt. Soc.), 174.

¹⁶ *Linc. Rec. Final Concords*, 133.

¹⁷ Feet of F. file 30, no. 40.

¹⁸ Chartul. fol. 2.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 65.

²⁰ Add. Chart. 35580.

²¹ Assize R. 1101, m. 84.

²² Chartul. fol. 243.

²³ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 119.

²⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 125*b*, &c. ; he had resigned and become a Cistercian monk of Fountains that he might lead a sterner life.

²⁵ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 119. He was the immediate successor of Ranulph ; Chartul. fol. 138.

²⁶ Chartul. fol. 114.

²⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 138.

²⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 49.

²⁹ Assize R. 1107, m. 27*d*.

³⁰ Chartul. fol. 140.

³¹ *Ibid.* fol. 126.

³² *Ibid.* fol. 133.

³³ *Ibid.* fol. 140.

³⁴ Baildon, loc. cit.

³⁵ *Test. Ebor.* i, 63. As John de Wintrington had ceased to be prior before 1342 (Chartul. fol. 140), it was probably a coincidence that two priors with such very similar names followed one another. John, whose name occurs in 1343, was probably John de Wintringham, who seems to have been Prior of Sempringham in 1360 (*ibid.* fol. 290).

³⁶ Chartul. fol. 290.

³⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 150.

³⁸ Baildon, loc. cit.

³⁹ Subs. R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 63, no. 10.

⁴⁰ Pat. 6 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 10.

⁴¹ Baildon, loc. cit.

⁴² Baildon's MS. Notes.

⁴³ Baildon, loc. cit.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Test. Ebor.* iv, 21.

⁴⁶ Conventual Leases, Yorks. (P.R.O.), no. 452.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ As 'William' only ; *ibid.* no. 450, 451, 456, 458, 459, 460, 461 ; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii, 1023 (William Todde, 1537).

⁴⁹ Graham, op. cit. 195.

65. THE PRIORY OF WATTON

The double house of St. Mary of Watton, near Beverley, was founded in 1150 by Eustace Fitz John as a penance for having fought on the Scottish side in the battle of the Standard. He built a house for the nuns and canons of Sempringham, and endowed it with the township of Watton ; his gift was confirmed by his wife Agnes, daughter of William, Constable of Chester, whose marriage portion it was, and also by William Fossard, the superior lord, who remitted the service of two knights, for the support of thirteen canons who should always serve the nuns and provide for them in divine and earthly things.¹ A few years later Fossard gave the nuns 3 carucates in 'Howald' for the remission of his sins, instead of going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Alexander of Santon gave 1,600 acres in Santon, and Richard of Santon confirmed the gift ; Robert Constable of Flamborough granted lands in Hilderthorpe to the nuns and brothers, clerk and lay, and the right of collecting masts for their own ship. King John confirmed the grant of Henry II of lands in Langdale and 'Butresdalebeck.'²

Walter Gray granted the nuns an annual payment of 5 marks out of the church of Santon for a pittance, and made them patrons of the whole church of which they had heretofore held only a moiety.³

Royal protection was accorded to Watton in more than one instance ; in 1272 Henry III had to interfere on behalf of the prior against Agnes de Vescy, who came to the priory with a great number of women and dogs, and other things, and disturbed the devotions of the sisters and nuns ; and in 1314 Edward II granted the prior a year's immunity from the purveyors for his Scottish wars, because 'certain persons, feigning that they are purveyors of victuals . . . frequently come to the priory and granges and there take, in the king's name, animals, carts, corn, and other victuals.' In 1305, Margery, the daughter of Robert Bruce, dwelt at Watton by the king's order, and the Sheriff of York paid her 3*d.* a day, and 1 mark a year for her robe.

Archbishop Melton blessed fifty-three nuns at Watton in 1326,⁴ and lent the priory money because it was in debt. In spite of these gifts the poverty of Watton was notorious, the revenues were not sufficient for the expenses of the inmates, and in 1444 Henry VI exempted the priory from all aids, subsidies, tallage, tenths, and fifteenths.⁵ During the next century

¹ Add. Chart. 20561 (c. 1154-5).

² Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 956.

³ Graham, op. cit. 109.

⁴ *Ibid.* 103. In 1378-9 there were three prioresses and sixty-one nuns ; Subs. R. (P.R.O.), bdle. 63, no. 11.

⁵ *Ibid.* 89.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

the financial position must have improved, for in 1535 the gross revenue was £453 7s. 8d., and the clear annual value £360 16s. 10½d.⁶

The Pilgrimage of Grace created much dissension at Watton; the Gilbertines were accused of taking part, and the prior, Robert Holgate, fled to Cromwell 'being one of his promotion,' and left sixty or eighty^{6a} brethren and sisters without 40s. to succour them. During his absence Sir Francis Bigod incited the canons to a new election, and the Prior of Ellerton was appointed; various insurrectionary captains took carts, horses, and men, but obviously the canons were unwilling. One man gave evidence that the canons were setters forth of sedition, there was 'never a good one of all the canons of that house,' but there is no proof of their treason, and certainly Watton was not forfeited to Henry VIII.⁷ In 1539 Holgate surrendered with seven canons, two prioresses, and twelve nuns; each canon received a pension of £4, the prioresses £5 each, and the others smaller sums. Holgate himself was given a life grant of Watton Priory except the nuns' church, the manor of Watton, and seven other manors belonging to the priory.⁸ In the Ministers' Accounts the possessions of Watton Priory amounted to £730 6s. 10d.

PRIORS OF WATTON

Robert, occurs 1194 to 1202⁹
 Peter, occurs 1206,¹⁰ 1208¹¹
 Richard, occurs 1219,¹² also 1223-5¹³
 William, occurs 1226,^{13a} 1238¹⁴
 Roger, occurs 1240¹⁵
 Patrick, occurs 1251-2¹⁶ to 1260,¹⁷ elected
 Master of Sempringham 1261-2¹⁸
 Roger (? de Dalton), occurs 1267-72¹⁹
 Reginald, before 1278²⁰
 Robert de Cave²¹
 Patrick de Middleton, occurs 1277²²-80²³

⁶ Graham, op. cit. 167 n.

^{6a} These numbers must include all the servants and labourers employed by the convent.

⁷ Graham, op. cit. 182. ⁸ Ibid. 199.

⁹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 215; *Yorks. Fines, John* (Surt. Soc.), 4, 12, 67, 68.

¹⁰ *Yorks. Fines, John*, 98, 144.

¹¹ Ibid. ¹² Baildon, loc. cit.

¹³ Feet of F. file 17, no. 21.

^{13a} Cott. MS. Nero D. iii, fol. 53 d.

¹⁴ Baildon, loc. cit. ¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Feet of F. file 45, no. 144 (Hil. 36 Hen. III).

¹⁷ Ibid. file 48, no. 44 (Mich. 44 Hen. III).

¹⁸ Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 947.

¹⁹ Baildon, loc. cit. ²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Assize R. 1055, m. 75b. (Patrick de Middleton's immediate predecessor is there said to have been Robert de Cave.)

²² Close, 5 Edw. I, m. 7.

²³ Feet of F. file 59, no. 69 (Hil. 8 Edw. I).

John de Hoton, occurs 1300²⁴

Richard de Watton, occurs 1327,^{24a} 1350²⁶

John de Ecton, occurs 1355²⁶ (as 'John' only),
 1368, 1372²⁷

William, occurs 1378²⁸

John de Whitby, occurs 1382²⁹

Robert Stegyll, occurs 1398³⁰

John, occurs 1423³¹

William, occurs 1455³²

William Cayton, occurs 1473³³

James Boulton,³⁴ occurs 1482,³⁵ 1497³⁶

Thomas, occurs 1530³⁷

Robert Holgate, before 1536³⁸ (commendator)

James Lowrance (Prior of Ellerton), elected
 1536-9 informally,³⁹ and did not take office

Robert Holgate, surrendered 1539

66. THE PRIORY OF ST. ANDREW, YORK

About 1200¹ Hugh Murdac, Archdeacon of Cleveland, granted to God, and twelve canons of the Order of Sempringham serving God at St. Andrew's in Fishergate, York,² that church, with the land adjacent, and an annual rent of 21 marks arising from certain stone-built houses near St. Peter's, and a stone *camera* adjoining, and other lands, &c., elsewhere.

In 1202³ the Master of Sempringham, the canons of St. Andrew, and the founder, demised in perpetuity to the dean and chapter and the church of St. Peter the land which they held of Hugh de Virly, before the western door of the *major ecclesia*, in order to extend the cemetery of the said church, and to avoid the risk of fire and damage thereby to the *major ecclesia* and the buildings of the lord archbishop. In return, the dean and chapter gave the canons of St. Andrew 2½ marks rents in the vill of Cave.⁴

²⁴ Baildon, loc. cit.; *Cal. of Inq. p.m.* 10-20 Edw. II, 264.

^{24a} Plac. de Banco, East. 1 Edw. III, m. 70, (P.R.O. Lists), 775.

²⁵ *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 63.

²⁶ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 588.

²⁷ Baildon, loc. cit. ²⁸ Ibid. ²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 230.

³¹ Baildon, loc. cit. ³² Ibid.

³³ *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild, York*, 86.

³⁴ So described in a licence to preach of 1482; York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, 22.

³⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, 22.

³⁶ Anct. D. (P.R.O.), iii, D. 773: as James only.

³⁷ *Test. Ebor.* v, 299. ³⁸ Graham, op. cit. 174.

³⁹ Ibid. 182, 183.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 966. Hugh Murdac, the founder, must not be confused with Henry Murdac, the archbishop, who was possibly his kinsman.

² Ibid. no. i.

³ Ibid. no. ii.

⁴ These are probably the free rents, &c., in South Cave, &c., mentioned in the Mins. Accts. 32. Hen. VIII; *ibid.*, no. iii.

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The buildings immediately adjoined those of the small Benedictine nunnery of St. Clement. Although the original intention of the founder was that there were to be twelve canons in the house, the probability is that their number was much less. In 1380-1 there were three canons besides the prior, and at the dissolution only two canons in addition to the prior.

On 20 August 1280⁵ the Prior and convent of St. Andrew addressed a formal letter to Archbishop Wickwane, reporting that Richard de Kyrkeby and Alan de Thorpe, their brothers and fellow canons, relinquishing the habit of their religion, had by night furtively departed, to the contempt of religion and the peril of souls. The prior and convent had unanimously denounced them, in chapter and convent, as excommunicate, and they asked the archbishop to do so throughout the diocese, and after forty days to invoke the secular arm. The letter is followed in the register by the archbishop's denunciation of Richard de Kyrkeby and Alan de Thorpe as excommunicate, with a notification addressed to the Bishops of Durham, Carlisle, and Whithern (*Candida Casa*),⁶ and all archdeacons and officials in the diocese and province of York. On 30 January 1486-7⁷ Archbishop Rotherham issued a monition to [John] Beysby, John Shaw, Sheriffs of York, and others, citing them to

appear before him for having gone to the priory of St. Andrew and seized certain persons by violence who had sought sanctuary within the precincts of the monastery, the churches of the order of Sempringham having the right of sanctuary granted them by Pope Clement III.

According to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*⁸ the total revenue was at that time £57 5s. 9d., and the clear income £47 14s. 3½d. At the Dissolution there were a prior and three canons, all of them priests.⁹ The prior, John Lepington,¹⁰ was awarded a pension of £10 (altered from £8), the three canons £4 each. They surrendered on 28 November 1538.¹¹

PRIORS OF ST. ANDREW'S

Bartholomew, occurs 1208¹²
Robert, occurs 1210¹³
John, occurs 1214¹⁴
Baldwin, occurs 1219¹⁵
William, occurs 1225,^{15a} 1230-40,¹⁶ 1254¹⁷
Robert, occurs 1262¹⁸
Adam de Aghton, c. 1278^{18a}
Robert de Scalleby, c. 1288^{18b}
Ralph, occurs 1335¹⁹
Robert, occurs 1354^{19a}
John Hawkesworth, occurs 1481²⁰
William Beseet (Bisset), occurs 1506²¹
John Lepington (surrendered 1538)²²

HOUSES OF KNIGHTS TEMPLARS

67. THE PRECEPTORY OF YORKSHIRE

The Order of Knights of the Temple of Jerusalem was founded in 1119, but it was not until the middle of the 12th century that they began to acquire possessions in Yorkshire, where they eventually established at least ten precep-

tories. Their prosperity was brought to an abrupt close early in the 14th century; in 1308 Sir John Crepping, Sheriff of Yorkshire, received the king's writ to arrest the Templars within the county and sequester all their property.¹ Twenty-five Templars were placed in custody in York Castle and examined on the charge of heresy, idolatry, and other crimes, brought against the order by Pope Clement V and Philip IV of France. After a long-drawn-out trial, in which the evidence adduced against the knights was too flimsy to secure the desired conviction, a compromise was arrived at by which the brethren, without admitting their guilt, acknowledged that their order was strongly suspected of heresy and other charges from which they could not clear themselves. They then received absolution at the hands of the Bishop of Whithern on 29 July 1311, were released from prison, and were distributed amongst the various monasteries.² Next year the suppression of the order was decreed by the pope, and a large portion of their estates was made over to the order of the Knights Hospitallers.

⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 8b.

⁶ The diocese of Whithern, or Galloway, was at this period included in the province of York.

⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, fol. 73. The Christian name of Beysby is left blank.

⁸ *Valor Eccl.* v, 126.

⁹ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. 2.

¹⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 185.

¹¹ Graham, *St. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines*, 194.

¹² *Yorks. Fines, John* (Surt. Soc.), 147.

¹³ *Ibid.* 162.

¹⁴ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* xxxviii, App. 182.

¹⁵ Feet of F. file 13, no. 17 (Hil. 3 Hen. III).

^{15a} Cott. MS. Nero D. iii, fol. 51.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* file 33, no. 132; Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 237.

¹⁷ *Whitby Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 468.

¹⁸ Baildon, loc. cit.

^{18a} Assize R. 1101, m. 84; 1098, m. 62 d.

^{18b} *Ibid.* ¹⁹ *Cal. Close*, 1333-7, p. 465.

^{19a} *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 532.

²⁰ *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild, York*, 109. ²¹ *Ibid.* 164.

²² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 185.

¹ Kenrick, *Papers on Arch. and Hist.* 44. A list of documents of the reign of Edward II relating to the Yorks. Templars, and now in the Public Record Office, is given on p. 63.

² *Rec. of the Northern Convocation* (Surt. Soc.), 19-60.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

The Yorkshire estates of the Templars consisted of the preceptories of Copmanthorpe (with the Castle Mills of York), Faxfleet, Foulbridge, Penhill, Ribston, Temple Cowton, Temple Hirst, Temple Newsam, Westerdale, and Whitley, and the manors of Alverthorpe and Etton, which, although possessing chapels, do not seem to have had preceptors. All these estates, with the exception of Faxfleet, Temple Hirst, and Temple Newsam, passed to the Hospitallers.

So important were the Templars' holdings in the county that a 'chief preceptor' or 'master' was appointed for Yorkshire from early times.

CHIEF PRECEPTORS OF YORKSHIRE

- Walter Brito, c. 1220³
 Roger de Scamelesbi, c. 1240^{3a}
 William de Merden, c. 1270⁴
 Robert de Haleghton, or Halton, occurs 1290,
 1293⁵
 Thomas de Thoulouse, c. 1301⁶
 William de Grafton, occurs 1304,⁷ arrested
 1308⁸

68. THE PRECEPTORY OF COPMANTHORPE, WITH THE CASTLE MILLS, YORK

William Malbys gave the manor of Copmanthorpe and other property to the Templars on condition that they should support a chaplain to celebrate for the souls of himself and his relations in the chapel of the manor.⁹ The date of this grant is uncertain, but it must have been prior to 1258, as the manor is mentioned as belonging to the brethren in a confirmatory charter by William de Ros, who died in that year.¹⁰

A return made in 1292 states that the preceptor of Copmanthorpe was keeper of the mills below the castle at York.¹¹ These mills were given to the Templars by Roger de Mowbray prior to 1185, at which date they were let for 15½ marks.¹² With the mills at this time the brethren held in York three tofts which they had bought, and another which had been

³ *Rievaulx Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), 26, 240; occurs, as Walter only, in 1216; *Rot. Lit. Pat.* (Rec. Com.), i, 165.

^{3a} *Percy Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), 46. He was preceptor of Willoughton (Lincs.) in 1223, and of Lindsey in 1234; Cott. MS. Nero, D. iii, fol. 15.

⁴ *Yorks. Arch. Rec.* xxxix, 162.

⁵ He was falsely accused of being concerned in the death of William de Eyvill of South Cave; Pat. 18 Edw. I, m. 37; 21 Edw. I, m. 21.

⁶ Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 341.

⁷ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* x, 286. ⁸ *Ibid.* 432.

⁹ Exch. Anct. Extents, 17.

¹⁰ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vii, 441.

¹¹ Assize R. 1268, m. 27.

¹² Exch. K.R. Misc. Bks. xvi, fol. 64.

given them by Thomas 'Ultra Usam,' a prominent citizen of York. Henry III in 1232 gave them another strip of land adjoining the mills.¹³ In 1308 the property in York consisted of the mills, a messuage with a garden, and three plots of land.¹⁴ There was a chapel at the mills to which William de Appelby paid 48s. yearly for the support of a chantry.¹⁵ This chapel was well furnished, possessing a gilt chalice worth 100s., nine service-books of different kinds, and various vestments and ornaments.¹⁶ The value of the mills was returned at £10 11s., while the estate of Copmanthorpe, of which the chapel was exceptionally well provided, was valued at £80 16s. 2d.

No preceptor of Copmanthorpe was amongst the knights arrested in 1308, and the only holder of the post whose name is known is Robert de Reygate, who, with John, chaplain of the Castle Mills, was accused in 1292 of having set nets below the mills to catch the king's fish.¹⁷ He was still preceptor the following year.¹⁸

69. THE PRECEPTORY OF FAXFLEET

Although very little is known of this preceptory, it was clearly one of the most important in the county. The value in 1308 is returned as £290 4s. 10d., a greater sum than was set down for any other Yorkshire preceptory; the chapel was remarkably well provided, the value of its contents reaching the exceptional sum of £12, and there was 'a certain treasury with many written deeds and bulls relating to estates in Yorkshire,' which was duly locked up and sealed with the seals of the sheriff and the preceptor of Yorkshire.¹⁹

Several of the Templars arrested in 1308 said that they had been received into the order of Faxfleet. Hugh of Tadcaster, for instance, related how he had formerly been 'claviger' at Faxfleet, and when he desired to be admitted the Grand Master, William de la More, received him into the order in the chapel.²⁰

Geoffrey Jolif was preceptor in 1290;²¹ Brother Stephen held that office in 1301, when Thomas le Chamberleyn was admitted to the order;²² and William del Fen was preceptor in 1308, when he was arrested, with Richard de Ryston, chaplain, Thomas Tyeth, claviger, and Roger de Hugunde or Hopyndon, a brother in residence at Faxfleet.²³

¹³ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226-57, p. 148.

¹⁴ Exch. Anct. Extents, 16, no. 23.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* ¹⁶ *Ibid.* 18, no. 6.

¹⁷ Assize R. 1268, m. 26.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 1098, m. 60.

¹⁹ Exch. Anct. Extents, 18, no. 13.

²⁰ Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 335.

²¹ Pat. 18 Edw. I, m. 37. ²² Wilkins, loc. cit.

²³ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* x, 432.

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70. THE PRECEPTORY OF FOUL-BRIDGE

Little is known of this preceptory. At the time of the suppression of the order the estates of Foukebridge, Allerston, and Wydale were returned as worth (?) £254 3s. 2d. The furniture of the chapel included four crosses, 'two with images and two without.'²⁴ Another return mentions that the Templars supported a chaplain and gave alms three days in the week to any poor persons who came.²⁵ The only known preceptor is Richard de Hales, who was arrested in 1308.²⁶

71. PRECEPTORY OF PENHILL

Roger Mowbray, by a charter assigned to about 1142, granted timber from his forests of Nidderdale, Malzeard, and Masham for the building of three of the Templars' houses wherever they might wish at Penhill, Cowton, and 'Reinhou.'²⁷ While this points to the early establishment of a preceptory here, it is noticeable that in the survey of 1185 the estates at 'Pennel,' consisting of 2 carucates given by William son of Hugh, were accounted for under Temple Newsam.²⁸ That the knights had some sort of an establishment here shortly after this date seems clear, as a fine of 1202 relating to their property in Witton mentions the house and the cemetery of the brethren.²⁹

There was a chapel at Penhill, of which the ruins, containing an altar and some stone coffins, were excavated some years since.³⁰ This no doubt adjoined the cemetery just mentioned, as a number of coffins were found outside the east wall. Early grants are recorded for the support of the lights of St. Katherine and the Holy Cross at Penhill,³¹ and the chapel is mentioned at the time of the suppression of the order as containing a chalice worth 20s. and a few books and vestments.³²

The only known preceptor of Penhill is Thomas de Belleby, who was arrested in 1308.³³

72. THE PRECEPTORY OF RIBSTON AND WETHERBY

About 1217 Robert de Ros gave to the Templars his manor of Ribston, with the advowson of the church, the vill and mills of

Walshford, and the vill of Hunsingore.³⁴ This property had come to Robert de Ros from his mother, Rose Trussebut; and her sisters, Hilary and Agatha, at some date prior to 1240, made grants of various woods in the neighbourhood to the preceptory. Robert son of William Denby gave the vill of Wetherby to the Templars, and other smaller grants followed.

Besides the church of Hunsingore the Templars had chapels at Wetherby, Ribston, and apparently at Walshford. The chapel of St. Andrew at Ribston stood in the churchyard of the parish church, and in 1231 was the subject of an arrangement between the brethren and the rector. About this time a sum of £2 16s. was assigned for the support of a chaplain at Ribston for the good of the soul of Robert de Ros.

The estates at Ribston and Wetherby seem to have formed a single preceptory, but were valued separately at the time of their seizure in 1308. Wetherby³⁵ was then returned as worth £120 7s. 8d., and Ribston, including North Deighton and Lound, at £267 13s.³⁶ The chapels in each case were simply furnished, but Ribston was remarkable as possessing two silver cups, three masers, and ten silver spoons—more secular plate than all the other Yorkshire preceptories put together. At the time of the trial of the Templars, Gasper de Nafferton, who had been chaplain at Ribston, related certain cases in which the brethren had observed a great and, as he now perceived, suspicious secrecy in matters touching admission to the order.³⁷ And Robert de Oteringham, a Friar Minor, who gave evidence against the Templars,³⁸ said that at Ribston a chaplain of the order, after returning thanks, denounced his brethren, saying 'The Devil shall burn you!' He also saw one of the brethren, apparently during the confusion which ensued on this exclamation, turn his back upon the altar. Further, some twenty years before, he was at Wetherby, and the chief preceptor, who was also there, did not come to supper because he was preparing certain relics which he had brought from the Holy Land; thinking he heard a noise in the chapel during the night, Robert looked through the keyhole, and saw a great light, but when he asked one of the brethren about it next day he was bidden to hold his tongue as he valued his life. At Ribston, also, he once saw a crucifix lying as if thrown down on the altar, and when he was going to stand it up he was told to leave it alone. As this was some of the most direct and damaging evidence given during the trial the weakness of the case against the Templars is obvious.

³⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 838. The charters relating to this preceptory have been fully treated in *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vii, viii and ix.

³⁵ Exch. Anct. Extents, 18, no. 11.

³⁶ Ibid. no. 15.

³⁷ Wilkins, *op. cit.* 362.

³⁸ Ibid. 359.

²⁴ Exch. Anct. Extents, 18, no. 14.

²⁵ Ibid. 16, no. 25.

²⁶ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* x, 432. ²⁷ Ibid. viii, 259.

²⁸ Exch. K.R. Misc. Bks. xvi, fol. 60.

²⁹ *Yorks. Fines, John* (Surt. Soc.), 26, lxii.

³⁰ W. S. B. Jones Barker, *Hist. and Topog. Acct. of Wensleydale* (1853).

³¹ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* viii, 259.

³² Exch. Anct. Extents, 18, no. 4.

³³ Ibid. no. 1.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Of the preceptors only two names appear to have survived. William de Garewyz was preceptor of Wetherby in, or a little before, 1293,³⁹ and Richard de Keswik, or Chesewyk, who was admitted to the order at Faxfleet in 1290,⁴⁰ became preceptor of Ribston about 1298⁴¹ and still held that post in 1308 when he was arrested, with Richard de Brakearp, claviger, and Henry de Craven, a brother in residence at Ribston.⁴²

73. THE PRECEPTORY OF TEMPLE COWTON

Cowton was one of the three estates of the Templars to which Roger Mowbray, about 1142, granted timber for building purposes.⁴³ But in 1185 the 6 carucates in 'Cutun,' said to have been given by Robert Cambord (?), were returned under Newsam.⁴⁴ The manor of Kirkby was given to the Templars by Baldwin Wake,⁴⁵ and the estates belonging to the preceptory were worth about £100 at the time of their seizure in 1308.⁴⁶ The preceptory at that time consisted of hall, chamber, chapel, kitchen, brewhouse, and smithy. In the chapel were two hanging bells worth 26s. and two hand-bells worth 12d., and in the chamber was a sealed chest containing 'all the charters of the Temple of Scotland together with various charters of certain estates in England.'⁴⁷

At the time of its suppression the community at Cowton consisted of John de Walpole, the preceptor, Henry de Rerby, claviger, and Roger de Thresk.⁴⁸

74. THE PRECEPTORY OF TEMPLE HIRST

This preceptory originated in the grant of the manor of Hirst in Birkin made in 1152 by Ralph Hastings to the order, of which his brother Richard was grand master.⁴⁹ Henry Lacy, Ralph's superior lord, confirmed this grant and another by Henry Vernoil of land at Potterlaw.⁵⁰ Other grants followed, including the church of Kellington, given by Henry Lacy.⁵¹ They had also a chapel at Norton, and a chapel

³⁹ Assize R. 1101, m. 62.

⁴⁰ Wilkins, op. cit. 372.

⁴¹ Ibid. 377.

⁴² *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* x, 432.

⁴³ Ibid. viii, 259.

⁴⁴ Exch. K.R. Misc. Bks. xvi, fol. 60.

⁴⁵ Dugdale, loc. cit.; *Yorks. Fines, John* (Surt. Soc.), 160-1.

⁴⁶ Exch. Anct. Extents, 18, no. 16. ⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* x, 432.

⁴⁹ Dugdale, loc. cit.

⁵⁰ Worsfold, *Haddlesey Past and Present*, 11, 12.

⁵¹ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* x, 280.

must have been built at Hirst before 1185, as 40 acres in Fenwick were given prior to that date by Jordan Foliot for the support of a chaplain at Hirst.⁵² Adam of Newmarket stipulated that one penny should be paid to the chapel of the Temple at Hirst to light the altar of the Blessed Mary on the Feast of her Assumption, and at the suppression of the order in 1308 we have an account of the furniture of the chapel, which included two chalices, one silver and one gilt, a cross, a pyx, a censer, some half-a-dozen service books and a few vestments.⁵³

When the Templars' lands were seized in 1308, Sir John Crepping, the sheriff, made a return which showed the total value of this preceptory to have been £64 15s. 2½d., of which sum the church of Kellington accounted for rather more than half. At Temple Hirst were some 200 acres of land, and the preceptory itself, of which considerable remains still exist, consisted of a hall, chapel, kitchen, larder, and outbuildings.

At the time of the trial of the Templars, Master John de Nassington, the archbishop's official, deposed that Sir Miles Stapleton and Sir Adam Everingham had told him that they were once invited with other knights to a banquet given by the preceptor of York at Temple Hirst and that when there they were told that many of the brethren had come to that place for a solemn feast at which they were accustomed to worship a calf.⁵⁴ Sir Miles Stapleton, who figures in this story, made a grant to the Templars in 1302, and effected an exchange of lands with them as late as 1304.⁵⁵ Five years later he had charge of the estates belonging to the preceptory, then in the hands of the Crown.

Little is known of the preceptors of Temple Hirst; Robert Piron was preceptor at the time of Henry Vernoil's grant, and Ivo de Etton, who occurs elsewhere as Ivo de Houghton,⁵⁶ was preceptor in 1308, when he was arrested together with Adam de Crake, 'claviger.'⁵⁷

75. THE PRECEPTORY OF TEMPLE NEWSAM

The date of the foundation of this preceptory is uncertain, but it arose from the grant of land in Newsam, Skelton, Chorlton, and Whitkirk made to the Templars by William de Villiers, who died in 1181. This grant was confirmed by Henry Lacy, who at the same time stipulated that the brethren should return the estate of Newbond which he had previously given them.⁵⁸ It is possible, therefore, that the Templars had

⁵² Ibid. 281.

⁵³ Ibid. x, 433.

⁵⁴ Wilkins, op. cit. 358.

⁵⁵ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* x, 285.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 439.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 432.

⁵⁸ Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 840.

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settled at Newbond before they founded a preceptory at Newsam. In the survey of 1185⁵⁹ it is stated that the property at Newsam, amounting to 16 carucates, was obtained from William de Villiers by purchase. At this time, Penhill and Cowton seem to have gone with Newsam, the total value of the whole being just under £10. The church of Whitkirk was then returned as in demesne, except the altar which Paul the priest held for a yearly payment of 3 marks. About the year 1200 Robert Stapleton obtained licence from the Templars at their chapter in London to build a chapel and establish a chantry at Thorpe Stapleton, swearing fealty to the Templars and reserving the offerings to the church of Whitkirk. In 1291 the vicarage of Whitkirk was returned as in the hands of the Templars and worth £5.⁶⁰

At the time of its seizure in 1308 the preceptory of Newsam was one of the most wealthy in the county, the total value being returned as £174 3s. 3s.⁶¹ With the exception of a chalice worth 60s. the furniture of the chapel was plain.

Brother John, preceptor of Newsam, was attorney for the Master of the Temple in 1293,⁶² and Godfrey de Arches, or de Arcubus, was preceptor in 1308 and was then arrested, as were also Raymond de Rypon, claviger, and Thomas de Stanford, a brother in residence.⁶³

76. THE PRECEPTORY OF WESTERDALE

On 25 June 1203 King John confirmed to the Templars the gift of Guy de Bonaincurt, which Hugh Balliol had confirmed, of the vill

of Westerdale,⁶⁴ and this was one of the estates for which free warren was granted to the Templars in 1248.⁶⁵

A moiety of the advowson of Beeford Church, which was shared between the Templars and the priory of Bridlington,⁶⁶ seems to have gone with this preceptory.⁶⁷ In 1308 the Westerdale estates were valued at £32 19s. 6d. and the preceptory itself consisted of chapel, hall, kitchen, and outbuildings.⁶⁸

Two preceptors are known; Stephen de Radnache held that office in 1308,⁶⁹ and during the trial in 1310, Sir John de Eure said that once William de la Fenne, 'then preceptor of Westdall,' had dined with him, and after dinner had produced a book which he showed to Sir John's wife. The lady found in it a paper containing certain anti-Christian heresies, which she showed to her husband; the Templar then said with a smile that he who wrote the paper was 'a great ribald,' and took the book away. Brother William, who at this time was preceptor of Faxfleet, said by way of excuse that he was a layman, and so did not know what was in the book.⁷⁰

77. THE PRECEPTORY OF WHITLEY

The manor of Whitley came into the hands of the Templars before 1248, in which year they had a grant of free warren on their lands there.⁷¹ This property was valued in 1308 at £130 15s. 10s., and the live stock included two saddle-horses belonging to William de Grafton, preceptor of Yorkshire, and a black saddle-horse belonging to the preceptor of Whitley, Robert de Langton.⁷²

HOUSES OF KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS

78. BAILIWICK OF YORK

The Order of Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem settled at Mount St. John in Feliskirk in the 12th century and at Newland and Beverley in the early years of the following century. Upon the suppression of the Knights Templars in 1312 they received a large accession

⁵⁹ Exch. K.R. Misc. Bks. xvi, fol. 59-62.

⁶⁰ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 323.

⁶¹ Exch. Anct. Extents, 18, no. 7.

⁶² Assize R. 1101, m. 66.

⁶³ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* x, 437, 439.

⁶⁴ MS. in Muniment room, Kirkleatham Hall.

⁶⁵ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226-57, p. 331.

⁶⁶ *Yorks. Fines, John* (Surt. Soc.), 4.

⁶⁷ Larking, *Knights Hospitallers in Engl.* (Camd. Soc.),

142.

⁶⁸ Exch. Anct. Extents, 16, no. 11; 18, no. 10.

⁶⁹ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* x, 432. ⁷⁰ Wilkins, loc. cit.

⁷¹ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226-57, p. 331.

⁷² Exch. Anct. Extents, 18, no. 8.

of property in the county, but of the seven Templar preceptories handed over to the Hospitallers Ribston alone appears to have continued in the independent position of a preceptory.

As in the case of the Templars, there seems to have been a 'chief preceptor' for the county. Nicholas de Cardinel witnessed a deed in 1189 as 'Master of the Hospitallers of York'¹; Walter Dewyas was 'rector of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in York' in 1220,² and Ralph de Castro was preceptor of Yorkshire in 1317.^{2a}

Besides their four preceptories the Hospitallers had 'camerae' at Copgrave, Huntington, and Stainton.³ These may at first have been under the 'chief preceptor,' but seem in 1338 to have

¹ Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 6809.

² *Cal. Chart. R.* 1257-1300, p. 449.

^{2a} *Cal. Pat.* 1317-21, p. 80.

³ Larking, *Knights Hospitallers in Engl.* (Camd. Soc.), 112-13.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

been directly under the head house at Clerkenwell, though Stainton, which had been bestowed on the order about 1140, is said to have been attached to the preceptory of Beverley.⁴

79. THE PRECEPTORY OF BEVERLEY

A preceptory was established at Beverley at the beginning of the 13th century, probably in 1201, when Sybil de Beverley, second wife of the third Lord Percy, gave to the Knights Hospitallers the manor of Holy Trinity, east of Beverley, the manor of North Burton and other lands.⁵ In 1338,⁶ besides their house and grounds at Beverley, the knights had some 350 acres at Burton, 150 acres at Fitling, 120 at Walsay, 270 at Cleving, and about the same at Dalton. The voluntary offerings collected in the district were reckoned at £20, the whole issues being rather over 125 marks. From this had to be deducted various expenses for the exercise of hospitality, as enjoined by the founders, and for the support of the establishment, consisting of a preceptor, Simon Fauconer, knight, and two brethren, Simon Belcher, knight, and Philip Ewyas, sergeant, two chaplains and clerks employed to collect the voluntary offerings, a steward and the usual retinue of servants. The clear yearly profits amounted to 60 marks. The estates of the Templars' preceptory of Westerdale were at a later date put under the commander, or preceptor of Beverley,⁷ and the total value of the preceptory of Beverley was returned in 1535 as £164 9s. 10d.⁸ John Sutton was preceptor at this time,⁹ as he had been in 1528,¹⁰ and continued to hold the post until the suppression of the order in 1540, when he was given a pension of £200.¹¹

80. THE PRECEPTORY OF MOUNT ST. JOHN

Early in the reign of Henry I, William Percy I gave to the Knights Hospitallers five knights' fees in the neighbourhood of Feliskirk, and a preceptory was founded to the honour of St. Mary.¹² The advowson of the church of

Feliskirk soon came into the hands of the Hospitallers, whose right therein was acknowledged by Robert Fossard in 1210.¹³ The church was appropriated to the Hospitallers in 1279 and a vicarage ordained.¹⁴ In 1338 the buildings at Mount St. John were ruinous; the total receipts were about 87½ marks, of which £26 came from the church of Feliskirk and £13 6s. 8d. from the voluntary offerings made in the district. There was a preceptor and one confrater, both of them chaplains, and the usual staff of servants. By their foundation ordinances they had to maintain hospitality and to make two distributions yearly to the poor, the total deductions and expenses coming to 37 marks.¹⁵ In 1535 the gross value of the commandery was £137 2s., including property in Westmorland and Northumberland, £9 from collections made in Northumberland and £8 from similar collections in Yorkshire; the clear value was £102 13s. 9d.¹⁶

PRECEPTORS OF MOUNT ST. JOHN

William de Reding^{16a}
 John de Thame, occurs 1338¹⁷
 Richard de Quertone, occurs 1365¹⁸
 John Kylquyt, occurs 1415.^{18a}
 Thomas Pemberton, occurs 1528,¹⁹ 1534^{19a}
 Richard Broke, occurs 1539,²⁰ 1540²¹

81. THE PRECEPTORY OF NEWLAND

The manor of Newland in Howden was granted to the Knights Hospitallers by King John, and a preceptory was founded there early in the 13th century. During the reign of Henry III the greatest benefactor of the house was Roger Peytevin, lord of Altofts.²² In 1338 the manse was said to be in bad repair; there were some 300 acres of land in Newland and 'Hoton' (Howden), the voluntary offerings of the district were reckoned at £20, and the whole issues amounted to a little over 84 marks; from this had to be deducted 45½ marks for the expenses of the household, consisting of the preceptor, John de Wyrkelee, knight, and his confrater John Molhiry, sergeant, a chaplain, a squire, and

¹³ *Yorks. Fines, John* (Surt. Soc.), 164.

¹⁴ *Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 46-7.

¹⁵ Larking, op. cit. 117-18.

¹⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 94-5.

^{16a} Occurs temp. Elias de Smitheton, prior of the Hospital: *Yorks. D.* (Yorks. Rec.), 193.

¹⁷ Larking, op. cit. 48.

¹⁸ *Cal. Papal Letters*, iv, 15. ^{18a} *Ibid.* vi, 354.

¹⁹ Land Rev. Misc. Bks. lxii, fol. 1.

^{19a} *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 1675.

²⁰ *Ibid.* xiv (2), 62.

²¹ *Ibid.* xvi, 379 (57); he received a pension of 100 marks. In 1542, Richard Broke 'of the Household' received a grant of the suppressed preceptory of Mount St. John; *ibid.* xvii, p. 697.

²² Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 803.

⁴ Poulson, *Beverlac*, 780. Although in other parts of the country the term 'commandery' was commonly used for a house of Hospitallers, in Yorkshire 'preceptory' is the usual form.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 801.

⁶ Larking, op. cit. 49-51.

⁷ This is clear from several deeds at Kirkleatham.

⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 142. ⁹ *Ibid.* 69.

¹⁰ Land Rev. Misc. Bks. lxii, fol. 1.

¹¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 379 (57).

¹² Dugdale, op. cit. vi, 803. Dugdale's statement (*ibid.* 838) that Mount St. John was given to the Templars appears to be due to confusion with certain grants in this district made to the Templars, whose preceptory of Temple Cowton afterwards passed to the Hospitallers of Mount St. John.

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the usual servants.²³ There were also two stewards, one for estates in Craven and the other for those in Furness and Coupland, and Sir William Scot, knight, was in receipt of a pension for life of 40s.²⁴

The Templars' church of Whitkirk seems to have been made over to this preceptory before 1402,²⁵ and the sphere of its bailiwick was much enlarged in the process of time until in 1535²⁶ it extended over Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Nottinghamshire, as well as part of Yorkshire, necessitating the employment of thirteen bailiffs. The Yorkshire rectories of Darfield, Whitkirk and Kellington accounted for £80; the offerings collected through the fraternity of St. John the Baptist in the counties other than Yorkshire amounted to £24; the total issues came to £202 3s. 8d. The deductions amounted to £72 8s. 8½d., including the stipends of a chaplain at Newland and another at Stede (Lancs.), and the fees of the numerous bailiffs and other officials; the clear value, therefore, was £129 14s. 11½d., of which £88 9s. 6d. was paid over to the head quarters of the order.

PRECEPTORS OF NEWLAND

- John de Wyrkelee, occurs 1338²⁷
- Richard Cerne, occurs 1402²⁸, 1415²⁹
- Alban Poole, occurs 1528³⁰
- Roger Boydell, died 1533^{30a}
- Thomas Pemberton, occurs 1535³¹
- ? Cuthbert Leghton, last preceptor, 1540³²

82. THE PRECEPTORY OF RIBSTON AND WETHERBY

Upon the suppression of the Knights Templars in 1312, seven out of their ten Yorkshire preceptories were made over to the Knights Hospitallers, but Ribston alone retained its independent position as a preceptory. In 1338³³ the estates of this preceptory were valued at £167 11s. 8d., of which some 30 marks came from the appropriated church of Hunsingore, and 40 marks were estimated as obtainable for the church of Whitkirk if it were leased instead of

²³ The washerwomen received the modest remuneration of 12d. a year.

²⁴ Larking, op. cit. 45-6.

²⁵ Whitaker, *Leeds*, 139.

²⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 68-9.

²⁷ Larking, op. cit. 46.

²⁸ Whitaker, op. cit. 139.

²⁹ *Cal. Papal Letters*, vi, 354.

³⁰ Land Rev. Misc. Bks. lxii, fol. 1.

^{30a} *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 1675.

³¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 68.

³² He was given a pension of £60; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 379 (57).

³³ Larking, op. cit. 136-8.

being kept in their own hands. The preceptor, John de Thame, chaplain, seems to have been the same as the preceptor of Mount St. John at this date;³⁴ he had two brethren with him, William de Bautre, sergeant, and Amisius de Cantebiry, chaplain. There were also two pensioners who held corrodies (life grants of board, lodging, and small stipends), given them by the Templars, and the usual staff of servants, and the expenses of hospitality were heavy, as the preceptory lay on the road to Scotland; the clear value, therefore, was only £101 1s. 10d.

In 1422 the Grand Master of the Hospital granted for ten years to Thomas Weston the preceptory of Ribston, vacant by the death of John Brimston, with its member Copmanthorpe, vacant by the death of Thomas 'Scquipuit' (probably Skipwith), 'the last preceptor';³⁵ it seems, however, pretty clear that Copmanthorpe was not a preceptory, but merely a member of Ribston. By the 16th century, Ribston, like so many other preceptories of the Hospitallers, had ceased to be the residence of any of the brethren and was leased to lay farmers, who probably maintained a chaplain. In 1529 Sir John Rawson, the prior of Kilmainham in Ireland and nominal preceptor of Ribston, had leave to lease the preceptory for three years to John Alen, citizen mercer of London.³⁶ The return of 1535 shows a gross value of £224 9s. 7d., out of which £6 13s. 4d. had to be paid to a chaplain celebrant at Ribston 'of the foundation of Mowbray' and other £17 for the fees of bailiffs and other officials.³⁷ The church of Hunsingore is entered as 'appropriated to the monastery (*sic*) of Kilmayn in Ireland.'³⁸ In 1539, the year before the suppression of the order, Sir John Rawson wrote to Cromwell thanking him for giving the receivership of the commandery of Ribston to Henry Gaderyke, who had married Rawson's niece.³⁹

PRECEPTORS OF RIBSTON

- John de Thame, chaplain, occurs 1338⁴⁰
- John de Bromstone, or Brimston, occurs 1392,⁴¹ dead before 1422⁴²
- Thomas Weston, appointed 1422⁴³
- John Rawson, prior of Ireland, occurs 1529, last preceptor⁴⁴

³⁴ *Ibid.* 48.

³⁵ Exch. K.R. Eccl. Doc. bdlie. 18, no. 14.

³⁶ Land Rev. Misc. Bks. lxii, fol. 2.

³⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 256.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 258.

³⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 89.

⁴⁰ Larking, op. cit. 138.

⁴¹ *Select Coroners R.* (Selden Soc.), 124.

⁴² Exch. K.R. Eccl. Doc. bdlie. 18, no. 14.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Land Rev. Misc. Bks. lxii, fol. 2.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

FRIARIES

83. THE BLACK FRIARS OF BEVERLEY¹

The friary seems to have been founded by Master Stephen Goldsmith before 1240, but the town, the Crown, and in the 16th century Lord Darcy, claimed the privileges of founders.² The provincial chapter was held here August 1240, the king contributing 10 marks.³ In 1263, Henry III gave the friars fifteen oaks for timber.⁴ About 1269, Archbishop Giffard forbade them in future to hear confessions of the parishioners of the churches of St. Martin and St. Mary, Beverley, except of those licensed by their vicars.⁵ In 1282, Archbishop Wickwane gave 10 marks to the friars.⁶ For the provincial chapter held here in 1286, Queen Eleanor gave 100s. to the provincial prior, William de Hothum⁷; the archbishop (John Romanus), while excusing his attendance owing to urgent business elsewhere, promised to aid and defend the friars to the utmost of his power.⁸ In 1291 the archbishop asked these friars to co-operate with him in preaching the Crusade by sending preachers on 14 September to Preston or Hedon, Ravenser, and le Wyk (i.e. Hull).⁹

Edward I, when at or passing through Beverley, gave the friars alms several times between 1299 and 1304, through friars Richard of St. Nicholas, Walter of Grimsby, Thomas of Alverton, and Luke of Woodford, his confessor. From the sums given it appears the brethren numbered thirty-two or thirty-three in 1299, increasing to thirty-eight in 1304.¹⁰ In 1310 the number had risen to forty-two, when Edward II gave the friars 14s. for one day's food through Friar William de Burton.¹¹ In the years of scarcity which followed, Archbishop Greenfield gave them three quarters of corn in 1314, the king one quarter (price 10s.) in 1318, and one quarter (price 4s. 6d.) in 1320.¹² In

1328 the number of friars was thirty-two, in 1335, thirty¹³; and about the end of the 15th century, fourteen.¹⁴

On Easter Sunday 1309 some friars admitted to the sacraments some parishioners of St. Martin's, and Friar John of Lockington even admitted an excommunicate person. At his prior's command he humbly begged pardon on bended knees of the canons of Beverley, and the prior engaged that his friars should not offend in this respect in future.¹⁵

The friars held their land, or a part of it, of the Archbishop of York by a rent of 4s. a year, until 1311, when Simon de Kent of Beverley granted the archbishop another rent of 4s. in exchange.¹⁶ At the same time they sought to obtain from Thomas son of Alexander of Holm a rent of 10s. and a void piece of ground adjacent to their house; the jurors declared the grant would be prejudicial, and the royal licence was not granted.¹⁷ Simon de Fymere gave them some land in Beverley shortly before 1329, apparently without royal licence,¹⁸ and John Waltheof of Beverley released them from a rent of 2s. which they paid 'to the light on the beam' in the minster quire.¹⁹

At a general chapter of the order held in London, 1314, the Prior of Beverley was deposed.²⁰ The provincial chapter met here in 1324, the king contributing £15 for three days' food.²¹ Friar Robert of Querndon, who had been confessor to Edward III, retired into the convent of his brethren here, and when broken with old age had an annuity of £5 assigned to him, January 1351-2, out of a rent which the Abbot of Hailes paid to the Crown.²² William Birde, prior, and Friars Thomas Bynham and John Vele were sued by Walter Dunham in 1434 for a debt of 40s.²³ Friar William Leth, O.P. of Beverley, had licence from Eugenius IV in 1435 to hold an ecclesiastical benefice.²⁴

¹ See 'The Friars Preachers or Black Friars of Beverley,' by the Rev. C. F. R. Palmer, *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vii, 32-43.

² *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 129; Leland, *Itin.* i, 47; Exch. Issue R. East. 27 Hen. VI, m. 3.

³ Liberate R. 24 Hen. III, m. 7.

⁴ Close, 47 Hen. III, m. 6.

⁵ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 226.

⁶ *Fasti Ebor.* i, 323.

⁷ Exch. Accts. (P.R.O.), bdl. 352, no. 7.

⁸ *Hist. P. and L. from the Northern. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 86.

⁹ *Ibid.* 95.

¹⁰ Exch. Accts. (P.R.O.), bdl. 356, no. 21; *Liber Quotid.* 28 *Edw. I.* (ed. Topham), 25, 37; Add. MS. 7966 A, fol. 25; 8835, fol. 5.

¹¹ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vii, 34.

¹² *Ibid.*; *Fasti Ebor.* i, 394; Add. MS. 17362, fol. 6. Archbishop Melton gave them 20s. in 1328; *Hist. P. and L. from the N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 377.

¹³ Exch. Accts. bdl. 387, no. 9; *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vii, 34.

¹⁴ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 130.

¹⁵ *Beverley Chap. Act Bks.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 243.

¹⁶ Pat. 5 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 11.

¹⁷ Inq. a.q.d. file 73, no. 5; *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vii, 33. Richard de Holme 1366, and John de Holme 1421, desired to be buried in this church; Poulson, *Beverlac*, 767-8.

¹⁸ Pat. 3 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 9.

¹⁹ *Beverley Chap. Act Bks.* (Surt. Soc.), i, p. lxxv; B. M. Lansd. Chart. 214.

²⁰ *Monum. Ordinis Praedicatorum Hist.* (ed. Reichert), iv, 73.

²¹ Exch. Issue R. East. 16 Edw. III, m. 11.

²² Pat. 26 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 33.

²³ Baildon, *Mon. Notes* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), i, 10.

²⁴ Add. MS. 32446, fol. 58. *Cal. Papal Letters*, viii, 542.

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Early in 1449 the dormitory and library were accidentally burnt down; when Henry VI gave 10 marks 'for the relief of their great poverty and towards the rebuilding of their house.'²⁵

The friars received legacies from Sir William Vavasour, kt. (1311),²⁶ Sir Henry Percy (1349), Sir Marmaduke le Constable, kt. (1377), William Lord Latimer (1381), William de Chiltenham, vicar of the chapel of Holy Trinity of Kingston-upon-Hull (1388), Patrick de Barton, rector of Catwick (1391), and many others,²⁷ including Robert Fisher, mercer of Beverley (1477), the father of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.²⁸ John de Hesile of Beverley was buried in the cloister in 1349, next his wife Beatrice.²⁹ Thomas Hilton, clerk (1428), willed to be buried in the church within the south door next 'le haliwater fatt.'³⁰ In the quire before the high altar were interred the remains of 'Elena de Wak, daughter and heiress of Lord le Wak,' and a long list of burials in the church drawn up by John Wriothesley, garter, about 1500 is extant.³¹ Among the names are several of the Darcys. In 1524 the friars agreed with Thomas Lord Darcy, K.G., by reason of his great liberality, to make him and his wife partakers in all spiritual suffrages in the convent, and to keep their obits, under pain if they failed to carry out the agreement of paying 20s. to the Provost of St. John's, Beverley, and 10s. 'to the behoof of the scholars of the Friars Preachers in Oxford.' The seals of the provincial Robert Miles, S.T.P., the prior Henry Aglionby, S.T.B., and the convent were attached to the deed, for which Lord Darcy paid £5.³²

Two 14th-century manuscripts formerly belonging to the Black Friars of Beverley are now at Oxford; one contains works of St. Augustine, Gregory, Seneca, and others³³; the other, containing a number of *Quaestiones* attributed to Thomas Aquinas, was in 1450 lent or given by Friar Robert Stanniforth, O.P. of Beverley, to William Mayne.³⁴

On 4 July 1534 Dr. George Browne visited

²⁵ *Issues of the Exch.* (ed. Devon), 463.

²⁶ *Reg. Pal. Dunelm.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 333. In 1312 the nuncupative will of J. de Harpham was proved by Hugh of Leicester, prior of the Friars Preachers, John of Lockington, O.P., and John of Grimsby, chaplain; *Beverley Chap. Act Bks.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 301-2.

²⁷ *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), *passim*.

²⁸ *Ibid.* iii, 227.

²⁹ B. M. Lansd. Chart. 304.

³⁰ *Test. Ebor.* i, 414. Stephen Coppendale desired to be buried here, Jan. 1413-14; *ibid.* iv, 7 n.

³¹ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 129, reprinted in *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vii, 37.

³² *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vii, 39-40, from Poulson, *Beverlac*, 768-70, and Aug. Chart. O. 16. Cf. 'The Austin Friars of York' in this volume.

³³ Univ. Coll. Oxf. MS. 6.

³⁴ Corpus Christi Coll. Oxf. MS. 225.

the friary (in accordance with the royal commission issued 13 April), and had no difficulty in obtaining the friars' acknowledgement of the royal supremacy.³⁵ The house was surrendered to Richard of Ingworth, suffragan Bishop of Dover, 26 February 1538-9.³⁶ The plate was sent to the royal treasury.³⁷ The lands attached to the house, which lay on the north-east of the minster, amounted to about 4½ acres, and were valued at 17s. 8d. a year. Besides this, the friars held land in 'Coldon Magna' within the liberty of Beverley, the rent of which was 2s. 4d.³⁸

PRIORS

Walter of Grimsby,³⁹ 1309

Hugh of Leicester,⁴⁰ 1312

William Birde,⁴¹ 1434

Henry Aglionby,⁴² 1524

Robert Hill,⁴³ 1539

The seal is pointed oval, and shows St. Dominic standing in a canopied niche with nimbus, in the right hand a book, in the left a sword. Legend: SIGILLŪ PRIORIS FRATR[Ū] ORDINIS PREDICATORŪ BEULACI.⁴⁴

84. THE GREY FRIARS OF BEVERLEY

The origin of the friary is obscure. It was in existence in 1267, when one of the friars preached at Beverley on the feast of St. John, and afterwards heard the confession of a woman possessed by a devil.¹ In 1274 deacon's orders were conferred on Peter de Nutel, and priests' orders on Alexander de Willingham, Andrew de Whitby, and John de Howm, all of this house.² Archbishop Wickwane gave the Friars Minors of Beverley 10 marks in 1282;³ and Archbishop Romanus, when organizing the preaching of the Crusade in 1291, instructed them to send preachers to Driffeld, Malton, and South Cave.⁴

¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 953.

² Wright, *Suppression*, 191; Ellis, *Orig. L.* (ser. 3), iii, 179. The date is given in Mins. Accts. 30-1 Hen. VIII, no. 166.

³ *Acct. of Mon. Treasure* (Abbotsford Club), 17.

⁴ Mins. Accts. 30-1 Hen. VIII (Yorks.), no. 166.

⁵ *Beverley Chap. Act Bks.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 243.

⁶ *Ibid.* 302. Deposed in 1314 (see above).

⁷ Baildon, *Mon. Notes* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), i, 10.

⁸ He was in the London convent at the time of the dissolution.

⁹ Mins. Accts. 29-30 Hen. VIII, 166.

¹⁰ B. M. Seals, lxxiv, 21. Engraved in *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vii, 41, and Poulson, *Beverlac*, 780.

¹¹ *Lanercost Chron.* 83. John of Beverley was a Franciscan at Oxford c. 1250: *Mon. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 317, 393.

¹² *Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 197.

¹³ *Fasti Ebor.* i, 323.

¹⁴ *Hist. P. and L. from the N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 95.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

The house at this time was probably within the walls, and the founder may have been John de Hightmede.⁵ 'In 1297 William Lyketon and Henry Wygthon bought certain lands near Beverley, about the chapel of St. Elena, and granted them to the friars of the order of St. Francis, to build their houses; and also they conferred many other goods on them.'⁶ This probably refers to the grant of a new site outside Keldgate and near Westwood.⁷ In 1304 William Ros of Hamlake granted to the Prior and convent of Warter a bovate of land in Warter in exchange for their granting to the Minorites 3 acres of land in Beverley, adjoining the friary.⁸ The numbers of the friars remained about the same for some years. In 1299 the number varied from thirty-two to thirty-six; there were thirty-eight in May 1300 (when Edward I gave them 38s. for three days' food by the hand of Friar Thomas Maynard); thirty-four in 1301, thirty-eight in 1304, twenty-six in 1335, and thirty-two in 1337.⁹

'Afterwards for a long time this house, through poverty, was almost destroyed and uninhabited, until one Sir John Hotham, of Scorbrough, near Leconfield, kt., almost entirely rebuilt it.'¹⁰ Hotham gave the friars the moiety of 1 a. 1 r. in Beverley in 1352; and an entry in the town documents in 1356 may refer to the rebuilding: in that year Friar John Botiler, O.M., on behalf of his convent, came to the gildhall and obtained leave to take sand in Westwood for building purposes.¹¹ From the time of this benefaction till the beginning of the reign of Edward IV the Hothams were reckoned the founders of the house, and several of them were buried in the church: namely, Sir John Hotham, Agnes his daughter, wife of Sir Thomas Sutton, kt., and Sir Nicholas Hotham, kt.¹² Others buried in the church were Sir Nicholas Wake, Sir Geoffrey de Agulyon, kt., Lady Margaret Agulyon, Elyna widow of Sir John Sutton, kt., William Kelk, esq., Robert Cause, esq., John Routh, esq., Robert Routh, esq.¹³ Agnes wife of John Kyler was buried in the cloister, 1380.¹⁴ In 1400 a chantry was established in the church for the souls of Thomas Kelk and

his son John, the twelve keepers of the town being responsible for seeing that the services were duly performed.¹⁶

In the troublous times at the beginning of the reign of Edward IV, Thomas Bolton, S.T.P., the warden, tried to gain security for his convent by granting the title of founder to Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, and he subsequently gave the patronage of the house to John Nevill, Marquess Montagu. Both these having been slain at Barnet in 1471, Bolton conferred the title and privileges of founder on Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland.¹⁶ The earl, who died in 1489, left nothing in his will to these friars.¹⁷

Bequests were made to them by Sir William Vavasour, 1311, Henry Lord Percy, 1349, John de Ake of Beverley, merchant, 1398, Richard Lord Scrope of Bolton, 1400, Sir William Normanville, kt., 1449, and many others.¹⁸ Thomas Walkington, rector of Houghton, in 1400 left £4 to Friar William Burn, of this house.¹⁹ Guy Malyerd, mercer, of Beverley, left twenty wainscots to each house of friars here in 1486.²⁰ William Poteman, Archdeacon of the East Riding, left to each house a quarter of corn, 1493.²¹ A collection of sermons and a book of 'exempla' were bequeathed to the Grey Friars by William Sherp, chaplain, in 1508, and a Bible by Thomas Carr, vicar of Santon, in 1509.²²

In 1516 Sir Ralph Salvayn, kt., granted to them 60s. rent in Beswick.²³

In 1522 Thomas Kodall, of South Ferriby, Lincolnshire, esq., and Margaret his wife, gave the friars an annual rent of 4s. for twenty-eight years, probably to celebrate masses for the dead,²⁴ and the friars also received 7s. 6d. a year from land in Lund belonging to a chantry founded by the Thwaytes family in the church of Lund.²⁵

Dr. George Browne, visiting the friary on 4 July 1534, had no difficulty in getting the brethren to acknowledge the royal supremacy; but he found there one friar, Dr. Gwynborne, who had written seditious libels against the king's marriage, whom he sent to Cromwell with his writings, describing him as 'a lunatic or in a frenzy,' 'poorly booked and poorly learned.'²⁶

At the beginning of October 1536 Christopher Stapleton of Wighill, who had been ill for sixteen years, was staying with his wife²⁷ at

⁵ Speed, *Hist.* fol. 1082.

⁶ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 129. ⁷ Poulson, *Beverlac*, 772.

⁸ Pat. 32 Edw. I, m. 2. About this time Friar Robert of Beverley lectured to the Franciscans at Oxford; *Mon. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 553.

⁹ Exch. Accts. (P.R.O.), bdle. 356, no. 21; bdle. 387, no. 9; Add. MSS. 7966 A, fol. 25; 8835, fol. 5; Cott. MS. Nero, C. viii, fol. 207; *Liber Quotid.* 28 *Edw. I* (ed. Topham), 25, 37.

¹⁰ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 129.

¹¹ Pat. 26 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 20; *Beverley Town Doc.* (Selden Soc.), 18.

¹² *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 129.

¹³ *Ibid.* Sir G. Agulyon or Aguyllun granted them land in Beswick; *Early Chan. Proc.* bdle. 22, no. 183.

¹⁴ Poulson, *Beverlac*, 772; from Lansd. MS. 896.

¹⁵ *Beverley Town Doc.* (Selden Soc.), 43.

¹⁶ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 129.

¹⁷ *Test. Ebor.* iii, 304 et seq.

¹⁸ *Ibid. passim*; *Reg. Palat. Dunelm.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 333; Poulson, *Beverlac*, 785.

¹⁹ *Wills and Invent.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 50.

²⁰ *Test. Ebor.* iv, 19.

²¹ *Ibid.* 81.

²² *Ibid.* 115 n.; v, 219 n.

²³ Mins. Accts. 30-1 Hen. VIII (Yorks.), no. 166.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 953.

²⁷ Elizabeth daughter of Sir John Neville of Liversedge, near Wakefield. See Chetwynd Stapylton, *The Stapletons of Yorkshire*, 201 et seq.

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the Grey Friars, Beverley, for change of air, as he had been the summer before. He was joined by his brother William, who had to delay his journey to London owing to the rising in Lincolnshire. The rebellion broke out in Beverley on Sunday, 8 October. The commons assembled on Westwood Green, outside the Grey Friars. The friars generally do not seem to have favoured the movement (some of the rebels proposed to burn the friary and those within it), but it found ardent supporters in Christopher's wife, and in Thomas Johnson *alias* Bonaventura, an Observant Friar, who on the suppression of that order had been assigned by the Warden of York to the convent of Beverley. Friar Bonaventura did much towards supervising the rising, and at length by judicious flattery persuaded William Stapleton to become leader. He offered himself to go in harness to the field, which he did as far as Doncaster, but then set off to the Minorites' house at Newcastle-on-Tyne.²⁸

The friary was surrendered to the Bishop of Dover by Thomas Thomson, warden, 25 February 1538-9.²⁹ The site occupied some 7 acres, and was valued at 26s. 8d. a year, rents elsewhere bringing the total to £5 6s. 2d.³⁰

WARDENS

Richard de Dalton, 1350³¹
Thomas Bolton, S.T.P., c. 1471
Thomas Thomson, 1538-9

85. THE GREY FRIARS OF DONCASTER

The Friars Minors established themselves at this town on an island formed by the rivers Cheswold and Don, at the bottom of French or Francis gate, at the north end of the bridge known as the Friars' Bridge,¹ some time in the 13th century. Nicholas IV, 1 September 1290, granted an indulgence to those who visited their church, which was of the invocation of St. Francis.² Archbishop Romanus in 1291 enjoined the friars of this house to preach the

²⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 392. Bonaventura is elsewhere described as an Austin Friar.

²⁹ The date is given in *Mins. Accts.* 30-1 *Hen. VIII* (Yorks.), no. 166. Cf. *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 348, 413.

³⁰ *Mins. Accts.* 30-1 *Hen. VIII* (Yorks.), no. 166.

³¹ *York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch*, fol. 279.

¹ Fairbank, 'The Grey Friars, Doncaster,' *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xii, 481; Leland, *Itin.* (ed. Hearne), i, 36; J. Tomlinson, *Doncaster*, p. vi. Leland, *Itin.* iv, 21, erroneously says there was a house of Black Friars in this town: and Cavendish says that Wolsey after his arrest was lodged one night at the Black Friars. See also Hunter, *South Yorks.* i, 19 (will of Nic. Launger, 1348).

² *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 516; *Test. Ebor.* ii, 148; cf. *Liverest Chron.* 187-8.

Crusade at Doncaster, Blyth (Notts.), and Retford.³

In 1299 Edward I gave the friars 10s. through Friar Edmund de Norbury, on the occasion of his visit to Doncaster, 12 November: in January 1299-1300 he gave them 20s. for two days' food and 6s. 8d. for damages to their house when he was at Doncaster, by the hand of Friar de Portynden. On 8 June 1300 his son Edward gave them 10s., and the king in January 1300-1 gave them 10s. for the exequies of Joan, nurse of Thomas of Brotherton. The friars at this time numbered thirty.⁴

In 1316 Sir Peter de Mauley, lord of the town of Doncaster, granted the Friars Minors a plot of land, 14 p. by 6 p., adjacent to their dwelling-place.⁵

In 1332 Thomas de Saundeby, the warden, and Friars Nicholas de Dighton, Thomas de Moubray, William de Halton, and John de Brynsale, were sued by John de Malghum for having seized and imprisoned him.⁶ In 1335 the king pardoned them for acquiring in mortmain without licence in the time of former kings divers plots in Doncaster, now inclosed with a wall and dyke, whereon they had built a church and houses.⁷ Between 1328 and 1337 the number of the friars varied between eighteen and twenty-seven, as is proved by the royal alms granted to them by the hand of Friars John de Bilton, Nicholas de Wermersworth, and others.⁸

Sir Hugh de Hastings, kt., in 1347 left the friars 100s., 20 quarters of corn and 10 quarters of barley.⁹ A friar of this house, Hugh de Warmesby, was authorized in 1348 to act as confessor to Lady Margery de Hastings, Sir Hugh's widow, and her family.¹⁰ Her son Hugh was buried in the church of St. Francis at Doncaster, 1367.¹¹ Another Sir Hugh Hastings in 1482 left a serge of wax to be burned here in honour of the Holy Rood, and a quarter of wheat yearly for three years.¹²

Among the bequests may be mentioned that of Roger de Bangwell, rector of Dronfield, of 20s. to the convent and 12d. to each friar in 1366.¹³ Thomas Lord Furnival of Sheffield, 1333,¹⁴ and Sir Peter de Mauley, 1381, were

³ *Hist. L. and P. from the N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 95.

⁴ *Exch. Accts. bdles.* 356, no. 7; 357, no. 4; *Liber Quotid.* 28 *Edw. I* (ed. Topham), 28, 40; *Add. MS.* 7966, fol. 25.

⁵ *Pat. 9 Edw. I*, pt. i, m. 8; *Inq. a.q.d.* file 110, no. 10.

⁶ *Baildon, Mon. Notes*, i, 37.

⁷ *Pat. 9 Edw. III*, pt. i, m. 11.

⁸ *Exch. Accts. (P.R.O.)*, bdles. 383, no. 14; 387, no. 9; *Cott. MS. Nero C. viii*, fol. 202, 205, 207.

⁹ *Test. Ebor.* i, 38.

¹⁰ *Fasti Ebor.* i, 444 n.

¹¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxv, 129. ¹² *Test. Ebor.* iii, 274.

¹³ *Ibid.* i, 82, where the date is wrongly given.

¹⁴ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xii, 482; Hunter, *South Yorks.* i, 18.

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buried in the church; the latter left his best beast of burden as mortuary and 100s. to the convent.¹⁵ John Mauleverer was buried in the church of St. Francis and left 6 lb. of wax and 6 marks to the friars, 1451.¹⁶ William Vasey, alderman, left them 5s. a year rent to keep his obit, 1515.¹⁷ Robert Skirley of Scarborough, who died at Doncaster, probably in this house, was buried here, 1522, and left, among other bequests, his horse as his 'corse present.'¹⁸

George Danby, a friar of this house, formerly warden of the Grey Friars of Scarborough, received on 8 April 1480 a general pardon from Edward IV for all offences committed by him before 1 April.¹⁹

In 1524 Richard Wilford granted 29s. 6d. yearly rent in Beighton, Derbyshire, for the use of these friars for ever.²⁰

Friar Thomas Kirkham was admitted D.D. of Oxford in July 1527, his composition being reduced to £4 'because he is very poor'; in November he was dispensed from the greater part of his necessary regency because he was warden of the Grey Friars of Doncaster and could not continually reside in Oxford.²¹ Thomas Strey, a lawyer of Doncaster, left 20 marks to the convent in 1530 and 26s. 8d. to buy the warden a coat.²²

Two Observant Friars, William Ellel and Robert Baker, were sent after the suppression of the order to the Minorite convent at Doncaster, where they soon died, perhaps from severe treatment.²³ Robert Aske, the leader of the Pilgrimage of Grace, when he went to Doncaster to meet the royal commissioners, November and December 1536, lodged at the Grey Friars with his followers, the Duke of Norfolk being at the White Friars.²⁴

The house was quietly surrendered 20 November 1538 by the warden and nine friars, three of them novices, to Sir George Lawson and his fellows, who were 'thankfully received.'²⁵ The goods, including a pair of organs, an old clock, a table of alabaster, the coverings of five altars, and eighteen 'cells de waneskott' in the dormitory, were sold to Thomas Welbore for £11 4s. 9d. Out of this sum £3 was given

¹⁵ *Test. Ebor.* i, 116.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* ii, 148.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* v, 59.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* v, 154. For other bequests see *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xii; Hunter, op. cit. 19 (will of Sir T. Windham, 1521).

¹⁹ Pat. 20 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 21; Pat. 16 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 28.

²⁰ Mins. Accts. 30-1 Hen. VIII (Yorks.), no. 166.

²¹ Little, *Grey Friars in Oxford* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 282, 338.

²² *Test. Ebor.* v, 296.

²³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vii, 1607.

²⁴ *Engl. Hist. Rev.* v, 341; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 6.

²⁵ Wright, *Supp.* 167; *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 19; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 877, 1064.

to the ten friars, and £1 13s. 4d. paid to John Roberts to redeem a chalice which the friars had pledged for a debt. There were 43 fother of lead, four bells, three chalices and two cruets weighing 50 oz.²⁶ The site and adjacent grounds (including four fish-ponds) contained about 6½ acres, besides a cottage in Fishergate; these were let to Thomas Welbore for 36s. 8d.²⁷

A manuscript of the chronicle of Martin of Troppau formerly belonging to this friary was in the possession of Ralph Thoresby in 1712.²⁸

WARDENS

Thomas de Saundeby,²⁹ 1332

Robert Acaster,³⁰ 1372

Thomas Kirkham, S.T.P.,³¹ 1527, 1538

The seal, of which a very indistinct impression remains, represents a saint seated under a canopy between two women.³²

86. THE HOUSE OF WHITE FRIARS, DONCASTER

The Carmelite friary—'a right goodly house in the middle of the town'¹—was founded in 1350 by John son of Henry Nicbrothere of Eyum with Maud his wife and Richard Euwere of Doncaster, who gave the friars a messuage and 6 acres of land.² The priors of the order asked permission of the Archbishop of York to have the place consecrated in 1351.³ The earliest bequest to them recorded was made by William Nelson of Appleby, vicar of Doncaster, in 1360.⁴ In 1366 Roger de Bangwell, formerly rector of Dronfield, made his will in the house of these friars, in whose church he wished to be buried; he left 8 marks to the convent, 2s. to each friar, his chalice and priest's vestment to the altar next to which he was to be buried, and other ornaments to the great altar, 20s. to John son of Asherford, 'if he is received into the Carmelites at Doncaster,' and two-thirds

²⁶ Mins. Accts. 29-30 Hen. VIII (Yorks.), no. 197; *Supp. P. (P.R.O.)*, iii, fol. 92, 93; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 782.

²⁷ Mins. Accts. 30-1 Hen. VIII (Yorks.), no. 166.

²⁸ 'A Catalogue and Description of natural and artificial rarities in this Museum' (printed at the end of Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*, ed. 1816), 83.

²⁹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), i, 37.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Little, *Grey Friars in Oxford* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 282.

³² B.M. Seals, lxxiv, 38. See also Hunter, *South Yorks.* ii, 2.

¹ Leland, *Itin.* i, 36. See F. R. Fairbank, 'The Carmelites of Doncaster,' in *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xiii, 262-70, where excavations on the site are described.

² Inq. a.q.d. file 299, no. 12; Pat. 24 Edw. I, pt. iii, m. 10, 9; B.M. Harl. MS. 539, fol. 144; Speed, *Hist.* fol. 1082.

³ Harl. MS. 6969, fol. 49b.

⁴ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xiii, 191.

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of his goods to the same friary. Among his executors were the prior, Friars William of Hatfield, John of Burton, and Thomas de Grene of Lancashire, then a servant of the prior and convent.⁵ A provincial chapter was held at this friary in 1376.⁶ The friars in 1397 received the royal pardon, on paying 20s., for acquiring without licence several small plots, worth 12s. 6d. a year, 'for the enlargement of the entrance and exit of their church.'^{6a} Two friars of the house, John Slaydburn and John Belton, were appointed papal chaplains in 1398 and 1402.⁷

John of Gaunt was regarded as one of the founders,⁸ and his son Henry of Bolingbroke on his journey from Ravenspur in July 1399 lodged at the friary,⁹ where also Edward IV was entertained in 1470, Henry VII in 1486, and the Princess Margaret Tudor in 1503.¹⁰ Edward IV in 1472 conferred the privilege of a corporation on the convent, 'which is of the foundation of the king's progenitors and of the king's patronage,' and licensed the friars to acquire lands to the yearly value of £20.¹¹ At the beginning of the 16th century the Earl of Northumberland claimed the title of founder of the house.¹²

Several members of the house attained some distinction as writers. Such were John Marrey, who died in 1407,¹³ John Colley who flourished c. 1440,¹⁴ John Sutton, provincial prior 1468,¹⁵ and Henry Parker, who got into trouble by preaching on the poverty of Christ and His apostles and attacking the secular clergy at Paul's Cross in 1464; he is probably the author of the dialogue entitled *Dives et Pauper* which was printed both by Pynson and by Wynkyn de Worde at the end of the 15th century.¹⁶ John Breknoke, keeper of the Dragon Inn at Doncaster, left the friars some books in 1505.¹⁷

Among those buried in the church were William and Ellen Leicester about 1450, Elizabeth Amyas who in 1451 desired to be buried before the image of the Virgin Mary;

Sir Robert Willis, kt., who took part in Warwick's plots and was executed at Doncaster in March 1469-70, and his wife Elizabeth daughter of John Bouchier, Lord Berners, 1470;¹⁸ and Margaret Cobham, wife of Ralph Nevill, second Earl of Westmorland, who was buried in 1484 in 'a goodly tomb of white marble,' which was afterwards removed to the parish church.¹⁵ Many of the bequests were made to 'Our Lady of Doncaster,' a wonder-working image of the Virgin, before which the hair shirt of Earl Rivers was hung after his execution in 1483.²⁰ To this image Sir Hugh Hastings left a taper of wax in 1482,²¹ Katherine Hastings, his widow, 'her tawny chamlett gown' in 1506, Alice West her best beads in 1520, John Hewett of Friston-super-aquam one penny in 1521, the sister of Geoffrey Proctor of Bordley a girdle and beads about 1524, while the Earl of Northumberland gave 13s. 4d. a year to keep a light burning before Our Lady.²² On 15 July 1524 William Nicholson of Townsburgh attempted to cross the Don with an iron-bound wain in which were Robert Leche and his wife and their two children; being overwhelmed by the stream they called on our Lady of Doncaster and by her help came safely ashore; they came to the White Friars and returned thanks on St. Mary Magdalen's Day, when 'this gracious miracle was rung and sung in the presence of 300 people and more.'²³

On the eve of the Dissolution the house was divided against itself. The famous John Bale, about 1530, being then a friar at Doncaster, and perhaps prior, taught one William Bromar 'that Christ would dwell in no church made of lime and stone by man's hands, but only in heaven above and in man's heart on earth.'²⁴

In the Pilgrimage of Grace, though the lords used the White Friars as their head quarters while negotiating with Robert Aske at Doncaster,²⁵ the prior, Lawrence Coke, supported the rebellion. He was imprisoned in the Tower and in Newgate, condemned by Act of Attainder a few days before Cromwell's fall, but pardoned on 2 October 1540; it is not clear whether the pardon was issued in time to save him from execution.²⁶

⁵ *Test. Ebor.* i, 82, where the date is twice misprinted 1346. Many bequests are noted by F. R. Fairbank in *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xii, xiii.

⁶ Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, 562

^{6a} Pat. 20 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 22.

⁷ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 305, 315.

⁸ B.M. Harl. MS. 539, fol. 144.

⁹ Hardyn, *Chron.* (ed. Ellis), 353.

¹⁰ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xiii, 267-8.

¹¹ Pat. 12 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 4.

¹² *Northumb. Household Bk.* (ed. T. Percy), 338, 339 (20s. a year toward the buying of their store). Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, in his will made 1485, left these friars £20; *Test. Ebor.* iii, 304.

¹³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxxvi, 196.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* xi, 337. ¹⁵ Tanner, *Bibl.* 700 n.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 574; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, App. iii, 107; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xliiii, 237; Fuller, *Worthies*.

¹⁷ *Test. Ebor.* iv, 239.

¹⁸ Hunter, *South Yorks.* i, 15-17; *Test. Ebor.* v, 17.

¹⁹ Leland, *Itin.* i, 36. ²⁰ Rous, *Hist.* 213-14.

²¹ *Test. Ebor.* iii, 274.

²² *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xiii, 270; *Northumb. Household Bk.* 338.

²³ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xiii, 558; *Hist. MSS. Com.* xiv, App. iv, 1.

²⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 230.

²⁵ *Engl. Hist. Rev.* v, 341; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 6.

²⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 852, 854; (2), 181; xiii (1), 1024; xv, pp. 215, 217; xvi, 220 (7); Burnet, *Reformation* (ed. Pocock), i, 566; Gasquet, *Hen. VIII and the Engl. Mon.* ii, 366.

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The house was surrendered by Edward Stubbis, the prior, and seven friars, on 13 November 1538 to Hugh Wyrall and Tristram Teshe, who 'made a book of the property' and notified to Cromwell that the tenements in Doncaster were in some decay, and that the image of our Lady had already been taken away by the archbishop's order.²⁷ The plate sent to the royal jewel house was considerable; 25 oz. of gilt plate, 109½ oz. parcel gilt, and 48½ oz. white plate.²⁸ The net profit from the sale of the goods seems to have been £21 18s. 4d.²⁹ The site with dovecot and other houses, a garden and orchard all surrounded by a stone wall and containing 2½ acres, was let to Wyrall for 10s. a year. The tenements in Doncaster included an inn called 'Le Lyon' in Hallgate, already let by the prior to Alan Malster for forty-one years at 40s. a year in 18 August 1538, a messuage in Selpulchre Gate similarly leased on 2 September 1538 to Emmota Parsonson for 12s., and various tenements, shops, and cottages, the whole property bringing in £10 17s. 4d. a year.³⁰

PRIORS

William de Freston, 1366³¹
 John Marrey or Marre, before 1407³²
 John Sutton, 1472³³
 'E. Th. Prior' 1515³⁴
 John Bale (?) c. 1530³⁵
 Laurence Coke, 1536³⁶
 Edward Stubbis, 1538³⁷

87. THE WHITE FRIARS OF HULL

The tradition of the order that the Carmelite friary of Hull dates from 1290, and that the chief founders and benefactors were Edward I, Sir Robert Ughtred, and Sir Richard de la Pole, is probably substantially correct.¹ The earliest mention of the house is contained in a petition of

Master Robert of Scarborough, Dean of York, in 1289, for licence to bestow a messuage in Wike-upon-Hull on the Carmelites.² The convent seems to have consisted of thirteen brethren in 1298, when the king gave the friars 13s. for three days' food through Friar Robert de Saunton.³ From the royal alms (5s. for one day's food in 1300 by the hand of Friar Geoffrey of Corringham, and 20s. for three days' food in 1301),⁴ it appears that the inmates of the house increased rapidly. It soon became necessary for them to obtain more room both for the friars and for 'the great multitude flocking there to divine service.' Edward I gave them 3 acres in Milncroft outside the walls in 1304, in exchange for their site in the town, and at his request, dated 25 January 1306-7, Clement V authorized them, 23 June 1307, to transfer themselves to the new site by Beverley Gate, and to have the first stone of their new buildings blessed by a bishop.⁵ The archbishop licensed them (17 May 1311) to have their church consecrated.⁶ In 1320 Walter de Scorby and Robert de Barton gave them small plots of land adjacent to their house⁷; and William son of Sir Richard de la Pole, kt., added 1½ acres to their area in 1352.⁸

Several bequests were made by women to the image of the Virgin in this church. Isabel Wilton in 1486 bequeathed to the Lady at the White Friars a chest bound with iron; Elizabeth Hatfield of Hedon, in 1509, a pair of chaplets of silver with a cross (also a chalice of silver to the church); Diones of Hull, a girdle.⁹ Richard Doughty of Hull, merchant, in 1513 bequeathed to the friars a tenement next St. James's Maison Dieu.¹⁰ John Fynwell of Hull, 1521, left to the prior his Golden Legend.¹¹ Dame Joan Thurescrosse left £4 towards rebuilding the church in 1523.¹² Sir Thomas Sutton, kt., was buried here.¹³

Shortly before the Dissolution there were eight friars in the house.¹⁴ The friary was surrendered

²⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 823, 860; cf. 1064. On the image cf. *ibid.* (1), 1054, 1177; (2), 1280.

²⁸ *Mon. Treasures* (Abbotsford Club), 23.

²⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 326.

³⁰ *Mins. Accts.* 30-1 Hen. VIII (Yorks.), no. 166. The White Friars was situated in what is now High Street and Printing Office Street.

³¹ *Test. Ebor.* i, 82.

³² *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxxvi, 196; he was a distinguished theologian.

³³ *Pat.* 12 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 4; cf. *Harl. MS.* 1819, fol. 200b.

³⁴ Hunter, *op. cit.* i, 17.

³⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, ix, 230.

³⁶ *Ibid.* xii (1), 854; he was Prior of Scarborough in 19 Hen. VIII; *Conventual Leases, Yorks.* (P.R.O.), no. 905.

³⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 823.

¹ *Harl. MS.* 339, fol. 25.

² *Inq. a.q.d.* file 12, no. 7. Robert afterwards obtained the consent of the Abbot and convent of Meaux, from whom he held the land, and renewed his petition in the Parliament of 1290; *Parl. R.* i, 63. It does not appear whether the licence was given.

³ *Exch. Accts.* (P.R.O.), bdl. 356, no. 21.

⁴ *Liber Quotid.* 28 *Edw. I* (ed. Topham), 37; *Add. MS.* 7966a, fol. 25.

⁵ *Chart R.* 33 *Edw. I*, no. 73; Rymer, *Foed.* (Rec. Com.), i, 1008; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ii, 30; cf. Leland, *Itin.* i, 51. The entry in *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 162, refers to Carthusians, not Carmelites.

⁶ *Fasti Ebor.* i, 378 n.; *Fabric R. of York Minster* (Surt. Soc.), 236.

⁷ *Pat.* 13 *Edw. II*, m. 5.

⁸ *Inq. a.q.d.* file 303, no. 8; *Pat.* 26 *Edw. III*, pt. i, m. 2; the friars paid 20s. for the licence.

⁹ *Test. Ebor.* iv, 16; v, 1; iv, 198 n.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* v, 48.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 140.

¹² *Ibid.* 171; cf. vi, 53-4.

¹³ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 131.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

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by John Wade, the prior, to Richard Ingworth, Bishop of Dover, 10 March 1538-9.¹⁵ The lands comprised the site with gardens ($\frac{1}{2}$ acre) and a close of pasture (1 acre), and three more gardens let to various tenants, at a total rent of 13s 4d. a year. The rents in the town amounted to 20s. a year, and included 12d. from the masters or wardens of the Guild of Mariners for a rent derived from the house called Trinity House, situated on the south of the priory.¹⁶

PRIORS

John Craven, 1410¹⁷
John Wade, 1538

88. THE AUSTIN FRIARS OF HULL¹

Geoffrey de Hotham of Cranswick and John de Wetwang had royal licence in 1317 to grant a plot of land in Hull, measuring 205 ft. by 115 ft., for the construction of a house of Austin Friars.² The grant was made to the Austin Friars of York, who sent some of their members to found the house at Hull.³ The land owed a rent of 16s. 8d. to the town; the friars petitioned to be released from this payment about 1321, but failed to obtain relief till Richard son and heir of Geoffrey of Hotham and John de Wilflet, in 1341, conferred on the town rents from other messuages to the amount of 17s. 9d.⁴

Friar John de Hornyngton, S.T.P., having been granted licence by the prior-general to choose any convent of his order, and a chamber therein to dwell in for life, and also to retain as servant one of the brethren of the convent, selected the house at Hull; he complained to the Crown that certain envious persons were scheming to expel him, and obtained a writ of protection 20 August 1381 for himself, his serving friar, household, chamber, books and goods.⁵ He was S.T.P. of Cambridge, and took part in condemning Wycliffe's doctrines in 1382.⁶ Richard Clay, of this house, was appointed papal chaplain in 1413.⁷

Adam Correy was buried here in 1392, and left, as mortuary gift, his horse with saddle and bridle,

¹⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 348, 413; *Mins. Accts.* 30-1 Hen. VIII (Yorks.), 166; cf. *Acct. of Mon. Treasures* (Abbotsford Club), 17.

¹⁶ *Mins. Accts.* loc. cit.

¹⁷ Harl. MS. 6969, fol. 86.

¹ They were locally known as Black Friars; hence Blackfriars Gate, &c. There was no house of Friars Preachers in Hull.

² Inq. a.q.d. files 102, no. 13; 130, no. 11; Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 27; cf. Leland, *Itin.* i, 51.

³ See 'The Austin Friars of York' in this volume.

⁴ Inq. a.q.d. files 149, no. 10; 251, no. 4; Anct. Pet. 3362; Pat. 15 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 17.

⁵ Pat. 5 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 27.

⁶ *Fascic. Zizan.* (Rolls Ser.), 286, 499.

⁷ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 173.

and to Friar William Bridlington £9.⁸ Richard Wilflet of Hull, mariner, 1520, endowed lights on the altars of our Lady and St. Catherine in this church.⁹ The friars are said to have numbered eighteen about the end of the 15th century,¹⁰ and seem to have depended entirely on alms. At the time of the Dissolution they held only the site with a garden in Blackfriars Street, measuring 49 yds. by 33 yds., worth 5s. a year.¹¹ The house was surrendered by Alexander Ingram, prior, 10 March 1538-9, to the Bishop of Dover.¹²

The seal represents St. Michael in combat with the dragon, in a canopied niche; in base on a corbel a prior kneeling. Legend:—

S : PRIORIS : CONVENTUS : HULL : ORDIS : SĀI :
AUGUSTINI¹³

89. THE CRUTCHED FRIARS OF KILDALE

Sir Arnold de Percy, kt., early in the 14th century granted to the Friars of the Cross a messuage and 10 acres of land in his park in the parish of Kildale without royal licence. Edward II in 1310 pardoned the breach of the Statute of Mortmain.¹⁴ But in 1312 Archbishop Greenfield denounced the newcomers—persons belonging to an order not approved by the pope, who had entered the diocese and presumed to celebrate divine service without the archbishop's permission—and put the place under an interdict.¹⁵ The Friars of the Cross probably succumbed to this attack; nothing more is heard of them.

90. THE WHITE FRIARS, NORTHALLERTON

The Carmelite friary, situated in the east part of the town,¹ was founded in 1356 by the king, who, with the consent of the Prior and convent of Durham, on 8 November gave to Walter Kellaw, provincial prior,² and the friars a croft called Tentour Croft, with an adjacent meadow, containing in all 3 a. 1 r., which John Yole, merchant, of Northallerton, had granted to him for this purpose.³ Two days later a writ was issued,

⁸ *Test. Ebor.* i, 148. John Grimsby and Margaret his wife were buried here; *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 132.

⁹ *Test. Ebor.* v, 114.

¹⁰ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 132.

¹¹ *Mins. Accts.* 30-1 Hen. VIII (Yorks.), 166.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ B.M. Seals, lxxix, 66; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1603.

¹⁴ Pat. 4 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 20.

¹⁵ Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 423.

¹ Leland, *Itin.* i, 68.

² He subsequently retired to Northallerton and died there about 1367-9; Tanner, *Bibl.* 451.

³ Pat. 30 Edw. I, pt. i, m. 11 (*bis*); pt. iii, m. 19.

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ordering an inquiry to be made as to whether Thomas Hatfield, Bishop of Durham, lord of the manor, might grant to the friars 6 acres of land adjacent to their holding without injury to the king or others. The jurors made a favourable return, and declared the land to be worth 4s. a year.⁴ The royal licence was granted 7 February 1354-5. Edward III, Thomas Hatfield, John Yole, and Helena his wife,⁵ were henceforth reckoned the founders, as was also John de Nevill, lord of Raby, who is said to have built the church at his own expense⁶; in his will, 1386, he left them 100 marks for the reparation of their houses.⁷ His sister, Margaret, wife first of William, Lord Ros of Hamlake, and secondly, of Henry Percy, first Earl of Northumberland, was buried in the church (1372?).⁸ His son, Ralph de Nevill, first Earl of Westmorland, left the friars of 'Alverton' in 1424 £40 'to repair and build the kitchen and other houses.'⁹ Among other bequests may be noticed a chalice from William de Newport, rector of Wearmouth, 1366,¹⁰ 40s. from Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham, 1401,¹¹ 5 marks from Sir Stephen le Scrope of Bentley, 1405-6,¹² and one 'towell de werk' from John Palman *alias* Coke, 1436.¹³

James, prior of this house, admitted Thomas Gayneng and Agnes his wife to participation in the spiritual benefits of the convent, 1487.¹⁴

The house was surrendered 20 December 1538 by William Humphrey, the prior, five priests, and five novices.¹⁵ The goods were bought by Henry Wetherell for £4 15s. 4d.; out of this 6s. 8d. was given to the prior, and 5s. or 3s. 4d. to each of the friars. There were two bells, 15 fother of lead on the roof of the church, and two chalices weighing 31 oz.¹⁶ The land consisted of the site with gardens and orchard ($\frac{1}{2}$ acre), two closes of pasture, all valued at 20s. a year; further, a burgage in Northallerton, near Sunbek, and a close called Chapele garth, let to William Hodgeson for 25s. a year.¹⁷

⁴ Inq. a.q.d. file 323, no. 2; Pat. 31 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 23.

⁵ She was buried in the quire; *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 75.

⁶ B.M. Harl. MS. 539, fol. 144; *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 75.

⁷ *Wills and Invent.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 40; Madox, *Formulare*, 427.

⁸ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 75; cf. Leland, *Itin.* i, 74.

⁹ *Wills and Invent.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 72.

¹⁰ *Test. Ebor.* i, 80.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 308.

¹² *Ibid.* iii, 39.

¹³ *Wills and Invent.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 387.

¹⁴ *Cal. of Chart. and R. in the Bodl. Lib.* 91*.

¹⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii (2), 1105; *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 33.

¹⁶ *Mins. Accts.* 29-30 Hen. VIII, no. 197 (Yorks.); Harl. MS. 604, fol. 104.

¹⁷ *Mins. Accts.* 30-1 Hen. VIII, no. 166 (Yorks.); Harl. MS. 604, fol. 104.

The seal represents the Annunciation of the Virgin in a carved and canopied niche, between two smaller niches, containing on the left an angel, on the right a saint, mitred, holding a crowned head, probably St. Cuthbert, with St. Oswald's head. Legend:—

S : COMUN . . . VM . ORD . . . RIE . DE . . .
CARMELI¹⁸

91. THE BLACK FRIARS OF PONTE-FRACT¹

The story of the foundation of this house is told by a contemporary Dominican, Ralph de Bocking, in his life of Richard Wych, Bishop of Chichester.² Edmund de Lacy, son of John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, and Margaret de Quincy, was born in 1227. He early attached himself to Richard Wych, and after the bishop's death, 3 April 1253, he determined to establish a house of Friars Preachers on his own estates. With due deliberation he chose the town of Pontefract; and accompanied by many discreet men, both religious and secular, he went to the spot and laid the foundation stone with his own hand, saying, 'To the honour of our Lady Mary, mother of God and Virgin, and of St. Dominic, confessor, to whose brethren I assign this place, and also of St. Richard, bishop and confessor, formerly my lord and dearest friend, I wishing to found a church in this place lay the first stone!' Whereupon the stone immediately split into three parts, as though to proclaim approval of the choice of the three patron saints. This took place probably about 1256, some six years before Richard Wych was formally canonized.³ Edmund, dying on 22 July 1257, left his heart to be buried in the Dominican church of Pontefract.

The lands given by Edmund de Lacy, called East Crofts,⁴ comprised about 6 acres, in exchange for which he granted 26 acres to the town of Pontefract.⁵ Two later additions are recorded. In

¹⁸ B.M. Seals, lxxiv, 90.

¹ See 'The Friars Preachers of Pontefract,' by the Rev. C. F. R. Palmer in the *Reliq.* xx, 67-74; Ric. Holmes, *The Black Friars of Pontefract* (1891); Leland, *Itin.* i, 40 calls them White Friars. In some Dissolution documents they are called Austin Friars. There were no White or Austin Friars at Pontefract.

² *Acta Sanctorum*, 3 Ap. (Ap. Tom. i, 303).

³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xlvi, 202-4. The processes for canonization were initiated by papal brief 22 June 1256, addressed to the Bishop of Worcester, the provincial of the Friars Preachers, and Friar Adam Marsh; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 332.

⁴ Boothroyd, *Hist. of Pontefract*, 339.

⁵ *Yorks. Inq.* (Yorks. Arch. Soc. Rec. Ser.), i, 51. A grant of dead wood was made to the monks of St. John in compensation for the loss of tithe from this land, 1258; Padgett, *Chron. of Old Pontefract*, 74.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

1309 Walter de Baggehill had licence to assign to the friary $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres, held of the Earl of Lincoln, adjacent to their house (valued at 2s. 4d. a year), in spite of the unfavourable return of the jurors at the inquisition, who declared that the king would lose rights of wardship (valued at 7d.), the town rights of commonage (2d.) and the rector tithes (2s.).⁶

In 1342 Simon Piper, chaplain, and John Box sought licence to grant a perch of land in Pontefract and three poles of turbarry in Inclesmore for fuel for the friars. The land, valued at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ a year, was granted by royal licence, but nothing was said of the turbarry.⁷ The friars also had a conduit perhaps supplied from a spring in a small piece of land called Cockcliff Turfmore,⁸ but it does not appear how it was acquired.

In 1267 the prior of this house was commissioned by the archbishop to adjudicate on the merits of Thomas Bek, presented by the monks of Pontefract to the vicarage of All Saints.⁹

In 1269 some disputes between the Cluniac monks of Pontefract and Monk Bretton were settled in this friary, the prior, Oliver d'Eincourt, being one of the four arbitrators: the priors of the Black Friars of Newcastle-on-Tyne, Carlisle, York, and Lancaster were also present.¹⁰

These friars established three stations for preaching the Crusade in 1291—at Pontefract, Rotherham and Wakefield.¹¹ In the same year they received 100s. from the executors of Queen Eleanor.¹² In 1300 Edward I with his queen and family twice stayed at this friary; he gave them 2 marks as compensation for damages, made offerings at the altar of the Virgin, and frequently gave them alms for food by the hands of Friars John de Wrotham, Henry de Carleton, and John de Holeburi.¹³ From the amount of the alms it appears the numbers of the friars varied from twenty-nine to thirty-six.

On 9 August 1310, Edward II, being at Pontefract, gave the friars 13s. 4d. for one day's

food.¹⁴ When Edward III visited Pontefract there were in 1330 twenty-seven friars, thirty in 1334, twenty-six in February 1334-5, and twenty-nine in May 1335. The king in 1335 gave them a cask of Gascony wine worth £.4 for celebrating masses.¹⁵

A provincial chapter was held here in August 1303, for the expenses of which the king gave £.10 to the Prior of York;¹⁶ another provincial chapter was held here in August 1321, when the king gave £.15 for food,¹⁷ and William de Melton, Archbishop of York, 100s.¹⁸

The prior, with a number of other persons, was accused in 1319 of having assaulted one William Hardy at York.¹⁹

Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, on his retreat northwards in February 1321-2 stopped at Pontefract, and he and his barons held consultations in the friary. A friar preacher attended him at his execution outside the town, 22 March, after the battle of Boroughbridge.²⁰ John of Gaunt in 1373 gave the friars permission to cut turves in Pontefract Park for three years as they had been accustomed to do, and gave them three good oaks to repair their ruinous church and houses.²¹ The Master-General of the Order, 21 May 1397, ratified the concession of a chamber made by the friars of Pontefract to Friar John de Kirkbi, and also gave him leave to go out and stay with his friends as often as seemed good to him.²²

Sir William Vavasour, kt., left them 6 marks in 1311;²³ Henry de Percy by will dated 13 September 1349 and proved in 1352 left them 30s.;²⁴ Sir Hugh Hastings, 1482, left a serge of wax to be burned before the altar of St. Peter of Milan in this church;²⁵ and a number of other bequests will be found in the *Testamenta Eboracensia*.²⁶ Of more interest is a list of burials at this friary written by John Wriothlesley, Garter King-of-Arms, who died in 1504: it was probably taken from the obituary of the house.²⁷ Some of the entries relate to the founder and his family: the heart of Edmund Lacy, his wife

⁶ Pat. 3 Edw. II. m. 31; Inq. a.q.d. file 74, no. 18. This property is now called Friar Wood Hill; Holmes, *Black Friars of Pontefract*, 13.

⁷ Inq. a.q.d. file 264, no. 18; Pat. 16 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 4. Inclesmore lay south of the Ouse and west of the Trent; there is a map of it in Duchy of Lanc. Misc. Bks. xii, fol. 30 (P.R.O.).

⁸ Mins. Accts. 30 Hen. VIII; 30-1 Hen. VIII (Yorks.), 166; Partic. for Grants, 1193; Holmes, op. cit. 14.

⁹ *Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 22.

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 123-4.

¹¹ Raine, *Hist. P. and L. from the N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 93. In 1505 Robert Austwick of Pontefract left 3s. 4d. to repair the road 'near the cross at Carlton from which the friars are wont to preach and exhort'; Padgett, loc. cit.

¹² Exch. Accts. bdle. 352, no. 27.

¹³ *Ibid.* bdle. 357, no. 4; *Liber Quotid.* 28 Edw. I (ed. Topham), 27, 38; Add. MS. 7966 A, fol. 23, 35b

¹⁴ *Reliq.* xx, 69.

¹⁵ Exch. Accts. bdle. 387, no. 9; Cott. MS. Nero C. viii, fol. 201, 202, 204b; *Reliq.* xx, 70.

¹⁶ *Reliq.* xx, 69; Close, 31 Edw. I, m. 7 d.

¹⁷ *Reliq.* xx, 70; Add. MS. 9951; Close, 15 Edw. II, m. 35 d.; Rymer, *Foed.* (Rec. Com.) ii, 453.

¹⁸ Raine, *Fasti Ebor.* i, 427.

¹⁹ Pat. 13 Edw. II, m. 22 d.

²⁰ Leland, *Coll.* i (2), 464, 465.

²¹ Duchy of Lanc. Misc. Bks. xiii, fol. 182b.

²² *Reliq.* xx, 71.

²³ *Reg. Pal. Dunelm* (Rolls Ser.), i, 333.

²⁴ *Test. Ebor.* i, 58.

²⁵ Holmes, *The Black Friars of Pontefract*, 23; *Test. Ebor.* iii, 274.

²⁶ *Test. Ebor.* i, 107, 124, 199, 211, &c.; ii, 6, 121, 164, 177; iii, 176, 274, &c.; cf. *Reliq.* xx, 70-1; Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Chicheley, i, fol. 473b.

²⁷ *Col. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 73; *Reliq.* xx, 71-2.

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Alice daughter of the Marquess of Saluzzo, their infant son John and daughter Margaret; the heart of her husband George de Cantlowe and their infant son: and 'Agnes de Vescy, sister of the said lady Alice Lacy.' Others relate to the barons associated with Simon de Montfort, such as Roger Mowbray and Maud Beauchamp his wife, the heart of their son-in-law Adam of Newmarket²⁸ and his son Adam, their son Roger Mowbray and Roesia his wife, daughter of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester; Robert de Vipont, and Roger de Leybourne, the husband of Robert's daughter Idonea de Vipont. Another group represents the victims of civil wars: Lord Warin de Lisle,²⁹ who was executed after the battle of Boroughbridge; the hearts of Richard, Duke of York, 'of most blessed memory,' and his son Edmund, Earl of Rutland; of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, and his son Thomas, 'whose bones were afterwards translated to the priory of Bisham': all these fell at Wakefield or were executed after the battle. Members of the families of Metal, Rothersfield, Touchet, Deschargell, and many others are also enumerated.

Thomas Box, esquire, who was buried here in 1449 does not appear in this list:³⁰ nor William Strudther, who desired to be buried (1495) before the image of the Virgin, and left the friars 20s. to amend the frater.³¹ Thomas Huntingdon of Hull, alderman and merchant, in 1526, and Walter Bradford of Houghton, gent., in 1530 left instructions for the endowment of chantries in this church.³²

The royal commissioners, Sir George Lawson, Richard Bellasis and two others, received the surrender of the house 26 November 1538; they were 'thankfully received.' The act of surrender was signed by the prior, Robert Dae, Richard Lorde, D.D., five other priests and one novice.³³ The goods of the house were sold by the commissioners for £5 10s. 4d.; among them were a suit of blood worsted sold to the mayor for 16s.; an old suit of velvet vestments of a mulberry colour, 13s. 4d.; two surplices and three altar cloths 3s. 4d.; utensils of kitchen, brew-house, pantry; two feather beds, two bolsters, two coverlets, &c., of the strangers' chamber, 8s. 8d.; out of the cells, 8s.; a cartload of hay 1s. 8d.

²⁸ Petronilla of Newmarket, formerly recluse of Wymelay (probably Womersley; cf. *Yorks. Arch. and Topog. Journ.* vi, 374), is also mentioned.

²⁹ 'Messire Garin de Visul' in the MS.; cf. Dugdale, *Baronage*, i, 738. His widow Alice de Tyers wished to exhume her husband's body and rebury it at Clifton in the diocese of Salisbury; *Cal. Papal Letters*, ii, 410 (28 Jan. 1332-3).

³⁰ Boothroyd, *Hist. of Pontefract*, 340; Holmes, op. cit. 21.

³¹ Holmes, op. cit. 24.

³² *Test. Ebor.* v, 224, 284.

³³ Wright, *Suppression*, 167-8; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 912, 1064; *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 38; Holmes, op. cit. 44.

Out of the proceeds the prior received 13s. 4d., and each of the friars 5s. The house had no debts. The land (about 10 acres) and buildings, worth £3 14s. 4d. a year (net) with two bells, four fother of lead on the roof, a lead conduit and a brass 'holy water vat,' were left in the keeping of Richard Welbore, the mayor. The plate and jewels consisted of one chalice weighing 9 oz.³⁴

PRIORS

Oliver Daincourt,³⁶ 1269

John de Thorpe,³⁸ 1319

Robert Dae or Daye,³⁷ 1536, 1538.

92. THE GREY FRIARS, RICHMOND

The foundation of this friary is attributed to Ralph Fitz Randal, lord of Middleham, in 1258: his heart was buried in the quire in 1270.¹ The friary stood in the north part of the town, a little without the walls.² Archbishop Romanus, when organizing the preaching of the Crusade in 1291, requested the friars of Richmond to provide one preacher there and to send one to the most suitable place in the deanery of Cope-land (Cumberland).³ John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, left £5 to these friars on his death in 1304.⁴ In this year Arthur of Hartlepool, an apostate friar who had carried off some goods of neighbours and friends of the friars deposited in their house, was arrested by the king's officers and given up to the friars of Richmond for punishment.⁵ Special instructions were sent by the archbishop to the warden in January 1314-15 to preach against the Scots and rouse the people to resist.⁶ In 1350-1 Robert of Hexham was warden and lector of the convent.⁷

In 1364 Sir Richard le Scrope, kt. (afterwards first Lord Scrope of Bolton), and William de Huddeswell granted these friars five tofts adjacent to their dwelling, held of the Earl of Richmond and containing 4 acres of land.⁸ John

³⁴ Mins. Accts. 29-30 Hen. VIII, no. 197, and 30-1 Hen. VIII, no. 166, quoted by Holmes, op. cit. 45, 53; *Suppression P.* (P.R.O.) iii, fol. 93.

³⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 123.

³⁶ Pat. 13 Edw. II, m. 22 d.

³⁷ He was sometime priest of the chantry of St. Thomas, and was living at Lumby, near Sherburn, in 1545, when James Thwaytes, last Prior of St. John, left him a legacy; Padgett, *Chron. of Old Pontefract*, 75.

¹ Clarkson, *Hist. of Richmond*, 214; R. Gale, *Reg. Hon. de Richmond*, 'Observations,' 235.

² Leland, *Itin.* v, 109.

³ *Hist. P. and L. from the N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 95.

⁴ Clarkson, op. cit. 33.

⁵ Close, 32 Edw. I, m. 5.

⁶ *Hist. P. and L. from N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.) 239 n.

⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 280.

⁸ Inq. a.q.d. file 354, no. 4; Pat. 38 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 11; *Mon. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 295.

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de Nevill, lord of Raby, granted them 1½ acres of meadow in 1383.⁹ Richard le Scrope of Bolton left the friars £10 in his will, 1400;¹⁰ and Sir Stephen le Scrope of Bentley left 10 marks to the house and 6s. 8d. to each friar in January 1405-6.¹¹ Sir Ralph Fitz Randal, kt., left them 7 marks in 1458.¹² In May 1484 Richard III ordered Geoffrey Franke, receiver of Middleham, 'to content the friars of Richmond with 12½ marks for the saying of a thousand masses for King Edward IV.'¹³ On the death of Margaret Richmond, anchoress in the parish church of Richmond, a dispute arose between William Ellerton, the Abbot of St. Agatha, and William Billyngham, warden of the Grey Friars, on the one part, and the burgesses on the other, and was referred to arbitration. The arbitrators decided 30 April 1490 that the warden and friars should have the goods of the late anchoress remaining after the debts had been paid and the place restored, because she took the habit from the friars; that the abbot should dispose of the goods of the present anchoress for a similar reason; while the nomination to the anchorage should be in the hands of the bailiff and twenty-four burgesses of the great inquest of Richmond.¹⁴

The comic ballad of 'The Felon Sow of Rokeby,' dating probably from the 15th century, tells how Ralph Rokeby of Morton gave a savage sow to the friars of Richmond, 'to mend their fare,' when Friar Theobald was warden, and relates the exciting adventures of Friar Middleton and his assistants in their attempt to catch the beast, the final capture, and triumphant return to Richmond:

If ye will any more of this,
In the Fryers of Richmond 'tis
In parchment good and fine;
And how Fryar Middleton that was so kend,
At Greta Bridge conjured a feind
In likeness of a swine.¹⁵

The house was surrendered 19 January 1538-9 by Robert Sanderson, S.T.P., the warden, thirteen priests, and one other.¹⁶ The goods were sold in gross to Ralph Gower, merchant, and Richard Crosseby, both of Richmond, for 100s. The warden received 13s. 4d., the other friars sums varying from 10s. to 4s., and amounting in all to £5 3s. 2d. The lead on the

church was estimated at three fother, the three bells at 2,000 lb., and the plate weighed 31 oz.¹⁷ There was a conduit of water at the Friars, the only one in the town.¹⁸ The site, which was inclosed by a wall and comprised nearly 16 acres,¹⁹ was valued at 31s. a year, and was leased to Ralph Gower for twenty-one years in 1539.²⁰

The seal is pointed oval and represents St. Francis standing on a corbel, lifting up the right hand in benediction, in the left a book; on each side a tree with birds on it, representing 'the Wilderness,' or St. Francis preaching to the birds. Overhead, under a trefoiled arch, two shields of the arms of Nevill.²¹

93. THE GREY FRIARS, SCARBOROUGH

The Franciscans settled in Scarborough as early as 1239, for on 5 February 1239-40 Henry III ordered the Sheriff of Yorkshire 'to provide food for the Friars Minors of Scarborough one day every week.'¹ The Cistercians, to whom the church of St. Mary was appropriated, strongly resisted the establishment of rivals in their territory, and appealed to Rome for support. The pope, probably Innocent IV, instructed the Bishop of Lincoln to cause the buildings of the friars to be demolished if things were as described in the apostolic letter. Grosteste having summoned the friars to appear before his official, their proctor argued that the summons involved a breach of a papal privilege granted to the friars by Gregory IX² and was consequently invalid. But on the third day a friar waived all these arguments aside, maintaining that their profession was the Gospel, which said 'If any man will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also'; he declared on behalf of his brethren that they would give up the place, and falling on his knees before the monks prayed pardon for the offence. This produced a great effect. The monks present realized that their reputation would suffer if the friars left Scarborough in these circumstances, and agreed with Grosteste to suspend operations till they had consulted the Abbot and convent of Cîteaux.³

¹⁷ Harl. MS. 604, fol. 104; Mins. Accts. 29-30 Hen. VIII, no. 197 (Yorks.).

¹⁸ Leland, *Itin.* v, 109.

¹⁹ Whitaker, *Hist. of Richmondshire*, i, 99.

²⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, p. 556.

²¹ B.M. Seals, lxxiv, 105; Clarkson, op. cit. 217-18; Whitaker, *Hist. of Richmondshire*, i, 99. The founder's daughter, Mary, married Robert Nevill of Raby.

¹ Liberate R. 24 Hen. III, m. 19.

² *Bullar. Franc.* i, 184.

³ Grosteste, *Epist.* (Rolls Ser.), 321-3; Matt. Paris, *Chron. Majora* (Rolls Ser.) iv, 280; *Mon. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 406.

⁹ Pat. 6 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 8.

¹⁰ *Test. Ebor.* i, 274.

¹¹ *Ibid.* iii, 39.

¹² *Richmondshire Wills* (Surt. Soc.), 4; cf. 9. Other legacies will be found in Clarkson, op. cit. and in *Test. Ebor.* i, 58, 80, 199, 261, 266, 386.

¹³ Harl. MS. 433; Clarkson, op. cit. 219.

¹⁴ *Test. Ebor.* ii, 114 n.

¹⁵ Sir Walter Scott, *Rokeby* (compl. ed. 1847), Canto v, Stanza ix, note 3; also printed in Whitaker, *Hist. of Craven*.

¹⁶ Clarkson, op. cit. App. no. xxxiii; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 96.



WHITE FRIARS, NORTHALLERTON
(14TH CENTURY)



GREY FRIARS, RICHMOND
(13TH CENTURY)



TRINITY HOSPITAL, FOSSGATE, YORK
(14TH CENTURY)



RIPON COLLEGIATE CHURCH
(12TH CENTURY)



ST. WILLIAM'S COLLEGE, YORK
(14TH CENTURY)

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

The monks however insisted on the site being given up, and the friars had to quit the town. On 11 August 1245 the king gave licence 'to the Friars Minors who used to dwell in Scarborough to erect their buildings in the area lying between "Cukewaldhull" and the water-course called Milnebec on the east side, which William son of Robert de Morpath has surrendered and quitclaimed to the king, of the land which he held in chief in "Haterberg," in the parish of Scalby.'⁴ On 12 August the bailiffs were ordered to assist the friars in removing their church and buildings to the new site,⁵ which contained 1½ acres.⁶ Some twenty-five years later⁷ they returned again to Scarborough, and settled in the old town, perhaps on land granted by Reginald the miller, who was honoured as the founder and buried in the middle of the quire before the high altar.⁸ This land is described in a charter of 1315 as 'the land in the old town of Scarborough, abutting on the cemetery of St. Sepulchre, and the gutter called Damyet, all the land abutting on the lands formerly of Adam Ughtred and Walter de Collum, and the land formerly of John de Nessyngwyk, and land abutting on the land formerly of Henry de Roston.'⁹ They also received from Sir Robert Ughtred, kt., before the end of the century, some land abutting on the well called 'Burghwell,' and the wall of the old town, and the gutter called 'Damyeth.'¹⁰

It does not appear whether the Cistercians offered opposition to this second settlement of the Friars Minors in the town. The quarrel however broke out again in 1281, probably in connexion with the rebuilding or enlargement of the friars' church.¹¹ The Abbot of St. Albans, as 'conservator of the rights of the Cistercians,' issued a sentence ordering the friars to leave the place, and subsequently excommunicated all who celebrated or heard divine service in their church. Archbishop Peckham, after vainly requesting the abbot to revoke or suspend his judgement (August 1281), ordered the Deans of Pickering and Ryedale and the vicar of Scarborough publicly to declare the sentence null and void, on pain of

excommunication (November 1281): he further informed the Mayor and burgesses of Scarborough that the conservators of the Cistercians had no power over the Franciscans, who were allowed by the pope 'to build churches and oratories wherever it seems to them expedient'; and he urged the proctor of the Minorite Order at Rome to resist the oppression of the friars by the 'demoniac monks' (January 1281-2).¹² The Bishop of Worcester, who was appointed 'special conservator' of the friars in this case, also intervened on their behalf (August 1281),¹³ and Archbishop Wickwane, July 1284, addressed a dignified rebuke to the proctors of the Abbot of Cîteaux, at Scarborough, on their attempts to prevent the friars celebrating divine service at suitable hours and in fitting places.¹⁴ The Cistercians in their general chapter, 1285, protested against the intrusion of the friars.¹⁵ The result seems to have been favourable to the friars, though their claims to hear confessions may have been restricted.¹⁶ On 15 October 1290 Nicholas IV granted an indulgence to penitents visiting the church of the Friars Minors of Scarborough on the four feasts of the Virgin, and those of St. Francis, St. Anthony, and St. Clare.¹⁷ In 1291 Archbishop Romanus, when organizing the preaching of the Crusade, instructed these friars to send one preacher to Bridlington and another to Whitby.¹⁸ The warden was authorized 27 August 1293 to release Henry de Brumpton of Scarborough from his vow of pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella on payment of 100s.¹⁹

In or before 1283 the burgesses granted a spring at 'Gildhuscliff,' on Falsgrave Moor, to Robert of Scarborough, Dean of York, that he might make at his own expense a conduit for the benefit of the Friars Minors and the borough.²⁰ The scheme had not been carried out when the dean died in 1290, but he left to the friars 100 marks in his will for this purpose. To pay the legacy his executor, Sir John Ughtred, called in a debt owing from Roger, Abbot of Meaux, and the monks found it necessary to strip the lead from the dormitory of their lay brethren and give it to the friars in lieu of 78 marks which they had failed to pay. 'With this lead, their church or the greater part of it, is said to have been covered.'²¹ It was not until 1319 that the friars

⁴ Pat. 29 Hen. III, m. 2.

⁵ Close, 29 Hen. III, m. 4.

⁶ Pat. 32 Edw. I, m. 1.

⁷ They removed to Scarborough after Edmund Crouchback received the manor of Scalby, 1267 (*Engl. Hist. Rev.* x, 32), and before the death of Hen. III; Pat. 32 Edw. I, m. 1.

⁸ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 132.

⁹ Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 2. 'The sewer called the Damyote' is mentioned in a lease 28 Jan. 1536-7; it seems to have been at the south end of Dumble; Conventual Leases, Yorks. (P.R.O.), no. 901.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Cf. Close, 8 Edw. I, m. 2 (a grant of oaks for timber, Sept. 1280). Licence to dedicate the church and cemetery was issued to William Gainsborough, the Franciscan Bishop of Worcester, 20 Mar. 1306-7; Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 138b.

¹² Peckham, *Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 214-16, 246-8, 284.

¹³ *Ibid.* 216; *Reg. G. Giffard* (Worc. Hist. Soc.), 135.

¹⁴ *Hist. P. and L. from the N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 79.

¹⁵ Rymer, *Foed.* (Rec. Com.), i, 661.

¹⁶ *Hist. P. and L. from the N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 102.

¹⁷ *Cal. Papal Letters*, i, 521.

¹⁸ *Hist. P. and L. from the N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 95.

¹⁹ *Fasti Ebor.* i, 340.

²⁰ Inq. a.q.d. file 7, no. 29; Hinderwell, *Hist. and Antiq. of Scarborough*, 86.

²¹ *Chron. de Melis* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 237.

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had licence to make an underground conduit from 'Gildhuscliff' to their house, to lay pipes under the streets of the town and repair them when necessary.²²

Meanwhile, in 1297, the friars petitioned for leave from the Crown to appropriate a piece of land 117 ft. by 80 ft. for the enlargement of their church: the land had belonged to Adam Gumer, and had come into the king's hands owing to Adam's execution as a felon.²³ The jury of inquest opposed the grant, which was not made: but in 1299 Simon son of Simon Gumer conferred on the friars a messuage adjoining their church for the enlargement of their area and cemetery.²⁴ In 1300 the Knights Hospitallers granted them a messuage lying between the land which William de Harun held of John de Blake on the south and the lane called Duple on the north, and abutting on the said lane and the wall of the borough.²⁵ About the same time Sir John Hudred or Ughtred, kt., gave them an annual rent of 20s. in Scarborough, 'to find two great wax candles burning daily at the elevation of the host in the quire of the said brethren, and to find oil in a lamp burning before the host in the same quire, and bread and wine for celebration in the church and quire, with power for the bailiff of Scarborough to distrain for the rent if unpaid.'²⁶ All these grants were confirmed by Edward II in 1315.²⁷

In 1322 these friars had licence to inclose the lane called 'le Duple' on condition that they made on their own ground another way as large and convenient for the king, the commonalty, and for the Friars Preachers, to whom permission had previously been granted to pave the lane.²⁸

The three orders of friars in Scarborough were accustomed to send an officer round the town with a hand-bell on the days of the funeral obsequies of those buried in their churches and cemeteries and on the anniversaries of their founders and benefactors. They procured a royal licence for this custom in 1388, but it was withdrawn the next year as being an infringement of the rights of the church of St. Mary.²⁹ The practice, however, continued, and is mentioned in 1522.³⁰

Among those buried in the Grey Friars' church were several members of the families of

Ughtred, Stacy, and Hastings, and the Lady Elizabeth Gubiun, nun of Little Mareis, near Yedingham.³¹ Sir Gilbert de Ayton, kt., left 20 marks to these friars in 1350.³² Sir Marmaduke Constable in 1518 left to the White and Grey Friars of Scarborough, the Black Friars of Beverley, and the Austin Friars of Grimsby, 3d. a day for three years, 2d. being assigned to the priest saying mass for the souls of those to whom the testator had done any wrong, and 1d. 'to amend the pittance' of the friars in each house.³³ Robert Skirley in 1522 left to the Grey Friars 'the keitzen and the garth that is by their house that I woyn in, up to the town wall, paying to Master Whittes 2s. 4d. a year'; if his son died without issue, the same friars were to have 'that house by the Leide Stowpe that Alyson Gilson woyns in, and they to do a dirige and mass for our souls with the belman about the town.' He also bequeathed to them 2s. quit-rent that he had bought of Henry Carthope and Robert Clarke 'ankarsmith.'³⁴ Richard Chapman, warden of the Grey Friars, was in sympathy with the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536, and the officers of the town were summoned by Sir Francis Bigod to the Grey Friars to take an oath to support the rebellion.³⁵

The friary was surrendered 9 March 1538-9 to the Bishop of Dover, who described the three friaries as 'so poor that they have sold the stalls and screens in the church, so that nothing is left but stone and glass, yet there is metely good lead,' about 40 fother. There were also bells and chalices.³⁶ The property included, besides the site, a number of cottages and a tavern.^{36a}

WARDENS

Lawrence de Wetwang, 1293³⁷
 Ralph de Hertilburg, 1350³⁸
 George Danby, 1476³⁹
 Richard Chapman, 1536, 1538-9⁴⁰

³¹ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 32.

³² *Test. Ebor.* i, 62; see also *ibid.* 10, 35, 58, 98, 114, 118, 199, 239, 242, 274, 290.

³³ *Ibid.* v, 93.

³⁴ *Ibid.* v, 153.

³⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 369; (2), 212; Hinderwell, *op. cit.*

³⁶ Ellis, *Orig. Letters* (Ser. 3), iii, 186; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 348, 413, 494; *Mon. Treasures* (Abbotsford Club), 17.

^{36a} *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 482; *Misc. Accts.* 30-1 Hen. VIII, no. 166 (Yorks.).

³⁷ *Fasti Ebor.* i, 340.

³⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 279.

³⁹ Pat. 16 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 28 (he was sued for trespass by Thomas Sage); cf. Pat. 20 Edw. IV, pt. i, m. 21.

⁴⁰ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (2), 212; *Conventual Leases*, Yorks. (P.R.O.), no. 898, 903, 904.

²² Pat. 13 Edw. II, m. 44.

²³ Inq. a.q.d. file 26, no. 13.

²⁴ *Ibid.* file 30, no. 2; Pat. 27 Edw. I, m. 25.

²⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1545.

²⁶ Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 21. The bailiffs were ordered to compel payment of the rents, 28 Jan. 1332-3; Pat. 7 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 28.

²⁷ Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 21.

²⁸ Inq. a.q.d. file 139, no. 6; Pat. 15 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 4. See the account of the Black Friars.

²⁹ Pat. 12 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 17.

³⁰ *Test. Ebor.* v, 153.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

94. THE BLACK FRIARS, SCARBOROUGH¹

The Dominicans were established in Scarborough before 1252, when they levied a fine for a house and messuage held by them in the town, and the community of Scarborough granted that their goods and those of their men should be free of toll in the borough.² The friars' right to settle here was disputed, probably by the Cistercians, and the Bishop of Worcester as conservator of the privileges of the Friars Preachers in England was called upon to protect them in 1279 and 1280.³

About the end of 1283 the friars applied to the king for a licence to pull down the ruinous wall between the new and the old town and use the stone for building their church, and also requested that they might have a spring at 'Gildhuscliff,' as they were in want of water. An inquiry being held, the jurors found it stated in the annals that in the time of King John's troubles this wall had stopped the king's enemies from taking the castle, and also in the time of Henry III the same wall, though old and partly ruinous, and the moat surrounding the new borough had been the means of repulsing the rebels. If the wall were removed, there would be nothing to prevent an enemy from marching straight up to the castle and besieging it; and besides, a new wall ought to be built out of the materials of the old. The spring had already been granted by the burgesses to the Dean of York that he might make a conduit for the benefit of the Friars Minors and the borough.⁴ The petition was therefore refused, but the friars at the request of the burgesses about a year later obtained a new site or an addition to their old one.⁵ This grant was not made without a protest on the part of the Cistercians, who held the advowson of the parish church and applied the revenues to the expenses of their general chapter. The monks assembled in general chapter at Cîteaux, 14 September 1285, complained to the king of the entrance of the Friars Preachers and Friars Minors into Scarborough, and asserted that the revenues of the church had through their presence been so diminished that instead of supplying the chapter for three days they sufficed now only for one.⁶

¹ See 'The Friars Preachers of Scarborough,' by the Rev. C. F. R. Palmer, *Reliq.* xx, 198-204.

² Hinderwell, *Hist. and Antiq. of Scarborough*, 87.

³ *Reg. G. Giffard* (Worc. Hist. Soc.), 116, 126.

⁴ Inq. a.q.d. file 7, no. 29; *Yorks. Inq.* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), ii, 9.

⁵ Pat. 13 Edw. I, m. 13. It is clear that their possessions extended on either side of the old wall, from Queen Street on the west to Duple on the east, and perhaps further east still. Duple is given as the western boundary of land granted by Maud Brus (or Ughtred). *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 312; can this be a mistake for eastern?

⁶ Rymer, *Foed.* (Rec. Com.), i, 661.

This priory was one of the thirty-three Dominican houses to which the executors of Queen Eleanor of Castile gave 100s. in alms in 1291.⁷ The queen's kinswoman, Isabel de Beaumont, second wife of John de Vescy, sometime Governor of Scarborough Castle, was one of the greatest benefactors of the friars. She built the nave of the church, the cloister and dormitory at her own cost, and bestowed on them many other benefits.⁸

In 1291 Archbishop Romanus when organizing the preaching of the crusade instructed these friars to appoint one of their number to preach at Scarborough and another at Pickering.⁹ He interposed in 1293 on behalf of the parish priests to restrict the claims of the friars as to hearing confessions.¹⁰ In 1305 William Gainsborough, Bishop of Worcester, ordered the excommunication of 'certain sons of iniquity who had taken away the candles and funeral ornaments of Henry de Haterborgh, chaplain, who chose to be buried at the house' of these friars.¹¹

In 1312, when Piers Gaveston was besieged in the castle, the Earls of Pembroke and Warren and Henry Percy persuaded him to come out and confer with them in the church of the Friars Preachers; 'there in the presence of the Body of Christ, with their hands upon the Gospels, they swore that if the Lord Peter would go home with them they would either make peace between him and the magnates or bring him back safe and sound to the castle.' Gaveston agreed to go with them, and was then seized and executed by the Earl of Warwick.¹²

The site was made up of many small plots granted by various donors—namely, Adam Sage;¹³ Patrick, Prior, and the convent of St. Mary, Watton; William Broun of Scarborough and Margaret his wife, daughter of Richard de Brumpton; Emma daughter of Henry de Cotom of Scalby; James de Tunes and Margaret his wife, daughter of Roger Farmatin; Gomer of Norfolk and Alice his wife; Maud daughter of Simon Ughtred, and granddaughter of Roger Ughtred;¹⁴ and Robert Maurice.

⁷ Exch. Accts. (P.R.O.), bdl. 352, no. 27.

⁸ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 132. In 1409 the dedication festival of the church was changed from 12 Sept. to 23 Oct.; Harl. MS. 6969, fol. 84b.

⁹ *Hist. P. and L. from the N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 95.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 102.

¹¹ *Worc. Epis. Reg.* W. Gainsborough, fol. 9.

¹² *Cbron. Edw. I & II* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 42-3.

¹³ Sir Adam Sage, kt., is sometimes regarded as the original founder; *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 132; *Reliq.* xx, 198; but he did not die till shortly before 1316, at which date his daughter and heiress was still a minor; Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 27 d.; 10 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 26 d.

¹⁴ This was a barn with its site, gardens, &c., lying between two tenements of the Prior of Watton, and extending to 'Dumpole' lane on the west (?). In 1323 Maud Ughtred, now widow of Adam Brus of Pickering, quitclaimed all her right in it. *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 312.

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Further, Roger son of Roger Ughtred released the friars from a rent of 2s. which they used to pay him for the land which they held of the gift of William Broun and Margaret his wife; and Sir Robert Ughtred, kt., granted them land for a chantry for two friars to celebrate daily in the church. All these grants were confirmed by Edward II, 2 January 1318-19.¹⁵

In 1298 the friars asked permission to pave a street within the town wall towards the east extending from the house of John Pycheford to that of John le Blake towards their church, a distance of 39 perches. On inquisition the jurors found that the paving would be an improvement to the town and an advantage to the inhabitants, and the royal licence was accordingly issued, 1299. The lane ran part of the way under the wall of the Friars Minors and was some years later inclosed by them with the consent of the Friars Preachers, on condition that they made another lane equally convenient.¹⁶ During the next few years the friars made several additions to their area. In January 1319-20 the Prior and convent of Watton granted to the friars another messuage, lying to the south of Maud Ughtred's tenement, in exchange for a place which the king had of the gift of William son of William de Wispedale and which he now conferred on the priory.¹⁷ In July 1321 the king further gave them all the land with the buildings on it adjacent to their area which he had of the feoffment of William de Wessington, tenant in chief.¹⁸ In August 1323 Maud Brus, i.e., Maud Ughtred, gave them a small plot lying next the land she had already given them, and held by Henry le Barker and Agnes his wife for the life of the latter.¹⁹ Isabel de Vescy, whose benefactions have been mentioned, gave them a plot of land, 200 ft. by 50 ft., worth 2s. a year, in 1326.²⁰ She was buried in the quire of the church about 1335,²¹ and finally in 1337 her executors conveyed to them two plots containing 100 ft. by 60 ft. and John de Malton granted them another small plot measuring 100 ft. by 30 ft.; the three plots were held of the Crown in burgage and were valued at 3s. a year.²² The site and demesne lands contained about 3 acres. The number of the friars in the house at this time is not

known.²³ About the end of the 15th century there were fifteen.²⁴

In November 1327 two Friars Preachers from Scotland, being wrecked here, took refuge in the Dominican friary; the king ordered the bailiffs of Scarborough to keep careful watch over them.²⁵

In 1367 the prior, Robert, sued William de Naseby, 'sherman,' for an account as receiver of the prior's moneys.²⁶

The earliest bequest recorded is one of 40s. by Sir William de Vavasour, kt., in 1311.²⁷ Sir Thomas Ughtred, kt., in 1398 left the Friars Preachers, for the augmentation of two chantries founded in the church by his ancestors, 40s. a year to celebrate masses and obits for the souls of himself, Catherine his wife, and William his son, till he or his executors endowed them with 40s. annual rent.²⁸ Maud widow of Peter Lord Mauley and daughter of Ralph Nevill Earl of Westmorland, in 1438 desired to be buried in this church 'at the south end'²⁹ of the high altar where they read the Gospels'; she bequeathed 20 marks for a marble stone with a plate of copper or latten gilt to lay over her sepulchre; 100 marks for covering the roof of the church with lead; a pair of thuribles silver-gilt; a pair of phials of silver; two silver candlesticks; one silver-gilt 'paxbrede' for divine service at the high altar; 5 marks a year to Friar John Chatburn to celebrate for her soul for five years; two single gowns of black velvet without fur to the friars, and her best horse with saddle as mortuary.³⁰ Alice widow of Peter Percy of Scarborough, merchant, in 1505 left to William Tailyor, Prior of the Black Friars, £7 to celebrate for her soul and the soul of her husband for one year.³¹ Thomas Percy, in October, 1536, left the friars half a close and half an acre of land.³²

The house was surrendered on 10 March 1538-9 by John Newton, prior, and the friars to Richard, Bishop of Dover, who apologized to Cromwell for being able to 'bring no more substance to the king' owing to the poverty of

¹⁵ Edw. II gave to Friars Robert of Scarborough and William de Ulfef 40s., 5 Feb. 1311-12; Cott. MS. Nero C. viii, fol. 52. Edw. III gave 20s. to the three houses of friars in June 1335; *ibid.* fol. 202b.

¹⁶ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 132.

¹⁷ Close, 1 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 5.

¹⁸ Baildon, *Mon. Notes* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), i, 195.

¹⁹ *Reg. Pal. Dunelm* (Rolls Ser.), i, 333.

²⁰ *Test. Ebor.* i, 242.

²¹ Father Palmer suggests that this may imply that the high altar was at the west end of the church; *Reliq.* xx, 203.

²² *Test. Ebor.* ii, 67.

²³ *Ibid.* iv, 184 n. Other bequests will be found in *Test. Ebor.* and burials in *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 132; cf. *Reliq.* xx, 202-3.

²⁴ *Test. Ebor.* vi, 55.

¹⁵ Pat. 12 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 4.

¹⁶ Inq. a.q.d. files 27, no. 7; 139, no. 6; Pat. 27 Edw. I, m. 33; 3 Edw. II, m. 4; 15 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 4.

¹⁷ Pat. 13 Edw. II, m. 23.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 15 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 23.

¹⁹ Inq. a.q.d. file 166, no. 5; Pat. 17 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 17.

²⁰ Inq. a.q.d. file 181, no. 7; Pat. 20 Edw. II, m. 18; cf. Pat. 12 Edw. II, m. 5.

²¹ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 132.

²² Pat. 11 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 32.

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the friary.³³ The site, containing $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres, together with a plot called 'le Courte garth,' was let to Robert Gray for 5s. 8d. a year. The churchyard itself, with some gardens and orchards extending from the wall of the site on the east to another wall next the highway on the west, 75 yds. long and 57 yds. wide, had already been leased 23 March 1536-7 to John Harwoode under the convent seal for sixty-one years at a rent of 6s. 8d. 'Le ponde garth' and a garden between the site and the wall of the Carmelites had likewise been leased to John Barwick, 3 November 1537, at a rent of 3s. The friars also owned several cottages and tenements in other parts of the town.³⁴

PRIORS

Robert, 1367
William Tailyor, 1505
John Newton, 1536-9

95. THE WHITE FRIARS, SCARBOROUGH

Edward II on 19 October 1319 granted to the Carmelites two houses in Scarborough which he held of the gift of Robert Wauwayn or Walweyn, to build there an oratory and dwelling-place.¹ He secured the consent of the Cistercians to the foundation within the parish of St. Mary by giving them licence to acquire land in Scarborough to the value of 60s. a year;² and the archbishop's licence to the friars to build a chapel and bell-tower was granted 24 March 1320-1.³ But difficulties arose with Thomas de la Rivere and Joan his wife, who maintained that they had let this land to Robert Wauwayn and his heirs at a rent of 60s. a year: that, Robert having ceased to pay the rent, they had obtained judgement against him: and that he had then handed over the property to the king. Edward II forbade the judges to proceed further in the matter, and they dared not disobey. On the accession of Edward III the aggrieved parties petitioned for redress.⁴ But on 18 April 1341, at York, Joan, now a widow, surrendered to

³³ Wright, *Suppression*, 192; Ellis, *Orig. Letters* (ser. 3), 179, 186; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 493; Mins. Accts. 30-1 Hen. VIII, no. 166 (Yorks.).

³⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 492; Mins. Accts. 30-31 Hen. VIII, no. 166.

¹ Pat. 13 Edw. II, m. 30. Robert was burgess in the Parliament of Carlisle 1307, and bailiff of Scarborough 1316; *Hinderwell, Hist. and Antiq. of Scarborough*, 131; Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 27 d.

² *Ibid.* m. 6; 1 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 23.

³ *Fasti Ebor.* i, 416: another licence was granted 6 Jan. 1324-5; and on 12 Feb. there was a letter for the quaestores.

⁴ *Parl. R.* ii, 418; Plac. de Banco, Mich. 2 Edw. III, m. 305 d.

the Carmelites all her right to the tenement, which is described as 'extending in length and breadth between the capital house formerly belonging to John Ughtred, now a brother of the aforesaid order, and the house of John son of Robert at Cross, and from the highway to the house of the late Roger Ughtred.'⁵

Meanwhile, in the time of Edward II the friars acquired a plot adjoining their house, measuring 140 ft. by 30 ft., and worth 18d. a year, from Henry Paa of Scarborough: they received pardon on the accession of Edward III for taking possession of it without royal licence.⁶ Another small plot was granted to them by Ralph de Nevill, lord of Raby, in 1330.⁷ William Kempe and Adam Dyotsone gave them a messuage, held of the king for 6d. a year as 'house-gabel,' in 1350; Robert de Nuby and William de Nuby, chaplains, gave them a similar messuage adjoining the friary in 1358;⁸ and Sir Robert de Roucliff, kt., gave them some land in 1362.⁹ Sir Robert was buried in the church.¹⁰

The prior, Mauger de Baildon, in 1369 sued Thomas Webster of Riccall, and Maud widow of John le Caleys of Tadcaster, for debts of 10 marks each; and Thomas son of Henry of Grimston for a debt of 6 marks. In the same year he and Friar John Eryll brought an action against John Bendebowe, John Goldyng, and Simon de Lesam, all chaplains, for assaulting Friar Eryll, and ill-treating him so that he despaired of his life. In 1370 the same prior sued John Motsom, carpenter, to keep the agreement made between them to the effect that John should, at his own expense, build in the friary a hall, with chamber, study, and chapel, and with a cellar, doors and windows, two hearths, and two sinks.¹¹

Till the eve of the Dissolution there is little record of the house, save a number of bequests, the largest being 5 marks from William, Lord Latimer, 1381, and 3d. a day for three years from Sir Marmaduke Constable, kt., in 1518.¹²

⁵ Bodl. MS. Dodsworth, vii, fol. 119.

⁶ Inq. a.q.d. file 196, no. 1; Pat. 1 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 21.

⁷ Inq. a.q.d. file 211, no. 12; Pat. 4 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 34.

⁸ Pat. 24 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 10; Inq. a.q.d. file 326, no. 11; Pat. 32 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 30.

⁹ Inq. a.q.d. file 340, no. 17; Pat. 36 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 31.

¹⁰ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 133. Sir Robt. de Roucliff, kt., who in 1381 left 20s. to the Carmelites, and 3s. 4d. to each of the other houses of friars here, desired to be buried in the church of St. Mary of Scarborough; *Test. Ebor.* i, 118. Others buried in the Carmelite church were 'a Scot with his wife, lord of Senton in Scotland,' and Thomas Lacy of Falton, esq. *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 133.

¹¹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), i, 104.

¹² *Test. Ebor.* i, 114; v, 93. See also *ibid.* i, 10, 35, 98, 118, 199, 239, 242, 274, 290.

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Before the rebellions of 1536, John Boroby, Prior of the White Friars,¹³ helped to encourage the discontent by collecting and disseminating seditious prophecies. In May 1536 he met a priest at Beverley who showed him some prophecies beginning 'France and Flanders shall arise.' These he copied and showed to the warden of the Grey Friars and the vicar of Muston. The vicar gave him another collection beginning 'When the cock of the north had builded his nest.'¹⁴ Boroby was examined at York, 5 December 1537, but was not removed from office. He surrendered the house on 9 March 1538-9¹⁵ to the Bishop of Dover, who remarked on the poverty of the place.¹⁶ The friars owned, besides the site, several messuages which had been let on lease.^{16a}

PRIORS

Robert Baston (?), 1319¹⁷
 Robert, 1327^{17a}
 Robert Morpath, February 1347-8¹⁸
 Mauger de Baildon, 1369, 1371¹⁹
 Robert Lylborne, 1476²⁰
 Laurence Cooke, 1527²¹
 John Boroby, 1531, 1538-9²²

96. THE AUSTIN FRIARS, TICKHILL

This house was situated to the west of Tickhill, close to Clarel Hall.¹ It is said to have been founded by John Clarel, Dean of St. Paul's.² There was, however, no Dean of St. Paul's of this name, and the founder was probably John Clarel who was canon of Southwell in 1256 and held many other preferments.³ The house was founded towards the end of the reign of Henry III. On 20 September 1274, in the church of Blyth, one friar of this house, Thomas de Irkingham, was ordained deacon, and three, John of Staunton, David of Haverford, and

Robert of Retford, priests.⁴ In 1276 the friars had royal licence to inclose a way without the town on the north of their church between their place and the land of William Clarel.⁵ In 1279 the king gave them four oaks for the work of their church.⁶ In February 1283-4 they sought permission to inclose a strip of waste land in Tickhill; the jurors, however, returned an unfavourable verdict, and the licence was not granted.⁷

From the executors of Queen Eleanor they received 40s. in 1291⁸; and Edward I in 1300 gave them 6s. for one day's food by the hand of Friar Ralph of Bamburgh.⁹ There were probably eighteen friars at this time. Edward II gave £10 towards the expenses of a provincial chapter held here in 1319.¹⁰ Edward III gave 4d. to each of the twenty-four friars in 1335.¹¹ Robert Clarel gave them 2 acres in Tickhill in 1332, and at the same time they had licence, on payment of half a mark, to inclose a lane to the west of their house.¹²

Robert de Wirsop or Worksop, theological writer, is said to have been an inmate of this friary, and to have been buried here in 1350.¹³

Among the benefactors of the house were Roger de Bangwell, rector of Dronfield, who left 20s. to the friary and 12d. to each of the brethren in 1366,¹⁴ and probably some members of the families of Tibetot and Deincourt, whose arms appear on part of the friary buildings.¹⁵ Thomas Clarel, the elder, who married Maud daughter of Sir Nicholas Montgomery, and his son Thomas, who married Elizabeth daughter of Sir John Scrope, were both buried here in 1442, and Robert Clarel, son of Thomas the elder, in 1446.¹⁶ Sir Richard Fitz William,

⁴ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 196, 197.

⁵ Pat. 4 Edw. I, m. 6. ⁶ Close, 7 Edw. I, m. 4.

⁷ Inq. a.q.d. file 7, no. 9; *Yorks. Inq.* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.) ii, 11.

⁸ Exch. Accts. (P.R.O.), bdle. 352, no. 27.

⁹ *Ibid.* bdle. 357, no. 4; *Liber Quotid.* 28 Edw. I (ed. Topham), 28.

¹⁰ Add. MS. 17362, fol. 5.

¹¹ Exch. Accts. bdle. 383, no. 14; Cott. MS. Nero C. viii, fol. 202.

¹² Pat. 6 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 14; Inq. a.q.d. files 222, no. 10; 223, no. 3; confirmation of same grants in Pat. 15 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 12.

¹³ Pits, *De Illust. Angl. Script.* 478. He was sent by the king to the papal court in 1321, and received £20. Add. MS. 9951, fol. 22b.

¹⁴ *Test. Ebor.* i, 82. For other bequests see *ibid.* i, 50, 58, 124, 143, 211, 274; iii, 259; *Reg. Pal. Dunelm.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 333; York. Archiepis. *Reg. Chicheley*, i, fol. 473b; *Cal. of Wills, Court of Husting, Lond.* i, 509; Hunter, *op. cit.* i, 245, who also mentions a gift of two oaks by Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, 1109.

¹⁵ Hunter, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶ *Test. Ebor.* iii, 247; Hunter, *op. cit.* ii, 53; *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 73.

¹³ He received 6s. 8d. in 1536, for writing the will of Thomas Percy; *Test. Ebor.* vi, 55.

¹⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (2), 212.

¹⁵ Mins. Accts. 30-1 Hen. VIII (Yorks.), no. 166.

¹⁶ Ellis, *Orig. Letters* (ser. 3), 186.

^{16a} Mins. Accts. 30-1 Hen. VIII, no. 166; Conventual Leases Yorks. (P.R.O.), no. 905, 906, 907, 910.

¹⁷ The poet of Edward II who was captured by the Scots and forced to celebrate the battle of Bannockburn in verse; Tanner, *Bibl.* 79.

^{17a} Plac. de Banco, East. 2 Edw. III, m. 3.

¹⁸ York Archiepis. *Reg.* Zouch, fol. 278.

¹⁹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), i, 104.

²⁰ Conventual Leases Yorks. (P.R.O.), no. 908.

²¹ *Ibid.* no. 905. Afterwards Prior of Doncaster.

²² *Ibid.* no. 906, 907.

¹ Leland, *Itin.* i, 37; Hunter, *South Yorks.* i, 244.

² *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 73.

³ Chart. R. 41 Hen. III, m. 13; Tanner, *Not. Mon.*

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who married Elizabeth, heiress of the Clarels of Aldwark, and thus succeeded to the patronage of the friary, was buried here in 1479,¹⁷ and his eldest son, Sir Thomas, was buried near his father in 1497.¹⁸ Elizabeth widow of Sir Richard, in her will, December 1502, desired to be buried next her husband, and left to the friars 5 marks and 'a cape of white velvet sprinkled over with black marks made of silk, like the fur called powdered ermine.'¹⁹ Sir Thomas Fitz William the younger in 1513 wished to be buried here if he came back alive from the Scottish war, and willed that his executors should make a tomb over his father's body.²⁰ He was slain at Flodden, but the latter part of his instructions seem to have been carried out. In the parish church is a gorgeous monument of alabaster, richly painted, which was removed from the friary church at the Dissolution. It is adorned with the arms of Fitz William, Clarel and Nevill, and upon it lie the effigies of a knight and lady. The inscription, now much defaced, contains names of (Sir Richard) Fitz William, kt., and Lady Lucy Nevill, daughter of John, Marquess of Montagu, his wife.²¹

Sir Hugh Hastings, kt., 1482, left a serge of wax to be burned daily in this friary in honour of St. Ninian, and bequeathed a quarter of wheat yearly for three years and 10s. to the friars.²² Richard III gave them an annuity of 5 marks during his life.²³

Richard Robinson, the prior, gave evidence respecting the relations of the prior of the Austin Friars of Grimsby with the rebels in 1536.²⁴ He and seven brethren gave up the house to Sir George Lawson and his fellow commissioners, 19 November 1538.²⁵ The goods, including a clock and a pair of old organs, were sold for £5 1s. 8d. Of this sum £2 10s. was distributed to the friars. The lead (80 or 90 fother on the roofs of the various buildings), two bells in the bell tower, and two chalices weighing 16 oz. were reserved.²⁶ The demesne lands consisted of 9 or 10 acres of orchard, meadow and pasture, and about 46 acres of arable land: all these lands, the collector of rents noted in 1539, are let to John Robinson by indenture under the common seal of the late priory for sixty years at a rent of 53s. 4d. Further, the friars

owned in the town of Tickhill an acre of arable land at the lime kiln in the South Field, given by Christopher Norris about 1528, and a cottage in Westgate as well as a very considerable property in Newton on Derwent, which was let to tenants of the priory for 108s. a year. The total annual rent amounted to £8 6s. 2d.²⁷

The seal, of which an indistinct impression remains, represents a saint preaching to a crowd of hearers.²⁸

97. THE BLACK FRIARS, YARM¹

The Friars Preachers settled at Yarm in or before 1266, in which year Henry III gave them ten oaks in Galtres Forest.² Sir Peter de Brus, lord of the manor, who died in 1272, granted to them for the welfare of his soul and the soul of Hilaria his wife a toft in the south part of the town.³ John de Levington gave them a plot of land lying between their land and the rivulet of Skytering; this grant was confirmed by Sir Marmaduke de Twenge, lord of Danby, and Lucy his wife, the sister of Peter de Brus. John son of Roger de Levington gave them two adjacent plots,⁴ and John de Aslacby, burgess of Yarm, and Parnel his wife, 20 January 1301-2, conferred on the friars the croft called Ribaldcroft, containing 5 acres, the royal licence having been granted on condition that a footpath be kept by stiles between this land and the Tees. The gift was confirmed by William de Latimer, lord of Yarm, and Lucy his wife, the granddaughter of Marmaduke de Tweng.⁵ All these grants were confirmed by Edward II in 1314.⁶ It appears that the friars also had some land of the gift of John de Meynil of Middleton before the end of the 13th century.⁷

In October 1302 a commission of *oyer* and *terminer* was issued to three justices touching the persons who entered the close of the prior of these friars, threw down some walls, broke his gates and carried away the timber of them, and beat his servants.⁸ And in October 1304 the prior obtained a similar writ against those

¹⁷ Mins. Accts. 30-1 Hen. VIII, no. 166 (Yorks.); Hunter, op. cit. i, 245-6; Suppression P. (P.R.O.) iii, fol. 93.

¹⁸ B.M. Seals, lxxv, 15.

¹⁹ See 'The Friars Preachers, or Black Friars of Yarm,' by the Rev. C. F. R. Palmer, *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xxxviii, 184-92.

²⁰ Close, 51 Hen. III, m. 10.

²¹ Pat. 8 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 24 (*inspeximus*).

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid. 30 Edw. I, m. 33; Inq. a.q.d. file 36, no. 8.

²⁴ Ibid. 8 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 24.

²⁵ Ibid.; *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xxxviii, 186, 190.

²⁶ Pat. 30 Edw. I, m. 6d.

¹⁷ *Test. Ebor.* iii, 246-7; Hunter, op. cit. i, 245; ii, 53-4.

¹⁸ *Test. Ebor.* iii, 247.

¹⁹ Ibid, iv, 209.

²⁰ Ibid. v, 45.

²¹ Leland, *Itin.* i, 37; Hunter, op. cit. i, 241-2.

²² *Test. Ebor.* iii, 274.

²³ Harl. MS. 433, fol. 28.

²⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 593.

²⁵ Ibid. xii (2), 869, 1064; *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 45.

²⁶ Mins. Accts. 29-30 Hen. VIII, no. 197 (Yorks.); Suppression P. (P.R.O.), iii, fol. 93.

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who had broken his close, trampled down and consumed grass to the value of 40s. by pasturing cattle there.⁹ These events were probably connected with a claim to the land granted by John de Aslacby.

When the Archbishop of York was organizing the preaching of the Crusade in 1291 he enjoined the convent of Yarm to cause some of their friars to preach at Allerton, Yarm, and Thirsk.¹⁰ In the same year they had 100s. from the executors of Queen Eleanor.¹¹ Edward I gave them 10s. for one day's food in December 1299.¹² Edward II gave 11s. to the thirty-three friars here in 1319¹³; and Edward III in 1335 gave 9s. 4d. to the twenty-eight friars of Yarm and 20s. for the repair of their cloister.¹⁴

The church seems to have been rebuilt at the beginning of the 14th century, as the archbishop issued a commission to the Bishop of Whithern to dedicate it 3 May 1308.¹⁵ In January 1314-15 the archbishop sent instructions to the Dominican friars, and especially to the Prior of Yarm, to denounce the Scots, who were devastating the country, and to stir up the people to resist.¹⁶ In October 1322 the prior, Edmund de Clif, bought victuals from the royal household for £8 6s. 8d. Of this debt Edward III in 1329 pardoned the friars £8.¹⁷

In 1392 Thomas Ingilby gave to the friars three messuages in Yarm adjoining their house; the prior and convent paid 2 marks for the royal licence.¹⁸

Friar John Leeke of this house had permission of the master-general to go to the Roman court or elsewhere at his will with a companion of the order in 1393, and in 1397 he was appointed by the same authority to lecture concurrently on the Sentences at Oxford if he could obtain the grace from the University.¹⁹

Bequests were numerous. Henry Lord Percy left the friars 30s. in 1349²⁰; William Lord Latimer £10 and a vestment embroidered with his arms in 1381²¹; Sir John Mowbray of Colton 'un grand plombe q'est a Jarum' valued at 5 marks in 1391, to sing trentals for his soul and that of Elizabeth his late wife²²;

⁹ Pat. 32 Edw. I, m. 4d.

¹⁰ *Hist. P. and L. from the N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 93.

¹¹ Exch. Accts. (P.R.O.) bdle. 352, no. 27.

¹² *Liber Quotid.* 28 Edw. I (ed. Topham), 25.

¹³ Add. MS. 17362, fol. 3.

¹⁴ Exch. Accts. bdle. 387, no. 9.

¹⁵ *Fasti Ebor.* i, 378.

¹⁶ *Hist. P. and L. from the N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 238.

¹⁷ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xxxvii, 188; Pat. 3 Edw. III, m. 14.

¹⁸ Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 2.

¹⁹ Add. MS. 32446.

²⁰ *Test. Ebor.* i, 58. Some goods belonging to Henry Hotspur valued at £100 were deposited here in 1403. Pat. 5 Hen. IV, pt. i, m. 29.

²¹ *Test. Ebor.* i, 114.

²² *Ibid.* 161.

Isabella, widow of Walter Lord Fauconberg, 5 marks in 1401²³; Robert Conyers of Sockburn left 10s. to the convent and 6s. 8d. to Friar John Leeke in 1431.²⁴ Jane Boynton, daughter of James Strangeways, in 1486 desired to be buried in the quire near the high altar, and left to them 40s. for her burial, 40s. to divide amongst them, two lead tubs and 'mashfattes,' a board with trestles, her mass book, chalice and vestment; she left instructions that mass should be said for twelve and a half years for her soul in the friars' church (for which purpose she entrusted 100 marks to the Prior of Mount Grace), and that 'an image of the Salutation of our Lady and St. Gabriel' should be put up at the end of the high altar before her grave.²⁵

In the church and cemetery were buried many of the Hiltons of Hilton, and the Meynells of Hilton. In the quire lay Eva daughter of John Bulmer, widow of Henry son of Hugh, her son Hugh and grandson Thomas, and also Robert de Hilton, 'all of the progeny of the Hiltons.' In the chapel of St. Katherine lay Mary wife of Nicholas de Meynell; John de Hilton, lord of Hilton, and Isabella his wife. In the cemetery Hugh Meynell of Hilton and his wife Alice, Robert de Meynell, John de Meynell and his wife Sibilla,²⁶ Nicholas de Hilton and Cecilia his wife.²⁷

In 1520 the master-general assigned Friar Clement Guadel to the convent of 'Jerm,' and ordered the prior not to employ him in any conventual office, but to allow him when divine service was over to go to the Grammar Schools.²⁸

The friary was surrendered 21 December 1538 to William Blytheman by Miles Wilcock the prior, five priests, and six novices, a very unusual proportion of novices.²⁹ Bryan Layton, esquire, was put in charge of the house, and bought the goods for 106s. 8d.; out of this sum the prior received 20s. and the ten friars 54s. 4d. There were 40 fother of lead, two bells, and 49 oz. of plate (consisting of two chalices, twelve spoons, and three maserbands).³⁰ The annual value of the possessions, over and above reprises, is given in one document as 8s.,³¹ but this seems irreconcilable with

²³ *Ibid.* 282. ²⁴ *Wills and Invent.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 81.

²⁵ *Test. Ebor.* iv, 13; cf. description of the seal. More bequests are noted by Palmer, *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xxxvii.

²⁶ Living in 1306; Graves, *Cleveland*, 71.

²⁷ Bodl. Dods. MS. xlv, p. 76, quoted by Palmer, *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xxxvii; Graves, op. cit. 70.

²⁸ Add. MS. 32446, fol. 15.

²⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 1174; *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 50.

³⁰ Mins. Accts. 29-30 Hen. VIII (Yorks.), no. 197.

³¹ Harl. MS. 604, fol. 104.

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the details given in the Minister's Accounts of 1539-40. The lands are there described as containing 10 a. besides eight cottages and yielding £3 12s. 8d. yearly.³²

The seal is a pointed oval, and represents the Annunciation of the Virgin, in a niche with canopy of two arches; from the hand of the archangel hangs a label bearing the words 'Ave Maria'; on the ground between the two figures a vase of flowers; in base a half figure praying. Legend:—

SIGILLUM CONVENTUS FR̄M PREDICATORUM
D'IARV̄.³³

98. THE BLACK FRIARS OF YORK¹

About the end of 1226 Henry III instructed Martin de Pateshull and his fellows, justices in eyre, to consult the Mayor and good men of York about a site for the Friars Preachers in that city. They recommended the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen with a plot of land behind it, situated in Kings-tofts just within the city ditch, on the south bank of the Ouse. The sheriff was ordered, 10 April 1227, to go in person with the mayor and good men and make over the chapel and plot to the friars.² By 30 December the friars had already inclosed part of the land with a wall, and they were given free access to the river through the city dike.³ The land extended from the dike and curtilage of William de Malesoures along the city ditch to the curtilage of Robert son of Baldwin.⁴ In 1236 the king granted the place which William Malesoures held of him to the friars,⁵ and in 1241 he ordered the bailiffs and citizens of York to let them have as much of the land near their house as they could without loss to the city, as the stench of the place was great and caused the friars much annoyance.⁶

In 1236 the prior, Alan, committed to prison a man whom he had found on examination to have 'bad opinions on the articles of faith.' The king warned him, 9 June, that he had no jurisdiction for exercising secular judgements, and gave orders that, as there were, it was said, many infidels in those parts, the sheriff should

arrest and imprison such at the prior's mandate, without favour to the rich or others.⁷

It is possible that the friars had been temporarily housed in Goodramgate before the king settled them in Kings-tofts, for they had land here of the gift of Alice, sometime wife of Nicholas de Bugthorpe, of Helen de Puciaco, sometime wife of Adam son of Alan son of Romund, and of William son of William son of Sigerich. This they subsequently made over to Archbishop Gray who granted it to John de Bulmere, 16 March 1253-4.⁸

Henry III made the friars several grants of timber from the forest of Galtres; the earliest is a gift of 20 *fusta* in 1235 'to repair their houses,'⁹ the latest a gift of 10 oaks and 40s. carriage in January 1251-2.¹⁰ Building was thus going on for more than twenty-five years; from this it may be inferred either that alms came in in small amounts, or that the convent was continually growing.

The convent of York was head of one of the four visitations into which the English province was divided. The visitation of York included the houses of York, Lincoln, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Lancaster, Scarborough, Yarm, Carlisle, Beverley, Pontefract, Bamburgh, and probably Berwick.¹¹ Provincial chapters were held here in 1235, 1246, 1256, 1275, 1289, 1306, 1329, and doubtless in other years. Grosteste wrote to Friar Alarde the provincial prior, and the *diffinitores* of the chapter of 1235, asking that he might be allowed to keep some Friars Preachers with him.¹² Towards the expenses of the chapter in 1246 Henry III gave 20 marks,¹³ in 1256 he gave 100s. and six pike.¹⁴ Archbishop Giffard provided whatever Oliver d'Eyncourt considered necessary for the chapter in 1275.¹⁵ Edward I gave 20 marks for two days' expenses in 1289¹⁶; in 1306 the brethren were bidden to pray for the king and his family.¹⁷ In 1329 Edward II gave £15 to Robert de Holme, Prior of York, towards the expenses.¹⁸

Adam, the rector of Askham, entered the Dominican Order in 1268.¹⁹

⁷ Ibid. 20 Hen. III, m. 11 d.

⁸ *Archbp. Gray's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 272, note.

⁹ Close, 19 Hen. III, pt. i, m. 3.

¹⁰ Liberate R. 36 Hen. III, m. 16 (?); Close, 36 Hen. III, m. 27.

¹¹ Cf. Worc. Cath. Lib. MS. Q. 93 (fly leaf).

¹² Grosteste, *Epistolae* (Rolls Ser.), 61. (The date is not quite certain.)

¹³ Liberate R. 30 Hen. III, m. 5.

¹⁴ Ibid. 40 Hen. III, m. 4; Close, 40 Hen. III, m. 3.

¹⁵ *Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 271; *Fasti Ebor.* i, 314.

¹⁶ Exch. Accts. bdl. 352, no. 18, m. 3.

¹⁷ Rymer, *Foed.* (Rec. Com.), i, 990.

¹⁸ Exch. Issue R. (Pells) East. 4 Edw. III, m. 8.

¹⁹ *Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 28-9.

³² Mins. Accts. 30-1 Hen. VIII, no. 166.

³³ B.M. Seals, lxxv, 20; *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xxxvii, 191, 192.

¹ See 'The Friars Preachers of York,' by the Rev. C. F. R. Palmer, O.P. in *Yorks. Arch. and Topog. Journ.* vi, 396-419.

² Close, 11 Hen. III, m. 13; Chart. R. 12 Hen. III, m. 6; Drake, *Eboracum*, App. xlv.

³ Close, 12 Hen. III, m. 14, 11; printed in Shirley, *Royal L. Hen. III* (Rolls Ser.), i, 316, 323.

⁴ Close, 12 Hen. III, m. 8.

⁵ Ibid. 20 Hen. III, m. 3.

⁶ Ibid. 25 Hen. III, m. 3.

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A confirmation was held in this church by the archbishop in 1275; the pressure of the crowd was so great that the lives of some of the boys confirmed were in danger; as the archbishop's servants tried to rescue them they were attacked and beaten by the crowd.²⁰

Some small additions were made to the friars' area. They had a royal grant in 1268 of a piece of land 18 ft. wide and extending from the highway to the city wall, on condition that instead of the well there they sank another in some fitting place.²¹ In 1280 Edward I gave them licence to inclose this and some more land on the same condition.²² In 1297-8 Hamo de Gruscy gave them three vacant tofts in North Street; as the hospital of St. Leonard received a rent of 2s. 2d. from these tofts when they were occupied, the friars induced William Hawys to grant the hospital a rent of 2s. 6d. in Micklegate Street in exchange.²³ In 1300 the king gave the friars a vacant plot of land 80 ft. square, near the Ouse.²⁴ Towards the end of the reign of Edward I, the friars attempted to obtain a void piece of ground adjoining their premises on the east, measuring 17 p. in length, and 11 p. in breadth from the highway to the city ditch. The return to the writ of inquiry being unfavourable, the sheriff, probably William de Houk, 'an especial friend of the friars,' called a jury of strangers through whom he secured a favourable return. Thereupon the bailiffs held another inquest on 22 November 1307, when the jurors declared that the grant would be very injurious; this was the only place in the city where an assembly of the people for a show of arms could be held;²⁵ a common market for strangers and inhabitants had been held here from time immemorial; here was the place of battle in pleas of felony, homicide, &c., and it was the only spot within the city for making and erecting military engines of defence in time of war. Further, the city paid a rent of £160 a year to the Exchequer, and if the king thus granted lands to these friars and other religious, the greatest part of the city would fall into privileged hands, and what remained would not suffice to meet the obligations. The mayor, John de Askham, and 'commonalty, in sending up this report, appealed to the chancellor 'to maintain the rights of the king and save the city from damage,' and prayed him to receive their verdict instead of that of the sheriff.²⁶ The

commonalty seems to have won the day as nothing more is recorded in the affair.

In 1316 a dispute occurred between these friars and the Abbot of Rievaulx, who had received into his monastery one Nicholas, formerly a Friar Preacher.²⁷

The friars received an alms of 13s. 4d. from Archbishop Giffard in 1270,²⁸ and 100s. from Archbishop Wickwane in 1284,²⁹ 100s. from the executors of Queen Eleanor,³⁰ and twelve oaks for the repair of their church from the king in 1291.³¹ In this year the archbishop enjoined the friars to send three, or at least two of their brethren to preach the crusade at Skipton in Craven and Leeds.³²

Edward I made several grants of fuel,³³ sent alms to the fifty friars of the house by Friar William of York in 1299, to the forty-seven friars of the house by Friar Henry de Carleton on 11 June 1300, and gave them 62s. 8d. for four days' food on 14 June.³⁴ In 1305 Alesia, Countess of Lancaster, gave them 20,000 turves.³⁵ The priors of the York convent about this time received several royal grants for the general purposes of the order.³⁶

From the alms of Edward II it appears that there were sixty friars here on 13 September 1307, fifty-seven on 16 August 1310, forty-eight on 27 January 1311-12, fifty-four on 24 October 1318 or 1319, and forty-seven in 1319. The numbers in 1335 varied from fifty to fifty-six; in May 1337 there appear to have been forty-eight.³⁷

Archbishop William Greenfield on two occasions gave them an alms of 40s., and desired every priest in the convent to say a mass for the soul of his brother Robert.³⁸ He licensed for service, 18 October 1314, the chapel which Sir Henry Percy had built in their church;³⁹ and desired the prior, as head of the visitation, to cause the preachers of his order, and especially the Prior of Yarm, to denounce Sir Robert Bruce and the Scots who were devastating the country, and to stir up the people to resist.⁴⁰ In November 1313 the archbishop gave the friars 5 marks on account of the famine.⁴¹

²⁷ *Drokensford's Reg.* (Somers. Rec. Soc.), 116.

²⁸ *Fasti Ebor.* i, 313.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 324.

³⁰ Exch. Accts. (P.R.O.), bdle. 352, no. 27.

³¹ Close, 19 Edw. I, m. 7.

³² *Hist. P. and L. from the N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 95.

³³ Close, 27 Edw. I, m. 19; 28 Edw. I, m. 17.

³⁴ Exch. Accts. (P.R.O.), bdle. 356, no. 7; *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vi, 402; *Liber Quotid.* 28 Edw. I (ed. Topham), 38.

³⁵ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vi, 403. ³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.* 403, 404, 405-6; MS. Add. 17362, fol. 3; Exch. Accts. (P.R.O.), bdle. 387, no. 9; cf. Cott. MS. Nero C. viii, fol. 51.

³⁸ *Festi Ebor.* i, 392, 393.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 384.

⁴⁰ *Hist. P. and L. from the N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 238-9.

⁴¹ *Fasti Ebor.* i, 396.

²⁰ Pat. 4 Edw. I, m. 36 d.

²¹ Chart. R. 52 Hen. III, m. 1.

²² Pat. 8 Edw. I, m. 1.

²³ Inq. a.q.d. file 26, no. 19; Pat. 26 Edw. I, m. 27; Anct. Pet. (P.R.O.), 2195.

²⁴ Pat. 28 Edw. I, m. 16; Inq. a.q.d. file 31, no. 22.

²⁵ Cf. R. Davies, *Extracts from Municipal Rec. of York*, 152. (Show of arms here in 1483.)

²⁶ Inq. a.q.d. file 70, no. 14; *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vi, 400.

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Some of the followers of John of Hainault were lodged in the friary in 1328.⁴²

In 1350 John de Wycliffe was ordained acolyte in the Friars Preachers' church, and John de Whytecliff acolyte in that of the Friars Minors. Next year John son of William de Wykliff and John son of Symon de Wycliff were ordained subdeacons in the church of the Friars Preachers. There can be little doubt that one of these was the famous reformer.⁴³

In 1358 we find the friars trying to recover a young friar, William de Newton, who had been seized and carried off by his relatives.⁴⁴

About this time Friar Thomas Stubbs, D.D., was an inmate of the friary; he is the reputed author of a history of the Archbishops of York from 1147 to 1373, besides many other works.⁴⁵

Each visitation of the Dominican province in turn had the right of nominating friars for degrees in the universities. In the 14th century the right of appointment was disputed between the local bodies and the general master and chapter. In 1393 the master appointed Friar John Cawd, or Cawood, to succeed Friar Robert Cawd, as lecturer on the Sentences at Oxford for the visitation of York. He appointed William Bakthorpe visitor of York in 1393, and William Helmesley vicar of the visitation in 1397.⁴⁶

In the riots which took place in 1381 a wall within the habitation of the friars was broken down, and the king ordered the mayor to compel those who had broken it to repair it.⁴⁷ Richard II also confirmed the charters which his predecessors had granted.⁴⁸ In 1385 the prior complained of William Gilbek of Howden, mason, carrying off his goods at Weland, near Snaith, to the value of 100s.⁴⁹

In July 1385 Sir Ralph Stafford, who was assassinated by Sir John Holland, was buried temporarily in this church, and the king attended the funeral.⁵⁰

The friars received shortly after this time a relic of great value, the right hand of St. Mary

Magdalen,⁵¹ which Sir Brian Stapleton brought over from France. This was preserved till the Dissolution, and so much importance was attached to it that the donor, who is said to have been buried here, was reckoned the second founder. Sir Brian Stapleton, K.G., the famous warrior, who died in 1394, was buried at Healaugh.⁵² His son Brian the younger, who died before him, married into the family of Aldeburgh, which, like that of Stapleton, was closely connected with the Black Friars of York. After his death his widow Elizabeth, with her sister Sibyl, granted to the friars a rent of 20s. from the manors of Kirkby Overblow and Kearby, for keeping the anniversaries of William de Aldeburgh and Elizabeth (de Lisle), her father and mother.⁵³ Sir Brian Stapleton the son of Brian the younger and Elizabeth Aldeburgh died in France in 1417, but his body was brought over and interred in this church, his widow Agnes, daughter of Sir John Godard and Maud Nevill, desiring to be buried next him in 1438.⁵⁴ It is probably this Sir Brian to whom the friars were indebted for the relic.

Friar William de Thorpe, late of this house, had pardon 12 June 1406 for all treasons, rebellions, and felonies committed by him.^{54a}

A list of persons buried in this church, drawn up by John Wriothsley, Garter, about 1500, probably from the records of the house,⁵⁵ contains sixty names. The earliest appears to be Robert de Nevill, Baron Raby (d. 1282). Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, John Mowbray, and Roger Clifford were buried here after the battle of Boroughbridge.⁵⁶ The allied families of Aldeburgh, Stapleton, and Bellew are well represented. Among the rest may be noted the Lady Catherine Ferendolfe, 'for whose soul the convent had a good cloth of gold'; Catherine Baroness of Greystoke (c. 1413);⁵⁷ and the lady anchoress of Quixley. The list adds: 'et sont bien en ladite eglise xxix Religieux.'

A few additions may be made of burials not mentioned in this list. Agnes widow of Sir Roger de Burton, kt., was buried here in 1347;⁵⁸ Sir Robert Haunsard, kt. (of Walworth, co. Durham), January 1390-1, desired to be buried before the high altar, and left 20 marks and other bequests to the friars;⁵⁹ Richard Bridesall, merchant, of York, who died 1392, was buried

⁴² *Chron. de Jehan le Bel* (ed. Polain), i, 37.

⁴³ *Fasti Ebor.* i, 462. Ordinations were held in this church in 1480 and 1500. Cott. MS. Galba E, x, fol. 133, 142.

⁴⁴ Cant. Archiepis. Reg. Islip, fol. 145, 149.

⁴⁵ Printed in Twysden, *Decem Scriptores*; Raine, *Historians of the Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 388. Friar Thomas de Stubbs, S.T.P., O.P., was one of the executors of Bishop T. Hatfield's will, 1381. *Test. Ebor.* i, 122.

⁴⁶ Add. MS. 32446, fol. 2b, 7b; see 'The Black Friars of Oxford' in *V.C.H. Ox.* ii.

⁴⁷ Pat. 5 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 23 d.; cf. Anct. Pet. 12767.

⁴⁸ Pat. 5 Ric. ii, pt. i, m. 9. The confirmation of this in Pat. 4 Edw. IV, m. 9 (1464) is printed in Drake, *Eboracum*, App. p. xlv.

⁴⁹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 243.

⁵⁰ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vi, 406; *Reliq.* xix, 211.

⁵¹ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 76.

⁵² *Test. Ebor.* i, 198; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* liv, 95.

⁵³ Pat. 17 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 23.

⁵⁴ Chetwynd-Stapylton, *The Stapletons of Yorks.* 123, 143.

^{54a} Pat. 7 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 23.

⁵⁵ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 76.

⁵⁶ Cf. *Chron. de Melsa* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 343.

⁵⁷ Cf. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 401.

⁵⁸ *Test. Ebor.* i, 36.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 132. Will proved Feb. 1395-6. *Early Linc. Wills*, 49.

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here next his mother; ⁶⁰ John Scarborough, rector of Titchmarsh, was buried here in 1395, leaving the residue of his goods to his executors, Friar John Parys, S.T.P., of this house, and John de Welton, clerk, who assigned £6 11s. to the Friars Preachers for masses; ⁶¹ Beatrice Selby of York, 1425-6; ⁶² Elizabeth Baroness de Grey-stoke, 1434; ⁶³ Robert Strangways, esquire, 1444, was buried in the quire next his wife Maud, and left the friars 10 marks; ⁶⁴ Robert Strangways, who died in 1448, was also buried in the quire; ⁶⁵ Richard Shyrwood, alderman, 1443, ⁶⁶ and his father and brother; Walter Catrike of York, barber, 1449; ⁶⁷ John Cracken-thorpe of Newbiggin, Westmorland, esquire, 1462, and his wife, Anastasia Vavasour, ⁶⁸ William Holbek, alderman, 1477, ⁶⁹ were buried in the church; and Jane widow of Sir Richard Strangways, who made her will in 1500 whilst residing in the house of the Friars Preachers, desired to be buried 'in the choir of the same friars under the lectern where they read their legend'; she left £20 to purchase lands to the yearly value of 20s. for a perpetual obit in the church and 20s. 10 marks, a gilt goblet, and a pair of fine sheets to make surplices to Richard Mason, the prior, who was one of her executors, besides other bequests to the friars. ⁷⁰ William Fenton, of Fountains, wished to be buried in this church, 1507; ⁷¹ Isabel Westley willed to be buried, 1522, 'afore our Lady at the Mary Magdalene altar'. ⁷² The chapel of St. Mary Magdalene is mentioned in a will in 1449. ⁷³

Bequests to this house are very numerous, and come from all classes. Archbishops, canons, many rectors of churches—Henry de Blythe, painter, of York (1365), William Lord Latimer (1380), Margaret of Knaresborough, seamstress (1398), William Gascoigne, C.J. (1419), William Conesby, carpenter (1442), Richard Johnson, labourer (1448). The legacies are generally in money; occasionally a quarter of corn is bequeathed. ⁷⁴ Margaret de Aldborough (1391)

⁶⁰ *Test. Ebor.* i, 174.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* iii, 1-8. He also bequeathed to John Parys his best covered piece (of silver), a silver fork for ginger, a silver box for powder, and the decretals. William de Waltham, canon of York, left 5 marks to Friar John Parych, 1416. *Test. Ebor.* iii, 57.

⁶² *Handbk. to York* (ed. Audin), 168.

⁶³ Dugdale, loc. cit.

⁶⁴ *Test. Ebor.* ii, 108.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 127.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* iii, 206.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* ii, 135.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 148.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* v, 32 note.

⁷⁰ *Test. Ebor.* ii, 127-8, iv, 186. Mason had a bequest of a black horse and 40s. from Christopher Wigton in 1505. *Ibid.* iv, 261 note.

⁷¹ *Mem. of Fountains Abbey* (Surt. Soc.), i, 153.

⁷² *Test. Ebor.* v, 158.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 150.

⁷⁴ e.g. Richard Andrew, 1477, left to each order in York 2 qr. of corn, 2 of wheat, and 3 of malt, with 20s. *Test. Ebor.* iii, 235. W. Dodington, 1292, left 'duas petras casei' to the four orders. *Ibid.* v, 4 note.

left the friars a blood-red and a green cloak, both furred with miniver, for the fabric of the bell tower, and all the residue of her goods to the friars for the anniversaries of her lord and herself, and for the fabric of their infirmary. Friar John Parys, S.T.P., was one of her executors, and Friar John Schaklok, O.P., was a witness to her will. Jane widow of Donald of Hasebrig left a necklace with a ruby in the middle to the high altar. John Fitz Herbert, Prebendary of York, in 1505 left the friars a chalice of silver-gilt weighing 30 oz. ⁷⁵ Legacies to individual friars are not infrequent; Hugh de Tunstede, rector of Catton, 1346, left 5 marks to Friar Adam de Wefdafe, S.T.D., his confessor, and half a mark to each friar in the convent on account of the special brotherhood between them and him. Joan del Skergell, 1400, left 13s. 4d. to Friar Thomas Multon, S.T.B.; John Allott, vicar of Bossall, 1455, left 13s. 4d. to Friar William Barneby of this house; Maud of York, Countess of Cambridge, 1446, bequeathed half a mark to the convent, and 5 marks to Master Robert Tatman, Friar Preacher. ⁷⁶

This Friar Robert Tatman was parson of the church of Scrayingham in Yorkshire in 1441-2. ⁷⁷ Another friar of the house, John Roose, took up the freedom of the city as 'organista' in 1463-4; he was paid 5s. 8d. in 1457 for improving and repairing the organ at the altar of the Virgin in the cathedral, and 15s. 2d. in 1470 for making two pairs of bellows for the great organ and improving it. ⁷⁸

In February 1455-6 the archbishop proclaimed an indulgence of forty days 'to help the Friars Preachers of York, whose cloister and buildings had been destroyed by fire,' together with their 'books, chalices and vestments, goods and jewels deposited in the buildings, and thirty-four cells and *studia*.' ⁷⁹ The names of several friars of this house appear in the register of the Corpus Christi Guild: William Barneby 1449, John Roos 1463-4, John Calvard 1464-5, William Byrwood 1467, John Rotham 1468, Thomas Hudson 1471, John Bower 1472, Dom. Milo 1520. ⁸⁰

Friar John Pickering, B.D., Prior of Cambridge in 1525, subsequently became prior of the Black Friars of York. He took part in organizing the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536, being 'a

Beatrix Haulay, 1389, left them a book, not specified. *Early Linc. Wills*, 50.

⁷⁵ *Test. Ebor.* iv, 122 note. This does not appear among the plate at the Dissolution.

⁷⁶ *Test. Ebor. passim*. Palmer gives a long list of bequests. *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vi, 407-14.

⁷⁷ Pat. 20 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 10; *Test. Ebor.* v, 22 note; *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild* (Surt. Soc.), 64.

⁷⁸ *Fabric R. of York Minster* (Surt. Soc.), 71, 74.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 240; York Archiepis. Reg. Booth, fol. 187.

⁸⁰ *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild* (Surt. Soc.), 64, 68, 70, 80, 82, 196.

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great writer of letters' and the author of a song which was very popular among the insurgents. He was hanged at Tyburn 25 May 1537.⁸¹

The Council of the North on 6 November 1538 begged Cromwell to move the king to appoint the Black Friars' house to be the habitation of the Council; it stood openly and commodiously, and was formerly a palace of the king's progenitors.⁸² This suggestion was not carried out. The priory was surrendered on 27 November, the act of surrender being signed by the prior, six priests, and four novices. Two of the priests and two of the novices signed with a mark only.⁸³ The royal commissioners, Sir George Lawson, kt., William Blitheman, and others sold the goods of the house for £13 14s. in all, Blitheman himself being the chief purchaser. Out of this they gave 20s. to the prior, 6s. 8d. and 5s. to each of the priests, and 3s. 4d. to each of the novices. There were 34 fother of lead and two bells. The plate weighed 62 oz., and consisted of a silver hand, 23 oz. (no doubt the reliquary containing the hand of St. Mary Magdalene), a cross and three chalices. The commissioners estimated the extent of the lands at 1 acre and the net annual value at 6s.⁸⁴

PRIORS

Alan, 1236⁸⁵
 [Oliver d'Eyncourt (?), 1275]⁸⁶
 Geoffrey de Worksop, 1301, 1303⁸⁷
 Thomas de Middleton, 1304, 1307⁸⁸
 Robert de Holme, 1330⁸⁹
 Richard de Parva Cestria, Feb. 1348-9⁹⁰
 William de Kent, Feb. 1349-50⁹¹
 John Multon, 1455⁹²
 John Kirby, S.T.P., 1474⁹³

⁸¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 479, 698, 786, 1019, 1021, 1199; (2), 12, 191; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xlv, 243.

⁸² *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 768.

⁸³ *Ibid.* xiii (2), 918; *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 51; Rymer, *Foed.* xiv, 622.

⁸⁴ *Mins. Accts.* 29-30 Hen. VIII (Yorks.), no. 197; 30-1 Hen. VIII, no. 166; *Suppression P.* (P.R.O.), iii, fol. 92, 93.

⁸⁵ Close, 20 Hen. III, m. 11 d. His death is described in 'Vitae Fratrum' (*Mon. Ord. Praed. Hist.* 277).

⁸⁶ *Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 271.

⁸⁷ *Add. MS.* 7966 A.; *Exch. Issue D.* East. 29 Edw. I, m. 5. The king sent him £10 for the chapter at Pontefract, 1303, by Friar Adam de Percy; *Reliq.* xx, 69.

⁸⁸ *Add. MS.* 8835, fol. 3b; *Lib. Gard. Reg.* 1 Edw. II; *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vi, 403.

⁸⁹ *Exch. Issue R.* East. 4 Edw. III, m. 8.

⁹⁰ *York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch*, fol. 278b.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* fol. 279.

⁹² *Baildon, Mon. Notes*, i, 243.

⁹³ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vii, 43 (from the reg. of the Masters General).

Richard Mason, 1500, 1515⁹⁴

John Pickering, B.D., 1536

Brian Godson, 1538

The seal of the convent shows the figure of Christ standing, the left hand holding a long cross, the right extended over the head of the kneeling Magdalen: Legend: † NOLI ME TANGERE, and around, † s CONVENTVS FRM PREDICATORVM EBORAC. The prior's seal has the same subject, the garden of the sepulchre being represented by a tree between the Saviour and the kneeling figure: Legend: † s PRIORIS FRM ORDINIS . . . PRE TORV.⁹⁵

99. THE GREY FRIARS OF YORK

This house was probably founded about 1230. From the first it was head of one of the seven custodies into which the English province was divided. The custody of York in the 14th century included the houses of York, Lincoln, Beverley, Doncaster, Boston, Grimsby, and Scarborough.¹ Under the rule of the first custodian, Martin of Barton, who had been personally associated with St. Francis of Assisi, it was distinguished by zeal for poverty; for Friar Martin would not allow more friars to live in any place than could be supported by mendicancy alone, without debts.² The convent of York was not one of the first places in which schools of theology were established, but several friars who came from this city were distinguished for their learning; Adam of York was sent before 1233 to lecture at Lyons; Thomas of York was lecturer to the Franciscans at Oxford (1253) and afterwards at Cambridge.³ Henry III gave these friars twenty oaks for timber in January 1235-6 and forty oaks in September 1237.⁴ In this month he authorized them to inclose part of the highway next their houses if it could be done without detriment to the street.⁵ However, the place soon proved too small to accommodate the friars, and about 1243⁶ they acquired another and permanent site between the Ouse and the north-western moat of the castle. The king gave them 40 marks for their new buildings 17 February 1243-4.⁷

⁹⁴ *Test. Ebor.* iv, 186, 261, n.; v, 71. Th. Garton was sub-prior in 1515.

⁹⁵ Both are engraved in Drake, *Eboracum*. An impression of the former is appended to the act of surrender.

¹ Eubel, *Provinciale Vetustissimum*.

² *Mon. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 25, 27.

³ *Ibid.* 38, 39, 555; Little, *Grey Friars in Oxf.* (*Oxf. Hist. Soc.*), 38, 140; *Tract. Fr. Thome de Eccleston* (ed. Little), 62, 64.

⁴ Close, 20 Hen. III, m. 20; 21 Henry III, m. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.* 21 Hen. III, m. 2.

⁶ *Mon. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 35.

⁷ *Liberate R.* 28 Hen. III, m. 14.

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In 1265 Clement IV nominated Bonaventura, general minister of the Minorites, to the archbishopric of York, but he refused to accept it.⁸

In 1268 the king gave the friars a moat lying on the east side of their area, between it and the 'bridge of the Baily'; they were to inclose the moat with an earthen wall and raise it 12 ft. so as to make the place suitable for open-air preaching; if, however, the moat was found necessary for defence in time of war, the friars were to give it up.⁹

Archbishop Giffard in 1267 authorized the custodian, wardens, lectors, and other suitable friars to hear confessions in the diocese, and encouraged them to be strenuous and prudent in preaching.¹⁰ In 1270 he gave the Minorites of York 13s. 4d.¹¹ In 1276 Thomas, rector of the hospital of St. Leonard, entered the order.¹² In this year the Minorites were actively preaching the Crusade in the diocese;¹³ and again in 1291 the Warden of York was asked by Archbishop Romanus to send friars to Howden, Selby, and Pocklington for the same purpose.¹⁴ Nicholas III in 1278 commissioned the Dean and Chancellor of Lincoln and the custodian of the Friars Minors of York to confer on some fit person the prebend of York which he held before he became pope.¹⁵ Nicholas IV in 1290 granted an indulgence to those visiting the church of these friars on the feasts of St. Francis, St. Anthony of Padua, and St. Clare.¹⁶ Licence to dedicate the church, which had evidently been rebuilt, and cemetery was given on 24 September 1303.¹⁷ The friars were allowed to enlarge their area by inclosing (1) a road about 118 yds. long and 5½ yds. wide, lying between their land and that late of Alan Brian, in 1280,¹⁸ and (2) a lane close to their wall and running 'from the highway to a lane leading to the mills near the castle,' in 1290.¹⁹ They further, about 1290, built a stone wall along the bank of the Ouse, still known as the Friars' Walls.²⁰ Through the generosity of John

Rayner they were released in 1296 from a yearly rent of 26d. which they had hitherto paid to the hospital of St. Leonard for a tenement in 'le Bail'.²¹

In 1298 John de Burton obtained a writ of novel disseisin against Geoffrey de Retford, warden, John Tyrel, Thomas of Ousegate, and ten more friars for having unjustly disseised him of his tenement, but subsequently withdrew his writ.²² The Friars' Wall diverted the force of the stream on to the other bank, endangering Skeldergate Street, and increasing the difficulties of navigation: on the complaint of the citizens of York the king, in 1305, ordered the construction of a wall on the other side of the Ouse out of the issues of the murage of the city.²³

On 14 March 1299-1300 the goods of the late Archbishop Newark were sequestered and deposited in the house of the Friars Minors, and the next day two friars, G. the chamberlain and H. de Newark, brought nine large and four small chests containing the goods to the cathedral chapter-house.²⁴

The friars of this house seem to have numbered fifty-two in November 1299, when Edward I gave them 52s. for three days' food by the hand of Friar John de Turbingthorpe.²⁵ In June 1300 there were probably forty-three friars, the recipient of the royal alms being Friar Henry de Shipton.²⁶ In 1311-12 they numbered thirty-eight; in 1319 and 1320 thirty-six and forty.²⁷ In 1334-5 the number rose to forty-nine and fifty,²⁸ and fell in 1336 and 1337 to forty-five and forty-four.²⁹ The royal alms from which these figures are derived ceased after the outbreak of the French wars.³⁰ Archbishop Greenfield was a generous benefactor to the friars, especially in times of scarcity.³¹

Edward II made, when at York, several offerings 'in his chapel within the houses of the Friars Minors,'³² and at the request of Queen Isabella authorized them in 1314 to acquire and hold in mortmain all the houses and plots of land 'from their middle gate, near the head of the chancel of their church, across to the lane called Hertergate and thence down to the Ouse on the west of their

⁸ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 431.

⁹ Pat. 52 Hen. III, m. 4; printed in Drake, *Eboracum*, App. p. xlvii.

¹⁰ *Hist. P. and L. from the N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 9; *Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 209.

¹¹ *Giffard's Reg.* 123.

¹² *Ibid.* 257.

¹³ *Ibid.* 264.

¹⁴ *Hist. P. and L. from the N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 93, 95.

¹⁵ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 456; *Bullar. Franc.* iii, 284.

¹⁶ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 522.

¹⁷ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 100b.

¹⁸ *Yorks. Inq.* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), i, 205; *Inq. a.q.d.* file 5, no. 3; Pat. 8. Edw. I, m. 6.

¹⁹ *Yorks. Inq.* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), ii, 74; *Inq. a.q.d.* file 11, no. 13; Pat. 18 Edw. I, m. 42; printed in Drake, *Ebor.* App. p. xlvii.

²⁰ Pat. 19 Edw. I, m. 15; cf. *Yorks. Inq.* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), ii, 55.

²¹ Pat. 24 Edw. I, m. 2.

²² Baildon, *Mon. Notes* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), i, 243.

²³ Pat. 33 Edw. I, pt. ii, m. 9.

²⁴ *Fasti Ebor.* i, 353 n.

²⁵ *Exch. Accts.* (P.R.O.), bdl. 356, no. 7.

²⁶ *Liber Quotid.* 28 *Edw. I* (ed. Topham), 38.

²⁷ B.M. Cott. MS. Nero C. viii, fol. 52; Add. MS. 17362, fol. 3, 3b.

²⁸ Cott. MS. Nero C. viii, fol. 202; *Exch. Accts.* (P.R.O.), bdl. 317, no. 9.

²⁹ Cott. MS. Nero C. viii, fol. 205, 206b.

³⁰ The friars here numbered twenty-three at the beginning of the 16th century; *Coll. Topog. et Gen. iv*, 77; twenty-one at the Dissolution.

³¹ *Fasti Ebor.* i, 392, 393, 396.

³² Cott. MS. Nero C. viii, fol. 51, 51b.

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area.³³ Edward II resided in this friary in 1319-20, where he occupied the 'king's chamber,' and public business was transacted in the friars' chapter-house.³⁴ He gave to the friars besides other alms a quarter of corn.³⁵ The warden in October 1322 went to Scotland to join John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, who had been captured by the Scots,³⁶ and it is probable that the Parliament of 1322 sometimes met in the Grey Friars Church.³⁷

Edward III, on his way to encounter the Scots, came to York in May 1327 and stayed about six weeks. He and the queen-mother, Isabella of France, were lodged at the Friars Minors, where they kept their households separate. Froissart describes a feast which the queen gave on Trinity Sunday (7 June) in the friars' dormitory, when at least sixty ladies sat down to her table. The revels were cut short by a fierce street fight between the citizens and the Hainault mercenaries.³⁸ Edward III stayed here in 1335,³⁹ when he gave orders for the repair of a wall and well in the garden of the Friars Minors by the door of the kitchen,⁴⁰ and after his departure gave the friars 100s. in compensation for damages.⁴¹ The Bishop of Durham held an ordination in this church on 21 December 1336,⁴² when the candidates included a large number of friars of the different orders. Hugh Willoughby, canon of York, who had been Chancellor of Oxford in 1334, entered the Minorite Order in his later years.⁴³

The friars complained that the officers of the sheriff, mayor, and bailiffs invaded their precincts, breaking their walls and trampling their gardens, in order to seize persons who had taken sanctuary, and the king in 1359 ordered that the rights of sanctuary should be respected.⁴⁴ In 1378 the warden sued John de Wiresdale and Thomas Belle, clerks, for breaking his close and taking

away his goods and chattels to the value of £40.⁴⁵ Richard II in 1380 took the friars under his special protection,⁴⁶ and gave orders that they should not henceforth be annoyed by the butchers and others throwing filth and offal into the Ouse and the lanes and places near their church and house, where he and his grandfather were wont to lodge when in York.⁴⁷

The special *studium* for the custody was at York in the 14th century.⁴⁸ Adam of Lincoln, D.D., and Thomas of Pontefract, D.D., who had both lectured to the Oxford Franciscans, took part in the Council of York which investigated the charges against the Knights Templars in 1311.⁴⁹

Friar John Mardeslay, D.D., in 1355 disputed with the Dominican, William Jordan, in the cathedral chapter-house and chancellor's schools at York on the conception of the Virgin: his manner of disputation gave offence, but the chapter of York issued letters testifying to his good conduct and courtesy. He afterwards became provincial minister, and was buried at York.⁵⁰ The provincial chapter was held here in 1361, Archbishop Thoresby contributing 5 marks to the expenses.⁵¹ Boniface IX conferred special privileges on Henry Bilton, a friar of this house, in 1398-9, and ordered the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Lincoln, and the Abbot of St. Mary's, York, to see that he was well treated by his brother friars.⁵²

A Minorite who had considerable influence in the city in 1426 was William de Melton, S.T.P.; he introduced reforms into the mystery play on Corpus Christi Day and induced the authorities to take strong measures against the harlots who infested the city.⁵³ In 1485 the cathedral organs were taken to the Grey Friars to be mended.⁵⁴ Several friars of this house were admitted members of the Corpus Christi Guild of York, namely: John Makeblyth 1470, Master Henry Schyrwyn 1481, Thomas West 1497, and Master William Vavasour 1512.⁵⁵

³³ Pat. 8 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 27, printed in Drake, *Ebor. App.* p. xlvi. A new altar was consecrated this year in their church; *Fasti Ebor.* i, 378 n.

³⁴ Close, 13 Edw. II, m. 9 d.

³⁵ Add. MS. 17362, fol. 6.

³⁶ Pat. 16 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 19.

³⁷ Pat. 18 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 14 d.

³⁸ *Chron. de Jehan le Bel* (ed. Polain), i, 39; *Chron. de J. Froissart* (ed. Buchon), i, 21; cf. Close, 2 Edw. III, m. 20 d.

³⁹ Rymer, *Foed.* (Rec. Com.), ii (2), 909.

⁴⁰ Pat. 9 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 30; Close, 9 Edw. III, m. 32.

⁴¹ Cott. MS. Nero C. viii, fol. 202b. Cf. Exch. Accts. 387, no. 9 (20s. for damages during the king's stay, 2 July 1334); Cott. MS. Nero C. viii, fol. 205 (July 1336).

⁴² *Reg. Pal. Dunelm.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 1728-33. There is a record of an ordination here in Mar. 1500-1 in Cott. MS. Galba E. x.

⁴³ *Mon. Franc.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 542; *Grey Friars in Oxf.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 235.

⁴⁴ Drake, *Ebor. App.* p. xlvi.

⁴⁵ Baildon, *Mon. Notes* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), i, 244.

⁴⁶ Pat. 3 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 4.

⁴⁷ Pat. 4 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 39; printed in Drake, *Ebor. App.* p. xlvi.

⁴⁸ *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.* (new ser.), viii, 68. In 1398 a German friar, William of Cologne, was ordained priest at York; Cott. MS. Galba E. x, fol. 120b.

⁴⁹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 396, 399.

⁵⁰ Little, *Grey Friars in Oxf.* 81, 242.

⁵¹ *Fasti Ebor.* i, 461.

⁵² *Bullar. Franc.* viii, 96.

⁵³ Drake, *Ebor. App.* pp. xxix, xxxii; L. Toulmin Smith, *York Mystery Plays*, p. xxxiv; Little, op. cit. 259. A reward was given yearly to a friar preaching on the Friday after Corpus Christi Day; Davis, *Extracts from Munic. Rec. of York*, 42.

⁵⁴ *Fabric R. of York Minster* (Surt. Soc.), 88.

⁵⁵ *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild, York.* (Surt. Soc.), 74, 109, 145, 176.

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Ordinations were held in this church on 17 May 1396-7, when orders were conferred on four Minorites, six Preachers, five Carmelites, and four Austin Friars; and on 6 March 1500-1, when orders were conferred on seven Minorites, one Preacher, two Carmelites, and five Austin Friars.⁵⁶

Among the chief benefactors of the house were Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln (1257-1311), who gave them 60 marks and many other goods, and William de Nunny his almoner, who was buried in the church.⁵⁷ The wills of the 14th and 15th centuries contain many bequests from all classes. The earliest is a bequest of 5 marks from Sir William Vavasour, 1311;⁵⁸ and the earliest burial recorded is that of Edmund de Boyvill, 1314, for whose soul Bishop Kellaw granted, 9 August 1314, an indulgence of forty days.⁵⁹ John Carlelle of York left in 1390 2s. a day for forty-seven days for masses, with torches for 'the four altars in the body of this church when masses are celebrated'; and a cup of black crystal to the Friars Minors of York.⁶⁰ Richard Bridesall, merchant of York, left 20s. to Friar Simon Brampton and 3s. 4d. to Friar William Norton of this house in 1392.⁶¹

Isabella Percy of York left these friars 'a large basin for washing feet' in 1400.⁶² Several of the Mowbrays were buried here—Sir William Mowbray of Kirklington, jun. (1391), and his mother, Margaret Percy of Kildale; Sir William Mowbray of Colton (1391);⁶³ and the body of Thomas Mowbray, Earl Marshal, who was beheaded in 1405.⁶⁴ A number of the Ughtreds were buried here, one in the chapter-house, another in the north side of the quire, at the head of Sir Robert Neville, who died in 1431.⁶⁵ The tombs of the family of Ross of Ingmanthorpe and many other local families were noted in the church by John Wriothsley, Garter, about 1500.⁶⁶ Walter Berghe desired to be buried (1404) here 'next my lady Eufemia of Heselarton,' and left the friars 20 lb. of wax and 20s. to spend on food in York.⁶⁷ George Darell of Sessay, esq., was buried in the church (1432), and among other bequests left 1s. or 6d. to each member of the house attending his exequies, four cushions of white and red to the high altar, a green bed with coverlets,

blankets, sheets, curtains, quilt and mattress, to the friars for their common use, pewter vessels, 6s. 8d. each to Friars John Belasys and John Shirlowe of this house, and a chair with two benches for the chamber of the master (i.e. the master of the schools) of the Grey Friars.⁶⁸ Alice Croull of York, widow, was buried in the church of the Friars Minors, York, next her husband in 1464.⁶⁹ Henry Salvin, esq. and citizen of York, was buried in the quire in 1464 with his brother Sir John, and left 4 marks to erect a stone over the tombs, his best garment as mortuary, and 5s. to Friar Snawball.⁷⁰ Margary Salvin, Sir John's widow, was buried in the north aisle before the image of the Virgin in 1496, and left, besides damask and velvet, a bone of St. Ninian to the friars.⁷¹

The will of Richard Russell, merchant, of York, 1435, contains bequests of 40s. to Friar John Rikall, O.M., and 6s. 8d. to every friar who was a master; William Revetour, chaplain, left them in 1446 a 'small book of the whole bible' with gloss. Under the will of John Carre, 1487, Dr. Shirwyn had 20s.; under that of Joan Chamberlain, 1501-2, Friar Makeblith, her confessor, 3s. 4d.; under that of Robert Clifton, Prebendary of York, 1501-2, Friar John Kington, S.T.P., £6 13s. 4d.; and under that of John Marshall, merchant, 1524, Dr. Vavasour, the warden, 5 marks and a silver spoon.⁷² The friars, however, did not in the last years of their existence rely entirely on casual offerings; they drew small rents from houses not only in York,⁷³ but also in Snaith, Hensall or Endsall, Kellington, Egborough, Wakefield, 'Carrecrosse' by Doncaster, some cottages in Rawcliffe, and elsewhere; these were estimated at the Dissolution at £12 5s. 5d. a year.⁷⁴

Some of the outlying lands formed the endowment of the 'Roeliff mass,' a chantry founded by Brian Roeliff of Cowthorpe, baron of the Exchequer, who, dying in 1495, desired to be buried near the altar of the Holy Trinity in the Grey Friars Church, 'with honourable but not pompous exequies,' and left 40s. and 2 quarters of corn to the house and small sums to each

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* ii, 27. At the Dissolution the friars had a rent of 2s. 8d. from a tenement and lands called 'Darelles landes' in the parish of St. Nicholas, Micklegate; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xx (1), 1081 (19).

⁶⁹ *Test. Ebor.* ii, 263.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.* iv, 116. Thomas Eure was buried in the church in 1475; *ibid.* iii, 214.

⁷² *Ibid.* ii, iv, v.

⁷³ e.g. 10s. for two cottages in Micklegate, 34s. for a house in 'Estberigge,' 4s. in Castlegate; *Mins. Accts.* 30-1 *Hen. VIII* (Yorks.), no. 166.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, p. 724; xviii (2), 449 (47). They also had a perpetual annuity of 8s. from Walter Bradford of Houghton, 1531; *Test. Ebor.* v, 284. A lamp burning daily in the church was provided by an endowment of Ric. Gascoigne and others in 1407; *Pat.* 8 *Hen. IV*, pt. ii, m. 24.

⁵⁶ B.M. Cott. MS. Galba E. x, fol. 119b, 145.

⁵⁷ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 77, 78; Leland, *Itin.* i, 33.

⁵⁸ *Reg. Pal. Dunelm.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 332.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 592; cf. *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 78.

⁶⁰ *Test. Ebor.* i, 140.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 174.

⁶² *Ibid.* 271.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 144, 158.

⁶⁴ *Ric. Burgh*, 1407, desired to be buried at the feet of Sir Thomas; *ibid.* 347.

⁶⁵ *Test. Ebor.* i, 241; *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 78, 79.

⁶⁶ The list, containing fifty-four names, is printed in *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 77-9.

⁶⁷ *Test. Ebor.* i, 333.

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triar.⁷⁵ His brother Thomas was also buried before the same altar, and bequeathed to the friars a garth to find a wax candle to burn before the image of Jesus at the time of the Roecliff mass.⁷⁶ Brian's son, Sir John Roecliff, kt., demised lands in Snaith and Hensall to the friars for twenty-one years in 1530; ⁷⁷ in his will proved 29 September 1534, he desired to be buried near his father 'on his left side, on the north side of the church,' left elaborate instructions for his burial, and for the erection of a tomb with an image of himself kneeling under the image of the Trinity, and bequeathed his coat-armour, horse and harness as a mortuary; he further attempted to provide for the permanent endowment of a chantry, but his will fell to the ground probably owing to want of assets.⁷⁸ John Marshall of York, merchant, in 1524 left houses and lands in trust to the Grey Friars to found a mass after the model of the Roecliff mass.⁷⁹

The house was surrendered 27 November 1538 to Sir George Lawson and his fellows, who were thankfully received,⁸⁰ the deed being signed by William Vavasour, S.T.P., the warden, and twenty others, five of whom were novices.⁸¹ The goods of the house were sold in gross to Tristram Teshe for £20, out of which small sums amounting in all to £7 5s. were given to the friars.⁸² The site was estimated at 7s. 6d. a year, and the rents in York and elsewhere at £12 5s. 5d.: out of this an annual pension of £5 was assigned to the warden.⁸³ The two bells and 60 fother of lead were reserved. The jewels and plate sent to the king's jewel-house consisted of three chalices, two crewets, ten spoons, two masers, one round salt parcel gilt, one wooden cross plated with silver, one standing maser with bands and foot silver-gilt, one little standing cup, one nut with cover gilt, weighing in all 109 oz.⁸⁴

CUSTODIANS ⁸⁵

Martin de Barton, c. 1235 ⁸⁶

Eustace de Merc, c. 1245 ⁸⁷

⁷⁵ *Test. Ebor.* iv, 102-3.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 105, note (Jan. 1503-4).

⁷⁷ *Mins. Accts.* 1-2 Eliz. no. 44 (Yorks.).

⁷⁸ *Test. Ebor.* v, 319. ⁷⁹ *Ibid.* v, 192-3.

⁸⁰ Wright, *Suppression*, 167.

⁸¹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 917; *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 51; Drake, *Ebor.* App.

⁸² *Mins. Accts.* 29-30 Hen. VIII (Yorks.), no. 197; *Suppression P. (P.R.O.)*, iii, fol. 93; Friar Will. Penrith had 26s. 8d.

⁸³ *Mins. Accts.* 30-1 Hen. VIII (Yorks.), no. 166; *Ct. of Aug. Misc. Bks.* ccxxxiii, fol. 154b; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 917 (2).

⁸⁴ *Mins. Accts.* 29-30 Hen. VIII (Yorks.), no. 197; *Suppression P. (P.R.O.)* iii, fol. 92.

⁸⁵ It is probable that the offices of custodian and warden were sometimes held by the same person.

⁸⁶ *Mon. Franc.* i, 27.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 61.

N. 1267 ⁸⁸

Nicholas de Burser, February 1277-8 ⁸⁹

WARDENS

Geoffrey de Retford, 1298 ⁹⁰

John de Gonesse, 1303-4 ⁹¹

Robert de Stayndrop, 1322 ⁹²

Henry, 1378 ⁹³

William Vavasour, S.T.P., 1524, 1538 ⁹⁴

The seal is pointed oval in shape and represents two saints in niches with canopies pinnacled and crocketed: in base, under an arcade of three arches, three friars kneeling to the right. Legend:—

S' CŌMVNITATIS . FRATRVM . MINOR+ . EBOR+ ⁹⁵

100. THE WHITE FRIARS OF YORK

The Carmelite Friars first established themselves in Bootham, near the Horsefair.¹ Henry III gave them six oaks in Galtres Forest for the building of their church in June 1253, and five oaks in 1255.² In 1258, after inquiry by the mayor and bailiffs, he granted them a plot of land 6 p. by 4 p. 'outside the wall of the friars' court towards the stone cross at York' to enlarge their area.³ In 1260 a provincial chapter was held here, the king giving two marks towards expenses.⁴ Archbishop Giffard, in 1269, sent the prior 30s., and in 1275 30s. again and two quarters of corn for the convent.⁵ Priest's orders were conferred on Ralph de Bretton of this house in 1274.⁶ The Dean of York, Robert of Scarborough, desired in 1289 to give a messuage and land in Wike-upon-Hull to the Carmelite Friars, to found a new priory.⁷

In 1295 William de Vescy, before his departure to the wars in Gascony, gave the friars a messuage or tenement in Stonebow Lane, which became

⁸⁸ *Hist. P. and L. from the N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 9. (Perhaps the same as the next custodian.)

⁸⁹ *Bullar. Franc.* iii, 284.

⁹⁰ Baildon, *Mon. Notes* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), i, 243.

⁹¹ Add. MS. 8835, fol. 5b. He received 40 marks from the general chapter at Assisi; 25 marks for the friars at Oxford, 12½ marks for those at Cambridge.

⁹² Pat. 16 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 19.

⁹³ Baildon, *ut supra*.

⁹⁴ Little, *Grey Friars in Oxf.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), 130; *Test. Ebor.* v, 192-3; *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild York* (Surt. Soc.), 176, 186 note.

⁹⁵ *Cat. of B.M. Seals*, 4410.

¹ Pat. 8 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 21.

² Close, 37 Hen. III, m. 7; 39 Hen. III, m. 5.

³ Pat. 42 Hen. III, m. 2.

⁴ Liberate R. 45 Hen. III, m. 11.

⁵ *Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 113, 298.

⁶ *Ibid.* 197.

⁷ Inq. a.q.d. file 12, no. 7. See 'The White Friars of Hull,' *ante*.

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their permanent abode; its boundaries were Stonebow Lane on the north, the Foss on the south, Mersk Lane on the west, and Fossgate on the east.⁸ They were building their new church here in 1300, when Edward I gave them eight oaks for timber.⁹ The cemetery was consecrated in 1304, and an indulgence granted to those who should visit the church on 5 October and make their offerings on the high altar of St. Mary for the sustentation of lights and ornaments.¹⁰

About this time the royal alms given through Friar William de Thorpe show that the friars numbered twenty-four and twenty-five.¹¹ In 1314 they had royal licence, in consideration of 200 masses, to alienate in mortmain their old site to Robert of Pickering, Dean of York, who founded there the chapel and hospital of St. Mary.¹² In October of this year the king gave them those messuages and plots of land adjacent to their friary in Mersk Lane which he had of the gift of Geoffrey de St. Quintin,¹³ and allowed them to construct a quay on their own ground on the bank of the king's stew of the Foss, and to have one boat in the stew to carry stones, brushwood, and other necessaries to their house.¹⁴ In 1315 and 1316 he granted them the land with the buildings on it which he had of the gift of Thomas son of William le Aguiler and Cicely his wife, and the land which he had of the gift of Abel de Rokhale.¹⁵ Archbishop Greenfield gave them alms in 1313, 1314, and again in 1315, on account of the excessive dearth of the time.¹⁶ In 1312 and 1320 the Carmelites numbered twenty-six; from 1335 to 1337 they varied from thirty-eight to forty-two.¹⁷ Part of the new site lay within the parish of St. Saviour. The convent of St. Mary's, to whom this church was appropriated, protested to the pope against the entry of the Carmelites into the parish, but were induced to withdraw their opposition on the friars engaging to pay 30s. a year. Part of the site also lay within the parish

⁸ Pat. 23 Edw. I, m. 3 (sched.); Chart R. 28 Edw. I, m. 4 (printed in Drake, *Ebor. App.* p. li); *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 128.

⁹ Close, 28 Edw. I, m. 6.

¹⁰ Drake, *Ebor.* 310; Audin, *Handbk. to York*, 170; *Fasti Ebor.* 360.

¹¹ Exch. Accts. (P.R.O.), bdle. 356, no. 7; *Liber Quotid.* 28 Edw. I (ed. Topham), 38.

¹² Inq. a.q.d. file 105, no. 9; Pat. 8 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 21, 5; 12 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 6.

¹³ Pat. 8 Edw. II, m. 19.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* m. 17 (printed in Drake, *Ebor. App.*). In 1348 they wished to extend their quay into the Foss in order to avoid an accumulation of mud; Inq. a.q.d. file 291, no. 8.

¹⁵ Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 23; 10 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 14 (both printed in Drake, *Ebor. App.*).

¹⁶ *Fasti Ebor.* i, 392, 393, 396.

¹⁷ Exch. Accts. (P.R.O.) bdle. 387, no. 9; Add. MS. 17362, fol. 3; Cott. MS. Nero C. viii, fol. 52, 202, 206b.

of St. Crux.¹⁸ Archbishop Melton, in 1320, ordered the friars to pay yearly to the rector a sum in compensation for the loss sustained,¹⁹ but this did not suffice for the injuries done by the chapel which the friars erected above their gateway in Fossgate. On this point in 1350 they had to give way to the rector of St. Crux and remove the image of the Virgin from the chapel and agree that no service should be celebrated there, no bell tolled, and no oblation received.²⁰

The friars in 1331 received two more messuages, from John de Hathelsey of York, and William de Thonthorp of Flaxton.²¹ Master William la Zouch, king's clerk, granted them 3 acres with some houses in 1338;²² and Roger de Fournays, barber and citizen of York, in 1350 effected an exchange by which the dean and chapter received three shops in St. Andrew's Street, and granted to the friars a messuage in 'Hundegate' adjoining their dwelling.²³

Shortly afterwards the friars induced Richard or Robert son of John de Thornton, citizen and apothecary of York, to take the habit when a child. The boy threw off the habit before he was fourteen years old, but the friars continued to persecute him, call him apostate and try to force him back; at his father's petition the king took him under his special protection in March 1357-8.²⁴ In 1374 Friar John Wy killed a fellow friar, John Harold, in this house, probably by accident.²⁵

In the latter part of the 14th century these friars were engaged in a number of lawsuits. In 1371 the prior sued John de Taddecastre and Thomas son of Henry de Grymeston for accounts as his receivers of moneys.²⁶ In 1378 he sued Elen, widow of Thomas de Duffeld, and others for debt, and in the same year brought an action against John de Housom, potter, for breaking the prior's close, digging in the soil and taking away earth to the value of 10 marks. In 1385 the prior claimed 20 marks damages from a plasterer for building an oven so badly that it utterly collapsed.²⁷

¹⁸ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 97-8, where some details on the site will be found.

¹⁹ Drake, *Ebor.* 310.

²⁰ *Ibid.*; York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 49. This was perhaps the altar dedicated by Archbishop Melton, 5 Oct. 1328; indulgence granted in respect of it 11 Oct.; *Fasti Ebor.* i, 419; *Fabric R. of York Minster* (Surt. Soc.), 236.

²¹ Inq. a.q.d. file 217, no. 12; Pat. 5 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 29.

²² Pat. 12 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 18.

²³ *Ibid.* 24 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 18.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 32 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 28.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 10 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 37; he was pardoned in 1386.

²⁶ De Banco R. Trin. 45 Edw. III, m. 184; Mich. 45 Edw. III, m. 204. The defendants did not appear, and the case was postponed till the next term.

²⁷ All these are taken from Baildon, *Mon. Notes* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), i, 242-3.

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The reversion of two plots at the east and west of the church was secured to the friars in 1392 by Henry de Percy, lord of Spofforth, and John de Acom, late parson of Catton, and by John Berden and John Braythwayte, after the death of Maud late the wife of Henry de Rybstone.²⁸ On the acquisition of this property the church was rebuilt or enlarged, Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham, leaving £40 in his will (1404) to the work, if it was not finished before his death.²⁹

Several provincial priors of the order were connected with York: John Poleshead (1343) and John Kiningham (1398) were buried here; Walter Kelham (1343) and John Counton (1359) were natives of York, and perhaps Stephen Parlington.³⁰ John Bate, a writer of note and a Greek scholar, was prior of this house, where he died in 1429.³¹ Friar Richard Misyn, who translated some of Richard Hampole's works into English, was admitted a member of the Corpus Christi Guild in 1461, and died at York soon afterwards.³² York was head of one of the four *distinctions* into which the Carmelite province of England was divided; when Eugenius IV in 1446 undertook the reformation of the order, Masters John Haynton, W. Surflet, Robert Harby, and the Prior of York, Thomas Carlyell, were chosen to represent the York division.³³

Bequests to this house are very numerous, and, like those to the other orders, come from all classes.³⁴ The Percys of Northumberland, as heirs of the Vescys, were reckoned the second founders of the friary, and were among its benefactors. Thus the Earl of Northumberland in 1515 gave £8 for repairs at the White Friars and paid the prior an annuity of 40s.³⁵

The friary was surrendered to Sir George Lawson and others on 27 November 1538 by Simon Clerkson, the prior, nine priests, and three novices.³⁶ The vestments and other goods, consisting of kitchen and brewing utensils, four poor

feather beds, coverlets, bolsters, &c., were bought by Sir George Lawson for £7 4s. 4d. Out of this £1 was given to the prior and £2 18s. 4d. divided among the friars. There were no debts. The lead on the roof of the church, estimated at 20 fother, and the two bells weighing 2,300 lb. were reserved. The plate and jewels, sent to the king's jewel house, consisted of three chalices, one cross gilt, one flat piece, three masers, one salt, twelve spoons, and one pyx of ivory with silver foot, weighing in all 98 oz.³⁷

The property consisted of the site, valued at 20s. a year, and seven tenements adjacent to it, which were soon let to tenants for £3 19s. a year.³⁸

PRIORS

George,³⁹ 1269
William Penterel,⁴⁰ Feb. 1348-9
William,⁴¹ 1371, 1378
Mauger de Baildon,⁴² 1387
John Bate,⁴³ Jan. 1428-9
Thomas Carlisle,⁴⁴ 1446
Robert,⁴⁵ 1473
John Carter,⁴⁶ 1522
Simon Clerkson,⁴⁷ 1537-8

The round 14th-century seal represents the Virgin with crown seated on a throne, the Child on the left knee, between two saints standing; on the left, an archbishop with mitre, lifting the right hand in benediction, in the left a crozier; on the right St. Peter with mitre, lifting the right hand in benediction, in the left hand a key. In base, a shield of the arms of England, slung by a strap, upon a bifurcated tree, between two kneeling friars. Field diapered lozengy, with a small leaf in each space. All within a carved rosette of sixteen points.

Legend:—

*SIGILLV̄ COMMVNE . FRATR̄V̄ ORDĪS BEATE .
MA[R]IE . DE . MONTE . CARMELI . DON .
EBORACV̄.⁴⁸

²⁸ Mins. Accts. 29-30 Hen. VIII (Yorks.), no. 187; Suppression P. (P.R.O.), iii, fol. 5, 92, 93.

²⁹ Mins. Accts. 30-1 Hen. VIII (Yorks.), no. 166.

³⁰ *Giffard's Reg.* 113.

⁴⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 278b.

⁴¹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 242.

⁴² *Ibid.* 43, 242; Bodl. Chart. 81 (letter of fraternity to Roger Low).

⁴³ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* iii, 391; Harl. MS. 3838, fol. 82 (?)

⁴⁴ Harl. MS. 1819, fol. 200b.

⁴⁵ Bodl. Chart. 82 (letter of fraternity to Ric. Wade and Joan his wife).

⁴⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (2), 3380 (9).

⁴⁷ Conventual Leases, Yorks. (P.R.O.), no. 909.

⁴⁸ B.M. Seals, lxxv, 54. Rough reproduction in Drake, *Ebor.* (no. xv).

²⁸ Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 28, 21. Rybstone was buried in the church; also John Vavasor, Ralph Lassell, Sir Will. Myll, kt., Sir Th. Malbys, kt., and Isabella his wife, and John Nesby, and 'the heart of lord de Bardolf,' probably Thomas Bardolf, rebel, attainted in 1408; *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 128.

²⁹ *Test. Ebor.* i, 308.

³⁰ Harl. MS. 1819; Stevens, *Monast.* ii, 159.

³¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* iii, 391.

³² Corpus Christi Coll. Oxf. MS. 236; *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxxviii, 57. Ten Carmelites were admitted to the gild between 1430 and 1469; *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild* (Surt. Soc.), 31, 42, 62, 73.

³³ Harl. MS. 1819, fol. 200a, b. John Haynton or Hadon was a writer of some note; Tanner, *Bibl.* 369. Harby was Prior of Lincoln; *ibid.* 377.

³⁴ *Test. Ebor. passim*; e.g. Thomas Pereson, sub-dean of York, 1490, left them a tester, 'sellor,' &c., and 3s. 4d. to make a clock in the church; iv, 55.

³⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (2), 3380 (1), (9).

³⁶ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 51.

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101. THE AUSTIN FRIARS OF YORK

According to the tradition current later in the order some Austin Friars came from Tickhill to York and with the aid of some good people bought seven houses, where they founded their friary. These houses owed rents to the Lord Scrope of Upsall, who allowed them to keep them rent free; wherefore he was reckoned the founder.¹ It is impossible to verify this tradition or to identify the Lord Scrope. It is certain that the Austin Friars were in York in July 1272 when Henry III granted them a writ of protection.² John de Cransewick had licence in 1289 to grant these friars a messuage in York worth 32s. a year,³ and in 1292 they had six oaks for timber from the king.⁴ Their houses were probably from the first in Lendal or Old Conyng Street.⁵

In 1299 and 1300 alms for thirty-three and thirty-five brethren of this house were given by the king to Friars Gervase of Ludlow and William of Finingham.⁶ There were thirty friars in 1311-12, and twenty-six in 1319-20⁷; thirty-six to forty in 1334, 1335, and 1337.⁸ The fall in the numbers during the reign of Edward II is perhaps due to the fact that the Austin Friars of York were engaged in founding a friary at Hull,⁹ or to the famine, owing to which Archbishop Greenfield gave them alms.¹⁰ Friar Richard de Wetwang, D.D., was one of those summoned to the Provincial Council at York to take measures against the Templars in 1311.¹¹ The friars seem to have got into debt, and Ranulph of Newminster proposed in 1333 to release the friars from a debt which they owed to William, parson of the church of St. Mildred (? Wilfred), York, by giving him a rent in Littlegate above Bishophill in exchange.¹² Robert Clarell gave them a messuage in 1344¹³; Thomas Twenge, clerk, in 1347 endowed them with 20s. rent in Rotsea, Yorkshire, towards finding bread and wine for the celebration of divine service.¹⁴

Their area was increased by grants of five messuages in York from William de Hakthorpe and William de Hedon, clerks, in 1353,¹⁵ and Richard de Thorneton and John Wraweby, Richard Knight, Ralph de Hemylsay, Robert Brechby, and William de Crofts, chaplains, in 1370.¹⁶ The provincial chapter was held here in 1361, towards the expenses of which Archbishop Thoresby, on 21 July, contributed 5 marks.¹⁷ In 1382 the mayor and citizens granted them a narrow plot by Old Conyng Street near their church, extending from a corner of their old wall to their old gate; this plot they were empowered 'to inclose and build upon, on condition that they repair the pavement there at their own expense and without causing any hindrance to the course of the river.'¹⁸

The most interesting relic of the Austin Friars remaining is the catalogue of their library,¹⁹ drawn up on 8 September 1372 when William de Staynton was prior, in the presence of Friars John de Ergum or Erghome, John Ketilwell, Richard de Thorpe, and John of Appleby. The manuscripts are arranged under headings—Bible (including Psalter and Canticles in Greek), Historie Scholastice, Originalia (Augustine, Anselm, Jerome, Gregory, &c.), Historie gentium (Polychronica, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Caesar, Bede, Sallust, &c.), Logicalia et philosophia, &c. Each volume is identified by the words with which its second leaf begins, and letters of the alphabet are added, indicating its place in the library. Of the 646 entries in the catalogue, about half are marked as having belonged to Master John Erghome.²⁰ These include works on theology and philosophy, indexes, prophecies (Merlin, John of Bridlington, and others), alchemy, astrology, astronomy, with a collection of astrological instruments, service books, sermons, works on rhetoric, medicine, arithmetic, music, geometry, and perspective. A few only of these volumes can be identified²¹; one in the British Museum contains the *Archithrenius* of John de

¹ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 75.

² Pat. 56 Hen. III, m. 8.

³ Inq. a.q.d. file 2, no. 4 (the writ is dated 12 July 1287; the jurors reported against the concession); Pat. 17 Edw. I, m. 8.

⁴ Close, 20 Edw. I, m. 3.

⁵ Cf. Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 27; Le'and, *Itin.* i, 56.

⁶ Exch. Accts. (P.R.O.), bdle 356, no. 7; *Liber Quotid.* 28 *Edw. I* (ed. Topham), 38.

⁷ B.M. Cott. MS. Nero C. viii, fol. 52; Add. MS. 17362, fol. 3.

⁸ Exch. Accts. (P.R.O.), bdle. 387, no. 9; Cott. MS. Nero C. viii, fol. 202, 206b.

⁹ Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 27.

¹⁰ *Fasti Ebor.* i, 392, 393, 396.

¹¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii, 396, 399.

¹² Inq. a.q.d. file 229, no. 20.

¹³ Pat. 18 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22.

¹⁴ Pat. 21 Edw. III, pt. iv, m. 9 (printed in Drake, *Ebor. App.*).

¹⁵ Pat. 27 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 3; 29 Edw. III, m. 9; printed in Drake, *Ebor.*

¹⁶ Inq. a.q.d. file 370, no. 14; Pat. 44 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 10. From some of these messuages rents were due to the hospital of St. Leonard and the Prior of Kirkham. The friars paid £20 for the licence.

¹⁷ *Fasti Ebor.* i, 461.

¹⁸ Pat. 15 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 35 (pardon for acquiring the plot without licence); Audin, *Handbook to York*, 171.

¹⁹ Now in Trin. Coll. Dublin (MS. D. 1, 17); described by J. H. Todd in *N. and Q.* i, 83.

²⁰ Cf. Tanner, *Bibl.* He may have been the author of the prophecies of John of Bridlington; cf. Wright, *Political Poems and Songs* (Rolls Ser.), i, 123. Another donor of books mentioned is Master John Bukwood.

²¹ These identifications are due to Dr. M. R. James, who has edited the catalogue in *Fasciculus Jeanni Willis Clark dicatus*.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Hanville and other works²²; another in St. John's College, Oxford, contains a number of treatises on music²³; two in the Bodleian contain the prophecies of John of Bridlington and some musical treatises,²⁴ and a fifth in the College of Arms contains the universal history of Treculphus, the Chronicle of John Tayster to 1287, and a history of England to 1357.²⁵

On 20 February 1410-11 Pope John XXIII exhorted the faithful to give alms to the chapel of St. Catherine Virgin and Martyr recently founded in this church by a confraternity the members of which had mass said daily in the chapel and did other works of piety, both in mending roads and distributing alms to the poor.²⁶ The 'Mass of Our Lady' was endowed by 'Lord de Neville.'²⁷

The friars borrowed £8 from William Duffield, canon of York, which was still owing at his death in 1453.²⁸

The most distinguished persons whose burials are recorded in this church are Sir Humphrey Neville and his brother Charles, who were executed at York in 1469.²⁹ Henry de Blythe, painter and citizen of York, in 1346 desired, if he could not be buried in the cathedral, to be buried in the Austin Friars Church.³⁰ Richard Johnson, 'labourer,' of York in 1448 left 20s. to the Austin Friars, 2d. each to twenty friars of the house and 6s. 8d. to Friar William Egremond.³¹ John Holme of Huntington, gent., left to Sir John Aske of Aughton, kt., in 1490, a garth in the parish of St. Wilfred to found an obit in the church.³² Bequests to the house are as numerous as those to the other friaries in York.³³

Richard III stayed at this friary when Duke of Gloucester, and in 1484 appointed Friar William Bewick 'surveyor of the King's works and buildings, within his place of the Austin Friars of York.'³⁴ In 1493 a meeting between

the Abbot of St. Mary's and the mayor to settle disputes between the weavers and cordwainers took place in this friary.³⁵ William Wetherall, afterwards provincial prior, was ordained deacon in this church in 1500.³⁶

On 6 April 1511 Thomas, Lord Darcy, before he sailed to Spain to fight against the Moors, was, on account of his benefactions, admitted to all the privileges of confraternity within this priory; the friars binding themselves to forfeit 20s. to the Abbot of St. Mary's, York, and 10s. to the scholars of the Austin Friars at Oxford if they failed to observe the agreement; the deed was confirmed by John Stokes, provincial prior.³⁷ The Earl of Northumberland paid the prior £4 6s. 8d. for his lodging there in the year 1522-3.³⁸

The prior, John Aske, seems to have given some support to the rebellion known as the Pilgrimage of Grace; he supped with his namesake, the leader of the rebels, in York,³⁹ but was not punished. The house was surrendered to the king's commissioners on 28 November 1538 by the prior, nine priests, and four novices.⁴⁰ The goods were sold in gross to Sir George Lawson for £13 14s. 8d. Out of this the prior received 20s., Edward Banks sub-prior 6s. 8d., and the rest of the brethren, numbering fourteen, sums varying from 6s. 8d. to 3s. 4d.; total £5 7s. 4d.⁴¹ The two bells and 40 fother of lead on the roof of the church were reserved; the plate, consisting of two chalices and seven spoons, and weighing 38 oz., was sent to the king's jewel house.⁴² The site itself was valued at only 16d., the rents from houses in Coney Street, Stonegate, Davy Gate, Black Street, Lop Lane, Walmgate, and a cottage in Micklegate of the gift of Lord Scrope, brought in £5 6s. 8d.; the friars also possessed lands in Oswaldkirk and Huntington near York to the value of £2 4s. a year.⁴³

Before the surrender took place the question was being discussed to what use the Austin Friars should be put. The council of the north declared (6 November 1538) that it was

was admitted to the Corpus Christi Guild in 1469; *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild* (Surt. Soc.), 71; for other Austin Friars see *ibid.* 43, 63, 67, 70, 73, 82.

³⁵ Davies, *op. cit.* 254.

³⁶ Cott. MS. Galba E. x, fol. 144b.

³⁷ Madox, *Formulare*, 341. Cf. 'The Black Friars of Beverley,' *ante*.

³⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv, 3380.

³⁹ *Ibid.* xii (1), 306.

⁴⁰ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* viii, App. ii, 51. Sixteen friars are mentioned in *Mins. Accts.* 29-30 Hen. VIII, 197. At the end of the 15th century the friars numbered twenty-four; *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 75.

⁴¹ *Mins. Accts.* 29-30 Hen. VIII (Yorks.), no. 197; *Suppression P.* (P.R.O.), iii, fol. 92, 93.

⁴² *Suppression P.* loc. cit.

⁴³ *Mins. Accts.* 30-1 Hen. VIII (Yorks.), no. 166.

²² Cott. MS. Vesp. B. xxiii; cf. Bodl. MS. Digby, 64.

²³ Codex 150. ²⁴ Digby, 89. Bodley, 842.

²⁵ College of Arms MS. Arundel 6.

²⁶ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 221.

²⁷ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 75.

²⁸ *Test. Ebor.* iii, 140. See also *Early Chan. Proc.* bdl. 18, no. 87 (c. 1450).

²⁹ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* iv, 75; others are Lady Margaret Moresby, Sir Thos. Baldwin, kt., Margaret Lady de Maule, Sir Thos. House, kt., John Merefield, Thos. Gosse; *ibid.*

³⁰ *Test. Ebor.* i, 74.

³¹ *Ibid.* ii, 129.

³² *Ibid.* iv, 62-3. This was probably the tenement in Lop Lane worth 6s. 8d. a year; *Mins. Accts.* 30-1 Hen. VIII, no. 166.

³³ *Test. Ebor. passim*, e.g. William de Latimer, 1381, £10; W. Barker of Tadcaster, 1403, 1 quarter of corn, &c.

³⁴ Harl. MS. 433, fol. 179b. R. Davies, *Extracts from Munic. Rec. of York*, 125; cf. 186, 254. Margaret Aske, 1465, left 13s. 4d. to Friar William Bewick and 9s. to him to make a glass window with the arms of herself and her son; *Test. Ebor.* ii, 276. Bewick

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unsuitable as a habitation for the council, 'standing very cold on the water of the Ouse without open air, saving on the same water, which always is very contagious as well in winter as in summer, by means of sundry corrupt and common channels, sinkers, and gutters of the said city conveyed under the same.' They suggested however that the stone and glass might be used in making the Black Friars into a house for the council fit to receive the king when he came to York. Sir George Lawson repeatedly wrote to Cromwell begging for a free gift of the site which 'is of small extent, with no ground but a kitchen garden adjoining the walls of my house.'⁴⁴ Sir George held the site to farm, but all the possessions of the Austin Friars in York (consisting of a tenement and twelve messuages) were granted in June 1545 to Sir Richard Gresham, kt.⁴⁵

PRIORS

Robert,⁴⁶ 1278-80
 William,⁴⁷ Feb. 1333-4
 Thomas Ganse,
 John de Pickering, } 1369⁴⁸
 William de Staynton,⁴⁹ 1372
 John Tansfield,⁵⁰ 1521-2
 John Aske, 1536-8

Impressions of two seals of this house (both pointed oval) are known to exist:⁵¹ (1) a king crowned standing in a canopied niche holding a sceptre; in base under a cusped arch three friars, half-length, in prayer. Legend:—

S . COE IS : SĪ AVGVSTINI : EBOR

(2) The other closely resembles the first, with the legend:—

S' FRM H'EITAR OR I AVG'TINI EB . .

⁴⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 761; xiv (1), 969; (2), 293; xv, 465.

⁴⁵ Partic. for Grants, file 526; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xx (1), 1081 (19). The site was granted in 1558 to Thomas Lawson and Christiana his wife; Drake, *Ebor.* App. p. 1; Mins. Accts. 1-2 Eliz. (Yorks.), no. 44.

⁴⁶ Baildon, *Mon. Notes* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), i, 244.

⁴⁷ Chan. Warr. file 1767, no 12, arrest of Friar Richard of Lichfield, apostate.

⁴⁸ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 244; Inq. a.q.d. file 372, no. 18. Both were executors of the will of W. de Grantham, mercer, of York; in one document Ganse, in the other Pickering, is described as prior.

⁴⁹ Trin. Coll. Dublin MS. 286.

⁵⁰ Madox, *Formulare*, 341; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vi (2), 3380 (9).

⁵¹ B.M. Seals, lxxv, 39; lxxv, 50. The seals numbered xii and xiv in Drake's *Eboracum* are probably the seals of the prior of the Austin Friars of York and of the *diffinitores* of the provincial chapter.

102. THE FRIARS OF THE SACK, YORK

A house of the order of the Penance of Jesus Christ was founded in York probably about 1260. In 1274, the year in which the order was suppressed—i.e. forbidden to admit new members—by the Council of Lyons, two friars of this house, Thomas de Harepam and Hugh of Leicester, were ordained priests.⁵² There seem to have been two friars remaining in 1300 when Edward I gave them alms.⁵³ On the death of these, their land was taken into the king's hand, and granted by Edward II in 1312 to Robert de Roston at an annual rent of 8s.⁵⁴

103. THE TRINITARIAN FRIARS OF KNARESBOROUGH

Robert Flower, eldest son of Took or Tocklese Flower, called Mayor of York, in the reign of Richard I, renounced his patrimony, and after spending a few months in a Cistercian monastery settled as a hermit on the banks of the Nidd close to Knaresborough. The most interesting traditions about him relate to his power over animals and his kindness to the poor. His life was not that of a solitary. 'He had four servants, two whereof he employed about tillage, the third he kept for divers uses, and the fourth he commonly retained about himself, to send abroad into the country to collect the people's alms for those poor brethren which he had taken into his company.' Land is said to have been granted to him by a certain noble matron named Helena, and by William de Stuteville, lord of the forest.¹ King John visited him in February 1215-16 and gave him 'half a carucate of land in the wood of Swinesco as near to his hermitage as possible.'²

⁵² *Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 198.

⁵³ *Liber Quotid.* 28 *Edw. I* (ed. Topham) 39. There were three friars in 1299; Exch. Accts. bde. 356, no. 7.

⁵⁴ Close, 5 *Edw. II*, m. 13.

¹ See his life copied from 'an ancient manuscript' by Drake, *Eboracum*, 372-4. A fragment of a 13th-century life ascribed to Richard Stodley is in Harl. MS. 3775, fol. 74-6. Another fragment, perhaps the latter part of Stodley's work, is printed in *Mem. of Fountains Abbey* (Surt. Soc.), i, 166-71. The *Chron. de Lanercost*, which contains a good account of St. Robert (p. 25), calls him 'by surname Koke.' *A Metrical Life of St. Robert* was printed by the Roxburghe Club, 1824; it contains also prayers to the saint, and an account of the Trinitarian Order, and was evidently written by a friar of the house, probably by a minister. See also *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xlviij, 361; Leland, *Itin.* i, 96; Hardy, 'Itin. of King John' in *Rot. Lit. Pat.* (Rec. Com.), i.

² *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 247.

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Robert died 24 September 1218, and on 1 February 1218-19 Henry III granted the custody of the hermitage to Alexander Dorset, clerk, rector of Knaresborough.³ At the end of 1227 the king conferred on 'Brother Ives, hermit of the Holy Cross, Knaresborough,' the 40 acres which John had given to Brother Robert.⁴ The fame of Robert's sanctity spread, and is mentioned in 1238 by Matthew Paris, who notes that 'a medicinal oil is said to have flowed abundantly from his tomb,' which had now become a recognized place of pilgrimage.⁵ He appears to have been formally canonized before 1252. In May of that year, Innocent IV granted an indulgence to 'those that help in completing the monastery of St. Robert of Knaresborough where that saint's body is buried.'⁶ In August 1255 the king gave three oaks to the friars of the Holy Trinity for the fabric of the church of St. Robert.⁷ The friars of the Holy Trinity and of the Redemption of Captives in the Holy Land⁸ had therefore already settled here under the patronage of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, who became lord of the honour of Knaresborough in 1235.⁹ Before granting the honour to his son Henry in 1257¹⁰ Earl Richard issued a charter in favour of the friars, conferring on them the chapel of St. Robert, with the advowson of the church of Hampsthwaite, the land which King John gave to St. Robert, the field called Swinesco with an adjoining wood called Halikeldisike, on the north of the Nidd 'as far as the hanging bridge,' and on the other side of the Nidd the land called Belmond, 'between the forest and the little park of Knaresborough,' and the land called Spitelcroft, with pasture for 20 cows with their calves, 300 sheep and 40 pigs, to be held in frankmoign of the donor and his heirs—certain rights

of common being reserved for the men of Knaresborough.¹¹

In the great inquest of 1275 this land is described as 4 carucates of the fee of Richmond, and the jurors stated that 'the friars also held in Thorpe fifteen bovates of land of the fee of Brus by the gift of divers persons, and two tofts which used to belong to the lepers.'¹²

Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, in 1276 authorized the friars to build a mill on the Nidd to grind their own corn; if they were proved to have ground any corn except their own, they were to be fined a mark for each offence.^{12a}

The friars held the manor of Rocliffe near Boroughbridge, but their title to this being disputed in 1278 by Robert de Brus and Christina his wife, the friars made over their rights to Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, in exchange for some land in Hampsthwaite, Thorpe by Scotton, and the advowson of the church of Pannal.¹³ In 1280 Edmund further granted them some land in Pannal with the advowson of the church of Fewston.¹⁴ The house was not treated as a mendicant friary, but taxed like the other endowed monasteries.¹⁵ The proctors of the house had, however, licence in 1286, 1297, and 1303 to beg alms in churches, towns, and markets, for the ransom of captives in the Holy Land, and they probably collected alms at the same time for the rebuilding of their church, and perhaps for the establishment of a house for students of the order at Oxford.¹⁶ The Archbishop of York in 1300 granted forty days' indulgence to those who contributed to the building of the church.¹⁷

After the death of Edmund of Cornwall in 1300 his widow Margaret claimed the tenements granted to the friars by her husband as part of her dower,¹⁸ and in 1306 they complained that Sir Miles de Stapleton, seneschal of Knaresborough, prevented them and their tenants from digging turves in the forest (a right which they

³ Close, 3 Hen. III, m. 11; *Chron. de Lanercost*, 25, 27.

⁴ Chart. R. 12 Hen. III, m. 10. According to the *Metrical Life* (p. 49 et seq.) Ives gave the land to Coverham Abbey and it remained desolate for some years before the Trinitarians obtained it.

⁵ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 521; *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 415. Cf. *Miracula Simonis de Montfort* (Camd. Soc.), 92, 109.

⁶ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 277. On 24 Nov. 1300 the king offered 7s. at the tomb of St. Robert in the church of the abbey of Knaresborough, 7s. at the high altar, and the next day the queen and the Countess of Holland each gave 7s. at the tomb; Add. MS. 7966 A, fol. 23.

⁷ Close, 39 Hen. III, m. 5.

⁸ For the rule of this order see the bulls of Innocent III, 17 Dec. 1198, and Clement IV, 7 Dec. 1267; *Bullar. Rom.* (ed. Cherubini), i, 71, 135. A hermit, dependent on alms, continued to occupy the chapel of St. Robert; in 1340 the hermit was Friar Robert of York; Pat. 14 Edw. III, pt. iii, m. 50.

⁹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xlvi, 167.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* xxvi, 97.

¹¹ *Inspex.* in Chart. R. 9 Edw. I, m. 14. Chart. R. 5 Edw. II, printed in Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1566. Swinesco, according to Hargrove, *Hist. of Knaresborough*, 95, is now Longflat.

¹² *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 133.

^{12a} Chart. R. 5 Edw. II (*inspeximus*).

¹³ *Ibid.* 9 Edw. I, m. 14; Baildon, *Mon. Notes* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), i, 116.

¹⁴ Chart. R. loc. cit. Edmund in 1281 freed the friars' tenants in Pannal and Hampsthwaite from toll in Knaresborough and elsewhere; Chart. R. 5 Edw. II (*inspeximus*). The presentation to Fewston was recovered by the king in 1344; Pat. 18 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22; pt. i, m. 22.

¹⁵ Close, 2 Edw. I; Pat. 12 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 26; *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 329b.

¹⁶ Pat. 14 Edw. I, m. 21, for the proctors of the house of St. Robert of Knaresborough and Oxford; Pat. 25 Edw. I, pt. i, m. 4; Pat. 31 Edw. I, m. 14.

¹⁷ Harl. MS. 6970, fol. 97.

¹⁸ Anct. Pet. (P.R.O.), E. 93; E. 511.

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claimed to have received from Edmund of Cornwall), and subjected them to heavy fines.¹⁹ In both cases the friars seem to have established their right.²⁰ In 1311 the minister was summoned to the provincial council held for the trial of the Templars.²¹ In 1317 the friars had licence to inclose 3 acres of land in Belmond and to build houses there, and to acquire lands and rents to the value of £10 a year.²² A serious disaster befel the friary in May 1318, when the house was 'destroyed and wasted' by the Scots. In February 1318-19 Edward II issued a writ of protection and safe conduct for three years to Friar John de Spofford, proctor, going to divers parts of the country to seek alms for the relief and sustenance of his brethren,²³ and similar writs were issued for the same friar and his messengers in 1332 and 1336.²⁴ Further, in 1319 the friars were allowed to appropriate the church of Pannal,²⁵ which had been destroyed by the Scots,²⁶ and were excused from the payment of £15 arrears of taxes which had been owing since the time of Edward I,²⁷ while their temporalities and benefices were reassessed for future taxation in consideration of their losses, the valuation of the house of St. Robert being reduced from £20 14s. 3d. (in 1291) to £5.²⁸ In the same year they received from Henry son of Richard de Rothewell and his wife 4 tofts and 12 acres in Pannal in exchange for a messuage in York,²⁹ and William Croke of Hampsthwaite acknowledged that he owed them £20.³⁰ In 1343 Robert son of William Tanner of Borough-bridge, chaplain, sued the minister, Friar John, for a debt of £10 1s. 1d.³¹

In 1348 the minister, William de Donyngton, and the friars assigned to William de Nesfield and

his heirs a rent of £10,³² and in 1349-52 they arranged to assign a rent of £6 to find wax-lights, bread and wine for the chapel of St. Mary at Scotton,³³ where William de Nesfield had endowed a chaplain to celebrate for the good estate of Queen Philippa and the grantor.³⁴ In return the queen obtained licence for the friars to appropriate the church of Fewston.³⁵

In 1350 the friars were authorized to beg alms for the fabric of their church by the Archbishop of York, who granted forty days' indulgence to contributors.³⁶ They seem to have suffered considerably from the Black Death, their numbers in 1360 being only five, while in 1375 they had risen to eleven.³⁷ At this time they were allowed to appropriate the church of Quixlay or Whixley, valued at 15 marks a year.³⁸ In 1394 they had licence to appropriate the church of Thorner, valued at 24 marks, the advowson of which had been granted them by John of Gaunt.³⁹ It was, however, fifty years before they obtained possession of this church, and then only at a heavy sacrifice. On 24 April 1444 the minister of the friars assigned to John Latham, rector of Thorner, an annual pension of £23 6s. 8d.⁴⁰

In 1360 the minister of Knaresborough was made visitor of the newly founded house at Newcastle-on-Tyne.⁴¹ The convent having admitted the archbishop's rights of jurisdiction, Archbishop Thoresby visited the house by his commissaries in 1366, and, besides enjoining more friendly relations between the minister and the brethren, provided for the election of a *prior claustralis*, a cellarer, and two bursars; forbade the granting of corrodies, and ordered 'that in future the cloister and dormitory should be kept free from the invasion of secular persons, and especially of women of doubtful character, both by day and night.'⁴²

At the beginning of the great schism (1378) the minister-general of the order adhered to the anti-pope. The brethren in England, having obtained from Urban VI faculty to elect a provincial prior, chose William de Pudsey, minister of Knaresborough.⁴³ During his pro-

¹⁹ *Parl. R.* i, 200, no. 57.

²⁰ A case recorded in Rastell's *Coll. of Entrees* (ed. 1596), 246, may refer to the friars of Knaresborough, but names are only indicated by initials.

²¹ *Rec. of the Northern Convocation* (Surt. Soc.), 32, where *dominus* should probably be *domus*.

²² Pat. 11 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 23, 22; cf. *Inq. a.q.d.*, file 102, no. 21.

²³ Pat. 12 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 13, 1.

²⁴ Pat. 6 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 7; 10 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 8.

²⁵ Pat. 12 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 27.

²⁶ *Fasti Ebor.* i, 401.

²⁷ Namely, £10 7s. 1d. for a subsidy of a moiety of ecclesiastical goods granted to Edw. I by the clergy of the archdeaconry of Richmond (1294 ?), and the rest for papal tenths granted for the king's use. Pat. 12 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 26.

²⁸ Pat. 13 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 39; *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 329b; cf. 299.

²⁹ Pat. 13 Edw. II, m. 43.

³⁰ Close, 13 Edw. II, m. 13 d.

³¹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), i, 117. In 1366 the minister brought an action against the same Robert for trespass; *ibid.*

³² Pat. 22 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 37.

³³ *Inq. a.q.d.* file 296, no. 14.

³⁴ Pat. 23 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 28; 27 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 3.

³⁵ Pat. 23 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 29.

³⁶ Harl. MS. 6969, fol. 49b; cf. Wheater, *Knaresborough and its rulers*, 270-1.

³⁷ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 205.

³⁸ *Ibid.*; Pat. 34 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 20.

³⁹ Pat. 17 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 31. The advowson of the house of St. Robert was granted by the king to John of Gaunt in 1372; Cott. Chart. xv, 1.

⁴⁰ *Test. Ebor.* iii, 173; Pat. 22 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 16.

⁴¹ Brand, *Hist. of Newcastle*, i, 643-8.

⁴² York Archiepis. Reg. Thoresby, fol. 290b, 292.

⁴³ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 273.

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vincialate William obtained (January 1387-8) from his successor at Knaresborough and the friars of the house a number of privileges; he was to be exonerated for life from quire and chapter, and upon giving up the office of provincial he was to be obliged to obey only the provincial for the time being and none other in the order; in food, drink, and service he was to be treated like the minister. The friars granted him for life a decent chamber within the cloister, with suitable sheets, napery, eight silver spoons, a bason with a laver, ware and other chamber necessities, and a servant to be fed and clothed at the expense of the house. He also stipulated for a fireplace, 12 lb. of candles a year, food and litter for one horse to be kept with the horses of the minister and not ridden without his leave; herbage for 80 sheep; an extra horse and servant of the minister whenever he wanted them; and 100s. a year for his other necessities.⁴⁴ Afterwards, Reginald de la Marche, minister-general, appointed Robert of York his vicar-provincial in England, and induced Boniface IX to order the Bishop of Durham to remove Pudsey from office.⁴⁵ In the contest which ensued the minister of Knaresborough appealed to the secular power to arrest Robert of York as an apostate.⁴⁶ The pope however, in 1402, being better informed, at the petition of the English friars reversed his decision and restored Pudsey.⁴⁷

In 1402 Boniface IX authorized the minister and six other priests, secular or religious, deputed by him, to hear the confessions of the crowds who were wont to visit the church on the feasts of the Holy Trinity and of St. Peter and St. Paul.⁴⁸ In the same year, the provincial ministers and friars of the order in England petitioned the pope that they might admit persons under the age of twenty years to the order and that instead of devoting one-third of their revenues for the redemption of captives in the Holy Land, according to their rule, they might assign a quota for this purpose, as they had been accustomed to do from time immemorial. The pope gave a favourable answer to both requests.⁴⁹

An indulgence of three years and forty days was granted by the pope soon after this to those who helped to support the friars of Knaresborough.⁵⁰ And on payment of a fee John XXIII in 1411 gave the minister, brethren and sisters of the house the right to choose their confessor.⁵¹ Women as well as men were admitted to the privileges of fraternity, which

appear to have been granted to many persons.⁵²

The friars were frequently charged with encroaching on the rights of others, appropriating the king's soil, blocking the roads and levying a toll at Grimbold Bridge.⁵³ In 1450 Richard Faukes the minister obtained a crown lease of the Little Park for twenty years at 4s. a year, and the friars seem to have retained possession of this coveted area, in which the Dropping Well was situated. They made a stone conduit from the well across the river to their house; this, however, had fallen into ruin before the Dissolution.⁵⁴ In 1440 William Emmote, butler of the house of St. Robert, carried off Joan, wife of William Glover of Knaresborough and goods of William's to the value of 20s.⁵⁵

Bequests to the house of St. Robert are not infrequent in the 15th century; thus in 1402 Sir John Depeden, lord of Healaugh, left them 5 marks; Sir John Bigod in 1426 a quarter of corn;⁵⁶ Alan of Newark, master of the hospital of Sherburn near Durham, in 1411 left to the minister 13s. 4d., to each friar being priest 3s. 4d., to each friar not being priest 1s. 8d., and 6s. 8d. as a pittance at the time of his exequies.⁵⁷ Richard III was among their benefactors,⁵⁸ and about 1490 Innocent VIII granted an indulgence to those who gave alms to the friars of Knaresborough.⁵⁹

The brethren do not seem to have been distinguished by learning.⁶⁰ In 1408 J. Foxton, chaplain, made and gave them a Kalendar of York use, with cosmography, prognostication, &c., which is now in the library of Trinity

⁴⁴ e.g. Robt. Browne of Heptonstall, chaplain, in 1518 left 6s. 8d. to these friars 'to be a brother of them, and have their privilege and pardon'; *Test. Ebor.* iv, 88. The Earl and Countess of Northumberland c. 1500 were 'brethren' of the house and gave 3s. 4d. a year; *Northumb. Household Bk.* 347. John Dod and Matilda his wife were admitted to fraternity in 1491; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iii, App. 260; *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xxiii, 145. Privileges granted to others by ministers of the house; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iv, App. 183; viii, App. i, 415; Bodl. Chart. Yorks. 65, 66.

⁴⁵ Duchy of Lanc. R. (P.R.O.), 128, no. 1915; Wheater, *Knaresburgh and its Rulers*, 42-3, 50, 155, 157-8, 180, 309-10, 314.

⁴⁶ Wheater, *op. cit.* 36, 51, 163-4, 313; Leland, *Itin.* i, 96.

⁴⁷ Wheater, *op. cit.* 313; cf. 44.

⁴⁸ *Test. Ebor.* i, 297, 411. Only one burial in the church seems to be recorded, that of Richard Plumptre, chaplain; Wheater, *op. cit.* 275.

⁴⁹ *Wills and Invent.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 53.

⁵⁰ Harl. MS. 433, fol. 29.

⁵¹ Bodl. Chart. Yorks. 65.

⁵² The minister was ordered by the pope to examine a candidate for the office of notary in 1403; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 559. Oswald Benson, the minister, supplicated for B.D. at Oxford 1524; *Oxf. Univ. Reg.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), i, 134.

⁴⁴ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 551-2, exempl. of Letters Patent given in the house of St. Robert, 5 Jan. 1387-8.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* v, 573.

⁴⁶ Chan. Warr. file 1767, no. 21 (13 Feb. 1400-1).

⁴⁷ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 537; cf. 564.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* v, 509. ⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 550.

⁵⁰ Harl. MS. 6969, fol. 85b.

⁵¹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 328, 335; vii, 492.

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College, Cambridge.⁶¹ Between 1411 and 1470 ten or eleven friars of the house were admitted to the gild of Corpus Christi, York.⁶² The churches appropriated to the house were sometimes served by friars; thus in 1486, Friar Robert Tesche, afterwards minister, was vicar of Hampsthwaite.⁶³

In March 1532-3 the minister paid Cromwell £10 for restitution of temporalities.⁶⁴ According to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* the temporalities were worth £24 11s. a year, the spiritualities, the rectories of Hampsthwaite, Pannal, Thorner, Fewston, and Whixley, £62 4s. 10d. Sums were due to the king, the vicars of the churches, and other officials amounting in all to £51 4s. 9d., leaving as the net annual value only £35 11s. 1d.⁶⁵

The friars were accused of stirring up the rebellion in 1536, making bills and proclamations that the king was going to claim 6s. 8d. of every plough, 6s. 8d. of every baptism, and 4d. of every beast.⁶⁶ The most active was Friar Esch or Ashton, a 'limitor' for the house, who with a passport from William Stapleton raised the country round Malton.⁶⁷ The minister supported the government in getting two rebels executed at York.⁶⁸ Robert Ashton escaped to Scotland.⁶⁹

The house was dissolved 30 December 1538, the deed of surrender being signed by Thomas Kent, the minister, nine priests (one of whom signs with a mark), and one undescribed.⁷⁰ The commissioners found the clear annual value of the house to be £93 12s. 6d. This revenue was charged with £56 6s. 8d. for pensions to the minister and friars, the minister receiving £13 6s. 8d. Goods sold and debts received brought in £63 8s., out of which £27 2s. 8d. was expended in giving rewards to friars and paying debts. The woods were estimated at 6s. 4d. a year, the lead at 18 fother. There were five bells and 82 oz. of plate.⁷¹

MINISTERS (OR MASTERS)

Ralph de Redinges 1280, 1284, 1286⁷²

John [Sperry] [1297], 1300⁷³

⁶¹ M. R. James, *Cat. of MSS. in Trin. Col. Camb.* ii, 358.

⁶² *Reg. of the Guild* (Surt. Soc.), 13 (Robt. Harton), 28 (Ric. Fawkes and Jno. Craven), 33 (W. Stanclay), 34 (Thos. Bolton), 43 (Jno. Hudson), 62 (Patryngton), 63 (Bolton W. Rute, Chr. Craven), 83 (Jno. Whixlay).

⁶³ Wheater, op. cit. 171; cf. 299.

⁶⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, vi, 228 (1).

⁶⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 254-5; cf. 32, 33, 35.

⁶⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 1047.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* xii (1), 369, 392, 1021; (2), 291, 918.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* xii (2), 1076. ⁶⁹ *Ibid.* xvii, 61.

⁷⁰ *Dep. Keeper's Rep.* vii, App. ii, 25; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 1173.

⁷¹ Harl. MS. 604, fol. 104; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), 185, 1355.

⁷² Chart. R. 9 Edw. I, m. 14; Baildon, *Mon. Notes* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), i, 116.

⁷³ Baildon, op. cit. 117; cf. Pat. 25 Edw. I, pt. i,

Henry of Knaresborough, 1315⁷⁴
John [de Spofford] 1343 [1344]⁷⁸
William Donyngton, 1348, 1349⁷⁶
Alan of Scarborough, 1352, 1366⁷⁷
William de Pudsey, 1372-4, c. 1380⁷⁸
John Kyllingwyk, c. 1380, January
1387-8⁷⁹

Richard Savage, 1400, 1416⁸⁰

William Brotte, 1425⁸¹

Robert Harton, 1438⁸²

John, 1444⁸³

Richard Fawkes, 1449-50, 1454⁸⁴

Robert Bolton, 1461, 1484, 1491⁸⁵

Robert Teshe or Tesse, 1499, 1510⁸⁶

Oswald Benson, 1524⁸⁷

Thomas Kent, 1529-1536, 1538⁸⁸

The seal of the convent was pointed oval and represented the Trinity on a carved throne under a canopy; below, under a carved arch, a man, probably St. Robert, seated to the right, under a tree, reading a book.⁸⁹ The seal of the minister showed the figure of a saint, probably St. Robert, seated to the right with an open book on his knees, under a tree. The legend in both impressions is fragmentary.⁹⁰

m. 4; 31 Edw. I, m. 14; Anct. Pet. E. 93. Cf. Rule of Innocent III and Clement IV, 'non procurator sed minister nominetur.'

⁷⁴ Wheater, op. cit. 311.

⁷⁵ Baildon, loc. cit.; Pat. 18 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 22; cf. Pat. 6 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 7; 10 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 8.

⁷⁶ Pat. 22 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 37; Inq. a.q.d. file 296, no. 14.

⁷⁷ Pat. 27 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 3; Baildon, loc. cit.; York. Archiepis. Reg. Thoresby, fol. 292.

⁷⁸ Cf. *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 551-2, 573; Baildon, loc. cit.

⁷⁹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 551-2.

⁸⁰ Chan. Warr. (P.R.O.), file 1767, no. 21; Baildon, loc. cit.; *Wills and Invent.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 53. Wheater, op. cit. 155, 180. In *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 55-9, the minister is called Robert: this is probably a mistake for Richard. In Duchy of Lanc. Ct. R. (P.R.O.), 128 (1915), he appears as Robert Savage, corrected to Richard.

⁸¹ Baildon, loc. cit.

⁸² Wheater, op. cit. 167.

⁸³ *Test. Ebor.* iii, 173.

⁸⁴ Baildon, loc. cit.; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* viii, App. i, 415; cf. *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild York*, 28 (1429-30); Wheater, op. cit. 50, 163-4.

⁸⁵ *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild York*, 63 (the Christian name is not given); Baildon, loc. cit.; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* iii, App. 260; *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xxiii, 145; Bodl. Lib. Chart. and R. York. 65. He was also provincial in 1491.

⁸⁶ Baildon, loc. cit.; Bodl. Chart. York, 66.

⁸⁷ *Reg. of the Univ. of Oxf.* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), i, 134.

⁸⁸ Baildon, loc. cit.; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), 1173.

⁸⁹ B.M. Seals, lxxiv, 74.

⁹⁰ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xxiii, 146.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

HOSPITALS

104. THE HOSPITAL OF BAGBY

This hospital is said to have been in existence about 1290, and to have been a dependency of the hospital of St. Leonard, York.¹ Gundreda, wife of Nigel de Albini and mother of Roger de Mowbray, granted to the hospital of St. Leonard land in Bagby,² as did Emma daughter of Gikel de Alverton. The site of the hospital can yet be traced in a field west of the village. A farm-house, about half a mile distant, bears the name of 'Spittal Hill.'³

105. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. GILES BEVERLEY

The origin of this hospital is unknown. According to Leland it was founded 'by one Wuse,'⁴ before the Conquest. In the reign of John, Ranulph was 'procurator' of the hospital, and he and the brethren of the house granted to Robert son of Roger Botte a toft in Middleton on the Wolds.⁵ In 1226⁶ Archbishop Gray granted certain tithes in Skiteby to the hospital. Archbishop Giffard appointed Walter de Scrape-toft rector of the hospital on 20 August 1274,⁷ and inserted in his register is a return made by the hospital,⁸ relating that it was bound to have five chaplains who daily celebrated for the souls of Alexander de Santona, Stephen de Crancevice, William Daniel, and Walter Godchep. The patrons of the hospital are recorded as the archbishop, for a messuage and 2 bovates of land in South Burton; William Constable of Holme; William, lord of Raventhorpe, for all the land belonging to Riding; Richard, lord of Bentley, for land in Bentley; Alexander de Santona and Robert Godland, Richard de Anlanbi, for land in Riplingham; Stephen de Crancewic and Robert

¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi (2), 780.

² *Ibid.* 609.

³ Grainge, *The Vale of Mowbray*, 171.

⁴ Leland, stating that there were four hospitals in Beverley [there were more], says 'S. Giles, where one Wuse, as it is thought, afore the Conquest was. It was belonging to the Bishops of Yorke only to such tyme that Bishop Giffard intituled it to Wartre, a Priorie of Canons in Yorkshire. It came a late to the Erle of Rutheland, and he suppressid it;' *Itin.* i, 47 [1532]. The site of the hospital was without Newbiggin bar; Poulson's *Beverlac*, 778.

⁵ B.M. Add. Chart. 5720. Thomas, the priest, occurs as 'rector' c. 1213 (Cott. MS. Nero D, iii, fol. 57), and Hugh as 'master' in the 14th century (Cott. MS. Claud. D, xi, fol. 168).

⁶ *Archbp. Gray's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 8.

⁷ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 259. Hugh occurs as warden in 1269; Baidon, *Mon. Notes* i, 11.

⁸ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 259.

de Cave, for land in Middleton; the Prior of Bridlington for land in 'Frestingtorp'; and Robert de Perci for the same in Eskburn. It is added that the hospital was only bound by charter for the maintenance of two sick men, for the land of Bentley. Probably this return was made in consequence of the hospital being in an unsatisfactory state, and by a decree dated 29 September 1277, the archbishop, lamenting the condition into which the hospital had fallen, by the advice of his cathedral chapter, and with the consent of the master of the hospital, annexed it with all its property to be subject to the canons regular of the priory of Warter. The priests and *conversi* who were then there were to be maintained in the hospital or at Warter according to the ordinance of the prior and convent. This ordinance of Archbishop Giffard was confirmed by Edward I in 1285-6.⁹

On 1 September 1279¹⁰ Archbishop Wickwane visited the hospital in person, and issued a series of injunctions as to its management. The Prior and convent of Warter were in future to have four priests of good conversation in the hospital, who by example of life might have a wholesome influence over others, honourably maintain the property of the hospital, continuously celebrate there, and preserve the due observances of the hospital. The two sick and feeble priests, lately found there, together with the four others were to be kept there. Fifteen beds and as many sick persons were to be maintained by the house over and above the ten poor folk, who, according to their charters, received their food, and their charters were to be observed according to their exact tenor, so that the goods of other sick and poor were not to be thrown in common, in any manner, nor the charters in any way exceeded. In future no victuals were to be sold from the hospital. The poor of the hospital who had no charters were to have a competent amount of straw on Christmas Day, and three or four eggs, according to the arrangement of the presidents. From every manor where geese (*auce*) were reared, the same sick were to have on the feast of the blessed Michael yearly in the hospital two geese and the fifth part of a cheese. Sufficient soup, as was accustomed, was to be served to them daily.

The fifth *lagena* of ale brewed for Christmas, and the fifth ox from the larder, the fifth sheep, and the fifth pig of the larder, except the hide, tallow, sheepskins and fat, and the lard, the said sick persons were to have. The prior and convent were to maintain the infirmary with the

⁹ Chart. R. 14 Edw. I, no. 39. The presence of 'conversi' in the hospital may be noted.

¹⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 25b.

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local alms. At the burial of the poor persons four lights were to be used, at their cost, if funds permitted. As soon as anyone was admitted to the brotherhood of the hospital he was to make his will and bestow his goods on the place, and was not to assign them elsewhere. The men were to use white tunics and black scapulars with hoods, the women white tunics and black mantles, and none were to go outside the precincts of the infirmary without the leave of the guardian (*custos*) specially appointed for this, nor were they to eat, drink, or sleep, or stay except in the infirmary. Having heard divine service in the chapel within the infirmary, they were to be occupied with the work of the house, as in spinning, washing the clothes of the canons and their servants. The private and suspected apartments or cells in the infirmary were to be removed without delay, that no evil could be suspected in the house in future.

The archbishops seem to have appointed the master, and on 6 November 1388⁴¹ Archbishop Arundel appointed Thomas Rooland master of the hospital of St. Giles, when it was explicitly stated that the prior and convent could not recall him to Warter. In 1410 he was elected Prior of Warter, and on 31 December 1412 obtained licence from Archbishop Bowett to alienate for £60 to certain burgesses of Beverley in perpetuity a close belonging to the hospital and commonly called 'Seyntgiliscroft.'⁴² The subsequent history of the hospital is merged in that of the priory to which it was annexed. It would seem that women were received as recluses in the hospital,⁴³ as Stephen Tilson of Beverley in his will, dated 6 June 1469, bequeathed 20*d.* 'cuilibet mulieri recluse infra domum sancti Egidij Beverlaci.'⁴⁴

A few years later than this Roger Lunde and Joan his wife, in return for the gift of all their property to the hospital, were given by Thomas Byrdlington, then master, a corrody and a 'celle sett yn the southe parte of the Fermorye of the seyd hospitall with a gardyne by hym.' After Roger's death John Dobson, clerk, master, and Thomas Nowson, Prior of Warter (1498-1526), deprived Joan of her garden, 'which was to her a greate yerthely comfort,' and detained her corrody.^{44a}

106. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. NICHOLAS, BEVERLEY

Leland says 'ther was an Hospital of S. Nicholas by the Black Freres but it is de kayid.'⁴⁵

⁴¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Arundel, fol. 13*b*.

⁴² Ibid. Bowett, fol. 180*b*.

⁴³ See an instance of this in the account of Arden.

⁴⁴ York Reg. of Wills, iv, fol. 137*b*.

^{44a} Early Chan. Proc. bdle. 242, no. 72.

⁴⁵ *Itin.* i, 47 (quoted *Beverley Chapter Act Book* [Surt. Soc.], ii, 346).

Probably it was from its nearness to the house of the Black Friars that it came to be commonly called the 'Friary.' The earliest allusion to it seems to be in an indulgence for ten days, which Archbishop Romanus granted in 1286 to those who visited and helped the decayed folk of the hospital of the blessed Nicholas of Beverley.⁴⁶ Some charters, dated 1363 and 1414 respectively, describe land as adjoining that 'of the brethren and sisters of the brotherhood of St. Nicholas.'⁴⁷

In 1300 one Robert Raggebroke complained against Robert de Kyrketon, master of the hospital of St. Nicholas at Beverley and certain of the brethren, that he had been despoiled of his free tenement in Beverley, to wit, a bed *pro infirmo* for a year, a piece of grey cloth, a dish of pottage daily, 2*s.* weekly, and 4*s.* yearly to be received at the said hospital.⁴⁸

Archbishop Kemp, on 31 January 1448, issued a commission 'ad visitandum hospitale sive locum vocatum friariam Sancti Nicholai prope Beverlacum.'⁴⁹ There seems, however, to be no record extant concerning the visitation itself. The double name of the hospital or 'Friary' is also found in the appointments of masters in 1411 and 1458. In the provost's book there are notes of payments received 'de magistro Frarie domus Sancti Nicholai pro scitu dicti hospitalis,' and for a croft called 'Frarycroft.'⁵⁰

MASTERS

Ranulf, occurs before 1250⁵¹

Robert de Kyrketon, occurs 1300⁵²

Thomas de Gudmundeham, appointed 1381⁵³

William de Scardeburgh, appointed 1411⁵⁴

Thomas Sprotteley, appointed 1427,⁵⁵ died

Edmund Hardyng, appointed 23 Aug. 1458,⁵⁶ resigned

Nicholas Bellerby, resigned 7 Sept. 1458⁵⁷

John Penketh, appointed 1485,⁵⁸ resigned

1503

Richard Penketh, appointed 1503⁵⁹

Nicholas Mell, resigned 1538⁶⁰

Richard Hawcliff, appointed 1538⁶¹

⁴⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 7.

⁴⁷ George Poulson, *Beverlac*, 774.

⁴⁸ Baildon, op. cit. i, 11.

⁴⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 132.

⁵⁰ *Beverley Chapter Act Book* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 320.

⁵¹ Assize R. 1046, m. 55.

⁵² Baildon, op. cit. i, 11.

⁵³ York Archiepis. Reg. A. Nevill, fol. 93*b*.

⁵⁴ Ibid. Bowett, 176*b*.

⁵⁵ Ibid. Kemp.

⁵⁶ Ibid. W. Booth, fol. 44.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid. Rotherham, fol. 3.

⁵⁹ Ibid. Savage, fol. 24.

⁶⁰ Ibid. Lee, fol. 71.

⁶¹ Ibid.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

107-114. LESSER HOSPITALS, BEVERLEY

TRINITY HOSPITAL.—John de Ake, merchant, of Beverley, in his will dated on Monday next before Michaelmas 1398, bequeathed all his lands and tenements in Beverley to Ellen his wife during her life, after her death to be applied to erecting and endowing a chapel on the Crossbridge in Beverley, and a hospital for twenty-four poor folk, their places, as they died, to be filled on the nomination of the twelve governors of Beverley, as well as a chaplain to do divine service in the chapel.⁶²

Richard II, on 27 June 1397,⁶³ had granted to Robert Garton and Henry Maupas that they might assign to the twelve governors of Beverley two messuages and a certain piece of vacant ground, 120 ft. long and 24 ft. broad, to find a chaplain to celebrate for the king, Thomas, late Archbishop of York, John de Ake of Beverley and Ellen his wife whilst they lived, and after death for their souls, and for the souls of Anne late Queen of England, John de Burton, clerk, and of all faithful departed, in a certain chapel, newly erected on the said piece of ground, and also for the support of twelve poor persons, to reside in a certain house there erected.

Archbishop Scrope granted licence on 23 June 1399⁶⁴ to Robert de Garton and Henry Maupas that they might give the tenement occupied by Thomas de Ryse in Keldgate, Beverley, at the time of his death, to the twelve governors of Beverley for the support of a chaplain and twenty-four poor persons in a certain house of God newly erected upon the Crossbridge of Beverley, further confirming the grant by the Chapter of York to Robert Garton and Henry Maupas and the governors of Beverley of the tenement which John de Ake held on the day of his death, in Cross Garths in Beverley.

It seems clear from these evidences that John de Ake had founded the hospital before his death and endowed it by his will. Robert Croull, Prebendary of Fridaythorpe in York, also on 23 June 1399,⁶⁵ allowed the tenements in Cross Garths, which John de Ake had held of the prebend, to be applied to the purposes of the hospital. Poulson states that the Cross Garths were situated on the east side of Butcher Row, and that the Corporation Almshouses existing in his time (1828) in the street were those of Ake's foundation.

An indenture between Thomas Browne, chaplain of the chantry chapel of Holy Trinity, on the Crossbridge in Beverley, founded by John de Ake and Ellen his wife and the governors of the town, dated 1419, for the safe keeping of

the plate, books, and ornaments of the same, is printed in Poulson's *Beverlac*.⁶⁶

Richard de York, chaplain of Lythe in Cleveland, in 1437 left 3s. 4d. 'hospitali sancte Trinitatis que vocatur Crosгарth in Beverlaco,'⁶⁷ and Richard Beford, butcher, of Beverley, left a similar sum in 1434, 'pauperibus domus sancte Trinitatis apud Crossebrigg.'⁶⁸

The hospital appears to have had no master or warden. Leland's reference to it is 'Trinity Hospital yet (1532) standith in the hart of the Toun. Sum say one Ake foundid it.'⁶⁹

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY WITHOUT THE NORTH BAR.—In Leland's time there was 'an hospitale yet standyng hard without the North Bar Gate, of the foundation of 2 merchant men, Akeborow and Hodgekin Overshall. As I remembre ther is an image of Our Lady over this Hospitale Gate.'⁷⁰ On 26 July 1434 Richard Beford of Beverley, butcher, left 3s. 4d. 'pauperibus capelle beate Marie extra Barram borialelem.'⁷¹ On 8 January 1466-7 William Tasker of Beverley, chaplain, bequeathed 6d. 'pauperibus domus elemosinarie beate Marie virginis extra Barram borialelem.'⁷² Henry son of John Holm, late of Beverley, on 20 August 1471⁷³ left 6s. 8d. to the poor of the house, described exactly as before, as did also John Midelton, merchant, of Beverley, on 17 June 1475.⁷⁴ John Ashton, mercer, of Beverley, a little earlier described it in his will (21 November 1468) as 'domus oracionis extra barram borialelem,'⁷⁵ a term he applied to the other hospitals in the town. It must not be confused with a leper house, also outside the North Bar, which was quite distinct from it.

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN LAIRGATE.—Of this hospital nothing is known either as to its origin or history, but allusions to it are met with in wills and other documents. On 8 January 1466-7 William Tasker of Beverley, chaplain, bequeathed 6d. 'pauperibus domus elemosinarie Sancti Johannis in Laythgate.'⁷⁶ Robert Bentlay of Bentley left on 1 March 1467-8 the same sum 'hospitali Sancti Johannis in Laythgatt.'⁷⁷ On 21 November 1468 John Ashton, mercer, bequeathed 'domui oracionis Sancti Johannis in Laregate' 20d.⁷⁸ Henry Holm, 6s. 8d. on 20 August, 1471, 'pauperibus

⁶⁶ Ibid. 788-790, quoting Lansd. MS. 896, fol. 134.

⁶⁷ York Reg. of Wills, iii, fol. 524.

⁶⁸ Ibid. fol. 392.

⁶⁹ *Beverley Chapter Act Book* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 346.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ York Reg. of Wills, iii, fol. 392.

⁷² Ibid. iv, fol. 46.

⁷³ Ibid. fol. 81.

⁷⁴ Ibid. fol. 196b.

⁷⁵ Ibid. fol. 148.

⁷⁶ Ibid. fol. 46.

⁷⁷ Ibid. fol. 57.

⁷⁸ Ibid. fol. 148.

⁶² Poulson, *Beverlac*, 785. See also p. 729.

⁶³ Ibid. 784.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 786.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 287.

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domus Sancti Johannis in Lathgate,'⁷⁹ and on 17 June 1475 John Midelton left 20*d.* 'domui elemosinarie beati Johannis in Lathgate.'⁸⁰

In a grant by Queen Elizabeth to the mayor, governors and burgesses of the town is included 'all that our tenement in Laregate in Beverley aforesaid, one orchard and one close . . . containing by estimation one acre and a half of land now or late in the occupation of certain paupers called the Massendeu of St. John the Evangelist in Beverley aforesaid abutting on the east part of the aforesaid street called Laregate.'⁸¹

THE LEPER HOUSE OUTSIDE THE NORTH BAR.—This was probably the chief leper house connected with Beverley. In 1402 John Kelk appeared before the twelve governors of the town in the Guildhall, and sought permission to erect a certain porch (*quandam porcheam*) against the said house outside the North Bar of Beverley for the habitation of lepers, men and women. Leave was granted to build the porch on a piece of waste ground measuring 8 ft. by estimation.⁸² Several bequests were made to the lepers outside the North Bar of small sums of money by Richard Beford in 1434,⁸³ William Tasker in 1466–7,⁸⁴ John Ashton in 1468,⁸⁵ Henry Holm in 1471,⁸⁶ John Midelton in 1475,⁸⁷ but for some unexplained reason in none of these instances is any house mentioned, the lepers 'dwelling' or 'being' outside the North Bar is all that is said. Thomas Burton, of Bainton, on 30 June 1473, left 12*d.* to each lazar house in Beverley, and also 'in auxilium et relevamen domus lazari dicti Beverlaci unum lectum scilicet unam culcitram, unum bolstor, par lodicum, par linthaminum cum coopertorio.'⁸⁸ It seems not unlikely that it was to this house that the bequest was made.

OTHER HOUSES.—In the grant of lands by Queen Elizabeth to the town of Beverley is included 'all that tenement and one little garth there [in Fishmarket] containing by estimation one rood of land, commonly called St. John Baptist Massendeu, now or late in the occupation of certain paupers, abutting on the west part of a street called Fishmarket.'⁸⁹ Beyond this reference nothing is known about this hospital.

In 1394 a certain Margaret Taillor, a leper, came before the twelve governors of Beverley in the Guildhall, and asked for charity's sake to have a bed within the house of the lepers outside Keldgate Bar, which petition was granted.⁹⁰

⁷⁹ York Reg. of Wills, iv, fol. 81.

⁸⁰ Ibid. fol. 96*b*.

⁸¹ Poulson, *Beverlac*, App. 37.

⁸² Poulson, *Beverlac*, 771.

⁸³ York Reg. of Wills, iii, fol. 392.

⁸⁴ Ibid. iv, fol. 46. ⁸⁵ Ibid. fol. 148. ⁸⁶ Ibid. fol. 81.

⁸⁷ Ibid. fol. 96*b*.

⁸⁸ Ibid. fol. 195.

⁸⁹ Poulson, *Beverlac*, App. 36.

⁹⁰ Poulson, *Beverlac*, 773.

There was a Maison Dieu built by the gild of St. Mary connected with St. Mary's Church in Beverley,⁹¹ and another connected with the minster; but whether they were the same as some already mentioned is not quite clear.

John Midilton, on 17 June 1475, bequeathed 12*d.* *pauperibus in Wodlane*, and the same amount *pauperibus domus in Dedelane*, Beverley,⁹² but other mention of these houses has not been met with.

Poulson,⁹³ describing the Corporation Almshouses says: 'These almshouses consist [in 1828] of four tenements in Lairgate called Bedehouses, and of thirteen rooms near the south end of Lairgate and nine similar rooms on the east side of Butcher Row called the Maison-Dieus formerly Ake's Hospital founded in 1396. They stand on the freehold property of the corporation, and are kept in repair by them; but there are no estates or funds specifically appropriated to their support.' It seems likely that St. John's Hospital in Lairgate rather than Ake's Hospital on the Cross Bridge are, or were, perpetuated by these almshouses. In 1889 these corporation almshouses in Lairgate are described as being four in number and called 'Maisons de Dieu.'

115. THE HOSPITAL OF BOROUGHBIDGE

A hospital existed at one time in Boroughbridge, but had already fallen into decay by 1297.⁹⁴ Nothing is known of its history.

116. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. HELEN, BRACEFORD

Res ap Griffith and Joan his wife in 1340 bought the advowson of this hospital from Philip de Somerville, and next year regranted it to Philip to hold for life.^{94a}

An entry in Archbishop Kemp's Register⁹⁵ records the institution, on 28 January 1433–4, of John Nailston, priest, to the perpetual chantry at the altar of the Blessed Virgin in the parish church of Burton Agnes, and to the hospital of Braceford annexed to the said chantry, vacant by the death of William Foston, chaplain, and belonging to the gift of John Griffitz, kt., patron of the said chantry and hospital. It was almost certainly the hospital mentioned in the *Taxatio* of 1291, where it is said that the hospital of 'Brayteford' held at 'Brayteford' property of the value of £4 7*s.*⁹⁶ The mastership, might,

⁹¹ Ibid. 727.

⁹² York Reg. of Wills, iv, fol. 96*b*.

⁹³ Poulson, *Beverlac*, 799.

⁹⁴ Mins. Accts. bdle. 1084, no. 19.

^{94a} *Yorks. Rec. Soc.* xlii, 139, 151.

⁹⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 373.

⁹⁶ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com), 305.

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apparently, be held by an unmarried layman, as an undated petition of the 15th century relates that the hospital or free chapel of Braceford, here said to be of the king's gift and foundation, having fallen vacant by the marriage of Robert Skerne, late possessor, the king had presented Nicholas Calton, clerk.⁹⁷

On 10 April 1505⁹⁸ William Monceux, who described himself as chaplain of the hospital of the chantry of the Blessed Mary in Burton Agnes, made his will, in which there is, however, no allusion to the hospital.

CHAPLAINS OR KEEPERS OF THE HOSPITAL

John Barnetby, presented 1389^{98a}
 Robert Skyrne, occurs 1399^{98b}
 William Kechyn, keeper, occurs 1413⁹⁹
 William Foston, chaplain, occurs 1433¹⁰⁰
 John Nailston, chaplain, instituted 1433¹
 William Monceux, chaplain, died 1505²
 Thomas Pierson, last chaplain, alive 1552-3³

117. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY, BRIDLINGTON

This hospital is said to have been founded by the Prior and convent of Bridlington.⁴ Alan de Monceaux,⁵ with the consent of Maud his wife and Robert their son, gave to the poor of this hospital land in Hertburn (in Barmston in Holderness), for the soul of Stephen, Earl of Albemarle, and Hawise his wife; and Walter Burdun,⁶ of Winkton, gave to the use of the poor in this hospital land in Hertburn, with a turbary.

The hospital is again mentioned in a mandate, 15 September 1342,⁷ addressed by Pope Clement VI to the Archbishop of York and the Abbots of York and Selby, to receive Maud, relict of Master John de Bramham, physician, as a sister of the hospital.

118. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. GILES BY BROMPTON BRIDGE

Considering the frequent allusions to this hospital before the Reformation, remarkably

⁹⁷ Early Chan. Proc. bdle. 75, no. 15.

⁹⁸ York Reg. of Wills, vi, fol. 139.

^{98a} Cal. Pat. 1388-92, p. 156.

^{98b} Ibid. 1399-1401, p. 3.

⁹⁹ Baildon, op. cit. i, 17.

¹⁰⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 373. ¹ Ibid.

² York Reg. of Wills (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), vi, fol. 139.

³ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 76, no. 8. Thomas Pierson had been assigned 100s. yearly, the full value of his benefice, and was in receipt of this pension in 6 Edw. VI.

⁴ Cal. of Papal Letters, iii, 86.

⁵ Poulson, *Hist. and Antiq. of the Seigniorship of Holderness*, i, 225. Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 245, places these gifts in Winkton and not Hertburn, but his authorities for his statements are in his yet unprinted Appendix. Poulson's statement seems, on the face of it, correct.

⁶ Poulson, *Hist. and Antiq. of Holderness*, i, 225.

⁷ Cal. of Papal Letters, iii, 86.

little is known about it. The former position of the hospital is indicated by a farm called St. Giles, on the south bank of the Swale. At the present time there is no bridge near, and it seems probable that when Catterick Bridge was built (c. 1421) an older bridge near St. Giles may have been discarded.

The hospital is alluded to under various names,⁸ but the formal designation appears to have been that of the hospital of St. Giles, *juxta pontem de Brunton*, or *de ponte de Brunton*. In the chartulary of St. Agatha's Abbey, Easby,⁹ there are some transcripts of 13th-century deeds relating to the possessions of the hospital, many of which the brothers of St. Giles exchanged for others with the canons of Easby. These lands lay in Marske, Scotton, Newton Morrell, &c. Unfortunately only one can be dated, as c. 1220, from the name of a witness. The others are undated, and the names of the witnesses are omitted. They indicate, however, that the head was called the *custos* or *magister* indiscriminately, and that the brothers were *fratres infirmi*, who, in the deed of c. 1450, speak of a grant being made *assensu capituli nostri*, implying that the establishment had the quasi-collegiate character of a larger hospital.

In *Kirkby's Inquest* it is stated that there were 8 carucates of land in Brompton Brigg, of which the master of St. Giles held 2 bovates.¹⁰

There is a seal appended to an indenture dated 29 June 1376 (among Sir John Lawson's manuscripts) between Richard of Richmond and Elizabeth his wife of the one part and Sir Walter de Wendeslaw master of the hospital of St. Giles of Brompton Bridge and the brethren and sisters of the same of the other part. It has a figure (probably St. Giles) and two shields, (a) vair a fesse (Marmion) (b) a bend between six martlets (? Furnival). All that remains of the legend is: . . . HOSPIT . . . CATERI . . . It should be noted that although the hospital is called Brompton Bridge, the legend on the seal is Catterick.¹¹

MASTERS OR WARDENS

Robert, occurs 13th century (after c. 1220)¹²

John de Ellerton, occurs 1305¹³

Roger de Skitby, occurs 1338¹⁴

⁸ In 1338 it is alluded to as the hospital of St. Giles at Burgh (Brough) near Catterick, and in 1388 as the hospital of St. Giles near Richmond; Baildon, op. cit. i, 33. In 1352 it is called the hospital of St. Giles near Catterick.

⁹ Egerton MS. 2827, fol. 111, 127, 269, 269b.

¹⁰ *Kirkby's Inq.* (Surt. Soc.), 174. Mr. Skaife, the editor, identifies Brompton Brigg with Brompton on Swale.

¹¹ Info m. given by Mr. H. B. McCall, Kirklington Hall, near Bedale.

¹² Easby Chartul. (Egerton MS. 2827), f. l. 111, &c.

¹³ Baildon, op. cit. i, 33.

¹⁴ Ibid.

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Simon de Wintringham, occurs 1343,¹⁵ 1352¹⁶
Walter de Wendeslaw, occurs 1376¹⁷
John Hilyard, occurs 1388¹⁸-1402^{18a}
William Lister, occurs 1451¹⁹

119. THE HOSPITAL OF CRAYKE

An indulgence was issued in 1228 on behalf of the hospital of the Blessed Mary 'in the meadows of Crak,'²⁰ but no other reference to this institution is known.

120-1. THE HOSPITALS OF DONCASTER

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JAMES at Doncaster is alluded to in 1222-3 as a leper-house, or at least partly so.²¹ At the time of the suppression²² it had become a free chapel only. Its freehold land was 60s. a year; of copyhold it had none. Roger Clarkson was the incumbent, and it was half a mile from the parish church.

Archbishop Rotherham granted forty days' indulgence in 1490²³ to benefactors of 'le spital extra australem portam ville de Doncaster.'

William, master of the House of Lepers at Doncaster in 1287-8, impleaded Robert de Gaste of Guseworth in a plea of novel disseisin.²⁴

The little circular 15th-century seal²⁵ has a figure of the patron saint with his pilgrim's staff and wallet. Of the legend in the field, no more than the word SAINCT is visible. The seal is only $\frac{11}{16}$ in. in diameter.

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. NICHOLAS.— This hospital was founded by Robert de Turnham in the reign of Richard I.²⁶ The founder made it to some extent dependent upon his abbey of Bayham in Sussex,²⁷ and bestowed upon it land in Beverley which he had bought from the Abbot of Meaux,²⁸ and also land in

¹⁵ Whitaker, *Richmondshire*, ii, 177.

¹⁶ Assize R. 1129, m. 17.

¹⁷ Sir John Lawson's MS.

¹⁸ Baildon, op. cit. i, 33.

^{18a} *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 469.

¹⁹ Whitaker, *Richmondshire*, ii, 32.

²⁰ *York Fabric Rolls* (Surt. Soc.), 235.

²¹ Protection for the sick and lepers; Pat. 12 Hen. III, m. 7.

²² *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 393.

²³ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, fol. 237 [altered to fol. 247].

²⁴ Baildon, op. cit. i, 37.

²⁵ *Cat. of Seals*, B.M. 3058, xlvi, 1789.

²⁶ Add. MS. 6037 (Chartul. of Bayham Abbey), no. 358, 334.

²⁷ The master and brothers held 12 acres and a toft in Loversall which they could not alienate without licence of the Abbot of Bayham; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 781 n.

²⁸ Add. MS. 6057, no. 334.

Braneham. For this latter estate his daughter Isabel and her husband Peter de Mauley gave to the brothers and sisters of the hospital of St. Nicholas 51 acres in Balby in exchange,²⁹ and their son, another Peter de Mauley, recovered land in 'Briddeshall' against the master of the hospital of St. Nicholas in 1250.³⁰

The only recorded master seems to be Henry, who occurs in 1247.³¹

122. THE HOSPITAL OF HERFORD

The only mention of this hospital that has been met with is the institution by Archbishop Arundel of Ralph de Luceby, on 30 July 1389, to the hospital of Herford in the diocese of York, on the nomination of Thomas Barry, esq., the patron.³² Its situation is unknown, unless it was at Hartforth, in the parish of Gilling, or possibly it may have been the hospital of Flixton, which is close to the River Hertford, and is described in 1448 as 'in Hertforthlith.'³³

123. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JAMES, HESSLE

In the latter part of the 12th century Henry de Traneby granted to God and the hospital of St. James of Hessele 1 acre of land with common pasturage in the field of Hessele, near the mill, between the land of Robert of Hessele and that of Warren de Vescy, stretching towards the shore of the Humber.³⁴

124. HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE, KILLINGWOLDGRAVES

This hospital, which was situated about two miles from Beverley, in the parish of Bishop Burton, may have been founded by one of the Archbishops of York, who had a manor-house in the parish and were the patrons of the hospital. In 1169 Archbishop Roger, considering the calamity and misery of the poor sisters of 'Kynewaldgrave,' confirmed to them his gift of the tithes of his assart of 'Bimannesconge.'³⁵ From a charter of Edward III,³⁶ 22 June 1327, which recites this with many other subsequent gifts, it is evident that the hospital had in the mean time become well endowed by the liberality of a number of persons whose donations the king confirmed. Until 1301 the sisters of the hospi-

²⁹ Ibid. no. 358. ³⁰ Assize R. 1046, m. 28.

³¹ Ibid. 1045, m. 18.

³² York Archiepis. Reg. Arundel, fol. 60b.

³³ *Cal. Pat.* 1446-52, p. 69.

³⁴ *Guisborough Chartul.* ii, 263.

³⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 650.

³⁶ Pat. 1 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 9.

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tal alone are mentioned in the grants, as if the hospital had been a foundation for women only; but in a later grant (the date of which is not recorded) by Roger the son of Hervey of Molescroft the brothers as well as the sisters of the hospital are named,³⁷ and although the sisters are more frequently mentioned, the foundation comprised brothers up to the time of its dissolution; for Isabella Swales, one of the sisters, on 21 May 1536 bequeathed a maser as an heirloom to the house, directing that it was to be in the keeping of the eldest brother or else of the eldest sister.³⁸

In 1352 Pope Clement VI granted a relaxation of a hundred days of enjoined penance to penitents visiting the church of the poor hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, Killingwoldgraves, on the feast of the patron saint; and at the same time he issued a mandate to the archbishop to cause Maud de Beverlaco to be received as a sister, if she was found to be fit.³⁹

In 1355 Edward III granted licence to the sisters to hold certain messuages in Beverley and Walkington with rents given them by William and Nicholas de Spaigne. In 1399 Alice de Burton, Alice de Ferriby, and Maud Rydell, sisters of the hospital of Killingwoldgraves, came before the twelve governors of Beverley and sought leave to have one bull, twelve sheep, and twenty swine in the Westwood of Beverley, a portion of land comprising 400 acres which was leased to the commonalty of Beverley by the archbishop.⁴⁰ In 1530 we find the chapter of Beverley paying £1 4s. to the sisters of the hospital,⁴¹ and two years later a similar annuity was being paid to the brothers and sisters.

There was a chaplain, whose stipend was reckoned in 1527 at 5 marks, besides the master, whose stipend was 26s. 7d.⁴² The mastership was usually held by clergymen of distinction in the diocese, and in several instances by the suffragan bishop.

MASTERS

- Willelmus 'Pharen' episcopus,⁴³ admitted 1399
 William de Scardeburgh,⁴⁴ occurs 1411
 Richard Bowett,⁴⁵ occurs 1414
 Thomas Bryan,⁴⁶ occurs 1423
 Thomas Tanfield,⁴⁷ admitted 1449
 John Cromwell, died 1486⁴⁸
 William, Bishop of Dromore,⁴⁹ admitted 1486

³⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 650.

³⁸ *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), vi, 53.

³⁹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 464.

⁴⁰ *Beverley MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Com.), 63.

⁴¹ Poulson, *Beverlac*, 621.

⁴² S.P. Dom. Ret. by Brian Higdon.

⁴³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 650. ⁴⁴ *Ibid.* ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Baildon, *op. cit.* i, 99.

⁴⁷ *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), iii, 214 n.

⁴⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, fol. 5b.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

John Riplingham, died 1507⁵⁰

John Hatton, Bishop of Negropont,⁵¹ admitted 1507

Christopher Wilson, occurs 1527⁵²

William, 'Dariens episcopus,' resigned 1543⁵³

Robert Warde, S.T.B.,⁵⁴ 1543

125. HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY AND ST. ANDREW, FLIXTON

(OTHERWISE CARMAN-SPITLE)

According to the Letters Patent of Henry VI in 1448,⁵⁶ confirming the original foundation, the deeds concerning which had, it is stated, been burnt, the hospital was founded in the reign of King Athelstan by a certain knight named Acehorne, formerly lord of Flixton, and was to consist of an alderman and fourteen brothers and sisters, and the object of the foundation was the preservation of travellers from the wolves and wild beasts then infesting those parts. For this end Acehorne endowed the hospital with a toft and croft, and two selions of moor and pasture land in Flixton, and also gave the alderman, brothers, and sisters common of pasturage for twenty cows and a bull in Flixton. From time out of mind the alderman, brothers, and sisters of the hospital had possessed 30 other acres of arable land in Flixton, the gifts of various persons. Some doubt is, perhaps, cast on the date assigned to the foundation of the hospital by the entries made under the head of Flixton in the Lay Subsidy Roll, 25 Edward I (1297), printed by Mr. William Brown,⁵⁷ where the entry 'De Acone Horn' xij^d' has a curious resemblance to the name of the reputed founder of the days of King Athelstan. It may be added that of the sum of 14s. collected in Flixton, the hospital of St. Andrew paid 2s. 6d., the largest sum of any in Flixton.

The Letters Patent record that the vicar of the parish church of Folkton, in which parish Flixton is situated, was accustomed, time out of mind, to come to a certain chapel within the hospital dedicated to God, the undefiled virgin Mary, mother of Christ, and St. Andrew, and there to celebrate solemnly the mass *cum benedictione calicis*, and after mass to bless bread and water, and to divide the bread and sprinkle the water among those who had heard the mass. Many of the popes, it is added, had granted great indulgences and remission of sins to each person who heard the mass and received the aforesaid sanctified bread and water.

⁵⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Savage, fol. 31. ⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² S.P. Dom. Ret. by Brian Higdon.

⁵³ York Archiepis. Reg. Lee, fol. 74b. ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Pat. 25 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 17, printed in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 613. See also Anct. Pet. 9795.

⁵⁷ *Yorks. Arch. Soc. Publ.* xvi, 138.

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The evidences of the hospital concerning all these matters having been lost, and danger arising to the king's lieges who in the winter or at night sought hospitality there, the king confirmed all the rights of the hospital, and incorporated it under the name of the alderman, brothers, and sisters of Carman-Spittle. It is not mentioned in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, and probably was not a religious foundation in the stricter meaning of the term, as there is nothing to indicate that the alderman was a clergyman, nor is there any mention of a chaplain, nor in such lists as exist of the clergy of the East Riding before the Reformation is there any record of the name of a priest connected with the hospital. There is no mention of it in any of the wills connected with Folkton or Flixton extant at York, unless there is an indirect reference to the hospital in a bequest by John Fishburn, rector of Folkton, in 1437, of 20s. to each of the two fraternities existing in his parish.⁵⁸ There is, moreover, no reason assigned for the name of Carman-Spittle,⁵⁹ under which the hospital was incorporated by Henry VI. The site is now occupied by a farmhouse. Only one name of an alderman is known, that of Richard Perron, whose name occurs in the Letters Patent of 1448 as then in office.

126. FANGFOSS HOSPITAL

When Ralph Lutton, esquire, of Knapton, was giving in his genealogy,⁶⁰ he showed two Latin deeds wherein Sir Thomas Lutton of West Lutton had bequeathed in 1300 to Robert of Fangfoss, son of 'James de Hospitali juxta Fangfoss,' 4 tofts and crofts with 8 bovates and 8½ a. of land in West Lutton.⁶¹ The hospital was clearly in existence in 1267, when Philip le Waleys, 'of the hospital of Wangefosse,' was accused of assaulting Alan son of Agnes in Pocklington,⁶² and is again mentioned in 1352, when Nicholas Marchaunt, 'staying in Fangfosse spitell,' murdered Thomas de Mikelfield.⁶³

127. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE, NEWTON GARTH, HEDON

This hospital was founded by William le Gros, Earl of Albemarle, prior to 1179, in which year he died. The foundation charter is not

⁵⁸ *York Reg. of Wills*, iii, fol. 492b.

⁵⁹ The hospital stood on the edge of lands called 'the Carrs.'

⁶⁰ Glover, *Visit. of Yorks.* (ed. J. J. Foster), 172.

⁶¹ From information given in the *Yorkshire Weekly Post* (25 Jan. 1908) by Mr. George Beedham of Stamford Bridge, in reply to a question asked.

⁶² Assize R. 1051, m. 40.

⁶³ Gaol Delivery R. 215, m. 11.

extant, but in the grant to the hospital by Henry II of a yearly fair on the feast of St. Mary Magdalene and seven following days, the inmates of the hospital are said to have been placed there by William, Earl of Albemarle, and in a deed by which the *confratres leprosi* of the hospital granted their chapel of St. Mary Magdalene at Hedon to William de Ederwic, they refer to William, Earl of Albemarle, as their founder.⁶⁴

Newton Garth, where the hospital stood, is a little distance from Hedon itself, but was anciently within the territory of the borough, and the inmates were called the *infirmi de Hedona* and *leprosi de Hedona*.⁶⁵

On 5 April 1301 Edward I granted the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene of Newton juxta Overpaghele (now High Paull, adjoining Hedon), in Holderness, free warren in their demesne lands of Newton.

In 1334-5⁶⁶ Richard Choldel and Alice his wife recovered seisin in the king's court held at Hedon against Richard de Potesgrave, master of the hospital of Newton, near Hedon, and Adam de Brunne, chaplain, of a corrody which consisted of a chamber in the hospital close; also soup and two loaves of good bread daily, 28 *lagenae* of the better ale of the hospital each fortnight, and other food and pittances, as a superior brother of the hospital, besides 3,000 turves yearly, with thatch and straw for the chamber, a stone of fat at Martinmas, 5s. 6d. yearly, and pasturage for six ewes and their lambs.

The mastership was evidently a piece of preference of consideration, and sought after. On 29 April 1427⁶⁷ Pope Martin V granted a dispensation to Thomas Bourchier, master of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, Newton Garth, who was in his sixteenth year only and of a race

⁶⁴ For those documents see Boyle, *Early Hist. of Hedon*, App. EE, pp. clxxxvii-cxc. The fair granted by Henry II was held on Maudlin Hill, and Mr. Boyle points out (p. 160) that the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, to which William de Ederwic was appointed, was not the chapel of the hospital, but a chapel built by the hospital near Maudlin Hill for the people who attended the fair.

⁶⁵ In the *Monasticon* (vi [2] 730) the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene is first called the 'Hospital of Newton in Yorkshire,' and the judgement by Archbishop Rotherham in regard to the dispute as to the mastership is quoted from his Register. On p. 747 of the same volume the hospital is again entered as the 'Hospital of Newton in the Deanery of Holderness,' but it is said that it was a different hospital, although the same valuations are given, and the same quotation made from Rotherham's Register! To make things still worse, St. Sepulchre's Hospital at Hedon is entitled (p. 654) in the account given of it, 'The Hospital of Hedon or Newton St. Sepulchre,' whereas St. Sepulchre's Hospital was on the north of the town, and altogether remote from Newton.

⁶⁶ Boyle, *Early Hist. and Inst. of Hedon*, &c. 163.

⁶⁷ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vii, 563-4.

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of great nobles and held the mastership, which was without cure (of souls) and wont to be assigned to secular clerks as a perpetual benefice, not exceeding £20 a year, that after he had attained his twentieth year he might hold any two benefices for life with or without a cure. This young master was the Thomas Bouchier who from the see of Ely was translated to Canterbury in 1454, became Lord High Chancellor in 1455, and a cardinal in 1464. He died in 1486.

In 1485⁶⁸ the mastership was claimed by Edmund Lichfeld and Edmund Percy. Archbishop Rotherham confirmed Mr. Edmund Percy in the mastership, and assigned Mr. Edmund Lichfeld an annual pension of 100s. The archbishop's adjudication was confirmed by Robert, the Dean, and the Chapter of York, and accepted by Edmund, *custos sive magister* of the hospital, with the confratres and sisters of the same, in the hospital on 14 January 1485-6.

In 1526⁶⁹ the mastership was valued at £21 2s. 8d., and the chaplaincy or office of cantarist in the chapel at 100s. a year. At the time of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* the annual value of lands and rents of the hospital was estimated at £40. Alms to the amount of 3s. 4d. were given at the obit of the founder, and five *elemosinarii* each received 34s. 8d. They were John Holme and his wife, Christopher Armerour, William Mase, and John Newby, all appointed by Royal Letters Patent.⁷⁰

In 1552-3⁷¹ it was reported under 'Newton Garth in Holdernes' as follows: 'Johan Nanby one of the systers of the lait hospital of Newton Garthe in holdernes of thage of liijth yeres havynge to her pencon xxxiiij. by yere and none arrereges of her seid pencon at michelmas last and haith not alnyed ne sold the same. Alice Thornton objit in october anno quinto Regis nunc, with lyke pencon and not paid for oone half yere endyd at martymes anno predicto and the seid pencon not sold.'

About the middle of the 19th century a vesica-shaped seal was dug up at Hedon 1½ in. by 1 in. in measurement. In the upper part are two demi-figures with nimbed heads, apparently SS. Peter and Paul. Below is the kneeling figure of an ecclesiastic. The whole is very rudely executed. Mr. Boyle deciphered the legend 'S. mag'ri Simonis domus b'te marie.'⁷²

The assumption made both by Poulson and Mr. Boyle that the seal is that of a former master of Newton Garth Hospital needs proof.

⁶⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, fol. 60b.

⁶⁹ S.P. Dom. 1526 (Return by Brian Higdon).

⁷⁰ Boyle, op. cit. 164.

⁷¹ Exch. K.R. Accts. bdle. 76, no. 23.

⁷² Boyle, op. cit. 165; a photograph of an impression is given on a plate facing p. 48, and there is a woodcut in Poulson's *Holderness*, ii, 196.

MASTERS

Simon ?⁷³

William de Sancto Oswaldo, occurs 1310⁷⁴

John de Rolleston, occurs 1315⁷⁵

Walter de Assherugge, appointed 1316⁷⁶

Richard de Potesgrave, occurs 1334-5,⁷⁷
1342⁷⁸

Richard de Retford, occurs 1354⁷⁹

Alan Boole, before 1371⁸⁰

Robert de Muskham, occurs 1378⁸¹

John Frankyssh, occurs 1388⁸²

Thomas Bouchier, occurs 1427⁸³

Edmund Percy, 1485⁸⁴

Mr. Robert Gilbert, 1526⁸⁵

— Woodhall, 1535⁸⁶

128-30. OTHER HOSPITALS OF HEDON

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. SEPULCHRE.—This hospital, which stood on the north of the town, west of the road to Preston, was founded by Alan Fitz Hubert, who granted to the lepers of St. Sepulchre of Hedon 7 acres, being the site on which the buildings were erected, and adjacent lands. Another gift, by Peter Hog, burgess of Hedon, was to the master, brothers, and sisters of the hospital. Elsewhere the master and brothers are generally spoken of, or the latter only. In a fine, the prior of the sick people of Hedon is mentioned, and this is believed to refer to the head of St. Sepulchre's Church.

'The founder and his descendants retained the right of presenting a man or woman, whole or infirm, to be provided for in the hospital. If the person chosen was a priest, or below that order, he was, nevertheless, to dine at the common table, and sleep in the dormitory of the lay brethren, and to wear the same apparel. . . . In addition to this, the hospital was held bound to receive any afflicted person, allied to the founder or his heirs within the fourth degree of blood, and sufficiently to provide for him.'⁸⁷

In an inquisition of 1276 the commissioners reported that the brethren of the hospital of

⁷³ See Boyle, op. cit. 165.

⁷⁴ Memo. R. (K.R.), 3 Edw. II, m. 25 d.

⁷⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1313-17, p. 339.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 552. ⁷⁷ Boyle, op. cit. 163.

⁷⁸ Baildon, op. cit. i, 149.

⁷⁹ Assize R. 1129, m. 4 d.

⁸⁰ Baildon, op. cit. i, 149.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.* ⁸³ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vii, 563-4.

⁸⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, fol. 60b

⁸⁵ S.P. Dom. 1526 (Return by Brian Higdon).

⁸⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 113.

⁸⁷ Boyle, op. cit. 168, citing Poulson's *Holderness*, ii, 195. Mr. Boyle notes that Poulson's authorities for his statements are erroneously described, and says, 'I am convinced that Poulson quoted from some volume, probably in the Burton Constable Library, which contained transcripts from the Hull Records.'

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St. Sepulchre had inclosed a place which used to be common.⁸²

On 27 February 1468 Joan de Twyer directed in her will that she was to be buried in the chapel of the hospital of St. Sepulchre juxta Hedon, and bequeathed to the master of the hospital a ewer and basin, and a brazen mortar.⁸⁹

On 15 August 1490 Robert Twyer directed in his will that he was to be buried in the church of St. Sepulchre beside Hedon, near the tomb of Sir William Twyer, kt., his ancestor.⁹⁰ In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* the yearly revenue of the hospital is set down as £11 18s. 4d. In 1526 the mastership was reckoned at £4 a year.

MASTERS

- Ralph, occurs 1210–11⁹¹
- Peter, occurs 1256⁹²
- Robert, occurs 1282⁹³
- Alan Grass, occurs 1388⁹⁴
- Richard Sprotlay, occurs 1468⁹⁵
- Mr. William Wight, occurs 1526⁹⁶
- Silvanus Clifton, occurs 1535,⁹⁷ 1538⁹⁸
- Edmund St. Quintin (last master)⁹⁹

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD.—Among the town records of Hedon there are several allusions to this hospital,¹⁰⁰ and in a defective Sheriff Tourn roll of the time of Henry IV there is a statement that ‘Lenardgote’ was defective, and that it ought to be repaired ‘per magistrum hospitalis Sancti Leonardi’ and a certain William Alnewick.¹ The hospital stood on the west of a road called Woodmarket Gate.

THE HOSPITAL OF THE GILD OF THE HOLY CROSS.—Licence was granted by Richard II, 5 July 1392, to John de Burton and Henry Maupas, to convey a toft in Hedon to the masters and brothers of the hospital of the gild of the Holy Cross of Hedon to find a candle to burn every feast day in the church of St. Augustine of Hedon before the high cross.²

The gild of the Holy Cross at Hedon maintained a chaplain who said morning mass at one of the altars in St. Augustine’s Church for the souls of departed members of the fraternity.³ It

possessed considerable property in the town, and some of its work seems to have been that of a benevolent society. In an inquisition held in York Castle in 1613 two messuages called God’s Love Houses, on the south side of the church of St. Augustine, are named as having belonged to the gild. Possibly these represented the old hospital.⁴

131. CHARTERHOUSE HOSPITAL, HULL

In the Letters Patent of Edward III,⁵ granting licence to Michael de la Pole to found the Carthusian monastery outside Kingston-upon-Hull, provision was made for thirteen poor men and thirteen poor women to be included in the scheme. They might either be a part of the Carthusian monastery or distinct from it, as the founder determined.

It would seem that the Carthusians were established in an already existing ‘Maison Dieu’⁶ or hospital in the manor of Myton, outside Hull, and presumably the monks and the poor brethren occupied the same set of buildings. But apparently in 1383 the two foundations were separated, and Michael de la Pole gave two messuages to the east of the monastery to the master and brethren of the Maison Dieu, with lands in Cottingham and Willerby.⁷

By his charter, dated at Hull on 1 March 1394, Michael de la Pole founded, adjoining the Charterhouse on the east, a hospital, with 1½ acres of land there, for thirteen poor men and thirteen poor women, feeble and old, which hospital was to be known for ever as ‘God’s House of Hull.’ Richard Killam, priest, was appointed the first master, and every master was to be a priest and thirty years of age and bound to personal residence. The poor folk were to render obedience to him, and he was to have a residence near the hospital and £10 yearly. He was to say mass daily in the hospital chapel, and the poor folk were to resort daily ‘before dinner’ to hear Divine service, and say their own prayers, and then in the afternoon to betake themselves to some honest occupation. They were to pray for King Richard and the founder and other persons named, and the master was to give them each 40s. a year for their necessaries, viz. 8d. a week to each, and the residue of the 40s. at the four terms of St. Michael, Christmas, Easter, and the Nativity of St. John the Baptist.

Vacancies of the mastership, or among the poor folk, were, during the founder’s life, to be filled by the founder, and after his death by his heirs, lords of the manor of Myton, if of full age.

⁴ Ibid. App. i.

⁵ Pat. 51 Edward III, m. 10.

⁶ Pat. 2 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 36; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 21.

⁷ Pat. 7 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 32.

⁸² Boyle, op. cit. 26.

⁸⁹ York Reg. of Wills, iv, fol. 130.

⁹⁰ *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), iii, 242 n.

⁹¹ Poulson, *Holderness*, ii, 196.

⁹² Ibid. ⁹³ Baildon, op. cit. i, 88.

⁹⁴ Poulson, *Holderness*, ii, 196.

⁹⁵ York Reg. of Wills, iv, fol. 130.

⁹⁶ S.P. Dom. 1526 (Return by Brian Higdon).

⁹⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 113.

⁹⁸ Poulson, *Holderness*, ii, 196. ⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Boyle, op. cit. 208 n., 209 n., 211 n., pp. xlviii, xlix, lxi, clxvii.

¹ Ibid. quoting Hedon Corp. Rec. ii, 484.

² *Yorks. Chant Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 558, citing Pat. 16 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 29.

³ Boyle, op. cit. 174.

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If the heir was a minor, and the appointment was delayed for a month, then during the next fortnight the Prior of the Charterhouse was to appoint. If he failed, then the mayor, and again if the mayor failed within his fortnight, then the Archdeacon of the East Riding or his official was to make the appointment.

Provision was made for the annual rendering of the accounts of the house. A chest was to be kept in the treasury of the adjoining priory, into which the founder had placed 100 marks of silver. It was to be under the custody of the master, the prior, and the mayor. The 100 marks was to be lent out, and the interest placed in the chest and added to the capital. By licence of King Richard, the founder gave also 5 messuages in Kingston-upon-Hull, and land and pasture in Cottingham and Willerby. A considerable addition to the endowment of this hospital of Myton was made in 1408 by Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, Sir Edmund de la Pole, and Robert Bolton.⁸

The hospital escaped at the dissolution of the priory, and in the chantry certificates⁹ is described as 'Thospitall of Saint Mychaell, commonlie called Goddes House without the Gates of Hulle.' William Man was then master, and there were only six brothers and six sisters, owing to the decay of the endowment first given at the foundation, which in this case is stated to have been 12 March, 7 Richard II [1384-5]. The hospital was said to be within Trinity parish, and it was needed for the living of the master and relieving of poor and impotent people, with twelve persons then in the house. The goods, ornaments, &c. as by inventory were valued at £4 7s. 8d., and the plate at 42s. The whole of the other tenements and rentals after deducting reprises, &c. amounted to £61 1s. There was the site of the house and houses for sixteen poor people under one roof, the chapel, three gardens separated, with a highway leading to the late Charterhouse, and environed with a brick wall, and containing an acre and a half of ground.

In 1571¹⁰ the mayor and aldermen complained to Archbishop Grindal against Thomas Turner that during the thirteen years he had been master he had misused the hospital, 'not only in receiving and admitting thither such as be neither halt, lame, nor blind, but such as are well to live in the world, and have plenty of money, so as to let it out to usury. As also in

letting out of leases of such lands and tenements as belong to the hospital, as well in reversion as by surrender of the old leases, and that for many years, and taking great fines, and incomes for the same,' &c.

Eventually four of the aldermen with the two chamberlains and the town clerk examined the master's accounts for 1560 to 1571, and found him on various heads indebted to the hospital to the amount of £69 18s. 3d. Turner urged that he had only followed the example of his predecessors, and had not acted *mala fide*. This excuse was accepted, and it was decided not to compel him to make restitution; but they examined the leases he had let, and as he had granted some for unusually long periods, and others in reversion, these were declared void. All were given up, and fresh leases for twenty-one years were granted with the assent of the brothers and sisters of the house. For the better rule of the hospital in future seventeen ordinances were compiled, which can only be briefly mentioned here. In the first place the original ordinances were to stand and be enforced 'so as they be not contrary, varying, or repugnant to the most wholesome and godly laws of this realm now established for the true religion of God.'

There was again to be the full number of thirteen brothers and thirteen sisters with their ancient allowances. The master was yearly to render an account of his administration, with a full statement of all lands and chattels, in writing, to the mayor and two aldermen, and twice a year to make a full survey of the edifices and buildings belonging to the hospital and see to their repair. Daily, or at least thrice a week, the master was to say divine service, viz., morning and evening prayer from the Book of Common Prayer, and further instruct the brethren and sisters in the catechism, and procure that the brethren and sisters should each communicate at least four times a year. He was not to alienate any of the hospital property without the consent of the brothers and sisters. He was not to dismiss any of the brothers or sisters without the consent of the mayor, and on the death of any brother or sister he was to give notice to the mayor within three days. The master's original stipend of £10 was increased by £3 6s. 8d. a year. Before Pentecost there was to be provided a muniment chest, to remain in the fittest place in the hospital or in the safest place in the town, with three keys of several fashions, one of which the mayor was to have, the second the master, and the third the senior chamberlain. Steps were to be taken to increase the funds so that more poor might benefit from the hospital, and a new seal was to be made to be called the common seal of the Hospital or House of God; it was to be used for leases, and kept in a leather purse in the treasury chest. All the brothers and sisters were to take oath to

⁸ Pat. 9 Hen. IV, pt. ii, m. 14; 10 Hen. IV, pt. i, m. 3; Anct. Pet. 12517.

⁹ *Torks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 338.

¹⁰ Tickell, *Hist. of Hull*, 227-37. The mayor and aldermen describe themselves as the patrons of the hospital 'of the Holy Trinity nigh Kingston-upon-Hull aforesaid, otherwise called God's-house, or the Hospital of St. Michael.' The true invocation would therefore seem to be that of the Holy Trinity.

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observe the statutes of Michael de la Pole, not being contrary to the newer statutes or the laws of the realm. The master was at the same time made to take an oath for the due administration of the hospital. By 1624 the revenues had so increased that the full number of thirteen men and thirteen women was restored, the income being then £130, as against something less than £50 in Turner's mastership.

During the siege of Hull in 1642¹¹ the buildings of the hospital and several houses in Myton lanes were entirely destroyed by Sir John Hotham, with a view to prevent the besiegers from taking possession of them. The hospital was rebuilt in 1644,¹² but was soon afterwards in financial difficulties, a sum of £473 15s. 7d. having been expended in rebuilding it; and in 1651, although there were only twelve poor people in it, the house owed more than £100. A vigorous reform was begun, and the revenues gradually increased, so that in 1752 they amounted to over £420, and in 1780 the then master was able to rebuild the hospital with accommodation for forty-four brothers and sisters, there being when Tickell wrote (1793) eighteen poor men and twenty-five women living in separate apartments, and each receiving 3s. 6d. weekly, besides fuel, &c. The revenues in 1794 were estimated to reach £850, and in 1840¹³ amounted to upwards of £1,300, and twenty-eight poor men and twenty-nine poor women were then housed in the hospital, which in modern times has come to be spoken of as 'The Charterhouse.'

MASTERS¹⁴

Robert de Killam, 1384
 Simon Burton, 1428
 Robert Pullan, 1448
 Henry Paycock, 1468
 Thomas Wilson, 1508
 John Garton, 1513
 Thomas Sotheby, 1514
 Robert Walter, 1515
 Christopher Richardson, occurs 1527¹⁵
 William Man, 1535
 Simon Hemsey, 1552
 Laurence Allan, 1555
 Thomas Turner, 1558
 Griffith Briskin, 1583
 Thomas Wincop, 1598
 Andrew Marvell, 1624
 William Styles, 1641
 John Shaw, 1651
 William Ainsworth, 1661
 Richard Kitson, 1671

¹¹ Tickell, *Hist. of Hull*, 424. ¹⁵ *Ibid.* 741.

¹³ White, *Hist. Gaz. and Dir. of the E. and N. Ridings* (1840), 124.

¹⁴ Tickell, *op. cit.* 745.

¹⁵ *Cler. Subs.* 64, no. 303.

John Garnet (pro tem.), 1715

John Clarke, 1716

John Bourne, 1768

132-6. OTHER HOSPITALS, HULL

GREGG'S HOSPITAL.—This hospital was founded in 1414 by John Gregg,¹⁶ alderman and merchant of Hull. He also founded two chantries in Trinity Church, and endowed the whole with houses, lands, and tenements in the town. In 1445 William Saunderson, chaplain of Gregg's Maison Dieu and chantry, enfeoffed the Mayor and burgesses of Hull and their successors, in trust, of the lands, &c., belonging to the hospital and chantries. Licence having been obtained from the king, the mayor and commonalty bound themselves to maintain them, and to pay to the thirteen poor folk in the hospital £3 0s. 8d., on every Sunday 1s. 2d., for their maintenance, which they were to receive at the altar of St. Lawrence in Trinity Church. Tickell states that in the hospital there 'lately hung two antient tables, in one of which were placed rules and orders appointed by the founder to be observed in this house by such poor as should be admitted unto the same; in the other, before the reformation, were drawn the pictures of the founders, and of Christ, to whom this hospital was dedicated, which in the reign of Queen Elizabeth were effaced, together with some orders in the first table which enjoin the poor of this house to pray for the souls of certain persons deceased, and new rules and orders drawn up by the mayor and aldermen were written in their place.'

Tickell professes to quote verbatim the rules from the founders' table, which begin, 'Thys ysth' ordynauce and constitucione of John Gregg, of Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant, and of dame Jone his wife, founders and beginners of a mayson dieu yn ye olde Kirk lane, of the said town, ye which ys callyd ye masen dew of Chryste.'

Each brother or sister was to be taken by advice of the mayor and aldermen, and those poor people who had been 'of most worship' in the town, and had fallen into poverty, were to be admitted before others. Every brother or sister might leave at will. The founders willed that every brother and sister should say daily at 6 in the morning, and at 6 at even, fifteen paternosters, fifteen Ave Marias, and three Credos, for the founders' and all Christian souls. If any married they were to leave and take their goods. All goods were to be in common, and the garden 'common to alle the brothys and systers both in herbs and dysporting both for ye pottes and ye

¹⁶ Tickell, *op. cit.* 756, whose account has been followed.

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cuppes, and in dewe tyme yay to manour¹⁷ and garto set and sow the same garden by yair best avyle for ye weelfare of yem alle.' The founders also willed that the 'prayer bell be rongen at 6 atte klok atte morning lasting the tyme of yair prayers,' and at even the same, by a brother or sister.

In 1564 the mayor and aldermen altered various of the rules for the poor 'within Corpus Christi (*sic*) maison dieu.' The brothers and sisters were to learn the belief, commandments, and Lord's prayer in English, and not to be given to idolatry, or worship or keep images, or practise witchcraft. There was to be no evil living. Those who were in health were to tend the sick. And yearly two among the brethren and sisters were to be chosen who should see to the observance of the rules.

This hospital is still one of the town charities. In Tickell's time the poor were not so comfortably lodged as in the Charterhouse Hospital, the building, as he remarks, being very ancient, and the apartments small. The poor were not then fed in common according to the intent of the founder, but lived separately, and provided in the best manner their allowance and industry would admit for their needs.

The hospital was situated in Postern Gate, and in 1840¹⁸ housed twenty widows who received '2s. each weekly.'¹⁹

RIPLINGHAM'S HOSPITAL.—According to Tickell,²⁰ John Riplingham, D.D., whom he terms 'president of Beverley College,' soon after 1517 founded a hospital for twenty poor people in Vicar Lane, and also a chantry in Trinity Church, wherein two priests (the last of whom were Laurence Allan and William Parkins)²¹ were daily to pray for his soul, his parents' souls, and the souls of all Christians. He endowed this chantry and the hospital with the rents of eighteen tenements and four gardens within the town, and lands, &c., elsewhere. Tickell says that the hospital was standing in the beginning of the reign of Charles I, but was destroyed during the Civil war. John Riplingham, a son of William Riplingham, merchant of Hull, died in 1518, as rector of St. Martin's Vintry, London.²²

¹⁷ i.e. 'manure.' ¹⁸ White, *Hist. Gaz. &c.* 124.

¹⁹ Dame Joan Thurescrosse of Hull bequeathed, 17 September 1523, 'To Gregge's Massendew xx.'; *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), v, 172.

²⁰ Tickell, *op. cit.* 146.

²¹ William Parkyn was incumbent of the 'Stipendiarie or Salarie' at St. Mary's altar in St. Mary's Church, but that was of the foundation of one 'Jeffrey Thuriscrosse' and in another church. Neither the chantry alluded to by Tickell nor the hospital is mentioned in the Chantry Certificates. *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 346.

²² See a note, *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), iii, 225, which refers to *Athenae Cantab.* i, 20, for an account of him.

TRINITY MAISON DIEU.—There was a Maison Dieu at Beverley Gate which is referred to in the will of Dame Joan Thurescrosse of Hull, 17 September 1523, where she bequeathed 'To the Trinitie Massendew at Beverley gattes a matres, a coverlett, a paire of blankettes, a paire of hardyn sheittes.'²³ It may have been that which James de Kyngeston, king's clerk, built for thirteen poor infirm persons, and which he obtained the king's licence in mortmain in 1344 to assign to John le Couper, the master he had appointed of God's House, to provide a habitation for thirteen poor men and women, broken by age, misfortune, or toil, who could not gain their own livelihood.²⁴

TRINITY HOUSE HOSPITAL.—The gild of the Holy Trinity of Kingston-upon-Hull was formed in 1369,²⁵ and in 1441–2 Henry VI granted Letters Patent constituting the gild a body corporate. In the king's grant provision was made towards the building of an almshouse, founded for thirteen persons, who by misfortune of the sea shall happen to fall into poverty, and a chapel annexed thereto.

On All Saints' Day (1 November) 1457 certain of the masters and owners of ships by advice of the merchants and others established as part of the gild of the Holy Trinity, in honour of the Holy Trinity and our Lady, 'an house of alms within the said Kingston-upon-Hull for mariners that be impotent and of no power of goods, in the said house to be sustained and charitably relieved and continued of and with lowage and stowage, that is to say, all profits in money that shall hereafter grow or be taken of every ship of the said port,' &c.

The hospital thus founded in connexion with the corporation of Trinity House, Hull, has been so intimately connected with and managed by that corporation that its history is part of the history of Trinity House.

SELBY'S HOSPITAL.—This hospital seems to have been founded by Richard de Ravenser, Archdeacon of Lincoln, and Robert de Selby, his brother, for twelve poor men, each of whom was to receive one halfpenny a day.²⁶ In 1392²⁷ lands in Lund were conveyed to the Prior and convent of Guisborough for its support and the maintenance of a chantry for a canon regular in Trinity Church, Hull, at that time a chapel in the parish of Hessle, the church of which belonged to Guisborough. Leland says that Selby's Hospital stood on the north side of the church.²⁸

²³ *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), v, 172.

²⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1343–5, p. 239.

²⁵ Tickell, *op. cit.* 704.

²⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 275, no. xxxiv.

²⁷ *Ibid.* ²⁸ *Ibid.* 781.

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137. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD, LOWCROSS

Most of what is known about this hospital is contained in a series of some sixty deeds in the Guisborough Chartulary.²⁹ It would appear to have been founded by a member of a family which took its name from Hutton near Guisborough, as Richard son of Hugh de Hotona confirmed to the lepers of Lowcross 2 acres in Hutton, where the hospital had anciently stood;³⁰ and John 'dominus de Hoton' remitted to the Prior and convent of Guisborough his right of nominating a leper to the hospital.³¹

From the charter, already mentioned, of Richard son of Hugh de Hotona it is evident that the hospital originally was situated at Hutton, but from other charters³² in which it is described as the hospital of St. Leonard 'quod est inter Hotonam (Hutton) et Bernaldby' (Barnaby), it looks as if it had been moved, and it was then known as the hospital of Lowcross, which lies between Hutton and Barnaby. Between 1218 and 1234 the neighbouring hospital of St. Laurence at Upsall appears to have been suppressed. At any rate, most of its lands were then transferred to the hospital of Lowcross,³³ and this possibly synchronizes with the removal of the hospital to Lowcross.

A difficulty is presented by the identification on the Ordnance Survey at Hutton, and not at Lowcross, of a site marked 'Lepers Hospital,' and Graves writing of Hutton in 1808 says: 'A part of the buildings which stood in a solitary situation, shut in by rising grounds overhung with deep and solemn woods, has been converted into a farm-house, with stables and other out-offices, in which some mutilated arches of doors and windows are still remaining.'³⁴ It is obvious that he refers to the site marked on the Ordnance Survey. Possibly this was the original site.

The hospital is called in two of the charters the 'Hospital of the Sick Men of Bernaldby'³⁵ (Barnaby), a natural alternative to that of Lowcross, as it is evident from a charter of Gregory the son of Walter de Bernaldby that the hospital, which had a cemetery attached to it, though in Lowcross, stood on the confines of Barnaby.³⁶ Elsewhere it is called the 'Hospital of the Sick persons of St. Leonard of the parish of St. Mary of Guisborough.'³⁷ The inmates were of both

sexes: 'rratres et sorores, sani et leprosi, de ecclesia et de domo S. Leonardi de Loucros,'³⁸ as they style themselves in one case. The hospital must have been fairly well endowed, from the numerous gifts mentioned in the charters. These included property in Barnaby, Hutton, Lowcross, Kirkleatham, Upsall, Moorsholm, and other neighbouring villages. There was a church³⁹ as well as a cemetery at the hospital. The hospital was governed by a master until it was given to Guisborough Priory by William de Bernaldeby,⁴⁰ whose gift was confirmed by Peter the son of Peter de Brus.⁴¹ It would seem that the hospital had been taken over by the priory before 1275, as in that year the jurors of the wapentake said that the brewers and bakers of Guisborough used to give alms of ale and bread to the lepers of Lowcross at their pleasure, but the Prior of Guisborough now compelled them to pay $\frac{1}{2}d.$ every week when they baked or brewed, and these alms he farmed out for 1 mark or 20s.⁴² After the hospital became dependent on Guisborough the almoner of the priory became its *custos* or rector, and the hospital wholly disappears from view.⁴³ It is last mentioned in 1339,⁴⁴ but there is no reason to suppose that it was suppressed before the Dissolution, though it seems to have been absorbed in the priory.

138-140. THE MALTON HOSPITALS

The priory of Malton, instead of its canons taking charge of nuns, had three hospitals for the poor attached to it.⁴⁵

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE, BROUGHTON.—This one of the three hospitals was founded by Eustace Fitz John, the founder of the priory, at or about the same time as the monastery.⁴⁶ Henry Latimer gave a toft in Broughton to provide firing for the poor in the hospital.^{46a} The office of *custos* appears to have been in the king's gift, at least it is so stated in 1399, when the king appointed Thomas Scawby chaplain.⁴⁷

WHEELGATE HOSPITAL.—Another of these hospitals was in Malton itself, in Wheelgate.⁴⁸ The Cross Keys Inn stands on the site of the hospital, and a crypt still remains.

²⁹ *Guisborough Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 171-96. The deeds are mostly anterior to c. 1250.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 171.

³¹ *Ibid.* 193.

³² *Ibid.* 181.

³³ *Ibid.* 190.

³⁴ Graves, *Hist. of Cleveland*, 433.

³⁵ *Guisborough Chartul.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 173, 184-5.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 177, no. 345, in which land in Barnaby given to the hospital of St. Leonard of Lowcross is described as lying on the east of the hospital, and other land by the cemetery on the west of the hospital.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 175.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 195.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 195, 187.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 190.

⁴¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi (2), 781.

⁴² *Hund. R. (Rec. Com.)*, i, 129.

⁴³ *Guisborough Chartul.* i, p. xxi.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Graham, *St. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines*, 37.

⁴⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi (2), 780.

^{46a} Cott. MS. Claud. D. xi, fol. 242.

⁴⁷ Pat. 22 Ric. II, m. 23.

⁴⁸ Graham, *op. cit.* 213.

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THE HOSPITAL OF ST. NICHOLAS, NORTON.—The third of the hospitals under the governance of Malton Priory was situated on an island in the Derwent on the Norton side of the river.⁴⁹

William de Flamville⁵⁰ gave the place at Norton to the canons of the order of Sempringham, to minister there to Christ's poor who sought for their daily food, so that as far as the place allowed they might have daily hospitality and refreshment. Roger de Flamville⁵¹ gave to the Blessed Mary the Virgin, and St. Nicholas, the church of St. Mary of Marton with its appurtenances, for the hospital of the poor at the head of the bridge of Norton. He also gave to the hospital pasturage for 200 sheep in Marton, with other gifts in Hutton, &c.

141. THE HOSPITAL OF JESUS, MIDDLEHAM

Nothing is known about this hospital beyond the statement of Leland that there was at the east end of Middleham a little hospital with a chapel of Jesus.⁵²

142. THE HOSPITAL OF MITTON

There appears to have been a hospital in Mitton or Myton, outside Hull, at the time that Michael de la Pole founded his priory of Carthusian monks in 1379, as he granted to the monks, *inter alia*, a messuage once part of the manor of Mitton, and formerly known as 'le Masendew.'⁵³ The later history of this hospital will be found in the account of the Charterhouse Hospital, Hull.

143. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JAMES NEAR NORTHALLERTON

The foundation of this hospital has been usually assigned to Hugh Pudsey, Bishop of Durham (1154-95),⁵⁴ but it seems certain from an ordinance made in respect to it in 1244 that the original founder was Philip de Poitou, Bishop of Durham 1197-1208, for whose soul the chaplains were bound to pray.⁵⁵

Three documents relating to the hospital have been printed by Canon Raine.⁵⁶ One only, the ordinance of 1244, is dated, but an approximate

date of c. 1230⁵⁷ can be assigned to another, and the third seems to be intermediate between them.

The first is a revocation by Robert, vicar of Allerton, of certain concessions he had made to the hospital. His statement is that when very ill, and mentally incompetent, he was cajoled by the Bishop of Durham and certain of his officials to make concessions to the hospital. He had renounced all ecclesiastical rights of the vicar, and allowed the hospital to have a free chapel, with chaplains appointed without his or his successors' consent, to minister in the chapel, from whom the hospital inmates could receive the sacraments. The hospital was to have its own cemetery, wherein not merely the inmates might be buried, but any *liberi homines* who in their lifetime had chosen it as their burial place, without dues being paid to the parish church, saving only the rights of the mother churches of which they were parishioners. He had also agreed that the offerings made on the feast of St. Nicholas in the chapel should belong to the hospital, and had only reserved to himself and his successors the right to demand the offerings made in the chapel on other occasions. Further, he had given up certain tithes, and all without the consent of his superiors, the Prior and chapter of Durham. Being, however, by the grace of God, restored to health, and recognizing the injury he had done to the churches of Durham and Northallerton and to his successors, and realizing that it was beyond his power to have made such grants, as far as in him lay he repudiated them.

The second document is an award by the chapter of York, and records that Robert (who, probably by a clerical error, is spoken of as 'rector' of Allerton) had complained of Reynold, warden of the hospital, withholding tithes and offerings due to the parish church of Allerton, and particularly that the warden had cast a corpse down at the cemetery gates, without paying the dues which the church ought to receive for those who died in the hospital. On account of this the parish priest had excommunicated the warden, and Robert the rector claimed 20 marks of silver for the loss he had sustained. The warden let the case go by default, and the chapter upheld the excommunication, ordered the warden to pay the 20 marks due and 100s. in addition as costs. It looks as if the dispute had arisen on the revocation of the grants that had been made. Soon afterwards Reynold the warden must have vacated his office, for in 1237 Archbishop Gray granted to Andrew the chaplain custody and administration of all the goods belonging to the house of the hospital of Allerton, as well in spiritualities as in temporalities.

⁵⁷ Master William de Haya, a witness, was also a witness to 'le Convent' between Bishop Poore and the Prior and convent of Durham in 1229; Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis, vi, fol. 217.

⁴⁹ Graham, *op. cit.* 37.

⁵⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 972, no. ix.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* no. x.

⁵² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 781, quoting Leland, *Itin.* v, 117.

⁵³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 21.

⁵⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 780; Ingledew, *Hist. of Northallerton*, 251.

⁵⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 85.

⁵⁶ *Archbp. Gray's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 177-81.

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The third of the documents is the formal ordination of the hospital by Nicholas Farnham, Bishop of Durham, dated Northallerton, 27 October 1244. In this ordination he speaks of his predecessor Philip as the founder, and states that Philip and other Bishops of Durham had bestowed ecclesiastical and secular gifts on the hospital,⁵⁸ but that owing to their deaths its ordination had been delayed. He provided that the hospital was to have a resident 'procurator,' known as warden (*custos*). He was to have a servant, three horses, and two attendants. There were to be two 'honest' chaplains with two clerks, a baker and brewer with a servant, also a cook with a servant, and five brothers, clerks or laymen, in sound health (*sani*), who were to have the habit and observe the rule of the brothers of Kepier. One was to be porter and procurator of the poor received each night, another butler and keeper of the store, a third larderer and gardener, the fourth granger, and the fifth in charge of the infirm persons in bed. There were also to be three sisters, with the habit and rule of sisters; two were to tend the infirm and see to the needs of the house. Thirteen sick people were to be maintained in small beds (*lectulis*), and humanely cared for till convalescent, or till death overtook them. When a death occurred, the vacancy was to be filled without delay. Nothing is said as to the sex of the infirm. Every night thirteen other poor folk were to be received at the hospital, and were to have half a loaf apiece with drink. If any was too feeble to go away again, such person was to be provided for at the hospice at the gate. The bread given to the infirm and to the poor folk at the gate was to be of such weight that a quarter of corn made ten score loaves. When the hospital became richer the infirm and poor travellers were to benefit. Finally, power was reserved to the Bishops of Durham to visit the hospital and correct abuses. Nothing is known about the hospital for more than a century.⁵⁹ On 13 July 1379⁶⁰ Archbishop Alexander Nevill held a visitation of the hospital in the chapel, by his commissaries. The warden, John de Appelby, appeared by his proctor George de Copmanthorpe. He had been warden for a year and more, and all that he had received for his own use was but 2s., as he had spent all he received in the erection of new buildings and the repair of the old ones, both those of the hospital itself and those of its tenants, and of the mills, for all the buildings (*domus*), for the most part, both of the hospital and outside were, at his

⁵⁸ Bishop Philip granted certain mills to the hospital; Turner and Coxe, *Cal. Bodl. Chart.* 601.

⁵⁹ Pope Clement VI, 1342, issued a mandate to the Archbishop of York to cause Margaret de Thorpe *alias* Horner, to be received as sister in the Poor Hospital of Northallerton; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iii, 86.

⁶⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Alex. Nevill, fol. 93.

becoming warden, almost ruinous owing to the neglect of his predecessors. He had erected seven new buildings and had covered with shingles (*cum tabulis dictis Chingill*) a notable portion of the Great House. Being admonished, he exhibited a copy of a certain ordinance, which said that there should be two priests in the hospital, and he admitted that there was only one; also that there should be three sisters, whereas there was but one sister professed. However there was a second, Constance de Fenecotes, dwelling there in secular costume with the warden, and he agreed that she should be professed. There ought to be five brothers, clerks or laymen, working in different offices, but there were none. There ought to be thirteen infirm in beds, maintained out of the funds of the hospital, and it appeared that there were only three. Being asked why there were not more priests, brothers, sisters, and infirm, the warden's proctor replied that the hospital buildings, more particularly that called the Frerehall, needed so much repair that £100 would scarcely suffice for this, and moreover, the hospital owed many outside debts, but the warden intended to restore the ancient and full number, and did not mean to receive himself any of the funds until the repairs were finished and the ancient staff restored.

Asked as to the outside debts, he replied that Alice de Dighton had 5 marks annually by a deed under the common seal of the hospital in the time of John de Stokys, that the wife of Richard Bricknall had 50s., that Alice de Bugthorp had a corrody in the hospital, and received the share of a sister, that John Perrotson and John Whithone both had corrodies granted by the same.

The revenues of the hospital consisted, in the first place, of two churches, which averaged yearly £40, but in the current year had scarcely reached £30. There were rents and revenues amounting, by estimation, to 28 marks; and 3 carucates of land and meadow adjacent belonging to the hospital which constituted the whole hospital property.

Joan, sister of the hospital, was examined, and said they used to receive their liveries (*liberationes*) in their own chambers, but that now they ate together in the hall. During the thirty years she had been in the hospital so much care had not been observed in its government as now, and many of the parishioners said the same. Finally, the commissaries decreed that for the maintenance of divine service in the ensuing year the warden should find another chaplain, and that he should increase the number of paupers as soon as he conveniently could, and when the repairs were finished he should maintain the full number of chaplains, brothers, sisters, and infirm, according to the ordinance, unless the revenues were so insufficient that he might be reasonably excused.

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On 15 July 1350⁶¹ Archbishop Zouch wrote to the guardian of the spirituality of Allerton, concerning the complaint of Brother William Newark, who is described as a *conversus* of the hospital, that Robert de Dyghton the warden had ejected him (who had been long there) from the hospital without cause.

In 1397⁶² Boniface IX confirmed to John Hyldyard for life the office of warden of the hospital of Allerton, to which he had been appointed on 17 June 1396 by Bishop Skirlaw. The appointment for life was in recognition of the heavy expense with which he had raised the hospital from its ruin and desolation. The hospital, however, was not, on account of this life appointment, to be reckoned an ecclesiastical benefice, and on its voidance was to revert to its original status. In 1402 John Hyldyard was still warden,⁶³ and in a mandate to confer upon him the prebend of Twyford, in London, it is stated that he was only in minor orders, and a dispensation was then given him, not to have to receive holy orders for five years.

In 1411⁶⁴ John XXIII granted to Thomas Toueton, that having been appointed warden by Bishop Langley, in succession to John Newton, he should not, during his life, be removed from office without reasonable cause, although the custom was that the warden, who was a secular clerk, might be removed at the sole pleasure of the Bishop of Durham. There seems some reason to think that when the small nunnery of Foukeholm died from lack of means, some of its property passed to the hospital.⁶⁵

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*⁶⁶ the gross annual revenue was £58 10s. 10d., and the establishment maintained at that time the warden, two chaplains, four lay brothers, two sisters, and six infirm. On 19 May 1540 the hospital was surrendered by Richard Morysine, the master or warden, and his confraters in their chapter-house. The site was granted, 32 Henry VIII, to the late warden, and afterwards became part of the endowment of Christ Church, Oxford.⁶⁷ It is now represented by a farm-house called Spital about a mile south of Northallerton.

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Richard, occurs 1246–51⁶⁸

Reynold, occurs c. 1240⁶⁹.

⁶¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 279.

⁶² *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 67.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 469.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* vi, 297.

⁶⁵ See account of Foukeholm, *supra*.

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.* (Rec. Com.), v, 85.

⁶⁷ Ingledew, *Hist. of Northallerton*, 258.

⁶⁸ Baildon, *op. cit.* i, 150.

⁶⁹ *Archbp. Gray's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 179.

Robert de Brumpton, occurs before 1311,⁷⁰
occurs 1335⁷¹

John de Ashby, occurs 1339, 1343⁷²

Adam de Pikeryng, occurs 1345,⁷³ 1347⁷⁴

Robert de Dyghton, occurs 1350⁷⁵

Nicholas del Hill, occurs 1355⁷⁶

Robert de Dyghton, occurs 1360⁷⁷

John de Stokys, before 1379⁷⁸

John de Appelby, occurs c. 1378, 1379⁷⁹

John Hyldyard, occurs 1396, 1402⁸⁰

John Newton, resigned c. 1411⁸¹

Thomas Toueton, occurs 1411⁸²

Richard Corston, occurs 1432⁸³

Robert Symson, occurs 1489,^{83a} 1492⁸⁴

John Conyers, occurs 1526⁸⁵

Richard Morysine, occurs 1540⁸⁶

The 15th-century seal⁸⁷ is a vesica, 2½ in. by 1⅞ in., with a representation of St. James and the legend:—

S'COMUNE HOSPITALIS S̄CI IACOBI DE ALUERTONE

144. THE MAISON DIEU, NORTH-ALLERTON

The Maison Dieu was founded in the 15th century by Richard Moore, draper, of Northallerton, who gave certain lands and tenements in Northallerton and elsewhere to endow a chantry in the church and maintain a Maison Dieu in that town, in which thirteen poor persons of either sex were to reside. They were to have 20s. a year to buy coal with, and were to find two beds in the Maison Dieu for poor travellers.

⁷⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1313–17, p. 337. He was appointed for life by Bishop Anthony [Bek] who died in 1311. The king intruded Walter de Assherugge in 1315, but Brumpton proved his own claim to the office.

⁷¹ Baildon, *op. cit.* i, 150.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 279.

⁷⁴ Baildon, *op. cit.* i, 150.

⁷⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 279.

⁷⁶ Assize R. 1130, m. 8.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 1131, m. 11. Possibly Nicholas del Hill was an intruder, as we here find Dyghton bringing an action of novel disseisin against Nicholas del Hill, clerk, and others.

⁷⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. Alex. Nevill, fol. 93.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 67, 469.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* vi, 297.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Baildon, *op. cit.* i, 150.

^{83a} *Wills and Inventories* (Surt. Soc.), 100.

⁸⁴ Turner and Coxe, *Cal. Bodl. Chart.* 1601.

⁸⁵ Subs. R. bdle. 63, no. 303; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 295.

⁸⁶ Surrendered the house; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xv, 691.

⁸⁷ *Cat. of Seals, B.M.* 3735, lxxiv, 89.

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who were to lodge there one night and no longer. The thirteen inmates were daily, morning and evening, at 6 o'clock (*ad horam sextam*) to say fifteen Paternosters and as many Ave Marias, with three creeds, in honour of the passion of our Lord. They were also to pray for the souls of the founders and others.⁸⁸

On 1 October 1476 his feoffees conveyed the lands and tenements to Sir James Strangways, kt., and his son Richard that they might nominate the chaplain and appoint the poor people to the Maison Dieu.⁸⁹ In 1529 Sir James Strangways, kt., the great-great-grandson of this Sir James, conveyed to Robert Conyers and others the Maison Dieu and lands, reserving the appointment of the bedesmen and chaplain.⁹⁰

In the chantry certificates⁹¹ the chantry is described as being at the altar of the Trinity in Northallerton Church,

of the foundation of Richard More of Northalverton, draper, and James Strangwaies, knight; and also one beidhouse of xiiij poore people called the Masendewe, in the same towne, for the sustentacion wherof Sir James Strangwaies, knight, deceased, in his lyffe tyme did enfeoffe certain persons of and in certain landes and ten., to th'entente the incumbent shuld have yerly for his stipende *cs.*, and the said poore people xxvj. viij*d.* of the issuez and profectes of the said landes. To the which chargez the landes and hereditamentes of the said Sir James was, befor that tyme, charged as by one dede, indented, tripartited, and one dede of feoffment therunto annexed, dated ultimo die Marcii anno [1529] more at larg and planlye apperyth. And nowe William, lord Dacre, and Sir Charles Brandon, knight, haith entred in to all the said landes about ij yeres past, and convertyth the same to ther own usez withoute fyndyng the said priste or paing any thinge to the saide poore people.

The Maison Dieu survived the spoliation of Lord Dacre and Sir Charles Brandon, and in a much diminished state still exists. When Ingledew wrote it was a hospital for poor widows,⁹² whose numbers had then (1858) been reduced to four, and its property then consisted of three closes in Northallerton and Romanby containing 12 a. and another close in Northallerton of rather more than 3 a. in area. The hospital was then situated on the east side of the High Street near the church, the almswomen being appointed by the select vestry as vacancies occurred from poor widows belonging to Northallerton. Each widow then received £8 a year by quarterly payments and a ton of coal. In 1889 the four widows were paid 3*s.* weekly.

⁸⁸ Ingledew, *Hist. and Antiq. of Northallerton*, 268–9.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 267.

⁹¹ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 123.

⁹² In 1545 J. Cape of Welbury left 'to xiiij widows of the Masyndewe of Alverton xiiij*d.*'; York Reg. of Wills, xiii, fol. 60*b.*

145. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. NICHOLAS, PICKERING

In 1325⁹³ Edward II informed the brethren and sisters of the hospital of St. Nicholas of Pickering that he had conferred the custody of the hospital then vacant on Roger de Barneby, the same pertaining to the king's patronage. His predecessor may have been Robert, chaplain of the hospital of St. Nicholas, Pickering, who occurs 1322.^{93*a*}

The hospital, like that of Skipton, was probably connected with the chapel in the castle, which at Pickering is under the invocation of St. Nicholas.

146. KNOLLES ALMSHOUSE, PONTEFRACT

The ordination of the house by Archbishop Alexander Nevill, dated 4 October 1385,⁹⁴ records that Robert Knolles, kt. and citizen of London, and Constance his wife had constituted the *domus collegiata* on land acquired of Thomas Shirwynd in Pontefract, in honour of the Holy Trinity and the Blessed Virgin Mary, which college or chantry was to be commonly called 'Knolles Almshous.' There were to be in it certain chaplains, one of whom was to be master or *custos*, two clerks, thirteen *pauperes debiles*, the latter being especially such as misfortune had overtaken, and also two servants to attend to the poor. The master was to receive 20 marks a year, each chaplain 10 marks, and each clerk 5 marks, with all necessaries. Besides £34 4*s.* 3½*d.* &c., for the maintenance of the poor, each was to receive on the feasts of the Holy Trinity, Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, All Saints, and the five days of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 2*d.* extra. John Stedeman [*alias* Neuthorp] was appointed first master, and the supervision of the establishment was committed, after the founders' deaths, to the Prior of Nostell.

The masters were, on each festival and feast of nine lections, to say matins, mass, vespers, and compline by note, and every Saturday solemn mass of St. Mary was to be said by note, at the altar of the Blessed Mary. On other *ferias*, immediately after mass, the master and chaplains were among them to say one private mass of St. Mary and another of requiem for the departed. Every day after compline they were to say solemnly before the image of the glorious Virgin in the foresaid chapel, the *Salve Regina*, or another anthem of the same, according to the season and as the order of the church required, with the psalm *De Profundis*, recommending, in especial, the founders among the departed, or, while they lived, saying for them the collect

⁹³ Pat. 19 Edw. II, m. 26.

^{93*a*} Assize R. 1117, m. 10.

⁹⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. A. Nevill, fol. 97

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Dous, qui caritatis, or 'Omnipotens sempiterne qui vivorum simul et mortuorum.'

They were also to say daily, without note, in common in the quire of the chapel of the house, the seven penitential psalms, and fifteen psalms with the litany, in quire or not, for the good estate of the founders. After the death of the founders the obit of each was to be kept yearly and their exequies and masses said solemnly, with note and principal vestments. The master, chaplains, clerks, poor persons, and servants on these obit days were each to receive 6s. 8d. in money in the name of a pittance. Each poor person at the beginning of every ordinary day was to say the Paternoster thrice in honour of the Holy Trinity.

The master was to be nominated to the archbishop by the Prior of St. Oswald's within fifteen days of each vacancy for institution, or failing this the archbishop was to collate *pro hac vice*. The master was to appoint the chaplains within fifteen days, or be fined 6s. 8d. The chaplains were to dine in the hall, and pay 60s. for food and drink. A chest was to be provided with two keys for the jewels and valuables of the house, one key to be kept by the Prior of St. Oswald's, the other by the master. The master was to have a seal of office appointed for him, with a rose and the image of the Holy Trinity engraved in the seal, and this seal was to be kept in the chest. No leases were to be made and sealed by the prior and master for longer periods than fifty years, and corrodies were not to be granted.

The master and chaplains were each to have *vestitum talarem honestum, &c.*, and when they attended the accustomed divine hours in the quire were to have a white almuce, on which, in memory of the founders, was to be a red rose containing on it the image of the Holy Trinity. On the death of the founders the master was to take a corporal oath on the gospels before the Prior of St. Oswald to render a faithful account yearly to the prior. He was to hold no other preferment, but was to reside continually, except for reasonable causes approved by the prior, who was to supervise the house and correct abuses, and was himself to examine the accounts annually, and receive 40s. from the master.

The lands in London, with which the house was to be endowed on the deaths of the founders, were to be in charge of the Mayor of London, who also was to receive 40s. a year, as well as the collectors of the rents.

According to Leland, Sir Robert Knolles originally contemplated founding the house in Norfolk, but was persuaded by his wife to place it in Pontefract, where she was born.

Further ordinances as to the internal management of the house were confirmed by Archbishop Scrope at Cawood on 5 October 1404.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Scrope, fol. 45.

In 1535⁹⁶ Thomas Hutchon was still master, receiving £13 6s. 8d. as his stipend, and the six confratres each received £6 13s. 4d.

There were six poor men each receiving 54s. 8d., and six poor women each receiving 53s. 4d., and also three women servants receiving 65s. 4d. each. There was also Robert Harrison, a layman, who held the office of sacrist and was paid 66s. 8d.

In the chantry certificates⁹⁷ it is reported that the 'hole necessitie' of the house was 'the maintenance of hospitalitie, Goddes service daly, and the releif of pore people, and the keynge of the forsayde xiiij poore folkes iij servantes and iij children,' which was all duly observed. The 'goods' of the house were valued at £53 6s. 5d. and the plate at £24 12s. 9d. Thomas Hewet was then master.

In 1563 Queen Elizabeth continued the almshouse section of the foundation, in which were maintained fifteen aged people, whereof two were servants to the rest, each of whom was to receive £2 13s. 4d. yearly, and the mayor and chief burgesses of Pontefract were to place aged, impotent, and needy fit persons in the almshouse.⁹⁸

Later benefactions have been made to the hospital, which is still in existence. In 1838 the hospital consisted of one large common room, and sixteen sleeping-rooms for seven men and nine women. Two of the latter were considered as servants to the almspeople. All the inmates were appointed by the corporation according to the grant of Queen Elizabeth. The overseers of the poor received all the revenues, giving each inmate 2s. 6d. a week and a supply of coals yearly.⁹⁹

MASTERS

John Stedeman,¹⁰⁰ *alias* de Neuthorp, 1385,¹
resigned 1410²

⁹⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 68.

⁹⁷ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 327.

⁹⁸ Boothroyd, *Hist. of Pontefract*, 390.

⁹⁹ White, *Hist. Gaz. and Dir. of the W. R. of Yorks.* 1838, ii, 281. The hospitals and almshouses of Pontefract have been amalgamated under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners, and are now under one body of trustees. The scheme provided that the occupants of the houses were to have 6s. a week, or married couples 10s., but at present the funds only permit payment of 5s. and 9s. respectively. Some of the houses, e.g. St. Nicholas's Hospital, are let, some at nominal rents to deserving poor, and others at rack rents. When there is a vacancy of a house at a nominal rent, or a pension, the trustees invite applications, it being a *sine qua non* that the applicant should never have received parochial relief. This combination includes certain charities founded after the Reformation, as well as the mediaeval hospitals, &c.—From information received from Mr. J. Eyre Poppleton, solicitor, Pontefract.

¹⁰⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Alex. Nevill, fol. 97.

¹ *Ibid.* Bowett, fol. 94.

² *Ibid.*

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John de Stretton, succeeded 1410,³ died 1418⁴
 Alex. Rawden, succeeded 1415,⁵ died 1419⁶
 John Cudworth, succeeded 1419,⁷ occurs
 1447^{7a}
 John Latham, succeeded 1447,⁸ resigned
 1462⁹
 James Clapeham, succeeded 1462,¹⁰ died
 1494¹¹
 Robert Cooke, succeeded 1494,¹² died 1513¹³
 Thomas Baghill, succeeded 1513,¹⁴ died
 1524¹⁵
 Thomas Huchon, bachelor of decrees, occurs
 1533¹⁶
 Thomas Hewet, occurs 1546¹⁷

147. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. NICHOLAS, PONTEFRACT

This hospital, according to Leland, existed before the Conquest,¹⁸ but by whom it was founded does not appear. Robert de Lacy, in the foundation charter of St. John's Priory at Pontefract, *tempore* William Rufus, granted to the Cluniac monks the full custody of the hospital of St. Nicholas, where they had previously lived, for the use of the poor.¹⁹ Henry de Lacy, the younger son of Robert, in 1159²⁰ renewed his father's gift of the hospital, and granted yearly, for the provision and clothing of the monk who had charge of the hospital, a mark of silver, 12 hoops²¹ of corn, and 24 of oats, on the feast of St. Martin. The gift of the hospital of St. Nicholas to the priory of Pontefract was confirmed by Pope Celestine.²²

On 7 June 1410 Henry IV granted to Thomas Toueton, master of the hospital of St. Nicholas of Pontefract, licence to grant the manor of Methley, co. York, to Robert Walton (*sic*) in exchange for the advowsons of the

churches of Gosberton, co. Lincoln, and Wath, co. York.²³ On 11 November 1411 Pope John XXIII confirmed the appropriation to the hospital of the parish church of Wath by Archbishop Bowett, the value not exceeding 90 marks, and that of the hospital not exceeding 120 marks. The archbishop's letters (7 August 1410) to the master stated that Robert Wartirton (*sic*), donsel, had given to the hospital his patronage of the churches of Wath and Goboerkirk (*sic*). The archbishop (the chapter assenting) appropriated to the master and his successors the church of Wath, an annual compensation of 20s. to be paid to the archbishop, and 6s. 8d. to the dean and chapter. The master might take possession of the church, already void by the free resignation of Thomas Toueton. There was to be a perpetual vicar, presented by the master to the archbishop for institution.²⁴

In 1438 Henry VI gave the hospital and all its estates, value £97 13s. 10d., to the priory of Nostell, the canons paying to the king and his successors, Dukes of Lancaster, 20 marks a year. The canons of Nostell maintained a chaplain and thirteen poor folk in the hospital till the Dissolution.²⁵ At the date of the chantry surveys²⁶ there were only 'ix poore people, beadmen, of the nominacion of the late desolved monastery of Saynt Oswaldes,' but in a return of pensions in the West Riding, 16 November 1552, it is stated that fourteen men and women of the hospital of St. Nicholas of Pontefract received pensions. This included the master, Henry Hebylthwaite, who received £5; two others £2, and the rest 28s. 6d. The return states 'Thes persons be called eremettes and be pore and aged people, and placyd in a howse called Seynt Nicoyles Hospytell, and when any of them dyeth another ys placyd in the dedes roome; and ys very conveyent to be contynuyd as well for the helpe of the pore and agyd people of the towne of Pontefrett, wher the same standyth, as for others. The pencions was payd furth of the tenementes of the late monasterye of Saynt Oswaldes.'²⁷

The purposes of the hospital were afterwards much perverted, and the corporation endeavoured to obtain powers for its better government, which resulted in a clause in a charter of James I in 1605, vesting the hospital in the corporation.²⁸ Various benefactions to and regulations concerning the hospital have been made in post-Reformation times, and it still exists as one of the charities of the town.

³ York Archiepis. Reg. Bowett, fol. 94.

⁴ Ibid. fol. 122b.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid. fol. 134.

⁷ Ibid.

^{7a} *Cal. Pat.* 1446-52, p. 17.

⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 411.

⁹ Ibid. Geo. Nevill, fol. 15.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), iv, 93.

¹² York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, fol. 80b.

¹³ Ibid. Bainbridge, fol. 41b.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid. Wolsey, fol. 75.

¹⁶ Ibid. Lee, fol. 4.

¹⁷ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 326.

¹⁸ Leland, *Itin.* i, 43.

¹⁹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* v, 120.

²⁰ Ibid. 121.

²¹ Ibid. 122. See Halliwell, *Dict. of Archaic and Provincial Words*, i, 458. The word seems to be still in use, but with the varying meanings of 4, 2, or 1 peck of corn.

²² Whether Celestine II (26 Sept. 1143 to 8 Mar. 1144) or Celestine III (30 Mar. 1191 to 8 Jan. 1198) is not clear.

²³ Duchy of Lanc. Misc. Bks. v (2), 52 d.

²⁴ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 288.

²⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 781; cf. Boothroyd, *Hist. Pontefract*, 379; York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 23.

²⁶ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 325.

²⁷ Ibid. 326 n.

²⁸ Boothroyd, *Hist. of Pontefract*, 380.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

MASTERS

- Robert de Wodehouse, occurs 1327-8²⁹
Mag^r Ludovicus, *custos*, occurs 1399³⁰
Thomas Toueton,³¹ occurs 7 June 1410,³²
and 11 Nov. 1411³³
William Bothe, appointed 11 May 1435,³⁴
mentioned 1441³⁵
Henry Hebylthwaite, occurs 1548³⁶ and
1552³⁷

148-150. OTHER HOSPITALS, PONTEFRACT

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE.
—Boothroyd states that this hospital was founded in 1286 by Henry de Lacy as a lazarus house, and suggests that the hospital called Frank's Hospital, one of the existing charities of the town, is either this lazarus house under a new name, or was built upon the site of it.³⁸

Archbishop Romanus granted an indulgence to those who contributed to the relief of the lepers of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene 'juxta Pontemfractum'; this expression indicating that, as was usual, the hospital was situated just outside the town.³⁹

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY THE VIRGIN.
—Edward III on 1 December 1334 granted licence to William le Tabourere to found a hospital in a messuage in Pontefract, and an oratory to the honour of God and the glorious Virgin Mary, and to construct other buildings for a chaplain and eight poor persons, the chaplain to perform divine service daily in the oratory. The king also granted licence to Robert de la More, William le Coupere, and Thomas de la Sale to give certain rents in Pontefract to the hospital, as well as to Adam de Ernys to give 12 acres of land in Darthingtone (Darrington).⁴⁰

²⁹ De Banco R. East. 2 Edw. III, m. 97 d.; *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ii, 273.

³⁰ 'Nuper fisicus carissimi avunculi Regis, Johannis nuper ducis Lancastrie, defuncti'; Pat. 22 Ric. II, m. 15.

³¹ Also in 1411 Warden of St. James's Hospital, Northallerton (*Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 297).

³² Duchy of Lanc. Misc. Bks. v (2), 52 d.

³³ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vi, 288.

³⁴ Boothroyd, op. cit. 380. In *Mon. Notes* (Baildon), i, 172, the date of his appointment is given as 1427, on the authority of the late Mr. Richard Holmes.

³⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 23.

³⁶ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 325.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 326 n.

³⁸ Boothroyd, op. cit. 382.

³⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 7.

⁴⁰ Pat. 8 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 9, quoted Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 703. See also *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 326, where 1314 is a misprint for 1334.

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MICHAEL, FOULSNAPE.
—Very little is known about this hospital.⁴¹ Mr. Richard Holmes,⁴² however, established two important facts in regard to it, viz., that it was situated within the territory of the town of Pontefract, and that it was a hospital belonging to the Lazarites, whose head establishment in England was the hospital of Burton Lazars in Leicestershire, which at one time possessed the advowson of the church of Castleford, adjoining Pontefract. These facts are established by a charter of William de Karnesal in 1220, conveying to the Cluniac monks of St. John Pontefract 6½ acres of land in Pontefract, 'propinquoires terrae Lazarorum de Fulsnap versus suth.' Another document, discovered by Mr. Holmes, is a quitclaim dated 1235, between Stephen, prior, and the convent of Pontefract and the master and brethren of Burton Lazars, that the hospital should not pay tithes to the convent. By means of these and other references Mr. Holmes was able to determine the actual site of the hospital of St. Michael Foul Snape, which is shown on a plan attached to his paper. The hospital was evidently subject to the mother house at Burton Lazars⁴³ as a cell of that order, but no reference can be found to it in the chartulary of Burton Lazars.

151. RERECROSS HOSPITAL, OR THE SPITAL ON STAINMOOR

This hospital was evidently intended as a shelter or 'hospice' for travellers across the wild moorland track leading from Yorkshire to Westmorland. It derived the name of Rerecross from a boundary stone, the pre-Norman stump of which still remains, and which, according to the 'Scala cronica' (1280), was fixed by King Edward (died 946) as the boundary between England and Scottish Cumberland.⁴⁴ It is there called the 'Reir Croiz de Staynmore,' and the hospital, being near, was occasionally called 'Rerecross hospital,' but more commonly the 'Spital on Stainmoor.'

⁴¹ John Bule describes himself as 'of the hospytall of St. Mychaell arche angell Pountfrett'; *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), iv, 93 n.

⁴² *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* x, 543-53. The information in this account is wholly derived from Mr. Holmes's paper. To Mr. Holmes's reference of identification may be added a bequest in the will of John Porter of Pontefract (12 April 1475), who left to the gild of Corpus Christi of Pontefract an acre of land in Pontefract in Spicer Close 'juxta Foul Snape'; York Reg. of Wills, iv, fol. 126b.

⁴³ The quitclaim alluded to indicates this.

⁴⁴ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xix, 385. From the same source it appears that the Bishop of Glasgow claimed in 1258 'Rer Cros in Staynmor' as the limit of his diocese.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

Ralph de Multon gave the hospital in or before 1171 to the nuns of Marrick,⁴⁵ and agreeably to the foundation of Conan, Earl of Richmond, the nuns of Marrick paid the chaplain of the hospital the annual stipend of £4 13s. 4d.⁴⁶ Ralph and the prioress subsequently acknowledged that the hospital was within the parish of Bowes and agreed to pay over the tithes and the offerings in the chapel of the hospital to the hospital of St. Peter at York.^{46a} The charters the nuns of Marrick possessed relating to the hospital are unfortunately missing from the general series,⁴⁷ so that the history of the hospital, as such, is a complete blank.

In the valuation of Marrick Priory (1539-40), certain lands and tenements called the Hospital, or 'Spyttal de Staynmore,' with fields, pastures, commons, and meadows belonging to it, are valued at £2 13s. 4d. yearly, while in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* the hospital was valued together with the site of the priory and its demesne lands.⁴⁸ In the reprises was a fee-farm rent of 26s. 8d. paid to the crown for the 'Spytell super Staynmore.'⁴⁹

The hospital was on the confines of the three counties of York, Durham, and Westmorland, and it is described as within each of these in different records, but the site is clearly within the county of York. In a record dated 18 December 7 Edward VI,⁵⁰ a hospital or tenement called le Spittell super Staynmoore, leased to John Vdall, is thus noted: 'the premyes doo lye wth in vij or viij myles of the lordeshipp of Barnecastell, and as I am enformed within the kinges majestes forrest of Tesdale, and hathe good Inclosure and great Common thereto belonging. Also the premyes were always in the occupacione of the prioresse and covent of the sayde late noonerye [Marrick] and never leased before the dissolucion thereof,' &c.⁵¹

In a survey of woods (8 December 1553), within the county of Durham, under 'Parcella nuper monasterii de Marike,' is the following memorandum: 'There is a messuage called the spittle of Staynmore in the tenure of John Vdall, esquier, parcell of the lait monasterye of Marrike wherupon growythe no kynde of woodes.'⁵² Marrick was granted in 1545-6 to John Uvedale, and in the grant is included 'the spyttelhouse de Stanemore in Stanemore in comitatu nostro Westmorland.'⁵³

⁴⁵ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 271; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 244.

⁴⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 244.

^{46a} Cott. MS. Nero D. iii, fol. 22.

⁴⁷ *Coll. Topog. et Gen.* (1838), v, 117.

⁴⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 247.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ A clerical error for 6 Edw. VI (1552).

⁵¹ P.R.O. Particulars for Grants, Edw. VI, no. 1453.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Pat. 37 Hen. VIII, pt. xi, m. 30.

152. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. NICHOLAS, RICHMOND

This hospital was in existence as early as 1172, for in the Pipe Roll of 18 Henry II is an account of 5 seams of bread-corn given to the sick persons in the hospital of Richmond by Ralph de Glanville, Chief Justice of England. The chantry priest also received, by the donation of Nicholas Kirkby, £3 a year to celebrate in the chapel of St. Edmund in Richmond.⁵⁴

In 1309 Pope Clement V granted a relaxation of forty days of enjoined penance to penitents who gave help to the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Nicholas, Richmond, to hold good for twenty years.⁵⁵

It was of the king's foundation and patronage as belonging to the honour of Richmond, and as such the advowson was granted by Henry VI, on the death of the Earl of Westmorland, to John Duke of Bedford in 1425-6.⁵⁶

Nothing whatever is known of its history⁵⁷ until 1448, when Henry VI granted the advowson to William Ayscogh, one of the judges of the King's Bench, who had restored the buildings from almost complete ruin, and had founded a chantry for a second chaplain.⁵⁸

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*⁵⁹ the site of the hospital with garden, &c., was valued at £8, and other small properties in the neighbourhood brought the value up to £13 12s.

According to the chantry certificate in 1546⁶⁰ the master had no foundation to show, 'but the inhabitantes sey that there is a pryste that doth say masse iij dayes in the wek, and other iij dayes at the chappell of Seynt Edmonde in the sayd towne, and doth fynd a pore body in the same.' The hospital was distant half a mile from the parish church. The 'goodes' were valued at 20d., and the plate nil. The total value was £10 13s.

MASTERS

Adam, occurs 1292⁶¹

William Stuteville, occurs 1338,^{61a} 1352⁶²

Thomas de Collowe, occurs 1369⁶³

⁵⁴ Whitaker, *Hist. of Richmondshire*, ii, 100.

⁵⁵ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, ii, 57.

⁵⁶ Gale, *Reg. Hon. de Richmond*, App. 208.

⁵⁷ Archbishop Kemp, in Sept. 1428, expressed his intention to visit the hospital, but there is no record of what took place; York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 210.

⁵⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 720. According to the *Monasticon* he was the same William Ascough who resigned the mastership in 1437.

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.* v, 238.

⁶⁰ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 140-2.

⁶¹ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xlix, 45.

^{61a} Egerton MS. 2827, fol. 339.

⁶² Assize R. 1129, m. 17.

⁶³ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 175.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Richard Clifford, occurs 1397⁶⁴
 John Hylyard, occurs 1402⁶⁵
 John Carlton^{65a}
 William Ayscough, resigned 1437⁶⁶
 Robert Ayscough, appointed 1437^{66a}
 Richard Baldewyn, occurs 1535-6⁶⁷ and
 1546⁶⁸

153. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE, RIPON

At an inquisition held in September 1341⁶⁹ the jurors made return that the hospital had been founded by an unknown Archbishop of York. Sisters only, with a chaplain, are there spoken of as belonging to the hospital. They lived as if professed (*quasi religiose*), and had certain specified duties to perform as to the maintenance of lepers. It was said that they all died, and that then a change was made in the constitution of the hospital, which is more fully alluded to at an inquisition held in the following year. On that occasion⁷⁰ the jurors stated that the hospital had been founded by Archbishop Thurstan, who had placed in it secular brothers and sisters, with a chaplain. He had endowed the hospital that the brothers and sisters should receive and maintain all blind priests and lepers born in the liberty of Ripon. Ten years later, on 19 November 1352,⁷¹ at another inquisition, the jurors repeated the statement that Archbishop Thurstan was the founder. They had learnt this, not from documents, but from what they had heard from their forefathers and elders. The jurors further stated that an archbishop, whose name was unknown, had altered the constitution of the hospital, and had expelled the brothers and sisters, on account of 'defects' he had found at a visitation. The new constitution provided for a warden and a chaplain, or for two chaplains, if the warden was not a priest. They were to celebrate daily in the chapel, and attend to the lepers.

At the visitation of 1341⁷² the jurors found that the archbishop (or *sede vacante* the king) was the patron. The founder had endowed it with a plot of land, with underwood, in Ripon called Dunscewith, worth 100s. a year, on which the

hospital had been placed, and he had granted a supply of wood for fuel from Northscogh, and certain pasturage there. The hospital was also to receive from each carucate of arable land in 'Ripshire' a thrave of each kind of grain, which was worth 20s. a year. The sisters were to maintain a priest to celebrate in the chapel, and any leper born or living in 'Ripshire' coming to the hospital was to receive a garment called a 'Bak' and two pairs of shoes yearly, besides daily a loaf sufficient to sustain a man, half a *lagena* of ale, an allowance of meat on meat days, and of fish on fish days.

Afterwards, alms were given by different persons to the hospital. A third part of Ilketon, worth £4 a year, was given by William de Homelyn to find a chaplain to pray for his soul, and the manor of Mulwith,⁷³ worth 12 marks a year, had been acquired by the hospital. The jurors did not know whether the hospital chapel had been dedicated or not, but those dying in the hospital were buried there, by licence of the chapter of Ripon. They proceeded to say that one John le Waryner gave to the hospital in the time of the then king the manor of Studley Roger, to find two chaplains in the hospital while he lived, and after his death three chaplains, and the hospital was bound to him in 12 marks yearly while he lived.

The jurors added that, the sisters being dead, the archbishop of that day granted the hospital to a certain Robert de Silkestone, chaplain, on condition that he maintained the alms as regarded the chantries and lepers. They also said that John de Brideling[ton], an acolyte, was master, having been appointed a year and a half previously by Archbishop Melton. One of the chaplains had been withdrawn during all his time, and there was no leper, none having applied, and there were no brothers or sisters in the hospital. Alms were given to the poor every feast of St. Mary Magdalene, and the stock and all else were well kept (except the withdrawal of a chaplain and the demolition of a certain building where the lepers dwelt by Henry de Shirehake, formerly master). Archbishop Melton, in the time of Henry de Shirehake, despoiled the hospital of certain land, pasturage, and fuel. The master had been too short a time in office to recover these rights. The only obligations were those of the 12 marks to John le Waryner while he lived, and the salaries of the two chaplains. The master and chaplains were of good report and honest conversation.

⁷³ 'Mulewath' and Newby, given *cum corpore suo* to the hospital by William de Winchelcumbe, were confirmed to them 15 Sept. 1241 by Archbishop Walter Gray; *Archbp. Gray's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 91. The gift, however, was considerably earlier, for in 1228 the master of St. Mary Magdalene's Hospital was returned as holding in Newby and Mulwith; *ibid.* 62.

⁶⁴ Pat. 21 Ric. II, m. 27.

⁶⁵ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, v, 469.

^{65a} Predecessor of William Ayscough; *Early Chan. Proc. bdle.* 11, no. 220.

⁶⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1436-41, p. 51.

^{66a} *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 238.

⁶⁸ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 140.

⁶⁹ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 223; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 620.

⁷⁰ On 5 Sept. 1342; *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 228.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 234.

⁷² *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 223.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

At the inquisition of 1342⁷⁴ the jurors made return that the brothers and sisters of the hospital were to receive all priests, when blind, who had been born within the liberty of Ripon, and maintain them in the hospital, a special chamber being set apart for them, and each was to receive 7*d.* weekly for his maintenance. They were also to have a certain building for all lepers born in the liberty, each of whom was to receive $\frac{1}{4}$ bushel of corn, 1*d.* for drink each week, and soup from the hospital daily.

Lepers from other parts, coming for a night, were to have fuel and a bed. One William 'Homell' had endowed a second chaplaincy, and afterwards a certain archbishop had changed the constitution, deposing the brothers and sisters, appointing a warden and chaplain in their place. They were to celebrate daily, and the warden was yearly to distribute, on St. Mary Magdalene's day, to all poor persons who came to the hospital, a loaf of bread and a herring. He was also to maintain the other alms of the old foundation; but they reported that there was only one chaplain, and the warden was not resident. The blind priests received their alms, but the leper house had been taken away for a long period, and no alms were given to lepers.

It will be convenient here to go back and pick up the threads of the earlier history of the hospital.

On 24 May 1294⁷⁵ Archbishop Romanus accepted the resignation of Roger de Malton, who had been master of the hospital. The archbishop acknowledged having received certain sums of money from him on that occasion, viz: 20 marks for goods belonging to the hospital when he became master, which he had sold; £39 15*s.* 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, the balance of £100, which it appears Archbishop Wickwane⁷⁶ had given towards the endowment of the hospital; and also a bond of Nicholas del Dale for £32 14*s.* 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, of which £17 14*s.* 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* remained to be paid. Of the £100, £42 10*s.* had been spent in the construction of a new dwelling for the hospital priests, and in investments for its behoof.

On 2 June following,⁷⁷ the archbishop conferred the hospital on James de Cimiterio, priest, declaring that he purposed to order differently in the hospital, and with the money which Roger de Malton had handed over to purchase the advowson of some church to be appropriated in perpetuity to the hospital, and that the master for the time being should be a canon residentiary in the church of Ripon.

On 29 August 1300 Archbishop Corbridge ordered John de Hubard of Ripon, to whom Giles de Garderobe, one of the canons, had leased his prebend, to restore to the master of the

hospital certain tithes which he had wrongly taken as lessee of the prebend, and which belonged to the hospital.⁷⁸ The following year (1301) the same archbishop conferred the custody of the hospital on a certain Patrick de Brafferton.⁷⁹ This appointment led to much trouble, and on 27 September 1306 Archbishop Greenfield directed Roger de Swayn, canon of Ripon, to inquire into the condition of the hospital when Patrick de Brafferton received it and its state when he resigned;⁸⁰ and next day⁸¹ the archbishop directed the Dean (rural) of Ripon to sequester the property of the hospital, and not to permit Brafferton to meddle with it. The investigation proved Patrick de Brafferton to have been a bad and wasteful master, of immoral life, and under sentence of the greater excommunication for two years. The archbishop removed him from office, and on 16 October appointed Nicholas de Bondegate, chaplain, warden in his stead.⁸² Much more is recorded as to Patrick de Brafferton, which includes an account of the state of the hospital by J. de Cimiterio as it was when he was suddenly ejected (as he stated) by Archbishop Corbridge five or six years before.⁸³ Besides an account of the grain, &c., which he left to his successor, the buildings were, according to his account, in a good state of repair. The stuff in the chapel included a fine crystal phial with relics of the blessed Mary Magdalene, besides missal, legend, grail, and other books and vestments. He also left a quantity of household linen, but there had been no indenture made between him and Brafferton. No mention is made of any brothers or sisters as at this period forming part of the foundation.

Two years later, Edward II appointed Richard de Doncastre⁸⁴ to the hospital *sede vacante*, which called from the archbishop a reply⁸⁵ that he had appointed Nicholas de Bondegate as successor to Patrick de Brafferton, after he had received restitution of the temporalities of the see from Edward I. It is remarkable, however, that the archbishop speaks of Patrick de Brafferton having resigned of his own free will. On account of Nicholas de Bondegate being master, the archbishop refused admission to the king's

⁷⁸ Ibid. Corbridge, fol. 66.

⁷⁹ Ibid. fol. 91*b*. On 16 June 1294 the archbishop received 50 marks from Robert de Percy for the use of the hospital, and appointed that Robert de Percy was to be maintained in the hospital. On 10 Mar. 1294-5 the archbishop granted Hugh de Rosedale, for his long and faithful service to the archbishop and his church, food and clothing in the hospital. This was confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of York (*Mem. of Ripon* [Surt. Soc.], ii, 20).

⁸⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, i, fol. 34 d.

⁸¹ Ibid. fol. 33 d.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid. (on a slip of parchment between fol. 33 and 34).

⁸⁴ Pat. 2 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 16.

⁸⁵ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 60-2.

⁷⁴ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 228.

⁷⁵ York Archiepis Reg. Romanus, fol. 98.

⁷⁶ This suggests Wickwane as the archbishop who changed the constitution.

⁷⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 98.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

nominee. This led to an inquisition and visitation of the hospital by the king in October 1308. The jurors made return that Archbishop Corbridge had conferred the hospital on Patrick de Brafferton, who was to hold office during the archbishop's life, and that on the death of the archbishop the late King Edward might have conferred the hospital on one of his clerks *sede vacante*. William de Greenfield, the then archbishop, had dispossessed Patrick de Brafferton as he was not entitled to hold office after the death of Corbridge, the appointment not having been confirmed by the chapter of York, and he had conferred the hospital on Nicholas de Bondegate. The jurors added that the hospital was worth 20 marks a year.⁸⁶ Nicholas de Bondegate was probably succeeded by Nicholas de Molendinis, appointed 5 March 1311.⁸⁷ His rule led to an inquiry in 1317 held at Ribstone by the king's escheator *citra Trentam*,⁸⁸ when the jurors stated that there ought to be two chaplains celebrating daily in the hospital chapel, but that all the time that Nicholas de Molyns (as he is there called) had been *custos*, the chantry of one of the chaplains had been abstracted by the master. That hospitality was neglected, so that whereas any pilgrims, or mendicant clerks, or other indigent persons who passed by the hospital, ought to have shelter, food, and a bed, they received nothing, and were sent away empty handed. On St. Mary Magdalene's Day every poor person who came ought to have a halfpenny loaf and a herring, but instead Nicholas de Molyns gave the poor who came on St. Mary Magdalene's Day a saucer of beans or flour, but most of the poor got nothing, and other charitable works, which were usual in such a hospital, were not performed owing to the master's frequent absence.

In 1320⁸⁹ Archbishop Melton had to intervene on behalf of William de Ripon, a poor blind chaplain who had been admitted to the hospital by direction of Archbishop Greenfield, but had been deprived of the benefits he ought to receive, and was obliged to beg for his living.

In 1329 William de Poppleton was appointed master,⁹⁰ and on that occasion and also on his resignation in 1335⁹¹ inventories of the property of the hospital were compiled. On the latter occasion the phial with the relics of the patron saint is again mentioned, as a little shrine of the blessed Mary Magdalene, on which was inscribed 'De ossibus Beate Marie Magdalene et de sudario ejusdem.' A full account of the chapel stuff and the farm stock is given.

⁸⁶ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 60-2.

⁸⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, ii, fol. 36.

⁸⁸ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 211; Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 752.

⁸⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 406b.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 97b.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* fol. 437b.

The royal commissioners in 1342⁹² had a very unusual matter to deal with. A certain John le Smale, by falsely representing to the king that the master, John de Bridelington, was dead, had obtained from Edward III a grant (*sede vacante* on Melton's death) of the mastership, dated 10 July 1342. The case was investigated at length, the result being that a mandate was issued on 15 July 1345⁹³ for the prosecution of the offender, and on 7 November 1346 the king confirmed John de Bridelington in the mastership.

At the royal visitation on 19 November 1352⁹⁴ John de Bridelington was still master, and declared on oath that he had been appointed by Archbishop Melton, whom he called 'founder and patron' of the hospital. He stated that he had never seen any foundation writing of the hospital, but had heard from many of his seniors that it had been founded for poor brothers and sisters, of whom there were none then. By another ordinance there should be two priests in the hospital, of whom the *custos*, if a chaplain, might be one. Further, there ought to be three chaplains for the rents of Studley, lately acquired, each having 5 marks yearly and a fit abode in the hospital. There were then only four chaplains, including the *custos*, owing to the slender revenue of Studley, which brought in only 6 marks. The manor of Studley was in a ruinous state, and the general income of the hospital would not support more than four chaplains. He had demolished a very dilapidated building near the hospital towards the River Ure, intended for the housing of lepers, none of whom had used it for a long time, and with the timber from it he had constructed a chamber inside the hospital. From the evidence on oath of the chaplains it appeared that there was no foundation deed, but the chaplains had heard that of old it was said there should be brothers and sisters in the hospital. There should be three priests celebrating for property in Ripon, Mulwith, and Ilketon respectively, and three other chaplains for lands in Studley Roger, but there were only three chaplains, the *custos* making a fourth, but he did not celebrate, and was commonly absent for the greater part of the year.

In 1354 Archbishop Thoresby in a letter to Mr. John de Crakehall, whom he had recently appointed *custos*,⁹⁵ allowed two priests only to be maintained in the hospital until the revenues were increased. £10 ought to have been derived from Studley Roger, whereas it only brought in 6 marks. In a further letter⁹⁶ the archbishop sanctioned the removal from Studley of materials from the buildings there, for the reparation of those of the hospital.

⁹² *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 226.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 233.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 235.

⁹⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Thoresby, fol. 29, 29b.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 35.

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In 1356,⁹⁷ at the request of Mr. John Crakehall the master, the newer taxation of the hospital was exemplified. The Exchequer Rolls having been examined, it was found that in the reign of Edward I the temporalities of the hospital were taxed at 13s. 4d., and in 12 Edward II (1318-19) on account of the destruction by the Scots had been reduced to 5s.

In 1535⁹⁸ there were two chaplains, each receiving £4 a year from the master or *custos*, and five poor laymen, oppressed with age and disease, dwelling in the hospital, each receiving 6s. 8d. a year. The master, Marmaduke Bradley,⁹⁹ had a house with garden and orchard and £9 6s. 8d. Against a total revenue of £27 5s. 6d. were outgoings (including the payment of £8 to the chaplains and £1 13s. 4d. to the poor inmates) amounting to £11 4s. 11d., leaving a clear income of £16 os. 7d.

The chantry certificate (1546-7)¹⁰⁰ gives much the same return. Marmaduke Bradley was still master. He showed 'no foundacon but used ther to kepe ij preistes and v poore people to pray for all Chrsten soulez, ather prest havynge for his stipende iijij*li*, and every of the v poore people vjs. viij*d*.' The 'mancion howse' of the hospital with all the closes was evidently not inhabited by the master, and was, it appears, let for £8.

Both this hospital and that of St. John Baptist 'were attached to the [collegiate] church much in the same way as were the chapels and chantries,'¹ and still continue among the charitable institutions of the city.

Its post-Reformation history is continued with the complaint, made in 1567, against Mr. Thomas Webster, master of the hospital, and Mark Metcalfe and Christopher Bawdersby, clerks (the two chaplains), that they were non-resident. 'The howseis go to ruyn and decaie, and ther is no provision for releiffe of the poore.'² The buildings, with the fortunate exception of the ancient chapel, were rebuilt in 1674 by the master, Dr. Richard Hooke, a prebendary of the collegiate church.³ Since his death on 1 January 1688-9 the Deans of Ripon have been masters of the hospital.⁴

In 1838 the annual revenue amounted to about £450, and, besides the master, there were a chaplain and six poor sisters, the five senior of whom received £3 12s. 4d. a year, and the youngest £2 13s. 4d. The chaplain only

received 20s., thus leaving the greater portion of the revenue to the master.⁵

MASTERS

- Robert, occurs 1268⁶
 Roger de Malton, resigned 1294⁷
 James de Cimiterio, succeeded 1295⁸
 Patrick de Brafferton, succeeded 1301,⁹ removed 1306¹⁰
 Nicholas de Bondegate, succeeded 1306¹¹
 [Richard de Doncastre, appointed in error 1308¹²]
 Nicholas de Molendinis, appointed 1311-12¹³
 Henry de Shirokes, appointed 1317¹⁴
 William de Popelton, appointed 1329,¹⁵ resigned 1334-5¹⁶
 John de Welleton, succeeded 1334-5¹⁷ occurs 1336¹⁸
 Robert de Silkeston, before 1339¹⁹
 John le Bridelington, acolyte, appointed 1339,²⁰ occurs 1352²¹
 [John le Smale, appointed 1342²²]
 John de Crakehall, appointed 1354,²³ resigned 1368²⁴
 John de Gillyng, succeeded 1368²⁵
 Roger de Piking, appointed 1374,²⁶ resigned 1382²⁷ or 1383²⁸
 [Robert de Dalton, LL.B., succeeded 2 Nov. 1382²⁹]
 [William Lynton, 24 Nov. 1382³⁰]
 Thomas Bromflete,³¹ 1383
 William Skyrrwith, resigned 1415³²
 Richard Bowett, succeeded 1415³³

⁶ White, *Hist. Gaz. and Dir. W. R. Yorks.* (1838), ii, 798.

⁷ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* 27.

⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 98.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Corbridge, fol. 91*b*.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Greenfield, fol. 33*b*.

¹² Pat. 2 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 16. See above.

¹³ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, ii, fol. 36.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Sed. vac. fol. 132.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Melton, fol. 97*b*.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 437*b*.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 230 n.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.* 236.

²² *Ibid.* 232. See above.

²³ York Archiepis. Reg. Thoresby, fol. 29.

²⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 66.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.* A. Nevill, i, fol. 2.

²⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 111.

²⁸ *Ibid.* fol. 32. 19 Sept. 1383, exchange between Roger de Pykeryng, *custos* of St. Mary Magdalene Hospital, and Thomas Bromflete, canon of the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary and All Angels, York.

²⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 111.

³⁰ *Ibid.* Commission to admit William Lynton to the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, which Robert de Dalton obtained. Apparently neither of these appointments fully took effect.

³¹ *Ibid.* fol. 32.

³² *Ibid.* Bowett, fol. 53.

³³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Pat. 30 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 17, *de exemplificacione*.

⁹⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 252.

⁹⁹ The former Abbot of Fountains.

¹⁰⁰ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 366.

¹ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), iii, p. xiii.

² *Ibid.* ii, 345, citing a Visitation Book of Archbishop Young.

³ According to an inscription on them.

⁴ *Mem. of Ripon*, ii, 307.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

William Crowton, M.A., appointed 1441,⁸⁴ resigned 1445⁸⁵
 Thomas Kemp, S.T.B., Archdeacon of Richmond, succeeded 1445⁸⁶
 Ranulph Bird, resigned 1462⁸⁷
 John Baddesworth, succeeded 1462,⁸⁸ resigned 1465⁸⁹
 Thomas Tanfeld, S.T.B., succeeded 1465⁴⁰
 Robert Witham, resigned 1479⁴¹
 William Poteman, LL.D., Archdeacon of Cleveland, succeeded 1479,⁴² resigned 1484⁴³
 Henry Carnebull, succeeded 1484,⁴⁴ resigned 1485⁴⁵
 Philip Lepyate, succeeded 1485,⁴⁶ deceased 1488⁴⁷
 Walter Feld, S.T.P., succeeded 1488⁴⁸
 Anthony Sentlenger, resigned 1506⁴⁹
 Marmaduke Huby, Abbot of Fountains, succeeded 1506,⁵⁰ occurs 1512⁵¹
 Marmaduke Bradley, Abbot of Fountains, occurs 1522-3,⁵² 1535,⁵³ 1545,⁵⁴ died 1553⁵⁵
 Thomas Webster, occurs 1567⁵⁶
 Moses Fowler, occurs 1586⁵⁷
 John Favour, LL.D., appointed 1608,⁵⁸ died 1623⁵⁹
 John Favour (junior), appointed 1624⁶⁰ [died 1668⁶¹]
 Richard Hooke, D.D., occurs 1674,⁶² died 1688-9⁶³
 Christopher Wyvill, D.D., Dean of Ripon Collegiate Church, succeeded 1689,⁶⁴ died 1710⁶⁵

154. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, RIPON

This hospital appears to have been founded by Archbishop Thomas II of York (1109-1114). By his charter the archbishop, for the love of God and St. Wilfrid, gave to the hospital of the poor folk of Ripon land in South Allerwick and Havercroft, with free multure at his mills.⁶⁶ These gifts were confirmed by his immediate successor, Archbishop Thurstan, and

⁸⁴York. Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 47. (Also master of St. John's.)

⁸⁵Ibid. fol. 55.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷Ibid. W. Booth, fol. 140b.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹Ibid. G. Nevill, fol. 2.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid. L. Booth, fol. 52b.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid. Rotherham, i, fol. 98b.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid. fol. 3b. ⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid. i, fol. 103.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid. Savage, fol. 34.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid. Bainbridge.

⁵²Subs. R. bdle. 64, no. 300.

⁵³Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.), v, 252.

⁵⁴Yorks. Chant. Surv. (Surt. Soc.), ii, 366.

⁵⁵Mem. of Ripon (Surt. Soc.), ii, 224.

⁵⁶Ibid. iii, 345.

⁵⁷Ibid. ii, 259.

⁵⁸Ibid. 277.

⁵⁹Ibid. 278.

⁶⁰Ibid. 307.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid. 308. (Also master of St. John's.)

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Ibid. 271.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Mem. of Ripon (Surt. Soc.), i, 322-8.

at an inquisition held on 11 July 1341 the jurors knew of no other founders.⁶⁷

On 11 December 1222 Pope Honorius III exempted 'the rector and brothers' of the hospital of St. John Baptist of Ripon from payment of tithes.⁶⁸ The most important event in the history of the hospital was the appointment in 1340⁶⁹ by the king of David de Wollore to the mastership. This appointment, made *sede vacante* after the death of Melton, while Robert de Otteleye, a layman, appointed by Melton, still held office,⁷⁰ led to inquisitions and visitations, which tell most of what is known about the hospital.

The Rural Dean of Ripon held the inquiry on 11 July 1341⁷¹ by jury, when return was made as to the foundation by Archbishop Thomas, and its confirmation by his successor. The jurors stated that the hospital possessed 50 a. in Studley and Bishopton; 4 a. at Stanley; and 24 a. in the field of Ripon, besides which there were 5 a. given by different people, on which the *custos* paid tithe. The hospital might be ruled by a layman, so long as he was unmarried, and it had been so ruled time out of mind. The *custos* received the third sheaf of seven *Flatts* at Whitcliffe, not in the way of tithe, but as alms, and there were no spiritualities or oblations that they knew of belonging to the hospital.

On 5 September⁷² in the same year another inquisition was held, when the jurors found that the hospital was endowed, in part, with spiritualities, which a layman ought not to receive, and therefore, that Robert de Otteleye ought to be removed from office and David de Wollore admitted to it.

The jurors, on this occasion, reported that the hospital was originally endowed, when the land about Ripon was in a wild state, to provide hospitality for poor travellers, but that afterwards, when the country was cleared and built upon, the hospital was to support poor clerks, keeping their schools in Ripon, four or five of whom were to have soup daily, and beds at night, besides twice a week a loaf, six of which were to be made from a bushel of corn. The hospital ought also to provide all poor persons seeking alms with soup twice a week, one time pease, the other time herb.

There was no brother or sister in the hospital. On the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist yearly the *custos* ought to give alms to every poor person who came, either bread or flour; he ought also to find a chaplain to celebrate in the chapel, which was dedicated and in which the late master had been buried.

⁶⁷Ibid. ii, 123.

⁶⁸Ibid. 83.

⁶⁹Ibid. 186. David de Wollore was for many years Master of the Rolls. He held the prebend of Studley Magna in Ripon Collegiate Church.

⁷⁰Ibid. i, 212.

⁷¹Ibid. ii, 123.

⁷²Ibid. i, 217.

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The King's Bench gave judgement in favour of David de Wollore, who was admitted.⁷³ His appointment was greatly to the advantage of the hospital, which by the neglect of its masters had become much impoverished. In 1301⁷⁴ William de Somerset, on his resignation of the mastership, had left certain cattle, &c., for the use of the poor and sick of the hospital, and Archbishop Corbridge, in accepting his resignation, confirmed the gifts, and ordered that successive masters should make them good as they failed. David de Wollore found the property and stock so diminished⁷⁵ that the hospital could scarcely maintain its inmates, or perform its obligations. He generously re-endowed it, in order that it might be able to maintain its good works in the celebration of masses by the master or a fit chaplain, as also in the exhibitions of poor boys attending the grammar schools of Ripon. What he gave is shown in an indenture of 6 September 1370, between his attorney and John de Brigg, who succeeded him as *custos*. The list is too long to be given here, but he provided a large stock of horses, cattle, and sheep, various household goods, two chests with the muniments, and service books for the chapel, a high table for the hall, and ploughs and other agricultural implements at Havercroft. These goods, or their value, were to be handed down from master to master.

On 5 July 1419⁷⁶ Pope Martin V granted (on the ground that the mastership was not worth more than 10 marks annually, out of which the master was unable to support the burdens incumbent on him) that the master might hold with it four other benefices compatible with it, even if one were a parish church, or perpetual vicarage, and might exchange them for others.

On 10 August 1454⁷⁷ Archbishop William Booth granted forty days' indulgence to all who visited the chapel of the hospital on certain feasts, or who gave of their goods to the chapel in offerings, or for ornaments, lights, or other pious help. The suffragan 'Johannes Philopolen episcopus'⁷⁸ also granted like indulgence.

At the time of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (1535)⁷⁹ Edward Brigham was master of the hospital 'or house' of St. John the Baptist. The house with a close annexed was valued at 10s., and there were rents in Ripon and Studley making a total of £10 14s. 4d. In 1545-6⁸⁰ John Rogers was

⁷³ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 223.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* ii, 29. ⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 130.

⁷⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Bowett, fol. 68b.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* W. Booth, fol. 160b.

⁷⁸ He was master of the hospital at the time, having been appointed on 14 Sept. 1453; *ibid.* fol. 30b.

⁷⁹ *Op. cit.* v, 251.

⁸⁰ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 368. There was 'one tenement called Saynt John House, with ij closes in Bongate in the tenure of Christofer Watson' (38s. 8d.).

incumbent 'shewynge no Foundacion but of a contynuall use to pray for all Cristien sowlez and to celebrate Masse and other dyvyne service in the Chapell of the same Hospitall at his plesure.' The goods were valued at 5s. 2d. and the plate at 27s. The total rental was £12 or. 4d.

In 1570-1⁸¹ Thomas Blakburn, master, was ordered on 5 February to bring in the foundation of his hospital at Ripon before the High Commission at York, and on 13 March following he was proceeded against 'for hearing masse in Rebellion tyme, and other Papisticall servyce,' for which he was fined £6 13s. 4d., and was ordered to do penance. Other charges had already been brought against him as one of the curates of the then late collegiate church.

In 1544-5⁸² a commission was granted by King Henry VIII empowering the Archbishops of York, for the time being, to dispose of the government of the hospitals of St. John the Baptist and St. Mary Magdalene, in and near Ripon, and to have the appointment of the masters. In this way both these hospitals have survived as almshouses. Among the post-Reformation masters of St. John's, before the mastership was annexed to the deanery, are two notable names, viz. those of Dr. John Wilkins (1660),⁸³ Bishop of Chester (1668-72), one of the founders of the Royal Society, and Dr. John Bramhall (1625)⁸⁴ afterwards the well-known Primate of Ireland. Since January 1688-9⁸⁵ the Deans of Ripon have been and still are *ex officio* masters of the two hospitals of St. John and St. Mary Magdalene.

In 1838 the income of the hospital was £340, received by the master, who paid 20s. to the chaplain, and £1 7s. 6d. to each of the two almswomen called sisters. The building was used as a boys' school.⁸⁶

MASTERS

Walter le Botiller, resigned 1295⁸⁷

William de Somerset, confirmed 1295,⁸⁸
resigned 1301⁸⁹

William de Thorp, confirmed 1313⁹⁰

John Paynel, appointed *sede vacante* 1317⁹¹

Robert de Otteley, removed 1341⁹²

David de Wollore, appointed 1341⁹³

John de Brigg, succeeded, occurs 1370⁹⁴

⁸¹ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), iii, 346.

⁸² *Ibid.* i, 245.

⁸³ *Ibid.* ii, 265.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 280.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 271.

⁸⁶ White, *Hist. Gaz. and Dir. W. R. Yorks.* (1838), ii, 790.

⁸⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 98b.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 29.

⁹⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, ii, fol. 41.

⁹¹ Pat. 10 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 29.

⁹² *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 217, 322.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* ii, 129.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Roger Haward, resigned 1398⁹⁶
 Robert Tanfeld, succeeded 1398⁹⁶
 Robert Colhome, appointed 1413,⁹⁷ resigned
 1418⁹⁸
 John Wodham, succeeded 1418,⁹⁹ resigned
 1418-19¹⁰⁰
 John Brommesgrave, succeeded 1418-19¹
 John Soulby, occurs 1419²
 Robert Young, occurs 1433³
 John Pakenham⁴
 William Crowton, succeeded 1441,⁵ resigned
 1445⁶
 Nicholas Kene, LL.B., succeeded 1445,⁷
 resigned 1448-9⁸
 Ranulph Bird, succeeded 1448-9,⁹ resigned
 (query in 1450)¹⁰
 Thomas Gyvendale, 1450¹¹
 John, Bishop of Philippopolis, suffragan,¹²
 1453, died 1459¹³
 Richard Musin, Bishop of Dromore, succeeded
 1459¹⁴
 John Grene, Bishop of The Isles, suffragan,
 1462-3,¹⁵ resigned 1464¹⁶
 John Suthwell, succeeded 1464¹⁷
 Robert Jesson, resigned 1485¹⁸
 John Triguram, succeeded 1485,¹⁹ occurs
 1522-3²⁰
 Edward Brigham, occurs 1535²¹
 John Rogers, appointed 1538,²² occurs
 1545-6²³
 Thomas Blackburne, occurs 1567,²⁴ 1570-1²⁵
 Christopher Lyndall, occurs 1604,²⁶ deceased
 1623²⁷
 George Procter, appointed 1623²⁸
 John Favour, jun., occurs *circa* 1624²⁹
 John Bramhall, appointed 1625,³⁰ voided the
 mastership 1634³¹

⁹⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Scrope, fol. 1. ⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid. Bowett, fol. 47. ⁹⁸ Ibid. fol. 51b.

⁹⁹ Ibid. ¹⁰⁰ Ibid. ¹ Ibid.

² Ibid. fol. 68b.

³ Baildon, *Mon. Notes* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), i, 181.

⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 47b.

⁵ Ibid. ⁶ Ibid. fol. 55b. ⁷ Ibid. fol. 56.

⁸ Ibid. fol. 66. ⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid. fol. 76, where it is said that the vacancy was due to the resignation of Nicholas Kene—probably a clerical error.

¹¹ Ibid. ¹² Ibid. W. Booth, fol. 30b.

¹³ Ibid. fol. 49. Bishop Musin's name occurs, with that of Archbishop Scrope, on the silver band of the well-known Maser bowl at York, as each granting forty days pardon 'on to all tho that drinkis of this cope.'

¹⁴ Ibid. ¹⁵ Ibid. fol. 55b.

¹⁶ Ibid. *Sede vacante*, fol. 444. ¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid. Rotherham, fol. 3. ¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Subs. R. bdle. 64, no. 300.

²¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 251.

²² York Archiepis. Reg. Lee, fol. 71.

²³ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 368.

²⁴ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), iii, 345.

²⁵ Ibid. 348. ²⁶ Ibid. ii, 287.

²⁷ Ibid. ²⁸ Ibid. 313. ²⁹ Ibid. 307.

John Wilkins, appointed 1660³²
 Richard Hooke, occurs 1674,³³ deceased 1 Jan.
 1688-9³⁴
 Christopher Wyvill, dean of the collegiate
 church, appointed 31 January 1688-9³⁵

155. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. ANNE, OR THE MAISON DIEU, RIPON

This hospital was founded by some unknown person early in the 15th century for four men, four women, and a chaplain, with two beds for wayfarers.³⁶ Apparently it had no permanent endowment but was maintained by the alms collected for it. It was in existence before 1438, for John Granby, rector of a moiety of South Otterington, in that year bequeathed money towards payment of a priest to celebrate for his soul 'in capella vocata le maisendieu Ripon.'³⁷ Unlike the two other hospitals at Ripon it had no connexion with the collegiate church. On 3 April 1479³⁸ Archbishop Laurence Booth granted an indulgence of forty days, for three years, to all who contributed to the maintenance of the house or hospital of St. Anne and the poor living in it; and on 8 August 1481³⁹ Archbishop Rotherham granted another indulgence of forty days to all who, having confessed, gave towards the maintenance of the eight poor persons of either sex in 'le masyndew' in Ripon.

A regular system of procurators or *nuncii*, soliciting alms for the hospital, is evidenced in Archbishop Booth's brief of indulgence, and the original copy of one such appeal, made in 1516, has been preserved. It is addressed by Seth Snawden of Bilton and Robert Stokes of Bickerton and witnesses that a chapel and 'massendew' was founded in Ripon 'by our ancestor' in honour of St. Anne, within which 'massendew' were one priest and eight poor folks, men and women, who in time past had been of good behaviour, and that there were also two common beds 'for every lone travelling man that hath noe spending, and there he may be cared one day and one night in fulfilling of the seven workes of mercy.'⁴⁰

³⁰ Ibid. 280.

³¹ Ibid. 281. He voided all his English preferments in 1634 on his appointment to the bishopric of Derry. In 1660-1 he became Primate of Ireland.

³² Ibid. 265. He was also at the same time appointed Dean of the collegiate church of Ripon.

³³ Ibid. 307. He was also master of St. Mary Magdalene's Hospital.

³⁴ Ibid. 271. ³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Walbran, *Guide to Ripon*, &c. (12th ed.), 78.*

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 157.

³⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, i, fol. 192.

⁴⁰ *Historic Ripon* (1890), 177.

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The hospital still exists, and in 1838⁴¹ sheltered eight poor women. It is said that it was founded by a member of the Nevill family.⁴² Since the Reformation it has received various benefactions, but in 1838 its yearly income was only about £50, which was divided among the almspeople.

156-8. THE HOSPITALS OF SCARBOROUGH

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. NICHOLAS.—At an inquisition held in 1297-8 it was found that both the hospitals of St. Nicholas and St. Thomas the Martyr at Scarborough were anciently founded by the burgesses of that town. As regarded St. Nicholas's Hospital the jurors made return that the goods of the hospital were used for the service of the brothers and sisters, that no one had injured or dilapidated the hospital, and that no lands had been appropriated without warrant, that its property was in the hands of the brothers and sisters, and that the bailiffs of the town with four other men of the borough audited the accounts.⁴³

In 1332 Edward III granted to John the Prior and the convent of the Holy Trinity, York, the hospital of St. Nicholas 'juxta Scardeburgh' with the custody of the same, and the hospital from thenceforward became dependent on the priory. This grant was confirmed by Henry VIII on 27 October 1518.⁴⁴ In the Ministers' Accounts⁴⁵ of the property of the late priory of Trinity at York, 100s. is accounted for as the rent of all the messuages, lands, tenements, &c., in 'Skербурgh' and 'Fallegrave' belonging to the hospital of St. Nicholas of 'Skербурgh' which had been let to Hugh Hungate for thirty-three years from Michaelmas 1532, who was to pay for the same 9 score salt fishes, a barrel of white herrings, and a 'cade' of red herrings, besides 11s. 8d., all of which had been commuted for the 100s. a year.

MASTERS

William de Cliff, appointed 1316⁴⁶

William de Thweng, occurs 1406⁴⁷

⁴¹ White, *Hist. Gaz. and Dir. W. R. Yorks.* (1838), ii, 798.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi (2), 639. On 14 May 1318 Archbishop Melton informed the vicar of Scarborough that on the Monday following he intended to visit the two hospitals of St. Nicholas and St. Thomas, and inquire by four clerks and six 'laicos fidedignos' as to their state. York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 268b.

⁴⁴ Pat. 10 Hen. VIII, pt. i, m. 4, which quotes in extenso the grant of 6 Edw. III.

⁴⁵ Mins. Accts. 28-9 Hen. VIII, no. 4461.

⁴⁶ Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 11.

⁴⁷ Torre's MS. pt. ii.

William Calthorpe, appointed 1441, died 1457^{47a}

Thomas Eyre, appointed 1457^{47b}

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR.—At the inquisition held in 1297-8⁴⁸ it appeared that the hospital of St. Thomas had been founded by the burgesses, on land originally given by Hugh de Bulmer for that purpose, and that the master was appointed by the burgesses. There appears to have been considerable disturbance at one time, when a Roger Wastyse ejected William le Champneys, the master, and the brothers and sisters of the hospital, because he had given false information to the king as to a donation of land being made by Roger's grandfather in pure and free alms to the hospital.

Besides the hospitals of St. Nicholas and St. Thomas the Martyr, there were at least four others in Scarborough, which are mentioned in the will of John Stokdale, burgess, dated 8 October 1468,⁴⁹ viz., the hospital of St. Stephen, to the poor of which he left 3s. 4d.; that of St. James (6s. 8d.); that of the Blessed Virgin Mary (3s. 4d.); and the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene (3s. 4d.), which appears to have been near the castle.⁵⁰ He also left 3s. 4d. to the poor of St. Nicholas, and 6s. 8d. to those of St. Thomas.

159. THE HOSPITAL OF SEAMER

This hospital was presumably founded by one of the Percy family, as in November 1490 Henry VII presented John Sutton to the wardenship of the hospital of St. Laurence near Seamer, Robert Wentlegh, clerk, having resigned, and the patronage being in the hands of the Crown by reason of the minority of Henry, Earl of Northumberland.⁵¹

160. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD, SHEFFIELD

According to Mr. Richard Holmes, in his account of the Lazarite Hospital of Foulshope at Pontefract, this was also a hospital of that order,⁵² but unfortunately he does not give any authority

^{47a} *Cal. Pat.* 1441-6, p. 7.

^{47b} *Ibid.* 1452-6, p. 389.

⁴⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 639.

⁴⁹ *York Reg. of Wills* (Yorks Arch. Soc.), iv, fol. 143.

⁵⁰ The bequest to the latter is 'pauperibus existentibus circa fossum castrum cum pauperibus in hospicio Sancte Marie Magdalene iij. s. iiiij. d.' The word *hospicium* and not *hospitale* is used in each instance, including the hospitals of St. Nicholas and St. Thomas.

⁵¹ *Materials for Hist. of Hen. VII* (Rois Ser.), ii, 530.

⁵² *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* x, 545.

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for the statement. The hospital was founded by William de Lovetot, whose charter, a small slip of parchment with some remains of the appendent seal, was in 1869 in the charge of the Duke of Norfolk's auditor. Dr. Gatty,⁵³ from the witnesses' names, assigns it to the reign of Henry II. By it, William de Lovetot granted to the sick (*infirmis*) of Sheffield the land which Roger held by the bridge of Don, and their living (*victus*), which was to be taken from his mill of Sheffield. The original endowment was not large, but the hospital probably received other gifts as time went on. Dodsworth, who visited Sheffield in August 1620, says: 'There hath been a spittle there on this side the bridge.' Nothing whatever has been discovered as to its history except that in 1299 Daniel, the keeper of the hospital, complained of Maud de Beauchamp, Countess of Warwick, Thomas de Furnival, and Richard del Clogh of Hallam, for unjustly disseising him of his free tenement in Sheffield.⁵⁴ The hospital stood on a little eminence on the east side of the town, still called the Spittal-hill. In an inquisition as to concealed lands, 12 February 1583, it is spoken of as a decayed chapel called St. Leonard's Chapel in the parish of Sheffield. In 1522-3 Dom. Edward Hadfeld was chaplain 'apud le Spittell' at Sheffield, his stipend being £6 per annum.⁵⁵

161. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE, SHERBURN - IN - ELMET

The *Monasticon*⁵⁶ has the following notice of this hospital: 'Tanner says, "upon the archbishop's register about the year 1311 mention is made of an hospital here, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene; the wardenship of which was in the archbishop's gift."' The reference intended is no doubt to the appointment by Archbishop Greenfield on 21 May 1311 of Robert de Mysterton 'ad custodiam hospitalis nostri beate Marie juxta Sherburn.' Henry III granted protection for five years to the master and brethren of this hospital in 1261.^{56a} Archbishop Thoresby on 10 June 1360 appointed Richard Kay as *custos* of the hospital or hermitage of Sherburn. It seems that a certain 'frater Johannes de Kildesby heremita' had at that time deserted

⁵³ Hunter, *Hallamshire* (ed. Gatty, 1869), 40, 312. From Dr. Gatty's edition the information here given, when not otherwise described, has been derived.

⁵⁴ Baildon, *Mon. Notes* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), i, 203.

⁵⁵ Subs. R. bdle. 64, no. 300.

⁵⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi (2), 782. The site of this hospital is probably indicated by that of a house called 'Magdalene Hall' in Jeffrey's Map of Yorkshire, 1772, on the road between Sherburn and Cawood.

^{56a} *Cal. Pat.* 1258-66, p. 139.

the charge of the hospital or hermitage for a lengthened period, and had gone wandering away from it, the archbishop, unwilling that it should continue bereft of its *custos*, appointed Richard Kay in his place.

WARDENS OR HERMITS OF SHERBURN

Dom. Henry Fraunceys, clerk, 1300⁵⁷

Dom. Robert de Mysterton, 1311⁵⁸

Dom. John de Carleton, died 1346

Dom. John de Midelton, 1346 succ.^{58a}

Frater John de Kildesby, deserted⁵⁹

Dom. Richard Kay, appointed 1360

John Alkokes, hermit, appointed 1369⁶⁰

162. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE, SKIPTON

It appears from an inquisition⁶¹ as to the extent of the manor of Skipton in Craven taken in 1310 that this was a free chapel within the castle of Skipton, and that the advowson belonged to the lord of the castle. The chapel was called the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, and had been founded by the alms of the said lord and the freemen of Skipton for the support of lepers. In 1327 John, Prior of Bolton, was attached to answer Thomas de Gargrave, the master of this hospital, for seizing goods belonging to it, valued at 20 marks, in 1306, the hospital at that time being vacant.⁶² The goods taken consisted of corn, barley, oats, and brazen cups and plates. The master claimed 100 marks damage, and the case was sent to a jury. Whitaker⁶³ says: 'At Skipton was an ancient hospital, of which I find only a single notice in the person of one Robert styling himself capellanum (*sic*) Hospitalis de Skepton, 24 Edw. III.' (1350-1).

163. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. EDMUND, SPROTBROUGH

A licence in mortmain was granted by Edward III, 28 October 1364,⁶⁴ to John Fitz William of 'Emeleye,' kt., that he might grant half an acre of woodland in Sprotbrough, not held

⁵⁷ Torre's 'Peculiars.'

⁵⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. Greenfield, fol. 53.

^{58a} Ibid. Zouch, fol. 7. In the register he is called John de Midelton 'filius Ricardi le Marechale.' Somehow Torre has erred and inserted Ricard le Marescall as the name of his successor.

⁵⁹ Ibid. Thoresby, fol. 106.

⁶⁰ Ibid. fol. 157.

⁶¹ Chan. Inq. p.m. 3 Edw. II, no. 59.

⁶² Baildon, *op. cit.* i, 205.

⁶³ Whitaker, *Hist. and Antiq. of Craven* (ed. Morant, 1878), 438.

⁶⁴ Pat. 38 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 28.

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in capite, to the master and chaplains of the hospital of St. Edmund of Sprotbrough. By the time of the survey of the chantries, although still retaining the name of hospital, it was also called St. Edmund's Chapel, and had become an ordinary chantry chapel. Anthony Burdit was returned as the 'incumbent,' and it was said to be of the foundation of Fitz Williams,⁶⁵ to 'th'entente the sayd incumbent shulde pray for the soul of the sayd founder, and all Christen soules, and celebrate masse, and other dyvyne service in the chappell of the sayd hospital,' which was distant from the parish church a mile and a half. The goods were valued at 19s. 7d., and the plate at 24s. The hospital possessed lands and tenements, 'beyng in dyvers places,' valued in all at £9 14s. 11d. Among them was 'j messuage with th'appurtenances called Ancres House with an orcharde and a close in tholdyng of Elizabeth Whyte wydowe.' There was also a parcel of meadow ground called 'the Anresse Ings.'⁶⁶ It is noteworthy that the chantry of St. Katherine in the parish church of Sprotbrough 'was fyrste founded by John Fitz Williams in the sayd hospitall of Seynte Edmonde, and afterwards removed to th'aulther of Seynt Edmonde [Qy. St. Katherine] aforsayd to pray for hys soule and all Christen soules.'⁶⁷

164. THE HOSPITAL OF SNAITH

In a roll of Pleas of the Crown of the time of Edward I the jurors of the soke of Snaith reported that unknown malefactors had killed Roger Blakedog 'in a certain hospital outside the town of Snaith which is called Dor'.⁶⁸

165. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY, STAXTON

The position of this hospital is still indicated by a farm called 'Spital House,' in a hamlet of the parish of Willerby in the East Riding. In 1297 the hospital paid 4s. 8d. as its ninth,⁶⁹ and in *Kirkby's Inquest*⁷⁰ it is recorded that there were 7 carucates of land in Staxton, of which the hospital of St. Mary held 1 carucate in alms, of the gift of Gilbert de Gaunt. The hospital belonged to the priory of Bridlington.⁷¹

⁶⁵ The foundation may have been that of John Fitz William in 1364, and possibly a larger establishment with a master and chaplains was contemplated, but never carried into effect.

⁶⁶ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 155.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 156.

⁶⁸ Assize R. 1109, m. 7.

⁶⁹ *Yorks. Lay Subs.* (Yorks. Arch. Soc.), 137.

⁷⁰ *Op. cit.* (Surt. Soc.), 52.

⁷¹ Langdale, *Topog. Dict. of Yorks.* 195.

166. THE HOSPITAL OF TADCASTER

A hospital must have been founded at an early date in Tadcaster, as about 1186 Maud de Percy, Countess of Warwick, finding that the revenues of the hospital were greatly reduced, made it over to the abbey of Sawley.^{71a} The infirm inmates agreed to the grant on condition that the monks provided for them as *domestici fratres* and did not remove them.^{71b} Richard de Percy afterwards confirmed to the abbey a carucate of land which used to belong to the hospital of Tadcaster.⁷² The hospital possibly continued in use as a leper-house, as John Gysburne, citizen and merchant of York, in 1385^{72a} left 5s. 'domui leprosororum de Tadcaster.'

167-9. THE HOSPITALS OF TICKHILL

There is an undated letter of Archbishop Walter Gray,⁷³ apparently of the year 1225, addressed to the clergy and laity of the deaneries of Doncaster and Retford, exhorting them to contribute towards the brothers of St. Leonard of Tickhill, whose sad condition he recommends to their charity.⁷⁴ That it was a leper-house is evident from a protection granted by Henry III on 8 September 1236, for the lepers of the hospital of St. Leonard, 'Thikehill,' for three years from the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (8 September).⁷⁵ It was possibly identical with

THE HOSPITAL IN THE MARSH.—Archbishop Melton on 19 June 1325 commissioned John de Sutton, rector of Hemsworth, to visit on his behalf the hospital or chapel in the marsh near Tickhill, by whatever name it was called, and the brothers, priests, servants, and ministers living in the same hospital or chapel, and to inquire into its defects, and matters pertaining to it, and the excesses of the forenamed persons, and to correct the same.⁷⁶

According to the *Monasticon* this hospital or chapel was afterwards annexed to the small Benedictine abbey of Humberston in Lincolnshire, and, as part of the possessions of that house, was granted in the first year of Queen Mary to Thomas Reve and George Cotton.⁷⁷

THE MAISON DIEU.—It is quite possible that this represents the ancient hospital of St. Leonard, and Langdale seems to take it for granted that it is

^{71a} Harl. MS. 112, fol. 155d.

^{71b} *Ibid.*

^{71b} *Ibid.* fol. 111d.

^{72a} B. H. Cooke, *Early Civic Wills of York*, 5.

⁷³ *Archbp. Gray's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 1.

⁷⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* (quoting Tanner), vi, 782.

⁷⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1232-47, p. 158.

⁷⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 166.

⁷⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 430.

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the same,⁷⁸ but there are no deeds or charters extant relating to the foundation and endowment of the Maison Dieu, which is one of the charities of Tickhill. It

was rebuilt in 1730, and contains eight separate tenements for as many poor persons, and the charity is under the management of three inhabitants of the parish called Maison Dieu masters, who are nominated once in three years by the inhabitants and occupiers of the almshouse, each of the trustees acting exclusively in the direction for one year. The income arises from the rent of 29 a. o r. 18 p. of land, two houses, and rent-charges of £1 2s. 2d. Each of the poor persons, usually widows, receives 6s. a month, and they have divided among them £2 at Tickhill Fair, and £1 on the rent day, and they receive each of them one load of coals per annum. The residue of the rents is applied in support of the almshouse and the buildings on the charity estate.⁷⁹

170. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LAWRENCE, UPSALL-IN-CLEVELAND

From some deeds in the Guisborough Chartulary⁸⁰ it appears that William Pinchun, c. 1150–70,⁸¹ gave half an acre of arable land and half an acre of meadow to the hospital of the lepers of Upsall. About 1180⁸² Walter de Upsall confirmed to the house of the sick of Upsall an acre of land which Ralph his father had given for the good of his, and his wife's and children's souls; in return the hospital should provide for him so long as he lived. In a grant by Walter de Hoton⁸³ to the hospital of St. Leonard of Lowcross certain of the lands are described as being on the east side of the hospital of Upsall, showing that both hospitals were then in existence. Early in the next century, however, (between 1213 and 1234)⁸⁴ Walter de Percy and ten other persons whose ancestors had endowed the hospital of St. Lawrence of Upsall transferred those grants to the lepers of Lowcross, and this no doubt marks the end of the hospital of Upsall. Rather later, Alan de Bulleford released to St. Leonard of Lowcross and the lepers there whatever claim he had, or might have, in the croft and dwelling 'ubi quondam fuit Hospitale S. Laurentii de Upsale.'⁸⁵

The memory of the hospital is, possibly, still perpetuated by a farm-house called 'Spite Hall.'

⁷⁸ Langdale, *Topog. Dict. of Yorks.* 431.

⁷⁹ Lawton, *Coll. Rerum Eccl. &c.* 235.

⁸⁰ Op. cit. (Surt. Soc.), i, no. 343, 370, 381, 382, 459.

⁸¹ Ibid. 185, while Cuthbert, a witness, was Prior of Guisborough.

⁸² Ibid. 189, while Ralph, a witness, was prior.

⁸³ Ibid. 187.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 191, while Michael, a witness, was prior.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 176.

171. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MICHAEL, WELL

This hospital was founded in 1342 by Ralph Nevill, kt., lord of Middleham,⁸⁶ *pro remissione peccatorum meorum*, as he states in the foundation charter. It was dedicated to the honour of Almighty God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, blessed Michael Archangel, and All Saints, and was to be called the hospital of St. Michael. It was intended for the increase of divine worship, the maintenance of poor pitiable persons, and other works of piety, in perpetuity. For this purpose the licence of King Edward and also of Robert de Wodehous, Archdeacon of Richmond, had been obtained, and the founder endowed it with the capital messuage of Well, called Houd, and a number of other tenements in Well which are fully described in the charter, as also the advowson of the church of Well. All were conferred on Dom. John de Stayndrop, chaplain, the master, and the priests and the poor brothers and sisters dwelling in the hospital. The master was to have with him, dwelling in the hospital, two fit priests, wearing closed supertunics of black or blue woollen cloth, with a cloak of black cloth, which vesture the master also was to wear. There were to be twenty-four poor and sick or feeble persons dwelling together in the same house, and the master and priests were to say and sing all the canonical hours, as also three masses each day devoutly.

In 1342 Archbishop Zouch,⁸⁷ on the ground that the endowments were insufficient, granted the hospital power to appropriate the church of Well to their uses, a due portion being assigned to a vicar, who should reside and have cure of souls.

By his will, of 1386, John Nevill of Raby desired his executors to buy the advowson of a church worth 40 li. or 80 marks and appropriate it to the hospital of Well; from this revenue the master was to receive 10 marks yearly, and each brother or sister 2d. or 3d. daily, and from any surplus as many chaplains were to be maintained as the money would permit.^{87a}

In 1535⁸⁸ Richard Threpland was master, and the total revenue of the hospital amounted to £42 12s. 3d. The number of inmates had been reduced to fourteen bedemen, who daily prayed for the souls of the founders. In the certificates of chantries⁸⁹ George Nevill is returned as master. The hospital was of the foundation of Rauffe Nevyle, to the intent that there should be a master, two priests, and twenty-four poor folks called 'eremettes' to pray for the king and queen, the founders, and all Christian souls. The twenty-four poor

⁸⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi (2), 702.

⁸⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 65b

^{87a} *Wills and Inventories* (Surtees Soc.), 41.

⁸⁸ Gale, *Reg. Hon. de Richmond*, 283.

⁸⁹ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 110.

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folk were, besides their lodging, to have a loaf of bread daily, half a gallon of ale, and 4s. each yearly. For a long time there had been but fourteen poor folk, and 26s. 8d. apiece for their 'dueties and dyettes.' The lack of ten of the poor folk was alleged by the master to be due to the loss of the profits of the parsonage of Well, by decay of tillage in the parish. The goods were valued at £19 10s. 2d., and the plate at £4 6s. The total revenues were £65 5s. 7d., less outgoings of £16 15s. 3½d., leaving a clear total of £48 10s. 3½d.

John Lord Latimer in 1542 attached a grammar-school to the foundation for a term of forty years. The site is now occupied by a post-Reformation hospital with a chapel.

MASTERS OF WELL HOSPITAL

John de Stayndrop (first master), 1342⁹⁰
Thomas de Aykeskarth, occurs 1390⁹¹
John Bosville, occurs 1413⁹²
John Middleton, occurs 1460,⁹³ 1474^{93a}
Richard Threpland, occurs 1526⁹⁴
George Nevill, D.D., occurs 1546⁹⁵

172. WENTBRIDGE LEPER HOUSE

The only known allusion to the former existence of this house is contained in the will of John de Gysburne, citizen and merchant of York (1385).⁹⁶ He bequeathed 5s. *domui leprosororum apud Wentbrig.*

173-4. THE HOSPITALS OF WHITBY

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MICHAEL.—The origin and early history of this hospital are contained in two documents in the Whitby Chartulary.⁹⁷ In 1109, during the abbacy of William de Percy, the first abbot, a leper named Orm sought from the abbot and convent a place where he might make his habitation. A place afterwards called 'Spitylbrydg' or 'Ad Pontem Hospitalis,' was granted him, as well as a corrody of seven loaves and seven *lagenae* of ale weekly, and a daily service of meat or fish, such as the convent had. Afterwards others, lepers or not, were permitted to live at the hospital, and it was agreed by Abbot William, as well as by his

successors, Abbots Nicholas and Benedict, and their convent, that when an inmate of the hospital, leprous or not, died, the body was to be brought to the monastery to be buried there by the monks. One of the monks was appointed master of the hospital, but neither he, nor the brothers or sisters of the hospital, were to admit anyone to it except through the abbot, because, it was said, the original alms came from the *mensa* of the abbot and convent. The hospital had its own chaplain with cure of souls there. The alms originally granted by Abbot William to Orm were granted in perpetuity to the hospital, as well as land near the hospital, called the Hospital Croft. A monk named Geoffrey Mansell, who was suspected of leprosy by Abbot Benedict and certain of the monks, was sent there and lived at the hospital many years and died there. He cleared the land at 'Helredale,' now called Spittal Vale, and cultivated it.

Robert de Alneto, who is heard of elsewhere as the hermit of Hode who received Abbot Gerald and the convent after they left Calder, was master of the hospital; he appealed to Gundreda the wife of Nigel de Albin and mother of Roger de Mowbray, and she gave to the hospital of St. Michael 2 bovates of land at Honeton with a toft, which the monks of Rievaulx held of the hospital, paying 6s. yearly rent for it, and Aelred, Abbot of Rievaulx, with his convent, undertook to help the inmates by giving them yearly, on the feast of St. Martin, their old *vestimenta*. During the troublous times of the reign of Stephen, William, Earl of Albemarle, destroyed the vaccary of the monks of Whitby at Kesbec and their *mansiones* at Thornaby; and Abbot Benedict, fearing other mischief and knowing the kindness of the earl towards the poor and lepers, let the lepers and brothers of the hospital have their money at Billoche (Billery). Earl William spared the place on account of the lepers. Abbot Richard I granted to St. Michael's Hospital and the brethren a traveller's corrody, founded in the monastery. He also, by Peter Danum, monk and master of the hospital, granted a place called 'Le Rigge' at Helredale, which the brothers cleared and cultivated; and Walter de Rosels gave to God and St. Michael and the brothers of the place a toft and 1 acre of land at Easington.

St. Michael's Hospital, being wholly dependent on and managed by the monastery, scarcely had a separate existence. Its site is still identified by the name of Spittal Bridge.

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST.—On 8 January 1320 the king granted to Robert de Hemyngburgh, king's clerk, the custody of the hospital of St. John the Baptist, Whitby, with writ of aid for the said Robert directed to the brethren and sisters of the said

⁹⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 702.

⁹¹ *Anct. D.* (P.R.O.), B 276.

⁹² Baildon, *op. cit.* i, 221.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

^{93a} *Reg. of Corpus Christi Gild*, 93.

⁹⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 244.

⁹⁵ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* 110. See his will, *Richmond Wills* (Surt. Soc.), 204. He was the thirteenth child and seventh son of Richard, Lord Latimer.

⁹⁶ B. H. Cooke, *Early Civic Wills of York*, 5.

⁹⁷ *Charters*, no. 382, 572.

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hospital.⁹⁸ In 1407-8, as the result of an inquisition, the jurors stated that there was no hospital of St. John the Baptist of Whitby of the foundation of the king or his progenitors.⁹⁹

175. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. NICHOLAS, YARM

According to Tanner this hospital was founded by some member of the Brus family before 1185.¹⁰⁰ It seems, however, more probable that the founder, if not Alan de Wilton himself, two of whose charters are printed in the *Monasticon*,¹ was at least a member of that family, and that members of the Brus family, as chief lords, confirmed and added to the grants made by others.

Alan de Wilton (who died in 1230-1)² granted to God, blessed Mary, blessed Nicholas, and to the hospital of Yarm and the brothers there, 12 bovates of land in Hutton-juxta-Rudby, Upleatham, and Middleton-juxta-Leven, for the maintenance of three chaplains and thirteen poor persons in the hospital.

Peter de Brus I (who died 1222)³ confirmed to God, blessed Mary, and the hospital of St. Nicholas, and the brothers there, the free multure at all his mills and pasturage for their cattle which Robert de Brus (the founder of Guisborough) granted them. Peter de Brus I also confirmed the grants by one Ailwin, by Adam de Brus his father, by William de Wilton, and by Marmaduke de Thweng. He also gave eight tofts in Yarm, one of which is described as 'juxta castellarium.'

By a second charter⁴ Alan de Wilton granted the hospital of St. Nicholas to God, St. Mary, and St. John the Evangelist, of Healaugh Park, and the canons there, for the health of his own soul, and those of Avice his wife, and Mary his late wife, his brothers, sisters, ancestors, and successors; those of Peter de Brus I and Joan his wife, William the son of Peter de Brus, and for the good estate of Walter [Gray], Archbishop of York, Matthew, Archdeacon of Cleveland; Thomas, Alan's brother; Peter de Brus II and his wife, and William de Tamton and his wife.

This grant of the hospital by Alan de Wilton certainly points to him as its founder, and the mention of the two Peters de Brus is so expressed as to imply that Peter de Brus and his

son William were dead, which would limit the date of this grant of the hospital to Healaugh Park as between 1222, when Peter de Brus I died, and 1230, when Alan de Wilton died.

This grant of the hospital was confirmed by Peter de Brus II,⁵ together with a number of grants made to it subsequently, it would seem, to those confirmed by Peter de Brus I. The Healaugh Chartulary contains copies of several gifts of land in neighbouring villages.

Upon the gift of the hospital to Healaugh Park the prior and convent granted the wardenship⁶ to Nigel de Rungeton⁷ and Geoffrey, son of Hugh of Yarm, saving to the convent the supreme wardenship. Nigel de Rungeton and Geoffrey were to find a chaplain to celebrate in the hospital and a clerk to serve him, besides seven poor persons to be fed and clothed there. The first witness to this deed is Thomas de Wilton, the brother and successor of Alan de Wilton. This, again, points to the hospital having been of the foundation of that family.

A rental of 2s. at Lackenby, referred to in the foregoing grant, was given by Hugh de Lackenby to God, St. Mary, blessed Nicholas, and the brothers and sisters of the hospital, out of certain lands (named) in Lackenby for maintaining a lamp to burn before the great altar in the church of St. Nicholas of the hospital during the performance of divine service.⁸

Some time between 1262 and 1280, when Ralph de Irton, who was a witness, was Prior of Guisborough, William de Percy of Kildale granted to the Prior and convent of Healaugh Park the chapel of St. Hilda at Kildale with its endowments, the obligation being that the canons of Healaugh Park should maintain two chaplains to serve the chapel.⁹ William de Percy died in 1295 and was succeeded by Ernald de Percy IV,¹⁰ who obtained a return of the gift which William de Percy *dudum concessit*, and made a re-grant by which the prior and convent were to maintain one chaplain at St. Hilda's, and out of that part of the original endowment lying in Crathorne were to maintain a chaplain at St. Nicholas Hospital, who was to

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 637, no. iii.

⁷ B.M. Egerton Chart. 516.

⁸ There is an earlier grant (? c. 1212) by William son of John de Rungetona to Peter son of Thomas, his heirs and assigns, of the 'dominium cura et custodia hospitalis S. Nicholai de Jarum' without reserve, except the right for himself, his children, brothers and sisters, to be received into the house if they should at any time wish. B.M. Egerton Chart. 515.

⁹ Healaugh Chartul. fol. 112. The witnesses are 'Magistro H. custode hospitalis Sci. Nicholai de Yarum, Wo. et Rico. capellanis; Roberto de Sampsona clerico, et aliis.'

¹⁰ Healaugh Chartul. fol. 104b.

¹¹ Atkinson, *Hist. of Cleveland*, 307.

⁹⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1317-21, p. 413.

⁹⁹ Chart. R. 9 Hen. IV, no. 40.

¹⁰⁰ *Notitia*, 675.

¹ Dugdale, *op. cit.* vi, 636. It would seem that the chronological order of the four charters printed there should be i, iv, ii, iii.

² See as to this family *Guisborough Chartul.* i, 88 n.

³ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xiii, 258. His charter here summarized is no. iv in the *Monasticon*, vi, 637.

⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 636, no. ii.

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celebrate in the chapel for the soul of William de Percy, his ancestors and heirs, in perpetuity.¹¹

In 1546 the chantry was said to be 'of the foundation of the late Erle of Northumberland.'¹² Francis Edward was the chaplain, the intent being to say mass in the chapel and pray for the souls of the founder and all Christian souls. The stipend was a yearly rent of 106s. 8d. from the late monastery of Healaugh, and the chapel a mile from the parish church. In 1548,¹³ when William Burdon, aged thirty-six, was chaplain, the same stipend from Healaugh is mentioned, but the obligation is changed to that of doing 'divyne service to the inhabitants thereabouts being distant from the parishe church a myle.' There was evidently a desire to spare the chaplaincy and represent its duty as conformable with the altered forms of religion.

After the hospital became dependent on the priory of Healaugh Park one of the canons appears to have taken charge of it as master, although not holding that title.¹⁴

In the Ministers' Accounts of Healaugh Park¹⁵ for the year Michaelmas 1535 to Michaelmas 1536, 30s. are accounted as the rent of three closes in Yarm, called Spittell Closes, in the tenure of Matthew Metcalfe; 16s. as the rent of a messuage and garden adjoining in the tenure of William Oldfield, chaplain, late one of the canons, with 18d. as the rent of his *camera* for the year.

176. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. LEONARD, YORK

The hospital of St. Leonard, or St. Peter as it was at first called, appears to have had its origin in the hospitality shown to the poor by the Culdees, who, before the Conquest, served

¹¹ Healaugh Chartul. fol. 104b.

¹² *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 119.

¹³ *Ibid.* 487.

¹⁴ In 1527 'dominus Thomas Revesley canonicus ibidem' is returned in Subs. R. bdle. 63, no. 303. On 8 June 1409 the prior and convent granted to Brother Richard Roby, canon, their hospital of St. Nicholas-juxta-Yarm for his life, with all its lands and rentals (specified), as John Byrkyn and other canons before him had held them, and Brother Richard was to do service daily in the hospital chapel and keep the buildings in repair. The archbishop confirmed the appointment on 15 June following (York Archiepis. Reg. Bowett, fol. 89). On 8 May 1540 Archbishop Lee instituted Francis Yowarde, chaplain, to the salary of the perpetual chantry in the chapel of 'Yarom Spitle' on the nomination of King Henry VIII, the same being vacant by the death of the late incumbent (York Archiepis. Reg. Lee, fol. 44). The presentation was in the king's hands, as representing the dissolved priory of Healaugh Park.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* 27-8 Henry VIII, no. 4471.

the cathedral church of York.¹⁶ According to tradition, Athelstan, returning from the battle of Brunanburh, seeing the large number of poor folk maintained by the *Colidei* of St. Peter's, York, granted, in 936, a thrave, or twenty sheaves of corn, from every plough ploughing in the then extensive diocese of York, for the maintenance of these poor folk. A small hospital was built for them on ground belonging to the king, west of the church, and this endowment of the thraves, known as the sheaves of St. Peter, or the Petercorn, though it led to litigation and disputes in later times, formed the nucleus of the rich property the hospital gradually acquired.

William the Conqueror, at the request of Archbishop Thomas, confirmed the gift of the thraves, which in his charter are called 'illam antiquam elemosinam supra qua dictum hospitale fundatum existit.'¹⁷ The site of the hospital was changed by William Rufus to other royal land further west. Stephen constructed a church dedicated in honour of St. Leonard, and henceforward the hospital was known as the hospital of St. Leonard, although to the last the seal used bore the figure and name of St. Peter. The gift of the thraves was confirmed by several kings, and the popes fulminated the heaviest censures against those who withheld these ancient alms.¹⁸

In 1246, on the occasion of a vacancy in the mastership caused by the death of Hugh de Gaytington, the Crown claimed the patronage of the hospital, and an inquiry was held by a jury of twelve of 'the older and more discreet knights' of the county. They reported¹⁹ that in the time of William the Conqueror, after an ancient war (*post antiquam guerram*), the clerks of the church of St. Peter of York, who at that time were called 'Kelidenses,' asked the king to give them a place lying before the gate of the said church on the west as a site for buildings to receive and lodge the poor sick and infirm who at that time were suffering extreme want, lying by night in the streets. And the king gave that place to them by his charter and ordered Geoffrey Baynard to deliver it to them. Then they erected buildings and assigned certain thraves, which they were accustomed to receive throughout the county, for the support of the said hospital. King Henry the elder (*sene*) had a chaplain and confessor, Paulinus by name, and he

¹⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 607; Drake, *Ebor.* 332-6, &c. According to the Chartulary of the Hospital (Cott. MS. Nero, D. iii, fol. 7) the thraves were given to the minster by Athelstan without reference to any hospital, were soon afterwards regranted to the Crown for the purpose of exterminating wolves and were restored by William I in 1069.

¹⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 608.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 609.

¹⁹ Assize R. 1045, m. 17 d.

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asked the dean and chapter to admit him to the rule of the hospital; and he was admitted and lived many years as master. During his time Archbishop Roger abandoned a claim to the patronage which he had put forward, but after the death of Paulinus, Archbishop Geoffrey on his own authority, in the time of King John, appointed John his chaplain as master, but the dean and chapter successfully impleaded him and removed John and made Ralph of Nottingham master, and after the death of Ralph they, at the request of Morgan, then provost of Beverley, appointed Hugh de Gaytington, the master recently deceased. And no predecessor of the king ever appointed any master.

A slightly different story was told in 1280 by a mixed jury of twenty-four freemen of the county, twelve citizens and twelve brethren of the hospital.²⁰ According to this the founder was William II, who built the chapel of St. Peter and endowed the chapel with the thraves; King Stephen built the church of St. Leonard in the High Street adjoining and changed the name of the hospital. King John, following the custom of his predecessors, appointed Paulinus de Ledes master and on his death appointed one John. Two years later, during the war between John and his barons, the dean and chapter ejected John and since that time had retained the appointment of the masters. The then master, Roger de Malton, had given the dean and chapter leave to visit and order the hospital at will, without consulting the brethren. At the time of this return the house was much impoverished, so that the number of the chaplains had to be reduced.

On 16 December 1293 Archbishop Romanus wrote to Nicholas de Misterton, deputy of Walter de Langton, then master of St. Leonard's, asking him to admit two poor men, one a chaplain and *ligator librorum*, to two of the twelve beds founded by the archbishop's father. This Misterton refused to do, but the upshot of the matter does not appear.²¹ It however, indicates the early endowment of beds in the hospital by private benefaction. In 1307 Gilbert de Stapelton,²² then master, granted to Jollan de Nevill in return for an acre of arable land and the advowson of the church of Pickhill three beds and the maintenance of three sick persons in the hospital infirmary, so that when one of the beds was vacated by death or otherwise, Jollan de Nevill and his heirs should nominate a successor.²³

²⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1334-8, pp. 266-8.

²¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 44b.

²² Gilbert de Stapelton was an intruder, who had been collated to the mastership by Walter de Langton on his removal from that office in 1308-9. The king granted the mastership to Walter Reynolds, Bishop of Worcester, and ordered Stapelton to resign; Pat. 2 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 17.

²³ B.M. Add. Chart. 7466.

On 23 July 1294 Walter de Langton, master of St. Leonard's, delivered to the brothers and sisters of the hospital a series of *provisiones et precepta*, which²⁴ may be summarized thus: each brother, being a chaplain and *litteratus*, was to have a particular seat and carol or desk in the cloister. All such chaplains were to rise together for matins, and to be present at all canonical hours, and afterwards four brothers, besides the chaplain celebrating mass, were to be present at the mass of the Virgin from beginning to end, and then each was to say his own mass as appointed by the *custos* and cellarer. Hours and masses finished, they were to go to their seats in the cloister and engage in contemplation, and in the devout saying of the seven penitential psalms, and prayers for the souls of the kings and other benefactors. When prime was sounded all were to go into the quire, and after prime to the chapter-house, the boy thurifer preceding them, and bearing the *tabula*. He was to read the lesson of the Martiloge, and then the *tabula*, after which the Ebdomadary was to say the 'Pretiosa est in conspectu domini,' &c., and having heard the declamations of faults, and corrections having been made, all were to go to the quire and say the Commendation of Souls. After the hours and the mass of the day were ended, and the little bell was sounded, all were to assemble at the door of the refectory and sit there, and then enter together. A brother was to read both at dinner (*prandium*) and at supper (*cena*), and they were to beware of sitting too long at their meals, at the end of each of which they were to go to the church and say grace. In the summer, after dinner, they were to sleep after the manner of other religious, and after their repose in summer, or after dinner at other times, were to go to their places in the cloister and study their books until the first peal of vespers, and during the first and second peals of vespers were to say *Placebo* and *Dirige*; the peal finished, they were to begin vespers. After vespers of the day and of our Lady all were to enter the cloister and study their books till supper, and then, the bell sounding, were to go to supper or collation, after which they were to go to church and return thanks, and say compline of the day and of the Blessed Virgin. After compline they were to chant solemnly and devoutly *Salve Regina*, or some other anthem of the glorious Virgin before her altar. Then, having said their private prayers, either in quire or cloister till bed time, all were to sleep together in the dormitory, except the cellarer, who alone had a private chamber. There was to be no drinking or eating together after compline. After this follow directions as to closing the church doors, and the custody of the keys. Secular chaplains and quire boys were to enter the church by the porch of the Blessed Virgin,

²⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 610, no. x.

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which after their entrance and departure was to be shut, but the *conversi* were to pass through the cloister, and enter the church by a door near the altar of the Holy Cross, and so go to their stalls. There was to be no brawling or noise or murmuring at table. If a brother was sick, and could not attend the quire office, he was to have a special *camera* assigned him in the dormitory. The same *camera* was to be assigned for bleeding and shaving, but those bled were to dine with the brethren in the refectory. All ought to be shaved by a barber at one time, fortnightly. If anyone was guilty of incontinence, or was disobedient, or possessed private property (*proprietary*), no one but the master could absolve him, except in danger of death, and if anyone was found at death to be a *proprietary* he was to be refused ecclesiastical burial.

All charters and muniments were to be kept in the treasury under two or three keys by the *custos* and clerk of the exchequer, at the sight, and with the consent of the dean of the cathedral church. No brother was to wander about into the kitchen, brewery, bakehouse, &c. Nor were any to go out of the door of the nave of the church, except in processions.

An honest place at the lower end of the church was to be set apart, from one side to the other, where the sisters could meet and sit. They were to go out and come in together, and neither they nor the brothers were to wander through the hospital court.

With the accession of Edward II in 1307 a turbulent period in English history began. Walter de Langton, while conveying the body of the deceased king towards Westminster, was arrested and brought as a prisoner to York, and all the public moneys which he held, as well as his private means, were seized.²⁵

Walter Reynolds, Bishop of Worcester, was appointed master in the beginning of 1308-9 in his place.²⁶ Reynolds was translated to Canterbury in 1314,²⁷ and Walter de Langton appears to have been re-appointed,²⁸ but there must have been some hitch in the matter, for on 12 March 1315 John de Hotham was appointed for life by the king, with writ *de intendendo* for him as keeper directed to the brothers and sisters of the hospital.²⁹ However, on 7 August 1316,³⁰ the king granted restitution to Walter de Langton of the hospital of St. Leonard,

²⁵ See Raine, *York*, in 'Historic Towns' series.

²⁶ Pat. 2 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 17.

²⁷ Le Neve, *Fasti* (ed. Hardy), i, 16.

²⁸ Cal. Pat. 1313-17, p. 80.

²⁹ Ibid. 260. John de Hotham became Bishop of Ely in 1316, and next year gave to the hospital a coffer or feretory of silver and gold 'adorned with precious stones and cunning work, wrought with marvellous skill,' which the master and brethren agreed never to alienate; Cott. MS. Nero, D. iii, fol. 61.

³⁰ Cal. Pat. 1313-17, p. 526.

which the late king had granted to him for life. He cannot have held it long again, for on 16 March 1318-19 Robert de Clipston³¹ occurs as master.

In 1339 disputes between the master, John Giffard, and inmates of the hospital rendered the appointment of a royal commission necessary. Giffard complained that the brethren were disobedient and would not allow him to dispose of the revenues, nor would they render accounts; on all these points the brethren acknowledged that they had been in the wrong. They, on their side, complained that whereas there ought to be thirteen chaplain-brethren there were now only nine; to this it was answered that the original foundation of William II fixed no number of chaplains, but a former master, Geoffrey de Aspale, without the king's authority fixed the number at thirteen, which was considered too large for the present revenues. To the complaint that the lay brethren in charge of the manors and farms had been replaced by secular servants, the master replied by promising to make more lay brethren when suitable persons were found. The claim of the brethren to elect their cellarer and receiver was rejected on the ground that the master was held responsible for the property of the hospital and ought therefore to appoint these officers.³²

During the latter half of the century serious irregularities led to regal visitations by the chancellor or royal commissioners, and some very elaborate returns are preserved concerning them.³³ In 1364 Simon Langham, Bishop of Ely and chancellor, held such a visitation.

His injunctions begin with an exhortation to unity and obedience. There were to be thirteen chaplain-brothers 'in talari habitu nunc usitato, non nimis precioso, neque lascivio, nec notabiliter abjecto,' having 'sub capa, capucia cum appendiciis longis, ante et retro, que vulgariter dicuntur scapularia,' of either black or grey colour, after the manner of the friars preachers, and they were to observe the rule of the Austin canons.³⁴

To a considerable extent these injunctions deal with the religious or quasi-monastic character of the hospital, and the services in the church, as to the masses which the chaplains were to say daily and other offices, the *ebdomarii* being directed to act as in collegiate churches. On a vacancy occurring among the chaplain-brothers the master was to choose, after examination, another fit person, with the assent of the brothers, and after a year's probation he was to make profession of obedience, chastity, and renunciation of property. The *conversi* were to make like profession, and that they would serve God, Blessed

³¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 125b.

³² Cal. Pat. 1338-40, pp. 266-8.

³³ Chan. Misc. bde. 21, no. 4.

³⁴ 'Viventes communiter et regulariter ad instar canonicorum regularum ordinis sancti Augustini.'

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Mary, and St. Leonard, and the poor according to the best of their ability. The regular sisters were to make a similar profession, promising also to devote their labours to the needs of the sick. The *conversi*, who were not sick or otherwise occupied, were to attend matins, and both they and the sisters were to hear at least one mass daily.

None were to confess except to the master or cellarer. If any brother or sister was openly defamed of incontinence, proprietorship, perjury, rebellion, or other excess, punishment was to be awarded the delinquent in chapter by the master or cellarer.

A special *camera* was to be provided in the house in which offending and incorrigible brothers could be imprisoned. The number of *conversi* was to be regulated by the master and chaplain-brothers as seemed best for the house, but the ancient number (not specified) was not to be exceeded.

As the number of the regular sisters exceeded that which was customary, no woman was to be received as a sister till the number was reduced to eight, and that number was to be adhered to. The sisters were to have their meals *in habitaculis*, separate from the brothers, and one of them, chosen by the master with consent of the brothers, was to preside over them, direct, and chastise them. The sisters were not to do work for sale (*non faciant operationes venales*), but were to be busy only with attending to the needs of the poor, and were to use the customary habit, not too elaborate, no long supertunics and mantles, but gowns, that they might more easily minister to the poor. Nor were they to have secular serving-maids, from whom sinister suspicion might arise.

Lay sisters should under no pretext reside in the hospital, nor were women to be taken as boarders.

The brothers were to eat together in the refectory, quietly, the chaplain-brothers occupying the upper part, and the *conversi* the lower. They were to have two services of food (*fercula*) daily, and on days that were kept as double feasts in the quire they were to have a pittance in addition. On Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays abstinence from meat was enjoined in the refectory.

If any brother or sister were openly convicted *super lapsu carnis*, such a one, for the first occasion, was to be sharply punished by the master or cellarer, and if afterwards he or she committed such an offence a penance was to be undergone till signs of contrition merited remission.

Each chaplain-brother was to have yearly 2 marks for his clothes, his shoes from the tannery, and 18*d.* for his shirts; and all the brothers in common 5*s.* for gloves, and each sister 9*s.* for necessaries.

Provision was made for the due rule of the

house, and to the master was committed its full custody. The master was to provide vestments, books, chalices, and other necessaries.

Thirty poor folk (seculars and others) who were called *customarii* were to have the accustomed alms daily at the hospital gate, besides prisoners in the city of York and lepers in the ancient leper houses of the city; and in addition there were always to be in the house the customary number of sick poor folk, namely 206, and this number was to be carefully maintained. The sick were not to be dismissed until convalescent and able to work, when others were to take their place. Any who recovered and were allowed to remain were to be set to work, and were not to eat the bread of idleness.

One or two chaplains (secular or regular) were to be appointed by the cellarer, with advice of the master, to hear the confessions of the poor, and to administer the sacrament when necessary; and these chaplains were to go round the house at least once a night, speaking salutary and consolatory words to the sick, and by pious exhortations persuading them to confession, and penitence for their sins. The master, too, was to appoint the sisters in turns to minister to the sick, and they were to give them food and drink as needed, cover them, wash them, and lead them about as human necessity required, and if any of them needed the *viaticum*, or sought confession, the sisters were at once to inform the priests.

The sick received into the house were to have the accustomed livery of food, but when any were too sick for the common livery they were to be provided for out of the money given or bequeathed for the pittance of the poor, according to the ordinance of the master. There were not to be more secular priests as cantorists in the house than necessary. The janitor of the great gate and the *ostiarius* in the farmery (*fermorie*)³⁵ were to be circumspect in their offices, and no persons, except on proper business at lawful hours, were to be admitted.

If they detected any person secretly or openly taking things away, they were to inform the master.

When the master resided in the house he was to do so honourably, but not at too great a charge to the house. He might have a secular chaplain, two domsels, and other necessary servants and men, and eight horses at the expense of the house.

The master was to see that those brothers who were apt and wished to study should attend the theological schools in York after they had celebrated divine service, and there was to be a building, divided into thirteen studies (*studia*), where they could study Holy Scripture.

The demesne and other lands were to be properly cultivated, and proper stocks kept in the

³⁵ Elsewhere 'infermaria' is the word used.

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manors. The corn of the manors was to be faithfully gathered in the autumn, thrashed, and sold at the most favourable opportunity, and the thraves were to be sold at a fair price, with good security of payment for them. The master or his substitute was to go round the manors yearly, soon after Easter, and make an estimate, and as soon after Michaelmas as possible the final accounts were to be audited. Long directions follow as to the accounts and property of the hospital.

As the property scarcely sufficed for the actual needs of the hospital, all were enjoined to avoid unnecessary expenses. The master under pain of deprivation, and the brethren under pain of ejection, were forbidden to sell or pledge the books, chalices, or vestments of the church, or sell corrodies or otherwise entangle the affairs of the house. They were not to grant pensions or annual robes to persons, except such as were needed for the house, nor were they to destroy the large oak trees, or give them away without special royal licence.

The almoner was to collect all that pertained to his office, and distribute it faithfully, as he believed to be best pleasing to God. The common seal was to be kept under three keys, one of which the master was to have, a second the cellarer, and the third was to be kept by a confrater chaplain, chosen for that purpose, and no writings of obligation or acquittance were to be sealed with the private seal of the master.

The expenses of the house were to be set down daily by the different officials, and carefully examined by the master's clerk.

A building underneath the infirmary, called 'Barnhouse,' was to be prepared for nursing exposed infants, orphans, and other indigent children, for whose bringing up a sister was to be appointed, and two cows, or one at least, as their number required, and there was to be a good chimney lest the smoke should harm the children.

There were to be two or three common horses at the house for the use of the brethren or others employed in its business, but the servants at the manors were not to have horses, or men-servants, except when needed for the use of the house, and no women were to be allowed at the manors for fear of scandal. Other directions follow, and the injunctions were ratified and accepted by the master, Richard de Ravenser, and the brothers and sisters on 2 March 1365-6.

A return was made in 1376-7³⁶ of the state of the hospital. Some of the figures are unfortunately illegible, but the collection *travarum de Petercorne* amounted to £425 19s. 8d., as against £320 at the last previous visitation. There were only eight chaplain-brothers on that occa-

sion, but the number returned at the new acquisition is lost. The sisters, however, numbered eight, whereas there was a less (illegible) number previously. There were thirty secular choristers, and 199 'cremetts,'^{36a} instead of 180 previously; seventeen *corrodarii* were in receipt of allowances, as against ten on the former occasion. Of these, ten received a livery as those of brothers, 'some' as those of sisters, and three as those of servants.

For the brothers, sisters, *corrodarii*, and poor coming daily to the hospital, besides the servants, 4 quarters of corn were needed weekly, and for the poor in the infirmary 4 quarters and 2 bushels weekly. At the last visitation 3 quarters 2 bushels of corn were expended for the poor, but a certain Hugh de Miton had given lands and tenements of the annual value of 25 marks for the poor of the infirmary every Thursday, for a loaf called 'miche,' whereas previously the poor had had no bread on that day.

Other accounts follow, including those for mutton, pork, 'scraffish,' herrings, &c. The *vestura* of the brothers and sisters cost £19 15s. a year. Wine for celebrations, wax, incense, and repair and purchase of vestments, books, and other ecclesiastical ornaments came to £8 18s. 11d.; oil for the lamps of the hospital church, and in the infirmary and dormitory £6 15s. 8d. The commissioners reported that the defects of the hospital church, the tower, and the dormitory should be repaired, and also those of the churches and manors of the hospital, and that no less than £1,000 would be required for this. The present master had, they said, repaired and roofed half of the church, cloister, and dormitory, and a portion of the infirmary of the poor with lead, and the campanile with boards, and placed a large bell in it, besides other repairs to two kitchens and the bakehouse and other buildings of the hospital and its manors, spending £1,116 16s. 2½d., and repairs were still needed in the manors which would cost not less than £100. Dikes and banks of the Humber and Ouse needed repair, to the extent of £40. They had examined the master, brothers, and sisters, and found that the hospital owed Richard Ravenser its master £450.

On 11 December 1398³⁷ Richard II issued a commission, owing to reports as to grave defects in the hospital, due to the misgovernment of the masters and their servants, and in consequence of disputes between the master, William de Botheby, and various persons attached to the hospital.

The report of the jurors revealed an exceedingly bad state of affairs. They stated that at the time that William de Botheby first became master *discretus vir* Thomas Thurkill, a citizen of York, and deputy for Robert Bayce, Botheby's immediate predecessor, had ruled the hospital

^{36a} Cremetts, or eremetts (*i.e.* hermits) were sick brethren. ³⁷ Chan. Misc. bdl. 20, no. 3.

³⁶ Chan. Misc. bdl. 20, file 1, no. 6.

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from St. Leonard's day (6 November) 1390, to the nativity of St. John Baptist (21 June) next following, and in that period had relieved the hospital of many excessive debts, to the amount of more than £100.

They also reported that William de Botheby found in the hospital a large provision of grain, and the hospital would have been freed of all its debts in three years if Thomas Thurkill had remained in office, but Botheby expelled him and in a short time began to sell large corrodies in a great number. (Then follow some of the names of persons to whom they were sold.) He also sold several sacerdotal corrodies, even to women, which ought to have been given gratuitously to impotent priests, to pray for the souls of the kings and benefactors of the hospital. He also sold the liveries of 'cremetts' and gave them to esquires, merchants, and well-to-do clerks, contrary to the ordinance of the hospital, and defrauding the alms of the king, and did not cease till he had received more than £2,453 by this sale of corrodies, and the jurors found the hospital £220 more in debt than when Botheby became master.

The ministers of the Earl of Northumberland had the church of Pickhill, annually worth 80 marks, for three years, for debts owed by Botheby to the earl, before he became master, and so the hospital lost 240 marks. Botheby owed a certain Thomas de Skelton, chaplain, £21, his private and personal debt, and he took the said church of Pickhill to farm for £50, paying Botheby £40, of which sum £21 was allowed to Skelton.

Botheby also sold and gave several large green oaks in Acomb and Beningbrough to various persons (who are named, including the Prioress of Monkton) to such an extent that the park of Beningbrough was all but destroyed, and part of the wood of Acomb was actually destroyed.

Botheby also sold the *nativi* in the vill of Broomfleet, remitted the services of the tenants in Broomfleet, and pawned for his own debts chalices, vestments and other church ornaments, as well as the hospital jewels, including a tablet of gold, presented to the hospital by Dom. Nicholas Slake.

Botheby never was well disposed for the rule of the hospital, for all his time the hospital went from bad to worse, owing to his evil government, and unless he were quickly removed from office the hospital would be finally and totally destroyed.

Then follow accounts of the delinquencies of bailiffs and foresters appointed by Botheby, and the jurors end by stating that there were continual quarrels between Botheby and the brothers, who would not agree to his sales of corrodies and alienations, to which by fear the majority were driven to consent.

In another document the jurors reported that William de Botheby entered into office on the Nativity of St. John Baptist 1391, on the resignation of Robert Bays, and by his unhappy rule governed the hospital seven years and a half ending on 16 January 1399.

Botheby, however bad his rule had been, was not so very much worse than some of his immediate predecessors, and possibly because the return made in 1398 had laid all the blame on him, a fresh commission was issued by Henry IV on 16 November 1399³⁸ to John de Neuton, treasurer of York cathedral church, William Cawod, Alan Newerk, William Selby, and Thomas Thurkill (the latter of whom was previously reported to have managed the hospital affairs to its great advantage as deputy master for six months) to visit, and report on the hospital. The long report of the commission is dated the last day of May 1402.³⁹

In the first place the commissioners reported that in the time of William de Botheby a sudden fire had broken out, which had consumed the wooden campanile of the church, and with it three noble bells. That Botheby after this had begun to build a stone tower at the south end of the hospital church, and that more than £200 would be needed to finish it. They also reported very many defects in the lead roof of the church, and in the roof of the infirmary house of the poor folk and the dormitory of the brothers, as well as in other buildings within the hospital and in its manors and granges, and in the rentable houses of the hospital, in and outside the city, and these defects occurred chiefly during the masterships of William de Botheby, and Nicholas Slake and Robert Bayce his predecessors, and £200 would not suffice for them.

They also reported that under these three masters the foundation alms of the hospital had been for the most part pilfered. Three silver-gilt chalices had been pledged by Botheby to Mr. William de Feriby, Archdeacon of the East Riding, for £201 for the requirements of the hospital, and a gold tabernacle given to St. Leonard's church by Nicholas Slake had been pledged to William Seler, goldsmith of York, by Botheby for 10 marks, and the money had been applied to his personal use.

They reported numerous instances of waste and embezzlement of lands, tenements and stock, and also stated that Nicholas Slake lived in the hospital *cum tota sua familia* at its cost for three-quarters of a year, and received in his time, beyond his expenses, over £200. Robert Bayce did likewise, and had more than 100 marks, and William de Botheby spent more than seven consecutive years in the hospital with his suite, spending more than 200 marks a year, and

³⁸ Pat. 1 Hen. IV, pt. iv, m. 30.

³⁹ Chan. Misc. bdle. 20, file 3, no. 13.

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further received for his own use, from corrodies, &c., which he sold, no less than £1,171. Many other grave irregularities as to the collection of the thraves and other matters were reported against Botheby.

There were sixteen major and minor corrodies granted in the time of Richard de Ravenser, involving an annual payment of £74 19s. 11d., but for these the hospital had duly received lands and rents in York, besides money. Nicholas Slake and his *locum tenens* had sold six corrodies and twenty-two sacerdotal liveries in the infirmary of the poor folk, contrary to the ordinance of the hospital, for £466 2s. 8d., which was spent for the master and hospital. He had given his cantarist the office of janitor, worth 100s. a year, without anything received in return for the hospital, and had otherwise injured the hospital, and there was an annual charge payable of £57 12s. Unlike Ravenser he had only received money, which was expended and gone, in return for the corrodies, &c., sold by him.

Robert Bayce, his successor, had sold two great corrodies, and eight sacerdotal and 'cremettal' liveries, contrary to the ordinance, for £184 6s. 8d., in part for his own private use, and the money had been spent, the hospital having to pay £22 7s. 6d. a year in consequence.

William de Botheby had sold thirty-six corrodies, and had received £1,836 12s., chiefly for his own private use. He also sold forty-two sacerdotal liveries in the infirmary of the poor for £550 7s. for the use of the hospital and his own private use. He received £73 6s. 8d. for two sisters who were admitted to their habit, £20 of which went to his own use. A number of other misappropriations were charged against him in the report, and the hospital was found by the commissioners to be under an annual obligation to pay no less than £231 6s. 5½d. for pensions, liveries, and corrodies, &c., which he had improperly sold.

William de Feriby, who succeeded Botheby, was little better. His brother got a corrody of the value of 100s. a year for life, and gave nothing in return for it. The commissioners found the annual obligation of the hospital for corrodies, &c., to be £386 5s. 10½d., and this was more than £300 a year in excess of the endowments of the hospital for such a purpose.

The commissioners found that the hospital owed £543 12s. 9d., debts incurred by Slake, Bayce, and especially by Botheby. They reported that William de Waltham, the then master, had bought up seven corrodies, &c., of the annual charge to the hospital of £32, and that he was striving, as far as he could, to maintain the hospital to the glory of God.

When appointing the commissioners, on 16 November 1399, the king granted his pro-

tection for the master, William de Waltham, and the brethren, and ordered that the payments of corrodies should cease, except those to hermits and poor persons residing in the hospital, until the king should make ordinances for the estate of the hospital.⁴⁰

On 18 February 1399-1400 a commission was issued to inquire into the collection of the thraves,⁴¹ at the request of the master and brethren. The thraves were due from every plough ploughing in the counties of York, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire, but the report deals only with those in Yorkshire. It is a long detailed account of the failure to pay the thraves. The delinquents' names, what they had withheld, and for how long a time, are fully set out, and it is of interest to note that the clergy were quite as remiss in their payments as the laymen; for instance, the Abbot of St. Agatha (Easby) was seven years in arrear, the Abbot of Coverham was four years in arrear, the Abbot of Meaux no less than twenty years in arrear; and so in like manner the parochial clergy and layfolk. The return is entered on a skin 2 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 7 in., and contains a proportionally long catalogue of defaulters. Many disputes and troubles arose in regard to what was a considerable burden on agriculture in the demand for the thraves.⁴² Occasionally agreements were entered into as to them, and the collection of the thraves was farmed out to local people as being, perhaps, the only way of recovering this charge on the land. There is an agreement, dated 8 June 1420,⁴³ between the master and brothers of St. Leonard's and the Prioress and convent of Yedingham, ending a dispute between the parties regarding the thraves due from the nuns.

The mastership had been held by two bishops at the end of the 13th and beginning of the next century. It was destined at a later period to be held by an Archbishop of York together with his see. On 14 January 1456 Henry VI appointed George Nevill, clerk, to the mastership *vice* William Scrope, resigned.⁴⁴ In 1458 he was

⁴⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1399-1401, p. 131. Much about the same time (24 July 1400) the king granted protection for a ship called 'Clement,' which William de Waltham, the master of St. Leonard's, had freighted at London with divers victuals, &c., for his household at St. Leonard's (*ibid.* 266).

⁴¹ Exch. K.R. Eccl. Com. iii, no. 43.

⁴² It was possibly dislike of this demand for thraves which led to attacks on the hospital during the unrest of 1382 (*Cal. Pat.* 1381-5, pp. 137, 201), and the same cause, accentuated by the misappropriation of the hospital funds, led to rebellion in 1469 (*see* 'Political Hist.'), so that in September of that year Edward IV promised to abolish the Petercorn, recompensing the hospital in some other way (Cott. MS. Nero, D. iii, fol. 215).

⁴³ Convent. Leases, Yorks. (P.R.O.), no. 1209.

⁴⁴ Cott. MS. Vesp. xiii, fol. 60.

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consecrated Bishop of Exeter, and on 15 March 1464-5 was translated to York. He would appear to have held the mastership during that period, for there is an indenture dated 9 November 1465,⁴⁵ between Edward IV and George, Archbishop of York, master of the hospital of St. Leonard of York, by which the king restricted the right of the brethren to take wood in the Forest of Galtres, and in compensation for this granted the hospital all his water-mills by York Castle called 'Castelmylnes.'⁴⁶ It was during the mastership of Scrope, on 17 March 1461, that Henry VI and his son Edward, with the Dukes of Exeter and Somerset, paid a visit in state to the hospital, made their offerings at the high altar, and heard vespers.⁴⁷

Not long before its dissolution the hospital received from Henry VIII a grant of exemption from the payment of all tenths and subsidies. The grant, dated 12 November 1515,⁴⁸ is somewhat unusually effusive in its proclamation of the king's religious devotion. It begins by a record that St. Leonard's was of royal foundation by the king's ancestors, who had richly endowed it, but that these benefactions had been diminished and alienated, and the church and other buildings were fallen down and ruined. The king for the help of the master and brothers, and on account of the singular devotion which he had towards the Holy and undivided Trinity, and the most glorious Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and the glorious confessor St. Leonard, and that the master and brothers might pray for the good estate of himself, and of his most dear consort, Katherine, Queen of England, while they lived, and when deceased, for their souls, and those of their forefathers, made the grant above named to John Constable, the master, and the brothers and their successors for ever. What particular misfortune, if any, had just at this period overtaken the hospital is not apparent.

There is a paper,⁴⁹ much decayed, relating to the pensions allotted to the master, brethren, and sisters of St. Leonard's on 16 July 1540. It proceeds 'Firste the Mr. there Mr. Magnus shall have the same howse and his dwellyng therin during his lyffe, excepte such howses and buyldinges therunto adioynnyng as shall please the kinges majestie to deface or pluck downe.' He was also to have for 'life terme' the Grange

of Beningbrough, and the parsonage of Newton, the latter valued at £26 13s. 4d., with the yearly sum of £73 6s. 8d. in satisfaction of his pension of £100. Also for his fuel seventy loads of wood and three 'boulkes' of turves. Four of the brothers each received £5; three 'conductes' received £4 each, and four sisters £3 6s. 8d. each. Then under 'Poor Bedfolkes [of] the said late [hospital]' is an imperfect entry: 'Itm the pore bedefolkes called eremites . . . bedrydden and such as be verye old bodies whose yerlie almes every one of th[em] whiche wee have assigned to every . . . their lyffes to be paid by the . . . Schyre by vertue of a warran . . . [the remainder is lost].'

According to the *Monasticon*⁵⁰ the full complement of the establishment of St. Leonard's comprised a master or warden, thirteen brethren, four secular priests, eight sisters, thirty choristers, two schoolmasters, 206 beadmen, and six servants, but these numbers varied from time to time. The master, thirteen chaplain-brothers, and eight sisters with a number of *conversi*, besides the sick folk (or 'cremetts' as they were frequently called) appear to have formed the establishment in 1364.⁵¹

The revenues varied very much indeed, and if returns are to be trusted the hospital had been much impoverished by the 16th century, when the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* only shows a clear income of £309 2s. 11½d.,⁵² or less than a third of that in 1280, not even allowing for the enhanced value of money.

The hospital fell with the monasteries, and was surrendered on 1 December 1540 by Thomas Magnus.⁵³

MASTERS OF ST. LEONARD'S HOSPITAL

- Robert, occurs 1148, 1156⁵⁴
 Suane, occurs 1173,⁵⁵ c. 1184-5⁵⁶
 Paulinus de Ledes,⁵⁷ occurs 1199,⁵⁸ 1200⁵⁹
 John, occurs 1203-4,⁶⁰ 1204⁶¹
 Ralph de Notyngam, appointed 1203,⁶² occurs 1209⁶³
 Hugh de Gaytington, occurs 1217-41,⁶⁴ died c. 1245⁶⁵

⁵⁰ Dugdale, *op. cit.* vi, 607.

⁵¹ Chan. Misc. bdl. 21, no. 4.

⁵² *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 17-18.

⁵³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), 623.

⁵⁴ Chartul. (Cott. MS. Nero, D. iii), fol. 36.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* ⁵⁶ Harl. Chart. 83 C, fol. 38.

⁵⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1334-8, p. 267.

⁵⁸ Pipe R. 1 John, m. 4 d.

⁵⁹ Easby Chartul. (Egerton MS. 2827), fol. 254 b, as a contemporary of Hamo, Abbot of Byland.

⁶⁰ *Yorks. Fines, John* (Surt. Soc.), 81.

⁶¹ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, i, 17.

⁶² *Hist. of Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 105.

⁶³ Chartul. fol. 58.

⁶⁴ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 245.

⁶⁵ See above for account of the appointment of this master and his three predecessors.

⁴⁵ Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A. 706.

⁴⁶ There is a lease (7 Oct. 1530) of their 'watter mylnes vnder the castell of Yorke and one Wyndmyln in Heslyngton ffeildes called Stublowe myln' for twenty-one years at a yearly rent of £12 for the water-mills, and 40s. for the windmill from Thomas Magnus and the brethren of St. Leonard's to Guy Nelson of York, miller; Convent. Leases, Yorks. (P.R.O.), no. 1200.

⁴⁷ Chartul. (Cott. MS. Nero, D. iii), fol. 215.

⁴⁸ Pat. 7 Hen. VIII, pt. iii, m. 3.

⁴⁹ Suppression P. (P.R.O.) iv, fol. 62

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- William, occurs 1246⁶⁶
 Robert, occurs 1252⁶⁷
 Robert de Saham, occurs 1262⁶⁸
 Thomas de Gaytinton,⁶⁹ occurs 1267,⁷⁰ resigned 1276⁷¹
 Roger de Malton, succeeded 1276,⁷² occurs 1280⁷³
 Geoffrey de Aspehale, occurs 1281,⁷⁴ 1286⁷⁵
 James de Hispania,⁷⁶ occurs 1290, resigned 1293⁷⁷
 Walter de Langton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, occurs 1294,⁷⁸ ejected 1307⁷⁹
 Gilbert de Stapelton, appointed 1307,⁸⁰ ejected 1308⁸¹
 Walter Reynolds, Bishop of Worcester, appointed 1308-9,⁸² resigned on translation to Canterbury, 1314⁸³
 Walter de Langton, reappointed 1314⁸⁴
 John de Hotham, appointed 12 March 1315-16⁸⁵
 Walter de Langton, restored 7 August 1316⁸⁶
 Robert de Clipston, appointed 30 Jan. 1318,⁸⁷ displaced 11 Aug. 1318⁸⁸
 John Walewayn, appointed 1318⁸⁹
 Robert de Baldok, succeeded July 1326⁹⁰
- John Giffard, appointed Dec. 1326,⁹¹ occurs 1348⁹²
 Thomas Brembre, appointed 1349,⁹³ occurs 1361⁹⁴
 Richard de Ravenser, occurs 1364,⁹⁵ 1384⁹⁶
 Nicholas Slacke, appointed 1386⁹⁷
 Robert Bays or Bayce, succeeded 15 Jan. 1390,⁹⁸ resigned 1391⁹⁹
 William de Botheby, succeeded 8 June 1391,¹⁰⁰ resigned 16 Jan. 1399¹
 William de Ferryby, succeeded 21 Jan. 1399²
 William de Waltham, appointed 15 Sept. 1399,³ occurs 1407⁴
 William de Ferryby, appointed 1409,⁵ died 1415⁶
 Robert Fitz Hugh, appointed 1415,⁷ occurs 1428⁸
 William Scrope, LL.B., appointed 1431,⁹ occurs 1435,¹⁰ resigned 1456¹¹
 George Nevill, succeeded 1456,¹² occurs as Archbishop of York and master of the hospital, 1465¹³
 William Eure, Archdeacon of Salisbury, appointed 1474,¹⁴ resigned 1477¹⁵
 George Fitz Hugh, appointed 1477,¹⁶ resigned 1489¹⁷
 John Constable, appointed 1489,¹⁸ died 1528¹⁹
 Thomas Wynter, appointed 1528,²⁰ resigned 1529²¹
 Thomas Magnus, appointed 1529²²
- ⁶⁶ Feet of F. file 39, no. 89 (Trin. 30 Hen. III).
⁶⁷ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 245.
⁶⁸ Chartul. fol. 16.
⁶⁹ Baildon, loc. cit.
⁷⁰ Chartul. fol. 54.
⁷¹ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.) 257. He entered the order of Friars Minor.
⁷² *Ibid.* 257-8.
⁷³ *Cal. Pat.* 1334-8, p. 268.
⁷⁴ Chart. R. 9 Edw. I, no. 74.
⁷⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 7b. The mastership was vacant next year (*Cal. Pat.* 1281-92, p. 271.)
⁷⁶ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 246. He was a nephew of Queen Eleanor, but illegitimate, and as a layman had obtained several benefices, for which irregularities he obtained papal dispensation (*Cal. of Papal Letters*, ii, 12).
⁷⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1292-1301, p. 15.
⁷⁸ *Ibid.* ⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 1307-13, p. 96.
⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 2. ⁸¹ *Ibid.* 96.
⁸² *Ibid.* ⁸³ *Ibid.* 1313-17, p. 80.
⁸⁴ *Ibid.* ⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 260, 301.
⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 526.
⁸⁷ Robert de Clipston was appointed for life on 24 Feb. 1318 (*Cal. Pat.* 1317-21, pp. 75, 105). Afterwards, on the procuration of Hugh le Despenser, junr., the king appointed Master John Walewayn, and after his death Master Robert de Baldok, although Robert Clipston was alive. He subsequently petitioned Edward III for restitution, at which time John Giffard held it. Giffard stated that Edward II on 11 Aug. 1318 revoked the grant to Clipston, and appointed Walewayn and afterwards Baldok, and on his death John Giffard on 14 Nov. 1326, which matter was referred to the judges, who decided in favour of Giffard. Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 248.
⁸⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1317-21, p. 197.
⁸⁹ *Ibid.*
⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 1324-7, p. 295.
- ⁹¹ *Ibid.* 842.
⁹² *Ibid.* 1348-50, p. 207.
⁹³ *Ibid.* 368.
⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 1461-7, p. 248.
⁹⁵ Chan. Misc. bdle. 24, no. 4.
⁹⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1381-5, p. 366; Alan Hevede was acting as 'custos' in 1381; Chartul. fol. 118.
⁹⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1385-9, p. 158.
⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 1388-92, p. 172.
⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 428.
¹⁰⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1388-92, p. 428.
¹ Chan. Misc. bdle. 20, file 3, no. 1.
² Pat. 22 Ric. II, m. 23.
³ *Cal. Pat.* 1396-9, p. 595.
⁴ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 245.
⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1408-13, p. 88.
⁶ *Ibid.* 1413-16, p. 283. ⁷ *Ibid.*
⁸ *Ibid.* 1422-9, p. 494.
⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1429-36, p. 183.
¹⁰ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 245.
¹¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1452-61, p. 277; Cott. MS. Vesp. xiii, fol. 60.
¹² *Cal. Pat.* 1452-61, p. 277.
¹³ Anct. D. (P.R.O.), A 706.
¹⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1467-77, p. 420.
¹⁵ *Ibid.* 1476-85, p. 54.
¹⁶ *Ibid.*
¹⁷ *Mat. for Hist. of Reign of Hen. VII (Rolls Ser.)*, ii, 423. ¹⁸ *Ibid.*
¹⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, iv (2), 4514; John Constable was Dean of Lincoln.
²⁰ *Ibid.* 4526. Thomas Wynter was son of Cardinal Wolsey.
²¹ *Ibid.* ²² *Ibid.*

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The 11th-century seal²³ is a vesica, $2\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in., with a figure of St. Peter standing with his keys and blessing. The legend is:—

+ SIGILL' HOSPITAL' S^CI PETRI EBORACI

A 13th-century seal²⁴ of the official of the exchequer of the hospital is a vesica, $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{8}$ in., showing St. Leonard standing and holding crozier and book. To his left hand is a shield of England. Below is the official kneeling. The legend is:—

S' OFFICII SCACCAR' HOSP' S^CI LEONARD' EBOR'

177. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY BOOTHAM, YORK

This hospital was founded by Robert de Pikeryng, Dean of York. The original intention was to found a chantry in a chapel of St. Mary, which Pikeryng intended to build for divine worship at Bootham, by York, where the Carmelite prior and friars formerly dwelt, and for that purpose he obtained licence from Edward II, dated 28 January 1315, to endow the chantry.²⁵

The chantry was enlarged in 1318 into a hospital for six aged and infirm chaplains, and Robert de Pikeryng further endowed it with the church of Stillingfleet,²⁶ a vicarage being ordained in the church in 1330.²⁷ The dues from the hospital to the vicar of Stillingfleet were complained of as too burdensome by John Ashfordby, the master, and Archbishop Kemp issued a commission to inquire into the matter.²⁸ In 1452 there was an inquiry as to the patronage of the hospital.²⁹ The jurors stated that Richard Eggesfeld, esquire, and Elizabeth his wife had presented Marmaduke Constable, clerk, on 24 July 1452, to the office of *custos*, vacant by the death of John Ashfordby the last *custos*, on the 12th of that month; that William Eure, kt., had presented Ashfordby by the right and title of Isabella, the eldest daughter of Robert le Bruse, the patron while he lived; and that Richard Eggesfeld and Elizabeth his wife, the second daughter of Robert le Bruse, were then the true patrons. Marmaduke Constable was therefore instituted on 27 July.³⁰

For some reason William Eure, kt., in September 1483³¹ granted the advowson of the

hospital of the Blessed Mary 'in le Horsfair,' of which he was patron, to Queen Anne, consort of Richard III, who presented Dom. William Cerffe, monk of Meaux, to the mastership, vacant by the death of William Eure. On 22 February 1486³² Sir William Eure exercised his patronage by appointing Robert Bothe, LL.D., to the mastership, vacant by the cession of Brother William Cerffe, to whom a yearly pension of 20 marks was assigned. The hospital apparently formed a shelter for blind priests, among others.³³

On 4 January 1535 W. Frankelyn, priest, wrote to Cromwell³⁴ that an endeavour had been made to discover the titles of the hospital of our Lady in Bootham, called the Horsefair, in vain. The archbishops' registers had then been searched, and the names of Brus, Nevill, Pykering, Eure, Marshall, and Eggesfeld were found among those who had presented as founders, but by what title could not be said. In 1556 it was reported of 'thospitall of our Ladie in Bowthome called Horse Faire' that 'the same standith as yet not dissolved, and John Golding, clerk, is master of the same, and the goods therof was not taken awaie then as Sir Thomas Leder and Sir Water (*sic*) Langcaster, being brethren of the same hospitall, haith declared unto us, lijs. jd.'³⁵

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Richard de Grymston, occurs 1318³⁶

Hugh called Walgh de Pykering, priest, appointed 13 August 1330,³⁷ resigned

Richard de Killum, succeeded 25 July 1331³⁸

John Pulhore, resigned 1338³⁹

Walter de Harpham,⁴⁰ succeeded 1338,⁴¹ exchanged 1347⁴²

John de Ellerker, 1347⁴³

Robert Worschipp, succeeded 17 June 1349⁴⁴

Robert de Boxeby, 31 March 1360,⁴⁵ died

³² Ibid. fol. 122.

³³ Will of Thomas de Howm (1406) 'pauperibus capellanis cecis del Horsfaire in suburbiis Ebor'; B. H. Cooke, *Some Early Civic Wills of York*, 41.

³⁴ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, viii, 13. In 26 Hen. VIII the hospital was valued at £37 gross, and £11 6s. 8d. clear. Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 782.

³⁵ *Invent. of Ch. Goods, Yorks.* (Surt. Soc.), 113.

³⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1317-21, p. 259.

³⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 183.

³⁸ Ibid. fol. 184.

³⁹ Ibid. fol. 216.

⁴⁰ He had licence, 10 Feb. 1342-3, to reside on his benefice of Middleton, diocese of York. Ibid. Zouch, slip between fol. 153 and 154.

⁴¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 216.

⁴² *Cal. Pat.* 1345-8, p. 347.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 30b.

⁴⁵ Ibid. Thoresby, fol. 106.

²³ *Cat. of Seals B.M.* 4404, Add. Chart. 7466.

²⁴ Ibid. 4406, lxxv, 44.

²⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1313-17, p. 213. He had previously (20 Sept. 1314) obtained licence for the alienation to him in mortmain by the Carmelites of York of land in Bootham upon which they at one time dwelt. The grace was granted for 200 masses to be celebrated in consideration thereof. Pat. 8 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 21.

²⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1317-21, pp. 259-60.

²⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 252.

²⁸ Ibid. Kemp, fol. 24.

²⁹ Ibid. fol. 462b.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid. Rotherham, i, fol. 39b.

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William de Donyngton,⁴⁶ succeeded 5 August 1369,⁴⁷ resigned
 Walter Coupland, succeeded 27 September 1412,⁴⁸ resigned
 Thomas Petlyng, succeeded 11 November 1413,⁴⁹ exchanged 1416⁵⁰
 William Crosse, canon of Lincoln, 1 April 1416,⁵¹ resigned
 Robert Frend, sub-deacon, succeeded 15 May 1421,⁵² resigned
 Marmaduke Lumley, LL.B., prebendary of Osmotherley, succeeded 12 December 1424,⁵³ became Bishop of Carlisle 1430
 Robert Gamyll, priest, succeeded 8 August 1430⁵⁴
 John Ashfordby, died 1452⁵⁵
 Marmaduke Constable, succeeded 27 July 1452,⁵⁶ died
 William Eure, succeeded 1453⁵⁷
 William Cerffe, monk of Meaux, succeeded 18 September 1483,⁵⁸ resigned
 Robert Bothe, LL.D., succeeded 22 February 1486-7,⁵⁹ died
 William Sheffield, Dec. D., succeeded 6 August 1488⁶⁰
 Simon Senous, succeeded 2 January 1496-7,⁶¹ resigned
 Martin Colyns, Dec. D., succeeded 2 October 1500,⁶² died
 John Withers, A.M., succeeded 5 May 1509,⁶³ died
 Thomas Marcer, succeeded 20 August 1536⁶⁴
 John Golding, occurs 1556⁶⁵

178. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. NICHOLAS, YORK

This, one of the more important of the York hospitals, stood outside Walmgate Bar, the hospital church being also parochial. Richard de Derfeld, one of its chaplains, at an inquisition in 1291,⁶⁷ stated that he had been told that it was built on land given by Stephen the [first]

⁴⁶ Licence for absence to William de Donyngton, 11 Nov. 1371, master of the hospital of St. Mary de Boutham (York Archiepis. Reg. Thoresby, fol. 161*b*). On 14 Oct. 1412, after having served the hospital, feeble and on the bed of death, he was assigned a pension of £8 13*s.* 4*d.*

⁴⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Thoresby, fol. 153.

⁴⁸ Ibid. Bowett, fol. 24*b*.

⁴⁹ Ibid. fol. 28*b*.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid. sed. vac. fol. 370.

⁵² Ibid. Kemp, fol. 178.

⁵³ Ibid. fol. 462*b*.

⁵⁴ Ibid. W. Booth, fol. 375.

⁵⁵ Ibid. Rotherham, i, fol. 39*b*.

⁵⁶ Ibid. fol. 122.

⁵⁷ Ibid. fol. 95*d*. ⁵⁸ Ibid. sed. vac. fol. 501*b*.

⁵⁹ Ibid. Bainbridge, fol. 76. ⁶⁰ Ibid. Lee, fol. 67.

⁶¹ *Invent. Ch. Goods, Yorks.* (Surt. Soc.), 113.

⁶² Chan. Misc. bdle. 20, no. 1, file 13.

Abbot of St. Mary's. If so, and there seems no reason to reject the statement, the foundation must have taken place at some period between 1088 and 1112.⁶⁸

At an inquiry held on Wednesday before Michaelmas 1291 the jurors reported on their oath that thirty years before the inquiry, in the time of King Henry III, there was a certain master, Thomas de Langetoft, and other chaplains serving God and the church of the said house, who had as their habit black capes with surplices, both in church and quire, and that in the time of the said master there were three lepers, and thirty-eight brethren and sisters. The brethren wore tunics and scapulars of russet with hoods of the same cloth. Both they and the sisters were shaven,⁶⁹ and the latter wore tunics and mantles of russet, and each had his or her own *camera*. The master corrected all excesses of the hospital in chapter, with the counsel of the brethren and sisters, according to their rule, and as long as he lived he administered the goods of the house well and faithfully. Nor did he admit anyone into the hospital contrary to the statutes. He had been elected in the king's name by the mayor and commonalty of York, and presented to, and admitted by, the Lord Archbishop. He held two prebends of the hospital, one for himself, and the other *pro extraneis supervenientibus*. He was master for three years. After the death of Thomas de Langetoft, a certain Simon de Wyllardby was elected, presented, and admitted in the same manner. He allowed the brothers and sisters to alter their habit and tonsure as they liked, contrary to rule. He admitted thirty-six sisters, four of them *pro Deo* as lepers, the rest for money, each paying 20 marks, which he spent on the requirements of the hospital, but the money was not sufficient. He did not correct excesses according to rule. He was master for ten years, and bought 2 bovates of land at Grimston, which the hospital still possessed, but he left it owing £20 in money, besides 5 sacks of wool and 10 quarters of barley. Because of these debts he was deprived.

Robert de Sancto Laurencio⁷⁰ succeeded, and

⁶⁸ The period of Stephen's abbacy.

⁶⁹ 'Et tonsati, et sorores tonsate.' This can hardly mean more as regards the sisters than that they had their hair cut short.

⁷⁰ From an earlier inquisition of 1285 it is clear that he was also called Robert Lyttil. At this inquisition the jurors reported that Robert le Graunt (appointed 1281) had, before he was master, counselled Robert Lyttil to sell the 3 bovates of land, and that the goods of the hospital, about which complaint was made that they had been wasted, had been wasted by him (Robert le Graunt) and that he had excommunicated those brothers and sisters who would not consent to the common seal being set to the writings. *Yorks. Inq.* (Rec. Ser.), ii, 30.

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was presented and admitted as before. He continued the use of the lay habit allowed by Wyllardby, and failed to correct excesses according to rule, but he discharged all his predecessor's debts, and with the consent of the brothers and sisters sold 3 bovates of land and a messuage at Newton in Pikering Lythe to Master William de Pikering with the stock, for 60 marks, and with the money received bought sheep, oxen, cows, and other stock and necessaries for the hospital. He admitted one brother, and two sisters for 60 marks, which he expended on the requirements of the house. He was master for three years, and held a prebend and a half a year, *et gratis se deposuit*.

After his deposition the king wrote to John de Lydgrane, Sheriff of York, to choose, with J. de Vallibus and other justices itinerant then at York, a fit chaplain to be presented to the archbishop as master. At the instance of the mayor and other citizens of York he chose Robert le Graunt, who was presented to the archbishop by the sheriff and admitted.⁷¹

After his institution Robert le Graunt found the brothers and sisters were not living according to their rule, and he set to work to correct them, but certain of them rebelled, and brought a charge, described as *crimen falsi*, against him.

An inquiry was held by Alan de Walkingham who, examining both the brethren and citizens of York, pronounced Robert le Graunt not guilty. The brothers and sisters demanded a further inquiry, which was held for the king by Thomas de Normanvill, who, after investigation, pronounced Robert le Graunt partly to blame. A not very clear account of Robert le Graunt's misuse of the hospital follows, and the jurors proceeded to say that he took no corrody on account of the poverty of the hospital. He was master three years, and held during his last year prebends of 60s. He was deposed by Thomas de Normanvill, who committed the custody to Richard de Driffeld, which position he retained for six years, but he did not correct the excesses of the brothers and sisters according to their rule. He admitted Robert Bartrem of Wilberfoss into the hospital without the consent of the brethren and sisters. He received 23 marks for this, but as the jurors understood did not use it for the common service of the hospital. He received a leper *pro Deo*, and another by consent of the brethren and sisters for 23 marks, spent on the needs of the hospital. During his time he rendered no account. He allowed the brethren and sisters to sell things contrary to rule. The jurors concluded by saying that Robert Bartrem was admitted to the king's injury, and also found that the house had been founded, *in principio, nomine leprosororum* and for

⁷¹ He was admitted 28 Jan. 1280-1 (York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 130).

the maintenance of feeble aged men of the city.

A list follows of the brothers and sisters who made profession of obedience in the hospital before W. de Hamelton and J. de Langrayns, associated with him. It begins with the names of Richard de Driffeld and Robert de Sancto Laurencio,⁷² both of them chaplains. Two names of men follow with *laicus* written against each and seven other men's names. The names of eight sisters follow. All were enjoined, on the part of the king, to wear the regular habit which they had on the foundation of the hospital, viz., a gown (*gunnellum*) and scapular of russet, they were to have 'tonsura per aures sine tynis'⁷³ with amices.

The jurors further stated that they knew well by the muniments and a certain confirmation by King Stephen, that the hospital of St. Nicholas, York, was of the foundation of the Kings of England, but by whom they could not say. They reported that the hospital was broken into by night by thieves, and the chest, in which were the charters and various muniments of the hospital, was carried away.

An examination of witnesses follows at length. Richard de Derfeld (or Driffeld), as previously mentioned, stated that he understood that the hospital was founded on land given by the first Abbot of St. Mary's. He said that a charter as to land in Huntington had been abstracted, and recovered by Robert, the chaplain, a brother of the house, who had to pay half a mark for it.

John Dagune, a brother, said that the house was founded by the abbot, as already stated, 'cum domina Matilda Regina,'⁷³ and that before the foundation of the house in the place where it stood the brothers were enfeoffed of a carucate of land in 'Nortfeld.' Asked about the charters, he agreed with Richard de Driffeld, and added that Robert, the chaplain,⁷⁴ was gravely suspected of having abstracted them. Nicholas de Houndeshay, another brother, agreed. Five other brothers were called, and knew nothing either as to the foundation or the charters.

A long inquiry followed as to the individual behaviour of the brothers and sisters, which may not unfairly be summarized as a mutual recrimination of one against another, or of one section against the other. It seems that the rule was not kept, and that certain of the brothers

^{72a} From this it appears that though deprived of the mastership he retained the chaplaincy.

⁷³ Ducange gives 'gunnella, cotte de femine,' &c., and for tynis 'bonnets carrez.'

⁷⁴ The Empress Maud gave certain lands to the hospital on condition that the brethren should give to all lepers coming thither on the eve of SS. Peter and Paul, bread, ale, mulvel (or cod), with butter and salmon if available, and cheese; *Cal. Close*, 1272-9, p. 280.

⁷⁵ Robert Lyttil *alias* Robert de Sancto Laurencio.

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were trading on their own behalf. A charge of immorality was brought by certain of the brothers against one of the sisters, but otherwise disorder and abuse of the hospital seem to have been the most serious and general complaints. Richard de Driffeld was again called as a witness where he is called *Magister domus hospitalis*, although in all other cases he is merely *custos*.⁷⁶ His second evidence was chiefly to the effect that all were *inobedientes*, and that none observed *humilitatem*. None had the tonsure except the chaplains, and none wore the habit of religious. None of the brothers were guilty of incontinence. Asked if any of the brothers went into the city without licence, he said they frequently did so. Asked further if they were punished for this, according to the rule, he replied *Non*; whether any frequented the tavern, his reply was *Non*.

In 1303 William Greenfield, Chancellor of England, held a visitation and issued a series of injunctions.⁷⁸ Briefly, he ordered that all were to obey the master, and that each brother and sister was to receive the accustomed habit and tonsure, which were to be kept for life. All brothers and sisters not lawfully hindered were to attend matins, mass, and other canonical hours. The lay brothers and sisters were frequently to recite the Lord's Prayer, and the Angelic Salutation, as the Lord inspired them, praying for the whole estate of the universal church.

The brothers and sisters were not to dwell together under the same roof and cloister, and not to meet together at undue times, or in secret places. None, after admission, were to engage in trading. All who were admitted, if they retained things for their use, were to will them to the hospital at death. The common seal was to be under three keys, and all brothers and sisters were to be summoned when the seal was unlocked. The box which held the alms of those who visited the church was to be in the charge of the same three persons, and was to have three keys. It, too, was only to be opened before all; if they could not agree as to the disposal of the alms in it, then such alms were to be used for the hospital.

No one was to be admitted for a previous compact to pay money, &c., as that was simony. No alienations or long leases were to be granted without the king being consulted. If the master had to be absent for a long period, he was to appoint the most efficient brother to take his place. Three brothers were to be elected, who were most competent in temporal matters, to look after rural, agricultural, and other business affairs. If any were disobedient, incontinent, or guilty of other excesses, they were to be

⁷⁶ He seems to have been in charge as a 'custos perpetuus,' and not actually master.

⁷⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 710.

chastised for the first offence by withholding of food for a number of days; for a second offence the punishment was to be doubled, and if guilty a third time they were to be expelled as incorrigible. If the master himself were thus guilty, *quod absit*, the sentence was reserved to the Chancellor of England.

At a later period the hospital was annexed to the priory of Holy Trinity at York, when there is reason to believe that the prior became master *ex officio*. In the Ministers' Accounts of the priory (1537-8)⁷⁷ £26 10s. 6d. is accounted for the site of the late hospital of St. Nicholas *juxta civitatem Ebor*.

In another document there is allusion to the payment of £19 per annum in allowances to six sisters of the hospital of St. Nicholas, *extra barras civitatis Ebor*, annexed to the late priory of the Holy Trinity. These payments were in consideration of the age, debility, and poverty of the said sisters, and also that they and their friends had paid large sums to the prior or priors of the late priory, for the food and chambers, &c. for these sisters, which they stated had been granted to them under the common seal of the late priory at the rate of 63s. 4d. a year for each of them, besides their chambers and the other commodities of the hospital.

MASTERS AND WARDENS OF ST. NICHOLAS HOSPITAL

Thomas de Langetoft, c. 1261 (three years), died⁷⁸

Simon de Wyllardby, succeeded c. 1264 (ten years)⁷⁹

Robert de Sancto Laurencio, *alias* Robert Lytell,⁸⁰ 1274 (three years)⁸¹

Robert le Graunt, admitted 1281,⁸² deprived 1283⁸³

Richard de Derfeld, or Driffeld, appointed 1283 (six years)⁸⁴

Robert le Graunt, appointed 1292,⁸⁵ occurs 1295⁸⁶

Robert de Sancto Laurencio, admitted again 1301,⁸⁷ occurs 1305⁸⁸

John de Godele, appointed 1303⁸⁹

⁷⁷ Mins. Accts. Yorks. 27-8 Hen. VIII, 113, m. 2 d.

⁷⁸ Chan. Misc. bdl. 20, file 13, no. 1.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Cf. *Yorks. Inq.* (Yorks. Rec. Ser.), ii, 30, 125.

⁸¹ Chan. Misc. loc. cit.

⁸² York Archiepis. Reg. Wickwane, fol. 130.

⁸³ Chan. Misc. loc. cit.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1281-92, p. 494.

⁸⁶ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 251.

⁸⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1301-7, p. 5; or temporary warden.

⁸⁸ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 251.

⁸⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1301-7, p. 102.

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William de Wellop, appointed 1305⁸⁰
 Nicholas de Hugate, appointed 1308,⁸¹ re-
 signed 1318⁸²
 Nicholas de Malton of Hugate, appointed
 1318⁸³
 Robert de Grymston, appointed 1319,⁸⁴ occurs
 1335⁸⁵
 John de Ampleford, occurs 1350,⁸⁶ 1357⁸⁷
 Thomas de Stanley, occurs 1376,⁸⁸ resigned
 1384⁸⁹
 Adam de Akum, appointed 1384¹⁰⁰
 John de Akum, appointed 1388,¹ resigned
 1389²
 Thomas de Popelton, appointed 1389,³ re-
 signed⁴
 Thomas Walleworth, appointed 1394,⁵ ratified
 July 1398⁶
 William de Neuton, appointed 1397⁷
 John Midelton, appointed Aug. 1398,⁸ ex-
 pelled 1399⁹
 Thomas Walleworth, restored 1399,¹⁰ occurs
 1408¹¹
 Robert Wolveden, appointed 1409¹²
 John Midelton, reappointed (?), died 1429¹³
 Richard Riston, appointed 1429,¹⁴ occurs
 1437¹⁵
 Gilbert Haltoft, occurs 1452¹⁶
 Thomas Drury, S.T.P., appointed 1452¹⁷
 William Pykton, occurs 1455¹⁸
 Thomas Usburn, appointed 1462,¹⁹ resigned
 1467²⁰

⁸⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1301-7, p. 408.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 1307-13, pp. 34, 146.

⁸² *Ibid.* 1317-21, p. 120.

⁸³ *Ibid.* ⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 269.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 1334-8, p. 101.

⁸⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1349-54, p. 215.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 1354-60, pp. 343-4.

⁸⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 710.

⁸⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1381-5, p. 467.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* ¹ *Ibid.* 1385-9, p. 493.

² *Ibid.* 1388-92, p. 97.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* 1396-9, p. 260.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1391-6, p. 517.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1396-9, p. 387.

⁷ *Ibid.* 260; wardenship said to be vacant by re-
 i gnation of Thomas de Popelton.

⁸ *Ibid.* 386.

⁹ *Ibid.* 1399-1401, p. 32.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.* 1405-8, p. 436.

¹² *Ibid.* 1408-13, p. 104.

¹³ *Ibid.* 1422-9, p. 532; hospital vacant by death of
 John Midelton.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 251.

¹⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1452-61, p. 40.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*; he was a Dominican friar.

¹⁸ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 242; he was Prior of
 Holy Trinity.

¹⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1461-7, p. 109; he was a brother of
 St. Leonard's Hospital.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 1467-77, p. 15.

John Shirwood, appointed 1467,²¹ occurs
 1471²²
 Richard Speight, Prior of Holy Trinity, occurs
 1535²³

179-94. OTHER HOSPITALS OF YORK

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. THOMAS THE MAR-
 TYR OUTSIDE MICKLEGATE BAR.²⁴—This hospital
 was founded, before 1391,²⁵ for the maintenance
 of poor persons of either sex dwelling in the
 neighbourhood of 'Mykyllythbar,' and especially
 for hospitality by day and night of all poor
 travellers and sick poor passing through York.²⁶

On 12 May 1478²⁷ the hospital was transferred
 to the gild of Corpus Christi, when it was agreed
 that 'from noweforth the said hospitall shall be
 named, taken ande reputed the Hospitall of Cor-
 poris Cristi and of Saynte Thomas of Canter-
 burie,' and from that time, till the dissolution of
 the gild, the history is rather that of the gild than
 of the hospital. The master, wardens, and
 brothers and sisters of St. Thomas's stipulated
 that they should have the use of 'their beddes
 and beddrowmez, thaire owen propre liffes duryng,
 without anny maner of expulsion,' and also that
 the brethren of the gild were to 'fynde vij almus
 beddes convenyently clothed, for the ease, re-
 freshing, and harbering of pore indigent travayl-
 ing people commyng unto the said hospitall.'

Although the gild of Corpus Christi was dis-
 solved in 1547,²⁸ the hospital of St. Thomas
 succeeded in retaining possession of its estates for
 nearly thirty years longer.

In 1551-2 the master, after consulting with
 the brethren of the hospital, and showing how
 difficult it was to maintain the house and its
 poor folks, suggested that they should call in the
 aid of the lord mayor and aldermen of the city,
 who were admitted as brothers of the hospital in
 1552,²⁹ when the lord mayor was elected master
 and two of the aldermen wardens. For some
 twenty-five years following, the lord mayor for
 the year, and one of the aldermen, with 'a
 spiritual man,' continued to fill these offices.

In 1575-6 John Marshe and other citizens
 of London obtained grants of certain of the

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.* 240.

²³ *Valor Eccl. (Rec. Com.)*, v, 21.

²⁴ In an indulgence granted in 1489 by Arch-
 bishop Rotherham (York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham,
 fol. 242b) the hospital is called 'hospitallis Beatae
 Marie Virginis et Sancti Thomae Martyris extra
 Mykillith Bar.' Usually it was known as the hospi-
 tal of St. Thomas the Martyr.

²⁵ *Cal. Papal Letters*, iv, 392; it is also mentioned in
 the will of Margaret de Knaresburgh, 1398 (*Test.*
Ebor. [Surt. Soc.], i, 220).

²⁶ *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild, York*, 258.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 271. Practically the whole of the facts as
 to this hospital here given are derived from that book.

²⁸ *Ibid.* Pref. p. xii.

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. xiii.

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possessions of the late gild of Corpus Christi.³⁰ This was resisted by the master and wardens, and a Special Commission was issued to inquire into the matter. The result was that in February 1582-3³¹ William Marshe and William Plummer, representatives of the original grantees, conveyed the house or gild of Corpus Christi, with all its lands and tenements, to the recorder and town clerk of York, as trustees for the mayor and commonalty of the city of York, to be by them 'ymployed to the mayntenaunce and relief of the poore.' The charity has ever since that time been in the hands of the Corporation.³²

MASTERS

Robert Mason, L.L.D., occurs 1478³³
John Barnard, died 1551³⁴
William Pynder, died 1559³⁵
Anthony Iveson, occurs 1579-80³⁶

The 15th-century seal³⁷ is a vesica $2\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in., with a seated figure of St. Thomas the archbishop in a canopied niche, blessing and holding his crozier. The legend is:—

SIGILL' HOSPITALITATIS S̄TI THOME (DE)
MIKELG . . TH . .

TRINITY HOSPITAL, FOSSGATE, YORK.—This hospital, situated in the parish of St. Crux, was founded by John de Roucliff in virtue of Letters Patent dated 12 February, 45 Edward III.³⁸ The formal ordination of the hospital by Archbishop Thoresby is dated 27 August 1373.³⁹ There was to be a chaplain, who was to be called master or *custos*, and to whom was to be committed the charge of the hospital, its inmates, and its goods. There were to be thirteen poor infirm persons, and two poor clerks keeping their schools in the hospital, at the choice of the master. The hospital was founded in honour of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, but afterwards became known as the hospital of the Holy Trinity. The hospital not having been adequately endowed by its founder, the Merchants' Company of York took it under their charge and financed it,⁴⁰ and as a charity under their care it still exists at the present day.

In 1411, the old chapel having fallen into ruin, possibly injured through flooding of the

river, a new one with a new altar was erected, and Archbishop Bowett⁴¹ licensed the master, brothers, and sisters of the hospital of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary (then comprising besides the master two chaplains, two clerks, and thirty sick poor) to have mass celebrated therein. It is clear from this that the foundation must have been largely increased before 1422-3, when Drake⁴² states that it came into the hands of the Merchant Adventurers of York.

MASTERS

Thomas Werkesworth, instituted 1378,⁴³ resigned 1387⁴⁴
Thomas de la River, succeeded 1387⁴⁵
Thomas de Neuby⁴⁶
William Ottelay, instituted 1394,⁴⁷ occurs 1429⁴⁸
John Berningham, resigned 1431⁴⁹
Richard Saunderson, succeeded 1431,⁵⁰ occurs 1438⁵¹
John Fox, instituted 3 February 1438-9⁵²
William Clyveland,⁵³ died 1504
Robert Wilberfosse, succeeded 1504,⁵⁴ died 1512⁵⁵
Thomas Shawe, succeeded 1512,⁵⁶ died 1519⁵⁷
Robert Jacson, succeeded 1519,⁵⁸ occurs 1522-3⁵⁹
Thomas Pykering, occurs 1546⁶⁰

The 14th-century seal⁶¹ is a vesica, 3 in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in., with an elaborate design of the coronation of our Lady. The legend is:—

+ s' CŌE HOSPITALITER (*sic*) FRATRŪ & SORORŪ
BEATE MARIĒ VIRGĪ IVXTA PORTĒ FOSSE EBOR.

ST. ANTHONY'S HOSPITAL IN PEASEHOLM.—This hospital arose out of a gild of St. Anthony, certain members of which obtained, in 1446, a

⁴¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Bowett, fol. 100.

⁴² *Ebor.* 301; see also *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 76. A considerable grant was made in 1397; Inq. a.q.d. file 427, no. 36.

⁴³ York Archiepis. Reg. A. Nevill, fol. 27.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 95.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Reference omitted by the late Mr. Fallow.

⁴⁷ *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild, York*, 10 n.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 386. The well-known treasurer of York.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ York Reg. of Wills, iii, fol. 530.

⁵² York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 396.

⁵³ *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild, York*, 78 n.

⁵⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Savage, fol. 40b.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Bainbridge, fol. 36b.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* Wolsey, fol. 50.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Subs. R. (P.R.O.), bdl. 64, no. 300.

⁶⁰ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 76.

⁶¹ *Cat. of Seals, B.M.* 4407, lxxv, 45.

³⁰ *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild, York*, p. xiii.

³¹ *Ibid.* p. xiv.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Reg. Corpus Christi Guild*, 270.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 225.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 226.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 233.

³⁷ *Cat. of Seals, B.M.* 4409, lxxv, 47.

³⁸ See *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 76 n., from which it appears that the hospital originated in a gild in honour of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary.

³⁹ York Archiepis. Reg. Thoresby, fol. 169.

⁴⁰ As a religious foundation it was dissolved in 3 Edw. VI; Drake, *Ebor.* 301.

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charter of incorporation from Henry VI.⁶² The hospital was really under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Martin, but from its connexion with the gild of St. Anthony, was known as St. Anthony's Hospital. Besides the master and keepers, there were brethren and sisters non-resident, together with a resident chaplain and seven poor men.⁶³

On 13 August 1450⁶⁴ Robert Dobbes, vicar-general of Archbishop Kemp, granted licence to the master or *custos* of the gild or confraternity of the house or hospital of the Blessed Mary and St. Martin of the city of York, newly constructed, and the brothers and sisters of the same, to have divine service celebrated for one year in their chapel, saving the rights of the parochial church of that place. After the Dissolution the charity continued under the government of the corporation of York.

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. ANTHONY, GILLYGATE.—The great hospital of St. Anthony of Vienne seems to have had a chapel in Gillygate, which was vacant about the end of the 14th century. In 1401 a hermit settled there and, pretending to have the authority of the hospital, collected alms for the repair of the highways. He was evicted in 1403,⁶⁵ and it is probable that a small hospital was established, as in 1429 indulgence was granted to those who gave alms for the support of the hospital of St. Anthony outside the walls of York.⁶⁶ The hospital stood at the end of Gillygate next the Horsefair.⁶⁷

ST. ANDREWGATE MAISON DIEU.—Nothing is known of this house except that it was founded before 1390, in which year William Durem left 3s. 4d. 'pauperibus in le masidew in via Sancte Andree.'⁶⁸ It occurs again in 1397, when Richard Platter seems to have been recognized as founder.⁶⁹ Possibly it may be identical with Thomas de Duffeld's Maison Dieu in Little St. Andrewgate which occurs in 1385 and again in 1485, when John Bedford was apparently patron.^{69a}

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN, BOOTHAM, YORK.—Drake⁷⁰ says that 'an uniform street once extended from Bootham-bar to a place called Burton-stone, where a stone cross formerly stood, the extent of the city's liberties on this side. Close by this stood formerly a chapel dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen with a spital called Magdalen's Spital, but no remains of either do now appear.' It was founded by John Gysburne, precentor of York, who died in

1481,⁷¹ for two chaplains, and was more of a chantry than a hospital.

HERTERGATE OR CASTLE HILL MAISON DIEU.—This was founded by Thomas Howm, brother of Robert Howm the founder of Monk Bridge Maison Dieu. In his will (1406) he bequeathed 30s. 'pauperibus in domo mea super le Castelhill.'⁷² The position of the Maison Dieu being both in Hertergate and Castle Hill it was known by both names. In the will of William Skynner it is also spoken of as 'le masondieu super montem castri.'⁷³ In 1390 Roger de Moreton left 2s. 'pauperibus hominibus et mulieribus in le Mesondieu Thome Howme in Hertergate.'⁷⁴ It is referred to in the will of 'Margaret de Knaresburgh Semester' as 'Thomae Holme infra parochiam Sanctae Mariae ad portam castri.'⁷⁵

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. HELEN, OR FISHERGATE HOSPITAL.—This was one of the leper houses of York. It stood near the extinct church of St. Helen in Fishergate, and possibly was attached to it. In 1444⁷⁶ Archbishop Kemp granted an indulgence for three years to all who contributed towards the reparation of the house or dwelling of the lepers of 'St. Elene,' commonly called 'in Fishergate.'

THE HOSPITAL OF ST. KATHERINE⁷⁷ OUTSIDE MICKLEGATE BAR.—This was one of the four leper houses of York, and stood outside Micklegate Bar, near the church or chapel of St. James. In 1333 protection for two years was granted by Edward III for the leprous men of the hospital collecting alms.⁷⁸ It housed lepers of both sexes,⁷⁹ and as one of the charities of the city escaped suppression. In 1603,⁸⁰ in an account of the progress of James I through York, it is recorded that the king 'took horse and passed through the cittie forth at Micklegate towards Grimstone, the house of Sir Edward Stanhope, the earle of Cumberlande and the lord-major beareing the sword and the mace before the king untill they came unto the house of St. Kathren.' In 1652 the hospital was rebuilt on the old site. This building was removed in 1835.⁸¹ It is still one of the York city charities.

⁷¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 782.

⁷² R. Beilby Cooke, *Some Early Civic Wills of York* (reprinted from Proc. Yorks. Archt. Soc.), 41.

⁷³ York Reg. of Wills, iv, fol. 214b.

⁷⁴ Ibid. fol. 14b. ⁷⁵ *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 220

⁷⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp. fol. 89b.

⁷⁷ The hospital of St. Katherine by St. Nicholas (Drake, *Ebor.* 236) may have been only another name for this house. No other hospital of St. Katherine is known. ⁷⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1330-4, p. 452.

⁷⁹ Robert Sporett, citizen of York (10 Jan. 1475), left 'pauperibus leprosis utriusque sexus in domo Sancte Katerine extra Mikellith 12d.'

⁸⁰ Drake, *Ebor.* 132.

⁸¹ Hargrove, *The New Guide &c. to York* (1838), 52, 53, where a small woodcut of the 1652 building may be seen.

⁶² *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 560. ⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 430.

⁶⁵ *Cal. Papal Letters*, v, 549. ⁶⁶ Ibid. viii, 85.

⁶⁷ Drake, *Ebor.* 215.

⁶⁸ York Reg. of Wills, i, fol. 20.

⁶⁹ *Brit. Assoc. Handbk.* (York, 1906), 202.

^{69a} Ibid. 201. In 1398 it is called the hospital of Richard Duffeld; *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 220.

⁷⁰ Drake, *Ebor.* 258.

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MONK BRIDGE MAISON DIEU.—There was a small hospital on Monk Bridge as early as 1350, in which year Edward III granted protection for the master and brethren of the hospital of lepers of St. Leonard on 'Monkbrig,' who had not sufficient to live on unless relieved by alms.⁸² It was possibly refounded by Robert de Howm, citizen and merchant of York, who died in 1396, and in his will desired⁸³ that Robert his son and all into whose hands certain of his lands should come were to 'uphold a house near Monk Bridge in Monkgate . . . which I have made into a hospital (*ad hospitandum*) for poor invalids of both sexes there, for the poor of which sort I have constructed twenty beds in the same, for the health of my soul and the souls of all faithful departed.' The will proceeds with directions that the house was to be maintained for 100 years after his death.

NORTH STREET MAISON DIEU, YORK.—This house possibly owed its origin to William de Salley, Sheriff of York, 1397-8, who in 1401 occurs as founder or patron. In his will (1408) he bequeathed to his wife a tenement in North Street in St. John's parish, facing the king's highway, with six houses in the lane there, beside the 'Meson Dieu' on the south side of the lane.⁸⁴

Perhaps this was really the house founded by Isolda de Akastre, of which William de Salley had become patron. The 'hospital of Ysolda Akaster in North Street' is mentioned by Richard Howme, and to the poor of the house he left 40s. for equal division among them.⁸⁵ Isolda de Acaster was the widow of John de Acaster, Mayor of York in 1364 and again in 1378-9, and the hospital is ascribed to John de Acaster in the will of Margaret de Knaresburgh, 1398.⁸⁶

OUSEBRIDGE MAISON DIEU.—Drake mentions the 'hospital or maison dieu' on Ousebridge.⁸⁷ Allusions to it are frequent, especially in bequests to the poor in it. It sheltered persons of both sexes, and was one of the chief institutions of its kind in York. In 1305, when certain citizens of York were accused of forming an illegal fraternity or gild, the defendants alleged that there was a house of old time founded by the citizens and good men upon the Ousebridge by the chapel of St. William, which was known as 'God's house,' endowed with lands and rents for the support of the poor and lepers; and many citizens who had fallen upon

misfortune were supported by this institution, but through the neglect and mismanagement of the authorities it had died out many years before, and they, for the good of their own souls and for the soul of King Edward, had refounded the charity in 1302, endowing a chaplain and founding a gild to perpetuate the alms.⁸⁸

PETER LANE LITTLE MAISON DIEU.—This house was founded by John de Derthyngton⁸⁹ at the end of the 14th century, prior to 1390,⁹⁰ when Roger de Moreton bequeathed 12*d.* to the poor in 'le mesondieu Johannis de Derthyngton in Peter Lane,' and William Durem⁹¹ left 5*s.* 'pauperibus in le maisyndew in Petirlane littyll.' In 1396⁹² Robert Howm (the founder of Monk Bridge Maison Dieu) left 40*s.* to the poor 'in hospitali Johannis de Derthyngton in la Peter Lane Littyll.' It was in existence in 1474, when William Skynner left 3*s.* 4*d.* 'pauperibus hominibus existentibus in le maisyndew in Peter lane littill.'⁹³

LAYERTHORPE HOSPITAL.—All that is known of this hospital is Leland's statement.⁹⁴ 'There was a place of the Bigotes hard withyn Laithorp Gate, and by it an hospital of the Bigotes foundation. Syr Francis Bygot let booth the Hospital and his House al to ruine.' It is probably the same as the Layerthorpe Bridge Maison Dieu, said to be mentioned in 1407.⁹⁵

WHITEFRIARS LANE MAISON DIEU.—This house is said to have been founded by John Holme in 1472.⁹⁶ On 7 September 1481⁹⁷ Archbishop Rotherham granted a forty days' indulgence to all those who, having confessed their sins, contributed to the maintenance and refectory of the poor of either sex in a certain house called 'Masyndew in le Whit Friar layn,' York.

Drake mentions the existence of a hospital of St. Loy on the east side of Monk Bridge,⁹⁸ and of a hospital or maison dieu of the Shoemakers, near Walmgate Bar.⁹⁹ A maison dieu in Stonebow Lane occurs in a will of 1362,¹⁰⁰ and one in the Little Shambles in 1470,¹⁰¹ and it is possible that there were other small establishments of which even the names are not remembered.

⁸² Assize R. 1107, m. 19.

⁸³ He died in 1402. York Reg. of Wills, iii, fol. 73).

⁸⁴ Ibid. i, fol. 14*b.*

⁸⁵ Ibid. fol. 20.

⁸⁶ Cooke, *Some Early Civic Wills of York*, 23.

⁸⁷ York Reg. of Wills, iv, fol. 214*b.*

⁸⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 782, quoting Leland, *Itin.* i, 57.

⁸⁹ *Brit. Assoc. Handbk.* (York), 201.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham, fol. 34*b.*

⁹² *Ebor.* 252.

⁹³ Ibid. 236, 306.

⁹⁴ *Brit. Assoc. Handbk.* (York), 203.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁸² *Cal. Pat.* 1348-50, p. 542.

⁸³ R. Beilby Cooke, *Some Early Civic Wills of York*, 34.

⁸⁴ See as regards this *Reg. of Corpus Christi Guild*, York, 238 n.

⁸⁵ *Some Early Civic Wills of York*, 22, 23. To 'le meysendieu in North Street' William Durem in 1390 left 5*s.* (York Reg. of Wills, i, fol. 20).

⁸⁶ *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 220.

⁸⁷ *Ebor.* 236.

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COLLEGIATE CHURCHES

195. COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, BEVERLEY

In the preface to the Provost's Book, written about 1417, the earliest foundation of the church is said to have been in the time of King Lucius, towards the middle of the 2nd century. The writer goes on to say that it was destroyed by Horsa and Hengist, refounded as a monastery of black monks and nuns and seven secular priests by St. John of Beverley, destroyed by the Danes under Hubba and Hingwar, and reconstituted and augmented as a college of seven canons regular by King Athelstan.¹ Nothing is known of the constitution of the monastery founded by St. John of Beverley in the later part of the 7th century. Nor can it be actually proved that St. John's Monastery, which Bede, his contemporary, calls Inderawuda (*in silva Deirorum*), where he was buried in 721, was at Beverley.² The destruction of St. John's foundation by the Danes is vouched for by history as little as the destruction of the mythical Romano-British church by the Saxons.³ Athelstan was regarded throughout the Middle Ages as the real founder of the college, who, by the charter whose grants are summed up in the phrase 'Swa mikel fredom giue I the, Swo hert may think or eghe see,' conferred on the church its privilege of sanctuary, its due of four thraves from each plough in the East Riding, and other well-known features of its franchise.⁴ The story of Athelstan's visit rests, however, on no contemporary record;⁵ while his charter is found in no form earlier than the 13th century, and summarizes privileges which were granted by later sovereigns.

¹ Text printed in *Beverley Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 305-6.

² Bede, *Hist. Eccl. lib. v, cap. 6.* See for a full discussion of the identification of Inderawuda with Beverley, *Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), i, pp. xv-xix.

³ Simon Russell calls Hingwar and Hubba 'filios Swayn, regis Danorum' (*Beverley Chapter Act Bk.* i, p. xviii). He also seems to have imagined that the church of Beverley was dedicated to the Archbishop St. John.

⁴ The original charter (Cott. Chart. iv, 18) is printed in *Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 280-7, with a translation into modern English. The phrase 'Swa mikel fredom,' &c., appears in several forms. In a grant of Henry IV to Archbishop Scrope for removing certain ambiguities in the charter (23 Aug. 1404; *Cal. Pat.* 1401-5, p. 395) it is 'Als fre make I the as hert may thynke or eghe may see' (cf. *Cal. Pat.* 1422-9, p. 86).

⁵ The earliest authority seems to be William Ketell (see note 36 to 'Eccl. Hist.' above, p. 4. The various accounts are discussed by Leach, *Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), i, p. xx et seq.

A small body of secular clergy may have been gathered together, many years before the Norman Conquest, in the church of St. John the Evangelist, which contained the tomb of St. John of Beverley, in the principal town of the East Riding.⁶ The canons of Beverley received their first authentic royal charter from Edward the Confessor.⁷ The last three Saxon Archbishops of York seemed to have placed the canons on the footing of a corporate body with landed property. Ælfric caused a shrine to be made for the saint, and obtained estates in the East Riding for the church.⁸ Cynesige built a high tower of stone at the west end of the church.⁹ Ealdred built a new presbytery, and decorated the whole church with painting and splendid furniture. He finished the frater and dorter, which Ælfric and Cynesige had begun, and granted new endowments of land to the chapter.¹⁰ The authentic history of the college, with its body of canons, and their common residence, the Bedern,¹¹ may be said to begin at this point. It is not unlikely that an unscientific age, searching for a royal founder, may have hit upon Athelstan as a king whose reign had exercised a unifying force on Britain, and was remembered as a landmark in its history.¹²

⁶ Folcard, the biographer of St. John (*Hist. Ch. of York* [Rolls Ser.], i, 239 et seq.), writing soon after the Norman Conquest, says that he was buried at Beverley in St. John's (Bede, loc. cit. says St. Peter's) porch. The author of 'Chron. Pontif.' (*Hist. Ch. of York* [Rolls Ser.], ii, 329) also says that he died at Beverley, and speaks (*ibid.* 238) of the monastery of Beverley, which he had rebuilt from the foundations. Neither writer mentions Inderawuda.

⁷ The chief charters of the church are as follows:—

(1) Edward the Confessor (no date); (2) William I (no date); (3) Henry I (no date); (4) Stephen, 1135 (*Chapter Act Bk.* [Surt. Soc.], ii, 288-9); (5) Henry II; (6) John, 8 Oct. 1202 and others; (7) Henry III, 26 Apr. 1242 [misprinted 20 Apr. in *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226-57, p. 269]; (8) Edward I, inspeximus and confirmation, 26 June 1297 (*Cal. Chart. R.* 1257-1300, p. 468); (9) Edward II, inspeximus, 7 Sept. 1310 (*Cal. Pat.* 1307-13, p. 286); (10) Edward III, inspeximus, 30 Nov. 1330 (*ibid.* 1330-4, p. 21); (11) Richard II, inspeximus, 10 Feb. 1377-8 (*ibid.* 1377-81, p. 120), and 26 Apr. 1382 (*ibid.* 1381-5, p. 118); (12) Henry IV, inspeximus, 1 Mar. 1400-1 (*ibid.* 1399-1401, p. 456); (13) Henry V, inspeximus, 25 Nov. 1413; (14) Henry VI, inspeximus, 13 Mar. 1427-8 (*ibid.* 1422-9, pp. 490, 491); (15) Edward IV, 21 Feb. 1472 (*ibid.* 1467-77, p. 309).

⁸ *Hist. Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 343.

⁹ *Ibid.* 344.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 353-4.

¹¹ For the origin of this word, see account of the Bedern at York.

¹² In the same way, Edgar the Peaceable was reckoned as the founder of Southwell, Tamworth, St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, and other Midland colleges.

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The canons of Beverley owned a large amount of land at the time of Domesday.¹³ It is probable that they were already seven in number, deriving their income, like the canons at York, from a common fund. Thomas of Bayeux is credited with the foundation of the office of provost at Beverley, as at York.¹⁴ But while at York the increase in the number of canons and the assignment of separate prebends to each led to the discontinuance of the office, the provostry remained a permanent feature at Beverley. The possessions of the canons were regarded as one common prebend in which each canon possessed an annual dividend. The *corpus* of each prebendal share was regarded as consisting in the corrody of daily rations derived from the Bedern.¹⁵ The most important source of income, however, was the tribute of thraves paid by each parish in the East Riding,¹⁶ and, although in the course of time thraves from certain specified parishes were appropriated to some of the canons,¹⁷ the scattered nature of such property prevented the establishment of separate prebends with a fixed area. The duty of the provost was to see to the collection of the thraves, and to divide their annual proceeds. He himself held no office in the church in right of his provostry, although he was usually admitted to one of the seven canonries.¹⁸ He was, in fact, the officer in whom the temporalities of the church were vested. The chapter, in Domesday, was in full possession of the regalities of the lands of St. John;¹⁹ and it

is not unlikely that the office of provost, as chief magistrate and temporal agent of the canons, may have been established at a date earlier than that usually assigned to it.

Each of the canonries, in process of time, was distinguished by the name of an altar in the church. The original seven were known by the names of the altars of St. Andrew, St. James, St. Martin, St. Mary, St. Michael, St. Peter, and St. Stephen. The prebendary of St. Martin's altar was also rector of the chapel of St. Mary; but no parish church within the provost's jurisdiction was annexed to any separate canonry.²⁰ To these was added at an unknown date an eighth canonry, attached to St. Katharine's altar, the holder of which was not *ex officio* a member of the chapter, but attended chapter meetings by invitation.²¹ The *corpus* of this prebend was half the daily offerings from the high altar. The other half, and the whole of all other offerings and profits accruing to the church or common fund, were shared by the seven other canons.²²

The archbishop himself had his stall in quire, to which an annual corrody from the Bedern was attached.²³ This, however, did not give him a place in chapter, or the right to be regarded as a canon and prebendary. The right of collation to the provostry and canonries was in the hands of the archbishop.

The church had no dean,²⁴ but there were in it three dignitaries,²⁵ the precentor, chancellor, and sacrist or treasurer. These were appointed by the provost, and received their income from the revenues of the provostry. They took rank below the canons, with stalls in quire, but no voice in chapter. The precentor had, as usual,

¹³ See 'Eccl. Hist.' above, p. 11.

¹⁴ The story of the foundation of the provostry is told in the Provost's Book, fol. 81d. (*Chapter Act Bk.* [Surt. Soc.], ii, 332 et seq.), where it is attributed to the existence of quarrels among the canons over their common property.

¹⁵ This was recognized by Archbishop Greenfield in his ordinance of 17 Apr. 1307 (*Chapter Act Bk.* [Surt. Soc.], i, 193), by which the corrodies were united formally to the prebends. His statute was pleaded by the canons in 1324 in answer to Melton's objections (*ibid.* ii, 58-9).

¹⁶ The thraves formed part of the concessions of the early charters of the church; important details as to the manner of their delivery and the punishment of defaulters are found in the Letters Patent of John, 3 Oct. and 9 Nov. 1203 (see *Cal. Pat.* 1307-13, p. 86).

¹⁷ e.g. in *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 131, the prebendary of St. Stephen's altar received thraves from Cherry Burton, Rowley, Skerne, Kirk Ella, Watton, Scarborough, Lockington, Lund, Leconfield, Wressell, and Bubwith. Others received the thraves of parishes specially named.

¹⁸ He was not always a canon. Robert of Abberwick (provost 1304-6), Walter Reynolds (1306-8), William de la Mare (1338-60), and others do not seem to have held a canonry. William of Melton (1308-18) and Richard of Ravenser (1360-9) were admitted to canonries after their accession to the provostship.

¹⁹ Dom. Bk. fol. 304a, col. 1.

²⁰ The parochial status of the canons with regard to their altars in the church, mentioned below in relation to the vicars choral, was a peculiar feature of their office. A canon, for this reason, was required to be in priest's orders: 'cum prebende in ecclesia nostra Beverlacensi sacerdotales existant ex institutione ac ordinatione primaria earundem' (*Chapter Act Bk.* [Surt. Soc.], i, 14, 15).

²¹ Thus in 1330 Master William of Abberwick, eighth canon, was said to attend chapter meetings by special grace of the chapter (*ibid.* ii, 94).

²² *Ibid.* i, 193.

²³ Greenfield, in uniting the corrodies to the prebends (*ibid.* i, 193), defined them as the 'corpora' of the prebends 'prout ex prebenda archiepiscopali . . . cuius corpus in eo solo consistit corrodio satis liquet.'

²⁴ The Dean of Beverley, mentioned, e.g., *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 54, was, of course, the dean of the Christianity, who exercised his office outside the minster.

²⁵ The position of these officers, below the canons, has led to a denial of the title of dignitaries to them. But that their offices were regarded as 'dignitates' is shown by a document in the Town Minute Book of Beverley, printed in *Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 339 et seq.

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the control of the song-school; while the chancellor was *ex officio* master of the grammar-school.²⁶ The chief duty of the sacrist was the care of the church and the shrine of St. John.²⁷

More difficult to explain is the position of the seven clerks known as *Berefellarii*, who received corrodies from the Bedern, and evidently were attached to the church from an early date.²⁸ Their nickname has been interpreted to mean 'bear-skins,' from some distinctive feature of their dress, or 'bare-skins,' which may imply that they were originally poor clerks subsisting on alms derived from the seven canons. It seems that seven bedesmen, attached to the foundation, were superseded by seven poor clerks, who took their part in the services of the church.²⁹ Their position improved by degrees. Although bound to continual residence, they were frequently allowed licences of non-residence to study at universities³⁰; and in 1324 one of them is called *magister*.³¹ Archbishop Thoresby raised them to an equality with the parsons of York Minster; and the statutes of 1391 prescribed that they should no longer be called by the *turpe nomen* of *berefellarii*, but should be known as parsons.³² In 1422 their status is described as a parsonage, office, or benefice³³; and in 1471-2 they were incorporated as the seven parsons in the quire of the collegiate church.³⁴ Like the dignitaries, who were also bound to continual residence, they were appointed by the provost.³⁵

Arundel's statutes³⁶ enumerate, in addition, nine vicars or deputies of the archbishop and canons, seven chantry priests, nine canons' clerks, one clerk of the precentor, a clerk of the chancel, seven clerks of the parsons or *berefellarii*, two incense-bearers, eight choristers, two sacrist's clerks, and two vergers or bell-ringers. The vicars choral, as at York and elsewhere,

were permanent institutions; and one of them represented the archbishop in right of his corrody. One peculiar feature of their office was that each of the prebendal altars carried with it a cure of souls. Archbishop Melton in 1325 ascribed this to the original status of the minster as a parish church, served by the canons in common, and to the subsequent division of the parish among the canons, to whom fixed cures of souls were assigned by virtue of their prebends.³⁷ The fact, however, was that the cures of souls annexed to the altars had no parochial boundaries. To Melton's complaint that suitable vicars had been instituted in none of the prebendal parishes, save in that of St. Martin's altar,³⁸ the chapter answered that the 'parishioners' of each prebend came to their own altar in the church, and were there duly served by the vicar of the stall, and that, in case of sickness, the vicars choral were ready to minister to those within their cure. The existence of an additional clerk in the payment of each canon was held by them to supply an answer to any charge of neglect by the vicars of their choral duties.³⁹

The clerks of the canons, precentor, sacrist, and *berefellarii* were known as 'clerks of the second form,' and after a year of probation in quire were admitted to minor orders.⁴⁰ Their duty was to assist at the quire offices and serve at the altars. They were under the correction of the precentor, who examined them in song; but their qualification for admission was an examination in letters by the chapter.⁴¹ The choristers received a free education at the grammar school⁴²; they were admitted to the quire by the sub-chanter,⁴³ who was one of the vicars choral.⁴⁴ The number of chantry priests, seven in 1391, was fifteen at the time of the suppression of the college.⁴⁵ The chantry priests were never incorporated.

Little is known of the internal history of the chapter of Beverley until the later part of the

²⁶ See Leach, *ibid.* i, pp. lix-lxvi.

²⁷ *Ibid.* pp. lvi, lvii. At Southwell the sacrist or sexton had a prebendal stall attached to his office.

²⁸ Their position is fully discussed by Leach, *ibid.* pp. lxxvii-lxxiv.

²⁹ This appears from the undated Ordinance of the Refectory, printed by A. F. Leach, in *Arch.* lv, 19, 20, from Lansd. MS. 895, fol. 132. See *Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), i, p. lxx.

³⁰ See *ibid.* i, 73-4, 176.

³¹ *Ibid.* ii, 46.

³² *Ibid.* 269.

³³ *Cal. Pat.* 1422-9, p. 17.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 1467-77, p. 309. The date of the grant is 21 Feb. In *Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), i, p. lxxiv, the reference to Pat. 11 Edw. IV is misprinted 2 Edw. IV.

³⁵ *Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 336; ii, 168-9.

³⁶ Printed at length from *inspeximus* and confirmation in Pat. 21 Ric. II (*Cal. Pat.* 1396-9, p. 348) in *Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 265 et seq. There is an inaccurately printed copy in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vi, 1308. The original of the statutes does not appear to exist.

³⁷ *Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 57. Melton objected that some of these parishioners lived 'in remotis et locis valde distantibus ab ecclesia Beverlacensi predicta.'

³⁸ The ordination of the vicarage bears date 23 Dec. 1269. Printed *ibid.* i, 194-7.

³⁹ *Ibid.* ii, 59. A jury of men of Beverley in 1425 defined the parochial rights of each prebend, with the result that the town of Beverley was discharged from its contribution to two subsidies levied in 1424, because there was no parish church in it but that of St. Nicholas or Holmekirk. (*Ibid.* 339 et seq.)

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* i, 212.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 53. The four clerks of St. Mary's were also examined by the chapter, and counted as clerks of the minster (*ibid.* 189).

⁴² *Ibid.* 292-3.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 293.

⁴⁴ See e.g. *ibid.* 221.

⁴⁵ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 521-6. Counting the chantry of Corpus Christi in the chancel, there were sixteen.

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13th century. An attempt to secure the provostship for his half-brother, Morgan, was one of the many causes of dispute between Geoffrey Plantagenet and his subordinates.⁴⁶ The position of the provost led to a quarrel between Fulk Basset, provost c. 1222-40, and the canons, in which Pope Gregory IX intervened at the provost's request. The chief cause was the inordinate expenditure upon food in the Bedern, at a time when prices were high; the provost complained that his office brought him loss, while the goods of the church were wasted.⁴⁷ There was less excuse for the high-handed dealings of the non-resident provost, Aymo du Quart (1294-1304), both with the tenants of the provostry and with the chapter, which brought about the intervention of Archbishop Corbridge.⁴⁸ When Aymo was elected Bishop of Geneva in 1304 he sold goods belonging to the provostry and the canons to defray the expenses of his journey. The chapter stopped the unauthorized sales, and sequestered the property of the provostry to the maintenance of the Bedern.⁴⁹ In 1304-5 the official of Provost Robert of Abberwick summoned the schoolmaster of the chapter to appear in his court in answer to a plea brought by a rival schoolmaster within the provostry. The canons challenged the summons with the objection that, by ancient custom, clerks wearing their habit in the minster and dwelling in Beverley were answerable only to the jurisdiction of the chapter.⁵⁰ A similar argument was urged in 1305 against the claim of the official of the archbishop to summon a canon on certain unspecified charges. The chapter threatened to appeal to the Curia if the summons were carried into execution.⁵¹

The growing customs of non-residence and pluralism led to difficulties between the provost and canons, and in the chapter itself. Aymo du Quart was not only non-resident and a holder of other lucrative preferments, but, as canon, did not obey the fundamental condition of proceeding to priest's orders.⁵² His successor in his canonry found his prebendal house in need of almost entire rebuilding.⁵³ By the end of the 13th century, at any rate, the corrodies of victuals in the Bedern had been commuted for money payments. In 1286 Archbishop Romanus ordered the tax of a fourth payable by each non-resident to be levied on the prebends of three canons and of the sacrist, chancellor, precentor, and the portions of all seven *berefellarii*.⁵⁴ The canons were, as a rule, clerks chiefly engaged in

the king's and archbishop's business. Thus Master John of Nassington in 1306 was directed by Archbishop Greenfield, whose chancellor he was, to receive the full *corpus* of his prebend, by virtue of a papal decree which authorized canons in attendance on their bishop to count as resident in their chapters.⁵⁵ At a convocation in 1308, when six of the canons were present, it was ordained that a canon going on business on behalf of the church and at his own expense should be accounted resident.⁵⁶ A Frenchman, Peter son of Emery, was presented by Edward I to the prebend of St. Martin's altar, the wealthiest stall in the church. His admission was delayed by his fellow canons, on the ground that he made no effort to keep his statutory residence; and he endeavoured to sue his three chief opponents for the fruits of his prebend before the king's court. This action naturally led to an indignant assertion of the chapter's right of internal jurisdiction. The deadlock caused by the intervention of the king was solved by a compromise, by which Peter agreed to accept an annual pension from the prebend, while remitting his claims to its fruits.⁵⁷ He died in 1309, and does not seem to have visited Beverley.

The question of non-residence was taken in hand by Archbishop Romanus, whose attention was called to the state of the church by his quarrel with Robert of Scarborough, the prebendary of St. Stephen's altar and Dean of York.⁵⁸ On 20th June 1290 he agreed with the canons upon an ordinance by which twenty-four weeks of residence was required yearly of every canon, and the first twelve weeks were a qualification for a share in the portions of non-residents.⁵⁹ This ordinance was followed by another, binding the dignitaries and *berefellarii* to continual residence.⁶⁰ It was said later that the chapter was induced to accept the decree by the promise of a church worth at least 60 marks, to be given to their common fund.⁶¹ Romanus fell out with the canons in 1295. On the death of Peter of Chester, the chapter sequestered the goods of the provostry; but Romanus drove out their servants and took the property into his hands. A commission was appointed by the Crown to try the case, which probably found for the chapter⁶²; but a formal mandate from the archbishop was duly obtained at the next vacancy.⁶³ Romanus was also accused of

⁵⁵ *Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 135-6.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 219 et seq.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 99-101.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* ii, 154. References to this quarrel are plentiful in Romanus' register. Its real reason seems to have been Scarborough's refusal to indemnify the archbishop for expenses in a suit before the Curia relating to the advowson of Adlingfleet.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* ii, 162.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 168-9.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* i, 192.

⁶² *Ibid.* ii, 21-2.

⁶³ *Ibid.* i, 15.

⁴⁶ See 'Ecl. Hist.' above, p. 22, n. 61.

⁴⁷ *Archbp. Gray's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 175 (Addenda, no. xlix); see also *Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, pp. xxiii, xxiv.

⁴⁸ *Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 15.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 21-2.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 58-60.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 87-9.

⁵² *Ibid.* 14-15.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 324.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* ii, 150.

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ragging a sanctuary-man from the house of one of the canons, and was ordered by the king to set right one or two high-handed acts of which his predecessors had been guilty.⁶⁴

At a visitation held by Archbishop Corbridge in 1302 it was decreed that one canon at least must be found in residence to hold chapters, although leave was given to appoint a deputy, in case of unavoidable absence. Of Corbridge's remaining statutes, the most interesting relates to the candles which the vicars procured at matins and vespers from the sacrist. These were to be required only when necessary, and the vicars were to return the unused candle-ends to the sacrist.⁶⁵

Archbishop Greenfield's visitation in 1306 led to a new ordinance as to residence. The archbishop found that the vicars and clerks were changing the conditions of life in the Bedern, to doubt to their own advantage, and ordered the canons to keep a watch on what was done here, until his decree was issued.⁶⁶ The decree (17 April 1307) reduced the statutory residence of each of the seven primary canons to twelve weeks in the year, after the manner of the lesser residence at York. The corrodies of the seven canons were now permanently united to the prebends; but for his share in the oblations of the high altar and other daily distributions, each canon had to qualify by residence.⁶⁷

Throughout these years the work of the fabric of the nave was advancing. A new shrine was made for the body of St. John, and on 21 June 1308 Greenfield dedicated the new high altar in honour of St. John of Beverley.⁶⁸ His fee was raised by levying a tenth on each prebend.⁶⁹ Archbishop Melton, formerly provost and canon, in 1325 blamed non-residents for exacting their full shares in the daily distributions and for leaving the parochial cures attached to their prebends without sufficient vicars. He complained of the roads made on tithe by the exactions of thraves, and of the spiritual jurisdiction claimed by the chapter over their tenants and parishioners. The chapter returned clear answers to Melton's charges. The question of the thraves was reserved for further discussion; but the spiritual and temporal jurisdiction of the chapter was boldly asserted. Greenfield's ordinance as to residence was held to cover the archbishop's complaint against non-resident canons.⁷⁰

In 1329 the rectors of the deanery of Hartill protested against the encroachment made upon their tithes, owing to the inability of poor proprietors to pay both tithe and thraves. According to custom, each canon claimed one thrave of wheat, one of barley, and two of oats

from each plough; but the rectors asserted that now the canons tried to get two of wheat and two of barley in lieu of the customary four, so that the payers, in order to satisfy these demands, were forced to buy. The canons were also accused of defending recusant tithe-payers against their rectors, and of exacting thraves on an artificial assessment of the number of ploughs.⁷¹ The rectors were apparently instigated by a foreign pluralist who held the benefice of Kirk Ella.⁷² The canons acted promptly against the 'conspiracy.' Provost Huggate in 1331 made a special journey to London at the expense of the chapter,⁷³ and laid the case before the king. The dispute however, did not end till 1334, when Archbishop Melton obtained a monition from the king on behalf of the chapter.⁷⁴

A curious controversy concerned the status of the lay officers of the Bedern. In 1304 the two cooks obtained a royal mandate to stop a suit against them in the court of the chapter, by which their offices were defined as lay fees.⁷⁵ The official of the provostry supported the cooks in their defiance of the chapter, and the Bedern kitchen became for the time being a cave of Adullam, where the cooks and sanctuary-men did what they pleased, holding banquets in the hall, and burning large fires, which smoked out the vicars.⁷⁶ The dispute ended with the withdrawal of excommunication from the cooks in 1306.⁷⁷ Such quarrels tended to the relaxation of discipline in the Bedern. Notes of corrections made by the chapter show that the morality of the vicars was not above suspicion;⁷⁸ and, during the same period, the chancellor, Robert of Bytham, and William of Lincoln, one of the resident canons, became notorious for their gallantries.⁷⁹

From the death of Provost Huggate in 1338 the internal history of the church is scantily recorded, with the exception of one event. This was the quarrel of Archbishop Alexander Nevill with the canons in 1381.⁸⁰ For some time before he had endeavoured to usurp the extraordinary privileges of the chapter, interfering with the administration of probate, sitting to try causes in the chapel of the chapter altar behind the quire, and excommunicating those who did not appear.⁸¹ Nevill's claims rested solely upon the assumption that the archbishop, by virtue of his corrody, was a prebendary of the church and could exercise the chapter's jurisdiction as its head. On

⁷¹ *Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 87-9.

⁷² *Ibid.* ii, 92-3.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 99-100. His bill of expenses is preserved in the Act Book.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 109-11.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* i, 25-6.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 60-1.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 168.

⁷⁸ e.g. *ibid.* 149-50, 152.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 313-14, 94-6.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* ii, 202-65; *Arch.* lv, 1 et seq.

⁸¹ *Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 224-5.

⁶⁴ *Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 23.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 181-4.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 192-4.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 222.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* i, 170-1.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 218-19.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* ii, 56-9.

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2 March 1380-1 he gave notice of a visitation of the chapter.⁸² The canons appealed and claimed the protection of the Curia.⁸³ On 27 March only the precentor, a *beresfellarius*, and a chantry priest appeared at the visitation to make their obedience.⁸⁴ Two days later the vicars were present, but refused to submit to visitation, on the ground that they were afraid of their principals, the canons, and then went out laughing.⁸⁵ Their determined contumacy is one of the leading features of the business. The chantry priests and *beresfellarii* were more amenable, and three of the canons eventually obeyed the summons.⁸⁶ A writ of *venire facias* from the king⁸⁷ was disregarded by Nevill, who excommunicated the vicars⁸⁸ and his two chief foes among the canons, Richard of Ravenser and John of Wellingborough.⁸⁹ His violence was checked by a further royal mandate,⁹⁰ but he was still able to keep his opponents out of their canonries.⁹¹ The vicars were maintained at Lincoln during their exile by Ravenser, who was Archdeacon of Lincoln.⁹² Nevill fell into disgrace a few years later, and early in 1388 a royal commission was appointed to restore five vicars, one *beresfellarius*, and the chaplain of Queen Isabel's chantry to their benefices.⁹³

Nevill made a serious effort to enforce regular residence upon the canons. His decrees provided for the reform of the common life in the Bedern, and abrogated Greenfield's ordinance in favour of the stricter constitution of Romanus.⁹⁴ The statutes of Archbishop Arundel in 1391 settled the conditions by which the church was governed until its suppression.⁹⁵ Detailed instructions are given as to the order of stalls in quire, the presentation and admission of members of the foundation, and sums of money to be paid yearly out of the provostry. The archbishop was recognized as a genuine canon and prebendary, and as president of the chapter when resident. No order was taken for the residence of the canons; but the three 'officers,' the *beresfellarii*, vicars, and chantry priests were directed to be constantly at their posts, and to take part in the quire services. The corrodies of the canons, including the archbishop, were settled at annual payments of £10 a year each; the corrody of the chancellor was raised to a like amount. Extra payments out of the Bedern, over and above those decreed by the statutes, were cancelled; and, in order to avoid any excess of expenditure over revenue, the offices of goldsmith

and master mason were terminated by the death of their existing holders, and the care of the shrines and fabric thenceforward committed to the chapter.

Arundel's assertion of the presidential status of the archbishop was probably regarded as a dead letter. The Provost's Book, drawn up in his time, expressly calls the provost Robert of Manfield, who was senior canon and prebendary, the president of the chapter.⁹⁶ Manfield appears to have been concerned in Archbishop Scrope's rebellion, for in February 1407-8 he received a royal pardon.⁹⁷ His enemies in the provostry translated his letters of pardon into English, and fixed copies to the doors of the inns of Beverley, pretending that they were his letters of orders. Headed by one of the governors of the town and other municipal authorities, the commons of Beverley attacked the provost's house.⁹⁸ How the matter ended is uncertain; but in 1417 Simon Russell describes the chapter as in a flourishing state, the provost being at peace with all the canons and ministers, and all in full receipt of their corrodies and other payments, so that probably the external strife was over.⁹⁹ A difficulty arose between Provost Robert Nevill and King Henry VI with regard to the corrody of the butler of the Bedern, which the Crown claimed on a vacancy. This was settled after Robert Rolleston had succeeded to the provostship in 1427;¹⁰⁰ and meanwhile, on 13 March 1427-8, Rolleston obtained from the king Letters Patent which confirmed all the rights granted by previous charters to the provost and chapter.¹

Rolleston seems to have been the last provost who was commonly resident at Beverley. The last two provosts before the suppression of the college were Thomas Wynter, a natural son of Wolsey, and Reynold Lee, a relation of Archbishop Lee. Neither at his appointment was of an age to take priest's orders;² but this necessary condition was overlooked. At the time of the second Chantries Act, under which the college was suppressed, Reynold Lee is described as "temporall man," i.e. administrator of its temporalities.³

In the Valor of 1535⁴ the revenues of the provostship were reckoned at £109 8s. 8½d. net. The corrodies of the canons were £7 14s. each. Other sources of revenue, principally derived from thraves, brought the prebends up to amounts which varied from £48 16s. 1d. to £31 8s. 4d.

⁸² *Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 202-4.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 208 seq.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 233-4.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 242-3.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 248.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* pp. lxxviii, lxxix.

⁸⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1385-9, p. 465.

⁸⁹ *Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 249-54.

⁹⁰ See note 36 above.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 232.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 234 seq.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 239-40, 244-5.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 263-5.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p. lxxx.

⁹⁶ *Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 306.

⁹⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1405-8, p. 407.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 408.

⁹⁹ *Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 307.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 336-8.

¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1422-9, pp. 490-1.

² *Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, pp. xc, xcix.

³ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 524.

⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 130 et seq.

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The richest was that of St. Andrew's altar; then followed the altars of St. James, St. Peter, St. Stephen, St. Martin, St. Mary, and St. Michael. St. Katherine's, the eighth prebend, was taxed on a revenue of £10 18s. 4d. The previous taxation of 1291⁵ had found St. Martin's the richest prebend, with £45. The next was St. Andrew's, with £27, to which followed St. James's (£26), St. Peter's and St. Stephen's (each £25), St. Michael's (£17), St. Mary's (£16), and St. Katherine's (£6 13s. 4d.). The corrody of the eighth prebend in 1291 was equal to the several corrodiess of the chancellor, precentor, and goldsmith; the sacrist received £12 yearly. In 1535 the chancellor had £13 16s., and the precentor £13 9s. 4d.; the sacrist is not mentioned. Each *beresfellarius* in 1534-5 had £6 13s. 4d., each vicar choral £8. When the Chantry Certificates were taken in 1548, two prebends, St. Andrew's and St. Michael's, had fallen into lay hands. St. Peter's was now the richest stall, with £42 6s. 7d.; St. Stephen's, St. James's, St. Mary's, and St. Martin's followed. The archbishop's stall (St. Leonard's) produced an income of £11 6s. 8d., and St. Katherine's of £10 12s. 10d. The sacrist's office was worth £24 9s. 8d., only about £4 less than St. Martin's prebend. The chantery was reckoned at £13 2s. 4½d., and the chantership at £12 8s. 8½d. The total incomes of the *beresfellarii* and vicars give a higher dividend than that supplied by the Valor.⁶

After the suppression of the college one of the vicars choral was appointed vicar of the parish, with three assistant curates chosen from among the inferior clergy of the church.⁷ The grammar-school was continued under a head master, the stipend of the second master being supplied from the funds of St. William's Chantry.⁸ The lands of the church came into the hands of various grantees of the Crown. Edward VI in 1552, and Queen Elizabeth in 1578, made large grants out of the former possessions to the Corporation of Beverley, who were constituted patrons of the church and trustees of the fabric, and continued to present to the vicarage until the passing of the Municipal Reform Act.⁹ The patronage was then vested in the archbishop until the purchase of the advowson of the vicarage by the trustees of the Rev. Charles Simeon.

The 13th-century seal¹⁰ for citations is a vesica, 3¼ in. by 2 in., having St. John seated and holding a book, and blessing. The fragment of the legend that remains reads

. EVERL' AD CITATIONES

⁵ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 302.

⁶ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 526 et seq.

⁷ *Chapter Act Bk.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, pp. ci, cii.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. ciii, civ.

⁹ *Ibid.* pp. cvi, cvii; Lawton, *Coll. Rerum Eccl.* 319, 323.

¹⁰ *Car. of Seals*, B.M. 2636, lxxiv, 20.

The 15th-century seal¹¹ of the vicars choral is a vesica, 2⅝ in. by 1⅝ in., showing an altar with chalice and candles upon it, and a sanctuary lamp above. All that remains of the broken legend is

. . GILL' COM' VICARIOR . . . CL'IE . . . BEV . . .

196. COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF HEMINGBROUGH

The church of St. Mary of Hemingbrough was given by the Conqueror to the Prior and convent of Durham. It was a richly endowed rectory,¹² and in 1426, on 26 October, a licence was obtained from Henry VI for the conversion of the church into a college,¹³ and in the following month Archbishop Kemp made an ordination to that effect. The college staff was to consist of a provost or *custos*, three prebendaries, six vicars, and six clerks.¹⁴ The Dean and Chapter of York gave their consent to this ordination on 19 May 1427, but on condition that the provost and collegiate body observed the terms of Archbishop Thoresby's charter of 1356, which, among other things, provided that out of the revenue of the church the annual sum of £1 13s. 4d. was to be paid to the York Chapter, and also a sum of £3 6s. 8d. to the Archbishop of York and his successors.¹⁵

The provost, according to the ordination, was to be in priest's orders and already a canon of Hemingbrough before his election to the headship. He was to exercise the cure of souls in the parish, and he was primarily responsible for the college finance. The church's income was to be paid to him, and he was to pay the stipends of the canons, vicars, clerks, and others connected with the church, his own personal stipend being £26 13s. 4d. a year. For the greater part of the year he was to be in residence,¹⁶ but by an ordination made 20 March 1479 by Archbishop Lawrence Booth he was compelled to reside only thirteen weeks in the year. The rectory-house with its land and the vicars' house were confirmed to him under this ordination, and also the sole administration of the spiritual and temporal matters of the college.¹⁷

The canons were to be residentiaries, either 'continually or by turns,' their period of residence being thirteen weeks each. As his stipend each was to have 10 marks a year, payable quarterly *nomine prebendae*, and 10 marks payable at the end

¹¹ *Ibid.* 2637, lxxiv, 23.

¹² In the Pope Nicholas Taxation it was valued at £110 a year. Lawton, *Coll. Rerum Eccl.* 442.

¹³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iii, 98.

¹⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 30.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Thoresby, fol. 280.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Kemp, fol. 30.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* L. Booth, fol. 128.

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of the year *nomine residentiae*; ¹⁸ but by the later archiepiscopal enactment of 1479 the payment to each canon was to be £2 13s. 4d. a year for the *corpus* of his prebend. ¹⁹

Of the six vicars two were to be the chantry priests of Cliff ²⁰ and Wasse, ²¹ two foundations then existing in the church. These chaplains were to be present at masses and other hours, and robe like the other vicars, their stipends arising from their chantries to be augmented by a sum of 2 marks per quarter payable by the provost. The remaining four vicars were to have, under the provost, the charge of the parish, and each to receive 10 marks quarterly. They were to be 'hebdomadaries according to the order of their turn.' ²² The vicars were to have, by the 1479 ordination, a moiety of the faggots cut yearly in the parish. ²³

Of the clerks, also six in number, four 'clerks of the second form' were to be chosen by the provost, by whom also they were to be removable at pleasure; and each was to have £2 a year as stipend. Two other clerks, *aquae bajuli*, were to be nominated by the parishioners, by whom presumably they were to be paid, but, if so, their stipends were to be increased by a yearly payment from the provost of 1 mark each 'to make them more diligent in their divine ministrations.' ²⁴

At the suppression William Whitehead, the provost, received a pension of £13 14s. 6d. ²⁵ and smaller sums were assigned to the other members of the college.

The provost, two of the prebendaries (Westwray and Todd), and the three pensioned vicars were living in 1553 and still enjoying their pensions.

PROVOSTS OF HEMINGBROUGH ²⁶

John Rudbur (or Radburn), inst. 1427
 John Harpour, inst. 1428
 John Wythers, inst. 1429
 Thomas Caudell, inst. 1440
 Thomas Portington, inst. 1457
 Lionel Wydvile, inst. 1471
 James Preston, S.T.P., inst. 1475
 Thomas Babthorpe, A.M., inst. 1480
 Robert Marshal, inst. 1517 ²⁷
 William Whitehead, inst. 1531

¹⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 30.

¹⁹ Ibid. L. Booth, fol. 128.

²⁰ A chantry for the soul of Henry Cliff, canon of York, was founded in this church about 1345. Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 446.

²¹ The chantry of Wasse was founded by Robert de Marisco, rector 1217-58: *Hist. of Hemingbrough*, 88.

²² York Archiepis. Reg. Kemp, fol. 30.

²³ Ibid. L. Booth, fol. 128.

²⁴ Ibid. Kemp, fol. 30.

²⁵ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 443.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Occurs 1515: *Hist. of Hemingbrough*, 73.

The 14th-century seal ²⁸ is a vesica, 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $\frac{7}{8}$ in., with a design of a canon seated in a chair holding a rod over a kneeling figure. The legend is:

† s' CAPITVLI D' HEMIÖBVRC

The matrix is said to have been given in 1826 by Mr. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A., to the Yorks. Philosophical Society, but they have now only a wax impression of it. ²⁹

197. COLLEGE OF ACASTER

The college at Acaster was founded during the reign of Edward IV. ¹ Tanner in the *Notitia* gives a reference to an Act of Parliament of the reign of Richard III (1483-5) which tells of the size of the college estate: '40 acres of land in Nether Acaster in Yorkshire,' on a part of which 'their college was built,' the 40 acres 'to be enjoyed by the provost and fellows.' ² This land, it appears, belonged to John Stillington, ³ whose son Robert, either with the consent of his father or after he had inherited the property, erected and endowed the college.

Robert, the founder, in 1466 was elevated to the bishopric of Bath and Wells, and the year after his consecration he was made Lord Chancellor. He took part in the rebellion of Lambert Simnel, and when that imposture came to nothing was committed as a prisoner to Windsor Castle, where he died in May 1491. ⁴

The college of Acaster which Stillington had founded was dedicated to the honour of St. Andrew. ⁵ It was founded for a provost and three priests or fellows, ⁶ one of whom was to be a schoolmaster. ⁷ So says the Chantry Certificate, but as a fact all three fellows were schoolmasters. ⁸

The provost and the three fellows in priests' orders were to pray 'for the souls of King Edward IV, his wife the Queen, his son the Prince, the Founder, and all Christian souls.' ⁹

The endowments of the college were valued in 1535 at £33 10s. 4d. gross and £27 13s. 4d.

²⁸ *Cat. of Seals*, B.M. 3265, lxxiv, 56.

²⁹ York. Mus. case E iii, K. vi.

¹ 'About 1470' (A. F. Leach, *Early Yorks. Sch.* ii, p. v). Speed gives dedication as St. Mary and St. John Baptist, and foundation by Robert of Leicester.

² Tanner, *op. cit.* 690.

³ *Parl. R.* vi, 256. Mr. Leach says he was 'of York' and owned the manor of Acaster (*op. cit.* ii, p. xxi).

⁴ *Angl. Sacra*, i, 575.

⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* viii, 1473. Probably so dedicated because of the dedication of Wells Cathedral (Leach, *op. cit.* p. xxvii).

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 240.

⁸ Leach, *Yorks. Sch.* ii, 89, 90, quoting from *Parl. R.* v, 256; *V.C.H. Yorks.* i, 453.

⁹ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* 1546 (Surt. Soc.), 240.

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net per annum.¹⁰ In 1546 the valuation was put down as £35 12s. 11½d., the various items making up the sum being minutely particularized.¹¹ In the survey of 1548 the college 'goods' were assessed at 17s. 4d. and the 'plate' as being 19 oz. 'parcell gylte.' The previous survey of 1546 had given the 'goods' as being of the value of £1 17s. 5d. and the 'plate' £4 7s. 7d.

The commissioners recommended that the school should be continued, and that the schoolmaster, William Gegoltson, should remain in the dual capacity of master and curate, his salary being fixed at £8 per annum.¹² The reason for Gegoltson's retention as an assistant parish priest was that the college was distant from the parish church (Stillingfleet) one mile, that in Acaster there were 200 houseling people, and that 'the ryver of Owse, which is a great stream,' ran 'betwixt the said College and the Parish Church and in that place without a bridge.'

In the former survey an imperfect and, in parts, illegible memorandum is appended, showing that a chantry had been founded and endowed at the college by Sir William Maleverer, apparently in March, 1520-1.

At the suppression William Alcocke was provost, a man of the age of sixty-seven. He was 'indifferently learned,' and enjoyed a stipend of £10 a year with 'no other living.' The three fellows were William Barton, John Rawdon, and William Gegoltson the schoolmaster. Barton was sixty-three years of age, and Rawdon forty-nine, their stipends being at the rate of £6 a year each, and neither of them possessed any other preferment. Gegoltson was thirty-eight; his income was £5 a year, and he also was no pluralist. He was 'indifferently learned,' but was still carrying on his work in 1571.¹³

198. COLLEGE OF HOWDEN

The church of St. Peter¹ at Howden was given at the Conquest to the Prior and convent of Durham.² In the year 1265 the living was valued at 275 marks,³ and the Prior of Durham⁴ made an attempt to convert the rectory into a religious community of sixteen monks. This was not effected, however, but on 11 March

¹⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 20.

¹¹ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 240-2.

¹² *Ibid.* ii, p. x.

¹³ Leach, *op. cit.* ii, 100.

¹ The old ascription was St. Peter and St. Paul. Murray is certainly in error in calling it St. Cuthbert's (*Yorks. Handbk.* 114), and equally without foundation is the dedication 'St. John' (Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 31). There was a 'St. John's' prebend and a 'St. Cuthbert's' chantry in the church.

² Lawton, *Coll. Rerum Eccl.* 345.

³ Hutchinson, *Guide to Howden*, quoting Stowe MS. in Brit. Mus.

⁴ Hugh de Darlington, 1258-72.

1267, because the parish was wide and large, and the revenues sufficient to maintain 'many spiritual men,'⁵ Archbishop Giffard, with the consent of the Prior and convent of Durham, and at the petition of the Dean and Chapter of York, made the church collegiate.⁶ He ordained that there should be five prebendaries, each of whom was to provide at his own cost a priest-vicar. These prebendaries were to have the cure of souls, which they were to administer by their respective priests, who were to dress in canonical habit like the York priests, and observe the same method of singing which obtained at York, except matins, which they were to say in the morning for the parish.⁷ One of these prebendal priests was to be *rector chori*. The three chantry priests of St. Thomas, St. Mary, and St. Katharine, were also to be present at the hours, processions, and high mass; and other altars were in no case to be assigned to the prebendal vicars, lest the number of priests present at the college services should be diminished; they were rather to be augmented.⁸ Each chantry priest was to have one mark yearly in addition to the stipend he received as cantarist.

This establishment of a college would naturally mean loss to the Durham monastery; and compensation was given to the prior and convent from lands belonging to Howden.

The remainder of the Howden possessions were to form a common fund which was to be equally divided among the canons. The canons were to be residentiary, the period of residence being three months yearly, either continuously or at several times. The patronage of the prebends was to belong to the priory of Durham, the canons to be instituted and inducted by the archbishops, or to be presented to the dean and chapter during a vacancy of the archiepiscopal see. The area of the churchyard was to be divided among the canons in equal portions for their residence, and the houses then existing were to be converted for the use of the quire.

The five prebends had territorial names assigned to them—Howden, Barnby, Thorpe, Skelton (or Laxton), and Saltmarshe; and, in order that no disputes as to precedence might arise, Archbishop Giffard also ordained that in the quire and processions the following order should be observed: on the south side (1) the prebendary of Howden, called the first prebend, was to have the first place; (2) Thorpe, the third prebend, was to come next; (3) Saltmarshe, the fifth prebend, followed; and (4) the cantarist of St. Thomas's altar. On the north side (1) the prebendary of Barnby, the second, was to have the first place; (2) Skelton *alias* Laxton, the fourth prebend, came next; (3) the priest of the altar of St. Mary followed; and (4) the priest of

⁵ Torre's MS. fol. 1077.

⁶ Lawton, *Coll. Rerum Eccl.* 345.

⁷ Torre's MS. fol. 1077.

⁸ *Ibid.*

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199. KIRKBY OVERBLOW

the altar of St. Katharine came last.⁹ A sixth prebend was created later, on 29 January 1279—that of Skipwith. Its holder with his priest would occupy the fifth place on either side in quire and processions.

No provost or warden was appointed, but the prebendary of Howden was named the first, and was 'freed from the cure of souls and made a simple and pure prebend only.' This would seem to imply that he was intended to be regarded as the 'head.' For his maintenance there was assigned the tithe of hay, wool, and lambs of the towns of Howden, Knedlington, and Barnhill. The other prebends were all endowed with assignments of tithes from the districts from which they took their titles. These arrangements were precise and elaborate, but they evidently did not work perfectly as far as the parish was concerned, and on 2 February 1319 Archbishop Melton ordained a perpetual vicarage of Howden, the incumbent to have the cure of souls which were 'impudent' on the prebend of Howden. His stipend was to be 10 marks a year.¹⁰

In addition to the three chantries already mentioned, a fourth was founded at the altar of St. Cuthbert in the year 1405 to be in the patronage, unlike the others, 'of the Chapter of the Church of Howden.' There was also a fifth chantry at the altar of St. Andrew.¹¹

About the middle of the 14th century there appears to have been disturbance with the priory authorities at Durham with reference to the appointments to prebends. The king had made several presentations to various stalls, and the priory disputed the legality of the appointments, prosecuting appeals at Rome.¹² The quarrel in the end was settled by the archbishop, whose judgement was confirmed afterwards by the king.¹³

In 1535 the value of the college is given as £96 8s. 10½d. gross, and net £61 2s. 10½d.¹⁴

The collegiate church was not touched at the dissolution of the monasteries, but it fell at the suppression of the chantries, and a certificate of the house by John Bellow, the king's surveyor in the East Riding, temp. Edward VI, gives the names and ages of the various prebendaries, vicars, and chantry priests, the value of the prebends and the pensions assigned to their holders, as well as any cures to which they were then appointed.¹⁵

The 13th-century seal¹⁶ is a vesica, with a design of St. Peter seated, blessing and holding a book. The legend is:—

S' COMMVNE CANONIC . . . ECCL' E D' HOVEDENE

⁹ Torre's MS. fol. 1078.

¹⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 482.

¹¹ Torre's MS. fol. 1093.

¹² Pat. 17 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 35; 18 Edw. III, pt. ii, m. 48d. 35, 27; 19 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 28.

¹³ Ibid. 19 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 24.

¹⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 136-8.

¹⁵ Chant. Cert. 119.

¹⁶ *Cat. of Seals*, B.M. 3299, lxxiv, 59.

The church of All Saints, Kirkby Overblow, in 1362 was made collegiate. Henry, Lord Percy, had just died, and his executors, Sir Richard Tempest and William de Newport, rector of Spofforth, on 5 November asked that the church should be converted into a college. Two days later the rector of Kirkby joined in the petition, and, licence having been already obtained from the king, Archbishop Thoresby made an ordination to that effect.¹

The existing rector, Robert de Ede, and his successors were ever afterwards to be called provosts. They were still to exercise the cure of souls in the parish, to have the full government of the church, to administer its finance, and bear all burdens incumbent upon the church. In addition to the provost there were to be four chaplains; but, whilst the ordination provided that they were to 'celebrate masses and other divine offices for ever' therein, their sphere of work was principally to be elsewhere. One of them was to be a 'parson' in the cathedral church of York, where he was to celebrate for the souls of the archbishop and of Henry de Percy, Mary his wife, their progenitors and successors. The three other chaplains were also to have their altars away from Kirkby. The founders of the college were buried in the monastery of Alnwick, near the castle. In the castle chapel the three chaplains were to celebrate their masses, &c., perpetually. The patronage was to be in the hands of the two executors, and afterwards was to be exercised by the heirs of one of them,² William de Newport, the cantarists to be canonically instituted by the Archbishops of York.

The ordination of Archbishop Thoresby was exceptionally detailed with reference to the services to be performed, each day of the week having its allotted masses and prayers. On Sundays one of the chaplains was to celebrate the office of the dead, the second the mass of the Holy Trinity, the third for the souls of the two founders. On Mondays one was to say mass for the dead, the second the mass of the Holy Angels, the third the founders' mass. On Tuesdays all three were to celebrate for the souls of the founders. On Wednesdays one was to say mass for the dead, the second the mass of St. John the Evangelist, the third the founders' mass. On Thursdays one was to celebrate the office of the dead, the second the mass of Corpus Christi, the third for the founders' souls. On Fridays one was to say mass for the dead, the second the mass

¹ Thoresby, in *Vicaria Leodiensis*, 193, gives the date of the ordination erroneously as 10 Nov. 1364. It was in 1362.

² See Torre's MS., however, where the patrons are the Percys, Earls of Northumberland (York, pt. ii, fol. 182).

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of the Holy Cross, the third for the founders. On Saturdays one was to celebrate for the departed, the second to say the mass of St. Mary the Virgin, the third the founders' mass. So the services were to go on from day to day, regularly and uninterruptedly, unless the chaplains were hindered by any lawful cause or by the feasts of the nine lections. On all festivals they were to say for the souls of the founders *Placebo*, *Dirige*, and other offices of the dead.³

For their stipends these chaplains were to have £40 a year, that is to say each of them was to be paid £2 10s. quarterly, out of the revenues of the church of Kirkby Overblow, by the provost.⁴

As was usual in the case of a parish church becoming collegiate, recompense was made to the cathedral church for any damage it might have suffered through the appropriation. In this instance an annual pension of £1 was to be paid by the provost to the archbishop, and another of 10s. to the dean and chapter.

The rector, now dignified by the title 'provost,' went on working afterwards practically as before as parochial rector, assisted by a priest who had to minister in the chapel-of-ease at Stainburn, 3 miles distant from the parish church.⁵ After he had paid the various stipends, £20 to the chaplains, £1 10s. to the cathedral, £3 6s. 8d. to the priest-in-charge at Stainburn, and other charges amounting to 11s. 6d., £20 was left for his own stipend.⁶

At what period the rector became responsible for the chapel at Stainburn is not known, but in the Chantry Survey of 1548 the chapel is said to have been 'used tyme out of mynde as paryshe church for th' ease of th' inhabitants of Stayneburne.'⁷ The 1546 survey gives an account of the chantry of our Lady in York Minster, 'of the fundacion of Henry Percy, Erle of Northumberland, and Mary his wyffe,' but in the Surtees Society's volume⁸ there is an unfortunate note as to the identity of this earl which is very misleading.⁹ In 1546 John Aske was incumbent of the chantry, of which the goods were valued at 15s. 10d. and the plate at £1 19s. The chantry itself was valued at £5 yearly, coming out of the parsonage of Kirkby Overblow, and 7s. from a tenement in Imbergate.

The chantry of our Lady was in existence, it seems, before 1362, and was simply refounded at

³ Torre's MS. (York, pt. ii), fol. 181.

⁴ The figures are indistinct in Torre's MS. Those here given are supplied by Speight in his book on Kirkby Overblow. But they seem excessive when the total income of the church is taken into account. Moreover they are *double* the amounts given in the Valor and the Chantry Survey.

⁵ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 398.

⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 37.

⁷ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* loc. cit.

⁸ *Ibid.* 21.

⁹ See Torre's MS. (York, pt. ii), fol. 181.

that time by the executors of the originators of the collegiate church of Kirkby.¹⁰

PROVOSTS¹¹

Robert Ede, instituted rector 1 Mar. 1361, became first provost 1362¹²

Peter de Wellom, instituted 15 Dec. 1362

William de Woderove, instituted 10 Feb. 1364

Robert de Spytell, instituted 10 Mar. 1364

Thomas de Walton, instituted 7 Oct. 1373¹³

Roger de Waldeby, instituted 16 Dec. 1374¹⁴

Thomas Sparrowe of Watton, instituted 21 Dec. 1382

William Sparrowe of Watton, instituted 17 Jan. 1383

Thomas de Anlaby, instituted 8 June 1387

John Whitwell, instituted 24 July 1394

William Farman, instituted 17 Apr. 1397

John Nesse, instituted 9 Oct. 1428

Robert Staynley, instituted 24 Nov. 1428

John Dene, instituted 19 May 1442

William Bowre, instituted 3 Jan. 1451

Nicholas Rawdon, instituted Mar. 1462¹⁵

Richard Nunde, instituted 4 Mar. 1466¹⁶

George Oughtred, instituted 17 May 1475¹⁷

Thomas Poole, instituted 24 Sept. 1496¹⁸

Thomas Lakyn, S.T.P., instituted vicar 20 Dec. 1573¹⁹

200. THE HOSPITAL OR COLLEGIATE CHAPEL OF LAZENBY¹

On 19 February 1290 a collegiate establishment was founded at Lazenby, in the parish of Northallerton, for a master and six chaplains, by John de Lythegranes and Alice his wife. Lawton identifies this place with the Lazenby in the parish of Wilton,² but its chapel is called in the 1546 survey 'the Chapell of Lasynbye in the saide paroch of Northalverton.'

¹⁰ *Fabric R. of York Minster* (Surt. Soc.), 295.

¹¹ Torre's MS. (York, pt. ii), fol. 181.

¹² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1199. Ede and the next three provosts are said by Torre to have been appointed by Ric. Tempest, mil.

¹³ Appointed by the 'Attorney of Hen. Percy.'

¹⁴ Waldeby and the nine following provosts were presented by 'Henry Percy, mil.'

¹⁵ Presented by George, Duke of Clarence.

¹⁶ Presented by George, Duke of Clarence.

¹⁷ Presented by Henry, Earl of Northumberland.

¹⁸ Presented by the feoffees of Henry, Earl of Northumberland.

¹⁹ Lakyn was said to have succeeded Richard Poole (Speight, *Kirkby Overblow*, 56). Possibly this Richard Poole was the last provost and first post-suppression vicar.

¹ It is usually referred to in records as the *hospital* of Lazenby, but it seems to have been rather a collegiate chapel than a true hospital.

² Lawton, *Religious Houses*, 108.

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It was founded for the celebration of masses and other divine services for the souls of the founders and all Christian people, dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin, and endowed with the whole manor of Lazenby.

Whether the original intention was ever fully carried out is not known. It probably was attempted, but in the course of years the endowment was found to be inadequate. At all events, on 7 November 1443 it was declared that, whereas John de Lythegranes and Alice his wife built a chapel, and purposed to found a chantry of six chaplains in the manor of Lazenby, and endow the same with the manor and the property, they were unable, through death, to carry out the scheme.³ The implication of this statement must be that their intentions were not fully realized, and, as the issues of the manor were insufficient for the purpose, the king granted licence to Robert Nevill, Bishop of Durham, and Nicholas Hulme, to assign the manor to the abbey of Jervaulx, the said monastery to supply two chaplains to perform service in the said chapel. Nicholas Hulme had been appointed to the mastership on 9 April 1425,⁴ and was probably still master in 1443, and the effect of this new licence would seem to have been that the chapel lost its collegiate character, and became a simple chantry chapel for two priests supplied from the abbey of Jervaulx. No master, at all events, is heard of after Nicholas Hulme.

The patronage of the college evidently belonged to the see of Durham, for we find that Richard de Clyfford was appointed by the king in 1382, receiving the mastership at his nomination because the temporalities of the see of Durham were in his hands 'through voidance.'⁵

Pope Urban VI reserved to himself all benefices of papal chaplains,⁶ but when he was succeeded, 2 November 1389, by Boniface IX,⁷ it was found that the 'Chapel of S. Mary, Lasynby, in the diocese of York,' which had become vacant through the death of John Moubray, papal chaplain, had not been filled. Pope Boniface therefore claimed the right of presentation, and on 14 February 1390 Roger Whyte was provided with the said wardenship, value 20 marks, notwithstanding the fact that he already had the vicarage of Middleton of the same value, and that Pope Boniface had already made provision for him of canonries, with the expectation of prebends of St. John's, Beverley, and St. Mary's, Southwell.⁸ Whyte's tenure of Lazenby was not, however, a long one, for Thomas Haxey

was appointed to the mastership 25 October 1391.⁹ In 1425 Thomas Haxey, the master, died and in his will he left to the chapel of Lazenby a sum of £10 'for repairs.'¹⁰ Nicholas Hulme already referred to, was Haxey's successor. He was collated to the mastership immediately after Haxey's death, and a brass in Greatham Hospital, co. Durham, commemorates his life and work.¹¹

After 1443 there were simply two chantry priests at Lazenby. In 1535 they had as their stipends £9 6s. 8d.,¹² the same amount mentioned in the 1546 survey, where the heading appears as 'The Chaunterie of the two Prestes in the chapel of Lasynbye.'¹³ The two priests at that time were John Wylde and Richard Woodehall. The chapel is described as being 2 miles from the parish church, the goods valued at 14s., and the plate at £1 8s.¹⁴ In the 1548 certificate Wilde is said to have been sixty years of age and Woodehall fifty,¹⁵ of 'good qualities and condicions' but of 'meane lerenyng,' their joint stipends 'goinge furth of the possessions of the late monastery of Jarvaux' being £9 6s. 8d., the outgoing being 18s. 8d., and the clear income, therefore, eight guineas.

MASTERS

- Geoffrey, occurs 1294¹⁶
 John de Eboraco, occurs 1316¹⁷
 John de Sleghte, or Slight, occurs 1316,¹⁸
 1318¹⁹
 Richard de Wellinton, occurs 1361²⁰
 Richard de Clyfford, appointed 1382²¹
 Henry Godebarn, occurs 1384²²
 John Moubray, died 1389²³
 Roger Whyte, appointed 1390²⁴
 Thomas Haxey, appointed 1391,²⁵ died
 1425²⁶
 Nicholas Hulme, appointed 1425,²⁷ occurs
 1443²⁸

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1474.

¹⁰ *Fabric R. of York Minster* (Surt. Soc.), 205.

¹¹ Longstaffe, *Darlington*, 208.

¹² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1474.

¹³ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 122.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 123.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 486.

¹⁶ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, 118.

¹⁷ Pat. 9 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 7.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 10 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 22.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 12 Edw. II, pt. i, m. 24.

²⁰ *Cal. of Papal Pet.* 384.

²¹ Pat. 6 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 13.

²² *Ibid.* 7 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 23.

²³ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 335.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1474.

²⁶ Durham Epis. Reg. Langley, fol. 125.

²⁷ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 240.

²⁸ Pat. 22 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 15.

³ Pat. 22 Hen. VI, pt. i, m. 15.

⁴ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 240.

⁵ Pat. 6 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 13.

⁶ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 334.

⁷ Stapleton, *Holy Trinity Priory*, 178 n.

⁸ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, iv, 335.

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201. LOWTHORPE COLLEGIATE CHURCH

In the early years of Edward III there appear to have been, at Lowthorpe, a number of people 'attached to the worship of the Trinity and S. Mary' who were desirous to have daily service in their church,¹ so Sir John de Heselarton, the patron, obtained royal licence on 26 January 1333 to alienate the advowson to seven chaplains who were to celebrate mass daily, as the patron should appoint.

On 25 and 27 March 1333 the patron and the rector, Robert de Alesby, placed the church at the absolute disposal of the Archbishop of York, to make whatever ordinances he should wish for the future governance of the church; and on 3 May the king confirmed the statutes which had been drawn up with the advice of the dean and chapter. These ordinances secured a regular succession of rectors who were to celebrate mass at least thrice a week and be responsible for the charges and management of the church. There were also to be six perpetual chantries bearing the names of the Holy Trinity, St. Mary, the archbishop, the chapter, the founder, the patron; and on 14 October 1364 a seventh chantry was founded.²

At the third chantry masses were to be said for the archbishops, past, present, and future, and also for Edward II. At chantry no. 4 there were to be celebrations for the deans and canons 'quick and dead' and their successors, and also for Sir William de Ros the second, 'sometime lord of Hamlak.'³ Chantries nos. 5 and 6 were founded for masses for the founder, Sir John, his wife Margery, their children, heirs, parents, and also for John de Hotham,⁴ Bishop of Ely.

In addition to the rector there were to be six perpetual priests and three clerks, two of them deacons, or at least one a deacon and the other a sub-deacon. They were to wear surplices, to say the canonical services, or at least on ferial days to say matins, high mass, and vespers, and, on the feasts of the nine lections, the hour of prime. On double feasts and Sundays they were to chant high mass and all the hours. Further ordinances were made for special masses for the dead, for the places in the quire of the priests, and for their dress.

Their clothes were to be of cloth, 'either black or the nearest shade to that colour,' or of 'cainet' not 'approximating to red or green'; they were to wear 'black surcoats' fastened and 'without *birri*,' and 'other garments fastened from the top.' They were to live in common in a house in the rectory; to bear themselves

lowly and reverently; to swear obedience to the rector, and never be absent without his permission. For their sustenance the priests had in the rectory a 'hall,' chambers, kitchen, bakehouse, brewhouse, and a loft. Turbary for sufficient peat was provided, and an annual stipend 6½ marks each. The two deacons were to have 40s. each per year, and the third clerk had live 'of the holy water'—*aqua benedicta*—pquisites, and parishioners' alms.

The church continued with such a constitution for more than two centuries, passing undisturbed through the times of the dissolution of the monasteries. Confidence in its continued existence appears to have prevailed at a time when other ecclesiastical institutions seemed insecure for on 10 June 1543 Hezekiah Clifton of Burt Agnes left 'to the Colledge of Lowthorpe, 20s. But the end came at the suppression of chantries &c., for, in August 1552, we find in an inventory of the goods belonging to 'the College of Lowthorpe in the countye of Yorke' that it is referred to as the 'said late colledge,' the corn being valued at £65 12s. 4d., 'certain cattell' £12 5s. 8d., and 'certain utensyles of husbandrye' at £83 6s. 6d.⁶

RECTORS OF LOWTHORPE⁷

Robert de Alesby, last parochial rector, instituted 26 Apr. 1331
 Thomas de Riplingham, Nov. 1333
 Robert de Alesby, 23 May 1335
 John de Killum, 9 Sept. 1349
 John de Knapton, 21 Dec. 1354
 Roger de Barton, 4 Aug. 1357
 Thomas de Lowthorp, 13 Oct. 1363
 John de Ingleby
 Robert de Bynton, 16 Dec. 1372
 Richard de Malton
 John de Westhead, 17 Mar. 1392
 John de Dyghton, 20 June 1394
 Thomas Brasse, 1 Mar. 1407
 William Blaunche, 25 Sept. 1409
 Thomas Taylor, 6 Oct. 1430
 Thomas Percebrig, 13 Dec. 1437
 John Sutton, 15 July 1439
 Richard Bramston
 John Regill, 23 July 1444
 Henry Feron, 11 Nov. 1450
 William Rowghshawe,⁸ 30 Oct. 1473
 William Warde, 23 Mar. 1486
 William Rawkeshawe, S.T.B., 2 Apr. 1490
 William Thompson, 1 Mar. 1504
 Robert Wade
 John Braynsby,⁹ 3 July 1536

¹ Pat. 7 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 9.

² Torre's MS. fol. 1018.

³ Helmsley.

⁴ The patronage was in the hands of the Hotham family for some time.

⁵ *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), vi, 174.

⁶ *Invent. of Ch. Goods, Yorks.* (Surt. Soc.), 85.

⁷ Torre's MS.; the dates are those of institution.

⁸ Appointed by four chaplains.

⁹ Appointed by Henry VIII.

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202. THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF MIDDLEHAM

The collegiate foundation at Middleham was one of the abortive schemes of Richard III while Duke of Gloucester. Letters Patent were granted by Edward IV in 1478,¹⁰ empowering the duke to found at Middleham a collegiate body to consist of a dean, six chaplains, four clerks, six choristers, and another 'clerk sacristane' for parochial ministrations. The scheme was approved by Archbishop Lawrence Booth,¹¹ and the parish church made collegiate, and exempted from the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon of Richmond. Statutes were compiled for the governance of the collegiate church, and the dean and six chaplains were appointed by the founder, but the college was not endowed, and collapsed with the fall of its founder, before it had been fairly set on foot.

The appointment of the first dean and chaplains was made by the founder, and it may be of interest in passing to call attention to the arrangement in the statutes¹² that in mass and quire offices, the uses of the cathedral church of Salisbury were to be followed and not those of York. The duke's appointment to the decanal and other stalls was as follows¹³ :—

I the said Duc statute, make, and ordeyne by th auctoritie forsaide, [the licence of Edward IV] that hereafter no maner persons by me or myne heirez, have or shal have graunt to be deane of my said Collage y'unto admitted affore he be prest, . . . and the deane to be admitted by the said sex prests, the eldest of yeme to geve hyme his othe at high altare to be true deane and master y', and observe and kep all ordinances and statutez and laudable custumes, and ye right and libertees y'of defend at his power, and y'after to say *De profundis* affore ye high altare, w' this collect *Deus cui proprium*—following the antetem *Fundatoris mei*, etc., and y'upon bring hyme to his stall and put hyme in possession of the same; and the said prests by ye deane to be admitted after the forme and othe among oy's hereafter folowing.

Also, yat the saide Sir William Beverley, dean, and his successours, have ye principall place and stall of the right side of the high quere of my said Collage, which stall I wil be called oure Lady stall; and Sir Laurence Squier forsaide, the first prest y' shalbe admitted thereto occupie the principall place and stall on the left side of the said quere, and yat stall to be called Saint George stall; and the said Sir William Symson, secund prest, in the next stall to the deane on ye said right side, and y' stall to be named Seynt Kateryn stall; and the forsaide Sir Richard Cutler, therd prest, the second stall on the saide left side, that stall to be called Saint Ninian stall; and Sir William Buntynge to for rehersid, the fourt prest, the thirde stall on the ye (*sic*) said right side, the same

to be called Seint Cuthbert stall; and Sir Hugh Leverhede above writen, ye fift prest, the third stall on the said left side, the saide stall to be called Seint Antony stall; and Sir John Bell above writyn, the sext prest, the fourt stall on the saide right side, and yat to be called Seint Barbara stall; and two of the saide clerks on the saide right side, and ye oy' two clerks and the clerk sacristane beneth yeme on the left side, at the assignacion of ye said dean; and the sex queresters yere places accordingly as ye saide deane shal assigne yeme.

(Successors to occupy and 'be always admytte by the deane to ye stall of hym beyng voide.')

Although no further appointments were made to the chaplaincies, the church continued nominally collegiate, with its dean and the 'minister for divine service' or 'clerk sacristan' till about 1830, when the dean, Dr. P. S. Wood, made appointments to the six chaplaincies, or 'canonries' as they were termed, and instituted a 'cathedral service' in the church.¹⁴ The last of these 'canons' (one of whom had been the Rev. Charles Kingsley) died in 1897. On the death of Dean Wood in 1856 the decanal office and the peculiar were both suppressed, and the incumbent has since been rector only.¹⁵ The deans had, however, exercised a peculiar jurisdiction independent in many respects of the archbishop until 1856. Marriage licences were granted, wills proved, &c., and the deans were admitted to a stall in the quire and vote in chapter by one of the neighbouring clergy by authority of a royal mandate.¹⁶

203. ST. CLEMENT'S COLLEGIATE CHAPEL, PONTEFRACT

This church of St. Clement was a free chapel royal, exempt from all episcopal and archidiaconal jurisdiction. It was situated within the castle of Pontefract and was founded by Ilbert¹ de Lacy. The college was founded for a dean and three prebendaries,² and was well endowed by the founder. The purpose of the foundation of the college was³ to 'the intent that God should be served in the said Castle, to have mass and other divine services . . . and to minister all sacraments and sacramentalls to all within the Park of Pountfrett, (and) the Bedhouse called S. Nicholas' Hospital Bulhouse.'⁴

The Pope Nicholas' Taxation⁵ in 1291 says that 'the Castle Chapel was divided into four

¹⁴ *The Antiq.* xxxiii, 162.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Athill, *The Collegiate Church of Middleham (passim)*.

¹ The Chantry Certificate misnames him Hubert (*Yorks. Chant. Surv.* [Surt. Soc.], 323).

² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1474.

³ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 323.

⁴ An evident clerical error for Bedehouse.

⁵ *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 298b.

¹⁰ Pat. 17 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 16.

¹¹ Athill, *The Collegiate Church of Middleham* (Camd. Soc.), Appendix (B), 63, &c.

¹² Printed *Arch. Journ.* xiv, 161, &c.

¹³ *Ibid.*

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prebends,⁷ and it fortunately gives particulars :—

	£	s.	d.
Prebenda Magri Jacobi de Ispannya	17	6	8
Prebenda Ade de Poterton - -	13	6	8
Prebenda filii Theobaldi de Luco -	13	6	8
Prebenda Prioris de Pontefracto -	10	0	0

The four prebends were the deanery and the three prebends of the foundation charter, for James de Ispannya was dean⁶ in 1298. The third prebend, at this time held by the Prior of Pontefract, was afterwards 'apparently entirely swallowed up by the Priory.'⁷

In 1399 the dean of this college, John Bosevyle, received a grant for life of all the land of John de Bathe, citizen and weaver of London, in the parish of St. Botolph within Aldersgate, London. Without the royal licence, Bathe had bequeathed the land to the parson of St. Botolph's for the maintenance of a chantry. It was, therefore, forfeit to the king, who presented it to the dean at Pontefract to the annual value of 7 marks, the surplus to be passed on to the king, and Bosevyle was to celebrate for the soul of John de Bathe.⁸

As has been stated, there were three prebends in the college, though the founder's charter mentions only two parsons, whose names were Ranulph Grammaticus and Godfrey.⁹ These two prebends are referred to in 26 Henry VIII, one of them consisting of the tithes in Campsall, &c., with a pension from the Prior of Nostell, and worth in all £14 16s. 4d. a year, the other consisting of tithes at Allerton, Newton, Castleford, Fryston, &c., and worth £13 8s. 8d. a year. There was also a chantry priest—the third prebendary, possibly—who received £5 a year,¹⁰ and the deanery was valued at £15 15s. 3d.

In the 1546 report of the Commissioners the deanery is assessed at £22 12s. 7d., the various items making up the amount being given in detail.¹¹ A separate return is made of the two prebends. One is called 'The Prebende or Chantrie of Ade (Adam) de Potterton,' and the other that of 'Theobalde de Luce in the saide Fre Chapell.' Richard Weston was prebendary of the former, his stipend from certain specified lands, &c., being £15 3s., the outgoings £1 9s. 7¾d., leaving a clear balance of £13 13s. 4¼d. The goods were valued at £2 11s. 6d. and the plate at £4 8s. and a note is given that 'the incumbents are not resident but by deputies.'¹² The prebendary of the

other chantry was John Stringar, whose net income was £11 18s. 5½d.¹³

Before the dissolution of the monasteries the college had been practically annexed to the priory of Pontefract, the prior being also the dean. At the dissolution the college reverted to the *status quo ante*, but was not long allowed to enjoy its recovered independence, for it was entirely suppressed as from Easter 1548 under the Chantries Act.¹⁴

DEANS

Mag. James de Ispannya, occurs 1291,¹⁵
1298¹⁶

Mag. Michael de Northburgh, appointed 21
May 1339¹⁷

John Bosevyle, occurs 1399¹⁸

Dom. Thos. Wykersley, appointed c. 1420¹⁹

Mag. John de Waynflete, appointed c. 1420²⁰

Mag. John Thornton, appointed c. 1430²¹

Mag. John Lathom, appointed c. 1440²²
occurs 1445²³

James Thwaytes, died Oct. 1545²⁴

Francys Malett, D.D., occurs 1546²⁵

204. COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ST. PETER AND ST. WILFRID, RIPON

The collegiate church of Ripon had its beginning in a monastery of monks following the Scottish rule, who received a grant of the place called Inrhypum from the Northumbrian king, Alchfrith, about the year 660.¹ This establishment, of which Eata was abbot, and Cuthbert guest-master, was granted by Alchfrith not long after its foundation to Wilfrid, and was abandoned by the Scottish monks, who were disinclined to accept the changes involved by Wilfrid's preference for Gallican customs.² During the stormy life of Wilfrid, Ripon was his favourite residence. He here raised his basilica of dressed stone, with columned arcades and aisles,³ and called together the two Northumbrian kings, with the abbots, governors, and under-kings of their realm, to its consecration in

¹³ Ibid. 325.

¹⁴ *Yorks. Sch.* ii, p. xiv.

¹⁵ Ibid. 4.

¹⁶ Ibid. p. xiv.

¹⁷ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 226.

¹⁸ Pat. 1 Hen. IV, pt. v, m. 36.

¹⁹ Boothroyd, *Pontefract*, 363.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Holmes, *Black Friars of Pontefract*, 22.

²⁴ Boothroyd, loc. cit.

²⁵ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 323.

¹ Bede, *Vita S. Cuthberti*, cap. vii (printed in *Mem. of Ripon* [Surt. Soc.], i, 2, 3).

² Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. iii, cap. 25 (*Mem. of Ripon* [Surt. Soc.], i, 3, 4).

³ Eddius, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, cap. xvi (*Mem. of Ripon* [Surt. Soc.], i, 10).

⁶ Exch. Memo. R. (L.T.R.), 25 & 26 Edw. I, m. 101 d.

⁷ *Yorks. Sch.* ii, 14.

⁸ Pat. 1 Hen. IV, pt. v, m. 36.

⁹ Fox, *Pontefract*, 288.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 323-4.

¹² Ibid. 324-5.

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honour of St. Peter.⁴ In 681, during Wilfrid's first banishment, Eadhaed was consecrated bishop with his see at Ripon. This bishopric, however, ceased with the restoration of Wilfrid in 686.⁵ Ripon and Hexham were the possessions left to Wilfrid by the decision of the synod of Nidd in 705; ⁶ and to Ripon his body was brought from Oundle four years later.⁷

Such indications as we gain of the life of Wilfrid's monastery at Ripon point to the probability that the constitution of the collegiate church in the Middle Ages was derived from it with little interruption, and that the chapter of seven canons was a gradual development from the original foundation, involving no fundamental change, apart from a slackening of the rule under which Wilfrid's community seems to have lived.⁸ As at York and Beverley, Athelstan was regarded as the great benefactor of the church and as the donor of its privilege of sanctuary, which here, as at Beverley, was valid within an area of a mile in every direction from the town.⁹ The charter of Athelstan, preserved in more than one form, bears a strong resemblance to the similar Beverley charter, and contains a similar grant of liberties 'in all thyngges . . . as free as herte may thynk or eghe may se.'¹⁰ No original copy of this charter exists, and it is probable that this and the rimed charter of Beverley were composed in the 13th century as a *memoria technica* of the privileges of the two churches.¹¹ In spite of the favour shown to Ripon by Athelstan, the harrying of Northumbria by his son Eadred about 948 was marked by the burning of the minster, in the ruins of which Wilfrid's body remained, exposed to desecration.¹²

⁴ Eddius, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, cap. xvi (*Mem. of Ripon* [Surt. Soc.], i, 10). The dedication appears to have been the usual dedication to St. Peter and St. Paul; see *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 162.

⁵ Bede, *Hist. Eccl. lib. iv*, cap. 12; Eddius, *op. cit.* cap. xlv (*Mem. of Ripon* [Surt. Soc.], ii, 14, 17).

⁶ Eddius, *op. cit.* cap. lx (*Mem. of Ripon* [Surt. Soc.], i, 19).

⁷ Authorities printed in *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 19, 20.

⁸ It is noticeable that Wilfrid, before his last journey, constituted Tatberht 'prepositus' of the 'cenobium' (Eddius, *op. cit.* cap. lxii); and it is just possible that such an office may have been an early correspondent to that of provost, which is found permanently at Beverley, and for a time at York, after the Conquest. The head of Wilfrid's 'cenobium,' however, was an abbot until the time of the Danish invasions; and no absolute identification of his monastery with the later college is possible.

⁹ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 33, 35.

¹⁰ The variants of the charter, with a facsimile, are printed *ibid.* 90 et seq.

¹¹ Mr. A. F. Leach (*Beverley Chapter Act Book* [Surt. Soc.], i, p. xxviii), characterizes the Beverley charter as 'an excellent summary of real charters.'

¹² Authorities printed in *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 36-7.

St. Oswald restored the services of the church; ¹³ but the highly probable story of his enshrinement of Wilfrid's remains was combated by the tradition that Archbishop Oda visited the deserted site about 952, and removed the relics to Canterbury.¹⁴ In 995 Ealdhun removed the body of St. Cuthbert to Ripon from Chester-le-Street, before its final translation to Durham; ¹⁵ but of the state of the church at this time nothing is said. The foundation of certain prebendal estates is ascribed to Archbishop Ealdred.¹⁶

In Domesday Book the canons are mentioned as holding 14 bovates within St. Wilfrid's league, which was equivalent to the archbishop's manor of Ripon.¹⁷ The limits of jurisdiction of the archbishop's and canons' liberties became a fruitful subject of discussion, and more than one instance occurs of encroachment upon the canons' peculiar by the sheriff and the archbishop's bailiff. In 1228 judgement was given on behalf of the canons, after a long trial in which the jurors upheld the traditional privileges of the chapter and defined the boundaries which separated the canons' from the archbishop's fee.¹⁸ A list of tenants within the soke of the chapter showed that several were enfeoffed of property by the service of providing a man to carry the shrine of St. Wilfrid in procession at Ascension-tide and other feasts. Nicholas Warde of Sawley did service by bearing the standard of St. Wilfrid in front of the shrine, and before the town-folk of Ripon in time of war.¹⁹ The right of sanctuary was shared by the canons and the archbishop, each within their liberties.²⁰

The analogies of York and Beverley, and the fact that the permanent number of canons at Ripon was seven, indicates that this was the original number of members of the chapter. The jurors of 1228 presented that, although rents from various tenements were assigned to individual canons, tenants held their property from the chapter as a whole, and no canon had

¹³ 'Vita S. Oswaldi,' *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), i, 462.

¹⁴ Authorities printed in *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 37-41, 42-4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 44-5.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* ii, 182.

¹⁷ Dom. Bk. i, fol. 303b (*Mem. of Ripon* [Surt. Soc.], i, 46-7).

¹⁸ The plea, from a roll in the Duchy of Lancaster Records, is printed in *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 51-63. The important inquisition at York in 1106 was cited as evidence on behalf of the chapter's liberties; cf. *ibid.* 34-5, and see the same document, printed from the Southwell 'Liber Albus' in *Visit. and Mem. Southwell Minster* (Camd. Soc.), 190 et seq.

¹⁹ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 61-2.

²⁰ The chapter's rights of sanctuary are defined *ibid.* i, 51-2; the archbishop's rights in *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 221; see *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 70-1.

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separate soke in the lands on which his revenue was charged.²¹ The constitution of the chapter was thus a compromise between that of the chapters of Beverley and York. As at Beverley, no canon had a jurisdiction distinct from that of the chapter; while, as at York, each canon had a prebend derived from an assignation of definitely localized property, from which his stall obtained its name. This arrangement, which was probably traditional, explains the absence from Ripon of a provost,²² whose duty was the oversight of the common property. The bulk of the chapter possessions lay within the large parish of Ripon, of which the Minster was the parish church; and six of the prebends, of which the definite names begin to appear towards the close of the 13th century,²³ were called after berewicks of the manor of Ripon, or other places within the soke—Thorpe (Littlethorpe), Monkton, Givendale and Skelton, Nunwick, Studley Magna, and Sharow. The seventh prebend was endowed by Archbishop Gray in 1230 with the church of Stanwick St. John in Richmondshire. The prebendary of Stanwick was appointed ruler of the quire in Ripon, with the duty of perpetual residence.²⁴ His vicar naturally resided at Stanwick. The remaining six prebendaries had their vicars in the church of Ripon, who were charged with the cure of souls in the district of the parish attached to each prebend.²⁵ Vicars, however, were not instituted until 1303. Until that time the canons, who, after the usual manner of canons of secular chapters, were seldom resident, had been content to serve their cures by ‘conducts’ who undertook their duties, at Stanwick and Ripon, for a small yearly payment.²⁶ The citations of Archbishops Romanus and Corbridge were disregarded by the non-residents.²⁷ Cor-

bridge succeeded in obtaining the appointment of vicars by a decree of 23 October 1303. The six vicars at Ripon were to be paid stipends of 6 marks a year each, and were to have a common house, which became known by the name of the Bedern, as at York and Beverley.²⁸ The vicars were in existence by 29 May 1304, when Nicholas of Bondgate granted them two messuages on which to build their dwelling-house.²⁹

Archbishop Greenfield proceeded, on the lines followed by Corbridge, to make the canons more sensible of their responsibility. Corbridge had forbidden the indiscriminate farming-out of prebends,³⁰ and in 1307 Greenfield sequestrated three of the prebends which had been let out to farm.³¹ After a visitation in 1308 he found it necessary to forbid buying and selling within the church,³² and to order the vicars to dwell in the Bedern.³³ In 1311 the prebend of Thorpe was sequestrated; its holder, an Italian, was said to have obtained it surreptitiously, and to be a married man. The sequestration had the desired effect of compelling the prebendary to look after his dilapidations.³⁴ Vicars and chantry priests gave the archbishop some trouble. Some of them were accused of going to dances and theatrical spectacles with lay-folk; others were suspected of being night-walkers, house-breakers, and incontinent.³⁵ Of this second class was William ‘Pistor,’ a chantry priest, who was defamed for incontinency with Clemence daughter of John called ‘Preestes,’ and was the ringleader in a gambling game called ‘Dyngethriftes.’ William fled from Ripon before Greenfield’s visitation in 1312, and went to live at Aysgarth: the duty of discovering and correcting him was deputed to the Archdeacon of Richmond.³⁶ In 1315 Greenfield attacked the question of non-residence. None of the canons, other than the prebendary of Stanwick, were bound by any statutory conditions of residence; nor was there any inducement to reside in the shape of an extra share in the common fund. Greenfield took preparatory steps towards a remedy of this defect;³⁷ but it was left for his successor, Melton, to take the matter firmly in hand. A visitation of the chapter, held some time before 6 February 1331–2, was so poorly attended that Melton could take no action, and

²¹ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 63.

²² See note 8 above; the absence of a provost led, as will be seen later, to some confusion in the allocation of tithes.

²³ In *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 308, the prebend of ‘Stanewegges’ is named; the others are called by the names of their holders. The names Studley, Munewas (*sic*), Givendale, and Thorpe are added to four of these, presumably in a later hand. Archbishop Corbridge formally ordered the application of local names to the prebends in 1301 (York Archiepis. Reg. Corbridge, fol. 68; *Mem. of Ripon* [Surt. Soc.], ii, 32).

²⁴ York Archiepis. Reg. Gray, rot. major, no. ccxix, ccxxxix (*Mem. of Ripon* [Surt. Soc.], ii, 2, 3).

²⁵ The vicars were to be instituted by the chapter to their cures of souls, ‘et nichilominus in ecclesia matrice deserviant sicut prius servire solebant’ (*Mem. of Ripon* [Surt. Soc.], ii, 44).

²⁶ *Ibid.* 25.

²⁷ A strong monition to non-residents occurs in York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 73 d. Four canons were absent from the visitation of July 1291 (*ibid.* fol. 81 d). Three were absent without excuse in

Oct. 1301 (*ibid.* Corbridge, fol. 67 d). In 1302 the six non-residents disobeyed Corbridge’s injunction to reside (*ibid.* fol. 70). See *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 16, &c.

²⁸ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 44–6.

²⁹ Charter, *ibid.* i, 119–21.

³⁰ *Ibid.* ii, 40.

³¹ *Ibid.* 56 et seq. Other sequestrations are recorded in subsequent years.

³² *Ibid.* 59.

³³ *Ibid.* 65–6.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 72.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 60.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 68–9.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 77–8.

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issued citations for a fresh visitation on 12 March.³⁸ The questions to be settled were the emoluments of residence, the means of repairing buildings which had fallen into ruin by neglect of the canons and the fury of the Scots,³⁹ the preservation of the liberties of the chapter, the degree of orders required by the holders of the several prebends, and the improvement of the stipends of the vicars. On 12 March two of the habitual absentees appeared in person, while the other four sent proctors.⁴⁰ The statutes which were the result of this convocation opened with a severe censure of the neglected state of the church. They proceeded to assign the lands and tithe of Nidd⁴¹ and Grantley, with the whole altarage of the parish of Ripon, as a common fund for residents. The tithes due to the prebendary of Monkton, as treasurer of the church, were excepted from this ordination. The term of residence was fixed, as at Beverley and Southwell, at twelve weeks a year, kept continuously or with intervals. Payment of the vicars was to be made out of the common fund of the chapter. The other questions remained untouched.⁴² Later in the century some dispute arose among the canons with regard to the allocation of prebendal tithes within the town of Ripon. In 1375 the disputed shares were united to the common fund, and an annual money payment was made in commutation to the six canons and the fabric of the church. By far the largest share went to the prebendary of Monkton.⁴³ The obligation of residence and the fact that his revenue was derived from a distinct source excepted the prebendary of Stanwick from these constitutional changes.

In 1414 Henry V, at the instance of Archbishop Bowett, formed the six vicars into a college under the presidency of a proctor;⁴⁴ and Bowett granted them a site for a new Bedern.⁴⁵ Their devotion to duty seems to have attracted the favourable notice of the archbishop, but injunctions issued in 1439 by Archbishop Kemp's commissaries show that some negligence had been observed in their conduct, and, among other things, that the bad habit, prevalent at York and Southwell, of walking about the church during divine service was one of their

faults.⁴⁶ Throughout the 15th century the church was in a far from flourishing condition. The fabric was in such a state of ruin that in 1450 service could not be held in the church but was performed in an adjoining chapel;⁴⁷ and a succession of indulgences for contributions to the fabric marks the various stages in decay and repair.⁴⁸ The chapter acts of the period note occasional cases of carelessness. The sacrist in 1453 neglected his duty of ringing the bells at the proper times; water was not provided for the lavatories, nor was the clock properly kept.⁴⁹ The vicar of Nunwick in 1460 was accused of incontinence.⁵⁰ In 1465 a woman who lived at the western gatehouse of Fountains Abbey was dying, and sent her daughter-in-law to Ripon for the vicar of Givendale, in whose parish she was. He could not be found, and the vicar of Thorpe, who was apparently the only one in residence, was too old to come, but commissioned two monks of Fountains to administer the last sacraments. As a result of this, the Abbot of Fountains claimed her body, but she was eventually buried at Ripon, the parishioners of three neighbouring hamlets carrying her to her grave.⁵¹

At a chapter held in 1477 the canons voted half of their annual dividends from the common fund to the fabric of the church. The repair of the prebendal houses within five years was also made obligatory, and fines in cases of default were allotted to the fabric.⁵² Energy of this kind was, however, only occasional. The disregard of residence appears to have become chronic, and in 1534 and 1537 Archbishop Lee found, on the complaint of some of the other canons, that a single residentiary, the treasurer, Christopher Dragley, was exercising autocratic powers in the church, much to its disadvantage and to the prejudice of the prebendary of Stanwick who was at this time non-resident.⁵³ Dragley was a man of unsatisfactory character, and promoted slackness among the vicars, for whom special injunctions were necessary.⁵⁴ Before the Suppression, Dragley had disappeared from the chapter, but in 1538 he gave up to the uses of the fabric the surplus of the common fund which he claimed as sole residentiary, reserving only his statutory £10, and limiting his residence, in compensation, to six weeks in the year.⁵⁵

³⁸ Charter, *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 105-8.

³⁹ See taxation of Ripon prebends after the Scottish invasion in *Letters N. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 282; *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 85.

⁴⁰ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 108.

⁴¹ The church of Nidd was assigned to the common fund in 1241 by Archbishop Gray (*Mem. of Ripon* [Surt. Soc.], ii, 5). A vicarage was not ordained till 1439 (*Mem. of Ripon* [Surt. Soc.], ii, 150).

⁴² *Ibid.* 109; cf. *Cal. Pat.* 1330-4, p. 384.

⁴³ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 133-6.

⁴⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1413-16, pp. 267-8; *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 123-5.

⁴⁵ Charter printed in *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 125-8.

⁴⁶ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 147 et seq.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 152.

⁴⁸ e.g. 1459-60, central tower (York Archiepis. Reg. W. Booth, fol. 139); 1479, chancel (*ibid.* L. Booth, fol. 101); 1482 (*ibid.* Rotherham, fol. 208). See *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 154, &c.

⁴⁹ *Ripon Chapter Acts* (Surt. Soc.), 21.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 89.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 223-5.

⁵² *Ibid.* 254, 256-7.

⁵³ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 167 et seq.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 178.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 180.

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At the visitation of 1439 the quire was said to be constituted of thirty-two members.⁶⁶ Thirty-one only were accounted for, viz. the seven canons, who were also the seven *personae*,⁶⁷ the six vicars,⁶⁸ six deacons, six thuribulers, and six choristers. In 1546-7 there were three deacons and six sub-deacons, and the six thuribulers were divided into an upper and lower class.⁶⁹ The prebendary of Stanwick, as ruler of the quire, was *ex officio* precentor; ⁶⁰ the office of treasurer was annexed, as has been said, to the prebend of Monkton.⁶¹ Of a chancellor there is no record: ⁶² the grammar-school had its own master,⁶³ but was under the supervision of the precentor.⁶⁴ The value of the prebends varied at different times. In the Ecclesiastical Taxation the richest was that held by Giles of the Wardrobe, identified with Monkton,⁶⁵ its annual value being £46 13s. 4d.; while Stanwick, Givendale, Studley, and the prebend of Master John of Evreux came next with £40 each. Nunwick was worth £30, and Thorpe £26 13s. 4d.⁶⁶ In 1535 the income of Stanwick was assessed at £39 7s. 6d., and was followed by Studley, £26 11s. 4d., Monkton £23 12s. 8d.,⁶⁷ Nunwick £21, Thorpe £20,

Givendale £14 10s. 4d. and Sharow £14 5s. 2d.⁶⁸ In 1546-7 the values of each prebend are reckoned somewhat differently, but the same order is kept, with the difference that Monkton and Studley change places.⁶⁹ At both dates the stipend of the six vicars is assessed at £6 each.⁷⁰ Nine chantries within the church are named in the Valor Ecclesiasticus and eight in the Chantry Certificate.⁷¹

The two residentiaries in 1546-7 were Richard Deane, prebendary of Stanwick, and Marmaduke Bradley, prebendary of Thorpe,⁷² whose dealings with the commissioners of Henry VIII as last Abbot of Fountains are little to his credit.⁷³ In May 1547 Edward VI granted the chapter the right of jurisdiction in cases of probate, institution and visitation within the peculiar; ⁷⁴ but under the second Chantry Act the college was dissolved, and its revenues, with those of its chantries, united to the possessions of the duchy of Lancaster.⁷⁵ Ripon, although surrounded by a portion of the new diocese of Chester, still continued to be part of the diocese of York, in which it remained until 1836.⁷⁶ For many years, however, the minster was reduced to the condition of a mere parish church, with a small and ill-paid staff.⁷⁷ The project of Archbishop Sandys and other strong churchmen of the Elizabethan period to establish a theological college at Ripon was never more than an idea,⁷⁸ and it was not until 1604 that James I, at the request of Anne of Denmark, reconstituted the collegiate body under the presidency of a dean. Six stalls were endowed, and in 1607, under a second charter, a sub-deanery was created, to which Dr. John Favour, the celebrated vicar of Halifax, was appointed.⁷⁹ Subsequently the sub-dean was always one of the prebendaries.⁸⁰ The first dean was Moses Fowler, who previously was one of the vicars who served the church, and had seconded Sandys in his abortive scheme.⁸¹ After its suppression during the Commonwealth

⁶⁶ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 148.

⁶⁷ This seems to be the meaning of 'vij canonici, septem personae' (ibid.), but the qualification is unusually expressed.

⁶⁸ Possibly the error by which thirty-two is named as the sum total of the thirty-one officiating persons was due to counting the vicars as seven instead of the six rightly given in the text.

⁶⁹ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 348 et seq. The certificate is also printed in *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), iii, 8 et seq.

⁷⁰ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* loc. cit. The prebendary of Stanwick is sometimes referred to by modern writers as though he were president of the chapter. This was not the case: the chapter acts show that one of the other residentiaries, probably the senior, acted as president.

⁷¹ Dr. J. T. Fowler (*Mem. of Ripon* [Surt. Soc.], iii, p. xv) notes that the office of treasurer often was exercised in the 15th century by one of the chaplains as sub-treasurer or warden of the treasure.

⁷² Ibid. Dr. Fowler suggests that the duties of the chancellor 'devolved to some extent on the Chancellor of York.'
⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ A sub-chanter is mentioned in the certificate of 1546-7, but the sub-treasurer is evidently meant.

⁷⁵ See note 23 above.

⁷⁶ This is according to the imperfect identifications in *Pope Nich. Tax.* (Rec. Com.), 308. William Greenfield, however, who is said to have held Studley in 1291, held Givendale in 1301, and Philip of Willoughby, who is said to have been prebendary of Thorpe in 1291, was prebendary of Sharow in 1301. Master John of Evreux appears to have been prebendary of Studley (*Mem. of Ripon* [Surt. Soc.], ii, 184).

⁷⁷ The perquisites of the treasurer must have increased this sum, and Dragley, who was prebendary at this time, engrossed the common fund as sole residentiary.

⁶⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 250.

⁶⁹ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 348-52.

⁷⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 251; *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 353.

⁷¹ *Valor Eccl.* loc. cit.; *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 354 seq.

⁷² *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 349.

⁷³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, x, 137.

⁷⁴ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 108 et seq. Henry VIII made a similar grant in 1535 (ibid. 106-8).

⁷⁵ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 257. The archbishop's manor had been annexed to the duchy previously (Lawton, *Coll. Rer. Eccl.* 540).

⁷⁶ It formed a peculiar of the Archbishop of York: the population of the large parish in 1831 was 14,602, out of thirty-one townships (Lawton, op. cit. 538).

⁷⁷ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 257.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid. 257-8, 277.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 258.

⁸¹ Ibid. 259, 257.

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the chapter was revived at the Restoration. The deanery remained a Crown appointment, but the collation to the canonries rested with the archbishop, subject to the presentation of three nominees by the chapter.⁸² In 1836 the new bishopric of Ripon was founded, and the number of prebendaries reduced, after the vacation of two of the stalls, to four residentiary canons.⁸³ The number of honorary canonries in the collation of the bishop is twenty-four.

The 12th-century seal⁸⁴ is a vesica, 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. by 2 in., with Agnus Dei standing on an altar, and the legend :

† SIGILLVM SANCTI WILFRIDI RIPENSIS ECLESIE

The 13th-century seal⁸⁵ of the commissary of the chapter is a small vesica, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 1 in., with a tree, in the branches of which are a crucifix and a bird. Below stands St. Wilfrid, and on the other side is a kneeling monk. At the foot is a lily. The legend is :

s' COMMISSAR' CAPL'I ECLESIE RIPONIENSIS

The 15th-century seal of the vicars choral⁸⁶ is a vesica, and shows, under a canopy, a king giving a sealed charter to a bishop ; on the right of the canopy is a key, on the left a star ; below, under an arch, is a group of heads. Legend :

s · CŌĒ . . . PER REGEM HENRICUM V^{TUM}

205. JESUS COLLEGE, ROTHERHAM

Thomas Scot, afterwards known as Thomas Rotherham, was a native of Rotherham, and became its most distinguished son. Among other dignities he held the provosty of Beverley,¹ the see of Rochester,² the see of Lincoln,³ the archbishopric of York,⁴ the chancellorship of Cambridge University, and the lord-chancellorship.⁵ He had the interest of his native town very much at heart, and by royal licence, obtained 28 July 1480⁶ and 22 January 1483,⁷ he founded the collegiate church, of which he laid the foundation stone on 12 March 1483,⁸ having by his own metropolitan authority drawn up the statutes on 1 February 1483.⁹

The site of the college is described as lying between 'le ymperd,' or abbot's close, and 'the

common river.' Here, at a distance of 160 ft. from the parish church,¹⁰ he erected 'the College of Jesu of Rotherham.' In founding the institution, the archbishop had several objects in view : (1) it was to be in every sense a religious house ; (2) it was to be a means of securing that the Word of God was preached in the neighbourhood ; (3) it was to afford chambers for the chantry priests of the town, and so save them from the temptation of living vagrant and idle lives ; and (4) it was to be an educational institution, the district being 'very barayn of knowledge.'¹¹

The house was founded for a provost, two fellows, and, funds permitting, six choristers ; and later, when making his will, the founder added a third fellow, bringing the total up to ten in the college, and so in his will he was able to indulge in the conceit that in whatsoever he might have offended God in the ten commandments he might have ten people to pray for him.¹²

The provost was to be a priest, a doctor or at least a B.D. of Cambridge, the appointment remaining with the founder during life, and after his death the regents and non-regents of Cambridge were to present new provosts to the Archbishop of York within a month of the notice of any vacancy, such notice to have been given by letter within nineteen days from the vacancy.¹³

The provost was to keep perpetual residence for the greater part of the year, to preserve the college rights and honestly administer its revenues, and to preach the Word of God in the diocese, and especially in Rotherham, Laxton, and Ecclesfield, no Sunday in Lent ever to be omitted, and specially was he to preach on Palm Sunday, Good Friday, Easter Day, Corpus Christi, the feast of the Assumption, and All Saints' Day.¹⁴ For his stipend he was to have 20 marks a year.¹⁵ To the provost belonged the correction and reformation of fellows, choristers, servants, and others within the college precincts.

The first two fellows were Dom Edmund Carter and Dom William Alanson, the masters of the grammar school and song school respectively. The third, ordered in the founder's will, was to teach writing and arithmetic to youths not intended for holy orders ; this third fellowship to be held in perpetuity by the cantarist at the altar of St. Katharine in the parish church, which had been insufficiently endowed by Mr. John Foxe, its founder.¹⁶ These four, the provost and fellows, were to be a corporation possessing a common seal. The fellows were to be priests, or at least one of them, who was to be

⁸² *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 258.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Cat. of Seals*, B.M. 3910, lxxv, 2.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 3911, lxi, 41.

⁸⁶ *Mem. of Ripon* (Surt. Soc.), i, 129.

¹ Poulson, *Beverlac*, 653.

² *Ibid.*

³ Hunter, *Doncaster*, ii, 5, 6.

⁴ *Diocesan Cal.* 1907, p. 70.

⁵ Poulson, *Beverlac*, 653.

⁶ Torre's MS. (Yorks), fol. 1105.

⁷ Pat. 22 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 33.

⁸ Leach, *Yorks. Sch.* ii, p. xxxi.

⁹ *Ibid.* 109, where the statutes are fully given.

¹⁰ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 201.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Hunter, *Doncaster*, ii, 7.

¹³ Torre's MS. (York), fol. 1105.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Hunter (*Doncaster*, ii, 8) gives the stipend, but erroneously, as £20.

¹⁶ Hunter, *Doncaster*, ii, 7.

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chosen by the provost for his ability to teach 'grammar, poetry, and rhetoric.'¹⁷ The second fellow was to teach song, especially 'plain' and 'broken,' and they were to have stipends of £10 and 10 marks respectively.

The choristers were to be six poor boys from the district, preference to be given to those of Rotherham and Ecclesfield. They were to be chosen by the provost, and instructed in grammar and music till eighteen years of age, when others were to be elected to take their places. Food and clothing were to be supplied them amounting to the value of an exhibition of about £3 6s. 8d. each.¹⁸ There was a butler and cook, each of whom, besides his keep, received a yearly wage of £1 6s. 8d.

The fellows, choristers, and servants were to be paid by the provost out of the common fund. The provost and fellows dined together, but paid for their own victuals. In addition to their stipends they were to have their barber and laundry free, and the provost was to have 18s. a year, while each of the fellows had 16s., to provide them cloth gowns.¹⁹ All were provided with wood and coals.

The founder distinctly stated that the chief purpose of the college was that certain prayers might be said for the souls of Edward IV, Queen Elizabeth, Prince Edward, and the founder.²⁰ It was also ordained that the provost, fellows, and choristers, twice a week and on festivals, should celebrate their masses in the chapels of Jesus and St. Katharine in the parish church and their other masses in the college chapel, and that on 9 April each year the anniversary of the founder's parents and King Edward should be celebrated, on the morrow a requiem mass being sung. And after the founder's death the day should be kept as his anniversary, with a specified collect, and at such anniversary alms were to be distributed to thirteen poor people. Besides these things they were to sing on all festivals in the quire of the parish church at matins and vespers as well as mass, the scholars being specially enjoined to attend.

In addition to the site of the college and the buildings, the founder gave for the support of the college certain lands in the counties of Hertford, Essex, and Kent, and he appropriated the church of Laxton in co. Nottingham. These properties were of considerable value, and the exhibitions of the six choristers, made contingent on the funds being sufficient, were all duly established, and all other expenses easily paid.²¹

In 1512 a friend of the founder died, Henry Carnebull, Archdeacon of York. In his will, dated 12 July of that year, he founded a chantry in Rotherham Parish Church, leaving certain properties to the college for its endowment, the

chantry priest to have 10 marks yearly if the endowment sufficed. It did suffice, and the chantry continued until the Suppression. Carnebull also bequeathed £40 to the provost, Mag. Robert Cutler,²² and in addition to this Rotherham chantry he also founded the 'Name of Jesus' chantry in York Minster, which was to be in the patronage of the Provost of Rotherham.²³

Ten years later another legacy was made to the provost by Thomas Reirsby, whose will was made 2 August 1522. He left the residue of his goods to be 'at the disposition of Robert Nevile, Provost of the College of Jhesu in Rotherham.'²⁴ Three years afterwards this same provost was the recipient of a personal legacy under the will of Sir Thomas Swift, 4 February 1524-5: 'my best gowne cremysyn furryd with mattrons, my best surples, a booke of blake velvett with . . . of silver and gilt, a girdle harneshed with silver and gilt having a flower on the bucle and a other in the pendent.'²⁵ Neville was still provost in 1536, the three fellows then being William Drapour, master of the grammar school, William Simmes, master of the music school, and John Addy, master of the writing school.²⁶

The Chantry Certificate of 1546 gives minute particulars of the college revenues and outgoings. The college with its garden and orchard, 2 acres in extent, were 'inverounde with a brick walle,'²⁷ and together with the house in which the three schools were kept were valued at £3 6s. 8d. per annum, and the college properties in various counties brought up the total annual revenue to £127 7s. 7½d. The outgoings, including £6 13s. 4d. for 'hys stypende' to Thomas Bayschaw (evidently the Carnebull cantarist), amounted to £20 2s. 1¼d. yearly, leaving a clear sum ultimately available for annexation of £107 5s. 10d. (*sic*) per annum.²⁸ Out of this balance there was to be paid to the

	£	s.	d.
Provost, 'Robert Busshoppe, of Hull' ²⁹	14	4	8
Grammar-school master	10	19	4
Song-school master	7	12	8
Writing-school master	6	6	0
6 choristers	21	9	2
13 dinners to poor	0	2	2
13 pennies to poor	0	1	1
Total	60	15	1

²² *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), v. 29-32.

²³ *Fabric R. of York Minster* (Surt. Soc.), 304.

²⁴ *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), v. 152.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 197.

²⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v. 44-5.

²⁷ The college also was of 'brike' (Leland).

²⁸ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 204.

²⁹ The punctuation is faulty; it should have been 'Robert, Bishop of Hull.' He had been also the Prior of Guisborough.

¹⁷ Torre's MS. (York), fol. 1106.

¹⁸ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 382.

¹⁹ Torre's MS. (York), fol. 1105.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

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The goods were valued at £54 7s. 8d. and the plate at £247 0s. 4d.³⁰

The 1548 survey differs somewhat. The goods are valued at £32 10s., and the plate is described by weight: 'Gylte 517½ oz., parcell gilte 520½ oz., white 24¼ oz.' The freeholds are entered as £130 16s. 1¼d., the outgoings £7 19s. 7¾d., leaving a balance of £122 16s. 5½d.

The provost in 1548 was said to be forty-four years of age, and received a stipend of £13 6s. 8d., a gown worth 18s., and an allowance for three horses. He was also certified to have a pension of 250 marks from the king,³¹ and a prebend in York Minster of £58. The grammar-school master, Thomas Snell, was thirty-six years of age, a B.A., with a stipend of £10, 12s. for his gown, 3s. 4d. for fuel, barber and laundry free. Robert Cade, the song-school master, was thirty-eight, his stipend £6 13s. 4d., with 12s. for his gown, 3s. 4d. for fuel, and free laundry and barber. John Addy, the writing-school master, was sixty-one, his stipend being £5 6s. 8d., with 16s. for his gown, 3s. 4d. for fuel, and free laundry and barber. The six choristers each received in money and food £3 6s. 8d. a year. Thomas Pakyn, the butler, was forty, and Robert Parkyn, the cook, was forty-five, and each received yearly £1 6s. 8d. for wages.

The annual distribution to the poor was said to amount to 6s.³²

PROVOSTS OF ROTHERHAM

William Graybarne, S.T.P., first provost, appointed 1 Feb. 1483³³

William Rawson, occurs 1495, died that year³⁴

John Hoton, S.T.B., instituted 4 Feb. 150-³⁵

Robert Cutler, S.T.B., instituted 4 Mar. 1508³⁶

Robert Neville, S.T.B., instituted 9 Jan. 1517³⁷

Richard Jackson³⁸

Robert Newrie, occurs 1534³⁹

Robert Pursglove, instituted 26 June 1544⁴⁰

³⁰ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 200, 201.

³¹ This would be for pension from Guisborough Priory, and other services in connexion with the dissolution of the monasteries.

³² *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 380-2.

³³ Torre (op. cit. fol. 1105) erroneously says 1482.

³⁴ Leach, *Yorks. Sch.* ii, p. xxxvi.

³⁵ Torre's MS. (York), fol. 1105.

³⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Bainbridge, fol. 51.

³⁷ Ibid. fol. 107.

³⁸ Torre's MS. (York), fol. 1105.

³⁹ Hunter, *Doncaster*, ii, 9.

⁴⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Lee, fol. 75. Pursglove, who was Suffragan Bishop of Hull, lived till 1579 (Hunter, loc. cit.).

206. COLLEGE OF ST. JAMES, SUTTON-IN-HOLDERNESS

In 1346, when John de Sutton was lord of the manor of Sutton, and his uncle Thomas Sampson was rector, the royal licence was granted to alienate in mortmain the advowson to six chaplains to celebrate divine service daily in the chapel for the good estate of the king, Queen Philippa, Sir John and Alina¹ his wife, and for their souls after death, as well as the souls of Sir John's parents and ancestors.² On Friday in Whit-week 1347 Sir John founded the college for six chaplains and for the purposes specified,³ appointing as the first master his uncle, Thomas de Sampson,⁴ the existing rector.⁵ On the following 11 August Archbishop Zouch made his ordination for the regulation of the collegiate society of the following tenor:—In the rectory a hall, kitchen, stable, granges, and other necessary houses were to be provided for the master, chaplains, and servants. The master or *custos* was to be presented by the founder and his wife and the heirs of Sir John within fifteen days after a vacancy. In case the patron died *sine prole*, then the patronage was to be in the hands of the chaplains, who were to appoint within eight days. The *custos* was to administer the college properties, be in residence, and have charge of the inhabitants of Sutton and Stone Ferry. In addition to the master there were to be five chaplains; vacancies were to be filled up by the founder and his wife during their lives, and afterwards by their heirs. But, as in the case of the mastership, if there were no issue, then the appointments were to be made by the *custos* within eight days. The founder and his heirs and all future owners of the manor were to pay, under pain of the greater excommunication, for the support of the college, all the tithes small and great growing or being upon the manor lands. The *custos* was to pay one mark yearly, together with the mortuaries and obventions of Sutton and Stone Ferry, &c., to the Chancellor of York in the name of the church of Wawne.⁶

These statutes having been ordained, the chapel of Sutton was appropriated to the college by the archbishop on 17 November in the same year, the *custos* to pay to the Archbishop of York £1 yearly, and to the dean and chapter one mark yearly, as compensation for any losses caused by the appropriation.⁷

¹ This is a clerical error; her name was Alice.

² Pat. 20 Edw. III, pt. i, m. 31.

³ Torre's MS. (Peculiars), fol. 501.

⁴ He was Archdeacon of Cleveland, and was instituted vicar of Acaster Malbis 22 Apr. 1340. He was buried in the cathedral church at York (Torre's MS. [Minster], fol. 718).

⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 190.

⁶ Torre's MS. (Peculiars), fol. 501, et seq.

⁷ Poulson, *Holderness*, 331, 332.

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A new ordination was made by Archbishop Alexander Nevill on 6 May 1380. The college was to consist of one major or *custos*, five perpetual chaplains, and two clerks. One of the clerks was to be provided by the *custos* and at his cost; the other was to be the *aquae bajulus*, and have his victuals in addition to the parochial alms, and the offerings of the master and chaplains. At the death or cession of a *custos*, the lord of the manor, Sir Thomas de Sutton, while he lived, and after his death Agnes his wife, while she lived, and after both their deaths the chaplains, were within twenty days of the vacancy to nominate one of the chaplains to the custody, if any among them were considered suitable. If not, then some other fit chaplain of the lord of the manor, or his attorney, was to be appointed. The chaplains were to be nominated by the *custos* and existing chaplains, and presented by the lord of Sutton within twenty days of any vacancy. One of the chaplains was to be deputed by the master to the cure of souls of the parish belonging to the chapel, such appointment to be terminable at the pleasure of the *custos*. The *custos* was to have a stipend of not more than 8 marks yearly besides his keep. The chaplain with the cure of souls was to have 4 marks a year, and each of the others 3½ marks. The master and chaplains were to have their commons together and lodge in one house, or else two and two, unless hindered by infirmity. Each of the six was to celebrate his own mass; on Sundays and festivals they were to say matins, parochial mass, and vespers; on Fridays and Saturdays our Lady's mass with note; on the other days masses, matins, and other 'hours.' Special masses and prayers were also ordered for the founder's soul, &c. The reserve payments and mortuaries were to be continued as under Archbishop Zouch's ordination.⁸

In 1447 a dispute was settled between the college and the parish of Wawne from which originally the chapel had been cut off. It was now arranged that a sum of 20s. was to be paid to the inhabitants of Wawne 'as an acknowledgement of subjection.'⁹ In 36 Henry VI it was found by a jury that Ralph Bygod, kt., John Salvain, kt., William Bulmer, esq., and Lady Isabella Goddard had the presentation to the mastership and to one of the five chantries of the collegiate church, and that Peter de Mauley, lord of the manor, made the last presentation.¹⁰ In 1536 the annual value of the college was given as £13 18s. 8d.¹¹

How the college was dealt with at the Suppression there are no records to show, the last facts known of the house being the appointments in 1547 to the second and fourth chantries

⁸ Torre's MS. (Peculiars), fol. 501, 502, quoting from York Archiepis. Reg. Alex. Nevill, fol. 61.

⁹ Lawton, *Coll. Rerum Eccl.* 416.

¹⁰ Poulson, *Holderness*, 335.

¹¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), v, 110.

respectively of John Stother, priest, and Edward Hodgson, priest, the former being presented by the archbishop *per lapsum*.

MASTERS OF SUTTON¹²

Thomas Sampson, appointed 1347
 William de Denford, appointed 1349
 Thomas de Louthorp, resigned 1370
 Peter de Elyngton, appointed 1370
 William de Barnby, died 1402
 Thomas de Poynton, appointed 1402, died 1410
 John Poynton, appointed 1410, exchanged 1413
 Robert Marflete, appointed 1413, died 1432
 Simon Seller, appointed 1432, died 1443
 William Semanson, appointed 1443, died 1456
 Peter Ouste, appointed 1458
 William Walsh, appointed 1470
 Robert Thomlynson, appointed 1471
 William Warde, appointed 1472, died 1487
 John Curwen, appointed 1487, resigned 1489
 Robert Ferys, appointed 1489
 Thomas Alderson, appointed 1499
 Ralph Bulmer, appointed 1517 (?)
 Christopher Brasse, appointed 1515, died 1522
 Thomas Jenyson, appointed 1522, resigned 1528
 John Brandesby, appointed 1528

207. CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. PETER, YORK

The Dean and Chapter of York in the Middle Ages were the direct successors of a body of secular clergy similar in constitution to the primitive chapters of Beverley, Ripon, and Southwell. There is no evidence of any monastic establishment in connexion with the church of the somewhat vague type which existed at Ripon in the days of Wilfrid and may have prevailed at Beverley before the Danish invasions. The clergy of the minster towards the end of the 8th century seem to have followed a definite rule of life; while a school was attached to the church which under Ethelbert and Alcuin obtained great distinction.¹ In the schoolmasters of the church, men of great learning and reputation, we see the prototypes of the later chancellors, whose duty was the oversight of the minster grammar-school.² The tradition held at York

¹² Torre's MS. (Peculiars), fol. 504; corrected from Archiepiscopal Registers.

¹ See 'Eccl. Hist.' above, p. 5.

² 'Cancellarius, qui antiquitus Magister scholarum dicebatur' (York Statutes in Bradshaw and Wordsworth, *Lincoln Cath. Statutes*, ii, 95). There is an ordination of Archbishops Roger and Geoffrey concerning payments to the chancellor from the archdeacons on behalf of the school in *Hist. Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 75. See also *ibid.* 220-1.

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was that the first ministers of the church, corresponding to the later canons, were called Culdees, i.e. *Colidei*, and were seven in number.³ The foundation of their common property was a grant of a thrave or sheaf of wheat from each plough in Yorkshire, which after the Conquest was transferred by the chapter to the hospital of St. Peter, later known as St. Leonard's.⁴ The actual date of this grant is not known, but Athelstan, by a charter dated in 930, gave the whole of Amounderness to the church of St. Peter and Archbishop Wulfstan;⁵ and the grant of the Yorkshire thraves, which may be compared with the more famous grant attributed to Athelstan of thraves from the East Riding to the church of Beverley, may belong to the same period. Athelstan was regarded in the 12th century as the founder of the liberties and customs of the church of York; and although they cannot be attributed to him with certainty, yet his fame in the north of England as a king whose conquests gave unity to the scattered fragments of his kingdom made his reign a convenient starting-point for the constitutional history of the Yorkshire minsters.

The privileges of the church as men remembered them to have existed in the days of the Confessor and Archbishop Ealdred are enumerated in a charter of confirmation granted by Henry I.⁶ This seems to have been the result of an inquiry made in the shire-mote at York in 1106 by request of Archbishop Gerard, when the Sheriff of Yorkshire was attempting to override the jurisdiction of the church.⁷ The land of the canons was declared to be quit of all claim from the king's officers or the sheriff; the canons themselves had all suit of their tenants and heard their pleas before the door of the church.⁸ They were bound to contribute only one man to the army, who should carry St. Peter's standard to war at the head of the burgesses of York. The church had the right of sanctuary within its precincts and in the stone chair or stool of peace by the altar, where the criminal was safe from his pursuer; but at York the sanctuary-man

³ Hugh the Chanter, *Hist. Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 107. The word *Colidei*, under the form 'Kaladeus,' occurs in the presentment of a jury in 1246, by which the right of the dean and chapter to collate a master to St. Leonard's Hospital was established (*ibid.* iii, 162-5).

⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ *Ibid.* iii, 1-5; cf. ii, 339.

⁶ Printed *ibid.* iii, 34-6.

⁷ See the letter from the chapter of York to the chapter of Southwell, printed from the 'Liber Albus' of Southwell in *Visit. and Mem. of Southwell Minster* (Camd. Soc.), 190 et seq. This embodies the text of the charter, and adds much detail from the evidence of the inquest.

⁸ The reason for this is given in the charter as the obligation of the canons to say their hours in church; when the bell rang they could go into quire, and return when the office was done.

does not seem to have been allowed the wider boundary which at Beverley and Ripon was marked by 'mile crosses.' In view of possible controversies between the canons and archbishop, all forfeitures from the chapter lands were decreed to belong to the chapter alone. The right of the archbishop was confined to the collation of canonries with the advice and assent of the chapter. These privileges, *mutatis mutandis*, are practically identical with those which we find acknowledged at Beverley and Ripon.

The common life of the canons was furthered by Archbishop Ealdred, who provided them with a frater.⁹ The wasting of Yorkshire by William I drove the canons from the minster. Thomas of Bayeux found only three out of the seven in residence, and to his work of rebuilding the church added that of reorganizing its constitution.¹⁰ He recalled the absent canons, raised their number, restored their frater and dorter, and appointed a provost to administer their common property. This, however, was evidently a temporary arrangement. For the eventual constitution he was indebted to the church of Bayeux, in which he had been treasurer.¹¹ The school had probably been disorganized by the events of the previous few years, and Thomas appointed a chancellor before he turned his attention to the other dignities of the church. The creation of a dean, treasurer, and precentor followed. With these appointments came the assignment of a fixed prebend in land and money to each canon, which made the provostship a superfluous office. By the custom of York, which was followed at Lincoln and Salisbury, the four major dignitaries took precedence of the canons. In Thomas's constitution the treasurer seems to have taken the first place after the dean, and the north side of the quire was known until late in the Middle Ages as the *pars thesaurarii*.¹² In the oldest existing statutes, however, the normal order of dean, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer was observed;¹³ and the right of the chancellor to the third dignity was established by an inquest held in 1191, when it was ordained that he should take precedence of all after the precentor.¹⁴

Thomas of Bayeux is credited with the appointment of archdeacons,¹⁵ but their territorial

⁹ *Hist. Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 353.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 362. No dates are given, but the transition in constitution is clearly marked.

¹¹ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, *op. cit.* i, 101 et seq.

¹² *York Fabric R.* (Surt. Soc.), 246, 252. The dates of the documents cited are 1409 and 1472. The treasurer is mentioned next after the dean in *Hist. Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 362, where the chronicle printed is of the 12th century. In York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 221 d., there is a statement of the duties of the precentor, followed by the form of oath taken by the treasurer on admission.

¹³ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, *op. cit.* ii, 94 et seq.

¹⁴ *Hist. Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 91.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* ii, 382.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

designations were not applied to them until a later time. No prebends were annexed at first to the dignities or the archdeaconries. The prebends eventually reached the number of thirty-six. The names of several places which became separate prebendal estates appear among the possessions of St. Peter in Domesday.¹⁶ It is, however, quite uncertain how many prebends Thomas founded. The church of Laughton-en-le-Morthen was granted to the minster as a prebend by Henry I in the time of Archbishop Gerard.¹⁷ Archbishop Thomas II founded two more prebends.¹⁸ Archbishop Gray founded the office of sub-dean,¹⁹ and formed the prebends of Fenton and Wistow out of his barony of Sherburn.²⁰ The last prebend to be founded was Bilton, which was ordained by Archbishop Romanus in 1295.²¹ With four exceptions the churches and manors from which the prebendal incomes were derived were situated in Yorkshire. Apesthorpe and Bole were in Nottinghamshire, and Thockrington was in Northumberland. The prebend of Botevant seems originally to have been a money prebend charged upon the common of the chapter.²² The name of Botevant, for which no definite reason is forthcoming, seems to have been attached to it before 1339.²³ The prebends of Bramham and Salton were appropriated from an early date, Bramham to the Prior of Nostell, Salton to the Prior of Hexham. At the taxation of 1291, Masham was the wealthiest stall, assessed at £166 13s. 4d. Wetwang and South Cave followed, with £120 and £106 13s. 4d. Driffeld, Langtoft, and Wistow were each valued at £100. Apesthorpe, Grindale, Dunnington, and Warthill were assessed at only £10 each.²⁴

A share in the common fund at York, as in most collegiate churches, was obtained only by residence. The statutes required constant residence from the four dignitaries. An ordinary prebendary who intended to reside had to qualify for the 'minor residence' by a continuous 'major residence' of twenty-six weeks, during which he was bound to attend all the canonical hours, unless he was undergoing his periodical bleeding or was prevented by sickness. During this time he received nothing from the common fund, but

was expected to bear the heavy charge of entertaining twice as many of the vicars and ministers of the church on double festivals as were entertained by canons in the minor residence. After passing through this stage of probation he might enter on the minor residence of twenty-four weeks in the year, which gave him his right to commons. This was counted, not by continuous residence, but by the number of days on which he was present at vespers, matins, and mass, the greater festivals alone being obligatory. Twelve full weeks had to be completed in the winter residence, between Martinmas and Whitsuntide.²⁵

The amount of commons due to residents was fixed by a statute of Archbishop Gray in 1221 at 6d. daily, which was raised on feasts of nine lessons to 1s., and on double feasts, when the cost of entertainment was heavy, to 2s. At the end of the half-yearly residence a dividend was declared on the surplus of the common fund between the resident canons.²⁶ Gray recognized the principle that commons were annexed to residence and formed no part of a prebend. When the treasurer claimed double commons on the ground that he held two prebends, his demand was compromised by a grant of 3 marks in addition to single commons for his lifetime only.²⁷ Exceptions were made on behalf of the chancellor and the Archdeacon of Richmond, who held money prebends only; as these were paid out of the common fund they and their successors in the prebends were allowed to have 6 marks yearly, whether resident or absent.²⁸ The residence of archdeacons who held prebends was fixed at a minimum of twelve weeks only, on account of their necessary duties outside York.²⁹

A decree for the assignment of the common fund, with details of the farms arising from the churches and manors belonging to it, was made by the chapter under the presidency of Dean Newark about 1291, when the habit of farming out these possessions was causing some inconvenience to the church. The farms, as they fell vacant, were now assigned to canons who had completed their greater and lesser residence, in order of seniority.³⁰ Statutes passed on 5 October 1291 fixed the necessary annual residence for each canon to whom a farm was assigned at twelve weeks, while six weeks were required of an archdeacon. The needs of the fabric of the church and its necessary expenses were met by assigning it the share of a single canon in the half-yearly dividend. The sum thus set aside was put in the common chest, of which the dean and the three senior residentiaries were entrusted with the four keys.³¹

²⁵ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, op. cit. 100 et seq.

²⁶ Ibid. 105 et seq.

²⁷ Ibid. 107-8.

²⁸ Ibid. 108.

²⁹ Ibid. 105. No prebends were permanently annexed to the archdeaconries.

³⁰ Ibid. 120 et seq.

³¹ Ibid. 118.

¹⁶ See 'Eccl. Hist.' above, p. 10.

¹⁷ *Hist. Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 30-1.

¹⁸ Ibid. 372.

¹⁹ *Archbp. Gray's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), i, 26-7.

²⁰ For references and fuller details of Gray's arrangements see 'Eccl. Hist.' above, p. 25.

²¹ *York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus*, fol. 47 d.

²² Another money prebend, without a title, was annexed to the office of sub-dean.

²³ Sir John de Wodehouse was collated to the prebend 'dicta Botevant,' void by the death of John of Ellerker, 31 July 1339 (*York Archiepis. Reg. Melton*, fol. 122).

²⁴ *Pope Nich. Tax* (Rec. Com.), 297.

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Later statutes provided for the maintenance of the prebendal houses. Arrangements were made by which a non-resident might let his house to a residentiary who had no house assigned to his prebend. New prebendaries were required to set on foot an inquisition into the dilapidations of their houses, within six weeks after induction. A prebend might be exchanged or resigned after three years' enjoyment of the fruits. Every prebendary, on vacating his prebend, was bound to give a choral cope or its value, 20 marks, and his palfrey or 10 marks, to the church.³²

Residence was too expensive to be popular. The statutes of 1291 were passed by eight canons who were present, in addition to Dean Newark. The clergy who composed this chapter were all intimately connected with the business of the church of York.³³

At the chapter of 16 August 1325, which passed the statutes relating to prebendal houses, nine canons, including the Prior of Hexham, were present, and nine others appeared by proxy.³⁴ The number of residentiaries, however, was much smaller than that of the minority which came to York for chapter meetings. Thus in 1304-5 John of Nassington, writing from York to the auditor of the chapter of Beverley, said that only two canons were in residence.³⁵ In 1310 three canons only met in chapter to arrange a date for the election of a new dean.³⁶ On all these occasions the chancellor was one of the canons present. The duty of continual residence was certainly not regarded as binding by the other dignitaries. Bogo de Clare, who held the office of treasurer, and died in 1295, was seldom, if ever, in York; his many benefices were widely scattered over England, and the complaints made against him and his deputies at York probably found an echo elsewhere.³⁷ The Holy See, on the election of Newark to the archbishopric, attempted to provide Cardinal Francesco Gaetani to the deanery. William of Hambleton succeeded in obtaining possession, but on his death Clement V provided his own brother Raymond de Goth,³⁸ who also held the prebend of Wetwang, and was Dean of Lincoln and precentor of Lichfield.³⁹ The intrusion of papal

provisors into the major prebends and the archdeaconries during the reigns of Edward I and Edward II was constant, while the Savoyard relations of the royal family swelled the number of non-residents in the chapter. At Archbishop Romanus' death in 1295-6 at least a third of the chapter was composed of foreigners.⁴⁰ In Archbishop Corbridge's time, eleven admissions of foreigners to canonries and prebends are recorded, as against three of Englishmen.⁴¹ Of fifty-one admissions in Melton's register, twenty-six are of foreigners.⁴² Not all these succeeded in obtaining installation; and Cardinal Gaetani, Hambleton's rival in the deanery, failed to oust Walter of Bedwin, the nominee of Edward I, from the treasurer'ship.⁴³ The Englishmen who held office were for the most part royal clerks, who held their benefices by grant or by the influence of the king and were also members at the same time of other chapters, such as Lincoln and Salisbury.⁴⁴ But Robert Burnell, chancellor of Edward I, during his tenure of the archdeaconry of York seems to have discovered the most prominent recruits for the chancery in young Yorkshiremen, who, as time went on, held their chief preferments in the church of York. William of Hambleton, of whom Edward I in 1299 said that there was 'no one else in his realm so expert in its laws and customs,'⁴⁵ was Burnell's right-hand man.⁴⁶ Of the younger generation which worked under Burnell and Hambleton, Adam of Osgodby and Robert of Barby were Yorkshiremen and canons of the cathedral church.⁴⁷

Apart from the claims of pope and king upon the obedience of the chapter, its independence was seriously harassed by the archbishops. The struggle with Geoffrey Plantagenet has already been told elsewhere: ⁴⁸ it ended in a drawn battle, with little advantage to either side. Archbishop Gray strengthened the hands of the chapter by enlarging its possessions and attaching the dignitaries to his personal service; ⁴⁹ and, under himself

⁴⁰ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, Capitula.

⁴¹ Ibid. Corbridge (fol. 189 d. et seq.). The prebend of Stillington, vacated by Corbridge, was given to Francesco Gaetani. ⁴² Ibid. Melton, fol. 68d-122.

⁴³ See *Cal. Pat.* 1324-7, p. 151. Cf. *ibid.* 1330-4, p. 186. Corbridge issued a mandate to the dean and chapter to admit Gaetani 21 July 1303 (York Archiepis. Reg. Corbridge, fol. 196 d.).

⁴⁴ Such as William Ayermin, afterwards Bishop of Norwich (*Cal. Pat.* 1321-4, pp. 134, 275, 337, &c.).

⁴⁵ *Cal. Close*, 1296-1302, p. 309.

⁴⁶ He was one of Burnell's executors (*Cal. Pat.* 1292-1301, p. 264, &c.).

⁴⁷ Osgodby was prebendary of Ulleskelf, Barby of Dunnington (*Cal. Pat.* 1313-17, pp. 343, 554). Walter Langton, Bishop of Lichfield, John de Kirkby, Bishop of Ely, and William Ayermin, Bishop of Norwich, were closely connected with York by kindred or birth, and held prebends there.

⁴⁸ See 'Eccl. Hist.' above.

⁴⁹ *Hist. Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 136-7.

³² Bradshaw and Wordsworth, i, 127-9.

³³ Of their number, in addition to the dean himself, Thomas of Corbridge and William Greenfield became Archbishops of York. William of Hambleton, Archdeacon of York, succeeded Newark as dean, and William of Pickering, Archdeacon of Nottingham, became dean later on.

³⁴ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, *op. cit.* 126.

³⁵ *Beverley Chapter Act Book* (Surt. Soc.), i, 62.

³⁶ *Hist. Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 227.

³⁷ See *Archbp. Wickwane's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 286-7. In 1280 Bogo de Clare held nineteen benefices in fourteen dioceses (Linc. Inst. R. Sutton [Northants], m. 1).

³⁸ Le Neve, *Fasti* (ed. Hardy), iii, 121.

³⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1307-13, p. 147.

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and his successors, the chapter was largely composed of confidential clerks, whose ranks were recruited by Archbishop Giffard from relations and dependants of his family in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire.⁵⁰ Gray conveyed his manor of Bishopthorpe on trust to the dean and chapter,⁵¹ and numerous deeds in connexion with the transference of archiepiscopal property show that they were the normal trustees of the archbishop's manors, whose consent was necessary to any change in this direction. The increase of the chapter in wealth and independence brought it into collision with the archbishop, and, under Romanus, although some of its individual members still formed his consultative council, it asserted its rights with emphasis. Romanus, actively concerned in the reformation of his chapters, succeeded in subdividing the rich prebend of Masham into three, and that of Langtoft into two portions;⁵² but this arrangement ceased with his death. He also did his best to strengthen the school under the control of the chancellor.⁵³ His reforms, however, were probably allowed by the chapter only as a result of a compromise, which was arrived at in November 1290, upon his powers as visitor. The dean promised obedience to the archbishop, with a clause, capable of wide interpretation, which safeguarded the rights of his church. Right of visitation once in every five years was conceded to the archbishop, who must visit in person, not by deputy. The visitation was strictly private: all the archbishop's attendants were to retire after his opening address, and two of the canons were to act as his assessors. Complaints and *corrigenda* were to be presented by the chapter in common and *viva voce*: written presentations were prohibited. The archbishop's business was strictly confined to a general injunction to the chapter to make their own corrections within a stated time; and only in case of neglect within that period was the archbishop empowered to carry them out himself. The chapter further provided against intrusion by making good their right of appeal, with the usual lengthy procedure.⁵⁴ This one-sided arrangement, however, was not final. Archbishop Melton, some thirty-five years later, attempted to override the compromise, and the chapter appealed to the pope, who committed

the case to William Ayermin, Bishop of Norwich, and Hugh of Angoulême, Archdeacon of Canterbury.⁵⁵ Before the case could be heard the disputants arranged a compromise, which was confirmed by the commissioners in 1328. By this agreement, which remained in force until the Reformation period, the archbishop was allowed to visit once in four instead of five years, and at two instead of three months' notice. He was allowed his own assessors, three or four clerks, and a writer not a public notary. The *corrigenda* were first to be presented publicly by the chapter in common; but afterwards the archbishop, if he wished, might proceed to a private examination of individuals, whose complaints were to be invited without any threat of penalties, and were to be taken down in writing verbatim, without addition or comment. These written *corrigenda* were to be handed over to the dean and chapter that day or the next, and a period of ten months was fixed within which the dean and chapter were to act upon them. In case of neglect the archbishop might proceed to correction, after due notice and consultation with the canons. His procurations were fixed at 100s., to be paid at his first visitation, and not to be demanded again.⁵⁶ In spite of this agreement, dissensions continued between Melton and the chapter, of which there are traces as late as 1335;⁵⁷ and somewhat earlier a minor cause of quarrel had arisen over the right of sequestration in respect of the treasurer'ship.⁵⁸

The Great Pestilence of 1349 appears to have worked some havoc among the dignitaries of the church: the offices of precentor, chancellor, and treasurer were vacant during the year, and the sub-deanery changed hands three times within three months.⁵⁹ Serious quarrels took place, at York as at Beverley, between the chapter and Archbishop Alexander Nevill, who attempted to call in question the privileges of the canons upon their prebendal estates,⁶⁰ and usurped the rights of the chapter in the manors and churches appropriated to the common fund.⁶¹ The canons held their own, and called in the protection of the king, who took the right of collation into his own hands. Between June 1386 and September 1388 the Patent Rolls are full of collations to the prebends and ratifications of the estates of preben-

⁵⁰ See *Archbp. Wickwane's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), Introd. p. iii.

⁵¹ *Hist. Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 155-7.

⁵² These divisions were effected in May and Oct. 1295. One portion of Masham was known as Landford: the second portion of Langtoft was called Cottam. Roger Marmion was collated to the whole prebend of Langtoft 13 Feb. 1295-6, a month before Romanus' death (York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, Capitula).

⁵³ *Hist. Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 220-1.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 216-20.

⁵⁵ Bishop Ayermin, as noted above, had been a canon of York. Hugh of Angoulême was collated to the prebend of Riccall 4 July 1324 (York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 82 d.).

⁵⁶ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 103 d.-105 d.

⁵⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1334-8, p. 192.

⁵⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 86.

⁵⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1348-50, pp. 271, 295, 340; see also Le Neve, *Fasti*, iii, 154, 160, 164. Of prebends vacant by death, only three are recorded in York Archiepis. Reg. Zouch, fol. 230 d.-232 d.

⁶⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1381-5, pp. 342, 535.

⁶¹ *Hist. Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 423-4.

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daries.⁶³ After Nevill's deprivation, the succeeding vacancies in the archbishopric at short intervals gave the Crown much patronage.⁶³ Henry IV appears to have usurped the archbishop's rights of collation after the battle of Shrewsbury: this was one cause of Scrope's rebellion,⁶⁴ the failure of which was followed by a further succession of Crown appointments.⁶⁵ The fabric of the quire of the church, which was approaching completion in Scrope's lifetime, was hindered during these turbulent times; and the work of the great tower in 1407-8 was endangered by a dispute which broke out between the local masons and the master-mason appointed by the king, apparently upon the question of imported labour.⁶⁶

The chapter visitations of the 14th and 15th centuries indicate a careless condition of affairs, which, however, was by no means peculiar to York. Non-residence throughout the 15th century was on the increase. In 1409 the precentor was found to neglect the payment of the subchanter's salary as master of the song-school.⁶⁷ In 1472 the precentor and chancellor were non-resident in defiance of the statutes: the residentiaries failed to appear at church, so that on double festivals the high altar was served by the parsons and vicars, and the custom observed by the residentiaries of saying mass at the high altar four times in the octaves of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost was neglected. The services were often slovenly: there was much talking and laughing outside the quire doors, even during mass. The parsons, instead of taking their place in the Sunday procession at the proper time, would wait for it in the nave and aisles, and stroll to meet it. One of them, who was treasurer of the fabric fund, presented no accounts. Notice is taken elsewhere of the shortcomings of the vicars. Dogs were suffered to roam about the nave, and howled and barked so that those in the quire could not hear the lection for the day.⁶⁸ In 1472, 1481, 1495, and 1519, there are long catalogues of defects in the churches, both in York and elsewhere, belonging to the chapter and its individual members.⁶⁹

Archbishop Lee made a visitation of the chapter in August 1534, in which he abode by the composition of 1328 with regard to the *comperta* and *corrigenda*, but issued decrees of his own on general points. He commented upon the fewness of residentiaries, the unwillingness of the canons to give copes and palfreys to the church, and asked for a remedy against the with-

holding of pensions payable from impropiators to whom the chapter had leased their churches. Criminous women were forbidden to dwell within the close. Non-resident canons, if they happened to be in York, were enjoined to attend matins, processions, high mass, and vespers, especially on doubles and principal feasts.⁷⁰ These mild injunctions were followed, in Lee's lifetime, by the royal statutes of 1541. The expenses of the major residence were so irksome that prebendaries could not meet them from the fruits of their prebends, and therefore seldom came into residence at all. Only one prebendary was resident at the date of the statutes. The new measures, while changing none of the ordinary conditions of the major residence, removed its extraordinary burdens. The possibility of depriving the church of any residentiaries was guarded against by the provision that one residentiary out of two or three, two out of four or six, three or two out of five, must be present throughout the year. Twenty-four weeks constituted a minimum residence. If there was only one residentiary, his minimum was thirty weeks, and his presence was required on all double feasts. The entertainment by each canon of four vicars in his major and two in his minor residence was discontinued, and a yearly money payment was substituted. No canon was allowed to reside who had not a prebendal house in the close or could not spend £100 a year. To guard against the entire control of funds by the residentiaries, all canons, irrespective of residence, were to be summoned to chapter meetings. The chancellor, as in the older statutes, was enjoined to find preachers: these, however, were to be paid from a fund to which the prebendaries contributed in common. The preachers were to have the archbishop's licence; but the dean, chancellor, and others were not therefore excused from the duty of preaching themselves.⁷¹

By charter of 20 April 1547 Edward VI confirmed to the dean and chapter their spiritual jurisdiction within the common possessions and their various prebends.⁷² In this year the treasurer's office of the church was resigned to the Crown, and the annexed prebend of Bishop Wilton disappeared with it. The monastic prebends of Salton and Bramham were suppressed with the priories of Hexham and Nostell. The two rich prebends of South Cave and Marham were also secularized as a result of the Reformation.⁷³ Of the remaining prebends, Driffild, annexed to the precentorship, and Laughton, annexed to the chancellorship in 1484,⁷⁴ con-

⁶³ See *Cal. Pat.* 1385-9, pp. 159, 200, 216, &c. Sixteen collations, &c., occur between Feb. and June 1389.

⁶⁴ See *Cal. Pat.* 1396-9, *passim*.

⁶⁵ *Hist. Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 431.

⁶⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1405-8, pp. 24, 35, 45, &c.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p. 482.

⁶⁸ *York Fabric Rolls* (Surt. Soc.), 245.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 250 et seq. ⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 253, &c.

⁷⁰ *York Archiepis. Reg. Lee*, fol. 93 d.; printed in *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xvi, 433-5.

⁷¹ Statutes printed in *Monasticon*, vi, 1200-2. These and the other statutes of the church were also printed privately by the late Canon Raine in 1879.

⁷² Lawton, *Coll. Rer. Eccl.* 1-2. ⁷² *Ibid.* 2-4.

⁷³ *York Archiepis. Reg. Rotherham*, fol. 99 d.-100 d.

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tinued on the same footing. A list of prebends, drawn up early in the reign of Elizabeth, shows how freely the chapter property was leased at this time to laymen, who trafficked in the lands of the church without restraint. A boy of fifteen or sixteen, a kinsman of Archbishop Young, was admitted to the prebends of Husthwaite and Barnby, and enjoyed their fruits without a dispensation, while pursuing his studies at Oxford. The prebends of Osbaldwick and Grindale had been leased to the archbishop's secretary, and had been sold by him.⁷⁵ The nepotism of Archbishop Sandys in the matter of collations to prebends was one chief cause of his unpopularity.⁷⁶

Royal injunctions in 1547 laid special stress upon preaching and the study of theology by the chapter. A library was to be set up in the church within a year, and four English Bibles were to be provided, two in quire, and two elsewhere for the use of lay-folk. The canonical hours were fixed so as to avoid services after dark as far as possible. Choral copes were forbidden; and the number of daily masses was restricted to one at nine in the morning.⁷⁷ Archbishop Holgate's injunctions of 15 August 1552 followed out the spirit of these commands, formulating a table of preaching turns, and establishing lectures in divinity for the benefit of the inferior clergy of the church, who were to submit to a monthly examination upon their subjects. The duty of constant reading of the Scriptures and committing them to memory was enforced on the vicars choral and deacons. The church was to be cleared of all its provision for images of the saints, and texts of Scripture were to be painted up on the cleansed surface of the walls. The organ was silenced, and singing was practically confined to Sundays and festivals.⁷⁸ Grindal's injunctions of 10 October 1572 revised Holgate's order of preaching turns. While Holgate had provided for the devout and frequent reception of the Blessed Sacrament, Grindal, allowing the chapter some discretion with regard to celebrations on Sundays and festivals, fixed compulsory communion at once a month, viz., on six festivals and six times on the first Sundays of months in which these festivals did not fall. He also took order for the revision of the statutes.⁷⁹ Such archiepiscopal injunctions were rendered possible by the changed conditions of the church. The republic which had imposed a compromise upon Romanus and Melton was fettered by new regulations. The dean, its president, was no longer freely elected by the chapter, but by a *congé d'élire* from the Crown. At the same time, Grindal's proposed alteration of the statutes never came into effect.

⁷⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1174 n.

⁷⁶ See 'Eccl. Hist.' above, p. 54.

⁷⁷ Frere, *Visit. and Injunctions*, ii, 153-7

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* ii, 310-12.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* iii, 45-54.

The injunctions concerning Holy Communion seem to have produced some slackness, for celebrations were practically confined to the great festivals until in 1617 Dean Meriton established a celebration once a month.⁸⁰ At the Restoration Archbishop Frewen did something to improve the state of the services, and brought back the organ, which, if it had not fallen into disuse as the result of Holgate's strict measures, had been removed during the Puritan ascendancy.⁸¹ Archbishop Dolben's injunctions, which bear date 10 April 1685, provided for the more decent conduct of services, and restored the weekly communion which Holgate had encouraged.⁸² But, even during the most reverent period of the 17th century, the services suffered from defects, on which the famous letter of Charles I to the dean and chapter supplies some information.⁸³

The statutes of residence were revised by royal injunctions in 1698. In the 18th century the resident chapter and governing body of the church consisted of the dean and four residentiary prebendaries, each of whom resided for a quarter of the year, and drew his stipend from his prebend. The remaining prebendaries received incomes from their prebends, but their connexion with the church was little more than nominal. The richer prebends were leased out, and the fines paid for renewal of leases amounted to a considerable sum. This state of things continued until 1840-1. In 1836 the list of prebendaries shows that the stalls were held for the most part by wealthy pluralists, whose chief benefices were in other dioceses.⁸⁴ The Act of 3 and 4 Victoria deprived succeeding prebendaries of their prebendal incomes, and thus converted the tenure of a stall into a distinction for honourable service within the diocese. The decanal *congé d'élire* was abolished, and the appointment to the deanery became subject to royal Letters Patent. Four residentiary canonries, also in the appointment of the Crown, were provided with fixed yearly stipends; these, to which a prebendal stall is not necessarily attached, are now in the collation of the archbishop. The dignities of precentor and chancellor, to which the stalls of Driffield and Laughton are still annexed, are usually, though not of necessity, held by residentiaries; while the offices of treasurer and sub-treasurer since the Reformation have devolved upon the dean.

There are three seals of the chapter in the British Museum collection, of the 13th,⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Ornsby, *Dioc. Hist. of York*, 400.

⁸¹ Bradshaw and Wordsworth, *op. cit.* 94 n.

⁸² Ornsby, *op. cit.* 399-400.

⁸³ See 'Eccl. Hist.' above.

⁸⁴ See the official clergy list, drawn up for the Royal Commission in that year. The fines from prebends in the last three years are noted in the list; those from Knaresborough prebend amounted to £2,688, those from Fenton and Warthill to £2,500 each.

⁸⁵ *Cat. of Seals*, B.M. 2370, D.C., D.43.

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17th,⁸⁶ and 18th⁸⁷ centuries respectively. Each is a vesica with a figure of St. Peter.

208. THE BEDERN, YORK

The existence of vicars choral at York, as in other collegiate establishments, was the natural result of non-residence on the part of the canons, who delegated their duties in the church to deputies. The appointment of king's clerks, whose ordinary occupations made them incapable of constant residence, to canonries was a custom of early growth, and thus vicars came into being by degrees. In process of time each of the thirty-six canons had his own vicar. Although they were not incorporated by royal Letters Patent until a late date, the vicars possessed common property as early as the 13th century, and were placed in the time of Archbishop Gray under the control of the sub-chanter, whose duties as warden and keeper of their common fund were similar to those of the provosts of Beverley and other colleges.¹ Their common dwelling, known as the Bedern, was given to them by William of Laneham, canon of York, before 1248²; the name Bedern, which was in use at Beverley to signify the common hall of the college, probably means a 'house of prayer,' and was thus appropriated to the dwelling of clergy who were continually occupied in the service of the church.³

Many grants of property were made to the vicars and their warden during the 14th century. In 1331 Henry le Vavasour granted them the advowson of Ferry Fryston, out of which they were to maintain three chantry priests, two in York Minster and one in the chapel of Hazlewood or the church of Fryston.⁴ The area of the Bedern was enlarged in 1335 by the grant of a piece of land at the corner of Aldwark and St. Andrew's Street made by the mayor and commonalty of York.⁵ In 1339-40 they were appointed trustees for the chantry in the minster and the obit provided for by the will of Nicholas of Huggate, Provost of Beverley.⁶ In 1348, Thomas de Ottely and William de Cottingham founded a chapel in the Bedern in honour of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin and St. Katherine.⁷ There was also a chantry of 5 marks value attached to this chapel.⁸ Although they had received no formal charter of incorpora-

tion they are called the college of thirty-six vicars in the Letters Patent of 1 January 1393-4, by which they received a grant in frankalmoign of the advowson of St. Sampson's in consideration of their purpose to resume their original common life in their hall by the churchyard of the minster.⁹ They are stated to have been living in separate houses—a dispersion which was probably encouraged by their condition under Archbishop Nevill, whose tyranny was most successfully exercised over them.¹⁰ The grant of St. Sampson's was made on condition that the vicars should keep the obit of Richard II and his queen yearly, and chant an appropriate antiphon and collect daily after compline before the image of St. John the Baptist in the minster.¹¹

The revival of the common life of the Bedern is marked by the grant, in May 1396, of a licence to construct a gallery from the solar of the vicars' gatehouse to that of the gatehouse of the close, on the other side of Goodramgate, and so avoid the risk of crossing the street on their way to and from service, especially after dark.¹² In June of the same year vicars who were entertained, according to custom, by the residentiaries, were restrained from sharing the fruits of St. Sampson's during these absences.¹³ The allocation of these fruits to the common fund and individual vicars was determined by an ordinance of the dean and chapter, bearing date 24 May 1399.¹⁴ No vicarage was ordained in St. Sampson's, and Henry IV in 1403 allowed the church to be served by a sufficient conduct, without endowment of a vicarage.¹⁵

The habits of the vicars for some years before the revival of the Bedern are indicated by the *comperta* at some of the chapter visitations. Some of them in 1362 walked about the streets dressed like laymen and wearing knives and daggers.¹⁶ In 1375 they objected to the use of the organ on the quire-screen at high festivals unless they were treated to wine by the residentiaries.¹⁷ An order in 1408 was made forbidding the service of wine to them at or after meals, which led to a serious quarrel with the chapter and the expulsion of the sub-chanter.¹⁸

The incorporation of the vicars as a college, with the sub-chanter as warden, was obtained from Henry V by Letters Patent bearing date 26 May 1421.¹⁹ In 1459, the dean and chapter acquired the advowson and impropriation of Nether Wallop, in Hampshire,^{19a} on their behalf.

⁸⁶ *Cat. of Seals*, B.M. 2371, Add. Chart. 1805.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 2372, lix, 45.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi, 1475.

² *Ibid.*; see a qualifying note by Raine, *Archbp. Gray's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 245

³ See A. F. Leach, *Beverley Chapter Act Book* (Surt. Soc.), i, pp. 1, li.

⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1330-4, p. 103.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1334-8, p. 163.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1338-40, p. 417.

⁷ Drake, *Ebor.* 573.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1391-6, p. 386.

¹⁰ See *Hist. Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 323.

¹¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1391-6, p. 386.

¹² *Ibid.* 1391-6, p. 712.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 725.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 1399-1401, p. 172.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 1401-5, p. 235.

¹⁶ *York Fabric Rolls* (Surt. Soc.), 242-3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 243.

¹⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1416-22, p. 360.

^{19a} *Ibid.* 1452-61, p. 512.

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The most important addition to their property was the royal grant in 1484 of the advowson of the church of Cottingham with licence to appropriate.²⁰ A visitation in 1472 shows that the non-resident canons left the entire control of the minster to the vicars, and that the vicars were not careful of their trust. Some of them came into church as late and went out as early as possible. Quire services did not begin until some time after the last peal had sounded. The sub-chanter and three vicars were incontinent. Frequent absence from church was common; and, while the statutes required twelve vicars to be present daily on each side of the quire, as many as four were rarely to be found in their places. The Bedern gate was often left open and without a light until ten o'clock at night. Among the vicars, John Fell was conspicuous for his misdeeds. He said mass hardly once a fortnight; he was a nightwalker, seldom returning home by ten o'clock; he talked and laughed in quire, and excited some envy and strife by the messages which were brought to him in the common hall from 'temporal lords.' When the Bible was read in hall, Fell and others would sit by the fire and talk.²¹

Carelessness of this kind was probably responsible for the neglected state of the minster in 1519.²² At the visitation of 1544-5 there were very few vicars, and several were in ill-health, while those who could attend to their duties took their full period of leave, as they had done when the college was full.²³ In 1546-7 their property was valued with that of other colleges, and was sold; it amounted to a yearly revenue of £255 7s. 8d.²⁴ It was subsequently restored to them; but the number of vicars was reduced, and the college, as it exists to-day, consists of a sub-chanter and four vicars, the revenues of whose estates have been commuted for fixed stipends.

209. ST. MARY AND THE HOLY ANGELS, YORK, *alias* ST. SEPULCHRE'S

The college of St. Mary and the Holy Angels, York, was founded some time between the years 1154 and 1161 by Archbishop Roger de Pont l'Evêque,¹ who endowed it with ten churches and their revenues, of which Otley (a moiety), Everton, Sutton, Hayton, Bardsey and the chapel of Scrooby were the archbishop's own gift; the other four were Calverley of the gift of William de Scoty, a moiety of Hooton Pagnell of the gift of William Paynell, Hare-

wood of the gift of Avice de Rumilly, and Thorp Arch of the gift of Adam de Bruys and Ivetta his wife.²

The college was to consist of thirteen members. They were not called canons or prebendaries in the charter, but *clerici*. One of them was to be the sacrist, four were to be priests, four deacons, and four sub-deacons. Each priest was to have an annual stipend of 10 marks, each deacon was to have £5, and each sub-deacon 6 marks. The sacrist was to administer the college finance, his own stipend to be at least 10 marks. If the revenue arising from the college properties were not at any time sufficient to pay the stipends of the staff, amounts *pro rata* were to be deducted from the various stipends, so as to leave a clear net income of 10 marks for the sacrist; but if there were more than sufficient for the stipends, then the surplus was to go to augment the stipend of the sacrist. The witnesses to the document were Robert the dean, Hamo the precentor, Master Guy, Ralph and John the archdeacons.³

The collegiate society continued under this constitution until May 1258, when Archbishop Sewall de Bovill added to the original number two priests, who should say 'mass for the dead every day,' together with two deacons and two sub-deacons, making a total membership of the society, with the sacrist, of seventeen.⁴ With regard to the twelve existing canons, it was enacted that each of them residing in the city, near the chapel, should attend the various offices, and for each attendance at matins should receive 1d., at high mass 1d., and at vespers 1d.,—3d. daily. If absent 1d. was to be deducted for each 'hour,' a like deduction to be made even when present if they were quarrelsome or insolent. The new members of the college were to be present at the hours and high mass with the other ministers of the chapel, and were to say *Placebo*, *Dirige*, and other offices for the dead. And when the canons and ministers, through neglect or any other cause, should omit to say the office for the dead, the duty was to devolve upon the new members of the college. Each of the two priests was to receive 5 marks, each deacon 3 marks, and each sub-deacon 2½ marks yearly from the sacrist. For absence a priest was to forfeit 1d., and a deacon or sub-deacon ½d.

This ordination of 1258 confirmed the patronage of the prebends and sacristy to the archbishops, whilst the appointment and removal⁵ of the six additional members pertained to the sacrist. It also made provision that the services at the churches⁶ appropriated to the

²⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1476-85, p. 507.

²¹ *York Fabric Rolls* (Surt. Soc.), 251 seq.

²² *Ibid.* 267 seq.

²³ *Ibid.* 273-4

²⁴ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 28.

¹ Walbran, *Guide to Ripon*, 25.

² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1182.

³ *Ibid.* ⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ The six could be dismissed at will by the sacrist.

⁶ These churches were Thorp Arch, Collingham, Bardsey, Otley, Calverley, Hooton Pagnell, Sutton, Everton, Hayton, Clarborough, Retford.

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college should not be neglected, and in each of them a vicarage was ordained, the presentations to be in the hands of the sacrist. The sacrist at the time of Sewall's ordination was Gilbert de Tiwa, and at the end of the document it was ordered that, 'Since the labourer is worthy of his hire, and Master Gilbert de Tiwa has worked faithfully,' a solemn anniversary shall be celebrated in his honour each year in the cathedral as well as in the chapel and the various churches belonging to it.⁷

The invocation of the college chapel was 'St. Mary and the Holy Angels.' It has sometimes, but mistakenly, been called the chapel of the 'Blessed Mary, St. Michael and the Holy Angels,'⁸ and frequently it was referred to, in the later stages of its history, as 'St. Sepulchre's Chapel.'⁹ When it was first called by that name, and why, is not clear. The explanation is probably connected with the duties of the six officers appointed in 1258, who had, among other things, to celebrate daily in the chapel for the dead. But other explanations have been adduced.¹⁰

In the two lists of churches belonging to the college there are differences. In Archbishop Sewall's ordination Harewood Church and Scrooby Chapel¹¹ are missing, whilst Collingham, Clarbrough and Retford are additional to Archbishop Roger's list. Harewood disappeared because of a claim made against the canons that the patronage belonged to the lord of the manor of Harewood. Trials took place in 1201 and 1209, and judgement was given against the sacrist.¹² Collingham was conferred upon the college by Richard de Morville.¹³ The circumstances connected with the acquisition of Clarbrough and Retford are not known. The church of Hooton Pagnell had been originally given to Holy Trinity Priory,¹⁴ York, then later it was given by William Paynell to Nostell Priory, the donor threatening with a curse anyone who should interfere with the benefaction.¹⁵ But, notwithstanding the malediction, the same William granted a moiety to Archbishop Roger for his new foundation.¹⁶ The other half of the church belonged to the priory at York, though the chapel of St. Mary seems invariably to have

exercised the right of patronage. The matter was probably arranged by a money payment to Holy Trinity, which was received until the Dissolution.¹⁷

According to Chancellor Raine, the founder took special care that there should be no collision between the new college and the minster staff. But, this care notwithstanding, frequent misunderstandings arose. The college was too near the cathedral¹⁸ for perfect harmony, and the minster clergy looked with jealous eyes upon the new canons. As time wore on, however, they seemed to fuse, especially when the chapel canons relieved the cathedral clergy of some of their duties, and when the prebends of the chapel were tenable in plurality with the cathedral canonries.¹⁹

A considerable disturbance took place in connexion with the sacristy about 1290. Thomas de Corbridge, the future primate, in that year resigned the minster chancellorship in order to accept the sacristy. Then he discovered that there was much litigation with respect to the revenues of the college, and taking advantage of his conditional acceptance of the office he resumed his stall as chancellor. But a new chancellor had been appointed meanwhile, and great friction ensued, in the end Corbridge being under excommunication for the greater part of a year.²⁰ In the following year there was a dispute concerning the tithes at Collingham and Bardsey between Corbridge and the Abbot of Kirkstall, but the matter was amicably arranged.²¹

The sacristy and prebends became very lucrative possessions,²² and were often held by distinguished ecclesiastics.²³ But just before the Dissolution things appear to have become somewhat slack, and Archbishop Lee, in a visitation made in 1534, complained of a number of irregularities,²⁴ which he ordered to be remedied. The college was, of course, untouched by the Dissolution, but was suppressed with other similar institutions in the reign of Edward VI.

The 1546 survey gives the balance sheet, showing a 'clere' remainder of £165 11s. 11d., and also the stipends and other charges according to the foundation rate as £161 1s. 8d.²⁵ The

¹⁷ The *Pope Nicholas Taxation* (Rec. Com. 299b) gives the payment as £10 13s. 4d.; in 1538 it was £9 6s. 8d. (Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 685).

¹⁸ It stood between the north aisle of the nave and the archbishop's palace. The built-up wall of the door leading from the chapel to the minster may still be seen.

¹⁹ Mag. J. de Waltham, e.g., was a cathedral canon and sacrist of the chapel in 1387 (*Fasti Ebor.* 464 n.)

²⁰ *Fasti Ebor.* 354, 355.

²¹ Pat. 16 Edw. II, pt. ii, m. 6.

²² *Fasti Ebor.* 354.

²³ Sacrist Corbridge, e.g., became primate, and Sacrist Gilbert Segrave became Bishop of London.

²⁴ *Brit. Assoc. Handbk.* (York), 176-7.

²⁵ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 6, 7.

⁷ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1182-3.

⁸ Stapleton, *Holy Trinity Priory*, 47 n., 107.

⁹ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 5.

¹⁰ See *Brit. Assoc. Handbk.* (York), 176.

¹¹ But Scrooby Chapel was probably included under Sutton, for it remained at the Suppression (see *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* [Surt. Soc.], 6).

¹² Stapleton, *Holy Trinity Priory*, 47 and note.

¹³ Lawton, *Coll. Rerum Eccl.* 59.

¹⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 682, from Rec. de Term. Trin. 3 Hen. IV. rot. 14, Scacc. penes Remem. Regis.

¹⁵ Stapleton, *Holy Trinity Priory*, 106.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 107.

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210. ST. WILLIAM'S COLLEGE, YORK

1548 report gives details of the stipends of the staff, their ages, their condition, and also, with a view to the arranging of the pensions, their stipends from other sources. The sacrist, Thomas Magnus, was eighty-six years of age, and besides his stipend of £43 5s. held other benefices to the value of £572 8s. 9d., and most of the prebendaries also possessed additional sources of income.²⁶

On the 1548 certificate is also a memorandum showing a sum of £26 13s. 4d. distributed yearly to the poor in the appropriated parishes.²⁷

SACRISTS

Gilbert de Tiwa, occurs 1236,²⁸ died 1266²⁹
 Peter de Erehun, appointed 1266³⁰
 Percival de Lavannia, died 1290³¹
 Thomas de Corbridge, appointed 1290,³²
 occurs 1296³³
 Francis Gaeteno, occurs 1300³⁴
 John Bouhs, appointed 1300³⁵
 Gilbert de Segrave, occurs 1304³⁶
 John Bouhs *alias* Busshe, appointed 1304,³⁷
 occurs 1333³⁸
 John de Waltham,³⁹ occurs 1387,⁴⁰ 1388⁴¹
 Roger Weston, appointed 1388,⁴² 1397⁴³
 John Gisburne, appointed 1459⁴⁴
 Thomas Magnus, occurs 1546,⁴⁵ 1548⁴⁶

The 14th-century seal⁴⁷ of the canons is a vesica, 2½ in. by 1¾ in., with a design of our Lady, crowned and seated, holding the child. Above is the sun between two angels issuing from cloud who support the canopy of the chair and the crown of the Virgin. On either side of her chair is a candle, and below is a mitred figure praying, probably representing Archbishop Roger de Pont l'Évêque, the founder. The legend is :

S' CANONICORꝰ CAPELLE BĒ MARIE ET ANGELOꝝ
EBORꝰ.

²⁶ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 428-30.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 430.

²⁸ *Archbp. Gray's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 74.

²⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1258-66, p. 557.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Fasti Ebor.* 354

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Cal. Pat.* 1292-1301, p. 197.

³⁴ *Fasti Ebor.* 356.

³⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1292-1301, p. 512.

³⁶ *Fasti Ebor.* 356.

³⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1301-7, p. 227.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 1330-4, p. 396.

³⁹ Archdeacon of Richmond.

⁴⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1385-9, p. 348.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 498.

⁴² *Ibid.* 503.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 1396-9, p. 83.

⁴⁴ *Hist. of Hemingbrough*, 75.

⁴⁵ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 5.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 428.

⁴⁷ *Cat. of Seals*, B.M. 4396, xlvi, 725.

In connexion with the cathedral church of York, a great number of chantries were founded from time to time. By the middle of the 15th century, in addition to those served by priests connected with the Bedern and St. Sepulchre's, there were no less than twenty-three whose incumbents were unattached to any corporate body. On 11 March 1455, therefore, King Henry VI, knowing that these priests, for want of a proper habitation, had to lodge in laymen's houses where women were, which was repugnant to the order of the church and the decency of the clergy, granted licence to Archbishop William Booth, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, Richard Andrew, dean, John Castell, precentor, John Bernyngham, treasurer, Stephen Wilton, Archdeacon of Cleveland, and John Marshall, canon of York, to erect a college for these unattached priests. The place intended was the house appropriated to the prebend which the Prior of Hexham held, namely, Salton House,¹ but the licence also added 'or any other convenient place as they may think fit.'² The college was to be dedicated to the honour of St. William, sometime Archbishop of York, and was to be called 'The College of Parsons having Chantries in the Metropolitan Church of York.' The priests were to elect yearly one of themselves to supervise the rest of his fellow-priests, their college and goods, and for that year he was to be called the 'supervisor' of the college. They were to be a corporate body, and the dean and chapter were to make statutes for their governance.³ The king also gave permission for the college to purchase lands, &c., to the value of 10 marks yearly, in order to recompense the dean and chapter and the prior for their house, as well as for the maintenance of the college when built; such lands when acquired to be given to the dean and chapter and prior.

This grant was never carried into effect.⁴ King Edward IV, however, on 11 May 1461,⁵ made a re-grant of the licence with certain important differences. The licence was given to George Nevill, Bishop of Exeter, who became Archbishop of York three years later, and to his brother Richard, Earl of Warwick, and their heirs conjointly and severally. Instead of an annually elected supervisor there was to be a provost appointed for life, the first to be chosen from among the chantry priests by the said

¹ Torre's MS. (Minster) gives 'Salton House' in the margin. See also Drake's *Eboracum*.

² Torre's MS. (Minster), fol. 1400.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Drake's *Ebor.* 57.

⁵ Pat. 1 Edw. IV. pt. ii, m. 17; Torre's MS. (Minster), fol. 1401.

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bishop and earl or their heirs. The priests were to be called 'fellows.' Vacancies in the provostry were to be filled within six days by the election of one of the fellows, to be decided by a majority of votes, such election always to be held in the mansion-house of the fellows. The college properties were to be administered by the provost for the general good of the house, and he was to have precedence over all his brethren 'in pre-eminence, priority, honour, and residence,' in all offices, masses, vespers, and processions, and no fellow was to intermeddle in any matter without the express command of the provost. They were to be a body corporate and have a common seal.⁶ The provost was to choose the principal chamber for himself, and allocate chambers to the others. A committee of the provost and three of the brethren, who were to be chosen by the provost, were to have power to ordain statutes for the government of the college. All infringements of those statutes, &c., were to be punished by the committee, who, at their discretion, might expel from the college when necessary. The king also granted licence for the college to purchase lands, &c., to the annual value of 100 marks, with which they were to recompense the dean and chapter and other canons residentiary for the properties given to the fellows for their dwelling-place.⁷ The site, as proposed by the grant of Edward IV, was to be 'within the close of the said church in any messuage or place belonging to any canonship, or in any other place within the city.'⁸ Probably the place eventually selected included Salton House. At all events when the college was suppressed one of the items of annual expenditure was, 'to the prebendarye of the prebend of Salton for rente out of the saide college, 40s.'⁹

The building was taken in hand at once, it appears; and on 25 January 1465 a royal grant was made to the provost, 'Christopher Borough, and the brethren of St. William, York, of all those stones called "freestone" lying within the quarry of Hodlestone by the bank of the River Ouse, for the better building of the college.'¹⁰ Further evidence of the building of the house is to be found in a will made March 1466-7 by John Marshall,¹¹ one of the fellows.

⁶ Torre's MS. (Minster), fol. 1402.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid. fol. 1401.

⁹ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 8.

¹⁰ Pat. 4 Edw. IV. pt. ii, m. 7.

¹¹ He was the canon mentioned in the grant of Henry VI.

'I bequeath,' he says, 'for the building of the college by the parsons my brethren of the Cathedral Church, within the close of the same church, newly begun, 20s. I also leave for the use of the chapel of the said college, when it shall have been entirely finished, my *portiferium cum boses* and one book of morals to be chained in the said chapel.'¹²

In the 1546 survey the possessions of the college in York, Wilberfoss, Cleveland, Drax, Kirkburn, Gowdall, Rillington, Haworth, Helperthorpe, and Tollerton, amounted to £22 12s. 8d. a year. The yearly outgoings were £2 13s. 6½d., leaving a balance of £19 19s. 1¼d. The goods were assessed at £7 6s. 8d., and plate £12 18s.¹³ The 1548 survey gives the yearly income as £25 7s. 8d., the outgoings £2 11s. 7½d., the clear remainder £22 16s. 0½d., the provost being John Corney, sixty-one years of age, indifferently learned, but of honest conversation and qualities, with 40s. as his yearly portion out of the college, besides £8 for his chantry in the cathedral.¹⁴ Twenty-seven chantries were held by fellows of the college in 1546.¹⁵

There were, of course, other chantries in the Minster served by the vicars choral and others, and it is difficult to separate them.

According to the 1546 survey, the college was 'to be continued.' But the recommendation was ignored, and in 3 Edward VI the site was granted to Michael Stanhope and John Belloe.¹⁶

PROVOSTS

Christopher Borough, occurs 1465¹⁷

Thomas Fox, occurs 1528¹⁸

Thomas Fairehere, occurs 1546¹⁹

John Corney, occurs 1548²⁰

The 14th-century seal,²¹ a vesica 2¾ in. by 1¼ in., has a figure of St. William, the archbishop, seated and blessing. Below is a lozengy shield of his traditional arms. The legend is:

S' COMMUNE COLLEGII S̄CI WILELMI EBORACENSIS

¹² *York Fabric R.* (Surt. Soc.), 72 n.

¹³ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 6.

¹⁴ Ibid. 430.

¹⁵ Ibid. 9-25.

¹⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1475.

¹⁷ Pat. 4 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 7.

¹⁸ *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), v, 253.

¹⁹ *Yorks. Chant. Surv.* (Surt. Soc.), 9.

²⁰ Ibid. 430.

²¹ *Cat. of Seals*, B.M. 4403, lxxv, 43.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

ALIEN HOUSES

211. THE PRIORY OF ALLERTON MAULEVERER

The priory of Allerton Mauleverer was a cell to the abbey of Marmoutier. It was founded in the reign of Henry I by Richard Mauleverer,¹ whose gifts Henry II confirmed, also making the monks free from all exactions of wapentakes, tridings, and danegeld, and from all manner of secular exactions and foreign service.²

An inquisition was held at Wetherby in August 1378,³ when the jurors found that there was at Allerton Mauleverer a certain priory belonging to the abbey of Marmoutier, that there was a dilapidated hall with chambers annexed, and other offices of the house, worth nothing beyond the reprises. The prior and monks at Allerton Mauleverer held the church there to their own proper uses. In all, the jurors estimated the possessions of the priory as yielding, on an average, £20 13s. 4d. a year. The reprises included for repairs of the chancel of the church and other buildings of the priory 30s. a year, for the maintenance of the prior and two monks⁴ who celebrated divine offices there, with other necessities, £20. The obligations amounted to £24, so that the expenses exceeded the revenue by 66s. 8d. a year.

According to Burton,⁵ the Abbot of Marmoutier was patron, and he appointed the prior, who was admitted by the Archdeacon of Richmond.

The priory of Allerton Mauleverer was granted by Henry VI to King's College, Cambridge.⁶ Of its internal history nothing is on record.

PRIORS OF ALLERTON MAULEVERER

Waleran, c. 1235⁷

Gilbert, c. 1245⁸

Geoffrey, occurs 1300⁹

John Dugas, occurs 1344¹⁰

Dionis Kabarus, occurs 1362¹¹

William de Virgulto, occurs 1364¹²

John Pratt *alias* Newport, occurs 1364¹³

¹ *Cal. Doc. France*, 445.

² Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1028, where the charter of Henry II is printed.

³ B.M. Add. MS. 6164, fol. 387.

⁴ This indicates the number of monks then in the priory.

⁵ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 258.

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1028.

⁷ Cott. MS. Claud. D. xi, fol. 60.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 1.

¹⁰ Baildon, MS. Notes.

¹¹ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 258.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

John Passu, occurs 1366,¹⁴ occurs as Johr

1369¹⁶

Guy de Bure¹⁶ *alias* Ruppe¹⁷

212. THE PRIORY OF BIRSTALL

In 1115¹⁸ Stephen Earl of Albemarle granted to the Benedictine abbey of St. Martin d'Auchy¹⁹ in the diocese of Rouen a large amount of property in Holderness and the north-east of Lincolnshire. Indeed, the property formed the chief endowment of the abbey. The grant included the churches of Birstall, Paull, Skeffling, Withernsea, Owthorne, and Alborough in Holderness, besides several chapels and considerable secular property.²⁰

To superintend this English property, the abbot sent some monks (how many is uncertain) with a prior or procurator at their head. These monks formed a small monastic cell at Birstall, and in June 1219²¹ Archbishop Gray directed that the chapel of St. Helen at Birstall, where the monks were, should receive the great and small tithes of Skeffling, with all obventions and profits, for the use of the monks. Their chapel of Birstall was to be in no way subject to the church of Easington, but the prior was to nominate a parochial chaplain to the rural dean, removable at the prior's pleasure. The chaplain was to report to the dean as to the 'excesses' or the parishioners, and was to keep chapter. From the latter provision it would seem that one of the monks was to be chaplain. In 1229,²² with consent of the abbot, the archbishop varied the earlier ordinance, at the same time making more definite the relation of the abbot to some of the churches.

The inconvenience to the abbey of its main endowment being in England must have been very great, for in time of war between the two countries its chief revenues would be withheld.

In 1381-2²³ Richard II, having Birstall Priory in his possession, made a grant of it to

¹⁴ Pipe R. 40 Edw. III.

¹⁵ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 1. ¹⁶ Burton, loc. cit.

¹⁷ Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 1.

¹⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1019.

¹⁹ 'De Alceio,' Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1020, no. 1; 'd'Alcis,' or more commonly 'd'Auchy,' Fisquet, *La France Pontificale, Metropole de Rouen*, 452, 'Saint Martin d'Auchy ou d'Aumale.'

²⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1019, no. 1; Poulson, *Holderness*, ii, 513; Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 298.

²¹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1020, no. iii.

²² *Archbp. Gray's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 22. The earlier appointment of the archbishop was printed (*Mon. Angl.* vi, 1020, no. iii) from a document in St. Mary's tower, York.

²³ *Cal. Pat.* 1377-81, p. 606.

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the Prior and convent of Durham, because they had no place in the south to keep their live-stock safely, notwithstanding a previous grant to Thomas Sees, Prior of Birstall. They were to render 200 marks yearly at the exchequer, as the said Thomas, and 5 marks in addition, besides finding a competent maintenance of 10 marks yearly for the proctor; with power to remove the remaining alien monks in Birstall Priory, and replace them by as many English monks, or secular chaplains from Durham Priory, and after the death of the then proctor to replace him by an English one.

This, however, was cancelled, with the assent of the Prior of Durham, and the king granted on 18 May 1382 the custody of Birstall to the Prior of Birstall, John de Harmesthorp, clerk, and William de Holme.

From this it appears that besides the prior there were several monks, some of whom had already left, showing that the cell was of greater size than other evidences indicate. The seizure of what was the chief endowment of the abbey so impoverished it that 'en 1393²⁴ l'abbaye de Saint-Martin etait tellement ruinée, qu' à peine y pouvait-on celebrer l'office divin.' In 1395²⁵ the abbey of Aumale sold its Holderness property to Kirkstall, when the cell of Birstall came to an end. The property in Lincolnshire and Holderness was retained by Kirkstall till the Dissolution.²⁶

PRIORS OF BIRSTALL

Gilbert, occurs 1275²⁷

Ralph, occurs 1300,²⁸ 1304²⁹

Richard de Borrence, appointed 1322³⁰

Thomas Sees, occurs 1379,³¹ 1381³²

213. THE PRIORY OF ECCLESFIELD³³

According to Dodsworth,³⁴ the church of Ecclesfield was given to the abbey of St. Wandrille³⁵ in Normandy, by Richard de Lovetot in

²⁴ Fisquet, *La France Pontificale, Metropole de Rouen*, 453.

²⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 1021, no. v; with the sum they received (10,000 livres tournois), Charles VI of France permitted them to buy other lands in France (no. iv).

²⁶ Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 298-300.

²⁷ *Archbp. Giffard's Reg.* (Surt. Soc.), 254.

²⁸ York Archiepis. Reg. Corbridge, fol. 32b.

²⁹ *Ibid.* sed. vac. fol. 36b.

³⁰ *Ibid.* Melton, fol. 289.

³¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1377-81, p. 618.

³² *Ibid.* 606.

³³ Several deeds relating to the priory lands are entered in Add. MS. 27581.

³⁴ Hunter, *Hallamshire*, 258.

³⁵ Otherwise known as the abbey of Fontenelle; see Fisquet, *La France Pontificale, Metropole de Rouen*, 386.

the reign of Henry I.³⁶ In Archbishop Melton's register is a confirmation in 1323,³⁷ which records that at a late visitation of the diocese the archbishop found that the Abbot and convent of St. Wandrille, O.S.B., in the diocese of Rouen, held the church of Ecclesfield, and that the perpetual vicar of the church, 'qui a quibusdam vocatus prior de Eglesfeld,' had indicated that Ecclesfield Church had been appropriated to the abbey by Innocent II and Gregory [], formerly popes of Rome, that Roger (*sic*) de 'Love-toftes,' the patron, and at that time lord of Hallamshire, had given the church, and that Henry I had confirmed the gift. Archbishop Melton, at the instance of Hugh le Despenser, confirmed Ecclesfield Church to the abbey.

A few years earlier Archbishop Greenfield had also dealt with Ecclesfield Church. He cited on 24 July 1310³⁸ the Abbot and convent of St. Wandrille to appear before him on 4 November following, as he had found, when recently holding a visitation of the diocese, that the church of Ecclesfield had a large number of parishioners, widely scattered, and that there was no vicarage in the church, or any person charged with cure of souls. The result was the ordination of a perpetual vicarage on 7 December,³⁹ presentable by the abbot and convent, and on the following 20 April, brother Robert de Bosco, prior, was instituted to the vicarage.⁴⁰ He resigned in 1328,⁴¹ when he was described as lately 'rector seu custos, ac prior vulgariter nuncupatus.' His successor John, *dictus* Fauvel, monk O.S.B., was admitted 'ad ecclesiam, seu prioratum de Ekelisfeld,'⁴² and when he died in 1347, Archbishop Zouch admitted Robert Gulielmus 'ad ecclesiam, vicariam, custodiam, seu prioratum, beate Marie de Eglesfeld.'⁴³

Richard II in 1385⁴⁴ gave to the Carthusian monastery of St. Anne near Coventry the advowson of the church of Ecclesfield in Yorkshire, lately belonging to the Abbot and convent of St. Wandrille in Normandy, then in the king's hands, by virtue of a recovery of the same made in the court of the late King Edward, grandfather of the king. The priory of Ecclesfield seems to have had a shadowy existence. There was probably at no time a cell

³⁶ Jeremy of Ecclesfield, clerk, vicar of Ecclesfield, granted his rights in the church with its chapels of 'Seffeld, Bradefeld, and Witstan' to the abbot, who confirmed the perpetual vicarage to him for life. Add. MS. 27581.

³⁷ York Archiepis. Reg. Melton, fol. 157b.

³⁸ *Ibid.* Greenfield, fol. 79b.

³⁹ *Ibid.* fol. 85b.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 51b.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* Melton, fol. 175b.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.* Zouch, fol. 37b.

⁴⁴ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vi, 17, no. vii, quoting from the Patent Roll.

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there in the stricter meaning of the word, and apparently the connexion with St. Wandrille was severed in the time of Edward III.

PRIORS OF ECCLESFIELD

Peter de Sancto Romano, occurs 1287⁴⁵
 Robert de Bosco, occurs 1308,⁴⁶ instituted
 vicar also 1311,⁴⁷ res. 1328⁴⁸
 John de Fauvell, appointed 1328,⁴⁹ died
 1347⁵⁰
 Robert Gulielmus, appointed 1347⁵¹
 John Burdet, occurs 1372⁵²

214. HOLY TRINITY PRIORY, YORK

This priory was the successor of a pre-Conquest house of canons, which in 1089 was 'almost reduced to nothing,' though it had been 'formerly adorned with canons and rents of farms and ecclesiastical ornaments.'⁵³ At what date this house of canons was built is unknown but by the year 1089 it was in the hands of Ralph Paynell, who in that year re-established the house, as a priory of Benedictines, subject to the abbey of Marmoutier, near Tours.⁵⁴

In the foundation charter of the Benedictine cell the invocation is given as the 'Holy Trinity'⁵⁵ but frequently it is referred to as 'Christ's Church,'⁵⁶ and in Domesday Book we find both ascriptions.⁵⁷ In post-Conquest days 'Holy Trinity' was the name generally used, but as late as 1175⁵⁸ we find it referred to as 'Christ's Church.' The latter seems to have been the original dedication, but eventually disappeared.⁵⁹

Ralph Paynell's charter was practically a re-foundation. Many of the churches and lands which he conferred upon the Benedictine house had formerly belonged to it as a house of canons.

There were fourteen churches, tithes from seventeen places, lands in numerous parts of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, a fishery at Drax, and the tithes of other fisheries.⁶⁰ This munificent beginning was increased in the following centuries by numerous benefactors.

During its existence the priory acquired several cells, the first of which was Allerton

Mauleverer.⁶¹ The connexion was of short duration, however, for Allerton soon acquired its independence, being subject only to Marmoutier from about the year 1110. The second cell was the priory of Hedley⁶² founded c. 1125, and the third was the priory of Tickford in the county of Buckingham, which was placed under Holy Trinity at the suppression of alien houses.⁶³ There was also a famous chantry chapel in York under the priory and served by its monks—the chapel of St. James's on the Mount.⁶⁴

Being an alien house, Holy Trinity suffered much during the various wars with France. The monks were sometimes suspected as granting asylum to French spies; they were charged with sending supplies to the enemy; and frequent disturbances took place at the priory in consequence of the unpopularity of the house during these years of conflict between the two countries. At such times the priory possessions were seized into the hands of the king, and in the Patent and Close Rolls there are numerous references to royal appointments to the churches belonging to Holy Trinity 'on account of the war with France.'

In 1402 Parliament asked the king to resume into his hands all alien priories 'except *conventual* priories.'⁶⁵ The Prior of Holy Trinity at that time, John Castell, satisfactorily showed that his house was conventual,⁶⁶ and whilst in 1414 nearly all the aliens were suppressed, amongst the number being Hedley and Allerton Mauleverer, Holy Trinity was spared;⁶⁶ and being naturalized on their own petition in 1426,⁶⁷ the house was thenceforward free from all connexion with Marmoutier, itself having practically the status of an abbey, and being frequently so referred to.⁶⁸

Some time during the reign of Henry VI (1422-61) the priory received the grant of another religious house, the hospital of St. Nicholas in the suburbs of York.⁶⁹

Another hospital of the same dedication was granted to the priory shortly afterwards—19 May 1466—the hospital of St. Nicholas by Scarborough.⁷⁰

During the 15th century the priory had become impoverished through the wars, the calls formerly made on them from Marmoutier, losses, misrule and misfortune, and in 1446 it

⁴⁵ York Archiepis. Reg. Romanus, fol. 89b.

⁴⁶ Ibid. sed. vac. fol. 106.

⁴⁷ Ibid. Greenfield, fol. 51b.

⁴⁸ Ibid. Melton, fol. 175b.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid. Zouch, fol. 37b.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Baildon, *Mon. Notes*, i, 50 (he was not vicar of Ecclesfield).

⁵³ Stapleton's paper, *Arch. Inst. Proc. York*, 1846, p. 18. ⁵⁴ *Yorks. Arch. and Topog. Journ.* iv, 236.

⁵⁵ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 682.

⁵⁶ B.M. *Cat. of Seals*, i, 823.

⁵⁷ Stapleton's paper, *Arch. Inst. Proc. York*, 1846, p. 1, and Bawdwen's *Domesday*, 196.

⁵⁸ Dodsworth MS. 7, fol. 198 (Bodl. Lib.).

⁵⁹ See *York Diocesan Mag.* for 1903, p. 23.

⁶⁰ Stapleton's paper, *ut supra*, 18, 19.

⁶¹ *Cal. Doc. France*, 445.

⁶² Tanner, *Notit. Mon.* quoting 'MS. v. cl, Ricardi Rawlinsoni.'

⁶³ Ibid. Bucks. xxvi.

⁶⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1461-7, p. 375.

^{65a} Cott. MS. Cleop. F. iii, fol. 32b-36.

⁶⁶ *Proc. of Privy Council* (Re. Com.), i, 191.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Pat. 4 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 8.

⁶⁹ See will of Joan Marshall, 22 Mar. 1427, in York Reg.

⁷⁰ York Corp. House Bks. vi, fol. 3. See account of St. Nicholas Hospital, above.

⁷¹ Pat. 6 Edw. IV, pt. ii, m. 20.

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was exempted from taxation, on the ground of poverty, the church then being so ruinous as to be unsafe for services.⁷¹ In 1478 a petition was made to the city council by the prior and convent asking for their good offices with the Duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III) on their behalf. Their supplication was evidently listened to, and their condition was much improved. The temporalities of the priory were valued in 1292 at £60 10s. 5d. a year⁷² together with pensions from various churches amounting to £32 2s. 8d.;⁷³ in 1379 the total revenues were £189 16s.,⁷⁴ in 1536 the gross annual value was £196 17s. 2d., the net being £169 9s. 10d.⁷⁵

At the visitation of the monasteries the condition of the house was severely reported upon, charges of sodomy, incontinence and superstition being brought against the prior and his brethren.⁷⁶ The prior evidently took some part in the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536,⁷⁷ but with his ten brother priests surrendered the house 11 December 1538,⁷⁸ receiving an annual pension of £22.⁷⁹ He lived till 1545, on 9 September of which year he made his will and desired burial in the 'quere of Trinitie Church Behynde the lectron.' To two of his old fellow-monks, William Gryme and Richard Stubbs, he left 6s. 8d. each, and the same amount to 'eury one of my Brethren if they be lyvinge and come into the countrie.'⁸⁰

PRIORS OF HOLY TRINITY⁸¹

Hermar, or Hicmar, c. 1112
 Martin, before 1122
 Robert, occurs 1130
 Helias Paynell, resigned 1143
 Philip, c. 1160-c. 1180
 Robert, occurs 1200-10
 William, occurs 1216, 1218
 Stephen, appointed 1231, occurs 1237
 Isembert, occurs 1242
 Renulfe, appointed 1242
 William, appointed 1248
 Geoffrey, appointed 1249, occurs 1254
 Roger Pepyn, occurs 1258-63
 William Wenge, occurs 1263
 Hamo, occurs 1265-73
 Bartholomew, occurs 1268
 Theobald, 1273 (?)
 Geoffrey de Beaumont, occurs 1276, died 1281

⁷¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1446-52, p. 69.

⁷² Allen, *Hist. of York Co.* 159, quoting from Pope Nicholas Taxation.

⁷³ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 683.

⁷⁴ Add. MS. (B.M.) 6164, fol. 388.

⁷⁵ Lawton, *Relig. Ho.* 49. ⁷⁶ Drake, *Ebor.* 264.

⁷⁷ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xii (1), p. 536.

⁷⁸ Thoresby, *Vicaria Leodiensis*, 36.

⁷⁹ *L. and P. Hen. VIII.* xiii (1), p. 575.

⁸⁰ York Reg. of Wills.

⁸¹ From Solloway, *Alien Benedictines of York.*

Simon de Reda, 1282 (?)
 John de Insula, appointed 1283, occurs 1304
 Oliver de Bages, occurs 1307-8
 Geoffrey, occurs 1318-23
 Hugh Aubyn, occurs 1327-31
 John, occurs 1335, deposed 1340
 Odo Friquet, appointed 1340, deposed 1341
 Richard de Chichole, occurs 1345
 John de Chosiaco, occurs 1356-63
 Peter, occurs 1369
 John de Castell, appointed 1383
 [Walter Skirlaw, 'custos,' 1388-90]
 John de Coue, appointed 1390
 John de Castell, *alias* Eschall, appointed 1399, occurs 1434
 John Grene, elected without licence 1440,⁸² removed 1441⁸³
 Richard Bell, appointed 1441⁸⁴
 John Burn, occurs 1449-54
 William Pykton, occurs 1455
 John Parke, appointed 1455
 Thomas Darnton, occurs 1464-5
 John Parke, occurs 1465-7
 Thomas Darnton, occurs 1472-5
 Robert Huby, intruded 1472⁸⁵
 Robert Hallowes, occurs 1478-1503
 Richard Speight, *alias* Hudson, occurs 1531, surrendered 1538

The 14th-century seal *ad causas*⁸⁶ is a vesica, 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. by 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. with our Lady crowned and standing, holding the Child, between two figures of saints, perhaps St. Peter and St. Paul. Above the figures is the head of our Lord, and below them the prior praying. The legend is:—

✠ SIGILLVM DOMVS S̄C̄E TRINITATIS EBOR AD
CAVSAS DEPUTATVM

The 15th-century seal⁸⁷ is a vesica, 2 in. by 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., with a representation of the Holy Trinity between two suns. Below is a shield charged with a cinquefoil for Ralph Paynell, the founder. The broken legend runs

SIGILLVM . . . RATUS S̄C̄E TRINITATIS EBORACI

Another seal⁸⁸ (? 15th century) is a vesica with the Holy Trinity between the sun and moon. Below is a dog (?) passant. Legend:—

✠ SIGILLVM PRIORATUS SANCTE TRINITATIS IN
EBOR'

215. HEDLEY

The priory of Hedley was founded, according to Dr. Burton, during the reign of Henry I,⁸⁹

⁸² *Cal. Pat.* 1436-41, p. 503.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 538.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 524.

⁸⁵ Early Chan. Proc. bde. 47, no. 255; *Cal. Pat.* 1467-77, p. 355.

⁸⁶ *Cal. of Seals*, B.M. 4398, lxxv, 41.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 4399, lxxv, 42.

⁸⁸ Reproduced in Solloway, *Alien Benedictines of York*, 112.

⁸⁹ *Mon. Ebor.* 56.

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as a cell to Holy Trinity Priory, York. To this latter house Niel Fossard, it appears, had granted 'a certain site in Bramham Wood, which is called Hedley, and all the ground to the hill at Oglethorp,'⁹⁰ but whether this gift was made to the Benedictine house of Holy Trinity, or to its predecessor the house of Canons,⁹¹ is not quite clear. At all events the donation was afterwards referred to as the gift of Alexander Paynell⁹² and Agnes⁹³ his wife.

On a portion of this land the Trinity monks afterwards established a cell⁹⁴ which they dedicated to the honour of St. Mary. Burton and Tanner⁹⁵ both date it 'tempore Henry I,' and Dr. Rawlinson gives the exact year as 1125, but in Alexander Paynell's charter of c. 1125,⁹⁶ and in that of Henry II,⁹⁷ 1174-81, the priory is not mentioned, but simply the site. In the bull of Alexander III, however, of the date 1179, it is referred to as being in existence, the pope then confirming to the priory at York its 'cellulus de Hedleia cum omnibus pertinentiis suis.'⁹⁸

The reputed founder of Hedley Priory was Ypolitus de Bram,⁹⁹ but from his charter it is clear that he was not the founder, but that there were already monks there, and that the cell was then in existence under the dedication 'St. Mary.'¹⁰⁰ His gift was simply an addition to the Hedley possessions, and consisted of certain lands of his at Middleton, near Ilkley.¹

Two of the witnesses of a gift made by Adam Fitz Peter 'to God and St. Mary of Hedley' were Paulinus of Leeds and Robert de Gaunt, and the benefaction must therefore have been made during the period 1152-67.² Nothing further seems to be known of Hedley till 1290, when Peter de Middleton, a descendant of Adam Fitz Peter, confirmed the gifts of his ancestors, quitclaiming any supposed rights he might have had, to 'William the monk there,' and to the monks who should successively dwell there.³ Though it has been assumed that in 1290 there was only one monk, the statement scarcely warrants that assumption. It is more likely that the monk William was the chief brother, the prior, and that for that reason his name is mentioned as the one to whom the confirmation was made. At all events there were *monachi* in

Ypolitus de Bram's day, and an interesting item concerning St. Robert of Knaresborough shows that there were a number of brethren in his time. The Knaresborough hermit, it seems, fled from that place to Spofforth, and thence to Hedley, yielding to 'the invitation of the monks of Hedley.' But 'being dissatisfied with their conversation,' he returned to his former retreat at St. Hilda's.⁴

Though, as we have seen, Hedley had received certain possessions specifically intended for the benefit of the cell, yet the priory at York still owned the manor, and in 1377 it was leased for thirty-nine years to John de Berden, citizen of York, at an annual rent of 40s.,⁵ and this amount is recorded in an *inspeximus* of the Holy Trinity finances made in 1379.⁶ Before the termination of this lease the alien priories were suppressed in 1414 by the Leicester Parliament, Hedley being amongst the number of those mentioned in the 'Catalogue.'⁷ But the priory at York was spared,⁸ and the possessions of its suppressed cell came into its hands.

None of the names of the priors have been handed down unless it be William already mentioned as occurring in 1290.⁹

216. THE ALIEN PRIORY OF BEGAR NEAR RICHMOND

'The Abbey of Begare (*sic*) in Brittany having several estates in England particularly in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, there was a cell of alien monks of that abbey fixed near Richmond, temp. Henry III, which upon the suppression of these foreign Houses was granted first to the chantry of St. Ann at Thresk [Thirsk], then to Eton College, then to the priory of Mount Grace and at last to Eton College again.'¹⁰

There is really nothing to add to what Tanner has noted regarding this alien priory, the history of which seems to be quite lost, and Clarkson¹¹ says that the site of this priory was nowhere mentioned, but that at Moulton there were some old buildings, called the Cell. The property granted to Mount Grace, under the name of 'Begger,' was that of the mills at Richmond. This is made evident by a conventual lease,¹² granted by John, prior of the house of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary the Virgin of Mount Grace, to Cuthbert Pressyke on 6 October 1537, for his good and faithful service, of an annuity of £10 'de Beggare alias vocat' Richmond mylnes.'

⁴ *Mem. of Fountains* (Surt. Soc.), i, 167.

⁵ Pat. 5 Ric. II, m. 10.

⁶ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 684.

⁷ *Ibid.* vi, 1652. ⁸ See under Holy Trinity.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 687.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* vi, 1055.

¹¹ *Hist. of Richmond*, 32 n.

¹² Convent. Leases, Yorks. (P.R.O.), no. 521.

⁹⁰ Stapleton's paper, *Arch. Inst. Proc. York*, 1846, p. 103.

⁹¹ See under Holy Trinity Priory.

⁹² The fourth son of the founder of Holy Trinity.

⁹³ Agnes Fossard, the granddaughter of Niel.

⁹⁴ *Yorks. Arch. and Topog. Journ.* v, 316.

⁹⁵ 'MS. v. cl, Ric. Rawlinsoni.'

⁹⁶ In the possession of the late Lord Herries.

⁹⁷ Quoted in *Cal. Pat.* 1461-7, p. 377.

⁹⁸ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 682.

⁹⁹ *Notit. Mon.* Yorks. xlix.

¹⁰⁰ Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* iv, 686, quoting 'ex ipso autographo in Turri B. Mariae, Ebor.'

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

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WITH the circumstantial evidence of the earliest occupations of the district afterwards formed into the county of York we are not here concerned, nor yet with the less obscure period of the Roman occupation.¹ Towards the end of the Roman occupation this district must have suffered severely at the hands of the Picts and Scots. To repel these invaders Stilicho, the great general of Honorius, in 402 sent troops into Britain, but eight years later the condition of affairs on the Continent compelled the emperor to withdraw his forces from the island. Within forty years of the withdrawal of the Romans the Picts appear to have overrun all Yorkshire and even to have raided south of the Humber.

A doubtful tradition indicates that when Hengist and Horsa landed, about 450, in Kent with their Jutish followers they came at the invitation of the British king, Vortigern, to repel the Picts.² This seems improbable, and the history of the northern counties is a blank until 547, when Ida began to reign over Bernicia, between the Tees and the Cheviots, and, according to many authorities, also over Deira, the present Yorkshire.³ His capital was at Bamburgh, and on his death in 559 his sons only retained Bernicia, Deira passing to Ælle.⁴ When Ælle died, in 588, his son Edwin was only three years old, and Æthelric son of Ida at once seized Deira and became king of all Northumbria, which position he left in 593 to his son Æthelfrith 'Flesaur' (the Devastator), who pushed the English dominion westwards, inflicting a crushing defeat on the Britons at Chester in 613.⁵ Four years later Edwin, with the assistance of Redwald the powerful king of the East Anglians, defeated and killed Æthelfrith at Retford in Nottinghamshire, and became King of Northumbria. Until this time the British kingdom of Elmet had remained independent, but Edwin expelled its prince, Cerdic,⁶ and united it to Deira, ruling his whole kingdom with firmness and justice. An attempt to assassinate Edwin on behalf of Cwichelm of Wessex, made in 626, while the king was at one of his palaces on the Derwent, possibly at Auldby in the East Riding, nearly proved successful and had important results, as Edwin, with a rather imperfect appreciation of Christian ethics, vowed to give his new-born daughter to God if he might be revenged upon his enemies,⁷ and in the following year the king was himself baptized at York. The growing power of Edwin alarmed Penda of Mercia, and drove him into an alliance with Cadwallon, King of Gwynedd, who had suffered defeat at Edwin's hands. In 633 the allies advanced towards York, and on 12 October Edwin met them at Hatfield, 7 miles from Doncaster. The resulting battle ended in the complete defeat of Edwin and his death. Northumbria fell into the hands of Cadwallon, who occupied York, where Osric, as King of Deira, besieged him but was defeated and killed. Eanfrith, son of Æthelfrith, of Bernicia was treacherously slain by Cadwallon, but was speedily revenged by his brother, the pious Oswald, who held Northumbria until his defeat and death at the hands of Penda in 642. Deira now broke off from Bernicia under Oswine, grandson of Edwin, but in 651 Oswy of Bernicia, brother of Oswald, having married Edwin's daughter, claimed Deira. Oswine advanced against him to near Catterick, but then dismissed his army, and with a single attendant entrusted himself to a thegn, who betrayed him to Oswy, by whose orders he was murdered at Gilling.⁸ Oswy was now sole King of Northumbria, though

¹ For the evidences of these periods see *V.C.H. Yorks.* i, 357, and the volume on the Roman Remains of the six northern counties of England.

² Petrie and Sharpe, *Monum. Hist. Brit.* (Rec. Com.), 62. Against any legendary settlement of the northern counties by the sons or followers of Hengist may be set the fact that the settlers in this district were Angles and not Jutes; Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* (ed. Plummer), i, 31.

³ This is accepted by Ramsay (*Foundations of Engl.* i, 129), but Plummer (*Two Saxon Chrons.* ii, 14, 15) gives reasons for rejecting Ida as King of Deira.

⁴ The authority for the events related prior to the Norman Conquest, where other references are not given, is the *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), *sub annis.*

⁵ For the date see Plummer, *Two Saxon Chrons.* ii, 19.

⁶ *Monum. Hist. Brit.* (Rec. Com.), 76.

⁷ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* (ed. Plummer), i, 99.

⁸ Bede, *op. cit.* 155; Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, i, 188, n. 2.

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his nephew Æthelwald disputed the possession of Deira with him, and seems to have held at least the position of under-king in the North Riding.⁹ Meanwhile the aged Penda ravaged Northumbria as he pleased and scornfully refused to be bought off. At last Oswy was goaded into a desperate effort and met the forces of Penda, Æthelwald, and Æthelhere, King of the East Angles, in a pitched battle on the banks of the 'Winwood' near Leeds, probably at Win Moor in Barwick-in-Elmet, on 15 November 655.¹⁰ Penda's allies, Æthelwald and Cadwaladr of Gwynedd, proved treacherous and withdrew from the fight, which ended in a crushing victory for Oswy, Penda and thirty of his generals being left dead on the field.

For the next hundred years the history of Northumbria is little more than a catalogue of successive rulers, few of whom were wise enough to resign or fortunate enough to die before they were killed by their successors. Oswy died in 671, and Alchfrid his son, who had been acting as under-king of Deira, seems to have rebelled and been deprived of his kingship prior to this date,¹¹ Egfrith, another son of Oswy, now becoming King of Northumbria, and so remaining until his death during an expedition against the Picts in 685, when his half-brother Aldfrid succeeded. That king, a man of studious and literary tastes, died a natural death in 705 and was buried at Little Driffeld, but his son Osred was slain in 716 by Cenred and Osric. Cenred died two years later, but Osric survived until 730, when he was slain; Ceolwulf, his successor, the patron of Bede, reigned for seven years and then retired to the monastery of Lindisfarne, and his example was followed by Edbert, his cousin and successor, in 758. His son Oswulf reigned but one year and was then killed at Market Weighton;¹² Moll Æthelwold was elected, but was expelled in 765 by Alchred, who was deposed in 774 in favour of Æthelred, son of Æthelwold, who in his turn was banished in 779. The pious Ælfwold, son of Oswulf, was then elected, but upon his murder in 789 Æthelred returned; during his reign, in 793, the Danes or Northmen made their first appearance on the northern coast, ravaging Lindisfarne. Æthelred was slain in 795, and Osbald, who had seized the throne, was expelled after holding office for twenty-seven days,¹³ Eardwulf being crowned at York in May 796. Of him it is said that Æthelred had condemned him to death at Ripon in 790, but that during the performance of his funeral service in the monastery after his execution he was discovered to be still alive, and was nursed back to health by the monks of Ripon.¹⁴ After defeating at least one conspiracy against his throne he was driven out of the country by Ælfwold about the end of 807, but was restored through the influence of Pope Leo III and the Emperor Charles, whose daughter he is said to have married,¹⁵ and was succeeded in 810 by his son Eanred, who in 827 submitted to Egbert, the first king of all England.

For some fifteen years Yorkshire formed part of the West Saxon kingdom, but in 841, two years after the death of Egbert, Northumbria regained its independence under Æthelred son of Eanred.¹⁶ He was killed in 850 and was succeeded by Osbert. In 863 a rival to Osbert was put forward in the person of Ælla, a thegn not of royal blood, and Gaimar records a tradition that this was done by Beorn the Butsecarle in revenge for Osbert's dishonouring his wife.¹⁷ The tradition goes so far as to make Beorn call in the aid of the Danes, and though it is unlikely that they were invited it is certain that while Northumbria was torn by the rival factions of Osbert and Ælla the Danes, in 867, swarmed up out of East Anglia under Healfdene and Inguar, captured York and ravaged the neighbourhood, filling the land with blood and slaughter. Osbert and Ælla, in face of the common danger, joined hands and marched at the head of a large army, in March 868, to retake York; but though the Northumbrians forced their way into the city they were disastrously defeated, the two kings being slain and the army shattered.¹⁸ For the next few years the Danes seem to have retained York itself, wintering there in 869, but to have left the rule of Northumbria, and more particularly of Bernicia, in the hands of Saxons (Egbert, Ricsig, and Egbert II) with the nominal rank of kings.¹⁹ By 876 Deira had so far submitted to the invaders that Healfdene was able to portion the province out amongst his followers, and it is possible that from this time we may date the formation of the three Ridings. A few years later, in 883, a Danish Christian, Guthred or Cnut, son of Hardacnut, was elected King of Northumbria and made York his capital, from which city he issued coins,²⁰ as did Sicfred, who was associated with him from 893 till the following year, when Guthred died and Alfred's supremacy was acknowledged. On the death of Alfred, in 901, his nephew Æthelwold tried to seize the throne of Wessex, but being attacked by Edward the Elder, fled to the Northumbrians, by whom he was accepted as king.

⁹ Ramsay, loc. cit.

¹¹ Bede, *Ecll. Hist.* (ed. Plummer), ii, 198.

¹² Plummer, *Two Saxon Chrons.* ii, 48.

¹⁴ Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Regum* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 52.

¹⁵ Plummer, op. cit. 68.

¹⁷ Gaimar, *Hist. des Engles* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 84.

¹⁸ Symeon of Durham, *Op. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 54; ii, 74-5.

¹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ See Leadman, *Battles Fought in Yorkshire*, 3, 4.

¹³ Ibid. 63.

¹⁶ Plummer, op. cit. 84.

²⁰ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* iv, 74.

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Æthelwold was killed in 905 by Edward; and in 918, shortly before her death, Æthelflaed, the heroic 'lady of the Mercians,' compelled the men of York to acknowledge her supremacy. Within a few years, either in 919 or 923,²¹ Ragnall, a Scandinavian chief, came over from Ireland and seized York. He found it wise to do homage to Edward the Elder, in 924; and his brother, associate, and successor, Sihtric, King of Dublin, the following year married a sister of Athelstan, but died shortly afterwards, being succeeded by Guthfrith, whom Athelstan expelled in 927. Guthfrith made attempts to recover York, but Athelstan retained the city and destroyed the Danish citadel. The Scots proving troublesome, Athelstan advanced in 934 through Beverley and Ripon²² and inflicted a temporary check upon them; but in 937 his dominion in the north was threatened by a combination of the Scots, Strathclyde Welsh, and the Danes of Dublin. Athelstan seems to have assembled his forces at York and to have marched thence to the crowning victory of 'Brunanburh,' of which the site is much disputed.²³ Three years later Athelstan died and the Northumbrians shook off the West Saxon yoke, making Anlaf of Ireland, son of Sihtric, their king. Edmund of Wessex did not at once attempt to reconquer Northumbria, but contented himself with holding the northern boundary of Mercia, which is described as running from Dore, near Sheffield, to Whitwell and thence to the Humber, exactly on the lines of the southern boundary of the later Yorkshire. Anlaf, however, in 943 pushed southwards, taking Tamworth, and met Edmund at Leicester, where a treaty was made by which all England north of the Watling Street was to be held by Anlaf. Next year Edmund, possibly taking advantage of a revolt of Anlaf's subjects, seized Northumbria and expelled Anlaf and Ragnall son of Guthfrith, who appears to have been King of Bernicia. On the death of Edmund, Northumbria reasserted its independence, but Edred marched across the border to Shelf, near Halifax, and compelled the Witan to swear fealty to him. Hardly was his back turned when they broke their oath and set up Eric son of Harold Blue-tooth of Denmark as king.²⁴ Accordingly next year, in 948, Edred harried Northumbria, burning Ripon with its famous monastery; as he was returning southwards the army from York overtook his rearguard at Castleford, where the Roman road crosses the Aire, and slew a number of his men. Turning back in a rage, he was only kept from devastating the country afresh by the complete submission of the Northumbrians, who expelled Eric. In 949 Anlaf son of Sihtric recovered the Northumbrian throne, only to be deposed in 952 in favour of Eric, who in his turn was expelled and slain, according to one authority, on Stainmore,²⁵ on the borders of Yorkshire and Westmorland, in 954, when the northern kingdom ceased and Northumbria was constituted an earldom, with its seat at York.

For sixty years there is little to record, but in 1013 Swegen of Denmark, brother of that Eric who had once reigned at York, appeared with his fleet in the Humber and was at once accepted by Earl Uhtred and all Northumbria. The rest of England followed suit; but Swegen's reign was short, for next year he died at Gainsborough and was buried at York, whence his body was afterwards removed to Denmark. Uhtred then adhered to the party of Ethelred and Edmund, but in 1016 was treacherously slain at Wighill near Tadcaster²⁶ by Cnut, who gave his Yorkshire earldom to Eric son of Hakon.

In 1055 Earl Siward, who the previous year had led an expedition into Scotland against Macbeth, fell ill at York and, donning his armour for the last time, met death like a warrior²⁷ and was buried in the monastery of Galmanho which he had founded outside the city walls. His earldom was at once given to Tostig, son of the powerful Earl Godwine, a step which proved of tremendous national importance. Tostig was frequently absent from Northumbria, leaving the government to a deputy, Copsig,²⁸ and when in residence ruled with arbitrary harshness. The discontent of his subjects was increased by a series of treacherous murders, Gamel son of Orm and Ulf son of Dolfin being killed in the earl's house at York and Gospatric murdered at the royal court by Tostig's procurement.²⁹ At last, on 3 October 1065, the men of Yorkshire and Northumberland (which counties now appear for the first time under those names), led by Gamelbearn, Dunstan, and Gloineorn, attacked and plundered Tostig's palace at York, killing his retainers.³⁰ They then elected Morkere son of Earl Ælfgar as their earl, and under his leadership marched southwards through Northampton as far as Oxford. King Edward endeavoured to support Tostig's claims, but Harold threw his influence on the side of Morkere, and Tostig was obliged to go into exile.³¹ Mortification at the failure of his efforts on behalf of Tostig hastened the death of King Edward, and when that event occurred, on 5 January 1066, and Harold was at once elected

²¹ See Plummer, *Two Saxon Chrons.* ii, 130-1.

²² *Ibid.* 140-1.

²³ Ramsay, *Foundations of Engl.* i, 300.

²⁴ Henry of Huntingdon, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), 195-6.

²⁵ Symeon of Durham, *Op. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 97.

²⁶ *Ibid.* ii, 178.

²⁷ *Lives of Edward the Confessor* (Rolls Ser.), 422.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 138.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 147-8.

³⁰ Plummer, *op. cit.* 195.

³¹ *Ibid.*

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to the throne, Tostig resolved to be revenged upon his brother. He accordingly assembled a fleet and, after raiding the south-eastern coast, entered the Humber with the intention of seizing York, but was met and defeated by the Earls Edwin and Morkere; the seamen whom he had pressed into his service at Sandwich deserted him, his ships as they were leaving the Humber were attacked by Harold's fleet, and he escaped with difficulty with a small remnant of his forces to the hospitable court of Malcolm of Scotland. After a few months Tostig, with reinforcements from Scotland and the Orkneys, set sail and, joining with the fleet of Harold Hardrada, king of Norway, burnt Scarborough and once more entered the Humber. But now, instead of waiting time in plundering the land on either side of the river, as they had done before, the invaders pushed straight on up the Ouse to Riccall, 10 miles south of York. Here they left their ships and marched against the city. Edwin and Morkere again assembled a force and gave battle at Fulford, less than 2 miles from York, on 20 September. The fight was stubborn, but ended in a decisive victory for the Norsemen, who entered York without further fighting, making terms with the citizens and exchanging hostages. Meanwhile Harold, who had already since his accession paid one visit to York, was hastening northwards with his army, and on Sunday, 24 September, reached Tadcaster. For some reason, possibly by the terms of their agreement with the citizens, or possibly because the castle still held out, Tostig and Hardrada made no attempt to hold York, but, leaving a small force to guard their ships in the Ouse, moved northwards and camped at Stamford Bridge on the Derwent, where they were taken unawares by Harold. Their forces were lying on either side of the river, and those on the west bank had to be rapidly withdrawn. The centre of the struggle was the narrow wooden bridge, which for a long time was held single-handed by an heroic Norwegian, before whose battle-axe all assailants fell, until an Englishman, getting into a boat, or as local tradition declares a pig-tub, floated under the bridge and speared the hero through the gaping planks. This was the turning point of the battle, and the English, rushing across the bridge and through the stream, cut their opponents to pieces, killing both Tostig and Hardrada. A small remnant of the invaders fought their way back to their comrades in charge of the ships at Riccall, and Harold, who had already lost more men and time than he could afford in view of the threatened invasion from Normandy, gladly allowed the survivors to return unharmed when they had released the hostages and sworn to bear arms against him no more.³² Harold returned to York with rich plunder to rest his victorious but depleted forces, and was still there on 1 October when news reached him that William of Normandy, profiting by his absence in the north, had landed unopposed on the Sussex coast. He instantly returned at full speed to London and advanced with the troops from southern and central England to defeat and death at Hastings. To that defeat Earl Morkere and his brother Edwin contributed, for although they had gladly accepted Harold's aid to repel Tostig and his allies, they cared nothing for the cause of Harold, and kept back the northern contingent, whose presence might well have turned the scale against the Normans on the closely contested field of Hastings.

For a time Yorkshire, in common with the rest of England, accepted the change of rulers, the northern magnates doing fealty to William and being confirmed by him in their titles and possessions; but during his absence in Normandy in 1067 disaffection began to spread, and early in 1068 the county, and especially the neighbourhood of York, assumed the aspect of an armed camp. William advanced slowly northwards, strengthening his lines by building castles at Warwick and Nottingham, and Earl Morkere and his brother at once made their peace with him. Abandoned by their leaders and influenced by Archbishop Ealdred, the citizens of York hastened to make their submission and surrender the keys of the city to the king, who at once established a castle within the walls.³³ Early in 1069 a Norman force under Robert de Comines was annihilated at Durham, and shortly afterwards a detachment of troops under Robert Fitz Richard, Governor of York, was cut up, possibly while on their way to revenge the disaster at Durham.³⁴ These two unfortunate incidents encouraged the English to further resistance, and Edgar the Ætheling left Scotland and marched with Cospatric, Merleswein, Archil, and other English refugees, against York, raising the country to his aid.

William Malet, who was now in command at York, sent an urgent appeal for help to the king, who hastened to the rescue, scattered the besiegers, and after spending a week in the city planning the erection of a second castle, returned to the south, leaving William Fitz Osbern in command. A fresh attack was easily repelled by Fitz Osbern, who seems then to have withdrawn, appointing William Malet, Sheriff of Yorkshire, and Gilbert of Ghent as his successors. Meanwhile King Swegen of Denmark, urged by many of the northern English and spurred on by ambition of re-establishing a Danish dynasty, had fitted out a cosmopolitan force of Danes,

³² See Leadman, *Battles fought in Yorkshire*, 5-13, and the authorities there quoted.

³³ Orderic Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.* bk. iv, ch. 4.

³⁴ *Ibid.* ch. 5. This is the main source of the account of the northern rising and the harrying of Yorkshire.

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English, Saxons, Poles, Frisians, and heathen Letts for the invasion of England. After a series of feeble attempts to effect a landing on the south-east coast had been repelled with ease they entered the Humber, where they joined hands with the Ætheling, Waltheof Earl of Northampton, son of the great Siward of Northumbria, Cospatric, and the other leaders of the previous unlucky expedition. The allies now advanced on York, recruiting as they went; but the Norman commanders, secure in the strength of their castles, sent word to King William that they could hold York for a year. To make their position more secure they set fire to some outlying houses the possession of which might have assisted their assailants; unfortunately the flames spread and destroyed the greater part of the city, including the cathedral, in which Archbishop Ealdred, who had died of grief at the prospect of renewed war, had just been buried.³⁵ The fire had hardly died down when, on 21 September, the invaders reached the city. The garrison, either despising the enemy or finding their defences seriously weakened by the fire, sallied out to the attack, but were overwhelmed and massacred, William Malet and his family, Gilbert of Gant, and a very few other survivors being carried off as prisoners. The king was in Gloucestershire, but when the news of this disaster reached him he started at once on a mission of vengeance. At the news of the Conqueror's advance the Danes lost heart and retreated to Lindsey. William detached a force to rout them out of that district, while he himself ravaged Staffordshire and suppressed a rising there. Then resuming his march on York, where the enemy were once more concentrated, he was checked at Pontefract by the swollen waters of the Aire, and it was not until Lisois de Moustiers succeeded in finding a ford that the Normans were able to advance, and even then they had to proceed by narrow byways instead of using the great main road through Tadcaster. The terror of William's name, however, prevented any resistance, and the Danes retreated to their ships, leaving the king to enter his devastated city unopposed. William's first care was to repair his castles, and then he set about rendering further rebellion impossible. His recent experiences, coupled with what he must have known of the past history of Northumbria, had shown him that there was little prospect of reconciling Yorkshire, with its independent traditions, to his rule, and he therefore proceeded systematically to exterminate the population. Under his personal leadership the Norman forces marched through the forests, harrying the land, killing all who came in their way, guilty or innocent, destroying the villages, and burning the crops and the implements of husbandry. Yorkshire was left a wilderness, its blackened fields covered with dead bodies which there was none to bury. Famine followed, and for the next few years the scanty survivors who failed to obtain relief at Beverley, which almost alone escaped the devastation,³⁶ at York, risen phoenix-like from its ashes,³⁷ or outside the county,³⁸ were driven to live on horses, dogs and cats, and even, it was rumoured, to resort to cannibalism.³⁹ Meanwhile, William, having harried the East and North Ridings, returned to York to keep Christmas in state, the regalia having been brought up from Winchester.⁴⁰ He then dislodged the wretched remnant of the Danes who were clinging to the shore, apparently prevented by adverse winds from returning home, and in January set out to complete the ravaging of the North. Returning to York the Conqueror prepared to carry out similar operations westwards as far as Chester; but some of his troops, wearied with these expeditions in bad weather through difficult country yielding little plunder, proved mutinous. William, scornfully bidding the faint-hearted go their way, called on the faithful to follow him, and, sharing their hardships, completed his appalling policy of desolation by destroying the western district, and was at last able to dismiss his army with thanks and rewards,⁴¹ knowing that no rising could occur north of the Humber for many years to come.

Whether Morkere was still Earl of Yorkshire is not quite clear; he took no part in the northern rebellion, but in 1071, when Hereward made his last stand against the Normans, Morkere joined him in the Isle of Ely, and on the collapse of the English defence was committed to a lifelong prison. William kept the county in his own hands, but granted the western half of the North Riding to Alan le Roux of Brittany, practically as Earl of Richmond, while in the south-east of the county Odo of Champagne was in the same way established as virtual Earl of Holderness⁴² after Dru de Bevrere had forfeited his lands and fled the country for the murder of his wife.

³⁵ Symeon of Durham, *Op. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 187. The fire is not mentioned by Orderic.

³⁶ *Hist. of Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 350.

³⁷ The hospital of St. Peter is said to have been enlarged to accommodate the sick and poor lying houseless in the streets; Assize R. 1045, m. 17 d.

³⁸ *Chron. de Evesham* (Rolls Ser.), 90.

³⁹ Symeon of Durham, *Op. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 188.

⁴⁰ Orderic, loc. cit.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Orderic Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.* bk. iv, ch. 7. Strictly speaking, Alan owed his comital title to his relationship to the Count of Brittany, the shire of Richmond only becoming an earldom under Alan Fergant about 1144; and although Orderic says that the *comitatus* of Holderness was given to Count Odo, neither he nor his successors, Earls of Albemarle and lords of Holderness, used the title of Earl of Holderness.

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At the time of the Domesday Survey in 1086 Yorkshire and its appendent provinces stretched across England from the North Sea to the Atlantic, including the western districts of Amounderness, Furness, and Cartmel, which afterwards were joined to the land between Ribble and Mersey to form Lancashire. In Yorkshire proper, besides Count Alan, the greatest landowners were William Percy, who held a hundred manors; Robert, son of William Malet, the unlucky sheriff who had been captured at York in 1068 and had fallen in an expedition against Hereward shortly afterwards; Gilbert of Gant, Malet's companion in captivity; Ilbert de Lacy of Pontefract; Roger de Builly of Tickhill; Dru de Bevrere of Holderness; and William de Warenne of Conisbrough.⁴³ On the death of the Conqueror the Yorkshire magnates did Rufus good service; but in 1095 Odo of Champagne joined in the rebellion of Robert Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, and when Mowbray, escaping from Bamburgh, was captured in 'the minster of St. Oswin'—probably at Gilling near Richmond—⁴⁴ Odo was committed to prison.⁴⁵ At the accession of Henry I, Robert Malet and Robert son of Ilbert de Lacy of Pontefract took the part of Robert of Normandy and lost their Yorkshire estates.⁴⁶ The chief leader of Duke Robert's faction in England was Robert of Bellême, who had obtained from Rufus the honour of Tickhill, formerly held by Roger de Builly,⁴⁷ and had there built a castle, which he put in a state of defence early in 1102. King Henry proceeded in person against the more important stronghold of Bridgenorth, and entrusted the reduction of Tickhill to Robert Bloett, Bishop of Lincoln.⁴⁸

With the exception of a royal visit in 1122, when Henry I kept Christmas at York,⁴⁹ there is little to be recorded regarding Yorkshire until Stephen seized the throne in 1135. Early in the following year King David of Scotland took up arms on behalf of the Empress Maud and crossed the border. Stephen at once advanced to Durham and made a treaty by which David's son Henry was recognized as Earl of Huntingdon and also received Carlisle and Doncaster, for all of which he did homage to Stephen at York.⁵⁰ The peace was of short duration, for early in 1138 the Scots began a series of raids, and at last, in the summer of that year, King David collected a large army and advanced in the direction of York, intending to secure his lines of communication by holding the castles of Malton and Knaresborough,⁵¹ belonging to Eustace Fitz John, who was acting with him in revenge for having been deprived of Bamburgh by Stephen.⁵² Archbishop Thurstan at once took measures to meet the invasion. Not only did he summon all the great barons of the county, but he also ordered the parish clergy to come in person at the head of their parish contingents. A strong force quickly assembled for the defence of York. The leadership was entrusted to William, Count of Aumâle, lord of Holderness; with him were Walter of Ghent, an old man of wise counsel, at the head of a body of Flemish and Norman troops; Walter Espec, burly and black-bearded, past the prime of life, but possessing wit and courage commensurate with his stature; Robert de Brus and his son Adam; William Percy; William Fossard; Ilbert de Lacy; and Robert de Stuteville. Young Roger Mowbray, still quite a boy, was brought into the field at the head of his many tenants, William Peverel and Robert de Ferrers came from Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, and King Stephen sent Bernard de Balliol with such soldiers as he could spare. In addition to these great barons with their mail-clad men-at-arms were the local levies, led by their clergy carrying relics. The whole force moved northwards as far as Thirsk, bearing with them their standard, a great mast, set in a low car, its top crowned with a silver pyx and floating from it the banners of St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfrid of Ripon.⁵³ From Thirsk Brus and Balliol were sent to the Scottish king to try to arrange for peace. As he refused to accept the terms offered, the envoys renounced the allegiance which they owed him for lands in his dominions and returned to their army. An advance was at once made to Northallerton, a little to the north-west of which town, on Cowton Moor, the standard was planted and the troops drawn up round it early in the morning on Tuesday, 22 August. The aged archbishop, unable to bear the journey, had sent as his substitute the Bishop of Orkney, who made a short speech of encouragement to the troops and with uplifted hands gave them absolution and benediction; Walter Espec and William of Aumâle clasping hands swore to conquer or die, and the whole host took up their positions with the same determination. Being smaller in numbers than

⁴³ See article on 'The Domesday Survey.'

⁴⁴ Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, ii, 201.

⁴⁶ Orderic Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.* bk. xi, ch. 1.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* bk. xi, ch. 3; Florence of Worc. *Chron.* (Engl. Hist. Soc.), ii, 50.

⁴⁹ Orderic, *op. cit.* bk. xii, ch. 32.

⁵¹ Ramsay, *Foundations of Engl.* ii, 367.

⁵² Symeon of Durham, *Op. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 292.

⁵³ During the mediæval period there is frequent mention of these banners, and of that of St. Cuthbert of Durham, accompanying the king's army against the Scots and on other expeditions. The abbot of St. Mary's, York, was also bound to find one man to carry the banner of the abbey in the same way; *Cal. Pat.* 1258-66, p. 636.

⁴⁵ Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 151.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* bk. x, ch. 7.

⁵⁰ Symeon of Durham, *Op. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 287.

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their opponents the English drew up in one solid phalanx, using the famous tactics of the shield wall, the men-at-arms, dismounted, standing shoulder to shoulder, shield to shield. Behind this living wall were the archers and pikemen, and in the centre the standard with its bodyguard. The Scottish king wisely wished to oppose like to like and to form his front lines of men-at-arms and archers, but the kilted men of Galloway insisted upon having the place of honour in the van. The battle, therefore, was begun by the men of Galloway, who gave three warlike howls, and raising their war-cry of 'Albany,' charged fiercely upon their opponents. The outer lines of skirmishers gave way, but the men-at-arms stood firm, and the Scots, with their feeble spears, flung themselves uselessly against the iron wall. Then the English archers opened fire with deadly effect. Unprotected by armour the men of Galloway fell in numbers, and when their two leaders were slain they broke and fled. The English host now advanced to the attack. The Scottish second line, composed of Norman and English men-at-arms, had been led by the gallant Prince Henry against one wing of the Yorkshire force and had driven them back, so that the English attack fell on the third line, composed of the men of Lothian, who gave way at once. King David wished to lead his bodyguard and reserves against the enemy, but was forcibly prevented and carried off by his knights, and the whole Scottish host fled, Prince Henry, with his too successful men-at-arms, making his way round to Carlisle.⁵⁴ The savage Scots had been practically annihilated, the scattered survivors of the battle being slain by the men of the north country, who had not forgotten the cruelty of their raids. King David and his barons had been routed, and the victorious host returned to York laden with booty and there disbanded, except for a detachment which besieged Eustace Fitz John's castle of Malton and compelled the garrison to surrender.⁵⁵ As a reward for their conduct in this battle Stephen created William of Aumâle Earl of Yorkshire and Robert de Ferrers Earl of Derbyshire.⁵⁶

In 1142 Stephen and his queen visited York after Easter and put a stop to a proposed tournament, which would have been practically a duel, between Earl William and Earl Alan of Richmond,⁵⁷ who a little earlier had built a castle at Hutton to overawe and plunder the district round Ripon.⁵⁸ Another obnoxious private fortress erected at Wheldrake to command the Ouse was destroyed by the citizens of York by leave of Stephen in 1149, when he came to the city to watch the movements of young Henry of Anjou and his ally the King of Scotland.⁵⁹ The county must have been full of these private strongholds; many of these adulterine or unlicensed castles were destroyed by Stephen in accordance with the terms of the treaty made with Henry of Anjou in 1153, and almost the last recorded act of his reign was the capture and destruction of the castle of Drax, on the Ouse, which its builder, Philip de Colville, had refused to dismantle.⁶⁰ Henry II on his accession continued the work of disarming the barons, and early in 1155 advanced to York with an armed force sufficient to overawe the great Earl of Yorkshire, who reluctantly gave up the crown demesnes in the county which he had wrested from Stephen and also his chief castle of Scarborough.⁶¹ Standing on a precipitous bluff projecting into the sea and only accessible from the land by a narrow neck, across which Earl William had built a great keep, Scarborough Castle commanded the only harbour of importance in that district and was too important to be left in the hands of any subject of doubtful fidelity, and when it fell into decay the king expended large sums upon its repair.⁶²

In the summer of 1157 King Malcolm of Scotland visited the county, not this time at the head of an invading army, but as the guest of the English king, to whom he did homage at Chester.⁶³ Early next year Henry went north to meet Malcolm at Carlisle and visited York and possibly Doncaster; ⁶⁴ five years later, in 1163, he seems to have paid another visit to the city,⁶⁵ but the chief event in the county history of this reign was the suppression of the rebellion of 1173-4. As a whole Yorkshire remained faithful to King Henry, but Roger Mowbray declared for the young king and joined King William of Scotland in his attacks on the northern castles. Geoffrey, the Bishop-elect of Lincoln, bastard son of King Henry, at once attacked Mowbray's castles and carried Axholme and Kirkby Malzeard with little difficulty and fortified Topcliffe in the royalist interest,⁶⁶ but Thirsk ⁶⁷

⁵⁴ For the battle of the Standard see Leadman, *Battles fought in Yorkshire*, 14-25, and the authorities there cited.

⁵⁵ *Chron. Stephen, Hen. II and Ric. I* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 165.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* Earl Ferrers died next year, as did also Walter of Ghent; *ibid.* 178.

⁵⁷ Symeon of Durham, *Op. Hist.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 312.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 306.

⁵⁹ *Chron. Stephen, &c.* (Rolls Ser.) i, 94.

⁵⁹ Raine, *York*, 58.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 104.

⁶⁰ Between 1159 and 1161 £330 (something like £10,000 of modern money) were spent on the castle and keep; Pipe R. 5-7 Hen. II.

⁶³ £123 was paid by the Sheriff of Yorkshire for the maintenance of the King of Scotland during sixteen days; Pipe R. 3 Hen. II.

⁶⁴ Eyton, *Court of Hen. II*, 33.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 62.

⁶⁶ Roger Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 58.

⁶⁷ In 1175 several fines were levied upon Yorkshiremen 'qui abierunt ad Tresck'; Pipe R. 21 Hen. II.

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still held out, and Mowbray urged King William to come to its relief.⁶⁸ The king, however, hearing that Yorkshire was in arms against him, declined to advance, and turned his attention to Alnwick. The Yorkshire barons, under Ranulph de Glanville and Bernard de Balliol, did not wait to be attacked, but joining forces with the loyalists of the northern counties, hastened to Alnwick, surprised and captured the Scottish king, and brought him a prisoner to Richmond.⁶⁹ The final act of the rebellion was played at York on 10 August 1175,⁷⁰ when the King of Scotland did homage to the King of England and placed his helmet, spear, and saddle upon the high altar of the minster in token of his submission.⁷¹ Mowbray's castles of Thirsk and Malzeard were dismantled, and orders were given for the destruction of the Bishop of Durham's fortress at Northallerton,⁷² the property of all Flemings resident in the county was seized, fines were inflicted upon those who had assisted the rebels,⁷³ and the county settled down to its normal life again.

The reign of Richard I opened with a dramatic tragedy. York, as one of the great towns of England, had become the centre of a wealthy Jewish colony, the heads of which were at this time Benedict and Joce. These two men were in London at the time of King Richard's coronation when a riot broke out which ended in the slaughter of most of the Jews and the plunder of their houses. Benedict was wounded to death and forcibly baptized, but Joce escaped to York. The report of the London massacres, coupled with the crusading enthusiasm of the time, so worked upon the populace at York that certain men of position who were deeply indebted to the Jews found little difficulty in provoking anti-Jewish outrages. First the house of the murdered Benedict was broken into and robbed, and his widow and children slain. In alarm the Jews obtained leave from the constable of the castle to store their treasure in part of the castle, probably the isolated tower called Clifford's tower. Shortly afterwards the mob besieged Joce's house, a massive stone building, which resisted their efforts for some little time. Joce had wisely moved into the castle with his wife and children and most of his goods, and his example was followed by most of the other Jews. In their fear of treachery the Jews rashly refused to admit the constable of the castle, and he at once persuaded the sheriff, John Marshall, to order the capture of the castle. The people responded gladly to the call to arms, urged on by a Premonstratensian canon and a gang of anti-Semitic debtors, of whom the leader was Richard Malebiche, 'rightly called Evil Beast,' and although the sheriff and some of the more responsible citizens tried to restrain them, they pressed the attack so hotly that the besieged saw no hope of escape. Joce and Rabbi Yomtob of Joigny, who was on a visit to York, addressed their followers, urging them to die by their own hands rather than at the hands of the enemy; most of the Jews agreed and perished by mutual slaughter, first setting fire to their goods; a few, whose courage failed them, surrendered and vowed to accept Christianity, but were at once butchered by the mob. Altogether about 150 men, women, and children perished on 17 March 1190, and very few Jews were left alive in the city. Malebiche and his confederate debtors next turned to the minster and rushed the treasury, broke open the chests in which were kept their bonds of indebtedness, and burned them. The king was furious, and sent his chancellor with an army to York early in May, but Malebiche and the other leaders had retired to Scotland. So many citizens were involved that it was difficult to make an example of any. Beyond removing the sheriff from office and inflicting fines to the extent of some £230 on the more prominent rioters, nothing was done.⁷⁴

During the absence of King Richard, Yorkshire played a considerable part in the struggle between the loyal party and the faction of John, Count of Mortain, the king's brother. At Tickhill towards the close of 1190 Hugh Pudsey, Bishop of Durham, John's firm supporter, was entrapped by his rival Longchamp, the astute chancellor, and compelled to surrender his castles.⁷⁵ Tickhill itself was entrusted by the chancellor to Roger de Lacy, by whom Eudes de Dayvill was put in charge. Next year Eudes, with the cognizance of Peter de Bovencurt, betrayed the castle to John; ⁷⁶ but peace being soon afterwards patched up, John handed Tickhill over to William de Wenneval to hold for the king.⁷⁷ A little later Longchamp ordered Hugh Bardolf to surrender the castle of Scarborough and the sheriffdom of Yorkshire to William de Stuteville, but his orders were not obeyed.⁷⁸ Early in 1193, while Richard was a prisoner in Germany, John attempted to seize the throne. Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, with Hugh Bardolf and William de Stuteville put Doncaster in a state of defence,⁷⁹ but the archbishop could not persuade his colleagues to attack

⁶⁸ *Chron. Stephen, &c.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 182.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* Bowes castle was strengthened 'against the coming of the King of Scotland'; Pipe R. 20 Hen. II.

⁷⁰ *Chron. Stephen, &c.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 185.

⁷¹ Knighton, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), i, 148.

⁷² Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 101.

⁷³ Pipe R. 21 Hen. II.

⁷⁴ *Chron. Stephen, &c.* (Rolls Ser.) i, 312-24; Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England, 117-33*, 140, 154, 385-92.

⁷⁵ Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 134, 172.

⁷⁶ *Chron. Stephen, &c.* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 390.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 144.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 154.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 206. Twenty-six knights, fifteen serjeants-at-arms, and 140 infantry were placed in Doncaster Castle; Pipe R. 5 Ric. I.

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John's castle of Tickhill; it was, however, invested by the Bishop of Durham, now acting on King Richard's side, and he abandoned the siege with reluctance when a truce was proclaimed in April.⁸⁰ In February 1194 the bishop resumed the siege, but it was not until the garrison were assured of the presence of the king in England that Robert de la Mare, the constable, agreed to surrender.⁸¹ The king went on to York, where the citizens found it politic to make a gift of 200 marks 'to show their joy at the return of the king from Germany.'⁸² Richard at this time deprived Hugh Bardolf of the office of sheriff and of the castles of York and Scarborough, afterwards selling the sheriffdom to his half-brother, Archbishop Geoffrey, for 3,000 marks.⁸³ At the same time Sir Richard Malebiche paid 300 marks for pardon for his share in John's rebellion and to recover the estates which he had forfeited in connexion with the massacre of the Jews.⁸⁴

During the reign of John scarcely a year passed in which that restless king did not pay a visit to Yorkshire.⁸⁵ In January 1201 he came to Cottingham, where he stayed the night with William de Stuteville, and next day went on to Beverley; he and Queen Isabel then visited Scarborough on their way to Durham, and returning south visited York at Mid-Lent (March 4).⁸⁶ At York, where Archbishop Geoffrey made his peace with the king, the reception of the royal party was not cordial, and the citizens were fined £100 because they did not come to meet the king on his arrival and did not provide lodgings for his archers.⁸⁷ At the end of March 1210 King John met the heads of the Cistercian abbeys at York and demanded from them a subsidy, which they refused to grant.⁸⁸ He returned to the city at the end of the same year in order to keep Christmas there.⁸⁹ The barons of Yorkshire—Percy, Brus, Stuteville, Mowbray, and Roos—played a prominent part in the struggle with the king,⁹⁰ and although Earl William of Aumâle was one of the last great nobles to desert John's cause he was one of the twenty-five barons who swore to the observance of Magna Carta.⁹¹ To ensure the observance of the charter four castles were to be put at the disposal of the barons, and of these one was Scarborough,⁹² which John some three months before had put into the hands of Geoffrey de Nevill and strengthened with a force of sixty serjeants and ten crossbowmen.⁹³ At the same time the castle of Richmond was restored to Roald son of Alan, instead of being destroyed as the king had previously ordered.⁹⁴ On the first day of January 1216 John entered Yorkshire⁹⁵ at the head of an army and passed through Doncaster and Pontefract to York, Thirsk, whose inhabitants paid 80 marks to save their town from being burnt,⁹⁶ and Allerton, and so into Durham, returning on 31 January to Guisborough, where he spent a week, then moving out to Skelton. On 12 February he went down to Scarborough, where Earl William of Aumâle was probably in command,⁹⁷ and three days later to York. His expedition had been completely successful; of the Yorkshire castles Helmsley almost alone withstood him;⁹⁸ the others he either took into his own hands or, as in the case of Malton,⁹⁹ destroyed; the citizens of York and the men of Beverley had alike to pay £1,000,¹⁰⁰ Roald son of Alan ransomed his men who had been taken in the castle of Richmond by payment of 200 marks and six suits of armour,¹ and other Yorkshire landowners were mulcted in various sums. The county was left under the control of Robert de Vipont, Brian de Lisle, and Geoffrey de Lucy,² but soon after Louis landed in England Robert de Roos, Peter de Brus, and Richard Percy recovered the greater part of Yorkshire in the baronial interest,³ and in June King John wrote to the Earl of Chester that if he considered that Richmond Castle could not be held it should be destroyed.⁴

On the death of John, Yorkshire went over solidly to the cause of Henry III, and although Earl William of Aumâle, Robert de Vipont, and Brian de Lisle endeavoured to continue the policy of plundering which they had pursued under the late king, they were soon reduced to order.⁵ In June 1220 King Henry came to York to meet King Alexander II of Scotland, who awaited

⁸⁰ Hoveden, *op. cit.* iii, 208.

⁸² Pipe R. 6 Ric. I.

⁸⁴ Pipe R. 6 Ric. I.

⁸⁵ Itinerary, printed in *Rot. Lit. Pat.* (Rec. Com.), vol. i.

⁸⁶ Hoveden, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 156-7.

⁸⁷ Pipe R. 3 John.

⁸⁹ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 531.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 585.

⁹² *Ibid.* 603.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 143.

⁹⁶ *Rot. de Oblatis et Fin.* (Rec. Com.), 569.

⁹⁸ Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 642.

¹⁰⁰ *Rot. de Oblatis et Fin.* (Rec. Com.), 574.

¹ *Ibid.* 569; *Rot. Lit. Pat.* (Rec. Com.), i, 163.

⁵ *Ibid.* 663.

⁵ Matt. Paris, *op. cit.* iii, 33. Earl William made another attempt at rebellion in the winter of 1220-1, but was soon compelled to give in; *ibid.* 60; *Royal Letters Hen. III* (Rolls Ser.), i, 171.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 238-9.

⁸³ Hoveden, *op. cit.* iii, 241.

⁸⁸ *Chron. Stephen &c.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 510.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 604.

⁹³ *Rot. Lit. Pat.* (Rec. Com.), i, 131.

⁹⁷ See the Itinerary.

⁹⁹ *Rot. Lit. Pat.* (Rec. Com.), i, 152.

⁹⁹ Pipe R. 17 John.

² Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 641.

⁴ *Rot. Lit. Pat.* (Rec. Com.), i, 186.

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him at Thirsk and Easingwold, not wishing to enter the city until the English king had arrived.⁶ As a result of this visit the two kings met again next year at York, where, on 18 June, Alexander married Henry's sister Joan, while at the same time Alexander's sister Margaret was married to Hubert de Burgh.⁷ Henry made a progress through the county at the end of 1227 and kept Christmas at York, as he did again in 1229, on which occasion the Scottish king joined him.⁸ Yorkshire was visited by King Henry in 1236, 1237, and 1244,⁹ and at Christmas 1251 he brought his daughter Margaret to York to marry the young Alexander III. The ceremony was performed with the greatest magnificence, and the city was filled with the nobles of the two courts and their retainers, but the festivities were slightly marred by a quarrel between the Scottish and the English servants.¹⁰ The marriage also, which had been celebrated with such splendour, proved unpopular with the Scottish nobility, who kept Queen Margaret away from her young husband and treated her with much indignity, until in the autumn of 1255 King Henry passed once more through Yorkshire at the head of an army on his way to the borders to enforce the proper treatment of his daughter.¹¹

The Barons' War did not affect the county to any great extent; the royalist influence was predominant, Richmond Castle belonged to Peter of Savoy and was successfully retained by his steward Wischard de Charron, York was held for the king by Robert de Nevill,¹² and John de Oketon refused to surrender Scarborough, though this was one of the five great castles which the barons demanded upon the escape of Prince Edward.¹³ But although Yorkshire was not desolated by civil war it suffered severely from the weakness of the central government during the last years of Henry's reign, and when Edward I caused a searching inquiry to be made into the conduct of the magnates and their officials in 1275 a terrible state of affairs was revealed. The bailiff of the Earl of Lincoln had done 'many acts of oppression, plunder, extortion, and injury, beyond belief';¹⁴ the gaoler of York, to please a man accused of murder, had arrested his accuser as a thief and kept him in prison, bound naked to a post, without food, until he paid 40s. to Henry de Normanton the sub-sheriff,¹⁵ of whom 'many other things beyond number and astonishing' were related.¹⁶ The steward of the Earl of Warenne also was guilty of 'devilish and innumerable acts of oppression,'¹⁷ and 'many most evil reports' were made of Gilbert de Clifton, bailiff of Staincliffe, who 'with vile words insulted William de Chaterton, the justice appointed to hold this inquiry, and threatened him because he told the jurors not to fail to tell the truth about the bailiffs of the Earl of Lincoln for fear; and Gilbert said to him that if he had been present when he gave these orders he would have dragged him out by the feet.'¹⁸

Edward I visited the county for the first time in 1280, and again in January 1284, when he and Queen Eleanor were present at the translation of the body of St. William.¹⁹ From 1291 to 1306 hardly a year passed in which the king did not make a progress through Yorkshire,²⁰ usually on his way to or from Scotland, and from 1298²¹ to 1304²² the courts of King's Bench and Exchequer sat at York instead of at London. With York the virtual capital of northern England, and at least the military centre for the Scottish campaigns, it was advisable to improve the communications by sea. For at least a century there had been a port of some size at the place where the Hull entered the Humber, and in 1294 King Edward bought the adjacent vills of Wyke and Myton from the abbey of Meaux and founded a town which he called Kingston-upon-Hull,²³ constituting it a free borough in 1299.²⁴ On the same day on which he gave this charter to Kingston he granted a similar charter to Ravenser-Odd,²⁵ the old port of Ravenspur at the mouth of the Humber, which rivalled Kingston until destroyed by inroads of the sea about the middle of the 14th century.²⁶

Space will not allow of any account of the various levies of troops made within the county for the Scottish wars, but the beginning of parliamentary representation must not be ignored.²⁷ To the

⁶ *Royal Letters Hen. III* (Rolls Ser.), i, 131-2.

⁷ *Matt. Paris*, op. cit. iii, 66; *Arch. Journ.* xv, 103-4.

⁸ *Matt. Paris*, op. cit. iii, 193.

⁹ 'Visits of Henry III to the Northern Counties,' *Arch. Journ.* xv, 99-118.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*; *Matt. Paris*, op. cit. v, 266-270.

¹¹ *Arch. Journ.* xv, 112-13.

¹² *Ibid.* 414.

¹³ *Ibid.* 111.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Hist. Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 408.

¹⁶ See Gough, *Itinerary of Edw. I.*

¹⁷ Rishanger, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), 223.

¹⁸ *Chron. Mon. de Melsa* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 186; *Cal. Chart. R.* 1257-1300, p. 455.

¹⁹ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1257-1300, p. 475.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 476.

²¹ *Chron. Mon. de Melsa* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 16, 21; *Cal. Pat.* 1343-5, p. 85.

²² See *Return of Members of Parliament, sub annis.*

¹² *Cal. Pat.* 1258-66, p. 383.

¹⁴ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 112.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 109.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 111.

²¹ *Flores Hist.* (Rolls Ser. 95), iii, 104.

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Parliament of 1295, besides the city of York, the boroughs of Beverley, Hedon, Malton, Pickering, Pontefract, Ripon, Scarborough, Thirsk, Tickhill, and Yarm each sent two members. To that held at York in May 1298 Beverley, Malton, Northallerton, Pontefract, and Scarborough sent members. The returns for 1300 are defaced, but show Beverley, Ripon, Scarborough, and Boroughbridge, and apparently Knaresborough, Pontefract, and Ravenser; for 1302 no boroughs, and not even York itself, appear, but in 1305 Beverley, Kingston, Ravenser, and Scarborough were represented; next year only Scarborough, which appears in 1307 with Beverley and Ripon, Ripon dropping out in 1309 and Beverley in 1311. From 1313 to the time of Elizabeth the only Yorkshire towns represented were the city and the boroughs of Scarborough and Kingston, save that Ravenser makes an occasional appearance in the earlier years and that in 1329 Beverley, Richmond, and Ripon were summoned. The number of parliamentary boroughs in this great county is certainly curiously small, especially when compared with Sussex, Cornwall, and Devon, each with six, and Wiltshire with thirteen.

The accession of Edward II inaugurated a period of disorder and disaster, of which Yorkshire bore more than its share. It was at York, at Christmas 1311, that the detested Gascon favourite, Piers Gaveston, returning from banishment, rejoined the infatuated king.²⁸ The barons at once began to devise measures for his expulsion, and Edward determined to secure the important stronghold of Scarborough before it was too late. His orders to Henry Percy to hand over the castle were at first ignored, but upon their repetition in February 1312 Percy reluctantly obeyed.²⁹ Early in April, Edward, who was still at York, evidently considered an attack imminent, and he would seem to have sent his beloved Gaveston for safety to Scarborough, as on 4 April Gaveston received the custody of that castle with instructions not to surrender it to anyone except the king himself, and in the event of the king being brought thither as a prisoner he was not to give it up.³⁰ Two days later the king left York and moved up to Newcastle.³¹ Meanwhile the barons exercised a wise secrecy in their movements,³² and, lulled by their apparent inaction, Gaveston left the security of Scarborough and joined Edward at Newcastle. Suddenly, on Ascension Day, 4 May, news came that the Earl of Lancaster was advancing against the town; Edward and his favourite fled at once to Tynemouth, followed shortly afterwards by the court officials,³³ and in the afternoon of the same day the earl, with Sir Henry Percy, Sir Robert Clifford, and their followers, occupied Newcastle without resistance and seized the king's treasure, arms, and horses stored there.³⁴ Next day the king and Gaveston set sail from Tynemouth and reached Scarborough, where Gaveston took up his quarters, while Edward went on first to Knaresborough and then to York.³⁵ The siege of Scarborough was now undertaken by John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Henry Percy, who disregarded the king's orders to raise the siege.³⁶ After some three weeks Gaveston met the earls in the church of the Dominican priory³⁷ and agreed to surrender on condition that they should arrange a conciliation between him and his enemies, and that if they failed to do so they should replace him in the castle in exactly the same state as at the time of his surrender.³⁸ On these terms he trusted himself to the Earl of Pembroke, by whom he was taken to Deddington, in Oxfordshire, where during the earl's absence he was seized by the Earl of Warwick, carried off to Warwick, condemned to death by the Earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel, and executed.³⁹ King Edward was furious, but beyond ordering John Mowbray, warden of York, to arrest Sir Henry Percy, who had pledged his oath for Gaveston's safety at the time of his surrender,⁴⁰ he could at this time take no measures of vengeance.

The next fifteen years constituted one of the most disastrous periods in the history of northern England. After the disgrace of Bannockburn in 1314 King Edward returned to York and summoned a Parliament to treat of peace with Scotland.⁴¹ Then came two years of dearth and famine,⁴² aggravated by plundering raids of the Scots, who in 1316 ravaged Richmondshire.⁴³ In 1317 Pope John XXII sent two cardinals to England, and while they were on their way to Durham with Louis de Beaumont, Bishop-elect of Durham, and others, the whole party were seized and carried off to Mitford Castle in Northumberland by Gilbert Middleton, warden of the Scottish marches, who was in league with the Scots. The bishop and his brother were detained, but the two cardinals, deprived of their horses and other property, were allowed to proceed

²⁸ *Chron. Edw. I and II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 202.

²⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1307-13, p. 429; *Cal. Close*, 1307-13, p. 401.

³⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1307-13, p. 454.

³¹ *Chron. Edw. I and II* (Rolls Ser.) ii, 176.

³² *Chron. Edw. I and II* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 176.

³³ *Cal. Close*, 1307-13, p. 460.

³⁴ *Ibid.* i, 205.

³⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1307-13, p. 486.

³⁶ *Ibid.* ii, 219.

³¹ *Ibid.* 457.

³³ *Cal. Close*, 1307-13, p. 459.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Chron. Edw. I and II* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 43.

³⁹ See *V.C.H. Warw.* ii, 433.

⁴¹ *Chron. Edw. I and II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 276.

⁴³ *Chron. Mon. de Melsa* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 333.

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to Durham, whence they were brought back under armed escort by the Earl of Lancaster to Boroughbridge; here they were received by the Earls of Hereford and Pembroke and by them conducted to York, where the king met them.⁴⁴ During this year the quarrel between the king and his uncle of Lancaster reached a climax, intensified by the action of one of the king's firmest supporters, John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, who had stolen the Countess of Lancaster from her husband.⁴⁵ When a Parliament was summoned early in the summer of 1317 the Earl of Lancaster did not appear, and sent word that he was afraid of treachery. It was then agreed that a conference should be held; but the earl, still fearful, not only assembled armed forces at his castle of Pontefract, but, by virtue of his office as Steward of England, disarmed all persons going to the king's court at York.⁴⁶ Finally it was settled that a Parliament should be held in January 1318 at Lincoln. At the beginning of October Edward marched south, and as he approached Pontefract put his forces in battle array for fear of an attack.⁴⁷ Two or three days later, on 5 October,⁴⁸ John Lilleburn, an adherent of Lancaster's⁴⁹ and constable of the Earl of Pembroke's castle of Mitford⁵⁰ before it was seized by Gilbert Middleton, came by night to Knaresborough and seized the castle.⁵¹ Roger Damory, the expelled constable of Knaresborough,⁵² and the Sheriff of York⁵³ besieged the castle, but it was not until 4 March 1318⁵⁴ that Lilleburn surrendered to John Mowbray and William de Roos on condition of a free pardon.⁵⁵ Just about this time the Scots captured Berwick and came down into Yorkshire, burning Northallerton, plundering Bolton Abbey, and extorting ransom from the monks of Fountains.⁵⁶ On 8 June the local forces were called out to defend the county,⁵⁷ but the invaders ravaged as far south as Pontefract, and turning west made their way back through the hills of Craven.⁵⁸ During their raid they had seized Ripon and threatened to burn the place if 1,000 marks were not paid them; ⁵⁹ to secure payment they took nine hostages, of whom three afterwards escaped; ⁶⁰ by November 1320 only 240 marks had been paid,⁶¹ and some time after this the wives of the six hostages still in the hands of the Scots petitioned the king to bring pressure upon the burgesses to pay off the ransom and obtain their release.⁶² The state of public affairs was now so bad that the king was forced to come to terms with the powerful Earl of Lancaster, and at a Parliament held at York in November 1318 charters of pardon were issued to the earl and a large number of his supporters, many of whom came from this county.⁶³ Soon afterwards the private quarrel between Lancaster and Earl John de Warenne was appeased by Warenne's grant, for the term of his own life, of the castles of Conisbrough and Sandal and other estates in Yorkshire.⁶⁴

At another Parliament, held at York in May 1319, plans were laid for retaking Berwick, and accordingly in July the army assembled at Newcastle and marched to the Border. The Chancellor, John de Hotham, Bishop of Ely, remained at York, and King Edward sent orders to him on 9 September to raise all the armed men available in the county and to send them, with a hundred ditchers from Holderness and all the engines of war then in York Castle, to Berwick.⁶⁶ But just about the time that this order arrived a Scottish spy was brought into the city and revealed a scheme of James Douglas to capture Queen Isabel, who was staying at some small town near York. The queen was at once brought under escort into York and sent thence to Nottingham.⁶⁶ Meanwhile the news of the Scottish advance had reached the king, and on 18 September he sent orders to the chancellor and the archbishop to assemble all available troops and repel the invaders.⁶⁷ The county had already to a large extent been denuded of its soldiery, 1,740 Yorkshiremen being at this time with the army at Berwick,⁶⁸ but a force of some size was hastily collected and, possibly with some reminiscence of the battle of the Standard, a large number of clergy accompanied the troops when they set out to attack the Scots. The enemy, under the Earl of Murray, were found, fully prepared, at Myton, on the farther side of the Swale, and as soon as the English forces had crossed the river they set fire to a number of haystacks, and concealed by the dense smoke got between the English and the river, cutting off their retreat.

⁴⁴ *Chron. Mon. de Melsa* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 333.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 230.

⁴⁸ *Cal. Close*, 1318-23, p. 271.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 396.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 1318-23, p. 160.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 1318-23, p. 271.

⁶⁶ *Chron. Edw. I and II* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 55; *Chron. Mon. de Melsa* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 335.

⁶⁷ *Cal. of Doc. Scot.* iii, 114.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*; *Letters from Northern Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), 274.

⁶⁰ *Cal. of Doc. Scot.* iii, 133.

⁶² *Ibid.* 157.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 264; *Chron. Edw. I and II* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 240.

⁶⁶ *Cal. of Doc. Scot.* iii, 124.

⁶⁷ *Cal. of Doc. Scot.* iii, 124.

⁴⁵ *Chron. Edw. I and II* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 233.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1313-17, p. 25.

⁵¹ *Cal. Close*, 1313-17, p. 575.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 1313-17, p. 575.

⁵⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1317-21, p. 123.

⁵⁸ *Chron. Mon. de Melsa* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 335.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Cal. Pat.* 1317-21, pp. 227-35.

⁶⁶ *Chron. Edw. I and II* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 243.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 125.

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Undisciplined and lacking leaders, the Yorkshiremen made little resistance; 3,000 of them were slain, including Sir Nicholas Fleming, seven times Mayor of York; the archbishop, the chancellor, the Abbots of St. Mary's and Selby, and others who were well mounted, escaped, but many less fortunate were captured and made to pay heavy ransom. So numerous were the clergy slain that the battle was afterwards known as 'the chapter of Myton.' The archbishop's standard with its silver shaft crowned with a gilded crucifix was saved by its bearer, who swam his horse down the stream until he came to a willow behind which was an overgrown cave, in which he hid it, but it would seem that he lost a quantity of plate and other valuable baggage.⁶⁹ The Scots, who had entered Yorkshire by the valley of the Swale, advanced unopposed to Castleford and then turned west, part going down the valley of the Wharfe and part down that of the Aire, turning up northwards through Settle to Burton-in-Lonsdale and so into Lancashire,⁷⁰ thus avoiding the forces of the English king, who had raised the siege of Berwick and endeavoured to cut them off during the retreat.

About this time Edward fell under the influence of the two Despensers, father and son, and very soon they occupied the same position in his favour that Piers Gaveston had once held; their arrogance and greed soon united the better of the old nobility against them, and a leader was found in Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, Ferrers, Lincoln, and Salisbury, the greatest and richest noble in the land. Earl Thomas summoned the northern lords to meet in the chapter-house of the priory at Pontefract on 24 May 1321, and there they formed a league for mutual defence. In order to strengthen their position the earl next called the Archbishop of York and his suffragans and other leading clergy together at Sherburn in Elmet on 28 June. There, in the parish church, Sir John de Bek read out the articles of the league and desired the assent of the assembled prelates. The latter withdrew to the rectory, and, after discussion, gave their cordial support to all measures of defence against the Scots, but desired that the other matters, touching the reform of abuses in the administration of the kingdom, might stand over till the next Parliament.⁷¹ The Earl of Lancaster was a weak and incapable man and allowed the king to crush rebellions by Badlesmere in Kent and by the Mortimers in the West before taking up arms himself; but at last, in February 1322, he was persuaded by Mowbray, Clifford, and the Earl of Hereford to assist them in the siege of Tickhill Castle, and when after three weeks' siege the castle still held out he marched with his allies on 10 March to Burton-on-Trent against the king. The royal forces, however, crossed the river, and the rebels, outnumbered and panic-stricken, retreated hastily to Lancaster's castle of Pontefract. Hearing of their flight, Robert Holland, the earl's treasurer, who was bringing reinforcements, deserted and made terms for himself at the expense of his lord and benefactor. The Earls of Lancaster and Hereford, now thoroughly alarmed, abandoned Pontefract Castle and fled towards the Border, hoping, as it was alleged with much probability,⁷² to obtain help from the Scots. But when they reached Boroughbridge on 16 March they found Sir Andrew Harcla, Warden of Carlisle, holding the bridge, and in the endeavour to carry the position the Earl of Hereford was killed. Discouraged by this loss, and harassed by Harcla's archers, to whom they could make little reply, their force being mainly cavalry, Lancaster's men began to melt away, but they were still too strong for Harcla to venture to abandon the defensive, and they were allowed to retire for the night into the town of Boroughbridge. Early next morning Harcla was reinforced by the Sheriff of Yorkshire with 400 men, and he at once entered Boroughbridge. Panic had spread through the earl's army, and most of his followers had fled, those who had not abandoned their weapons being speedily relieved of them by the men of the towns through which they passed.⁷³ Lancaster himself was led a prisoner to his own castle of Pontefract, imprisoned in a new tower which rumour said he had built as a prison for the king, and next day condemned to die as a traitor. Out of respect to his royal blood he was beheaded, but his companions in arms were hanged, Warin de Lisle, William Touchet, Thomas Mauduit, Henry Bradburn, William Fitz William, and William Cheney at Pontefract, John Mowbray, Roger Clifford, and Joscelin Dayvill at York, and others elsewhere.⁷⁴

At the beginning of May 1322 Parliament met at York and revoked the ordinances previously

⁶⁹ Leadman, *Battles fought in Yorkshire*, 26-31, and authorities there quoted. The date of the battle is given by chroniclers of Bridlington and Meaux as 12 September; Walsingham and Trokelowe say 20 September, and although they are not as good authorities they appear to be correct, judging from the king's letter of the 18th and the fact that the siege of Berwick was not raised till the 24th (*Cal. of Doc. Scot.* iii, 126).

⁷⁰ *Chron. Mon. de Melsa* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 337; cf. the list of villages burnt by the Scots, *Cal. Close*, 1318-23, p. 167.

⁷¹ *Chron. Edw. I and II* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 61-5.

⁷² See the 'Proceedings against the Earl of Lancaster,' Trokelowe, *Chron. et Ann.* (Rolls Ser.) 112-24; and *Cal. Close*, 1318-23, pp. 525-6.

⁷³ Assize R. 1117 contains a number of cases of the spoiling of fugitives from Boroughbridge.

⁷⁴ Leadman, *Battles Fought in Yorkshire*, 52-66, and the authorities there quoted.

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passed against the Despensers ;⁷⁵ the elder Despenser was created Earl of Winchester, Sir Andrew Harcla was made Earl of Carlisle,⁷⁶ and William de Aune, who had successfully defended Tickhill Castle, was knighted.⁷⁷ This same Parliament authorized a fresh expedition into Scotland, but after marching to Edinburgh through a country destitute alike of opponents and of food the English army returned ingloriously, suffering from hunger and disease. On 13 October the army was encamped on Blackhow Moor close to Byland awaiting reinforcements, and King Edward himself was at Rievaulx when he heard that the Scots had reached Northallerton.⁷⁸ Next day Edward went over to Byland, and while he was there the Scots suddenly attacked the English position, swarming up the steep wooded slopes, and after a brief struggle were completely victorious. The Earl of Richmond was amongst the prisoners, and the king himself had a narrow escape, but managed to get off with the Earl of Kent, the younger Despenser, and a few others to Bridlington, whence next morning they rode on to Burstwick and so across the Humber into Lincolnshire, accompanied by Robert of Scarborough, Prior of Bridlington, who carried the treasures of his church with him into safety.⁷⁹ All the royal baggage fell into the hands of the Scots, who also plundered the abbeys of Byland and Rievaulx and then advanced to Malton, where Brus established his head quarters. The canons of Bridlington wisely sent one of their number who had relations amongst the Scottish leaders to obtain terms for them, and escaped lightly,⁸⁰ but other monasteries and towns suffered severely at the hands of the invaders, who advanced as far south as Beverley, setting up their standard at Hunslet, and after plundering all the East Riding returned home unmolested.⁸¹ Edward found a scapegoat in the erstwhile victor of Boroughbridge, and the Earl of Carlisle was degraded and executed for having first remained with his contingent at Boroughbridge instead of hastening to Blackhow when ordered, and having afterwards made terms with Brus.⁸² Early in June 1323 a truce for thirteen years was arranged with the Scots and ratified by King Edward at Bishopthorpe.⁸³

In the first year of his reign, 1327, at Whitsuntide, Edward III came to York to prepare for an advance against the Scots, and here he was joined by Sir John of Hainault with a large force of foreign troops. While the courtiers were feasting a quarrel arose between some of the foreign retainers and a body of English archers and rapidly developed into a serious riot, the archers assaulting the lodgings of Sir Walter d'Enghien and other Hainaulters, and the foreigners defending themselves vigorously.⁸⁴ More fortunate was the king's next visit, in January 1328, when he was married at York to the beautiful and charming Philippa of Hainault.⁸⁵ It was at York also, in January 1333, that Edward resolved to support the claims of Balliol,⁸⁶ who six months before had sailed from Hull to claim the throne of Scotland.⁸⁷ Another Parliament held at York in 1335 decreed further measures against the Scots,⁸⁸ and it was on his way back from Scotland, in 1336, that Edward halted to keep Christmas at Hatfield, where his queen gave birth to a son, William of Hatfield, who lived only a few days and was buried in the cathedral.⁸⁹ Ten years later, in 1346, Queen Philippa was at York, during her husband's absence in France, and no doubt encouraged Archbishop Zouch and the other Yorkshire lords who led the army against the Scots to the decisive victory of Neville's Cross,⁹⁰ though she did not accompany the forces herself, as Froissart imagined.⁹¹

Though York was, during the 14th century, practically the second capital of England, it seems to have been behind the times in some respects, as in 1332 the king declared that York more than any other city in the realm abounded in abominable smells from the filthy streets.⁹² We may conclude that the city suffered at least as severely as the rest of the county from the ravages of the terrible Black Death in 1349. The effects of the plague belong rather to the economic than to the political history of the county, but it was largely to the economic changes brought about by its devastations that the troubles of the early years of the reign of Richard II were due. In York itself and in the two great boroughs of Beverley and Scarborough the governing bodies, not recognizing the growing power of the people, continued their traditional autocratic policy. The discontent of the oppressed commons came to a head about the end of 1380. In November of that year John Gisburn, Mayor of York, was forcibly deposed and Simon Quixley set up in his place. A few months later the commons of Beverley rose in arms against their governors. In both towns the struggle between the two parties continued with mutual violence for about a year, but ended in the victory

⁷⁵ *Cal. Close*, 1318-23, p. 545.

⁷⁶ *Chron. Edw. I and II* (Rolls Ser.), i, 303.

⁷⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1321-4, p. 108.

⁷⁸ *Chron. Edw. I and II* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 79, 80.

⁷⁹ *Chron. Mon. de Melsa* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 346.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 347 ; *Cal. of Doc. Scot.* iii, Introd. p. xxxi.

⁸¹ Froissart, *Chron.* (ed. Johnes), 28-30.

⁸² *Ibid.* 110.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 128.

⁸⁴ Froissart, *Chron.* (ed. Johnes), 341.

⁷⁸ *Cal. of Doc. Scot.* iii, 147.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 80.

⁸² *Cal. of Doc. Scot.* 150.

⁸⁵ *Chron. Edw. I and II* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 99.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 122.

⁹⁰ Knighton, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 43.

⁹² *Cal. Close*, 1330-3, p. 610.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 104.

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of the old order.⁹³ The rising of the peasants in the South and Midlands in the summer of 1381, the news of which sent the Duchess of Lancaster flying in terror first to Pontefract Castle and then to Knaresborough,⁹⁴ aggravated the trouble in York and Beverley and led to a similar outbreak at Scarborough.⁹⁵ Here the rising was headed by Robert Galoun, a man of some standing, and William Marche, a draper; their followers adopted a uniform of white hoods with red tippets and administered an oath of fealty and mutual support; the royal officers were expelled and others set up in their place, but in the end the commonalty of Scarborough had to pay a fine of £400 to obtain the royal pardon, forty-two persons being exempted from contributing thereto; at the same time Beverley had to pay 1,100 marks, only ten persons obtaining exemption.⁹⁶

During the last ten years of his reign Richard II visited York fairly frequently and showed his appreciation of the cordial reception given to him by presenting to the mayor a sword of estate and also a silver mace and cap of maintenance.⁹⁷ He even, for a short time in 1393, moved the courts of King's Bench and Chancery from London to York,⁹⁸ either out of dislike for the Londoners, or possibly to assist the northern city, which had suffered severely from plague in 1391.⁹⁹ It would seem, however, that when Henry, Earl of Lancaster, landed at Ravenspur in November 1399¹⁰⁰ to claim the throne the corporation of York assisted him with a loan of 500 marks, their brethren of Hull following their example to the extent of £100.¹ A few months later Pontefract Castle became the prison of the deposed King Richard, and there, on 14 February 1400, he died of starvation, by his own act, as the Lancastrians alleged.² About midsummer, 1400, Henry IV came to York to raise men and money for an expedition against the Scots, and while waiting in the city he received a band of French knights errant, led by Karl de Savoisy; their challenge was at once accepted, and in the tournament that ensued two of the king's men particularly distinguished themselves. Sir John Cornwaill, or 'Grenecornewayle,' was rewarded for his prowess with the hand of the king's sister, the widowed Countess of Huntingdon, while 'Ranico,' if we may identify him with Janico Dartas, received a yearly pension of £100.³ After the suppression of the rebellion headed by 'Hotspur' and the Earl of Worcester in 1403 King Henry came to York, and there received the Earl of Northumberland, whom he put under arrest. At the same time he caused a hermit who had rashly and inaccurately prophesied evil of him to be executed.⁴ Next year, in June 1404, the king was at Pontefract and there had another interview with the Earl of Northumberland; he also sentenced to death Serle, formerly chamberlain to King Richard, who had been asserting that Richard was still alive.⁵ The severity, bad faith, and partiality displayed by Henry in his government soon roused the northern lords to fresh rebellion, and in Yorkshire a leader was found in Archbishop Richard Scrope, a man universally beloved for the purity and sincerity of his life. The archbishop and Thomas Mowbray, Earl Marshal, then drew up a list of grievances and suggestions for their remedy, and caused their demands to be set up in English in the streets of York and on the gates of the monasteries. Very soon a large force was drawn together, relying partly on the goodness of their cause and partly on assistance from the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf, who were known to be raising men on the Scottish border. With this undisciplined crowd of armed men the archbishop and the earl marched out to Shipton Moor, apparently by way of making a demonstration. The Earl of Westmorland and John of Lancaster, the king's son, at once advanced at the head of an army and took up a position opposite them. Finding that he was not attacked, Westmorland sent to the archbishop to ask the meaning of this martial assembly, to which Scrope replied that it was rather for peace than war, and showed a copy of his proclamation, the contents of which the wily earl praised, suggesting that they should have a friendly conference on the matter. The archbishop persuaded the Earl Marshal to agree to this, and the leaders of both parties met midway between the two armies. Westmorland then expressed his agreement with the demands of the insurgents, invited the archbishop to show his friendship by drinking with him, and suggested that he should dismiss his followers. As soon as the insurgent host had begun to disperse, Westmorland surrounded the archbishop and his companions, arrested them, and carried them off to Pontefract. King Henry hastened from Wales to Pontefract, where he refused to allow the archbishop an interview, and thence to York, where the citizens, terrified at his threats, came out to meet him in abject fear. He then took up his residence at Bishophthorpe, whither the prisoners were brought. No defence was allowed, and when Chief

⁹³ Réville, *Le Soulèvement de Travailleurs*, pp. cii-cvi, 253-74.

⁹⁴ Knighton, *Chron.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 144.

⁹⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1381-5, pp. 209-10; *Roy. Hist. Soc. Trans.* (new ser.), xix, 77-99.

⁹⁶ Raine, *Hist. Towns—York*, 77-8.

⁹⁷ Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 213.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 233.

⁹⁹ Trokelowe, *Chron. et Ann.* (Rolls Ser.), 330.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 333; *Cal. Pat.* 1399-1401, pp. 352-4.

¹ Trokelowe, *op. cit.* (Rolls Ser.), 372.

⁹⁵ Réville, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 203.

¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1399-1401, p. 354.

Ibid. 390.

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Justice Gascoigne refused to pronounce sentence on the primate, pointing out that such a course would be illegal, Sir William Fulthorpe undertook the task. Sentence having been pronounced, the archbishop and the Earl Marshal were led out to a field near Clementhorpe and there beheaded on 8 June. Sir William Plumpton and other leaders of the movement were also put to death, and fines levied upon the lesser offenders, most of whom soon afterwards received charters of pardon.⁶ On hearing of the disastrous failure of the Yorkshire rising the Earl of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf fled into Scotland, but early in 1408 they re-entered England with a body of Scottish troops, and, recruiting on their way, advanced as far south as Thirsk, where they issued a proclamation calling upon all who loved liberty to take up arms and join them. Their design of seizing Knaresborough was frustrated by the vigilance of the sheriff, Sir Thomas Rokeby, who occupied the town with the county levies. The insurgent forces moved down to Tadcaster, pursued by the sheriff, and took up a position on Bramham Moor near Hazlewood, where on 19 February they were completely defeated. Northumberland was slain and his hoary head was carried on a stake to London and set up on London Bridge, in company with the head of Lord Bardolf, who had died of his wounds. King Henry shortly afterwards came to York and condemned a number of the more prominent offenders to death, forfeiture, or fine.⁷

Henry V visited York in 1421 on his way with his newly crowned queen to the shrine of St. John of Beverley, upon whose feast-day the battle of Agincourt had been fought and won.⁸ His son Henry VI also passed through the city in 1448 on a pilgrimage to St. Cuthbert at Durham.⁹ The whole of the first half of the 15th century was for York a period of unprecedented neglect, and the city was so reduced by the absence of the court and Parliament that in 1449 the hundred of Ainsty had to be annexed to the county or liberty of the city to enable the citizens to meet their financial obligations.¹⁰ The county was at this time in a disturbed state, to which the unpopularity of the archbishop, Cardinal Kemp, contributed; outbreaks of violence were frequent, and one of particular ferocity occurred in 1441. During the fair of Ripon the archbishop had policed the town with a large force of hired soldiers from the Scottish borders. These men on their return home had to pass through the liberty of Knaresborough Forest, and hearing that the men of that liberty were assembled in arms at Boroughbridge they turned aside, either to avoid a conflict or, as the Knaresborough men believed, to attack a small party of the foresters at Thornton. Sir William Plumpton, Warden of Knaresborough, at once led his followers to Thornton, where they met the archbishop's troops, and a regular battle ensued in which several were killed and many injured.¹¹ Yorkshire, however, was soon to see more serious fighting than faction riots. In 1460, when the claim of Richard, Duke of York, to the throne had been admitted and himself acknowledged as Henry's heir, Queen Margaret formed a strong party in the north under the Earl of Northumberland and Lords Clifford, Nevill, and Dacre, who made York their centre. The Duke of York and the Earl of Salisbury marched north, and reached Sandal Castle on 21 December. The Lancastrians seem to have been at Pontefract, but they soon advanced to Wakefield, where they disposed their forces on the common with their wings skilfully hidden. In spite of his great inferiority in numbers the Duke of York, possibly compelled by a shortage of provisions, determined to take the offensive without waiting for reinforcements, and on Tuesday, 30 December, led his forces to attack. The battle was short and sharp; surrounded on all sides, the Yorkists were cut down or compelled to surrender. The Duke of York was slain and the Earl of Salisbury captured and beheaded; with them fell Sir Thomas Nevill, Sir John Harrington, Sir Edward Bouchier, Sir James Pickering, Sir Eustace Wentworth, and many other persons of position, while in the pursuit after the battle Lord Clifford, 'the butcher,' murdered with his own hand the young Earl of Rutland, son of the Duke of York. Queen Margaret seems to have reached York soon after the battle was over, and by her orders the heads of the fallen Yorkist leaders were set up on the walls of the city, that of the duke being crowned in mockery with a paper crown.¹² She is said to have ordered space to be left for the head of the duke's eldest son, Edward, Earl of March. Edward, however, rapidly got together a formidable army, and reaching London on 26 February 1461 was declared king. Henry and Margaret now fell back upon York, and early in March Edward, with the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Norfolk, brought his troops to Pontefract and sent a detachment under Lord Fitz Walter to secure the passage of the Aire at Ferrybridge. The Lancastrian army was encamped on Towton Heath, a little south of Tadcaster, and Lord Clifford with a body of picked

⁶ Trokelowe, *op. cit.* (Rolls Ser.), 403-11; *Hist. of Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 431-3; iii, 288-291. Cf. Leadman, *Battles Fought in York*, 70-8.

⁷ Leadman, *op. cit.* 79-80; *Cal. Pat.* 1405-8, p. 405.

⁸ Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, i, 290.

⁹ Raine, *Hist. Towns—York*, 85.

¹⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1446-52, pp. 221-2.

¹¹ *Plumpton Correspondence* (Camden Soc.), pp. liv-lxii.

¹² Leadman, *Battles Fought in Yorkshire*, 81-93, and the authorities there quoted.

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troops from Craven made a sudden attack on Ferrybridge early in the morning of Saturday, 28 March, killing Fitz Walter and capturing the position. The Yorkists having crossed the Aire at Castleford, Clifford fell back to avoid being cut off, but was surrounded, and killed by an arrow through the throat. Edward's army advanced to Saxton and drew up on the ridge facing the Lancastrian lines at Towton across Towton Dale. On the morning of 29 March, Palm Sunday, a driving snowstorm blew from the south into the faces of the Lancastrians, so that their arrows fell short, while those of the Yorkists, who had advanced under Lord Fauconberg, wrought great execution. The advantage of position thus lay with the Yorkists while numbers were on the side of the Lancastrians, and the fight was desperate and closely contested; but at last, after some eight or nine hours' fighting, the Lancastrians gave way and fell back towards the bridge over the Cock Stream. The blocking of their retreat by their own numbers threw the columns into disorder, panic soon followed, and the little river was filled with the fugitives, over whose bodies their companions pressed in flight towards York. No quarter had been given on either side, and the slaughter was terrific and appalling, even if the contemporary estimates of over 30,000 dead are considered to be exaggerated. The number of noble families who lost one or more members on Towton Field was very great, and the blow to the Lancastrian party was for the time almost annihilating. Lord Dacre fell, shot, according to tradition, by a boy hidden in an elder tree as he raised the visor of his helm to take a draught of wine; the Earl of Northumberland reached York only to die of his wounds. The Earl of Devon, the only man of rank taken prisoner during the battle, was beheaded, and his head, with the heads of Lord Kyme and Sir William Hill, replaced those of the Duke of York, the Earl of Salisbury, and their companions upon the battlements of York. The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, seeing that the day was lost, fled to York and carried Henry and Margaret to Scotland; so that when Edward entered York, where he was received by the corporation in procession, on the Monday, he found his royal rival flown.¹³

Edward kept Easter at York, and remained in the city till the middle of May,¹⁴ when he returned to London to prepare for his coronation. Next year, in November 1462, he again passed through the city on his way to Durham,¹⁵ and in December 1463 he made a truce with the Scots at York.¹⁶ In 1464 the Lancastrians were active in the north and captured Skipton Castle, but were defeated by Lord Montagu at Hexham, some of the prisoners being afterwards executed at Middleham and others at York,¹⁷ whither King Edward came shortly after his secret marriage to Elizabeth Wydeville. This marriage resulted in a quarrel between the king and the powerful Earl of Warwick, by whose contrivance rebellion was stirred up in Yorkshire. The first outbreak was nominally associated with the ancient hospital of St. Leonard at York; this, the greatest of the English hospitals, had from time immemorial drawn much of its large revenues from the collection of certain *thraves* of corn throughout the county. It was now complained that the proceeds of this widespread tax on agriculture were devoted not to the relief of sickness and poverty, but to the enriching of such royal favourites as could secure the mastership. This and other abuses roused the commons of the East Riding, and under Robert Hildyard, who called himself 'Robin of Holderness,' they advanced to the gates of York. John Nevill, Marquess of Montagu, who had been made Earl of Northumberland in 1464, was in command of the city and favoured his brother, the Earl of Warwick; but as one of the demands of the rebels was that the earldom of Northumberland should be restored to the Percies, he sided with the king for the time being, attacking and dispersing their undisciplined forces with little trouble.¹⁸ Following close on this came another rising under Sir John Conyers, who seems to have assumed the name of 'Robin of Redesdale,' Sir Hugh Fitz Hugh, Sir Hugh Nevill, and Sir John Sutton.¹⁹ The rebels, with the support of the archbishop and the Earl of Warwick, marched south and gained a victory at Edgecote near Banbury, as a result of which King Edward was captured and sent a prisoner to Warwick's castle of Middleham early in August 1469.²⁰ The earl, however, soon found it politic to release the king, who went to London. Early in 1470 Lord Scrope raised a rebellion in Richmondshire, and Edward advanced against him, reaching Doncaster on 18 March. The rebels at once lost heart, and on 22 March Scrope, Conyers, and Hildyard and other insurgent leaders came in and made terms with Edward at York.²¹ At the same time the king deprived Lord Montagu of the earldom of Northumberland and restored it to Henry Percy. Later in the year unrest once more called the king to York. While he was there, in September, a Lancastrian force, under Queen Margaret and the Earl of Warwick, landed in the south, and while Edward was at Doncaster, in October, the Marquess of Montagu, who was at Pontefract with some six thousand men, suddenly declared

¹³ Leadman, *Battles Fought in Yorkshire*, 94-111, and the authorities there quoted.

¹⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1461-7, pp. 13, 14.

¹⁶ *Three Fifteenth Cent. Chrons.* (Camden Soc.), 176.

¹⁸ Polydore Vergil, *Hist. Angl.* (Camden Soc.), 121-2.

¹⁹ Ramsay, *York and Lancaster*, 338.

²¹ Waurin, *Croniques* (Rolls Ser.), vi, 601.

¹⁵ Ramsay, *York and Lancaster*, i, 293.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 178-9.

²⁰ Polydore Vergil, *op. cit.* 124.

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for King Henry.²² Edward and his friends fled hastily to Lynn, whence they took ship to Holland on 3 October. But in six months' time he was back again, landing with a considerable force at Ravenspur on 14 March 1471.²³ The towns of Beverley and Hull refused to admit him, and as he was on his way to York he was met by the recorder, who endeavoured to dissuade him from going on to the city. Edward, however, pressed on, declaring that he came not to claim the throne, but only the duchy of York and the estates belonging to him. Under this pretence, which he is said to have maintained with an oath,²⁴ he was admitted to the city and warmly received. Next day, 19 March, he proceeded to Tadcaster and Sandal,²⁵ and southwards to the crowning victories of Barnet and Tewkesbury.

The Earl of Warwick having fallen at Barnet in April 1471, his Yorkshire estates, with the hand of his younger daughter Anne, were granted by King Edward to his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester. The duke thereby obtained the magnificent fortress of Middleham and the smaller castle of Sheriff Hutton; to these were added in 1475 the castles of Scarborough and Skipton in Craven, while upon the death of his brother, the Duke of Clarence, in 1478, Richard acquired Richmond, and in the same year purchased Helmsley Castle from Sir Thomas de Roos.²⁶ The Duke of Gloucester was thus extremely powerful in the county, and in addition he was very popular. He was a frequent visitor to the city,²⁷ and was usually received with ceremony, as on the occasion of his visit in June 1482, when he was met by the aldermen arrayed in scarlet, the council of twenty-four in crimson, and all the craftsmen 'in thar best aray.'²⁸ He was at this time on his way against the Scots, and the city, with the Ainsty, provided their usual contingent of 120 archers.²⁹ When Edward IV died, on 9 April 1483, and the duke became regent to the young Edward V, it is noticeable that he ordered his favourite city of York to send the exceptional number of four members to the Parliament summoned for 25 June 1483.³⁰ It was no doubt Richard's intention to pack the Parliament, if it ever met, with his own supporters, but in the middle of June he countermanded the writs issued for Parliament and postponed the coronation of the young king, sending word to York of the discovery of a plot by the queen-mother against himself. The city responded with alacrity and at once raised 200 men and sent them to the Earl of Northumberland at Pontefract, where they arrived about 25 June, about the time that Lord Rivers and Lord Richard Grey were executed there.^{30a} These soldiers, wearing the badges of the city and of the duke, marched south with the earl, and were no doubt part of the body of north-country troops whose rusty armour and general uncouthness excited the contempt of the Londoners at the time of Richard's coronation.³¹

Yorkshire accepted the usurpation of Richard III with satisfaction, and when they heard, early in August 1483, that he intended to visit the city, the corporation prepared with alacrity to receive him with fitting pomp, not requiring the hints of his secretary, John Kendal, that they should hang the streets with 'clothes of arras, tapistre werk and other,' and prepare pageantry. The royal party reached Pontefract about 25 August, and were there joined by the young Prince Edward, who had been living at Middleham, and on 30 August they entered the city. Their reception was magnificent; over £400 had been raised by voluntary contributions of the leading citizens for the festivities, and on Sunday, 7 September, the pageant or mystery play of the Creed was acted for the king's amusement. But the great day was Monday, 8 September, when in the presence of a brilliant crowd of nobles and prelates the king bestowed the honour of knighthood upon Prince Edward and invested him with the dignity of Prince of Wales. So pleased was the king with his reception that on 17 September he granted to the citizens, of his own free will and without their petition, relief from a considerable portion of their fee farm.³² A few days later he left York and went to Pontefract, and about the middle of October he sent orders, which were at once obeyed, for troops to be raised to suppress the rebellion of the Duke of Buckingham.³³ In 1484 King Richard was again at York early in May, and on the sixth of that month at Middleham, where his son had died a few weeks before.³⁴ After Prince Edward's death precedence and the presumptive heirship to the crown rested between Richard's nephews, the Earls of Lincoln and Warwick, and they seem to have acted as heads of the northern council, which sat sometimes at Sandal and sometimes at Sheriff Hutton.³⁵

One of the first acts of Henry VII on assuming the crown after the death of Richard at Bosworth was to send to Sheriff Hutton to fetch away the young Earl of Warwick, whom he placed

²² Waurin, *Croniques* (Rolls Ser.), vi, 611.

²³ *Ibid.* 642.

²⁵ *The Restoration of Edw. IV* (Camden Soc.), 5.

²⁶ Davies, *Municipal Rec. of City of York*, 46-9.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 128.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 144.

³¹ Speed, *Hist. Gt. Brit.* 725.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 177-84.

²⁴ Polydore Vergil, *Hist. Angl.* (Camden Soc.), 139.

²⁷ *Ibid. passim.*

²⁹ *Ibid.* 128-38.

^{30a} *Ibid.* 146-56.

³³ Davies, *op. cit.* 160-75, 280-8.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 188.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 211.

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in the safer custody of the Tower of London, and Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV, whom he later married, thereby uniting the rival roses of Lancaster and York. In the spring of 1486 Henry came in state to York, dispersing on the way a small body of insurgents who were assembling round Ripon and Middleham. The citizens, who had been very urgent in protesting their love to the house of Lancaster, gave Henry an even more elaborately magnificent welcome than they had afforded to the late king.³⁶ Early the next year the Earl of Lincoln and Lord Lovel took up arms on behalf of a boy whom they asserted to be the Earl of Warwick, but who was in fact a son of an Oxford baker, Lambert Symnell by name. With a body of Flemish troops, under Martin Schwartz, they landed first in Ireland, where they were well received and obtained many recruits, and then crossed, on 4 June, to the coast of Lancashire and so came to Masham in the North Riding. From Masham they wrote to the mayor and citizens of York requiring admission to the city. Ever since the rebellion had become known the city authorities had been in communication with the king and the Earl of Northumberland. Having obtained guns from Scarborough, and extra soldiers to make up for the weak state of the castle, they sent a refusal by three of the city chamberlains, who found the rebels at Boroughbridge, and returned on 8 June to say that the Earl of Lincoln was marching southwards, avoiding York. Lord Clifford then brought reinforcements into the city, and afterwards marched out to Tadcaster, where he got the worst of a skirmish. He returned to York, and with the Earl of Northumberland and 6,000 men started southwards to join the king. Hardly had they gone when a force under the Scropes of Bolton and Upsall made an attack on Bootham Bar. They were easily repulsed, but Northumberland turned back and re-entered the city, consequently the Yorkshire forces did not take part in the battle at Stoke, near Newark, on 15 June, when the Earl of Lincoln was slain, Lambert Symnell captured, and his adherents scattered.³⁷ To complete his triumph Henry made a progress through the north, visiting York on 30 July, Roger Layton being then beheaded for treason, and the mayor and one of the aldermen knighted for their loyalty.³⁸ However loyal York may have been, the county was not very favourable to Henry, and in 1489 the levying of a heavy subsidy for war in Brittany caused an outbreak in which the Earl of Northumberland was slain at Thirsk, and York itself was stormed and for a while held by the insurgents.³⁹ The king, with the Earls of Surrey and Shrewsbury, came north and suppressed the rising for the time being; but it broke out again in 1491, and necessitated military operations by the Earl of Surrey at Ackworth near Pontefract.⁴⁰

During the early years of the 16th century Yorkshire played a small part in history, and there is little to record beyond its connexion with the Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. She had been married by proxy to James IV of Scotland in 1502, and in July 1503 set out to join her royal husband. On 14 July she reached Pontefract, and next day rode on to Tadcaster, where the Sheriffs of York and a deputation met her and escorted her forward, her cavalcade being swollen every few miles by the local nobles and their attendants until at Dringhouses she was met by the great Earl of Northumberland, gorgeous in crimson velvet, gold, and jewels, with a train of three hundred mounted men. The young queen, who so far had ridden pillion behind Sir David Owen, now entered her state litter, and so the procession reached Micklegate Bar, where the mayor, Sir John Gilliot, and the aldermen in their robes added further resplendence to the pageant which wound its way slowly through the narrow streets to the minster and the archbishop's palace. Next day, Sunday, Queen Margaret attended the installation of Archbishop Savage, and on Monday set out for Newburgh. Ten years later, in September 1513, the Earl of Surrey, who had brought Margaret to York in this joyful fashion, brought the body of her husband, James IV, to the city from the fatal field of Flodden. On 14 April 1516 Margaret, who had married the Earl of Angus in haste and was already repenting in leisure, was again a visitor at York and again met with a hearty reception, and a year later, in May 1517, on her return from her brother's court she once more spent a few days in the city.⁴¹

If the century opened thus quietly, the county was destined soon to be the centre of all attention. The religious, social, and political upheaval brought about by the policy of Henry VIII affected all England, but the northern counties in particular. The inclosure of commons and conversion of arable into pasture, with consequent displacement of labour, hit the poor agricultural districts of the north very hard, and this was aggravated by the ever-increasing burden of taxation. The Statute of Uses,⁴² which repealed the legal fiction by which the claims of primogeniture were evaded, made the bequest of land impossible, and caused much irritation amongst the landowning class. The divorce of Queen Katherine seemed to many persons invalid, and the declared illegitimacy of Princess Mary unjust, while the proposal that the king should be empowered to

³⁶ Raine, *Historic Towns—York*, 92-4.

³⁷ Davies, 'Original Doc. relating to Lambert Symnell's Rebellion,' *Roy. Arch. Inst. Proc. at York*.

³⁸ Raine, *Hist. Towns—York*, 95.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 95.

⁴² Stat. 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 10.

³⁹ *Plumpton Correspondence* (Camden Soc.), 265.

⁴¹ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vii, 304-29.

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bequeath the crown was rightly regarded as a dangerous innovation. Orthodox Catholics, who were very numerous in the north, saw with horror men whom they regarded as heretics in favour at Court and promoted to bishoprics. The final blow was the suppression of the less wealthy monasteries. The wild accusations of immorality and wickedness brought against these establishments by their suppressors went for little amongst the populace.⁴³ The abbey were the bankers of the gentry, the great employers of labour and relievers of distress, and the entertainers of the traveller. The people rightly foresaw that the greater houses would soon follow the lesser, and a plentiful crop of rumours arose that any church less than five miles from another was to be pulled down, that all church plate was to be seized and only pewter chalices used, that fees were to be extorted for baptisms, weddings, and funerals.⁴⁴ In the first week of October 1536 the smouldering fires of discontent blazed out into rebellion in Lincolnshire. The people rose and forced the gentry to join with them in demanding the restoration of the religious houses, the repeal of the Statute of Uses, the removal and punishment of the upstart Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal, whom they saw to be the chief agent in all the hated changes and supposed to be their originator, and the reform of other abuses. The insurgents had no leader, and with good reason distrusted most of the gentry whom they had put at their head. Within a fortnight the whole rising had collapsed. Amongst the gentry whom the commons had seized was Robert Aske, a member of an old and well-connected family in Yorkshire, practising as a lawyer at Westminster. He happened to be near Sawcliffe⁴⁵ when the Lincolnshire rising broke out, and as his sympathies were evidently well known to be with them, the insurgents appointed him one of their captains; but he did not play any part in this rising, as by his endeavours to unite the commons and the gentry he became suspected by both. Upon the collapse of the rising he returned to Yorkshire, where he had already tried to keep the people quiet by instructing the men of Marshland to wait for those of Howdenshire, and the men of Howdenshire to wait for those of Marshland, and both to wait for orders from himself. For a few days he was successful, but meanwhile the commons had risen in the north of the county, round Dent, Sedbergh, and Wensleydale.⁴⁶ About the same time, on Sunday 8 October, a proclamation in Aske's name, but apparently not written by him,⁴⁷ reached Beverley; Roger Kitchen at once rang the town bell, and Richard Endyke proclaimed in the market-place that all should take the oath to the commons on pain of death. Next day the people assembled in arms on Westwood Green, and, by persuasion of an Observant Friar, chose William Stapleton as their captain, with his nephew, Brian Stapleton, Richard Wharton, and the bailiff of Beverley as petty captains.⁴⁸ Beacons were fired and recruits flocked in from all sides, and when Aske reached Howdenshire on Thursday, 12 October, the church bells were jangling an alarm and the whole district was up in arms. Aske at once took command and ordered a muster at Weighton, and next day advanced with part of his forces towards York, the rest going with Stapleton to Hull. Meanwhile Lord Darcy had hastily occupied Pontefract Castle for the king, and had been joined there by Archbishop Lee, Archdeacon Magnus, and other loyalists. The castle, however, was in bad repair and not furnished with guns or ammunition, the garrison was unreliable, and the townspeople would not supply provisions.⁴⁹ The Earl of Shrewsbury and the Duke of Norfolk were hastening towards Doncaster;⁵⁰ but York had declared for the insurgents on the 16th,⁵¹ and so rapid were their successes that Sir Thomas Percy of Seamer, who had been sent for by Aske to help in taking York and had then been countermanded to Hull, was stopped with the information that Hull had fallen, and was ordered to Pontefract, where he arrived only to find that the castle had surrendered on 20 October.⁵² Lord Darcy, indeed, had not been in a position to offer any long resistance, and it is clear that he was not sorry to be compelled to join the insurgents, as he and Sir Robert Constable at once took up the position of leaders of the commons with Aske. Aske had displayed such skill and energy that he was now acclaimed chief captain, though he wished some person of higher position to take the post.⁵³ Not only did he bring his opponents to terms quickly, but he also kept strict discipline in his host, and when his men entered York there was no plundering, and all that was taken was paid for. At Hull, also, discipline was enforced by Sir William Stapleton, who prevented his men from setting fire to the shipping, and treated a man found guilty of robbery to so salutary a ducking in the river that no more cases of theft occurred.⁵⁴

The old Earl of Northumberland, lying ill at Wressell Castle, refused to have anything to say

⁴³ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 901.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* xi, 768.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* xii (1), 6; this account of the rising given by Aske himself, together with his later depositions when arrested (*ibid.* 901, 946, 1,175), and the depositions of William Stapleton (*ibid.* 392), are the best authorities for the general course of events during the Pilgrimage of Grace.

⁴⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xi, 563-4, 841.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* xii (1), 6.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 392.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 1022.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* xi, 771-6.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* xii (1), 1018.

⁵² *Ibid.* 393.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 6, 946.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 392.

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to the rebellion, Sir Ralph Eure still held Scarborough and the Earl of Cumberland Skipton Castle, with the help of Christopher Aske, brother of the insurgent captain,⁶⁵ but most of the county magnates were now, willingly or unwillingly, with the insurgents. Shortly after the surrender of Pontefract Castle, Thomas Miller, Lancaster herald, arrived in the town with a royal proclamation of a general pardon for all except the ringleaders, but he was not allowed to read it at the market cross, and was brought before Aske, who received him courteously and gave him a written copy of the articles or demands of the insurgents.⁶⁶ Hearing that the Duke of Norfolk was at Doncaster, Aske advanced with about 35,000 men, the men of Durham, Cleveland and Richmondshire going first, under Lords Nevill, Lumley, and Latimer, Sir Thomas Hilton and Sir Thomas Percy. Next came the main body of Yorkshire under Aske himself, Sir Robert Constable and Lord Darcy, the rear being brought up by 12,000 men from the north and west of the county under Lord Scrope, Sir Christopher Danby, and Sir William Malore. Against this great force Norfolk could only oppose 8,000 men, many of whom were believed secretly to favour the rising.⁶⁷ Had the insurgents been rebels aiming at the king's overthrow they could have made short work of their opponents, in spite of the swollen waters of the Don which separated the two hosts, but they were in the impossible position of conservative revolutionists. A victory resulting in the death of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earls of Shrewsbury, Rutland, and Huntingdon would have been as bad as a defeat;⁶⁸ they were thoroughly loyal to the king; their quarrel was with Cromwell and his infamous ministers.⁶⁹ Negotiations were opened, in which Norfolk was perfectly willing to perjure himself by making promises and then breaking them, and at last Sir Ralph Ellerker and Robert Bowes were sent up under a safe conduct with the Duke of Norfolk to lay their demands before the king. Henry replied uncompromisingly to demands of the commons, denying their right to dictate to him,⁶⁰ and kept Ellerker and Bowes at court for some days,⁶¹ while he endeavoured to sow dissension by reproaching the insurgent nobles with serving under a man so socially inferior as Aske.⁶² Norfolk at the same time endeavoured to persuade Darcy to betray Aske, but the old lord refused indignantly.⁶³ Meanwhile the commons were growing impatient and the king's commanders were urging the grant of a complete pardon and other concessions. Henry for some time endeavoured to except at least a few of the ringleaders from the pardon,⁶⁴ but had at last to yield. Arrangements were made for the insurgents to meet the duke at Doncaster⁶⁵ on 5 December, and a preliminary council was held on 2 December at Pontefract, at which were present the Lords Darcy, Scrope, Nevill, Latimer, Lumley, and Conyers, Sir Robert Constable and a large number of the knights and esquires, representatives of the families of Vavassour, Hilliard, Wolstrope, Fairfax, Bulmer, Lawson, Hamerton, Tempest, Norton, Gascoigne, Plumpton, and indeed of practically all the leading county families.⁶⁶ When the delegates chosen by this conference met the Duke of Norfolk, as arranged, he promised on the king's part a full pardon to all concerned in the rising, and further undertook that a Parliament should be held at York the next year at which the grievances of the commons should be discussed, and for this Parliament burgesses should be freely elected not only for York and Scarborough, but also for Beverley, Ripon, Richmond, Pontefract, Wakefield, Skipton, and Kendal.⁶⁷ As a further mark of the king having remitted his displeasure he would have the queen (Jane Seymour) crowned at York. Aske, confident in the justice of his cause and the knowledge of his own loyalty, accepted these terms without demanding any security for their fulfilment, renounced his position as chief captain, and tore off the badge of the Five Wounds of Christ, which had been worn by all the participants in this Pilgrimage of Grace,⁶⁸ saying that henceforth he would wear no badge but the king's, and his example was followed by the other leaders.⁶⁹ The levies on either side were then dismissed and Aske sent word of the settlement to the men of Craven and the Lancashire borders just in time to prevent a collision with the Earl of Derby.⁷⁰

King Henry now sent for Aske and other leaders of the movement, and treating them with courtesy and apparent friendliness, confirmed their belief in his intention to redress their grievances.⁷¹ But when Aske returned to Yorkshire, early in January 1537, he found that the commons were in a state of excitement; they feared that the Parliament would be postponed indefinitely; they suspected that the king had bribed the gentry and even Aske himself; it was known that Cromwell was still in favour and it was rumoured that Hull was being fortified.⁷² Aske did his best to allay

⁶⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 1186.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* xi, 826.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* xii (1), 6.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 1175.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* xi, 841; a smith at Dent said to a man who wore the king's livery, 'Thy master is a thief, for he pulleth down all our churches.' But he was rebuked and everyone said, 'It is not the king's deed, but the deed of Cromwell, and if we had him here we would crum him and crum him that he was never so crummed, and if thy master were here we would new crown him.'

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* xi, 957.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 1064.

⁶² *Ibid.* 1175.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 1045.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 955, 1237, 1271.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 1246.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* xii (1), 6.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 901 (73).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 6.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* xi, 1046.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* xii (1), 20, 43, 44, 46.

⁷² *Ibid.* 67, 138.

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their fears and prevent their taking up arms again, and urged the king to send down the Duke of Norfolk as soon as possible to appease the people, but on 8 January John Hallom, one of the captains of the commons for Yorkswold, began to scheme for the capture of Hull and Scarborough.⁷³ For the moment Aske managed to keep him quiet, but two days later Hallom was visited at Watton by Sir Francis Bigod. Bigod seems to have been a man of some learning and at one time to have inclined towards the party of the Reformation;⁷⁴ he had remained quietly at Mulgrave Castle near Whitby during the early days of the Pilgrimage of Grace, and although present at the conference at Pontefract was mistrusted by the commons. For some reason he now came to Hallom, denounced the royal pardon as of no effect because it was issued in Henry's name but not actually by him, and after reading to Hallom a book which he had written defining the respective authority of the pope and the king he went into Watton Priory and persuaded the canons to elect a new prior in place of one intruded by Cromwell and expelled during the late rising. He then left, and on 15 January wrote to Hallom to seize Hull while he himself took Scarborough. Hallom at once rode to Hull with a score of men, expecting to find another sixty waiting for him in the town; finding that the expected support was not forthcoming he withdrew, but being reproached for deserting his men rode back into the town, where he was at once attacked by two of the aldermen and after a short struggle captured. Meanwhile Bigod had fired beacons and called a muster at Settrington early on 16 January. Amongst those who attended was George Lumley, son and heir of Lord Lumley, and him Bigod forced to act as captain for the attack on Scarborough. Bigod then rode off towards Hull while Lumley with some forty men went towards Scarborough, picking up another hundred or so on his way. The castle apparently was undefended, but Lumley persuaded his men not to enter it, and after setting a watch round it and appointing John Wylvell and Ralph Fenton as captains he went off home and left the rising to collapse, which it did as soon as Sir Ralph Eure, the keeper of the castle, returned.⁷⁵ Bigod, in the meantime, had been trying to raise a force for the capture of Hull and the release of Hallom, but Aske and Sir Robert Constable poured cold water on his attempt, and when he reached Beverley Sir Ralph Ellerker attacked him and scattered his following with little trouble.⁷⁶

The Duke of Norfolk now came north, not on a mission of pacification but of vengeance. Fortunately for Yorkshire he began with the more northern counties and soon realized that it would be a mistake to carry vengeance too far.⁷⁷ The king, moreover, seeing his way to use the rising of Bigod and Hallom for the destruction of the leaders of the earlier rising, whom he had had to pardon, could afford to be merciful to the lesser offenders. Bigod was arrested and sent up to London; Aske and the other leaders were sent for and came of their own free will or under pressure, and the whole of those who had so lately defied him were soon in the king's power. Although Aske, Lord Darcy, and Sir Robert Constable had done their best to keep the commons quiet and had actually prevented them from rising, it was easy to twist their acts and words into a usurpation of the king's authority and an expression of sympathy with the cause if not with the actions of Bigod and Hallom.⁷⁸ A slight misadventure occurred at the beginning of the York assizes, when William Levening was acquitted by the jury,⁷⁹ to the great annoyance of Norfolk and the king, but the duke took good care that the jury selected for the preliminary trial of the more important prisoners should return a true bill against them.⁸⁰ The result of the actual trial at Westminster in May 1537 was a foregone conclusion. Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Stephen Hamerton, and Sir John Bulmer pleaded guilty but gained nothing thereby, they being hanged at Tyburn with Bigod, Lumley, Nicholas Tempest,⁸¹ the Abbots of Fountains and Jervaulx, the ex-Prior of Guisborough and others; Lady Bulmer was burnt at Smithfield and Lord Darcy executed on Tower Hill.⁸² Early in July the last two victims were put to death, Sir Robert Constable being hanged in chains at Hull, of which town he had been commander during the rising, and Robert Aske suffering at York, 'where he was in his greatest and most frantic glory.'⁸³ The king need fear no more risings, for the north 'was never in a more dreadful and true obeisance.'⁸⁴

It is needless to say that the promise of a Parliament and coronation of the queen at York was not fulfilled, and the only visit paid by Henry VIII to Yorkshire was in 1540.⁸⁵ The ostensible object of the journey was to meet King James V of Scotland, but as, after much correspondence,

⁷³ The chief sources for the account of Hallom's rising are *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 201, 370.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* Introd. pp. vi, vii.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 159, 161, 174.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 847-8.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 1172.

⁷⁸ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (2), Introd. pp. ii, iii.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 59.

⁸⁰ Hunter, 'Henry VIII's Progress in Yorks,' *Roy. Arch. Inst. Proc. at York*.

⁷⁵ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), 369.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 609.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 731.

⁸¹ For the story of Nicholas Tempest see *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xi, 246-78.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 156, 292.

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the Scottish king did not come outh the royal progress may rather be regarded as the last act in the drama of the Pilgrimage of Grace. On his entry into Yorkshire on 17 August the king was met by some four or five thousand of the gentry and yeomen of the county. Those who had been loyal during the late rising were graciously welcomed by Henry, but the remainder had to kneel while Sir Robert Bowes recited on their behalf a more than humble acknowledgement of their past offences and petition for forgiveness. Besides written copies of this humiliating submission the king was presented with a gift of £900.⁸⁶ After a week spent in hunting at Hatfield the court moved on 23 August to Pontefract; during the journey, on the high ground of Barnsdale, not far north of the position occupied by the insurgents during the negotiations at Doncaster, the archbishop and three hundred clergy made their humble submission to the king and offered him £600. At Pontefract the court remained till 3 September, going afterwards to Cawood, Wressell, Leconfield and, on 10 September, to Hull, and two days later to Sir Ralph Ellerker's house at Risby. Henry still seems to have expected King James, as he was fitting up with great splendour a lodging in one of the suppressed religious houses at York, but at last he found that his guest was not coming, and on 18 September⁸⁷ he entered the city, the corporation in penitential garb making a fulsome submission and a gift of a silver gilt cup containing £100, and also giving another cup with £40 to the queen, Katherine Howard, who had during the stay at Pontefract been carrying on that illicit connexion with Dereham and Culpeper which was to bring her to the scaffold before the end of the year. On 26 September the king left York, and after visiting Holme, which had formerly belonged to Sir Robert Constable, and Leconfield arrived at Hull on 1 October, apparently just after John Johnson had been elected mayor. In deference, it would seem, to the royal wishes Johnson discovered good reasons for resigning office in favour of Sir John Elland. Sir John and the king at once drew up plans for the better fortification of the town of Hull, and on 6 October Henry crossed over into Lincolnshire. But although Henry paid no more visits to Yorkshire he left behind him a representative in the person of the president of the Council of the North, a council appointed in 1537 for the control of the Scottish border and of England generally north of the Humber, whose chief centre was at York.

Yorkshire, with its independent traditions, continued to contribute its share to most outbreaks against the Government. During the general disturbances of 1549, which centred round the eastern counties, some 3,000 men rose in the neighbourhood of Scarborough under William Dale, parish clerk of Seamer, William Ambler, and John Stevenson. The Lord President of the North, however, took prompt measures; the assembly dispersed, and the leaders were captured and executed at York.⁸⁸ The next rising in the county was still more local and inefficient. In April 1557 Thomas Stafford, who had been implicated in Wyatt's rebellion and had fled abroad, landed at Scarborough with a small force and seized the castle. Being a son of Lord Stafford he was of royal descent,⁸⁹ and on this ground seems to have constituted himself 'protector' of the English, basing his action on opposition to the Spanish marriage. The Earl of Westmorland at once raised the county levies and captured the castle, apparently without a shot being fired; Stafford and five of his accomplices were executed in London, and some thirty other persons involved in the attempt suffered death at York and in various towns of the East Riding.⁹⁰

The next rebellion was on a far larger and more dangerous scale.⁹¹ During the time that Mary Queen of Scots was detained at Lord Scrope's castle of Bolton in 1568 a scheme for her marriage to the Duke of Norfolk had been mooted. Shortly after this, however, the duke had been sent for to London and confined in the Tower. In the autumn of 1569 there were rumours that the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland were preparing to rise. As a matter of fact they had held a meeting at Topcliffe, Northumberland's house, to discuss means for rescuing Mary Stuart from Tutbury where she was now confined, but as they were plotting a message arrived from the Duke of Norfolk begging them not to proceed further in the matter or he would lose his head. The earls, who seem to have entered the conspiracy half-heartedly, wished to give up the scheme, but some of the gentry who were the real movers, especially the Nortons of Norton Conyers, Thomas Markenfeld and John Swinburne, vowed that they would go on, and if they were not to move in the matter of the marriage of Mary and Norfolk then they would rise for religion. The question then arose whether such a course would have the sanction of the Church, and over this point the conference broke up without coming to any decision. Meanwhile the Earl of Sussex, Lord President of the North, had had an interview with the earls in October and had come to the conclusion that they were loyal. But when in November they made various excuses for not obeying

⁸⁶ *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, 1130.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 1183, 1208. Hunter gives the date of entry to York as 15 September, and the same date is given by Raine, *Hist. Towns—York*, 103.

⁸⁸ Whellan, *Hist. of York*, i, 194.

⁸⁹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

⁹⁰ Stowe, *Annals* (ed. 1631), 630; Machyn, *Diary* (Camd. Soc.), 135-7.

✓ ⁹¹ See Sir C. Sharpe, *Mem. of the Rebellion of 1569*; *Cal. S.P. Dom. Add.* 1566-79.

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the queen's orders to come before the council at York he grew suspicious. At last on 10 November the messenger sent by Sussex to Topcliffe returned saying that Northumberland had refused to come and, on a false rumour that Sir Oswald Wiltstrophe had come to arrest him, had fled, at the same time causing the bells to ring an alarm to raise the country. The rebels assembled at Brancepeth and went thence to Durham, where they entered the cathedral, threw down the communion table and replaced the altar stone and restored the ancient form of service. The forces at York were small, and had the rebels attempted to carry out the plan at one time suggested of making a sudden raid on the city on a Sunday during service time, there can be little doubt that the city would have fallen an easy prey. As it was, Sussex and Lord Hunsdon, who had been joined with him in command, dared not risk a battle, and had to stay behind their walls while the rebels advanced southwards with growing forces. By 20 November they had reached Wetherby and Tadcaster, their aim being to seize Tutbury and release Mary, but their design being known the royal prisoner was hurried south to Coventry. Foiled in one half of their scheme and finding that the southern districts were not inclined to rise for the cause of religion, while Pontefract was held by Sir Thomas Gargrave and Doncaster by Lord Darcy, the rebels retreated aimlessly northwards, and by the 28th had reached Richmondshire. They then turned to the siege of Barnard Castle. Sir George Bowes, who was in command there, offered a steady resistance. To lessen the strain upon his provisions he caused his cavalry to cut their way through the enemy by a sudden sally, but wholesale desertions occurred from his garrison and he was obliged to surrender the castle on the terms that he and the remainder of the garrison might go free. This success did not much assist the rebellion. By the middle of December the royal forces had reached Yorkshire and were marching north; the insurgent army melted away, its leaders fled; the Earl of Westmorland was fortunate enough to escape to the Continent, but the Earl of Northumberland after crossing the border was betrayed by Hector Armstrong to the Scottish Regent and by him eventually handed over to his enemies. Elizabeth had been frightened and, what was still worse in her eyes, put to expense by the rising, and the vengeance which she exacted was terrible. In January Sir George Bowes was sent as provost marshal to make an example of those who had participated in the rebellion. The number of the Yorkshire peasantry involved does not seem to have exceeded about 4,000 or 5,000; about one in every six seems to have been condemned to death, though the actual number executed was, from various causes, about 500. In every town where any had risen one or more persons were hanged; practically all the constables of the North and West Ridings and Richmondshire seem to have suffered. The men of position who had lands to escheat were reserved for more leisurely trial; eleven of these were condemned to die, but seven were with some difficulty reprieved. Finally on 22 August 1572 the Earl of Northumberland was beheaded on a scaffold set up in the Pavement at York.

At the time of the threatened invasion by the Spanish Armada Hull was ordered to send to the royal fleet two ships and a pinnace;⁹² the authorities at first endeavoured to evade this obligation by pleading that their ships were all absent on voyages, but it would seem that a sharp letter from head quarters brought the necessary ships into port,⁹³ and the question then arose of the cost of fitting them out. York, as reaping so much gain from the commercial port of Hull, was ordered to contribute; Scarborough also, as a member of Hull, assisted, and some of the larger inland towns, such as Halifax, Leeds and Wakefield,⁹⁴ helped. At the same time troops were being put under arms to repel any landing, and it would seem that twelve days' training was considered sufficient to fit these raw levies to face the veterans of Spain. At any rate the 300 men from Ryedale and Bulmer who were put under Sir William Fairfax at the end of May 1588 were to be trained four times before 22 July, each time three days together; for the first training only a small charge of powder was to be used as most of the men were unused to guns, and had to be got accustomed to the flash and recoil by degrees.⁹⁵ Every hundred infantry were to be composed of 35 men with corslets, 40 with culivers or hand guns, 15 with bills and 10 with bows. A body of horse was also to be raised, the wealthier gentry being required to provide one or more troopers.⁹⁶ The chief difficulty with regard to cavalry in Yorkshire seems to have been the unwillingness of the gentry to set a precedent, which might afterwards be used to their injury, by providing more men than they were legally bound to find.⁹⁷ This tendency appears again next year, in July 1589, when Lord Eure and the other justices of the peace for the county met to consider the number of soldiers that they should return as available. It was agreed to certify 6,000 trained footmen, with another 4,000 untrained, who were not to be sent out of the county, and 400 light horsemen; a cautious note was added that 200 more horsemen with petronels could probably be raised, but the lord lieutenant was to keep this private and not certify it to the council

⁹² *Acts of P.C.* 1588, p. 10.

⁹⁴ *Acts of P.C.* 1588, pp. 46, 282.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 103.

⁹³ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1581-90, pp. 374-7.

⁹⁵ *Var. Coll.* (Hist. MSS. Com.), ii, 102.

⁹⁷ *Cal. S.P. Dom. Add.* 1580-1625, p. 250.

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lest it be put on record as a precedent.⁹⁸ There were also difficulties about armour, those that had any refusing to lend it for common use, so that in 1588 corslets had to be bought in London and sent down,⁹⁹ while in 1596 the gentry were with difficulty persuaded to buy arms on the assurance that they should be treated as their own property and not recorded on the muster books.¹⁰⁰ This lack of arms in the county had been urged in 1584 as a reason for not supplying more than 6,000 troops when the council considered that on a muster roll of 42,000 able men Yorkshire ought to provide 10,000 soldiers.¹ To amend this it was proposed in 1600 to establish a central magazine or armoury at York; by this means the weapons would be kept much better and there would be the additional advantage that the armament of the county would be in the hands of the president, and would not be available for intending insurgents.² So far as the Yorkshire troops had any definite uniform at this time it would seem to have been blue, as in 1575 the light horsemen for Ireland were to be equipped with 'a good plate coat, a scull or sallet with a blue covering, a convenient doublet and hose, a pair of boots, a sword and a dagger and blue cloak,'³ and in 1587 the troops sent up to Berwick from Ryedale and Pickeringlythe wore 'cassocks and breeches of blue cloth guarded with yellow.'⁴ The quality of these levies sent up to the Scottish borders left much to be desired; Lord Scrope described them as 'the wretchediste creatures that could be sent, and as ill furnisht'; and when Captain Ellis 'requierd handsome men and to have them better furnisht, the justices aunserid him that hee must take them or none';⁵ from which we may perhaps conclude that the loyalty of the Yorkshire gentry at this time did not go as deep as their pockets.

On the accession of James VI of Scotland to the throne of England, vacant by the death of Elizabeth on 24 March 1603, York was again honoured by a royal visit. King James on his way to London was met on the borders of the county by the sheriff and a band of gentry on 15 April, and conducted to Topcliffe, where he spent the night. Next day he was met at the northern bounds of York by the sheriffs of the city, and at Micklegate Bar he was received by the lord mayor and aldermen. That day and the next, which was Sunday, the king spent at York, and after much feasting, speech-making, and giving of presents, he was escorted on the Monday to the southern limits of the city, at Tadcaster Bridge, and thence rode to Grimston, where he knighted the lord mayor.⁶ The following June the queen and Prince Henry and the Lady Elizabeth, her children, were also entertained at York on their way south.⁷ Next year a less welcome visitor came to the city; the plague, which had raged in London, reached York, and in a short time slew 3,500 persons.⁸

From 1620 to 1630 the great feature of Yorkshire history was the struggle between the factions of Sir John Savile of Howley and Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards famous as the Earl of Strafford. The return of Sir Thomas and Sir George Calvert as knights of the shire on Christmas Day 1620 was petitioned against by Sir John Savile, who alleged that the sheriff, Sir Thomas Gower, had excluded a great number of voters who were in his interest, and had accepted votes given for his opponents without inquiring whether the voters were freeholders, and also that Wentworth, through two of the high constables, had intimidated voters. The constables were censured, but the election was not upset.⁹ At the election three years later, however, Sir John, who had great influence in the clothing districts, secured his own return, and that of his son, Sir Thomas Savile, and Wentworth had to be content with representing Pontefract, to which borough the privilege of returning members had been restored in 1620, after a lapse of nearly 200 years.¹⁰ On the dissolution of Parliament at the death of King James on 27 March 1625, Wentworth and Sir Thomas Fairfax ousted the Saviles, but on evidence being brought that the sheriff had displayed gross partiality, and had manipulated the poll to the disadvantage of Sir John, the election was declared void. At the renewed election in August the same two candidates were returned, and took their seats on 8 August,¹¹ but the Parliament was dissolved four days later. Wentworth, who was then in opposition to the king, was appointed high sheriff, so as to prevent his standing for Parliament, and soon afterwards the office of Custos Rotulorum was taken from him and given to Sir John Savile.¹² King Charles at this time, unable to obtain funds through Parliament, was endeavouring to raise money by forced loans, and Sir Thomas Wentworth, refusing to pay the sum demanded of him in 1627, was committed to prison, while about the same time Savile was made Comptroller of the Household. At the election early in 1628, however, Wentworth defeated Savile, and soon afterwards he became a strong supporter of the king. The two rivals received grants of baronies on the same day, 21 July 1628, and shortly afterwards Wentworth became Lord President of the North.¹³

⁹⁸ *Var. Coll.* (Hist. MSS. Com.), ii, 106.

¹⁰⁰ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1595-7, p. 165.

² *Ibid.* 1598-1601, p. 390.

⁴ *Ibid.* 101.

⁶ Whellan, *Hist. of York*, i, 207-9.

⁹ Cartwright, *Chapters in the Hist. of Yorks.* 198-212.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 220-6.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 103.

¹ *Ibid. Add.* 1580-1625, pp. 119, 126.

³ *Var. Coll.* (Hist. MSS. Com.), ii, 93.

⁵ *Cal. Border Papers*, 1560-94, p. 282; *Acts of P.C.* 1587-8, p. 267.

⁷ *Ibid.* 209.

⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 213-14.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.* 231-2.

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In the spring of 1633 King Charles visited Scotland, and on his way came to York, where on 24 May he was loyally received.¹⁴ Two years later, in 1635, his endeavours to raise money for the navy without having recourse to a Parliament led to the levying of the unpopular ship-money. Yorkshire was assessed to provide £12,000; of this the West Riding was assessed at £4,313 4s., the North at £3,594 6s. 8d., and the East at £2,815 9s. 4d., the city of York at £520, Leeds at £200, Hull at £140, Doncaster at £100, and Pontefract, Beverley, Richmond, Ripon, Scarborough, and Hedon at from £60 to £20.¹⁵ It is worth noting that Leeds and Doncaster sent no representatives to Parliament, while Aldborough, Boroughbridge, and Thirsk, none of which were large enough to be assessed separately, each had its two members. The unpopularity which Charles incurred by unconstitutional taxation was increased by his endeavours to force episcopacy upon his Scottish subjects. It was, however, with every demonstration of loyalty that the king was received when he entered York on 30 March 1639, and even the flattery of York was outdone by the adulation of Hull when he visited that great port and arsenal.¹⁶ For about a month Charles remained at York, endeavouring to reduce Scotland to obedience by means of proclamations, and then he joined the forces on the northern border. This expedition fizzled out and came to nothing, but the treaty of Berwick did not put an end to the differences between the king and the Covenanters, and next year it became clear that a renewal of the war was inevitable. The king's chief adviser now was Lord Wentworth, who was created Earl of Strafford on 12 January 1640, but his advice for an active, aggressive war was more easily given than carried out. Selby was the centre where the troops were supposed to concentrate in July 1640, but money was lacking and the soldiers mutinous, and such regiments as did arrive there were found by Sir Jacob Astley to be undisciplined wastrels.¹⁷ On 28 July the gentry of York protested against the billeting of soldiers in their houses as a breach of the Petition of Right.¹⁸ To this the king returned a sharp answer on 17 August, and two days later he ordered the trained bands of the northern and midland counties to be called out, and summoned all tenants by knight service to attend him at York, to which city he set out on 20 August.¹⁹ On that same day the Scottish army crossed the Tweed. The invasion by the Scots, coupled with the presence of King Charles, induced the Yorkshire gentry to agree to take up arms,²⁰ but meanwhile the Scots had occupied Newcastle and Durham, the northern division of the English army had fallen back to Northallerton, and the Bishop of Durham had fled to Helmsley Castle.²¹ Moreover, by maintaining discipline and preventing all plundering Leslie had made the inhabitants of those districts where the Scots lay compare them more than favourably with the English troops.²² During September the Scottish army lay on the northern borders of Yorkshire, supporting itself by a levy on Durham and Northumberland, while Charles struggled to find some way out of his difficulties. On 12 September the Yorkshire gentlemen had presented a petition for the summoning of a Parliament; Strafford, however, managed to get them to withdraw this petition and to promise to pay their trained bands until the meeting of the Great Council on 24 September.²³ Charles was in a hopeless position; Lord Bristol put the facts very plainly to him; 'You see, sir, how your kingdom's hearts you have lost by your taxes and impositions, and that till you be united to them by giving them their just satisfaction in all their grievances, you are no great king; for without the love and hearts of his people what can a king do?'²⁴ There was no alternative but to make terms with the Scots, and negotiations were accordingly begun at Ripon on 2 October. A proposal to remove the seat of negotiations to York was refused, and the commission continued to sit at Ripon until 26 October, when a cessation of arms was granted, the English undertaking to pay £850 a day for the support of the Scottish army, who remained in possession of the northern counties. These terms were confirmed by the Great Council on 28 October, and two days later Charles left York for London,²⁵ where the Parliament, afterwards to be famous as the Long Parliament, had been summoned for 3 November.

King Charles had no doubt been impressed with the wealth, strength, and loyalty of York during his residence in the city in 1639 and 1640, and it was accordingly to York that he withdrew in the spring of 1642, when his relations with the Parliament had become strained to breaking point. On 18 March the court were welcomed at Tadcaster by the Sheriff of Yorkshire, Sir Thomas Gore, and a large party of the county gentry, and on the same day they reached York,²⁶ where they were received in state by the corporation, headed by the mayor, Edmund Cowper, upon whom the king bestowed the honour of knighthood. The establishment of the court at York marked the definite break between king and Parliament, and the next few months were occupied by both sides in preparing for the armed struggle which was now inevitable, each party endeavouring

¹⁴ Whellan, *Hist. of York*, i, 216.

¹⁶ Whellan, *Hist. of York*, i, 219.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 177.

²¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii, App. iv, 523.

²³ Gardiner, *op. cit.* ix, 204.

²⁵ Gardiner, *op. cit.* ix, 214-15.

¹⁵ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1635, p. 479.

¹⁷ Gardiner, *Hist. of Engl.* ix, 164.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 188.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 190.

²² *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii, App. iv, 523.

²⁶ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1641-3, p. 342.

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to secure adherents and to detach the supporters of its adversary. A month after the king's arrival the Marquess of Hertford came in with 800 horse, escorting the young Duke of York, who was received with loyal enthusiasm, and was admitted to the Order of the Garter on 19 April.²⁷ The importance of securing the great port of Hull had long been recognized, and as early as January an effort had been made by the Royalists to place Sir Thomas Metham in command there, but his local influence was small, and Captain Legge, to whom the business had been entrusted, deemed it wiser to commit the care of the town to the burgesses. They showed their independence by refusing to receive Sir John Hotham when first nominated by the Parliament, but Legge had to warn the king that the proposed appointment of the Earl of Newcastle as governor would be unpopular, and that it would be wiser for Charles either to come in person or to leave the burgesses in control of their own affairs.²⁸ During the next three months the Parliamentary party gained the ascendancy and Hotham was installed as governor. Charles now determined to make sure of the town by going there in person, and on 23 April he rode to Hull with a large body of horse. Upon reaching Hull he found the gate shut, and in response to his indignant demand for admission, Sir John Hotham replied courteously, but firmly, that he had orders not to allow the king or his troops to enter.²⁹ Furious at the affront to his authority, but impotent to compel obedience, King Charles turned back to Beverley, and wrote to the Parliament demanding satisfaction for the insult. Parliament, however, approved Hotham's action, but doubting whether he would be able to keep the town, proposed to withdraw the stores of ammunition lying there; a course against which the burgesses unsuccessfully protested.

After the Hull incident the king made fresh efforts to strengthen his party in Yorkshire, with indifferent success, addresses protesting loyalty being countered by petitions urging the king to come to terms with his Parliament. A great meeting of the county gentry was held at York on 12 May, but led to no definite result, as the feelings of the assembly were much divided, so Charles took the decisive step of summoning the gentry to come to York in arms for his defence. Lord Fairfax, Sir Thomas Stapleton, and Sir Hugh Cholmley, who had been sent down to York to act as commissioners for the Parliament, and had received but a chilly welcome, remonstrated with the king, who endeavoured to explain away his action by asserting that he had only asked for volunteers.³⁰ The terms of his proclamation, however, did not bear him out, and it was significant that he at the same time ordered Sir Robert Strickland's regiment of foot to be mobilized. In answer to his summons about 200 gentlemen came in; of these the king chose fifty to form his personal guard, and the others, by the advice of some of his lords,³¹ he dismissed for the time being,³² though preparations were made to form a body of horse of which Prince Charles was to be captain, with a brother of Sir John Byron as lieutenant, and one of Sir Ingleby Daniel's sons as cornet.³³ The next move was to make a wider appeal, to test the sympathies of the yeomanry and lesser gentry, and for this purpose a great meeting of the freeholders of the county was summoned. On 3 June some 60,000 persons assembled on Heworth Moor, to which place came the king with his attendant nobles, accompanied by a troop of 140 gentry with the young prince riding at their head, and a foot guard of 800 men of the trained bands. Loyal shouts of welcome rang from all parts of the field, but the meeting was far from unanimous in support of the king. Copies of a petition decidedly adverse to his demands had been prepared, and Sir John Bouchier began to read one of these to the assembly, who were testifying to their approval of its contents when Lord Savile rode up, bade him desist, and forcibly snatched the paper from him. Sir John restrained the people from expressing their indignation in acts, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, with much difficulty, forced his way to the king and offered a copy of the petition to King Charles; twice it was rejected, and then Sir Thomas, placing the petition on the king's saddle-bow, retired.³⁴ When the meeting broke up, crowds of people went into the city to subscribe their signatures to copies of the petition to be sent up to the Parliament. Although the feeling of the county was thus divided, York itself was 'a sanctuary to all those that despised the Parliament';³⁵ the king's adherents were rapidly concentrating there; the Great Seal had been brought down secretly, the Lord Keeper following and narrowly escaping capture on the way,³⁶ and towards the end of June Briot, the engraver of the Mint, was ordered to bring his implements at once to York,³⁷ and soon after this, no doubt, began the conversion into coin of the plate generously sacrificed for their cause by the loyalists. Charles endeavoured to counteract the ordinance of Parliament for embodying the militia by issuing commissions of array; this course, which was first adopted on 11 June,³⁸ afterwards led to the alienation of many of his supporters through the granting of commissions to Roman Catholics. Meanwhile

²⁷ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1641-3, 307.

²⁸ Gardiner, *op. cit.* ix, 192-3.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 1645-7, p. 424.

³⁰ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1641-3, p. 330.

³¹ *Ibid.* 67.

³² *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1641-3, p. 344.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 253.

³⁰ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1641-3, p. 322.

³² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii, App. ii, 316.

³⁴ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vii, 64-6.

³⁶ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii, App. ii, 316.

³⁸ Gardiner, *Hist. of Engl.* x, 202.

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promises to raise and support some 2,000 horse had been received from leading Royalists, and hopes were entertained that Sir John Hotham might be induced to surrender Hull.³⁹ A plot was also laid by Sir Charles Grantham to surprise Hull with the assistance of his son-in-law, Henry Brunker, an officer of the garrison; but Brunker's assent to the scheme was only simulated, and he informed Hotham of the plot.⁴⁰ On 5 July the king with a small force of not much more than 1,000 men advanced against Hull.⁴¹ This force was too small, even when reinforced with siege artillery brought up the Humber by two ships from Holland,⁴² to carry the town, which had been put in a good state of defence.⁴³ Probably some reliance was placed on the Royalist sympathies of the townsmen, which were giving Hotham such anxiety that he urged the Parliament to send down Sir William Strickland, Sir Philip Stapleton, and Sir Hugh and Sir Henry Cholmley, to use their local influence, adding, 'if, while you sit voting, these others (i.e. the Royalists) be doing, you will soon find but a bad issue.'⁴⁴ To hinder an assault on the town Hotham cut the dykes and flooded the surrounding country, to the great indignation of those whose lands were drowned.⁴⁵ Finding that Hull was not to be had for the asking, the king turned back to Beverley, leaving the Earl of Lindsey to throw up batteries and dig entrenchments, in which operations he was not particularly successful, as about 16 July Sir John Meldrum sallied out and destroyed a half-moon battery, capturing the guns and taking Lord Fauconberg prisoner.⁴⁶ About the same time Sir John Hotham burnt the houses outside the Beverley gate of Hull, which might have afforded dangerous cover to the attacking forces, and clapped the mayor into prison for refusing to assist in the defence of the town.⁴⁷ Meanwhile Charles had paid a brief visit to Lincoln, and on his return on 16 July reviewed his army, on which occasion the young Prince Charles was greatly admired as he rode, in a suit of gilt armour, on 'a very goodly white horse, trapped most richly to the ground with velvet all studded with burning waves of gold.'⁴⁸ The army reviewed can hardly have been an imposing body, as on 25 July the royal forces in the county were estimated at less than 3,000 infantry of the trained bands, and about 2,000 horse.⁴⁹

On 12 August 1642 King Charles issued from York the momentous declaration of his intention to set up his standard at Nottingham on the 22nd, and summoned his subjects to take up arms on his behalf. Within a few days orders were circulated in the various constabularies of Yorkshire for all able-bodied men to assemble with their arms at Doncaster on 20 August.⁵⁰ But it was easier to issue orders than to get them executed; mobilization proceeded slowly, and it was with only a small force that Charles set out for Nottingham, leaving behind him more officers eager for service than troops for them to command.⁵¹ For about six weeks the county lay quiet, and there were even suggestions for maintaining definite neutrality; but the younger Hotham soon put an end to this impracticable idea. Marching out of Hull on 4 October with 600 foot and some horse he suddenly descended on the archbishop's castle of Cawood; most of the garrison promptly deserted, and Captain Gray, the governor, only held out long enough to obtain terms.⁵² The news of this exploit so alarmed Archbishop Williams that he fled incontinently to Wales, taking with him, no doubt, his coach and six and his forty servants, all mounted on black horses, with which he had proudly entered York in June.⁵³ The Earl of Cumberland, the Royalist commander-in-chief for Yorkshire, was too weak or too incapable to deal with young Hotham, who rode into the West Riding raising troops and money, on one occasion taking from Leeds the contribution which Sir Thomas Glemham, Governor of York, had been sent out to collect.⁵⁴ The Parliamentary troops rode daily close to the walls of the city of York, and jeered at the defenders with impunity; beyond securing Pontefract and Knaresborough the Royalists could do nothing, and when they did march out to attack Hotham at Cawood they were so alarmed at the sight of a windmill and 'certain stooks of beans,' which they mistook for the opposing forces, that they retired in haste.⁵⁵ About this time the Parliamentary cause received a further impetus by the active participation of the Fairfaxes, who had hitherto remained quietly at home. Ferdinand, Lord Fairfax, was nominated commander-in-chief, and his son, Sir Thomas, general of the horse. On the other side the Royalists had summoned the Earl of Newcastle to their assistance. As early as 12 November Hotham, with Sir Christopher Wray and Thomas Hatcher, had marched up to Topcliffe and on to Yarm and Northallerton to defend the northern frontier of the county against

³⁹ Gardiner considers that Hotham did actually intend to do so, but changed his mind. Op. cit. x, 212.

⁴⁰ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vii, 72-3.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 385; *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. i, 41.

⁴² *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. i, 41.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 389.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 392.

⁴⁵ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* i, 95.

⁴⁶ Gardiner, *Hist. of the Great Civil War*, i, 33.

⁴⁷ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vii, 73.

⁴⁸ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. i, 67.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 381, 385.

⁴³ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vii, 76.

⁴⁵ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vii, 381, 385.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 391.

⁴⁹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xii, App. ii, 319.

⁵¹ Slingsby, *Diary*, 77.

⁵³ Slingsby, *Diary*, 79.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 82-3.

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the earl's advance,⁶⁸ but it was not until 1 December that Newcastle, with some 8,000 men, crossed the Tees at Pierce Bridge, after a sharp fight in which the superiority of the Royalist artillery proved decisive.⁶⁹

A little while before Newcastle's arrival the Fairfaxes, after successfully repelling an attack on Bradford, had taken up their quarters at Tadcaster with about a thousand men. To guard the lines of communication with the West Riding, the chief source of the Parliamentary supplies, Sir Thomas Fairfax was sent to Wetherby with 300 foot and 40 horse. Discipline was slack and no proper guards had been set, 'for in the beginning of the war men were as impatient of duty as ignorant of it,' and early one morning 800 Royalists were at the gates of the town before their advance was discovered. Sir Thomas happened to have just mounted with the intention of riding over to his father at Tadcaster; he galloped up to his men's quarters, and taking two serjeants and two pikemen, the only men under arms, faced the enemy. Sir Thomas Glemham, the Royalist commander, with several other officers charged the gallant little band, but after a sharp encounter, in which Major Carr⁶⁰ was slain, drew off. By this time the Parliamentary troops had got under arms and were coming up, so the Royalists retired.⁶¹ With the advent of the Earl of Newcastle, to whom the Earl of Cumberland had reluctantly yielded up the command,⁶² matters took a turn less favourable to the Parliamentary forces. Sir Edward Loftus with all the Richmondshire troops, and Sir Henry Anderson with the men of Cleveland and the North Riding, and the number of one thousand, abandoned the struggle; Sir Hugh Cholmley drew off his 700 men from Stamford Bridge⁶³ to garrison Scarborough, and Colonel Boynton with another 800 was sent to strengthen Hull. The forces left with Fairfax amounted to twenty-one companies of foot, seven troops of horse, and one of dragoons, and of these two companies of foot were stationed at Selby, one at Cawood, and the rest partly at Wetherby under Captain Hotham and partly at Tadcaster under Lord Fairfax.⁶⁴ Two days after his arrival in York, on 6 December, Newcastle marched out to attack Tadcaster. Fairfax called Hotham to his aid and took up a position outside the town; but the Royalists, who had a great superiority in numbers, forced him back into the town and even occupied some of the houses, from which, however, they were driven out by Major-General Gifford. Fortunately for Fairfax a strong party of horse who had been sent to take him in the rear went astray, and after seven hours' desperate fighting the Royalists drew off. Taking advantage of the darkness the Parliamentary forces withdrew to Selby, leaving Newcastle a clear passage to Pontefract.⁶⁵ Over-estimating the effect of their victory, the Royalists kept no watch on their opponents, and just a week after the fight at Tadcaster, when the cavaliers quartered at Sherburn were feasting, Sir Thomas Fairfax swooped down upon them, capturing a number of prisoners and carrying off their best horses.⁶⁶ Sir Thomas then took a small force to the support of Bradford. Here he lay between hostile forces of 1,500 men in Leeds and 1,200 in Wakefield; but Sir William Savile, who had already suffered a check in an attempt to take Bradford, knew the Puritan sympathies of those two towns, and did not dare to deplete his garrisons. In the middle of January 1643 Sir Thomas obtained his father's consent to 'raise the country,'⁶⁷ and with a force of 1,200 men from Bradford and the neighbouring constabularies marched against Leeds on 23 January. After two hours' hot fighting the town was carried, Sir William Savile and some of his officers escaping by swimming the river.⁶⁸ As a result not only did a quantity of ammunition fall into the hands of Fairfax, but Wakefield was evacuated by the Royalists, and the Earl of Newcastle retired from Pontefract to York.⁶⁹

Meanwhile Sir Hugh Cholmley, acting from Scarborough, had defeated the Earl of Newport at Malton and, leaving a garrison there under Captain Bushell, had marched to Guisborough and destroyed a Royalist force there, capturing Colonel Slingsby and over a hundred prisoners.⁷⁰ But lack of money began to make itself seriously felt on the Parliamentary side,⁷¹ Sir Hugh Cholmley's troops met with a sharp reverse at Yarm Bridge on 1 February,⁷² and three weeks later, on the 22nd, the queen landed with a considerable reinforcement of ammunition and money at Bridlington. Early next morning four ships of the Parliamentary fleet arrived and opened fire on the queen's ships, many of the shot falling, by accident or design, on the house where the queen herself was lodged. She was compelled to leave her lodging and seek refuge with her ladies behind some rising ground, but displayed her usual courage, even insisting upon returning to rescue her lap-dog.⁷³

⁶⁸ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. i, 68.

⁶⁹ Rushworth, *Mem.* ii (3), 77.

⁶⁰ If this is the Thomas Carr who was buried in York Minster (*Yorks. Arch. Journ.* i, 231), the skirmish at Wetherby must have taken place in the middle of November.

⁶¹ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* viii, 208; Slingsby, *Diary*, 83.

⁶² Slingsby, *op. cit.* 84.

⁶³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* x, App. vi, 90.

⁶⁴ Rushworth, *Mem.* ii (3), 91.

⁶⁵ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* viii, 208; Slingsby, *op. cit.* 85.

⁶⁶ Slingsby *op. cit.* 87.

⁶⁷ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* i, 96.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* viii, 210.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. i, 90.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 90, 102; Rushworth, *Mem.* ii (3), 125.

⁷² *Life of Newcastle* (ed. Firth), 34.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 35; Slingsby, *Diary*, 89.

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After resting long enough to recover from the fatigue of her stormy passage, the queen set out under Newcastle's escort, and reached York on 5 March. Her arrival meant more than a mere accession of arms and money to the Royalists. For some time a number of the Yorkshire gentry who had taken up arms against the king had been growing dissatisfied with the progress of the war. As early as 16 January Sir Hugh Cholmley, in a letter to Speaker Lenthall, had expressed his grief at the continuance of the struggle, and had urged the House to come to terms with the king.⁷⁴ Just a week before this Captain Hotham had written to the Earl of Newcastle, with whom he was on better terms than with his own leaders, expressing the hope that neither side would be absolute conquerors, 'for it will be then as it was betwixt Caesar and Pompey, whosoever had the better the Roman Liberty was sure to have the worse.'⁷⁵ The queen, with her talent for intrigue, soon began to use her personal influence to detach the waverers. After an interview with her at York on 20 March, Sir Hugh Cholmley agreed to betray Scarborough, and on the 25th he informed the garrison that they were to hold the castle for the king. The previous day he had sent Captain Bushell to Hull to remove some of his property which was lying there; but Hotham, suspecting treachery, seized Bushell's ship. Bushell, proving well-affected, was allowed to proceed to Scarborough, where with the assistance of his brother and the greater part of the garrison, who disapproved Sir Hugh's action, he recovered the castle from James Cholmley; but upon the return of Sir Hugh a day or two later the Bushells, with almost all the troops, abandoned the castle.⁷⁶ At the same time attempts were made to persuade the two Hothams to change sides, and there seems even to have been an idea that Lord Fairfax might be influenced.⁷⁷ Captain Hotham, a vain and quarrelsome man who was on bad terms with the Fairfaxes, was more than willing to go over if any decent excuse could be found,⁷⁸ and his father, Sir John, was so unfriendly towards Lord Fairfax that at the end of March he withheld all assistance from the forces at Selby.⁷⁹ Finding himself thus isolated, Fairfax determined to strike across to the friendly neighbourhood of Leeds. This was a dangerous operation, as Newcastle's army, vastly superior in numbers, lay ready on Clifford Moor. On 29 March Lord Fairfax, with the main body of his army, set out for Leeds, detaching a small force under Sir Thomas Fairfax to cover his flank. Sir Thomas promptly struck at Tadcaster, and without much difficulty drove out the Royalist troops quartered there. Newcastle, misled by this unexpected attack, sent Lord Goring with twenty troops of horse to relieve Tadcaster. Sir Thomas, seeing the risk to which his infantry, mostly raw levies, would be exposed in crossing Bramham Moor, sent the foot on ahead while he engaged the enemy in the narrow lanes leading up from the Wharfe to the moor. Although having only three troops of horse to Goring's twenty, he kept them at bay long enough to allow the foot to cross the moor, but owing to some mistake they had halted, and when his horse, retiring slowly, reached the moor the foot were still where they had been left. The enemy, however, did not attack, and the Parliamentary forces got safely across Bramham Moor, but coming up on to Seacroft Moor in some disorder, the heat of the day and the opportunities of refreshment offered by the village of Potterton having proved too much for them, they were caught on the flank and rear by the Royalists and after a brief struggle completely routed with heavy loss.⁸⁰ Sir Thomas and some of the other officers managed to cut their way through the enemy and rejoined Lord Fairfax at Leeds. Although the losses incurred by Sir Thomas were very heavy his action undoubtedly saved the main Parliamentary army from destruction.

The Parliamentarians now held Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, and Lord Savile's fortified house at Howley, but the Earl of Newcastle, following up his recent victory with another successful skirmish on Tankerley Moor,⁸¹ advanced against Leeds, and although unable to effect anything there occupied Wakefield, and with little difficulty took Rotherham and Sheffield with its important ironworks.⁸² Fairfax's troops were growing restive for default of pay, and in addition the country people were complaining that he had not obtained the release of the prisoners taken at Seacroft Moor, but this he could not do, as he had no Royalist prisoners to exchange. At last he determined to take the offensive and attempt Wakefield, which was understood to be held by some 800 Royalists. On the night of Saturday, 20 May, a body of about 1,200 foot and horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax met at Howley, and early next morning they reached Wakefield, where they found that the Royalists were ready for them, and were far more numerous than they had supposed, there being 3,000 foot and seven troops of horse under General Goring and Serjeant-Major Mackworth. The Parliamentary foot, under General Gifford and the gallant Sir William Fairfax, dashed forward and drove the enemy's musketeers from behind their hedges and outworks into the town, and after an hour and a half's fighting seized the barricades at Wrengate and Norgate, whereupon Sir Thomas charged in with his horse. The defence collapsed completely;

⁷⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. i, 90.

⁷⁵ Rushworth, *op. cit.* ii (3), 265.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 105, 109, 701.

⁸⁰ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* viii, 211.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 87.

⁷⁷ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. i, 105.

⁷⁹ Markham, *Life of Lord Fairfax*, 195.

⁸¹ *Life of Newcastle* (ed. Firth), 38.

⁸² *Ibid.* 41.

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most of the horse galloped off to safety, but eighty officers, including General Goring himself, and 1,400 common soldiers were made prisoners, and a great store of ammunition, constituting Newcastle's main magazine,⁸³ fell into the hands of Fairfax.⁸⁴ This victory, gained over greatly superior numbers with the almost incredibly small loss of only seven men killed, had little real effect on the tide of affairs in the north. Wakefield had to be abandoned at once, and although Lord Fairfax was now able to exchange the Seacroft prisoners and to replenish his exhausted stores, he recognized his precarious position, and urged the immediate dispatch of reinforcements, particularly desiring the assistance of Colonel Cromwell.⁸⁵ Local jealousies, however, caused Yorkshire to be left unrelieved,⁸⁶ and on 20 June Newcastle, who had escorted the queen through Pontefract to Newark, led his whole army into the West Riding and attacked Howley Hall. This strong house had been garrisoned for the Parliament in January 1642, Sir John Savile of Lupset, a cousin of the owner, Lord Savile, being made governor; he now defended it with great gallantry for two days, but on 22 June the place was stormed, and Sir John, whose life had been spared contrary to Newcastle's orders, taken prisoner.⁸⁷ For about a week Newcastle remained near Howley preparing for an assault on Bradford. In view of the weakness of that town the Fairfaxes decided that their only chance of success lay in a sudden attack on the Royalist army. Their own forces, even with the addition of some troops recently arrived from Lancashire, amounted to barely 4,000 men, their opponents having some 10,000 and a great superiority in horse. The attacking forces were to leave Bradford at 4 o'clock in the morning on 29 June, but owing to the laxity, or worse, of General Gifford they did not start until four hours later, and when they reached Adwalton Moor they found the Royalists drawn up awaiting them. Lord Fairfax was commanding in chief, with Sir Thomas on the right, Gifford on the left, and Colonel Forbes with the reserves. The Parliamentary troops advanced with great dash, drove back the enemy's infantry, and repelled two charges of horse with heavy loss; Newcastle was on the point of retreating when a brilliant charge by some of his pikemen under Colonel Skirton, 'a wild and desperate man,' turned the fortunes of the battle. The Puritan foot were thrown into confusion and were left unsupported by Gifford, whose wing had just been charged on the flank and rear by a party of Royalist horse. The foot were mostly raw levies, courageous in attack but lacking the discipline for an orderly retirement; the retreat speedily became a rout, and the greater part of the infantry were killed or captured; the remnant, with the horse of the left wing, got back to Bradford, followed by Lord Fairfax, who was with difficulty persuaded to leave the stricken field. Sir Thomas with the right wing had held his ground, and, finding that the enemy were between him and Bradford, retired to Halifax. The Lancashire contingent went straight off from Halifax to their own county, but Sir Thomas with such men as he could get together made for Bradford and rejoined his father.⁸⁸ Their position was hazardous; Bradford was untenable, and there seemed to be no place to which they could turn, as Sir John Hotham, the Governor of Hull, where was the only large Parliamentary garrison in the county, had said that if they came there he would shut the gates against them. But now a messenger arrived with news that the Hothams, whose disaffection had long been suspected, were laid by the heels. The younger Hotham, after exasperating his fellow commanders at Nottingham, had been arrested on 18 June but had escaped, first to Lincoln and then to Hull, where he was plotting with his father to betray the town. Information of the plot reaching the mayor, Thomas Raikes, he and Sir Matthew Boynton acted with great promptitude, and early on the morning of the 29th, by their direction, 1,500 townsmen assembled under arms and seized the magazines, ordnance, and the suspected officers. Sir John Hotham alone escaped, and he was taken at Beverley the same day with Sir Edward Rhodes, Governor of Beverley, who was also plotting treason.⁸⁹ The two Hothams were sent up to London, and suffered on the scaffold in January 1645. Meanwhile Hull was held by the townsmen under Sir Matthew Boynton, and it was now put at the disposal of Lord Fairfax. He moved on first to Leeds, leaving Sir Thomas with 800 foot and 60 horse to hold Bradford. This, when Newcastle had planted his batteries on the high ground overlooking the town, soon proved impossible; and Sir Thomas, sending the foot round one way under Colonel Rogers, led out his little body of horse, with his wife riding pillion behind one of the soldiers, early in the morning. They soon encountered 300 of the enemy's horse, on whom they flung themselves gallantly; Sir Thomas, General Gifford, Sir Henry Foulis, and a few others, cut their way through; but all the rest, including Lady Fairfax,⁹⁰ were taken prisoners. Sir Thomas waited until he saw that he could render no assistance, and then rode off to Leeds. Here he was

⁸³ *Life of Newcastle* (ed. Firth), 43. ⁸⁴ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* i, 101-5; viii, 212. ⁸⁵ *Ibid.* i, 103.

⁸⁶ Gardiner, *Hist. of the Great Civil War*, i, 159. ⁸⁷ *Life of Newcastle* (ed. Firth), 45.

⁸⁸ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. i, 717; *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* viii, 213-14; *Life of Newcastle* (ed. Firth), 46-8.

⁸⁹ Rushworth, *op. cit.* ii (3), 276.

⁹⁰ She was sent back to her husband by the courteous Earl of Newcastle in his own coach with an escort of horse.

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joined by eighty of his foot, who had surprised a detachment of dragoons and captured their horses ; unfortunately, through the cowardice of the officer commanding the rear, the greater part of the foot had turned back into Bradford, where they surrendered next day.⁹¹ Within two hours of Sir Thomas's arrival a start was made for Hull. At Selby there was a sharp skirmish, in which Sir Thomas Fairfax was severely wounded by a shot in the wrist, but in the end Hull was safely reached.

With the exception of a few isolated posts, such as Wressell Castle, Hull was the only place in the county that still held out for the Parliament, and Newcastle led his army into Lincolnshire, satisfied that Yorkshire would give no more trouble. But the Fairfaxes were not the men to lie idle, and their personal popularity made them the rallying point for all who were devoted to the Puritan cause.⁹² Sir Thomas soon moved out with the horse to Beverley, and in August drove the Royalists out of Stamford Bridge, and so alarmed the garrison of York that they sent for Newcastle, who about this date had been raised to the rank of marquess.⁹³ He returned at once, driving Sir Thomas out of Beverley, and on 2 September began the siege of Hull. The season was wet, and Fairfax, by cutting the river banks, had flooded a great part of the low ground, so that in many of their works the Royalists were ankle-deep in mud and water, and those without seemed liker to rot than those within to starve.⁹⁴ The besieged, having command of the river, could keep up communications with Lincolnshire, and on 26 September they were visited by Cromwell and Lord Willoughby, who took back with them Sir Thomas Fairfax and his cavalry. At the end of September the Royalists made several vigorous but unsuccessful attempts to capture various outworks, but the arrival of Sir John Meldrum with 500 foot on 5 October put the besieged in a position to assume the offensive, and after repelling a particularly vigorous attack, conducted by Captain Strickland, on 9 October, the Parliamentary forces sallied in strength on the 11th. A thousand men under Colonels Lambert and Rainsborough, with Sir John Meldrum in chief command, drove the Royalists out of their works and seized their guns, but were then driven back in confusion by a resolute charge of the enemy's pikemen. Lord Fairfax, shutting the gates against them, rallied his men, and they advanced once more, this time to complete victory. The Royalist works were carried, their ordnance captured and turned against them, and so severe a blow inflicted that the siege was raised.⁹⁵

For three months Yorkshire was left in comparative peace, but in January 1644 news arrived that the Scottish army had crossed the borders and were making for the town of Newcastle. The marquess at once hurried northwards, leaving Colonel John Bellasis in command at York. Hardly had he gone when Sir Thomas Fairfax, by his brilliant victory at Nantwich on 28 January, was in a position to send troops to recover the clothing towns of the West Riding. Colonel Bellasis, being reinforced by Sir Charles Lucas, on his way north with a large body of horse, attempted to counter this move by an attack on Bradford, but met with a sharp reverse at the hands of Colonel Lambert.⁹⁶ The West Riding had now definitely returned to its old allegiance to the Parliament, and Lord Fairfax was so secure in the East that he sent out Sir William Constable with the horse, who, 'making their carrocols upon the wolds,' recovered Whitby and troubled the district round Pickering. Sir Charles Lucas rode out to look for him, but being unable to discover his whereabouts, quartered at Coldham. That night the Royalists obtained the information required, for Sir William suddenly swooped down on their quarters, cut up the regiments of Sir Walter Vavasour, Sir John Keys, and Thomas Slingsby, and carried off a number of prisoners.⁹⁷ Not long after this Colonel Bellasis intercepted a letter from Sir Thomas Fairfax to his father, expressing his intention of joining forces with him and marching to the assistance of the Scots, who had made no progress in the north. Bellasis attempted to prevent this by occupying Selby with 3,000 men ; but the junction was successfully effected, and on 11 April the united Parliamentary forces attacked Selby. The foot under Sir John Meldrum forced the barricades, and Sir Thomas Fairfax entering the town with the horse completed the defeat of the Royalists. Colonel Bellasis himself and 80 officers and 1,600 men were taken prisoners.⁹⁸ The immediate result was to bring the Marquess of Newcastle south at full speed to secure York. On his heels came the Scottish army under Lord Leven ; marching through Northallerton and Boroughbridge the Scots were met at Wetherby on 18 April by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and at Doncaster next day by Lord Fairfax. The united Parliamentary forces were now about 16,000 foot and 4,000 horse,⁹⁹ sufficient to besiege the city on two sides, the Scots lying on the south and west at Bishopthorpe and Middlethorpe, and Fairfax's army on the south and east, and the circle was soon completed on the north by the arrival of 9,000 men under the Earl of

⁹¹ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* viii, 215.

⁹² Slingsby, *Diary*, 99.

⁹³ His patent was dated 27 October, but he was referred to as marquess on the 14th of that month (*Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. i, 138), and apparently received his title about the time of his return to Yorkshire. *Life of Newcastle* (ed. Firth), 58.

⁹⁴ *Life of Newcastle*, 59.

⁹⁵ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. i, 138 ; Markham, *op. cit.* 115-19.

⁹⁶ Slingsby, *Diary*, 103.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 103-4.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 105-6 ; Markham, *op. cit.* 137.

⁹⁹ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* viii, 220.

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Manchester. Meanwhile Newcastle, to reduce the drain on his stores, had sent out the greater part of his horse on 22 April to make their way to the king. This they did, though they lost some sixty prisoners, and 'war so hard chaisit that they war forcit to tak the cullouris from the standaris and ryd away with, and leve the staf behind them.'¹⁰⁰ At the same time the marquess put both troops and non-combatants on strict rations, the soldiers receiving 'a mutchkin of beans, an unnce of butar and a peny loaf' daily, and an ordinance being issued that 'everrie ane within the citie of York sall have bott ane maill per diem.'¹

During May the siege operations do not seem to have been pressed very vigorously, but towards the end of the month the Parliamentarians captured Cawood Castle,² and with the beginning of June more active measures were employed against the city. On 5 June the Scots occupied some of the suburbs, but next day the garrison sallied out and managed to set fire to the suburbs, and so to destroy the houses.³ A week later, on 14 June, a meeting was held between the representatives of the three Parliamentary generals and those of Newcastle, but the object of the Royalists proving to be only the gaining of time for the expected advance by Prince Rupert, negotiations were broken off. On 16 June a mine was fired by Major-General Crawford on the north side of the city, bringing down St. Mary's Tower and effecting an accessible breach. Unfortunately for the besiegers Crawford was a vain and quarrelsome man, and, wishing to have all the glory of capturing York, he had not warned Leven or Fairfax of his intentions; they therefore made no diversion on other parts of the city, and although Manchester's troops gained a temporary footing at the Manor House, where they slew Sir Philip Byron, the Royalists were able to concentrate against them, and they were driven out with heavy losses.⁴ Since the beginning of the month the advance of Prince Rupert from Lancashire had been anxiously expected by all parties, and the Parliamentary Committee in London had endeavoured to persuade the three generals to raise the siege and march against Rupert, but this they had wisely refused to do.⁵ Now, on 28 June, when the garrison of York were almost at their last gasp, Rupert entered Yorkshire and advanced by Skipton and Denton to Knaresborough. On 1 July, under cover of the darkness, the besieging armies drew off and took up a position on Marston Moor, hoping to intercept Rupert's advance; but he avoided them and reached York, where he encamped for the night outside the walls.⁶

Councils of war were held in both camps. In the Parliamentary camp it was decided, by the Earl of Leven's advice, to retire southwards, and on 2 July the foot started to march to Tadcaster, the horse, under Sir Thomas Fairfax, Oliver Cromwell, and David Leslie, remaining on the moor to guard the rear. But meanwhile the impetuous Prince Rupert, putting his own interpretation on an ambiguous letter from King Charles, had overruled the more cautious counsels of Newcastle and had committed his party to a pursuit and attack. An urgent message from Sir Thomas Fairfax brought the Parliamentary foot back on to Marston Moor, where, on the ridge between Tockwith and Long Marston, Lord Leven drew up his army. In the centre he placed four of his own Scottish regiments under General Baillie, with three more in reserve under General Lumsdaine. On their left were the Earl of Manchester's foot under Crawford, flanked by 4,000 horse under Oliver Cromwell and David Leslie. The right wing, commanded by Lord Fairfax, consisted of three regiments of foot under Sir William Fairfax, with Colonels Bright, Needham, and Forbes, with two Scottish regiments in reserve, flanked by the Yorkshire horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax and Colonel Lambert, supported by three regiments of Scottish horse. About a quarter of a mile north of the Parliamentary lines ran a broad ditch, held by the Royalist musketeers. Immediately behind this Prince Rupert had formed up such foot as he had with him, intending to attack the enemy, although they were superior in numbers, as soon as the rest of his troops came up. But there was considerable delay in their arrival, many of Newcastle's party being opposed to the idea of fighting, and part of the troops being mutinous for lack of pay. It was past six o'clock when the expected reinforcements under Lord Eythin arrived, and that cautious veteran would not hear of an attack at that late hour; he also rebuked Rupert for forming so close to the enemy. It was, however, too late to withdraw, and the Royalist forces took up their positions. In the centre, where Lord Eythin was in command, were Newcastle's foot under General Porter; on their right came Rupert's foot under Colonel O'Neil, flanked by 5,000 horse under Rupert with Lord Byron and Lord Grandison. The Royalist left consisted of Newcastle's own Northumbrian regiment, known as the White Coats, from their uniform of undyed cloth, which they had vowed to dye in the blood of their enemies; flanking these were 5,000 horse under Goring and Sir Charles Lucas.

A little before seven the conference of the Royalist generals broke up; Rupert, expressing his intention of attacking early next morning, dismounted and settled down to his supper; Newcastle went off to his coach to smoke, and throughout the lines there was a general slackening of tension.

¹⁰⁰ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* x, App. i, 53.

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1644, p. 176.

⁴ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* viii, 220; Slingsby, *Diary*, 109.

⁶ Gardiner, *Hist. of the Great Civil War*, i, 372.

³ Markham, *op. cit.* 146.

⁵ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1644, pp. 206-7.

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The Parliamentary leaders were quick to see their chance, and suddenly horse and foot surged forward to the attack. Crawford dashed across the ditch and caught the Royalist right wing on the flank; Baillie's Scots followed, driving back the main body of the enemy's foot, and Sir William Fairfax carried the ditch and hedge on his front. On the left Leslie and Cromwell shattered the first line of the opposing horse: for a moment Rupert's own troops checked the Parliamentary charge; Cromwell, slightly wounded in the neck, halted and even began to draw back, when David Leslie saved the situation by a dashing flank charge, which sent the Royalists flying in disorder down the road to York. Crawford's foot were equally successful in driving back O'Neil's forces, but on the right matters were going badly for Lord Fairfax and the Yorkshire Puritans. The ground on this side was broken and covered with furze and other obstacles, so that it was with difficulty that Sir Thomas Fairfax managed to bring his men to the charge. Moreover, Sir William Urry had interspersed amongst his troops of horse bodies of musketeers, whose fire caused great loss to the attacking party. After a desperate struggle Sir Thomas, whose cheek had been laid open by a sabre cut, routed the troop immediately opposed to his own; leaving his men to pursue them, he returned by himself to bring up the rest of his cavalry, only to find that Goring had charged them and that they had fled in disorder, Eglinton's regiment of horse alone standing their ground. In their flight they scattered their own foot, including the reserves, and, finding that his troop had melted away, old Lord Fairfax hurried after them to Tadcaster, believing all was lost. While the left wing of each army had thus scored a great success the issue in the centre still hung in the balance. Still struggling with the Royalist centre Baillie's Scots were now attacked on the flank by the foot of the victorious left wing and the body of horse under Sir Charles Lucas. Several regiments broke and fled, and Lord Leven, after vainly trying to rally them, gave up all for lost and rode off to Wetherby; but Baillie with the regiments of Lord Lindsay and Lord Maitland (commanded by Colonel Pitscottie) held out grimly, and Lumsdaine brought up another regiment to his aid. And now the fortunes of war were changed by the difference of discipline in the two armies. Goring's victorious cavalry, having driven their adversaries off the field, turned to plundering, but on the Parliamentary left Leslie and Cromwell had kept their men well in hand and were waiting for news. This they soon received, for Sir Thomas Fairfax, finding himself alone on his wing, took out of his hat the distinguishing white favour and, riding through the Royalist forces as if he had been one of their own officers, reached the left wing. As soon as they knew the state of affairs, Cromwell led his men across the field, and wheeling round met and cut to pieces Goring's cavalry as they returned in disorder, Crawford brought up his victorious infantry to the help of Baillie, and Leslie attacked the White Coats. The Royalist rout was complete; the whole army broke and fled towards York, except the gallant White Coats, who refused either to fly or to surrender, and after making a magnificent stand in White Syke Close were cut down almost to a man.⁷

In the battle of Marston Moor 4,000 Royalists were slain and 1,500 taken prisoners; twenty-five pieces of ordnance were captured, besides quantities of arms and ammunition, and colours enough 'to make surplices for all the cathedrals in England, were they white.' Amongst the prisoners were Generals Goring, Porter, and Tilyard, and Sir Charles Lucas. On the Parliamentary side also the losses had been heavy, including Charles Fairfax, younger brother of Sir Thomas; but the victory was decisive. The Marquess of Newcastle and Lord Eythin abandoned the struggle and rode off to Scarborough, whence they sailed, with a number of other officers, for Hamburg next day. Rupert, with the remains of his horse and a small body of foot, made for Lancashire, leaving Sir Thomas Glemham to hold York as best he might. The siege of the city was resumed two days after the battle, on 4 July, and ten days later Glemham, whose position was hopeless, offered to capitulate. Very good terms were granted; the garrison marched out with the honours of war on 16 July and were conducted under escort to Skipton, where there was a Royalist garrison.⁸ Lord Fairfax became Governor of York and Thomas Hoyle was elected mayor in place of Sir Edmund Cowper, who had been maintained in office by Newcastle in despite of the corporation's protests since January 1642.⁹

After the surrender of York, the county being entirely in the hands of the Parliament except for a number of isolated castles, the Scottish army, after a brief stay at Leeds, marched to Newcastle,¹⁰ while the Earl of Manchester moved southwards, halting at Doncaster on 23 July. The earl, who had so far served the Parliament faithfully, now began to show signs of slackness. He did not wish to see the king unthroned, he had no belief in the permanence of any settlement by force, and wished for a compromise and agreement. He, therefore, was not anxious to pursue his recent successes, and declined to move against Newark; although he detached General Crawford to attack Sheffield Castle, he left him without ordnance,¹¹ and it was not until Lord Fairfax sent some artillery under Colonel

⁷ Gardiner, *Hist. of the Great Civil War*, i, 373-82; Markham, *op. cit.* 153-78, and authorities there quoted.

⁸ Slingsby, *Diary*, 115-16, 123.

¹⁰ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1644, p. 423.

⁹ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* v, 53-62.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 1644-5, p. 152.

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Bright that the castle surrendered, on 11 August.¹² While Manchester was at Doncaster, Colonel John Lilburne, by Cromwell's orders, quartered with four troops of dragoons in Tickhill. The castle here was held for the king by Colonel Monckton, but the garrison were in a state of mutiny; and informed Lilburne that they would make no resistance to an assault, and the governor himself expressed his willingness to surrender if summoned. Manchester forbade Lilburne to take any action, and was angry when he found that, by Ireton's advice, he had summoned the castle and received its surrender.¹³ In August Lord Fairfax invested Knaresborough, Scarborough, and Pontefract, and detached a strong force under Sir Thomas to operate against Helmsley Castle.¹⁴ During the siege of Helmsley, which was gallantly defended by Sir Jordan Crosland, Sir Thomas Fairfax was severely wounded by a musket ball,¹⁵ while just about the same time, on 18 September, his gallant cousin, Sir William Fairfax, was mortally wounded in action at Montgomery.¹⁶ Helmsley surrendered on 22 November, and Knaresborough shortly afterwards. On the other hand Sir John Maney with some 2,000 horse came out of Lancashire on 10 September, and turning southwards from Skipton surprised a newly-raised troop of Parliamentary horse at Bradford and relieved Pontefract, driving off the investing force under Colonel Sands with considerable loss.¹⁷

For some time Lord Fairfax had been complaining of a lack of funds; on 20 September he had to warn the Committee that his army would break up and disband if money were not soon forthcoming.¹⁸ In November he requested Lord Montgomery not to quarter his troops round Northallerton and Thirsk, as that district had had to bear the charges of the force employed against Helmsley,¹⁹ and about the same time he wrote to the Committee suggesting that three regiments of Scottish horse, whose presence in Cleveland was causing great expense, should be used against Newark, the only considerable garrison remaining in the north. He also proposed to reduce the Yorkshire horse by 2,000, 'the charge of them being insupportable to this almost ruined country.'²⁰

So far as Yorkshire was concerned interest now centred round Pontefract and Scarborough. On Christmas Day 1644 Fairfax's troops occupied the town of Pontefract and began the siege of the castle, a place of great strength, ably defended by Sir Richard Lowther.²¹ Colonel Forbes was in charge of the siege operations, and after a heavy cannonade succeeded in battering down the Piper tower and effecting a breach in the walls; but the breach not proving sufficiently open, and efforts to mine the walls being met by vigorous countermining, nothing was effected. In February 1645 Sir Thomas Fairfax was ordered up to London to assume the command of the New Model Army, the great force destined in his hands to place the supremacy of the Parliament beyond question, and his place in Yorkshire was taken by Colonel Lambert, who himself took charge of the operations at Pontefract. Early in February a small body of men, including Mr. Corker, a clergyman, got safely away from the castle, and as a result of Mr. Corker's representations Sir Marmaduke Langdale was dispatched to relieve the castle. On the last day of February news arrived of Langdale's approach; the siege was raised and the Parliamentary forces fell back to Ferrybridge, where a sharp engagement ensued next day in which Langdale, with the help of the garrison, gained a decisive victory, taking a number of prisoners and a quantity of arms. Sir John Savile, who had been besieging Sandal Castle and had received orders to march to Ferrybridge too late to be of use, fell back on Bradford, cutting up some Royalist horse under Colonel Carnaby at Houghton on his way.²² The check to the Parliamentary cause was slight. On 21 March the siege of Pontefract was recommenced. The cavaliers defended the castle gallantly, and were not content to remain on the defensive, but inflicted heavy losses on the besiegers by constant vigorous sallies. They also contrived to keep up communications with the beleaguered garrison of Sandal, and on 27 May a party of fifty horse from Sandal actually made their way through the Parliamentary lines and brought nearly a hundred head of cattle into the castle.²³ A few days previous to this the Royalist garrison of Scarborough had scored a still greater success, a sally in force inflicting heavy losses in men and guns on the Parliamentary troops, Sir John Meldrum, who was in command of the siege operations, receiving wounds from which he died shortly afterwards.²⁴ From the beginning of June, when General Poyntz took control of the siege operations at Pontefract, the garrison there began to feel their enemy's grip tightening. The complete defeat of the king at Naseby on 14 June deprived them of all chance of relief, and although they kept up their spirits by disseminating reports of imaginary

¹² *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1644, p. 423.

¹³ *Ibid.* 1644-5, pp. 148-9, 152.

¹⁴ Markham, *op. cit.* 183.

¹⁵ Slingsby, *Diary*, 131; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1644, p. 520

¹⁶ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1644, p. 524.

¹⁷ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1644-5, p. 104.

¹⁸ The sieges of Pontefract Castle are given in great detail from the journals of Nathan Drake and other contemporary sources in *Surt. Soc. Publ.* no. 37.

¹⁹ Drake, *Siege of Pontefract Castle* (*Surt. Soc.* 37), 17.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 47.

²¹ *Ibid.* 1644, p. 447.

²² *Ibid.* 184.

²³ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* x, App. i, 54.

²⁴ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1644-5, pp. 523, 527.

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Royalist victories, which were signalled between Pontefract and Sandal by means of beacon fires, their surrender was only a matter of time. At last, on 21 July, the castle and all its munitions were given up and the brave defenders marched out to join their friends at Newark.²⁵ So important was this success considered that the House of Commons ordered a thanksgiving therefor on the Sunday after the receipt of the news.²⁶ Within a week of the fall of Pontefract, Scarborough surrendered to Sir Mathew Boynton,²⁷ who was at once appointed governor. The governorship of Pontefract had been given to Sir Thomas Fairfax, but as he was too busy elsewhere with his command of the new army the office had to be exercised by deputy.²⁸ Bolton, Skipton, and Sandal still held out, and in the middle of August the Parliamentary horse, both at Skipton and at Doncaster, were in a state of mutiny owing to the failure of the authorities to provide their pay.²⁹ At Doncaster they even placed General Poyntz under arrest and threatened to plunder York if a month's pay were not forthcoming. The king took advantage of this state of affairs to offer a pardon to all persons in Yorkshire who would return to their allegiance,³⁰ and the Royalists designed to march on Doncaster and so towards Ripon, where there were no Parliamentary garrisons.³¹ But the Parliamentary eclipse was of short duration; on 2 October Sandal Castle surrendered,³² and a fortnight later, on 15 October, Lord Digby, the king's secretary, with 1,500 Royalist horse, was completely defeated at Sherburn, his coach, containing much compromising correspondence, being captured.³³ So many prisoners were brought into York after this battle that some fears were expressed for the safety of the city.³⁴ On 5 November Colonel Scrope yielded the castle of Bolton to Colonel Lascelles,³⁵ and the surrender of Skipton Castle on 22 December left the Parliament supreme in Yorkshire.

During 1646 and 1647 the county had peace, except for the plundering and the misbehaviour of the Scottish troops quartered round Tickhill and elsewhere.³⁶ They were said to cost the county something like £90,000 a month,³⁷ and the presence in their ranks of 'reformadoes,' men who had formerly served in the Royalist armies and were still Royalist in sympathies though drawing pay in the service of the Parliament, increased the tendency to disorder and outrage.³⁸ On 16 March 1648 the old Lord Fairfax died at Denton, and his son Sir Thomas succeeded to the title. About this time the Royalists renewed the struggle in the north, encouraged by Charles's negotiations with the Scots. Colonel John Morris, a brilliant young officer who had served under the Earl of Strafford, had joined the Parliamentary army out of pique, and had been passed over, owing to the licence of his life, at the remodelling of the army, had for some time been plotting to seize Pontefract Castle for the king.³⁹ With this end in view he had contrived to become very intimate with Captain Cotterell, the strict and unpopular governor of the castle, who at last came to put complete confidence in him. Meanwhile Morris had enrolled a body of old and trusty cavaliers in and around Pontefract to seize the castle when the time came. A first attempt was made in the middle of May 1648; but, owing to the corporal who should have been on guard at the part of the walls which was to be scaled having got drunk, another sentinel was on duty, and he at once gave the alarm. The Royalists rode off, leaving their ladders planted against the walls. Captain Cotterell decided that his soldiers who had been quartered in the town should in future lodge in the castle; for their accommodation beds had to be provided, and orders were given for these to be brought on 3 June. On that day Morris and Captain William Paulden with nine confederates, all disguised as countrymen, came to the gates of the castle with the beds, and on being admitted sent part of the guard off to get drink; the rest of the guard they drove into a large underground dungeon. The drawbridge was swung up and Captain William Paulden going to the governor's room found him lying down; he defended himself gallantly, but was overpowered. Then Captain Thomas Paulden brought in about thirty horse to help hold the place, and in a few days the Royalists from all round flocked to Pontefract, so that the garrison numbered 500 men. There was good store of ammunition in the castle, and provisions were rapidly brought in, one particular raid to Knottingley resulting in the capture of 300 head of cattle. So rapidly did the cavaliers come in that by the end of June they had assumed the offensive and had sent out a large party to plunder the Isle of Axholme and the neighbourhood of Lincoln. On their way back these forces were caught, on 5 July, by Colonel Rossiter at Willoughby Field and completely defeated, Sir Philip Monkton, who was in command, being taken, with about 60 officers and gentlemen and nearly 500 troopers. When first the castle was seized the Parliament endeavoured to bribe Morris to surrender it, offering him £2,000,⁴⁰ but

²⁵ Drake, *Siege of Pontefract Castle*, ut sup. 82.

²⁷ Drake, loc. cit. ²⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1645-7, p. 74.

³³ Drake, *Siege of Pontefract Castle* (Surt. Soc.), 83.

³⁴ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1645-7, pp. 203, 216-17.

³⁵ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. i, 294.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 338, 340, 357, 367.

³⁹ For the account of the surprise and third siege of Pontefract Castle see *Surt. Soc. Publ.* no. 37, pp. 84-116.

⁴⁰ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1646-9, p. 118.

²⁸ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1645-7, p. 27.

²⁹ *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* xiii, App. i, 240, 252-4.

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 71.

³² *Ibid.* 304.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 365.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 357-8, 365.

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now they dispatched 5,000 troops under Sir Edward Rhodes and Sir Henry Cholmley to besiege the place. The Royalists, however, still managed to retain not only the castle but also the house called New Hall, and when, after the defeat of the Scottish army under Hamilton at Preston on 17 August, Cromwell called off the greater part of the containing forces to pursue the Scots, the Pontefract garrison proved a thorn in the side of the local Parliamentarians. Cholmley's conduct of the siege proving so unsuccessful, Colonel Rainsborough was ordered to take command about the end of October, but Cholmley refused to be superseded and Rainsborough remained for the time at Doncaster. In the defeat at Preston Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who had commanded the English contingent, was captured and brought to Nottingham, and it was rumoured that he was to be executed. The Pontefract cavaliers determined to effect his rescue and hit upon the daring plan of seizing Rainsborough and exchanging him for Langdale. At midnight on 27 October Captain William Paulden with twenty-two men, well mounted, slipped out of the castle, and early next morning reached Mexborough, 4 miles from Doncaster. Here they halted, sending a spy into the town. Early in the morning of 29 October they entered Doncaster in four divisions, surprising the unsuspecting guards; four of the cavaliers rode on to Rainsborough's lodgings, where they pretended that they had brought a letter from Cromwell. They were taken up to his bedroom and at once informed him that he was their prisoner. On coming into the street he saw how few his captors were, and calling on his lieutenant, who had been disarmed, began to struggle and managed to get one of his enemies' swords. In the confusion that ensued Rainsborough was killed, and the cavaliers rode off to Pontefract unharmed but unsuccessful in their main intention. As a matter of fact Langdale had escaped the previous night, so that their failure did not affect him, but the fury with which the attempt inspired the Parliament, and in particular Cromwell, ultimately cost Morris his life. Cholmley was now in disgrace and the siege operations were conducted by Cromwell himself, who on 9 November summoned the castle and, when Morris refused to yield, drove the Royalists out of New Hall, completed the lines of circumvallation and ordered up more troops and artillery.

Meanwhile Colonel Matthew Boynton, Governor of Scarborough, discontented at being kept without money, had declared for the king in August, and Scarborough, as well as Pontefract, was undergoing a siege. Scarborough surrendered to Colonel Bethel on 19 December, but Pontefract remained unreduced, and when King Charles was beheaded on 30 January 1649 the garrison proclaimed King Charles II and struck coin, minted from plate, in his name. At last, on 3 March, the garrison condescended to make overtures for surrender, but General Lambert, much against his will, had to inform them that six persons were excepted from mercy, and sooner than abandon any of their number they vowed all to die together. At last, on 17 March, the names of the six persons excepted were given, being Morris, the governor, two officers concerned in Rainsborough's death, and three who had betrayed the castle; Lambert further agreed that they might escape if they could, and that if they got 5 miles from the castle they should be free. A sally was made in which Morris and Blackburne got safely through the enemy's lines, one of the others was killed and the other three were forced back into the castle where they were hidden by being walled up in a secret chamber and so escaped discovery when the castle was surrendered on 22 March. Morris and Blackburne were arrested ten days after their escape, in Lancashire, condemned to death at the York Assizes in August, and executed on 23 August, after an attempt at escape in which Morris could have succeeded if he had not refused to abandon his companion, who fell and broke his leg. Before they suffered, the castle which they had so gallantly defended had ceased to exist. Orders had also been given in July 1649 for the demolition of Scarborough Castle,⁴¹ but they were not carried out, and were repeated in May 1651,⁴² only to be referred back again next month.⁴³

The capture of Pontefract marked the end of the Civil War in Yorkshire, though it naturally took time for the county to settle down. There were riots at York during the summer and autumn of 1649 by soldiers whose pay was overdue.⁴⁴ During 1650 Scottish affairs gave cause for anxiety, and on 20 September orders were given to raise a full regiment of 1,200 militia in the county;⁴⁵ this business hung fire and does not seem to have been completed till a year later.⁴⁶ An alarm that Middleham Castle was to be seized was raised as late as 1655,⁴⁷ but the plot, if plot there was, came to nothing and the land had rest until the death of Cromwell in 1658.

Soon after the death of Oliver Cromwell the royalist reaction began to make itself openly felt in Yorkshire as in other districts. Lord Fairfax, the most prominent personage in the county, was known to be favourable to the restoration of the monarchy, and seems to have been cognizant of Sir George Booth's conspiracy in 1659 and to have been in communication with General Monk.⁴⁸

On 3 January 1660 Fairfax went to Marston Moor with some levies to meet, by invitation,

⁴¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1649-50, p. 230.

⁴² *Ibid.* 145.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 1650, p. 348.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 1655, p. 181.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 1651, p. 188.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 1649-50, pp. 237, 299.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 1651, pp. 88, 354.

⁴⁸ Drake, *Eboracum* (publ. Lond. 1736), 173.

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a portion of Lambert's army. There was no battle. Lambert's soldiers rushed to their old leader and York was won for Royalists. Monk arrived at York on the 11th and left for London on the 15th.⁴⁹ The Restoration in Yorkshire was chiefly the work of Fairfax who, on 18 May, formed one of the party sent over to the Hague to invite Charles to return.

On 11 May Charles II was proclaimed at York amid great enthusiasm, and on 29 May he rode into London on a horse—'Nun Appleton'—given him by Fairfax.

Yet the old Puritanical sentiment was active, and the deputy lieutenants received orders to make a general search for arms and to inquire into people's principles, and how they stood assured to the Government.⁵⁰

In 1662 the Duke of Buckingham was sent to his lieutenancy of the West Riding, there to raise the militia to oppose a rebellion ready to break out in those parts.⁵¹ The parties concerned in this design were some officers of the late Parliamentary army and some persons dissatisfied at losing their Crown and Church lands by the king's return. The disaffected met at Farnley Wood near Pontefract, but finding little support they dispersed. About twenty-one persons were arrested for taking part in the sedition and were all found guilty of high treason by a special commission brought down to York for the purpose, fifteen⁵² of them being executed next January, including Rymer and Oates, the leaders, men of substantial property.

In 1665 James, Duke of York, and brother of Charles, spent two months in York while the plague raged in London and was received with full civic pomp and circumstance.⁵³ When he visited the city, fourteen years later, having in the meantime publicly embraced Roman Catholicism, he was but coldly welcomed, much to his displeasure, which had serious consequences for the city afterwards.⁵⁴ Disaffection was not yet dead, for next year it was thought advisable to quarter troops at Leeds, and in the following year when the king wished to borrow money on the security of a land tax voted by Parliament he could not get any in Yorkshire.

On the dissolution of the Cabal Ministry in 1673, a famous Yorkshireman, Sir Thomas Osborne, rose to be Lord High Treasurer of England and Earl of Danby.⁵⁵ He succeeded his patron, the Duke of Buckingham, as Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding on the disgrace and impeachment of the duke in 1674 for his intrigue with Lady Shrewsbury.⁵⁶

The Hallamshire corporation of cutlers resisted the levying of hearth-money on their furnaces, which were exempt as being 'blowing-houses,' and for a time their claims were recognized.

The Popish Plot excitement extended to York, and four persons were brought to trial in 1680 for alleged complicity therein. Only one was found guilty, 'a priest, being more his guilt than the plot.'⁵⁷ At the same assizes a petition was offered to the grand jury from some of the anti-court party, in the name of the whole county, for the sitting of Parliament. One of the grand jury tore the petition in pieces, and next day a counter petition was drawn up and signed, expressing abhorrence of such proceedings, 'the King being the only fit judge when Parliament ought to sit.'⁵⁸ When the Commons met, the 'abhorrrers' were voted betrayers of the liberties of the people, and abettors of arbitrary power, and two members for Yorkshire who had signed the abhorrence were convened before the committee.

Sir John Resesby was appointed Governor of York in 1682,⁵⁹ and noted that the 'loyal party in York is much inferior to the factious.'⁶⁰ Next year the new governor was busy searching for persons implicated in the Rye House Plot. Several Scotch 'petty chapmen' or pedlars were arrested as being emissaries of the conspirators, and several gentry suspected of disaffection were disarmed.⁶¹

The city of York, with many other corporate municipalities, suffered the loss of its charter under writ of quo warranto in 1684, 'as being remarkable for height of faction.'⁶² The notorious Jeffreys came to the city on circuit and promised to speak to the king on behalf of the citizens. Next year the town of Doncaster yielded up its charter into the king's hands.

In February 1685 Charles II died, but the exclusionists remained quiet and James II was proclaimed in due course. A new charter duly arrived in August,⁶³ but the temper of the citizens, and indeed of the whole county, was gradually aroused by James's actions. In 1687 nineteen gentlemen of the West Riding were put out of the commission of the peace and ten Papists put in their room,⁶⁴ while the king granted the manor of York for thirty years to 'one Mr. Lawson a

⁴⁹ Drake, *Eboracum* (publ. Lond. 1736), 173.

⁵⁰ *Sir J. Resesby's Memoirs* (ed. Cartwright), 54.

⁵¹ Drake says twenty-one, and gives names (op. cit. 175) and details.

⁵² *Resesby's Memoirs*, ut sup. 64.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 88.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 186.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 246.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 280-3.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 341.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 58.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 180.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 93.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 187.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 264 n.

⁶² *Ibid.* 264, 302.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 368.



SIEGE MONEY AND MEDALS

1-3 Money coined during the siege of Pontefract Castle; the type No. 3 being struck in the name of Charles II. 4 and 5 Pieces of plate stamped to pass as money at Scarborough. 6 Medal of Ferdinand, Lord Fairfax. 7 Medal of Sir Thomas Fairfax, to commemorate Marston Moor. 8 Medal struck in memory of Sir John Hotham.

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priest,'⁶⁶ and Sir J. Reresby's protest was unavailing. A 'Papist judge' came down on circuit, but only few of the gentry turned out to meet him and he received a cold welcome from them.

Next year the king granted the Lord Lieutenancy of the West Riding to Lord Thomas Howard, 'a zealous Papist.'⁶⁶ In April the West Riding justices met at Pontefract and an address to his Majesty thanking him for the Declaration of Indulgence was signed only by six Papists and two others, the remaining sixteen justices refusing to sign. The justices of the East and North Ridings had been 'examined as to their disposition of taking away the Test and penal laws, and the prime of the gentry in both had been put out of commission . . . for declaring themselves in the negative, and ordinary persons, both as to quality and estates (most of them Dissenters), had been put in their room.'⁶⁷ The feeling of the country found expression at York, as elsewhere, in public rejoicing at the acquittal of the seven bishops. Early in October a messenger came to 'purge' the corporation and put in others, almost all Papists, 'but it was so lame by mistakes in the execution of it that it could not be done.' The king, too late, tried to retrieve his error, and began to restore the displaced justices⁶⁸ and the old charters, and named the Duke of Newcastle as Lord Lieutenant of the whole county. But the Earl of Danby was very active, though in secret, organizing the rapidly-growing discontent to prepare for the coming change. In view of the popular agitation troops were called to York and the militia was called out. The crisis came when a new commission of the peace arrived, omitting some thirty principal gentry of the West Riding. A meeting was held in November to demand a free Parliament. A feigned alarm was raised that the Papists had risen. The Earl of Danby and others took advantage of the excitement to ride up to the militia who all cried out for 'a free Parliament, the Protestant Religion, and no Popery.' The revolutionary party thereupon seized the city and Sir J. Reresby the governor was made a not unwilling prisoner and sent home on parole.⁶⁹ Next month Kingston-upon-Hull also declared for the Prince of Orange and the Protestant Religion, and there was an anti-Popery riot in York in which many houses were looted and chapels desecrated. On the whole, however, the change took place quietly, 'few robberies or felonies and not one murder in the West Riding.'⁷⁰

On 17 February 1689 William III and Mary were duly proclaimed at York amid scenes of enthusiasm. The change of government took place very quietly, the only outburst being the attack upon Roman Catholic houses and chapels in York itself, already mentioned. For over a century there is little to record in the way of political history in Yorkshire, for the chief interest in politics is now transferred from domestic and constitutional to foreign and colonial affairs. The leading thread of home affairs is the economic development which in its turn brought about the great political changes embodied in the Reform Act of 1832, and it is not until we come to the half-century of agitation leading up to that long-delayed sequel of the Revolution of 1688 that we find Yorkshire taking any prominent part in political history.

Conspicuous among the promoters of the Revolution was the Yorkshireman, Sir Thomas Osborne, better known as the Earl of Danby, who in 1694 was raised to a dukedom, taking his title from the town of Leeds, whose mayor and corporation presented him with an address on the occasion.⁷¹

Two years later a thorough reform of the coinage was undertaken and a mint was established at York,⁷² but it was some time before the Yorkshire folk took kindly to the new coins.

The first Jacobite rebellion seems to have found no substantial support in Yorkshire, where the Hanoverian succession was apparently received without demur, judging from the absence of evidence to the contrary, but the adventurous expedition of Prince Charlie in 1745 created a great deal of apprehension, and the city and county hastened to give proofs of their loyalty to the reigning house. The archbishop, Thomas Herring, took the lead in forming an association of nobility, clergy, and gentry. A large subscription was collected, and several companies of volunteers were raised, the county gentry remaining under arms for ten months, but their services were not requisitioned. In 1746 many rebels were tried and convicted at York, twenty-two being executed.⁷³

Changes in the militia regulations in 1757 stirred up much discontent, which broke out in the North and East Ridings and in the city of York into open rioting, which was not put down without bloodshed.⁷⁴

The political changes ushered in by the accession of George III were brought home to Yorkshire when the popular Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding, the great Marquess of Rockingham, was dismissed from his office in 1762.⁷⁵

⁶⁶ *Sir J. Reresby's Memoirs* (ed. Cartwright), 374.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 400.

⁷¹ Stowe MS. 747, fol. 32, relating to Yorkshire; also *Gal. S.P. Dom.* 1694-5, p. 121.

⁷² *Cal. Treas. Papers*, 1557-1696, pp. 508-48, *passim*.

⁷³ T. Allen, *Hist. Yorks.* (1829), i, 188 et seq.

⁷⁵ *Cal. Home Office Papers*, 1760-5, p. 209.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 391.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 412-18.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 392.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 427.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 190.

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The beginnings of the agitation for constitutional reform can perhaps be traced in Yorkshire to the petition signed by over 10,000 freeholders of the county against the rejection by the House of Commons of John Wilkes as M.P. for Middlesex.⁷⁶ This was but one of many similar petitions from various parts of the country. The frequency with which petitions concerning constitutional grievances are henceforward presented is an indication of the growing political self-consciousness of the people, particularly in the rapidly rising towns of the new industrial districts, where the increase of wealth was giving rise to new ideas and ambitions. There is a close connexion between the increasing political agitation that we can trace at work in Yorkshire, particularly in the West Riding, and the prosperity of the manufacturing industries, as noted in a report inserted in the Home Office Papers for 1775.⁷⁷

The agitation seems to have been extremely active during the years 1779-81. On 30 December 1779 a great meeting at York agreed to present a petition to the House of Commons in favour of 'retrenchment and reform of the administration,' for the burden of the war was greatly felt, and there was much jealousy of the increased interference of the king in government, as expressed in Dunning's famous motion in the House of Commons in 1780. Committees were formed to push the petition and to form an association for promoting the objects thereof.⁷⁸ On 2 August 1780 the Yorkshire committee of the association passed resolutions against the undue interference of the military in riots.⁷⁹ The objects of the petitioners seemed to be realized when, on 20 March 1782, the Marquess of Rockingham became the head of a new administration on condition that: (a) peace was made with the Americans; (b) substantial reforms were effected in the civil list expenditure; and (c) the Crown influence in Parliament should be restricted.⁸⁰ But on 1 July the marquess died. His funeral at York was made the occasion of a great demonstration of public regret.⁸¹

The prevalent fear of a foreign invasion was met by the formation of an armed association to defend the county, to support which the corporation of York voted a sum of money.⁸²

Still the constitutional agitation did not die out but rather went forward in its aims, for in 1783 petitions came from the county and city of York and from Scarborough in favour of 'remedying the present state of' the representation of the people in Parliament.⁸³

The revolutionary ideas, stimulated by the tragic events in France, fell into congenial soil in the industrial districts of Yorkshire. Charles James Fox received a tremendous welcome at York in 1791,⁸⁴ and next year in Sheffield the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick was made the occasion of a great celebration, when flags were displayed bearing republican mottoes.⁸⁵ Next year petitions poured into the House of Commons praying for Parliamentary reform. The Sheffield petition boldly asked for 'a representation from population alone,' and the House refused to receive it.⁸⁶ In 1795 a Bill was brought in for 'more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies.' Petitions supporting it came from Leeds and from the gentlemen of Yorkshire, and against it from Sheffield, York, and the freeholders of the county.⁸⁷ Another petition was also presented praying that peace might be made.⁸⁸ The state of the county may be gauged from these facts, and from the further fact that in 1794, owing to the unsettled condition of affairs, a great meeting of the inhabitants of York was convened and it was resolved that the most respectable inhabitants should be enrolled in different corps of infantry.⁸⁹

The year 1817 was remarkable for outbreaks of disaffection in the commercial districts, primarily due to the distress consequent upon the great Napoleonic wars and to the apathy of the government towards the state of the people. Parliamentary reform was regarded as a remedy by a large proportion of the labouring classes, and advantage was taken of their discontent by political emissaries pretending to be reformers, who were in reality spies and instigators.

The most notorious of these was one Oliver who concentrated his efforts in south-west Yorkshire, where he inculcated the belief that the people in London and other parts were only waiting to be joined by the reformers in the north in order to rise and overturn the government. Several meetings were held, notably one at Thornhill Lees, where the few persons who came together were surrounded by a strong military detachment and carried off to Wakefield, Oliver, the prime mover, being suffered to escape. The whole system of espionage thus came to light. None of the prisoners, however, were punished.

Two days after the Thornhill meeting some hundreds of persons assembled near Huddersfield

⁷⁶ *Annual Reg.* 1769, p. 205.

⁷⁷ *Cal. Home Office Papers, 1773-5*, p. 416.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* xxiv (1781), 140.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 182; Allen, *op. cit.* i, 197.

⁸⁰ *Commons' Journ.* xxxix, 251; *Annual Reg.* xxvi (1783), 197, 204; App. 307.

⁸¹ Allen, *op. cit.* i, 200.

⁸² *Ibid.* xxxv, 148.

⁸³ *Ibid.* l, 390.

⁷⁸ *Annual Reg.* xxii (1779), 85; App. 338.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* xxv (1782), 177.

⁸⁰ Allen, *op. cit.* i, 196.

⁸¹ *Annual Reg.* xxxiv (2), 42.

⁸² *Commons' Journ.* li.

⁸³ Allen, *op. cit.* i, 201.

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and even went so far as to fire upon a small body of yeomanry, but then dispersed without doing anything more. A number of arrests were made, and though no convictions appear to have been obtained the authorities were able to suppress the manifestations of unrest for the time being.⁹⁰ Three years later, however, in March 1820, Huddersfield was again a centre of disturbance. A projected attack on that town came to nothing, but an assembly of labourers on Grange Moor with intent to attack Barnsley ended in the arrest of twenty-two men, who were persuaded to plead guilty and were then transported for seven years.⁹¹ In 1825 the Bradford district was the scene of a great strike of woolcombers and weavers, who formed a union to the number of 20,000 members, and held out for twenty-three weeks before they were beaten.⁹² The next year there was rioting at Bradford, directed against the employment of machinery, but although the military had to be called out little harm was done.⁹³ Bradford was again the scene of riots in 1837 when the new Poor Law was enforced,⁹⁴ and there were Chartist outbreaks here and at Sheffield and Dewsbury in January 1840.⁹⁵ The great distress prevalent during the summer of 1842 led to further rioting, Chartist mobs stopping the mills in the neighbourhood of Leeds, close to which town they were dispersed by the police and the Lancers, under command of Prince George of Cambridge. No less than two thousand persons were committed to prison for rioting in Yorkshire at this time.⁹⁶ The unrest continued for some years and Bradford was concerned in Chartist rioting as late as May 1848. Since that time the history of the county has been mainly concerned with the growth of its manufacturing centres; the strikes and other industrial incidents belonging to the realm of Economic History, with which we are not here concerned.

As early as 1821 there was talk of enfranchising the town of Leeds in place of Grampound, which for excessive corruption had lost its right to return members. The first proposal was that all owners of property worth £10 should have the vote; the qualification was then raised to £20 and in the end the House of Lords rejected the claims of Leeds to be represented but gave two extra members to the county instead, Yorkshire thus returning four members.⁹⁸ By the Reform Bill of 1832 Aldborough, Boroughbridge, and Hedon were disfranchised; Northallerton and Thirsk lost one member each, while Bradford, Leeds, Sheffield, and Halifax obtained two members, and Huddersfield, Wakefield, and Whitby one each.⁹⁹ At the first election following, one of the two members for Leeds was Thomas Babington Macaulay, the historian.¹⁰⁰

At the present time the North Riding is divided into the parliamentary divisions of Cleveland, Richmond, Thirsk with Malton, and Whitby; the East Riding into Buckrose, Holderness and Howdenshire; the West into Barkston Ash, Barnsley, Colne Valley, Doncaster, Elland, Hallamshire, Holmfirth, Keighley, Morley, Normanton, Osgoldcross, Otley, Pudsey, Ripon, Rotherham, Shipley, Skipton, Sowerby, and Spen Valley. Bradford and Hull return three members, Halifax and York two each, Leeds five, Sheffield (with Attercliffe, Brightside, Ecclesall, and Hallam) five, while Huddersfield, Middlesbrough, Pontefract, and Wakefield each return one member.

Five regiments of the line have been associated with Yorkshire.¹ The 14th, West Yorkshire Regiment, of which the head quarters are at York, was raised by James II at the time of the Monmouth rebellion in 1685 but first saw service under William III, and on two occasions—at Glenshiel in 1705 and at Culloden in 1745—took part in the defeat of the Jacobites. Further identification with the Hanoverian cause was shown when the badge of the White Horse was given to the regiment by George III in 1765, for their good conduct when stationed at Windsor. They earned great distinction during the Peninsular War, when they adopted 'Ça ira' as their regimental quickstep. At Waterloo the battalion engaged was composed mainly of recruits, who proved worthy of their regiment's traditions. Another battalion served in India from 1815 to 1826, and for its gallantry at Bhurtpore received the colour honour of the tiger. In 1876 the 14th became 'the Prince of Wales's Own,' and it has since done good service in South Africa, where the 4th battalion of militia took part in the war. The 15th, East Yorkshire Regiment, stationed at Beverley, was raised at the same time as the 14th and has, if anything, a more distinguished record. Blenheim (1704), Ramillies (1706), and Oudenarde (1708) are amongst their colour honours, and after the storming of Louisburg in 1758 under Wolfe they assisted at the capture of Quebec, of which they were put in garrison, their colonel being appointed governor. But after serving in the West Indies they saw no more fighting till the war in South Africa, where they were joined by their volunteer battalion. The 19th, Yorkshire Regiment, afterwards known as 'Alexandra, Princess of Wales's Own,' stationed at Richmond, unlike the 14th and 15th, was raised in the interest of William III,

⁹⁰ T. Allen, *Hist. Yorks.* (1829), i, 206-8; *Commons' Journ.* lxxiii, 778-80.

⁹¹ Schroeder, *Ann. of Yorks.* i, 226.

⁹² *Ibid.* 238.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 242.

⁹⁴ Mayhall, *Ann. of York*, 449.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 465.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 483.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 558.

⁹⁸ Schroeder, *op. cit.* i, 229.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 250.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹ Rudolf, *Short Hist. of Territorial Regiments.*

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in 1688. A second battalion was constituted in 1691 out of a regiment raised in 1689, but it was disbanded in 1697. In 1782 it was called the 'First Yorkshire North Riding.' The 19th saw service in the Crimea, at Alma, Inkerman and Sevastopol and afterwards in the Tirah campaign of 1897-8. They also played a prominent part in South Africa, especially at Paardeburg, and their volunteer battalions did good work in guarding communications.

The 49th, King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, was constituted in 1881; the first battalion being the old 51st King's Own Light Infantry, raised in 1755 from the West Riding under the Marquess of Rockingham and Sir George Savile. The 51st served with distinction at Minden on 1 August 1759, on the anniversary of which battle the men of all ranks wear roses (the regimental badge being a white rose). During the gallant defence of Minorca the regiment was reduced to 270 men, but it was refilled with Leeds men and obtained six war honours in the Peninsula, as well as Waterloo. The second battalion had been raised in 1839 as the 2nd Madras European Light Infantry, being incorporated in the British army in 1861. Pontefract, the head quarters of the 49th, is also the depot of the 55th, York and Lancaster Regiment, constituted in 1881 out of the 65th, which had seen service in New Zealand in 1861-3, and the 84th, which won distinction in the Indian Mutiny.

In the history of the auxiliary forces Yorkshire plays an important part, the raising of a regiment of light horse, known as 'The Royal Regiment of Hunters,' in September 1745, being often considered the first germ of the Yeomanry. As a matter of fact the county had been anticipated by the Northampton Association of 1744,² but the Yorkshire Light Horse were a noticeably early instance of volunteer cavalry. Their first rank was formed by the gentlemen subscribers and the second and third by their servants. General Oglethorpe, who was appointed to command them, reported very favourably of their form.³ The Government of that time do not seem to have been any more prompt to encourage voluntary militarism than some of their successors, and Lord Malton complained bitterly of their neglect, pointing out that when 1,308 stands of arms were needed for the West Riding volunteers they had only sent 240.⁴

The Napoleonic War revived the volunteer movement throughout England, and Yorkshire was again well to the fore. In the first period of activity (1797-9) regiments were raised at Burlington, Dickering, Driffild, Hull, and Wansford in the East Riding; Northallerton, Scarborough, and Whitby in the North; and Barkston Ash, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, Pontefract, and Sheffield, as well as at York itself.⁵ These included the Hull Artillery, a little over 100 strong. The men of this corps were engaged at 1s. the day and were at first expected to train for two days every week, six hours each day. But in view of the fact that working men could get from 3s. to 3s. 6d. a day it was found that the loss of two days deterred possible recruits. It was therefore arranged that in future they should train for only one day.⁶ The fear of a French invasion gave a further impetus to the volunteer movement and fifty more corps were raised in the county at different centres between 1803 and 1865, including another corps of artillery at Whitby. There seems to have been at that time, as at the present, some difficulty in obtaining, or at least maintaining, a supply of officers, if we may judge from the fact that in the Teesdale Infantry in 1805 seven captaincies were vacant.⁷ This corps, which was raised in 1803, consisted of five companies averaging forty men, a Rifle Company of sixty, a Light Company of sixty-five, and a Grenadier Company of seventy-two.

In the Volunteer organization of the late 19th century and again in the recent Territorial scheme Yorkshire has shown that she is not lacking in the military enthusiasm which has distinguished her past history.

² C. Sebag Montefiore, *Hist. of Volunteer Forces*, 74.

³ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Muster Rolls and Pay Lists (W.O.)*.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* 76.

Ibid.

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NO one can question the importance of the physical configuration of a county in determining its economic development. The difficulty that confronts the writer dealing with the economic history of Yorkshire is the diversified nature of its physical characteristics. A description of the West Riding, with each clause reversed, would give a fairly accurate picture of the East Riding, while the North Riding has traits in common with both.

Although the interdependence of physical contour and economic expansion is never denied, there is a tendency to overlook the part played by ethnology in determining the lines along which a county should advance. In some counties the racial question can be dismissed, but in Yorkshire it is a factor of the utmost importance. The geological strata have not made the Yorkshireman the hard-headed, strenuous, energetic man he is; but the composite races from which he sprang, the struggles through which his ancestors passed in overcoming stubborn nature, the ceaseless dangers in the midst of which his forbears grew up, must have engendered qualities which fitted him in a peculiar sense for the part he had to play in the world's history. It is a curious and not uninteresting coincidence that the West Riding, which is often spoken of as the workshop of the world, corresponds roughly with the British kingdom of Elmet, which for more than a century defied the English invaders and only yielded to the arms of the victorious Eadwine.¹ The English invaders had in their turn to yield to Scandinavian supremacy and to Norman conquerors.

The details of Yorkshire's harrying by William the Conqueror are scanty; the pitiless story is summed up with dramatic brevity in the reiterated 'waste' written against the entries of the Domesday Record. In the North Riding the whole of Upper Teesdale was laid waste; the disappearance of 217 sokemen from Northallerton and Walsgrave, manors belonging to the rebellious earls, Edwin and Tosti, moved even the stoical officials to pity. The East Riding suffered still more severely, though Beverley was spared. The same tale of remorseless vengeance is repeated in the West Riding.² Many holdings were alluded to in the upper reaches of the Ure, the Nidd, the Wharfe, the Calder, and the Don, but with few exceptions they remained deserted, tenantless, gradually lapsing back to the waste from which they had been wrested before the coming of the Conqueror. A straight line drawn from the confluence of the Ure and Nidd to Leeds, from Leeds to Sheffield with the West Riding boundary to the east and south, incloses with few exceptions the whole of the West Riding known to be inhabited at the time of the Survey. Even in this restricted district it is difficult to know to what extent the native inhabitants had escaped, for the majority of the holdings were in foreign hands. Still, much information can be gleaned from the Record: there were twice as many owners *in capite* in the West as in the North Riding, but only two fewer in the East than in the West.

The king's thegns, Anglian and Scandinavian, numbered in the West Riding, where Anglians predominated, 30; in the East Riding 17; in the North 8. The facts adduced from the list of mesne tenants show similar results; approximately the West Riding had twice as many English tenants as the North, five times as many as the East. The West Riding furnished 91 burghers, the East only 19. The sokemen had almost disappeared from the North Riding, only 55 remained as against 285 in the West, 130 in the East. There is not such a striking disparity in the list of villeins, the West and East being almost equal, but the bordars number 912 in the West Riding, 422 in the East, 145 in the North. The total population of Yorkshire, following Dr. Beddoe's calculations, is 3,143 for the West Riding, 2,300 for the East Riding, and 1,311 for the North Riding. But the Conqueror was not answerable for the whole of Yorkshire's depopulation, Malcolm Canmore, who followed closely on his heels, though his methods differed, achieved the

¹ J. R. Green, *Making of England*, 8.

² The invaluable Domesday Map compiled by Dr. Beddoe shows in the most graphic way the conditions of the Riding in 1086; *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xix (2), 1906.

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same results. Deportation, not destruction, was the keynote of his invasion, for his own country was so sparsely populated that a prisoner was too valuable an asset to be killed unless dangerous.

Few districts of England needed the pioneer's axe more than Yorkshire, none waited longer for it. The two Roman roads, the one going in a gentle curve from Castleford through Tadcaster to Aldborough, the other passing in a typically straight line from Market Weighton to Malton, inclosing as they do the Vale of York and the fertile levels of Howdenshire, included the only cultivated part of the county, for Holderness was only rendered fertile by extensive drainage undertaken after the Norman Conquest. To the west of this district stretched the Forest of Elmet, a region so impenetrable that the invading Angles quailed before it. Still farther west the mountainous range that divides Lancashire from Yorkshire, in the caves of which the last of the Britons sought shelter, gave birth to the Swale, the Ure, the Wharfe, the Aire, and the Calder, the stored-up power of whose streams was in the course of centuries to change the dreary wastes into the greatest industrial centre in the world. To the north, the very name of Cleveland probably bears testimony to the inhospitable nature of the region bordering on the Tees; while a wedge of lonely and desolate moorland, covered with ling and furze, broken by the Forest of Pickering and continued by the Forest of Galtres, stretched from Whitby to the very gates of York. Even the flat country that lay between the continuation of Ermine Street and the North Sea was rendered difficult of access by the undulating chalk hills which form the northern wolds.

Nor was the approach from the south-east easy; the northern moorlands, the western mountains and forests were hardly more formidable than the fens and marshes that stretched from the Don to the Trent; a desolate, lonely land where herds of wild deer continued to roam unmolested, until, in the 17th century, alien genius and enterprise turned the treacherous morass into fertile fields.

The history of the conversion of this Yorkshire of forest, fen, moorland and mountain, roadless and uninhabited, into the Yorkshire of to-day, intersected with canals, tramways, and railroad, with an underground population in Cleveland alone much greater than the total population in the 12th century,³ is industrial and economic rather than political. The change is of course greatest in the industrial districts. Until comparatively lately few districts of England remained so little changed since the Norman Conquest as the East Riding.

To what extent aliens influenced the economic development of Yorkshire in the two centuries following the Conquest is a mere matter of conjecture, for though tradition is ample and speculation endless, authentic documentary evidence is meagre. The most that the historian can do is to show that some of the assertions made on this matter can be easily disposed of by unimpeachable historical evidence, while others, on account of their inherent probability, deserve attention, even though historical confirmation is lacking. To the first class belongs the entirely erroneous statement that during the mediaeval period Yorkshire was destitute of any weaving industry, and that weaving as a trade was not introduced into the county until Edward III brought over weavers from Flanders in the 14th century. To the second class belongs the statement, cautiously and tentatively advanced, that the industry was introduced by the Flemings during the period immediately following the Conquest.

The Wakefield Court Rolls,⁴ the Hundred Rolls,⁵ and the York Freemen's Roll⁶ prove conclusively that weaving was carried on in all the three Ridings at a period long anterior to the Edwardian alien settlement, not only as a domestic occupation but as a distinct trade. Beverley was noted for its cloth as early as the reign of John,⁷ and York, Beverley, Hedon, Selby, and Whitby are alluded to by name as centres of an organized weaving industry in the Hundred Rolls of Edward I.⁸

The fact being proved that, during the period intervening between the arrival of the Normans and the 14th-century Flemish immigration, the industry flourished in Yorkshire, interest concentrates itself on the question as to whether its introduction and development was due to native or imported enterprise. In the midst of much that must of necessity be more or less supposititious, one salient fact bearing on the argument stands clearly out. When the Domesday Survey was made in 1086, Yorkshire, especially the West Riding, was to a great extent waste.⁹ Information as to the manner in which the district was re-peopled is so scanty and unsatisfactory that it is equally difficult to find either proof or disproof of the very interesting, though tentative, suggestion of Dr. Cunningham that the West Riding was partially populated during the 12th century by Flemish immigrants. Still it is clear that the country being waste must have been re-populated by immigration either from other parts of England or from the Continent, for when, little more than a century after the compilation of Domesday Book, the county emerges again into the

³ *Cleveland Iron Miners*, Feb. 1911, 8201; *Bd. of Trade Labour Gazette*, 52.

⁴ *Ct. R. of the Manor of Wakefield* (Yorks. Arch. Journ. Rec. Ser. xxix), 112.

⁵ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 128.

⁷ *Madox, Hist. Exch.* i, 468.

⁶ *Freemen of York* (Surt. Soc.), i, 3, 4, 6, 7 et seq.

⁸ *Hund. R.* (Rec. Com.), i, 131-2

⁹ Domesday Map of West Riding, loc. cit.

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dry light of official documentary reports, population has increased rapidly and constant references to fullers, spinners, weavers and dyers show the adoption of the trade was widespread. No part of England was so overburdened with inhabitants as to allow of any considerable transference of its people during the period. Several of the followers of William the Conqueror to whom large Yorkshire estates were apportioned held also land on the Continent: it is hardly straining evidence to suppose that in working their newly-acquired possessions labour would be brought from abroad. But as the Low Countries were the most densely populated regions of Europe, it seems probable that men from this land of weavers, seeking an outlet for their energies, cramped in the crowded districts of their native country, would turn naturally to a region as easy of access as England. It is a well authenticated fact that a steady stream of immigration set in from the Continent to England during the two centuries following the Conquest. Henry I brought his bride from Flanders, and many Flemings followed the queen to her new home. Stephen constantly imported Flemish mercenaries to fight his battles.

Nor was the Flemish invasion left to haphazard individual enterprise; Henry I made a systematic attempt to plant a colony of Flemings at the mouth of the Tweed,¹⁰ and later in Wales.¹¹ Even if the antiquarian argument be accepted, that if he had followed the same policy on the borders of Strathclyde the fact could not have escaped the attention of the annalist, it still remains indisputable that a considerable amount of individual immigration might take place without attracting the attention of the few capable of chronicling it. There was a contingent of Flemings in Carlisle at an even earlier date, in the reign of William Rufus.¹²

Fortunately, when the question narrows itself from England in general to Yorkshire in particular, there is much unimpeachable evidence to prove that Flemings had settled in various parts of the county. It is a curious and suggestive coincidence that the town that figures most frequently in the early records as being connected with the cloth industry is the place round about which the Conqueror had given large estates to a Fleming, Drogo de la Bouerer.¹³ The Flemings would resort to a neighbourhood where they might naturally expect to find protection. Tradition, too, points to the presence of Flemings in Beverley in the 12th century, for Fleming Gate, one of the town thoroughfares, bore the name in the reign of John,¹⁴ and it is said that many Flemish merchants lived there at that early date. At the east end of the north aisle of St. Mary's Church there is a chapel called the Flemings' Chapel, though it is probable that it owes its name to some later immigration of Flemings, possibly only sojourners, for there was constant intercourse between Beverley and the Low Countries for many centuries.¹⁵

If, following Dr. Cunningham and Professor Gross, the view is adopted that certain disabilities under which the fullers and weavers of some towns lived point to an alien settlement, then confirmatory evidence is afforded, for the same curious law was in force in Beverley that was followed in London. Apart from the bearing that it has on the point in question, the law itself is of sufficient importance in connexion with the economic conditions under which cloth was produced, at a time when evidence is scanty, to merit quotation.

This is to be known that they cannot dry any cloth, nor in order to carry on any trade go out of the town, nor can any free man be accused by them, nor can they bear any evidence; and if any one wishes to forswear his trade let him deal with him who is called Mayor and with the bailiffs of the town that he may be received into the freedom of the town and let him get rid of the tools from his house and this law they have in the freedom of London as they say.¹⁶

In York, too, Flemings settled; Walter le Flyming and Gilkin le Flemyng were enrolled as freemen in 1291,¹⁷ Copin Flemyng was chamberlain in 1292-3,¹⁸ Gilkin de Braban took up his freedom in 1296,¹⁹ Jacob le Flemyng was mayor in 1299.²⁰ The name occurs no fewer than fifty-three times in the earliest Wakefield Court Rolls, and the nature of the entries suggests that the Le Flemings were people of importance and had been settled in the neighbourhood for some time at the date of the first allusion to them in 1274.²¹

Communication between Flanders and Yorkshire by sea in those days of bad roads was easier than between the northern and southern counties of England by land; it is somewhat difficult to

¹⁰ E. A. Freeman, *The Norman Conquest*, v, 855.

¹¹ W. Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce*, App. 642-50.

¹² John Denton, *Cumberland Estates and Families* (ed. by R. S. Ferguson, Cumb. and Westmld. Antiq. Soc.). The writer is indebted to Dr. Beddoe for this reference.

¹³ *Chron. Mon. de Melsa* (Rolls Ser.), i, 89.

¹⁴ G. Oliver, *Hist. and Antiq. of Beverley*, 273 n.

¹⁵ Exch. K.R. Mins. Accts. bde. 1127, no. 18, m. 13, Possessions of Aliens.

¹⁶ Add. MSS. 14252; C. Gross, *Gild Merchant*, i, 108; W. Cunningham, op. cit. App. E.; A. F. Leach, *Beverley Town Doc.* (Seld. Soc. xiv).

¹⁷ *York Freemen*, ut sup. 5.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 6.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 7.

²¹ *Wakefield Ct. R.* ut sup. 84 et seq.

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believe that the Flemish avoided that part of England which was peculiarly accessible and which needed inhabitants the most. An immense horde of Flemish mercenaries took part in the battle of the Standard, fought near Northallerton; it is possible that some remained in Yorkshire.

In the absence of documentary proof, the evidence of ethnology becomes of supreme importance. Dr. Beddoe's summing up of the subject is in favour of a Flemish origin of some of the Yorkshire settlers, for he uses 'French' as equivalent to the descendants of the Franks, and the Flemish were of Frank origin.

Still I do not see how some of the greater desert tracts which have been mentioned could have progressed as they seem to have done without immigration from a distance . . . and Professor Phillips's observations, and to a less extent my own, as to the presence of a type that may be French in parts of the great plain, lead me to think that there was a certain amount of immigration, accomplished perhaps by stages, from the continent.²⁷

On the evidence forthcoming it is impossible to give an authoritative verdict; still it must be borne in mind that when William of Normandy and Malcolm of Scotland had wrought their will on Yorkshire the country with few exceptions lay waste, the inhabitants were few in number and depressed in condition. The whole balance of historical probability is against a conquered people having sufficient energy and enterprise to organize a decayed or establish a new industry. The Normans themselves were too busy ruling a subject race to interest themselves in the organization of a mere handicraft. On the whole it seems very probable that the development of weaving was due to foreign influence, and if to foreign, then the Flemish undoubtedly were the people most likely to undertake the work, as being the most skilful weavers and living in a very congested part of Europe.

The adoption of this view would explain many dialectic, physical, and mental characteristics which differentiate Yorkshire from the rest of England, and explain the general adoption of weaving as a trade at a time when the development of the district was in other respects behind the rest of the country.

The roll of the freemen of York throws considerable light on the subject. During the reigns of Edward I and Edward II the number of freemen connected with the cloth trade is inconsiderable; it only reaches a total of 13: Robert de Seton, chalonier,²⁸ William de Malton, fuller,²⁴ Roger le Long, fuller,²⁵ William de Barkeston, fuller,²⁶ Henry de Richemond, sager,²⁷ Richard de Laycestre,²⁸ chalonier, Robert de Heworth,²⁹ sager, William de Welleton, chalonier,³⁰ John de Novocastro, webster,³¹ Randal de Fangfoss, fuller,³² John de Wales,³³ fuller, Adam de Clifton³⁴ and Robert de Mersk,³⁵ websters, not one alien among them, completed the list. York had obviously lost the position it held under Henry II and John, when nominally the monopoly of weaving for the whole county was in its hands.³⁶ Possibly the trade was not entirely lost, but diffused. Nor had the trade revived much under Henry III, for then the wool trade of Yorkshire passed into the hands of the great monastic houses. In 1315 thirty-six Yorkshire monasteries³⁷ were exporting wool to the Florentine and Flemish markets. But royal rather than ecclesiastical influence initiated the change by which England was transformed from a country producing raw material into a country manufacturing the raw materials produced by other countries.

To Edward III is due the first step in the direction of making England 'the workshop of the world.' He hoped to achieve his purpose by offering advantages to those Flemish weavers who were willing to settle in his kingdom. Letters of protection were issued to such Flemings as wished to come to England, and among others, William de Brabant and Hanekinus de Brabant, who decided to settle in York, received the royal authorization.³⁸

The absence of any further warrants is sometimes adduced as evidence that the planting of immigrants in Yorkshire was a mere spasmodic attempt, but the year following, 1337, a statute was passed which rendered specific licences unnecessary.

That all the cloth workers of strange lands, of whatsoever country they may be, which will come into England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland within the King's power, shall come safely and surely and shall be in the King's protection and safe conduct to dwell in the same lands (choosing where they will), and to the intent the said cloth workers shall have the greater will to come and dwell here our Sovereign Lord the King will grant them franchises as many and such as shall suffice them.³⁹

²⁷ J. Beddoe, *The Ethnology of West Yorks.*; *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xix (2), 59 (1906); *Kirkby's Inquest* (Surt. Soc.), 19; *West Riding Lay Subs.* 1297 (*Yorks. Arch. Rec. Ser.*), 16.

²⁸ *Freemen of York*, ut sup. 3.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 6.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 7.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 7.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 8.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 11.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 12.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 16.

³¹ *Ibid.* 18.

³² *Ibid.* 18.

³³ *Ibid.* 19.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 22.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 23.

³⁶ *Rot. Lit. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i, 421; C. Gross, op. cit. 108.

³⁷ W. Cunningham, op. cit. 624-8.

³⁸ Rymer, *Foed.* ii (2), 954 (10 Edw. III, 1336). The names of these individuals do not appear in the York Freemen's Register, but the names of many other Flemish settlers do.

³⁹ Stat. 11 Edw. III, cap. 5.

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The York Freeman's Roll certainly bears out the contention that the immediate result of the Edwardian legislation was an influx of Flemish weavers.

In 1343 Nicholas de Admare de Brabant and John de Colonia, websters, were enrolled,⁴⁰ Henry Morell de Flandre follows two years later,⁴¹ and from that date references to aliens connected with the different handicrafts and trades of York are frequent. In 1352 Thomas Braban de Malyns, textor, Lawrence Conyng de Flandre, webster, George Fote de Flandre, walker, and Robert de Arays, 'taillour,' took their freedom.⁴² Each year saw the incursion of one or two of these alien artisans, in 1355 Gerwin Giffard de Gaunt 'tixtor,'⁴³ and Levekyn Giffard, his brother, in 1358 Gerôme and Piers de Durdraght (Dortrecht), walkers, came to the city.⁴⁴

In 1359 Arnald de Lovayne, 'teinturer,'⁴⁵ and in 1361 Geoffrey de Lovayn, webster, left their own country to settle in York.⁴⁶ Thus each individual branch of the clothiers' trade, fulling, weaving, dyeing and tailoring had its alien representative, and to make the tale of English dependence on foreign industrial enterprise complete, in 1372 Godfrey Overscote de Braban traded as a merchant.⁴⁷ It is impossible to deny that aliens settled in York in the reign of Edward III in large numbers and that they were brought for the specific purpose of developing the woollen industry. The question arises: Had their arrival any appreciable effect on the industrial development of the city? It has been said that during the reigns of Edward I and II only thirteen freemen were enrolled as following the woollen trade inclusive of all its branches. During the reign of Edward III 170 weavers, 100 dyers, fifty fullers and about thirty chaloners, besides various members of trades subsidiary to the woollen industry, such as shearers, wool-packers and card-makers, were admitted. Since there exists overwhelming evidence of the presence of a large body of skilled foreign work-people in York in the 14th century, the question naturally arises whether these settlers affected industrial life beyond the limits of the place of their immediate settlement.

The alien cloth-workers, who settled at York in the 14th century, must have been men of importance; they would naturally bring with them to the country of their adoption their families and their servants; that none of these left York to seek their fortunes in the west district argues a lack of enterprise incompatible with their parentage. Nor was York during the early years of Richard II a place that would be attractive to men with no local ties or interests. The city was in a state of the greatest anarchy, owing to constant feuds between rival factions in the council, and endless disputes between the lay and clerical element; foreigners would find it difficult to pursue their work and would push their way into the sparsely populated district to the west.

Briefly summarized, the argument against the alien settlement in the time of Edward III in the West Riding is threefold. It is based on a *supposed* absence of names of Flemish origin amongst early weavers, and the fact that no letters of protection issued by Edward III have come to light concerning the West Riding. It is also insisted upon that the general characteristics of the West Riding, with the idiosyncracies of the people and the physical configuration of the district, lend themselves so easily to a system of exclusion and isolation, that the settlement of aliens in the district would be difficult. If any one of these arguments could not be satisfactorily answered, it would tell strongly in favour of an industry worked on purely national lines. Fortunately, however, the 1379 Poll Tax Returns prove that in the reign of Richard II a number of Flemish were settled in the West Riding of Yorkshire, many of whom were connected with the woollen industry, though evidence of the trade of the tax-payer is not always given.

Villata de Wombwell. Johannes de Wyskerrode et Alicia ux. ejus Taylour vjd.⁴⁸

Villata de Bautre. Johannes Brabayn et Agnes ux. ejus Webester vjd.⁴⁹

" " Walterus Lowayne et Alicia ux. ejus iiijd.⁵⁰

Villata de Redenesse. Robertus de Lymburgh Margarita ux. ejus iiijd.⁵¹

" " Johannes de Lymberg Itonia ux. ejus iiijd.⁵²

Villata de Wilmersley (Womersley). Bertholomeus Brabayn iiijd.⁵³

Saxton. Johannes Braban et ux. iiijd.⁵⁴

" Johannes Brabanman iiijd.⁵⁵

Selby. Johannes Braban et ux. iiijd.⁵⁶

Villata Snyderall. Emundus Hambergelman Johanna ux. ejus iiijd.⁵⁷

Villata de Haikton (Ackton). Johannes de Flaundes Johanna ux. ejus iiijd.

" " Margareta serviens ejus iiijd.

" " Johannes de Flaundre ux. ejus iiijd.⁵⁸

⁴⁰ *Freemen of York*, ut sup. 37.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 48.

⁴² *Ibid.* 54.

⁴³ *Returns of the Poll Tax for the West Riding of Yorks.* 1379, p. 3

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 57.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 134.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 156.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 51.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 56.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 113.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 142.

⁵² *Ibid.* 164.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 39.

⁴² *Ibid.* 53.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 70.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 14.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 113.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 142.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 165.

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- Villata de Almanbary. Symon Flemyng et Johanna ux. ejus *iiijd.*⁶⁰
 Hunslet. Matilda Brabane *iiijd.*⁶⁰
 Ledeston. Johannes Hoet et ux. *iiijd.*⁶¹
 „ Johanna Hoet *iiijd.*⁶²
 „ Thomas Hoet *iiijd.*⁶³
 „ Diota Hoet *iiijd.*⁶⁴
 „ Alicia Hoet *iiijd.*⁶⁵
 Ledes. Henricus Brabaner *iiijd.*⁶⁶
 Villa de Spofford. Johannes Brabaner, Textor, et ux. ejus *vjd.*⁶⁷
 Knaresburgh. Adam Brabaner et uxor ejus *vjd.*⁶⁸
 Westgate in Rypon. Thomas Alman *iiijd.*⁶⁹
 Stainbuggate in Rypon. Lamkynus de Braban, Textor *vjd.*⁷⁰
 Northstanlay. Nicholaus de Delpé et uxor ejus *iiijd.*⁷¹
 Skipton. Petrus Brabaner, Webster, et ux. *xijd.*⁷²
 „ Petrus Brabaynner junior Webster et ux. *vjd.*⁷³

The argument of the isolation of the district and the opposition of the native element to the presence of the foreigner becomes untenable before the unimpeachable evidence of their actual presence in the district, and since there is a natural tendency on the part of alien settlers to adopt native names, the foreign element in Yorkshire in the reign of Richard II was probably greater in extent than is suggested by the nomenclature of the Poll Tax list. In fact, the more the evidence is studied, the more doubtful it becomes as to whether the verdict which dismisses Fuller's description of the settlement of the Flemish weavers in the country districts in the reign of Edward III as the mere rhetorical flourish of an active imagination, ought not to be reconsidered.⁷⁴

Again, as the point of the Edwardian settlement was amalgamation, no effort would be made to emphasize the distinction between native and alien; nor is it ever claimed that large bodies of aliens were planted down in colonies; the most reasonable theory seems to be that the movement went on gradually by twos and threes, not in battalions. Edward's intention was to improve manufacture, not in one place, but throughout the county, so no obstacle would be put in the way of alien migration from one centre to another. In the absence of evidence of a negative character, the laws of human nature and of probability must be carefully weighed. On the whole the balance of probability inclines towards the alien element not remaining in York, but spreading into the county, especially the West Riding. The mistake of the older historians was not, probably, so much one of fact as of suppression of the circumstantial nature of the evidence on which their deductions were based. It has already been shown that there is a certain amount of presumptive evidence that the woollen industry originated during the century following the Conquest, and that the Flemings played no inconsiderable part in its development, even if they did not actually introduce the trade. It is incontrovertible that the industry fell into decay during the reigns of Henry III, Edward I and II, and was revived in the reign of Edward III. It is beyond question that Flemish weavers introduced by Edward III encouraged the revival of the trade in York, and that they are found in the West Riding in the following reign. On the comparatively unimportant question as to whether they migrated from York on their own initiative or came direct from the Low Countries to the west part of the county there is at present no evidence.

No event of the Middle Ages had such a far-reaching effect on the economic condition of the country as the Black Death. By the middle of the year 1349 the plague was at its height throughout the whole of Yorkshire. The careful statistics compiled by the late F. Seebohm⁷⁵ from the Torre MSS. prove that more than two-thirds of the parish priests of the West Riding died. The mortality was not much less in the East Riding, only sixty of the ninety-five parish priests escaped. The monastery of Meaux, with its forty-nine monks ruled by Abbot Hugh, lost during the month of August twenty-two clerks and six lay brethren. The abbot and five monks succumbed in one day, only one-fifth of the total number remained.⁷⁶ The abbots of four of the

⁶⁰ *Returns of the Poll Tax for the West Riding of Yorks*, 1379, p. 179.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 202.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 223.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 250.

Ibid. 252.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 239.

⁷² *Ibid.* 267.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 195.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 215.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 250.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 267.

⁷⁴ Happy the yeoman's house into which one of these Dutchmen did enter, bringing industry and wealth along with them. Such who came in strangers within their doors, soon after went out bridegrooms, and returned son-in-laws, having married the daughters of their landlords who first entertained them; yea, these yeomen in whose houses they harboured soon proceeded gentlemen, gaining great estates to themselves, arms and worship to their estates. T. Fuller, *Church Hist.* i, 419.

⁷⁵ F. Seebohm, 'The Black Death,' *Fortnightly Review*, Sept. 1865.

⁷⁶ F. A. Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence*, 179.

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largest Yorkshire monasteries died of the disease. The mortality amongst the clergy broke down the most deeply-rooted ecclesiastical prejudices. Contrary to all precedent, the pope was forced to allow the people to choose their own confessors.⁷⁷ New cemeteries had to be consecrated by the suffragan archbishop for the mortality increased daily, additional ordinations had to be held, otherwise the sacred offices could not have been performed.⁷⁸ Archbishop Zouch made his will on 18 June 1349 considering 'quod morte nil cercius humane creature, quamquam nichil incercius ejus hora.'⁷⁹ But the collection of wills published by the Surtees Society, which cover this period, show few traces of the plague, only nine wills are given between 1348 and 1351.⁸⁰

It is probably owing to the preponderance of information from ecclesiastical sources that the belief has become so general that the clergy suffered more than any other class of the community, but a careful study of the limited material other than ecclesiastical does not bear out this assumption.

The extant rolls of Crown officials show phenomenally rapid changes; the inquisitions *post mortem* afford similar evidence as to the great mortality among the tenants. The roll of the freemen of York bears ample witness to the effect on the mercantile and artisan class. The number of freemen enrolled each year during the 14th century varies between 50 and 60. The plague reached Yorkshire in 1349, and that year no fewer than 208 new freemen were admitted, and more than 50 different trades represented. Many of the trades only gained 1, 2 or 3 members, but 8 skinners and 8 glovers, 10 mariners and 12 new mercers were added. There must have been either exceptional mortality among the tailors and shoemakers or an exceptional demand for new clothes and shoes, for 22 tailors and 33 shoemakers figure in the list. The enrolments certainly fell to little more than half that number in the following year, only however, to rise again to 132 in 1351; they decreased to 104 in 1352, and by 1353 they became and remained normal. The exceeding heavy roll of the year 1363, when 218 new freemen were registered, points to another and even more severe visitation. An analysis of the list, however, suggests some unusual development of the woollen trade, as one-third of the number are walkers, websters, wool-packers, chaloners, tailors, and mercers.⁸¹ Taking the ten years previous to and the ten years subsequent to the pestilence years the numbers read:—

Year.	-	-	-	Newly enrolled freemen.	Year.	-	-	-	Newly enrolled freemen.
1339	-	-	-	55	1351	-	-	-	132
1340	-	-	-	61	1352	-	-	-	104
1341	-	-	-	48	1353	-	-	-	54
1342	-	-	-	72	1354	-	-	-	72
1343	-	-	-	73	1355	-	-	-	49
1344	-	-	-	56	1356	-	-	-	93
1345	-	-	-	55	1357	-	-	-	58
1346	-	-	-	52	1358	-	-	-	63
1347	-	-	-	67	1359	-	-	-	71
1348	-	-	-	60	1360	-	-	-	87
1349	-	-	-	208	1361	-	-	-	104
1350	-	-	-	117					

A curious example of the maintenance of order in spite of the general panic is found in the Coroners' Rolls. Four of the parishes of York met and reviewed the body of William Needler, who was found dead. They certified that he died 'a natural and not a violent death by reason of the pestilence in Coppergate, York, on 7 August 1349'; the inquest must have taken place when the plague was at its worst. Seventeen of the twenty-one York clergy of whom information is extant died of the plague. It is asserted that the population of York before the visitation was between 30,000 and 40,000,⁸² but from the 1378 poll tax census it stood between 11,000 and 13,000.⁸³ It would, however, be rash to deduce that the whole of Yorkshire suffered in the same degree as York. The low situation of the city, the swarming population pent up within walls, the heaviness and humidity of the air, especially during the month of August when the plague was raging fiercely, rendered the disease more easily spread and more difficult to eradicate. It is certainly in York and the low-lying districts of the East Riding that the greatest mortality is heard of, though Richmond, one of Yorkshire's highest and healthiest places, is said to have suffered severely. It is impossible to overrate the influence of the Black Death on the economic condition of Yorkshire; probably, however, it suffered in a less degree than those counties where agriculture was on more strictly arable lines. Still the dislocation of the labour market, the rise in the price of commodities, the sudden changes in the ownership of capital and land, were of far-reaching effect. The immediate result, the fall in the price of wool, was especially disastrous to a county which depended

⁷⁷ Raine, *op. cit.* 491.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Test. Ebor.* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 55

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Freemen of York.* ut sup. 37-54.

⁸² F. Seebohm, *op. cit.* 158.

⁸³ E. Powell, *The East Anglia Rising*, 123; W. Denton, *England in xv cent.* 98.

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for its welfare on its export trade in that commodity. There is not much direct evidence of land thrown out of cultivation, though the high rate of mortality among the tenants (nearly all those holding land from the monastery of Meaux were dead) must have had a disastrous effect. But the case often cited of Richmond rests on the unsupported evidence of an early 19th-century writer.⁸⁴ It is said that 'a plague and epidemic disease consumed about 2,000 of the inhabitants, so that Wittcliff pasture became a waste, overrun with briars, nettles, and other noxious weeds'.

Plague swept over the north of England again in 1391; York suffered severely, though as neither Freeman's Roll nor Municipal Records allude to the visitation, the assertion that 11,000, that is almost four-fifths of the inhabitants, died in the city may be dismissed as an exaggeration.⁸⁵ According to the Rolls of Parliament, in 1379⁸⁶ and again in 1420, the North was almost decimated by the pestilence. In the last case it had raged for 'three years past and still reigns.'⁸⁷ In 1441, according to an inquisition taken at Richmond, 'many burgesses, artificers, victuallers, workmen, and other inhabitants have been consumed by pestilence and plague.'⁸⁸ Three outbreaks of plague in Hull in 1472, 1476, and 1478 destroyed for the time the prosperity of the port. The attack in 1478 was undoubtedly severe, more than 1,500 people are said to have died, including the mayor and his family, churches were closed, streets were deserted, the people having fled from the town.⁸⁹ But there is one marked difference between these attacks of plague of the second half of the century and the Black Death. They were localized in the towns, escape by flight was possible to the wealthy, but in 1349 death was in the soil, town and country suffered alike, the fortunes of wealthy and poor were equalized.⁹⁰

The inroads of the Scots during the first half of the 14th century tended to disorganize and retard the economic development of Yorkshire. It was not until the second decade of the century that they reached so far south as Yorkshire. Fountains Abbey suffered severely from these raids, the monks could no longer pay taxation, in fact the Scots had not left them sufficient to keep themselves.⁹¹ Ripon preferred paying to being plundered; they bought off the Scots for £1,000.⁹² Tadcaster Church was destroyed, Pannal damaged; Bolton was in worse plight than Fountains, for even its own canons were in destitution. The smaller monasteries and nunneries, which could offer neither bribes nor resistance, were deserted, their inmates portioned out among the houses which had not suffered. It is difficult to realize in what a state of terror the inhabitants of the scattered farm-houses and homesteads must have lived, or to over-emphasize the retrogressive effect of these raids on the economic and industrial life of Yorkshire. But the enthusiasm evoked by the defeat of the Scots at Neville's Cross in 1346, the blow which freed the county from the yoke under which she had groaned helpless for more than fifty years, bears witness to what had been endured. The presence of the archbishop William de la Zouch in the thickest of the fight testifies to the resentment of the Church against the persecutors.

The connexion between the various insurrections in Yorkshire during the year 1380-1 and the so-called Peasants' Revolt^{92a} is somewhat obscure. It is improbable that the rioters in Yorkshire would be unaffected by the course of events in the southern and eastern counties; still, it is important to remember that in the three cases, Beverley, Scarborough, and York, about which authentic information is extant, there is no evidence to show that excessive national taxation or special agrarian grievances were at the root of the discontent; on the contrary, there is abundant documentary proof that the extortions complained of were local, that ecclesiastical jealousies and class prejudices were involved and that, although the movements were to a certain degree simultaneous, this synchronism seems to have been in the Beverley riots entirely accidental. The whole country was in the throes of an insurrection caused by the misgovernment during the latter part of the reign of Edward III, and, as far as Yorkshire is concerned, the years 1380-1 were rather a crisis in a chronic complaint than any new and startling development. Still the story of the Beverley riots is interesting, as reflecting life in a mediaeval Yorkshire city. Beverley was, in the 13th and 14th centuries, one of the leading English boroughs, with considerable powers of self-government. Nominally the government was in the hands of twelve keepers, elected annually by the community from eighteen candidates, who were nominated by the retiring committee; obviously it was a fairly close oligarchy, though openings were presented through which innovations could filter.⁹³

⁸⁴ Clarkson, *Hist. of Richmond* (1814), 114.

⁸⁵ F. Drake, *Ebor.* 106. The annalists however refer to the severity of this northern visitation. Cf.

C. Creighton, *Hist. of Epidemics in Brit.* 220.

⁸⁶ *R. Parl.* iv, 806.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 143a.

⁸⁸ Pat. 19 Hen. VI, pt. ii, m. 26, 25 (17 Feb. 1441).

⁸⁹ J. Tickell, *Hist. of Kingston-upon-Hull*, 132.

⁹⁰ C. Creighton, *op. cit.* 233.

⁹¹ J. Raine, *op. cit.* 282.

⁹² *Ibid.* 274.

^{92a} For the rising in South Yorkshire in 1392 see *Peasants' Rising and the Lollards* (ed. E. Powell and G. M. Trevelyan), 19, 20.

⁹³ Miss Mary Bateson, 'Beverley Town Documents,' *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xvi, 562; *MSS. of Corporation of Beverley* (Hist. MSS. Com. 1900), 14.

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Nor did Beverley yield to its governors unquestioning obedience. The craft guilds, though subject to the wardens, were too strong to be disregarded; the fact that Beverley had a sanctuary attracted lawless and turbulent people, whose influence would always be on the side of change. Even the ecclesiastical authority, usually stable and unanimous, was in Beverley split into rival factions, for the Archbishop of York, Alexander Nevill, was a lover of strife, his power in Beverley was great, but his ambition greater, and each move in the game was watched with suspicion by the Chapter of St. John's, strong in local prejudice, against the encroachments of an alien authority.⁹⁴ Thus all the elements for a great social upheaval were crowded within the walls of the town, while the industrial classes were wearied of the supremacy and selfish policy of the rich burghers.

Taking advantage of the general anarchy, the democratic party seized the government out of the hands of the oligarchical party and placed it in the hands of an alderman, two chamberlains, and twenty-four guardians. The ringleader of the malcontents, who were principally representatives of the tailors, butchers, shoemakers, 'walkers,' and drapers of the town, was Richard de Midleton. From the accusations and counter-accusations brought by the rival factions a fairly clear idea of the main points of disagreement can be gained. Midleton and his followers brought various specific charges against Adam Coppandale and Thomas de Beverley, the leaders of the oligarchic party, and the commission declared them guilty of stealing money, the common seal, and various charters. The democrats posed not only as the defenders of civic morality, but as defenders of archiepiscopal rights.⁹⁵ The archbishop⁹⁶ was appointed referee and it is clear that he was regarded as a partisan of the commonalty, for Coppandale and his followers fled from the town rather than submit to his judgement. But the meteor-like success of the democratic party was almost over; the oligarchs rallied their powers, and in five voluminous petitions to the king set forth the grievous wrongs they had suffered. It is impossible to deny that, though in the early stages of the quarrel right was on the side of the commonalty, success had turned their heads and they had defied the law by acts of personal violence to their enemies. It is difficult to disentangle the main issue from the countless charges and counter-charges that were brought forward; but one point is clear: it was an inopportune moment for any innovators, however good their cause, to claim royal support. The disturbance throughout the country was so great that the king's advisers would look with suspicion on any demands that savoured of change. The *probi homines*, as the exiled party called themselves, obtained from Government a mandate that the Beverley officials should appear in the Court of Chancery.⁹⁷ But the hold that the revolutionary party had on the people of Beverley is clearly shown by the difficulty that the central authorities encountered in inducing people to carry out their instructions. In the meantime Coppandale and his followers, the leaders of the oligarchic party, probably sure of the support of the council, had given themselves up and were lodged in the Marshalsea. Midleton, the leader of the opposition, urged illness as an excuse for not appearing in London; the officials in Beverley gave different excuses for not carrying out the king's commands; Manfeld, the provost, said the offence not being ecclesiastical was beyond his power; Thomas de Grimston, the bailiff of the Chapter of St. John's,⁹⁸ frankly owned that he was prevented by fear of his life; William de Erghom, the Sheriff of Yorkshire, said he could not lay his hands on the delinquents.⁹⁹ But an even more convincing proof of the popular support given to the leaders of the insurrection is afforded by the tentative nature of the king's letter. He tries by persuasion to induce the townspeople to return to their old allegiance; still, they are only exhorted to meet together and arrange for the peaceful government of the town.

As Mr. Leach points out, it is clear from the Roll of Accounts for 1386 that both in that and the previous year the accounts were rendered by an alderman and two chamberlains, not by the twelve keepers,¹⁰⁰ so the change brought about by the democrats was not entirely evanescent. Still, the tide of insurrection had begun to ebb: the archbishop would also keep the peace.¹ The bonds round which the dispute raged were cancelled, and on 18 October 1382 Beverley received a general pardon, but a heavy fine of 1,100 marks was levied.² The death of one of the leaders of the commonalty is recorded in 1384: 'Pardon at the instance of the king's kinsman the Earl of Northumberland to John Rasin for the death of Richard Boston of Beverley, a rebel and chief captain of the late insurrection there.'³ Probably the Government granted the pardon with relief. The leaders of the conservative party were pardoned on the payment of a nominal fine.⁴ But an

⁹⁴ C. T. Flower, 'Beverley Town Riots,' *Hist. Soc. Trans.* (New Ser.), 19, 81.

⁹⁵ *Coram Rege R. East.* 5 Ric. II, m. 25.

⁹⁶ P.R.O. Ancient Petitions, 11201, 11210; C. T. Flower, *op. cit.* 84.

⁹⁷ P.R.O. Ancient Petitions, 11205. ⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 11222.

⁹⁹ C. T. Flower, *op. cit.* 87.

¹⁰⁰ Close, 5 Ric. II, m. 11. Printed in *MSS. of Corp. of Beverley* (Hist. Rec. Com.), 18, 19.

¹ P.R.O. Ancient Petitions, 11242.

² Pat. 6 Ric. II, part ii, m. 31.

³ Pat. 8 Ric. II, m. 1 (18 Dec. 1384).

⁴ *Coram Rege R. East.* 8 Ric. II, m. 4, printed in André Réville, *Le Soulèvement des Travailleurs d'Angleterre*, 260-6.

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allusion to these rioters as transgressors against the Statute of Labourers proves some connexion between the Beverley town riots and the Peasants' Revolt.⁵ There is little doubt that the insurrection in Scarborough, though it did not begin until nearly two months after the first outbreak in Essex, had much in common with it. It is clear from the evidence that it was a rising of the poorer classes against the rich, uncomplicated by any serious questions of politics.

The story is told by twelve men of Scarborough empanelled to give evidence to Henry, Earl of Northumberland, the king's representative. No documents dealing with the defence are extant, but the testimony of the witnesses is unanimous, the details clear, and the course of events probable in a town like Scarborough, noted until a much later date as being the lurking place of a set of hardy, seafaring men, of piratical habits, whose defiance of international law constantly brought England into trouble.⁶ News was brought to Scarborough of the rising in Essex, and on 23 June 1381 the town was in a tumult.

For two days preparation went on amongst the insurgents; then a band of rioters, numbering five hundred, under the leadership of Robert Galoun, a shoemaker and a panier-man being prominent in the crowd, rushed through the town. In order to distinguish each other, they all wore white caps decorated with red tails.

Their attacks were directed entirely against the wealthier classes. Their chief motive seems to have been the desire of plunder, though doubtless opportunities of satisfying private grudges were seized. The houses of the principal townsmen were surrounded, and in several cases serious damage done. Some of the leading citizens were hurried to prison, and only allowed their liberty when they had taken a solemn oath of fidelity to the rioters and to the commonalty of England. The tumult increased in violence, and the streets were filled with crowds of rowdies.⁷ John Stokwith incensed the rioters in a special degree. He was seized, ignominiously dragged through the principal street followed by a hooting mob, and finally lodged in prison. After £10 had been extorted from him, he was taken before a mob tribunal, some of whom wished to behead, others to hang him, but the majority wished for his money, not his life. He was allowed to go after a bond for £100 had been extorted from him and several other *probi homines*. But he was rearrested the following day (29 June). Henry de Rooston, his father-in-law, promised that anyone who had claims against John Stokwith would be paid, if they brought their demands to him, even if he had to sell his lands, houses, goods, and chattels to satisfy the claims. Stokwith, however, came to William Marche, a prominent rioter, and in the most abject manner entreated him for the love of God and sake of charity to grant him his life. These appeals the rioters disregarded, but they yielded to the temptation of an additional bribe of 40s., and Stokwith was allowed to go. But riot, rebellion, defiance of royal dictates, was the normal condition of Scarborough; in the first year of the reign of Edward II the poorer class there brought an action against the richer class, in the court of Exchequer, complaining that they were being robbed of their prescriptive rights to have a voice in the election of the town officials.⁸ Probably they got no redress, for in 1356 the Letters Patent providing for the government of the town make no allusion to any assemblage of the whole populace to elect the officers, but clearly show that the elections had practically been seized by the upper class; 'Bailiffs and all others of the borough, fit for the common officers thereof, be chosen by the oath of certain persons, chosen out of the thirty-six, with the consent of the poor and middle sort.'⁹

The Church seems to have upheld the party of order, for William de Manby was seized by the rebels because he refused to join the marauders, who had attacked several men taking refuge in the church of St. Mary. Robert de Aclom, the town bailiff, had been sheltered by the Franciscans: the rebels attacked the monastery, broke down the doors, and dragged out the bailiff and threatened to hang him unless he gave them 20 marks. He, moved by the fear of death, did their bidding. Nor was he the only official victim; all the royal officers were deposed, and creatures of the insurgents' choice put in their place. But the rising was futile, though even as late as 12 July the tenants of Alice de Wakefield took advantage of the disturbed state of the district and refused to pay the rent they had been accustomed to pay. By 18 October 1382 the town was once more at peace, the king issued a general pardon, from which forty-two people were excepted, and a fine of £266 13s. 4d. was exacted.¹⁰ The ringleader, Robert Galoun, and his chief followers seem to have escaped any very serious penalties, though their pardons were delayed for several years.¹¹

In York the revolt seems to have followed the same lines as in Beverley. The final item that occupied the attention of the Parliament of 1380-1 was the 'horrible chose' that had taken place

⁵ Pat. 5 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 17d.

⁶ W. Cunningham, *op. cit.* 392.

⁷ 'Cum magna multitudine hominum vocatorum rowtes.'

⁸ C. W. Colby, 'The Growth of Oligarchy in English Towns,' *Engl. Hist. Rev.* v, 646.

⁹ *Rep. of Municipal Corporations Com.* 1835, pt. iii, p. 1713.

¹⁰ Pat. 6 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 30, printed in Réville, *op. cit.*; Close, 6 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 4, printed in Réville, *op. cit.*

¹¹ Réville, *op. cit.* App. 256.

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in the city of York.¹² John de Gisburn, who had been mayor in 1372 and 1373, had been once more re-elected in 1380.¹³ Upon his re-election some of the people of York rose in revolt, drove him from the city, and rushed armed with hatchets and other arms to the gildhall. They broke the windows, forced an entrance, and made Simon de Quixley swear to be their mayor, against his will and the will of the good people of the city,¹⁴ who only yielded under fear of death. The rioters then made an ordinance that when the bell sounded, whether at night or day, the citizens should assemble and proclaim new ordinances, contrary alike to the laws of the land and the good customs of the city. The matter was ordered to be investigated by a commission under the Earl of Northumberland and the Archbishop of York, and in the mean time twenty-four of the most notorious of the insurgents were commanded to appear before the king and his council in Westminster.¹⁵ The commissioners forwarded to the Council the sworn deposition of witnesses, drawn up under the direction of Quixley, who still retained his office, although after a period of hesitation he had thrown himself on to the side of the *communitas*. According to this evidence, John Gisburn, tired or waiting for support from the Government, had with various armed followers attacked Quixley's chief adherents at Bootham Bar. They had forced their way into York and continued to disturb the city.¹⁶ Various charges are brought against Gisburn, that he was a thief, a friend of thieves, a coiner of false money.¹⁷ But counter-accusations were brought against Quixley, who was said to have seized and imprisoned innocent men, not allowing them to be set at liberty until they had paid considerable sums of money, and had given bond for debts they owed to various inhabitants of York.¹⁸ A commission was issued to Quixley 3 March 1382 as mayor to compel these rioters, who had broken down the closes, wall, and doors of the hospital of St. Leonard, York, and of the King's Chantry near York Castle, and a wall within the habitation of the house of the Friar Preachers, York, to repair their handiwork, and 120 people, principally mercers, butchers, pinner, carpenters, coverlet weavers, drapers, tailors, armourers, saddlers, porters, sheathers, goldsmiths, barbers, girdlers, shoemakers, glovers, were bound over on pain of a forfeiture of £100 each to keep the peace. Among them were two of Quixley's chief adherents, Thomas de Santon and William de Hornby, who had been attacked by Gisburn and his followers at Bootham Bar.¹⁹ The Council evidently recognized that Quixley was not a trustworthy tool, for he had to pledge himself in Chancery at Westminster in £5,000 of his lands and chattels to execute this commission.²⁰ On 18 October 1382 a general pardon was issued, for which the people of York had to pay 1,000 marks.

Industrial matters in all the chief Yorkshire towns were rigidly supervised by the craft guilds for many centuries. The ordinances of the Hull weavers for 1490 are still extant²¹; the records of Beverley and Pontefract bear ample evidence of the supremacy of the power of these industrial organizations. There seems to be very good grounds for thinking that the Towneley Mystery plays were acted in Wakefield; if so, the guilds there must have been both numerous and influential. Unfortunately, none of their ordinances or gild books have come to light, and it is therefore impossible to write definitely on the subject as far as Wakefield is concerned.²² As, however, there is a general similarity in all gild ordinances, and as no town in England was more completely controlled by highly organized guilds than York, the details of gild life that can be compiled from the materials extant for that city will be approximately true of the other towns of Yorkshire. The ordinances of the 14th-century craft guilds are enrolled in one of the earliest and most valuable works in the possession of the city. It is entitled '*Liber diversorum memorandorum civitatem Ebor' tangencium*.' The first entry is dated 1376, the last 1490, but the contents are not in strictly chronological order, and several of the memoranda are retrospective. The gild regulations are often undated, but from internal evidence they belong chiefly to the last decade of the 14th and the first half of the 15th century. It is, however, probable that the earlier ones are verbatim copies of the first attempts made to reduce the customary regulations of the craftsmen into written form. The first reference to the gild occurs early in the volume; in the year 1376 the city rents are entered, among others a tenement paying an annual rent of 2s. is mentioned, and the fact stated that three of the pageants of the Corpus Christi are placed there. The word 'pageine' must refer to the stage and properties of the pageant. The first ordinances referred to are those of 'the buklermakers and shethers,' the object of the regulation was restraining work on Sundays and feast days. Neither these ordinances nor those immediately following, of the bakers, are dated, but it

¹² *R. Parl.* iii, 96, 97.

¹³ F. Drake, *op. cit.* 361.

¹⁴ *R. Parl.* iii, 96.

¹⁵ The number is given as twenty. Close, 4 Ric. II, m. 27, in Réville, *op. cit.* 174.

¹⁶ *Coram Rege R. Mich.* 5 Ric. II, m. 11, 35, 35a; printed in Réville, *op. cit.* 178, 179.

¹⁷ From this Mr. Oman deduces that Gisburn was Master of the Mint (*Great Revolt*, 146), but this is improbable.

¹⁸ Pat. 5 Ric. II, pt. ii, m. 23 d.

¹⁹ Close, 5 Ric. II, m. 25; Réville, *op. cit.* 180.

²⁰ Pat. 6 Ric. II, pt. i, m. 6; cf. *R. Parl.* iii, 135.

²¹ J. M. Lambert, *Two Thousand Years of Gild Life*, 204-7.

²² H. M. Peacock, 'Towneley, Widkirk or Wakefield Plays,' *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xv, 94-103.

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is obvious from their position in the book and from the handwriting that they belong to the late 14th century. It is not until 30 December 1395 that a full set of ordinances, dated and with a complete list of the members, is found. Although there is no reference to the fact in the preamble to the regulations, doubtless their presence in the Memorandum Book of the city council was due to their having been brought to the mayor and twelve *probi homines* for ratification. The absence of mention of the civic authorities is exceptional, the usual formula being that the regulations were made by the assent of the 'meir et autres bonez gentez,' here however 'par awys et assent des mestres du dit artifice' is the only reference to the authority by which the ordinances were endorsed. Of the twenty-two 'bowers' forming the gild, six are absent from the freemen's roll; this, however, is not surprising, for a man who appears as a gild member under the name 'Laurencius Bower' quite possibly is enrolled in the freemen's list under his inherited not his trade name. The numerous liberties too in York possibly account for the absence of some names, for although the question of the rights and privileges of the inhabitants of the liberties has not yet been thoroughly investigated there seems no doubt that they could trade without taking up the freedom of the city. 'Robertus Cristendome' is apparently missing from the roll, but as a 'Robertus Christiane, bougher,' figures, it seems probable that some scribal error accounts for the omission. A William de Crull, fisher, was not enrolled under this name, but as William Brone de Crull. The ordinances written in French follow the general type, night and Sunday work is prohibited, apprentices are limited to one to each master, and a seven years' apprenticeship is insisted upon. A special feature of the bowyers' regulations is that minute directions are laid down with regard to the sale of arrows at fairs, a bowyer is only allowed to take a limited number of arrows to the fair at Chester, all shops are to be closed during fairs, but no arrows are to be left to be sold by other people after the fair is over. Each gild had its own peculiar enactments, and though seven years' apprenticeship and the prohibition of Sunday trading are generic, the bowyers had a special clause that all members of the gild should be English born, physically flawless, and loyal and faithful men.²³ The exclusion of the alien is not unusual, though generally he is admitted under restrictions. As, however, the armourers had also a regulation 'that no man of the said craft shall take no man to servaunt nor to prentyce but him that is one Englishman born up payn of 40s., to be paid in the manere and forme aforewritten,'²⁴ it is possible that more precautions were thought necessary when the articles manufactured played a part in the country's defence. On the other hand the barbers and surgeons expressly recognize the presence of aliens and foreigners, and require them to be contributory to the pageant, the light, and to share other burdens.²⁵ Skinners having peculiar temptations, when furs are sent to them to be repaired, are heavily fined if detected in using old fur for patching.²⁶ Women are seldom alluded to specifically, but the cap-makers have an ordinance that imposes the same fine upon *homme ou femme*.²⁷ Women, however, must have played an important part in foundry work, for a certain Gyles de Bonoyne is allowed, contrary to all gild tradition, to have two apprentices at the same time as he had no wife²⁸; the saucemakers, too, complain bitterly that the skinners and their wives make Paris candles, thus infringing their rights.²⁹ Still, few women appear in the lists of members of the various gilds often given in the York Memorandum Book; a glover, Agnes Kepewyk, and a parchment maker, Isabel de Morland, are the only two found in the York documents. It is, however, obvious from the entries concerning the celebration of the festival of Corpus Christi, that there were many more gilds in York than those whose ordinances are entered in the city record.

The number of plays given in the Ashburnham MS., the text used by Miss Toulmin Smith in her *York Mystery Plays*, is forty-eight, but the York Memorandum Book, which contains a list of the plays with the crafts which brought them out, gives under the date 1415 fifty-one plays, and a later list fifty-seven.³⁰ When it is remembered that often several crafts joined together to produce one play, the number of craft gilds in York cannot have fallen far short of eighty; in the list eighty-two different trades are mentioned,³¹ but probably some of those had already so few representatives that they were unimportant factors in the real commercial life of the city. The gilds varied considerably in size; of those of which a record can be found, several have only six or seven members, but the tailors number 128, the cordwainers fifty-nine, the 'tapiters' fifty-seven, the fullers thirty, the bowyers twenty-two at the end of the 14th century. Even when it is granted that several crafts were obsolete even in 1415, the list remains sufficiently comprehensive to have covered every detail of York's industrial life. It includes 'tannours, plasterers, cardmakers, fullers, coupers, armourers, gaunters, shipwrightes, possoners (fysshmongers), mariners, parchemyners (makers and

²³ York. Memo. Bk. $\frac{A}{V}$ fol. 20.

²⁴ Ibid. $\frac{B}{V}$ fol. 127.

²⁵ Ibid. $\frac{A}{V}$ fol. 90.

²⁶ Ibid. fol. 23.

²⁷ Ibid. fol. 30.

²⁸ Ibid. fol. 42b.

²⁹ Ibid. fol. 60b.

³⁰ Miss Toulmin Smith has printed the 1415 list, op. cit. Introd. p. xviii; cf. Drake, op. cit. App. xxx, xxxi. R. Davies, *York Rec.* 233. But the author's work is founded on a personal transcript of the Memorandum Book, the first volume of which is in the press, and the second volume, which includes the list, will appear shortly.

³¹ York Memo. Bk. old numeration, fol. ccxli to ccxlv; new, 252 to 254.

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sellers of parchment), bukbynders, hosyers, spicers, pewterers, founders, tylers, chaundellers, orfeuers, goldbeters, monemakers, masons, marsshals, girdellers, naylers, sawiers, spuriers, lorymers, barbour, vynters, finers (smiths), coutureurs, irenmangers, plummers, patenmakers, pouchemakers, hotellers, capmakers, skynners, cuttellers, bladesmyths, shethers, scalers, buklermakers, horners, bakers, cordwaners, bowers, fleccchers, tapisers, couchers, littesters, cukes, waterleders, tielmakers, milners, turnours, hayresters (workers in horse hair ?) botlers (bowlmakers ?), toundours, pynners, latoners, payntours, bouchers, pulters (poulterers), sellers (saddlers), verroures (glaziers), fuystours (joiners, makers of saddle trees ?), carpenters, wyredrawers, broggours (brokers ?), wolpakkers, escrieuveners, luminers, questors (pardoners ?), dubbars (furnishers of old cloth), talliaunders (tailors), potters, drapers, lynwevers, wevers of woollen, hostilers, and mercers.³² It is sufficiently formidable to suggest the idea that the population of York during the mediaeval period has been considerably underrated.

On 28 April 1394 an unusually large meeting of the city council was held ; the mayor, the bailiffs, the *probi homines* and the *communitas*, were all present. It was then decided that all the pageants of Corpus Christi should be acted in the places where they were accustomed to be played of old time (*antiquitus*), and in case this order was disobeyed the recalcitrant craft was to be fined 6s. 8d.³³

In 1397 so great was the fame of the York pageants that Richard II came to the city for the purpose of seeing them.³⁴ But dissatisfaction was still rife, because the plays which were produced at such great expense were repeated so often and at such small distances apart that the effect was marred. The civic authorities then decided that in the future they should only be given in twelve places :—

1. At the gates of the Priory of the Holy Trinity in Micklegate.
2. At the door of Robert Harpham.
3. At the door of John de Gyseburn.
4. At Skeldergatehend and Northstrethend.
5. At the end of Conyngstrete towards the Castlegate.
6. At the end of Jubbergate.
7. At the door of Henry Wyman in Conyngstrete.
8. At the end of Conyngstrete near the Common Hall.
9. At the door of Adam del Brigg.
10. At the gate of the Minster of the Blessed Peter.
11. At the end of Gyrdlergate in Petergate.
12. Upon the Pavement.³⁵

From 1164, when the first York gild, the weavers, is heard of,³⁶ down to 1832, when the Merchant Adventurers were shorn of their last vestige of power, the gild movement was a factor that had to be reckoned with in the industrial development of the city. During the early stages of national growth there is little doubt that the gilds, with their highly-specialized organization, their high standard of workmanship, their discouragement of competition, their insistence on proper training, did much to promote mercantile progress. But their influence during the 15th and 16th centuries was probably at the root of the decay of many of the old Yorkshire towns. From the broader outlook of the prosperity of Yorkshire as opposed to the prosperity of its few towns, there can be little doubt that the influence of the gilds was, unconsciously certainly, on the side of progression. The size of Yorkshire, its late development, the isolated character of some of the districts, necessitated the application of some strong stimulus, before the county as a whole could be opened up. By a too rigid enforcement of gild rules, enterprise and skilled industry was driven from the cities into the country districts. The growth of Halifax, Leeds, and Bradford more than counterbalanced the decay of York, Beverley, Ripon, and Pontefract.

The 15th century may be regarded as a transition period in the economic history of Yorkshire. All the forces were at work which were during the 16th century to produce a complete upheaval in the industrial life of the people ; the attention of the territorial landlord was concentrated on the dynastic quarrels ; the attention of the Church on preserving its own power intact ; the burgher class was left to follow the pursuit of wealth unhampered by its ecclesiastical or feudal superior. Civic strife was rampant in all the Yorkshire towns whose records are available ; but apparently these disturbances were not incompatible with the slow though steady growth of wealth among the bulk of the people.

The first half of the 16th century is especially important in treating of the economic expansion of Yorkshire. The rich monasteries owned so much land that their suppression gave the wealthy

³² York Memo. Bk. loc. cit.

³³ Ibid. fol. 18.

³⁴ R. Davies, op. cit. 230.

³⁵ York Memo. Bk. fol. 187b ; F. Drake, *Ebor. App.* xxxii.

³⁶ *Pipe R.* 10 *Hen. II* (Pipe R. Soc.), 12 ; York Memo. Bk. fol. 143.

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woollen merchants, who had amassed their fortunes while their noble neighbours were losing theirs in supporting dynastic quarrels, an opportunity to found a new landed class. The substitution of a strong personal government for the lax and distracted rule of the Lancastrians and Yorkists gave to Yorkshire what it sorely needed, a period of peace to develop its resources.

The civic strife, which had disgraced the Yorkshire towns during the 14th and 15th centuries, which had, in fact, often been encouraged for party purposes, met with no support in the new order of things. How tentatively the revolt in York in 1382 had been handled by royal authority has already been seen; a somewhat similar occurrence in 1517 met with different treatment. On the death of the Mayor of York, John Shaw, 'gret variaunce, contraversie, trowble and debate' arose as to the choice of his successor. 'Quarrelles, assaults, affrays and mysdemeanours' ensued; many of the aldermen, citizens, and commonalty were indicted, and the matter became so serious that the cases were removed out of the provincial courts into the court of Chancery. William Neleson, one of the York aldermen, who proved contumacious when he appeared before the council, was committed to the Fleet. The death of a second alderman complicated matters still more. A commission was appointed under Edmund, the Abbot of the monastery of St. Mary, 'to take order and direcon for the weal of the said cytye.' Both candidates for the place of alderman were set aside, and 'two other substantiall and discrete persones put in their romes.' But the people of York refused to obey the commission, and chose John Norman and William Cure for aldermen, and William Neleson, who was at the time in the Fleet Prison, as mayor. The royal wrath was excited. Nor was Henry VIII the man to hesitate. York had been in a state of disorder long enough; Letters Patent were at once dispatched to put an end to the scandal, and the citizens were enjoined to accept John Dodgeson as mayor until the next election, and to substitute for John Norman and William Cure as aldermen two 'substantiall and discret persones.'

Wolsey also wrote on 11 March exhorting the city to render due obedience and avoid worse dangers. The submission of the city was instant and abject. John Dodgeson was accepted as mayor, and Paul Gylde and Simon Vicaer were elected in place of Norman and Cure.³⁷

It seems probable that the disorders and tumults which gave Henry an excuse for interfering in the affairs of York were really caused by the desire of the various important craft guilds to have a share in the government of the city. Thus Henry in his high-handed proceedings knew that he had the popular will at his back. On 18 July of the year following, he granted to the citizens of York a common council. This council was to consist of forty-one members, chosen, two from each of the thirteen principal craft guilds and one from each of the fifteen secondary craft guilds; they had important powers of nominating the candidates for the various civic offices and general advisory powers.³⁸ But the system created friction, and in 1562 the leader of the common council, Miles Cooke, and the lord mayor had come to serious disagreements. The quarrel originated in a suggestion that the burgesses should, on account of the dearth of provisions, have increased payment for 'their accustomed diett.'³⁹ The common council refused the concession, but the mayor and twenty-four persisted in voting them 6s. 8d. a day⁴⁰ in spite of their remonstrance. This was only the beginning of the storm. Not the least important duty of the mayor and the twenty-four was the supervision of the city guilds. The two searchers of the gild of 'mylnars' had assembled their fellow-gildmen at St. Antony's Hall, and they had agreed amongst themselves, without the consent of the lord mayor, that they would take no money from the citizens for grinding, but that each 'mylnar' should have a toll dish and exact payment in kind, contrary to the ancient custom of the city.⁴¹ In 1530 it had been enacted by the Lord Mayor's Court 'that none of the millers of the city should take above ob. for grendyng of a bushell of corne.'⁴² John Robson, one of the millers, confessed that he had reported that the mayor had consented to the innovation, 'to the great dissension between hym and the commons of this city.' The two searchers, Brown and Carter, and Robson were all committed to prison.

But the commons had found a brave, if indiscreet, champion in the leader of the common council, Miles Cooke, though it seemed as if more tumults were to disturb the city. Nor was the dislike to paying toll in kind instead of by a fixed sum of money an idle prejudice; later a case occurs which probably is only an example of what the people had suffered at the hands of the millers:—

Further more it is ordered and agreed by the sayd presens forasmoch as by dewe proves it appreth that Thomas Shaw farmer of the Tolle in the pavement hath a great space used exacton upon the Kyngs people in takynge unlaue and excessyve tolne and specially by a countrafayt disshe in which he

³⁷ York Munic. Rec. ix, fol. 87-91. Edward IV had dealt with the same difficulty in 1464; *Foedera*, v (2), (Hague Ed.); cf. *Select Cases in Ct. of Star Chamber* (Selden Soc.), 25, civ.

³⁸ F. Drake, op. cit. 207.

³⁹ York Munic. Rec. xxiii, fol. 75b, 21 Dec. 1562.

⁴¹ Ibid. fol. 79a, 13 Jan. 1562.

⁴⁰ Ibid. fol. 76a, 29 Dec. 1562.

⁴² Ibid. xi, fol. 69, 19 Jan. 1530.

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craftily caused a pece of an other old tolne disshe beyng sealed wth the seale therunto appoynted to be framed and glewed thereto. And after that bothe he and his wife disobedyently and unfyttyngly hath used theymselves within the said citie. The sayd Thomas therfor shalbe punysshed for his sayd extorton offense and disobedynce by imprisonment in forme following that is to say be putt in the cage in the sayd pavement three severall markett dayes from tenne of the clock of every of the said dayes unto one of the clock at afternoone. And soo to begynne on Saturday next and than on Tewysday and Thursday the next weke and then he and his wife shall submytt themselves to M^r Shadlock Alderman and desire him to be good maistre to theym and sayve them specially for that his wif wyss^{hed} a vengeance of hym wth other desptefull wordes and also that M^r Shadlock shall deliver unto hym toln disshes lawfully sealed from tyme to tyme as he shall nede theym.⁴³

The dispute shows clearly that, in the years between the granting of the charter by Henry VIII and the early years of the reign of Elizabeth, the craft gilds had fallen into decay, and that the commons felt that their powers of controlling the government of the city were being gradually weakened. They marshalled their case with considerable skill. The dearness of provisions was a factor in their final success, for during a period of dearth, both central and provincial governments were chary of inflaming popular discontent that was always smouldering at such times. The language in which the commons drew up their petition was singularly humble:—

We the said comon counsell and other the comonars of our humble seute desyre yor Lordship and worshypfull brethren with other yor Lordshippes counsell to have nowe reformaton had for 40*li*. that Girdlyngton did gyve to the comons and freemen of this citie and for that cause that if any freeman will desyre to borowe of the same money upon they are pledges not to be denyed so that all the same money may be used alwayes accordyng to the Girdlyngton will.

Also we desyre that from hensforth nothyng to be lette that belongith to the comons but that all the comons before maye have knowledge of it, that it may be lette to the most wallowe for the profit of the citie of that thyng that the comons may forbear and nothing to be allowed that belongith to the comons but that is sealed with the comon seale and for this we desire youe of yo' goodnes nowe that this may be inacted

Also we desire that our milnars shall not take no mowter at all but one penny for a bushell hard corne and for malt *iid.* a quarter and not above as was used when the corne was better cheape and for the same we desyre reformacon

And also where the *xiii* crafts and *xv* crafts named in the charter hath voyces for the electon of the Mayor and Sheryffe and certeyne of the said occupacon be decayed so that there is none of them to have voyces our desyre ys that for suche occupacons as is decayed that so many other at the renewyng of the chartre may be put in the charter to have voyces.

The only reply given to the petitioners was that the lord mayor and his brethren would peruse the said articles 'at tyme convenyent.' But Miles Cooke, in the name of the commoners, refused to proceed to the election of the mayor unless the articles were agreed to.

'Wherefore in avoydyng further clamor of the rest of the comons they gave them faire wordes willyng the comon clerke to make assemblant to entre them as confirmed and stablissed.'⁴⁴ The mayor was elected; then the common council discovered that they had been tricked. They possibly felt that a change of leadership was advisable, for Miles Cooke disappears for the time, and John Myddleton and Richard Aynley, vintners, took charge of the articles. The lord mayor refused to be dictated to, but evidently the two vintners were less choleric than Miles Cooke. 'They in right humble wyse besechyd my seyde l. Mayor at his pleasure' to appoint a date when he would read the said petitions. He 'seeing the conformitie and obedyance of the said comon council' passed their requests; only reserving to himself the right to deal with common rents under *xxs.* without consultation with the commoners, but the rest of their requests were passed unconditionally.⁴⁵ Miles Cooke, who had been committed to the Kidcote 'for certain unfyttynge and opprobrious wordes,'⁴⁶ spoken against one of the aldermen, was released on giving bond for future good behaviour.⁴⁷ How far the civic authorities fulfilled the promise that they gave it is impossible to say. But beneficial as the institution of a strong central government was to the general development of industrial and commercial Yorkshire, the consequent concentration of parliamentary and court life in London decreased the prestige of the northern capital, already weakened by the decay of ecclesiastical power. During the 16th century complaints are rife against the ruthless way in which the London merchants strove to monopolize mercantile enterprise and by unfair competition steal trade from the Yorkshiremen. Although Yorkshire as a whole was progressing, the older towns were suffering from the exodus of their more energetic and enterprising inhabitants into the country

⁴³ York Munic. Rec. *xx*, fol. 99*a*, Apr. 1552.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* *xxiii*, fol. 81*a*, Feast of St. Mary Abbatis.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* fol. 81*b*.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* fol. 88, 26 Jan. 1562.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* fol. 85*a*, 18 Jan. 1562.

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districts. In 1561 the civic authorities dwelt with great bitterness on this fact, in the report on the state of trade given to the Lord President and Council of the North.

Morover one Richard Marshall of the said citie Marchant did latley sett up drapyng in this citie and had one woollen loome there of his owne but because he found no gaynes at it he hath left of. And the cause of the decay of the said weavers and loomes for woollen within the sayd cite as I doo understand and learne is the lak of cloth makyng in the said citie as was in old tyme accustomed whiche is nowe encreased and used in the townes of Halyfax Leedes and Wakefield, for that not onely the comoditie of the water mylns is ther nigh hande but also the poore folke as speynners, carders, and other necessary work folkes for the said webbyng may ther bysyde ther hand labo' have Rye, fyre, and other releif good cheape which is in this citie very deare and wantyng.⁴⁸

The gilds that drove the workers from the towns, where they were working under unsatisfactory conditions, into the open country, where a mechanical power ran past their doors, where food was cheap and firewood plentiful, certainly hastened indirectly the development of the barren West Riding regions into the most highly industrial and densely populated part of England.

But not only did the gild officials drive away the workers impatient of control, they maintained the policy they had adopted in the early days of their organization, and continued to enforce regulations against the settlement of strangers and aliens in the co-operate towns. The barber-surgeons revised their ordinances in 1592 and 1679,⁴⁹ the alien clause remained unaltered,⁵⁰ a fee of 6s. 8d. was exacted from all strangers wishing to practise. Whether from the superior education of the members, or from the absence of competition, it is difficult to say, but there was always a considerable foreign element amongst the York medical men. Other gilds had more stringent rules. The York minstrels were not so widely known as the minstrels of Beverley, who claimed to have originated in the time of Athelstan. The well-known pillar erected by the Beverley Gild is one of the many interesting features of the church of St. Mary. On the capital are the figures in stone of four minstrels clad in short coats, painted blue, with red stockings and yellow girdles. They carry various instruments, a treble and bass flute, a side drum and a tabor. The Beverley men, although they objected to a foreigner or stranger minstrel remaining longer than one fortnight in their midst,⁵¹ were not so determined in their opposition as the York Minstrels, who had a rule that

No maner of forryner of what condition he be occupie any minstrells singinge or plaieing upon anie instrument within anie parishe within this cittie or franchises thereof where anie churche holidayes or dedication daes halowed or kept within the same parishe or annie Brotherheads or freemans dinner made or kept within the same cittie or franchise thereof upon payne that everie such forayne minstrell after monyton to him geven by the maister or searchers to pay for every time that he shalbe founde so doinge contrarie to this Acte 3s. 4d.⁵²

The gilds of the metal-workers had extremely rigid rules dealing with the alien question, the pinner and wiredrawers re-enacted their ordinances in 1592. They carefully distinguish between the 'forreyners' who might be Englishmen from another part of the country and the alien.

And whereas the 23 October 1425 it was ordeyned that none of the sayd Crafte should take anye Alyen of anye Naton to worke he should teache him in the said Crafte upon payne of xxs. to the Chamber and xxs. to the sayd crafte to be paid by the Maister that should putt him to the same Crafte as ofte tyme as he doth it—which order being perused It is now agreed that the same shalbe continued and remain in force.⁵³

The pewterers had a similar clause, 'that no Master of the said Crafte shall take anie alien not borne within the realme to be or serve him as his apprentice upon payne of forfeiture of x^{li}.' The most ardent tariff reformers could not wish for more stringent rule than one enjoyed on the founders in 1574,⁵⁴ 'That none of the said crafte shall buye anie waires of any man out of this realme as candlestyck, chawfyndissis under payne to forfayte for every pece that he shall so buye as afforesaid.' As well as these enactments against aliens, sometimes the gilds drew up special clauses against individual bodies of men, whom they regarded as antagonistic to themselves. The tailors and drapers

⁴⁸ York Munic. Rec. xxiii, fol. 20a, 8 June 1561.

⁴⁹ Merchant Taylors' MSS. These 16th-century regulations were transcribed some years ago from a MS. containing a miscellaneous collection of gild ordinances at that time in the possession of the Merchant Taylors' Company.

⁵⁰ See above.

⁵¹ G. Oliver, op. cit. 557-9; R. C. Hope, 'Notes on the Minstrels' Pillar,' *East Riding Antiq. Soc. Trans.* 1895, pp. 67, 68.

⁵² The seventh clause of their new enactments, Merchant Taylors' MSS. 'The Ancient Ordynances of the Muscycyons comonlie called the Minstrelles', 1578.

⁵³ Merchant Taylors' MSS. Pinner and Wiredrawers, 1592.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 246.

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were especially jealous of the Kendal cloth-weavers. They inserted a clause when their ordinances were reformed that

Kendaill men yt bringeth wollen clothe to this citie to sell from hensforth they selle in grosse in the sayd Thursday Markett or Comon hall and not to goe hawkyng and sell in any other place upon paine of forfaiture of their clothes as is abovesayd.⁵⁵

But lest this rule should bear hardly upon an industrious and worthy class of men they made an exception in favour of the rural weaver :

Provyded allwais that theis ordinances aforesayd or any article of the same be not prejudiciall ne hinderinge to any husbandmen or other poor creatures of ye cuntrie beinge unfranchiside yt makethe a pece or ii of wollen clothe in a yeare within his owne howse and bringithe to this citie to sell the sayd cloith or clothes by retaille upon ye pavement or any other place within the citie and suburbs of the same theis ordinances or any article thereof notwthstanding.⁵⁶

The most trivial details of workmanship were supervised by the gild officials, and bad workmanship confiscated. The tailors took special pains to keep up a high standard; cases that would in the present day be brought into a court of law were then adjusted by the searchers.

If there happen any complainte to be maide of ane garment brought affore the sayd four sershers for to searche after yt be wrought that then the maker of the said garment shalbe brought afore the sayd sershers for the lowsinge of the said garment and yf the said same garment may be mended of the same stuffe then he shall have it agayne for to mend, and he shall sett suertie to bringe againe the same garment affore the said searshers and yf yt cannot be amended of the same stuffe then the partye that owd yt to be recompensed for yt at the syght of the master and searchers.⁵⁷

The haberdashers, feltmakers, and cappers enjoin upon their searchers to make diligent search of 'all waires as shalbe made and trymed within the citty, and also for dying of feltes or hatts, and whatsoever waires shalbe founde unlesse fullye made or naughtelye (*sic*) colored, trymed, or died, the persons who so doth make dye or tryme thes feltes shal paye for everie felt or hatt 6*d*.⁵⁸

These ordinances were sometimes put in force against the gild officials, for the warden of the tapiters who had 'blendyd hare and wolle togydders and working the same in coverletts,' thus defrauding the king's people, was fined 4*os*. and discharged of 'hys romes of sercher.'⁵⁹

But the power of the gilds was seriously curtailed by the court of the lord mayor. The civic authorities could refuse to ratify their ordinances, and thus render them nugatory. They received half the proceeds of the fines inflicted for the infringement of rules; in cases of dispute between the gild members they could call the disputants before them, and against their arbitration there was no appeal. As early as 1519 they claimed the right to punish the breakers of gild ordinances, though it is doubtful whether the by-law was ever put in force.

Also it is agreed by the said presence that from hensefurth no serchers of the occupacion of Cordwyners and Taillors nor of none other occupacon within this city suburbs and libertye of the same shall have the correcton and punysshment of the defaults done and committed concerning the sayd occupacons or any of them. But the same defeaute shalbe punnysshed and redressed by the maier for the time being and his brethren.⁶⁰

The increasing unpopularity of the trade gilds during the 16th century strengthened the hands of the civic authority, and early in the 17th century they are found almost invariably in opposition. The chief men on the city council were members of the two great companies, the Merchant Adventurers and the Eastland Merchants; they were men doing a large foreign trade, they had travelled much, and probably saw that the gild regulations were really seriously hampering English commerce. So long as the foreign trade of England was in the hands of the Hansards, the home market was the only concern of Englishmen. Many of the regulations of the gilds were admirably adapted for the supply of a limited market with a well-wrought article. In fact the gilds discouraged trade even with their own countrymen; the haberdashers had a regulation that no wares should be sold to any stranger or foreigner before four or six members of the gild had been consulted, and in case they were willing to give within 6*d*. a dozen of the price offered by the stranger, the seller was obliged to accept their offer.⁶¹ But the rapid development of foreign

⁵⁵ York Munic. Rec. xx, fol. 63*a*, 27 Oct. 1551.

⁵⁶ Ibid. fol. 63*b*.

⁵⁷ Ibid. fol. 62*a*.

⁵⁸ Merchant Taylors' MSS. The Ancient Ordinance of the Companye and Fellowship of Haberdashers, Feltmakers, and Cappers, xxiii July 1605.

⁵⁹ York Munic. Rec. xviii, fol. 130*b*, 131*a*, 21 Oct. 1547.

⁶⁰ Ibid. ix, fol. 101, 10 Mar. 1519.

⁶¹ Merchant Taylors' MSS. ut sup. item 10.

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trade under the fostering influences of the two trading companies, the increased demand for English cloth, which was largely produced in the West Riding, merchanted in York, and shipped off from Hull to the Baltic and Low Countries, brought home to the people the fact that the stint of production, by curtailing the number of apprentices, by refusing to allow able workmen to work unless they were enrolled in one of the gilds, was a serious hindrance to commerce. Thus early in the 17th century the York Council constantly interfered to force the hands of the city gilds to admit strangers. In 1608 Richard Foster, stationer, was made a freeman at a reduced rate, and only required to pay 33s. or 20s. a year because there was not any freeman of his occupation in York.⁶² The following year William Esbrigge (Eskirk in the Freemen's list), milloner, was forgiven £5 13s. 4d. of the fee because there were but few of the same company in the city.⁶³ Mark Bell, a coverlet weaver, a trade of which at one time York had the monopoly, 'was admitted for xxth markes in regard that there is but few of the same companie in this cittie that xxth nobles shalbe rebated and forgyven hym.'⁶⁴

Stephen Brittain, organ-maker, was admitted on the same terms, 'because there was not anie in this citie of the same occupation.'⁶⁵

In a case that occurred in 1612 the council showed admirable sense. 'Diverse of the poorest sorte' of the company of haberdashers complained that a certain John Baites, who was free neither of the city nor the company, had begun to work at the trade. In defence, those who encouraged him said that John Baites could do work that none of the complainants could do. The mayor and aldermen then ordered both John Baites and the petitioners to send in a piece of work 'such as is saide none of the saide company can work,' so that the court could themselves arrive at a right decision.⁶⁶ Nothing more was heard of the matter until more than a year later,⁶⁷ when it was decided that as

the Companie of Haberdashers and Feltmakers are at present a great Companie and that manie of them are poore men greatlie charged and have no means whereby to mainteyn themselves and ther families but onely ther said occupaton and that the doeings of the said John Baites is hurtfull to the free citizens of the said Companie and contrarye to the orders of the said Companie and that it is thought not fitting that the said John Baites should live from his wife have enjoyed the said John Baites within 14 daies nowe next coming to depart from this cittie and not after the same tyme to work at the said occupaton within the said cittie or the suburbs or liberties thereof.

It is impossible to help suspecting that the unfortunate John Baites had been deluded into staying in the city until his particular trade, the making of hatbands, had been learnt by some of the haberdashers, and that he was turned adrift by the people who had first employed him as soon as he had served their purpose.

In another matter the court seem to have had reasonable grounds for interfering with the selfish policy of the gilds.

And whereas this court understanding that diverse occupatons and companies within this cittie doe refuse to accept or receive anie yonge man to be free Brethren of ther occupatons or companies which are admitted to the freedome of this cittie upon good causes except they doe paie unto the companie whereof they are to be free a great some of money or make a breakfast dynner or supper to the whole companie which hath bene to the utter [undoing] of diverse yonge men who have had little store of money to sett up ther occupaton withall. It is therefore thought good that no occupaton or companie within this cittie shall from henceforth take receive or exact of anie brother for his admittance unto ther fellowship or companie in meate money or otherwise above xx without the consent of the Lord Maior of this cittie for the tyme being upon payne of x4s.⁶⁸

As the civic authority had gradually superseded the gild authority during the 17th century, newly organized gilds or gilds seeking reorganization sought to have their privileges confirmed by the central, not the provincial authorities. Thus for the gild the company was substituted. The most interesting example of this is the well-known society of the cutlers of Sheffield,⁶⁹ who received their charter in 1624. But the history of that organization, beginning as it does with a few rules issued by the lord of the manor, and later incorporated by Act of Parliament, cannot be included with that of the gilds. Still, this tendency to substitute parliamentary for provincial control was stoutly resisted by the ruling civic party in York. The gild of bakers, who on account of the assize of bread always stood on the border line between a state-managed and a city-

⁶² York Mun. Rec. xxxiii, fol. 151a, 30 Jan. 1608.

⁶³ Ibid. fol. 158b, 14 Mar. 1609.

⁶⁴ Ibid. fol. 168a, 14 July 1609. Cf. *Freemen of York* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 57.

⁶⁵ Ibid. fol. 305a, 3 July 1612.

⁶⁶ Ibid. xxxiii, fol. 79b, 8 July 1607.

⁶⁷ Ibid. xxxiv, fol. 45a, 18 Nov. 1614.

⁶⁸ Ibid. xxxiii, fol. 79b, 8 July 1607. Cf. a similar enactment passed 30 Mar. 1604, xxxii, fol. 320a.

⁶⁹ Mr. R. E. Leader has, in his invaluable *The Sheffield Company of Cutlers*, collected all the documents concerning the Sheffield Company.

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managed gild, made a fatal mistake in 1610. As a proof of the growing tendency to seek redress at the hands of the Government, it is of sufficient importance to warrant quotation in full. The bakers had evidently tried and failed to override the authority of the mayor and aldermen by an appeal to the powers in London.

Petition of Bakers.

That whereas your humble petitioners The Companye of Bakers of the Cittie of Yorke have since Lammas Last bene so delt withall and are as yet sore impoverishd with severall prices imposed upon us by this honourable court so that for want of a conscionable expositor we were forced to goo to the Cittie of London to shoue our griefs if it were possible to Mr. Sergiant Hutton our Recorder or else Mr. Christopher Brooke his deputie or Mr. Alderman Askwith then Burgesses for our cittie of whom we receyved large promises but founde no performancs but called knaves for complayninge to the burgesses of my lord mayor (and therefore fare worse for it) although if my lord maior of ignorance as he sometyme pretended and Mr. Halley of purpose as it nowe appeareth (by adding affliction to affliction) have quite fallen awaie both from the equitie of that ancient statute for breade and also from the manier of distributing the saide statute for ther white lofe. And ther ancient custome of the boulted lofe used almost for fortie yeares but upon better consideraton as we supposed at our return we were called to this honorable court wher we were willed to shew our greves which we did that is to saie we entreated to be eased of the byelawe of xviii^d

secondlie to be assised by the printed assisse book

thirdlie to have the inn holders article amended or annihilated

fourthlie to have our book of ordinary executed

fiftlie to have the boulted loafe assessed after the wheaten loafe.

But the petition met with scant consideration at the hands of the mayor and his brethren, who, considering that Thomas Wilson, who drew up the petition, used words not fitting to be inserted in a petition, 'whereby it appereth plainlie that he scorned this court,' was called upon to answer for his contumelious conduct at the next session.⁷⁰

But the bakers' company continued to hold its own in York for more than two centuries after this episode. In 1779, when an attempt was made in Parliament to abolish apprenticeship, the York bakers were the most active and virulent of its opponents; the effort was unsuccessful, though interesting expressions of opinions on the subject were copied into the bakers' ordinary at the time. One of these shows clearly that the Apprenticeship Act was not really operative in many places. The correspondent writes:—'Almost in every town in England where trade flourishes greatly, they never ask whether a man has served his apprenticeship or where his settlement is, by which means you see Leeds, Manchester, Halifax, Birmingham, &c., &c., rise on the ruins of these places.'⁷¹

How far women could avail themselves of the gild privileges is not clear; widows certainly had a right to exercise their husbands' crafts, but whether this policy was dictated by a sense of fair play or a desire to lessen the possibility that the widow and children should become 'chargeable to the city,' the chief bugbear of the local economist, it is impossible to say. The city court passed a comprehensive by-law dealing with the subject in 1529:—

Moreover it is fully agreed by the said presense yt if any fraunchest mens wyffs after the dethe of theyr husbands be dispossyd to lyff soole withoute any other husband that then it shalbe lawfull unto all suche to occupy theyr husbands crafts occupatons and misterys and for (*sic*) tayke bothe jornay men and apprentices into theyre servyce, such tyme as other of the same crafts and occupatons usyth to tayke and all suche apprentices to have lyke fredom as other mens apprentices of like occupatons hayth. Any act ordynaunce or agrement hertofore made to the contrary in anything notwithstanding.⁷²

But the gild of surgeons undoubtedly admitted both sexes; one of their ordinances especially stipulates that

No man or woman within this cittye practisinge chirurgery or drawyng fourthe of tethe or any other thinge belonging to the said arte unlesse they be under the governance of a Master and proved able to occupy the said arte.⁷³

But evidently the surgeons resented the incursion of women, for the council had to interfere to protect Isabel Warwick,

forasmuch as it apereth that Isabell Warwike hath skill in the scyence of surgery and hath done good therein. It is therefore agreed by these presens that she uppon her good behaviour shall use the same science within this cittie without lett of any of the surgeans of the same.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Ibid. xxxiii, fol. 236, 10 Dec. 1610.

⁷² York Munic. Rec. xi, fol. 67 d, 20 Oct. 1529.

⁷³ Ordinances of Barbers and Chirurgions, No. 8, 1592. The writer is indebted to Dr. Auden for this reference.

⁷⁴ York Munic. Rec. xxv, fol. 152a, June 1572.

⁷¹ B. M. Add. MS. 34605, fol. 25.

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Again early in the 17th century the mayor and aldermen interfered on behalf of women. Candle-making had been a domestic industry, but the tallow chandlers of York made themselves into a company with the result that candles rose in price from 4*d.* to 5*d.* a pound and that divers poor citizens and widows were thrown out of employment. But the court refused to countenance the change and twenty of the petitioners were licensed to make candles in spite of the efforts of the newly constituted company.⁷⁵

The bakers' ordinances of 1595 have a regulation that 'no woman should be set on worke' except the wife or daughter of a free baker.⁷⁶

Wardell has an allusion to various gilds, clothworkers, mercers, grocers, salters, drapers, millwrights, carpenters, joiners, plasterers, coopers, bricklayers, cordwainers, tailors, ironmongers, glaziers, cutlers, pewterers, which were incorporated at Leeds in 1663,⁷⁷ but there is no evidence to show what connexion, if any, there is between the old gild organizations and these new and possibly ephemeral institutions. There is, however, no doubt that the fact that Hull and York were the centres of local branches of the two great national trading companies, the Merchant Adventurers⁷⁸ and the Eastland Merchants,⁷⁹ was a powerful stimulus to the development of industrial Yorkshire; still by the end of the 17th century gilds and companies had alike ceased to be factors of any importance in the general economic condition of the county, though even to-day the Merchant Adventurers and Merchant Tailors of York continue to hold meetings, have their halls, and attend various ceremonies in commemoration of pious benefactors.

Although the country never again suffered from such an awful visitation as the plague of 1348-9, still it is difficult in this age of freedom from epidemic to realize what an important factor both politically and economically these constant recurring pestilences were. The municipal records of York bear ample testimony to the terror which news of these outbreaks excited in the civic authorities. In fact, one of the great events of English history, the foundation of the Tudor dynasty, might not have taken place had not the absence of many of the members of the council from York, on account of the plague, prevented any opposition to the march of Henry Tudor through Yorkshire, for York had long been the stronghold of Yorkist partisans. But the times were changed since Archbishop Zouch relied chiefly on prayer and fasting to stop the Black Death of 1349; precautions were taken to prevent its entrance into the city, and isolation was forced upon the victims. The material disadvantages are forcibly pointed out by the lord mayor:—

'Unles a good order be p[ro]vyded forthwith for such howses as ar infectyd with the said plague mych inconvyence and greyt derth of people ys like to ensue and also all strangers by occasion of the sayd plague forber and withdraw themselves and but lyttell resorte unto the said citie to the great damage and impov[er]isshing of the moste parte of the Inhabitants of the said citie and forasmuche as Thomas Myddleton of this citie Inholder beyng sore infect with the seyd plague obstinately and wilfully hath brokyn suche order as was laitely takyn by the lord maier of this citie and his Breth[er]en to the greyte infeccon of a multytude of the citizens of the seyd citie for whiche misdemeanours to the example yt is agreed by the said p[re]sents yt there shalbe levyd of the goods and chattels of the seyd Thomas Myddylton⁸⁰

In May 1550 there was a serious outbreak of plague, but as the regulations were lax, for the city council enacted 'that plague-stricken people only to go abowte in case of necessity and then to bere a white wand,' it was no wonder that the disease spread and that a hundred people were suffering from it by the end of the month. Apparently these were mostly the very poor, for 8*d.* a week was given to them out of the city fund.⁸¹

The scarcity of food was so great during this visitation that a by-law had to be passed prohibiting any kind of grain being sent out of the city, and obliging butchers, who had fled from the city, to return 'and serve the inhabitants with vytells at a reasonable price,' or to pay a fine of £10.⁸² So disastrous were the results that several years later York, in petitioning Parliament for remission of taxation, assigned as a reason 'that there is a great number of howses vacante within the same by reason of the grete pestilence that was laitly there.'⁸³ But this attack of plague was fairly general, for Princess Mary had to leave Wanstead on account of it.⁸⁴

In 1563, when the plague was raging in London and throughout the country, five unfortunate York drapers and a goldsmith visited Stourbridge Fair, bought extensively, and returned with their wares to the city. It was reported that the plague was rife at Stourbridge. The men were ordered

⁷⁵ York Munic. Rec. xxxiii, fol. 77, 20 Oct. 1615.

⁷⁶ B. M. Add. MS. 34605, fol. 36.

⁷⁷ J. Wardell, *Municipal Leeds*, 34.

⁷⁸ 'The Merchant Adventurers of York,' *Handbook of the British Association* (York 1906), 212-27.

⁷⁹ 'The Acts and Ordinances of the Eastland Company' *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.* (3rd series), xi.

⁸⁰ York Mun. Rec. xix, fol. 101*b*, 20 Jan. 1549.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* xx, fol. 18*a*, 28 May 1550.

⁸² *Ibid.* fol. 22*b*, 9 July 1550.

⁸³ *Ibid.* xxi, fol. 20*b*, 19 Dec. 1552.

⁸⁴ C. Creighton, *op. cit.* 304.

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to close their shop windows, and to avoid intercourse with their neighbours until further order. On their refusal they were sent to prison in Monkbar, and their wives, servants, and household were ordered 'to kepe theym quietly in their houses from accompaynyng with neghburghs.' No goods or wares from the South were admitted within the walls, Corpus Christi plays were forbidden, strolling players were driven from the city, the keepers of the poor lodging-houses were forbidden to take in beggars, vagrants, or vagabonds. Micklegate Bar and Skeldergate Postern were carefully watched, and any stranger coming in was closely questioned as to the district from which he came, and debarred entrance if he came from Ferrybridge or Kippax where the pestilence was raging.⁸⁵ But it was during the 17th century that Yorkshire suffered most from the plague. News reached York in the July of 1603 that Newcastle⁸⁶ was not a safe place for traders to visit on account of the pestilence, and two months later the disease had worked its way southwards, and had appeared in several small villages in the Tadcaster and Wetherby district, only 10 miles from York itself. The York Council met the danger with commendable promptitude. Stringent preventive measures were adopted, the execution of which was placed in the hands of two officials, a cleanser and a viewer, who had gained experience in the terrible times at Newcastle.⁸⁷ Amusements such as bride bed and the feasts of the trading companies were forbidden, cats and dogs were either to be kept at home or destroyed. Oswald Metcalf was appointed to kill all those which he found 'in the strats' and to have 'for his paynes iid. apece for every one which he shall so kill and the skynnes of such which he shall so kill.'⁸⁸

Public begging was prohibited; the poor were to be relieved in their own homes. Suspected cases were to be at once removed to Hob Moor, about a mile outside Micklegate Bar, or Bootham Stray, about the same distance from Bootham Bar, where some sort of tents or temporary buildings had been erected. Jubbergate, Gillygate, Trinity Churchyard, Goodramgate, Water Lane, Spurriergate, Coney Street, Bishophill, and Bootham Bar were centres of infection when the mayor wrote his account to his civic brethren on 5 May 1604.⁸⁹ The panic spread; sheriffs, chamberlains, and constables fled from the city. The officials offered large bribes to be allowed to forsake their duties, but they were sternly ordered to remain at their posts.⁹⁰ Sheriffs who disobeyed were fined £100, chamberlains £40, and constables £20.⁹¹ But the mayor realized that the presence of death often acts not as a deterrent but as an incentive to crime. He writes—

that the infection doth so greatlie increase in this cittye that unlesse we the magistrates have great care and do take paines in the governinge and rulinge of this cittye and in takinge order for the receivinge of them, the poorer sort would not be ruled, which would be a great discredit unto us.⁹²

By the February of 1605 York was declared free from infection.⁹³ It has been calculated that about 3,512 people died of plague in York. The registers of seventeen of the most populous parishes return 2,000 deaths between 1 May and 31 December 1604, and the remaining parishes account for about 1,500 more. When it is remembered that exceptional precautions were taken in the case of York, so that probably the death rate was not so high there as in other places, and that the whole of Yorkshire was visited, some idea may be formed of the immediate paralysing effect of these terrible scourges on the economic and industrial life of the people and the ultimate effect on the organization of labour.

But in the year 1631 there was an outbreak of plague of still greater magnitude, and precautionary measures were no longer entrusted solely to the civic authorities; Wentworth was President of the Council of the North, and resided in York. With characteristic energy he threw himself into the subject of sanitary reform. The church played an important part in the suppression of the Black Death, the mayor and aldermen in dealing with the outbreaks of plague under the Tudors and James I; but although the City Council might be the instruments appointed by Wentworth to put his orders in execution, they were deprived of all initiative, obedience to a stern taskmaster was substituted for the meritorious self-sacrifice, which lends to the history of the earlier outbreaks the attraction which is inseparable from voluntary effort. In a letter to Viscount Dorchester, Wentworth gives a succinct account of the manner in which the plague came from Lancashire into the West Riding. Heptonstall was the first place attacked, no fewer than forty houses there being infected; but Halifax, only a few miles distant, escaped, and Leeds, although the disease was at Beeston and Holbeck in the immediate neighbourhood, had not a single case when the letter was written. In the neighbourhood of York itself the plague was brought 'by a lewde woman, who brake forth of

⁸⁵ York Munic. Rec. xxiii, fol. 106-45, 21 July 1563—14 June 1565.

⁸⁶ Ibid. xxxii, fol. 279a, 8 July 1603.

⁸⁷ Ibid. fol. 323 d. 27 Apr. 1604.

⁸⁸ Ibid. fol. 329 d. 12 May 1604.

⁸⁹ Ibid. fol. 332b.

⁹⁰ Ibid. fol. 340a.

⁹¹ Ibid. fol. 340b, 11 July 1604.

⁹² Ibid. fol. 394a, 3 Feb. 1605.

⁹³ Ibid.

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Armin' and 'ungratiously left it behind her.' It is possible that Wentworth overrated the faith that the people had in his presence, for he concludes :—

The towne takes much comfortte in our stay heare, and would fall into affrights and confusion if wee should leave them, soe as wee as yet hold on our ordinary sitting and we dispence of his Ma^{ties} accustomed justice to his people, and in good faith, I should for my partte be very loathe to leave them in this distressed case, seeing they conceive they are much the better for my stay among them and that in truth I think they are now much more orderly than they would be under the government of the Mayor alone.⁹⁴

It cannot be said that the measures adopted for keeping the people in order erred on the side of leniency ; a man 'for dancing and fidling without Walmgate barr, in this doleful and dangerous tyme there shalbe openly whipped.'⁹⁵ Four women and a man who dug up infected clothes were set in the stocks and whipped ;⁹⁶ a blacksmith's wife, who said, 'If the sicknesse would come in fast enough she would runn amongst the thickest of them,'⁹⁷ was whipped openly. Seven men were fined for drinking and revelling in these 'heavisome times.'⁹⁸ A spurrier, who replied to the constable asking questions as to the health of his household, 'all were in health but his catt was sick,' expiated his jest by imprisonment and a fine of 10s.⁹⁹

The letter sent by Wentworth at the first outbreak of the plague is an admirable example of the high standard of duty he exacted from others and imposed upon himself. His extraordinary knowledge of the smallest details that concerned the welfare of the city under his charge is characteristic of his boundless industry, and shows clearly the secret of the great influence he exercised in his native county. The arrogance with which he treats the civic dignitaries is at strange variance with his tender care for the little children. The result of his vigilance was that there were few deaths within the city walls, though in the parish of St. Lawrence, where the plague first began, eighty people died in three weeks.

Ultimo die Augusti 1631.

And now this day a letter from the Right honourable the Lord President to my Lord Maior and Aldermen was redd as followeth : After my verie heartie comendacons I am sorie to heare that the sicknesse hath sett foote within the walles of this cittie, and conceiving the danger to be verie greate, if God of his goodnesse divert not this plague from us, and that it maie be the easilier prevented in the beginning than hereafter, when it may be our ill happ to have it further spredd amongst us, I thought it good to wryte this much unto you being myselfe this morning to go out of towne on the King's direction & about his Ma^{ties} businesse You have under his Ma^{ties} the chardge & gouernance of this people wth is to be required at your hands both before God and man more especially by myselfe and this Counsell as p'sons trusted in theise and accountable as well as yourselves & therefor in discharge of my owne, not dutie onelie to my M^r but my affection also to this towne I do repeat that you punctually observe these orders followinge withall I must tell you plainelie I will informe myselfe very diligently how they are observed and executed, and shall proceed sevarly to punish your negligence and others disobedience of them, and that shall Wilson the Chirargion in particular smart for when it may be he little dreames of it. These are not things to be . . . wthall.

1. It is fitt that you charge everie maister of a familie that he soone as anie of his house fall sick of what disease soever, that he instantlie acquaint you the Lord Maior keeping himselfe and house private, and not admitting the visit of anie neighbour, till you have informed yourself of the circumstances, and give directions how he shalbe more restrained or lesse restrained of his libertie.

2. Secondlie that you shall strictly inquire out all persons that have beene amongst the infected and without sparing of anie to cause them to be shutt upp and there to continue till farther orders.

3. Thirdlie that none be suffered to disperse their families into anie other parts of the cittie or contry nor anie presume to take anie such p'sons removed into their houses without license of the Lord Maior and then not to be by his Ld^{sh} granted but with greate circumspection & reason.

4. Fourthly that all Faires, Feasts and publique meetings be prohibited in p'ticular one faire usually kept at this time of the yeare Wamgate untill farther allowance of myselfe and this Counsell when the state of the health of the Cittie shalbe better understood unto us then now it can be upon the first breaking of this contagion forth amongst us in this article I doe not include meetings at divine service nor yet the daylie markets kept for the p'vision of the Cittie.

5. Fifthly there would be some honest old people appoynted to be searchers who are to be distinguished by rodts they care to have in their hands and to be well allowed for as they keepe within doores, and not stirr abroade except at times of their search to be made.

6. Sixtly that som tents be sett upp or houses in som outskirts of this cittie be forthwith thought of and appoynted whither the meaner sort which may be suspected ought p'sentlie to be removed out

⁹⁴ S.P. Dom. Chas. I (22 Sept. 1631, cc, 14).

⁹⁵ York Munic. Rec. xxxv, fol. 126a, 26 Sept. 1631.

⁹⁶ Ibid. fol. 146a, 12 Dec. 1631.

⁹⁷ Ibid. fol. 127b, 30 Sept. 1632.

⁹⁸ Ibid. fol. 121a, 9 Sept. 1631.

⁹⁹ Ibid. fol. 150b, 11 Jan. 1631.

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of the cittie there to remaine till they be cleansed either of the sicknesse or of the suspicon, in perticuler I desire a butcher (in margin Henr. Wilkinson) here in Marigate whose name I will send you who is knowne to have beene in companie with one on Sundaie last that is now shutt upp may be instantlie removed to som such place least he might prove dangerous to his neighbours hereabouts the rather for that being admitted by Alderman Crost (whose remissenes therein I must blame) to depart on his owne words that he would goe presentlie home to his house and not depart thence without licence, was neverthelesse abroad all daie till tenn a clock at night and then came home drunke.

7. Seventhly if anie disorderlie p'sons shall not obey your dyrections hearin and in such other dyrections as you in discrecon shall thinke fitt to be observed for the saftie of the Cittie, that if they be men of substance you doe acquaint me & the Counsell therewith, who you shall see will make their doeings exemplarie, if they be poore & meane people you are to appoynt your officers to see them to be soundly whipped severall days after other if there be cause to the terror of such desperate people.

8. Eightlie that all the inhabitants be charged as much as may be to keepe in their servants and especially their children who by reason of their tendernes are apter to take the infection then those wch are of more yeares.

9. Ninthly that you advise wth the Phisicions & learne from them the best rules their art affords wherby to hinder the increase or danger of the infection and that the p'sons infected be told of such remedies as are good against the malignitie of the disease.

10. Tenthlie that you everie daie make me and the Counsell, and in my absence such of the counsell as remaine how you procede in the performance of these orders how they are obeyed or disobeyed & by whome, what p'sons or places die or are infected, to the intent such timelie order may be given therein as is fitt.

11. Eleaventhlie that you make liberall sessem'ts for provision of those wch are infected, and take care they be watched and tended, both for the saftie of the cittie & recoverie of themselves so farre as may be, but when I name librell sessem'ts I do not meane such allowance be made (as I understand the lewder sort of them would p'tend I meane) not to Luxurie or wantonnesse, but to the necessitie of nature, in a competent manner & to sobrietie. The sessem'ts likewise of your other poore in general must be enlarged that so they may be kept at home, and severlie and justlie punished if they stirr abroad, wherein I shalbe readie for my owne p't in a time thus conditioned to give you a good example in my owne p'ticular as I could you my Lo. Maior the other daie. I will only add thus mutch more to the third Article that if anie man disperce his familie or receive anie so fitting wthout the privitie of my Lo. Maior that you cause both the house of the remover and receiver to be p'sentlie shutt upp and all the people in them, and so kept till the time of danger be runn up, and in particuler in the p'sent case of Mr. Alderman Lawne looke you spechly hold this course to begin with who hath beene bould from the beginning of this infection in believing so little and whose care in shutting up himselfe albeit I comend yet doe I mutch blame him for sending his children into other parts of the towne, and them also who have of their owne heade received them.

Finally I well hope if these and such other good orders as you in your owne cares & judgments shall supply be severly putt in practice it will be the meanes next under God to restore health unto our dwellings; so as it behoves me to call upon you strictlie for an account hearin wch I shall most assuredly doe verie precicely, and it behoves you not to be negligent in so greate a dutie, wherein if you faile you shall not only offend highly against God & the publique, but the blood of these men be required at your hands wch you shall suffer thorow your retchlesnesse to fall under this hevie affliction.

I will end this long letter wth desire that you will for my owne discharge send me at my retorne a coppie, for I have not time to take one myselfe and finally to tell yo^u the greatest pittie you can in the world shew to your selves, the inhabitants of this cittie together with your owne wives & children wilbe by using all severae and strict courses in the preventinge the first beginnings and apperances of this contagion amongst us,

And so I rest,
You^r verie loveing freind
WENTWORTH.¹⁰⁰

Mano^r of Yorke
this last of
August 1631.

The greatest care was taken to acquaint the people with the most approved remedies. The city records contain several of these prescriptions.

These precepts following are p'scribed by learned and approved phisicons.

Lett those poore people who are afraid to be infected by being employed about the sick eat butter and breade with sage sorrell or garlicke pilled in the morninge before their employents.

Lett them putt into their drinke ginger stirred and steepe in it the topps of woormewood first washt and burned.

Lett them chue in their mouthes settwall or angellice for want of it, or gentian.

Lett them lye upon a stick (posie wise) a little peece of sparge well dipped in white wine viniger camphorated wch they may have at the apothecaries.

¹⁰⁰ York Munic Rec. xxxv, fol. 119a-119b.

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Let the infected houses be p'fumed with the p'fumes of Tarr, pitch or Rosin or guinig wood and also all their clothes. Also let them p'fume their houses with viniger or Rosemarie or Bayleaves.¹

If anie botches or plague sores arise let them use either of these following remedies to draw them to a head and to ripen and burst them.

Take the rootes of white lillies rost them well in a good quantitie of sorrel lapped in a wett paper then stamp and apply them hot to the swellinge and lett it lie too 24 hours or apply fresh if need be But be sure to burne the plaister soe taken of in the Chimney Fire.

or this

Take a quantitie of Leaven a handfull of Malloves of sorrell as much of scabious as mutch figgs cow ingons pilld and slised. Lett all these be boyled in old ayle untill they come to a soft pultis stampe it and apply it hot to the place thick spredd and this renew everie twentie howers burning it after it be taken of as is formerlie said.

They maie drinke (if they can get it) whigg or butter milke ; But not wey.²

In 1645 the West Riding suffered terribly ; Leeds between March and December lost 1,325 of its inhabitants by plague.³ Wakefield suffered in a less degree ; from August 1645 to August 1646, 245 people died of the disease,⁴ but the great plague of 1665, the last plague in England, apparently left Yorkshire untouched.⁵

It is asserted that there was a considerable settlement of Flemings in Yorkshire during the reign of Henry VII,⁶ but of this no evidence is forthcoming. The Lay Subsidies, which ought to throw light on the subject, for in and after the reign of Henry VI aliens paid double the amount paid by natives, are not extant for this reign.^{6a} During the previous reign, however, several lists of those who paid to the subsidies have been preserved ; but, according to these, Scotsmen, who were of course regarded as aliens, were in great preponderance. Of the twelve aliens who figure in the West Riding list only one, Thomas Francheman, comes from the Continent ; the twenty East Riding aliens are all Scots, while the North Riding aliens include John Ducheman, Herman Ducheman, Benet Magnus, and seventeen Scotsmen.⁷

The Roll for the next two years simply bristles with Scotsmen, though Mounder Johnson Iselman, David Atteson Dutchman, Thomas Nanson, nation not given, and Paul Scolemaster in Orkeney, relieve the monotony of the tale.⁸

But the West Riding undoubtedly returns the fewest aliens in both cases, and the disparity is even greater in the next roll, for the East Riding returns thirty-three aliens, mostly Scots, John Austyn Purceman, Briget Skirner Icelandwoman, being the most interesting exceptions ; the North Riding returns twenty-six and the West Riding only seven.⁹ The continental wars of Henry VIII would naturally stop any stream of immigration to England, but a curious light is thrown on the intense animosity with which the Scots alien was regarded in the city of York by a case of which an account is preserved in the city records.

On the 20th day of November the fifth yere of the regne of the sovereign lord Kyng Henry VIII William Robynson wever which was diffamed and slandered to be a Scott borne came personally before the right reverend father in God Edmond th' Abbot of the Monastery of (our) Lady withowte the walls of the citie of York and then and there brought witnesses to swear he was trewe Englyshman.

In another case, that of Nicholas Maland, the testimony of the Mayor and Aldermen of Newcastle was evoked and the following letter was received by the Mayor of York :

Be it knowen to ye that whereas we ar credably informed that Nicholas Maland nowe of the citie of York merchant is diffamed noysed and slandered that he shuld be a Scottysman borne not only to the rebooke of his good name but also to the gret hurt and hyndrance of his goods worldly¹⁰ . . . honeste and credible persons came affore us and hath sworne upon the holy evangeliste by them bodely touched that the said Nicholas Maland was born of his mothers womb in Crawcoke in the said Bysschopryche and christened in the parish church of Ryton aforesaid.¹¹

According to the lay subsidy of 1545 all the aliens, of whom seven are distinctly Scots, three French, and one of doubtful nationality, pay a double tax.¹² But in the following reign this rule was not observed. Francis Gaven, Edmund Jordan, Martin Sofay paid double, but Robert Jordan,

¹ York Munic. Rec. xxxv, fol. 120a.

² Ibid. fol. 120b.

³ Whitaker, *Hist. of Leeds*, 75.

⁴ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xv, 437, 453.

⁵ C. Creighton, *op. cit.* 688.

⁶ J. James, *Hist. of the Woollen Trade*, 586, 613 ; Mrs. J. R. Green, *Town Life in the 15th Century*, ii, 94.

^{6a} 'Alien Merchants in England,' *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.* (new ser.), ix, 94.

⁷ P.R.O. Lay Subsidy Roll, bdle. 217, no. 55, Doncaster (Oct. 12, 28 Hen. VI).

⁸ Ibid. bdle. 217, no. 59 (28-30 Hen. VI).

⁹ Ibid. bdle. 217, no. 67 (31-34 Hen. VI).

¹⁰ List of witnesses inserted here.

¹¹ York Munic. Rec. ix, fol. 73, 74, 21 Sept. 1514.

¹² P.R.O. Lay Subsidy Roll, bdle. 217, no. 109 (City and Ainsty, 37 Hen. VIII).

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John Watson, Francis Darragon, and Stephen Darragon paid the ordinary rate. Nor can the solution lie in the fact that some of these were already denizens, for the only one to be traced on the Patent Roll is Edmund Jordan, and he paid double.¹³

It is somewhat interesting to note that comb-making, which still lingers in York, and until the last few years was a flourishing industry there, was carried on by Robert Jordan, brother of this Edmund Jordan, who was made free of the city in 1552, eighteen years after his brother had been enrolled.¹⁴

In 1558 it was thought advisable by the central government to collect statistics of all the Frenchmen in the kingdom. Four Frenchmen only were returned in the city, Stephen and Bartholomewe Darrage,¹⁵ smiths, and Robert and Edmund Jordan,¹⁶ the former a comb-maker, the latter a surgeon. The alderman and a special jury of twelve men had made diligent search and certified that they were of honest behaviour, of good name, and behaving themselves

as obedient and faithful liegemen to the King and Quenes Majestie and other the Quenes noble progenitours according to the lawes and statutes of the Realme and so have continuyed ever sithens the date of the severall letters patente and as touching landes tenementes rents fees or annuities they have none—except only yt the saide Edmunde Jordan hath one mansion house within the said citie.¹⁷

The alien list in the lay subsidy forms a political barometer of the period; in 1572 the Scots had almost disappeared from York, and immigrants from the Low Countries had taken their place. It was obviously useless to double the tax on their possessions, for they had nothing. Leonard Howbert¹⁸ paid 2s., Edmund Jordan 10s., and John Harper 6s., at the rate of 2s. in the pound as aliens settled in the city for several years. But against the newcomers since the last collection there is a pathetic reiteration of *nihil*; it is no longer the skilled artisan attracted by visions of a wider sphere for his skill, but the refugee flying from persecution, that figures on the roll. The list seems to merit quotation, for these men were probably the first religious refugees to seek an asylum in that county which is now the great stronghold of English Nonconformity.

The register consists of Antony Riscorde,¹⁹ Augustine Dockam,²⁰ Robert Frankrewe,²¹ Francis Dowell, Christopher Leyrkes, Esdras and Peter Bravenig,²² James Moltrees,²³ John Devowe,²⁴ Andrew James, John Legge, Patrick Maesterman, Isaac Mayer, John Hannaye, none of whom had any possessions. Each, however, paid a poll tax of 4d.²⁵

The fact that in the great Yorkshire wool trial of 1613, when witnesses of advanced age were brought from different parts of the West Riding, not one of them referred to any aliens, although it is quite clear from the depositions that the trade had been long established there, seems to be fairly good presumptive evidence that any Elizabeth settlement of Flemish weavers was small in number and limited in influence.²⁶

According to tradition a number of refugees from the Netherlands who came to the Humber were disembarked near Hull, and by the influence of the Earl of Shrewsbury were sent to various parts of the county.

Those who followed the weaving industry first attempted to settle in York, but the civic authorities, in pursuance of their usual exclusive policy, refused them admittance. The story is interesting and plausible, but so far nothing more authentic than this anonymous newspaper letter, which unfortunately contains other statements easily refuted, has come to light.²⁷ Nor is there any evidence in the York Municipal Records of an attempted alien invasion, though the minutes of the Lord Mayor's Court are singularly full and precise for the reign of Elizabeth.²⁸ But the letter of 'Traditional of the children of the Refugees' is so circumstantial and has, in spite of its many

¹³ W. Page, *Letters of Denization, 1509-1603* (Huguenot Soc. Publications viii), 138.

¹⁴ *York Freeman* (Surt. Soc.), i, 273, 254.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 257 (1537). 'Stephanus Darragon, Gallicus, loksmyth.'

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 254 (1534). 'Edmundus Jordain, surgon.' He also figures in the Patent Roll: 'Jorden, Edmund, of York, surgion,' from 'Orlyauunce.' W. Page, *op. cit.* 138.

¹⁷ York Munic. Rec. xxii, fol. 137, 20 Sept. 1558.

¹⁸ *York Freeman* (Surt. Soc.), ii, 11, 3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 12. 'Anth. Rayskaert, Docheman, arres werker.' (1570).

²⁰ *Ibid.* 6. 'Augustine Doekham, tayllyor,' 1564. ²¹ *Ibid.* 1. 'Roberte Frankrewe, potycary,' 1558.

²² *Ibid.* 12. 'Esdras Browyns Ducheman arres worker' (1570), 45. 'Susan Brooence, spynster, fil Esdras Browens, ares worker' (1599).

²³ *Ibid.* 'Jacobus Mattys Ducheman,' 1572, 14.

²⁴ A John Lavaux, servant to the Dean of York, is entered on the Westm. Deniz. Roll, 36 Hen. VIII. W. Page, *op. cit.* 147.

²⁵ P.R.O. Lay Subsidy Roll, bdle. 218, no. 133, 14 Eliz.

²⁶ Exch. Dep. Yorks. Mich. 11 Jas. I, no. 9, 11.

²⁷ Letter in the *Sheffield Mercury*, dated 24 Sept. 1818, and signed 'Traditional of the Children of the Refugees,' published 4 Oct. 1818.

²⁸ York Munic. Rec. 1558-1603, vol. xxii et seq.

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blunders, such a general air of verisimilitude, that it is impossible to dismiss its statements without investigation. In fact the assertion that the aliens failed to get a footing in York is borne out by contemporary evidence. The question, however, of exclusion from a jealously guarded city with all the machinery of civic control in the hands of a close oligarchy is a very different matter from closing up the whole of the sparsely populated districts of the West Riding. That the 16th-century aliens should have persistently avoided the district where there were special facilities for their trade, and whither it is natural they should have resorted, when the pressure brought to bear on them in corporate towns became unbearable or when newly arriving in the country, is so contrary to expectation that some explanation is necessary. It must be remembered too that if they arrived in the Humber, the West Riding would be the nearest refuge where their occupation was carried on to any great extent, for even in the reign of Elizabeth the East Riding had concentrated on agriculture.

The difficulty of carrying out a systematic policy of exclusion, such as was rigidly enforced by the local authorities in some towns, in the wide and scattered area of the West Riding clothing district, is sufficiently obvious. The lay subsidy already quoted proves the impossibility of complete exclusion even from York, the most exclusive of all cities. The argument that any accretion of individuals filtering through from the eastern counties or having been refused admittance at York would have introduced the manufacture of 'new draperies,' and that as the West Riding remained faithful to 'kerseys' no aliens settled, is plausible but not entirely convincing. For if they came as refugees rather than pioneers they would be more likely to satisfy an existing demand than start a new industry. There was a steady call for coarse Yorkshire cloth, especially after the organization of the cloth export trade by the Merchant Adventurers and Eastland Merchants, both active agencies in Yorkshire, offered such facilities for transportation to the Baltic Provinces, where the Pomeranian and Polish nobles clothed their retainers in this coarse but durable material.²⁹

The difficulty of procuring the best kind of wool is also a factor in the argument; the records of the Yorkshire woollen trade are full of complaints of the way in which the south country clothiers bought up all the best Cotswold, Lincolnshire, and Norfolk wools. At any time it would be cheaper for the Yorkshire weaver to work up the wool produced in his district, and no amount of skill brought to bear on inferior wool would make it into fine cloth. The argument that the lack of improvement in the cloth proves the absence of the skilled alien weaver is not conclusive. That the civic authorities of York would strenuously oppose any settlement of aliens, who might become a burden on the town, would be in keeping with what is known of that august body; but that the merchants of York, whose gain depended on buying the work of the weavers in the outlying western district cheap and selling it dear, would connive at or even assist alien weavers to settle in the vicinity is quite compatible with their character, especially when it is remembered that they would by this means curry favour with the central government, whose favour they were anxious to gain in order to procure convoys for their goods. In their character as civic authorities they would naturally be anxious to drive the alien from the city, but in their character as money-makers it is difficult to believe that the extremely level-headed merchants, who formed the bulk of the council, would not see in the arrival of the foreigners an opportunity for getting a plentiful supply of cheap cloth. In fact, in 1568, when the labour element in the common council had forced the hand of the lord mayor and aldermen to pass a measure forbidding any manner of foreigner of any mystery craft or occupation to settle in York unless he paid £3 6s. 8d. at the least, the capitalist element had added a saving clause,

Except onely some such handycraftsman as shalbe thought by the said lord mayor and his counsell necessaree and profitable for the comon weal and amendment of the sayd citie to be somewhat mitigated of the said franchises money.³⁰

The presence of the foreign worker in various branches of the iron trade during the 14th century is satisfactorily proved. The register of freemen bears ample testimony to the fact that aliens came freely to York and took part in the cutlery trade. The first furbur, i.e. cutler or furbisher of armour, entered on the roll bears the name of 'Willelmus Fraunceis,' whether alien or English born it is, of course, impossible to say.³¹ But it has never been suggested that the impetus which originated the iron trade in York came from without. Goldsmiths, money-makers, workers in brass and copper, cutlers, smiths, marshalls, ironmongers, makers of needles, locksmiths, wire-drawers, all figure in the roll in the reigns of Edward I and II.³² Still, it is suggestive that at the time when it is clear from many different sources that Edward III was trying to improve English manufactures there should have been in the metallic as in the woollen trade an influx of alien artisans. 'Arnaldus de Almaygne, furbur,' came in 1327³³; he was followed four years later by Ingil-bright de Alman³⁴; and in 1340 'Christianus de Devensrode, furbour de Alman,' came to the city.³⁵

²⁹ B.M. *Reasons offered by the Merchant Adventurers and Eastland Merchants*, 816, m (100).

³⁰ York Munic. Rec. xxxiv, fol. 104, 13 Feb. 1568.

³¹ *York Freemen* (Surt. Soc.), i, 3.

³² *Ibid.* 1-23.

³³ *Ibid.* 24.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 26.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 35.

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There are no entries among the freemen of any alien ironworkers from 1340 to 1350, but the disorganization of the economic life of the country sufficiently accounts for this silence. In 1350 'Goddeskalk Scudik, de Almann, furbur' ³⁶; in 1352 'Matheus de Colonia' ³⁷; in 1355 'Tydkynus van the rode' ³⁸; and in 1359 'Johannes de Bruges,' ³⁹ all furburs, settled in the northern capital. These men would not have been admitted unless York had reaped some advantage, and the inference seems fair that the influx of foreigners was a conscious effort on the part of the central government to raise the standard of a trade which had, however, been generally followed in York from the earliest ages. Some of the very excellent ironwork of an early date that is found in the churches in York and its neighbourhood seems to point to some settlement of handicraftsmen of more than average ability; it is possible that the activity of the ecclesiastical builders in York may have attracted to the city a foreign element, for the Church was always cosmopolitan in its tendencies.

In the more artistic branches of the metallic arts York owed much to foreigners. Three coiners were admitted as freemen between 1359 and 1362, coming from Italy: Andreas de Florence, ⁴⁰ Bonathe de Florence, ⁴¹ and Laurentius de Florence ⁴²; while the mechanical side is represented by a certain 'Nicholas le Yhonge, de Flandre,' who was a bellows-maker in York in 1372. ⁴³ It is certainly significant that in one of the few cases where the existence of a freemen's list makes it possible to verify the contention that alien skill had to be imported to raise the standard of industrial efficiency, the verification should be so ample and unimpeachable.

The case is, however, entirely different when the question of alien influence in the Sheffield cutlery trade and the 16th century is reached. Still, the superiority of Sheffield cutlery has so often been traced to the influence of alien immigrants that the assertion has gained an air of authenticity by mere force of reiteration, though the evidence is entirely circumstantial.

The latest historian of Sheffield industry approaches the subject with caution.

It has usually been accepted that the localization of the scythe and sickle trades on the Derbyshire side of Sheffield, so marked a characteristic of the villages there, originated in the settlement of refugees driven out of France and the Netherlands by persecution. ⁴⁴

The earlier historians are not so guarded in their expression of opinion. ⁴⁵ It is certainly curious that these statements with regard to the alien origin of several of the branches of iron industry, which are associated with the Sheffield neighbourhood, all seem to have originated in the letter already alluded to ⁴⁶ and a somewhat more elaborated account published a little later in a periodical of no historic merit called the *Northern Star*. As however there are good grounds for believing that Arthur Jewitt, father of the late Llewellyn Jewitt, was the writer of both letter and article, and was himself a descendant of a refugee driven from France by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, even though untrustworthy, they are useful in summing up the traditions in vogue early in the 19th century amongst the immediate descendants of the refugees. A definite assertion is made in them that 'in the reign of Elizabeth thousands of refugees from the Netherlands found their way into England'; iron and steel workers, arriving in the Humber, were, by the influence of the Earl of Shrewsbury, assigned to Sheffield and the neighbourhood. It is added that under this arrangement shear or sickle makers congregated in Eckington, scythe-smiths in Norton, scissor-smiths in Attercliffe. ⁴⁷

It is apparently due to the *Mercury* letter and the *Northern Star* article that the smiths' craft in Norton is always said to have originated with an alien settlement. Fortunately here firm ground is reached, for a document has come to light which effectually disposes of the alien origin of the Norton scythe trade, though it leaves untouched the question of the improvement of the industry by foreigners. ⁴⁸

³⁶ *York Freemen* (Surt. Soc.), i, 44.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 47.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 50.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 54.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 56, 1359-62.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 57.

⁴² *Ibid.* 54.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 70.

⁴⁴ R. E. Leader, *Hist. of the Sheffield Cutlers' Company*, i, 14.

⁴⁵ S. Smiles, *The Huguenots*, i, 14.

⁴⁶ *Life of Llewellyn Jewitt*, 47, 48.

⁴⁷ *Sheffield Mercury*, loc. cit.

⁴⁸ This Indenture made 10th of February, 1574, between John Urton alias Steven of Lightwood yeoman, on the one part, and John Clayton of Lightwood aforesaid, labourer, on the other part, Witnesseth that John Clayton of his free will, hath bound himself servant with John Urton, and after the manner of a servant with him to dwell from Michaelmas next for the full term of four years, from this date; faithfully to preserve his secrets, keep his lawful commandments and not absent himself from his master's house by night or day without the special leave of his master. And John Urton doth covenant that he will cause him to be taught learned and made perfect in the arte, craft and occupation of the scythsmiths craft if he, John Clayton, take the same in, and in due manner to chastise him, finding him sufficient meat and drink, and also paying him 40 shillings yearly during the term. And it is also agreed that as John Urton hath certain meanor (common) rights at Lightwood, John Clayton shall have the same meanor in consideration that John Urton shall, at his own cost, find and keep John Clayton six sheep during the same term of four years. And also further, that after the expiration of the four years, and John Clayton then being a workman and able to keep whole work—that is say, to work and make three dozen of scythes in a whole week, that then he shall work with John Urton, he finding him meat and drink, and also paying £5 a year for wages, as long as they can agree after.

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The indenture, apart from the particular application, throws considerable light on the organization of a branch of the cutlery industry as a domestic industry interdependent with the cultivation of land.⁴⁹

The general tenor of the indenture certainly proves that the scythe-smiths' industry was no new thing in 1574, and that the people concerned were natives of the district. Unfortunately the scythe-smiths did not join the Cutlers' Company until 1681, but they were even then all in the neighbourhood of Norton and, with one exception, bore names common to the locality from the 14th century. There were three Brownells, four Wainwrights, four Hollands and two Ropers; still the fact must not be overlooked that five of the members of the newly incorporated branch of the company bore the name of Gillot, Gillatt or Gilliott, and a Robert Gillott, a scythe-grinder, died at Norton Lees in 1630.⁵⁰ Smiles traces these Sheffield Guillots to Huguenot refugees,⁵¹ but gives no authority for his statement. There were Gilliots in Yorkshire centuries before the Elizabethan aliens came to England. The name occurs several times in the Poll-tax Returns of 1378. William Guilyote, fuller, was enrolled as a freeman at York in 1368,⁵² and before the next 100 years had elapsed thirteen Gilliots had received the freedom of the city. Possibly some York cutlers descended from the Gilliots, driven from their own city by the strict gild regulations, settled in the Sheffield district in mediaeval times.⁵³

The first fellowship of cutlers, 1590, includes one name of French origin, Aleigne Bynny.⁵⁴ Among the Derbyshire cutlers, who joined the company in 1614, was Lawrence Cosin, also apparently French.

The most complete list of 17th-century cutlers in Sheffield is given in the hearth-tax returns of 1669;⁵⁵ several of these early cutlers as Parramour, Braman, Abdye, Revill, Gillot, Machon, Moake, Burgon bear names that figure in the list of Huguenot settlers compiled by the Huguenot Society. But owing to the reckless way in which names were anglicised at this period, great stress cannot be laid on the absence of any unusual number of foreign names, even the names in the lists of known aliens who settled in Norwich sound extremely English and familiar. In fact the same difficulty that Dr. Beddoe finds in identifying any physical characteristics in Yorkshire that tend to prove Flemish origin, on account of the similarity of the English and Flemish type, besets linguistic investigation. The constant tendency of human nature to move on the line of least resistance and substitute a known for an unknown sound, must have acted as a plane to remove those very linguistic irregularities which would have facilitated the historian's work.

There is strong inherent probability that some migration of foreign labour from London to less well-known districts took place. Burghley took a keen interest in the development of new industries and the improvement of those already started; in the pursuance of this object, as is well known, he did not scruple to bring over aliens.⁵⁶ The London Cutlers' Company, as early as 1592, were agitating against foreign refugees who, they declared, were by their competition driving the members of the company into the ranks of casual labour. They bitterly resented the intervention of the 'friends of strangers' who rendered all their efforts to cope with the evil futile. According to the MS. Records of the London Cutlers' Company, Lord Burghley had interfered on behalf of foreigners and asked what was alleged against 'pore Frenchmen?'⁵⁷

An additional link in the chain of probabilities is supplied by the fact that the manorial lord of Sheffield, the Earl of Shrewsbury, was in constant touch with the government, and there is documentary evidence connecting Burghley, Shrewsbury and Sheffield. In a letter to the Lord Treasurer the earl writes:

'I have sent yow a small rugge by this bearer, to wrappe aboute yo' legges at tymes convenient; wch yo' L. must accept as I present yt, and as thoughe o' cuntrey woolls were much fyner, and o' workmen more curyous, and, wth all, your L. shall receive a case of Hallomshire whittells, beinge such fruictes as my pore cuntrey affordeth wth fame throughout this realm.'⁴⁸

But a curious passage in Strype seems to throw additional light on the subject.

And such indeed was the sad condition of the people of the Low Countries at this Time, that great numbers of them had fled over hither and desired to join with the Dutch Church in London, and to become members thereof. Yet so tender was the Queen of breaking with that proud and powerful Prince, the King of Spain, that she would not admit of this, nor give countenance to such as

⁴⁹ R. E. Leader, 'The Alien Refugee Tradition,' *Sheffield Telegraph*, 15 December 1906. The writer is indebted to Mr. Leader for much help and suggestion in this section.

⁵⁰ R. E. Leader, op. cit. i, 38.

⁵¹ S. Smiles, *The Huguenots*, i, 400.

⁵² *York Freeman* (Surt. Soc.), i, 67.

⁵³ Ibid. 86, 101, 104, 112, 113, 144, 153, 162, 170, 176, 183, 194.

⁵⁴ R. E. Leader, op. cit. i, 10.

⁵⁵ P.R.O. Lay Subsidy Roll, W. Riding Yorks. 22 Chas. II.

⁵⁶ W. Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants*, 79.

⁵⁷ R. E. Leader, op. cit. i, 157.

⁵⁸ E. Lodge, *Illustrations of British Hist.* ii, 414.

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fled away out of these countries under his subjection. For it is remarkable what is set down and recorded in a journal of the Dutch Church in London, written by Simon Ruytinck, one of the ministers in those Times and yet preserved in their Church 'That when divers Foreigners had come hither on account of Religion, and desired to be admitted in communion with the rest of the Dutch Church, the Queen hearing of it, commanded the Lord Mayor to disperse them from London. Whereupon they applied to the Bishop of London, to represent their case to the Queen and Council. Who did so. And the Council sent a letter in answer to the said Church June 29 1574, in Favour, That that Church should advise those new Members to depart from London [where they were more obvious to be taken notice of by King Philip's spies] and to go to other parts of the kingdom, [where there were also Churches of Protestant Professors] Which that Church did accordingly.⁵⁹

It certainly is a curious coincidence, that information from an absolutely sure source should be forthcoming that royal pressure was being brought to bear on aliens in London to induce them to leave the capital and settle in more remote regions, where they would escape the eye of Spain's emissaries. This supports a very circumstantial, though unauthenticated, statement made more than two centuries later of the settlement of a number of aliens in Yorkshire. The Yorkshire West Riding was an ideal spot for the purposes of concealment, as the physical configuration of the district and the fact that it lay away from the great route to the North rendered it difficult of access and little known, and the absence of any large towns with a developed gild life (for the Sheffield Cutlers' Company, though in existence, was not strictly organized until 1624), rendered any policy of resistance from civic authorities unlikely.

The State Papers, the Privy Council Registers, the Talbot Papers, and the Belvoir Papers furnish no documentary evidence to support the tradition of alien settlements in the West Riding connected with the iron industry. This can be explained on the supposition that Elizabeth and Burghley were both anxious to suppress all evidence and to bury the aliens in obscure districts in order to avoid attracting Spanish attention. The lack of letters of denization proves nothing, for, as has been pointed out, the power of granting them was not always retained by the Crown but delegated to officials⁶⁰ and many that were issued might escape registration. It is a noteworthy fact that of a list of more than forty aliens whose presence in Yorkshire is attested by the unimpeachable authority of the Lay Subsidies,⁶¹ only one name appears in letters of denization and acts of naturalization.⁶² The northern aliens were doubtless registered separately. The Council of the North would be the authority to whom the right of issuing such letters and keeping the register would be entrusted. The loss of these records seems to account satisfactorily for the dearth of information on the subject.

The obsolete idea that the Sheffield trade was started by aliens in the 16th century can be dismissed as absolutely untenable. But the evidence brought forward leaves untouched the proposition that foreign influence played a part in developing the trade and raising its standard of workmanship, while in support of this assertion there is much circumstantial evidence and a mass of tradition and probabilities which no historian would be justified in neglecting.

The economic life of Yorkshire was seriously affected by the destruction of monasteries; in no county of England had the Church a more tenacious hold on the life of the people. This is clearly shown by the support afforded by all classes of society to the risings in the Tudor times. The monks had no temptation to be hard task-masters or rack-renters, and even the most virulent of their opponents have seldom attacked them in their capacity of eleemosynary agents. Even had Henry VIII not desired the ecclesiastical wealth, economic revolution would have forced a change, for their productive methods could not have survived the incursion of the new landlord class. The change was quickened, but not initiated, by the destruction of monasteries.

Yorkshire suffered in a twofold degree; the agricultural classes were the hardest hit, but the appropriation of the funds of the religious guilds aimed a shrewd blow at the industrial classes, for it was no easy task to disentangle the religious from the craft gild; when the right of appropriation turned on the interpretation of a single word, misappropriation was inevitable. Yorkshire, prominent alike for the wealth of its monasteries and the multiplicity of its guilds, suffered enormously. Distress and poverty were excessive and universal. Speaking broadly, up to 1536 the poor depended for their maintenance on the monasteries, from 1536 to 1569 the municipalities were answerable for poor relief; then, although the administration was left in their hands, the main lines of action

⁵⁹ Strype, *Annals of Reformation*, vol. ii, bk. 1, pp. 386-7; W. Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants*, 157.

⁶⁰ W. Page, *op. cit.* p. ii.

⁶¹ Subs. R. 15 Hen. VIII [printed in the *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* iv, 170-77]; P.R.O. Lay Subs. R., bdles. 217, no. 109, 121; 218, no. 133.

⁶² W. Page, *op. cit.* Professor Lloyd, McGill University, Montreal, late of Sheffield University, informs the writer that all the stones he saw in his investigations into the Belgian Industry revolved in the same direction as the Sheffield stones, that is in the contrary direction from those employed in other continental countries.

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were laid down either by the Privy Council or Parliament; not that either of these august assemblages initiated any new or startling policy. But the most interesting and fullest account of the treatment of the poor in any provincial town is contained in the twenty-one volumes of the York Municipal Records.⁶³ They cover the period from 1542 to 1688, and so extraordinarily minute and circumstantial is the information given that a complete pauper directory of the 16th and 17th centuries could be compiled from this source.

In the reign of Henry VIII two statutes were passed dealing with the vagrant poor, but laws of this nature depend for their efficacy rather on the administrator than the legislator. It is not, however, until 38 Henry VIII that the civic authorities seem to have taken the matter seriously in hand. As one of the earliest examples of how York managed its poor, the extract, though long, seems sufficiently interesting to merit quotation:—

It is agreed by the said p(re)sence that all constables of this citie and suburbs of the same shall c(er)tifie the said wardens by wrytyng at the next warde mote courtes of all common beggars that is come within the said parishes and wardes within the space of thre yeres last past. All power fowkes that are lymytted to begge and hath baggs shall from now furth begge within the wardes which they inhabit and dwell within the said citie and in none other warde upon payne to be avoyded this city if any of them do the contrary.⁶⁴

None of the said power folke from hens furth shall tak nor receyve any strange chyldren into their howses to the intent that any of them shall go aboute within this citie to begge as they have done laitlei to the noysaunce uppon payne to any of them that doth the contrary shall be avoyded this said citie always provided that it shalbe lawfull to them for to take and releive any power chyldren that was borne within this citie or suburbs.

Every constable within this citie from now furth shall take all strange beggars vagabonds that at any tyme hereafter shall resorte and come within their constabulary to begg or that use or comytt any misdemeanor and to put them in the stokkes and to give them none other dyat but onely brede and watter according to the King's statute that is to say by the space of thre days and thre nyghts and to make the said wardens prively at the resortyng of any such vagabonds.⁶⁵

The central government took special care to protect the poor people from the speculators in grain; 'corners in wheat' and the Chicago Pit are modern only in their magnitude. Men were equally anxious to heap up riches in Tudor times, but the Tudor monarchs reserved to themselves the right to plunder the poor; their rivals in that field received short shrift. The Privy Council in 1549 sent an urgent message to the mayor ordering him 'to punesse suche uncharitable & covetous persons as by there regulatons and gathering of corne into their hands care not so they may have unreasonable gaynes though there neighbours perishe and dye by them for lak of conveyent sustenaunce.'⁶⁶ This matter had been brought before the lord mayor a short time previous in the form of a petition for 'the reformaton of dyverse wronges whiche ar used agaynst the Comon welth of the said citie.'⁶⁷ Amongst the complaints, the reckless destruction of wood for the kilns, the taking down of houses, the inclosing of common fields, the lack of pasturage for the cattle of the poorer inhabitants, is dwelt on, and the lord mayor is intreated to put in force the laws which a paternal government had enacted for their protection. In dealing with regrators and such like offenders, the Aldermen's Court only acted as a prosecutor, who brought the case before the justices of the peace. These in their turn committed the defendants to prison, and reported on the case to the Lord President and Council of the North.⁶⁸

An Act was passed in 1551-2 which laid down definite rules as to the mode in which means for the maintenance of the pauper element should be collected. Fortunately the amount contributed in the different districts was entered in the city records. The document is valuable as giving authentic evidence of the relative wealth of the various parishes, apart from its immediate interest in connexion with the poor rate.

GUTHRUM WARD

St. Michel le Belfrey } every wek	xs. vjd.
St. Elene in Stayngate } every wek	3s. iiiid.
St. Martyn in Counystret } St. Olavs	vs. xxd.
Total		£1 os. 6d.

⁶³ These volumes, which are full of the most interesting matter concerning the industrial and social life of the people of York, have unfortunately never been printed, with the exception of a valuable volume of extracts covering the 15th century compiled by Davies.

⁶⁴ York Munic. Rec. xviii, fol. 38a, 13 May 1546.

⁶⁵ Ibid. fol. 38b.

⁶⁶ Ibid. xix, fol. 93b, 11 Dec. 1549.

⁶⁷ Ibid. fol. 87a, 18 Sept. 1549.

⁶⁸ Ibid. fol. 94a, 11 Dec. 1549.

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GUTHRUM WARD—*cont.*

Monkward to pay every week accordingly.	
St. Sampsons	3s. 4d.
St. Crux	5s.
Trinitie in Guthrumgate	4s.
John le Pyk	
St. Margaret	12d.
St. Cathryne ?	20d.
[Omnium Sanctorum] in peseholme	4d.
St. Cuthbert	12d.
St. Elene ad Muros	12d.
Total	17s. 4d.

MIKELLYTH WARD

St. Johns ad finem pontis	2s. 6d.
Martins in Mik	20d.
St. Nich. voc Trinitie	20d.
St. in North Stret	2s. 0d.
St. Marie vet	20d.
St. Marie de novo	12d.
Total	10s. 4d.

WALMGATE WARD

St. Michil ad finem pontis	6s. 0d.
St. Marie	16d.
. . . ?	3s. 4d.
Crux	5s.
St. Denis	4s.
St. Margaret	2s.
St. Lawrence	12s. ⁶⁹
Total	£1 2s. 8d.

The money was to be paid every Sunday to the wardens of the ward ; in case of non-payment a distress was to be taken, and if the wardens were negligent they were to be imprisoned until double the money was paid.⁷⁰ Stringent measures were enacted by the City Council to prevent anyone slipping through the meshes of the poor rate net. 'It is agreed that all thoes that ar gone or hereafter shall go furth of this cite shal pay all maner of dewties as well to the Relief of powre people as otherways orels they to be dysfranshesyd.'⁷¹

St. Thomas's Hospital, where many of the poor of York were housed at the beginning of the reign of Mary, had fallen into the greatest distress, so the lord mayor, in drawing up instructions for the members who were to attend the new Parliament, requested them 'to be suters to the Quenes Grace to give to the said hospitall all those lait chaunter lands in Yorke for releif of the sayd power which doe for the moste part lie wastyd rewynous and out of reparaton to the grete defacyng of the city of York.'⁷² Fresh regulations had to be made, for poverty increased and paupers abounded. The council, in order to encourage the four head beggars to be more 'paynful and dyligentlie and ready to informe the sayd constables of all newe vagabonds,' agreed to give them, as well as the liveries which they had been accustomed to have, an annual fee of five shillings a year each.

The heavy national taxation was eating into the very heart of York ; the mayor, in a piteous letter to the burgesses, describes the straits to which people had been driven to pay even the small part that had been raised and sent to London.

Yea it would pitied a man's hart to see what hard shift a powre man and woman made for some wer fayne to sell theyr pott or theyr panne and other implements some laid their apparrell to pledge to pay with their tax and of certayne vacant howses in the decaied paroches the collectours had nothyng to distrayne but toke of the doores and wyndowes to make up stake with.⁷³

So hopeless was the outlook that the lord mayor appealed to the various trade gilds to know what contributions their occupations and mysteries would be willing to give to stem the tide of pauperism. They were especially asked to support the poor bedesfolk in St. Antony's house.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ York Munic. Rec. xx, fol. 9, 16 Feb. 1551.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid. fol. 11a, b, 31 Oct. 1556.

⁷⁰ Ibid. fol. 10a, 4 June 1551.

⁷² Ibid. xxi, fol. 11a, 25 Sept. 1553.

⁷⁴ Ibid. xxii, fol. 66, June 1557.

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The City Council continued its hopeless task of grappling with the pauper problem. A large quantity of coal was bought and distributed amongst the most necessitous. The greatest pressure was brought to bear on the wealthy class to induce them to give fixed annual contributions, so that the gifts, though voluntary, might be dealt with systematically and more efficiently. The Lord President and Council of the North set an excellent example by responding to the appeal. 'It was declared openly to the sayd worshypfull presense by my lord mayor that the Lord President and Counsell hath sent unto hym £6 13s. towards relief of the poore of this citie and further hath promysed to gyve no lesse quarterly.'⁷⁵

But the year 1569 was marked in York by a spirited effort to deal with the poor by supplying them with work.

That the poore folke of this citie suche as are found hable to doo some work shalbe brought by the constable of every parishe where they dwell unto Saynt Georges Hous where the citie wooll lieth then and there to be proved by the aldermen wardens and twenty-four with thadoyse of Roger Lighe clothier, what they can doo and suche of them as can doo ought or are meete to learne to have wooll delyvered theym by dyscreton of suche as have charge thereof to worke and the said Roger to do his digligens to instruct such of the sayd poore as he shall perceyve not perfect to thintent that by lyttle and lyttle there may be of the sayd poore sufficient to serve the turne. And such as he shall see hable and not willyng to labor or learne to labor to informe the said lord mayor and aldermen thereof that they may be further ordred accordyng to the lawes and state of the realme. And first the poor of Monkward to be had to the seyde St. Georges Hous to be improved as is aforesaid on Friday next at viii of the clock before noon and that soo soon as houses for working and other necessaries to the same can be conveniently prepared in readynes it is thought good that for triall of the diligence and work of every the sayd clothiers by hymself the sayd Rahyner shall have St. George hous and Roger Ligh St. Anthonys with some other hous to work in in wynter and also that the sayd Rayner in the meane tyme shall declare to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen what he will make and [be] bound with surties for performance of the same.⁷⁶

It must be remembered that these regulations were drawn up seven years before Parliament dealt with the same subject.⁷⁷

A rigorous overhauling of the system by which certain privileged beggars were licensed to demand alms was undertaken. None were to beg without badges; the badges for each parish were to be distinctive, and only to be obtained from the warden, and the number given out was limited.⁷⁸ Three months later an additional weekly rate was levied on aldermen of 6*d.*, on the twenty-four of 4*d.*, on all who had held the office of chamberlain of 3*d.* But it was not only the civic officials who paid this tax; 'the moste substanyll of every paroché' were assessed at 4*d.* per week.⁷⁹

In the mean time, the municipal weaving enterprise was so successful that the promoters found they had a new difficulty to face: the weavers had not sufficient raw material to keep them employed. By the February of 1570 the aldermen were ordering four pair of shears to be bought for dressers of the city cloth, 'and also that spyners shalbe spedy as well of the country as citie to spynne so that the websters may have suffycient work.'⁸⁰ A complaint was brought forward that the cloth was too expensive, but Mr. Andrew Trewe, who had settled the price at which it should be offered for sale, proved his faith in his valuation by buying in all the cloth ready for sale at the price fixed.⁸¹ The sale of the cloth took place in the city hall on Ousebridge, and in spite of complaints a fair amount of trade must have been done, for a few days previous '£52 10*s.* in a bagge £13 13*s.* 8*d.* and a bill of Cs. and a goblet gilt of Edward Temple for gage of 40*s.*' had been given to the lord mayor by the auditors.⁸²

No trouble was spared to ensure success, for the July following Roger Lee, superintendent of the enterprise, and one of the chamberlains were sent into Lincolnshire, where the best wool was to be bought, to get a supply. Three or four hundred stones being required, £40 was given to them to expend.⁸³ It seems probable that this anxiety to provide work for the pauper population was part of a scheme for trying to restore York to its position as the centre of the spinning and weaving industry of the county, for at the same time elaborate instructions were being given to the burgesses to obtain from Parliament for the city the sole right of sealing all the cloth made throughout the whole county.⁸⁴ The master of the fellowship of merchants was appointed, with the assistance of the searchers of the company of walkers and shearmen, to examine the quality of the cloth. Unfortunately, their verdict was that it was unsatisfactory owing to some negligence on

⁷⁵ York Munic. Rec. xxiv, fol. 70*a*, 21 Mar. 1567.

⁷⁷ Stat. 18 Eliz. cap. 3.

⁷⁹ Ibid. fol. 157*b*, 16 Sept. 1569.

⁸¹ Ibid. fol. 196*b*, 31 Mar. 1570.

⁸³ Ibid. fol. 209*b*, 21 July 1570.

⁷⁶ Ibid. fol. 138*b*, 18 May 1569.

⁷⁸ York. Munic. Rec. xxiv, fol. 143*b*, 23 June 1569.

⁸⁰ Ibid. fol. 191*b*, 14 Feb. 1570.

⁸² Ibid. fol. 192*b*, 3 Mar. 1570.

⁸⁴ Ibid. fol. 225*b*, 2 Mar. 1571.

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the part of the clothier, i.e. the cloth dresser, who was rebated £4 of his salary for his neglect.⁸⁵ Obviously the York Municipal Council did not intend forcing inferior goods on the market on the plea of charitable intentions.

But while York had been busy in its provincial court with schemes of poor relief and attempts to eliminate the sturdy beggar and alleviate the lot of the deserving poor, the national legislature had, as the result of endless discussion, produced a bill dealing with the whole subject.⁸⁶ Practically the bill followed the lines on which York had worked for years. A comparison of the Act of 1572 with the regulations drawn up by the York Aldermen's Court in 1551⁸⁷ brings out clearly that legislation was undertaken rather to meet the wants of the rural districts than to force a new policy on the corporate towns. Still, the general interest which the parliamentary discussions of 1571-2 excited reacted on the York people, for there was a demand for greater accommodation for the poor, and the court order in 1574 that 'Saynt Thomas Hospitall, Saynt Antony's Hospital, Trynitie Hospitall, and Saynt Johns Hall shall be viewed with all convenient spede by the Lord Mayour and Mr. Wardens to see if the same places or howe many of theym be mete places for setting of the said poore.'⁸⁸

The system of parish apprentices, which later assumed such large proportions and under which such appalling enormities were to be committed, was inaugurated in York under Elizabeth. The first entry in the Records bearing on the subject shows a somewhat complicated arrangement.

Hugh Barton taylor shall have to apprentice Willm. Sutton a poore boye for terme of tenne yeares from Candlemas last and that the same Hughe shall have *vi*. lent hym of the Common Chamber money for a yere soe that he putt in sufficient sureties for repayment thereof. And nowe Mr. Recorder the aldermen shyrffes and twenty-four were assessed by the presens to pay for the clothing of the said poore boye as followeth., viz., Mr. Recorder *viii*d. Mr. Appleyard and Mr. Bean either of them *xiii*d. and the rest of the aldermen *viii*d. apece and the sheriffs and twenty-four *vid*. apece.⁸⁹

Truly the 16th-century civic dignitary found his office no sinecure. The aged, the impotent, and the lame poor were all housed in Saint Antony's Hall or Saint Thomas Hospital or Trinity Hall, but in spite of their age and affliction they were put to work at the most toilsome and disagreeable sort of employment, the spinning of 'lyne,' hemp and tow, 'to helpe to get some part of their relief.'⁹⁰

This period of activity with regard to the treatment of the poor was followed by a period of inertia. But in 1583 the office of head beggars was abolished, the holders retiring on a small pension.⁹¹

In 1586 vagrancy had again increased to such an extent that St. Antony's Hall had to be enlarged 'and a hows to be made there for the correcton of rooges and three chaynes and a clogge to be made for punnyshment of such rooges as will not work.'⁹² An Act had been passed by Parliament in 1576⁹³ ordering houses of correction to be erected in every county, but this is the first allusion to one in York.

In 1587 a very comprehensive set of rules was drawn up by the city council. A general view of the poor was ordered; they were to be divided into classes; those not born in the city were to be banished; those who remained were to be classified. In the first division the aged, lame, and impotent and those past work were placed; to these a minimum sum of 1½*d.*, 'under which some a poore creator cannot lyve,' was paid daily. The second division included all those able to work. The civic officials provided the work, the amount varying in proportion to the provider's dignity. Each alderman had to keep four men at work, the twenty-four two men, and those who had held the office of chamberlain had to provide for one or two. Into the last class went the rogues, vagabonds, strange beggars, and such as would not work, who were to be sent to the house of correction or banished from the city. An entirely novel feature was the appointment in each street of two or three people whose business it was to punish the last class either by the stocks or sending them to the house of correction,

because it is an infynitt truble to go to the Alderman of the ward with every beggar and roge that wander abroad, and it wilbe a means that beggars and roges knowinge that in every street there are suche men appoynted to punishe them they will be afrade to straye abroad.

An embryo Elberfeld system, but punishment substituted for reward.

Realizing the difficulty of restraining the injudicious giver, it was enacted that in every street there should be secret spies to report those who served beggars. It had been customary to relax the

⁸⁵ York Munic. Rec. xviii, fol. 246, 3 July 1571.

⁸⁶ Stat. 14 Eliz. cap. 5.

⁸⁷ See above..

⁸⁸ York Munic. Rec. xxv, fol. 114*b*, 15 Feb. 1574.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid. fol. 124*a*, 16 Apr. 1574.

⁹¹ Ibid. xxviii, fol. 108, 23 Aug. 1583.

⁹² Ibid. xxix, fol. 92, May 1586.

⁹³ Stat. 18 Eliz. cap. 3.

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orders against begging on the Saints' days and the great feasts, but there was to be no such exception in the future 'because it savoureth of popery.' Begging at the Minster door was also prohibited. Great care was enjoined on those who had the handling of the money, lest 'it turne to the great grudge of them that pay ther money.' One clause has a very modern ring.

That labourers wyfes and children may be barred from going a begginge and that there husbands who get sufficient to maintayne them withal may be restrained from the ale house where they drink all that should mayntene ther poore wifes and children at home.⁹⁴

Up to the last decade of the 16th century the only work provided by the municipal authorities for the employment of the paupers was spinning and weaving; but in 1590 Robert Hall, a poor man, was given 5s. out of the common chamber to buy silk for making buttons,⁹⁵ and the following October a house was taken in St. Saviourgate where poor children were taught to knit.⁹⁶ The lord mayor seems to have interested himself greatly in developing this new branch of relief. A special messenger was sent to Lincoln to the knitters there in order to buy £10 worth of wool best suited for the purpose.⁹⁷ Francis Newbie was given a reward of 10s. 'in respect of the paynes to be taken in the Knittinge scole amongst the scollers.'⁹⁸ The school must have been of considerable size, for three teachers were employed. Francis Newbie received a quarterly wage of 16s. 8d. The overseers of the school certified to the aldermen that Newbie's 'scollers sytt in a cold rawe hall,' and desired that 'a lowe parler with a lowe galarye for his scollers to work in' should be provided.⁹⁹ The request was granted, and it was also agreed 'That such of the poore children at the Knittinge scole as stand neede of Coots shall have coots of the cheapest graye that can be gotten.'¹⁰⁰

On the whole there is little evidence in the court book to show any great difficulty in collecting the poor-rate. Eleven people were summoned in 1593 at one time, and paid. There is a hint that those who paid willingly were protected against the importunity of the insolent wastrels, for in the case of William Hewell, a pauper who had been generously treated while he was sick, but had turned into a haunter of alehouses, a valiant beggar, 'threatening or reviling with unseemely and evill words not only such as deny or refuse to give him money of whom he craveth, but also some others within this cittye who pay weekly in their parishe towards the relief of the pore.'¹

Thomas Mayson, obstinately refusing to pay his contribution amounting to 7s. 1d., 'is comyt to ward ther to remayne until he do pay the same.'

But relief was not solely confined to inhabitants of York. In 1593 two applications² for relief were made by the lord mayor of a very romantic kind; both met with a ready response. Thirty shillings were given to 'a German, a stranger late comed to this Cittie, who as it is reported to this Court is a student in divinitee, brother to a prince in Germany, and since he came into England was robbed of his money and jewells.'³ A very strong appeal was also made to all the justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, and churchwardens in Yorkshire on behalf of Martin Lascaris, who, 'a Christiane and a Greciane, borne of a verie good house in the Cittie of Phillip in Macedonia,' was together with 'his father, mother, bretherin, sister, uncle, and aunts, with all their parentage and familie,' taken prisoner by 'the great Turke.' The sole crime brought against these unhappy creatures, if the petition were correct in its details, was that they 'Harboured and hid in their houses many Christians that were under the tirannie of the Turke.' By the intercession of the Patriarch of Constantinople and many Christian ambassadors, Lascaris had been released in order to try to beg the ransom of his relations.⁴

Towards the end of the 16th century the harvests failed, the price of corn rose to an unprecedented height, and famine stalked the land. The Government tried to minimize the disaster by admitting foreign corn custom free, but they attributed the universal distress to another cause. The Council wrote an urgent letter to the Archbishop of York, in which they emphasized the moral aspect of the visitation.

It is thoughte meete that generall warninge should be given and speciall order taken that all sortes of persons may be contented and restrayned to use more moderate dyet, and especiallye her Ma^{tie} in regarde of greate scarsetye would have order taken for the forbearinge of suppers on fastinge dayes and on Wednesdayes and Fridayes at nighte.'⁵

The money due to this abstinence was to be given to the poor, and as a sign of the time when poor relief was to become more a national than a municipal undertaking, the names of those who disregarded the order were to be sent by the churchwardens to the bishop, who was to pass them on to the archbishop, who gave them in to the Privy Council.^{5a}

⁹⁴ York Munic. Rec. xxx, fol. 4, 5, 6; 9 Feb. 1587.

⁹⁶ Ibid. fol. 196a, 2 Oct. 1590.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 6 Apr. 1593 fol. 8a.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. fol. 31a, 25 Sept. 1593.

² Ibid. ³ Ibid. fol. 57b, 16 Feb. 1593.

⁵ Ibid. fol. 241, 19 Jan. 1596.

⁹⁵ Ibid. fol. 147a, 28 Nov. 1590.

⁹⁷ Ibid. xxx, fol 7a, 19 Mar. 1592.

⁹⁹ Ibid. xxxi, fol. 24a, 17 Aug. 1593.

¹ Ibid. fol. 38a, 29 Oct. 1593.

⁴ Ibid. fol. 127b, 11 July 1595

^{5a} Ibid. fol. 241b.

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The following year another attempt was made by the municipality to plant a new industry in York as a means of giving employment to the poor. 'Thomas Lewkener of Hartelpole in the county of Duresme gentleman on thone partye and Christofer Beckwith Lord Mayor of the Cittye of Yorke and the Comonaltye of the same cittye on thother partye' entered into an agreement by which Lewkener undertook to begin 'the arte misterye or occupation of making of fustions' and continue the trade for ten years. During that period he was to instruct

and kepe fiftye persons at the Leaste and more as his habillitye shall serve of the porer sorte inhabitynge in this cittye on worke in cardinge and spynninge of cotton woll . . . and shall wekelye paie unto them waiges for their worke accordinge as they shall earne after the rate of twelve pence the pound spyneing and cardinge and to pay the Lord Mayor an annual sum of four pounds.

The municipality on their part undertook that Lewkener should be granted the freedom of the city without payment, should have the monopoly of making fustian within the city during the term mentioned in the bond, and to let to him St. George's House to inhabit and work in rent free.⁶

The knitting school which had engaged the energies of the city council for many years was discovered to be in an unsatisfactory condition. The head had neglected to take apprentices, so that if he died or went away there was great danger that the trade would die out. He was summoned before the mayor and aldermen, but upon promising that he would take and keep always three apprentices he was dismissed with a warning.⁷

In 1597 Parliament passed a comprehensive series of Acts dealing with the poor. It was, however, not until 1600 that the mayor and aldermen took any steps to put the Acts in force, and their action then was only due to a peremptory letter from the Council signed by Burghley.⁸ The response to 'the Act for the punyshment of Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars' ⁹ was that the house of correction was newly furnished with a mill for grinding malt. The aldermen, 'beginning first with the ancienste,' were called upon to provide malt to keep the mill at work. A wood mortar and mill for 'beatinge of hempe' was set up, but the hemp was not requisitioned from the aldermen. For purely punitive measures four manacles and two collars were provided. An officer was appointed to superintend the punishment of the rogues, but as he was already superintendent of the knitting school and taught the children to spin, he could not have had much leisure for the criminals. He was given quarters rent free at St. George's House, a salary of 40s. yearly, and an additional penny for every one sent for correction for each day the delinquent stayed, with additional allowance for his rations.¹⁰

On arriving at the house of correction the unfortunate men or women were to be 'whipped till his or her bodye be bloodye,' and then set to work. If they were refractory and refused to work the punishment was to be repeated until they did work. But if they were willing and able to work, they were to receive payment. The diet of the idle was bread and water, of those who were willing but unskilful 'coarse bread and small aile,' but such as were willing and skilful were given 'pottage made of such offall as may be had at the shambles or of sodne beanes.' These luxuries were to be bought out of the payment for work done, supplemented by an allowance from the poor fund. In no circumstances were the overseers to advance more than 1½*d.* per day. If any of the inmates showed signs of a desire to run away, they were to be locked to a post by hand, foot, or neck. They were to be detained at least twenty-one days, unless someone would take them into his service for a year and enter bond to the extent of £5 to the corporation for them.

Vagrants and vagabonds were not the only class who went in terror of the house of correction. 'Comon blasformers, comon dronkards, comon Raylors or scolds' could be sent there by magistrates or ministers and punished either in body or purse.¹¹ The overseers seem to have kept a careful watch over the welfare of those they boarded out. William Burland had taken the relief but failed to do his duty by Anne Whitfeld, for 'she hath no clothes to put on neither is by him in any sort releved.' She was at once placed with someone else and no further payment made to him.¹²

In 1607 a new and startling state of affairs was reported by the churchwardens and overseers: 'the assesments maide for the releif of the poore within the cittie doth amount unto a full sixte parte more than is distributed wekelye to the poore.'¹³ Collections were ordered to cease for the two months following. It is impossible to say whether this satisfactory state of affairs can be traced to the Statute of 1597, or to the cessation of the plague, which had raged fiercely in the city during the first four years of the 17th century.

There seems to have been a general tendency during the early 17th century to treat the sick poor with more leniency. The overseer and churchwardens presented the cases, but the Aldermen's Court constantly ordered additional relief, which was either levied on the stock of the parish, or

⁶ York Munic. Rec. xxxi, fol. 301, 14 Oct. 1597.

⁸ Ibid. xxxii, fol. 67, 31 Jan. 1599.

¹⁰ York Munic. Rec. xxxii, fol. 97*a*, 13 June 1600.

¹² Ibid. fol. 109, 10 Sept. 1600.

⁷ Ibid. fol. 341*b*, 10 Apr. 1598.

⁹ Stat. 39 Eliz. cap. 4.

¹¹ Ibid. fol. 97-8, 13 June 1600.

¹³ Ibid. xxxiii, fol. 74*a*, 30 June 1607.

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derived from an occasional additional dole out of the Common Chamber. So great were the demands on the poor relief during times of plague that official salaries were stopped,

for that the infeccion tyme was great charge to this cittye in releivinge of ther poore and then forced to borrowe muche money and to make great assesments to releeve them withall and no fees paide that yeaere to anie officers.¹⁴

But individual cases were often helped by the Council.

Anthonye Cuthberte a poore lame man who is to goe to St. Anne of Buckstones hoping ther to gett recoverie of his health shall have vs. given hym forth of some of the best stocks of the parishes in this cittie.¹⁵

The sufferers who were in the pauper hospitals, such as St. George's House and St. Katherine's House, were frequently ordered additional relief 'in their great misery and disease.'¹⁶ Doctors were often rewarded 'forth of the comon chambre' if they had shown particular activity on behalf of the poor,¹⁷ though occasionally the council lent its aegis to the quack. 'John Grai a travilor a chirurgeon being skilful namelie especiallie as he saieth in fowre diseases,' was licensed to practise in York. He claimed that he could cure 'those that have wanted their sights this twentie yeaeres past within neyne daies to recover ther sight.'¹⁸ Again, in 1611, there was more money in hand than paupers to receive it.¹⁹ From time to time the saddest examples of people who have fallen from a better position come before the court. Lady Creplinge, who has fallen upon evil days, is given pasturage for two kine on Tanghall fields, and 10s. out of the Common Chamber,²⁰ and Mr. George Rosse, 'who now is much decayed in his estate,' but was formerly sheriff of the city, was given an annuity of £5.²¹ Money is fairly often given by the council to people taking their children to London to be touched for the king's evil.²²

In 1614 a municipal medical officer was appointed at the annual salary of £3 6s. 8d. This payment was 'as well for his medicines or salves as for his paynes to be taken in cureing of such poore people of this cittie which shall be sent unto hym by the Lord Maior.'²³

Nor were the pauper lunatics neglected. 'Katherine Lee, distracted,' was given into the care of a surgeon, to minister the best help according to his judgement 'by giving her physick for the curing of her, and that he shall have xxs. nowe at this instant and xls. more at Candlemas or when he hath cured her.'²⁴

In 1615 Alexander Carey approached the lord mayor and aldermen. He was willing to teach twelve children to make bone lace, if in return he could have the use of their work for two years, and a fee of 10s. for each apprentice; he was, however, willing to return the fees at the end of the two years. The Court eagerly accepted his offer, and the following Candlemas the twelve children were set to work.²⁵ In 1619 the Court discussed the advisability of putting the poor to work as agricultural labourers on the fields and closes that were kept open between Michaelmas and Lady Day, but nothing came of the discussion.²⁶

A more important step was taken during the year 1619; alien immigrants had introduced into Norwich the manufacture of what was called in 16th-century phraseology new stuffs; that is, worsted goods. York, which always watched Norwich with a jealous eye, induced one of the Norwich citizens, Edward Whalley, to settle in the city. He was given room in St. George's House to set up his looms, and the looms at St. Antony's House were examined with a view to the making of Norwich stuff there also.²⁷ Whalley was made a freeman without paying any fine.²⁸

This setting of the Norwich man on work caused a great scandal in the city council. When in 1620 Alderman Dickenson, who had been appointed to look after the business, was called upon to give an account of the expenditure of the municipal money, there was found to be a deficit for the year of £105, £280 having been spent, towards which the city had contributed £126; and to represent this capital expenditure there only remained looms, jersey, yarn spun, and other goods to the value of £141, 'and yet but a fewe poore children set on work.' Alderman Dickenson was also said to have acted without the consent of the court, and to have allowed it to be generally reported that the works were his and at his charge. In view of these considerations, the lord mayor and aldermen came to the conclusion that 'to erect a newe manual occupation in this citty of makinge Norwich stuffes would be to burdensome to this citty,' that they already had sufficient on

¹⁴ York Munic. Rec. xxxiii, fol. 73a, 23 May 1607.

¹⁵ Ibid. fol. 165b, 23 June 1609.

¹⁷ Ibid. fol. 12b, 30 Apr. 1606.

¹⁹ Ibid. fol. 250a, 5 June 1611.

²¹ Ibid. xxxiv, fol. 35b, 25 May 1614.

²³ Ibid. xxxiv, fol. 47b, 16 Dec. 1614.

²⁵ Ibid. fol. 79b, 1 Dec. 1615.

²⁷ Ibid. fol. 177a, 13 Oct. 1619.

¹⁶ Ibid. fol. 169a, 14 July 1609.

¹⁸ Ibid. fol. 132a, 12 Sept. 1608.

²⁰ Ibid. xxxiii, fol. 162b, 23 May 1609,

²² Ibid. fol. 78b, 20 Oct. 1615.

²⁴ Ibid. fol. 169a, 11 June 1619.

²⁶ Ibid. fol. 177a, 13 Oct. 1619.

²⁸ Ibid. fol. 178b, 12 Nov. 1619.

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hand teaching the poor to spin jersey and 'other suchlike labours.' Alderman Dickenson was allowed to take over the whole business, to pay to the mayor and commonalty forty marks, the city undertaking the loss of the £105. As the court were very desirous 'to show furtherance' to Alderman Dickenson, he was allowed half St. George's House, where the looms were, to carry on his trade until the following May Day, the other half being used as a house of correction and workhouse.²⁹

It was considered that the doles given at funerals drew the poor from the neighbouring villages into the city, and often away from their labour. The lord mayor and justices very wisely decided that the custom should be abolished, but that the benevolent should be moved to send contributions to the hospitals, churchwardens, and overseers.³⁰ Apparently the relations of the deceased did not respond generously to this request; they reaped the advantage of quieter and more decorous burials, but showed no inclination to express their gratitude in a practical form. In 1630 the court devised a plan for relieving the poor without the riotous scenes that used to disturb the funerals:

And now it is ordered that my Lord Maior forthwith after the death of any within this city shall send the overseers for the poore within the same parish to demand of the friends of the dead person some money to be distributed to the poor, which if they refuse to doo, then the poore to be sett at liberty to go to the funerall to begg relief.³¹

In 1629 the two chamberlains of the city also had taken a very sensible step. It had been an immemorial custom for them to make a feast three times a year, at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas, to the lord mayor and aldermen. They proposed in the future to pay an offering of 20s. each to the poor in lieu of the feasting. The offer was accepted.³² The example of the chamberlains was followed in 1651 by the sheriffs of the city, who offered to pay £50 each for the use of the poor; in return, the mayor, aldermen, four-and-twenty, and commons, were to forgo all invitations and feasts from them.³³

In 1632 another attempt was made to introduce a new manufacture into the city, in order that the York poor should have an additional outlet for their energies. Mr. Alderman Hemsworth and Mr. Sheriff Brooke offered, 'of their owne accord,' to ride to Kendal to see if they could induce a fit man to come to the city to make Kendal cloth, so that the poor 'may be sett on work.' A new method of providing material for the poor to work up was adopted; in each ward a man was appointed to whom £10 was entrusted with which he was to buy material.³⁴ But the year 1632 was one of peculiar prosperity, and the poor relief was abated by one-fourth part. A clause, however, was annexed to this enactment, by which anyone found harbouring foreigners or under-setters should forfeit his abatement.

New spinning-wheels and cards were bought for all the hospitals, as also an additional loom for the weaving of such broad hangings as were already made there.³⁵ In 1634 Wentworth, as Lord President, wrote to exhort the lord mayor and aldermen to do their duty in taking care of the poor of the city. The civic officials replied in a somewhat self-righteous manner, and gave a *résumé* of the satisfactory work they had accomplished in the last few years.³⁶

The widows in St. Thomas's Hospital complained to the court that Isabel Denis and Marie Bainbridge 'were lewd women given to drunkenesse and have abused those widdowes and breed mutch disquietnesse in the said hospitall by their scowlding and other wicked courses.' The court sentenced the delinquents to have 'their neck set severally in the Iron in the thew,' before the door of the hospital.³⁷

By 1655 a more humane treatment of the refractory pauper had become established. In the instructions drawn up for a committee of twelve appointed to superintend the employment of the poor, the most serious punishment even suggested for those that refused to work was that they should receive 'noe warde money or allowance from the city until they conforme and work';³⁸ the lash, which half a century earlier was constantly resorted to, had passed out of the category of possible punishments for idleness.³⁹

Little was done after the Restoration to provide work for the unemployed, but a step in the direction of providing for the orphans of the city was taken in 1669. The free school at Sherburn had figured frequently in the city records. Many York youths had been sent there, and the corporation decided it would be better to erect a house at Sherburn with 'a kitching and a chamber for the poor orphans of this citty that learns at Sherburn.'⁴⁰

²⁹ York Munic. Rec. fol. 295a, 10 Nov. 1620.

³¹ Ibid. xxxv, fol. 98a, 17 Feb. 1630.

³³ Ibid. xxxvii, fol. 23b, 15 Oct. 1651.

³⁵ Ibid. fol. 183, 29 Oct. 1632.

³⁷ Ibid. xxxvi, fol. 158b, 11 Oct. 1645.

³⁹ Ibid. xxxii, fol. 97a, 13 June 1600.

³⁰ Ibid. fol. 64c, 7 July 1615.

³² Ibid. fol. 80a, 22 Mar. 1629.

³⁴ Ibid. xxxv, fol. 168a, 8 May 1632.

³⁶ Ibid. fol. 247a, 15 Sept. 1634.

³⁸ Ibid. fol. 81b, 5 Mar. 1655.

⁴⁰ Ibid. xxxviii, fol. 50b, 16 May 1669.

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The rent of a house at Middleham was conferred on Isaac Primrose, 'a poore scholler at the University of Cambridge, for his education there.'⁴¹ Mr. Ayckroyd was given £10 to take him to the University and buy him some clothes. Mr. Wright, scrivener, was to have an increase of salary for teaching the city's poor children.⁴² But the young were not neglected. The three children of Samuel Brown were boarded out, and he was ordered to pay 6*d.* weekly for their support, and in case he refused he was to be sent to the house of correction and kept at hard work.⁴³

A pamphlet written by Henry Arth of Wakefield in 1597 gives an interesting glimpse of the poor in his native town.⁴⁴ It is improbable that experiments in 'setting the poore on worke' were conducted in the same lavish manner as they were in York; still, it is abundantly clear that the town adopted in the main the plans of York, though possibly Wakefield had not initiated the policy, but only followed in the steps of the legislature. At least Henry Arth constantly refers to the action of her Majesty, the Council, and the Government with excessive admiration. He is evidently proud of the system of his own town,

where there is not onelie a house of correction, accordinge to the Lawe, but withall, certaine stockes of money put forth into honest clothiers handes, who are bounde with good sureties, to set all the able poore to worke, after five pence, or six pence a pound of wool spinning (as they shall deserve) if they will fetch it.

It does not seem that workhouses had been erected in Wakefield. He strongly advocates a forfeiture of 12*d.* for every one who absented himself from church. The sum gained by this means, with the amount arising from the Wednesday suppers, would, he maintained, be 'sufficient releefe for the poore in all places.' He is especially hard on the 'breeders of the poor,' as he terms those who commit the sins he enumerates:—

1. All excessive proude persons in apparell.
2. The unmeasurable wasters of meate and drinke.
3. The importable oppression of many landlords.
4. The unconscionable extortion of all usurers.
5. The insatiable covetousnesse in corne mongers.
6. The wilfull wrangling in law matters.
7. The immoderate abuse of gamming in all countreys.
8. The discharging of servants and apprentices.
9. The general abuse of all Gods benefites.
10. The want of execution of good lawes and statutes.

Unfortunately the West Riding Sessions Roll does not bear out the idea that Wakefield was exceptionally good to its poor, for twice in 1597 and 1598 the justices issued warrants against the inhabitants for not paying their poor-rate.⁴⁵

A graphic illustration of the scandal and horror of the scenes which often took place at the funerals of the great is given in an account of the burial of George, late Earl of Shrewsbury, at Sheffield in 1592:—

For these were, by the report of such as served the dole unto them, the number of eight thousand, and they thought that there were almost as many more that could not be served through their unruliness. Yea the press was so great that diverse were slain and many hurt: and further it is reported of credible persons that well estimated the number of all the said beggars that they thought there was about twenty thousand.⁴⁶

But Sheffield seems to have been exceptionally poverty-stricken, for in 1615, when the population only reached 2,207 people, 725 were paupers.⁴⁷

The West Riding is fortunate in possessing some early Sessions Rolls, 1597-8—1602, and although at the date of the roll the assessment for the maintenance of the poor had been taken out of the hands of the justices, and placed in those of the parish officials, still cases occur which illustrate the administration of the law, because the new method that displaced the system prescribed by the statute 14 Eliz. cap. 3 did not at first work smoothly.⁴⁸ Before 1597 the unit of assessment had been the division, but the new statute made each individual parish answerable for its own poor. Thus the justices, though no longer called upon to assess the poor-rate, had to decide whether the

⁴¹ York Munic. Rec. xxxviii, fol. 65*a*, 22 June 1671.

⁴² Ibid. fol. 134*b*, 20 Oct. 1677.

⁴³ Ibid. fol. 211*b*, 29 Oct. 1684.

⁴⁴ 'Provision for the poore, now in penurie. Explained by H. A. 1597.' Quoted in E. M. Leonard, *Early Hist. of Engl. Poor Relief*, 128.

⁴⁵ *West Riding Sessions Rolls* (Yorks. Arch. Assoc. Rec. Ser. iii), 43, 118.

⁴⁶ *The Fall of Religious Houses*. Cole MS. xii, fol. 25; W. Cunningham, *Growth*, 539.

⁴⁷ J. Hunter, *Hallamshire*, 148.

⁴⁸ J. Lister, *West Riding Sessions Rolls* (Yorks. Arch. Assoc. Rec. Ser. iii), pp. xxviii-xxxviii.

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wapentake of Staincross ought to be assessed to maintain the poor of Barnsley,⁴⁹ and resolved that the money obtained from the wapentake must be returned.⁵⁰ But the most important and valuable records concerning the management of the poor contained in the roll are the so-called Knaresborough orders. The second of these orders is especially interesting; it shows that the people of the Knaresborough district preferred the old voluntary system to the new money rating. They petitioned that 'the poore may be suffered to begg and aske relief abroad throughout the parishe.' The justices granted the request, urging as an excuse for their strained interpretation of the clause in the statute dealing with the subject, 'for that many are able to give releefe which are not able to give money.'⁵¹

Naturally the chief object of the parochial officials was to keep down the poor-rate. There was therefore the very strongest incentive for them to try to prove that anyone in need of poor relief was a vagabond or vagrant,⁵² not born in the parish, and that therefore he was to be sent to his native place. It was by no means improbable that on his way thither he would be arrested and sent to the house of correction, for the maintenance of these institutions fell on the county, not the parish,⁵³ so that this method of shifting their responsibilities was popular. After the passing of the Bill of 1597, so great was the desire of each parish to put the onus of maintenance on to some other parish that the highways were crowded with these homeless and houseless creatures seeking a domicile.⁵⁴ One of the Knaresborough orders dealt with this difficulty in a summary way. As people after being domiciled for some twenty years are being driven away, therefore it is enacted that a residence of three years entitles people to relief.⁵⁵

The Sessions Rolls give no details of any schemes of work for the unemployed for the West Riding, but the justices order the wardens and overseers 'to enforce every of them refusinge to worke, or found idle and out of worke, to labour in such sorte and with such personnes as they shall thinke fitt.'⁵⁶ These orders do not touch upon the question of the erection of abiding and working houses⁵⁷ for the poor, though from one of the orders issued by the justices it is clear that some house of the kind was at Doncaster. The order is an excellent example of the ruthless manner in which in their anxiety to rid themselves of the impotent poor the officials acted.

Whereas one Gregorie Shawe late of Dancaster hath dwelt and remayned in Dancaster for a longe space and hath during that tyme bene twice married and afterwards placed in an hospitall, notwithstanding all which the Maior of Dancaster hath by colour of the statute for the releif of poore, taken hym forth of the said Hospitall and sent hym to the place of his birth contrary to the meanyng of that statute: Yt is therefore ordered that a Warr. p. Cur. shalbe made to the said Maior to receive hym agayne and provide for his releif according to the said Statute.⁵⁸

It has been suggested that these orders were drawn up for the guidance of the county justices by the Council of the North.⁵⁹ The North Riding Quarter Sessions Records throw a flood of light on the administration of the Poor Law during the Stuart period. A pathetic case of filial ingratitude was brought to the notice of the justices at Helmsley in 1619.

Whereas it appears to the Justices at this Sessions that John Simon, an old man, hath sett over his whole estate unto his sonne Will Simon, and that since his said sonne, being very wealthie and of good abilitie, hath suffered his said father to live in great wante and miserie, and doth carie himself verie disobedientlie and unnaturally towards his said father: and whereas the said justices, in open Sessions did, according to the law, order that the said Will Simon shall releive his father from time to time as should be thought fitt by the justices and shall be bound with good suerties in good summes of monie until his said father shall release him: and for as much as the said Will Simon did in Courte obstinatelie refuse to perform the said order, he was committed to York Castle.⁶⁰

Transgressors against the enactment that each cottage should have 4 acres of ground attached to it, a measure preventive of pauperism, frequently appeared before the justices. The year 1607 furnishes fourteen examples of breach of this law,⁶¹ but the cases are rare from that date to 1634, they cease entirely until 1647, when they recur again, and are frequent until 1672.⁶²

The houses of correction at Pickering, Thirsk, and Richmond are frequently referred to.⁶³ The first suggestion with regard to such an institution at Richmond was made in 1610, but it was not until 1619⁶⁴ that it was in working order. George Shawe of Leeds, clothier, was appointed master at a salary of £50 a year. The following year an order for looms and irons to be placed there was given.⁶⁵ Evidently Richmond was providing profitable employment for its paupers.

⁴⁹ J. Lister, *West Riding Sessions Rolls* (Yorks. Arch. Assoc. Rec. Ser. iii), 26.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 75.

⁵¹ Mr. Lister thinks that this system of voluntary poor relief was not adopted in many—if any other—divisions of the Riding. *Ibid.* p. xxxi.

⁵² Stat. 39 Eliz. cap. 4.

⁵³ Stat. 18 Eliz. cap. 3.

⁵⁴ J. Lister, *op. cit.* p. xxxiii.

⁵⁵ *Sessions R.* ut sup. 85.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 86.

⁵⁷ Stat. 39 Eliz. cap. 5.

⁵⁸ *Sessions R.* ut sup. 105.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. xxx.

⁶⁰ *North Riding Quarter Sessions R.* ii, 110.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* i, 68, 92, 93, 106, 108.

⁶² E. M. Leonard, *op. cit.* 170.

⁶³ *Quarter Sessions Rec.* (N. R. Rec. Soc.) v, 137, 210.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* ii, 110, 229.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 235, 26 Apr. 1620.

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Canon Atkinson, whose local knowledge was so extensive that to differ is audacious, seems to put a somewhat strained interpretation on looms as some kind of punitive instrument. At York looms were frequently placed in the houses of correction, and although none of the entries make it clear, it is quite possible that the three houses of correction for the county served the twofold purpose of a place where rogues were punished and where work was found for the deserving poor.

As a rule the distinction between the orders made by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of York and those made at the Quarter Sessions is that the York civic authorities were more humanitarian, but with regard to housing the poor the county was in advance of the city. On several occasions the justices of the peace gave order that suitable cottages should be built for the homeless. An order was issued at the Richmond Quarter Session on 10 October 1620:—

That whereas there was a frame erected for a house to be builded upon a waiste peece of ground in Long Cowton to harbour and relevee Will Dawson his wife and children, which was lait pulled down by Ralph Huton gent^m and others—on full consideration by the Court it is ordered that the said house shalbe presentlie built up again by the parishioners of Long Cowton at their own charge, and sett in the same place where it stood before.⁶⁶

Several houses for the poor were built at Brompton and Lastingham.⁶⁷

Political animus played its part in providing for the necessities of the poor. The Yorkshire Parliamentary Puritans satisfied their hatred of the stage, their dislike of their opponents, and their desire to be charitable at the expense of others, in an order passed at a meeting of the Quarter Sessions held on 10 July 1655:—

The constables and overseers of Gillinge to levy 5s. on the goods of the Lord Fairfax to be distributed to the poor according to ordinance of parliament, for that it hath been proved that he was present when Tho. Carlton, Anth. Chapman and others acted a comedy or staige play at Gillinge at Christmas last; the like order to the constable and overseers of Oulton against Lord Castleton; the like order to the constable and overseers of Bransby against Mr. Cholmeley.⁶⁸

The study of the efforts made by the local authorities in a large town like York, or by the justices in the different Ridings, makes it clear that many of the schemes of the latter-day humanitarians have already been tried by 16th and 17th-century philanthropists, and abandoned as futile. In no town in England were more persistent and strenuous endeavours made by the municipality to supply work for the unemployed, the amount of money left by charitable bequests to York ought to have ensured its perpetual exemption from a poor-rate, but even in the 19th century it has furnished data for 'A Study in Poverty.' No more convincing proof of the futility of a system of municipal doles can be found than in the steady but rapid growth of the pauper list in the York Municipal Records.

It is difficult to realize, as one travels through the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire, along the monotonous roads, lined with continuous houses, which link together huge towns, where dense populations focus round busy mills or noisy ironworks, that as late as the 16th century the greater part of these congested regions was uninclosed and uninhabited lands. The treatment of Yorkshire as an economic unit, when the inclosure question is involved, is entirely misleading; no two counties of England offer to-day greater physical, industrial, and economic differences than the East and West Ridings, and this differentiation appears even in the early 16th century. This is no mere matter of inference or conjecture; the Inquisition of 1517⁶⁹ furnishes indubitable evidence of the general economic conditions prevailing at that time. However greatly opinion may differ as to the interpretation of the facts gathered by Wolsey's commissioners, no glosses or explanatory clauses can obliterate the startling differences that existed between the two Ridings. The first business of the commission was to inquire into the amount of inclosing that had gone on during the previous twenty-seven and a half years, the ultimate object being to discover whether the statement that the depopulation and distress was due to the conversion of arable into pasture land was true, or was the expression of the chronic discontent of poverty.

The North Riding was first visited. The acreage of this division is to-day 1,361,465 acres. During the period over which the inquiry extends, almost thirty years, 2,708 acres had been inclosed, 628 acres in order to give greater facilities for the chase; 2,100 acres had been converted from arable to pasture land. In the inquisition taken by the Commissioners specific information is also given of the effects of the change. Thirty-seven ploughs had been put down, forty-four people had left the neighbourhood, and twenty-one messuages were in a state of dilapidation.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ *Quarter Sessions Rec.* (N. R. Rec. Soc.), ii, 253.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* v, 21, 22; 1 Oct. 1650.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* v, 186.

⁶⁹ I. S. Leadam, 'The Inquisition of 1517,' *Hist. Soc. Trans.* (New. Ser.) vii, 219 et seq.

⁷⁰ Mr. Leadam conjectures that 128 people were evicted, as the houses that were in ruins must have had inhabitants.

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The cottages that had fallen into ruins were eight in number, and five of these are mentioned on land where six ploughs had been at work not long before. In three cases only are the evictions on a scale sufficiently great to leave a permanent impression on the agricultural development of the district. At South Cowton⁷¹ 120 acres were changed from arable into pasture land, 4 ploughs were disused, 4 houses had fallen into decay, and 20 people had left the neighbourhood. At Southolme⁷² 20 people were ejected, 5 ploughs rendered useless, 80 acres of arable land, and 40 of meadow turned into pasture. The evicting landlord was William Fairfax, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. A case at East Tanfield⁷³ presents a difficulty; it is clearly stated that 400 acres of arable were changed into pasture land, and 8 houses were thrown down, but no mention is made of change of population, or of the putting down of any ploughs. Whether this is due to the carelessness of the scribe, to a desire to minimize the evil results of the change, or whether the ploughs and workers were simply transferred to another part of the estate, is difficult to decide. Mr. Leadam takes it as a case of 32 people—that is, four to each house—having been evicted. The North Riding furnishes unimpeachable evidence of two serious cases of the conversion of arable to pasture land, considerable hardship being involved; one doubtful case, two cases where two houses were thrown down, and one case where several cottages were destroyed. Considering that a period of twenty-seven years and a large area is included, investigation proves that the theory of the transformation of arable into pasture land to any appreciable extent is untenable except on the assumption that the commissioners were corrupt and the commission futile.

The acreage of the West Riding is 1,771,562; 2,345 acres were inclosed between 1489 and 1517, but 1,812 acres were taken from the manor waste for purposes of pleasure, no economic change being involved. Thus only 533 acres were inclosed from motives of cupidity, with the result that 12 houses, 4 cottages, and 'certa messuagia' were decayed, 16 ploughs no longer worked, and 58 people, according to the strict letter of the report, or 94 according to Mr. Leadam's interpretation, were evicted. A flagrant case, however, occurred at Templenewsam; Lord Darcy, for the purposes of the chase, took 40 acres of arable and 40 acres of wood, and caused 4 houses, 4 cottages, and 4 ploughs to be disused. There is no reference to the number of evictions.⁷⁴ There was little ecclesiastical inclosure in the West Riding,⁷⁵ although the Abbot of Kirkstall gained an unenviable notoriety as an evictor. At Moretoun 3 houses were thrown down, 3 ploughs no longer worked, and 12 people rendered homeless by his orders.⁷⁶ But his disregard of the well-being of his tenants fades into insignificance before the policy of Henry Pudsey, lord of the manor of Rimington and Bolton in Bowland.⁷⁷ He converted 100 acres of arable into pasture, knocked down 'certa messuagia,' and evicted practically a whole village, for 30 people had to seek new habitations. He next turned his attentions to Bolton, where he summarily drove out 12 tenants. A case of this kind, one landlord answerable for 42 evictions, lends colour to the contention that Yorkshire suffered greatly from the rapacity of landlordism. It is, however, a proof that evictions and conversions were exceptional. The Inquisition chronicles 58 evictions. As the Abbot of Kirkstall and Henry Pudsey account for 54 of these, the remaining landlords can have taken little part in the movement. But even where land was held in common, a change was sometimes effected. The tenants of Alburg (Aldborough) had 180 acres of common arable land; by general consent they changed it to pasture.⁷⁸

The subject assumes a different aspect when the East Riding comes under consideration. The area is less than half the West Riding, slightly greater than half the North Riding. Unfortunately, the Inquisition returns only give the absolute acreage in half the cases examined.⁷⁹ During the period 1,560 acres were inclosed—that is, almost two and a half times more land was converted from arable to pasture in the East Riding than in the West. One hundred and thirty-seven people are specifically enumerated as being evicted.⁸⁰ The term 'diversa messuagia' complicates the number of houses that were rendered desolate; 23 are mentioned, but probably 38 may be taken as approximately correct. No individual landlord appears in such an unfavourable light as Henry Pudsey, though the Church plays a more sinister part here than in the rest of Yorkshire. The Provost of Beverley ejected 4 people having a house and using a plough.⁸¹ The Abbot of St. Mary's, York, inclosed 40 acres, devastated 2 houses, and drove 8 people from the village of Hanging Grimston.⁸² The Prioress of Swine changed the arable land into pasture, pulled down a house, and cast 6 people adrift.⁸³ Indirectly, too, the Abbot of Meaux was answerable for 13 evictions at Ottringham.⁸⁴ The noted Duke of Buckingham converted 100 acres from arable

⁷¹ Leadam, op. cit. 133.

⁷² Ibid 238.

⁷³ Ibid. 235.

⁷⁴ Ibid. 240.

⁷⁵ W. Cunningham, *Growth of Engl. Industry and Commerce*, i, 530.

⁷⁶ I. S. Leadam, op. cit. 241.

⁷⁷ Ibid. 245.

⁷⁸ Ibid. 245; 976 acres of common field inclosed at Aldborough in 1808.

⁷⁹ Although sufficient evidence is given to afford Mr. Leadam a basis for his statistics.

⁸⁰ According to Mr. Leadam's calculation, 194.

⁸¹ I. S. Leadam, op. cit. 246.

⁸² Ibid. 248.

⁸³ Ibid. 249.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 252.

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to pasture land at Burstwick, but no house was destroyed or plough put down.⁸⁵ The worst example in this Riding was the eviction of 20 people by Thomas Fairfax at Carthorpe. Consolidation with a view to sale was apparently the cause of the proceeding, for the entry closes with the announcement that William Constable is now sole possessor.⁸⁶ At Atwick three husband-holdings had been united and the population diminished by 17.⁸⁷ John Wentworth in Little Cowden changed 100 acres of arable land into pasture, thus throwing 24 people and four ploughs out of employment.⁸⁸

It seems clear that in the North and West Ridings there is little evidence to support any theory of a general conversion of arable land to pasture. In the East Riding the movement was fairly general, the church lands leading the way. The explanation of this dissimilarity is due rather to physical than historic causes. The East Riding had been from time immemorial down to 1349 the corn-growing district of the north; the first impetus towards the change from arable to pasture was given by the Black Death, for in no other part did the pestilence claim so heavy a toll of victims. In the early days of arable conversion, pasture took the place of tillage, not to satisfy the greed of the capitalist, but from sheer inability to find labour to cultivate the land. Several causes were, however, at work in North and West Yorkshire to prevent the inclosure question assuming the threatening aspect that it did in some of the counties. From the settlement of the Cistercians the county had always been a great wool-growing district; in many parts the climate was unfavourable to corn cultivation. Ryder describes the north-west as being inhabited by 'a verie symple plaine people yet lyving without any great labor or riches for the more upon their mylke or sheep, their grayn they have growing is otes only.' . . .⁸⁹

Thus inclosure was followed by no great change in economic conditions, shepherds and hinds were still required, and though their numbers might be lessened there was not that dislocation of the labour market that ensued in those counties where inclosure was synonymous with the conversion of arable into pasture. So much of the land in North and West Yorkshire was in the hands of the church that the destruction of monasteries was probably a more effective economic factor than the growth of inclosures. 'The Casting down of inclosures of Comyns'⁹⁰ is certainly referred to in the Pilgrimage of Grace; but it was not, as in the eastern and western revolts, the pivot on which the rebellion turned.

The statute-book shows that the increase of pasture at the dissolution of monasteries was a recognized danger. In 1535 it was enacted that the amount of tillage should remain or be restored to what it was twenty years before on all monastic lands.⁹¹ But legislation was at that period, and in remote regions, often inoperative. The reiterated evidence of witnesses in the commissions dealing with Yorkshire lands bears eloquent testimony to the virtues of ecclesiastical landlords. In 1572 the people of Myton resisted the demand of the new landlord for the payment of rent 'for the banks and balks in the common fields.' Witness after witness, some of them with memories reaching back more than forty years, was brought forward to prove that no rent had ever been paid to the monastery of St. Mary's, York, for these lands, although they had always used them as pasturage for their draught cattle. If the new claim were sustained 'it would be to the utter impoverishment of the said tenants, for that the lease, if it should pass, might keep the farmers and tenants of Mytons cattle from coming to the water.'⁹²

The eulogy of the author of *The Fall of Religious Houses*, who lived near Roche Abbey in Yorkshire, may be too fulsome, but it was not entirely undeserved: 'Yea happy was that person that was tenant to an abbey, for it was a rare thing to hear that any tenant was removed by taking his farm over his head, nor he was not afraid of any re-entry for non-payment of rent, if necessity drove him thereunto.'⁹³

Leland made his famous journey through England in 1536; incidentally he gives a great deal of information about inclosures, but the manner in which he describes the country through which he passes is too disjointed and disconnected to leave a clear impression.⁹⁴ Although the acreage of the county was great, in the 16th century a considerable part was still forest land, useless for purpose of inclosing. The forest of Galtres, which stretched 10 miles northwards from the very gates of York, was so impenetrable that according to tradition a lantern was always hung on the tower of All Hallows Church as a beacon towards which the travellers, when lost in the dense woodland,

⁸⁵ According to Mr. Leadam's calculation, 246.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 251. 1,200 acres were inclosed by Act in 1769.

⁸⁹ Lansd. MS. 119, 8, fol. 119 d.

⁹⁰ 'Aske's Narrative of the Pilgrimage of Grace,' transcribed by Miss Mary Bateson in *Engl. Hist. Rev.* v, 339.

⁹² Exch. Spec. Com. York, 15 Eliz. no. 2571.

⁹³ B.M. Cole MS. xii, 5, quoted in Cunningham, op. cit. i, 531.

⁹⁴ See map of Leland's *Itinerary*, printed in Appendix C; C. G. Slater, *Engl. Peasantry and Encl. of Common Fields*, 318-19.

⁸⁶ Ibid. 247.

⁸⁸ Ibid. 251.

⁹¹ Stat. 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 28.

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could aim.⁹⁵ The royal forest of Knaresborough included much uncultivated and waste land. There was much forest land, too, in the Dales, even as late as 1611; those who travelled through Wensleydale Forest 'did pay three farthings to some guide to guide them through the said forest, by reason of the wildnes of the said forest, and for that the same was not inhabited in former times, nor passable without danger.'⁹⁶ The forest of Pickering, on the border-land between the North and East Riding, was another formidable barrier to agricultural progress.⁹⁷ At the south of the county, Hatfield Chase, 'the greatest chase of red deer the Kings of England had, containing in all limits above one hundred and eighty thousand acres,'⁹⁸ was a district resembling rather the fens of Lincolnshire than the rest of Yorkshire. James Ryder, writing in 1588, draws attention to the large extent of Yorkshire given up to the chase: 'By reson of this general appetitt to huntinge, the country is full of parkes and chasis greatly stored with red and fallowe deer with conyes hares fesantes partridges & whatsoever beastes or fowles for gaine or use.'⁹⁹

Both the Cleveland hills and the Yorkshire wolds were cultivated in the 17th century. 'Hills called Yorke wolds lying south from thes are not so great nor Baren, all champion bearing good corne medowe and pasture especially good for shepe yet so scarce of wood & fuel of any kinde to burne as their husbandmen use strawe both for fire and candelles.'¹⁰⁰ Deducting fen, forest, marsh, chase, and mountains and common fields, the amount of land inclosed and in use for agricultural purposes in Yorkshire in the 16th century was in comparison with the whole insignificant in amount, and except in the East Riding almost entirely pastoral in character.

Before the era of Parliamentary inclosures there seem to have been several methods of inclosing common fields. Sometimes the landlord simply inclosed his various scattered plots without legal proceeding; at other times landlord and tenants came to an amicable arrangement without an appeal to law, but more often the Court of Chancery or Exchequer were the final arbiters, and it is from Exchequer depositions and commissions that a great deal of authentic information on the subject can be gained.¹

Settrington, for example, was the scene of many inclosure riots. A special commission was appointed in 1581 to inquire into certain rights on Settrington, Norton, and Sutton Moors. One of the witnesses, a yeoman, Matthew Welburn, deposed—

that he had known Norton Moor for fifty years and that one Simpkin being the Pinder of Norton about thirty years ago went about to impound certain sheep going upon the common in controversy and one John Humble of Settrington rescued the sheep and broke the pinder's head, for the which he was amerced in Norton Court at 10s. for the fray and the blood and 3s. 4d. for the said rescue which one Nicholson, father-in-law to Humble, paid to this deponent being bailiff of Norton for Mr. Folkington.²

Considerable light is thrown on the haphazard way in which land was inclosed in those days, by a case in which Thomas Wray the queen's farmer of the woods was plaintiff, and the tenants of Ravensworth defendants. The dispute concerned two woods, Birk hagg and Washton Law hagg; the former, according to one witness, had only been inclosed the day before; according to another, it had been inclosed for seven years. Washton Law hagg had been inclosed for forty years, and had been kept in severalty by the late Lord Marquess of Northampton for fifteen years together, no common rights being allowed. As soon as the estate lapsed to the owner, the queen gave the land to Ralph Storer, who occupied it in severalty for three years; then Thomas Wray took it over. In spite of the long prescriptive right and the fact that the people of Ravensworth had sufficient common for their use in addition to the disputed woods, they refused to yield their claim. Nor were they content with verbal remonstrance; six men armed with piked staves three times pulled down the fences Thomas Wray was erecting. The attacks were made by night and by day: while the workmen were putting them up and could offer fight, and when they were absent. This was done in spite of the fact that the assailants knew that already several years before Henry Coates had been amerced the large sum of £6 for a similar offence.³ This is a typical case; a great deal of inclosing seems to have been connived at for years, then apparently some new, even slight, encroachment seems to have fanned the smouldering discontent into flames, and inclosures that had become legalized by prescriptive right were attacked together with those that were new and

⁹⁵ F. Drake, *Eboracum*, 292.

⁹⁷ *Forest of Pickering* (North Riding Rec. Soc.).

⁹⁸ Stovin MS. printed in *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* vii, 198.

⁹⁹ Lansd. MS. 119, 8, fol. 119.

⁹⁶ Exch. Dep. Yorks. East. 7 Jas. I, no. 34.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* fol. 120.

¹ As Miss Leonard has pointed out, the awards and decrees are numerous, and many refer to Yorkshire. But they are still unindexed, and therefore inaccessible; 'The Enclosure of Common Fields,' by Miss Leonard, *Hist. Soc. Trans.* (New Ser.), xix, 110.

² Exch. Dep. Yorks. Trin. 22 Eliz. no. 9.

³ *Ibid.* Trin. 24 Eliz. no. 5.

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entirely illegal. But evidence was taken two years later in a much more serious case of inclosing against the wishes of the tenants having common rights. The neighbourhood of Settrington was again the scene of the alleged outrage; James Hepplethwaite was the offender, and the inhabitants of Norton were the accusers. The evidence was clear and pertinent; one witness deposed that he had known the townfields of Norton for fifty years and that the tenants had 'taken the profits thereof by eating the grass thereof with their cattle' from time immemorial. The highway from Norton lay through a part of the common called the Outgang. One house had already, in infringement of their rights, been built there, but Hepplethwaite had inclosed a piece of the highway within the last year and erected the framework for a second house. He had also annexed one close in the field on the south of Norton, three parcels of ground in the west field adjoining Norton Carr, and a part of Norton Carr itself, where the tenants had always had common all the year, and pasturage when the land was not sown with corn. For sixteen years after the dissolution of the monastery of Old Malton, the bailiff of the Buckrose wapentake had held a court in Norton every three weeks, but for the last three years Henry Hepplethwaite, presumably the brother of James, had usurped this power, and had forced even the queen's tenants to appear to answer for their misdemeanours at his newly instituted court. The evidence of one witness gives an amusing example of the collusion between the two relations. The deponent was fined 5*s.* 4*d.* for some trivial offence, but was allowed to work out the fine by leading stones for James Hepplethwaite.⁴

An interesting example of an unusual method of settling a disputed inclosure question is given incidentally when the freeholders of Eccleshall Manor sued Sir Nicholas Strelley concerning their common rights on Nether Moor, Hartle Moor, and Rawhill. Sir Nicholas had refused to fence and inclose, but fined the freeholders if their cattle strayed on to the common, which was so near their houses that it was impossible to prevent the trespass. They urged also that until eighteen years ago they had had pasturage rights on the said common. Some forty years before Sir Nicholas had commanded his tenants to ditch and inclose two parcels of ground called Rawhill and Hartle-grove; the freeholders had appealed to the Earl of Shrewsbury to protect them. His award was that they should pay Sir Nicholas 8*s.* a year, and in case of failure he could inclose at once.⁵

James Ryder's view of the inclosure question is interesting as coming from a contemporary, though his judgement is warped, for the chief object of his letter, written in 1588 to Lord Burghley, is apparently to prove the superiority of the West Riding over the rest of Yorkshire, and the imbecility and depravity of the citizens of York. Writing of the land round Halifax, he says:—

The people have great lybertie to enclose and buyld upon the wastes about their towen by reson they do for the more parte appertaine to the Crowen, and all our lawes and statutes of Inglande favor Inclosures as a comon comoditie, and condemne unimployed soyles as a cancar to the comonwelth. In other partes of the countrie to maintayne the poorer sort In their Idellness, they hold this use, if any man posseded of large wasts wolde Improve thoughte not so much as by lawe he may forthwith the Richer sort (who indeed suck out the swet of thes comons from the poore) will send In all the poor that inhabyt ner to make outcries to the magistrate that they are undon and thes people for the more parte have not anythinge to put out of their doores that can lyve upon thes wastes, so are the symple made Instruments to keepe themselves under and unable to lyve of themselves so that this dyfferent effect is most woorthie the notinge, No parte of the countrie yealdeth so many rich men as the most barren, no parte so many poor as the most fertile.⁶

The view that the possession of common rights tended to pauperize was not popular. As early as 1549 the commons of York put in a petition to the Lord Mayor's Court, 'that there be no newe inclosers mayd nor had abowte this citie from Michelmes to the Lady day but that the comon may have their comon and areyse in the same from Michelmes to the lady day in Lent as they have had here before and ought of right to have.'⁷ But James Ryder gives an amusing account of the effects of the possession of these rights on the character of the people of York.

For their artificers they ar hardly to be mached In being so many, so unskillfull and so dear, many of thes keepe, some one mylke kow som two, which In somer lyve upon their comons adjoynge to the cytty and in wynter upon hay at the tyme of year brought to their doores to be solde. In resonable sort this cove eatith awaie their Industrie by whose defect unskillfullness Inceasse for this which the prentise bringe In the provition of many howsholdes whose maisters card and drynk for the more parte of the daie, greate prehemynence appertaine to thes mylktbearing bists for by their costum In comyng home from their pasture they use to take the wall of such as they meet yea of my Ld: maior hymself if the sword bearer be not all the stouter man so that from hence this northern adage is rysen, take hym for a tall man that dare take the wall of a prentise in london of a skoller in Oxforde or of a cove in Yorke.⁸

⁴ Exch. Dep. Yorks. Mich. 26 & 27 Eliz. no. 32.

⁵ Ibid. Mich. 27 & 28 Eliz. no. 29.

⁷ York Munic. Rec. xix, fol. 86, Sept. 1549.

⁶ Lansd. MS. 119, 8, fol. 119.

⁸ Lansd. MS. 119, 8, fol. 121.

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In districts where crown lands predominated the process of inclosure could be carried on with less difficulty. This is clear from a case tried in 1604, but retrospective in character. The evidence brought before the commission proves that about the year 1564 there was great inclosing activity in the neighbourhood of Bowes, and that the queen's tenants were anxious to pay an increased rent in order to gain the privilege. The same story is told of Arkylgarth, Helwith, Halgate and Keckwith, all places within the district once called the New Forest, one of the Crown possessions.⁹

Recent research has proved that the 17th century did not mark a break in the continuity of the inclosure movement.¹⁰ As far as Yorkshire is concerned, complaints of the inclosure of common lands are frequent in the Stuart period. One of the earliest examples of resistance to inclosing in the reign of James I occurred at Crakehall. The land was held by an absentee minor, Miles Metcalfe. The inhabitants claimed rights over the ground of Vyvers, which had never been held in severalty until the parents of Miles Metcalfe seized the land. In order to draw attention to their rights the people knocked down the fences and took forcible possession of the ground.¹¹ The Quarter Session Records for the North Riding are extant from the beginning of the 17th century and furnish interesting information. The first entry occurs on 10 July 1606.

On the imformation of Ch. Layton Esq. Lo : of the Mannour of Hneton,^{11a} that there are diverse pasture groundes within the said mannour growen with woodes and underwoodes which he is determined to preserve and cherish according to lawe, wherein he hath moved the tenaunts, who will not consent thereto, viz. for the enclosing of a iiiiith part of the said groundes, therefore, that at the suit of the said Ch : Layton in open sessions Sir Coniers Darcy and Sir Henry Jenkins, two of his Ma^{ties}, etc, who are no way of kindredd, allyance, counsell or fee of or to the said Ch : Layton, being thereto appointed by the more number of the Justices of the North Riding within which the said grounde lyeth, shall have full power to call before them (upon such paynes and penalytes as they shall appoint) such xii of the said commoners and inhabit^{ts} night to the said woodes, and upon their apparence to proceed for the preservation and springing of the said woodes, and the dividing and inclosing of the fourth of the said ground, as by law.¹²

The Privy Council appointed a commission in 1607 to inquire into the question of inclosures in the Midlands, and an entry in the Sessions Roll of 8 July of the same year seems to point to a similar order having been sent into Yorkshire. A considerable number of notices appear which prove that some depopulation had taken place, though in scattered places and at some distance of time. 'Moreover that the townes undernamed are inclosed and pitifully depopulated, viz., Maunby by Will Middleton about xvi yeares since, Gristhwaite by the late Erle of Northumberland about xxx^{ti} yeares since, North Kilvington by Mr. Mennell, the rest by whom ignoramus, Salton ab Sawton in Rydale by the late lord Eure almost xxiii years sithence.'¹³ But there is no room for doubt as to which side the justices favoured; a wall of 200 roods had been built by the Earl of Exeter to inclose part of Newsham Moor; it was pulled down during the night. The people of the neighbouring villages refused to give any information to lead to the detection of the culprits, so the justices ordered them to pay such sum of money as would rebuild the wall.¹⁴ Great distress was sometimes occasioned by cattle straying while being driven off common lands.

The cattle of the inhabitants of Sutton used to depasture on the common moor belonging to the village of Farlington quietly and peaceably until Thomas Moyser in the minority of Sir Robert Stapleton did somewhat trouble and interrupt their quiet going there by causing them to be driven out of the said moors and wastes of Farlington over the said river into the forest.¹⁵

One of the most systematic and well-organized attacks on inclosures during the period took place at Anlaby in the neighbourhood of Hull. The case was tried in the court of Exchequer, William Hayward being plaintiff, various inhabitants of Anlaby defendants. Southholme Close, part of Southholme Common, was said to have been inclosed for thirty years; but the landlord, William Hayward, seems to have roused popular indignation by depriving the cottagers of their housegaits on the common. One of the interrogatories administered on behalf of the defendants suggests that the two bylawmen, though elected by the villagers themselves, had in defiance of their oath of office acted for some years in collusion with the complainant.

'Whether has the ordering or overseeing of the ancient custom and usage of common in the grounds been of late time much neglected by the Bylawmen and what was the occasion of the said neglect. Whether was it for that the Bylawmen were kinsmen to the owners of the said inclosures or for what other cause or respect was it that the same was so neglected and not casten down, speak the truth thereof by the oath you have taken.'

⁹ Exch. Dep. Yorks. Mich. 2 Jas. I, no. 33.

¹⁰ Miss Leonard, op. cit. 102.

¹¹ Exch. Dep. Yorks. Hil. 3 Jas. I, no. 17.

^{11a} Kneeton (?).

¹² 35 Hen. VIII, *Quarter Sessions Rec.* (North Riding Rec. Soc.), i, 42, 43.

¹³ *Ibid.* 78.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 170, 6 Oct. 1609; 210, 8 Jan. 1610.

¹⁵ Exch. Dep. Yorks. East. 5 Jas. I, no. 12.

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But before the matter came to a climax, the inhabitants, probably in view of future developments, deposed the bylawmen, elected possibly under coercion, and chose in their place Christopher Keld and Thomas Brocklebank. Having secured these important allies, for they were sworn to see that each had his just rights and that no one was oppressed, Robert Legeard, the self-elected ringleader of the malcontents, called a meeting at his own house to arrange the plan of campaign. All those present were required to sign an undertaking to act in concert. No coercion was used to the solitary dissentient; the witness emphatically declared that Robert Legeard simply said to him, 'Go thy way,' and he went. The meeting was then unanimous and it was decided that the inclosure in question must go. The task was accomplished with surprising ease. Christopher Keld, Edward Turlton, and William Southwick, armed with sticks, went to Southolme Close, where two workmen were dyking. At the end of a brief conversation they filled up the dyke and left their work. Some men were engaged in hedging and fencing the same piece of ground. Apparently they did not acquiesce quite so readily, but Christopher Keld laying down his 'walking rod' on the dyke-side said, 'You dyke upon my common and I will sue you for it, for I have nothing to do with Mr. Hawoord.' The men replied, 'God shield rather than we be sued, we will cast it down again,' so the fences and hedges were pulled up. Hayward was driven to the expensive method of protecting himself by law, whether he gained his case is not recorded.¹⁶

A curiously perplexing case, which shows the difficulties attending informal arrangements, came into the Exchequer Court in 1619.

The landowner, Francis Salkeld, and his undertenants, the freeholders of Bowes and their farmers, and the king's tenants decided among themselves that 500 acres of the best land should be inclosed. According to the evidence the inclosure was 'for the general good without exception of any.' The cost of fencing was defrayed by each paying according to the quantity of his rent and lands and having stint of cattle in the same ratio. Francis Salkeld, Arthur Sheppard, Charles Kipling and their tenants paid £5 each, John Hamby and John Bousfield £3 6s. 8d. At a general meeting held at 'the gait' of the said pasture as soon as the fencing was complete, it was decided that those who had paid the fencing fees should have for xxv. nine beasts' gates therein every year. For the first year the defendants put in 'their stint of cattle and quietly enjoyed the same.' The second year Robert Peacock, Thomas Leadman, William Antony, and George Alderson, with a mob of people armed with pitchforks, staves, and daggers drove the cattle away. A compromise was arranged from which Francis Salkeld and his undertenants were expressly excluded. Encouraged by their success, Peacock and his followers began to treat the inclosed land as freehold. They granted rights of pasturage to those who lived near the common, and sold a piece of land on which a house was built. As the building was in the neighbourhood of Salkeld's tenements he was completely cut off from all access even to the uninclosed common. His case was undoubtedly strong; by legal inclosure used in an illegal way he had lost his right of approach to that part of the common for the inclosing of which he had paid heavily; by a second series of illegal inclosures he was debarred from access to that part of the common that still remained open. The defendants had not only defied the law by acting without the consent of the complainants or warrant of His Majesty, but had infringed a special order 'set down under the hand of Sir Talbott Bowes, deputy steward under the late Lord Scrope, that no inclosure should be taken up after in Bowes Moor or Common without a consent general of the King's tenants and the freeholders and their farmers there.' The evidence is complicated and perplexing, but two facts emerge: that the collective common-right holders could be as tyrannical as the individual landlord, and that parliamentary inclosure presented less opportunities of a miscarriage of justice than the earlier haphazard methods by agreement, collusion, warrant, or promiscuous annexation.¹⁷

In 1632 the York aldermen and the noted Sir Arthur Ingram had a hot dispute over a question of inclosing, but

after much treatye and debating of the matter with Sir Arthur Ingram Knight agreed with him that he shall and will in satisfaction of the right that this city clames to have in the common of Huntington which he hath now lately inclosed made an estaite in fee to feoffees to the use of the maior and comonalty of a full fourth part of the soyle which he hath soe inclosed to be sett out in severalty from the other three parts which is wellingly accepted of And the sayd Mr. Alderman Allanson and Mr. Pepper are now desired that they will gett a conveyance drawne and sealed by the said Sir Arthur accordingly.¹⁸

The Session Rolls for the first half of the 17th century yield evidence of a systematic attempt to inclose without legal right. On 18 April 1637 an Alne¹⁹ yeoman was brought before the court for stopping up the highway between Thirsk and York in his 'alottments laitey improved in the

¹⁶ Exch. Dep. Yorks. Mich. 12 Jas. I, no. 32.

¹⁷ Ibid. Hil. 17 Jas. I, no. 1.

¹⁸ York Munic. Rec. xxxv, fol. 169d, 4 June 1632.

¹⁹ Six hundred acres were inclosed by Act of Parliament at Alne in 1807.

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forest of Galtres with stoopes, narrow gates and ditches, being an usual high waie for cartes and carriages,' time the memory of man not being to the contrary.²⁰ Twelve similar presentments occur within a short time.²¹ In 1640 Howgrave was so depopulated by the rapid inclosing that no one remained to act as constable.²² The following year, in the neighbourhood of Rillington, the new landlord, Philip Wheath, convinced that inclosure would increase the value of the soil, approached the freeholders with a scheme on a large scale for fencing 'arable land, meadow ground, common moors and wastes.' After many meetings and long debates he induced his neighbours to further his schemes. The evil effects of the prolongation of the common-field system are summed up in the description of the condition of the place.

Considering that the tillage of the said town and lordship was very much decayed and like to be quite destroyed for want of enclosure, and also considering that the multiplicity of the stock goods and cattle of all sorts and kinds kept upon the grounds and wastes of the said manor were daily increased, whereby the said grounds were eaten up, trodden under foot and consumed, that many of them were starved and diverse of the said free holders thereby totally disabled to manure and till their grounds.²³

But it seems necessary to judge each case of inclosing on its own merits, for the reverse side of the picture is forcibly represented in the Sutton case.

From these depositions valuable contemporary views of the anti-inclosers can be gained. The village of Sutton, in the forest of Galtres,²⁴ consisted of eighty-eight cottages, with pasture and turbarry rights extending over 1,500 acres of common. Some of these cottagers were small farmers with a little land; others had only houses, garths, and common rights. It was suggested that the common, which consisted of heath, ling, and barren ground, should be subdivided, and inclosed into eighty-eight small allotments. The witnesses were unanimously adverse to such a change. One argued that the inclosed land would not be worth 3s. 4d. an acre. He clinched his argument by a concrete local example. A district of about 400 acres, called Bohemia, adjoining upon the best part of Sutton Common, of similar soil, was improved and subdivided. It still lets at 3s. 4d. an acre. The land was ploughed and riven up, 'and sown with corn, but is so dear even at the low rental that if the landlord had not been at the sole charge of enclosing the same, the tenants had been undone with the charge thereof.' He added: 'Some of the tenants are beggared by it and other some have left it and others fit to leave it.' Another example of depreciation on account of inclosure is given. The tithes of 'wool and lamb' yielded when the land was in common at Huby, a neighbouring village, £12 a year, but since the subdivision they are not worth £3 6s. 8d. Another point urged against inclosure is that many of the inhabitants of Sutton 'want ability and means' to fence the land already in their possession. Another witness observed that the common served a useful purpose in supplying turf in a neighbourhood where it was scarce and dear. It served, too, as a pasturage for 3,000 sheep, and doubts were expressed whether tillage could be continued unless sheep were kept. Besides, more money was made by sheep than by land, when soil was so poor. Lack of initiative was not at the root of the resistance to the change; for many witnesses declared that endless experiments had been made in 'ploughing, burning and corning' several parcels of land near the common, but all had been unsuccessful. Several of the farmers were tenants for the life of Mr. Kirk. This uncertainty of tenure, added to 'the barroness of the earth,' rendered the innovation impracticable. 'The high waies on horseback and on foote and for carte and carriage' from the North Riding to York lay across the common. The onerous duty of keeping up the road would devolve on the inclosers; this, one witness says, 'would tyre the most of them.'

The whole evidence may be tersely summed up in the words of the last deponent: 'He verily believeth that the subdivision of the fifteen hundred acres of common will be an advantage to thre or four of the richest of the inhabitants but will be prejudicial to the rest and utter undoing of the poorest sort.'²⁵

No part of Yorkshire has a more stormy economic history than the tract of country called Hatfield Chase, which, by the ingenuity of Dutch engineers, had been reclaimed from waste in the early years of Charles I. An interesting case in this district was dealt with by special commission in 1670. It is clear from the evidence that the right of inclosing land where Crown rights prevailed, without legal proceedings or agreement, was an accepted theory, although the only excuse urged was 'that other towns did the same.' About 80 acres of the King's Moor had been inclosed by Mr. Belton, and was kept inclosed for four or five years 'during Oliver Cromwell's time.' But the towns of Snaith and Cowick²⁶ obliged him to lay it down again as common. A

²⁰ *Quarter Sessions Rec.* (North Riding Rec. Soc.), iv, 71, 72.

²¹ *Ibid.* 73, 80.

²² *Ibid.* 176.

²³ *Chan. Enr. Dec. R.* 598, no. 6, referred to by Miss Leonard, *op. cit.* 111.

²⁴ Three thousand acres were inclosed in 1748 by Act of Parliament.

²⁵ *Exch. Dep. Yorks. Trin.* 1656, no. 5.

²⁶ One thousand one hundred and sixty acres were inclosed at Snaith and Cowick in 1773 by Act of Parliament.

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second attempt was made by Mr. Thomas Gaythorne to inclose 200 acres of the same moor. This time the people, having common rights, refused to submit. One witness remarks that no objection would have been taken to Mr. Gaythorne's proceedings if he had been contented with the king's moors, but he had gone on inclosing more ground. Incidentally a glimpse is afforded of the unbusinesslike methods used in the management of the royal domain. 'Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, kt., paid several inhabitants £3 10s. an acre for a composition for cutting through Rocliff Moors, then their inheritance, the King's Moors lying next thereunto, which said sum might have been paid for the King's Moor for such licence if the same had been demanded for cutting a river through the same.'²⁷

A few scattered facts with regard to Yorkshire inclosures can be gleaned from Celia Fiennes, who wrote in the late 17th century. She alludes to the inclosures between Darlington and Richmond, the common near Boroughbridge, and the open common between Knaresborough and Leeds. But the endless inclosures in the neighbourhood of Elland seem to have struck her, as they had done James Ryder a century earlier, as the distinguishing feature of the district.²⁸

It is interesting to note that Daniel Defoe also, almost a century later, particularly remarked that in the neighbourhood of Halifax to Blackstone Edge the land was divided into small inclosures from two acres to six or seven each. Every three or four pieces of land had a house and a tenter, and on every tenter was a piece of cloth, kersey or shalloon.²⁹ These agricultural weavers alluded to by Defoe, who eked out their scanty earnings by cultivating a few acres of ground, formed an important section in the industrial and economic life of the West Riding. They survived into the 19th century, long after their common rights had passed away. In fact the class is not yet extinct, though the 20th-century representative has no strip of common land to occupy his energies. The allotment or poultry rearing takes the place of the subsistence farming of his 18th-century prototype. Many consider that if inclosing had been carried on with a nicer regard for the rights of the small holder of common land, this class might have continued. But they were crushed out of existence rather by the better organization of industry than by the systematic encroachments of their powerful neighbours. The sturdy independence, that in theory is so much admired, did not lend itself to obey the bell of the factory. The life of constant change from weaving to agriculture, from agriculture to bartering yarn or cloth, with exciting interludes of rabbit-coursing and ridding, fostered their hatred of monotony. Men of this type, ready to turn their hand to anything, were England's most valuable assets in ensuring the expansion of the colonies, but as component parts of a highly specialized industrial development they were useless. Their elimination was a necessity of industrial efficiency, rather than a result of the policy of inclosing.

An interesting experiment, on entirely novel lines, was tried in Yorkshire in the reign of Anne, and carried out successfully. A local Bill was obtained, by which it became lawful for any of the inhabitants of any parish in the West Riding of the county, where chapels-of-ease had been built but had no endowment, to inclose tracts of the wastes or commons in the neighbourhood for the benefit of the curate.

There were several limitations. The consent of the lord or lords of the manors and three-quarters of the freeholders must be obtained. The area had not to exceed 60 acres or one-sixth of the common land, and it had to be vested in trustees. Only those ministers whose stipends were under £40 a year could avail themselves of it. Residence and performance of the divine office were obligatory. According to the report the results were very satisfactory.³⁰

Under the heading 'Effect on the poor of the inclosures which took place during the first forty years of his present Majesty,' the report of 1808 gives many typical cases:—

Ackworth.³¹ The parish belonged to near 100 owners; nearly the whole of whom have come to the parish since the inclosure or changed the quantity of their land.

Kirkburn. The inclosure has proved of singular advantage to great landowners and their tenants; but the labourer who, previous to the inclosure, had his cowgate and from thence derived considerable nourishment to his small family, was deprived of this aid by inability to inclose, therefore was under the necessity of selling his tenements to his richer neighbour, and deprived his family of a comfortable refuge.

Ebberston have lost their cows.

Tipthorpe [Tibthorpe] have lost their cows and sold their tenements.³²

²⁷ P.R.O. Exch. Spec. Com. York, no. 6566, 17 Oct. 1670.

²⁸ C. Fiennes, *Through England on a Side-saddle*, 183-6.

²⁹ D. Defoe, *Tour through Great Britain*, (1727), iii (1), 99.

³⁰ *General Inclosure Report*, 131-4. Bd. of Agric. Sir John Sinclair, 1808; Loc. and Personal Act, 12 Anne, cap. 4.

³¹ The common fields at Ackworth were inclosed in 1772 by Act of Parliament; acreage not given.

³² *General Inclosures*, op. cit. 1808, p. 152. 3,000 acres were inclosed at Tibthorpe by Act of Parliament in 1794.

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With the 18th century the period of Parliamentary inclosures is reached, and for the latter part of the century invaluable information can be obtained from Arthur Young. The inclosures on the hill facing Conisbrough excited his admiration, the waste land round Beverley his scorn.³³ Cleveland he extolled, 'the inclosures adding prodigiously to the view. In front appears a most picturesque hill, intersected with green hedges, and cultivated to the very top. One of the most pleasing objects in the world.'³⁴ Both from a picturesque and a pastoral point of view he found the Tees valley unsurpassed. The extensive moorlands that stretched on both sides of the river had formerly 'used not to yield a farthing an acre,'³⁵ but by skilful management 7s. 6d. was now raised. Greenfield in the parish of Arncliffe, an area of 2,080 acres, was so increasing in value by inclosure and improvement that it would soon yield £1,200 a year instead of the former rental of £60. He extolled highly the energy of Mr. Scroope of Danby, who, by inclosing moorland in the Wensleydale district, had not only added to the cultivated land of England, but made 170 per cent. on his outlay.³⁶ Cases of this kind, where no common rights were exploited, where the energy and enterprise of the landlord gave the impetus, and his capital was risked to effect the improvement, are by no means uncommon in Yorkshire.

But an inclosure of an entirely different kind took place in the vale of Pickering. Canon Taylor has familiarized everyone with the economic story of the parish. In the time of Edward the Confessor the inclosures were less than 400 acres, about 700 acres were tilled in open field, about 20,000 acres remained moorland pasture. When the Domesday Survey was made the tillage had increased to 1,200 acres, there were twenty villeins having six ploughs among them, the population reached 100, little more than one man to a square mile. To-day the parish contains 31,271 acres and has 4,454 inhabitants, and all the land is inclosed. But towards the end of the 18th century a complete upheaval of the whole parish took place. Writing in 1788 Marshall says: 'In my own remembrance, more than half the Vale of Pickering lay open; now scarcely an open field or an undivided common remains.'³⁷ The history of its inclosure is given at length by Marshall, and is at once so extraordinary and presents such a vivid picture of the happy-go-lucky ways of early inclosing Acts that it furnishes the classic example of inclosure literature. The interest lies in the fact that one small town should furnish typical examples of each of the various methods of inclosure. In 1773³⁸ a bill was passed which enabled a three-fourths majority of the occupiers of common arable lands with the consent of the owner and tithe owner to adopt any scheme of husbandry that might tend to increase the productive power of the land. Hunmanby in the East Riding³⁹ is the only town in England that took advantage of the Act. The fact that Isaac Leatham, a progressive agriculturist, lived there was probably the reason of this activity.

Writing in 1794, he gives a startling picture of the results of not inclosing. Hunmanby consisted chiefly of open fields and commons. The arable land was exhausted by injudicious culture, until it yielded hardly sufficient corn to supply the horses employed in cultivating the soil: 'poverty was an inmate of every dwelling.'⁴⁰

An excellent account of the state of a small Yorkshire town before its common fields were inclosed in 1801 is given by an anonymous writer who in 1843 obtained the details from one of the oldest inhabitants.⁴¹ The statistics compiled by Dr. Slater of the inclosure by Act of Parliament of land consisting either partly or wholly of arable common fields emphasizes the fact that the fundamental difference between the Ridings had not disappeared as time progressed. The period covered extends from 1729 to 1901. During those years 40·1 of the area of the entire East Riding was dealt with by bills inclosing common fields; in the West Riding innumerable bills were passed but only 11·6 of the area was affected; while in the North Riding an entirely insignificant portion, 6·3, was concerned. Broadly speaking, down to the third decade of the 18th century in the East Riding only three-fifths of the land had been inclosed, while in the West Riding nine-tenths was already in private ownership, and in the North Riding nineteen-twentieths.⁴² The East Riding stands fifth, the West Riding twentieth, the North Riding twenty-fifth in a list of the thirty-eight counties of England arranged in a descending scale according to acreage inclosed by Parliament.

In 1769 Daniel Defoe summed up the lack of arable land in the West Riding in a telling phrase: 'as for corn they scarce sow enough to feed their poultry.'⁴³ Little more than half a century

³³ A. Young, *Northern Tour*, i, 147.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 189.

³⁷ W. Marshall, *Rural Economy of Yorkshire*, i, 49-57.

³⁸ Stat. 13 Geo. III, cap. 81.

³⁹ G. Slater, *op. cit.* 88-90.

⁴⁰ I. Leatham, *General View of the Agriculture of the East Riding of Yorkshire*, 39-52. Hunmanby and Fordon were inclosed by Act of Parliament in 1800.

⁴¹ E. W. B. *An Account of Hornsea in Holderness* (1843), 52-64.

⁴² G. Slater, *op. cit.* 141, 144, 145.

⁴³ D. Defoe, *op. cit.* iii (1), 145.

³⁴ *Ibid.* ii, 94.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 196.

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later William Cobbett, in urging the folly of fighting against nature by trying to grow corn in the North Riding, writes :—

What was my surprise at finding, which I verily believe to be the fact, that there is not as much corn grown in the North Riding of Yorkshire, which begins at Ripon, and in the whole county of Durham as is grown in the Isle of Wight alone . . . all along the road from Leeds to Durham I saw hardly any wheat at all or any wheat stubble, the chief crops being oats and beans mixed with peas . . . They are not agricultural counties; they are not counties for the producing of bread, but they are counties made for the express purpose of producing meat; in which respect they excell the southern counties in a degree beyond all comparison.⁴⁴

In the year 1769 alone 25,151 acres of common land were inclosed in the East Riding; but the war period, as Arthur Young has pointed out, was coincident with great inclosing activity in the district. 'For the inclosures and turnpikes were carried on with great spirit during the later years of the war, notwithstanding the great scarcity of hands so often talked of.'⁴⁵ The last inclosure did not take place until 1901, when 321 acres were inclosed at Skipwith. The largest inclosure by one Act took place in the Kirkburton and Almondbury district in 1828, when 18,000 acres of common pasture were inclosed. The West Riding furnishes another example of wholesale inclosure at Ecclesfield: 14,000 acres were inclosed by one Act; but 6,000 acres is the highest mark touched in the East Riding, and 6,840 acres in the North.⁴⁶

The industrial revolution of the early 19th century had naturally an enormous effect on the economic history of Yorkshire, whose most important interests were bound up with mining and manufacturing rather than agriculture. The substitution of machinery for hand labour necessitated a change from the domestic to the factory system; this led to the concentration of the population in the towns, a movement somewhat accelerated by the rapid growth of parliamentary inclosures.

The abolition of child labour, too, was a factor of more importance in Yorkshire than in any other county.⁴⁷ Daniel Defoe, writing in 1769 of the neighbourhood of Halifax, had commented on the early age at which children were put to work. 'I never saw anything above four years old but its hands were sufficient for its own support.'⁴⁸ It is, however, interesting to note that the swing of the pendulum is at present in the direction of reverting to many customs abolished in the early Victorian period, more on account of the abuse of the system than of its inherent viciousness. The teaching of handicrafts in schools is only a modern adaptation of the rough-and-ready training children obtained under the worst possible sanitary conditions, and by means of incredibly cruel treatment, in the days of pre-factory legislation.

The general use of the telephone and of electricity both as a motive and lighting power has rendered the return of the factory to the country districts feasible. If this movement could be accelerated by the cheapening of the transport of goods, some of the worst results of the industrial revolution would be removed. By means of the telephone, the owner of a factory in the small village of Greetland, in a remote district of West Yorkshire, is for all practical purposes as much on the spot as the man in Bradford Exchange. The owner of a steel factory on a small stream in a distant part of South-east Yorkshire has an efficient agent which supplies him with generating and illuminating power as well as if he were in the immediate neighbourhood of a big town. The self-sufficiency of a modern factory supplied with telephones and electricity renders the nearness of a market of no importance, the presence of gas-works disadvantageous. The evils of the old truck system cannot be exaggerated; its modern prototype, meals provided by the firm, has much in its favour. Throughout the length and breadth of Yorkshire the scheme is gaining ground. In York, the most conservative of cities, in Wakefield, in Hull, even in the small village of Marsden, high up the Colne Valley, men are being provided with food at cost price; in many of the Yorkshire factories a breakfast costs only 1½d. or 2d., a dinner 4½d. The advantage of being saved a tiring walk after hard physical toil is self-evident, and so long as the men get better food in more sanitary surroundings—for the dining-rooms are usually presented to the workpeople by the employers—the sentimentalist's jeremiad over the decay of home life may be disregarded. In those towns where the women are joint wage-earners the advantages outweigh the disadvantages to even a greater degree. The growth of small holdings and allotments is only a modern adaptation of the old union of agricultural and industrial employments. An entirely novel feature of modern economic development, the pension scheme, has been taken up in many Yorkshire works and factories.

Messrs. Walker and Hall, Sheffield, have adopted a plan by which any worker who has been in their employment for twenty-one years, and has been either incapacitated or has attained the age of sixty-five years, receives a pension. As would be expected, the co-operative firm of William

⁴⁴ W. Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, ii, 362, 363.

⁴⁶ G. Slater, *op. cit.* 307-13.

⁴⁷ W. Cunningham, *op. cit.* 777; *Halifax Guardian*, 31 October 1835.

⁴⁸ D. Defoe, *Tour through Great Britain*, iii, 146.

⁴⁵ A. Young, *op. cit.* i, 178.

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Thomson and Sons, Huddersfield, the founder of which earned Ruskin's sympathy and admiration, have an assurance and pension scheme. Messrs. J. I. and J. Taylor, of Batley, have instituted many plans for breaking down the rigid lines of demarcation between employers and employees. The parental supervision exercised by the firm of Rowntree has made the old cathedral city the Mecca of the employer of labour with philanthropic tendencies. There is hardly a scheme of industrial betterment with which their name is not more or less intimately connected.

A surprising amount of unchronicled work on quasi-philanthropic lines is being done, especially in the large Yorkshire towns, which escapes attention from the dislike of the promoters to any form of advertisement. Work of this kind, where individual enthusiasm is a main factor, is easier for small firms, with the management in the hands of the founder of the business or his immediate descendants, than for large firms under directorate control. By the exertions of Lady Bell, Middlesbrough has a winter garden for its workpeople; but the firm of Bell Brothers, in spite of the number of its employees, belongs to the class of family as opposed to trust businesses. The club house in connexion with the firm of Sir Bernard Samuelson and Co. was the last enterprise into which that Cleveland pioneer ironmaster threw his inexhaustible energies. It is, however, inevitable that the gradual substitution of businesses managed on trust lines, of absentee directors working with capital gathered from ignorant investors living at a distance, eager only for high percentages for their capital, should lay a dead hand on all attempts to foster a strong feeling of good-fellowship between masters and men. The firm with a staff of five thousand men, all of them staunch members of unions, can hardly feel answerable for the individual well-being of such a heterogeneous mass. The ever-encroaching factory legislation, too, tends to shift responsibility from the master to the inspector.

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801 TO 1901

Introductory Notes

AREA

The county taken in this table is that existing subsequently to 7 & 8 Vict., chap. 61 (1844). By this Act detached parts of counties, which had already for parliamentary purposes been amalgamated with the county by which they were surrounded or with which the detached part had the longest common boundary (2 & 3 Will. IV, chap. 64—1832), were annexed to the same county for all purposes; some exceptions were, however, permitted.

By the same Act (7 & 8 Vict., chap. 61) the detached parts of counties, transferred to other counties, were also annexed to the hundred, ward, wapentake, &c. by which they were wholly or mostly surrounded, or to which they next adjoined, in the counties to which they were transferred. The hundreds, &c., in this table are also given as existing subsequently to this Act.

As is well known, the famous statute of Queen Elizabeth for the relief of the poor took the then-existing ecclesiastical parish as the unit for Poor Law relief. This continued for some centuries with but few modifications; notably by an Act passed in the thirteenth year of the reign of Charles II which permitted townships and villages to maintain their own poor. This permission was necessary owing to the large size of some of the parishes, especially in the north of England.

In 1801 the parish for rating purposes (now known as the civil parish, i.e. 'an area for which a separate poor rate is or can be made, or for which a separate overseer is or can be appointed') was in most cases co-extensive with the ecclesiastical parish of the same name; but already there were numerous townships and villages rated separately for the relief of the poor, and also there were many places scattered up and down the country, known as extra-parochial places, which paid no rates at all. Further, many parishes had detached parts entirely surrounded by another parish or parishes.

Parliament first turned its attention to extra-parochial places, and by an Act (20 Vict., chap. 19—1857) it was laid down (a) that all extra-parochial places entered separately in the 1851 census returns are to be deemed civil parishes, (b) that in any other place being, or being reputed to be, extra-parochial, overseers of the poor may be appointed, and (c) that where, however, owners and occupiers of two-thirds in value of the land of any such place desire its annexation to an adjoining civil parish, it may be so added with the consent of the said parish. This Act was not found entirely to fulfil its object, so by a further Act (31 & 32 Vict., chap. 122—1868) it was enacted that every such place remaining on 25 December, 1868, should be added to the parish with which it had the longest common boundary.

The next thing to be dealt with was the question of detached parts of civil parishes, which was done by the Divided Parishes Acts of 1876, 1879, and 1882. The last, which amended the one of 1876, provides that every detached part of an entirely extra-metropolitan parish which is entirely surrounded by another parish becomes transferred to this latter for civil purposes, or if the population exceeds 300 persons it may be made a separate parish. These Acts also gave power to add detached parts surrounded by more than one parish to one or more of the surrounding parishes, and also to

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amalgamate entire parishes with one or more parishes. Under the 1879 Act it was not necessary for the area dealt with to be entirely detached. These Acts also declared that every part added to a parish in another county becomes part of that county.

Then came the Local Government Act, 1888, which permits the alteration of civil parish boundaries and the amalgamation of civil parishes by Local Government Board orders. It also created the administrative counties. The Local Government Act of 1894 enacts that where a civil parish is partly in a rural district and partly in an urban district each part shall become a separate civil parish; and also that where a civil parish is situated in more than one urban district each part shall become a separate civil parish, unless the county council otherwise direct. Meanwhile, the ecclesiastical parishes had been altered and new ones created under entirely different Acts, which cannot be entered into here, as the table treats of the ancient parishes in their civil aspect.

POPULATION

The first census of England was taken in 1801, and was very little more than a counting of the population in each parish (or place), excluding all persons, such as soldiers, sailors, &c., who formed no part of its ordinary population. It was the *de facto* population (i.e. the population actually resident at a particular time) and not the *de jure* (i.e. the population really belonging to any particular place at a particular time). This principle has been sustained throughout the censuses.

The Army at home (including militia), the men of the Royal Navy ashore, and the registered seamen ashore were not included in the population of the places where they happened to be, at the time of the census, until 1841. The men of the Royal Navy and other persons on board vessels (naval or mercantile) in home ports were first included in the population of those places in 1851. Others temporarily present, such as gipsies, persons in barges, &c. were included in 1841 and perhaps earlier.

GENERAL

Up to and including 1831 the returns were mainly made by the overseers of the poor, and more than one day was allowed for the enumeration, but the 1841–1901 returns were made under the superintendence of the registration officers and the enumeration was to be completed in one day. The Householder's Schedule was first used in 1841. The exact dates of the censuses are as follows:—

10 March, 1801	30 May, 1831	8 April, 1861	6 April, 1891
27 May, 1811	7 June, 1841	3 April, 1871	1 April, 1901
28 May, 1821	31 March, 1851	4 April, 1881	

NOTES EXPLANATORY OF THE TABLE

This table gives the population of the ancient county and arranges the parishes, &c. under the hundred or other subdivision to which they belong, but there is no doubt that the constitution of hundreds, parishes, &c. was in some cases doubtful.

In the main the table follows the arrangement in the 1841 census volume.

The table gives the population and area of each parish, &c. as it existed in 1801, as far as possible.

The areas are those supplied by the Ordnance Survey Department, except in the case of those marked 'e,' which were calculated by other authorities. The area includes inland water (if any), but not tidal water or foreshore.

† after the name of a parish, part of parish, or place indicates that it was affected by the operation of the Divided Parishes Acts, but the Registrar-General failed to obtain particulars of every such change. The changes which escaped notification were, however, probably small in area and with little, if any, population. Considerable difficulty was experienced both in 1891 and 1901 in tracing the results of changes effected in civil parishes under the provisions of these Acts; by the Registrar-General's courtesy, however, reference has been permitted to certain records of formerly detached parts of parishes, which has made it possible approximately to ascertain the population in 1901 of parishes as constituted prior to such alterations, though the figures in many instances must be regarded as partly estimates.

‡ after the name of a parish (or place) indicates that the ecclesiastical parish of the same name at the 1901 census was co-extensive with such parish (or place).

o in the table indicates that there is no population on the area in question.

— in the table indicates that no population can be ascertained.

The word 'chapelry' seems often to have been used as an equivalent for 'township' in 1841, which census volume has been adopted as the standard for names and descriptions of areas.

The figures in italics in the table relate to the area and population of such subdivisions of ancient parishes as chapelries, townships, and hamlets.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801-1901

Ancient or Geographical County	Acre-age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
	3,881,218	859,133	977,820	1,173,106	1,371,966	1,592,059	1,797,995	2,033,610	2,436,330	2,886,536	3,208,502	3,584,675

PARISH	Acre-age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
EAST RIDING												
<i>Buckrose Wapentake</i>												
Acklam :—	3,652	431	535	683	725	845	781	774	750	678	621	528
Acklam with Barthorpe Township	2,360	255	310	389	371	411	334	366	359	287	282	223
Leavening Township	1,292	176	225	294	354	434	447	408	391	391	339	305
Birdsall † . . .	4,031	234	242	240	244	267	282	355	370	321	366	358
Bugthorpe † . . .	1,915	244	260	281	300	296	266	245	225	239	232	184
Burythorpe † . . .	1,250	135	202	216	211	226	289	265	260	262	227	225
Cowlam † . . .	2,052	17	28	33	49	44	35	69	51	63	59	52
Fridaythorpe † . . .	1,920	112	180	275	283	320	330	332	278	320	280	245
Grimston, North †	1,564	131	126	139	158	175	167	181	201	166	154	158
Helperthorpe † . . .	2,593	72	137	157	131	160	140	146	144	189	189	135
Heslerton † :—	6,540	268	440	469	514	563	618	603	618	650	446	469
Heslerton, East, Township †	3,586	139	194	196	215	235	267	262	271	304	220	211
Heslerton, West, Township † †	2,954	129	246	273	299	328	351	341	347	346	226	258
Kirby Grindalythe † :—	7,586	276	311	376	414	474	554	571	566	534	449	415
Duggleby Township	1,715	93	102	154	186	226	294	272	279	238	183	165
Kirby Grindalythe Township	4,526	144	166	178	184	195	210	249	259	243	225	201
Thirkleby Township	1,345	39	43	44	44	53	50	50	28	53	41	49
Kirby Underdale †	5,125	230	293	335	293	324	335	333	359	300	297	246
Kirkham, Extra Par.	273	29	14	7	31	54	52	56	41	51	40	47
Langton † :—	2,828	266	292	363	341	328	314	264	294	311	259	257
Kennythorpe Township	543	50	59	83	75	72	73	57	52	50	68	76
Langton Township	2,285	216	233	280	266	256	241	207	242	261	191	181
Norton † . . .	2,840	615	849	1,168	1,425	1,644	2,315	2,983	3,170	3,482	3,683	3,842
Rillington † :—	4,583	581	741	883	955	1,051	1,228	1,132	1,095	1,118	1,004	916
Rillington Township †	2,171	380	561	683	724	800	953	884	874	877	760	716
Scampston Chapelry † †	2,412	201	180	200	231	251	275	248	221	241	244	200
Scrayingham † :—	4,894	461	476	511	522	515	466	480	464	397	388	351
Howsham Township	2,151	203	228	225	240	219	194	188	184	177	199	168
Leppington Township	1,183	118	117	129	118	110	114	132	102	76	68	73
Scrayingham Township	1,560	140	131	157	164	186	158	160	178	144	121	110

¹ *Ancient County.*—The County as defined by the Act 7 & 8 Vict. chap. 61, which affected Yorkshire to the following extent—viz., Crayke Parish was transferred from the County of Durham. The area includes certain uninhabited lands common to two or more Parishes, which lands, however, are not included in the areas of the Parishes to which they jointly belong. The area and population of Crowle with Ealand Township, a small part of which is in Yorkshire, are entirely shown in Lincolnshire, and the entire area and population of Wallingwells Extra Parochial Place, which is also partly in Yorkshire, are shown in Nottinghamshire.

The populations given for 1811 and 1821 exclude 8,206 and 789 Militia respectively, who were not assigned to their respective Parishes, etc. (See also notes to Paul, Ampleforth St. Peter, Harwood Dale, Silpho, Great Mitton, and Fingingley.)

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acreage	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
EAST RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Buckrose Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
Settrington † :—	6,194	614	729	757	779	741	825	871	777	802	685	669
Scagglethorpe	1,206	200	219	222	252	249	275	315	265	247	197	194
Township												
Settrington	4,988	414	510	535	527	492	550	556	512	555	488	475
Township												
Sherburn † . . .	4,738	288	405	496	536	623	656	744	688	726	688	649
Skirpenbeck † . .	1,645	167	185	263	214	222	190	198	204	153	149	130
Sledmere † . . .	7,043	335	388	425	480	435	437	486	461	501	507	512
Thorpe Bassett † ‡	1,806	145	152	156	206	201	207	219	183	192	180	170
Weaverthorpe :—	5,601	389	530	645	753	952	1,066	1,033	1,098	1,056	898	760
Lutton, East and	2,624	207	254	311	350	405	426	432	432	413	358	330
West Town												
ship †												
Weaverthorpe	2,977	182	276	334	403	547	640	601	666	643	540	430
Township †												
Westow † :—	3,014	471	600	660	606	666	592	635	557	500	445	457
Eddlethorpe	718		55	62	53	73	49	51	52	56	43	54
Township		93										
Firby Township	525		56	44	38	36	43	51	50	42	23	40
Menethorpe	582	104	120	131	126	129	110	124	102	65	64	69
Township												
Westow Town-	1,189	274	369	423	389	428	390	409	353	337	315	294
ship												
Wetwang † :—	5,363	274	401	526	621	728	750	827	810	807	724	741
Fimber Chap.	1,927	81	106	104	139	170	179	204	195	184	158	145
Wetwang Town-	3,436	193	295	422	482	558	571	623	615	623	566	596
ship												
Wharram	9,096	255	303	336	330	372	685	484	475	461	436	427
Percy ² :—												
Raisthorpe and	2,113	35		47	45	48	187	87	83	78	84	73
Burdale Town-			206									
ship												
Thixendale	3,812	137		184	207	239	266	279	278	254	234	211
Township												
Towthorpe	1,712	45	55	61	48	50	61	62	59	72	62	91
Township												
Wharram Percy	1,459	38	42	44	30	35	171	56	55	57	56	52
Township												
Wharram-le-Street	2,072	112	114	127	150	135	131	140	145	137	133	111
Wintringham :—	8,234	368	477	532	589	603	588	602	557	570	528	475
Knapton Chap. †	2,892	139	176	206	242	264	253	271	248	246	221	217
Wintringham	5,342	229	301	326	347	339	335	331	309	324	307	258
Township †												
Yedingham † ‡ . .	582	115	92	127	109	122	104	108	117	137	191	117
<i>Dickering Wapentake</i>												
Argam	559	21	20	35	29	30	40	27	41	39	40	40
Bempton †	1,977	222	241	231	287	313	342	346	342	309	310	284
Bessingby †	1,270	87	82	83	83	66	92	70	99	141	171	382
Boynton †	2,617	66	109	123	114	100	113	128	120	156	128	161
Bridlington :—	12,333	3,773	4,422	5,034	5,637	6,070	6,846	6,833	7,919	9,177	9,701	13,109
Bridlington and	2,522	3,130	3,741	4,275	4,792	5,162	5,839	5,775	6,203	6,642	6,840	9,528
Bridlington												
Quay Town-												
ship												
Buckton Town-	1,982	111	162	147	171	182	182	181	153	151	141	158
ship												
Easton Hamlet	734	21	24	21	17	17	19	27	33	23	32	38
Grindale Chap.	2,431	88	69	107	121	116	153	174	202	179	157	154
Hildershorpe	696	40	51	51	73	116	147	194	725	1,475	1,752	2,518
with Wils-												
thorpe Town-												
ship												

² Wharram Percy Parish.—The 1851 population included a number of labourers temporarily employed on the Malton and Driffield Railway.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acres	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
EAST RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Dickering</i>												
<i>Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
Bridlington												
<i>(cont.)</i> :—												
Sewerby with Marton Township	2,116	279	248	317	352	352	356	342	452	547	628	567
Speeton Chap. †	1,852	104	127	116	111	125	150	140	151	160	151	146
Burton Agnes †	6,564	502	533	609	653	603	650	723	712	659	625	597
Burton Agnes Township †	2,575	283	267	321	350	322	345	344	337	342	317	319
Gransmoor Township †	1,253	49	73	85	93	90	83	108	114	84	68	69
Haisthorpe Township	1,390	89	111	109	117	103	122	157	147	123	121	118
Thornholme Township †	1,346	81	82	94	93	88	100	114	114	110	119	91
Burton Fleming or North Burton	3,910	237	300	386	414	506	574	525	513	543	425	422
Carnaby ³	1,944	129	132	130	155	185	161	152	170	180	200	192
Filey (part of) ⁴ :—												
Filey Township	832	505	579	773	802	1,231	1,511	1,881	2,267	2,337	2,481	3,003
Flamborough †	3,081	731	756	917	975	1,191	1,297	1,287	1,374	1,390	1,340	1,326
Folkton †	5,499	266	362	411	455	580	529	559	530	488	442	439
Foston-on-the-Wolds † † :—	4,910	377	512	648	715	792	786	759	700	683	582	480
Brigham Township †	1,382	80	84	103	151	147	139	114	98	99	73	58
Foston-on-the-Wolds Township	1,118	175	267	300	308	344	340	311	300	287	218	195
Gembling Township	1,236	61	69	87	78	114	110	123	103	117	119	105
Kelk, Great, Township	1,174	61	92	158	178	187	197	211	199	180	172	122
Foxholes :—	4,304	215	232	262	277	349	406	428	423	417	355	294
Butterwick Chap. †	1,781	85	88	93	100	100	109	109	88	105	92	82
Foxholes with Boythorpe Township †	2,523	130	144	169	177	249	297	319	335	312	263	212
Fraisthorpe :—	2,040	87	78	91	103	104	104	101	95	116	108	98
Fraisthorpe . .	1,824	—	—	—	—	92	83	85	82	104	95	92
Auburn Hamlet	216	—	—	—	—	12	21	16	13	12	13	6
Ganton †	3,980	223	259	278	275	428	382	352	342	339	376	393
Garton-on-the-Wolds †	4,146	288	333	357	428	563	531	572	493	518	498	440
Harpham †	2,144	172	203	251	240	239	266	274	256	244	208	193
Hunmanby ⁵ :—	8,458	757	903	1,066	1,079	1,277	1,346	1,425	1,384	1,408	1,347	1,327
Fordon Chap. . .	1,464	—	—	48	—	63	55	38	60	57	38	38
Hunmanby Township †	6,994	757	903	1,018	1,079	1,214	1,291	1,387	1,324	1,351	1,309	1,289
Kelk, Little, Extra Par.	727	21	19	51	50	55	63	57	42	91	70	60
Kilham †	8,176	588	789	971	1,042	1,120	1,247	1,252	1,138	1,209	1,039	946
Langtoft † :—	6,174	292	368	432	523	688	739	783	753	731	664	615
Cottam Chap.	2,590	16	15	16	25	41	58	95	116	113	99	107
Langtoft Township	3,584	276	353	416	498	647	681	688	637	618	565	514
Lowthorpe	1,967	159	171	149	138	164	139	171	197	197	184	189
Muston †	2,291	236	275	350	382	417	399	391	393	395	341	340
Nafferton † † :—	5,821	1,099	1,172	1,261	1,184	1,371	1,517	1,535	1,492	1,439	1,463	1,424
Nafferton Township †	4,899	721	804	917	1,032	1,129	1,260	1,311	1,256	1,230	1,235	1,232
Wansford Township	922	378	368	344	152	242	257	224	236	209	228	192

³ *Carnaby Parish*.—The 1841 population included thirty-three gypsies in tents.

⁴ *Filey Parish* is situated in *Dickering Wapentake* (East Riding) and in *Pickering Lythe Wapentake* (North Riding).

⁵ *Hunmanby Parish* includes *Fordon Chapelry*, the population of which was wrongly included in that of *Wold Newton Parish* in 1831, and probably in 1801 and 1811.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
<i>EAST RIDING</i>												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Dickering</i>												
<i>Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
Reighton † . . .	1,827	149	175	217	234	224	247	251	250	254	252	219
Rudston † . . .	5,547	296	375	417	518	541	599	605	591	604	578	552
Ruston Parva . . .	972	94	113	140	152	172	185	161	147	129	140	84
Thwing † . . .	4,026	217	268	314	350	452	444	416	402	439	367	326
Willerby † . . .	4,570	192	267	297	356	364	422	468	413	415	446	365
Wold Newton ^{5a} † .	2,030	106	198	177	252	245	276	351	339	310	292	274
<i>Harthill Wapentake—Bainton</i>												
<i>Beacon Division</i>												
Bainton † :—	3,969	274	299	355	415	452	469	465	456	472	419	402
Bainton . . .	2,982	220	237	300	358	392	404	399	388	400	365	320
Neswick	987	54	62	55	57	60	65	66	68	72	54	82
Township												
Dalton, North † .	4,639	272	326	398	468	450	499	486	479	489	520	431
Driffeld † :—	7,600	1,483	2,025	2,471	2,854	3,477	4,259	4,734	5,423	6,323	6,037	6,036
Driffeld, Great,	4,814	1,411	1,857	2,303	2,660	3,223	3,963	4,405	5,067	5,937	5,700	5,762
Township †			82	75	92	154	186	197	202	218	176	142
Driffeld, Little, Chap. †	388											
Emswell with Kelleythorpe	2,398	72	86	93	102	100	110	132	154	168	161	132
Township †												
Holme-on-the- Wolds	1,516	127	122	138	136	149	153	168	175	164	158	138
Hutton Crans- wick † :—	6,443	694	793	1,000	1,118	1,228	1,276	1,415	1,384	1,338	1,170	1,032
Hutton Crans- wick Town- ship †	4,814	662	748	917	1,053	1,154	1,180	1,315	1,300	1,237	1,066	915
Rotsea Township	806	13	18	23	30	33	35	41	37	43	46	45
Sunderlandwick Township †	823	19	27	60	35	41	52	59	47	58	58	72
Kilnwick :—	4,406	349	379	452	450	495	520	558	529	519	475	379
Beswick Chap. .	2,029	136	154	192	205	211	224	252	259	247	211	166
Bracken	677	14	22	30	28	33	32	34	30	31	25	28
Township												
Kilnwick	1,700	199	203	230	217	251	264	272	240	241	239	185
Township												
Kirkburn † :—	6,221	310	386	455	489	508	550	581	555	548	535	499
Eastburn	823	11	16	12	14	13	15	24	26	23	17	30
Township												
Kirkburn with Battleburn	1,410	92	115	119	141	149	166	158	161	150	152	141
Township												
Southburn	1,103	75	87	103	107	97	98	90	87	94	88	92
Township												
Tibthorpe	2,885	132	168	221	227	249	271	309	281	281	278	236
Township												
Lockington :—	3,756	426	513	589	645	624	631	689	649	574	551	513
Aike Township .	540	47	84	98	86	98	108	103	96	60	63	55
Lockington	3,216	379	429	491	559	526	523	586	553	514	488	458
Township												
Lund	3,078	310	327	357	370	419	503	505	461	460	416	407
Middleton † . . .	3,664	286	406	441	527	659	649	701	701	636	678	634
Scarborough . . .	1,386	61	86	88	79	81	90	89	100	66	82	79
Skerne †	2,762	184	194	251	201	213	194	207	193	176	182	174
Warter †	7,880	355	401	428	470	439	488	539	610	604	578	559
Watton	4,738	197	246	307	345	329	315	343	339	319	311	299
<i>Harthill Wapentake—Holme</i>												
<i>Beacon Division</i>												
Aughton † :—	4,626	529	643	702	665	634	654	633	554	464	396	404
Aughton	1,947	187	247	269	217	217	225	202	178	137	114	134
Township												

^{5a} See note 5 above.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
EAST RIDING (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Harthill Wapentake—Holme Beacon Division</i> (<i>cont.</i>)												
Aughton (<i>cont.</i>):—												
Cottingwith, East, Chap.	1,244	250	292	308	310	308	318	316	278	259	233	195
Laytham Township	1,435	92	104	125	138	109	111	115	98	68	49	75
Brindleys Extra Par.	—	4	5	7	2	8	6	—	—	—	—	—
Bubwith †:—	10,692	1,172	1,260	1,455	1,358	1,370	1,361	1,453	1,374	1,261	1,208	1,071
Brighton cum Gunby Town- ship	1,746	157	146	179	204	220	193	207	247	181	131	133
Bubwith Township	1,545	424	477	540	461	524	583	554	573	514	566	475
Foggathorpe Township	1,323	78	100	137	128	96	99	128	110	113	131	111
Gribthorpe Township ⁶	902	120	132	145	108	61	52	41	37	33	29	25
Harlthorpe Township	759	62	74	93	105	103	78	99	85	81	55	56
Spaldington Township	3,544	331	331	361	352	313	323	363	279	296	248	224
Willitof Township	873	—	—	—	—	53	33	61	43	43	48	47
Ellerton Priory †	2,552	243	271	318	305	320	342	338	328	282	263	242
Everingham †	2,981	229	257	271	276	318	297	321	280	263	276	244
Goodmanham †	3,028	149	200	240	268	316	325	294	318	312	315	251
Harswell †	1,126	73	60	78	70	67	81	89	70	57	63	70
Hayton †:—	3,637	308	340	416	434	485	525	478	461	435	394	359
Bielby Chap.	1,738	173	188	239	248	273	305	268	244	220	195	191
Hayton Township	1,899	135	152	177	186	212	220	210	217	215	199	168
Holme-upon- Spalding Moor †	11,522	1,024	1,165	1,318	1,438	1,509	1,713	1,913	1,976	1,893	1,815	1,678
Londesborough †	4,258	183	215	244	259	267	293	306	334	360	380	320
Nunburnholme (part of) ⁷ :—												
Thorpe-le-Street Township	676	15	16	37	31	30	24	33	29	38	31	29
Seaton Ross †	3,427	385	395	477	436	540	568	549	550	475	401	376
Thornton (part of) ⁸ :—	4,373	394	433	553	582	612	622	672	622	546	471	432
Melbourne Township	3,149	308	341	437	463	514	535	568	534	462	388	356
Storthwaite, or Storwood Township	1,224	86	92	116	119	98	87	104	88	84	83	76
Weighton, Market:—	7,357	1,508	1,864	2,093	2,169	2,269	2,427	2,589	2,354	2,309	2,290	2,152
Shipton Chap.	1,475	325	356	369	348	322	426	411	424	428	423	372
Weighton, Mar- ket, and Arras Township †	5,882	1,183	1,508	1,724	1,821	1,947	2,001	2,178	1,930	1,881	1,867	1,780
Wressell ⁹	3,981	383	366	360	386	373	378	423	385	375	306	275
<i>Harthill Wapentake—Hunsley Beacon Division</i>												
Bishop Burton †	4,263	412	515	534	556	532	566	499	469	459	466	415
Brantingham (part of) ¹⁰ :—												
Thorpe Brant- ingham Town- ship	780	—	—	—	66	112	58	79	63	—	—	—

⁶ *Gribthorpe Township*.—The population includes that of *Willitof Township*, 1801–1831.

⁷ *Nunburnholme Parish* is situated in *Harthill Wapentake—Holme Beacon and Wilton Beacon Divisions*.

⁸ *Thornton Parish* is situated in *Harthill Wapentake—Holme Beacon and Wilton Beacon Divisions*.

⁹ *Wressell Parish* includes the area of *Brindleys* and its population 1861–1901.

¹⁰ *Brantingham Parish* is situated in *Harthill Wapentake—Hunsley Beacon Division*—and in *Howdenshire Wapentake*. The entire population of the parish is shown for the years 1801–1821 and 1881–1901 in the *Howdenshire Wapentake*; that of *Thorpe Brantingham Township* being included in that of *Brantingham Township*.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acres	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
EAST RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Harthill Wapentake—Hunsley Beacon Division</i>												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
Cave, North, :—	7,272	874	942	1,091	1,000	1,217	1,138	1,281	1,169	1,230	1,116	1,111
Cave, North, Township		639	665	783	747	897	899	976	883			
Drewton with Everthorpe Township	5,143	129	151	177	149	184	153	186	180	1,135	1,006	1,019
Cliff, South, Township	2,129	106	126	131	104	136	86	119	106	95	110	92
Cave, South, † :—	7,185	972	1,062	1,190	1,200	1,852	1,421	1,377	1,443	1,430	1,386	1,362
Broomfleet Township †	7,127	126	164	142	190	206	172	193	226	221	231	215
Cave, South, Township ¹¹	4,335	707	718	885	833	1,288	937	894	948	960	949	970
Faxfleet Township	1,723	139	180	163	177	358	312	290	269	249	206	177
Cherry Burton †	3,469	296	358	417	447	455	496	502	454	458	429	391
Cottingham ¹² †	9,735	1,927	2,299	2,479	2,575	2,618	2,854	3,140	4,015	6,177	10,103	16,987
Dalton, South	1,848	190	225	277	273	269	299	338	273	263	242	264
Elloughton ¹³ † :—	2,649	361	440	427	405	712	555	688	708	932	980	1,009
Elloughton-cum-Brough Township	7,628	332	390	383	355	664	506	641	663	888	927	954
Wauldby Township	1,021	29	50	44	50	48	49	47	45	44	53	55
Etton †	3,729	321	338	380	407	425	498	502	492	498	398	422
Hotham †	2,826	256	295	293	286	430	336	333	378	372	332	305
Leconfield and Arram	3,624	316	290	302	301	347	362	348	357	320	312	347
New Village, or Wallingfen Extra Par. ¹⁴	510	108	141	149	140	160	146	144	124	—	—	—
Newbald ¹⁵ † :—	5,958	661	706	722	769	973	908	910	827	804	799	731
Newbald, North, Township	3,976	517	553	543	575	738	665	699	641	648	627	565
Newbald, South, Township	1,982	144	153	179	194	235	243	211	186	156	172	166
Rowley †	6,428	347	370	425	451	507	498	476	516	593	512	519
Sancton :—	4,478	371	396	423	462	505	519	476	460	491	415	423
Cliff, North, Township †	7,304	89	99	89	85	74	81	76	95	121	77	77
Sancton and Houghton Township †	3,174	282	297	334	377	431	438	400	365	370	338	346
Sculcoates ¹⁶	738	5,448	8,645	10,449	13,468	16,682	22,325	27,167	33,812	45,425	54,182	56,820
Skidby with Skidby Carr †	1,561	243	287	313	315	361	361	384	396	419	387	356
Walkington (part of ¹⁷ :— Provost's Fee Manor	—	—	217	209	177	282	266	262	279	—	—	—
<i>Harthill Wapentake—Wilton Beacon Division</i>												
Allerthorpe :—	2,393	136	146	151	185	199	209	205	209	172	198	147
Allerthorpe Township	1,580	125	132	132	167	154	164	147	172	150	139	117

¹¹ *South Cave Township*.—The population in 1841 included 316 strangers attending a cattle fair.

¹² *Cottingham Parish* includes Haltemprice Farm, formerly Extra Parochial.

¹³ *Elloughton and Hotham Parishes*.—The population in 1841 included a number of strangers attending Cave Fair.

¹⁴ The population of *New Village* in 1881—1901 is included in that of *Eastrington Parish* (Newport Wallingfen Township). See below.

¹⁵ *Newbald Parish*.—The population in 1841 included 177 strangers attending the annual feast.

¹⁶ *Sculcoates Parish* includes the Charter House, formerly reputed to be Extra Parochial.

¹⁷ *Walkington Parish* is situated in Harthill Wapentake—Hunsley Beacon Division—and in Howdenshire Wapentake. The entire area of the parish and its population for the years 1801 and 1881—1901 are shown in the Howdenshire Wapentake. A lunatic asylum for the East Riding was opened between 1871 and 1881.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
EAST RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Harthill Wapentake—Wilton Beacon Division</i>												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
Allerthorpe												
<i>(cont.)</i> —												
Waplington Township	813	11	14	19	18	45	45	58	37	22	59	30
Barmby-on-the-Moor	2,579	321	396	440	452	475	486	537	456	437	440	533
Bishop Wilton †:—	6,693	635	672	793	831	792	886	910	822	760	636	667
Bishop Wilton with Belthorpe Township	4,573	413	454	570	622	592	652	658	580	556	422	451
Bolton Township	940	92	94	112	103	98	129	127	149	119	118	131
Youlthorpe with Gowthorpe Township	1,180	130	124	111	106	102	105	125	93	85	96	85
Burnby †	1,702	111	113	95	93	110	129	126	144	124	115	119
Catton (part of) ¹⁸ :—	4,152	498	514	673	784	769	760	811	742	741	742	675
Catton, High, Township	1,684	181	181	198	221	185	177	215	190	194	166	146
Catton, Low, Township	1,346	147	145	177	178	176	176	179	162	148	193	135
Stamford Bridge East Township	1,122	170	188	298	385	408	407	417	390	399	383	394
Fangfoss with Spittle Full Sutton † . . .	1,409	131	145	154	155	185	188	170	197	172	177	142
Full Sutton † . . .	896	100	126	125	140	146	165	174	171	127	127	119
Givendale, Great . .	1,313	70	84	89	78	85	75	86	70	81	73	60
Huggate †	7,007	302	362	413	439	482	547	589	557	553	463	455
Kilwick Perc † . . .	1,579	43	60	43	49	58	93	132	122	118	73	87
Millington	2,511	183	205	282	255	268	289	275	227	184	193	159
Nunburnholme (part of) ^{18a} :—												
Nunburnholme Township †	1,857	125	152	203	222	233	229	248	252	248	252	220
Pocklington † :—	4,792	1,665	1,752	2,163	2,265	2,552	2,761	2,923	2,889	2,980	2,785	2,686
Meltonby Township		41	79	78	60	49	51	66				
Yapham Township	1,888	107	122	114	137	163	151	169	238	235	191	203
Ousethorpe Township	333	15	12	9	20	17	13	17	29	12	17	20
Pocklington Township	2,571	1,502	1,539	1,962	2,048	2,323	2,546	2,671	2,622	2,733	2,577	2,463
Sutton-upon-Derwent †	3,670	274	292	400	417	407	367	385	337	342	299	313
Thornton (part of) ^{18b} :—												
Thornton Township	2,327	217	201	198	209	202	194	179	159	158	151	137
Wilberfoss † :—	3,187	470	525	590	580	586	602	632	616	610	585	562
Newton-upon-Derwent Township	1,715	188	209	205	228	229	235	246	227	196	204	216
Wilberfoss Township	1,472	282	316	385	352	357	367	386	389	414	381	346
<i>Holderness Wapentake—Middle Division</i>												
Aldbrough † :—	6,843	751	873	998	1,015	1,100	1,100	1,082	952	901	863	854
Aldbrough Township †	4,167	555	687	802	813	845	834	831	730	724	666	680
Newton, East, Township	607	24	39	38	29	41	27	31	36	30	31	27
Newton, West, with Burton Constable Township	2,069	172	147	158	173	214	239	220	186	147	166	147

¹⁸ Catton Parish is situated in Harthill Wapentake—Wilton Beacon Division—and in Ouse and Derwent Wapentake.

^{18a} See note 7 above.

^{18b} See note 8 above.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
EAST RIDING (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Holderness Wapentake—Middle Division (cont.)</i>												
Burton Pidsea †	2,304	272	299	378	387	364	394	408	373	352	342	285
Drypool :—	1,641	671	1,461	2,207	2,935	3,390	4,421	6,241	12,254	20,735	30,605	40,599
Drypool Town- ship	231	436	818	1,409	1,821	2,223	2,748	3,437	4,199	4,427	8,054	8,289
Southcoates Township	1,410	235	643	798	1,114	1,167	1,673	2,804	8,055	16,308	22,551	32,310
Garton :—	3,138	214	288	299	297	303	268	253	242	246	219	201
Garton with Grimston Township	7,800	105	123	160	172	179	165	154	160	157	130	121
Owstwick Town- ship	1,338	109	165	139	125	124	103	99	82	89	89	80
Hedon †	321	592	780	902	1,080	998	1,029	975	996	966	979	1,010
Hilston	554	37	40	39	43	41	50	54	42	39	38	29
Humbleton † :—	6,303	498	517	586	579	568	587	594	555	561	500	483
Danthorpe Township	737	51	47	52	37	43	41	62	41	63	62	50
Elstronwick Township	1,159	126	119	154	153	143	157	130	117	98	94	123
Fitling Town- ship	1,530	127	129	119	103	131	136	139	143	137	105	103
Flinton Town- ship	1,399	105	111	125	126	114	108	125	113	103	87	83
Humbleton Township	1,478	89	111	136	160	137	145	138	141	160	152	124
Marfleet †	1,285	116	121	127	130	141	193	176	199	183	235	373
Owthorne (part of) ¹⁹ :—												
Waxholme Township	533	61	60	72	68	99	106	84	82	94	71	63
Preston † :—	5,809	788	922	947	957	1,082	1,038	1,061	1,049	1,016	1,064	1,119
Lelley Township	805	107	123	119	114	136	151	159	132	135	116	122
Preston Town- ship	5,004	681	799	828	843	946	887	902	917	881	948	997
Roos	2,528	272	365	442	430	563	599	594	570	534	492	436
Sproatley †	1,372	232	267	357	366	372	463	455	401	331	325	306
Sutton and Stone- ferry	4,741	1,569	3,065	3,658	4,383	6,384	7,783	8,348	8,928	11,551	13,300	15,043
Swine (part of) ²⁰ :—	12,216	1,078	1,162	1,344	1,393	1,424	1,446	1,500	1,419	1,473	1,365	1,413
Benningholme and Grange Township †	1,471	78	85	97	705	108	79	106	84	120	88	107
Bilton Chap.	1,205	101	101	91	105	84	99	102	111	91	101	92
Coniston Town- ship	602	106	112	137	116	110	115	101	128	103	111	116
Ellerby Town- ship	2,248	151	188	233	251	275	287	304	326	344	331	358
Ganstead Town- ship	809	58	63	61	79	66	81	80	78	96	87	83
Marton Town- ship	946	127	119	129	126	119	110	117	97	96	70	68
Skirlaugh, South, Township †	1,101	123	160	211	228	286	322	364	300	293	261	261
Swine Township	2,286	204	196	229	231	227	193	182	180	195	201	216
Thirtleby Town- ship	756	44	54	61	59	58	69	68	69	55	44	48
Wyton Town- ship	792	86	84	95	93	91	91	76	46	80	71	64
Tunstall	1,305	145	133	163	172	159	159	166	144	120	121	98
Wawne, or Wag- hen † :—	5,127	348	313	325	338	362	347	408	444	400	393	375
Meaux, or Melsa Township	1,409	49	63	74	83	95	89	86	91	101	76	74
Wawne, or Wag- hen Township	3,718	299	250	251	255	267	258	322	353	299	317	301

¹⁹ *Owthorne Parish* is situated in Holderness Wapentake—Middle and South Divisions.

²⁰ *Swine Parish* is situated in Holderness Wapentake—Middle and North Divisions.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
EAST RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Holderness Wapentake—North Division</i>												
Atwick † . . .	2,271	368	286	326	285	300	324	319	314	320	298	284
Barnston † . . .	2,391	163	206	205	223	254	249	206	200	198	213	211
Beeford †:—	5,751	567	667	791	894	977	1,000	1,006	922	884	931	836
Beeford Township	3,754	378	524	620	731	766	808	808	745	707	728	648
Dunnington Township	845	67	49	76	61	79	69	86	81	87	98	90
Lissett Chap. .	1,152	122	94	95	102	132	123	112	96	90	105	98
Beverley St. John (part of) ²¹ :—												
Eske Township	1,089	32	26	18	17	29	45	33	43	30	56	45
Brandesburton †:—	5,184	464	549	591	611	718	779	811	692	755	683	626
Brandesburton Township †	4,671	432	509	562	585	684	751	784	658	723	664	604
Moor Town Township	513	32	40	29	26	34	28	27	34	32	19	22
Catwick † . . .	1,570	132	141	190	213	191	206	248	273	272	231	195
Frodingham, North †	3,137	365	484	575	711	831	846	837	696	682	596	555
Goxhill † . . .	839	54	68	70	65	64	58	63	70	76	83	60
Hornsea with Burton	3,316	533	704	790	780	1,005	945	1,063	1,685	1,836	2,013	2,381
Leven † †:—	5,050	468	648	751	771	999	993	990	921	967	892	763
Hempholme Township †	7,352	57	74	93	102	109	117	101	95	120	123	104
Leven Township	3,698	411	574	658	669	890	876	889	826	847	769	659
Mappleton:—	4,948	401	434	460	473	494	514	538	499	448	438	393
Cowden, Great and Little, Township	7,548	115	113	146	146	151	146	154	150	119	112	95
Hatfield, Great, Township	1,488	127	130	127	146	145	165	171	147	151	147	137
Mappleton Township	1,912	159	191	187	181	157	164	163	150	139	179	161
Rowlston Hamlet						41	39	50	52	39		
Nunkeeling with Bewholme †	2,314	173	198	243	263	291	269	271	250	272	238	231
Rise †	2,041	155	203	221	164	181	197	188	206	202	181	132
Riston, Long † .	1,834	269	328	361	379	403	400	401	417	367	373	368
Routh †	2,438	115	128	124	119	178	172	172	163	164	169	159
Sigglesthorpe:—	4,839	383	437	538	578	639	653	768	715	726	657	659
Catfoss Township	1,087	46	57	49	54	45	39	68	61	53	55	45
Hatfield, Little, Township	976	24	30	25	32	36	44	40	39	38	27	41
Seaton with Wassand Township	1,745	178	215	301	288	338	360	443	387	418	358	351
Sigglesthorpe Township	1,031	135	135	163	204	220	210	217	228	217	217	222
Skipsea:—	5,633	516	643	693	726	797	844	844	788	772	711	625
Bonwick Township	775	31	29	30	22	29	25	31	20	23	16	14
Dringhoe, Upton, and Brough Township	1,703	122	158	164	152	190	163	157	142	157	156	136
Skipsea Township	1,566	220	290	329	386	358	435	444	394	398	341	288
Ulrome Chap. †	1,589	143	166	170	166	220	221	212	232	194	198	187
Swine(part of) ^{21a} :—												
Skirlaugh, North, Township †	534	—	192	260	210	279	298	323	339	284	208	182
Withernwick † †	2,822	292	356	370	443	456	513	499	503	449	365	371

²¹ *Beverley St. John Parish* is situated in Holderness Wapentake—North Division—and in Beverley—Borough and Liberties.

^{21a} See note 20 above.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
EAST RIDING <i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Holderness Wapentake—South Division</i>												
Burstwick † :—	5,912	549	624	751	699	810	745	728	729	697	700	697
Burstwick-cum-Sheckling Township	4,338	335	360	436	436	524	509	485	470	422	437	476
Ryhill and Camerton Township	1,574	214	264	315	263	286	236	243	259	275	263	221
Easington :—	2,884	341	448	557	542	546	625	666	533	425	413	398
Easington Township	2,236	306	389	488	479	492	567	600	481	382	371	362
Out Newton Township	648	35	59	69	63	54	58	66	52	43	42	36
Halsham † . . .	2,910	266	265	315	302	284	264	265	245	228	241	222
Hollym :—	2,866	299	333	368	351	373	516	625	617	580	636	861
Hollym Township	2,120	223	229	260	221	247	407	423	388	248	235	216
Withernsea Township	746	76	104	108	130	126	109	202	229	332	401	645
Holmpton . . .	1,875	165	214	256	239	197	92	116	131	216	195	171
Keyingham † . . .	3,549	399	550	639	636	728	746	639	620	635	587	549
Kilnsea . . .	912	98	122	196	158	140	157	179	240	198	194	277
Otringham † . . .	4,305	622	522	637	627	630	663	644	623	568	515	466
Owthorne (part of) ^{21b} :—	3,492	246	249	343	333	365	356	620	633	722	804	1,070
Frodingham, South, Township	1,206	50	68	71	60	68	56	59	67	63	67	70
Owthorne Township	1,052	89	74	143	129	154	163	424	428	540	614	862
Rimswell Township	1,234	107	107	129	144	143	137	137	138	119	123	138
Patrington † . . .	3,743	894	1,016	1,244	1,298	1,402	1,827	1,724	1,571	1,360	1,127	1,104
Paul † :—	6,593	602	789	745	739	870	884	844	773	812	822	847
Paul, or Paghill Township ²²	4,935	412	574	486	473	599	606	552	496	545	531	575
Thorngumbald Township	1,658	190	215	259	266	271	278	292	277	267	291	272
Skeffling . . .	1,830	155	159	201	204	179	212	205	189	166	139	138
Sunk Island ²³ † . . .	7,332	0	209	216	242	264	310	376	419	419	440	364
Welwick † . . .	3,610	312	372	410	401	403	468	472	368	341	313	282
Winestead † . . .	2,109	103	105	129	145	139	131	173	131	163	151	156
<i>Howdenshire Wapentake</i>												
Blacktoft † :—	3,508	304	338	457	394	505	522	534	472	512	534	514
Blacktoft Township †	2,356	238	241	278	267	374	377	420	374	430	436	483
Scalby Township ²⁴ †	1,152	66	97	179	127	131	145	114	98	82	98	31
Brantingham (part of) ^{24a} :—	2,671	354	341	423	402	523	489	493	522	570	568	558
Brantingham Township	565	173	132	174	124	150	166	152	199	274	269	278
Ellerker Township	2,106	181	209	249	278	373	323	341	323	296	299	280
Cheapsides Extra Par.	7	—	50	—	57	47	39	36	41	37	51	27
Eastrington † :—	6,843	1,089	1,358	1,649	1,676	2,076	1,867	1,906	1,748	1,814	1,783	1,755
Bellasize Township †	1,722	153	205	197	189	306	276	281	230	217	233	229
Eastrington Township †	1,679	330	352	375	328	405	386	432	431	368	426	426
Gilberdyke Township †	1,616	337	464	640	632	815	721	725	647	601	572	526

^{21b} See note 19 above.

²² Sunk Island is stated, in the 1811 volume, to be 'lately recovered from the sea.'

²⁴ Scalby Township.—The population in 1821 included that of Cheapsides.

^{24a} See note 10 above.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
EAST RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Howdenshire</i>												
<i>Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
<i>Eastrington</i>												
<i>(cont.) :—</i>												
Newport	510	169	219	339	367	427	373	348	330	533	444	489
Wallingfen Township ^{24b} †	1,316	100	118	98	160	123	111	120	110	95	108	85
Portington and Cavil Township †	1,347	3,415	3,888	4,443	4,531	4,860	5,178	5,209	4,805	4,232	4,261	4,123
Howden † :—	1,163	259	247	254	297	293	296	276	267	255	263	220
Asselby Township †	1,281	120	89	105	117	165	220	184	113	88	86	80
Balkholme Township †	1,862	364	476	525	473	506	500	456	445	314	385	373
Barmby-on-the- Marsh Chap. † ‡	724	38	38	49	44	58	40	44	43	39	33	16
Belby Township †	713	27	26	29	29	38	28	46	39	30	36	55
Cotness Township †	3,055	1,552	1,812	2,080	2,130	2,332	2,491	2,507	2,355	2,192	1,960	1,975
Howden Township †	906	183	243	318	349	393	385	476	395	332	393	376
Kilpin Township †	824	90	98	118	123	142	178	138	136	99	137	111
Knedlington Township †	1,326	219	271	268	281	266	332	327	342	291	272	237
Laxton Chap. † .	1,016	38	41	45	35	42	60	91	66	62	55	69
Metham Township †	1,386	160	168	179	191	157	144	136	120	82	109	105
Saltmarshe Township †	2,000	146	166	221	228	212	262	305	289	259	303	297
Skelton Township †	310	54	52	53	44	50	36	33	40	62	61	77
Thorpe Township †	1,781	165	161	199	190	206	206	190	155	127	168	132
Yokefleet Township †	<i>Walkington</i>											
<i>(part of)^{24c} :—</i>												
Howden Fee Manor	3,729	403	233	324	381	351	433	356	382	978	950	1,160
Welton † :—	2,675	547	634	683	805	987	856	863	850	841	830	787
Melton Chap. † .	897	98	118	107	133	195	174	175	181	172	171	167
Welton Township †	1,778	449	516	576	672	792	682	688	669	669	659	620
<i>Ouse and Derwent</i>												
<i>Wapentake</i>												
Catton (part of) ^{24d} :	3,838	252	288	300	311	309	315	378	353	286	289	280
Kexby Township	1,892	129	145	149	160	159	150	182	194	136	132	125
Stamford Bridge	1,946	123	143	151	151	150	165	196	159	150	157	155
Westwith Score- by Township	<i>Dunnington † :—</i>											
Dunnington † :—	3,042	481	557	623	713	765	850	906	890	799	744	735
Dunnington Township	2,246	430	494	551	643	685	779	842	840	741	680	654
Grimston Township	796	51	63	72	70	80	71	64	50	58	64	81
Elvington ²⁵ † . . .	2,366	225	311	405	391	478	372	472	449	376	357	335
Escrick † —	6,350	578	582	716	896	895	901	855	841	785	846	744
Deighton Township	2,001	172	168	168	179	185	201	201	190	196	193	200
Escrick Township	4,349	406	414	548	717	710	700	654	651	589	653	544

^{24b} See note 14 above.

^{24c} See note 17 above.

^{24d} See note 18 above

²⁵ *Elvington Parish.*—The annual village feast was in progress at the date of the 1841 Census.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
EAST RIDING (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Ouse and Derwent Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
Fulfords Ambo ²⁶ :—	2,011	642	885	847	934	1,305	1,981	2,478	3,578	6,756	7,576	8,217
Gate Fulford Township	1,655	642	851	812	905	1,268	1,939	2,443	3,537	6,717	7,536	8,162
Water Fulford Township	356	—	34	35	29	37	42	35	41	39	40	55
Hemingbrough † :—	11,010	1,484	1,618	1,855	1,806	1,953	2,072	2,297	2,344	2,271	2,131	2,212
Barlby Chap. † †	1,482	241	263	349	348	387	433	471	524	513	458	561
Brackenholme with Woodhall Township	1,332	65	79	90	69	77	71	102	113	100	92	115
Cliffe-cum-Lund Township †	2,740	424	459	501	490	540	592	615	614	641	605	593
Duffield, South, Township	1,685	160	177	181	202	224	186	236	221	193	208	204
Hemingbrough Township	1,123	387	429	500	468	475	528	579	580	550	507	498
Menthorpe with Bowthorpe Township	1,088	61	53	49	59	82	77	69	69	49	63	51
Osgodby Township	1,560	146	158	185	170	168	185	225	223	225	198	190
Heslington St. Paul † †	1,244	150	152	221	231	266	228	233	246	223	233	506
Naburn Parochial Chap. †	2,631	363	346	366	425	439	481	471	485	569	566	574
Riccall † † . . .	2,667	517	518	599	705	718	690	783	795	780	736	702
Skipwith † :—	6,053	560	596	748	648	601	705	769	722	654	605	548
Duffield, North, Township	3,407	313	346	433	344	350	422	470	415	376	325	309
Skipwith Township	2,646	247	250	315	304	251	283	299	307	278	280	239
Stillingfleet (part of) ²⁷ :—	4,377	479	537	690	708	733	840	810	749	709	649	590
Kelfield Township	1,791	175	209	286	302	315	421	388	392	343	297	288
Stillingfleet with Moreby Township	2,586	304	328	404	406	418	419	422	357	366	352	302
Thorganby with West Cottingwith †	2,921	294	403	381	342	373	388	407	389	398	370	345
Wheldrake † :—	5,304	522	618	677	691	722	722	678	642	638	580	575
Langwith Township	793	29	37	39	44	40	33	47	39	42	52	57
Wheldrake Township	4,511	493	581	638	647	682	689	631	603	596	528	518
York St. Laurence (part of) ²⁸ :—												
Heslington St. Laurence Township †	1,401	266	286	292	305	265	266	307	325	254	244	—
<i>Beverley—Borough and Liberties</i>												
St. John (part of) ^{28a} :—	7,390	600	696	736	831	1,097	1,143	1,214	1,231	1,689	1,545	1,479
Molescroft or Moscroft Township	1,360	67	98	111	124	135	133	143	158	178	196	203

²⁶ *Fulfords Ambo Parish*.—The increase in population in 1881 was largely due to the erection of new barracks in Gate Fulford Township.

²⁷ *Stillingfleet Parish* is situated in Ouse and Derwent Wapentake and in the Ainsty.

²⁸ *York St. Laurence Parish* is situated in the Ouse and Derwent Wapentake and in the City of York. The population of the part in the Ouse and Derwent Wapentake is shown in 1901 with the remainder of the parish in the City of York.

^{28a} See note 21 above.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
EAST RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Beverley—Borough and Liberties (cont.)</i>												
St. John (part of) <i>(cont.)</i> :—												
Stork Hill (with Sandholme) Township	320	—	30	48	34	61	61	70	60	47	53	42
Thearne Township	686	74	81	90	67	88	99	113	104	98	97	97
Tickton with Hull Bridge Township	775	134	119	110	110	251	274	272	307	369	305	229
Weel Township.	1,131	96	106	101	136	133	135	126	120	114	120	136
Woodmansey with Beverley Park Township	3,118	229	262	276	360	429	441	490	482	883	774	772
St. Martin † . . .	873	2,407	2,639	2,937	3,334	3,332	3,917	4,413	4,467	4,827	5,283	5,912
St. Mary	579	2,551	2,918	3,214	3,359	3,267	3,682	3,831	4,086	4,221	4,345	4,103
St. Nicholas † . . .	960	443	478	577	739	975	1,316	1,410	1,665	2,377	2,911	3,168
<i>Kingston-upon-Hull—Town and County of the Town</i>												
TOWN PART												
Holy Trinity and St. Mary Hull Citadel Extra Par.	1,114	22,161	24,299	28,591	32,958	41,150	50,670	56,888	68,316	78,222	77,947	82,245
COUNTY PART												
Ferriby, North † :—	4,499	571	692	765	823	935	929	948	1,733	6,873	16,863	27,881
Ferriby, North, Township †	1,144	250	315	347	345	479	472	434	517	837	2,378	4,469
Swanland Township †	3,355	321	377	418	478	456	457	514	1,216	6,036	14,485	23,412
Garrison Side Extra Par. ²⁹	105	—	—	173	366	160	195	376	171	164	268	303
Hessle	2,732	681	984	1,021	1,172	1,388	1,576	1,625	2,004	2,557	2,892	3,918
Kirk Ella † :—	4,274	655	817	875	974	1,061	1,157	1,148	2,218	3,414	4,424	8,483
Anlaby Township	1,471	226	271	307	398	423	500	493	494	629	749	1,004
Kirk Ella Township †	1,162	212	272	246	285	291	306	250	304	494	542	576
West Ella Township †	645	79	103	122	102	133	137	154	551	888	1,199	4,197
Willerby Township †	996	138	171	200	189	214	214	251	869	1,403	1,934	2,706
Total of the East Riding												
—	—	111,192	132,415	153,854	168,891	194,936	220,983	240,227	268,476	315,478	348,426	392,392

²⁹ Garrison Side includes the area of Hull Citadel and its population 1861-1901.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 *(continued)*

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
CITY, AND AINSTY OF THE CITY, OF YORK												
<i>City of York</i>												
All Saints North Street †	12	517	639	910	1,216	1,199	1,308	1,417	1,380	1,429	1,241	1,020
All Saints Pavement	5	477	496	554	508	417	423	387	411	334	266	220
All Saints Peaseholme ⁸⁰	—	—	—	223	407	373	426	384	424	—	—	—
Holy Trinity Goodramgate	3	441	492	527	540	551	526	431	394	451	285	273
Holy Trinity King's Court, or Christ Church	4	691	660	737	706	685	720	599	610	595	526	500
Holy Trinity Micklegate (part of) ⁸¹	63	859	822	845	1,108	1,212	1,505	1,621	1,878	2,040	2,152	2,124
Minster Yard with Bedern Extra Par.	21	701	882	924	901	910	1,108	944	779	670	601	462
New Street and Davy Gate, or Davy Hall Extra Par.	0.2	—	—	—	—	40	24	22	14	13	8	2
St. Andrew . . .	3	147	176	185	238	318	365	280	254	281	293	320
St. Crux . . .	7	673	749	827	874	910	920	905	846	822	625	521
St. Cuthbert † . . .	292	583	667	209	976	1,178	1,666	2,056	2,268	3,580	3,563	3,876
St. Denis-in-Walmgate	14	699	826	1,093	1,718	1,314	1,479	1,463	1,178	1,268	948	953
St. George . . .	14											
St. Giles-in-the-Suburbs †	59	545	726	881	1,052	1,258	2,095	2,218	2,116	2,277	2,076	2,212
St. Helen-on-the-Walls	—	—	—	398	422	444	398	436	462	—	—	—
St. Helen Stone-gate †	5	655	698	678	707	607	551	547	488	443	406	325
St. John Delpike .	3	338	423	367	350	351	386	428	349	312	296	193
St. John Micklegate †	7	801	787	938	926	1,026	915	872	787	699	571	565
St. Laurence (part of) ^{81a}	75	342	519	799	830	981	1,380	1,913	2,361	3,009	2,979	3,132
St. Nicholas-in-the-Suburbs	168											
St. Margaret Walmgate	16	552	731	808	1,034	1,207	1,595	1,704	1,745	1,792	1,457	1,547
St. Martin-le-Grand	9	600	536	610	586	513	523	460	490	393	375	307
St. Martin Micklegate with St. Gregory †	12	513	574	562	547	554	619	727	796	656	645	662
St. Mary Bishop-hill Junior (part of) ⁸²	764	428	598	767	1,462	1,757	3,526	4,452	5,064	6,693	8,542	11,141
St. Mary Bishop-hill Senior (part of)	212	397	546	681	1,038	1,123	1,227	2,226	4,017	5,323	7,738	8,395
St. Mary Castlegate	27	777	1,029	989	964	952	1,043	994	978	659	477	538
St. Maurice-in-the-Suburbs	98	567	596	798	1,114	1,477	2,928	4,327	5,032	5,440	5,709	5,941
St. Michael-le-Belfry †	12	1,269	1,153	1,343	1,350	1,238	1,115	939	892	937	770	655
St. Michael Spurriergate	5	655	699	593	645	499	585	486	440	415	345	285
St. Peter-the-Little	2	499	614	660	632	573	294	407	325	319	237	154
St. Peter-le-Wil-lows, Walmgate	4	206	310	418	413	497	588	526	531	548	478	536

⁸⁰ *All Saints Peaseholme and St. Helen-on-the-Walls Parishes.*—The areas of these two parishes and their population, 1801, 1811, and 1881—1901, are included in those given for *St. Cuthbert Parish*.

⁸¹ *Holy Trinity: Micklegate Parish* is situated in the City and in the Ainsty of the City of York.

^{81a} See note 28 above.

⁸² *St. Mary Bishophill Junior and St. Mary Bishophill Senior Parishes* are situated in the City and in the Ainsty of the City of York.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
CITY, AND AINSTY OF THE CITY, OF YORK (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>City of York (cont.)</i>												
St. Sampson . . .	5	886	1,054	1,041	955	761	758	702	716	615	529	502
St. Saviour (part of) ⁸⁸ †	44	636	784	987	1,455	2,100	2,538	2,554	2,576	2,751	2,097	2,252
St. Wilfrid :—	9	392	313	359	443	356	319	262	252	254	228	231
Mint Yard	4	98	83	132	166	123	73	90	59	75	102	73
Liberty												
Wilfrid Town-ship	5	294	230	227	277	233	246	172	193	179	126	158
York Castle Extra Par.	7	—	—	—	—	255	174	267	170	168	92	125
<i>Ainsty of the City of York</i>												
Acaster Malbis ⁸⁴ †	1,874	265	286	291	282	322	231	270	262	264	243	227
Acomb :—	2,453	707	785	870	882	872	986	1,007	1,066	1,616	2,282	2,856
Acomb Town-ship	1,581	587	655	733	762	774	874	897	963	1,512	2,181	2,754
Knapton Town-ship	872	120	130	137	120	98	112	110	103	104	101	102
Askham Bryan †	1,896	295	332	377	341	342	350	362	290	303	267	255
Askham Richard †	982	170	199	249	234	232	229	235	238	232	212	197
Bilbrough † . . .	1,447	185	235	260	228	216	252	216	207	199	172	192
Bilton † :—	4,810	737	763	808	894	881	848	926	892	948	902	844
Bickerton Town-ship †	1,073	127	133	149	150	110	121	149	140	138	139	142
Bilton Town-ship †	1,923	220	211	223	197	214	221	242	238	238	237	182
Tockwith Town-ship † †	1,814	390	419	436	547	557	506	535	514	572	526	520
Bishopthorpe . . .	720	218	262	301	445	404	406	452	417	422	426	439
Bolton Percy :—	7,598	827	972	1,054	993	1,040	1,134	1,118	976	856	842	920
Appleton Roe- buck Township	2,914	406	514	535	538	564	638	622	477	441	393	468
Bolton Percy Township	2,334	189	230	238	220	241	275	292	288	244	242	268
Colton Town- ship	1,208	155	137	148	150	142	144	129	142	100	127	121
Steeton Town- ship	1,142	77	91	83	85	93	77	75	69	71	80	63
Healaugh . . .	2,771	233	208	191	212	245	223	228	233	237	243	239
Holy Trinity												
Micklegate (part of) ^{84a} :—												
Dringhouses Township †	779	124	154	156	194	304	342	379	381	477	647	745
Kirk Hammerton (part of) ⁸⁵ :—												
Wilstrop Town- ship	1,080	92	85	95	112	86	82	90	88	80	76	65
Long Marston † :—	4,604	614	607	579	584	649	609	586	560	530	422	387
Angram Town- ship	521		77	66	67	78	67	59	49	50	53	49
Hutton Wandes- ley Township	1,233	215	143	125	116	125	121	122	98	117	80	86
Long Marston Township	2,850	399	387	388	401	446	421	405	413	363	289	252
Moor Monk- ton † † :—	4,323	370	406	430	484	454	421	381	349	340	324	305
Hessay Town- ship	1,256	114	146	161	170	149	141	127	116	91	92	98
Moor Monkton Township †	3,067	256	260	269	314	305	280	254	233	249	232	207
Poppleton, Nether †	1,278	250	217	254	259	243	255	262	228	293	290	267
Rufforth † . . .	2,466	273	273	295	302	276	299	297	297	272	246	247

⁸⁸ *St. Saviour Parish* is situated in the City of York and in the Bulmer Wapentake (North Riding).

⁸⁴ *Acaster Malbis Parish*.—The 1841 population included thirty-nine visitors at annual feast.

^{84a} See note 31 above.

⁸⁵ *Kirk Hammerton Parish* is situated in the Ainsty and also in the Claro Wapentake—Upper Division (West Riding).

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
CITY, AND AINSTY OF THE CITY, OF YORK (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Ainsty of the City of York (cont.)</i>												
St. Mary Bishop-hill Junior (part of) ^{85a} † :—	3,363	449	623	710	709	800	865	875	921	1,108	1,684	2,409
Copmanthorpe Chap. ‡	1,658	184	250	281	293	284	316	350	327	311	309	299
Holgate Town-ship	298	55	50	83	97	143	134	170	296	513	1,073	1,748
Poppleton, U p- per Chap. †	1,407	210	323	346	319	373	415	355	298	284	302	362
St. Mary Bishop-hill Senior (part of) ^{85a} :—												
Middlethorpe Township ⁸⁶ †	629	47	71	44	58	126	88	135	116	131	128	139
Stillingfleet (part of) ^{86a} :—												
Acaster Selby Township	1,542	178	191	188	201	188	184	154	127	115	100	94
Tadcaster (part of) ⁸⁷ :—	1,980	778	913	904	859	982	939	1,034	992	959	1,208	1,217
Catterton Town-ship	742	68	73	63	62	58	50	43	48	44	59	45
Oxton Township	660	49	65	66	60	57	55	71	62	46	51	38
Tadcaster, East, Township	578	661	775	775	737	867	834	920	882	869	1,098	1,134
Thorp Arch † †	1,671	314	328	343	316	326	315	388	368	393	319	384
Walton † † . . .	1,447	205	235	247	237	254	245	221	195	194	158	199
Wighill † . . .	2,248	216	214	250	276	237	296	280	241	239	237	215

	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Total of the City of York, together with the Ainsty	—	24,393	27,458	30,607	35,362	38,321	45,902	50,329	53,240	59,738	62,533	67,584

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING												
<i>Allertonshire Wapentake</i>												
Birkby :—	3,751	313	298	261	275	256	243	298	272	253	233	251
Birkby Town-ship	1,203	97	85	90	96	74	80	87	70	64	68	67
Hutton Bonville Chap. †	1,547	150	135	107	112	111	108	129	129	114	95	108
Smeaton, Little, Township	1,001	72	78	64	67	71	55	82	73	75	70	82
Cotcliffe Extra Par.	133	—	—	—	—	15	12	13	7	9	4	11
Hutton Conyers Extra Par.	3,212	133	123	127	159	190	190	158	172	136	168	194
Lazenby Extra Par. ⁸⁸	828	—	—	—	12	31	12	25	23	44	31	33

^{85a} See note 32 above.

⁸⁶ *Middlethorpe Township*.—The 1841 population included fifty-three strangers temporarily employed.

^{86a} See note 27 above.

⁸⁷ *Tadcaster Parish* is situated in the Ainsty and in the Barkston Ash Wapentake—Upper Division (West Riding).

⁸⁸ The population of *Lazenby*, 1801–1821, is probably included in that given for *Northalveton Township*.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Allertonshire Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
Leake (part of) ³⁹ † :—	4,892	664	716	753	785	890	807	800	761	760	721	626
Borrowby Town- ship †	924	251	274	267	350	401	359	345	337	323	309	241
Crosby Town- ship	832	39	32	39	37	37	29	38	35	40	38	41
Knayton with Brawith Town- ship	1,909	321	347	377	336	404	376	368	350	344	323	295
Landmoth with Catto Township	798	46	55	59	53	41	31	32	27	42	45	43
Leake Township	429	7	8	11	9	7	12	17	12	11	6	6
Northallerton † :—	13,220	3,633	3,727	4,431	5,106	5,242	5,238	4,980	5,212	5,636	5,712	6,050
Brompton	3,844	994	1,012	1,223	1,510	1,535	1,491	1,398	1,364	1,295	1,245	1,352
Chap. †												
Deighton Chap.	2,037	146	125	134	146	132	125	141	126	114	121	100
Northallerton Township ^{39a}	3,653	2,138	2,234	2,626	2,992	3,061	3,086	2,970	3,164	3,692	3,802	4,009
Romanby Town- ship	2,061	250	251	294	325	371	406	362	410	414	421	474
Worsall, High, Chap. †	1,625	105	105	154	133	143	130	109	148	121	123	115
Osmotherley † :—	7,619	854	926	1,087	1,417	1,354	1,253	1,320	1,221	1,197	879	895
Ellerbeck Town- ship	871	78	76	81	79	81	87	84	82	72	74	67
Harlsey, West, Township	1,504	79	82	51	66	72	64	61	70	65	56	54
Osmotherley Township	3,191	534	578	755	1,087	1,029	935	995	937	920	637	665
Thimbleby Township	2,053	163	190	200	185	172	167	180	132	140	112	109
Otterington, North (part of) ⁴⁰ :—	2,511	231	252	291	280	345	328	306	285	289	288	261
Otterington, North, Town- ship	819	42	49	44	61	79	81	66	73	75	85	69
Thornton-le- Beans Township	1,692	189	203	247	219	266	247	240	212	214	203	192
Pickhill (part of) ⁴¹ :—												
Holme Township	547	72	86	102	85	79	92	54	68	51	47	62
Rounton, West †	1,458	226	180	217	192	169	216	222	214	219	207	189
Sessay † :—	3,773	377	384	493	464	437	473	456	441	456	401	391
Hutton Sessay Township	740	85	81	129	—	114	131	136	141	131	96	108
Sessay Township	3,033	292	303	364	—	323	342	320	300	325	305	283
Sigston Kirby † :—	3,419	285	320	322	343	296	282	257	246	238	214	255
Sigston Kirby Township	1,243	115	122	131	131	121	127	110	115	101	84	138
Sowerby under Cotcliffe Township	811	38	59	53	67	63	47	50	43	49	49	57
Winton Town- ship	1,365	132	139	138	145	112	108	97	88	88	81	60
Smeaton, Great (part of) ⁴² :—												
Hornby Town- ship	1,829	228	211	238	262	278	253	229	221	258	203	196
Sockburn (part of) ⁴³ :—	2,087	131	163	151	141	159	175	172	154	169	181	150
Girsby Township	1,227	80	93	85	83	80	101	90	77	68	89	68
Over Dinsdale Township	860	51	70	66	58	79	74	82	77	101	92	82

³⁹ *Leake Parish* is situated in Allertonshire and Birdforth Wapentakes.

^{39a} See note 38 above.

⁴⁰ *North Otterington Parish* is situated in Allertonshire and Birdforth Wapentakes.

⁴¹ *Pickhill Parish* is situated in Allertonshire and Hallikeld Wapentakes.

⁴² *Great Smeaton Parish* is situated in Allertonshire and East Gilling Wapentakes.

⁴³ *Sockburn Parish*.—The remainder is in Durham (Stockton Ward—South-western Division).

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Allertonshire</i>												
<i>Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
Thornton - le - Street † :—	2,324	169	193	199	226	224	234	241	205	225	226	166
Kilvington, North, Township	935	57	66	68	64	63	63	87	72	87	80	61
Thornton - le - Street Town- ship	1,389	112	127	131	162	161	171	154	133	138	146	105
Wath (part of) ⁴⁴ :— Norton Conyers Chap.	1,042	56	62	87	73	60	92	97	66	98	104	78
<i>Birdforth</i>												
<i>Wapentake</i>												
Ampleforth (part of) ⁴⁵ :—												
Ampleforth Bird- forth Township †	566	147	152	192	225	239	202	205	205	183	195	207
Byland, Old † . .	2,738	118	126	133	163	185	150	157	164	156	149	129
Cold Kirby . . .	1,620	158	194	185	185	182	179	193	176	164	143	127
Cowesby † . . .	1,165	67	93	91	89	108	97	105	91	97	95	74
Coxwold † :—	12,934	1,099	1,352	1,447	1,380	1,076	1,086	1,205	1,139	1,072	1,038	940
Angram Grange Township	445	22	26	29	28	24	32	31	35	27	32	31
Birdforth Chap.	629	32	41	42	35	44	49	40	41	42	50	49
Byland Abbey Township ^{45a} †	1,712	133	358	372	365	97	107	104	104	92	75	32
Coxwold Town- ship	1,375	289	326	348	375	325	330	374	321	313	310	275
Newburgh Township ^{45b}	2,315	148	109	162	104	111	85	138	188	147	138	141
Oulston Town- ship	1,515	212	228	225	215	200	197	214	172	177	168	150
Thornton-on-the- Hill and Baxby Township †	1,448	71	78	70	67	78	94	97	92	92	75	72
Wildon Grange Township	699	28	23	29	27	21	21	27	23	21	23	31
Yearsley Town- ship	2,796	164	163	170	164	176	171	180	163	161	167	159
Cundall (part of) ⁴⁶ :—												
Fawdington Township	555	—	—	39	48	40	40	35	33	23	20	29
Feliskirk † :— . .	8,448	906	933	1,008	911	931	900	878	840	825	753	722
Boltby Town- ship †	4,712	344	363	403	342	320	295	316	317	304	256	269
Feliskirk Town- ship	1,192	113	101	113	110	119	116	111	126	113	99	98
Sutton under Whitstone Cliffe Town- ship	1,909	281	303	325	328	365	376	349	298	299	280	279
Thirlby Town- ship †	635	168	166	167	131	127	113	102	99	109	118	76
Harley, East † . .	3,060	361	305	420	436	393	407	430	406	379	315	340
Hawby :— . . .	16,795	564	593	620	638	815	814	746	648	666	575	520
Arden with Ardenside Township	4,526	128	127	139	161	137	148	129	109	122	96	93
Bilsdale West- side Township	2,922	115	128	127	149	168	163	162	152	148	145	115
Dale Town Township	1,774	47	45	68	53	49	53	60	48	61	39	37

⁴⁴ *Wath Parish* is situated in the *Allertonshire* and *Hallikeld Wapentakes*.

⁴⁵ *Ampleforth Parish* is situated in the *Birdforth* and *Ryedale Wapentakes*.

^{45a} See note 45 below.

^{45b} See note 50 below.

⁴⁶ *Cundall Parish* is situated in the *Birdforth* and *Hallikeld Wapentakes*. The population of *Fawdington Township* was wrongly included in that of *Bagby with Islebeck Township* in 1801 and 1811.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Birdforth</i>												
<i>Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
<i>Hawby (cont.) :—</i>												
Hawby Town- ship	2,421	274	293	286	275	345	326	295	249	231	207	191
Snilesworth, or Snileby, Town- ship	5,152	—	—	—	—	116	124	100	90	104	88	84
Hood Grange Extra Par. ⁴⁷	312	21	49	30	23	25	—	50	14	9	10	10
Hustwaite † :—	2,497	447	475	493	539	577	613	616	641	604	497	522
Carlton Husth- waite Chap.	820	159	153	169	163	171	184	170	171	168	149	153
Hustwaite Township †	1,677	288	322	324	376	406	429	446	470	436	348	369
Kilburn ⁴⁸ † . . .	5,520	713	471	500	508	812	819	700	725	647	538	528
Kilburn Town- ship	2,809	468	471	500	508	531	537	434	425	387	331	296
Oldstead Town- ship	1,384	114	—	—	—	125	127	113	123	122	93	80
Thorpe-le-Wil- lows Township	471	131	—	—	—	19	23	24	31	25	27	33
Wass Township †	856					137	132	129	146	113	87	119
Kilvington, South † :—	2,932	370	357	405	414	402	389	360	400	414	358	383
Kilvington, South, Township	1,083	229	232	260	279	277	278	233	265	261	209	248
Thornbrough Township	562	39	28	27	21	27	27	23	23	29	19	18
Upsall Township	1,287	102	97	118	114	98	84	104	112	124	130	117
Kirby Knowle † † .	4,506	448	539	505	507	553	554	504	457	462	419	410
Bagby with Isle- beck Town- ship ^{48a} †	1,979	213	253	242	289	317	337	302	282	279	262	243
Balk Township .	945	106	132	125	72	89	88	86	67	69	58	51
Kirby Knowle Township	1,582	129	154	138	146	147	129	116	108	114	99	116
Kirby Wiske (part of) ⁴⁹ :—												
Newsham with Breckenbrough Township	1,915	167	154	173	182	181	191	184	158	210	188	183
Leake (part of) ^{48a} † :	1,886	441	300	330	304	330	354	292	258	257	239	232
Gueldable Town- ship †	348	115	118	128	126	142	142	114	84	81	83	100
Silton, Nether, Chap.	1,538	326	182	202	178	188	212	178	174	176	156	132
Murton Extra Par. ⁵⁰	1,754	40	—	—	—	31	33	34	39	27	32	32
Otterington, North (part of) ^{49b} :—												
Thornton-le- Moor Township	1,527	261	259	294	337	343	339	324	311	335	292	323
Otterington, South †	1,452	144	155	201	241	326	412	353	289	349	335	298
Over Silton † :—	3,862	241	261	264	263	271	285	255	206	212	230	209
Kepwick Town- ship	2,627	167	169	170	152	173	179	161	143	168	188	160
Over Silton Township	1,235	74	92	94	111	98	106	94	63	44	42	49
Thirkleby with Os- godby †	2,689	281	293	293	317	309	300	299	256	261	254	211
Thirsk :—	8,772	3,156	3,289	3,775	4,104	4,599	4,704	4,815	5,187	5,772	5,747	5,834
Carlton Miniott, or Carlton Isle- beck, Chap. †	1,552	185	205	221	238	313	319	314	318	380	419	426

⁴⁷ Hood Grange.—The 1851 population is included in that of *Kilburn Township*.

⁴⁸ *Kilburn Parish*.—The populations of Oldstead, Thorpe-le-Willows, and Wass Townships, 1811—1831, were included in those given for *Byland Abbey Township*.

^{48a} See note 46 above.

⁴⁹ *Kirby Wiske Parish* is situated in Birdforth and East Gilling Wapentakes.

^{49a} See note 39 above.

^{49b} See note 40 above.

⁵⁰ The population of *Murton* in 1821 and 1831 is included in that given for *Newburgh Township*.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acres	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Birdforth</i>												
<i>Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
Thirsk (<i>cont.</i>):—												
Sand Hutton	1,352	240	244	273	275	309	305	297	289	312	288	271
Chap. †												
Sowerby Chap. †	2,618	639	685	748	756	957	1,079	1,248	1,540	1,743	1,876	2,044
Thirsk Town-ship †	3,250	2,092	2,155	2,533	2,835	3,020	3,001	2,956	3,040	3,337	3,164	3,093
Topcliffe (part of) † ⁵¹ :—	8,137	979	1,084	1,181	1,135	1,390	1,345	1,279	1,247	1,213	1,086	1,022
Catton Town-ship	842	116	113	99	102	136	131	104	131	133	118	110
Dalton Town-ship †	1,263	86	215	235	252	327	288	307	271	249	204	208
Elmire with Crakehill Township †	986	85	74	78	77	93	73	49	69	71	47	50
Skipton-upon-Swale Township	844	103	109	110	114	128	143	143	150	145	124	110
Topcliffe Town-ship †	4,202	589	573	659	590	706	710	676	626	615	593	544
Welbury † . . .	2,399	249	243	257	233	266	249	258	223	190	217	220
<i>Bulmer</i>												
<i>Wapentake</i>												
Alne † :— . . .	9,991	1,236	1,335	1,418	1,552	1,703	1,659	1,592	1,516	1,558	1,449	1,392
Aldwick Town-ship	2,337	173	146	163	190	224	177	155	160	223	215	220
Alne Township	2,268	342	365	386	415	494	481	453	464	492	439	410
Flawith Town-ship	607	87	101	94	94	90	79	84	74	71	71	48
Tholthorpe Township	1,775	188	187	238	265	300	303	280	232	202	194	171
Tollerton Town-ship	2,201	396	481	481	529	521	551	547	541	512	491	504
Youlton Town-ship	803	50	55	56	59	74	68	73	45	58	39	39
Barton-le-Street (part of) ⁵² :—												
Coneythorpe Township	1,206	120	156	160	190	170	165	191	221	185	175	155
Bossall :—	9,640	752	892	1,092	1,100	1,242	1,173	1,075	1,114	1,128	1,058	1,032
Buttercrambe Township		74	165	235	176	175	154	126				
Bossall Township	2,691		50	31	76	77	72	62	168	171	169	203
Claxton Chap.	838	127	93	135	163	168	207	195	243	210	216	190
Flaxton-on-the-Moor Town-ship †	1,865	227	245	299	355	412	381	367	352	366	325	321
Harton Town-ship	2,004	154	165	190	169	186	164	125	141	136	123	115
Sand Hutton Township	2,242	170	174	202	161	224	195	200	210	245	225	203
Brafferton (part of) ⁵³ :—	3,744	681	683	789	825	824	822	838	905	881	820	748
Brafferton Town-ship	1,849	133	164	178	152	179	202	199	239	242	255	246
Helperby Town-ship	1,895	548	519	611	673	645	620	639	666	639	565	502
Brandsby † . . .	3,078	199	208	277	298	304	310	284	273	300	296	301
Bulmer :—	4,261	754	721	850	901	983	1,022	1,077	1,042	923	802	703
Bulmer Town-ship	1,666	295	293	339	360	324	364	345	299	231	214	187

⁵¹ Topcliffe Parish is situated in Birdforth and Hallikeld Wapentakes.

⁵² Barton-le-Street Parish is situated in Bulmer and Ryedale Wapentakes.

⁵³ Brafferton Parish is situated in Bulmer and Hallikeld Wapentakes.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Bulmer</i>												
<i>Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
<i>Bulmer (cont.) :—</i>												
Henderskelfe Township	1,708	137	137	159	150	157	148	157	162	132	108	99
Welburn Township ⁵⁴	887	322	291	352	391	502	510	575	581	560	480	417
<i>Crambe :—</i>												
Barton-le-Wil-lows Township	3,795 1,046	454 149	475 175	522 188	573 202	610 207	617 238	591 225	534 207	601 250	557 207	504 222
Crambe Township	1,170	139	138	152	144	191	174	165	139	148	137	111
Whitwell-on-the Hill Township †	1,579	166	162	182	227	212	205	201	188	203	213	171
Crayke †	2,876	404	453	538	607	579	608	585	521	501	437	407
Dalby with Skews-by †	1,347	123	129	169	155	141	142	149	185	133	139	135
<i>Easingwold :—</i>												
Easingwold Township †	11,278 6,997	1,805 1,467	1,959 1,576	2,352 1,912	2,381 1,922	2,719 2,171	2,717 2,240	2,724 2,147	2,666 2,153	2,522 2,044	2,421 1,932	2,392 1,945
Raskelf Chap. ⁵⁵ †	4,281	338	383	440	459	548	477	577	513	478	489	447
<i>Foston † :—</i>												
Foston Township †	1,876 922	221 75	227 70	264 91	283 78	312 95	377 111	355 85	353 98	373 99	365 83	315 79
Thornton-le-Clay Township †	954	146	157	173	205	217	266	270	255	274	282	236
Gate Helmsley ⁵⁶ †	497	151	212	209	243	306	293	200	218	204	194	171
Haxby †	2,206	325	395	417	412	457	527	597	603	559	619	711
Helmsley, Upper †	833	47	46	63	66	68	78	78	71	71	64	74
Holtby †	901	117	163	170	157	146	169	165	141	136	127	152
<i>Hovingham (part of)⁵⁷ :—</i>												
Scackleton Township	1,353	130	144	171	164	189	191	175	172	165	158	125
<i>Huntington :—</i>												
Earswick Township	4,844 751	428 48	442 61	517 113	626 66	652 95	666 83	671 97	705 126	789 148	950 113	1,151 108
Huntington Township	3,018	312	338	346	490	490	539	529	529	592	635	639
Towthorpe Township	1,075	68	43	58	70	67	44	45	50	49	202	404
Huttons Ambo †	2,899	390	374	445	412	408	438	444	420	415	392	376
Marton-in-the-Forest †	2,715	208	179	164	202	173	182	168	166	144	161	145
Myton-upon-Swale †	1,672	126	125	185	147	188	214	155	247	189	185	165
Newton-upon-Ouse † :—	5,148	668	804	862	844	908	947	931	971	962	834	730
Beningbrough Township	1,093	84	98	99	93	86	86	88	84	74	61	78
Linton-upon-Ouse Township	2,322	246	291	268	258	299	273	253	261	296	256	231
Newton-upon-Ouse Township	1,733	338	415	495	493	523	588	590	626	592	517	421
<i>Osbalwick † :—</i>												
Murton Chap.	1,574 844	233 110	263 128	310 134	319 156	361 161	372 167	342 154	366 168	340 176	379 198	398 189
Osbalwick Township	730	123	135	176	163	200	205	188	198	164	181	209

⁵⁴ *Welburn Township* includes the formerly Extra Parochial Place of Hardy Flatts. In 1841 fifty-six strangers were visiting Kirkham Fair.

⁵⁵ *Raskelf Chapelry*.—The 1841 population included a number of Great Northern Railway labourers temporarily present, and in 1861 some labourers engaged in drainage works were present.

⁵⁶ *Gate Helmsley Parish*.—A lunatic asylum here was discontinued between 1851 and 1861.

⁵⁷ *Hovingham Parish* is situated in Bulmer and Ryedale Wapentakes.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Bulmer</i>												
<i>Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
Overton :—	3,342	385	420	436	413	486	461	508	491	497	491	392
Overton	1,331	44	56	59	49	68	45	68	56	67	49	57
Township												
Shipton	2,011	341	364	377	364	418	416	440	435	430	442	335
Township												
Sheriff	10,401	1,051	1,127	1,278	1,371	1,499	1,530	1,397	1,321	1,294	1,242	1,076
Hutton † :—												
Cornbrough	1,104	61	63	63	59	63	53	54	54	—	—	—
Township												
Farlington	1,224	174	169	170	152	181	176	174	186	168	159	132
Chap. †												
Lillings Ambo	1,769	142	149	208	197	208	219	196	176	217	207	178
Township												
Sheriff Hutton	4,628	597	664	756	877	955	994	892	816	819	795	696
Township ⁵⁸												
Stittenham	1,676	77	82	81	86	92	88	81	89	90	81	70
Township												
Skelton	2,473	203	286	273	291	367	347	316	350	313	279	274
Stillington † . . .	2,157	531	681	698	717	748	788	738	675	600	490	499
Stockton-on-the-	3,268	255	263	357	319	389	475	449	424	446	407	403
Forest †												
Strensall	2,909	297	424	378	398	430	434	406	478	446	470	581
Sutton-on-the-	10,656	842	891	940	1,019	1,123	1,146	1,224	1,157	1,070	986	889
Forest † † :—												
Huby Township	4,659	393	434	497	526	556	528	572	512	494	456	400
Sutton-on-the-												
Forest Town-	5,997	449	457	443	493	567	618	652	645	576	530	489
ship †												
Terrington † :—	3,953	564	641	723	759	732	753	833	733	685	668	472
Ganthorpe	731	101	96	106	110	118	112	109	113	123	76	51
Township												
Terrington and	3,222	463	545	617	649	614	641	724	620	562	592	421
Wigganthorpe												
Township												
Thormanby † . . .	1,002	131	135	118	133	138	154	147	136	135	119	113
Warhill † :—	1,004	115	129	153	162	159	169	217	192	190	171	181
Warhill Copy-	623	—	95	115	127	117	117	190	167	158	138	147
hold Town-												
ship												
Warhill Free-	381	—	34	38	35	42	52	27	25	32	33	34
hold Town-												
ship												
Whenby †	1,041	87	101	129	115	124	128	109	123	111	97	88
Wigginton †	1,880	260	286	309	359	392	374	349	371	399	366	340
York St. Olave	2,371	1,062	1,093	1,192	1,394	1,979	2,988	3,740	4,561	7,240	9,074	14,388
Marygate (part												
of) :—												
Clifton	1,582	383	406	469	715	1,242	2,263	2,659	3,296	6,037	7,770	12,313
Township												
Rawcliffe	739	73	61	57	54	76	48	115	123	89	236	310
Township												
St. Olave Mary-	50	606	626	666	625	661	677	966	1,142	1,114	1,068	1,765
gate Town-												
ship												
York St. Saviour												
(part of) ^{58a} :—												
Heworth	1,313	82	100	146	268	395	399	437	610	746	740	829
Township												
<i>Gilling, East,</i>												
<i>Wapentake</i>												
Ainderby	4,696	587	593	768	806	760	845	848	784	719	635	581
Steeple † † :—												
Ainderby Steeple	1,158	207	220	266	302	262	323	319	287	222	224	241
Township												

⁵⁸ Sheriff Hutton Township.—The population includes that of Cornbrough Township, 1881—1901.

^{58a} See note 33 above.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued.*)

PARISH	Acres	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Gilling, East, Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
Ainderby Steeple <i>(cont.)</i> —												
Morton-upon-Swale Township	1,542	184	202	240	258	252	263	286	259	273	225	186
Thrintoft Township †	1,228	136	102	165	170	164	168	162	145	146	107	111
Warlaby Township	768	60	69	97	76	82	91	81	93	78	79	43
Barton :—	3,085	501	446	467	499	601	536	540	556	591	473	565
Barton Township	2,451	461	414	436	468	567	508	507	520	515	410	517
Newton Morrell Township	634	40	32	31	31	34	28	33	36	76	63	48
Catterick (part of) ⁵⁹ :—	8,138	895	851	987	963	958	964	960	838	825	923	868
Bolton-upon-Swale Chap.	861	93	76	100	85	96	82	105	85	77	84	92
Ellerton-upon-Swale Township	1,626	116	111	140	147	152	144	153	162	172	149	115
Kiplin Township	1,025	95	94	100	103	114	117	114	83	80	93	100
Scorton Township †	2,733	439	449	496	492	477	488	476	412	407	515	465
Uckerby Township †	779	75	50	52	50	40	61	56	32	38	39	35
Whitwell Township	1,114	77	71	99	86	79	72	56	64	51	43	61
Cleasby † † . . .	1,205	123	124	147	162	188	197	189	175	178	136	154
Cowton, East † .	3,370	323	302	338	374	454	461	472	380	387	394	351
Croft † :—	7,267	543	563	648	692	758	784	805	792	781	720	666
Croft Township †	4,633	330	339	368	375	422	430	442	479	443	387	385
Dalton-upon-Tees Township	1,636	124	131	167	196	219	218	211	174	187	187	165
Stapleton Township †	998	89	93	113	121	117	136	152	139	151	146	116
Danby Wiske † †	4,714	427	402	477	508	546	554	557	485	476	453	444
Danby Wiske Township	3,364	302	273	328	343	368	359	353	309	287	302	277
Yafforth Chap. †	1,350	125	129	149	165	178	195	204	176	189	151	167
Easby (part of) ⁶⁰ :—	1,700	401	379	388	455	399	425	406	344	360	435	361
Brompton-upon-Swale Township	1,700	401	379	388	455	399	425	406	344	360	435	361
Gilling (part of) ⁶¹ :—	5,977	587	613	595	599	637	672	655	572	579	586	611
Cowton, North, Township	1,397	282	322	270	264	273	312	312	269	283	256	268
Cowton, South, Chap.	2,240	142	152	148	163	152	165	167	144	111	163	184
Eryholme Chap. †	2,340	163	139	177	172	212	195	176	159	185	167	159
Kirby Wiske (part of) ^{61a} :—	4,085	635	686	668	690	724	888	682	626	644	562	577
Kirby Wiske Township	1,108	150	215	197	205	210	282	209	249	223	211	205
Maunby Township	1,548	244	207	206	231	283	337	250	203	205	164	154
Newby Wiske Township	1,429	241	264	265	254	231	269	223	174	216	187	218
Langton - upon - Swale † † :—	1,877	168	150	202	230	252	271	239	221	229	168	202
Langton, Great, Township	871	101	98	116	133	160	153	137	132	133	99	103
Langton, Little, Township †	1,006	67	52	86	97	92	118	102	89	96	69	99

⁵⁹ Catterick Parish is situated in East Gilling, East Hang, and West Hang Wapentakes.

⁶⁰ Easby Parish is situated in East and West Gilling Wapentakes.

⁶¹ Gilling Parish is situated in East and West Gilling Wapentakes.

^{61a} See note 49 above.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Gilling, East, Wapentake</i> (<i>cont.</i>)												
Manfield (part of) ⁶² :—												
Manfield Town- ship	2,920	229	352	440	423	420	372	351	341	276	237	278
Middleton	6,243	700	685	805	811	795	728	775	829	813	709	634
Tyas † :—												
Middleton Tyas Township	3,203	526	506	569	621	586	501	531	548	540	474	419
Moulton Town- ship	3,040	174	179	236	190	209	227	244	281	273	235	215
Smeaton, Great (part of) ^{62a} :—												
Smeaton, Great, Township †	1,648	230	218	250	248	255	232	232	256	286	242	258
<i>Gilling, West, Wapentake</i>												
Arkengarthdale †	14,577	1,186	1,529	1,512	1,446	1,243	1,283	1,147	1,018	999	761	427
Barningham :—	11,293	429	510	564	550	484	472	443	408	393	332	350
Barningham Township	3,522	325	350	384	396	337	333	307	296	261	218	227
Hope Township	2,594	—	43	44	35	41	40	43	22	26	26	29
Scargill Town- ship	5,177	104	117	136	119	106	99	93	90	106	88	94
Bowes † † :—	19,437	815	866	1,270	997	850	725	849	777	780	737	659
Bowes Town- ship †	16,958	670	773	1,095	899	763	645	769	680	672	652	578
Gilmonby Township	2,479	145	93	175	98	87	80	80	97	108	85	81
Brignall † . . .	2,121	205	189	216	232	190	173	193	176	131	131	133
Easby (part of) ^{62b} :	3,881	292	343	377	367	372	438	438	436	493	440	424
Aske Township	1,765	73	83	109	105	92	121	140	167	211	145	164
Easby Township	1,281	85	113	105	79	105	114	118	119	123	147	114
Skeeby Town- ship	835	134	147	163	183	175	203	180	150	159	148	146
Forcett † :—	5,938	723	607	574	636	656	817	776	905	908	824	752
Barforth Town- ship †	2,027	142	126	141	128	114	170	167	165	135	145	101
Carkin Town- ship	664	55	47	24	46	55	65	55	84	—	—	—
Eppleby Town- ship	1,120	168	158	157	206	205	263	245	371	417	366	353
Forcett Town- ship ⁶³	1,606	201	128	86	92	123	146	167	144	206	181	182
Ovington, or Ovingham Township	521	157	148	166	164	159	173	142	141	150	132	116
Gilling (part of) ^{62a} :												
Gilling Town- ship †	4,879	809	795	921	899	981	987	899	831	872	754	736
Grinton (part of) ⁶⁴ :—	43,892	3,521	4,319	4,611	4,158	4,217	4,326	3,926	3,427	2,290	1,882	1,616
Melbecks Town- ship	7,986	1,274	1,586	1,726	1,455	1,633	1,661	1,622	1,437	1,165	600	497
Muker Chap. †	30,205	1,119	1,339	1,425	1,247	1,241	1,321	1,005	913	837	615	549
Reeth Township	5,701	1,128	1,394	1,460	1,456	1,343	1,344	1,299	1,077	988	667	570
Hutton	2,049	234	288	317	319	297	266	266	259	258	230	193
Magna † † :—												
Hutton Magna Township	1,303	178	226	248	225	209	189	184	193	182	164	130
Layton, West, Township †	746	56	62	69	94	88	77	82	66	76	66	63

⁶² *Manfield Parish* is situated in East and West Gilling Wapentakes.

^{62b} See note 60 above.

^{62a} See note 61 above.

^{62a} See note 42 above.

⁶³ *Forcett Township*.—The population includes *Carkin Township*, 1881–1901.

⁶⁴ *Grinton Parish* is situated in West Gilling and West Hang Wapentakes.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Gilling, West, Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
Kirkby Ravensworth † :—	15,406	1,504	1,480	1,685	1,727	1,567	1,507	1,331	1,242	1,107	970	927
Dalton Township	2,708	230	237	265	308	283	265	222	196	206	157	150
Gayles Town- ship	2,574	190	224	218	223	186	178	197	160	125	109	109
Kirkby-on-the- Hill Township†	227	143	131	161	118	109	96	88	101	81	76	69
New Forest Township	3,003	68	74	73	73	73	67	53	51	49	36	28
Newsham Township	3,411	491	403	511	546	451	434	366	353	275	211	215
Ravensworth Township †	2,248	269	290	317	300	332	327	257	217	268	277	250
Whashton Town- ship †	1,235	113	121	140	159	133	140	148	164	103	104	106
Manfield (part of) ^{64a} :—												
Cliffe Township	708	46	64	53	68	54	63	54	75	72	55	55
Marrick † . . .	6,206	474	499	621	659	648	555	462	412	307	246	178
Marske † . . .	6,759	239	247	290	290	274	244	263	234	268	222	166
Melsonby . . .	2,742	338	377	440	514	530	559	471	599	532	499	540
Rokeby ⁶⁵ † . . .	1,161	185	201	222	211	162	189	151	157	196	163	179
Romaldkirk † :—	54,578	2,302	2,343	2,461	2,507	2,429	2,599	2,714	2,670	2,690	3,070	2,584
Cotherstone Township	8,200	636	688	706	631	566	607	561	583	638	940	665
Holwick Township †	5,788	196	182	201	208	205	237	253	232	231	237	193
Hunderthwaite Township †	6,336	334	320	313	297	280	239	304	302	285	440	282
Lartington Township	5,411	223	231	243	183	188	185	192	190	206	175	236
Lunedale Township †	22,770	307	283	265	308	339	321	389	400	385	388	379
Mickleton Township †	4,749	330	337	356	500	513	653	688	651	667	634	602
Romaldkirk Township †	1,324	276	302	377	380	338	357	327	312	278	256	227
Stanwick St. John † :—	5,867	817	784	928	955	907	959	768	827	787	764	737
Aldbrough Township	1,807	461	443	544	522	544	546	420	459	400	369	339
Caldwell Township	1,590	181	170	188	204	209	190	162	199	175	155	147
Layton, East, Township †	1,072	95	120	137	156	117	132	133	123	156	128	136
Stanwick St. John Township	1,398	80	51	59	73	37	91	53	46	56	112	115
Startforth † † :—	2,907	464	741	628	780	782	828	802	711	730	731	637
Boldron Township †	1,250	128	172	168	148	169	171	178	172	152	136	144
EgglestoneAbbey Township	649	—	—	—	—	77	75	59	44	62	60	39
Startforth Township	1,008	336	569	460	632	536	582	565	495	516	535	454
Wycliffe † . . .	2,229	138	140	152	156	165	144	162	185	175	164	120
<i>Hallikeld Wapentake</i>												
Aldborough (part of) ⁶⁶ :—												
Ellingthorpe Township	611	—	—	—	—	49	52	45	38	68	59	51

^{64a} See note 62 above.

⁶⁵ *Rokeby Parish*.—Part of *Startforth Parish*, viz., Egglestone Abbey Township, wrongly returned with this Parish 1801-1831.

⁶⁶ *Aldborough Parish* is situated in Hallikeld Wapentake (North Riding), and in Claro Wapentake (West Riding)—Upper and Lower Divisions.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acres	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Hallikeld</i>												
<i>Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
<i>Bedale</i>												
(part of) ^{67a} :—												
Langthorne Township	836	104	132	135	136	115	145	147	125	127	104	101
<i>Brafferton</i>												
(part of) ^{67a} :—												
Thornton Bridge Township	1,091	33	46	43	47	49	61	66	89	55	55	48
<i>Burneston</i>												
—	7,624	1,302	1,247	1,326	1,430	1,494	1,635	1,554	1,416	1,367	1,289	1,211
Burneston Township	1,227	280	253	288	342	357	374	290	287	253	238	241
<i>Carthorpe</i>												
Township	2,113	350	311	301	304	314	321	347	341	325	310	284
<i>Exelby, Leeming, and Newton</i>												
Township	2,440	532	553	562	633	682	783	780	676	690	655	568
<i>Gatenby</i>												
Township	875	67	65	88	69	69	82	80	68	51	40	43
<i>Theakston</i>												
Township	969	73	65	87	82	78	75	57	44	48	46	75
<i>Cundall</i>												
(part of) ^{67b} :—												
Cundall and Leckby Township	3,144	314	319	312	346	338	349	357	293	278	249	204
<i>Norton-le-Clay</i>												
Township	2,052	204	180	170	200	188	191	213	182	178	158	133
<i>Kirby-on-the-Moor, or Kirby Hill</i>												
—	4,056	384	440	476	573	688	648	575	589	652	623	592
Humburton with Milby Township	1,818	130	156	143	188	182	186	165	148	153	169	165
<i>Kirby-on-the-Moor</i>												
Township	1,213	140	177	190	189	202	185	158	165	158	125	119
<i>Langthorpe</i>												
Township	1,025	114	107	143	196	304	277	252	276	341	329	308
<i>Kirklington †</i>												
—	4,165	409	453	491	486	486	553	471	442	414	441	437
Kirklington with Upsland Township	1,987	273	309	337	305	324	399	311	292	249	258	255
<i>Sutton Howgrave</i>												
Township	883	110	116	122	146	124	117	122	116	124	129	110
<i>Tanfield, East</i>												
Township	1,295	26	28	32	35	38	37	38	34	41	54	72
<i>Pickhill (part of)^{67c}</i>												
Ainderby Quernhow Township	4,563	594	586	584	648	617	685	729	613	607	541	499
Howe Township	532	78	86	99	107	92	107	99	128	116	88	74
Pickhill with Roxby Township	402	24	31	32	33	35	44	36	32	49	43	31
Sinderby Township	2,189	375	352	334	388	356	392	416	308	282	252	231
<i>Swainby with Allerthorpe</i>												
Township	559	77	75	86	93	103	118	126	117	114	120	117
<i>Tanfield, West †</i>												
—	881	40	42	33	27	31	24	52	28	46	38	46
<i>Topcliffe (part of)^{67d}</i>												
Asenby Township	3,285	639	670	709	693	696	628	623	504	547	521	527
Baldersby Township	8,032	1,250	1,249	1,359	1,457	1,574	1,452	1,521	1,422	1,326	1,323	1,197
Dishforth Chap. †	1,179	215	188	230	238	261	207	202	185	171	177	173
	1,831	247	207	241	267	296	275	333	296	290	285	239
	1,765	291	323	340	332	363	355	401	359	302	314	315

^{67a} *Bedale Parish* is situated in *Hallikeld* and *East Hang Wapentakes*.

^{67b} See note 53 above.

^{67c} See note 46 above.

^{67d} See note 41 above.

^{67e} See note 51 above.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (continued)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING <i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Hallikeld</i>												
<i>Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
Topcliffe (part of) <i>(cont.)</i> :—												
Marton-le-Moor Chap.	1,679	166	189	201	209	212	203	205	181	169	192	164
Rainton cum Newby Township	1,578	331	342	347	411	442	412	380	401	394	355	306
Wath (part of) ⁶⁸ :—	2,669	484	510	546	657	649	655	621	569	641	581	547
Melmerby Chap.	1,139	229	226	258	338	322	323	285	280	305	252	243
MiddletonQuernhow Chap.	763	87	91	102	123	119	134	129	104	83	109	103
Wath Township	767	168	193	186	196	208	198	207	185	253	220	201
<i>Hang, East, Wapentake</i>												
Bedale (part of) ^{68a} :	7,720	2,155	2,280	2,496	2,571	2,688	2,747	2,713	2,688	2,560	2,628	2,534
Aiskew Township	2,036	500	511	620	586	658	720	759	882	831	847	833
Bedale Township	1,683	1,005	1,078	1,137	1,266	1,250	1,200	1,157	1,026	1,046	1,090	1,082
Firby Township	685	73	52	76		54	68	82	74	84	95	80
Burrill cum Cowling Township	1,071	104	120	113	139	138	150	111	135	100	123	118
Crakehall Township	1,886	460	519	550	580	576	590	583	557	484	444	396
Rand Grange Hamlet	359	13		12	19	21	14	15	29	25	25	
Catterick (part of) ^{68b} † :	11,967	1,556	1,496	1,596	1,812	1,741	1,805	1,728	1,724	1,664	1,570	1,393
Appleton, East and West, Township	1,632	95	89	87	83	91	114	115	104	104	106	116
Brough Township	1,180	86	97	90	78	88	120	128	101	120	105	111
Catterick Township	1,732	641	541	561	683	600	640	623	666	650	681	546
Colburn Township	1,360	138	139	133	163	142	122	142	134	102	97	86
Hipswell Township ^{68c} †	2,647	256	266	296	293	305	293	260	259	269	208	192
Killerby Township	725	56	53	48	62	62	54	56	51	59	41	41
Scotton Township	1,406	70	98	128	138	139	134	111	120	116	113	107
Tunstall Township	1,285	214	213	253	312	314	328	293	289	244	219	194
Hornby :—	3,882	315	392	315	364	309	334	360	325	321	289	347
Ainderby Myers with Holtby Township	953	69	90	79	90	82	90	97	69	73	77	81
Hackforth Township	1,337	135	148	134	142	140	145	167	158	158	121	144
Hornby Township	1,592	111	154	102	132	87	99	96	98	90	91	122
Kirkby Fleetham †	3,148	443	480	566	625	657	605	606	475	552	565	579
Masham † :—	17,018	2,430	2,401	2,767	2,995	2,974	2,695	2,438	2,209	2,174	2,173	1,955
Common Lands	260	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Burton-upon-Ure Township †	2,289	217	164	170	254	200	132	120	118	152	129	128
Ellingstring Township †	430	123	139	204	228	196	201	164	105	116	115	109
Ellingtons Township †	1,791	111	123	152	148	130	144	114	115	89	100	87
Fearby Township †	891	205	216	214	249	237	251	242	216	222	228	187
Healey and Sutton Township †	4,993	354	354	413	400	442	378	317	270	244	209	184

⁶⁸ See note 44 above.

^{68a} See note 67 above.

^{68b} See note 55 above.

^{68c} See note 69 below.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Hang, East, Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
Masham												
<i>(cont.)</i> :—												
Ilton with Pott Township †	2,310	224	209	266	233	237	245	200	152	128	150	91
Masham Township †	2,347	1,022	1,014	1,171	1,276	1,318	1,139	1,079	1,062	1,071	1,066	995
Swinton with Warthermaske Township †	1,707	174	182	177	207	214	205	202	171	152	176	174
Patrick Brompton (part of) ^{68d} :—	3,773	446	482	472	516	596	615	669	591	578	712	566
Arrathorne Township	672	67	74	64	59	81	69	76	71	62	71	41
Newton-le-Wil-lows Township	1,861	216	266	250	269	334	355	388	333	338	478	400
Patrick Brompton Township	1,240	163	142	158	188	181	191	205	187	178	163	125
St. Martin ⁶⁹	270	—	—	—	—	8	57	53	53	79	69	67
Extra Par.												
Scruton †	2,113	379	374	411	438	410	465	408	389	359	383	277
Thornton Wat-lass † :—	3,712	407	369	432	448	471	421	440	388	426	374	358
Clifton-upon-Ure Township	595	—	38	50	43	39	44	43	54	64	57	62
Rookwith Township	996	92	73	76	78	91	62	49	55	53	39	45
Thirn Township	639	131	98	126	142	138	127	142	102	126	97	87
Thornton Wat-lass Township	1,482	184	160	180	185	203	188	206	177	183	181	164
Well † :—	6,689	1,047	948	1,059	1,062	1,090	1,044	963	848	791	823	713
Snape with Thorpe Township †	—	679	616	689	656	729	670	592	491	469	474	434
Well Township †	—	368	332	370	406	361	374	371	357	322	349	279
<i>Hang, West, Wapentake</i>												
Aysgarth † :—	81,011	5,205	5,170	5,621	5,796	5,725	5,635	5,649	5,473	5,482	4,736	4,506
Common Lands	11,309	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Abbotside, High, Township †	6,319	559	585	641	589	574	588	552	576	493	412	381
Abbotside, Low, Township †	2,036	235	195	181	173	166	161	163	142	130	143	140
Askrigg Chap. †	4,907	761	745	765	737	726	633	668	607	624	552	462
Aysgarth Township	1,214	268	293	293	332	269	253	283	230	370	235	273
Bainbridge Township †	15,399	785	813	872	881	786	814	807	771	683	595	568
Bishopdale Township	4,733	84	79	95	108	107	77	87	80	87	91	80
Burton cum Walden Township †	7,607	446	453	478	545	523	483	478	420	444	409	351
Carperby cum Thoresby Township	4,914	280	262	283	320	354	342	345	263	298	244	232
Hawes Chap. †	16,021	1,223	1,185	1,408	1,559	1,611	1,708	1,727	1,843	1,890	1,615	1,586
Newbiggin Township †	1,697	121	130	128	122	132	130	121	113	104	101	95
Thoralby Township †	2,914	313	310	342	272	299	288	271	285	216	218	228
Thornton Rust Township	1,941	130	120	135	158	178	158	147	143	143	121	110

^{68d} Patrick Brompton Parish is situated in East and West Hang Wapentakes.

⁶⁹ The population of St. Martin 1801—1831 was included in that of Hipswell Township.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (continued)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING (cont.)												
<i>Hang, West, Wapentake</i> (cont.)												
Catterick (part of) ^{69a} :—												
Hudswell Chap.†	3,028	227	253	305	291	258	245	249	214	181	223	206
Coverham † † :—	20,563	1,006	1,028	1,170	1,235	1,254	1,221	1,191	1,087	998	862	769
Caldbridge, or Caldbergh, with East Scafton Township	3,446	73	68	103	107	95	96	97	95	72	75	57
Carlton Town Township †	2,742	236	} 578	280	303	303	274	276	263	252	199	177
Carlton High- dale Township†	10,133	328		398	365	385	388	363	310	247	204	206
Coverham cum Agglethorpe Township	1,408	156		140	131	188	205	204	220	191	211	176
Melmerby Township	1,213	106	111	112	127	110	120	123	96	110	102	79
Scafton, West, Township	1,621	107	131	146	145	156	139	112	132	106	106	95
Downholme or Downham † † :—	6,716	233	369	251	235	248	260	241	249	227	196	203
Downholme Township †	1,506	114	225	113	104	121	129	138	143	112	73	93
Ellerton Abbey Township	1,674	} 79	} 91	47	61	56	58	50	44	44	48	37
Stainton Town- ship †	1,877			54	44	47	40	25	35	41	45	40
Walburn Town- ship	1,659			40	53	37	26	24	33	28	27	30
Fingall :—	4,578	394	417	398	460	458	432	406	389	366	323	325
Akebar Town- ship	777	29	29	43	53	30	37	37	24	23	32	25
Burton Constable Chapelry	2,650	217	205	204	257	252	231	224	221	213	189	180
Fingall Town- ship	561	114	152	126	127	133	135	111	115	99	82	95
Hutton Hang Township	590	34	31	25	23	43	29	34	29	31	20	25
Grinton (part of) ^{69b} :—												
Grinton Town- ship	8,189	518	649	689	696	594	598	611	469	377	280	262
Hauxwell † :—	4,600	300	321	334	361	338	326	273	253	252	247	244
Barden Town- ship	1,785	91	124	106	104	111	102	76	78	87	76	81
Garriston Town- ship	672	63	53	52	60	54	44	41	31	30	29	35
Hauxwell, East, Township	1,251	} 146	} 144	} 176	} 197	128	120	98	95	95	116	98
Hauxwell, West, Township	892					45	60	58	49	40	26	30
Middleham † . . .	2,155	728	714	880	914	930	966	922	909	818	732	648
Patrick Brompton (part of) ^{69c} :—												
Hunton Chapelry	1,910	388	424	496	535	534	544	524	435	411	322	272
Spennithorne :—	5,480	655	776	850	848	785	796	852	741	693	682	585
Bellerby Town- Ship †	3,066	309	349	407	417	350	357	391	350	311	314	266
Harmby Town- ship	1,110	176	202	194	233	237	218	263	193	182	171	148
Spennithorne Township	1,304	170	225	249	198	198	221	198	198	200	197	171
Thornton Steward † †	2,158	222	229	265	310	268	304	253	219	249	210	204
Wensley :—	14,441	1,505	1,869	2,182	2,266	1,969	2,105	2,337	2,170	2,172	1,933	1,672
Bolton Castle Chapelry	4,960	242	265	278	269	230	240	259	191	169	149	122
Leyburn Town- ship	2,515	446	593	810	1,003	829	800	886	887	972	982	847

^{69a} See note 59 above.

^{69b} See note 64 above.

^{69c} See note 68 above.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Ac- re- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING <i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Hang, West, Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
Wensley <i>(cont.)</i> :—												
Preston-under-Scar Township	2,573	260	345	378	362	313	407	434	408	362	298	266
Redmire	2,313	320	393	399	344	288	373	440	380	347	243	227
Chapelry												
Wensley Town-ship	2,080	237	273	317	288	309	285	318	304	322	261	210
Witton, East † :—	7,054	682	695	747	687	624	610	621	574	476	471	447
Witton, East, Within Town-ship †	2,610	388	393	444	395	327	325	326	276	240	249	210
Witton, East, Without Town-ship †	4,444	294	302	303	292	297	285	295	298	236	222	237
Witton, West †	3,880	446	439	519	552	494	550	659	533	550	404	326
<i>Langbaurgh Liberty—East Division</i>												
Brotton † † :—	4,014	569	553	492	470	468	518	509	3,441	5,959	5,622	5,534
Brotton Town-ship	2,091	373	384	332	327	319	321	330	2,672	3,753	3,544	3,323
Kilton Town-ship †	1,724	129	101	100	80	86	83	93	222	431	412	445
Skinningrove Township	199	67	68	60	63	63	114	86	547	1,775	1,666	1,766
Danby	6,289	990	1,145	1,373	1,392	1,273	1,313	1,637	1,478	1,304	1,198	1,216
Easington † :—	6,221	730	689	758	716	791	803	752	1,309	1,313	1,310	1,243
Easington Township	3,764	500	445	507	477	588	602	566	672	644	546	477
Liverton Town-ship	2,457	230	244	251	239	203	201	186	637	669	764	766
Egton	18,378	971	1,026	1,037	1,071	1,128	1,129	1,115	1,330	1,266	1,329	1,020
Glaisdale	4,967	763	877	1,043	1,004	1,021	986	1,074	1,887	1,103	1,009	930
Guisborough † :—	13,162	2,003	2,094	2,180	2,210	2,015	2,308	4,615	5,671	7,188	6,138	6,242
Commendale Township	3,032	68	79	86	78	79	91	130	132	167	128	223
Guisborough Township	7,034	1,719	1,834	1,912	1,988	1,776	2,062	4,084	5,202	6,616	5,623	5,645
Hutton Lowcross Township	1,569	59	70	56	52	57	49	271	205	233	250	242
Pinchingthorpe Township	859	92	68	80	57	60	55	75	67	117	83	75
Tocketts Town-ship	668	65	43	46	35	43	51	55	65	55	54	57
Hinderwell † :—	4,915	1,414	1,575	1,719	1,881	1,970	1,947	2,805	2,811	2,653	2,189	2,081
Hinderwell Township	1,658	1,224	1,397	1,483	1,698	1,771	1,736	2,571	2,599	2,467	2,021	1,937
Roxby Chapelry	3,257	190	178	236	183	199	211	234	212	186	168	144
Kirkleatham :—	9,323	1,008	1,003	1,091	1,074	1,075	1,307	2,034	3,058	5,191	5,422	6,183
Kirkleatham Township	5,050	680	622	686	663	714	789	1,107	1,930	3,898	4,209	5,038
Wilton Chapelry †	4,273	328	381	405	411	361	518	927	1,128	1,293	1,213	1,145
Lofthouse, or Loftus	3,744	1,186	1,145	1,178	1,038	1,091	1,192	1,103	2,230	4,318	3,897	3,976
Lythe :—	14,604	2,093	2,064	2,194	2,110	2,080	2,163	2,118	1,941	2,095	1,574	1,397
Barnby Town-ship †	2,140	254	249	270	224	262	280	247	206	196	132	120
Borrowby Town-ship	681	81	80	64	68	81	95	98	89	88	77	63
Ellerby Town-ship	763	74	65	80	64	78	91	103	68	83	50	47
Hutton Mul-grave Town-ship †	1,086	93	90	90	85	63	71	73	65	55	48	34
Lythe Town-ship †	3,770	1,037	991	1,134	1,116	1,063	1,094	1,053	964	1,182	777	738

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Langbaurgh Liberty—East Division (cont.)</i>												
Lythe (<i>cont.</i>):—												
Mickleby Town- ship	1,398	176	174	147	170	186	185	177	173	170	176	104
Newton Mul- grave Town- ship	2,347	133	139	134	123	105	103	111	119	80	84	76
Ugthorpe Town- ship	2,419	245	276	275	260	242	244	256	257	241	230	215
Marske † :—												
Marske Township †	4,574 3,970	934 503	890 479	1,249 576	1,302 573	1,297 503	1,603 571	2,800 1,470	5,874 3,931	7,410 5,113	7,504 4,885	8,618 5,662
Redcar Township †	604	431	411	673	729	794	1,032	1,330	1,943	2,297	2,619	2,956
Ormesby (part of) ⁷⁰ :—	5,435	414	435	436	498	468	726	5,194	7,894	14,210	19,999	21,011
Eston Chap. .	2,453	288	303	272	334	285	465	2,835	4,151	6,297	10,695	11,199
Morton Township	1,007	27	22	26	26	34	26	47	67	62	56	75
Normanby Township	1,462	99	110	122	138	134	195	2,204	3,556	7,714	9,128	9,657
Upsall Township	513	—	—	16	—	15	40	108	120	137	120	80
Skelton † † :—												
Moorsholm cum Girrick Town- ship †	11,736 4,238	1,120 302	1,207 383	1,235 353	1,241 338	1,053 316	1,299 354	1,457 305	3,091 362	9,374 392	7,886 427	9,472 446
Skelton Township †	4,263	700	717	791	781	628	826	1,034	2,561	7,820	6,382	7,797
Stanghow Township †	3,235	118	107	91	122	109	119	118	168	1,162	1,077	1,229
Upleatham † . .	1,426	237	312	239	265	209	274	521	323	488	489	411
Westerdale † . .	9,914	257	248	281	281	265	286	279	283	266	245	258
Whitby (part of) ⁷¹ :—												
Aislaby Chap. †	1,073	211	216	253	276	346	331	330	360	337	340	273
<i>Langbaurgh Liberty—West Division</i>												
Aclam, West † .	976	98	105	105	102	97	110	108	129	164	155	130
Appleton-upon- Wiske	1,865	451	400	492	553	559	506	466	383	331	294	291
Ayton † :—												
Ayton, Great, Township †	6,394 3,589	1,066 865	1,091 922	1,201 1,023	1,296 1,103	1,216 1,014	1,304 1,109	1,688 1,450	1,784 1,515	2,020 1,754	1,961 1,727	1,996 1,674
Ayton, Little, Township	1,378	69	41	68	68	65	69	78	74	101	99	124
Nunthorpe Chap.	1,427	132	128	110	125	137	126	160	195	165	135	198
Carlton † . . .	1,359	275	230	260	256	259	224	243	311	253	231	255
Crathorne † . .	2,600	307	304	330	304	294	243	256	216	247	216	248
Hilton †	1,391	136	133	135	113	126	110	127	147	135	112	118
Ingleby Arncliffe, or Arncliffe †	1,892	253	290	331	335	329	352	326	289	306	279	237
Ingleby Greenhow †	7,010	376	343	347	368	355	361	481	513	391	453	442
Kildale †	5,195	201	202	209	188	181	145	221	237	280	223	247
Kirkby-in- Cleveland † :—												
Broughton Township	3,093	460	444	517	287	511	504	577	649	566	504	481
Kirkby-in- Cleveland Township	1,770	165	160	168	182	201	219	227	247	244	237	231

⁷⁰ Ormesby Parish is situated in Langbaurgh Liberty—East and West Divisions. The population of Upsall Township in 1801, 1811, and 1831 was wrongly included in the part in the West Division.

⁷¹ Whitby Parish is situated in Langbaurgh Liberty—East Division—and in Whitby Strand Liberty. The seamen in registered vessels in Whitby Harbour were included in 1821, but excluded in 1831 to the number of 764.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (continued)

PARISH	Acres	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING (cont.)												
<i>Langbaurgh Liberty—West Division</i> (cont.)												
Kirk Leavington:—	5,623	542	568	637	517	483	513	543	563	548	548	555
Castle	7,071	47	61	44	45	46	44	53	44	44	40	47
Leavington Township												
Kirk Leavington Township	2,202	239	233	282	222	233	226	182	155	197	210	201
Picton Township	1,004	91	84	94	86	58	72	96	97	108	114	129
Worsall, Low, Township	1,346	165	190	217	164	146	171	212	267	199	184	178
Marton	3,519	342	361	397	363	410	426	587	856	1,057	1,183	1,488
Middlesbrough †:—	3,216	239	212	236	383	5,709	7,893	19,416	39,415	55,367	74,952	90,936
Linthorpe Township †	2,136	214	177	196	229	246	262	702	10,551	18,736	25,341	32,816
Middlesbrough Chap. †	1,080	25	35	40	154	5,463	7,631	18,714	28,864	36,631	49,611	58,120
Newton-in-Cleveland †	1,175	149	137	119	148	147	127	122	133	116	99	112
Ormesby (part of) ^{71a} :—												
Ormesby Township	2,883	357	399	349	403	383	446	1,105	4,231	7,774	8,757	9,586
Rudby †:—	7,562	1,092	1,121	1,311	1,397	1,256	1,119	1,147	1,155	1,282	1,200	1,209
Hutton Rudby Township †	2,371	707	762	919	1,027	911	777	769	768	849	821	851
Middleton-upon-Leven Chap.	1,145	110	100	111	89	114	95	108	112	87	73	65
Rounton, East, Chap.	1,621	109	102	135	127	93	112	114	115	166	157	142
Rudby-in-Cleveland Township †	889	80	88	76	81	72	66	69	61	81	62	72
Sexhow Township	528	44	34	38	35	33	35	42	33	34	32	36
Skutterskelfe Township	1,008	42	35	32	38	33	34	45	66	65	55	43
Seamer	2,651	249	268	226	224	247	251	260	244	246	227	208
Stainton †:—	7,756	800	806	968	1,000	2,256	2,485	3,858	7,699	11,480	16,037	16,511
Hemlington Township	1,119	58	77	72	83	71	97	94	101	103	110	115
Ingleby Barwick Township	1,519	162	114	175	177	138	147	140	162	132	115	124
Maltby Township	1,117	141	155	168	168	171	124	141	128	113	138	139
Stainton Township	2,306	272	311	356	271	391	358	357	341	337	344	347
Thornaby with South Stockton Township †	1,695	167	149	197	301	1,485	1,759	3,126	6,967	10,795	15,330	15,786
Stokesley †:—	6,394	1,755	1,759	2,290	2,376	2,734	2,446	2,401	2,293	2,184	1,922	2,020
Busby, Little, Township	706					34	22	38	38	33	32	24
Busby, Great, Township	1,403	121	82	117	106	114	134	117	111	98	99	115
Easby Township	1,211	138	101	124	151	144	136	124	145	136	114	98
Newby Township	1,256	127	137	152	152	132	114	129	122	115	164	141
Stokesley Township ⁷² †	1,818	1,369	1,439	1,897	1,967	2,310	2,040	1,993	1,877	1,802	1,513	1,642
Whorlton:—	9,726	845	834	968	915	798	865	1,008	941	1,064	733	766
Faceby Chap. †	1,382	127	139	178	143	145	140	164	148	174	110	142
Potto Township †	1,532	174	185	207	187	148	185	194	188	209	186	192
Whorlton Township †	6,812	544	510	583	585	505	540	650	605	681	437	432
Yarm ⁷³ † †	1,198	1,300	1,431	1,504	1,636	1,511	1,647	1,401	1,340	1,445	1,554	1,541

^{71a} See note 70 above.

⁷² Stokesley Township.—The population in 1841 included a number of visitors at the annual fair.

⁷³ Yarm Parish.—In 1851, 119 men were temporarily present, engaged on railway works.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (continued)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING (cont.)												
<i>Pickering Lythe Wapentake</i>												
Allerston . . .	10,058	319	344	401	385	414	450	413	407	444	373	369
Brompton :—	11,359	993	1,145	1,303	1,337	1,534	1,572	1,484	1,560	1,689	1,476	1,343
Brompton Township †	4,099	370	435	516	496	609	617	538	605	687	550	455
Sawdon Township †	1,218	120	125	139	146	142	191	166	169	167	152	151
Snainton Township	4,837	450	525	603	636	687	695	713	724	775	707	682
Troutsdale Township	1,205	53	60	45	59	96	69	67	62	60	67	55
Cayton with Osgodby † :—	3,504	354	413	519	514	572	551	534	566	609	556	605
Cayton Township †	2,426	—	343	447	449	503	492	457	482	480	461	—
Osgodby Township †	1,078	—	70	72	65	69	59	77	84	129	95	—
Ebberston . . .	6,095	365	437	505	509	579	571	572	598	592	538	561
Ellerburn † ‡ :—	3,598	496	575	606	623	686	654	648	643	661	571	481
Farmanby and Ellerburn Township †	1813	310	366	403	431	470	452	467	452	493	420	348
Wilton Chap. .	1,785	186	209	203	192	216	202	181	191	168	151	133
Filey (part of) ^{78a} :—	2,486	255	309	355	390	359	374	363	319	360	309	346
Gristhorpe Township	1,206	129	181	212	217	206	200	207	180	203	199	218
Lebberston Township	1,280	126	128	143	173	153	174	156	139	157	110	128
Hutton Bushel † ‡ :—	6,051	572	595	648	671	811	918	912	888	958	796	749
Ayton, West, Township †	2,264	162	211	229	256	305	305	385	405	458	391	372
Hutton Bushel Township †	3,787	410	384	419	415	506	613	527	483	500	405	377
Kirby Misper- ton † :—	7,001	675	757	809	864	905	993	1,002	978	952	804	767
Barughs Ambo Township	1,460	188	241	241	294	304	306	318	285	261	220	212
Habton, Great, Township	950	85	93	136	122	156	181	182	165	165	126	131
Habton, Little, Township	473	46	45	50	56	57	58	61	62	52	50	33
Kirby Misperton Township	1,792	163	165	170	170	169	221	215	236	270	223	223
Ryton Township	2,326	193	213	212	222	219	227	226	230	204	185	168
Levisham † . . .	2,976	123	138	152	168	163	152	148	122	105	116	114
Middleton † :—	25,751	1,454	1,532	1,727	1,742	1,862	1,942	2,100	3,642	1,963	2,234	2,234
Aislaby Township †	925	163	153	147	126	128	125	180	166	134	125	119
Cawthorn Township	1,134	} 269	} 313	22	18	20	25	33	20	25	23	20
Cropton Chap. †	4,337			321	330	335	373	360	368	353	308	304
Hartoft Township ^{78b} †	2,940	89	104	134	142	168	160	180	165	144	134	146
Lockton Chap. .	7,169	245	252	324	312	347	406	396	365	400	352	309
Middleton Township †	2,156	235	229	247	266	261	248	283	279	285	260	256
Rosedale East Side Chap. Wreilton Township †	5,202	287	308	339	376	387	373	446	2,041	393	815	882
Pickering † :—	31,271	2,643	3,007	3,555	3,346	3,901	4,161	4,501	4,862	5,040	4,711	4,454
Goathland Chap. Kingthorpe Township	9,292	261	270	335	326	381	451	518	592	514	497	474
Marishes Township †	1,210	37	44	52	47	52	52	54	39	50	47	40
Newton Chap. †	2,397	200	193	210	207	243	294	287	304	270	199	204
Pickering Township †	2,335	200	193	210	207	243	294	287	304	270	199	204
Newton Chap. †	2,397	151	168	212	211	233	252	243	238	247	266	223
Pickering Township †	16,037	1,994	2,332	2,746	2,555	2,992	3,112	3,399	3,689	3,959	3,702	3,513

^{78a} See note 4 above.

^{78b} See note 76 below.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Pickering Lythe Wapentake</i> (<i>cont.</i>)												
Scalby † :—	11,902	1,309	1,425	1,559	1,676	1,886	1,829	1,876	1,929	1,905	2,049	2,407
Burniston	2,099	246	260	347	317	389	332	350	368	353	332	308
Township †												
Cloughton	2,538	291	335	366	415	454	450	441	469	512	534	537
Chap. †												
Newby	991	44	56	40	55	54	47	50	74	74	49	96
Township †												
Scalby	2,730	409	454	446	583	612	600	643	604	600	672	830
Township †												
Stainton Dale	3,145	271	262	294	252	306	343	347	284	238	237	284
Township												
Throxenby	399	48	58	66	54	71	57	45	130	128	225	352
Township ⁷⁴ †												
Seamer :—	8,450	805	906	1,034	981	1,121	1,246	1,305	1,192	1,299	1,197	1,212
Ayton, East,	2,495	290	327	333	360	362	390	406	375	399	353	353
Township												
Irtton Town- ship	1,259		94	105	107	134	118	125	124	148	163	148
Seamer	4,696	515	485	596	514	625	738	774	693	752	681	711
Township												
Sinnington (part of) ⁷⁶ :—	2,892	466	505	598	571	608	564	586	564	508	464	479
Marton	677	192	206	255	231	240	248	243	208	193	141	148
Township †												
Sinnington	2,215	274	299	343	340	368	316	343	356	315	323	331
Township †												
Thornton Dale † †	6,461	731	805	879	937	886	927	893	796	765	696	682
Turnhill ⁷⁶	1,086	—	—	—	—	12	6	8	15	—	—	—
Extra Par.												
Wykeham † † . .	8,248	382	511	582	605	597	643	521	556	554	493	435
<i>Ryedale Wapentake</i>												
Ampleforth (part of) ^{76a} :—												
Ampleforth St. Peter	941	97	160	214	207	207	232	245	199	231	361	222
Township ⁷⁷ †												
Appleton le Street :—	5,889	724	813	873	860	944	942	987	994	955	890	889
Amotherby	1,831	285	292	249	246	239	245	256	282	280	270	269
Chap.												
Appleton le Street Township	1,633	151	146	173	158	185	183	185	182	178	151	146
Broughton	866	71	93	94	111	111	97	123	120	109	97	92
Township												
Hildenley	304	—	—	23	12	22	30	42	49	43	54	68
Township												
Swinton	1,255	217	282	334	333	387	387	381	361	345	318	314
Township												
Barton le Street (part of) ⁷⁷ :—	2,337	241	221	226	246	249	267	263	253	229	246	195
Barton le Street Township	1,674	168	159	176	190	185	189	184	171	166	177	145
Butterwick	663	73	62	50	56	64	78	79	82	63	69	50
Township												
Edston, Great † :—	1,833	160	154	180	177	153	152	152	145	124	128	133
Edston, Great, Township ⁷⁸	1,288	144	137	156	156	134	137	135	123	113	104	103
Holme, North, Township	545	16	17	24	21	19	15	17	22	11	24	25

⁷⁴ *Throxenby Township*.—A militia depôt was erected between 1861 and 1871 in this Township, and was in occupation at the latter date.

⁷⁵ *Sinnington Parish* is situated in *Pickering Lythe Wapentake* and in *Ryedale Wapentake*.

⁷⁶ *Turnhill*.—The population in 1881–1901 is included in that given for *Hartoft Township*.

^{76a} See note 45 above.

⁷⁷ *Ampleforth St. Peter Township*.—The figures given for 1811 are estimated.

^{77a} See note 52 above.

⁷⁸ *Great Edston Township*.—The population of *Little Edston Township* for 1801 is included in this Township.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (continued)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING (cont.)												
<i>Ryedale Wapen- take</i> (cont.)												
Gilling :—	4,125	336	310	329	371	386	386	401	452	376	396	415
Cawton	1,056	92	87	705	89	701	93	79	110	67	104	107
Township												
Gilling Township	2,072	197	176	168	214	232	230	244	271	245	221	219
Grimston	997	47	47	56	68	53	63	78	71	64	71	95
Township												
Helmsley :—	40,074	3,302	3,366	3,601	3,562	3,475	3,483	3,429	3,451	3,493	3,296	3,059
Beadlam Town- ship	1,451	93	137	143	151	158	131	145	140	154	169	174
Bilsdale Mid- cable Chap.	14,231	644	678	780	759	738	721	738	767	677	596	578
Harome Chap. †	2,362	373	411	461	445	422	462	447	425	439	375	383
Helmsley Town- ship	8,823	1,449	1,415	1,520	1,485	1,465	1,481	1,384	1,437	1,550	1,508	1,363
Laskill Pasture Township	1,579	79	97	91	85	94	84	105	77	93	90	76
Pockley Chap.	3,444	228	235	227	217	210	224	199	210	188	209	176
Rievaulx Town- ship	5,317	223	212	212	225	216	209	229	225	227	208	181
Sproxtown Town- ship	2,867	213	181	167	195	172	171	182	170	165	141	128
Hovingham (part of) ^{78a} † :—	7,492	842	968	1,003	1,029	1,088	1,054	1,033	984	999	918	829
Airyholme and Howthorpe Township	597	31	38	33	42	36	35	35	43	41	39	34
Colton Township	1,089	98	109	112	131	158	170	146	136	131	109	101
Fryton Township	1,135	72	62	62	60	77	103	109	84	93	90	51
Holme, South, Township	904	53	60	66	65	62	67	68	69	84	62	59
Hovingham Township	2,859	495	599	649	672	681	622	608	587	600	565	529
Ness, East, Township †	536	74	75	59	38	46	38	49	52	39	39	35
Wath Township	372	19	25	22	21	28	19	18	13	11	14	20
Kirkby Moor- side † :—	18,034	2,113	2,458	2,734	2,613	2,758	2,611	2,659	2,557	2,575	2,378	2,253
Fadmoor Town- ship †	1,552	133	160	162	158	176	174	156	168	149	135	148
Farndale, West Side, or High Quarter	7,182		268	286	289	275	233	338	241	221	223	184
Farndale, Low Quarter	3,403	356	180	213	185	188	180	154	177	173	150	139
Township												
Gillamoor	1,391	228	177	195	179	214	189	160	183	189	187	159
Township †												
Kirkby Moorside Township †	4,506	1,396	1,673	1,878	1,802	1,905	1,835	1,851	1,788	1,843	1,683	1,623
Kirkdale :—	9,830	728	940	1,449	1,117	1,040	1,036	1,043	1,062	987	968	901
Common Lands	141	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Muscoates	983	70	68	65	62	71	62	64	74	71	72	54
Township †												
Bransdale West Side Township	2,050	68	93	286		80	85	73	70	75	64	52
Skiplam Town- ship †	2,572	70	82	170	124	84	84	87	81	67	81	68
Welburn Town- ship †	1,681	103	117	112	112	131	141	121	110	130	125	134
Nawton Town- ship †	1,216					337	329	358	387	350	343	322
Wombledon Township †	1,187	417	580	816	819	337	335	340	340	294	283	271
Lastingham :—	18,917	1,319	1,477	1,548	1,477	1,463	1,380	1,597	2,145	1,526	1,649	1,485
Common Lands	7,561	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Appleton-le- Moors Town- ship †	1,323	254	290	276	269	322	295	265	277	300	242	207

^{78a} See note 57 above

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Ryedale Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
Lastingham												
<i>(cont.) :—</i>												
Farndale East Side Township	6,163	381	480	455	405	383	371	390	377	370	322	306
Hutton-le-Hole Township	1,086	238	243	304	276	272	239	277	332	273	260	248
Lastingham Township	417	222	224	225	211	175	184	216	229	184	174	133
Rosedale West Side Township	1,082	117	156	179	178	201	175	338	798	309	549	514
Spaunton Township	1,285	107	84	109	138	110	116	111	132	90	102	77
Malton, New, St. Leonard	49	1,748	2,203	2,339	2,573	2,391	2,207	2,120	1,878	3,344	2,999	2,615
Malton, New, St. Michael		1,299	1,510	1,666	1,600	1,630	1,634	1,566	1,357			
Malton, Old	3,968	741	961	1,064	1,204	1,296	1,505	1,403	1,763	1,928	1,911	2,143
Normanby † † :—	2,406	181	182	223	258	245	198	234	217	213	200	188
Normanby Township	1,786	148	148	191	219	212	176	199	185	178	157	156
Thornton Riseborough Township †	620	33	34	32	39	33	22	35	32	35	43	32
Nunnington	2,123	291	339	418	441	470	443	423	430	403	354	325
Oswaldkirk † :—	3,077	354	349	388	400	449	428	524	549	486	390	405
Ampleforth	882	161	139	176	191	159	214	305	343	289	208	216
Oswaldkirk Quarter or Township †	2,195	193	210	212	209	290	214	219	206	197	182	189
Oswaldkirk Township † †												
Salton † :—	2,763	257	276	336	355	371	379	384	316	326	280	256
Brawby Township	1,014	103	139	188	199	218	218	215	177	174	148	134
Salton Township	1,749	154	137	148	156	153	161	169	139	152	132	122
Scawton	2,875	129	150	154	148	139	153	148	157	132	119	102
Sinnington (part of) ^{78b} :—												
Edston, Little, Township ^{78c}	171	—	14	16	13	15	15	21	20	13	14	11
Slingsby †	2,571	434	464	548	562	609	632	707	648	596	526	457
Stonegrave † :—	2,725	244	252	314	327	351	277	290	295	264	231	233
Ness, West, Township †	869	49	56	65	59	75	64	57	53	65	56	62
Newton, East, and Laythorpe Township	941	69	60	72	79	82	63	84	76	59	51	44
Stonegrave Township	915	126	136	177	189	194	150	149	166	140	124	127
<i>Whitby Strand Liberty</i>												
Fylingdales †	6,325	1,568	1,559	1,702	1,535	1,611	1,784	1,721	1,558	1,448	1,482	1,591
Hackness † † :—	11,887	605	630	632	749	714	668	658	658	687	623	663
Broxa Township	535	49	67	61	74	65	69	51	44	55	41	34
Hackness Township	2,456	170	174	143	215	182	169	207	213	203	188	235
Harwood Dale Township ⁷⁹ †	5,537	185	200	235	336	242	210	214	207	207	200	186
Silpho Township ⁸⁰ †	1,447	91	91	96		93	74	66	75	85	91	100
Suffield cum Everley Township	1,912	110	98	97	124	132	146	120	119	137	103	108

⁷⁸ See note 75 above.

^{78c} See note 78 above.

⁷⁹ Harwood Dale Township.—The 1811 population is estimated.

⁸⁰ Silpho Township.—The 1801 population is estimated.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre-age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
NORTH RIDING <i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Whitby Strand Liberty (cont.)</i>												
Sneaton † . . .	4,848	173	167	251	230	238	257	268	244	232	218	223
Whitby (part of) ^{80a} :—	13,762	10,763	10,059	12,331	11,449	11,336	12,544	13,684	15,081	16,826	15,764	13,754
Common Lands.	1,591	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Eskdaleside, or Sleights, Chap. †	1,940	344	364	395	277	519	731	814	1,197	1,415	1,346	847
Hawsker cum Stainsacre Township	3,813	549	519	634	654	724	786	914	972	962	1,062	886
Newholm cum Dunsley Township	2,191	346	326	259	347	383	373	382	335	400	377	307
Ruswarp Township	1,709	1,565	1,498	1,918	1,980	1,879	2,163	2,995	4,236	4,839	5,097	5,019
Ugglebarnby Chap. †	2,470	476	383	428	426	448	451	437	455	390	381	346
Whitby Township	48	7,483	6,969	8,697	7,765	7,383	8,040	8,142	7,886	8,820	7,501	6,349
<i>Richmond Borough</i>												
Richmond . . .	2,520	2,861	3,056	3,546	3,900	3,992	4,106	4,290	4,443	4,502	4,216	3,837
<i>Scarborough Borough</i>												
Scarborough :— Falsgrave Township	2,373	6,688	7,067	8,533	8,760	10,048	12,915	18,377	24,259	30,504	33,776	38,161
Scarborough Township	2,373	279	357	345	391	545	757	1,173	1,868	4,266		
Scarborough Castle Precinct Extra Par.)		6,409	6,710	8,188	8,369	9,503	12,158	17,204	22,391	26,238	33,776	38,161

	Acre-age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Total of the North Riding	—	158,955	167,779	188,201	192,255	204,734	215,225	245,267	293,274	346,264	367,911	391,011

PARISH	Acre-age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING												
<i>Agbrigg Wapentake—Lower Division</i>												
Ardsley, East † .	1,819	686	812	832	853	900	838	1,069	1,596	2,505	3,075	4,028
Ardsley, West † .	2,327	1,032	1,332	1,515	1,450	1,420	1,429	1,646	2,559	3,471	3,709	3,868
Batley (part of) ^{81a} :—	4,804	4,682	5,432	6,748	8,660	11,163	14,129	21,013	30,478	42,516	47,444	51,525
Batley Township	2,039	2,574	2,975	3,717	4,841	7,076	9,308	14,173	20,871	27,505	28,719	30,321
Morley Township	2,765	2,108	2,457	3,031	3,819	4,087	4,821	6,840	9,607	15,011	18,725	21,204
Crofton † . . .	1,520	535	424	459	361	389	363	402	492	702	824	1,896

^{80a} See note 7 above.

^{81a} *Batley Parish* is situated in *Agbrigg Wapentake—Lower Division*—and in *Morley Wapentake*.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Agbrigg Wapentake—Lower Division (cont.)</i>												
Dewsbury (part of) ⁸² :—	7,035	10,124	11,751	14,354	17,446	21,131	25,374	32,336	42,350	50,989	52,324	52,400
Dewsbury Township	1,471	4,566	5,059	6,380	8,272	10,600	14,049	18,148	24,764	29,637	29,847	28,060
Ossett with Gawthorpe Township ⁸³	3,105	3,424	4,083	4,775	5,325	6,078	6,266	7,950	9,190	10,957	10,984	12,684
Soothill Township	2,459	2,134	2,609	3,099	3,849	4,453	5,059	6,238	8,396	10,395	11,493	11,656
Emley (part of) ⁸⁴ :—												
Emley Township †	3,556	1,120	1,261	1,351	1,445	1,575	1,706	1,441	1,275	1,289	1,406	1,429
Featherstone (part of) ⁸⁵ :—	2,051	319	356	364	357	493	658	1,790	3,396	4,808	5,535	5,611
Acton Township	968	86	85	72	51	76	82	67	54	706	729	738
Whitwood Township	1,083	233	271	292	306	417	576	1,723	3,342	4,102	4,806	4,873
Methley †	3,493	1,234	1,385	1,499	1,593	1,702	1,926	2,472	3,277	4,074	4,357	4,271
Mirfield	3,766	3,724	4,315	5,041	6,496	6,919	6,966	9,263	12,869	15,872	16,841	17,040
Newland cum Woodhouse Moor Extra Par.	311	—	42	46	46	45	52	78	46	49	57	60
Normanton :—	4,127	737	818	773	899	1,323	1,238	1,923	6,585	12,452	15,480	17,914
Altofts Township ⁸⁶ †	7,838	334	408	404	502	704	603	1,210	2,666	3,172	3,791	4,024
Normanton Township	1,228	276	269	250	283	481	495	563	3,448	8,038	10,234	12,352
Snydale Township	1,061	127	141	119	114	138	140	150	471	1,242	1,455	1,538
Rothwell † :—	9,010	4,776	5,004	6,253	6,635	7,462	7,541	8,072	9,482	12,182	14,184	15,973
Lofthouse with Carlton Township †	1,984	978	1,054	1,396	1,463	1,536	1,658	2,028	2,580	3,528	3,875	4,047
Middleton Township	1,815	831	906	1,096	976	1,077	977	902	1,058	1,134	1,236	1,268
Oulton with Woodlesford Township ⁸⁷ †	1,361	1,223	1,267	1,526	1,496	1,789	1,771	1,851	2,042	2,344	2,817	3,078
Rothwell Township †	3,302	1,689	1,711	2,155	2,638	2,988	3,052	3,220	3,733	5,105	6,164	6,754
Thorp Township	548	55	66	80	62	72	83	71	69	71	92	826
Sandal Magna :—	6,572	2,296	2,325	2,538	2,717	3,267	3,836	4,082	4,884	7,662	8,613	10,834
Crigglistone Township	3,130	1,216	1,225	1,265	1,266	1,479	1,827	2,021	2,377	2,777	2,862	3,246
Sandal Magna Township	1,619	765	789	888	1,075	1,278	1,536	1,590	2,019	4,264	5,082	6,843
Walton Township	1,823	315	311	385	376	510	473	471	488	621	669	745
Thornhill :—	8,122	4,284	4,705	5,458	6,271	7,201	6,858	7,633	9,709	13,016	13,658	14,197
Flockton Chapelry	7,108	800	930	988	995	1,096	1,040	1,090	1,116	1,180	1,213	1,251
Shitlington Township	3,412	1,166	1,410	1,635	1,893	2,164	1,959	2,022	2,287	2,993	2,839	2,656
Thornhill Township	2,564	1,499	1,619	1,932	2,371	2,816	2,791	3,479	5,285	7,857	8,727	9,500
Whitley, Lower, Township †	1,038	819	746	903	1,012	1,125	1,068	1,042	1,021	986	879	790

⁸² *Dewsbury Parish* is situated in *Agbrigg Wapentake—Lower Division—and in Morley Wapentake.*

⁸³ *Ossett with Gawthorpe Township.*—The population in 1841 included 221 persons attending a feast.

⁸⁴ *Emley Parish* is situated in *Agbrigg Wapentake—Upper and Lower Divisions.*

⁸⁵ *Featherstone Parish* is situated in *Agbrigg Wapentake—Lower Division—and in Osgoldcross Wapentake—Upper Division.*

⁸⁶ *Altofts Township.*—In 1841 a number of men were temporarily present engaged on railway works.

⁸⁷ *Oulton with Woodlesford Township.*—The 1841 population included a number of railway labourers engaged in excavating Woodlesford Cutting.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Agbrigg Wapentake—Lower Division</i> (<i>cont.</i>)												
Wakefield † :—	10,057	16,597	18,474	22,307	24,538	29,992	33,117	35,739	43,493	51,140	56,244	61,938
Alverthorpe with Thornes	3,345	3,105	3,756	4,448	4,859	5,930	6,068	6,645	8,135	10,486	12,086	13,475
Township †												
Horbury Chap. .	1,280	2,101	2,356	2,475	2,400	2,683	2,803	3,246	3,977	5,050	5,673	6,736
Stanley with Wrenthorpe Township	4,674	3,260	3,769	4,620	5,047	6,625	7,257	8,237	10,305	13,431	15,576	18,033
Wakefield Township †	758	8,131	8,593	10,764	12,232	14,754	16,989	17,611	21,076	22,173	22,909	23,694
Warmfield † :—	2,780	804	813	1,071	995	1,050	969	1,045	1,741	2,867	3,323	3,337
Sharlston	1,200	179	174	330	243	221	164	262	814	1,890	2,256	2,231
Township												
Warmfield with Heath Town- ship	1,580	625	639	741	752	829	805	783	927	977	1,067	1,106
<i>Agbrigg Wapentake—Upper Division</i>												
Almondbury † :—	34,086	17,431	19,795	24,601	31,248	37,907	42,316	43,551	46,991	53,656	57,817	58,512
Almondbury Township	2,636	3,751	4,613	5,679	7,086	8,828	9,749	10,361	11,669	13,977	14,855	14,436
Austonley Township †	3,316	674	814	968	1,420	1,940	2,234	1,901	1,535	1,662	1,443	1,410
Crossland, South, Chap. †	1,834	1,221	1,424	1,583	2,258	2,826	2,922	2,794	2,863	3,048	3,078	2,974
Farnley Tyas Township	1,784	730	757	900	849	844	843	702	601	614	599	484
Holme Town- ship †	1,728	302	347	459	630	713	849	807	724	678	566	537
Honley Chap. .	2,435	2,529	2,918	3,501	4,523	5,383	5,595	4,626	4,906	5,070	5,466	5,138
Lingards Town- ship	734	642	712	809	758	801	811	783	825	873	1,099	1,221
Linthwaite Chap. Lockwood	1,323	1,381	1,643	2,127	2,852	3,310	3,802	4,300	5,047	6,068	6,666	6,879
Chap. ⁸⁸ †	970	1,253	1,490	1,881	3,134	4,182	5,418	6,755	8,270	10,446	12,075	13,365
Marsden Chap. †	8,633	1,958	1,845	2,330	2,340	2,403	2,665	2,689	2,811	3,319	3,855	4,370
Meltham Chap. Netherthong Chap.	4,692	1,278	1,430	2,000	2,746	3,263	3,758	4,046	4,229	4,529	4,761	4,663
Chap.	795	679	787	927	1,004	1,156	1,207	1,097	1,092	936	965	811
Upperthong Township †	3,206	1,033	1,015	1,437	1,648	2,258	2,463	2,690	2,419	2,436	2,389	2,224
Emley part of) ^{88a} :—												
Cumberworth Half Town- ship ^{88b}	1,185	854	898	1,120	1,180	1,480	1,683	1,974	1,929	—	—	—
Huddersfield † :—	12,719	14,400	17,864	23,598	30,399	37,862	45,618	51,592	57,816	65,448	73,109	71,888
Golcar Chap. † .	1,593	1,846	2,122	2,606	3,143	3,598	4,212	5,110	6,033	7,653	9,108	9,261
Huddersfield Township	4,055	7,268	9,671	13,284	19,035	25,068	30,880	34,877	38,654	42,234	46,098	44,921
Longwood Chap. Quarby with Lindley Chap. †	1,334	1,276	1,461	1,942	2,111	2,418	3,023	3,402	4,055	4,661	5,406	5,359
Scammonden Chap. †	1,494	1,377	1,686	2,040	2,306	2,881	3,584	4,259	5,490	7,284	8,573	8,445
Slaithwaite Chap.	1,807	626	647	855	912	972	1,067	1,012	803	607	453	360
Slaithwaite Chap.	2,436	2,007	2,277	2,871	2,892	2,925	2,852	2,932	2,781	3,009	3,471	3,542
Kirkburton † :—	15,268	8,772	10,582	12,439	14,551	17,965	19,887	19,882	18,243	18,243	17,920	16,959
Cartworth Township †	2,263	997	1,121	1,211	1,796	2,247	2,538	2,503	2,155	2,379	2,098	1,968
Fulstone Township †	2,261	1,128	1,139	1,264	1,573	1,856	2,257	2,414	2,223	2,117	1,889	1,779

⁸⁸ Lockwood Chapelry includes the area and population (1861–1901) of Crosland Hill Hamlet, the population of which was included in that of *South Crosland Chapelry* from 1801–1851.

^{88a} See note 84 above.

^{88b} See note 21 below.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Ac- re- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Agbrigg Wapentake—Upper Division (cont.)</i>												
Kirkburton (<i>cont.</i>):—												
Hepworth	2,375	804	828	1,048	1,229	1,436	1,532	1,530	1,290	1,169	1,084	1,157
Township †												
Kirkburton	1,289	1,405	1,693	2,153	2,650	3,474	3,560	3,664	3,442	3,407	3,154	2,976
Township ⁸⁹												
Shelley Town- ship	1,568	416	1,057	1,329	1,319	1,772	1,880	1,901	1,751	1,687	1,599	1,545
Shepley Town- ship	1,247	619	793	1,000	893	1,088	1,200	1,432	1,507	1,593	1,726	1,720
Thurstonland Township	2,107	783	868	989	1,098	1,286	1,320	1,116	1,001	997	933	865
Wooldale Township †	2,158	2,620	3,083	3,445	3,993	4,806	5,600	5,322	4,874	4,894	5,437	4,949
Kirkheaton :—	6,932	4,871	6,544	7,968	10,020	11,930	11,972	11,923	12,687	14,575	14,744	14,548
Dalton Town- ship	1,344	1,222	1,625	2,289	3,060	3,906	4,310	4,692	6,170	7,900	8,413	8,521
Lepton Town- ship	1,862	2,180	2,585	2,729	3,320	3,875	3,592	3,273	2,989	3,019	2,855	2,771
Kirkheaton Township	1,674	1,469	1,690	2,186	2,755	3,165	3,068	3,011	2,646	2,747	2,632	2,492
Whitley, Upper, Township	2,052		644	764	885	984	1,002	947	882	909	844	764
Rochdale (part of) ⁹⁰ :—												
Saddleworth with Quick Chapelry	18,797	10,665	12,579	13,902	15,986	16,829	17,799	18,631	19,923	22,299	22,462	21,140
 <i>Barkston Ash Wapentake—Lower Division</i>												
Birkin † :—	5,883	766	812	917	873	921	877	821	747	727	751	682
Birkin Town- ship †	2,160	139	136	139	129	169	176	168	172	180	158	142
Chapel Haddle- sey Township †	1,163	152	165	199	196	216	230	210	177	177	210	175
Haddlesey, West, Township †	1,193	224	238	293	296	288	222	213	179	148	152	133
Hirst Courtney Township	621	132	152	145	117	134	137	126	117	112	116	105
Temple Hirst Township	746	119	121	141	135	114	112	104	102	110	115	127
Brayton † † :—	11,627	1,274	1,379	1,489	1,612	1,894	1,806	1,794	1,912	1,964	1,860	2,032
Barlow Town- ship	2,334	173	195	175	225	284	276	239	268	208	236	223
Brayton Town- ship †	1,949	227	274	252	278	307	333	367	394	529	517	687
Burn Township.	2,482	189	221	238	244	281	316	320	362	341	317	297
Gateforth Town- ship	2,063	178	145	192	223	258	192	174	177	180	171	153
Hambleton Township	2,336	386	416	488	494	607	528	544	547	530	489	517
Thorpe Willough- by Township	463	121	128	144	148	157	161	150	164	176	130	155
Brotherton † :—	2,389	1,115	1,457	1,626	1,623	1,744	1,551	1,449	1,196	1,266	1,413	1,428
Brotherton Township	934	994	1,325	1,491	1,482	1,613	1,454	1,333	1,085	1,159	1,308	1,313
Byram with Pool Township	823	69	61	61	84	79	57	65	74	68	105	115
Sutton Township	632	52	71	74	57	52	40	51	37	39		
Cawood † . . .	2,843	1,025	1,053	1,127	1,173	1,108	1,195	1,243	1,179	1,108	1,008	990

⁸⁹ Kirkburton Township.—The population in 1841 included 153 strangers attending the annual feast.

⁹⁰ Rochdale Parish.—The remainder is in Lancashire (Salford Hundred).

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH.	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Barkston Ash Wapentake—Lower Division</i>												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
Drax † † :— . . .	6,905	760	915	1,083	1,032	1,161	1,289	1,231	1,201	1,077	1,068	1,001
Camblesforth	1,596	190	231	257	260	321	335	322	299	280	281	277
Township †												
Drax Township †	1,382	221	296	370	350	364	420	446	443	371	409	373
Drax, Long, or Langrick Township	1,631	170	169	187	140	171	181	162	166	156	117	128
Newland Town- ship	2,296	179	219	269	282	305	353	301	293	270	261	223
Monk Fryston † :—	4,254	581	715	860	863	937	1,054	1,126	1,053	1,106	1,102	1,131
Burton Salmon Township	956	114	138	182	142	166	240	247	245	273	268	275
Monk Fryston Township †	1,771	277	319	409	430	429	474	560	496	506	500	539
Hillam Town- ship †	1,527	190	258	269	291	342	340	319	312	327	334	317
Ryther (part of) ⁹¹ :—	2,707	299	279	335	302	300	314	326	310	292	255	266
Ryther and Os- sendyke Town- ship												
Selby †	3,643	2,861	3,363	4,097	4,600	5,376	5,340	5,424	6,193	6,046	6,006	7,424
Snaith (part of) ⁹² :—												
Carleton Chap. † †	4,220	536	687	775	808	802	784	752	769	747	779	816
Wistow † †	4,316	647	623	633	665	756	788	849	817	769	674	618
 <i>Barkston Ash Wapentake—Upper Division</i>												
Bramham :— . . .	5,734	1,452	1,640	1,987	2,403	2,760	3,152	3,484	3,524	3,750	3,364	3,371
Bramham cum Oglethorpe Township †	4,112	792	805	970	1,237	1,194	1,318	1,331	1,150	1,146	1,034	955
Clifford cum Bos- ton Township	1,622	660	835	1,017	1,166	1,566	1,834	2,153	2,374	2,604	2,330	2,416
Kirkby Wharfe † :—	3,449	485	548	574	492	744	702	739	708	714	676	665
Grimston Town- ship ⁹³	888	71	56	62	63	172	115	124	110	108	101	92
Kirkby Wharfe with North Milford Town- ship	1,239	79	90	86	90	81	102	100	112	147	125	146
Ulleskelf Town- ship	1,322	335	402	426	339	491	485	515	486	459	450	427
Kirk Fenton † † :—	3,472	514	582	693	649	608	720	711	733	726	659	736
Biggin Township	718	223	123	164	141	126	144	142	154	124	118	114
Fenton, Little, Township	781	119	113	102	104	99	100	89	84	72	87	87
Kirk Fenton Township †	1,973	291	340	416	406	378	477	469	490	518	469	535
Ledsham :— . . .	5,385	797	787	881	944	1,122	1,096	1,146	965	1,001	1,240	1,222
Fairburn Town- ship	1,429	339	351	426	465	523	482	458	422	509	647	666
Ledsham Town- ship	1,971	220	241	212	236	340	402	459	337	271	382	340
Ledston Town- ship	1,985	238	195	243	243	259	212	229	206	221	211	216

⁹¹ Ryther Parish is situated in Barkston Ash Wapentake—Lower and Upper Divisions. The entire population of the Parish in 1801 is shown in the Lower Division.

⁹² Snaith Parish is situated in Barkston Ash Wapentake—Lower Division—and in Osgoldcross Wapentake—Lower Division.

⁹³ Grimston Township.—The population in 1841 included a number of labourers temporarily present, engaged in rebuilding Grimston Hall.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH.	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
<i>WEST RIDING</i>												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Barkston Ash</i>												
<i>Wapentake—</i>												
<i>Upper Division</i>												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
Micklethwaite Grange Extra Par. ⁹⁴	671	—	—	83	67	76	68	66	71	103	105	80
Newton Kyme with Toulston †	1,373	149	163	184	221	201	223	162	162	158	173	211
Ryther (part of) ^{94a} Lead Township.	1,057	—	58	50	59	54	54	46	45	33	43	32
Saxton †:—	3,607	458	409	472	522	573	493	461	461	415	424	402
Saxton with Scarthingwell Township	2,720	362	318	378	407	427	371	360	359	322	316	300
Towton Town- ship	887	96	91	94	115	146	122	101	102	93	108	102
Sherburn †:—	13,360	2,286	2,421	2,916	3,068	3,757	3,754	3,944	3,949	4,545	4,998	5,270
Barkston Ash Township †	1,164	264	229	251	265	323	310	319	279	358	276	293
Huddleston and Lumby Town- ship †	1,423	108	101	184	212	247	221	267	257	238	223	231
Lotherton and Aberford Township	1,093	323	389	427	426	564	597	547	486	443	482	506
Micklefield Township	1,777	135	188	196	228	474	426	435	373	694	1,023	1,377
Milford, South, Township	2,298	457	491	631	719	751	683	823	927	1,057	1,064	1,068
Newthorpe Township	746	46	65	83	63	70	77	88	85	84	71	79
Sherburn Town- ship	4,859	953	958	1,144	1,155	1,328	1,440	1,465	1,542	1,671	1,859	1,716
Tadcaster (part of) ^{94b} :—	4,295	1,663	1,812	1,907	1,996	2,206	2,040	2,092	1,892	2,006	2,029	2,380
Stutton with Hazlewood Township	2,795	252	329	256	330	380	347	446	331	346	315	471
Tadcaster, West, Township	1,500	1,411	1,483	1,651	1,666	1,826	1,693	1,646	1,561	1,660	1,714	1,909
<i>Claro Wapentake</i>												
<i>—Lower Division</i>												
Aldborough (part of) ^{94c} :—	5,613	1,537	1,633	1,835	2,102	2,112	2,110	1,882	1,822	1,935	1,857	1,668
Aldborough Township	2,242	445	464	484	620	615	538	522	502	507	507	439
Boroughbridge Chap. †	95	680	747	860	950	1,024	1,095	909	857	966	924	830
Minskip Township	1,414	204	205	243	267	234	230	220	230	219	214	182
Roecliffe Township	1,862	208	217	248	265	239	247	231	233	243	212	217
Burton Leonard †	1,797	352	433	518	553	455	457	507	460	431	374	363
Copgrove † . . .	861	105	104	87	120	103	85	68	81	88	83	69
Farnham:—	2,596	445	535	548	614	580	556	572	558	563	448	514
Farnham Township	1,043	139	142	141	169	170	137	165	146	155	118	129
Ferrensby, or Firnsby, Township	424	86	96	110	133	112	122	86	106	117	100	98
Scotton Township	1,129	220	297	297	312	298	297	321	306	291	230	287
Fewston:—	17,645	1,688	2,178	1,989	2,035	2,118	1,479	1,485	1,453	1,219	977	867
Blubberhouses Township †	3,736	120	129	126	118	99	83	87	69	77	73	64

⁹⁴ *Micklethwaite Grange* includes *Bielby Grange*. The combined population of *Micklethwaite Grange* and *Bielby Grange* for 1801 and 1811 is included in that given for *Collingham Parish* (*Skyrack Wapentake—Lower Division*).

^{94a} See note 91 above.

^{94b} See note 37 above.

^{94c} See note 66 above.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH.	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Claro Wapentake</i>												
— <i>Lower Division</i> (<i>cont.</i>)												
Fewston (<i>cont.</i>):—												
Clifton with Nor- wood Township	3,627	403	415	420	415	387	474	364	496	335	334	333
Fewston Township	2,187	526	823	610	683	850	399	496	399	323	233	197
Thruscross, or Thruscross, Township †	6,529	467	610	600	601	576	339	363	302	313	219	181
Timble, Great, Township †	1,566	172	201	233	218	206	184	175	187	171	118	92
Hamps- thwaite †:—	11,901	2,276	2,437	2,450	2,589	2,500	2,494	2,422	2,186	2,095	1,799	1,944
Birstwith Township	1,802	630	694	621	747	676	630	655	570	490	474	482
Felliscliffe Township	2,628	424	397	382	351	363	382	347	321	326	278	311
Hampsthwaite † Township	1,135	439	418	490	445	455	461	513	448	457	390	471
Menwith with Darley Township	2,861	554	637	648	742	725	718	650	575	575	463	502
Thornthwaite with Padside Township	3,475	229	291	309	304	281	303	257	272	247	194	178
Haverah Park Extra Par.	2,246	71	76	87	96	101	103	100	84	64	71	272
Kirkby Mal- zeard †:—	56,004	3,408	3,420	4,263	4,707	5,180	4,956	4,680	4,178	4,118	3,412	3,407
Common Lands	280	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Azerley Township †	4,018	521	527	579	701	836	783	606	721	683	497	438
Fountains Earth Township	6,743	329	381	441	413	435	388	415	361	322	265	278
Giewelthorpe Township †	4,521	479	473	527	571	582	573	541	511	516	451	410
Hartwith with Winsley Chap. †	5,363	449	480	675	943	1,138	1,162	1,227	997	1,062	857	936
Kirkby Malzeard Township †	3,363	524	596	682	796	900	796	730	581	616	522	486
Laverton Township †	6,697	368	171	430	457	487	450	387	342	305	289	277
Stonebeck, Down, Township	12,508	434	451	568	494	429	385	400	364	331	279	298
Stonebeck, Up- per, Township	12,511	304	341	361	332	373	419	374	301	283	252	284
Knares- borough †:—	12,129	5,761	7,348	9,101	10,214	9,947	10,208	11,314	13,345	16,129	20,216	28,993
Arkendale Chap.	1,604	218	215	285	260	261	241	242	208	192	201	169
Bilton with Harrogate Chap. †	4,121	1,195	1,583	1,934	2,812	3,372	3,434	4,563	6,775	9,279	13,143	19,283
Brearton Township †	1,562	146	175	226	248	201	241	235	184	162	130	155
Knaresborough Township †	3,013	3,388	4,542	5,283	5,296	4,678	4,879	4,848	4,818	5,065	5,331	7,730
Scriven with Tentergate Township †	1,829	814	833	1,373	1,598	1,435	1,413	1,426	1,360	1,431	1,411	1,656
Ouseburn, Great †	1,568	415	395	437	534	610	629	599	571	499	475	425
Ouseburn, Little (part of) ⁹⁵ †:—	2,890	181	176	234	194	236	211	229	210	163	148	146
Kirby Hall Township	427	35	36	55	50	54	48	62	59	35	52	35
Thorpe Under- woods Town- ship †	2,463	146	140	179	144	182	163	167	151	128	96	111

⁹⁵ Little Ouseburn Parish is situated in Claro Wapentake—Upper and Lower Divisions.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH.	Ac- re- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
<i>WEST RIDING</i>												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Claro Wapentake</i>												
<i>—Lower Division</i>												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
Pannal †	4,898	789	914	1,314	1,261	1,413	1,376	1,587	1,893	2,547	3,335	7,300
Ripley (part of) ⁹⁶ † :—	5,459	892	880	931	949	952	1,003	1,228	1,050	1,070	1,069	1,206
Clint Township .	1,944	430	395	412	404	393	434	482	396	392	398	397
Killinghall Township †	3,515	462	485	519	545	559	569	746	654	678	671	809
Ripon (part of) ⁹⁷ :—	16,657	2,102	2,366	2,775	2,704	2,634	2,530	2,632	2,333	2,341	2,159	2,046
Aldfield Township	1,272	122	119	133	146	132	125	128	138	125	116	105
Bewerley Township	5,775	1,075	1,220	1,408	1,310	1,329	1,265	1,297	1,137	1,184	1,013	1,010
Dacre Township	5,385	592	710	777	698	695	673	739	642	641	605	565
Lindrick Township	—	26	20	62	25	17	16	12	—	—	—	—
Skelden Township	990	—	—	56	49	48	35	37	32	28	38	28
Studley Roger Township	988	143	133	144	157	152	169	159	154	148	156	156
Studley Royal Township ⁹⁸	1,517			21	19	60	50	33	37	103	99	109
Winksley Township	730	144	143	176	259	211	214	223	127	116	122	105
Stainley, South, with Cayton †	2,131	217	216	232	243	226	247	259	242	215	188	190
Staveley †	1,425	255	327	331	330	347	348	343	318	327	297	243
Whixley (part of) ⁹⁹ :—												
Thornville Township	265	15	13	13	17	18	9	16	15	18	15	22
<i>Claro Wapentake</i>												
<i>—Upper Division</i>												
Aldbrough (part of) ^{99a} :—	2,058	228	253	271	296	279	301	295	251	209	171	179
Dunforth, Lower, Township	1,048	118	125	115	133	116	138	144	127	100	98	112
Dunforth, Upper, with Branton Green Town- ship	1,010	110	128	156	163	163	163	151	124	109	73	67
Allerton Maul- everer † † :—	2,698	182	256	290	251	277	344	283	306	273	237	202
Allerton Maul- everer with Hopperton Township	2,282	182	237	276	231	258	327	261	282	258	222	195
Clareton Township †	416	—	19	14	20	19	17	22	24	15	15	7
Cowthorpe † † .	1,370	148	143	120	146	115	139	141	117	124	112	112
Goldsborough † † :—	2,896	342	348	385	359	459	488	451	374	371	358	324
Coneythorpe Township †	392	99	112	112	96	118	125	115	83	79	80	94
Flaxby Town- ship	718	66	59	78	96	102	117	76	81	81	53	53
Goldsborough Township	1,786	177	177	195	167	239	246	260	210	211	225	177

⁹⁶ Ripley Parish is situated in Claro Wapentake—Upper and Lower Divisions.

⁹⁷ Ripon Parish is situated in Claro Wapentake—Lower Division—and in the Liberty of Ripon. The population for 1801 and 1811 of Skelden Township was returned with the part of Ripon Parish in the Liberty of Ripon, i.e. in the Township of Grantley.

⁹⁸ Studley Royal Township includes the area and the population (1871–1901) of Lindrick Township.

⁹⁹ Whixley Parish is situated in Claro Wapentake—Upper and Lower Divisions.

^{99a} See note 66 above.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH.	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Claro Wapentake</i> — <i>Upper Division</i> (<i>cont.</i>)												
Harewood (part of) ¹⁰⁰ :	2,844	455	535	567	583	682	549	527	476	492	440	563
Dunkeswick Township †	1,467	218	238	257	261	297	249	210	163	169	136	152
Weeton Town- ship ¹ †	1,377	237	297	310	322	385	300	317	313	323	304	411
Hunsingore † :—	4,220	465	506	599	595	625	586	561	545	554	502	442
Cattal Township	1,126	152	181	207	208	193	202	189	177	178	157	144
Hunsingore Township	1,159	192	196	237	235	262	205	192	187	183	178	164
Ribston, Great, with Walshford Township	1,935	121	129	155	152	170	179	180	181	193	167	134
Ilkley (part of) ² :—	4,585	302	412	415	372	396	391	364	354	328	289	300
Middleton Township	2,660	201	233	205	166	186	162	176	143	151	144	173
Nesfield with Langbar Township	1,925	101	179	210	206	210	229	188	211	177	145	127
Kirkby Over- blow :—	11,548	1,469	1,599	1,646	1,528	1,623	1,598	1,569	1,324	1,191	1,118	1,197
Kearby with Netherby Township	1,422	220	237	226	231	226	218	207	190	141	131	144
Kirkby Overblow with Swindon Township	2,361	294	351	370	344	381	376	326	261	266	281	308
Rigton Township	3,112	414	407	429	451	542	463	501	430	383	345	370
Sicklinghall Township	1,495	230	249	257	212	226	296	292	246	227	211	225
Stainburn Chap. †	3,158	311	355	364	290	248	245	243	197	174	150	150
Kirk Deighton † :—	3,750	483	461	512	506	539	480	485	410	464	468	466
Deighton, North, Township	1,475	163	158	141	131	168	110	121	94	111	104	103
Kirk Deighton Township	2,275	320	303	371	375	371	370	364	316	353	364	363
Kirk Hammerton, (part of) ^{2a} :—												
Kirk Hammerton Township	1,089	216	285	409	270	255	291	310	281	280	346	348
Leathley † † :—	2,089	366	432	422	413	382	330	272	276	237	208	211
Castley Township †	524	82	96	110	118	110	83	73	73	87	67	69
Leathley Township †	1,565	284	336	312	295	272	247	199	203	150	141	142
Marton with Grafton †	2,167	393	384	464	482	514	472	454	424	365	320	298
Nun Monkton † † .	1,775	308	299	344	398	365	358	323	300	261	232	251
Otley (part of) ³ :—	9,027	812	752	819	759	858	839	722	1,114	734	765	989
Denton Chap. †	3,242	192	192	192	179	185	186	170	201	147	184	178
Farnley Township	1,960	194	161	179	196	217	198	186	141	139	134	156
Lindley Township	1,790	164	172	178	125	140	135	108	442	56	60	56
Newall with Clif- ton Township	1,531	203	172	208	203	253	260	209	267	361	368	580
Timble, Little, Township	504	59	55	62	56	63	60	49	63	31	19	19

¹⁰⁰ *Harewood Parish* is situated in *Claro Wapentake—Upper Division*—and in *Skyrack Wapentake—Upper and Lower Divisions*. The population of the part in *Skyrack Wapentake—Upper Division*—included in 1841 some labourers temporarily present, employed by the *Leeds Waterworks Company*, and in 1881 a considerable number of workmen engaged in constructing *Waterworks* for the *Leeds Corporation*.

¹ *Weeton Township*.—The 1841 population included forty-two labourers temporarily present engaged in road formation.

² *Ilkley Parish* is situated in *Claro Wapentake—Upper Division*—and in *Skyrack Wapentake—Upper Division*.

^{2a} See note 35 above.

³ *Otley Parish* is situated in *Claro Wapentake—Upper Division*—and in *Skyrack Wapentake—Upper Division*. The population of the part in *Claro Wapentake—Upper Division*—included in 1871 a number of labourers engaged in constructing reservoirs.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH.	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Claro Wapentake</i>												
<i>—Upper Division</i>												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
Ouseburn, Little (part of) ^{3a} :—	1,407	182	291	324	317	384	355	314	358	265	237	231
Ouseburn, Little, Township	706	182	260	293	287	359	330	281	319	240	218	211
Widdington Township	701	—	31	31	30	25	25	33	39	25	19	20
Ripley (part of) ^{3b} :—												
Ripley Township	1,643	270	273	251	270	283	283	330	260	291	253	236
Skipton (part of) ⁴ :—	5,647	457	518	521	500	455	441	449	390	388	368	383
Beamsley Township †	2,160	276	310	312	279	235	239	264	209	215	195	235
Hazlewood and Storiths Township †	3,487	181	208	209	221	220	202	185	181	173	173	148
Spofforth :—	13,196	2,803	2,857	3,044	3,233	3,398	3,599	3,733	3,515	3,745	3,619	3,908
Follifoot Township	1,865	273	322	293	327	353	367	419	404	496	487	593
Linton Township	1,266	155	179	167	166	169	176	166	157	160	172	169
Plompton Township	2,137	191	190	208	221	229	207	219	173	166	171	178
Ribston, Little, Township	858	181	198	195	222	246	242	230	188	181	185	174
Spofforth with Stockeld Township	5,468	859	828	964	976	968	1,113	1,017	936	856	766	751
Wetherby Township	1,602	1,144	1,140	1,217	1,321	1,433	1,494	1,682	1,657	1,886	1,838	2,043
Walkingham Hill with Occaney Extra Par.	427	—	17	24	25	24	21	28	27	23	32	20
Weston † :—	4,904	437	434	475	521	526	492	450	456	387	347	360
Askwith cum Snowdon Township	3,397	317	306	367	400	398	378	338	286	260	231	233
Weston Township	1,513	120	128	108	121	128	114	112	170	127	116	127
Whixley (part of) ^{4a} :—	3,581	637	703	796	951	928	1,002	938	857	816	754	731
Green Hammer- ton Township	1,206	259	285	329	330	334	366	333	311	295	281	273
Whixley Township	2,375	378	418	467	621	594	636	605	546	521	473	458
<i>Morley Wapentake</i>												
Batley (part of) ^{4b} :—	1,482	1,734	2,075	2,406	2,675	3,115	3,229	4,265	5,138	5,443	5,155	5,086
Churwell Township	490	502	666	814	1,023	1,198	1,103	1,564	1,690	1,973	1,980	2,013
Gildersome Chap. †	992	1,232	1,409	1,592	1,652	1,917	2,126	2,701	3,448	3,470	3,175	3,073
Birstall :—	13,988	14,657	17,639	21,217	24,103	29,723	36,222	43,505	54,505	62,781	66,757	67,424
Clackheaton Chap.	1,756	1,637	1,911	2,436	3,317	4,299	5,173	6,231	8,138	10,653	11,826	12,524
Drighlington Chap. †	1,135	1,232	1,365	1,719	1,676	2,046	2,740	4,274	4,388	4,214	4,322	4,218
Gomersal Township	3,258	4,303	5,002	5,952	6,189	8,030	9,926	11,230	12,880	13,453	13,004	12,311
Heckmondwike Township †	696	1,742	2,324	2,579	2,793	3,537	4,540	6,344	8,300	9,282	9,709	9,459
Hunsworth Township	1,381	585	764	870	878	978	1,156	1,199	1,284	1,516	1,400	1,346
Liversedge Chap.	2,136	2,837	3,643	4,259	5,265	5,988	6,974	8,176	11,103	12,757	13,668	13,980
Torg Chap. †	2,659	1,336	1,505	1,893	2,067	2,515	2,797	3,035	4,229	5,591	6,899	7,312
Wike Township	967	985	1,125	1,509	1,918	2,330	2,916	3,016	4,183	5,315	5,929	6,274

^{3a} See note 95 above.

^{3b} See note 96 above.

⁴ *Skipton Parish* is situated in *Claro Wapentake—Upper Division*—and in *Staincliff and Ewcross Wapentake—East Division*.

^{4a} See note 99 above.

^{4b} See note 81 above.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH.	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Morley Wapentake</i>												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
Bradford :—	32,930	29,794	36,358	52,954	76,986	105,257	149,543	156,053	207,149	251,553	275,211	290,297
Allerton	1,849	809	1,093	1,488	1,733	974	2,041	2,014	2,906	3,685	3,916	4,364
Township												
Bierley, North,	3,341	3,820	4,766	6,070	7,254	9,512	11,710	12,500	14,433	15,620	16,249	16,266
Township												
Bowling	1,561	2,055	2,226	3,579	5,958	8,918	13,538	14,494	20,982	28,738	33,318	37,220
Township												
Bradford	1,595	6,393	7,767	13,064	23,223	34,560	52,493	48,646	64,440	68,372	72,675	73,454
Township												
Clayton	1,744	2,040	2,469	3,609	4,469	4,347	5,052	5,655	6,436	7,080	7,484	7,722
Township												
Eccleshill	1,221	1,351	1,608	2,176	2,570	3,008	3,700	4,482	5,622	7,037	7,928	8,660
Township												
Haworth Chap.	8,114	3,164	3,971	4,668	5,835	6,303	6,848	5,896	5,966	6,873	8,023	8,431
Heaton	1,323	951	1,088	1,217	1,452	1,573	1,637	1,673	1,929	3,107	4,073	4,431
Township												
Horton Chap.	2,033	3,459	4,423	7,192	10,782	17,615	28,143	30,189	40,725	46,045	48,770	52,409
Manningham	1,319	1,357	1,596	2,474	3,564	5,622	9,604	12,889	19,683	37,304	45,051	47,871
Township												
Shipley	1,406	1,008	1,214	1,606	1,926	2,413	3,272	7,100	11,757	15,093	16,043	17,938
Township												
Thornton Chap.	4,786	2,474	3,016	4,100	5,968	6,788	8,051	7,627	9,143	9,633	8,917	8,464
Wilsden	2,638	913	1,721	1,711	2,252	2,684	3,454	2,888	3,127	2,966	2,764	3,067
Township												
Calverley :—	8,900	10,375	11,550	14,134	16,184	21,039	24,487	28,563	34,308	39,613	44,317	47,144
Bolton	712	474	581	634	671	683	874	937	1,271	2,573	3,161	3,225
Township †												
Calverley with	3,180	2,081	2,390	2,605	2,637	4,142	4,892	5,559	7,024	8,206	9,657	10,347
Farsley Town- ship												
Idle Chap. . .	2,462	3,398	3,882	4,666	5,416	6,212	7,118	9,155	12,036	13,375	14,462	15,103
Pudsey Chap. .	2,546	4,422	4,697	6,229	7,460	10,002	11,603	12,912	13,977	15,459	17,037	18,469
Dewsbury												
(part of) *c :—												
Hartshead cum	3,070	1,628	1,728	2,007	2,408	2,675	2,729	2,652	2,943	3,023	3,266	3,452
Clifton Chap.												
Halifax † :—	82,543	63,434	73,415	93,050	109,899	130,743	140,257	147,988	173,313	193,707	210,697	221,061
Barkisland	2,424	1,799	2,076	2,224	2,292	2,391	2,129	2,003	2,056	2,102	1,835	1,729
Township												
Elland with	3,449	3,385	3,963	5,088	5,500	6,479	7,225	8,716	10,546	13,007	14,679	15,308
Greetland												
Township												
Erringden	3,012	1,313	1,586	1,471	1,933	2,221	2,004	1,764	1,724	1,865	1,886	1,888
Township												
Fixby	935	346	336	345	348	399	399	388	469	503	485	432
Township †												
Halifax	999	8,866	9,159	12,628	15,382	19,881	25,161	28,990	37,208	42,633	48,131	50,600
Township												
Heptonstall	5,394	2,983	3,647	4,543	4,661	4,791	4,177	3,497	3,595	4,047	4,617	4,656
Township												
Hipperholme	2,598	2,879	3,357	3,936	4,977	5,421	6,091	7,340	9,871	12,660	15,571	17,073
cum Brighouse												
Township												
Langfield	2,784	1,170	1,515	2,069	2,514	3,284	3,729	4,391	4,321	5,063	5,581	5,578
Township												
Midgley	2,629	1,209	2,107	2,207	2,409	2,667	2,393	2,842	3,192	3,084	3,055	2,968
Township												
Norland	1,273	1,181	1,316	1,665	1,618	1,670	1,706	1,718	1,906	1,988	1,977	1,889
Township												
Northowram	3,520	4,887	5,306	6,841	10,184	13,352	15,285	16,178	20,094	20,218	20,517	21,476
Township												
Ovenden	5,350	4,513	4,752	6,360	8,871	11,799	12,738	11,067	11,698	12,874	13,458	14,079
Township												
Rastrick Chap. †	1,371	2,053	2,442	2,796	3,021	3,482	3,917	4,516	5,896	8,039	9,279	9,357
Rishworth	6,551	960	1,211	1,588	1,536	1,710	1,540	1,244	1,143	1,110	982	915
Township												
Shelf Township	1,303	1,306	1,553	1,998	2,614	3,050	3,414	3,062	3,091	2,754	2,612	2,500
Skircoat	1,330	2,338	2,823	3,323	4,060	5,237	6,940	7,447	10,062	11,405	13,136	15,186
Township												

*c See note 82 above.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH.	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Morley Wapentake</i>												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
Halifax <i>(cont.)</i> —												
Southowram Township	2,546	3,148	3,615	4,256	5,751	6,478	7,380	7,245	8,210	8,813	9,392	10,605
Sowerby Township	6,894	4,275	5,177	6,890	6,457	8,163	7,908	8,753	9,211	9,462	9,348	8,772
Soyland Township	4,265	1,888	2,519	3,242	3,589	3,603	3,422	3,373	3,264	3,467	3,308	3,135
Stainland with Old Lindley Township	2,336	1,800	2,077	2,814	3,037	3,759	4,173	4,657	4,724	4,933	5,002	4,516
Stansfield Township	6,331	4,768	5,447	7,275	8,262	8,466	7,627	8,174	8,977	10,608	11,266	11,685
Wadsworth Township	11,224	2,801	3,473	4,509	5,198	5,583	4,491	4,141	4,373	4,707	5,331	6,539
Warley Township	4,025	3,546	3,958	4,982	5,685	6,857	6,408	6,482	7,682	8,365	9,249	10,175
 <i>Osgoldcross Wapentake—</i>												
<i>Lower Division</i>												
Adlingfleet † :—	5,536	437	461	431	478	448	487	480	529	452	483	437
Adlingfleet Township	1,768	203	223	256	218	199	226	225	266	195	211	170
Fockerby Township †	910	84	86	106	103	92	107	108	88	81	82	74
Eastoft Township †	1,439	150	152	69	157	82	90	90	89	85	110	100
Haldenby Township †	1,419											
Kellington :—	7,482	1,048	1,151	1,328	1,388	1,493	1,450	1,443	1,427	1,438	1,447	1,369
Beal or Beaghall Township	1,879	384	432	546	563	568	521	488	431	414	398	396
Egborough Township	2,000	186	207	215	220	229	254	299	330	306	325	268
Kellington Township	1,761	253	248	283	295	324	320	300	305	309	317	326
Whitley Township	1,842	225	264	284	310	372	355	356	361	409	407	379
Snaith (part of) † :—	29,915	4,565	5,095	6,134	7,722	9,642	10,581	12,020	13,875	16,592	21,615	22,884
Airmyn Chap. †	3,707	391	451	570	567	593	561	557	554	493	1,091	2,326
Balne Township †	2,866	312	310	329	343	341	362	367	358	358	348	332
Cowick Township	—	709	656	905	928	882	919	849	872	—	—	—
Goole Township	4,838	294	348	450	1,671	2,850	2,960	3,479	4,186	4,823	4,853	4,649
Gowdall Township	1,199	218	227	243	260	237	229	223	220	203	237	193
Heck Township †	1,677	194	215	228	236	265	252	278	268	226	197	189
Hensall Township †	1,177	213	225	233	250	290	252	264	299	358	305	305
Hook Chap.	2,001	248	348	363	650	1,221	2,159	2,958	4,014	6,364	10,882	10,968
Pollington Township †	1,920	378	429	483	482	585	495	501	467	387	376	360
Rawcliffe Chap. † ‡	4,668	920	1,143	1,496	1,450	1,523	1,552	1,630	1,646	1,650	1,730	1,926
Snaith Township † ‡	5,862	688	743	834	885	855	840	914	991	1,730	1,596	1,616
Whitgift :—	9,162	1,622	1,844	2,202	2,252	2,353	2,394	2,298	2,436	2,299	2,162	2,018
Ousefleet Township	2,169	207	223	253	243	228	227	233	215	210	243	200
Reedness Township †	3,083	520	561	683	644	633	663	601	576	494	397	472

[†] See note 92 above.

[‡] Snaith Township includes the area, and the population (1881-1901), of Cowick Township.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Osgoldcross</i>												
<i>Wapentake—</i>												
<i>Lower Division</i>												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
Whitgift (<i>cont.</i>):—												
SwinefleetChap.†	2,472	632	770	956	1,055	1,145	1,152	1,149	1,319	1,233	1,236	1,118
Whitgift	1,438	263	290	310	310	347	352	315	326	362	286	228
Township												
Womersley †:—	7,857	740	752	746	843	921	998	996	1,053	939	903	861
Cridling Stubbs	1,356	83	94	96	118	159	139	154	227	200	210	211
Township												
Smeaton, Little,	1,238	179	172	176	222	233	235	238	194	215	201	180
Township †												
Walden Stubbs	1,272	127	174	158	139	137	165	159	172	148	150	132
Township †												
Womersley	3,991	351	312	316	364	392	459	445	460	376	342	338
Township †												
<i>Osgoldcross</i>												
<i>Wapentake—</i>												
<i>Upper Division</i>												
Ackworth . . .	2,645	1,432	1,322	1,575	1,660	1,828	1,835	1,813	1,846	2,222	2,647	3,394
Badsworth:—	3,971	544	581	728	782	750	792	744	595	742	702	679
Badsworth	1,547	182	196	200	198	200	222	219	190	226	206	189
Township												
Thorpe Audlin	1,310	200	219	344	355	315	315	304	202	257	251	263
Township												
Upton	1,114	162	166	184	229	235	255	221	203	259	245	227
Burghwallis † . .	1,921	182	207	237	223	217	226	226	230	226	194	173
Campsall †:—	10,495	1,441	1,611	1,898	1,974	2,177	2,126	1,959	1,939	1,997	1,930	1,877
Askern	849	—	113	159	256	468	382	379	457	548	593	562
Township ⁶ † ‡												
Campsall	1,776	317	393	389	386	385	393	349	327	306	317	298
Township †												
Fenwick	2,371	240	252	295	286	262	270	244	197	196	168	185
Township												
Moss Township †	2,415	226	190	242	269	301	298	242	258	266	253	235
Norton Township	2,322	479	558	668	643	628	659	633	600	589	500	512
Sutton	762	179	105	145	134	133	124	112	100	92	99	85
Township												
Castleford †:—	1,645	1,175	1,299	1,434	1,587	1,850	2,581	4,365	7,149	11,579	15,620	20,336
Castleford	564	793	890	1,022	1,141	1,414	2,150	3,876	6,268	10,530	14,143	17,386
Township												
Glass Houghton	1,081	382	409	412	446	436	431	489	881	1,049	1,477	2,950
Township												
Darrington:—	4,744	480	444	619	619	668	617	744	626	643	625	617
Darrington	3,110	379	373	510	512	530	492	614	512	523	525	527
Township												
Stapleton	1,634	101	71	109	107	138	125	130	114	120	100	90
Township												
Featherstone	2,402	482	492	581	588	572	616	616	1,740	3,953	5,344	9,817
(part of) ^{6a} :—												
Featherstone	1,382	305	320	337	328	318	347	353	1,222	3,247	4,132	7,822
Township												
Purston Jaglin	1,020	177	172	244	260	254	269	263	518	706	1,212	1,995
Township												
Ferry Fryston	3,187	705	768	777	833	951	908	904	920	1,131	1,880	2,176
with Water												
Fryston												
Kirk Bramwith † .	1,334	214	224	252	211	251	231	226	182	181	149	211
Kirk Smeaton . .	1,700	248	297	321	318	326	372	333	341	380	292	312
Kirkby, South	7,054	1,171	1,255	1,314	1,478	1,505	1,394	1,273	1,286	1,581	2,605	4,565
(part of) ⁷ :—												
Elmsall, North,	2,117	223	248	113	256	281	267	236	216	287	394	495
Township												

⁶ *Askern Township*.—The population in 1801 was included with that of *Sutton Township*, and in 1841 131 visitors were present for the purpose of benefiting from the mineral waters. ^{6a} See note 85 above.

⁷ *South Kirkby Parish* is situated in *Osgoldcross Wapentake—Upper Division*—and in *Strafforth and Tickhill Wapentake—North Division*.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
<i>WEST RIDING (cont.)</i>												
<i>Osgoldcross Wapentake—Upper Division (cont.)</i>												
Kirkby, South (part of) (<i>cont.</i>):—												
Elmsall, South, Township	1,426	348	378	453	494	518	505	468	440	526	620	1,026
Kirkby, South, Township	2,362	509	539	633	615	602	506	482	522	634	1,434	2,916
Skelbrooke Chap. †	1,149	91	90	115	113	104	116	87	108	134	157	128
Owston †:—	2,746	355	412	452	473	511	417	454	417	453	441	374
Owston Township †	1,815	250	286	306	292	305	236	269	274	289	306	231
Skellow Township	931	105	126	146	181	206	181	185	143	164	135	143
Pontefract †:—	5,284	6,189	7,493	8,824	9,254	9,851	10,675	10,971	10,967	14,363	15,561	19,726
Carleton Township †	589	112	109	132	155	179	214	191	284	334	317	407
Hardwick, East, Township	528	—	81	96	139	149	152	213	282	228	193	155
Knottingley Chap	1,484	2,602	3,327	3,753	3,666	4,304	4,540	4,379	4,039	5,069	5,425	5,809
Monkhill Township	5			40	39	48	62	66	69	86		
Pontefract Township †	2,381	3,097	3,605	4,447	4,832	4,669	5,106	5,346	5,372	6,335	7,082	9,435
Tanshelf Township †	297	378	371	356	423	502	601	776	921	2,311	2,544	3,920
Pontefract Park Extra Par. †	1,395	47	50	47	51	96	84	74	70	66	76	72
Wragby (part of) †:—	2,515	—	298	378	447	518	431	438	822	851	874	743
Hardwick, West, Township	487	—	99	93	85	102	94	86	80	56	33	20
Hessle Township †	645	—	128	139	134	172	119	125	128	119		
Hill Top Township †	242	—	71	97	86	92	80	82	92	101	197	167
Huntwick with Foulby and Nostell Township †	1,141	—	—	49	142	152	138	145	522	575	644	556
<i>Skyrack Wapentake—Lower Division</i>												
Aberford †:—	4,230	894	922	900	925	1,071	996	1,009	886	925	857	841
Aberford Township	1,580	650	649	579	644	782	737	759	619	653	612	602
Parlington Township	1,773	180	203	229	207	212	197	195	213	217	192	197
Sturton, or Sturton Grange, Township	877	64	70	92	74	77	62	55	54	55	53	42
Bardsey †:—	3,404	379	363	372	352	383	329	318	311	361	329	318
Bardsey cum Rington Township	2,751	364	348	356	331	364	308	295	287	320	286	290
Wothersome Township †	653	15	15	16	21	19	21	23	24	41	43	28
Barwick-in-Elmet †:—	8,449	1,454	1,553	1,667	1,922	2,275	2,449	2,374	2,467	3,017	3,368	4,862
Barwick-in-Elmet Township †	6,966	1,370	1,423	1,481	1,608	1,836	1,939	1,804	1,884	2,215	2,406	3,020
Roundhay Township	1,483	84	130	186	314	439	510	570	583	802	962	1,842

⁸ Pontefract Township includes Pontefract Castle Precincts—formerly Extra Parochial.

⁹ Wragby Parish is situated in Osgoldcross Wapentake—Upper Division—and in Staincross Wapentake.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Skyrack Wapen- take—Lower Division</i> (<i>cont.</i>)												
Collingham ^{9a} †	1,881	287	326	286	347	324	310	309	318	329	334	355
Garforth	1,519	234	610	731	782	1,195	1,335	1,504	1,679	2,213	2,545	3,224
Harewood (part of) ^{9b} :—												
Keswick, East, Township	1,290	535	267	296	365	465	452	468	437	447	454	418
Kippax :—	3,616	1,523	1,573	1,765	1,901	2,171	2,339	2,901	4,120	5,624	6,600	8,154
Allerton Bywater Township †	945	331	292	329	375	490	550	704	1,006	1,565	2,009	3,195
Kippax Township †	1,632	779	860	958	1,128	1,214	1,325	1,656	2,014	2,533	3,040	3,564
Preston, Great and Little, Township	1,039	413	421	478	398	467	464	541	1,100	1,526	1,551	1,395
Swillington †	2,625	491	492	510	523	565	607	662	890	823	886	863
Thorner ¹⁰ † :—	4,888	774	882	1,010	1,220	1,426	1,530	1,500	1,627	2,329	2,195	2,331
Scarcroft Township	1,073	70	74	105	168	218	238	292	336	290	280	287
Shadwell Township †	1,499	141	187	197	248	278	341	399	454	1,101	1,075	1,154
Thorner Township †	2,316	563	621	708	804	930	951	809	837	938	840	890
Whitkirk † :—	7,072	1,800	1,893	2,227	2,564	2,636	3,041	3,316	3,618	4,370	3,833	4,386
Austhorpe Township	855	103	150	150	169	173	219	231	236	313	194	186
Seacroft Township †	1,834	659	762	886	918	1,020	1,093	1,235	1,230	1,367	1,100	1,362
Templenewsam Township	4,089	1,033	976	1,166	1,458	1,428	1,693	1,806	2,113	2,661	2,491	2,818
Thorp Stapleton Township	294	5	5	25	19	15	36	44	39	29	48	20
<i>Skyrack Wapen- take—Upper Division</i>												
Adel :—	7,160	966	996	1,028	1,063	1,219	1,050	1,145	1,357	1,639	1,602	1,472
Adel cum Eccup Township ¹¹	4,894	606	652	699	703	883	682	801	970	1,190	1,161	1,045
Arthington Township †	2,266	360	344	329	360	336	368	344	387	449	441	427
Bingley :—	14,109	4,938	5,769	7,375	9,255	11,850	15,339	15,367	18,116	20,703	21,418	22,890
Bingley (with Micklethwaite) Township	70,336	4,100	4,782	6,176	8,036	10,157	13,437	13,254	15,952	18,437	19,284	20,889
Morton Township	3,773	838	987	1,199	1,219	1,693	1,902	2,113	2,164	2,266	2,134	2,001
Guisley :—	8,931	5,849	6,813	8,409	10,028	12,274	14,017	14,874	16,876	20,083	21,758	22,691
Carlton Township	1,291	115	135	158	181	205	185	192	184	90	104	109
Guisley Township	1,555	825	959	1,213	1,604	1,971	2,572	2,566	3,185	3,706	4,079	4,558
Horsforth Chap. Rawdon Chap. †	2,800	2,099	2,315	2,824	3,425	4,188	4,584	5,281	5,465	6,346	7,102	7,784
Yeadon Township	1,561	1,115	1,450	1,759	2,057	2,531	2,567	2,576	2,796	3,407	3,077	3,181
Yeadon Township	1,724	1,695	1,954	2,455	2,761	3,379	4,109	4,259	5,246	6,534	7,396	7,059
Harewood (part of) ^{11a} :—	8,213	1,182	1,377	1,485	1,515	1,645	1,481	1,401	1,310	1,759	1,324	1,206
Alwoodley Township	1,508	143	132	142	142	281	164	140	136	448	175	147
Harewood Township	3,660	707	771	849	894	890	895	834	765	716	704	580

^{9a} See note 94 above.

^{9b} See note 100 above

¹⁰ *Thorner Parish.*—The increase in population in 1881 was partly due to the temporary presence of workmen engaged in constructing waterworks for the Leeds Corporation.

¹¹ *Adel cum Eccup Township.*—The 1841 population included ninety-six strangers employed by the Leeds Waterworks Company.

^{11a} See note 100 above.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Skyrack Wapentake—Upper Division</i> (<i>cont.</i>)												
Harewood (part of) (<i>cont.</i>):—												
Weardley Township	871	139	190	191	169	158	144	171	157	154	144	177
Wigton Township	1,296	134	171	164	168	170	147	130	138	299	193	193
Wike Township	878	59	113	139	142	146	131	126	114	142	108	109
Ilkley (part of) ^{11b} :—												
Ilkley Township	3,816	426	459	496	691	778	811	1,043	2,511	4,736	5,767	7,455
Otley (part of) ^{11c} :—	14,745	6,024	7,271	8,539	9,404	10,285	11,546	12,318	14,714	17,033	19,437	23,017
Baldon Chap. †	2,607	1,719	2,073	2,679	3,044	3,280	3,008	3,895	4,784	5,430	5,785	5,797
Bramhope Township	1,396	261	318	366	359	350	391	312	321	408	389	430
Burley Chap.	3,136	842	1,175	1,200	1,448	1,736	1,894	2,136	2,271	2,550	2,661	3,310
Esholt Township	691	268	582	355	404	443	397	369	398	388	305	310
Hawksworth Township	2,465	227										
Menston Township	1,128	193	217	257	346	329	449	318	455	662	1,742	3,137
Otley Township.	2,370	2,332	2,602	3,065	3,161	3,445	4,751	4,714	5,855	6,806	7,838	9,230
Pool Township .	952	182	304	294	315	363	361	337	385	574	554	608
<i>Staincliff and Ewcross Wapentake—East Division</i>												
Addingham . . .	3,203	1,157	1,471	1,570	2,179	1,753	1,558	1,859	1,838	2,163	2,225	2,144
Arncliffe (part of) ¹² :—												
Buckden Township	16,088	280	326	382	309	387	3 4	335	333	297	239	236
Barnoldswick, or Gill :—	6,306	1,401	1,661	2,350	2,724	2,844	2,828	3,478	3,819	4,628	4,808	7,193
Barnoldswick Township	2,130	769	892	1,334	1,682	1,849	1,938	2,810	3,187	4,028	4,131	6,382
Brogden with Admergill Township	1,782	189	158	233	229	219	179	122	105	110	120	98
Coates Township	634	45	108	97	88	101	138	122	131	99	70	98
Salterforth Township	1,760	398	503	686	725	675	573	424	396	391	487	615
Bracewell † . . .	2,026	173	185	176	160	153	157	140	115	105	130	115
Broughton in Airedale † :—	4,152	380	581	427	407	407	335	274	268	259	257	245
Broughton Township	2,402	—	—	—	—	219	203	162	188	177	165	165
Elslack Hamlet	1,750	—	—	—	—	188	132	112	80	82	92	80
Burnsall :—	30,640	1,360	1,418	1,423	1,385	1,484	1,279	1,275	1,262	1,129	934	963
Appletreewick Township	7,699	244	309	312	425	467	305	354	358	281	229	250
Burnsall with Thorpe-sub- Montem Township	2,965	289	272	329	242	284	251	253	206	188	155	142
Conistone with Kilnsey Chap.	8,650	182	151	137	162	172	178	160	186	179	116	141
Cracoe Town- ship	2,098	131	162	179	150	153	159	139	135	127	91	117
Hartlington Township	1,352	105	120	141	115	96	76	107	95	82	61	71
Hetton with Boardley Township	4,639	172	212	180	176	191	187	155	164	142	146	119
Rilstone Chap.	3,237	177	192	145	115	121	123	107	118	130	136	123

^{11b} See note 2 above.

^{11c} See note 3 above.

¹² *Arncliffe Parish* is situated in *Staincliff and Ewcross Wapentake—East and West Divisions*

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre-age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Staincliff and Ew-cross Wapentake—East Division (cont.)</i>												
Carlton	5,259	845	1,002	1,218	1,265	1,242	1,333	1,506	1,678	1,691	1,644	1,605
Gargrave :—	11,667	1,342	1,469	1,659	1,748	1,761	1,831	1,641	1,814	1,916	2,017	1,823
Bank Newton Township	2,339	68	102	139	125	129	120	106	87	100	90	92
Cold Conistone Township	1,337	342	257	345	336	242	289	238	266	337	392	279
Eshton Township	1,113	84	63	69	82	74	84	81	60	64	76	93
Flasby with Winterburn Township	4,337	120	150	134	143	140	124	113	110	128	163	98
Gargrave Township	2,541	728	897	972	1,062	1,176	1,214	1,103	1,291	1,287	1,296	1,261
Keighley	10,132	5,745	6,864	9,223	11,176	13,413	18,259	18,819	24,704	30,395	36,176	42,106
Kettlewell with Starbotton †	8,409	634	361	663	673	685	607	646	498	378	313	283
Kildwick :—	22,535	5,785	6,882	8,437	9,756	10,475	11,712	10,893	11,717	12,073	13,481	14,829
Bradleys Both Township	1,951	385	412	506	614	557	571	442	487	514	542	609
Cononley Township	1,455	876	1,045	1,350	1,567	1,159	1,272	905	1,012	829	881	786
Farnhill Township	543					459	581	464	490	561	655	626
Cowling Township	4,712	1,140	1,449	1,870	2,249	2,458	2,305	1,815	1,928	1,901	1,828	1,925
Glusburn Township	1,527	533	654	787	987	1,052	1,320	1,475	1,570	1,629	1,942	2,397
Kildwick Township	873	209	216	175	190	189	206	170	161	160	145	146
Silsden Chap. †	7,060	1,323	1,608	1,904	2,137	2,346	2,508	2,582	2,714	3,329	3,866	4,304
Steeton with Eastburn Township †	2,066	510	545	753	859	963	1,289	1,341	1,631	1,508	1,687	2,070
Sutton Township †	2,348	809	953	1,092	1,153	1,292	1,660	1,699	1,724	1,642	1,935	1,966
Kirby in Malhamdale (part of) ¹³ :—												
Calton Township	1,451	98	89	76	79	79	75	56	52	59	75	54
Linton † :—	13,241	1,491	1,772	1,910	2,113	2,060	2,221	1,911	1,557	1,224	925	975
Grassington Township	5,806	763	892	983	1,067	1,056	1,138	1,015	830	617	480	494
Hebden Township	3,582	341	402	377	491	480	460	435	362	313	209	199
Linton Township	1,205	186	294	313	343	303	352	284	179	127	117	158
Threshfield Township	2,648	201	184	237	212	221	271	177	186	167	119	124
Marton †	2,805	322	348	382	443	381	341	256	237	235	270	234
Skipton (part of) ^{13a} :—	24,767	3,698	4,436	5,206	5,935	6,606	6,770	7,364	8,122	11,403	12,110	13,804
Barden Township	7,362	191	206	219	214	212	208	371	382	391	173	153
Bolton Abbey Township	2,072	120	105	127	112	127	109	112	122	142	169	142
Draughton Township	2,500	173	246	279	223	211	188	178	178	178	204	205
Embsay with Eastby Township	4,446	623	692	861	891	962	948	1,028	1,104	1,167	940	1,022
Halton, East, Township	1,078	152	170	141	144	120	91	94	78	277	85	102
Skipton Township	4,204	2,305	2,868	3,411	4,181	4,842	5,044	5,454	6,078	9,091	10,376	11,986
Stirton with Thorlby Township	3,105	134	149	168	170	132	182	127	180	157	163	194
Thornton-in-Craven	5,437	1,202	1,546	1,829	2,246	2,354	2,202	2,112	2,053	2,322	2,770	4,411

¹³ Kirby in Malhamdale Parish is situated in Staincliff and Ew-cross Wapentake—East and West Divisions.
^{13a} See note 4 above.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acres	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Staincliff and Ew-cross Wapentake—West Division</i>												
Arncliffe (part of) ^{13b} † :—	18,001	563	512	491	484	447	413	405	348	362	320	276
Arncliffe Township †	3,189	241	200	189	213	182	165	174	136	147	137	113
Halton Gill Chap.	7,861	139	141	114	88	90	77	83	84	86	77	74
Haweswick Township †	3,028	69	72	86	81	68	57	55	69	51	45	39
Litton Township	3,923	114	99	102	102	107	114	93	59	78	61	50
Bentham ¹⁴ :—	25,233	2,593	2,922	3,404	3,407	3,535	3,534	3,589	4,778	3,836	3,841	4,062
Bentham Township	7,724	1,487	1,654	2,102	2,179	2,180	2,143	2,342	2,237	2,211	2,273	2,390
Ingleton Chap.	17,509	1,106	1,268	1,302	1,228	1,355	1,391	1,247	2,541	1,625	1,568	1,672
Bolton by Bowland †	5,943	996	1,072	1,205	1,174	933	962	739	708	702	571	596
Clapham † :—	25,303	1,693	1,706	1,889	1,909	1,853	1,944	1,708	1,421	1,450	1,441	1,381
Clapham-cum-Newby Township	12,041	847	872	982	944	890	914	809	695	676	712	680
Lawkland Township †	5,812	368	} 834	{ 351	351	364	379	338	313	301	307	274
Austwick Township †	7,450	478			556	614	599	651	561	413	473	422
Giggleswick :—	18,509	2,461	2,760	3,237	3,567	4,131	3,965	3,187	4,340	4,298	4,368	4,339
Giggleswick Township	4,348	556	674	746	780	875	855	727	874	976	1,015	981
Langcliffe Township	2,553	260	332	420	550	664	601	376	665	683	681	613
Rathmell Township	3,420	306	319	328	347	290	308	304	248	219	216	214
Settle Township	4,492	1,136	1,153	1,508	1,627	2,041	1,976	1,586	2,163	2,213	2,253	2,302
Stainforth Township	3,696	203	282	235	263	261	225	194	390	207	203	229
Gisburn :—	18,145	1,959	2,209	2,530	2,306	2,191	1,976	1,756	1,345	1,536	1,350	1,255
Gisburn Township	1,998	485	509	690	607	543	518	534	365	527	444	415
Gisburn Forest Township	4,861	396	439	457	400	372	336	301	245	254	240	211
Horton Township	2,021	144	181	187	200	156	152	129	101	94	95	74
Middop, or Midhope, Township	1,162	87	95	100	62	81	55	57	57	64	50	42
Nappa Township	578	32	23	44	43	35	21	31	25	21	32	24
Newsholme, or Newsome, Township	752	78	70	75	70	55	53	52	40	48	40	41
Paythorne Township	2,638	198	240	242	187	201	206	126	122	100	105	128
Rimington Township	3,084	487	596	698	701	722	607	501	371	381	321	290
Swinden Township	1,051	52	56	37	36	26	28	25	19	47	23	30
Horton in Ribblesdale ¹⁵ †	17,274	570	531	558	567	520	467	417	916	526	666	688
Kirby in Malhamdale (part of) ^{15a} :	22,335	863	932	929	954	868	809	826	878	762	753	719
Airton Township	2,559	139	176	187	179	217	225	236	244	203	212	221
Hanlith Township	966	81	51	46	42	25	36	40	33	34	26	30
Kirby-in-Malhamdale Township	1,148	167	175	204	219	195	139	128	174	145	107	106
Malham Township	4,287	262	306	262	259	233	188	184	164	148	163	140

^{13b} See note 12 above.

¹⁴ *Bentham Parish*.—The population in 1871 included a large number of labourers engaged in railway construction.

¹⁵ *Horton in Ribblesdale Parish*.—The population in 1871 included a large number of labourers engaged in railway construction.

^{15a} See note 13 above.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Staincliff and Ew- cross Wapentake —West Division (cont.)</i>												
Kirby in Malham- dale (part of) (<i>cont.</i>):—												
Malham Moor Township	10,973	98	97	88	94	102	92	115	124	126	118	102
Otterburn Town- ship	1,128	26	47	40	66	48	54	59	54	39	47	54
Scosthrop Town- ship	1,274	90	80	102	95	48	75	64	85	67	80	66
Mitton (part of) ¹⁶ :—	13,345	2,160	2,722	3,048	2,821	2,403	2,203	1,903	1,815	1,815	1,780	1,899
Bashall Eaves Township	3,807	552	358	348	310	279	259	251	242	263	233	222
Bradford, West, Township	1,957	552	564	522	366	355	289	327	311	314	331	331
Waddington Chap.	2,074	481	1,088	687	624	644	580	513	466	447	510	583
Grindleton Chap.	3,780	927	1,022	1,125	1,103	902	826	666	609	623	579	617
Mitton, Great, Township ¹⁷	1,727	200	254	324	262	212	183	184	171	171	144	146
Preston, Long:—	13,562	1,361	1,426	1,681	1,672	1,568	1,341	1,206	1,246	1,486	1,674	1,861
Halton, West, Township	2,291	180	171	190	171	166	122	131	126	142	132	119
Hellifield Township	3,402	237	252	279	250	273	279	272	226	424	601	779
Preston, Long, Township	3,578	573	610	733	808	708	590	536	622	706	734	761
Wigglesworth Township	4,291	371	393	479	443	421	350	267	272	214	207	202
Sawley, Extra Par.	2,106	552	564	561	588	359	301	254	211	178	157	146
Tosside, Extra Par.	1,113	120	110	96	82	66	69	85	69	69	69	85
Sedburgh:—	52,675	3,983	4,116	4,483	4,711	4,836	4,574	4,391	4,990	4,079	4,040	3,935
Dent Chap.	20,895	1,773	1,663	1,782	1,840	1,887	1,630	1,427	2,096	1,209	1,131	1,076
Garsdale Chap. †	11,068	571	648	679	657	681	709	618	911	602	535	429
Sedburgh Township	20,712	1,639	1,805	2,022	2,214	2,268	2,235	2,346	1,983	2,268	2,374	2,430
Slaidburn:—	39,987	1,908	2,175	2,223	2,065	1,792	1,682	1,480	1,615	1,358	1,247	1,115
Bowland Forest, High, Town- ship	19,744	523	468	237	177	181	173	169	281	231	229	192
Easington Township	9,203	376	451	501	424	409	352	338	341	299	262	276
Newton Township	5,867	378	498	581	544	461	449	394	403	331	315	266
Slaidburn Township	5,173	631	758	904	920	741	708	579	590	497	441	381
Thornton in Lons- dale (part of) ¹⁸ †:—	9,040	1,060	1,152	1,281	1,152	993	1,130	1,038	1,081	946	884	854
Burton-in-Lons- dale or Black Burton Town- ship †	1,555	—	—	746	711	629	718	597	696	626	589	554
Thornton-in- Lonsdale Township †	7,485	—	—	535	441	364	412	441	385	320	295	300
Whalley (part of) ¹⁹ :—	5,501	—	—	360	344	330	335	319	344	304	242	280
Bowland Forest, Low, Township	5,501	—	—	360	344	330	335	319	344	304	242	280

¹⁶ *Mitton Parish.*—The remainder is in Lancashire—Lower Division of Blackburn Hundred.

¹⁷ *Great Mitton Township.*—The 1801 population is estimated.

¹⁸ *Thornton in Lonsdale Parish.*—The remainder is in Lancashire—Lonsdale Hundred (South of the Sands).

¹⁹ *Whalley Parish.*—The remainder is in Lancashire—Upper and Lower Divisions of Blackburn Hundred. The population of *Bowland Forest Low Township* in 1801 and 1811 is included in that given for *Slaidburn Parish (Bowland Forest High Township)*.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acres	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Staincross Wapentake</i>												
Cawthorne	3,709	1,055	1,208	1,518	1,492	1,437	1,254	1,283	1,234	1,166	1,175	1,059
Darfield	5,040	1,340	1,777	2,384	3,706	5,026	5,805	7,153	8,173	11,776	14,399	16,270
(part of) ²⁰ :—												
Ardley	1,259	461	704	992	1,029	1,226	1,528	1,772	2,143	3,333	4,494	5,934
Township												
Worsborough Chap.	3,781	879	1,073	1,392	2,677	3,800	4,277	5,381	6,030	8,443	9,905	10,336
Darton :—	4,361	1,699	1,884	2,176	2,960	3,583	3,565	4,592	5,197	6,014	7,013	7,670
Barugh	1,438	362	422	396	946	1,266	1,385	1,771	2,030	2,444	2,752	2,677
Township												
Darton Township	1,379	936	1,080	1,340	1,466	1,692	1,603	2,216	2,582	2,960	3,679	4,457
Kexbrough	1,544	401	382	440	548	625	577	605	585	610	582	536
Township												
Felkirk :—	6,068	1,034	1,063	1,042	1,156	1,186	1,148	1,106	1,109	1,766	2,143	3,808
Brierley	2,590	415	443	452	483	491	467	491	386	484	504	1,698
Township †												
Havercroft with Cold Hiendley	1,364	180	162	189	153	141	112	109	133	486	516	490
Township												
Hiendley, South,	1,291	265	276	166	272	290	321	282	329	366	550	878
Township												
Shafton	823	174	182	235	248	264	248	224	261	430	573	742
Township †												
Hemsworth ‡ . .	4,163	803	811	963	937	1,005	997	975	993	1,665	2,887	6,283
Hoyland,	3,385	1,689	1,832	2,417	2,492	3,579	4,190	4,170	4,255	6,258	6,667	6,592
High † :—												
Clayton, West,	1,142	668	665	854	887	1,440	1,566	1,532	1,531	1,435	1,541	1,550
Township												
Cumberworth	1,392	751	950	1,295	1,374	1,867	2,384	2,414	2,485	4,591	4,895	4,851
Township ²¹ †												
Hoyland, High,	851	270	217	268	231	272	240	224	239	232	231	191
Township												
Penistone † :—	22,773	3,681	4,231	5,042	5,201	5,907	6,302	7,149	8,110	9,094	9,482	11,160
Denby	2,885	1,061	1,132	1,412	1,295	1,690	1,709	1,813	1,637	1,559	1,661	1,765
Township †												
Gunthwaite	952	111	119	86	99	66	77	81	83	70	68	57
Township												
Hunshelf	2,165	327	429	436	531	578	729	1,150	1,283	1,404	1,559	1,680
Township												
Ingbirchworth	1,105	170	264	367	371	419	393	368	303	335	321	274
Township												
Langsett	4,914	204	235	325	320	303	296	280	246	271	263	922
Township												
Oxspring	1,202	219	255	247	283	241	278	346	370	350	322	397
Township												
Penistone	1,134	493	515	645	703	738	802	860	1,549	2,254	2,553	3,073
Township												
Thurlstone	8,116	1,096	1,282	1,524	1,599	1,872	2,018	2,251	2,639	2,851	2,735	2,992
Township ²²												
Royston :—	12,997	2,490	2,559	3,126	3,690	4,103	4,045	4,210	5,145	7,132	10,371	15,510
Carlton	1,977	291	312	326	340	411	337	351	380	1,085	1,401	2,086
Township †												
Chevet Township	839	75	35	27	38	52	63	58	109	96	86	102
Cudworth	1,746	396	451	487	451	552	529	521	657	1,044	1,607	3,408
Township †												
Monk Bretton	2,221	480	530	916	1,394	1,719	1,810	1,918	2,090	2,918	3,426	4,247
Township †												
Notton Township	2,603	323	327	339	317	310	269	286	218	261	269	262
Royston	1,022	360	361	549	597	641	587	545	676	1,128	2,613	4,397
Township												
Woolley Chap. †	2,589	565	543	482	553	418	450	531	1,015	600	969	1,008
Silkstone :—	13,869	6,474	8,320	12,587	15,306	17,952	20,653	24,607	30,637	37,794	43,477	49,022
Barnsley Chap.	2,385	3,606	5,014	8,284	10,330	12,310	14,913	17,890	23,021	29,790	35,437	41,086

²⁰ *Darfield Parish* is situated in *Staincross Wapentake* and in *Strafforth and Tickhill Wapentake*—North Division
²¹ The population of *Cumberworth Township*, 1881—1901, includes that of *Cumberworth Half Township* (*Agbrigg Wapentake*—Upper Division).
²² *Thurlstone Township*.—The 1841 population included 225 persons temporarily employed on the *Sheffield and Manchester Railway*.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH.	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Staincross</i>												
<i>Wapentake (cont.)</i>												
Silkstone (<i>cont.</i>):—												
Bretton, West, Township	2,100	491	543	518	588	564	492	504	425	350	323	355
Dodworth Township	1,917	403	743	1,227	1,179	1,474	1,494	2,117	2,747	2,989	3,106	3,022
Hoyland Swaine Township	2,026	562	611	738	748	713	690	689	706	750	648	594
Silkstone Town- ship	1,499	542	555	807	1,010	1,076	1,037	1,154	1,291	1,433	1,640	1,698
Stainbrough Township	1,720	227	202	194	304	482	479	470	465	529	442	490
Thurgoland Township	2,222	643	652	819	1,147	1,333	1,548	1,783	1,982	1,953	1,881	1,777
Tankersley :—	8,082	1,228	1,390	1,529	1,596	1,802	1,928	2,524	2,884	3,259	3,354	3,425
Tankersley Township †	2,465	382	465	625	678	812	833	1,403	1,830	2,128	2,216	2,423
Wortley Chap. †	5,617	846	925	904	918	990	1,095	1,121	1,054	1,131	1,138	1,002
Wragby (part of) ^{22a} † :—	1,657	275	257	282	309	337	331	301	389	962	1,197	1,686
Ryhill Township	592	142	138	147	160	170	163	160	242	797	1,060	1,553
Winterset Township †	1,065	133	119	135	149	167	168	141	147	165	137	133
<i>Strafforth and Tickhill Wapen- take—North Division</i>												
Adwick le Street † † :—	2,941	375	438	486	536	554	480	440	448	380	430	436
Adwick le Street Township †	1,638	284	314	346	382	434	342	280	305	257	280	294
Hampole Town- ship ^{22b}	1,303	91	124	140	154	120	138	160	143	123	150	142
Adwick upon Dearne	1,142	142	159	168	145	180	209	226	215	253	246	373
Barnbrough † †	1,960	446	428	466	520	508	575	462	450	472	509	546
Bentley with Arksey	5,128	980	1,102	1,171	1,144	1,056	1,105	1,099	1,197	1,484	1,880	2,403
Blyth (part of) ²³ :—												
Austerfield Chap.	2,784	232	253	242	280	314	372	389	413	351	341	293
Bolton upon Dearne †	2,325	547	575	623	596	671	604	479	596	1,002	1,205	3,828
Brodsworth †	3,121	302	358	417	447	467	448	412	412	346	336	338
Clayton with Frickley †	1,590	302	294	360	321	316	331	312	295	315	280	314
Darfield (part of) ^{23a} :—	9,049	1,618	1,745	1,936	1,997	2,493	2,839	5,078	7,206	11,815	15,461	19,211
Billingley Town- ship	863	172	167	214	217	220	189	192	178	198	195	198
Darfield Town- ship	2,018	447	443	512	520	648	591	746	1,673	2,616	3,416	4,194
Houghton, Great, Township	1,649	257	271	287	292	348	333	309	250	360	620	1,220
Houghton, Little, Township	669	128	119	112	132	108	99	93	96	190	288	347
Wombwell Township	3,850	614	745	811	836	1,169	1,627	3,738	5,009	8,451	10,942	13,252
Doncaster (part of) ²⁴ :—												
Langthwaite with Tilts Township †	649	34	24	21	28	25	16	38	20	27	26	27

^{22a} See note 9 above.

^{22b} See note 25 above.

²³ Blyth Parish is situated in Strafforth and Tickhill Wapentake—North and South Divisions—and in Nottinghamshire—Hatfield Division of Bassetlaw Wapentake.

^{23a} See note 20 above.

²⁴ Doncaster Parish is situated in Strafforth and Tickhill Wapentake—North Division, Doncaster Borough, and Doncaster Soke.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH.	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Strafforth and Tickhill Wapentake—North Division (cont.)</i>												
Ecclesfield † :—	49,617	9,216	10,188	12,496	13,415	15,150	16,870	21,568	26,423	32,387	38,252	48,335
Bradfield Chap.	38,425	4,702	4,354	5,298	5,504	6,318	6,865	9,089	11,252	11,170	12,292	14,416
Ecclesfield Township †	11,192	5,114	5,834	7,198	7,911	8,832	10,005	12,479	15,171	21,217	25,960	33,919
Hickleton † † . . .	1,061	174	192	153	154	157	143	127	122	125	177	178
Hooton Pagnell :—	2,537	404	401	400	416	423	397	342	326	316	330	354
Bilham Town-ship	536	45	46	74	76	75	80	68	45	33	50	42
Hooton Pagnell Township	2,001	359	355	326	340	348	317	274	281	283	280	312
Kirkby, South, (part of) ^{24a} :—												
Hamphall	239	—	—	—	—	23	26	11	21	24	25	30
Stubbs Town-ship ²⁵												
Marr †	1,821	165	186	162	221	206	226	222	210	180	165	167
Melton, High † . . .	1,525	165	157	137	131	115	105	109	98	151	143	147
Rawmarsh †	2,578	1,011	1,110	1,259	1,538	2,068	2,533	4,374	6,869	10,179	12,360	14,963
Rotherham (part of) ²⁶ † :—	6,216	4,492	4,735	5,049	5,321	6,689	8,969	13,547	17,530	19,854	23,958	30,581
Greasbrough Chap.	2,456	1,166	1,253	1,252	1,290	1,623	2,017	2,937	3,691	3,811	4,392	4,284
Kimberworth Township †	3,760	3,326	3,482	3,797	4,031	5,066	6,952	10,610	13,839	16,043	19,566	26,297
Sheffield (part of) ²⁷ :—												
Brightside Bierlow Township	2,820	4,030	4,899	6,615	8,968	10,089	12,042	29,818	48,556	56,719	67,083	73,088
Sprotbrough † :—	3,970	405	479	487	500	534	528	504	476	502	527	491
Cadeby Town-ship	1,235	155	171	169	178	153	166	165	137	131	169	146
Sprotbrough Township	2,735	250	308	318	322	381	362	339	339	371	358	345
Thurnscoe †	1,671	192	211	205	223	197	198	196	204	249	217	2,366
Wath upon Dearne † :—	11,063	3,796	4,831	5,812	6,927	8,911	9,521	13,820	17,127	25,942	30,751	36,139
Brampton Bierlow Township †	3,224	860	1,020	1,263	1,462	1,704	1,741	1,938	1,978	3,704	4,597	5,053
Hoyland, Nether, Chap.	2,087	823	1,064	1,229	1,670	2,597	2,912	5,352	6,298	9,822	11,006	12,464
Swinton Chap. †	1,700	473	846	1,050	1,252	1,660	1,817	3,190	5,150	7,612	9,328	11,841
Wath upon Dearne Town-ship †	1,724	662	815	1,001	1,149	1,453	1,495	1,690	2,023	3,012	3,894	4,847
Wentworth Chap. †	2,328	978	1,086	1,269	1,394	1,497	1,556	1,650	1,678	1,792	1,926	1,934
<i>Strafforth and Tickhill Wapentake—South Division</i>												
Anston :—	4,684	748	809	911	986	1,102	1,186	1,290	1,451	1,512	1,641	1,642
Anston, North and South, Township	3,852	625	675	776	840	921	1,013	1,126	1,202	1,266	1,378	1,394
Woodsetts Township	832	123	134	135	146	181	173	164	249	246	263	248
Armthorpe †	2,923	273	323	359	368	449	431	424	398	393	380	314
Aston with Aughton ^{27a}	3,009	586	601	556	564	678	862	995	1,667	2,352	2,927	3,158

^{24a} See note 7 above.

²⁵ In 1801–1831 the population of *Hamphall Stubbs Township* was wrongly included in that of *Hampole Township*.

²⁶ *Rotherham Parish* is situated in *Strafforth and Tickhill Wapentake—North and South Divisions*. The population in 1801–1831 of a small part of *Rotherham Parish* was wrongly included in that of *Thrybergh Parish*.

²⁷ *Sheffield Parish* is situated in *Strafforth and Tickhill Wapentake—North and South Divisions*.

^{27a} See note 29 below.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH.	Acres	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Strafforth and Tickhill Wapentake—South Division</i> (<i>cont.</i>)												
Barnby upon Don † †:—	3,805	471	539	617	561	629	689	644	594	657	613	646
Barnby upon Don Township †	2,307	369	433	495	440	510	559	537	484	551	516	577
Thorpe in Balne Township †	1,498	102	106	122	121	119	130	107	110	106	97	69
Blyth (part of) ^{27b} :—												
Bawtry Chap. . .	260	798	918	1,027	1,149	1,083	1,170	1,011	930	911	947	934
Braithwell † †:—	2,964	569	625	739	745	800	879	757	732	763	781	749
Braithwell Township	7,949	331	396	438	455	447	493	422	372	362	357	345
Bramley Township †	1,015	238	229	301	290	353	386	335	360	401	424	404
Cantley † . . .	5,598	500	548	577	634	651	722	663	630	559	547	514
Conisbrough † . .	4,559	843	1,047	1,142	1,347	1,445	1,551	1,655	2,119	2,706	4,514	8,562
Dinnington . . .	1,652	162	169	189	233	279	285	272	257	259	265	258
Edlington . . .	1,757	127	116	141	129	127	151	149	123	128	142	158
Firbeck . . .	1,297	161	169	226	178	191	204	195	223	249	187	231
Fishlake †:—	8,190	1,188	1,194	1,274	1,334	1,257	1,295	1,208	1,225	1,022	965	1,146
Fishlake Township † †	3,909	691	704	723	717	629	642	585	615	596	523	515
Sykehouse Chap. † †	4,281	497	490	551	617	628	653	623	610	426	442	631
Handsworth . . .	3,641	1,424	1,841	2,173	2,338	2,862	3,264	3,951	5,783	7,645	10,295	14,161
Harthill with Woodall † †	3,565	660	641	650	632	709	739	673	883	1,109	1,396	1,225
Hatfield †:—	17,777	1,773	2,066	2,642	3,000	2,939	2,721	2,564	2,543	2,570	2,339	2,377
Hatfield Township † †	14,294	1,301	1,487	1,948	2,148	2,015	1,840	1,813	1,795	1,788	1,613	1,571
Stainforth with Bramwith Township †	3,483	472	579	694	852	924	881	751	748	782	726	806
Hooton Roberts † . .	1,057	158	143	190	178	175	218	241	216	235	225	209
Kirk Sandall † . .	1,638	156	173	192	200	187	239	233	247	299	246	216
Laughton-en-le-Morthen ²⁸	3,879	465	614	652	780	742	734	736	683	663	660	631
Maltby †:—	4,649	600	698	774	844	839	924	858	805	890	766	792
Hooton Levitt Township	549	73	96	95	92	76	109	84	87	95	57	76
Maltby Township	4,100	527	602	679	752	763	815	774	718	795	709	716
Mexborough † . .	2,351	545	523	1,006	1,270	1,425	1,652	2,665	5,011	7,950	9,442	13,100
Denaby Township	1,058	128	120	141	130	167	146	203	695	1,631	1,708	2,670
Mexborough Township †	1,293	417	403	865	1,140	1,258	1,506	2,462	4,316	6,319	7,734	10,430
Ravenfield † . .	1,236	172	183	187	229	241	180	183	168	172	177	217
Rotherham (part of) ^{28a} †:—	6,999	3,926	3,936	4,574	5,096	6,850	7,853	10,551	13,770	19,353	23,124	30,960
Brinsworth Township †	1,391	183	208	225	227	241	266	777	805	1,332	1,656	2,786
Catcliffe Township	704	135	170	202	196	252	273	279	336	349	532	1,232
Dalton Township †	1,414	225	264	225	187	288	319	336	335	331	322	314
Orgreave Township	547	45	42	47	35	52	57	72	93	81	101	132
Rotherham Township	1,271	3,070	2,950	3,548	4,083	5,505	6,325	8,390	11,248	16,257	19,419	24,558
Tinsley Chap. † †	1,672	268	302	327	368	512	613	697	953	1,003	1,094	1,938
Sheffield (part of) ^{28b} :—	16,833	41,725	48,332	58,660	82,724	101,002	123,268	155,354	191,390	227,789	257,160	307,705
Attercliffe cum Darnall Chap.	1,298	2,281	2,673	3,172	3,741	4,156	4,873	7,464	16,574	26,965	35,883	51,807

^{27b} See note 23 above.

²⁸ The population of *Throapham Township* in 1811 was included in that shown for *Laughton-en-le-Morthen Parish*.

^{28a} See note 26 above.

^{28b} See note 27 above.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (continued)

PARISH.	Acres	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Strafforth and Tickhill Wapentake—South Division (cont.)</i>												
Sheffield (part of)												
<i>(cont.)</i> —												
Ecclesall Bierlow Township †	4,343	5,362	6,569	9,113	14,279	19,984	24,552	38,771	49,674	58,800	68,988	83,543
Hallam, Nether, Township †	1,832	1,974	2,384	3,200	4,658	7,275	8,897	19,758	31,810	47,705	58,164	78,111
Hallam, Upper, Township †	6,330	794	866	1,018	1,035	1,401	1,499	1,643	1,974	2,513	2,709	3,846
Sheffield Township	3,030	31,314	35,840	42,157	59,011	68,186	83,447	87,718	91,358	91,806	91,416	90,398
Stainton cum Hellaby † †	2,857	151	178	218	254	226	284	267	258	224	227	209
Stotfold Extra Par.	256	8	9	9	9	9	9	7	6	7	4	11
Thorne † † . . .	12,408	2,655	2,713	3,463	3,779	3,507	3,484	3,381	3,371	3,484	3,441	3,706
Thorpe Salvin † . .	2,296	180	202	199	233	340	313	337	410	356	366	399
Throapham St. John :—	2,979	216	169	268	306	289	266	297	292	291	243	266
Gildingwells Township	588	—	62	83	81	91	71	83	86	78	65	66
Letwell Chap. . .	1,331	—	107	135	155	129	115	139	139	117	86	110
Throapham Township ^{28c}	1,060	—	—	50	70	69	80	75	67	96	92	90
Thrybergh ^{28d} † . .	1,318	247	272	315	332	214	239	235	216	207	245	489
Tickhill † † :—	6,780	1,150	1,572	1,884	2,084	2,040	2,159	1,980	1,920	1,902	1,673	1,643
Stancill with Wellingley and Wilsick Township †	1,200	46	64	54	66	59	72	65	76	72	85	78
Tickhill Township	5,580	1,104	1,508	1,830	2,018	1,981	2,087	1,915	1,844	1,830	1,588	1,565
Todwick † . . .	1,806	177	213	210	224	214	200	187	193	173	200	311
Treeton † :—	3,689	628	575	703	680	746	702	649	694	1,170	2,101	2,777
Brampton-en-le-Morthen Township	1,123	120	110	136	142	139	134	116	125	137	106	102
Treeton Township † †	1,632	312	338	364	345	419	386	368	383	897	1,820	2,450
Ulley Township ²⁹	934	196	127	203	193	188	182	165	186	136	175	225
Wadworth † † . . .	3,133	446	467	614	690	681	724	656	686	571	510	530
Wales ³⁰ † † . . .	1,319	229	218	277	226	351	268	305	1,359	1,840	1,944	1,846
Warmsworth ³¹ . . .	1,311	254	261	335	362	358	389	385	407	442	419	536
Whiston ³² . . .	3,948	672	762	859	927	1,103	1,050	1,185	1,317	1,388	1,687	2,400
Wickersley † . . .	1,274	270	311	432	527	652	700	709	717	798	732	703
<i>Ripon Liberty</i>												
Markingfield Hall, Extra Par. ³³	597	—	—	—	—	27	15	15	13	16	13	15
Nidd	1,204	114	120	86	110	114	114	141	136	149	167	193
Ripon (part of) ^{33a} † :—	36,277	8,307	9,260	11,152	11,836	12,309	12,368	12,375	13,167	14,061	13,693	14,171
Aismunderby with Bondgate Township †	1,085	496	521	551	655	614	607	620	732	815	852	1,116
Bishop Monkton Chap.	2,186	363	480	479	576	460	435	444	550	483	425	463
Bishopside, High and Low, Chap.	6,010	1,487	1,619	2,072	1,849	1,937	1,862	2,052	2,167	2,566	2,212	2,387
Bishop Thornton Chap.	3,136	359	517	647	614	610	691	541	505	479	474	482

^{28c} See note 28 above.

^{28d} See note 26 above.

²⁹ *Ulley Township*.—Part of the population in 1811 was included in that shown for *Aston with Aughton Parish*.

³⁰ *Wales Parish*.—The population in 1841 included forty-one persons in barges.

³¹ *Warmsworth Parish* includes the formerly Extra Parochial Place of Carr House and Elmfield.

³² *Whiston Parish*.—A number of labourers on the railway were temporarily present in 1841.

³³ The population of the Extra Parochial Place of *Markingfield Hall* was included in that of *Aismunderby with Bondgate Township*, 1801–1831.

^{33a} See note 97 above.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
<i>Ripon Liberty</i>												
<i>(cont.)</i>												
Ripon (part of)												
<i>(cont.)</i> :—												
Bishopton	386	106	91	136	118	108	147	81	148	101	89	161
Township												
Clotherholme	339	11	18	16	14	10	17	12	12	12	11	13
Township												
Eavestone	1,144	57	68	73	82	88	79	64	50	36	39	41
Township												
Givendale	849	19	25	31	35	29	35	40	41	39	36	48
Township												
Grantley	773	195	233	233	243	246	242	235	187	159	160	168
Township ^{83b}												
Hewick, Bridge,	911		69	77	95	85	73	89	81	71	94	73
Township												
Hewick, Copt,	661	183	105	131	160	168	187	194	202	233	181	183
Township												
Ingerthorpe	512	46	39	44	48	46	44	39	47	49	55	49
Township												
Markington with	3,104	389	435	457	487	510	528	496	453	464	463	404
Wallerthwaite												
Township												
Newby with	796	—	45	52	39	41	50	60	62	85	67	73
Mulwith Town-												
ship												
Nunwick with	938	27	35	28	38	35	40	41	31	38	22	22
Howgrave												
Township												
Ripon Township	1,561	3,211	3,633	4,563	5,080	5,461	5,553	5,619	6,143	6,641	6,748	6,761
Sawley Chap. . .	3,285	438	489	490	499	527	450	446	341	372	362	303
Sharow Township	723	106	105	103	103	185	244	256	308	380	466	463
Skelton Chap. . .	927	240	236	314	383	403	330	282	287	299	281	271
Stainley, North,	4,245	315	252	385	407	441	429	445	461	412	374	376
with Slening-												
ford Township												
Sutton Grange	1,022	103	87	86	83	101	89	69	60	52	37	19
Township												
Westwick	422	20	22	27	30	18	15	26	28	13	19	19
Township												
Whitcliffe with	1,262	136	136	157	198	186	221	224	271	262	226	276
Littlethorpe												
Township †												
Warsill Extra Par.	1,030	—	—	86	93	81	65	82	97	59	56	60
<i>Doncaster</i>												
<i>Borough</i>												
Doncaster												
<i>(part of)</i> ^{83c} :—												
Doncaster	1,695	5,697	6,935	8,544	10,801	10,455	12,052	16,406	18,768	21,139	25,933	28,932
Township												
<i>Doncaster Soke</i>												
Doncaster												
<i>(part of)</i> ^{83c} † :—												
Balby with	1,615	283	355	392	420	486	638	1,058	2,038	3,422	4,270	6,781
Hexthorpe												
Township												
Sandall, Long,	2,482	107	140	160	323	279	277	267	268	1,122	1,904	3,691
with Wheatley												
Township †												
Finningley	3,084	269	132	117	411	476	372	356	340	363	301	298
<i>(part of)</i> ⁸⁴ :—												
Auckley Town-	1,227	—	—	—	235	293	226	203	169	147	133	149
ship <i>(part of)</i>												

^{83b} See note 97 above.

^{83c} See note 24 above.

⁸⁴ *Finningley Parish*.—The remainder is in Nottinghamshire—Hatfield Division of the Bassetlaw Wapentake. The entire population of Auckley Township is shown in Nottinghamshire in 1811 and 1821.

A HISTORY OF YORKSHIRE

TABLE OF POPULATION, 1801—1901 (*continued*)

PARISH	Acre- age	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
WEST RIDING (<i>cont.</i>)												
<i>Doncaster Soke</i> (<i>cont.</i>)												
Finningley (part of) (<i>cont.</i>):—												
Blaxton Township	1,857	—	132	117	176	183	146	153	171	216	168	149
Loversall † . . .	2,174	133	129	131	154	159	193	175	183	177	184	159
Rossington † . .	3,046	247	316	383	325	344	402	400	329	354	365	342
 <i>Leeds Borough</i>												
Leeds:—	20,392	53,162	62,534	83,796	123,393	151,874	172,023	206,881	258,817	308,628	367,059	428,572
Armley Chap. . .	963	2,695	2,941	4,273	5,159	5,676	6,190	6,734	9,224	12,737	18,992	27,521
Beeston Chap. †	1,570	1,427	1,538	1,670	2,128	2,175	1,973	2,547	2,762	2,928	2,962	3,323
Bramley Chap. .	2,510	2,562	3,484	4,921	7,039	8,875	8,949	8,690	9,882	11,055	14,787	17,299
Chapel Allerton Chap.	2,812	1,054	1,362	1,678	1,934	2,580	2,842	3,083	3,847	4,324	4,377	5,841
Farnley Chap. †	2,088	943	1,164	1,332	1,591	1,530	1,722	3,064	2,964	3,608	3,590	4,351
Headingley with Burley Chap.	3,185	1,313	1,670	2,154	3,849	4,768	6,105	9,674	13,942	19,138	29,911	41,561
Holbeck Chap. †	611	4,196	5,124	7,151	11,210	13,346	14,152	15,824	17,165	19,150	20,630	28,179
Hunslet Chap. †	1,152	5,799	6,393	8,171	12,074	15,852	19,466	25,763	37,289	46,942	58,164	69,134
Leeds Township	2,737	30,669	35,951	48,603	71,602	88,741	101,343	117,566	139,362	160,109	177,523	177,920
Potter Newton Township	1,709	509	571	664	863	1,241	1,385	1,878	3,457	5,107	9,269	25,987
Wortley Chap. .	1,055	1,995	2,336	3,179	5,944	7,090	7,896	12,058	18,923	23,530	26,854	27,456

	Acre- age.	1801	1811	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Total of the West Riding	—	564,593	650,168	800,444	957,458	1,154,068	1,315,885	1,497,787	1,821,340	2,165,056	2,429,632	2,733,688

GENERAL NOTE

Some persons in vessels were included in the 1841 population of certain places in Yorkshire, but not so as noticeably to affect the figures given in the Table.

