

The Clerical Population of the Province of York:  
An Edition of the Clerical Poll Tax Enrolments 1377-1381

2 Volumes

Volume 1

Frederick Peter Mackie B.A.(Hons.)

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University of York

History Department

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## Abstract

Late fourteenth century England saw a number of experimental taxes aimed at broadening the tax base beyond that of the customary taxes on moveables, the most famous of these being the poll tax of 1381 which led to the Peasants' Revolt. At the same time the English clergy granted similar taxes through their two Convocations of Canterbury and York. This thesis is based on a new edition of all of the surviving collectors' enrolments of the clerical poll taxes of 1377-81 from the York province; it details the grants of the taxes and considers their application to pluralists. Since there is evidence of fabrication on the one northern collectors' enrolment which has previously been edited, the question of the reliability of poll tax enrolments has been raised. This thesis develops a method for testing the completeness and accuracy of poll tax enrolments, by means of comparisons with other contemporary sources, which is used to test the reliability of the enrolments for different groups of the clergy: the religious and the seculars, the beneficed and the unbeneficed. The enrolments are used to provide a 'census' of the clerical population of the York province and payments traced in the Exchequer. The poll tax of 1379 required a revaluation of all benefices; surviving examples of these valuations are compared with the customary valuations and used to illustrate the economic recovery of particular areas in the late fourteenth century. The completeness and accuracy of the best of these enrolments is found to be very high for the religious and the beneficed clergy and it is concluded that they can be excellent sources for the history of the English clergy.

A complete edition of the surviving clerical poll tax enrolments from the York province of the English Church is provided in an appendix.

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Finally, my greatest thanks must go to my supervisor, Professor David Smith, Director of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, whose kindness and patience have been an immense encouragement and whose scholarship remains an inspiration.

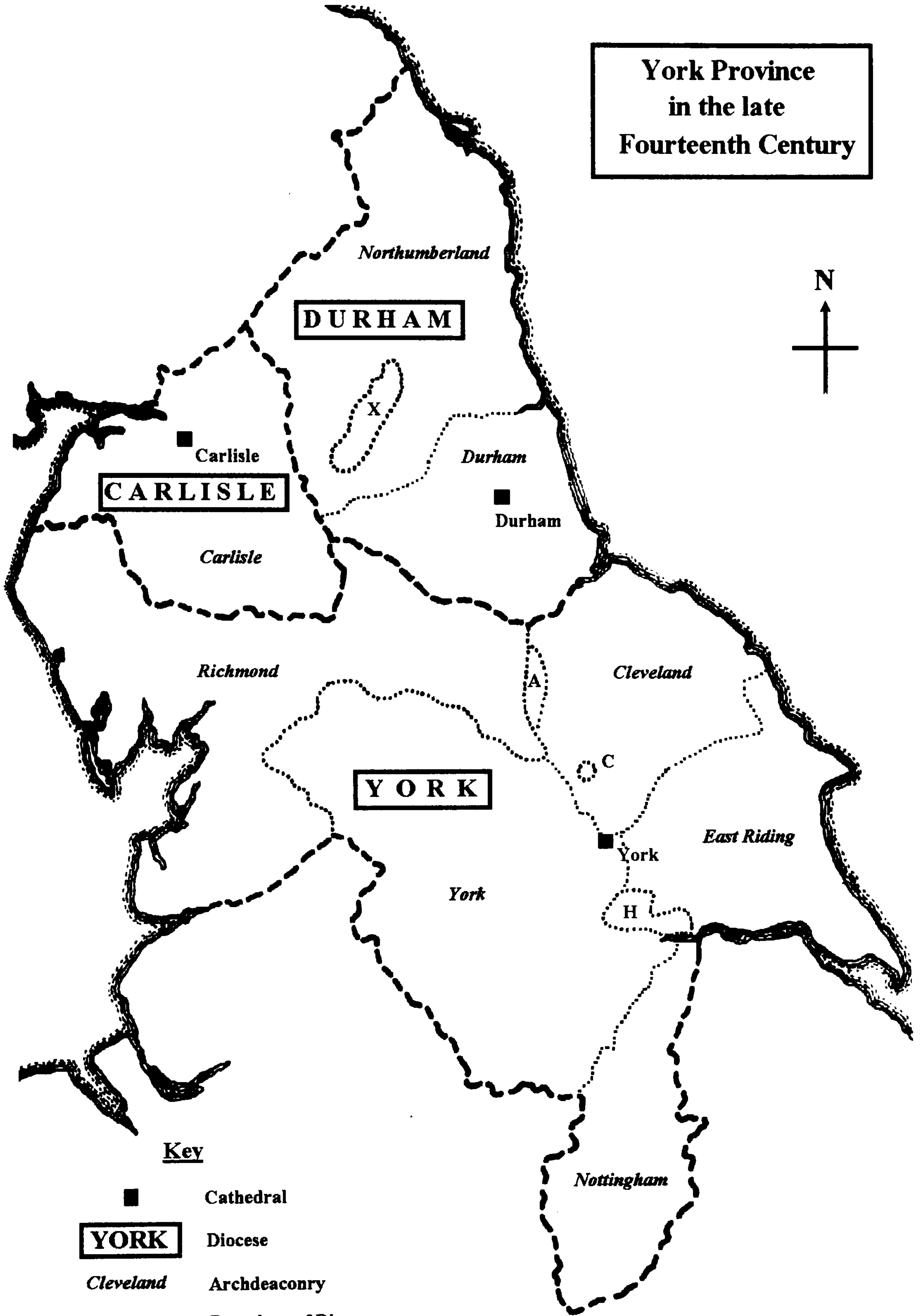
## Declaration

I certify that the work contained in this thesis is my own except as specified in the footnotes, and that neither the thesis, nor the work it contains have been submitted to this or any other institution for a higher degree nor have they been published.

## Abbreviations

- BRUC* A.B.Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500*, (Cambridge, 1963).
- BRUO* A.B.Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500*, (3 vols., Oxford, 1957-59).
- CCR* *Calendar of Close Rolls.*
- CFR* *Calendar of Fine Rolls.*
- CPL* *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Papal Letters.*
- CPP* *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Papal Petitions.*
- CPR* *Calendar of Patent Rolls.*
- E179 Public Record Office, Exchequer, Subsidy Rolls.
- E359 Public Record Office, Exchequer, Enrolled Accounts.
- E401 Public Record Office, Exchequer, Receipt Rolls.
- RNC* W.D.Macray (ed.), *Records of the Northern Convocation, Surtees Society*, vol. CVIII, (1906).
- Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate Papae Nicholai IV, circa AD 1291*, (London, 1802). S.Ayscough and J.Caley (eds.), *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate Papae Nicholai IV, circa AD 1291*, (London, 1802).
- Valor Ecclesiasticus* J.Caley and J.Hunter (eds.), *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, (6 vols., London, 1810-34).
- VCH* Victoria History of the Counties of England.

**York Province  
in the late  
Fourteenth Century**

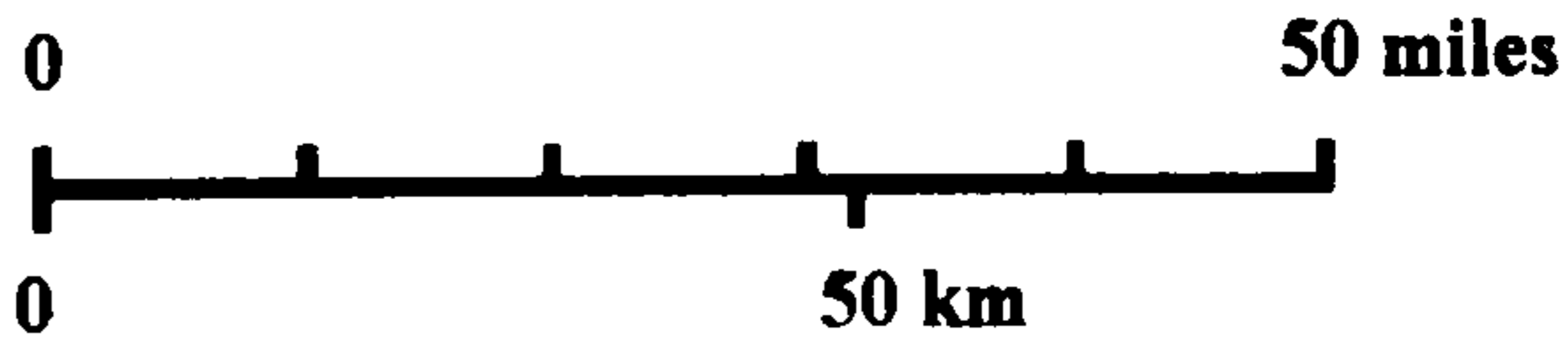


**Key**

- Cathedral
- YORK** Diocese
- Cleveland* Archdeaconry
- - - - Boundary of Diocese
- ..... Boundary of archdeaconry or peculiar jurisdiction

**Peculiar jurisdictions**

- A Allertonshire
- C Crayke
- H Howdenshire
- X Hexhamshire





## Introduction

It has recently been pointed out that while the lay poll taxes of 1377-81 have long been the subject of scholarly debate, the series of similar taxes granted by the clergy have been 'almost entirely ignored' <sup>1</sup>. This debate seems to have begun on Friday 23 December 1785 when the Society of Antiquaries of London were presented with transcripts of some documents which, in the opinion of their presenter, John Topham Esq., contained 'some valuable historical facts' <sup>2</sup>. Two out of the three documents presented to the society were transcripts of the general enrolments for the lay poll tax and the clerical poll tax of 1377 <sup>3</sup>.

The principal interest in the records of the poll taxes has been among historians interested in demography. In 1906, Sir Charles Oman summarised the general enrolments of the lay poll taxes of 1377 and 1381 and the clerical poll tax of 1381 in order to quantify the population of England at the time of the Peasants' Revolt <sup>4</sup>. Oman's work was followed by that of J.C.Russell who used poll tax material in his detailed estimates of the clerical population of Medieval England <sup>5</sup>, and in his study of English population as a whole in the middle ages <sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> A.K.McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes of the Diocese of Lincoln 1377-1381*, Lincoln Record Society vol. 81, (Woodbridge, Suffolk), 1992, p. xi.

<sup>2</sup> J.Topham, 'Subsidy Roll of 51 Edward II,' *Archaeologia*, vol. VII, (1785), pp. 337-347.

<sup>3</sup> The third document was a general enrolment of the tenth and fifteenth of 1373-4.

<sup>4</sup> I used C.Oman, *The Great Revolt of 1381*, With a new introduction and notes by E.B.Fryde, (Oxford, 1969), pp. 158-169.

<sup>5</sup> J.C.Russell, 'The Clerical Population of Medieval England', *Traditio*, vol. II, (1944), pp. 177-212.

<sup>6</sup> J.C.Russell, *British Medieval Population*, (Albuquerque, 1948), pp. 118-146.

The majority of the work that has looked specifically at the clerical poll tax enrolments has dealt with enrolments from the Canterbury province. The earliest edition of a clerical poll tax enrolment seems to have been of J.E.Brown, who edited the 1379 enrolment of the archdeaconry of Bedford, Lincoln diocese in 1913 <sup>7</sup>. In 1956 J.L.Kirby produced editions of the poll tax enrolments from the diocese of Salisbury <sup>8</sup>. More recently Dr.M.J.Bennett produced an edition of the 1379 enrolment of the archdeaconry of Chester and used it as the basis of a social analysis of the clergy of the archdeaconry <sup>9</sup>, and Dr. McHardy, has edited poll tax enrolments from the dioceses of London and Lincoln <sup>10</sup>,

Clerical poll tax enrolments from the York province have received rather less attention. The enrolment of 1381 was used to give numbers of religious communities by T.M.Fallow in some of his articles on the religious houses of Yorkshire in the *Victoria County History* <sup>11</sup>, and by Rev. J.McNulty some 60 years ago to provide a list of the names and payments of tax made by religious in north Lancashire <sup>12</sup>. The most significant use of York province poll tax material however is that of Dr.J.L.Kirby. In

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<sup>7</sup> J.E.Brown, 'Clerical Subsidies in the Archdeaconry of Bedford, 1390-2, 1400-1,' *Bedfordshire Historical Record Society Publications*, vol. 1, pp. 27-61. This enrolment was recognised as a poll tax enrolment from 1379 by McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, p. xxv.

<sup>8</sup> J.L.Kirby, 'Clerical Poll-Taxes in the Diocese of Salisbury,' in N.J.Williams (ed.), *Collectanea*, Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Records Branch, vol. XII, (Devizes, 1956), pp. 157-167.

<sup>9</sup> M.J.Bennett, 'The Lancashire and Cheshire Clergy 1379,' *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. 124, (1973), pp. 1-30.

<sup>10</sup> A.K.McHardy, *The Church in London 1375-1392*, London Record Society vol. XIII, (London, 1977); McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*.

<sup>11</sup> *VCH Yorks.*, vol. III, (E.g. pp. 104, 112, 151, 203, 207, 211, 214, 228).

<sup>12</sup> J.McNulty, 'Religious in North Lancashire, 1380-1,' *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, vol. LIV, (1939), pp. 207-8.

1952, Kirby presented a paper to the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society in which he included a complete edition of the 1379 poll tax collectors' enrolment for Carlisle diocese <sup>13</sup>. This was the first northern clerical poll tax enrolment to be edited, but in the process of editing the enrolment Kirby had found evidence that the enrolment was at least partially faked. This discovery was potentially disastrous for historians who wanted to use clerical poll tax enrolments since it raised the spectre that much of the enrolments were faked. Since Kirby's discovery was particularly relevant to this thesis it was felt necessary to face the problems it posed head on <sup>14</sup>.

This thesis is intended to contribute to the growing body of editions of clerical poll tax enrolments by providing a complete edition of all of the surviving enrolments from the York province of the English church. It develops a method for assessing the reliability of these enrolments and analyses the information they provide about the clergy of the northern province.

Chapter 1 discusses the mechanism for the grant of clerical taxation, details the grants of the poll taxes and considers how those grants affected those clergy who held more than one benefice.

Chapter 2 deals with the problems and uses of clerical poll tax enrolments with reference to that particularly problematic enrolment, the 1379 Carlisle enrolment, and exemplifies a method for evaluating the reliability of clerical poll tax enrolments. This

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<sup>13</sup> J.L.Kirby, 'Two tax accounts of the Diocese of Carlisle, 1379-80', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, vol. LII, new series, (1952), pp. 70-84.

<sup>14</sup> See Chapter 2.

chapter also examines the revaluation of benefices which was carried out for the poll tax of 1379.

Chapter 3 explains how the Exchequer accounted for the proceeds of the clerical poll taxes and considers the evidence that the grants of tax were actually collected by tracing payments on to the receipt rolls and examining the enrolment of collectors' accounts.

Chapter 4 uses the most complete of the northern poll tax collectors' enrolments and Exchequer general enrolments to calculate the total clerical population of the York province. Other contemporary sources are used to assist in the drawing up of estimates where there are *lacunae* in the poll tax records.

Chapters 5 and 6 form an analysis of the information contained on the northern clerical poll tax enrolments regarding the regular clergy. Chapter 5 consists of an order-by-order examination of the enrolments of the religious houses, investigating their completeness and providing figures from the enrolments, or estimates where necessary, for the numbers of religious in every religious house in the York province. Chapter 6 examines the small number of cases for which successive poll tax enrolments survive, comparing numbers and names of religious. The poll tax enrolments of the religious are also compared with the ordination registers of the archbishops of York.

Chapters 7, 8 and 9 look at the secular clergy of the northern province: Chapter 7 analyses the poll tax enrolments of York minster and the other secular colleges in the province, assessing the completeness of the enrolments and using other sources to assess the accuracy of the names given on the enrolments. Chapter 8 performs a similar

exercise for the beneficed parochial clergy from a sample of deaneries in York diocese and from Durham diocese. Chapter 9 looks at the poll tax enrolments for evidence of the unbeneficed secular clergy and considers what can be learned about the unbeneficed from poll tax records.

Volume Two contains a description of the documents edited and the edition of the poll tax enrolments in Appendix A, and in Appendix B tables comparing the valuation of 1379 with the valuations of 1291 and 1379 for the dioceses of Carlisle and Durham.

## Chapter 1

### The Clerical Poll Taxes

In the final quarter of the fourteenth century royal taxation of the clergy was usually granted by the Convocations of the clergy of the two provinces of the church, in much the same way as Parliament granted lay taxes <sup>1</sup>. The process for convoking the clergy of the province of Canterbury has been described by Dorothy Bruce Weske <sup>2</sup>. The King would order the archbishop to convoke the clergy for the purpose of granting a subsidy, usually justifying his request in terms of some national need: in 1333 for example, it was war with the Scots <sup>3</sup>. The archbishop would then mandate his provincial dean the bishop of London, to convoke the clergy. The bishop of London would then write to his fellow bishops in the province ordering the execution of the mandate. Deans and priors of cathedral churches, abbots and priors elective and archdeacons were summoned personally like bishops. Diocesan bishops would also

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<sup>1</sup> For the origins and forms of Medieval English taxation see: H.S.Deighton, 'Clerical Taxation by Consent, 1279-1301,' *English Historical Review*, vol. CCLXVII, (1953), pp. 161-192; G.L.Harriss, *King, Parliament, and Public Finance in Medieval England to 1369*, (Oxford, 1975); M.Jurkowski, C.L.Smith and D.Crook, *Lay Taxes in England and Wales 1188-1688*, (London, 1998); E.W.Kemp, *Counsel and Consent, Aspects of the Government of the Church as exemplified in the History of the English Provincial Synod*, (London, 1961); W.E.Lunt, *The Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1939); S.K.Mitchell, *Taxation in Medieval England*, (New Haven, 1951); W.M.Ormsrod, 'An Experiment in Taxation: The English Parish Subsidy of 1371,' *Speculum*, vol. 63, (1988), pp. 58-82; J.F.Willard, *Parliamentary Taxes on Personal Property 1290-1334*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1934); J.F.Willard, *The English Government at Work 1327-1336*, vol. II, *Fiscal Administration*, ed. W.A.Morris & J.R.Strayer, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1947).

<sup>2</sup> D.B.Weske, *Convocation of the Clergy, a study of its Antecedents and its Rise with Special Emphasis upon its Growth and Activities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, (London, 1937), pp. 119-23.

<sup>3</sup> W.E.Lunt, 'The Collectors of Clerical Subsidies Granted to the King by the English Clergy,' in Willard, *English Government at Work*, vol. II, p. 229.

summon their own clergy to elect two proctors to attend Convocation on their behalf while each chapter, college or convent sent one proctor <sup>4</sup>.

On completion of Convocation the archbishop would write to the king setting out the amount and the terms (i.e. the dates for payment) of the grant or would inform the king of the substance of the discussion if no grant was made <sup>5</sup>. Although evidence is more scanty it would appear that Convocation of the province of York was called in the same way except that the archbishop summoned his suffragans himself and that the archbishop often summoned two proctors from each archdeaconry <sup>6</sup>.

#### The Collection of Clerical taxation

The mechanism for the collection of tenths, the customary form of clerical taxation throughout the fourteenth century, has been described by Lunt. Once the king had been informed of the grant, writs of collection were issued under the Great Seal to each bishop (or the guardian of spiritualities during a vacancy). These recited the terms of the grant and ordered the recipient to depute suitable men to collect the tenth and answer for the proceeds to the king on the dates laid down for payment. The bishops were also required to certify the names of the deputy collectors to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer <sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> Weske, *Convocation*, pp. 119-123.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181.

<sup>7</sup> Lunt, 'Collectors of Clerical Subsidies,' pp. 232-3.

Deputy collectors were usually heads of religious houses, sometimes with their convents <sup>8</sup>. In 1327 the collectors of the tenth for the archdiocese of York were the prior of Thurgarton for the archdeaconry of Nottingham and the abbot and convent of St. Mary's York for the other archdeaconries. In 1334 and 1336 the abbot of St. Mary's collected for the archdeaconries of Cleveland and York, the prior and convent of Kirkham collected in the East Riding; the prior and convent of Thurgarton collected in Nottingham archdeaconry and the abbot and convent of Jervaulx collected from the archdeaconry of Richmond <sup>9</sup>. Deputy collectors normally performed all the work of collecting money and appearing before the Exchequer (often by proxy) to account for it, though the bishop remained ultimately responsible for the taxes raised <sup>10</sup>.

#### The Clerical Poll Taxes

Although the clerical poll taxes were a novel form of taxation, it is clear that the procedures for granting and collecting them did not vary much from what had become customary for the collection of tenths <sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> A.K.McHardy, 'Clerical Taxation in Fifteenth Century England,' in R.B.Dobson (ed.), *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, (Gloucester, 1984), pp. 171-2.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 233-6.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 239.

<sup>11</sup> McHardy, 'Clerical Taxation,' p. 170. For details of the administration of the lay poll taxes (including editions of enrolments) see C.C.Fenwick (ed.), *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381, Part 1, Bedfordshire to Lincolnshire*, British Academy Records of Social and Economic History, New Series 27, (Oxford, 1998).



## The Grants of the Clerical Poll Taxes

The meeting of the Great Council in November 1376 marked John of Gaunt's reassertion of royal power by overturning the acts of the Good Parliament <sup>12</sup>. A summons to Parliament was issued on 1 December and on 16 December King Edward III ordered the two archbishops to hold Convocations 'to grant the King an aid' <sup>13</sup>. Parliament met on 29 January and, at the price of a general pardon, granted a Poll Tax of one groat from every lay person over the age of 14 <sup>14</sup>.

The Canterbury Convocation was held in February 1377 at St. Paul's cathedral in London. Led by William Courtenay, bishop of London, Convocation refused to grant an aid until William of Wykeham was allowed to attend <sup>15</sup>. Once this was conceded Convocation granted a subsidy of 12d. from prelates, dignitaries, beneficed clergymen, and religious who were not mendicants, and 4d. from every unbeneficed cleric, in major or minor orders, aged 14 or more <sup>16</sup>. The York Convocation met on 15 April <sup>17</sup> and agreed an identical subsidy. On 26 November 1377 Bishops Thomas Hatfield of Durham and Thomas Appleby of Carlisle were ordered to appoint deputy

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<sup>12</sup> M.McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399*, (Oxford, 1959), pp. 394-6. G.Holmes, *The Good Parliament*, (Oxford, 1975), pp. 159-94.

<sup>13</sup> E.B.Fryde, D.E.Greenway, S.Porter & I.Roy (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 3rd. Edition, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 2, (London, 1986), p. 564; *CCR 1374-1377*, p. 469.

<sup>14</sup> McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, pp. 394-6; Jurkowski, Smith and Crook, *Lay Taxes*, pp. 56-7.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 396.

<sup>16</sup> Weske, *Convocation*, pp. 259; T.F.Kirby (ed.), *Wykeham's Register*, Hampshire Record Society, vol. XIII, (1899), pp. 268-9.

<sup>17</sup> Weske, *Convocation*, p. 287; the claim in *RNC*, p. 103, that this Convocation did not meet would appear to be incorrect.

collectors to levy the subsidy of 12d. and 4d. granted by the clergy of York in their last Convocation, which should have been paid by midsummer <sup>18</sup>. The two bishops had to certify the names of their collectors to the Exchequer by the octave of Hilary (20 Jan. 1378); the collectors had to answer to the king for the money by the feast of the Purification (2 Feb. 1378). Bishop Hatfield responded to this mandate by certifying the names of collectors to the Exchequer on 16 January 1378 <sup>19</sup>.

Even while the Crown was ordering the collection of this first clerical poll tax, it was clear that continued hostilities required more money <sup>20</sup>. On 29 September 1378 Richard II ordered Archbishops Alexander Neville and Simon Sudbury to call convocations 'to induce the clergy to grant the King a subsidy, in order to support his charges of resisting the invasion of his enemies' <sup>21</sup>. Parliament, meeting in October and November, granted two tenths and two fifteenths on condition that the money was used solely for war and named treasurers to control the funds <sup>22</sup>. The northern Convocation opened at York on 1 December 1377 and met, presumably with adjournments, until 4 January 1378. After first protesting about hard times the clergy granted two tenths to be

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<sup>18</sup> *CFR 1377-1383*, p. 38. The fact that this mandate was not issued until six months after the Convocation suggests that it may be a reissue of an earlier mandate.

<sup>19</sup> E179/62/3. In the same letter Hatfield also responded to a second letter from the Exchequer dated 11 December 1377, asking for the names of cardinals, and the names and values of their benefices.

<sup>20</sup> For analysis of Crown receipts 1377-1384 see A. Steel, *The Receipt of the Exchequer*, (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 37-51.

<sup>21</sup> *CCR 1377-1381*, (London, 1914), p. 27.

<sup>22</sup> McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, pp. 402-3; Jurkowski, Smith and Crook, *Lay Taxes*, p. 57.

payable in four equal instalments: 1 March 1378; 3 May 1378; 30 November 1378 and 25 March 1379 <sup>23</sup>.

Following an intervention from the king regarding the expedition of the Duke of Lancaster to Brittany, the York Convocation met again on 22 March 1378 and reduced the number of instalments to two, payable on 1 May 1378 and 20 July 1378 <sup>24</sup>. In the event, however the mandates for collection name the terms as 1 May 1378 and 25 March 1379, so there must have been some change of heart by the Crown after the March Convocation <sup>25</sup>. The king and Neville both acted quickly, on 29 March the king sent orders to the bishops of Durham and Carlisle to appoint deputy collectors and certify their names to the Exchequer by 1 May <sup>26</sup>. Archbishop Neville certified his deputies to the Exchequer the same day: the abbot of St. Mary's York for the city of York and the archdeaconries of York, Cleveland, East Riding, and Richmond, and the prior of Thurgarton for the archdeaconry of Nottingham <sup>27</sup>. Bishop Hatfield appointed the prior of Durham his deputy collector on 27 April 1378 <sup>28</sup>.

Before the second instalment of the two tenths fell due the Crown began the process of seeking further grants. On 16 February 1379 Parliament was summoned to Westminster <sup>29</sup>. When it met from 24 April to 27 May Parliament made a grant of a

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<sup>23</sup> Weske, *Convocation*, p. 288.

<sup>24</sup> *RNC*, pp. 105-8.

<sup>25</sup> *CFR 1377-1383*, pp. 97-8.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *CCR 1377-1381*, p. 66.

<sup>28</sup> *RNC*, pp. 98-9.

<sup>29</sup> Fryde, *Handbook of British Chronology*, p. 564.

graduated poll tax <sup>30</sup>. On 16 March 1379 orders were sent to the two archbishops to summon convocations ‘to grant the king a subsidy for the defence of the realm and church of England’ <sup>31</sup>. The northern Convocation met at York on 29 April and probably remained in session until 20 June <sup>32</sup>. On 8 July, the King having been informed of the outcome of Convocation, ordered Archbishop Neville and Bishops Hatfield and Appleby to appoint collectors for the tax. The order for collection recited a scale for payment of a poll tax; every ecclesiastic had to pay something but there was an elaborate attempt to tailor the charges to ecclesiastical rank and income:

The Archbishop of York	10 marks
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Bishops, mitred abbots, abbots and priors who were peers of the realm, priors of cathedral churches	6 marks
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Abbots, priors and prioresses, deans and archdeacons, provosts, precentors chancellors, treasurers, prebendaries of cathedral and collegiate churches, rectors and curates holding benefices or offices of the yearly value of 500 marks	60 shillings
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All such persons holding benefices or ecclesiastical offices of the yearly value of from £200 to 500 marks	40 shillings
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<sup>30</sup> McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, p. 405; Jurkowski, Smith and Crook, *Lay Taxes*, pp. 58-9.

<sup>31</sup> *CCR 1377-1381*, p. 234.

<sup>32</sup> Weske, *Convocation*, p. 289.

All such persons holding benefices or ecclesiastical offices of the yearly value of from £100 to £200	30 shillings
All such persons holding benefices or ecclesiastical offices of the yearly value of from 100 marks to £100	20 shillings
All such persons holding benefices or offices of the yearly value of from £40 to 100 marks	1 mark
All such persons holding benefices or offices of the yearly value of from £20 to £40	10 shillings
All such persons (prioresses only excepted) holding benefices or offices of the yearly value of from £10 to £20	5 shillings
All others holding cures and benefices, as well as parochial chaplains and others celebrating anniversaries, of whatsoever condition they be, and chaplains serving magnates and lords, and all other chaplains celebrating in cathedral, collegiate and conventual churches	2 shillings
Monks, canons and other religious men belonging to houses of the yearly value of three hundred marks	40 pence
Such persons belonging to houses of the yearly value of from 100 marks to 300 marks	20 pence

Such persons belonging to houses of the yearly value of from £40 to 100  
marks 12 pence

All such persons belonging to houses under the yearly value of £40, and  
all other clerks not promoted or beneficed of whatever order they be,  
who are more than 16 years of age, except only mendicant clerks 4 pence

Religious women of houses of the yearly value of £40 and more, except  
only recluses of the order of Sempringham 4 pence

The deputy collectors appointed were required to certify to the Exchequer the  
name, rank and estate of all persons assessed for the tax when they rendered their  
accounts on or before 1 August 1379<sup>33</sup>. The scale of payments was almost identical  
with that for Canterbury province, the only difference being that the northern grant  
omitted a scale charge of 3s. 4d. for unmarried advocates and notaries<sup>34</sup>.

On 20 July 1379 Neville responded to the King's order and certified as his  
deputy collectors the abbot of St. Mary's for the city of York, the archdeacons of York,  
Cleveland, East Riding, and Richmond, for their own archdeaconries and the prior of  
Thurgarton for Nottingham archdeaconry<sup>35</sup>.

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<sup>33</sup> *CFR 1377-1383*, pp. 158-9.

<sup>34</sup> Kirby, *Wykeham's Register*, vol. II, p. 302.

<sup>35</sup> Register of Alexander Neville, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research,  
York, Reg. 12, fo. 7v.

By December 1379 Richard needed money again and persuaded the Parliament of 17 January to 3 March 1380 to grant one and a half fifteenths and tenths<sup>36</sup>. A writ dated 2 December ordered both archbishops to summon Convocation to agree a subsidy<sup>37</sup>. Convocation opened at York on 4 April 1380 and agreed a subsidy. The mandates to the bishops to appoint deputies and collect the grant again provide the detail. Convocation had granted a subsidy of 16 pence for every mark for all taxed benefices (that is slightly more than a tenth), 16 pence for every mark for two-thirds of the true value of unassessed benefices, payable on 31 May and 1 August. All chaplains, unmarried advocates, proctors and notaries had to pay two shillings on 31 May<sup>38</sup>. The survival of a file of certificates of appointment of collectors for this tax shows how quickly or otherwise the bishops responded to the king's mandate. Thomas Appleby returned the names of his collectors on 20 April, while Alexander Neville and Thomas Hatfield certified their collectors on 3 May<sup>39</sup>. Although this tax was largely based on the clerical tenths and is not always considered a clerical poll tax, it was clearly a poll tax for the unbeneficed, whilst also attempting to broaden the tax base to new or small benefices not included in the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas IV or its revisions.

The next grant of lay taxation was the famous three groats poll tax granted at the Northampton Parliament which led to the Peasants' Revolt of May 1381<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>36</sup> Jurkowski, Smith and Crook, *Lay Taxes*, pp. 59-60.

<sup>37</sup> *CCR 1377-1381*, p. 342.

<sup>38</sup> *CFR 1377-1383*, p. 191.

<sup>39</sup> E179/67/15 mm. 3, 6, 7; the format of these certificates varies from the formal writ reciting the terms of the king's mandate sent by Hatfield to the simple slip of parchment sent by Appleby.

<sup>40</sup> McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, pp. 406-23; Jurkowski, Smith and Crook, *Lay Taxes*, pp. 60-62; R.B.Dobson, *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381*, (London, 1970), pp. 111-122.

The archbishops were ordered to summon Convocation next on 28 September 1380 'To grant the King a subsidy for defence of the realm against invasion by the King's enemies of France and their allies' <sup>41</sup>. Convocation met at York on 9 January 1381 and after a long discussion granted to the king a subsidy of half a mark from every cleric in priestly orders and religious and 12 pence from deacons, subdeacons, *conversi*, advocates, proctors, notaries, registrars and all other clerics of the age of seventeen or more. This was to be paid on 21 April 1381 and 1 August 1381. On 24 February the deputy collectors were certified as the abbot of St. Mary's for the city of York and the archdeacons of York, Richmond, East Riding and Cleveland and the prior of Shelford in Nottingham archdeaconry <sup>42</sup>.

The order to certify deputies and collect was sent to the three northern bishops on 8 March so it is evident that on this occasion Neville began the process of collection before he had received the mandate <sup>43</sup>.

It is clear however, that there was little intention to actually collect the full half-mark from every cleric in priestly orders <sup>44</sup>. On 8 March 1381, Neville ordered the prior of Shelford, collector in the archdeaconry of Nottingham, to collect the tax at a rate of three shillings and four pence from all in priestly orders and five shillings from the occupants of unassessed benefices, whilst the rest of the beneficed were to pay half a mark and a surcharge of four pence in the pound so that the total collected should

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<sup>41</sup> *CCR 1377-1381*, p. 473.

<sup>42</sup> Reg. A.Neville, fo. 10v.

<sup>43</sup> *CFR 1377-1383*, p. 252.

<sup>44</sup> In Archbishop Sudbury's record of the grant in the Canterbury province it is noted that the tax was to be levied 'in such a way that the better off should support the poorer', McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, p. xxiii.



amount to six shillings and eight pence from every priest <sup>45</sup>. In doing this Archbishop Neville was following the lead set in the Canterbury province by Archbishop Sudbury, who on 22 December 1380 had issued instructions to the southern bishops that they should only collect three shillings and four pence from the unbeneficed and regulars and that the additional sums necessary to raise the yield of the tax to six shillings and eight pence per cleric should be raised by means of a tax on benefices <sup>46</sup>.

Sudbury's instructions seem to have been interpreted in a variety of ways in different areas: in the archdeaconry of Stafford, in Coventry and Lichfield diocese, the collector levied the surcharge on benefices at a rate of one twentieth, while in the diocese of Salisbury the surcharge was six and a half pence in the pound <sup>47</sup>. In London diocese the poorest chaplains were charged three shillings and four pence, though more wealthy unbeneficed clergy paid up to five shillings and four pence on a sliding scale <sup>48</sup>. In other places, like the diocese of Chichester and the archdeaconry of Salop, in Coventry and Lichfield diocese, the grant appears to have been levied at the full half mark rate <sup>49</sup>; in Lincoln diocese almost every secular was required to pay six shillings and eight pence <sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> E179/279/111. An additional northern reference to the 3s. 4d. rate appears in the *Anonimale Chronicle*, which was at this period written in St. Mary's abbey, York, whose abbot was one of the collectors of this tax; V.H.Galbraith (ed.), *Anonimale Chronicle 1333-1381*, (Manchester, 1970), pp. 132-3.

<sup>46</sup> Kirby, *Wykeham's Register*, vol. II, pp. 590-1; McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, p. xxiii.

<sup>47</sup> Kirby, 'Clerical Poll-Taxes,' p. 160.

<sup>48</sup> A.K.McHardy, *Church in London*, p. xiii.

<sup>49</sup> Kirby, 'Clerical Poll-Taxes,' p. 160. The fact that the tax was levied at two different rates within the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield shows that at least one bishop delegated the detailed form of the tax to his deputy collectors.

<sup>50</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, p. xxxii.

In the archdeaconry of Northumberland, the only part of the northern province outside York diocese for which we have surviving enrolments from 1381, it is clear that the three shillings and four pence rate with surcharge was levied <sup>51</sup>.

It is clear that the collection of the clerical poll tax of 1381 in Durham diocese did not go smoothly. On 14 May, in consideration of the depredations of the Scots, the clergy of Northumberland were granted a respite of the terms of the grant so that they did not have to pay until 29 September 1381. The clergy of Northumberland however seem to have treated this as a permanent exoneration, so another mandate to collect in the county of Northumberland was issued on 10 Dec. 1381 requiring the collectors to answer to the Exchequer for the subsidy by or on 2 February 1382 <sup>52</sup>.

#### The Differences between the Poll Taxes

It will be clear from the above that the poll taxes 1377 to 1381 were all different, so in order to understand them it is necessary to consider how the taxes affected different taxpayers. One of the clearest ways to illustrate this is to investigate the different tax charges that arose under each grant for representative examples from different groups of clergy. The first examples come from the archdeaconry of Northumberland <sup>53</sup>:

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<sup>51</sup> E179/62/6 see Appendix A.

<sup>52</sup> *CFR 1377-83*, p. 282.

<sup>53</sup> This group from the archdeaconry of Northumberland in Durham diocese was chosen since this archdeaconry is the area for which we have the best series of enrolments. In the examples any figure not in brackets represents an actual payment of tax recorded on an enrolment or the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*; figures placed in brackets represent the tax that should have been paid according to the terms of a grant.

The vicar of Newcastle -upon-Tyne	Clerical tenth 1291	£2 0s. 6d. <sup>54</sup>
	<i>Nova taxatio</i> 1318	£1 <sup>55</sup>
	1377 poll tax	[12d.]
	1379 poll tax	£1 10s. <sup>56</sup>
	1380 hybrid tax	10s. <sup>57</sup>
	1381 poll tax	£1 3s. 4d. <sup>58</sup>
The vicar of Corbridge	Clerical tenth 1291	19s. 7d. <sup>59</sup>
	<i>Nova taxatio</i> 1318	not taxed <sup>60</sup>
	1377 poll tax	[12d.]
	1379 poll tax	10s. <sup>61</sup>
	1380 hybrid tax	not taxed <sup>62</sup>
	1381 poll tax	11s. 8d. <sup>63</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 316.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 330.

<sup>56</sup> E179/62/4 m. 3.

<sup>57</sup> E179/62/5 m. 2.

<sup>58</sup> E179/62/6 m. 1.

<sup>59</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 316.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 331.

<sup>61</sup> E179/62/4 m. 3.

<sup>62</sup> E179/62/5 m. 2.

<sup>63</sup> E179/62/6 m. 1.

The vicar of Chevelingham	Clerical tenth 1291	13s. 4d. <sup>64</sup>
	<i>Nova taxatio</i> 1318	not taxed <sup>65</sup>
	1377 poll tax	[12d.]
	1379 poll tax	2s. <sup>66</sup>
	1380 hybrid tax	not taxed <sup>67</sup>
	1381 poll tax	3s. 4d. <sup>68</sup>
An unbeneficed priest	Clerical tenth 1291	not taxed
	<i>Nova taxatio</i> 1318	not taxed
	1377 poll tax	[4d.]
	1379 poll tax	2s. <sup>69</sup>
	1380 hybrid tax	2s. <sup>70</sup>
	1381 poll tax	3s. 4d. <sup>71</sup>

From these examples it can be seen that the losers under the poll taxes were the poorer clergy, from whom successive poll taxes demanded greater contributions; even at the 3s. 4d. rate an unbeneficed chaplain paid ten times the tax required by the first poll tax. However since many benefices in Northumberland had been excused taxation

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<sup>64</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 317.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 331.

<sup>66</sup> E179/62/4 m. 4.

<sup>67</sup> E179/62/5 m. 2.

<sup>68</sup> E179/62/6 m. 1.

<sup>69</sup> E179/62/4.

<sup>70</sup> E179/62/5.

<sup>71</sup> E179/62/6.

since 1318, the poll taxes represented an increase in taxation for almost all of the clergy of the archdeaconry.

Although successive enrolments have not survived for other areas, some other illustrative examples are possible. As far as the three northern bishops were concerned it is possible to compare their tax liabilities under the clerical subsidies with their contributions to the poll tax of 1379. According to the valuation of 1291, the richest of the three was the bishop of Durham, with *temporalia* to the value of £2666 13s. 4d.<sup>72</sup> upon which he owed tax of £266 13s. 4d. Somewhat surprisingly the archbishopric of York was worth exactly half of that of the see of Durham, having property valued at £1333 6s. 8d.<sup>73</sup> giving the archbishop a tax liability of £133 6s. 8d. The comparatively minuscule income of the bishop of Carlisle, £126 7s. 7d.<sup>74</sup>, rendered him liable for a tax charge of £12 12s. 9d. The revaluation of 1318, the *Nova Taxatio*, which followed destructive raids by the Scots, valued the *temporalia* of the bishop of Durham and the archbishop of York at an identical £666 13s. 4d.<sup>75</sup> giving rise to a tax liability of £66 13s. 4d. for each of them. The diocese of Carlisle seems to have been still more severely affected, reducing the value of the bishop's property to a mere £20, making him liable for just £2 in tax<sup>76</sup>. In 1379 the bishops of Carlisle and Durham each paid £4<sup>77</sup>, while the archbishop was liable for £6 13s. 4d. in tax<sup>78</sup>. Thus for the archbishop the poll tax of 1379 represented a tenth of his customary tax liability and it was even

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<sup>72</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 318.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 305.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 320.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 325, 330.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 333.

<sup>77</sup> E179/60/1 m. 1; E179/62/4 m. 1.

less for the bishop of Durham. The bishop of Carlisle, by far the poorest of the northern bishops, found himself paying twice what he would usually have paid for a clerical tenth.

The third group of examples illustrate the differing effects of the poll taxes on the religious houses of the York province.

Durham cathedral priory	Clerical tenth 1291	£62 <sup>79</sup>
Durham	<i>Nova taxatio</i> 1318	£13 6s. 8d. <sup>80</sup>
(Benedictine)	1379 poll tax	£10 13s. 4d. <sup>81</sup>
	1380 hybrid tax	£23 6s. 8d. <sup>82</sup>
Newminster abbey	Clerical tenth 1291	£22 <sup>83</sup>
Northumberland	<i>Nova taxatio</i> 1318	not taxed <sup>84</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> For the purposes of this comparison it is assumed that the archbishop of York actually paid £6 13s. 4d. as detailed in the grant, see earlier this chapter.

<sup>79</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 318.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 330.

<sup>81</sup> E179/62/4 m. 2.

<sup>82</sup> E179/62/5 m. 2. Curiously in 1380 Durham cathedral priory seems to have been revalued at £100 more than its 1318 valuation. It was the only religious house in Durham diocese to be subjected to this. The fact that a much lower valuation for the priory was originally entered on the enrolment and subsequently revised upwards indicates that this revaluation occurred late in the process of collection. It is possible, though there is no evidence for this, that the Exchequer objected to the enrolment as originally submitted and demanded a valuation closer to that of 1379, when the monks paid tax based on an annual income for the priory of more than £200. E179/62/4 m. 2.

<sup>83</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 318.  
Continued on next page...

(Cistercian)

1377 poll tax

[17s.]

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	1379 poll tax	£2 16s. 8d. <sup>86</sup>
	1380 hybrid tax	not taxed <sup>87</sup>
	1381 poll tax	£3 4s. <sup>88</sup>
Bolton priory <sup>89</sup>	Clerical tenth 1291	£56 18s. 4d. <sup>90</sup>
Yorkshire	<i>Nova taxatio</i> 1318	£5 <sup>91</sup>
(Augustinian canons)	1377 poll tax	24s. <sup>92</sup>
	1381 poll tax	£3 12s. 11d. <sup>93</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 329-331.

<sup>85</sup> Based on the abbot and 16 monks each paying 1s.

<sup>86</sup> This was made up of 30s. from the abbot and 16 payments of 20d. each from the monks, E17/62/4 m. 4.

<sup>87</sup> E179/62/5.

<sup>88</sup> Made up of 14s. from the abbot and 15 payments of 40d. each from the monks, E179/62/6 m. 1.

<sup>89</sup> The three York diocese examples, Bolton, Malton and Watton were chosen since they are the only religious houses in the diocese for which more than one poll tax enrolment survives, see Chapter 6.

<sup>90</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 305.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325.

<sup>92</sup> E179/3/10.

<sup>93</sup> Made up of 42s. 7d. from the prior, 3s. 4d. from each of 13 canons and 1s. from each of 5 *conversi*, E179/63/12 m. 5.

Malton priory	Clerical tenth 1291	£17 <sup>94</sup>
Yorkshire	<i>Nova taxatio</i> 1318	£8 <sup>95</sup>
(Gilbertine canons)	1377 poll tax	18s. <sup>96</sup>
	1381 poll tax	£3 15s. 1½d. <sup>97</sup>
Watton priory	Clerical tenth 1291	£24 1s. 9d. <sup>98</sup>
Yorkshire	<i>Nova taxatio</i> 1318 <sup>99</sup>	
(Gilbertine canons and nuns)	1377 poll tax	£4 2s. <sup>100</sup>
	1381 poll tax	£9 0s. 2¼ d. <sup>101</sup>
Shap abbey	Clerical tenth 1291	£46 13s. 4d. <sup>102</sup>
Westmorland	<i>Nova taxatio</i> 1318	£2 <sup>103</sup>
(Premonstratensian)	1377 poll tax	[6s.] <sup>104</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 305.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 326.

<sup>96</sup> E179/63/10.

<sup>97</sup> Made up of 45s. 1½ d. from the prior and 3s. 4d. from each of 9 canons, E179/63/12 m. 5.

<sup>98</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 305.

<sup>99</sup> Watton priory was not reassessed in 1318; it continued to pay clerical subsidies based on the valuation of 1291.

<sup>100</sup> Consisting of 21s. from the canons and 61s. from the nuns E179/63/10, E179/63/11.

<sup>101</sup> £6 16s. 10¼ d. from the prior and 3s. 4d. from each of 13 canons, E179/63/12 m. 5. It should also be noted that most nuns were not required to pay the poll tax of 1381, see Chapter 6.

<sup>102</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 320.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 333.



The pattern that emerges from these examples is that the poll taxes were less of a burden on the religious houses than the clerical subsidies had been even though every member of the community was liable to tax. There were however a few cases, like Newminster which had been completely exempted from tax in 1318, for whom the poll taxes represented an increase in their overall tax liability. Where the *Nova taxatio* did not apply, the reduction in the tax burden seems startling, so in order to clarify the picture the next group of examples deals with some benefices from Doncaster deanery in York diocese which had not been revalued in 1318.

The rector of Ecclesfield	Clerical tenth 1291	£10 13s. 4d. <sup>106</sup>
	1377 poll tax	[12d.]
	1381 poll tax	£2 5s. 8d. <sup>107</sup>
The rector of Wath upon Dearne	Clerical tenth 1291	£5 <sup>108</sup>
	1377 poll tax	[12d.]
	1381 poll tax	£1 5s. 5d. <sup>109</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Based on the presumption that the community was the same size in 1377 as in 1379.

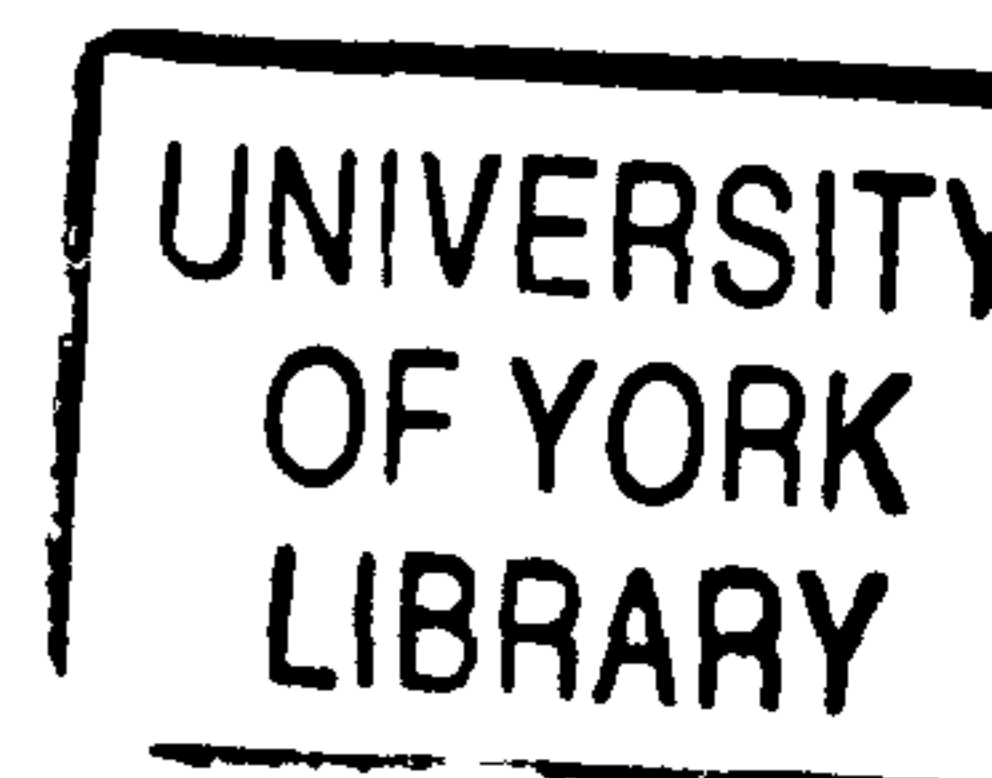
<sup>105</sup> £1 from the abbot and 1s. 8d. from each of the 5 canons, E179/60/1 m. 2.

<sup>106</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 299.

<sup>107</sup> E179/63/12 m. 5.

<sup>108</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 300.

<sup>109</sup> E179/63/12 m. 5.



The rector of Tankersley	Clerical tenth 1291	£2 13s. 4d. <sup>110</sup>
	1377 poll tax	[12d.]
	1381 poll tax	16s. 8d. <sup>111</sup>
The rector of Hooton Roberts	Clerical tenth 1291	10s. <sup>112</sup>
	1377 poll tax	[12d.]
	1381 poll tax	8s. 6d. <sup>113</sup>

This group was chosen to represent the range of beneficed clergy incomes, according to the 1291 valuation Ecclesfield was worth £106 13s. 4d. annually while Hooton Roberts was valued at £5; it can be seen from these examples that all of these clergymen paid less in poll tax than they would have done for the clerical subsidies. There can be little doubt that for those clergy who usually paid their tax based on the 1291 valuation, the poll taxes were less burdensome. All of the preceding examples have presumed that a clergyman held at most one benefice, so there remains the question of how the poll taxes applied to pluralists.

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<sup>110</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 300.

<sup>111</sup> E179/63/12 m. 5.

<sup>112</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 300.

<sup>113</sup> E179/63/12 m. 5.

## The Treatment of Pluralists in the Poll taxes

Since the clerical tenths were property taxes, the possession of a particular benefice rendered its possessor liable for an amount of tax; pluralists were liable for the tax due on each of their benefices to the appropriate collector <sup>114</sup>.

Under the poll taxes however, liability for tax was personal to the tax payer. Thus it might be expected that individual clerics would only pay tax to one collector, presumably the collector for some notional home diocese. However since the poll taxes were all different, the treatment of pluralists under each of them needs to be examined separately .

The method adopted to approach this question was to identify some known pluralists, then to examine the poll tax enrolments to find out how much tax they paid and to whom it was paid.

### The First Poll Tax 1377

Unfortunately since only fragments of the 1377 York province enrolments have survived, it is not possible to examine the treatment of northern pluralists in that particular tax <sup>115</sup>. Since it was the most straightforward of the clerical poll taxes one might expect that no-one could be expected to pay more than once, though it would be

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<sup>114</sup> The hybrid tax of 1380 worked in a similar manner for the beneficed, see above.

<sup>115</sup> See Description of the Documents in Volume 2.

interesting to find out whether clergy who had benefices in both provinces of the English church paid only in one province <sup>116</sup>.

The survival of a substantial 1377 enrolment of the diocese of Lincoln <sup>117</sup> allows a glimpse at the treatment of pluralists under the first clerical poll tax, though it is not certain whether or not the same arrangements applied in the York province. Two canons of Lincoln in 1377 are also known to have held parochial benefices in the diocese at the same time. Master Geoffrey le Scrope, canon of Lincoln and prebendary of Heydour-with-Walton, was also rector of Great Bowden, Leics., in 1377 <sup>118</sup>. He was enrolled as a canon, paying 12d. with the cathedral clergy, but was also named as rector of Great Bowden with the note '*in Linc' et residet ut patet infra clausum Lincoln'*' <sup>119</sup>; Scrope seems only to have paid the standard contribution once. So too, Mag. Peter de Dalton (*alias* Newbold), canon of Lincoln and prebendary of Marston St. Lawrence, was also rector of Surfleet, Lincs. in 1377 <sup>120</sup>. On the 1377 Lincoln enrolment he was enrolled with the cathedral clergy, but he does not appear in the entry for the parish of Surfleet <sup>121</sup>. Clearly these two examples do not necessarily make a representative

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<sup>116</sup> It could perhaps have been argued that they had, through the two Convocations, assented to two grants of tax and were thus liable to pay both.

<sup>117</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. 1-70.

<sup>118</sup> A.Hamilton Thompson, 'Pluralism in the Medieval Church; with notes on Pluralists in the diocese of Lincoln 1366,' *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers*, vol. XXXV, (1919), p. 237; Emden, *BRUO*, vol. III, pp. 1658-9; Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. I, p. 68. Geoffrey le Scrope was also prebendary of Apesthorpe in York minster 1340-83, Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, p. 29.

<sup>119</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. 1, 22.

<sup>120</sup> A.B.Emden, *BRUO*, vol. II, p. 1352; Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. I, p. 88.

<sup>121</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. 1, 51.

sample, but it seems reasonable to believe that in 1377 pluralists were only required to make the same tax contribution as those with one benefice or no benefice at all.

### The Poll Tax of 1379

The poll tax of 1379 appears to have taken a different approach to pluralists. The surviving enrolment for poll tax of 1379 in the diocese of Durham identifies a number of pluralists and lists their benefices within the diocese <sup>122</sup>.

Master John Mowbray, rector of Bishop Wearmouth was also prebendary of Escomb in Auckland and held a portion of Norton church. Mowbray was son of Sir John Mowbray, knight. In 1369 he became rector of Ripley, Yorks., and at the time of his death in 1389, he was warden of St. Mary's chapel, Lazenby, Yorks. <sup>123</sup>. He was also a canon of York holding the prebend of Warthill from 1380 and the prebendary of Masham 1382-89 <sup>124</sup>.

Thomas Bernoldby, Master of Sherburn hospital, was also prebendary of Bishop Auckland in the church of Auckland and John de Henelay, rector of Sedgefield also held a prebend in Chester-le-Street, the prebend of Eldon Major in Auckland and a portion of Norton. In all three cases the benefices these men held were bracketed together on the enrolment and a single tax payment noted for the group. Unfortunately the actual tax charged does not seem to have been calculated accurately, Mowbray paid

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<sup>122</sup> E179/62/4 m. 1.

<sup>123</sup> Emden, *BRUO*, vol. II, p. 1326. Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, pp. 67, 86.

<sup>124</sup> Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, pp. 67, 86.

30s. when he should have paid 40s. while Bernoldby and Henelay both paid 40s. when they should only have paid 30s <sup>125</sup>.

The lists of benefices cannot be considered complete because they only list benefices within the diocese of Durham. There are other pluralists on the enrolment who are known to have held benefices in other dioceses in 1379; this is not always mentioned on the Durham enrolment.

Master Richard de Chesterfield, rector of Brancepeth is noted not to have paid the Durham collector 'because the said Richard paid in Southwell to the collector for the same for all of his benefices' <sup>126</sup>. Chesterfield had become a king's clerk by 1360 but when working in the Exchequer in 1364 had been accused of fraud, though he was later exonerated <sup>127</sup>. He held prebends in St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster, and St. Paul's in London, and became rector of Brancepeth and prebendary of Norton Episcopi in Lincoln in 1363, a prebend he held until his death in 1405 <sup>128</sup>. Chesterfield obtained the prebend of St. Peter's Altar in Beverley in 1368, again holding it until his death, he also held an unidentified Southwell prebend from before 1379 until at least 1392 <sup>129</sup>.

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<sup>125</sup> The accuracy of the clerical poll taxes charged in York province is discussed in Chapter 4; E179/62/4 mm. 1, 3.

<sup>126</sup> E179/62/4 m. 1.

<sup>127</sup> T.F.Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*, (6 vols., Manchester, 1920-33), vol. III, pp. 248-251.

<sup>128</sup> Emden, *BRUO*, vol. I, p. 408; Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. I, p. 97.

<sup>129</sup> R.T.W.McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, YAS Record Series, vol. CXLIX, (Leeds, 1993), pp. 83-4.

Master John de Clifford, canon of Auckland and prebendary of Eldon Minor appears on the 1379 Durham enrolment, but it is noted that he had paid the York collector for 'all of his benefices' <sup>130</sup>. Clifford's York benefices included the treasurership of York, which he held from 1375 to 1393 <sup>131</sup>. In December 1379, after the poll tax, Clifford became prebendary of Thorpe in Ripon, a benefice which he held for at least ten years <sup>132</sup>. Other pluralists are only known to have been so from other sources.

William Birstall (or Burstall), rector of Houghton-le-Spring, paid 40s. tax to the Durham collector in 1379 <sup>133</sup>. Birstall held only one benefice in Durham diocese in 1379, though in 1380 he became master of the Free chapel in Jesmond, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, but he was also prebendary of the altar of St. Michael in Beverley Minster and held benefices in Guernsey, St. Austell in Exeter diocese, Hinckley in Lincoln diocese, and Kingston-on-Thames and Farnham in Winchester diocese. He was keeper of the chancery rolls and master of the rolls 1371-81 <sup>134</sup>. Since it is hardly likely that the Birstall was actually resident his entry in the enrolment may suggest that the tax due was paid on his behalf to the Durham collector.

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<sup>130</sup> E179/62/4 m. 1.

<sup>131</sup> After 1348 the treasurers of York were also prebendaries of Wilton; Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, pp. 13, 92.

<sup>132</sup> Emden, *BRUO*, vol. III, p. 2162. Clifford does not appear in the lists of the prebendaries of Ripon in J.T.Fowler (ed.), *Memorials of the Church of Saints Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon*, Surtees Society vols. LXXIV, LXXVIII, (2 vols. Durham, 1882, 1886).

<sup>133</sup> E179/62/4 m. 1.

<sup>134</sup> McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, pp. 72-3; Tout, *Chapters*, vol. III, pp. 214-5, 450.

Master John (*alias* Thomas) de Appelby, Rector of Rothbury, Northumberland from 1361 until at least 1380, paid tax of 30s. to the Durham collector in 1379 <sup>135</sup>. He was Dean of St. Paul's London and was also prebendary of Chamberlainwood in St. Paul's, from 1366 to 1389 <sup>136</sup>. In 1378 he became warden of St. James Hospital, Northallerton, Yorks. and was still in possession in 1379. A diplomat who twice acted as an envoy of Edward III, Appelby also attended the council convened by Archbishop Courtenay for the condemnation of John Wyclif and his followers in 1382 <sup>137</sup>.

From the way that pluralists with more than one benefice in Durham diocese appear on the enrolment it would seem that the Durham collector charged pluralists according to the total value of their Durham benefices. Pluralists who held benefices in other dioceses could either pay the Durham collector for their Durham benefices, or pay a collector in another diocese whatever happened was noted on the Durham enrolment. This would have the effect of exonerating the Durham collector for the tax due on the Durham benefice and provided a cross reference for the Exchequer to check the other collector's enrolment to make sure the tax had been paid.

The 1379 enrolment of Carlisle diocese provides no evidence of pluralism; this is perhaps not surprising since the names of the clergy of two out of the four deaneries appear to have been made up <sup>138</sup>. This does not necessarily mean there were no pluralists: simply that the Carlisle collectors did not provide cross references for any

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<sup>135</sup> E179/62/4 m. 1d.

<sup>136</sup> Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. V, pp. 6,21.

<sup>137</sup> Page, *VCH, Yorkshire*, vol. III, p. 317; Emden, *BRUO*, vol. I, pp. 40-1. Emden points out that this John Appelby must be distinguished from Master John Appleby, brother of Thomas Appleby, bishop of Carlisle.

<sup>138</sup> See Chapter 2, E179/60/1; J.L.Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts', pp. 70-81.



pluralists who paid tax on more than one Carlisle benefice or who paid in other dioceses.

A similar practice seems to have held in the archdeaconry of Chester: some pluralists like William de Burgh, rector of Warrington, were simply omitted from the enrolment. Others like Master Richard de Winwick (or Wynwyk), vicar of Walton and prebendary of both Lincoln and York, paid for his Chester benefice to the Chester collector<sup>139</sup>.

The 1379 enrolments of two Lincoln collectors have survived: that of the prior of Newnham, collector in the archdeaconry of Bedford, and that of the prior of Huntingdon who collected in the archdeaconry of Huntingdon<sup>140</sup>. Neither lists benefices held in plurality, though since each enrolment dealt with a restricted area, there may not have been any. One known pluralist was Master Matthew Assheton, rector of Shillington, Beds. from 1349 until his death in 1400; in 1379 he was also rector of Slapton, Bucks.<sup>141</sup> Assheton is not actually named on the Bedford enrolment, though as rector he paid 20s. in tax<sup>142</sup>. The sum paid seems to be an overcharge, since the benefice was worth 60 marks, for which the scale payment was 13s. 4d.<sup>143</sup> so it would be tempting to suggest that the extra 6s. 8d. related to the income from Assheton's other rectory at Slapton, but it is hard to believe that this would be done

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<sup>139</sup> Bennett, 'Lancashire and Cheshire Clergy', pp. 4,20,30; Richard de Winwick was prebendary of North Kelsey in Lincoln 1377-1408 and prebendary of Wetwang in York, Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541* vol. I, p. 98, vol. VI, p. 90.

<sup>140</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. 71-91.

<sup>141</sup> Emden, *BRUO*, vol. I, p. 64.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.* p. 76.

<sup>143</sup> *CFR 1377-1383*, pp. 139-140.

without a cross reference to the Buckingham enrolment. This argument is supported by the treatment of churches appropriated to religious houses in this enrolment, since the collector was careful to give them a value and note that the tax was paid at their religious house, irrespective of whether or not the house was within his jurisdiction <sup>144</sup>.

In conclusion it would appear that in 1379 pluralists were expected to pay tax based on their total income. There is evidence from a number of dioceses that pluralists seem to have been able to choose how and where they paid their tax. Pluralists could treat each benefice as an individual case or they could pay all their tax together to one collector. Where this happened some collectors provided cross references presumably so that the Exchequer could follow up individual taxpayers. The Durham collector seems unusual in gathering together the benefices of individual clerics; this may have been an expression of the characteristic structure of the church in Durham diocese with its collegiate churches with sinecure benefices making pluralism within the diocese comparatively more common.

### The Poll Tax of 1381

Two enrolments of the clergy of the York province of the church from 1381 have survived: one of the majority of York diocese <sup>145</sup> and one of the archdeaconry of Northumberland in Durham diocese <sup>146</sup>. The grant of the 1381 poll tax returned to the

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<sup>144</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. 76-85.

<sup>145</sup> E179/63/12 and E179/63/31.

<sup>146</sup> E179/62/6.

principle of a simple tax levied at only two rates, one for priests and religious and another for clergy in lesser orders and *conversi* <sup>147</sup>. The grant was of half a mark (6s. 8d.) from all in priestly orders, but in practice the northern collectors seem to have followed the lead set by the Canterbury province by charging the unbeneficed, and religious who were not heads of houses, a quarter of a mark (3s. 4d.). This left a shortfall in the total amount raised by the tax which was collected by means of a surcharge on the beneficed clergy <sup>148</sup>. In York diocese the surcharge generally worked out at around four and a half pence in the pound on *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* values of benefices <sup>149</sup>.

A number of known pluralists appear in the 1381 York enrolment: Humphrey de Cherleton, Walter de Skirlaw, Thomas la Warre, Robert de Manfield, Richard de Chesterfield and John de Clifford. An examination of the enrolment entries for these men provides some insight into the treatment of pluralists in 1381. Since a large proportion of benefices held in plurality were prebends, it was possible to reconstruct the calculation of the tax charged by comparison with the tax paid by other prebendaries in the same church.

Master Humphrey de Cherleton was archdeacon of Richmond 1359-1383 and prebendary of Riccall 1361-1383 <sup>150</sup>. He is not named but the 1381 York enrolments record the payment of 46s. 2d. by the archdeacon of Richmond and 17s. 6d by the

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<sup>147</sup> *CFR 1377-1383*, p. 252.

<sup>148</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. xxiii, xxxi-ii, Kirby, 'Clerical Poll-Taxes' pp. 159-60; see Chapter 2.

<sup>149</sup> There were some exceptions, notably the prebends of Beverley, see below.

<sup>150</sup> Emden, *BRUO*, vol. I, pp. 390-393; Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, pp. 25, 75.

prebendary of Riccall <sup>151</sup>. These payments work out at 6s. 8d. plus surcharge of four pence three farthings in the pound on the 1318 value of the archdeaconry of Richmond and four and a half pence in the pound for the prebend of Riccall <sup>152</sup>.

Master Walter de Skirlaw, held at least three benefices in York diocese in 1381: the archdeaconry of the East Riding, which he held 1359-1385; the prebend of Fenton in York, 1370-85; and the prebend of St. Andrew's altar in Beverley, 1376-85 <sup>153</sup>. The enrolments record tax payments for all three benefices, though Skirlaw is not named. Skirlaw paid only the surcharge for each of his benefices at rates of four and a half pence in the pound for Richmond and Fenton, and at a rate of almost six pence in the pound for St. Andrew's altar at Beverley <sup>154</sup>. Marginal notes to each enrolment entry record that Skirlaw was at the papal *curia* <sup>155</sup> and he certainly was on a diplomatic mission to Flanders between 2 January and 31 March 1381, and on a mission to Rome from 20 May 1381 to 5 August 1382 <sup>156</sup>. Skirlaw also held benefices outside York diocese, notably the deanery of St. Martin Le Grand, London. As dean of St. Martin's

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<sup>151</sup> E179/63/12 m. 7, E179/63/31 m. 5.

<sup>152</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, pp. 297, 309.

<sup>153</sup> Emden, *BRUO*, vol. III, pp. 1708-1710; Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, pp. 22, 48; McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, pp. 16-17. Emden reports that Skirlaw was also provided to a canonry of Howden with expectation of a prebend, but it is not clear whether this provision was effective. It has been calculated that in the period 1342-1378, about half of such expectative provisions to York prebends were successful, though the general success rate for this type of provision was much less than this, A.D.M.Barrell, *The Papacy, Scotland and Northern England, 1342-1378*, (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 98, 102. Skirlaw went on to become bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (1386), Bath and Wells (1386-8) and Durham (1388-1406). For details of his career in the royal service see Tout, *Chapters*, vol. III, p. 400, vol. V, pp. 48-9.

<sup>154</sup> E179/63/12 m. 7, E179/63/31 m. 5.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>156</sup> Emden, *BRUO*, vol. III, p. 1709.

he paid £3 poll tax 'by royal writ' in 1379, but by 1381 he had obtained exoneration from taxation for the clergy of St. Martin's <sup>157</sup>.

Master Thomas la Warre, son of Roger, Lord la Warre, held the prebend of Grindale in York Minster from 1 February 1381 until August 1397. He also had three benefices in Lincoln diocese in 1381: he was rector of Swineshead; rector of the free chapel of Burthorpe near Sempringham; and was prebendary of Lafford in Lincoln cathedral <sup>158</sup>. La Warre is named on the York enrolment as prebendary of Grindale, where it is recorded that he paid 3s. 9d. in tax with the marginal note '*moratur cum Rege*'; this sum represents the standard four pence half penny in the pound surcharge <sup>159</sup>. In the 1381 Lincoln diocese enrolments la Warre appears as rector of Swineshead and prebendary of Lafford paying 6s. 8d. but is marked 'not surcharged' <sup>160</sup>. Why la Warre did not contribute to the Lincoln surcharge is not clear, but it would appear that he paid his half-mark to the Lincoln collector and paid only the surcharge in York diocese.

Master Robert de Manfield was prebendary of Husthwaite in York Minster from 10 February 1381 until his death in 1419 <sup>161</sup>. He also became provost of Beverley in 1381, which, following successful litigation at the *curia*, he also held until his death <sup>162</sup>.

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<sup>157</sup> McHardy, *Church in London*, pp. xii-xiii, 4.

<sup>158</sup> Emden, *BRUO*, vol. II, p. 1111; Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, p. 55.

<sup>159</sup> E179/63/31 m. 5; *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 297.

<sup>160</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, p. 152.

<sup>161</sup> Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, p. 58.

<sup>162</sup> Emden, *BRUO*, vol. II, p. 1214; McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, pp. 10, 38-39, 3.

Manfield is named as provost of Beverley, paying tax of 26s. 8d. on the enrolment, while the (unnamed) prebendary of Husthwaite paid 10s. with the marginal note '*solvit in prepositura Beverl'*'<sup>163</sup>. The tax charged consisted of half a mark and sixpence in the pound surcharge for the provostship of Beverley and a surcharge of four pence half penny in the pound for Husthwaite.

Master Richard de Chesterfield, whose appearance on the 1379 Durham enrolment has already been discussed in this chapter, seems to have paid a surcharge of sixpence in the pound for his Beverley prebend of St. Peter's altar to the York collector in 1381<sup>164</sup>.

Master Richard de Wynwyk, vicar of Walton, Lancs., and prebendary of Wetwang in York minster and of North Kelsey in Lincoln, one of whose 1379 tax payments was mentioned earlier in this chapter, can be traced on the 1381 York and Lincoln diocesan enrolments<sup>165</sup>. On the York enrolment the unnamed prebendary of Wetwang paid a standard surcharge of four and a half pence in the pound, while on the Lincoln enrolment there is a cross reference to Richard de Wynwyk, prebendary of North Kelsey, whose payment was recorded in the now lost list of the surcharged in the cathedral close of Lincoln. A marginal note on the York enrolment records that Wynwyk '*moratur in Lyncol'*', but because the relevant portion of the Lincoln enrolment has not survived it is not possible to find out if Wynwyk paid his half a mark to the Lincoln collector.

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<sup>163</sup> E179/63/12 m. 9, E179/63/31 m. 5.

<sup>164</sup> E179/63/31 m. 5; it should be noted that Chesterfield does not appear in any of the surviving 1381 Lincoln enrolments for his Lincoln prebend of Norton Episcopi, McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. 98-171.

<sup>165</sup> E179/63/31 m. 5; McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, p. 149.

Master John de Clifford, who also appears on the 1379 Durham diocese enrolment <sup>166</sup>, was treasurer of York and held the Ripon prebend of Thorpe in 1381. Although his name does not appear on the York enrolment, he appears to have paid tax for both of these benefices in 1381. Clifford's entry on the enrolment for his Ripon prebend includes him among the non-resident canons and is marked '*solvit in Ebor*', and for that benefice he appears to have paid only the four and a half pence in the pound surcharge <sup>167</sup>. As treasurer of York, Clifford was enrolled among the resident dignitaries of York minster and paid 34s. 2d. a charge which works out at 6s. 8d. poll tax plus a surcharge of four pence half-penny in the pound on the 1318 valuation of the treasurership <sup>168</sup>.

In 1381 Master Geoffrey le Scrope, whose benefices were mentioned earlier, was still prebendary of Apesthorpe in York minster, he also held the rectory of Frampton, Lincs., and was prebendary of Heydour-with-Walton, in Lincoln <sup>169</sup>. As the unnamed prebendary of Apesthorpe, Scrope paid 3s. surcharge and was noted as living in Lincoln <sup>170</sup>. On the 1381 Lincoln enrolment Scrope is listed as rector of Frampton among those paying surcharge with a cross reference to the no longer extant enrolment of the cathedral close of Lincoln <sup>171</sup>.

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<sup>166</sup> See discussion earlier in this chapter

<sup>167</sup> E179/63/31 m. 5.

<sup>168</sup> E179/63/12 m. 7.

<sup>169</sup> Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. I, p. 68, vol. VI, pp. 16, 35; Emden, *BRUO*, vol. III, p. 1659; McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, p. 153.

<sup>170</sup> The surcharge was calculated at the standard rate of four pence half-penny in the pound; E179/63/31 m. 5.

<sup>171</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, p. 153.

The second 1381 northern province enrolment to have survived is that of John de Derby, collector in the archdeaconry of Northumberland <sup>172</sup>. Since the enrolment does not identify benefices held in plurality, nor does it identify graduates whose benefices can be traced elsewhere, it was not easy to identify many pluralists on the enrolment.

One certain pluralist was John de Wellingborough (or Wendlingburgh) junior, master of the free chapel at Mitford, Northumberland, from 1377, who appears on the 1381 York enrolment as the unnamed prebendary of St. Mary's altar in Beverley. In addition to his northern benefices he was also rector of the free chapel of Melton Mowbray, Leics., and probably held a prebend of St. Stephen's, Westminster, in 1381 <sup>173</sup>. Wellingborough was a clerk of the privy seal by 1376 perhaps remaining so until 1400; in 1376 he and another clerk, Guy de Rockcliffe were sent to the peace conference at Bruges to help draft articles and memoranda of agreement <sup>174</sup>. On the York enrolment he is listed with the non-resident canons of Beverley with the marginal note '*moratur cum Rege*', and paid only the surcharge <sup>175</sup>. Unfortunately Wellingborough does not appear on the Northumberland enrolment.

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<sup>172</sup> E179/62/6.

<sup>173</sup> D.S.Boutflower (ed.), *Fasti Dunelmenses: a Record of the Beneficed Clergy of the Diocese of Durham down to the Dissolution of the Monastic and Collegiate Churches*, Surtees Society vol. CXXXIX, (Durham, 1926), pp. 138, 200; E179/63/31 m. 5; McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, p. 64.

<sup>174</sup> Tout, *Chapters*, vol. V, pp. 89, 112.

<sup>175</sup> Wellingborough actually paid 9s. 1d. which works out at 6.84 pence in the pound, which is a higher rate even than the other canons of Beverley. However it is clear that the charge is based on the 1291 valuation of the prebend, see above for discussion of the rates of charge.



Master Richard de Clifford, probably a son of Sir Lewis de Clifford, knight, was granted the free chapel of Jesmond, Northumberland in July 1380. Clifford was a notably royalist civil servant who was arrested by the Merciless Parliament in 1388 but survived to become keeper of the great wardrobe 1390-98 and keeper of the privy seal under both Richard II and Henry IV. He held a great number of benefices until his promotion to become bishop of Worcester 1401-7, then bishop of London 1407-1421<sup>176</sup>. Clifford appears only to have held Jesmond in 1381, but neither he nor his benefice appear in the 1381 enrolment.

Another pluralist was probably the collector John de Derby himself; he was archdeacon of Northumberland from 1370 until at least 1381 and for part of that time seems to have held the York minster prebend of Driffield 1372-9<sup>177</sup>. There is however no evidence that he held more than one benefice in 1381<sup>178</sup>. Moreover since Derby appears on the enrolment paying just half a mark, while other beneficed clergy paid more, he does not appear to have considered himself one of the richer clergy.

One of the 1379 pluralists, Master Thomas de Appleby, rector of Rothbury among other benefices<sup>179</sup>, no longer held Rothbury and there is no evidence that the new rector, Master William de Strikland, held any other benefices in 1381<sup>180</sup>.

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<sup>176</sup> Boutflower, *Fasti Dunelmenses*, pp. 27, 203; Emden, *BRUO*, vol. I, pp. 440-1; C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity, Service, Politics and Finance in England 1360-1413*, (New Haven and London, 1986), pp. 176-7; Tout, *Chapters*, vol. III, pp. 429-30, 452, 464, vol. IV, p. 49.

<sup>177</sup> Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, pp. 44, 114.

<sup>178</sup> Boutflower's assertion that Derby held the archdeaconry of Barnstaple 1354-83 is disproved by Le Neve. Boutflower, *Fasti Dunelmenses*, p. 35; Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. IX, p. 20.

<sup>179</sup> See earlier this chapter.

Evidence for pluralism in Northumberland in 1381 is thus rather slight, but it could be significant that John de Wellingborough and Richard de Clifford were omitted from the enrolment. This may simply imply that they were not resident in the archdeaconry but John de Derby, the Northumberland collector, seems to have considered them outside his jurisdiction, a matter about which this particular collector may have been particularly sensitive <sup>181</sup>. Moreover Derby does not appear to have seen any need to provide cross references to other collectors' enrolments as the York and Lincoln collectors did. It is also perhaps surprising that they were not required to pay any surcharge in aid of the poorer clergy, as they would have been expected to had they held benefices in York diocese. This may have been because the Northumberland benefices involved were free chapels, the holders of which were often exempted from taxation <sup>182</sup>.

From the evidence of the York enrolments the taxation of pluralists in the York province in 1381 thus appears to have worked in a fairly straightforward manner. The abbot of St. Mary's, York, collector in the archdeaconries of York, Cleveland, East Riding and Richmond, seems to have charged pluralists the standard half mark once, but then required them to pay a surcharge based on the tax value of each of their benefices. Pluralists were surcharged at exactly the same rate as that paid by holders of similar benefices in the same institution. The half mark was payable once only, at the

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<sup>180</sup> Strikland later held a number of benefices in plurality including the rectories of Horncastle, Lincs., and Prescot, Lancs., and was bishop of Carlisle 1400-1419. Emden, *BRUO*, vol. III, p. 1806; Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, p. 98.

<sup>181</sup> See discussion of the absence of Hexham Priory from the enrolments in Chapter 5.

<sup>182</sup> W.M.Ormrod, 'English Parish Subsidy of 1371,' pp. 66-67.

benefice at which the taxpayer was deemed to reside, so a taxpayer like John de Clifford paid half a mark and surcharge as treasurer of York but paid only the surcharge for his Ripon prebend. Taxpayers like Walter de Skirlaw who was not officially resident anywhere in the diocese at the time of the taxation paid only the surcharge for each of his York diocese benefices. Where a taxpayer like Richard de Wynwyk resided in another diocese he was liable for surcharge and a cross reference would direct the Exchequer's attention to his place of residence.

The collector in Lincoln diocese in 1381 appears to have treated pluralists in much the same manner as the York collector, although since the majority of seculars were charged the full half mark <sup>183</sup>, the amount needed to be raised by the surcharge would have been smaller.

The general principles for taxing pluralists in 1381 are thus fairly clear. Pluralists probably benefited from the poll tax of 1381 since they only paid half a mark once and the surcharge, which in York diocese was in practice a property tax, was charged at a lower rate than the customary clerical tenth.

There are however some instances where the position remains unclear. Walter Skirlaw was not in England for most of 1381, but by that year he had also obtained exoneration from tax for the clergy of St. Martin Le Grand, London, of which he was dean; did he then use his absence or his exoneration to avoid paying the half mark in York or London, or was it paid elsewhere? Thomas la Warre, son of Lord la Warre, paid surcharge for his benefices in York diocese, but paid only the flat rate half a mark in Lincoln diocese, here the question would be: was la Warre sufficiently powerful to

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<sup>183</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, p. xxxii.

be able to refuse the collector or was there another reason he was not surcharged in Lincoln diocese? These questions may be answered by further research, though perhaps insufficient evidence has survived to answer them all.

Using Poll Tax Enrolments as Historical Sources.

The collectors of taxes in medieval England were required to appear before the Exchequer, in person or by proxy, to account for the taxes they had collected. Collectors brought enrolments detailing how much they had collected, and from whom, which could be compared with the Exchequer's own official enrolments. This was particularly important for collectors since they could be held personally liable for uncollected taxes if they failed to account properly <sup>1</sup>. This chapter considers how best the historian may make use of the enrolments drawn up by the collectors of the clerical poll taxes.

The mandate for collection of the first clerical poll tax did not require collectors to provide enrolments, but since a number of enrolments for the tax of 1377 have survived it is clear that collectors drew up enrolments for the new tax just as they would have done for a clerical tenth <sup>2</sup>. Obviously the Exchequer could not check these enrolments properly, because the poll taxes extended the tax base beyond the limits of official Exchequer enrolments. They could check that all those who normally paid tenths had been included, but they could only estimate the tax due from the unbeneficed and others who had not previously paid clerical taxes. This problem would happen once however, since these first enrolments could be used as a basis for checking any subsequent poll taxes.

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It is possible that the Exchequer was dissatisfied with the enrolments it received

<sup>1</sup> Lunt, 'Collectors of Clerical Subsidies,' pp. 276-8.

<sup>2</sup> Eg. E179/63/6; E179/63/10; E179/63/11; for York diocese.

for the poll tax of 1377 because the mandates for collection of the poll taxes of 1379 and 1381 detail the information that collectors were required to certify to the Exchequer when rendering account. In 1379 Collectors were required to "certify faithfully in their account at the Exchequer touching the names, rank and estate of all persons assessed" <sup>3</sup>. In 1381 a further refinement was made when collectors were required to provide the name, rank, estate and order of all taxpayers <sup>4</sup>.

When a collector's enrolment had been accepted, the totals from the account were transferred on to general enrolments for the whole kingdom <sup>5</sup>. The general enrolments, which survive from 1377, 1380 and 1381, were used by Professor J.C.Russell in his pioneering studies of the population of medieval England <sup>6</sup>.

Russell considered the poll tax enrolments to be the best sources for the clerical population of Medieval England, though he recognised that there were major difficulties. Firstly that the general enrolments do not record the mendicants who generally did not pay tax, and secondly that these enrolments did not distinguish regulars from seculars . Thus it was necessary to draw up estimates of the mendicants

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<sup>3</sup> *CFR 1377-83*, pp. 139-41, 158-9.

<sup>4</sup> *CFR 1377-83*, p. 252.

<sup>5</sup> The general enrolments relating to the poll taxes, which Russell referred to as the 'great enrolment' are preserved in the Public Record Office as E359/4b; extracts from them were printed in J.C.Russell, *British Medieval Population*, pp. 134-137, and C.Oman, *Great Revolt of 1381*, pp. 163-4. A description and discussion of the documents especially the sections relevant to the clerical poll taxes of York province appears in Chapter 3 and Description of the Documents in Volume 2.

<sup>6</sup> J.C.Russell, 'Clerical Population of Medieval England,' pp. 177-212; Russell, *British Medieval Population*.

to be added to the enrolments, and estimates of the regulars in order to give some idea of the numbers of secular clergy <sup>7</sup>. Although this method gave Russell some figures, it is clear that other difficulties remain. One question is whether or not the general enrolments recorded collectors' totals accurately. More importantly, however, the general enrolments used by Russell stand or fall on the accuracy and completeness of the collectors' enrolments.

The question of how accurately royal clerks transcribed totals is only possible to check in those cases where complete collectors' accounts or fragments including the totals have survived. It is not possible to check any of the 'Great Enrolment' totals for York province from the 1377 poll tax because no documents containing the collectors' totals have survived. The total of 221 clergy given on the collector's enrolment of Durham diocese for the hybrid tax of 1380 can be agreed with the general enrolment <sup>8</sup>. For the 1381 poll tax in the diocese of York a fairly complete enrolment has survived <sup>9</sup>; it gives a figure of 2295 priests and 94 clerks for all of the diocese with the exception of the archdeaconry of Nottingham. These figures also appear on the general enrolment for 1381<sup>10</sup>. Similarly the 1381 Northumberland archdeaconry enrolment total of 268 priests can be traced on to the general enrolment <sup>11</sup>. Thus the clerks who transferred

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<sup>7</sup> J.C.Russell, 'Clerical Population'.

<sup>8</sup> E179/62/5 m. 1d; E359/4b m. 10d. It should however be noted that the York province figures given by Russell as 1379 totals actually relate to the hybrid tax of 1380, Russell, *British Medieval Population*, p. 137.

<sup>9</sup> E179/63/12 and E179/63/31.

<sup>10</sup> E359/4b m. 13d; Russell, *British Medieval Population*, p. 137.

<sup>11</sup> E179/62/6 m. 1d; E359/4b m. 16; Russell, *British Medieval Population*, p. 137.

details from collectors' enrolments to the general enrolments seem to have done so accurately, though some mistakes have been noted <sup>12</sup>. The historian may therefore have a good deal of confidence in the figures given on the general enrolments to fill any gaps left by the absence of collectors' enrolments <sup>13</sup>.

The first major problem for the historian is that the survival of material has been rather patchy. Thus the surviving material for the diocese of Lincoln, which was edited by Dr. Alison McHardy <sup>14</sup>, consists of enrolments for the archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow for 1377 and 1381, enrolments of parts of the archdeaconries of Bedford and Huntingdon from 1379 and 1381, and enrolments for the archdeaconry of Stow and the deanery of Rutland from 1377. No clerical poll tax enrolments have survived for the archdeaconries of Northampton and Oxford, while the only survival from the archdeaconry of Buckingham relates to the hybrid tax of 1380.

The clerical poll tax enrolments from the diocese of London, which were also edited by Dr. McHardy, show a similar pattern of incompleteness. They consist of an enrolment of the city and suburbs of London from 1379 and an enrolment of the city and archdeaconry of London for the hybrid property and poll tax of 1380. Surviving material from 1381 is more fragmentary, consisting only of enrolments of the cathedral

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<sup>12</sup> For example the general enrolment of the poll tax of 1381 omits 49 clerks from Middlesex deanery; McHardy, *Church in London*, p. 38; Russell, *British Medieval Population*, p. 136.

<sup>13</sup> This was useful when calculating numbers of northern province clergy in Chapter 4.

<sup>14</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll -Taxes*, pp. xi, xxiv-xxviii.



clergy, the deanery of Bow, and the archdeaconry of Middlesex along with a portion of the assessment of the clergy of the city of London <sup>15</sup>.

Some dioceses appear to have still less surviving evidence: J.L.Kirby could only find fragments relating to the clerical poll taxes for the diocese of Salisbury <sup>16</sup>.

Survivals from the York diocese are made up of some scraps of enrolments from 1377 and a substantial, but incomplete, enrolment from 1381. The records from 1377 consist of four documents: a listing of secular clergy in Ripon, Northallerton and Allertonshire; an enrolment of the priories of Bolton, Guisborough, Watton and Malton; a list of the nuns of Rosedale and Watton; and an assessment of part of the peculiar jurisdiction of Southwell <sup>17</sup>. The two documents from 1381 form an enrolment of the whole diocese with the exception of the archdeaconry of Nottingham <sup>18</sup>. It would appear that no 1381 poll tax enrolments from the archdeaconry of Nottingham have survived.

Other surviving York province poll tax enrolments consist of complete enrolments of Durham diocese from 1379 and from the hybrid tax of 1380 and an enrolment of the archdeaconry of Northumberland from 1381 <sup>19</sup>. The surviving Carlisle enrolments from 1379 and 1380 are discussed in detail below.

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<sup>15</sup> McHardy, *Church in London*, pp. ix-xv, 1-38.

<sup>16</sup> Kirby, 'Clerical Poll Taxes,' pp. 157-60.

<sup>17</sup> E179/63/6; E179/63/10; E179/63/11; E179/63/28; the surviving York province enrolments are described in detail in Volume 2.

<sup>18</sup> E179/63/12; E179/63/31.

<sup>19</sup> E179/62/4; E179/62/5; E179/62/6.

The poor survival rate for the poll tax enrolments seems rather puzzling. It is possible that after 1381 it was considered unlikely that poll taxes would be levied again in the lifetimes of the enrolled taxpayers, so that Exchequer clerks were not particularly concerned to retain copies of enrolments. Another factor may have been the undistinguished appearance of the enrolments themselves since much of the clerical poll tax material which has survived is distinctly unimpressive. The 1377 enrolment for Ripon, Allerton and Allertonshire in the diocese of York consists of two scraps of parchment each 21.5 cm by 8 cm<sup>20</sup>; the largest surviving single piece of enrolment from York diocese is a modest roll of nine parchment membranes each only 25 cm wide<sup>21</sup>. If poll tax enrolments did not look especially important, it may not be surprising that medieval clerks did not feel any need to keep them particularly carefully. It is also clear that over the centuries the records of the King's Remembrancer in the Exchequer were simply allowed to pile up in 'the most evident confusion' without an index or list of any description<sup>22</sup>. Under these circumstances it is hardly surprising that substantial portions of the poll tax enrolments have been lost.

The second problem confronting the historian who seeks to use the poll tax enrolments as sources is that it is necessary to assess how complete and accurate they are. This problem became particularly apparent through the work of J.L.Kirby who produced an edition of the surviving poll tax enrolments for the diocese of Carlisle in 1952<sup>23</sup>. Two complete poll tax enrolments from Carlisle diocese have survived: one

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<sup>20</sup> E179/63/6.

<sup>21</sup> E179/63/12.

<sup>22</sup> *First Report of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the Public Records of the Kingdom*, (London, 1800), p. 6.

<sup>23</sup> Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts,' pp. 70-84.

relates to the graduated poll tax of 1379, the other to the hybrid tax of 1380<sup>24</sup>. Kirby edited the 1379 enrolment in its entirety along with the poll tax element of the 1380 enrolment<sup>25</sup>.

Kirby was able to show that the poll tax of 1379 was indeed collected by tracing payment onto one of the Exchequer receipt rolls<sup>26</sup>, and by noting arrears charged on the pipe roll for the year. The 1379 enrolment is preserved on three membranes, one from each of the collectors: John de Penreth, prior of Carlisle, collected in the deaneries of Carlisle and Cumberland; Lambert de Morland, abbot of Shap, collected in Westmorland deanery; and Robert Raybankes, abbot of Holm Cultram, collected in Allerdale deanery<sup>27</sup>.

The roll of John de Penreth was, Kirby argued, partly fabricated by Penreth or his scribe. He offered three reasons: firstly, a comparison with the record for 1380, which records the names of fifteen benefice holders, showed that apparently all the benefices had changed hands. This was more than Kirby was prepared to accept. Secondly, a comparison of the names in the 1379 roll with the lists of incumbents given by the eighteenth century historians of the Diocese of Carlisle, Nicolson and Burn, showed not one name common to both. Furthermore the names given for the archdeacon of Carlisle and the priors of Lanercost and Wetheral in the enrolment were not supported by other authorities. Thirdly and perhaps crucially, the surnames

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<sup>24</sup> E179/60/1; E179/60/2A.

<sup>25</sup> Kirby omitted that part of the 1380 enrolment which related to the clerical tenth paid by the beneficed.

<sup>26</sup> A similar exercise has been carried out for the remaining poll taxes from York province, see Chapter 3.

<sup>27</sup> Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts', pp. 70-1.

themselves stretched Kirby's credulity. The surnames 'North', 'West' and 'Eston' each appear five times, while 'Est', 'Exham', 'Norton' and 'Frost' appear three times each.

Some of these suspicious names had been written over erasures, so Kirby suggested that perhaps the correct names were written originally, but were replaced by false ones at a later date; though perhaps surprisingly, he offered no motive for this <sup>28</sup>. This proposed explanation fits well with regard to changes to the names of the priors of Lanercost and Wetheral and the archdeacon of Carlisle, for example, the whole name of the 'Peter Frost' named as prior of Lanercost was written over an erasure. But a closer examination, comparing the names of the fourteen incumbents named in the 1380 roll with the incumbents of the same livings from the suspicious 1379 enrolment would appear to cast doubt on Kirby's explanation. In the 1379 enrolment, eight of the fourteen named have surnames written over erasures but six do not, and all of the incumbents appear to have retained their christian names as originally written. Of those whose names were not tampered with there are two named after points of the compass: one 'North' and one 'Est'; three whose surnames are suspiciously similar: an 'Exham', an 'Exton' and an 'Egton; and one 'Holt'. If five out of this six already had suspicious names when the roll was first written, it would seem unreasonable to argue that the roll had been first written out with real names but had had false names inserted subsequently. Clearly some fabrication of surnames took place, but why and by whom remains a puzzle.

It is possible that the names on Penreth's roll may have been fabricated to fulfil

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<sup>28</sup> Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts', p. 72.

the requirement that the names of taxpayers were required on enrolments <sup>29</sup>. At the same time it seems unlikely that a man like Penreth, or indeed a clerk who worked in Carlisle, would not have known the names of the archdeacon of Carlisle, the priors of Lanercost and Wetheral and at least some of the more prominent local clergy from his daily life.

One possible, though highly speculative, scenario might be suggested <sup>30</sup>. Perhaps a clerk making a final check over the enrolment, either on the road or in London, realised that some names were missing. Fearing that the enrolment would not be accepted by the Exchequer, but unable to obtain the information he needed to correct matters properly, he made up the names he thought the Exchequer would want to see. But who would actually feel it necessary to do such a thing? Surely only someone who thought that they had something to fear from the names being missing, which only leaves the clerk who compiled Penreth's enrolment, and perhaps should have kept notes, or the man whose job it was to present the enrolment at the Exchequer. Clerks with local knowledge, have however, already been discounted, so the compiler seems rather less likely than the three collectors' proctor before the Exchequer, one John Lancaster <sup>31</sup>.

Kirby noted that the collectors paid one instalment of £36. 11s. in November

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<sup>29</sup> *CFR 1377-83*, p. 159. This requirement does not appear to have been strictly enforced since the enrolment for the same tax in the archdeaconry of Chester does not record the names of benefice holders while the 1379 enrolment of the abbot of Cerne for part of Salisbury diocese gives only the christian names and employment of taxpayers, Kirby, 'Clerical Poll Taxes,' pp. 161-2; Bennett, 'Lancashire and Cheshire Clergy,' pp.23-4, 27.

<sup>30</sup> It should be pointed out that there is no evidence for the suggestion that follows.

<sup>31</sup> E359/4b m. 5

1379, and arrears of £4. 7s. 2d. are charged against the collectors on the pipe roll for 1380<sup>32</sup>. The charging of arrears indicates that the collectors had rendered account, while the abbreviation for '*probatum*' which appears by the total on Penreth's account was presumably written by Exchequer clerks, so it would appear that the Exchequer accepted the roll. It should, by 1379, have been possible for the Exchequer to check enrolments. The lists of incumbents could be checked with the benefices listed in the *Nova Taxatio* to give an idea of completeness. The enrolment could also be checked against records from the 1377 taxation, presuming such returns had been kept, but the high level of clerical mobility at the time might render this a difficult and thankless task. Perhaps as Kirby suggested, as long as the account appeared to be in order and the money was collected, 'the Exchequer can have had little interest in the names of the payers'<sup>33</sup>.

It may be significant that payment was due on 1 August 1379, yet nothing from the diocese of Carlisle seems to have reached the Exchequer until November. It is also possible that Exchequer attitudes had been coloured by the royal financial crisis of that year: graduated poll taxes of the laity and the clergy had produced an inadequate yield and the King had been forced to borrow £5000 from London and to sell some of the crown jewels<sup>34</sup>. Perhaps given that the money was late, and that the king was quite desperate for any revenue he could gather, the Exchequer may have been prepared to accept accounts without names, or with suspicious names, as long as the cash appeared correct.

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<sup>32</sup> Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts', p. 71.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>34</sup> McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, p. 405; Steel, *Receipt of the Exchequer*, pp. 39-43.

Clearly this raises problems for the historian. If one clerical poll tax enrolment was fabricated, then all must be examined carefully to see whether or not they can be judged reliable before any use is made of the information they record. The historian will need to compare the information on the enrolments with other contemporary sources, checking the names of incumbents with institutions in bishop's registers or *fasti* lists where they are available. It is also possible to check that parochial benefices are not omitted, using the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* <sup>35</sup>.

The rolls of the other two Carlisle collectors appear in better order; Kirby was able to find 'a fair proportion' of the incumbents in the lists published by Nicolson and Burn <sup>36</sup>. Kirby used the enrolments to give an indication of the numbers of clergy in the diocese in 1379. According to the rolls, the 93 parishes of the diocese of Carlisle were served by 54 rectors, 23 vicars, 99 chaplains and six clerks, making a total of 178 in major orders including the bishop and the archdeacon <sup>37</sup>. Unfortunately, however, the abbot of Holm Cultram and John de Penreth were less than accurate in their descriptions of incumbents, so six of the rectors should have been described as vicars, and the 'rector' of Ainstable was probably the chaplain of the nuns at Armathwaite <sup>38</sup>. This gives more accurate figures of 47 rectors, 29 vicars and 100 chaplains, the total

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<sup>35</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*.

<sup>36</sup> Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts', pp. 72-3; J.Nicolson and R.Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland*, (2 vols., London, 1777).

<sup>37</sup> The number of 93 medieval parishes in the diocese is given by C.M.L.Bouch, *Prelates and People of the Lake Counties, A History of the Diocese of Carlisle, 1133-1933*, (Kendal, 1948), p. 15. It should be remembered that especially in the border country, parishes could fall into ruin or be revived so this number may not be accurate for 1379. The number of chaplains given by Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts', p. 73, appears to be arithmetically incorrect, the enrolment lists 99, not 98.

<sup>38</sup> Nicolson and Burn, *History*, vol. II, pp. 115-7, 156, 168-9, 405-6, 412-3, 430-2, 486.

remains the same. There were 44 regulars in the diocese, including the vicars of Warcop and Shap. Holm Cultram had a community of 15, Carlisle had 12, Shap 6, Lanercost 5, and there were 4 at Wetheral. There were thus at least 220 in major orders in the diocese, along with a number of friars, who were customarily exempt of taxes, and the nuns of Armathwaite who were presumably too poor to be liable <sup>39</sup>.

The completeness of the record was checked by comparing the rolls with the list of parishes given by Bouch. A total of 16 parishes do not appear in the 1379 enrolment, all of these were parishes appropriated to religious houses without the ordination of vicarages. Their clergymen, it may be surmised, would have appeared elsewhere in the records, either with their community if they were regulars or in the lists of stipendiary chaplains <sup>40</sup>. The completeness of the accounts is a mark that they were accurately prepared in this particular regard.

It was clear then, that the 1379 Carlisle enrolments raised more questions than they solved. Since one section of the enrolments carried fabricated names for taxpayers, it was fair to ask whether the other parts were similarly unreliable. A detailed examination of the names of the taxpayers was carried out to gain some indication of the relative accuracy of the different collectors' rolls.

Kirby's comparison of the incumbents named for the benefices which appear in

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<sup>39</sup> Nuns from houses with an income below £40 and Gilbertine canonesses were not liable to pay tax in 1379, *CFR 1377-83*, p. 159.

<sup>40</sup> Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts', p. 73.



both the 1379 and the 1380 enrolments showed that all fourteen of the benefices had apparently changed hands in less than a year <sup>41</sup>. While Kirby was not prepared to believe this, such occurrences were not impossible in the era of the 'chopechurche'. The names of the incumbents can however, be compared with the lists of incumbents drawn up by Nicolson and Burn from the bishops' registers, and can be checked in the registers themselves. The method adopted was to agree an incumbent if possible or to disagree with the poll tax returns when there was evidence that another person held a benefice both before and after the tax. Agreeing an incumbent was only considered possible if both elements of his name were found in the lists of *fasti*. This method was adopted because surnames were not necessarily held for life at this time, while identical surnames but different christian names might suggest two individuals, related by kinship or geography. Where a clear judgement could not be made, the names were placed in a category for which there was insufficient evidence to decide one way or another.

The collectors for this group of benefices were John de Penreth, prior of Carlisle, for 1379 and Robert Raybankes, abbot of Shap and John, prior of Lanercost for 1380. The accuracy of Penreth's account was shown to be poor, which was hardly surprising since all but two of the surnames in the sample appeared to be fabricated. No incumbents could be agreed, two could be disagreed with, while for the remaining twelve there was insufficient evidence to judge. The 1380 account was more accurate, four incumbents could be agreed, one name had to be rejected, while there were ten for which there was not enough evidence <sup>42</sup>. The high proportion of 'insufficient evidence'

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<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>42</sup> This gives a total of 15 incumbents for 14 benefices because 1380 gives both a  
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cases appears alarming but is largely due to the patchy nature of Bishop Appleby's register, only a minority of changes of benefice can be traced in it.

The rest of John de Penreth's roll, containing the deaneries of Carlisle and Cumberland, was then subjected to the same test. Out of 46 incumbents, dignitaries and heads of religious houses in the whole roll, only two names could be agreed: one was Thomas Appleby, bishop of Carlisle, and the other was John de Penreth, prior of Carlisle! There were seven incorrect names and 37 could not be judged. An examination of the canons of Carlisle showed not one could be agreed with the few names in Nicolson and Burn<sup>43</sup>. The archdeacon of Carlisle, Thomas Felton, appears in Le Neve, but only on the authority of Penreth, he thus becomes an 'insufficient evidence' case<sup>44</sup>. So too there appears to be no confirmation of 'Peter Frost, prior of Lanercost', John, prior of Lanercost was a collector in 1380, and there appears to be no evidence of episcopal confirmation of an election in Appleby's register around that time. There can be no doubt that as a source of names John de Penreth's tax roll is highly unsatisfactory.

The collector for the deanery of Westmorland in 1379 Lambert de Morland, abbot of Shap, seems to have made a much more accurate roll. Presuming the name of

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rector and a vicar for Artereth. This may be a mistake since neither Bouch, *Prelates and People*, nor Nicolson and Burn, *History*, note an appropriation or a vicarage at Artereth.

<sup>43</sup> Two similar surnames occur, but with different christian names. Penreth has a Robert de Clyfton and a Thomas Dalston, while Nicolson and Burn, *History*, vol. II, p. 302, and Cumbria County Record Office, Register of Thomas Appelby, DRC/1/2, fo. 337, records Roger de Clifton and William de Dalston.

<sup>44</sup> Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, p. 100.

the collector to be accurate, twelve names can be agreed, possibly one more whose surname alone 'Banes' matches. None can be disagreed with, leaving twelve incumbents in the insufficient evidence category. To this can be added agreement to two of the five canons of Shap listed: William de Sutton who became vicar of Bampton in 1382, and Robert Marshall who succeeded Lambert de Morland as abbot in 1379<sup>45</sup>.

Robert Raybankes, abbot of Holm Cultram collected in Allerdale deanery. His names appear to be less accurate than Lambert de Morland's. It was possible to agree two incumbents, but three had to be rejected, while nine remain uncertain. This number of disagreements seems high, especially since Raybankes does not appear to have obviously faked anything, but it is possible that some disagreements may be unreasonable. This could occur when an incumbent had relinquished a benefice, perhaps by exchange, before the tax, only to exchange back to it at a later date.

The accuracy of the returns at recording the names of dignitaries, heads of religious houses and incumbents can be tabulated thus:

Collector: John de Penreth prior of Carlisle

	Agree	Disagree	Insufficient evidence
Carlisle Deanery	2	6	24
Cumberland Deanery	0	1	13
Total	2	7	37

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<sup>45</sup> Nicolson and Burn, *History*, vol. I, pp. 460, 475; Reg. Appleby, fo. 321. Robert Marshall was still abbot in 1405, *Calendar of Papal Registers, Papal Letters*, vol. VI, 1404-1415, (London, 1904), p. 15.

Total correct as a percentage of known cases 22%

Collector:

Lambert de Morland abbot of Shap

Westmorland Deanery	12+1 poss.	0	12
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Total correct as a percentage of known cases 100%

Collector:

Robert Raybankes abbot of Holm Cultram

Allerdale Deanery	2	3	9
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Total correct as a percentage of known cases 40%

Totals, Westmorland

and Allerdale	14+1	3	21
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Total correct as a percentage of known cases 82%

If the account of John de Penreth is set aside as having almost all of the names made up, the accuracy for the two remaining deaneries is 82%. This is consistent with the figures for the fourteen benefices with named incumbents on the 1380 enrolment: four names could be agreed, one had to be rejected while there was insufficient evidence for nine others; giving an accuracy for known cases of 80%.

It is obviously more difficult to ascertain the accuracy of the lists of chaplains. There are 99 chaplains in the 1379 enrolment and 40 in the 1380 record. In 1379 there appear to have been 29 chaplains in the deanery of Carlisle, 29 in the deanery of Cumberland, 22 in Westmorland and 19 in Allerdale. All of the lists of names appear to be genuine, but trying to trace unbeneficed clergymen into other records with no more than a name would be unreasonable.

It is possible to compare the 1379 and 1380 lists. 28 out of the 40 (or 70%) of the 1380 list can also be found in 1379, nearly half of the matches can be found in the roll drawn up by John de Penreth. This clearly implies that Penreth's lists of chaplains were put together much more accurately than his enrolment of benefice holders. If these lists of the unbeneficed are reliable then it should be possible to rely on statistical information derived from them. Unfortunately there remains the puzzle, pointed out by Kirby, of why the number of chaplains drops from 99 in 1379 to 40 in 1380 <sup>46</sup>. It should however be pointed out that when the 1380 collector's account was enrolled at the Exchequer it was noted to include the names of 80 unbeneficed clergy <sup>47</sup>; thus a portion of the 1380 collector's enrolment has been lost over the years. Even so there remains a discrepancy of almost 20% between the 1379 enrolment and that of 1380. This may be evidence of successful attempts to avoid payment of tax, but if that was the case surely the Exchequer would not allow such a discrepancy to pass, especially since they could draw up a list of non-payers fairly easily.

One explanation however is implied in the mandate for collection of this tax in the province of Canterbury. The mandate recited in detail the scale of payment: 16d. on the mark and 2s. from the unbeneficed 'provided that such ecclesiastical persons and benefices as are unable to pay as above owing to evident and notorious poverty be acquitted of such payment, and that on this point the report of their diocesans be accepted without further proof' <sup>48</sup>. Although the same provision does not appear on the mandate for the province of York, it would be unusual if the same concession did not apply in practice. It seems likely that the missing chaplains of 1380 were exempted on

<sup>46</sup> Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts, p. 74.

<sup>47</sup> E359/4b m. 10d.

<sup>48</sup> *CFR 1377-83*, p. 190.

the grounds of poverty.

It is not only possible to check the names on a poll tax enrolment it is also usually possible to check the tax charged. In the case of the 1377 tax it was a standard 12d. or 4d. In 1379 the tax was charged on a sliding scale, so it is only possible to check the tax charge if values are assigned to benefices. In the case of the 1381 tax it is still possible though a little more difficult since different collectors seem to have adopted different schemes for raising the total sum required while having regard for ability to pay <sup>49</sup>.

It is possible to use the 1379 Carlisle enrolments to demonstrate this since all of the collectors' accounts give values for benefices. All three of the collectors seem to have applied the mandate for collection accurately, tax charges are consistent with the valuations with the sole exception of the canons of Lanercost who paid 12d. each when they should have been charged 4d.

Discussion of one further issue is required to complete this chapter considering ways in which the historian may use poll tax enrolments: that of the new valuation of benefices for the tax of 1379.

### The Revaluation of benefices of 1379

It has already been seen that the poll tax of 1379 represented an attempt to

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<sup>49</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. xxxi-ii.

match tax charges with status and wealth <sup>50</sup>. Since one of the aims of the poll taxes was to broaden the tax base, it must have been clear from the outset that a new valuation of all of the clerical benefices of England had to be carried out. The methods used in part of Lincoln diocese have been described by Dr. McHardy <sup>51</sup>. On 14 June 1379 <sup>52</sup>, eight days after the grant of the poll tax had been notified to the Crown, Bishop Buckingham instructed the abbot of Osney and the archdeacon of Oxford's official to summon the clergy of the archdeaconry. Each deanery was to elect three faithful rectors or vicars whose job it would be to require the incumbent of every benefice to state, under oath, the value of his benefice. The rectors or vicars had to send lists of benefices, incumbents and values to the collector, the abbot of Eynsham, by 29 June.

If the time scale adopted by Buckingham was applied across the Canterbury province, it would appear that a complete revaluation of all the benefices in the province was expected to take little more than three weeks. It would appear that a similar amount of time was available for the revaluation of the York province since the Crown was informed of the grant on 8 July 1379, and the first payment was due at the Exchequer along with the completed enrolment on 1 August 1379 <sup>53</sup>.

The importance of the 1379 revaluation was recognised by Dr. M. J. Bennett, though perhaps his claim that 'it seems to represent the most successful attempt made in

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<sup>50</sup> See above, this chapter. It should however be noted that the tax does not seem fair to modern eyes since the scale of payments was related to rank as well as income and because the tax bands were fairly broad: McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, p. xx.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xix-xx. Evidence of how the revaluation was carried out in York province has not been discovered in the course of this research.

<sup>52</sup> Although the text actually says "July" it clearly should read "June", *Ibid.*, p. xix.

<sup>53</sup> See above.

the middle ages to tax the real sources of clerical wealth' <sup>54</sup>, may be over enthusiastic.

Historians of the late medieval English church have long recognised the importance of the valuations of ecclesiastical property of the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1291 and the *Nova Taxatio* of 1318 which formed the basis for clerical taxation in England for more than two centuries <sup>55</sup>. Similarly, Henry VIII's 1535 valuation of the church, the famous *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, has also been considered a highly significant source <sup>56</sup>. Bennett's claim for the 1379 revaluation is probably more true in principle than in practice. It certainly can be argued that the 1379 enrolments *should* form a more complete picture of the church because they were intended to include clergy who were usually exempt taxation such as the holders of privileged and very poor benefices, and the unbeneficed clergy, but unfortunately the practice falls significantly short of the theory.

The first major problem with the 1379 revaluation is that the survival of enrolments is incomplete: enrolments survive only from the dioceses of Carlisle and Durham in York province, while from Lincoln diocese only enrolments drawn up by two of the eight collectors have survived <sup>57</sup>. Secondly, where the 1379 revaluation has survived it has only done so in a varied collection of enrolments, filed in the Public

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<sup>54</sup> Bennett, 'Lancashire and Cheshire Clergy,' p. 6.

<sup>55</sup> A printed edition of both was published as *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* in 1802, a new edition is in progress; see above.

<sup>56</sup> J.Caley and J.Hunter, (eds.), *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, (6 vols., London, 1810-34).

<sup>57</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. xxv-xxvi.



Record Office according to diocese; there is no official 'Exchequer copy' of the assessment for the whole country as there is for the 1291 assessment<sup>58</sup>. The 1379 valuation is thus much less accessible than the surveys of 1291 and 1535. Finally there are problems which emerge when the enrolments of 1379 are examined in detail: the first of these is that rectories of appropriated churches were omitted from the valuation. For example: in Carlisle diocese the rectories of Irthington (appropriated to Lanercost priory) and Kirkby Stephen (appropriated to St. Mary's, York) do not appear on the 1379 enrolment<sup>59</sup>, presumably these being omitted because of the personal nature of the tax of 1379<sup>60</sup>. The same reason may be used to explain the widespread omission of portions and pensions from the 1379 enrolments<sup>61</sup>. There are however a number of benefices, omitted from 1379 enrolments, which cannot be explained in quite the same way: there is no mention of the vicarage of Woodhorn on the enrolment of Durham diocese, nor are the vicarages of Gilcrux and Aspatria to be found on the Carlisle enrolment. These omissions could however be explained if there were vacancies in these benefices in 1379 when the tax was collected<sup>62</sup>.

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<sup>58</sup> The printed version of the 1291 valuation (the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*) is essentially a transcript of the Exchequer's master copy of the assessment; J.H.Denton, 'The Valuation of the Ecclesiastical Benefices of England and Wales in 1291-2,' *Historical Research*, vol. LXIV, (1993), p. 231.

<sup>59</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>60</sup> The income from the rectory would however count towards the overall income of the community which would determine the rate of poll tax due from individual members of the community.

<sup>61</sup> For example the omission of the portions of the priors of Durham and Guisborough in the church of Castle Eden, Durham diocese, see Appendix B. It should however be noted that there may have been other reasons for these omissions, such as the loss of these portions to their owners.

<sup>62</sup> Generally speaking, under the poll taxes no liability to tax arose where a benefice was vacant (although in 1381 absentee holders of more valuable benefices could be found liable to pay surcharge. E179/62/6 m. 1).

The final difficulty with the 1379 valuation is that the figures given for the values of benefices tend to be round figures, often related to the bands of the tax: 100 marks, 100 shillings, *infra* £10, £20, £40 and so on. The collectors for the diocese of Durham and all three collectors for the diocese of Carlisle used such rounded numbers. Clearly this makes this valuation less accurate than those of 1291 and 1318, but it is nonetheless valuable because it gives a clue as to levels of clerical income at a point between 1318 and 1535. The 1379 valuation and the 1291 and 1318 valuations for the dioceses of Durham and Carlisle are reproduced in Appendix B.

Bennett used the 1379 valuation as the basis of a social analysis of the clergy of the archdeaconry of Chester<sup>63</sup>, but it is also possible to compare the 1379 valuations with the other tax valuations to examine changes in levels of clerical income and thereby to gain some impression of the economic development of particular areas. Dr.R.N.Swanson has expressed major reservations about the validity of comparing the valuation of 1291 with that of 1535<sup>64</sup>, but carefully considered comparisons drawn between 1291, 1318 and 1379 would undoubtedly add to our understanding of the changes in clerical incomes over the ninety years involved.

For example, a comparison of the enrolments of the poll tax of 1379 from the dioceses of Durham and Carlisle with the hitherto customary valuations for clerical tenths allows the historian to gain some impression of how well particular benefices or areas were recovering from the effects of the Black Death and the Scots raids of the

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<sup>63</sup> Bennett, 'Lancashire and Cheshire Clergy' pp. 6-19.

<sup>64</sup> Swanson's reasons seem principally concerned with how the valuations were drawn up. R.N.Swanson, 'Standards of Livings: Parochial Revenues in Pre-Reformation England,' in C.Harper-Bill, (ed.), *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1991), pp. 155-6.

early fourteenth century <sup>65</sup>. Although the level of clerical income must generally be influenced by the general prosperity, or otherwise, of an area it is important to use these figures with some caution. There were other reasons why the value of a living might apparently decline: the parish of Barton in Westmorland was worth £40 in 1291, in 1318 it was appropriated to Shap abbey, in 1318 and 1379 it appears to be worth £10, but the 1379 figure is the value of the vicarage <sup>66</sup>. The value of a living may therefore, appear to be depressed when the reduction of the incumbent's income is actually due other factors than the general prosperity of the area.

### The Diocese of Carlisle in 1379

Analysis of the valuations between 1291, 1318 and 1379 shows that 97% of parishes and religious houses were as well off or better off than they had been in 1318. The comparison with 1291 was less healthy, only 42% were as well off or better off than they had been in 1291 <sup>67</sup>. It is also possible to distinguish how well different groups or areas were faring. The religious houses were doing comparatively well: setting aside Armathwaite priory as an uncertainty, all the other houses were better off than they had been in 1318. Compared with 1291 only Lanercost was substantially worse off: Holm Cultram, valued at £200 in 1379 was only £6.5.10 worse off than in

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<sup>65</sup> The surviving York province enrolments from 1379 relate to areas which had suffered from both of these blows. In principle it should be possible to use 1379 enrolments from areas untouched by the Scots to look at the effects of the Black Death alone. For an illustrative example of the effects of the Scots raids (on the West Riding of Yorkshire) see: I.Kershaw, 'A Note on the Scots in the West Riding,' *Northern History*, vol. XVII, (1981), pp. 231-9.

<sup>66</sup> Nicolson and Burn, *History and Antiquities of Westmorland and Cumberland*, vol. I, pp. 403-4.

<sup>67</sup> See Appendix B, these figures are for those cases which can be described as certain, uncertainties amount to just less than a third of establishments.

1291, so it could probably be described as at the same level. Shap, Wetheral and Carlisle priory were all better off than they had been in 1291, Carlisle priory was more than £100 better off at £200 <sup>68</sup>.

The recovery of clerical incomes seems to have varied according to deanery. In the deanery of Carlisle, all of those benefices and portions about which we can be certain were as well off or better off than they had been in 1318; 50% of them were the same or better off than they had been in 1291. Westmorland was 100% the same or better than 1318 and 41% the same or better than 1291. Cumberland was getting over the devastation slightly more slowly, 8% of certain cases were still worse off than they had been in 1318 while 70% of livings were worse off than they had been in 1291. Allerdale fared worst, 14% of benefices and portions were worse off than they had been in 1318 while 86% of the parish livings about which we can be certain were poorer than they had been in 1291.

#### The Diocese of Durham in 1379

A similar analysis of the valuations of parochial benefice and religious houses of Durham diocese between 1291, 1318 and 1379 shows that almost 57% of parochial benefice holders were as well off or better off in 1379 than they had been in 1291 <sup>69</sup>, while in all cases for which we have comparable figures every parochial benefice in

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<sup>68</sup> The figure of £200 is at the beginning of a new tax band, so it is likely that it implies more than £200.

<sup>69</sup> For details of individual benefices and religious houses see Appendix B.

Durham diocese was worth more in 1379 than it had been in 1318<sup>70</sup>. The religious houses seem to have fared similarly: all those who paid tax in 1379 were worth more than they had been in 1318<sup>71</sup>; while out of nine certain cases, six (67%) were better off than they had been in 1291<sup>72</sup>. Of those houses with reduced incomes, Newminster abbey, down £120 on 1291, had suffered most; the other two reductions were more modest, Holystone was down £4 6s. to £20 and Lambley was down 10s. to £8. Some of the increases between 1291 and 1379 can only be described as spectacular, the valuation of Alnwick abbey had increased almost sevenfold from £30 to £200 while that of Blanchland was up more than sevenfold from £9 to £66.13.4<sup>73</sup>.

The recovery of incomes from parochial benefices in Durham diocese, like that of Carlisle diocese seems to have varied locally. The improvement was greatest in the archdeaconry of Durham, where 73% of benefices showed an improvement over 1291; the improvement was greatest in Durham deanery where 83% were the same or better off than they had been in 1291. In Northumberland archdeaconry however, 66% of

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<sup>70</sup> The only parish for which this does not seem to be true is Washington, but the reading of the valuation on the enrolment (52s.) is doubtful; the rector paid 10s. in tax which was the sum due from holders of benefices worth £20 to £40, E179/62/4 m. 1.

<sup>71</sup> This is hardly surprising given that only two houses (Durham and Neasham priories) were taxed in 1318! see Appendix B.

<sup>72</sup> This excludes Durham priory, for which no valuation appears on the 1379 enrolment. This was probably because the prior was charged his poll tax according to his status as head of a Cathedral priory. The monks paid their tax at the highest rate on the scale, implying that the priory was valued at more than 300 marks (£200). In 1379 Finchale priory and the cells at Holy Island and Monkwearmouth were valued separately at £100, £100 and £26.13.4 respectively. This gives a total of £426.13.4, which is less than 1291, but it is not clear that this simple comparison of 1379 with 1291 constitutes comparing 'like with like'.

<sup>73</sup> The fact that the 1379 valuations were neither increased nor decreased uniformly seems to add to a sense that the process of valuation was taken seriously in 1379. This compares favourably with 1318 when all of the religious houses in Northumberland simply disappeared from the valuations, see Appendix B.

those benefices we can compare were worse off in 1379 than they had been almost ninety years previously. The worst off deaneries were Newcastle and Alnwick where 74% of parochial incomes were worse than they had been in 1291. In the deanery of Bamburgh 58% of benefices were less valuable than they had been, while in Corbridge deanery the figure was 57%. Even these poor figures however represent a notable increase on the 1318 figures when only eight parochial benefices in the whole of Northumberland archdeaconry were considered taxable: all the others were officially considered 'waste and completely destroyed' <sup>74</sup>.

The 1379 enrolments of the dioceses of Durham and Carlisle have been shown to contain a simple revaluation of livings and religious houses, and this information has been used tentatively to examine changes in clerical incomes between 1291, 1318 and 1379. The most striking feature is that a slight majority of benefices in Durham diocese and a substantial minority of Carlisle benefices seem to have been as well off or wealthier in 1379 than they had been in 1291. The majority of religious houses in both dioceses were better off in 1379 than they had been in 1291. Clearly this needs to be considered against a background of inflation in the years after the plague but it does place a question mark against the currently pervasive generalisation that 'parochial revenues almost universally declined after the Black Death, and continued to fall right through to 1535' <sup>75</sup>.

This examination of the problems involved in dealing with the 1379 Carlisle enrolments has shown that although there are difficulties, their extent can usually be determined through detailed examination, in particular by comparison with other

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<sup>74</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 331.

<sup>75</sup> Swanson, 'Standards of Livings,' p. 153.

contemporary sources. Since at least part of the 1379 Carlisle enrolment was fabricated, it is clear that any historian intending to use clerical poll tax enrolments as sources should first attempt to verify the completeness and accuracy of the enrolments he or she wishes to use. At the same time it has also become clear that the clerical poll tax enrolments constitute a extremely rich and valuable source of evidence which the historian of the later medieval church may use in a variety of ways.

The use of evidence from the clerical poll tax enrolments for demographic purposes by Russell has already been mentioned <sup>76</sup>. In the late 1930s, Rev. J.McNulty used a small portion of the 1381 York diocese enrolment to provide a list of the names and payments of tax made by religious in north Lancashire <sup>77</sup>. J.L.Kirby, editor of the Carlisle material, went on to edit the fragmentary enrolments from Salisbury diocese <sup>78</sup>, though in both cases he was principally interested in the texts of the enrolments. Dr.M.J.Bennett produced an edition of the 1379 enrolment of the archdeaconry of Chester and used it as the basis of a social analysis of the clergy of the archdeaconry <sup>79</sup>. Dr. McHardy, who has edited poll tax enrolments from the dioceses of London and Lincoln <sup>80</sup>, has pointed out the usefulness of this material for the study of the religious houses <sup>81</sup>, and has used it to great effect in studies of the unbeneficed clergy <sup>82</sup>. It would also seem reasonable to use the revaluation of benefices carried out for the poll

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<sup>76</sup> Russell, 'Clerical Population'; Russell, *British Medieval Population*.

<sup>77</sup> J.McNulty, 'Religious in North Lancashire,' pp. 207-8.

<sup>78</sup> Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts'; Kirby, 'Clerical Poll Taxes'.

<sup>79</sup> Bennett, 'Lancashire and Cheshire Clergy', pp. 1-30.

<sup>80</sup> McHardy, *Church in London*; McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*.

<sup>81</sup> A.K.McHardy, 'The Lincolnshire Clergy in the Later Fourteenth Century,' in W.M.Ormsrod (ed.), *England in the Fourteenth Century*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1986), pp. 148-9.

tax of 1379 as an additional source for the historian interested in clerical incomes in the half century after the Black Death.

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<sup>82</sup> A.K.McHardy, 'Ecclesiastics and Economics: Poor Priests, Prosperous Laymen and Proud Prelates in the Reign of Richard II,' in W.J.Sheils & D.Wood (eds.), *The Church and Wealth*, Studies in Church History 24, (Oxford, 1987), pp. 129-137; A.K.McHardy, 'Careers and Disappointments in the Late-Medieval Church: Some English Evidence,' in W.J.Sheils & D.Wood (eds.), *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay*, Studies in Church History 26, (Oxford, 1989), pp. 111-130.



## Chapter 3

### Accounting for the Poll Taxes at the Exchequer

It is possible to trace the progress of the proceeds of collection in the records of the Exchequer, particularly the receipt rolls <sup>1</sup>, and what has been called the Great (or General) Enrolment <sup>2</sup>. In principle, money was delivered to the Exchequer of Receipt (or Lower Exchequer) where tallies were issued which could later be presented to the Upper Exchequer when the view of account was taken <sup>3</sup>. In practice however the Crown often found it more convenient for collectors or royal officials to pay the king's creditors directly by means of the process of assignment. The most common method was to give the creditor a writ issued to the collectors, ordering them to deliver a specified sum to the holder in return for a tally from the Exchequer made out to the collector. The creditor would take this writ to the Receipt where the tally would be struck and the amount entered on the receipt rolls as though it had been received from the collector <sup>4</sup>. After 1349 the receipt rolls indicate increasingly frequently whether an entry was a cash entry or an assignment or book-keeping entry by means of marginal annotations of 'Sol' for cash transactions and 'Pro' for assignments <sup>5</sup>. During the reign of Edward III, the practice of issuing tallies for assignments led to the development of a distinction between tallies *Sol*' (or paid) and tallies *Pro* (or tallies of assignment) <sup>6</sup>. Other methods of assignment were to issue letters of acquittance<sup>7</sup>, or writs under one of

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<sup>1</sup> PRO E401; Steel, *Receipt of the Exchequer*, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> PRO E359/4b contains the general enrolments of the clerical poll taxes 1377-81.

<sup>3</sup> Lunt, 'Collectors of Clerical Subsidies,' pp. 255-263.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 257-8.

<sup>5</sup> Steel, *Receipt of the Exchequer*, pp. xxx-xxxii.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxxii.

the small seals for the sum assigned, while officials of the household department could issue bills known as ‘debentures of the wardrobe’<sup>8</sup>.

When the collector, or more often his attorney, appeared at the Upper Exchequer he would present the account along with tallies or vouchers for the monies paid over and make a claim for his expenses. The Exchequer clerks would extract the amount due from the collector’s enrolment, subtract payments in cash and tallies, exonerations and expenses and finally strike a balance<sup>9</sup>. Where, as was usually the case, there were sums still outstanding, these were entered on the Great Roll of the Pipe for the year in question<sup>10</sup>. The views of account were noted on the memoranda rolls of the Lord Treasurer’s Remembrancer, and comprehensive statements were entered on the Great Enrolments<sup>11</sup>.

Evidence for the collection of the first clerical poll tax of 1377 from the northern province is slight. Only two references could be found on the receipt rolls: On 19 May 1378 a payment of £7 16s. was entered on behalf of the prior of Carlisle, collector in the Carlisle diocese<sup>12</sup>. On 15 July a payment of £8 11s. 8d. from the poll tax of York

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<sup>7</sup> Lunt, ‘Collectors of Clerical Subsidies,’ pp. 258-9.

<sup>8</sup> Assignments made by these methods bypassed the Exchequer of Receipt, so they cannot be found on the receipt rolls; Steel, *Receipt of the Exchequer*, pp. xxix-xxx.

<sup>9</sup> Lunt, ‘Collectors of Clerical Subsidies,’ pp. 262-5.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 267.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 263.

<sup>12</sup> E401/530 m. 6; it is not made clear whether this was a cash payment or an assignment.

diocese was made on behalf of the abbot of St. Mary's, York <sup>13</sup>. The summaries of the accounts of both of these collectors were enrolled <sup>14</sup>. The account of the prior of Carlisle is interesting in that it notes the receipt of a sum of £7 16s., without saying whether it was in cash or tallies. Since the view of account must have taken place long before 19 May <sup>15</sup>, perhaps the entry on the receipt rolls was a book-keeping entry. The account of the abbot of St. Mary's records that he still owed the sum of £9 7s. 4d. This can be traced on to the pipe roll for 51 Edward III, where it is further noted that he subsequently paid £8 11s. 8d., exactly the sum recorded on the receipt roll <sup>16</sup>. It would thus appear that these receipt roll entries record some of the last payments of the poll tax of 1377. The receipt rolls and the Great Enrolment do not record any payments of the 1377 poll tax from the diocese of Durham. It is important to recognise that this is not evidence that the tax was not collected there, the proceeds may have been assigned in a manner that bypassed the Exchequer <sup>17</sup>.

The poll tax of 1379 is rather better documented. A total of four entries on the receipt rolls records the payment of £286 13s. 4d. in cash and three assignments totalling £234 19s. 4d. from York diocese between 24 January 1380 and 17 March 1380

<sup>18</sup>. On 17 March 1380 £220 from Durham diocese and £50 from Carlisle diocese was assigned to Thomas Percy and his father the Earl of Northumberland <sup>19</sup>. A much

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<sup>13</sup> E401/530 m. 12; this too may have been either in cash or an assignment.

<sup>14</sup> E359/4b m. 1 d. No dates are given for the views of account on this enrolment, though clearly they should have been on or near the date specified on the mandates for collection.

<sup>15</sup> The mandate for collection ordered the prior to appear before the Exchequer by 20 Jan. 1378, *CFR 1377-83*, p. 38.

<sup>16</sup> E372/222 m. 9d.

<sup>17</sup> It should be recalled that collectors certainly were appointed, see Chapter 1.

<sup>18</sup> E401/538 mm. 27-8, 30.

smaller sum from Durham diocese , £7 9s. 4d. was assigned on 4 December 1381 <sup>20</sup>. The account of the abbot of St. Mary's, collector in the archdeaconries of York, Cleveland, East Riding and Richmond <sup>21</sup>, records the receipt of £316 13s. 4d. in two tallies, corresponding to the cash payment and the first assignment recorded on the receipt rolls <sup>22</sup>. Accounts were also enrolled for the prior of Thurgarton, collector in Nottingham archdeaconry <sup>23</sup>; the prior of Durham and William de Farnham, collectors in Durham diocese <sup>24</sup>; and the prior of Carlisle, and the abbots of Shap and Holm Cultram, collectors in Carlisle diocese <sup>25</sup>. The enrolled totals for Durham and Carlisle diocese agree with the totals given on the collectors' enrolments <sup>26</sup>.

The hybrid tax of 1380 is similarly represented in the Exchequer records. Five entries on the receipt rolls record the tax collected from York diocese. The abbot of St. Mary's, collector in the archdeaconries of York, Cleveland, East Riding and Richmond, was credited with £225 on 21 July and on 8 September 1380 with £300 and an

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<sup>19</sup> E401/538 m. 30.

<sup>20</sup> E401/544 m. 13.

<sup>21</sup> E359/4b m. 5d.

<sup>22</sup> £286 13s. 4d. cash received on 24 Jan. 1380 and the assignment of £30 to Thomas Ilderton on 10 Feb. 1380, E401/538 mm. 27-8. A Thomas Ilderton was one of seven Wardens of the East March towards Scotland appointed 7 Dec. 1379, R.L.Storey, 'The Wardens of the Marches of England Towards Scotland, 1377-1489,' *English Historical Review*, vol. CCLXXXV, (1957), p. 609.

<sup>23</sup> E359/4b m. 6.

<sup>24</sup> E359/4b m. 6

<sup>25</sup> E359/4b m. 5.

<sup>26</sup> E179/62/4; E179/60/1.

assignment of £200 to the Duke of Lancaster<sup>27</sup>. Also on 8 September an assignment of £53 was made from the prior of Shelford's collection in Nottingham archdeaconry<sup>28</sup>. Two years later, on 24 November 1383 a further assignment of £10 was made from the abbot of St. Mary's collection to Henry Lescrope<sup>29</sup>. Accounts were enrolled for both of the York collectors in 1380<sup>30</sup>; that of the abbot of St. Mary's notes that the Exchequer had received £1300 from him in 8 tallies, yet only four entries were found in the receipt rolls, and one of these must have been made after the account was enrolled. Clearly there may be more entries to be found, but this does remind us that the receipt rolls are by no means a complete record of all monies received by the Crown<sup>31</sup>.

The hybrid tax of 1380 in Durham diocese, for which the collector's enrolment survives<sup>32</sup>, is also recorded in the enrolled account of the collector the prior of Durham<sup>33</sup>, and an entry of an assignment of four pounds from the tax<sup>34</sup>. The receipt rolls do not record any payments or assignments of the hybrid tax of 1380 for Carlisle diocese. This agrees with the enrolled account where nothing had credited to the account of the

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<sup>27</sup> E401/539 mm. 25, 27.

<sup>28</sup> E401/539 m. 27.

<sup>29</sup> E401/554 m. 13.

<sup>30</sup> E359/4b mm. 7-8d.

<sup>31</sup> The 'missing' receipts may have bypassed the Exchequer of Receipt, or have been noted on receipt rolls which are now lost; no receipt rolls have survived from Michaelmas term 1380-81, Steel, *Receipt of the Exchequer*, p. 44.

<sup>32</sup> E179/62/5.

<sup>33</sup> E359/4b m. 10d.

<sup>34</sup> E410/541 m. 15; the totals given on the collector's account and the enrolled account agree.

collectors, Robert, abbot of Shap, and John, prior of Lanercost, when their attorney, Adam de Crosseby, appeared at the Exchequer<sup>35</sup>.

The poll tax of 1381 in York diocese is represented by no fewer than 13 entries on the receipt rolls, two of which relate to the archdeaconry of Nottingham, where the prior of Shelford was collector and the remainder belong to the account of the abbot of St. Mary's, collector in the rest of the diocese. Strictly speaking all money should have been accounted for at the Exchequer by 1 August 1381<sup>36</sup>, but it would appear that the abbot's account was enrolled later than this. The abbot's enrolled account notes the receipt (or assignment) of £476 in six tallies<sup>37</sup>, yet the sixth of these tallies, recording a cash payment of £76, was not cut until 24 October 1381 according to the receipt rolls<sup>38</sup>. It is interesting to note that out of this £476, at least £300 was assigned to Richard Lescrope on two tallies of £100 and two tallies of £50<sup>39</sup>.

The prior of Shelford's attorney, Robert Shelford, canon of Shelford, also seems to have appeared before the Exchequer rather late. The prior's account for his collection in Nottingham archdeaconry records the receipts at the Exchequer of £134 in

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<sup>35</sup> E359/4b m. 10d. The total due on the enrolled account agrees with the collectors' enrolment, E179/60/2A.

<sup>36</sup> See Chapter 1.

<sup>37</sup> E359/4b m. 13d.

<sup>38</sup> E401/541 mm. 7-8; E401/544 m. 6.

<sup>39</sup> E401/541 mm. 7-8; £200 of this (along with £60 from the Nottingham tax) is marked '*pro (Ricardo) Lescrop' super castrum Karlioli*'. Richard, Lord Scrope of Bolton became warden of the West Marches in February 1381, Storey, 'Wardens of the Marches,' p. 610. It would be tempting to suggest that these assignments were used in the rebuilding of parts of Carlisle Castle which had begun in 1378, M.R.McCarthy, H.R.T.Summerson and R.G.Annis, *Carlisle Castle, a Survey and Documentary History*, (London, 1990), pp. 146-156.

two tallies <sup>40</sup>. According to the receipt rolls, one tally was the assignment of £60 to Richard Lescrope on 1 August and the second was £74 cash, paid in on 9 October 1381. If the receipt rolls are to be believed the prior of Shelford, like the abbot of St. Mary's, did not account for his collection until October 1381.

The poll tax of 1381 in Carlisle diocese is mentioned only once on the receipt rolls, in an assignment of £10 to Richard Lescrope on 9 May 1381 <sup>41</sup>. Since no collector's account survives or was enrolled, it must be possible that the tax was not collected in Carlisle Diocese, but it is not possible to say for certain either way. The absence of evidence from the Exchequer records, however, does not mean that the clergy of Carlisle diocese did not pay the tax, perhaps, like the Carlisle fee farms of 1386 and 1387, the clerical poll tax was diverted to repairing the castle <sup>42</sup>.

The 1381 clerical tax in Durham diocese could not be found on the receipt rolls <sup>43</sup>, but it is clear that the tax was collected from the enrolled accounts, which reflect the faltering start that the collection of the tax had in Northumberland <sup>44</sup>. The account of the prior of Durham, who was originally to have been collector for the whole diocese, was enrolled, omitting the clergy of Northumberland for whom the prior did not answer.

The Exchequer noted the king's relaxation of the original terms of the grant, and that the prior had unable to collect in Northumberland because of this. The second mandate

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<sup>40</sup> E359/4b mm. 15-16.

<sup>41</sup> E401/541 m. 7; this occurred on same day on which Lescrope received at least one, if not two, tallies of assignment for £100 from the York diocese poll tax.

<sup>42</sup> McCarthy, Summerson and Annis, *Carlisle Castle*, p. 155.

<sup>43</sup> Presumably the payments may have been entered on one of the 1380-1 receipt rolls which are now missing.

<sup>44</sup> E359/4b mm. 15-16d. See Chapter 1.

to collect had been issued and the prior had been granted exoneration for Northumberland. Finally the names of the new collectors for Northumberland were noted to be John, abbot of Newminster and John de Derby, archdeacon of Northumberland. The exchequer then struck a balance of the prior's account and found him to have overpaid by three farthings.

In the event the 1381 poll tax from Northumberland was collected only by the archdeacon, who was found only to have paid in £40 of the £89 17s. that he owed by the time he came to the Exchequer to answer for his account <sup>45</sup>. The Exchequer noted that this was in fact 10s. 4d. more than was actually due from the collector, but still seems to have included it in the collector's outstanding debt to the Crown.

It is clear from the above discussion that there is abundant, though not necessarily comprehensive, evidence of the collection of the clerical poll taxes in the central records of the Exchequer. The question of whether or not the 1381 clerical poll tax was collected in Carlisle diocese cannot be answered definitively at present. However the trouble the Crown took to collect the same tax in Northumberland, shows that the Exchequer was extremely assiduous and would not let anyone avoid paying tax easily.

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<sup>45</sup> E359/4b mm. 15-16d.



## Chapter 4

### The Clergy of the Province of York

In the late fourteenth century the York Province of the church consisted of the three dioceses of York, Durham and Carlisle. The diocese of York was by far the largest of the three: it crossed the north of England from coast to coast and stretched from south of Nottingham to the river Tees in the north. The diocese of Durham covered the area east of the Pennines from the Tees to Berwick and the Scottish border, while the diocese of Carlisle covered the lake counties north from Borrowdale to the Solway.

The York diocese was divided into five archdeaconries: York, Cleveland, East Riding, Nottingham and Richmond. The archdeaconries were themselves made up of deaneries, some 24 in the whole diocese. The archdeaconry of Cleveland contained the deaneries of Bulmer, Cleveland and Rydale. The archdeaconry of the East Riding included four deaneries, Buckrose, Dickering, Harthill and Holderness. Nottingham archdeaconry was divided into the deaneries of Bingham, Newark, Nottingham, and Retford <sup>1</sup>. The medieval archdeaconry of Richmond consisted of eight deaneries: Boroughbridge, Catterick and Richmond in Yorkshire and Amounderness, Copeland, Furness, Lonsdale and Kendal, though at the time of the poll taxes it seems that Lonsdale and Kendal may have been considered to be one deanery <sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> G.Lawton, *Collectio Rerum Ecclesiasticarum de Diocesi Eboracensi; or, Collections Relative to Churches and Chapels within the Diocese of York*, (London, 1842), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> R.M.T.Hill, *The Labourer in the Vineyard, The Visitations of Archbishop Melton in the Archdeaconry of Richmond*, Borthwick Paper 35, (York, 1968), pp.6-8. The beneficed clergy of the deaneries of Lonsdale and Kendal are enrolled in a single list for the 1381 poll tax, E179/63/31.

Outside the jurisdiction of the archdeacons were the two archiepiscopal liberties of Ripon and Hexhamshire. Altogether there were probably some 804 parishes in the diocese towards the end of the middle ages <sup>3</sup>. There were also some 109 religious houses along with perhaps 90 hospitals. The religious houses varied in size and influence from cells with one or two religious to houses like Fountains Abbey and St. Mary's York each with 34 monks in 1381 <sup>4</sup>.

The diocese of Durham was divided into two archdeaconries: Durham and Northumberland. The archdeaconry of Durham consisted of two deaneries, Durham and Darlington, while the archdeaconry of Northumberland was made up of the deaneries of Alnwick, Bamburgh, Corbridge and Newcastle. The York peculiar of Hexhamshire fell, geographically at least, within the boundaries of the diocese of Durham, while the Durham peculiars of Allertonshire and Howdenshire were within the geographical boundaries of the York diocese <sup>5</sup>. In all there were probably 137 parishes in the Durham diocese, 73 in the archdeaconry of Northumberland and 64 in Durham

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<sup>3</sup> It is a somewhat difficult task to give exact numbers of parishes. Although parochial organisation was largely settled by the thirteenth century, there were disappearances and reappearances in subsequent centuries. The total given above is based on the map 'Yorkshire, Ancient Parishes and Chapelries', Yorkshire Archaeological Society (Leeds, 1973) for the parishes in Yorkshire, supplemented by *Fasti Parochiales* vols. 1-5 for the deaneries of Doncaster, Dickering, Craven and Buckrose, and the typescript *Fasti* for the deaneries of Harthill and Holderness edited by Rev. N.A.H. Lawrance, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Additional Manuscripts 153-5. The number for Richmond archdeaconry came from A. Hamilton Thompson, 'The Registers of the Archdeaconry of Richmond, 1361-1442,' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. XXV (1920), p. 140. The Nottinghamshire parishes came from *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, but preferring the larger numbers given in *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. 5.

<sup>4</sup> E179/63/12 mm.1, 4.

<sup>5</sup> F. Barlow, *Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars*, (London, 1950), pp. 53-115.

archdeaconry, including parishes run by religious <sup>6</sup>. There were at least 31 male religious communities, the largest and most important of which was undoubtedly Durham cathedral priory which numbered 41 monks in Durham, seven at Finchale, five at Holy Island and two at Monkwearmouth in 1379 along with two at Lytham, Lancs., and three at St. Leonard's, Stamford, Lincs., in 1381 <sup>7</sup>.

The diocese of Carlisle consisted of a single archdeaconry, Carlisle, divided into four deaneries: Carlisle, Allerdale, Cumberland and Westmorland. There were probably 93 parishes in the diocese <sup>8</sup>. Of the ten religious houses in the diocese, the most important was St. Mary's, Carlisle, the Augustinian cathedral priory of Carlisle which had twelve canons in 1379, though the Cistercian abbey of Holm Cultram was larger, having 15 monks <sup>9</sup>.

From the above it can be calculated that in the later Middle Ages the York province was divided into eight archdeaconries and 34 deaneries made up of a total of around 1036 parishes. There were approximately 159 religious houses of varying sizes from Durham cathedral priory down to cells with one or two religious.

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<sup>6</sup> R.Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church: A study in the social structure of the secular clergy in the diocese of Durham 1311-1540,' 2 vols., unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh (1955), pp. xii-xiii.

<sup>7</sup> E179/62/4 mm. 1-2; E179/63/12 m. 6; McHardy, *Clerical Poll Taxes*, pp. 106,167. There were two other cells of Durham: Coldingham and Jarrow. Coldingham was in Scotland and was thus not subject to the poll taxes, though in fact there would not have been any Durham monks at Coldingham in 1379 since they had been expelled in 1378 by Robert II. I.B.Cowan and D.E.Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland*, second ed. (London, 1976), p. 56. The cell at Jarrow does not appear in the poll tax enrolment, probably because there were no monks there at the time; A.J.Piper, *The Durham Monks at Jarrow*, Jarrow Lecture, (Jarrow, 1986), pp. 26, 31.

<sup>8</sup> Bouch, *Prelates and People*, pp. 15, 471-3.

<sup>9</sup> Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts,' pp.74-5, 79-80.

Figures for the clerical population of the province are not actually available for one particular year, but can be produced by using information from different poll taxes. Obviously this has the disadvantage of using material which may have been collected using different criteria, so any such figures should be used with care. Moreover the patchy survival of the poll tax enrolments means that there are gaps in the data. There is however a source which may perhaps be used to fill the major gaps, that is the 'great enrolments' for 1377, 1379 and 1381, figures from which were published by Russell <sup>10</sup>.

Before accepting Russell's figures from the great enrolments it would appear reasonable to attempt to assess their accuracy <sup>11</sup>. It has already been seen that the Exchequer clerks transcribed financial totals accurately from collectors' enrolments to the great enrolments <sup>12</sup>, but it is possible they were less accurate in transcribing of the numbers of the clergy, since they were not the Exchequer's chief concern. Russell gives the figure of 2295 priests and 94 clerks for 1381 in the archdeaconries of York, Richmond, East Riding and Cleveland, which agrees exactly with the totals given on the surviving poll tax enrolment <sup>13</sup>. Similarly Russell gives 268 as the number of priests in the archdeaconry of Northumberland in 1381, a figure which agrees exactly with the

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<sup>10</sup> E359/4b, see Chapter 3; Russell, *British Medieval Population*, p. 137. See also the important critique of Russell's work by J.Hatcher, *Plague, Population and the English Economy 1348-1530*, (London, 1977), pp. 13-5. This critique is not entirely relevant here since it relates principally to the estimates of population trends before and after 1377, and to the multiplier Russell used to turn the numbers from the poll tax enrolments into an estimate of the total population. Hatcher does not criticise the raw data which Russell published, and it is that which is used here.

<sup>11</sup> Russell's transcription of the numbers of northern province clergy from the great enrolment was checked and found to be accurate, E359/54 mm. 1, 5-8, 13, 15-16.

<sup>12</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>13</sup> E179/63/12 m. 9.

poll tax enrolment <sup>14</sup>. Although the poll tax enrolment for the archdeaconry of Durham for 1381 does not appear to have survived, Russell's total of 221 unbeneficed priests in Durham diocese for 1379 agrees with the total given on the enrolment for the hybrid tax of 1380 <sup>15</sup>.

Other agreements are harder to find, for example it is not possible to trace figures from the Lincoln poll tax enrolments on to the great enrolment, largely due to the patchy survival of poll tax enrolments <sup>16</sup>. Russell's number of priests for the archdeaconry of Middlesex (London diocese) in 1381 can be agreed with the total on the edition of that poll tax enrolment published by Dr. McHardy, though it should be noted that the number of clerks does not agree, 49 being on the poll tax enrolment, while the great enrolment does not record any <sup>17</sup>. Thus it would probably appear reasonable to use the figures appearing in Russell's edition of the great enrolment to fill in the gaps left by the disappearance of poll tax enrolments.

Having accepted the accuracy of the figures transcribed from the poll tax enrolments on to the great enrolments, there remains the question of which of the three sets of figures, for 1377, 1379 or 1381 is likely to be most accurate. This is important because of the question of evasion and because of some substantial differences between the figures. For example in the diocese of Exeter there were apparently 2001 clerics in 1377, but only 1360 in 1381. The total number of clergy in the diocese of Lichfield

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<sup>14</sup> E179/62/6 m. 1d.

<sup>15</sup> E179/62/5 m. 1d.

<sup>16</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*.

<sup>17</sup> Russell, *British Medieval Population*, p. 136; McHardy, *Church in London*, p. 38.

also appears to have decreased from 2122 in 1377 to 1744 in 1381. This led Russell to the opinion that figures from the 1377 clerical poll tax were more reliable as historical sources than figures from the later ones <sup>18</sup>.

However Dr. McHardy has shown that for the archdeaconry of Lincoln there is evidence, based on the completeness of geographical coverage rather than simple total numbers of clergy, which suggests very strongly that the 1381 poll tax was more efficiently collected than that of 1377. There was also evidence of similar improvements between 1379 and 1381 in the deaneries of Eaton Socon, Beds., and Berkhamstead, Herts. Dr. McHardy's contention that there was an accumulation of expertise with successive poll taxes and her conclusion that there is no clear 'best' assessment, but that each enrolment needs to be evaluated individually, appears eminently reasonable <sup>19</sup>.

By using the best available poll tax enrolments and filling the gaps with figures from the great enrolment where necessary, it is possible to produce an estimate of the total clerical population of the York province. Numbers for the diocese of York can be taken from the poll tax enrolment for 1381 for the archdeaconries of York, Cleveland, East Riding and Richmond, since this is the most complete York enrolment surviving <sup>20</sup>. Enrolments for the archdeaconry of Nottingham are missing, so the figures have to be taken from Russell <sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> For the diocese of Durham, the only surviving poll tax enrolment of the whole Russell, *British Medieval Population*, pp. 119, 134-5, 139.

<sup>19</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. xxix-xxx.

<sup>20</sup> E179/63/12.

<sup>21</sup> Russell, *British Medieval Population*, p. 137.

diocese is that for the graduated tax of 1379, though the 1381 enrolment for the archdeaconry of Northumberland is still extant <sup>22</sup>. It has been decided to use the 1379 figures here because it is the most complete record, although there are some gaps, notably the priory of Hexham and the Durham cell at Jarrow. The Trinitarians at Newcastle seem to have escaped the taxation of 1379, though their minister John de Lilburn, paid tax in 1381 <sup>23</sup>. The cell at Jarrow would appear to have been omitted because there were no monks at Jarrow at the time of the taxation <sup>24</sup>. An estimate of 20 priests and religious has been added to the figures from the enrolment to make up for the missing canons of Hexham and the Newcastle Trinitarians <sup>25</sup>

For the diocese of Carlisle it was also decided to use the figures for 1379 since it was the only complete poll tax enrolment. <sup>26</sup> There are problems with this enrolment, at least part of it seems to have been fabricated but it is probably fair to rely on the numbers given, if not the names of taxpayers <sup>27</sup>. Moreover a comparison of the 1379 figures from the poll tax enrolment with the figures for 1377 preserved on the great enrolment shows some consistency: in 1379 there were apparently 218 priests in the diocese, in 1377 there had been 232 <sup>28</sup>.

From these materials it is possible to estimate the total clerical population of the

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<sup>22</sup> E179/62/4 for 1379 and E179/62/6 for 1381.

<sup>23</sup> E179/62/6 m. 1; The minister of the Newcastle Trinitarians is actually referred to as '*magister de Walknoll*' on the enrolment.

<sup>24</sup> Piper, *Durham Monks at Jarrow*, pp. 26,31.

<sup>25</sup> A full explanation of the estimate is given in Chapter 5.

<sup>26</sup> Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts,' pp.74-81.

<sup>27</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>28</sup> Russell, *British Medieval Population*, p. 137.

York province between 1379 and 1381 at approximately 3491 priests and religious, and 145 clerks in minor orders and *conversi*. These figures must be used with the utmost care since there are gaps in the data and since the numbers come from two different years. It should also be noted that these figures have been adjusted to exclude female religious and that the knights hospitallers, who paid tax with the laity, also do not appear <sup>29</sup>. There is however one important group of clergy who do not appear in taxation records: the friars, who by custom never paid taxes.

An estimate of the number of friars must therefore be added to the figures from the taxation records. A detailed estimate for the whole of England was made by Russell, who first gave a figure of 3242 for the number of friars in 1377 <sup>30</sup>. After further consideration this figure was revised downwards to 2590 <sup>31</sup>. A separate series of estimates for the number of religious in England and Wales was also made by Hadcock, who estimated the numbers of friars for the years 1350-1422 at between 2197 and 2995 <sup>32</sup>. As Dom David Knowles pointed out, the estimates, produced by different methods, are remarkably similar <sup>33</sup>, but it was decided to use Russell's figures here. This was partly because Russell focussed on the poll tax years, but also because he

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<sup>29</sup> Ten female religious from the diocese of Durham who paid tax in 1379, have been subtracted from the totals, E179/62/4. No nuns paid tax in Carlisle diocese in 1379, Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts,' pp. 74-81. Although women were not required to pay the half-mark in 1381, there is evidence that eight prioresses of York diocese actually made payments to help raise the total sum required by the Exchequer, E179/63/31.

<sup>30</sup> Russell, 'Clerical Population,' pp. 206-212.

<sup>31</sup> Russell, *British Medieval Population*, pp. 145-6.

<sup>32</sup> D.Knowles and R.N.Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales*, second edition (London, 1971), p. 494.

<sup>33</sup> D.Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, (3 vols., Cambridge, 1955), vol. II, pp. 255-6.



produced estimates of the general and clerical population at the same time, allowing a greater range of comparisons to be made. Russell also gave useful footnotes, detailing the figures he used and their sources.

It is now necessary to try to estimate how many of these friars could be found in the York province. An estimate of 30 friars in the diocese of Durham was made by Donaldson using ratios derived from Russell's estimates <sup>34</sup>, but this seems rather difficult to accept since there were seven friaries in the diocese.

Another way to produce an estimate of the numbers of mendicants is to find numbers for the inhabitants of individual houses, this should be much more accurate since it can be more closely tailored to the specific circumstances of each house. From 1277 until 1337 English kings regularly gave donations of alms to houses of friars at a standard rate of one groat (4d.) per friar. This has allowed historians to make estimates of the number of friars in particular houses. However as Hinnebusch pointed out, royal alms were given on the basis of the number of friars actually resident on the day of the donation, rather than the number who belonged to that house. Since friars were often out and about, numbers based on the royal alms appear to fluctuate greatly, though Hinnebusch believed that the membership of the order remained fairly constant in this period. For example: the numbers resident in the Dominican house in London varied

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<sup>34</sup> Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church,' p. 31. It should be noted that Donaldson's calculation appears confused. The simple ratio of total friars to the rest of the taxpaying clergy which he claimed to have used in fact gives a larger number. The totals for England in 1377 of 2590 friars to 30,641 other taxpaying clergy would make the number of friars 8.45% of the rest of the clergy. In the case of the diocese of Durham this would produce an estimate of 51 friars, (i.e. 8.45% of 598).

wildly, between 128 in 1289 and 64 in 1297, but with an average of 90 from six donations 1289-1300 <sup>35</sup>.

Figures for the numbers of friars in Yorkshire in 1300 which were drawn together by G.D.Jones, form the basis of our estimate here <sup>36</sup>. However the figures Jones gave for the Austin Friars of Hull, the Carmelites in Doncaster, Northallerton and Scarborough and the Dominicans of Scarborough were marked 'average'. It is not clear exactly how these averages were calculated, though they appear to be averages for the particular orders. Moreover since Jones's average of 25 for the Dominicans at Scarborough differs substantially from the average of 37 given by Hinnebusch for English Dominican houses <sup>37</sup>, it seemed appropriate to re-examine these 'averages'.

Knowles and Hadcock give the inhabitants of the Austin Friars' house at Hull as 16 in 1317, so that figure has been preferred <sup>38</sup>. Hinnebusch gives the number of Dominicans in Scarborough in the late fourteenth century as five, so that too has been used <sup>39</sup>. This leaves the three Carmelite houses of Doncaster, Northallerton and Scarborough to estimate: an average calculated from the six houses of Carmelites in the province for which we have numbers came out at 27, this estimate was preferred to that given by Jones. The revised figures for the numbers of friars in the Yorkshire portion

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<sup>35</sup> W.A.Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers*, (Rome, 1951), pp. 271-3. See also F.Roth, *The English Austin Friars 1249-1538*, (2 vols., New York, 1966), p.32.

<sup>36</sup> G.D.Jones, 'The Relationship of the Mendicant orders of Yorkshire to the Archbishops of York,' (unpublished MA. thesis, York, 1987), pp. 92-3.

<sup>37</sup> Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers*, pp. 274-5.

<sup>38</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 242.

<sup>39</sup> Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars Preachers*, p. 273.

of York diocese in the early fourteenth century are thus as follows:

Augustinian Friars	Hull	16
	Tickhill	18
	York	34
Carmelites	Doncaster	27 (average)
	Hull	26
	Northallerton	27 (average)
	Scarborough	27 (average)
	York	30
Dominicans	Beverley	34
	Pontefract	31
	Scarborough	5 (late fourteenth century)
	Yarm	30
	York	50
Franciscans	Beverley	33
	Doncaster	28
	Richmond	30
	Scarborough	30
	York	43

Estimated total number of friars in Yorkshire: 514 excluding the Dominican house at Scarborough, for which we have a post-plague figure of five.

In order to produce an estimate for the whole province it is necessary to add figures for the Nottinghamshire and Lancashire parts of York diocese and for the dioceses of Durham and Carlisle <sup>40</sup>. Where no figures for the period are available an average for houses of that order within the province is used and is marked 'average'. In a few cases figures exist from a number of years, in which case an average for that particular house has been calculated, and is marked as such.

Diocese of York outside Yorkshire:

Carmelites	Nottingham	36
Dominicans	Lancaster	30
Franciscans	Nottingham	33 (average)
	Preston	33 (average)

Total estimate of friars in the diocese of York in the first four decades of the fourteenth century 646, excluding the Dominican house at Scarborough <sup>41</sup>

Diocese of Durham:

Augustinian Friars <sup>42</sup>	Newcastle	25 (average for house)
Carmelites	Hulne	28
	Newcastle	27 (average for house)
Dominicans	Bamburgh	10

<sup>40</sup> The figures that follow are from Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 213-240.

<sup>41</sup> As stated above we have a late 14th. century figure of five for Scarborough, in order to complete this estimate for the years before the plague it would be consistent to add the pre-plague average size of a northern Dominican house, ie. 30, for Scarborough. This gives a pre-plague total for the diocese of 676, though in view of the small size of Scarborough later in the century the average of 30 seems rather large.

<sup>42</sup> This list excludes the unsuccessful Austin Friars' house at Barnard Castle, since the licence to establish it was only issued by Archbishop Neville on 28 September 1381. Roth, *English Austin Friars*, vol. 1, p. 53, vol. 2, pp. 218-9.

	Newcastle	32 (average for house)
Franciscans	Durham	33 (average)
	Newcastle	31 (average for house)

Estimated total number of friars in the diocese of Durham 186.

Diocese of Carlisle:

Augustinian Friars	Penrith	8
Carmelites	Appleby	12
Dominicans	Carlisle	20
Franciscans	Carlisle	33 (average)

Estimated total number of friars in the diocese of Carlisle 73.

This gives an estimated total number of friars in the York province in the years before the plague of 1350 (935 if the Dominicans at Scarborough are included).

The major problem for the historian of the late fourteenth century with this potentially useful source of mendicant numbers is that the donations stopped in 1337, some eleven years before the onset of the Black Death. Thus any figures derived from royal alms will need to be adjusted to estimate the effect of the plague on the numbers of the friars. Russell believed that the number of friars was halved by the plague while Knowles and Hadcock estimated that the number of mendicants was reduced by around 44%<sup>43</sup>. Since Knowles and Hadcock's figures are more modern, and are based on a

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<sup>43</sup> Russell, *Clerical Population*, pp. 207-9; Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 492.

wider range of research it seems prudent to use their figures. It would thus appear that the number of friars in the York province in the second half of the fourteenth century was somewhere in the region of 512<sup>44</sup>.

The complete estimate of the clerical population of York province is perhaps most clearly shown in the following table:

Clerical Population of York Province 1377-81

	Priests & religious	Clerks & <i>conversi</i>	Total
York diocese (1381) <sup>45</sup>			
(York, Richmond, East Riding and Cleveland)	2307	94	2401
(Nottingham)	448	21	469
Durham diocese (1379) <sup>46</sup>			
(Durham)	261		
		26	547

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<sup>44</sup> This was calculated as 56% of 905 = 507 plus 5 for the Scarborough Dominicans.

<sup>45</sup> Figures for the archdeaconries of York, Richmond, East Riding and Cleveland are from E179/63/12; figures for Nottingham archdeaconry are from Russell, *British Medieval Population*, p. 137. An estimate of six Grandmontines at Grosmont and six for the Carthusians of Hull has been added to the enrolled total (see Chapter 5).

<sup>46</sup> Figures calculated from E179/62/4, with female religious excluded, and an estimated 20 extra religious to allow for the canons of Hexham and the Trinitarian friars of Newcastle who do not appear in the enrolment. The number for clerks appears to relate to the whole diocese.

(Northumberland)	260		
Carlisle diocese (1379) <sup>47</sup>	218	6	224
York province	3494	147	3641
Estimated number of friars			512
Estimated number of Hospitallers <sup>48</sup>			12
Estimated clerical population of York province			4165
Religious belonging to houses in York province living in dependent houses in Canterbury province <sup>49</sup>			17

One of the most obvious difficulties with the above figures is that no distinction is made between secular priests and the religious, an important point when considering the supply of priests for parochial work. It is possible however to find separate figures using the poll tax enrolments. The 1381 enrolment for four of the archdeaconries of York, Richmond, Cleveland and East Riding lists a total of 558 religious and 59 *conversi* to which an estimated twelve more need to be added <sup>50</sup>. The 1379 enrolment for the diocese of Durham lists 118 male religious and 17 nuns and canonesses <sup>51</sup>, to which has been added an extra 20 to adjust for missing information. The 1379

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<sup>47</sup> Figures taken from Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts,' pp.74-81.

<sup>48</sup> See Chapter 5.

<sup>49</sup> See Chapter 5.

<sup>50</sup> The enrolment gives a total of 555 but this includes Archbishop Neville, who was a secular, and does not include the Grandmontines of Grosmont or the Carthusians of Hull, for each of which an estimate of six has been made. E179/63/12, m. 6; see Chapter 5 for the reasoning behind the estimates.

<sup>51</sup> E179/62/4.

enrolment for the diocese of Carlisle lists 44 male religious <sup>52</sup>. This gives a total of 752 male religious and 59 lay brothers, but this figure omits the archdeaconry of Nottingham, for which an estimate needs to be made.

It is possible to make an estimate, based on information about the size of individual religious houses given by Knowles and Hadcock <sup>53</sup>. There is an element of guesswork in these figures, since there is little information about the size of these houses and because information comes from different times within the medieval period.

Blyth priory	Benedictine, alien until 1409	3
Lenton priory	Cluniac, alien until 1392	30
Nottingham	Cluniac, cell of Lenton	2
Rufford abbey	Cistercian	16
Beauvale priory	Carthusian	12
Felley priory	Augustinian canons	5
Newstead priory	Augustinian canons	13
Shelford priory	Augustinian canons	12
Thurgarton priory	Augustinian canons	25
Worksop priory	Augustinian canons	18
Welbeck abbey	Premonstratensian	14
Mattersey priory	Gilbertine	6

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<sup>52</sup> Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts,' pp.74-81.

<sup>53</sup> This paragraph and the table that follows is based on Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 52, 60, 97, 100, 102, 125, 134, 157, 167, 169, 173, 176, 180, 192, 198, 382.



It is also necessary to estimate of the number of *conversi* we could expect to find in the archdeaconry of Nottingham, since the general enrolments do not distinguish them from parish clerks. Knowles and Hadcock believed that the supply of lay brothers declined rapidly after the Black Death so that the *conversi* 'dwindled to vanishing point'<sup>54</sup>. On the other hand it is clear that there were still some 59 lay brothers in the diocese of York in 1381, so it is likely that some of the 21 non-priestly clerics who paid tax in 1381 were lay brothers.

An examination of the religious houses elsewhere in the York diocese showed which orders were most likely to have lay brothers: all ten of the Cistercian houses had at least one lay brother; three out of five Premonstratensian houses had *conversi* and five out of 15 Augustinian houses had lay brothers<sup>55</sup>. There were a total of 164 Cistercian monks elsewhere in the diocese along with 41 *conversi*, an average of one lay brother for every four monks. There were 62 Premonstratensians but only four lay brothers, an average of one for every 16 canons while there was one Augustinian lay brother for every 15 canons, but mainly in the larger houses.

If this pattern were to be repeated in the Nottingham archdeaconry it would seem reasonable to expect to find perhaps four Cistercian *conversi* at Rufford abbey, one Premonstratensian lay brother at Welbeck Abbey and perhaps four Augustinian lay

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<sup>54</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 42; a full discussion of the lay brothers of the religious orders appears in Chapter 5.

<sup>55</sup> E179/63/12; as was pointed out above, the Trinitarian house at Knaresborough also had lay brothers. Since there were no Trinitarian Friars in Nottingham archdeaconry, they need play no part in drawing up an estimate.

brothers, probably two each in the larger priories of Thurgarton and Worksop. There was also a Carthusian house at Beauvale, founded in 1343 for a prior, twelve monks and 'laybrothers'<sup>56</sup>. Given the particularly enclosed way of life of the Carthusians it is difficult to imagine there not being at least two lay brothers at Beauvale. An estimate of the number of *conversi* in the archdeaconry of Nottingham would therefore appear to be around eleven. As a proportion of the total number of religious, eleven constitutes 6.59%, while the proportion for the rest of the diocese is 9.61% so this estimate may be too conservative<sup>57</sup>.

The estimated total number of male religious in Nottingham archdeaconry is therefore 156 monks and canons and eleven lay brothers. Thus according to the poll tax enrolments and further estimates it would appear that in the province of York there were 4165 clergy of all types. There seem to have been around 908 monks, canons and other taxpaying religious, and around 70 lay brothers and *conversi*. An estimate of 512 friars from the four major orders of mendicants has been made<sup>58</sup>. There were an estimated 12 Hospitallers in the province and there were probably around 17 male religious from houses in York province who were living in dependent houses in Canterbury province. This leaves a total of 2586 secular priests of all ranks, along with 77 clerks in lesser orders serving the province.

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<sup>56</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 134.

<sup>57</sup> This is calculated as 11 out of 156 monks and canons plus 11 lay brothers for Nottingham archdeaconry compared with 59 out of 555 plus 59 for the rest of the diocese.

<sup>58</sup> The 512 excludes the Trinitarian Houses at Knaresborough and Newcastle upon Tyne, since they were not technically mendicants they generally paid taxes and should appear on the enrolments. Seven Trinitarians of Knaresborough appear on the 1381 enrolment: the minister (the head of the house), four other priests and two lay brothers, E179/63/12, m. 6. The Trinitarians in Newcastle appear to have avoided paying tax in 1379, though the *magister* of the house paid in 1381, E179/62/6 m. 1.

## Chapter 5

### The Religious

According to the poll tax enrolments and the estimates made in the preceding chapter, it would appear that there were approximately 1449 male regular clergy, along with some 70 lay brothers, in the religious houses of the York Province, and their dependencies in Canterbury Province, in the late fourteenth century. This chapter begins an examination of the poll tax evidence concerning these religious in order to see what use it can be to the historian.

The first issue to be addressed here is the completeness of the enrolments as far as the regulars are concerned. If the enrolments are complete and trustworthy, then the absence of a list of the inmates of a religious house would imply that it was uninhabited at the time of the poll tax. If the enrolments are generally unreliable then no such conclusion can reasonably be drawn. This is a particular problem when considering the smaller cells, which may have supported conventual life only from time to time. The method adopted was to use the lists of religious houses drawn up by Knowles and Hadcock as the basis for a list of the religious houses of the province at the time of the poll taxes, then to compare that list with the the poll tax enrolments <sup>1</sup>.

At the time of the poll taxes there were somewhere around 159 religious houses in the York province of the English church. The total was made up of 127 houses of male religious, 31 houses of female religious and one Gilbertine double house of men

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<sup>1</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*; The enrolments used were those used for the estimates of numbers in Chapter 4: E179/63/12 and E179/63/31, York diocese, excluding the archdeaconry of Nottingham 1381; E179/62/4, Durham diocese 1379; and E179/60/1 the 1379 enrolment for Carlisle diocese.

and women, Watton priory, Yorks. There were also seven religious houses in Canterbury province which were dependent on mother houses in York province; religious from these houses may be considered clergy of York province since they were under the direct control of their mother houses <sup>2</sup>.

Not all of the religious houses of York province appear in the 1381 enrolments. The 31 houses of mendicants in the province should not be expected to appear, since the friars did not pay taxes. There is also a substantial gap in these York diocese enrolments, since no enrolment from the archdeaconry of Nottingham seems to have survived. The enrolment evidence for the female religious is also largely missing, since they only appear to have paid individual poll taxes in 1379 in Durham diocese <sup>3</sup>. What follows therefore is concerned with the 83 taxpaying male religious houses which should appear on the poll tax enrolments which have survived. They are considered order by order.

### The Benedictines

Towards the end of the fourteenth century there were some 20 English

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<sup>2</sup> There had also been two dependent houses outside England: the Durham cell at Coldingham in Scotland; and the St. Mary's, York, dependency at Nendrum in Ireland. There were no Durham monks at Coldingham at the time of the poll taxes, since they had been expelled from their priory by King Robert II in 1378, R.B.Dobson, 'The last English Monks on Scottish Soil,' *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 46, (1967), p. 3. The cell at Nendrum had been disposed of by 1298, A.Gwynn and R.N.Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses Ireland*, (repr. Blackrock, Co. Dublin, 1988), p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> It should however be noted that eight prioresses of York diocese made payments in 1381, probably to help the collector reach his target. E179/63/31 m. 5.

Benedictine houses of varying sizes in the province, eleven in the York diocese, eight in Durham diocese and one in Carlisle diocese <sup>4</sup>. There were also four dependent houses outside the province. In the list that follows, mother houses of dependencies are given in round brackets, numbers of monks are those recorded on the enrolments, houses for which no number is given do not appear on the enrolments <sup>5</sup>.

### Benedictines in York Province

York diocese		Monks
Abbeys	Selby	26
	Whitby	20
	York, St. Mary	34
Priories	Fishergate, York, (Whitby)	
	Lytham, Lancs., (Durham)	2
	Middlesbrough, (Whitby)	
	Monk Bretton	11
	Richmond, St. Martin, (St.Mary, York)	2
	St. Bees, Cumbs., (St.Mary, York)	5
	Snaith, (Selby)	
Cells	Hackness, (Whitby)	
Durham diocese		
Priories	Durham cathedral	41
	Finchale, (Durham)	7

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<sup>4</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 53-82.

<sup>5</sup> Numbers of religious for this and subsequent lists come from E179/63/12 and E179/63/31 for York diocese and E179/62/4 for Durham diocese, both of which are transcribed in Appendix A. Figures for the diocese of Carlisle are taken from E179/60/1. Figures for the dependent houses outside the province come from a variety of sources which are noted individually.

	Jarrow, (Durham)	
	Lindisfarne, (Durham)	5
	Monkwearmouth, (Durham)	2
	Tynemouth, (St. Albans)	18
Cells	Coquet Island, (Tynemouth)	
	Farne Island, (Durham)	
Carlisle diocese		
Priory	Wetheral, (St. Mary, York)	4
Dependent houses outside York Province		
Priories	Lincoln, St. Mary Magdalene (St. Mary, York)	
	Oxford, Durham College, (Durham)	
	Rumburgh, (St. Mary, York) <sup>6</sup>	3
	Stamford, St. Leonard, (Durham) <sup>7</sup>	3

It can be seen from the above table that seven out of the 20 Benedictine houses in the province do not appear in the enrolments, all dependent houses: Farne Island and Jarrow, which belonged to Durham; Fishergate, York, Hackness and Middlesbrough, which were dependent on Whitby; Coquet Island which belonged to Tynemouth and Snaith which belonged to Selby.

The absence of the Durham cell at Jarrow from the enrolments has already been discussed in the previous chapter, but would seem to have occurred because Jarrow was

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<sup>6</sup> The 1381 enrolment for the archdeaconries of Suffolk and Sudbury, Norwich diocese, gives the christian names of a prior and two monks at Rumburgh, E179/45/5b mm. 2-3.

<sup>7</sup> The 1381 enrolments of the diocese of Lincoln give the names of a prior and two monks, McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. 106,167.

not occupied by monks in 1379. By extension it would seem reasonable to argue that the hermitage of Farne was also unoccupied at the time, not least because one of the collectors was the prior of Durham, who must have known.

The fact that none of the three dependent houses of Whitby abbey appear in the enrolment is puzzling. The enrolment evidence implies that the cells were uninhabited by monks, though it is also possible that for some reason monks living in the cells paid their tax with the community of the mother house. There is evidence that the cell of All Saints, Fishergate, York, was no longer inhabited by the monks by the time of the poll taxes. In 1384 Thomas Graa, escheator for Yorkshire, took the lands and rents of the cell, worth six marks yearly, into the king's hands on the ground that services had been withdrawn from the cell 'for twenty years and more'<sup>8</sup>. Given the tiny value of the cell it seems hardly surprising that the cell was no longer inhabited, a position which appears to have been accepted by the Crown when the lands were returned to the abbot and convent<sup>9</sup>.

This still leaves the other two Whitby cells, Middlesbrough and Hackness to be considered. The priory at Middlesbrough does seem to have been inhabited periodically in the late fourteenth century. One Thomas de Hawkesgarth occurs as prior of Middlesbrough in 1378, 1386 and 1393<sup>10</sup>. Hawkesgarth had been accused of apostasy in 1371 but clearly must have been rehabilitated given his subsequent career<sup>11</sup>. It

<sup>8</sup> *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery)*, Volume IV, 1377-88, (London, 1957), p. 83.

<sup>9</sup> *CCR 1381-85*, p. 458.

<sup>10</sup> F.D.Logan, *Runaway Religious in Medieval England, c1240-1540*, (Cambridge, 1996), p. 192; *VCH Yorks.*, vol. III, p. 106; G.Young, *A History of Whitby and Streonshalh Abbey*, (2 vols., Whitby, 1817), vol.1, p. 391n. Stephen de Ormesby, infirmarer in 1393 according to Young, occurs as prior of Middlesbrough in 1398; Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, Reg. 5A, fo. 234v.

would seem reasonable to suggest that Hawkesgarth was prior of Middlesbrough in 1381, though since this is not recorded on the enrolment we cannot be sure <sup>12</sup>. In any case it is clear that Hawkesgarth paid his poll tax with the main body of the monks of Whitby.

The establishment at Hackness was always under the direct control of Whitby abbey and so was never a distinct cell, though a number of monks did generally live there <sup>13</sup>. Monks at Hackness would therefore be expected to have paid their poll tax with the rest of the abbey community.

The Tynemouth cell on Coquet Island appears rarely in the records, certainly it was in use in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, but from then on little is known until the fifteenth century. There would appear to have been a chapel and a few stone chambers, a tower is mentioned in 1415. Henry, earl of Northumberland established a chantry for two monks to pray in the chapel on the island in 1442 <sup>14</sup>. This may suggest that the cell had fallen into disuse, perhaps because it lacked the means to support a monk or two. At the time of the poll taxes then, it may be that the cell on Coquet Island

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Continued from previous page...

<sup>11</sup> Hawkesgarth acted as visitor commissary alongside Uthred of Boldon and performed visitations of St. Mary's, York, Selby abbey and Monk Bretton priory in May 1378; W.A.Pantin, *Documents Illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks 1215-1540*, vol. 3, Camden 3rd. series, vol. LIV, (London, 1937), pp. 248-9.

<sup>12</sup> It may be significant that Hawkesgarth appears last on the enrolment of monks of Whitby, even though he was senior to others further up the list; E179/63/12 m. 1.

<sup>13</sup> *VCH Yorks.*, vol. III, p. 107.

<sup>14</sup> J.C.Hodgson, *A History of Northumberland*, vol. V, (Newcastle and London, 1899), pp. 315-9.



was disused, or that any monastic inhabitants paid tax with the priory of Tynemouth.

The case for arguing that Selby abbey's cell at Snaith did not support independent conventual life appears rather stronger. The priory at Snaith was based around the parish church which had been granted to Selby abbey by Gerard, archbishop of York, (1101-08), and was appropriated in 1310. Under the terms of the appropriation the abbey was permitted to place and remove two monks at will but was only required to provide a stipendiary priest to serve the parish. The thinking of the monks of Selby seems however to have been crystallised by a judgement made in March 1409, when following complaints that there was no vicar at Snaith, Richard Pittes, the archbishop's chancellor, decreed that Snaith was 'canonically united to the abbot and convent' of Selby <sup>15</sup>. If Snaith was considered part of the abbey, then it could be expected that any monks at Snaith would pay tax along with the rest of the Selby community. In 1382 Simon de Alkbarow (or Alkbarowe), monk, appears at Snaith <sup>16</sup>, so it is likely that there were monks living at Snaith around the time of the poll taxes. Simon de Alkbarowe also appears in the 1381 enrolment as a monk at Selby <sup>17</sup>. Clearly Alkbarowe could have been moved to Snaith in late 1381 or early 1382, but it does seem highly probable that the enrolment for Selby included any monks actually at Snaith at the time the poll tax was collected.

Poll tax enrolment data is only available for two of the four dependencies outside the province, estimates are therefore required to complete the picture.

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<sup>15</sup> *VCH Yorks.*, vol. III, p. 100.

<sup>16</sup> C.B.Robinson, *History of the Priory and Peculiar of Snaith, in the County of York*, (London, 1861), p. 121.

<sup>17</sup> E179/63/12 m. 1.

The priory of St. Leonard at Stamford, though the date and circumstances of its foundation are uncertain, seems to have belonged to Durham priory by 1146 when it was listed among the possessions confirmed to Durham priory by Pope Eugenius III <sup>18</sup>. According to the Lincoln poll tax enrolments St. Leonard's had a prior and two monks in 1381 <sup>19</sup>.

The priory of St. Michael at Rumburgh, Suffolk, in the diocese of Norwich, was a preconquest foundation which had twelve monks at the time of Domesday Book <sup>20</sup>. In 1135 it was given as a cell to St. Mary's, York; it had four monks in 1258 and two in 1286 <sup>21</sup>. The enrolment for the 1381 poll tax in the archdeaconries of Suffolk and Sudbury gives the name of the prior as Nicholas, and gives the christian names of two further monks at Rumburgh, so the community at Rumburgh seems to have been three in 1381 <sup>22</sup>. Estimates must now be made for the two remaining dependent houses in the Canterbury province, for which we do not have poll tax enrolment evidence.

The priory of St. Mary Magdalene, Lincoln, dependent on St. Mary's abbey, York, was probably founded around 1135; it housed three monks in 1258 and two in 1286 <sup>23</sup>. There was at least one monk at Lincoln early in the fourteenth century, because

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<sup>18</sup> A.Piper, 'St. Leonard's Priory, Stamford,' *The Stamford Historian*, vol. 5 (1980), pp. 5-7.

<sup>19</sup> Only two were enrolled in 1377; McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. 12, 106, 167.

<sup>20</sup> *VCH Suffolk*, vol. II, pp. 77-8.

<sup>21</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 56, 74.

<sup>22</sup> E179/45/5b mm. 2-3; presumably this Prior Nicholas was Nicholas Kelfield, prior of Rumburgh, who was recalled to the mother house in 1391, *VCH Suffolk*, vol. II, p. 78.

<sup>23</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 69.

in 1312 the abbot complained that one of his monks had been assaulted<sup>24</sup>, but this was before the Black Death. The cell does not appear in any of the poll tax enrolments for Lincoln diocese, which survive from 1377, and 1381 (in draft and final versions). Since the priory was very close to the city of Lincoln<sup>25</sup>, it was hardly likely to have been overlooked; it would hardly have been omitted on grounds of poverty since it was a cell of a very wealthy house. It could perhaps have been argued that monks at St. Mary Magdalene were outside the Lincoln collector's jurisdiction but since the Durham cell at Stamford appears in all three enrolments<sup>26</sup>, it is clear that the collector felt that such houses were within his jurisdiction. By the end of the fourteenth century it would appear that the cell was no longer served by the monks, at an inquisition held in 1406 it was claimed that there had been neither monks nor divine service at St. Mary Magdalene's since 1392<sup>27</sup>. It thus seems quite likely that the cell of St. Mary Magdalene, Lincoln was not inhabited by monks at the time of the poll taxes, though it is possible that any monks who were there paid their taxes with their mother house.

Durham College, Oxford, was probably the largest of the Benedictine dependencies outside York province. In the absence of evidence it was necessary to estimate the size of the community of monks in the college. Durham College had been founded in 1291 by Richard de Hoton, prior of Durham, after his predecessor Hugh de Derlington, had started to send Durham monks to Oxford to study<sup>28</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> *VCH Lincoln*, vol. II, pp. 129-30.

<sup>25</sup> F.Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 338-9.

<sup>26</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. 12, 106, 167.

<sup>27</sup> Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, p. 339; *CPR 1405-1408*, p. 249; *CCR 1405-1409*, p. 162.

<sup>28</sup> M.R.Foster, 'Durham Monks at Oxford c. 1286-1381: a House of Studies and its Inmates,' *Oxoniensia*, vol. LV, (1990), pp. 99-114.

Thomas Hatfield, bishop of Durham, decided in 1379 to endow Durham College and an agreement was reached with Durham priory in 1380, but no action was taken until after his death on 8 May 1381 when the college received endowments worth £200 a year from Hatfield's executors. Under the terms of the endowment, Durham College was to house eight monks of Durham as students and eight secular students, four from the diocese of Durham and two each from the Durham peculiars of Allertonshire and Howdenshire in Yorkshire <sup>29</sup>. If the numbers of black monks at Oxford in the late fourteenth century followed those of the mendicant orders as given by Russell <sup>30</sup>, then one would expect a relatively large community at Durham College, perhaps ten or more. However the agreement between Bishop Hatfield and Robert Berington, (*alias de Walworth*) prior of Durham, which laid the basis for the refoundation, indicates that the priory was not able to support a large community. The agreement stated explicitly that despite the fact that Durham priory was short of money, it would provide for four of the student monks if the bishop paid for the other four monks and the secular students <sup>31</sup>. If Durham could afford to endow four students permanently, and the new foundation was for eight, an estimate of six Durham monks at Oxford in 1379 appears reasonable <sup>32</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> H.Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, New Edition F.M.Powicke & A.B.Emden (eds.), (London, 1936), Vol. III, pp. 186-7; R.B.Dobson, 'The Religious Orders 1370-1540,' in J.I.Catto and R.Evans (eds.), *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. II, (Oxford, 1992) p. 551; H.E.D.Blakiston, 'Some Durham College Rolls,' in M.Burrows (ed.), *Collectanea Third Series*, Oxford Historical Society, Vol. XXXII, (Oxford, 1896) pp. 12-13, 15.

<sup>30</sup> Russell, 'Clerical Population,' pp. 207-8, gave evidence that numbers of friars at Oxford after the plague increased substantially. He believed this was caused by the need to educate replacements for dead friars.

<sup>31</sup> H.E.D.Blakiston, 'Durham College Rolls,' p. 12.

<sup>32</sup> This estimate of 5 student monks and a warden or prior fits with the estimate of Foster, 'Durham Monks at Oxford', pp. 103-4. Throughout the fifteenth century there were from six to eight monks of Durham resident in Durham College, Dobson, 'Religious Orders,' p. 551.

Thus according to the enrolments there were 177 black monks within York province in 1379-81, there were also perhaps twelve black monks from houses in York province living in dependent houses in Canterbury province. Three quarters of the Benedictines in York province (132, 74.6%) lived in one of the five independent houses: Durham, Monk Bretton, St. Mary's, York, Selby or Whitby. This gives an average size of community of 26.4, compared with an average for the dependent houses in the province of 5.63.

### The Alien Benedictines

At the time of the poll taxes there were only seven houses of alien Benedictines in York province, all of which were in York diocese. According to the poll tax enrolments, only two were inhabited: Holy Trinity, York, by a prior and two monks; and Lancaster by a prior on his own <sup>33</sup>. This leaves four priories which do not appear on the enrolment but should have done if they had monks in residence: Allerton Mauleverer, Birstall, Ecclesfield and Headley.

### Alien Benedictines in York Province

York diocese		Monks
Priories	Allerton Mauleverer <sup>34</sup> , (Marmoutier)	2

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<sup>33</sup> E179/63/12 mm. 5-6.

<sup>34</sup> Although Allerton Mauleverer priory is not enrolled with the rest of the religious houses, there would appear to have been two monks in residence in 1381 who paid tax with the seculars, see below.

Blyth, Notts., <sup>35</sup> (Holy Trinity, Rouen)	
Birstall, (Aumale)	
Ecclesfield, (St. Wandrille)	
Headley, (Marmoutier & Holy Trinity, York)	
Lancaster, (Seez)	1
York, Holy Trinity, (Marmoutier)	3

Throughout the fourteenth century the alien religious houses were in a difficult position: the continuing war with France made them objects of great suspicion; and they were seized by successive kings in 1324, 1337-60 and from 1369 onwards. When a priory was in the king's hands a royal official received all revenues, allowing the monks only sufficient to live on. It was however possible for a house to buy itself out of direct royal control by paying substantial fines. In 1377 the government decided to expel all aliens, including monks, although as was customary at the time there were large numbers of exemptions. Since there were also restrictions preventing French mother houses from sending new monks to their English possessions, many of the communities of the smaller houses seem to have become extinct as their members died but were not replaced <sup>36</sup>.

An illustration of the effects of this regime on one of the smaller alien houses is provided by an inquisition carried out in 1381 into the state of the priory of Holy Trinity, York. The priory was inhabited by the prior, Peter Carpenter, and two other monks, one French and the other English, both were said to be under twenty years of

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<sup>35</sup> Blyth was in Nottingham archdeaconry and thus does not appear in the poll tax enrolments, its community was estimated at three religious in Chapter 4.

<sup>36</sup> Knowles, *Religious Orders*, vol. II, pp. 158-9, 162-3.

age. There was also one secular chaplain. The buildings were found to be in a ruinous state: the stone vestry had fallen down; a kitchen had also fallen down and the prior had sold the stones. The church was also in a dilapidated state: the vaulting over the high altar was said to be 'so broken and ruinous that scarcely any chaplain dare celebrate there'; much of the window glass had been broken and the gaps had been filled with stone or plaster; the house was also said to have no vestments or suitable ornaments. The prior was also accused of wasting a stable, another kitchen; a windmill in the suburbs of York; woods on three manors belonging to the priory had also been wasted; manorial premises and tithes had been demised. The prior had also sold six corrodies and fifteen pensions <sup>37</sup>. There may be an element of exaggeration in this account, but clearly the house was struggling for existence, though a major element in this must have been the need to pay the annual fine to the Exchequer.

Despite this inquisition the priory was freshly committed to Prior Carpenter in October of 1381, this time with an extra clause on the commitment to give the prior greater security <sup>38</sup>. The Crown seems to have been quite happy with Prior Carpenter. This rather proves the point made by both Marjorie Morgan and Dr. Alison McHardy, that the Crown's real interest in the alien priories was financial <sup>39</sup>.

It is clear then, that many of the alien houses were under enormous pressure whilst in the king's hands, it may therefore seem reasonable to believe that a proportion

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<sup>37</sup> *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous 1377-88*, pp. 83-4.

<sup>38</sup> *CFR 1377-83*, p. 269.

<sup>39</sup> M.M.Morgan, 'The Suppression of the Alien Priories', *History*, New Series, vol. XXVI, (1941-2), p. 205; McHardy, 'The Alien Priories and the Expulsion of Aliens from England in 1378', in *Church, Society and Politics*, D.Baker (ed.), *Studies in Church History* 12, (Oxford, 1975), pp. 133-4.

of them could no longer support conventual life at the time of the poll taxes. It is however necessary to make a closer examination of the four alien priories which are apparently missing from the extant records in order to decide whether or not they were among those religious houses which existed in name only by the time of the poll taxes.

The priory at Allerton Mauleverer belonged to Marmoutier abbey and the parish church was appropriated to it <sup>40</sup>. It appears to have been a very poor house; an inquisition held at Wetherby in 1378 found that there was a priory at Allerton Mauleverer which belonged to the abbey of Marmoutier. The prior and two resident monks held the church at Allerton Mauleverer, the jurors estimated the income of the house at £20. 13s. 4d., but its expenses exceeded this figure by 66s. 8d. <sup>41</sup>. This inquisition seems not to take into account the annual fine due to the Exchequer to keep the priory out of the king's hand. In 1377 the prior, John de Neuport had agreed to pay ten pounds yearly; perhaps as a result of the inquisition this sum was reduced to five marks in 1379 <sup>42</sup>.

The collector of the poll tax of 1381 treated Allerton Mauleverer as a secular benefice, the enrolment for the deanery of Boroughbridge notes the payment of 8s. 6 ½d by an unnamed 'rector' of Allerton Mauleverer <sup>43</sup>. Since Allerton Mauleverer priory seems to have survived until 1414 <sup>44</sup>, and since the prior and convent of Allerton Mauleverer were, strictly speaking, rector of the parish, it may be that this 'rector' was in fact the prior. There are numerous instances when religious appear on the 1381 York

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<sup>40</sup> Lawton, *Collections*, p. 552.

<sup>41</sup> *VCH Yorks.* vol. III, p. 387.

<sup>42</sup> *CFR 1377-83*, pp. 21, 168.

<sup>43</sup> E179/63/31 m. 3.

<sup>44</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 83,86.



enrolment, but they are not always identified as religious. Constantine de Markham, vicar of Kirkby Malham, was a Premonstratensian canon of West Dereham abbey and Richard de Ledes, vicar of Bingley was an Augustinian canon of Drax, yet neither of these appear as such on the enrolment <sup>45</sup>. It would thus seem reasonable to believe that the 'rector' of Allerton Mauleverer was the prior.

Unfortunately the enrolment for Boroughbridge deanery is not arranged according to parish, but gives separate lists of the beneficed and the unbeneficed, so it is not possible to say for certain if the prior of Allerton Mauleverer was on his own. However the list of chaplains in the deanery includes one French name, one 'Willelmus Birnaud' who may have been at Allerton Mauleverer <sup>46</sup>, it thus seems possible that there were two monks of Marmoutier at Allerton Mauleverer in 1381.

The monks of Birstall priory, in Holderness, appear to have been temporarily dispossessed, although their non-resident prior did contribute to the poll tax. Towards the end of the York enrolments is a list of heads of religious houses who were outside the province, but who still made contributions, presumably because they received income from possessions within the province. One of these is a prior of Brystall', who paid 14s. 2 ¼d. towards the tax. There is no clue given as to where the prior actually was, he may have been abroad, since another of the extra provincial taxpayers was the abbot of Citeaux <sup>47</sup>.

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<sup>45</sup> Both were incumbents in Craven deanery which appears on E179/63/12 m. 6. They are identified as religious in N.K.Gurney and C.Clay (eds.), *Fasti Parochiales, Vol. IV*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, vol. CXXXIII, (Leeds, 1971), pp. 13, 109.

<sup>46</sup> E179/63/31 m. 3.

<sup>47</sup> E179/63/31 m. 5.

On 6 October 1377 the Crown had committed the keeping of Birstall priory to its prior, Thomas Sees, at a farm of 200 marks, but on 6 March 1381 the Crown granted it to the prior and convent of Durham, notwithstanding the previous grant. Ostensibly this grant was made because the monks of Durham needed somewhere to keep their livestock safe from the Scots. The monks of Durham were to pay just five marks more to the Exchequer for Birstall, though they had also to provide for the proctor. They were also empowered to remove the remaining alien monks at Birstall and replace them with either English monks or secular clergy<sup>48</sup>.

Just over a year later, on 18 May 1382, the grant of Birstall to Durham was rescinded, on the ground that Thomas Sees had title for life in the priory, and it had been 'removed from him without being duly called *ad responsionem suam*'<sup>49</sup>. It is therefore reasonable to argue that the monks of Birstall were at least technically dispossessed at the time that the poll tax was being collected. The prior, meanwhile, may have been happy to make payment in order to avoid giving the Crown any offence which might go against him in his suit with Durham.

Birstall priory was, in fact, the chief endowment of Aumale abbey, but despite the victory of 1382, the continuing war played havoc with the finances of the mother house. In 1393 Aumale was gravely impoverished, so it is no surprise that it was prepared to give up Birstall by 1395 when the property was sold to Kirkstall abbey and the cell was closed<sup>50</sup>.

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<sup>48</sup> *CFR 1377-83*, p. 16; *CPR 1377-81*, pp. 606-7; *VCH Yorks.*, vol. III, pp. 387-8.

<sup>49</sup> *CPR 1381-5*, p. 119.

<sup>50</sup> *VCH Yorks.*, vol. III, p. 388; W.Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, New edition J.Caley, H.Ellis & B.Badinel (eds.), (London, 1846) vol. VI part 2, p. 1021.

Ecclesfield priory, a dependency of St. Wandrille abbey, was really a parish church in the deanery of Doncaster. A vicarage was ordained by Archbishop Greenfield in 1310, and thereafter vicars were generally monks of St. Wandrille. In June 1369, on the recommencement of war with France, Ecclesfield along with other alien houses was taken into the king's hands.

In October 1369 custody of the priory was granted to Brother John Burdet, the prior, at a rent of 40 marks. However in September the Crown had presented Master William Fulmere, a secular clerk to the vicarage of Ecclesfield. A dispute followed and in June 1370 Fulmere's presentation was revoked and the Crown presented Bro. John Burdet to the vicarage. In November 1372 the Crown presented another secular, Henry de Medebourn, this time to the rectory of Ecclesfield. Despite complaints in the parliament of 1376 that the prior of Ecclesfield had been wrongfully dispossessed, Medebourn seems to have held his position as rector until May 1385 when he exchanged the benefice with another secular priest.

In November 1385 the advowson of Ecclesfield was granted by the king to the Charterhouse in Coventry. Although the monks appear to have been dispossessed of Ecclesfield by 1376, the abbot and convent of St. Wandrille continued to appoint priors: one James Pseaulme was appointed prior in 1377 and his successor, William Canterel, was appointed in 1392 <sup>51</sup>.

The 1381 poll tax enrolment for Doncaster deanery gives 'Dominus Henricus Rector de Ecclefeld' paying 45s. 8d. followed by the names of ten other priests,

<sup>51</sup> A.Hamilton Thompson and C.T.Clay (eds.), *Fasti Parochiales vol. II*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series vol. LXXXV, (Leeds, 1933), pp. 98-100, 103-4. J.Eastwood, *History of the Parish of Ecclesfield in the County of York*, (London, 1862), p. 513.

presumably chaplains. It does not give the names of John Burdet or James Pseaulme so it would appear quite reasonable to believe that secular clergy had supplanted monks at Ecclesfield by 1381 <sup>52</sup>.

The priory at Headley in the deanery of Ainsty was dependent on both Holy Trinity, York and Marmoutier. There certainly was a monastic community at Headley in the time of St. Robert of Knaresborough (1160-1218), but evidence after this date is scanty. It would appear that in 1377 the manor of Headley was leased to a citizen of York, John de Berden, by the prior and convent of Holy Trinity, York. No priors are known from the fourteenth century, and on suppression in 1414 the possessions of the cell came to Holy Trinity, York <sup>53</sup>. It is never wise to argue from the absence of sources, but there would appear to be no evidence of conventual life at Headley in the fourteenth century <sup>54</sup>. In particular if a priory as poor as Allerton Mauleverer was prepared to try to buy itself out of royal control, it seems surprising that there is no evidence of a prior of Headley trying to do the same <sup>55</sup>. On balance it seems reasonable to believe that there were no longer any monks at Headley by 1381.

This examination of the 'missing' alien Benedictine houses in York diocese has found that explanations for the non-appearance of all four of the houses can be made. The community at Allerton Mauleverer seems to have paid their taxes with the seculars.

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<sup>52</sup> E179/63/12 m. 5.

<sup>53</sup> *VCH, Yorks.*, vol. III, p. 390-1; D.H.Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, (Oxford, 1978), p. 344.

<sup>54</sup> For example: Headley appears in the 1381 inquisition into Holy Trinity priory only as a manor where woods had been felled and wasted by the prior. *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous 1377-88*, p. 84.

<sup>55</sup> *CFR 1368-77; CFR 1377-83*.

In the case of Birstall the monks had been dispossessed, at least officially, by the prior and convent of Durham. There was still a prior, who although not resident did pay tax, presumably through an agent. Ecclesfield had certainly been handed over to secular clergy, while it would appear that conventual life was extinct at Headley. It would therefore seem reasonable to conclude that the poll tax enrolment is accurate, and that there were only four alien Benedictine priories still inhabited in the York province in 1381.

### The Cluniacs

In the late fourteenth century there were two Cluniac establishments in the York province, Lenton in Nottinghamshire and Pontefract, Yorks.<sup>56</sup> Lenton had a dependent cell in Canterbury province at Kersal, Lancashire, in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield<sup>57</sup>. Pontefract appears in the poll tax enrolments, having a community of twelve monks in 1381, while Lenton probably housed around 30<sup>58</sup>. Kersal appears in the 1379 poll tax enrolment edited by Dr.M.J.Bennett with just one monk whose name is given only as Roger<sup>59</sup>. The male Cluniac houses in England, like other alien houses, were seized by the Crown during periods of war with France, although they were customarily handed back to their priors in return for the payment of a farm at the Exchequer<sup>60</sup>. In the case of Pontefract, the farm agreed in 1380 was eleven marks for a

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<sup>56</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 96-103.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 97, 100.

<sup>58</sup> See above, Chapter 4. Lenton's 'proper number' was 32, Kersal's was 2; G.F.Duckett, *Visitations of English Cluniac Foundations*, (London, 1890), p. 38.

<sup>59</sup> M.J.Bennett, 'Lancashire and Cheshire Clergy'.

<sup>60</sup> McHardy, 'Alien Priories' pp. 133-4.

year when a clerical tenth was due, and 26 marks for each year when there were no tenths current <sup>61</sup>. At the time of the poll taxes, the Cluniacs were also affected by the Great Schism which further isolated them from their mother house and led to the formation of a short-lived 'English Province' of Cluny <sup>62</sup>.

### The Grandmontines

There was only one Grandmontine house in York province: Grosmont, Yorks. It does not appear in the enrolment for 1381, where it would be expected. The Grandmontines have been described as 'Hermit monks', they lived in relative poverty, often in isolated places, but were known for their hospitality. Initially the Grandmontines were a very distinctive order in which choir brothers and *conversi* were of equal rank, sharing everything, but after a number of bitter disputes and reforms, they were reordered by Pope John XXII along conventional monastic lines in 1317 <sup>63</sup>. Under this reform the three English Grandmontine houses, including Grosmont, remained cells united to the abbey of Grandmont but their heads became known as 'priors' rather than 'correctors' <sup>64</sup>.

In political terms, Grosmont priory was an alien house, and as such was seized by the Crown in 1337. An inquisition into its value in 1344 found that all nine of the

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<sup>61</sup> *CFR 1377-83*, p. 184.

<sup>62</sup> Rose Graham, 'The Papal Schism of 1378 and the English Province of the Order of Cluny,' in *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, (London, 1929), pp. 46-61.

<sup>63</sup> C.A.Hutchison, *The Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, Cistercian Studies 118, (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1989), pp. 16-147.

<sup>64</sup> Rose Graham, 'The Order of Grandmont and its Houses in England,' in *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, (London, 1929), p. 235; Hutchinson, *Hermit Monks*, pp. 144-7.

brethren were English, but that the house was so poor that alms were needed to maintain the community. Grosmont was later released from Crown custody on grounds of poverty <sup>65</sup>. Grosmont was again seized in the reign of Richard II, but it may be questionable how much was actually left to seize, because there had been a disastrous fire in 1360 which had almost destroyed the whole monastery <sup>66</sup>.

Community life seems to have survived the fire. Pope Innocent VI (1352-62) granted an indulgence to those who visited the priory and gave alms, proving an intention to rebuild the priory, and implying that there was someone at Grosmont to collect alms. There is also evidence of recruitment: two Grandmontines, William of Gisburn and Laurence of York, were ordained acolyte in 1380 <sup>67</sup>. The community seems to have been desperately poor, 1387 Pope Urban VI ordered the abbot of Whitby to recover land which the prior and brothers of Grosmont had alienated unlawfully. Grosmont became denizen in 1394 when Pierre de Redondeau, abbot of Grandmont, renounced all rights in Grosmont in favour of John Hewitt *alias* Sergeant. Hewitt agreed to pay the Exchequer 30 shillings a year for the Crown to recognise the transaction <sup>68</sup>.

In the light of the rebuilding of Grosmont, which must have been going on in 1381, its omission from the poll tax enrolment seems unjustified. The only clue on the

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<sup>65</sup> Noreen Vickers, 'Grosmont Priory,' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 56, (1984), pp. 46-7.

<sup>66</sup> Graham, 'Order of Grandmont,' p. 239; Vickers, 'Grosmont Priory,' p. 47.

<sup>67</sup> Register of Archbishop Alexander Neville, fo. 138v. Register 12, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York.

<sup>68</sup> Vickers, 'Grosmont Priory,' p. 47. The smallness of the sum involved further demonstrates the poverty of the house.

enrolment is the name of one *Dominus Robertus Procurator*, who appears to have been in the parish of Lythe, where Grosmont priory was situated <sup>69</sup>. It would be very tempting to suggest that this Robert was a proctor, perhaps left in charge of Grosmont while it was being rebuilt. The difficulty with this suggestion is that there is no evidence in the fine rolls of Grosmont priory being farmed out between the accession of Richard II and 1383 <sup>70</sup>. It is possible that the precedent set in 1344, when Grosmont was released on grounds of poverty, was followed in 1377, but it seems rather more likely that Grosmont was still in the king's hands in 1381. Given that houses as poor as Allerton Mauleverer Priory made great efforts to regain control of their own finances, it seems odd that Grosmont did not do the same, but perhaps the community was unwilling to run up debts with the Exchequer which it had no hope of paying. If Grosmont was in the king's hands, then all revenues would be collected by the escheator, who would only allow a bare subsistence to the brothers. In the case of Grosmont priory, then it seems likely, though direct evidence is wanting, that the community were not considered due to pay tax on grounds of poverty <sup>71</sup>.

Since the Grandmontines of Grosmont were omitted from the enrolment of 1381, it was necessary to make an estimate of their number to ensure the accuracy of the estimate of clergy numbers given above in Chapter 4. In 1344, the inquisition found that there were nine brothers at Grosmont, while at the suppression there were five including the prior <sup>72</sup>. Since the community in 1344 is likely to have been rather larger than the house could support, or even house, after the fire of 1360, but the poll tax was

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<sup>69</sup> E179/63/12 m. 8.

<sup>70</sup> *CFR* 1377-83.

<sup>71</sup> See Chapter 1 for discussion of the grants.

<sup>72</sup> Vickers, 'Grosmont Priory,' pp. 47-8.



some 20 years later, so an estimate of six seems reasonable. There is archaeological evidence of the abandonment of the choir of the *conversi* after the fire so it has been assumed that all of the brothers were clerics, though since two acolytes were ordained in 1380 they were not all priests <sup>73</sup>.

### The Cistercians

In the late fourteenth century the province of York contained fourteen Cistercian houses, twelve were in York diocese, and there was one in each of the dioceses of Durham and Carlisle. All but one of these were independent abbeys; the exception, Scarborough, was a dependent cell of Citeaux <sup>74</sup>.

#### Cistercians in York Province

York diocese		Monks	<i>Conversi</i>
Abbeys	Byland	12	3
	Calder	4	3
	Fountains	34	10
	Furness	15	8
	Jervaulx	16	2
	Kirkstall	17	6
	Meaux	22	3
	Rievaulx	15	3
	Roche	14	1

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<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 110-132. Monastic granges are not considered here, Knowles and Hadcock believed many of them were leased after the Black Death. There is no trace of them on the poll tax enrolments; it seems most likely that any lay brothers living on granges would pay tax with the community of the mother house.

	Rufford <sup>75</sup>		
	Salley	15	2
Cell	Scarborough <sup>76</sup> (Citeaux)	2	
Durham diocese			
Abbey	Newminster	17	
Carlisle diocese			
Abbey	Holm Cultram	15	

It can be seen from the table that with the obvious exception of Rufford, all of the Cistercian houses appear in the enrolments, though the enrolments for the dioceses of Durham and Carlisle both omit *conversi*. The cell at Scarborough does not appear with the rest of the religious houses. The enrolments list some 198 Cistercian monks and 41 *conversi*, giving an average size of community in independent abbeys in the province of 16.33 monks. The average number of *conversi* in the Cistercian abbeys of York diocese is 4.1 <sup>77</sup>.

In order to produce an accurate picture of the numbers of Cistercians in York province it is necessary to include the estimates already made for Rufford abbey; when this is done it would appear that there were 214 monks and 45 *conversi* of the Cistercian order in York province in 1379-81.

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<sup>75</sup> Rufford was in Nottingham archdeaconry for which enrolments have not survived. In Chapter 4 its community was estimated at 16 monks and 4 *conversi*.

<sup>76</sup> The two monks at Scarborough are not enrolled with the religious of York diocese on E179/63/12, but appear with the secular clergy of Dickering deanery, E179/63/31 m. 1.

<sup>77</sup> It should be noted that since the enrolments for the dioceses of Durham and Carlisle both omit *conversi*, the provincial average, 3.42, would be an understatement. A discussion of lay brothers generally, appears later in this chapter.

The fact that the two monks at Scarborough paid their tax with the seculars of Dickering deanery is strange, though one other alien house, Allerton Mauleverer, probably did the same; it may simply indicate the route by which the collector received their contributions. Scarborough was however, something of a curiosity within the Cistercian order since it was based on a parish church. In 1189 Richard I had given the church of Scarborough to the abbot of Citeaux to help defray the costs of the annual General Chapter at Citeaux. By accepting this gift the abbot had breached the constitutions of the order which forbade the acceptance of revenues from churches. A vicarage had been ordained from the beginning, but there was also a cell of Cistercians from Citeaux in Scarborough led by a *custos*, who by 1251 had built a *capitalem mansionem*<sup>78</sup>.

Although in general the Cistercians were not considered 'alien' during the wars with France<sup>79</sup>, the cell at Scarborough was seized as an alien house, presumably because it was not independent of Citeaux. The cell was farmed out for rent, usually to the *custos*, the rents gradually increasing from 15 marks (£10) in 1337 to 110 marks (£73. 6s. 8d.) in 1385<sup>80</sup>. In 1381 the rent due to the Exchequer for Scarborough was 100 marks (£66. 13s. 4d.), in comparison with which the 21s. 4d. poll tax paid by Peter de Chateauneuf the *custos* and the 3s. 4d. paid by Brother William Lek seem

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<sup>78</sup> C.H.Talbot, 'Citeaux and Scarborough,' *Studia Monastica*, vol. II, (1960), pp. 96-102.

<sup>79</sup> A.K.McHardy, 'Alien Priories,' p. 134.

<sup>80</sup> Scarborough was committed to the keeping of Henry, Lord Percy in 1375-6 and to Richard de Thorn, canon of York Minster for a month in 1380: *CFR 1368-77*, p. 309; *CFR 1377-83*, p. 184. Talbot, 'Citeaux and Scarborough,' pp. 110-1. It is interesting to note that although the *custos* of Scarborough was an untrustworthy alien, he was still entrusted with the duty of keeping the seacoast and providing men-at-arms until discharged of this duty in 1380! *CFR 1377-83*, pp. 191-2.

insignificant <sup>81</sup>.

### The Carthusians

In 1381 there were two Carthusian priories established in York province: Beauvale and Kingston-upon-Hull <sup>82</sup>. Neither appear in the enrolments. In the case of Beauvale this is because it was in Nottingham archdeaconry, for which no enrolment survives. The omission of Hull charterhouse is rather more difficult to explain.

The priory of St. Mary the Virgin, St. Michael and All Angels and St. Thomas the Martyr, was founded on 18 February 1378 by Michael de la Pole. It was intended for thirteen Carthusians and a similar number each of poor men and women. With the approval of *La Grande Chartreuse*, the first prior was named as Walter de Kele. The new priory was given seven acres of land outside the city walls called the 'Maison Dieu', with a chapel and other buildings for them all to live in <sup>83</sup>. This arrangement was clearly unsatisfactory, for in 1383 the priory and the hospital were separated <sup>84</sup>.

It would be tempting to suggest that the Hull charterhouse was omitted from the 1381 enrolments because conventual life had not yet begun there, but ordinations of Carthusians from Hull are recorded from 1377 onwards. On 19 September 1377 Bro. William Bolleshore was ordained subdeacon and Bro. Roger Tullok was ordained

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<sup>81</sup> *CFR 1377-83*, pp. 191-2, 253; E179/63/31 m. 1.

<sup>82</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 133-6; The third northern charterhouse, Mount Grace, Yorks., was not founded until 1398.

<sup>83</sup> *VCH Yorks.* vol. III, pp. 190-1.

<sup>84</sup> K.J.Allison (ed.), *VCH, Yorkshire East Riding*, (Oxford, 1969), vol. I, The City of Kingston Upon Hull, p. 333.

priest, while three Carthusians from Hull were ordained acolyte on 22 December 1380<sup>85</sup>. The only legal reason for omitting the house from the tax would have been that the monks were 'notoriously insufficient'<sup>86</sup>. Since the original grant of seven acres of land were expected to support thirteen Carthusians, thirteen poor men and thirteen poor women, it seems highly likely that the Carthusians were excused tax on grounds of poverty in 1381.

However since it is clear that there was conventual life at the Hull charterhouse by 1381, the question of how large the community was at the time needs to be addressed. It seems unlikely that the community was already at full strength, but it did have a prior and the ordinations of five Carthusians from Hull have been noticed above. Since it is possible that some monks from Beauvale transferred to the new house, the number may have been more than six, but on the other hand not all those ordained may still have been alive or present in 1381, so a reasonable estimate would probably be six.

### The Augustinian Canons

In York province there were 30 houses of Augustinian canons, making them more numerous than houses of any other order. There were 23 houses in York diocese, five in Durham diocese and two in Carlisle diocese, one of which, Carlisle, was the only Augustinian cathedral priory in England. There were two dependent houses in Canterbury province which belonged to Nostell priory in York province. The

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<sup>85</sup> Register of Archbishop Alexander Neville, fos. 129v, 130r, 138v, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, Since Bolleshore was a Carthusian of Beauvale when he was ordained acolyte in December 1376, Reg. Neville, fo. 126v, it seems likely that Beauvale was involved in the establishment of Hull.

<sup>86</sup> *CFR 1377-83*, p. 252.

enrolment for York diocese seems reasonably complete: apart from the Nottinghamshire priories the only houses which do not appear in the enrolment are the Newburgh cell at Hood and the Nostell cells of Skewkirk and Woodkirk. The enrolment of Durham diocese however omits the large priory at Hexham with its dependent house at Ovingham, the priory at Bamburgh which was dependent on Nostell, and the Kirkham cell at Carham.

Augustinian Canons in York Province

York diocese		canons	<i>conversi</i>
Priories	Bolton <sup>87</sup>	14	5
	Bridlington	25	1
	Cartmel	7	
	Conishead	7	1
	Drax	8	
	Felley <sup>88</sup>		
	Guisborough	26	2
	Haltemprice	9	
	Healaugh Park	7	
	Kirkham	17	
	Marston	7	
	Newburgh	13	3
	Newstead		

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<sup>87</sup> Bolton and Guisborough are two houses for which a fragmentary 1377 enrolment survives. The enrolments are compared and discussed in Chapter 6.

<sup>88</sup> The priories of Felley, Newstead, Shelford, Thurgarton and Worksop were all within the archdeaconry of Nottingham for which no enrolments survive. In Chapter 4 their communities were estimated at 5, 13, 12, 25 and 18 respectively, with perhaps two *conversi* at Thurgarton and two more at Worksop.

	North Ferriby	6
	Nostell	16
	Shelford	
	Thurgarton	
	Warter	11
	Worksop	
Cells	Cockerham (Leicester)	2
	Hood (Newburgh)	
	Skewkirk (Nostell)	
	Woodkirk (Nostell)	
Durham diocese		
Priories	Bamburgh (Nostell)	
	Brinkburn	5
	Hexham <sup>89</sup>	
	Ovingham (Hexham)	
Cell	Carham (Kirkham)	
Carlisle diocese		
Priories	Carlisle	12
	Lanercost	5
Dependent Houses outside York Province		
Priory	Breedon (Nostell) <sup>90</sup>	3
Cell	Hirst, Lincs.	

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<sup>89</sup> Since Hexham priory does not appear in any of the surviving enrolments, an estimate of 17 for the community has been made, see below.

<sup>90</sup> Breedon Priory was in the Leicester archdeaconry of Lincoln diocese for which only an enrolment from 1377 survives. McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, p. 28.

The first matter to be addressed is that of the 'missing' houses: in York diocese these are Hood, Skewkirk and Woodkirk. Hood had been the temporary home of the canons who left Bridlington to colonise Newburgh priory between 1142-3 and 1145, while their new priory was being built; thereafter it became a cell of Newburgh<sup>91</sup>. Although the church at Hood was a chapelry in Kilburn parish, in 1332 it was visited by the commissaries of Archbishop Melton, so it seems to have had at least some parochial rights<sup>92</sup>. The canon who served the church of Hood, John de Overton, was said to hold the church at the will of the prior and convent<sup>93</sup>. This visitation was, of course half a century and a number of plagues before the poll taxes, so it would be unreasonable to suggest that there must have been a canon at Hood who escaped the enrolment. Since priests of Hood could be appointed or removed by the priory at will, and since it is only five miles from Newburgh to Hood, it seems likely that if there was a canon at Hood in 1381 he may have paid his tax with the community of the mother house.

The two Nostell cells of Skewkirk (*alias* Tockwith) and Woodkirk also do not appear on the enrolment. An edition of the Skewkirk cartulary was published in 1931<sup>94</sup>. Skewkirk seems to have been a small house with an even smaller income: 13s. 9 ½ d. in 1291, and although there is the occasional reference to a 'prior' it was generally under a *magister*. According to Ransome the community was probably three or four

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<sup>91</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 160

<sup>92</sup> *VCH Yorks.*, vol. III, pp. 230-1.

<sup>93</sup> *The Register of William Melton, Archbishop of York 1317-1340*, volume II, Ed. D.Robinson, Canterbury and York Society vol. LXXI, (Torquay, 1978), pp. 154,157.

<sup>94</sup> Gwenllian C.Ransome (ed.), 'The Chartulary of Tockwith alias Scokirk, a Cell of the Priory of Nostell,' in *Miscellanea Volume III*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, vol. LXXX, (Leeds, 1931), pp. 149-206.



canons, who were not permanently at Skewkirk, but were in 'very close touch and free interchange' along the roman road between the cell and Nostell <sup>95</sup>. Ransome's point about the movement of canons between Skewkirk and the mother house appears reasonable but his estimate of the size of the community seems rather large. Knowles and Hadcock's estimate of one or two canons seems more in line with the income of the cell <sup>96</sup>. It does seem most likely that in 1381 there were no resident canons at Skewkirk, though of course any there were may have paid tax with the community at Nostell.

The cell at Woodkirk seems to have been rather larger than Skewkirk. It was taxed separately from Nostell in 1291, its income being given as £3 11s. 4d. <sup>97</sup>. Knowles and Hadcock estimated its community at three or four canons <sup>98</sup> and there is certainly evidence of canons in residence early in the fourteenth century. In 1320 when Archbishop Melton made a visitation of Nostell priory complaint was made that a number of canons living in cells of the priory, including two canons residing at Woodkirk, had not been summoned <sup>99</sup>. Eight years later, in 1328 Henry of Aberford, prior of Nostell since 1312, resigned as prior and retired to the cell of Woodkirk where he died the following year <sup>100</sup>. It should be pointed out however, that this evidence of canons living at Woodkirk all comes from the period before the Black Death. The cell

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<sup>95</sup> 'Chartulary of Tockwith,' pp. 154-5. It should be noted that in 1291 the cell of Skewkirk was taxed with Nostell, so the figure for its income must have been calculated by Ransome. The fact that it was not taxed separately may suggest that it was considered to be part of the mother house, rather than a distinct foundation.

<sup>96</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 174.

<sup>97</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 305.

<sup>98</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 180.

<sup>99</sup> *VCH Yorks.*, vol. III, p. 233.

<sup>100</sup> Nostell Priory Act Book, NP C1/1, West Yorks. Archives Service, Leeds, p. 98.

of Woodkirk cannot have been abandoned, or farmed out, since it was centred on a parish church, which would have to be served. No secular incumbent of Woodkirk is listed in the 1381 poll tax enrolment for the deanery of Pontefract <sup>101</sup>. Since Woodkirk is less than nine miles from Nostell it is tempting to suggest that the canons who served Woodkirk were regarded as residing at the mother house, and thus paid their tax there.

Both of the two Nostell cells outside York province, Breedon and Hirst were in Lincoln diocese, although as noted above only Breedon appears in the surviving Lincoln poll tax enrolments. The cell of St. Mary at Hirst on the Isle of Axholme, in Stow archdeaconry, was a tiny establishment which probably only had one canon by the fourteenth century <sup>102</sup>. Since the Nostell cell at Breedon paid tax to the collector for the archdeaconry of Leicester, it seems reasonable to expect that Hirst would be pay the collector for the archdeaconry of Stow. Two poll tax enrolments from Stow archdeaconry survive, one from 1377 and one from 1381 <sup>103</sup>, since Hirst is not mentioned in either of these it seems likely that it was not inhabited by any canons at the time of the poll taxes.

The omission of the important priory of Hexham from the 1379 enrolment represents a major gap in the records. There is a particularly tantalising erasure in the section of the enrolment which deals with the deanery of Corbridge: at least four lines,

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<sup>101</sup> The parish of Woodkirk is not mentioned at all, E179/63/12 mm. 2-3.

<sup>102</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*. pp. 141, 160; *VCH Lincoln*, vol. II, p. 163.

<sup>103</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. 58-66, 171-4.

bracketed together in the way that religious houses are marked elsewhere in the enrolment, have been scraped clean and left blank <sup>104</sup>. It seems possible that an assessment of Hexham was made, but that it was subsequently erased. At any rate neither Hexham, nor its Ovingham dependency now appear in the 1379 enrolment of Durham diocese. On the face of it this would imply that there were no canons at Hexham in 1379 or that it was not taxed on grounds of poverty; clearly further consideration is required.

Although Hexham was subject to periodic raids by the Scots in the first half of the fourteenth century <sup>105</sup>, the second half of the century was rather more peaceful. Alexander de Marton was elected prior in 1367 and remained in office, if not necessarily in control of the community, until after a visitation in 1397 <sup>106</sup>. In 1378 the parish church at Ovingham, Northumberland, was appropriated to Hexham priory, and according to James Raine three canons took up residence there <sup>107</sup>. It is therefore

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<sup>104</sup> E179/62/4 m. 4.

<sup>105</sup> A.B.Hinds (ed.), *A History of Northumberland*, vol. III, (Newcastle and London, 1896), pp. 146-8. In fact the canons fled Hexham in 1314 and again in 1318. After another serious incursion in 1321 Archbishop Melton asked five Augustinian houses (Thornton abbey, in Lincoln diocese, and Bridlington, Thurgarton, Guisborough and Newburgh priories in York diocese) to take one named canon of Hexham each because their own house could not support them. J.Raine (ed.), *The Priory of Hexham, its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals*, Surtees Society vols. XLIV, XLVI, (2 vols. Durham, 1864-5) vol. 1. Appendix pp. lx-lxv.

<sup>106</sup> J.Raine, *The Priory of Hexham*, vol. 1, pp. clvii-clxx, Appendix pp. xci-ii. In fact the visitation of 1397 was ordered to inquire into complaints that injunctions given at a visitation in the time of Archbishop Arundel were being ignored and that new offences had been committed. Alexander had resigned as prior of Hexham by 9 Dec. 1398; R.N.Swanson, (ed.), *A Calendar of the Register of Archbishop Richard Scrope, 1398-1405*, part 1, Borthwick Texts and Calendars 8, (York, 1981), p.104.

<sup>107</sup> Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, vol. II, p. x, vol. I, p. cxxxvi.

puzzling that the new cell at Ovingham does not appear in the Durham enrolment for 1379<sup>108</sup>.

It is just possible that the canons of Hexham paid their tax with York diocese rather than Durham since Hexhamshire was part of the diocese of York. This can be checked where enrolments for one taxation of both dioceses are still extant. This comparison of enrolments is not possible for 1379 since the York enrolments from that year have not survived but it is possible to compare enrolments from 1381.

References to Hexham priory and the Ovingham cell do appear in the 1381 enrolment of Northumberland archdeaconry. In 1381 the prior of Hexham appears in a group of dignitaries 'not living in the county of Northumberland' paying 23s. 10d. for his appropriated churches as a surcharge to aid the poorer clergy<sup>109</sup>. If the prior of Hexham could afford to pay a surcharge, then Hexham priory cannot have been omitted from the taxation on grounds of poverty, but there is no further mention of any canons of Hexham priory on the enrolment.

It is possible that the canons of Hexham were enrolled on a separate membrane which has since been lost, but in that case there would be a discrepancy between the total number of clergy given on the enrolment and the total recorded by the Exchequer. In the case of the 1381 Northumberland enrolment the names of 268 priests and religious are recorded, which agrees exactly with numbers from the great enrolment<sup>110</sup>. This must mean that the Northumberland enrolment must be as complete now as it was

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<sup>108</sup> Hexham priory was assessed with Durham diocese for clerical subsidies based on the 1291 valuation, *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 318.

<sup>109</sup> E179/62/6 m. 1.

<sup>110</sup> E179/62/6; E359/4b mm. 15-16.

when the Exchequer audited and accepted it. It is rather more difficult to agree numbers in the York enrolments because of a few doubtful entries, the totals given on the York enrolment and the great enrolment agree at 2295 priests and religious, though in fact some 2297 clergy were enrolled <sup>111</sup>

Although the prior of Hexham seems to have made two payments to the main York collector, the canons of Hexham priory do not appear in the enrolment of the religious of York diocese for the poll tax of 1381. The prior of Hexham, as prebendary of Salton paid 7s. 6d. in tax <sup>112</sup>, while a prior of 'Excelsham' appears in a list of surcharged abbots and priors from outside York province paying the collector 9s. <sup>113</sup>. The fact that in both cases the prior of Hexham appears in lists of prelates from outside York province is perhaps less significant than it might appear since the priors of Worksop and Durham both appear in one of the lists. These men may have been temporarily outside the province, though the lists may have been inaccurately labelled and really refer to prelates who were outwith the collector's jurisdiction.

The fact that the collector in 1381, John de Derby, archdeacon of Northumberland, listed the prior of Hexham as 'not living in the county of Northumberland', implies that he considered Hexham priory to be beyond his jurisdiction. The prior was however, liable to pay a surcharge for those churches in the

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<sup>111</sup> These figures exclude clergy who were resident outside the province who are enrolled as paying the surcharge to aid the poorer clergy; they are generally identified by a marginal note though it is not always clear to whom these notes apply. E179/63/12; E179/63/31; E359/4b m. 13d.

<sup>112</sup> The priors of Hexham had held the York Minster prebend of Salton since the time of Archbishop Thurstan (1114-40). C.T.Clay, *York Minster Fasti*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, vols. CXXIII-IV, (Leeds, 1958-9), vol. II, p. 68.

<sup>113</sup> E179/63/31 m. 5, 'Excelsham' may, of course, not refer to Hexham, but it is difficult to identify it as any other English religious house.

archdeaconry which were appropriated to Hexham. Clearly if the collector in 1381 felt Hexham priory to be outside his jurisdiction, it is quite possible that the collectors in 1379 had felt the same way. If the erasure on the 1379 enrolment was of an entry for Hexham priory, that it might be suggested that the collectors had sought to collect poll tax from the canons but had been persuaded not to.

Similarly the abbot of St. Mary's, York, collector in the archdeaconries of York, Cleveland, East Riding and Richmond in 1381, also seems to have considered Hexham to be outside his jurisdiction. This raises the intriguing possibility that the canons of Hexham did not pay poll tax in 1379 and 1381 because no collector felt he had the power to collect tax from them.

It would in fact have been in the interests of both the canons and the collector to allow them to slip through the net. By not enrolling any of the canons of Hexham, but accepting surcharges from the prior, the collector for Northumberland could raise money to meet his obligation to the Exchequer without increasing the number of half marks he had to find. The case of Hexham in 1381 may be an example of a collector interpreting the rules to his own benefit, if not actually cheating the Exchequer.

Whatever jurisdictional anomalies affected Hexham in 1381, Ovingham was not involved since the enrolment gives the name of John de Wermouth as master of Ovingham, while the section dealing with the religious records payment of tax from three (unnamed) canons of Hexham at Ovingham<sup>114</sup>. This raises the question of why Ovingham was not enrolled in 1379. It is possible that the collectors, the prior of Durham and Mag. John Farnham, *officialis* of Durham, thought that Ovingham was, like Hexham, beyond their jurisdiction but this is highly unlikely. Ovingham was

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<sup>114</sup> E179/62/6 m. 1.

treated as part of Northumberland archdeaconry throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries <sup>115</sup>. Moreover it was Thomas Hatfield, bishop of Durham, who approved the appropriation of Ovingham in 1378, so it seems more likely that Ovingham is missing from the 1379 enrolment because there were no canons of Hexham residing there until after the tax was collected <sup>116</sup>.

Since Hexham priory does not appear in the surviving poll tax enrolments, it was necessary to estimate the number of canons there in 1379 to complete the picture of the numbers of the clergy in York province given in Chapter 4. Hexham had been founded for 26 canons and some *conversi* in 1113, and after visitations in 1307 and 1311 Archbishop Greenfield ordered the number of canons to be maintained at 26 <sup>117</sup>. This was of course, before the onset of plague, so some diminution of numbers by 1379 would be expected. Hexham priory was supposed to be the same size as Nostell priory <sup>118</sup>, which had 16 canons in 1381 <sup>119</sup>. At the election of William de Bywell as prior in 1475, there were 20 canons <sup>120</sup>, so an estimate of seventeen canons in 1379 was made. This estimate presumes there were no canons living at Ovingham in 1379.

The Nostell dependency at Bamburgh was established around a parish church on the coast of Northumberland. In 1292 the value of Bamburgh church was estimated at

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<sup>115</sup> Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church,' vol. 1, pp. xii-xiii, lists Ovingham in Northumberland archdeaconry.

<sup>116</sup> Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, vol. II, p. x.

<sup>117</sup> Hinds, *History of Northumberland*, vol. III, pp. 126, 143.

<sup>118</sup> Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, vol. 1, p. cxxxv.

<sup>119</sup> E179/63/12 m. 4.

<sup>120</sup> Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, vol. 1, p. cxxxv.

£400, an enormous sum <sup>121</sup>. Bamburgh was, however, much affected by the Scots raids early in the fourteenth century: in 1312 the canons of Nostell claimed that losses over the previous fifteen years amounted to £4454. Perhaps not surprisingly, Bamburgh was exempted tax in the New Taxation of 1318 <sup>122</sup>. Bamburgh was again attacked by the Scots, who in 1322 ‘completely burned the parish of Bamburgh and caused the greatest destruction there’ <sup>123</sup>.

Despite this, it is clear that there were canons at Bamburgh later on in the fourteenth century. In 1336 the ‘master’ of Bamburgh was one Richard de Dewsbery <sup>124</sup>. It would appear that there was at least one canon of Nostell at Bamburgh in 1381 since Roger Radcliff, master of Bamburgh, paid 6s. 8d. for his poll tax <sup>125</sup>. The York enrolment for 1381 records the fact that one ‘Roger de Radclyff’ paid 3s. 4d. tax with the rest of the canons of Nostell <sup>126</sup>. It is possible that there were two Rogers de Radcliff, both canons of Nostell, but in that case one might expect them to be distinguished in some way, perhaps as ‘senior’ or ‘junior’. It seems more likely that this is an instance of double counting and that there was only one Roger de Radcliff, who paid tax as master of Bamburgh in 1381, but for whom tax was also paid centrally at the mother house.

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<sup>121</sup> E.Bateson (ed.), *A History of Northumberland*, vol. I, (Newcastle and London, 1893), p. 85.

<sup>122</sup> Bateson, *History of Northumberland*, vol. I, p. 86.

<sup>123</sup> Nostell Priory Act Book, p. 96.

<sup>124</sup> Nostell Priory Act Book, p. 103.

<sup>125</sup> E179/62/6 m. 1.

<sup>126</sup> E179/63/12 m. 4.



How a double payment could have come about requires some consideration. It may have been a mistake: if communications between Nostell and Bamburgh were poor, then it is possible that Radcliff did not know that the tax had already been paid on his behalf when he made payment to the collector for Northumberland archdeaconry. On the other hand it seems unlikely that such a mistake would be made at the time of the third poll tax, especially since the absence of Bamburgh from the 1379 enrolment is most easily explained by suggesting that Bamburgh's tax was paid by Nostell. Moreover since the 1381 Northumberland enrolment also records the payment of 35s. by the prior of Nostell 'in order to help other parsons of less sufficient means'<sup>127</sup>, it seems unlikely that an unintended double payment would not be noticed at the mother house. It is possible that this double payment by the master of Bamburgh in 1381 was also considered to be a surcharge. It may have been deliberately made, or it may have been a mistake which was allowed to stand, in order to help a hard-pressed collector to raise his quota of a half mark from every priest.

The final 'missing' Augustinian house in Durham diocese is the Kirkham cell of Carham, on the south bank of the river Tweed, about fifteen miles inland from Berwick. The vill of Carham-on-Tweed was part of the original endowment of Kirkham priory by Walter L'Espece in the 1130s<sup>128</sup>, but until 1253 the church was also claimed by Durham priory<sup>129</sup>. Little is known about the cell, it seems to have been under a 'master', and no

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<sup>127</sup> E179/62/6 m. 1.

<sup>128</sup> J.E. Burton, *Kirkham Priory from Foundation to Dissolution*, Borthwick Paper 86, (York, 1995), p. 3; *VCH Yorks.*, vol. 3, p. 219.

<sup>129</sup> K.H. Vickers (ed.), *A History of Northumberland*, vol. XI, (Newcastle and London, 1922), pp. 12-13.

vicarage was ordained, so it must have been served either by canons of Kirkham or by stipendiaries <sup>130</sup>. The church of Carham is listed in the 1381 Northumberland enrolment with a list of livings so 'wasted and poor' that they could not pay any tax, though the prior of Kirkham was still surcharged 3s. 10d. for his appropriated churches <sup>131</sup>. It would appear that Carham was only inhabited by canons sporadically <sup>132</sup>, presumably it was omitted from the 1379 enrolment because there were no canons there at the time.

From the above it can be calculated that there were probably some 287 Augustinian canons and 16 *conversi* in the Augustinian houses of York province around 1379-81. This figure includes the estimates made for the Nottinghamshire houses and Hexham priory. The total number of canons enrolled was 197, all but two of whom lived in one of 17 independent houses. This gives an average size of community of 11.47. Some twelve *conversi* were enrolled, but since five of them were at Bolton an average would be meaningless.

Figures for numbers of Augustinian canons require rather more care than numbers for other orders do, since a number of them were to be found acting as parochial clergy and these are frequently not identified as religious on the enrolments.

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<sup>130</sup> Vickers, *History of Northumberland*, vol. XI, p. 13.

<sup>131</sup> E179/62/6 m. 1. Kirkham had two appropriated churches in Newcastle archdeaconry: Carham and Newton, both were listed as too poor to be taxed in 1381.

<sup>132</sup> William of Thoraby (or Thoraldby) was instructed to resign as prior in 1359; the next known 'master' of Carham, Richard Colyn, appears in 1432, *CPL*, vol. III, p. 604; *CPP*, p. 301; R.L.Storey (ed.), *The Register of Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham 1406-1437*, Surtees Society vols. CLXIV, CLXVI, CLXIX, CLXX, CLXXVII, CLXXXII, (6 vols., Durham and London, 1956-1970), vol. III, p. 65.

Thus the vicar of Bingley, Yorkshire, in 1381, Richard de Ledes, was a canon of Drax, while Thomas de Kydall, vicar of Skipton, Yorkshire, was a canon of Bolton <sup>133</sup>. Our ‘total’ number of Augustinian canons therefore refers only to those canons who were living in community. Since only one dependent house was enrolled in the whole province, it also seems likely that our total includes at least a few canons living in cells who were enrolled with their mother house <sup>134</sup>.

### The Premonstratensian Canons

From the lists given by Knowles and Hadcock there were eleven Premonstratensian houses in the York province at the time of the poll taxes <sup>135</sup>. Apart from Welbeck in Nottinghamshire, the only house which does not appear is the Alnwick cell at Guyzance in Durham diocese, though the canon who inhabited the cell at Kirkby Malham was enrolled among the seculars of Craven deanery.

### Premonstratensians in York Province

York diocese		Canons	<i>Conversi</i>
Abbeys	Cockersand	11	2
	Coverham	16	1
	Easby	19	1

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<sup>133</sup> E179/63/12 mm. 6-7. These two are only identified as canons in Gurney and Clay, *Fasti Parochiales Vol. IV*, pp. 13, 109.

<sup>134</sup> It may be significant that the only dependent house of Augustinian canons to be enrolled, Cockerham Priory, Lancs., was also the only one whose mother house, Leicester, was outside York province.

<sup>135</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 184-192.

	Eggleston	11
	Welbeck <sup>136</sup>	
Priory	Hornby (Croxtan)	5
Cell	Kirkby Malham (W.Dereham) <sup>137</sup>	1
Durham diocese		
Abbeys	Alnwick	17
	Blanchland	6
Cell	Guyzance (Alnwick)	
Carlisle diocese		
Abbey	Shap	6

The Premonstratensian cell at Kirkby Malham, a dependency of West Dereham abbey, was established around the parish church, which had been appropriated in 1205. From 1276 it was served by vicars who were invariably canons of West Dereham <sup>138</sup>. In the thirteenth century there was often more than one canon at Kirkby Malham, but it seems to have been affected by the financial difficulties which led to parishes being served by a canon on his own in the latter part of the fourteenth century <sup>139</sup>. Kirkby Malham may have been a cell technically, but became in practice a parish church.

There is in fact another example of a Premonstratensian canon with a parochial

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<sup>136</sup> Welbeck abbey lay within the archdeaconry of Nottingham, for which no poll tax enrolments appear to have survived. The community was estimated at 14 canons and one lay brother in Chapter 4.

<sup>137</sup> E179/63/12 m. 6.

<sup>138</sup> In 1381 the vicar was Bro. Constantine de Marham or Markham, canon of West Dereham, who held the benefice 1368-84. *Fasti Parochiales, Vol. IV*, pp. 81-5.

<sup>139</sup> H.M.Colvin, *The White Canons in England*, (Oxford, 1951), pp. 278-80.

benefice paying tax in Craven deanery. The 'Brother John', who appears on the enrolment as vicar of a moiety of Kettlewell can be identified as Brother John de Ripley canon of Coverham who held the benefice from 1367 until 1412 <sup>140</sup>. It is thus perhaps not surprising that in 1381 the vicar of Kirkby Malham paid his poll tax with his neighbours in the deanery; it may simply have been easier for him to do so.

Similarly the 1379 enrolment of the diocese of Carlisle also seems to record Premonstratensian canons in parochial benefices paying tax with the secular clergy. The churches of Shap and Warcop, Westmorland, were both appropriated to Shap abbey; they both have vicars whose title is given as *frater* rather than *dominus*. J.L.Kirby, the editor of the Carlisle enrolments, believed them to be canons of Shap <sup>141</sup>.

The Premonstratensian foundation at Guyzance (also known as Brainshaugh) was originally a small house of canonesses, some six miles south of Alnwick. It was valued at £3. 14s. 4d. in 1291 <sup>142</sup>. The last reference to a prioress occurs in 1313 when the house was exempted from a fifteenth on the ground that the nuns had no ecclesiastical property <sup>143</sup>. According to Backmund, the community became extinct towards the middle of the fourteenth century, probably as a result of the plague, and was made a cell of Alnwick abbey <sup>144</sup>. It is not clear when exactly the canons came to inhabit Guyzance, though 'masters' and 'fellows' appear in lists of the Alnwick

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<sup>140</sup> E179/63/12 m. 7; *Fasti Parochiales*, vol. IV, p. 76.

<sup>141</sup> Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts', pp. 73, 78-9.

<sup>142</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 318.

<sup>143</sup> Colvin, *White Canons in England*, p. 333.

<sup>144</sup> P.Norbert Backmund, *Monasticon Praemonstratense*, (3 vols. Straubing, 1952) p. 57.

community from 1475 to 1500 <sup>145</sup>. It thus seems quite likely that Guyzance was uninhabited at the time of the poll taxes, especially since the chapelry there could be served from its mother house at Alnwick.

It would thus appear that there were some 106 Premonstratensian canons living in houses of the order in York province at the time of the poll taxes. This number includes an estimate for the community at Welbeck abbey, but is doubtless smaller than the total number of Premonstratensian canons in the province since some more will have been involved in the parish ministry. There seem to have been five *conversi* of the order in the province. The enrolled total is 92 canons of whom 86 lived in independent abbeys, making the average size of such a community 12.29.

### The Gilbertines

There were five Gilbertine priories in York province, all of which were in York diocese. The priory at Watton was the only 'double' house with communities of canons and nuns, the others were houses of canons only <sup>146</sup>. All five priories appear in the 1381 enrolment, though in common with nuns elsewhere in York diocese, the nuns of Watton were not enrolled <sup>147</sup>. One of the surviving fragments of the York enrolment of 1377 does however record the names of 61 nuns at Watton priory <sup>148</sup>. No *conversi* are

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<sup>145</sup> Colvin, *White Canons in England*, p. 334.

<sup>146</sup> B.Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order c.1130-c1300*, (Oxford, 1995).

<sup>147</sup> The only nuns who appear on the 1381 York enrolment are eight prioresses who appear amongst the lists of dignitaries and heads of houses from outside the province who were surcharged to aid the poorer clergy. No prioress of Watton appears in this list E179/63/31 m. 5.

<sup>148</sup> E179/63/11.

recorded so it would seem that they had ceased to exist in Gilbertine priories by 1381.

### Gilbertine priories in York province

York diocese		Canons
House of canons and nuns	Watton <sup>149</sup>	14
Houses of canons	Ellerton	5
	Malton	10
	Mattersey <sup>150</sup>	
	York, St. Andrew	3

From the above table it can be seen that there were probably 32 Gilbertine canons in York province in 1381. The average size of a community of canons only was six .

### The Trinitarians

There were only two houses of Trinitarians in York province, the house of St. Robert, Knaresborough and a house in Newcastle variously known as St. Michael's, Holy Trinity, Acton's Hospital (after its founder, William de Acton), and Wall-Knoll (after its site). At Knaresborough there appears to have been a minister (the head of the

<sup>149</sup> As noted in the text above there would appear to have been 61 nuns at Watton in 1377. A different fragment of the 1377 enrolment (E179/63/10) also gives details of the canons at Malton, a comparison and discussion of the two enrolments appears in Chapter 6.

<sup>150</sup> Mattersey priory was in the Nottingham archdeaconry, its community was estimated at six in Chapter 4.

house), four brothers and two *conversi* in 1381 <sup>151</sup>. As was mentioned in Chapter 4 the Trinitarians at Newcastle seem to have escaped the poll tax of 1379. This may have been because they were often popularly considered to be friars, though in fact they were not mendicants since they were allowed to accept endowments <sup>152</sup>. Dom. David Knowles considered that in lifestyle they were very much like Augustinian canons <sup>153</sup>. The master of the Newcastle house, John de Lilburn paid 6s. 8d. tax in 1381 <sup>154</sup>. Since the house had been founded as recently as 1360 for a master with three religious, three poor and infirm people and three clerks as schoolteachers, its community was estimated at three Trinitarians <sup>155</sup>.

### The *Conversi*

Knowles and Hadcock believed the numbers of lay brothers or *conversi* in English religious houses declined so seriously after the Black Death that they had virtually disappeared by the beginning of the fifteenth century <sup>156</sup>. In his estimates of the numbers of regular clergy J.C.Russell deliberately excluded lay brothers, though he

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<sup>151</sup> E179/63/12 m. 6.

<sup>152</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 205.

<sup>153</sup> D.Knowles, *Religious Orders*, vol. 1, pp. 201-2.

<sup>154</sup> E179/62/6 m. 1.

<sup>155</sup> J.Brand, *The History and Antiquities of the Town and County of the Town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, (2 vols. London, 1789), vol. 1, p. 401; Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 206.

<sup>156</sup> Knowles and Hadcock *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 42; D.Knowles *Religious Orders*, vol. II, pp. 125-7, 139, 358-9.



argued that of 16,809 unbeneficed clergy in 1377, 'considerably more than 16,000' were seculars - thus implying that there were much fewer than 809 *conversi* in England<sup>157</sup>. In his edition of the great enrolments of the poll taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381, Russell pointed out that only in 1381 were clergy in lesser orders and *conversi* distinguished from the rest of the clergy, thus making that enrolment the most useful when considering the lay brothers<sup>158</sup>.

Using Russell's figures it can be calculated that there were 2241 clerks in lesser orders and *conversi* enrolled in England in 1381<sup>159</sup>. Since the secular clerks are not distinguished from *conversi* on the great enrolments, it is necessary to turn to the collectors' enrolments to try to find out how many *conversi* there really were.

The evidence of the surviving collectors' enrolments from York province suggests that there were still a few *conversi* in northern religious houses. According to the enrolments from York diocese there were 59 *conversi* in the archdeaconries of York, Cleveland, East Riding and Richmond in 1381<sup>160</sup>. The 1379 Durham and Carlisle enrolments do not record any at all<sup>161</sup>. The 1381 enrolment of the

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<sup>157</sup> Russell's reasons for this split of the unbeneficed figure are not given. Russell, 'Clerical Population,' p. 179. Russell's exclusion of *conversi* enrolled on poll tax returns is clear from his remarks about the Gilbertines on p. 205, and a comparison of E179/63/12, with the figures he used to draw up his estimates of the Cistercians, p. 194-6, and the Premonstratensians p. 203.

<sup>158</sup> Russell, *British Medieval Population*, pp. 133-8.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 134-7. Russell's figures have to be corrected by the addition of 49 clerks from the archdeaconry of Middlesex who appear on the collector's enrolment, McHardy, *Church in London*, p. 38. These clerks seem to be included in the total for the archdeaconry taken from the great enrolment by Oman, *The Great Revolt*, p. 164.

<sup>160</sup> An estimate of 11 *conversi* in the Nottingham archdeaconry was made in Chapter 4.

<sup>161</sup> E179/63/12; E179/62/4; Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts,' pp. 74-81.

Northumberland archdeaconry states explicitly that none of the subsidy was paid by subdeacons, *conversi*, clerks, advocates, proctors, notaries or registrars because there were none <sup>162</sup>. This bald statement does however, seem a little suspicious. Perhaps the advocates, proctors and registrars of Durham diocese were to be found in Durham rather than Northumberland, since that was where the bishop's household and consistory court were, but one might have expected to find a few clerks or subdeacons in Northumberland. The 1379 enrolment recorded gives a total of 24 clerks in the diocese <sup>163</sup>, so it seems hard to believe there were none at all in Northumberland in 1381.

The silence of the 1379 Durham and Carlisle enrolments suggests that there were no *conversi* in the religious houses of the two dioceses, but this cannot not be accepted without further consideration. Although the mandates for collection of the 1379 poll tax did not mention *conversi* explicitly, they do appear on an enrolment from the archdeaconry of Bedford (Lincoln diocese) paying at the same rate as religious <sup>164</sup>. It would thus be reasonable to expect to find *conversi* on 1379 enrolments, though since their position was at the margins of the clerical state, it could be argued that they were laymen and therefore should not have to pay clerical taxes <sup>165</sup>.

As far as the archdeaconry of Northumberland is concerned it would seem

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<sup>162</sup> E179/62/6 m. 1d.

<sup>163</sup> E179/62/4 mm. 3-4.

<sup>164</sup> *CFR 1377-83*, pp. 139-41, 158-9; McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. 79-80.

<sup>165</sup> For example, the only evidence of *conversi* in the 1381 enrolments for the archdeaconry of Lincoln comes from a draft enrolment. The final version omits any mention of lay brothers. This matter is discussed below. McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. xxxi, 98-171.

reasonable to accept that there were no lay brothers since neither the 1379 nor the 1381 enrolments give the names of any. This leaves the archdeaconry of Durham still in doubt. There were only two independent male religious houses in the archdeaconry: Durham cathedral priory with its dependencies at Finchale, Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, and the Premonstratensian abbey at Blanchland. Durham was, of course Benedictine, so we would not expect to find *conversi* there in the fourteenth century <sup>166</sup>; in fact the last recorded *conversus* appears in the twelfth century <sup>167</sup>. Blanchland, on the other hand was Premonstratensian, so some *conversi* might be expected there. Blanchland however, was very small, having only six canons, when the average size of an independent Premonstratensian house in York province was just over twelve canons <sup>168</sup>. Since there are other small Premonstratensian houses without *conversi* and even the large abbey at Alnwick did not have any in 1381 <sup>169</sup>, it seems reasonable to accept that there were no *conversi* at Blanchland in 1379.

According to the 1379 enrolment the religious houses of Carlisle diocese also did not have any *conversi*; all of the religious enrolled are identified as monks or canons <sup>170</sup>. It could be argued that the identifications on the enrolment are incorrect, especially since in 1379 *conversi* paid the same as other religious, but this seems unlikely given that the basis for charging the tax was principally status. The priory at Wetheral, dependent on St. Mary's York, was Benedictine so *conversi* would not be expected

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<sup>166</sup> There were no Benedictine *conversi* enrolled in the diocese of York on E179/63/12, so none appear anywhere on any York province poll tax enrolment.

<sup>167</sup> Personal communication from Mr. Alan Piper of the University of Durham.

<sup>168</sup> E179/62/4 m. 3, see also above, for numbers of Premonstratensians.

<sup>169</sup> E179/62/6.

<sup>170</sup> Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts,' pp. 74-81.

there. Some Augustinian houses did have lay brothers <sup>171</sup>, but since the majority of houses did not, it would appear reasonable to believe that there were none at the priories of Carlisle and Lanercost. That no *conversi* were enrolled at Shap, a Premonstratensian abbey, may seem surprising, but Shap was as small a house as Blanchland and was thus rather less likely to have had lay brothers than larger houses of the order. Thus the only religious house in Carlisle diocese which could really be expected to have had *conversi* was Holm Cultram.

In 1381 all of the Cistercian abbeys which appear in the enrolment of York diocese had a few *conversi* <sup>172</sup>. However if Holm Cultram did indeed have no lay brothers it was not alone, since Newminster in Northumberland also had none <sup>173</sup>. Using the method employed in Chapter 4 to estimate the numbers of *conversi* in the archdeaconry of Nottingham we would expect to find three *conversi* at Holm Cultram and perhaps one at Carlisle <sup>174</sup>. However since we do have enrolments which identify all the inmates of religious houses by rank, and since conditions in Carlisle diocese are probably more comparable with Northumberland than Nottinghamshire, it perhaps seems more likely that there were no *conversi* in Carlisle diocese in 1379, though it remains possible that the Carlisle collector merely chose to omit them.

The York diocese enrolment for 1381 records the names of some 59 *conversi* living in 31 religious houses. They were members of one of four orders: the

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<sup>171</sup> 5 out of 15 Augustinian houses enrolled in 1381 had *conversi*, E179/63/12 mm. 1-6.

<sup>172</sup> E179/63/12 mm. 1-4.

<sup>173</sup> E179/62/6.

<sup>174</sup> See Chapter 4.

Cistercians; the Premonstratensians; the Augustinian canons or the Trinitarians <sup>175</sup>. Between them the ten enrolled Cistercian abbeys in the diocese had 41 *conversi*, so they represented 20% of the order. Fountains abbey had ten *conversi* while Furness and Kirkstall had eight and six respectively <sup>176</sup>, though the average number of lay brothers per house was 4.1. Although the numbers of Cistercian *conversi* were nowhere near what they had been in the early days <sup>177</sup>, they cannot be said to have died out in York diocese by 1381. Given that neither Holm Cultram nor Newminster had *conversi* at this time it seems likely that York diocese was exceptional in still having them.

Although three out of the five enrolled Premonstratensian houses in York diocese did have *conversi*, there were only four lay brothers enrolled: Cockersand abbey had two and Easby and Coverham had one each <sup>178</sup>. Since *conversi* only formed 6% of the order, it does seem as though they had ‘virtually disappeared’ from the Premonstratensian order by 1381.

Exactly one third of the 15 houses of Augustinian canons on the York enrolment had *conversi*: Bolton had five, Newburgh had three, Guisborough had two, and Bridlington and Conishead had one each <sup>179</sup>. Although the *conversi* were generally in

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<sup>175</sup> E179/63/12 mm. 1-6. It should be noted that there may also have been lay brothers in the mendicant friars (who were not taxed), in the Knights Hospitallers (who paid tax with the laity) or in hospitals living under religious rules (who appear not to have paid tax in 1381 in York diocese, see below). The discussion above only relates to those *conversi* who were enrolled as tax payers.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.* mm. 3-4. Expressed as a proportion *conversi* formed 35% of the community at Furness, 26% at Kirkstall and 23% at Fountains.

<sup>177</sup> Knowles, *Religious Orders*, vol. II, pp. 258-9.

<sup>178</sup> E179/63/12 mm. 2-6.

<sup>179</sup> E179/63/12 mm. 4-6. A surviving fragment of an enrolment from 1377 and some other contemporary records refer to *conversi* at Bolton, see Chapter 6.

larger houses, this was not necessarily so: Kirkham and Nostell, which were larger than Bolton and Newburgh had none. Why this may have been is a matter for some speculation, though it seems likely that the continued presence of *conversi* may be seen in part as a function of the economic organisation of particular houses. Since 42% of the recorded *conversi* were all at Bolton, an average number per house would be meaningless, but it can be noted that lay brothers formed 6.4% of the order <sup>180</sup>. It is probably fair to say that in 1381 there were still a few Augustinian houses where *conversi* were significant.

The final order whose *conversi* were enrolled is the Trinitarians. Two out of the seven inhabitants of the house of St. Robert at Knaresborough were lay brothers, this may reflect the way in which the order modelled itself on the mendicant friars.

In conclusion it would appear that the 1381 York diocese enrolment does show that although there were indeed few *conversi* in the diocese, they were still to be found to a significant extent in the Cistercian houses and in a few Augustinian canons' houses. In still having *conversi* York diocese appears to have been unlike the rest of England, or indeed the rest of York province. No *conversi* were to be found in the dioceses of Carlisle and Durham.

### The Nuns

At the time of the poll taxes there were 32 houses of female religious in York province <sup>181</sup>. Fifteen of these houses were Benedictine, 12 were Cistercian and one was <sup>180</sup> *Conversi* formed 26% of the Bolton community, 19% at Newburgh and 7% at Guisborough.

<sup>181</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 194-6, 253-83.

Cluniac. There were two houses of Augustinian canonesses, one of Premonstratensian canonesses and there were Gilbertine nuns in the 'double' house at Watton.

Female Religious in York Province

Benedictines Nuns

York Diocese	Arden	
	Marrick	
	Nunburnholme	
	Nunkeeling	
	Nunmonkton	
	Seton, Cumberland	
	Thicket	
	Wallingwells	
	Wilberfoss	
	Yedingham	
	York, St. Clement's	

Durham diocese	Lambley	3
	Neasham	4
	Newcastle	3

Carlisle diocese	Armathwaite	
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Cistercian nuns

York diocese	Baysdale
	Ellerton
	Esholt
	Hampole
	Handale

Keldholme

Kirklees

Nun Appleton

Rosedale <sup>182</sup>

Sinningthwaite

Swine

Wykeham

Augustinian canonesses

Canonesses

York diocese

Moxby

Durham diocese

Holystone

7

Premonstratensian canonesses

York diocese

Broadholme

Gilbertine nuns

Nuns

York diocese

Watton <sup>183</sup>

As can be seen from the above table, only very few houses of nuns appear in the surviving York province enrolments. The York diocese collector in 1381 did not enrol female religious, though he did raise some tax from eight prioresses by way of a surcharge to aid the poorer clergy <sup>184</sup>. The priory of Armathwaite, the only nunnery in Carlisle diocese does not appear in the 1379 enrolment <sup>185</sup>, though the Durham collector

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<sup>182</sup> The 1377 enrolment lists 8 nuns at Rosedale, E179/63/11.

<sup>183</sup> The 1377 enrolment lists 61 nuns, including three prioresses, at Watton, E179/63/11.

<sup>184</sup> E179/63/31 m. 5. As noted above a surviving fragment of a 1377 York enrolment records the female communities of Rosedale and Watton.

<sup>185</sup> Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts,' pp. 74-81.



in 1379 did enrol nuns <sup>186</sup>. This absence of the nuns from the York and Carlisle enrolments clearly requires investigation.

In 1379 in York province prioresses of houses worth more than £10 and nuns from houses worth more than £40 were required to pay poll taxes <sup>187</sup>. When J.L.Kirby edited the 1379 Carlisle poll tax enrolments, he noted the absence of Armathwaite priory from the records and attributed its absence to poverty <sup>188</sup>. This seems a reasonable explanation since Armathwaite had been considered 'waste' for taxation purposes since 1318 and had only been valued at £10 in 1291 <sup>189</sup>. Indeed the enrolment of the nuns of Durham diocese in 1379 represents an overpayment, because although the prioresses of the houses were liable to pay tax, the nuns themselves were not since none of their houses were worth more than £40 annually. In fact the nuns seem to have been charged at the rate for male religious <sup>190</sup>.

How this overpayment came about is puzzling since the bishop of Durham was sent a detailed mandate for collection <sup>191</sup>. The deputy collectors, the prior of Durham and John de Farnham, the bishop's *officialis* must surely have seen the mandate, but appear not to have noticed the partial exemption for nuns. The fact that all four nunneries were charged suggests that there was a diocesan policy at work, rather than a mistake by a subcollector who may not have received a full copy of the mandate for

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<sup>186</sup> E179/62/4.

<sup>187</sup> *CFR 1377-83*, pp. 158-9.

<sup>188</sup> Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts,' p. 73.

<sup>189</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, pp. 320, 333.

<sup>190</sup> *CFR 1377-83*, pp. 158-9.

<sup>191</sup> *CFR 1377-83*, p. 159.

collection. It is possible that collection of this tax in Durham diocese was begun before the detailed mandate for collection was received, perhaps based on some notes taken at Convocation, but it seems rather more likely that the overpayment occurred simply because of confusion over the elaborate scale of payments.

In 1381 the nuns of the diocese of Durham seem to have been treated more leniently since the surviving enrolment from the archdeaconry of Northumberland, like the 1381 York enrolment, does not include any nuns <sup>192</sup>. There is a good deal of evidence of nuns paying poll taxes in 1381: nuns in the dioceses of London, Lincoln and Salisbury in Canterbury province, certainly paid poll taxes <sup>193</sup>. The reason for this is probably to be found in the orders for collection of the poll tax of 1381 because although the mandate for the Canterbury province ordered collection from nuns, the mandate for York province did not mention nuns anywhere <sup>194</sup>.

The absence of nuns from York province enrolments from 1381 seems thus to have been the result of a strict interpretation of the mandates for collection by at least two collectors. This interpretation would have been in the collectors' interests since including the nuns would have increased the number of half marks the collector had to find, while the standard payment from religious was only a quarter of a mark <sup>195</sup>. At the same time the surcharging of the eight York prioresses would doubtless have been a means of helping the collector to reach his target.

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<sup>192</sup> E179/62/6.

<sup>193</sup> McHardy, *Church in London*, pp. 27, 37-8; McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. 121-2, 126, 135; J.L.Kirby, 'Clerical Poll-taxes,' p. 166.

<sup>194</sup> *CFR 1377-83* pp. 223, 252. Differences between the grants made by the two Convocations are discussed in Chapter 1.

<sup>195</sup> E179/63/12 mm. 1-6 *passim*.

It is tempting to imagine some kind of negotiations between the collector and the prioresses with the collector agreeing not to enrol nuns in return for a surcharge from the prioresses, but this does not seem very likely. Partly this is because this explanation only applies in eight cases; why were the other 24 priories not surcharged? The arrangement of material on the enrolments actually suggests a different scenario. The religious houses are all enrolled at the very beginning of the enrolment where there is no mention of nuns <sup>196</sup>, while the surcharge of the eight prioresses appears at the very end of the enrolment <sup>197</sup>. This arrangement may imply that the collector decided early on that nuns were not liable to pay but that later on in the process of collection he was forced to approach the nunneries to help raise the grant in full. Under these circumstances the surcharging of the eight prioresses is probably an expression of the relative wealth of their houses and perhaps their vulnerability to the blandishments of the collector.

It can be seen from the above discussion that the surviving York province poll tax enrolments provide very little evidence concerning women religious. The group of Durham diocese nunneries that were enrolled do not really form a suitable basis for any estimate of the numbers of nuns in the province, since they are too small a sample, and we cannot be confident that they were representative. It is however reasonable to offer some observations about the Durham houses themselves. Firstly it can be noted that they were all quite small establishments. Holystone priory was largest and it had only seven inmates; the average size of community was 4.25 nuns. This contrasts with the enormous size of the community at Watton, which had 61 members in 1377 <sup>198</sup>.

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<sup>196</sup> Ibid.

<sup>197</sup> E179/63/31 m. 5.

<sup>198</sup> E179/63/11.

Secondly they all seem quite poor, Newcastle was probably wealthiest with an income of £20 to support three nuns while at Holystone £20 a year apparently supported seven canonesses.

It would thus appear that the surviving clerical poll tax enrolments from the York province are only of occasional use as far as women religious are concerned. This seems in part because the York convocations which granted the two later poll taxes were inclined to allow exemptions for nuns.

### The Knights Hospitallers

There were probably some five preceptories (independent communities) of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in the northern province at the time of the poll taxes. Preceptories could cover more than one house, thus Chibburn, Northumberland, was counted as part of Mount St. John after 1358, and the establishment at Wetherby was united to that of Ribstone<sup>199</sup>. There were also a number of *camerae*, dependent houses which were often only farms. No houses of Hospitallers appear in the surviving clerical poll tax enrolments.

### Preceptories of Knights Hospitallers in York Province

York diocese	Beverley
	Mount St. John
	Newland
	Ossington
	Ribstone

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<sup>199</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 302, 308.

The Hospitallers had been exempted from the papal tenth of 1291/2, so they did not appear in the valuation which became the basis for clerical subsidies in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In 1328 and 1335, when they were not exempt, they compounded for a little more than £200<sup>200</sup>. Later, in the fourteenth century the Knights Hospitallers paid lay tenths and fifteenths. Attempts in 1371 to get the Hospitallers to contribute to the £50,000 granted by the clergy led to a royal command to the bishops to stop taxing members of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem with the clergy<sup>201</sup>. The first poll tax seems to have caused some confusion: there is evidence from Lincoln diocese of the payment of poll tax by two Hospitallers of the preceptory of Eagle, although Hospitallers in other parts of the diocese seem not to have paid<sup>202</sup>. In 1379, perhaps to avoid any misunderstanding, the knights of the order were listed in the schedules detailing those who should pay the lay poll tax<sup>203</sup>. There is no evidence of any clergy identified as Hospitallers in the surviving York province poll tax enrolments, so they are not of use as a source for information about the Knights Hospitallers.

In order to give the fullest possible picture of the numbers of religious in

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<sup>200</sup> Lunt, 'Collectors of Clerical Subsidies,' p. 248.

<sup>201</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, p. xv.

<sup>202</sup> The identification of these two as Hospitallers seems quite secure. There are two entries for Eagle: one clearly lists the secular clergy, a vicar and a chantry chaplain '*in templo*'; the other gives the names of two 'brothers', each paying 12d, the rate for religious in 1377. There were also Hospitaller establishments at Lincoln, Maltby, Skirbeck and Willoughton. These places all appear in the enrolment but no Hospitallers are registered. McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. 1-5, 11, 36, 42, 60.

<sup>203</sup> Record Commission, *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, (6 vols. London, 1783), vol. III, pp. 57-8; C.C.Fenwick, 'The English Poll taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381, A Critical Examination of the Returns,' Unpublished PhD. thesis, University of London, (1983), p. 29. It should however be noted that Fenwick's explanation of this: that the Hospitallers had acquired their lands after the valuation of 1291 is mistaken. In the York province the preceptories of Beverley, Mount St. John, Newland and Winkburn were all founded before 1291: Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 300-1.

Chapter 4 it was considered necessary to add in an estimate for the numbers of the Knights Hospitallers. Fortunately a copy of an 'extent' of valuation of all of the property of the Hospitallers in England in 1338 has survived <sup>204</sup>. Since it includes lists of the communities of each house it provides a useful basis for an estimate of the number of Hospitallers in 1379-81. In 1338 there would appear to have been 16 members of the order in the York province; of these five were knights, five were chaplains and six were serving brothers <sup>205</sup>. Since some depression of numbers is to be expected as a result of the Black Death it seemed reasonable to estimate a total of twelve Hospitallers in York province in 1379-81.

### The Hospitals

There were literally hundreds of hospitals in York province in the middle ages, Dr. Pat Cullum identified 154 hospitals in medieval Yorkshire alone <sup>206</sup>. Many of these hospitals left no surviving records and are only known from scattered references, so they are now among the more shadowy institutions of medieval England. Moreover, as R.M.Clay pointed out the purposes for which hospitals were founded seem to have changed over the medieval period. Hospitals established between c. 925-1170 seem principally to have been intended to be houses for the protection of travellers. Hospitals founded c. 1170-1270 were often intended for the shelter of pilgrims as well as infirmaries, while later hospitals seem to have been more for relief of the sick than for

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<sup>204</sup> L.B.Larking (ed.), *The Knights Hospitallers in England*, Camden Series vol. LXV, (London, 1857).

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.* They were distributed thus: Beverley 3; Chibburn 3; 'Deynilthorp' (Notts. part of the *camera* of Winkburn) 1; Mount St. John 2; Newland 2; Ossington 2; Ribstone and Wetherby 3.

<sup>206</sup> P.H.Cullum, 'Hospitals and Charitable Provision in Medieval Yorkshire 936-1547,' Unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of York, (1989), pp. 448-60.

the declining numbers of pilgrims. In the fourteenth century hospitals also came to be involved in assisting women in childbirth <sup>207</sup>. Hospitals in the fourteenth century were thus a very mixed bag of charitable institutions varying in both size and purpose.

Yorkshire evidence which does survive suggests that large numbers of hospitals, especially those founded in the twelfth century, were either founded by or committed to the care of religious houses <sup>208</sup>. Although monks like the Benedictines and Cistercians were involved to some extent in hospitals, it was probably the Augustinian and Gilbertine canons who were most closely involved in running their hospitals, since they more often provided staff <sup>209</sup>. A set of injunctions given to the St. Giles Hospital, Beverley, in 1279 implied the residence of four canons of Warter, the mother house, while in 1388 it is clear that the master of the hospital must have been a canon of Warter. The hospital of St. Nicholas, Yarm, which belonged to Helaugh Park, had canons as masters after 1409 <sup>210</sup>.

The taxation position of hospitals seems not entirely clear. The Third Lateran Council of 1179 exempted leper communities from certain tithes; this decree was ratified by the provincial council of Westminster in 1200. However, although Pope

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<sup>207</sup> R.M.Clay, *The Medieval Hospitals of England*, (reprinted London, 1966), pp. 1-8; N.Orme and M.Webster, *The English Hospital 1070-1570*, (New Haven and London, 1995).

<sup>208</sup> Clay, *The Medieval Hospitals of England*, pp. 47.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 47-9. Presumably geographical proximity would also have played a part in this. St. Michael's Hospital, Whitby, which was managed by and dependent on the abbey 'scarcely had a separate existence', *VCH Yorks.*, vol. III, p. 334.

<sup>210</sup> Cullum, 'Hospitals and Charitable Provision,' p. 49n.

Gregory X (1271-6) decreed that no lazar house, *domus dei* or poor hospital should pay tax, this decree was not necessarily accepted in England <sup>211</sup>. Hospitals in England were thus not generally exempt from taxation, though in practice many obtained exemption by charter, or by being under royal protection as crown hospitals <sup>212</sup>. An idea of how many hospitals actually paid tax may be gained from an examination of the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1291, which mentions only seven hospitals from the whole of York diocese <sup>213</sup>.

These hospitals are clearly only the tip of an iceberg, but it would be fair to conclude that very few hospitals paid clerical taxes, and presumably those that did were the wealthier establishments <sup>214</sup>.

It is thus perhaps not surprising that the surviving poll tax enrolments provide little information about hospitals. The enrolment was after all a taxation record, and those who did not pay tax cannot be expected to appear on it. On the other hand one of the aims of the poll taxes was to broaden the tax base, so it would also be reasonable to expect to see at least some hospital clergy, perhaps those canons who served hospitals, to appear on enrolments.

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<sup>211</sup> Clay, *Medieval Hospitals of England*, pp. 195-6.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>213</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, pp. 298, 305, 309. The hospitals named are St. Michael, Foulsnape near Pontefract, a hospital at 'Neuton', St. James, Northallerton, St. Nicholas, Pontefract, St. Mary Magdalene, presumably at Ripon, and the York hospitals of St. Nicholas and St. Leonard.

<sup>214</sup> It should also be noted that the wealthiest of the seven on the valuation, St. Leonard's, York, which had temporal goods to the value of £254 annually is recorded as paying its tenth 'to the infirm', *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 305.



In fact there are only four references to hospitals in the 1381 York diocese enrolments, each is an entry for the master of the hospital. Two are from York: Thomas Warkesword was master of Holy Trinity Hospital, Fossgate; and Thomas Stanley was master of the hospital of St. Nicholas; the third is an unnamed master of St. James, Northallerton and the fourth is Walter Bugrid 'master of St. Nicholas', Pontefract <sup>215</sup>.

The Durham diocese enrolments present a similar pattern. The 1379 enrolment of the whole diocese records only the names of the masters of four hospitals in the archdeaconry of Durham, though it does give the names of the master and two *socii* of St. Mary the Virgin (*alias* the Westspital) in Newcastle-upon-Tyne <sup>216</sup>. The 1381 enrolment of the archdeaconry of Northumberland gives the names of the masters of two hospitals; one of these is the master of Westspital, though his *socii* do not appear <sup>217</sup>. The 1379 Carlisle collectors did not enrol any clergy from hospitals <sup>218</sup>.

A similar pattern emerges from the diocese of Lincoln on enrolments surviving from 1377 and 1381. In 1377 Brother Richard, master of the hospital of Rothley, Leicestershire, and Brother Michael his *socius* each paid poll tax as did William chaplain of the hospital at Castle Donington and John, master of Lutterworth Hospital <sup>219</sup>.

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<sup>215</sup> E179/63/12 mm. 2, 9.

<sup>216</sup> The hospitals in Durham archdeaconry were Greatham, St. Edmund the Bishop and St. Edmund the King, both Gateshead, and Sherburn; E179/62/4 m. 3.

<sup>217</sup> The other hospital whose master was enrolled was Boulton hospital in Edlingham parish; E179/62/6 m. 1.

<sup>218</sup> Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts,' pp. 74-81.

<sup>219</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. 17, 21.

Richard Lavenham, master of the hospital at Royston, both appear in the enrolment of the archdeaconry of Huntingdon <sup>220</sup>. In these surviving Lincoln enrolments references to hospitals do appear, but as in the York province enrolments, they are few and far between.

This raises the question of why hospitals appear so rarely in clerical poll tax enrolments. Firstly hospitals were not necessarily clerical institutions. The leper hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, Grimsby, Lincs., for example, belonged to the commonality; the mayor and burgesses appointed its proctors, who seem to have been laymen by 1389 <sup>221</sup>, clearly lay wardens would not pay clerical taxes. Secondly, since only a minority of hospitals customarily paid tax, it may have been rather easier for collectors, especially in 1381, to accept pleas of poverty than to raise a charge which might be difficult to levy. Thirdly since so few brothers from hospitals appear in the enrolments, it would seem that they were not generally treated as members of religious orders for taxation purposes. Indeed in one of the two instances of *socii* recorded as paying tax, the *socii* of the Westspital in Newcastle were charged in 1379, but were not charged in 1381, perhaps it had been decided that they were not really liable <sup>222</sup>.

A further consideration is that of identification: benefice holders, like masters of hospitals, could be expected to be identified as such, but stipendiary chaplains, perhaps only spending part of their time at hospitals, may have been enrolled with other

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<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>221</sup> S.H.Rigby, *Medieval Grimsby, Growth and Decline*, (Hull, 1993), p. 99; E.Gillett, *A History of Grimsby*, (Oxford, 1970), pp. 80-1.

<sup>222</sup> It should be noted that the 12d. each charged in 1379 represented an overcharge, since the house was valued at 40 marks, the *socii* should only have paid 4d. each. E179/62/4 m. 3, E179/62/6; *CFR 1377-83*, p. 159.

chaplains in their parish. In these cases hospital clergy would simply not be traceable on enrolments. This may also have happened with religious whose tax could well have been paid at the mother house.

From the above it seems reasonable to argue that the only hospital clergy we should expect to identify in poll tax enrolments are the beneficed masters of the wealthier hospitals, but even here there are gaps, the most notable being the complete omission of St. Leonard's Hospital, York, from the 1381 York diocese enrolment.

In the fourteenth century St. Leonard's, York, was the biggest hospital in the north of England, and perhaps the largest in England <sup>223</sup>. The brothers at St. Leonard's probably adopted the Augustinian rule in the episcopate of Archbishop Thurstan, and at a visitation in 1364 its standard numbers were set at thirteen chaplain brothers and eight nursing sisters <sup>224</sup>. The brothers of St. Leonard's seem to have been regarded as religious in the second half of the fourteenth century since at least some of their ordinations are listed with the religious in the registers of Archbishops Thoresby and Neville <sup>225</sup>. However in common with other hospital brothers, the brothers of St. Leonard's seem not to have been considered religious for taxation purposes.

The omission of the master of St. Leonard's from the 1381 York poll tax enrolment is perhaps one of the most notable absences from the whole enrolment. At

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<sup>223</sup> P.H.Cullum, *Cremetts and Corrodies: Care of the Poor and Sick at St. Leonard's Hospital, York, in the Middle Ages*, Borthwick Paper 79, (York, 1991), p. 7.

<sup>224</sup> Cullum, 'Hospitals and Charitable Provision,' pp. 97, 102-3.

<sup>225</sup> Register of John Thoresby, fos. 329v, 365r, 376r, 377v, 383r, Borthwick Institute Register 11; Register of Alexander Neville, fo. 124r, Borthwick Institute Register 12.

the beginning of 1381 the master was Richard de Ravenser, a nephew of Archbishop Thoresby who had become master of St. Leonard's and prebendary of St. Martin's Altar in Beverley Minster in 1363, becoming prebendary of Knaresborough in York Minster in 1371. Ravenser had been Receiver of Queen Isabella and Queen Philippa and was Keeper of the Hanaper 1357-79 <sup>226</sup>. Ravenser had however been the leader of the Beverley Chapter's opposition to the notorious visitation by Archbishop Neville in the spring of 1381 and for this he had been deprived of his prebends in both York and Beverley <sup>227</sup>. The poll tax enrolment evidence is ambivalent, since Ravenser's York prebend of Knaresborough is noted as 'vacant in chapter', yet the prebendary of St. Martin at Beverley is noted to be living in London <sup>228</sup>. The problem with this is that although Neville did replace Ravenser in these prebends his replacement for Knaresborough was appointed on 12 July 1381, while the Beverley replacement was not made until 31 August 1381 <sup>229</sup>. Since the entries for both prebends come together in the section listing those taxpayers who had paid extra to help the poorer clergy, it is unlikely that the lists were compiled at different times. If the Knaresborough prebend was in the hands of the York chapter, then the list must have been drawn up before 12 July, when Archbishop Neville collated the prebend of Knaresborough to Robert de Scargill <sup>230</sup>. If this is true, then the payment by the absent prebendary of St. Martin's Altar, Beverley, must have been made by Richard de Ravenser, who may perhaps have

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<sup>226</sup> Cullum, 'Hospitals and Charitable Provision,' pp. 146-7; J. Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, p. 60. R.T.W. McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, vol. CXLIX, (Leeds, 1993), pp. 50-1.

<sup>227</sup> McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, pp. xxi, 50-1.

<sup>228</sup> E179/63/31 m. 5.

<sup>229</sup> Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, p. 60; McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, p. 51.

<sup>230</sup> Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, p. 60.

wanted to pay this tax in order to prove his loyalty to the king.

Ravenser's struggle with Neville did not affect his tenure of the mastership of St. Leonard's <sup>231</sup>, thus the fact that the master of the hospital does not appear to have paid any poll tax remains a puzzle. Perhaps Ravenser had been able to claim exemption on the ground that St. Leonards was a royal foundation, though he may also have paid his tax in London, where the York collector claimed he was.

It can thus be seen that the surviving clerical poll tax enrolments from the province of York do not constitute a good source of information concerning the hospitals of the province. The enrolments record only a few secular clergy who were masters of wealthier hospitals, they are taxed as benefice holders. Brothers and sisters serving hospitals did not generally pay clerical poll taxes, probably because they were not considered to be religious.

### Conclusion

The main purposes of this section have been to try to make some judgement of the completeness of the enrolments of the religious houses and to begin the analysis of the material. It seems clear from this chapter that the surviving York province clerical poll tax enrolments are not a good source of information concerning the nuns and the hospitals. The nuns of York diocese were not enrolled in 1381; this was probably due to a strictly literal interpretation of the mandate for collection by the collector. In 1379 the nuns of Durham diocese were enrolled, but those of Carlisle diocese were not; perhaps the Durham collector was rather more strict than his Carlisle counterparts. It

<sup>231</sup> McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, p. 51.

seems likely that the only nunnery in Carlisle diocese was omitted on grounds of poverty.

The Knights Hospitallers were not enrolled for they paid lay taxes. A few of the larger hospitals were treated as benefices, but the brothers and sisters in hospitals were not expected to pay clerical taxes. The friars also were not expected to pay clerical taxes since they were, at least officially, mendicants.

There is one major gap in the records since no substantial enrolment of the archdeaconry of Nottingham has survived, but those enrolments that are still extant appear to be generally complete as far as the houses of monks and canons are concerned. The 1379 Carlisle diocese enrolment includes monks and canons from all four houses in the diocese. The 1379 Durham diocese enrolment is the only one to omit a major house: Hexham priory, which may have been omitted because it was not technically within the diocese of Durham. Other religious houses within Durham diocese which do not appear in the enrolment are very minor houses which seem unlikely to have supported conventual life, though any religious inhabitants may be enrolled with the communities of their mother houses.

The 1381 York diocese enrolment is virtually complete for the major houses in Yorkshire and Lancashire, though it omits the newly founded Carthusian house at Hull, presumably on grounds of poverty. Other houses omitted from the 1381 York diocese enrolment are generally dependent houses which seem likely to have been unoccupied by religious, though any occupants may have paid tax with their mother houses. Some alien houses, like Allerton Mauleverer priory, seem to have paid their tax with the secular clergy and can be found in the enrolments for their respective deaneries.

The clerical poll tax enrolments of the York province may thus be considered to provide a remarkably complete list of the larger religious houses of monks and canons in the province around 1380. The account of the lesser and dependent houses seems perhaps less reliable, especially since potential taxpayers could be exempted tax on account of their poverty. Initial analysis of poll tax material has given some average sizes of communities of different orders in the York province. It should however be noted that there were more regulars in the province than appear in the enrolments of religious houses, since a number of instances have been found of religious serving parishes who are not distinguished from secular priests in the enrolments.

## Chapter 6

### Comparing Enrolments of the Religious

The discussion of the religious in Chapter 5 is in fact only a 'snapshot' of the religious of the northern province. There remains the question of how far information from poll tax enrolments reflects the developing picture of the religious both before and after the poll taxes. In a few cases historians have been able to find numbers of the inmates of particular houses over an extended period of time, to gain an impression of the stability of the monastery. For example, using the accounts of the pittance of Selby abbey, Professor Barrie Dobson was able to give a series of figures for the number of monks at Selby on a number of occasions between 1362 and 1497. Professor Dobson believed that although the numbers fluctuated from 26 in 1453-5 and 1476-7, to 36 in 1431-3, these fluctuations were 'readily explained by the irregular incidence of mortality among the older monks and by the common monastic practice of admitting novices in comparatively large groups' <sup>1</sup>.

It is also occasionally possible to compare lists of the religious of particular houses over a period of time: an examination of three surviving lists of the monks of Whitby abbey in the second half of the fourteenth century shows there to have been 19 monks in 1366 and 20 in both 1381 and 1393. Some 11 of the monks listed in 1366 appear to have still been present in 1381, while seven of these appear in the list from 1393 <sup>2</sup>. Similarly a list of the canons of Carlisle cathedral priory in January 1396 gives

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<sup>1</sup> R.B.Dobson, 'The Election of John Ousthorp as abbot of Selby in 1436,' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. XLII (1971), pp. 39-40. The poll tax figure for 1381 was 26, E179/63/12 m. 1.

<sup>2</sup> This presumes that a name given in 1366 always refers to the same man. This  
Continued on next page...



the names of 16 canons including the prior, three of whom were among the 12 enrolled for the poll tax of 1379<sup>3</sup>

In theory it should be possible to use overlapping poll tax enrolments to give some idea of the relative stability of religious communities over a much shorter period of time. In fact for the York province there are only two opportunities for doing this. The first involves comparing some scraps of enrolments from 1377 with the 1381 evidence for a few priories in the diocese of York. The second compares the religious houses on the 1379 enrolment for the archdeaconry of Northumberland with numbers from 1381.

Two of the three surviving fragments of enrolments from the first poll tax in the northern province relate to the religious. The larger of the two, E179/63/10, gives complete lists of the inhabitants of the priories of Malton, Bolton and the canons of Watton, along with an incomplete list for Guisborough priory. Clearly it is only a portion of a much larger enrolment. The second enrolment, E179/63/11, gives complete lists of the nuns of Rosedale and Watton; this too is only part of a much larger document since it also notes that a total of 1042 chaplains, paid £52. 2s. between them.

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may not be unreasonable since the lists appear to be in order of seniority, and the survivors tend to move up on successive lists. Pantin, *Chapters of the English Black Monks*, vol. III, p. 298; E179/63/12 m. 1; Young, *History of Whitby*, vol. 1, p. 391n.

<sup>3</sup> R.N.Swanson, 'Sede Vacante Administration in the Medieval Diocese of Carlisle: the Accounts of the Vacancy of December 1395 to March 1396', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, vol. XC, (1990), p. 190.

Presumably the names of these chaplains were recorded on a section of the enrolment now missing<sup>4</sup>.

It is clear that this fragmentary evidence is of limited value. It is too small a sample to use to draw conclusions for the conduct of the 1377 poll tax throughout the York Province; in particular it would be very unwise to try to use it to compare the efficiency of collection of the different poll taxes. There can be little doubt however, that the 1377 material does give useful information about the religious houses listed. In the case of the nuns, it represents the only poll tax enrolment of nuns from the diocese of York, since only eight prioresses paid tax in 1381. In the case of the male religious houses, the 1377 enrolments represent the only opportunity for the historian of the York diocese to compare lists of inhabitants of particular houses, compiled for different taxations<sup>5</sup>.

A comparison of the numbers in each of the priories in the York diocese for which we have two enrolments provides the following data:

Numbers of religious in four Male Religious Houses in York diocese 1377 and 1381

	1377	1381
Malton priory	18	10
Watton priory canons	18	14
lay brothers	3	0

<sup>4</sup> See Description of the Documents in Volume 2.

<sup>5</sup> The 1381 enrolment for the regulars of York diocese, with the exception of the archdeaconry of Nottingham, is preserved on E179/63/12 mm. 1-6. Although enrolments for the archdeaconry of Northumberland have survived from 1379 and 1381, on E179/62/4 and E179/62/6, the 1381 enrolment does not give the names of individual religious.

Bolton priory canons	19	14
lay brothers	5	5
Guisborough priory (incomplete enrolment for 1377)		
canons	24+?	26
lay brothers	?	2

The above table clearly shows that in each of the three priories for which we have complete data, the number of religious (excluding lay brothers) seems to have declined between 1377 and 1381 by some 30.91%. These reductions, especially that at Malton, seem much larger than one might have expected. In fact Malton priory may have been a special case, founded by St. Gilbert of Sempringham as a retreat house for his canons <sup>6</sup>. It is therefore possible that there were a number of visiting canons in residence in 1377, but not in 1381.

Only in the case of the lay brothers of Bolton do numbers appear to have remained stable. In fact even this stability may be more apparent than real since the Bolton priory receivers' accounts from 1377-8 refer to payments for the clothing of only four lay brothers <sup>7</sup>. Unless one lay brother did not claim his clothing allowance, then it

<sup>6</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 198. It should however be noted that the most recent historian of the Gilbertines contended that there is no evidence to support this story in the surviving records. Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham*, p. 220. It is however clear that Malton was in some way a special house, in a letter to the canons at Malton St. Gilbert refers to them as being 'free from the concerns which occupy others in the order' and saying 'this is why I have brought you together, that our order may be protected and exalted through the strictness of your religious observance,' R. Foreville and G.Keir, *The Book of St. Gilbert*, Oxford Medieval Texts, (Oxford, 1987), p. 165.

<sup>7</sup> P.Watkins, *Bolton Priory and its Church*, (Bolton Abbey, Yorkshire, 1989), p. 66. Watkins prints only extracts, the complete *comptus* is being edited by Professors I.Kershaw and D.M.Smith and is expected to be published soon. I am grateful to Prof. Kershaw for his help in this matter.

seems as though a lay brother either died or left at some time after the poll tax. It would appear that this brother had returned or another lay brother had been recruited by the time of the 1381 taxation; because the *conversi* are only named in the 1381 enrolment the true explanation for this must remain a matter of conjecture.

Since poll tax enrolments for 1379 and 1381 for the archdeaconry of Northumberland have also survived, it is possible to compare numbers in another group of religious houses <sup>8</sup>.

Numbers of religious in five religious houses  
in the archdeaconry of Northumberland 1379 and 1381

	1379	1381
Alnwick abbey	17	15
Brinkburn priory	5	8
Holy Island priory	5	5
Newminster abbey	17	16
Tynemouth priory	18	16

In this group of religious houses, the total number of religious in all five houses declined only slightly, by 3.23%, between 1379 and 1381. Numbers of religious in three houses had gone down, while one house had the same number of inmates and the other community had increased in size. This pattern certainly seems to fit with Barrie Dobson's explanation of the fluctuations in numbers of monks at Selby abbey.

<sup>8</sup> E179/62/4 mm. 1d, 3-4d; E179/62/6 m. 1,

A much larger group of religious houses for which comparative figures survive comes from the 1377 and 1381 enrolments of the archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow in Lincoln diocese <sup>9</sup>. In this case a group of 39 religious houses appear in both enrolments; six of these were female houses and four were Gilbertine double houses, though for these houses only the canons are recorded on the 1381 enrolment <sup>10</sup>. The total number of religious in the group was some 479 in 1377 but only 409 in 1381, a decline in numbers of some 14.61%, so for this group of houses the average number of inmates per house would appear to have declined from 12.28 to 10.49. Not all houses appear to have declined, five communities had more members and nine were the same size, while 25 were smaller than they had been just four years previously.

This apparent decline in the numbers of religious between 1377 and 1381 clearly calls for some consideration, especially since it seems hardly likely that so marked and general decline actually happened. It is possible that in 1377, because the sums involved were small, the religious paid for every member of their community, resident or not. In this case religious in parishes, or at the universities, would appear as resident on the enrolments. They may not have done so in 1381, the vicar of Skipton, York diocese, in 1381 was a canon of Bolton priory but he is not identified as a religious on the enrolment <sup>11</sup>. In order to test this idea the decline in the numbers of

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<sup>9</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. 1-70, 98-174.

<sup>10</sup> It should also be noted that the 1381 Lincoln and Stow enrolments do not include any lay brothers or lay sisters, so they are ignored for the purposes of these calculations. Since *conversi* appear in the 1381 York enrolment, and it seems highly unlikely that there were none at all in the archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow in 1381, this would appear to be evidence of a diocesan variation in the levying of the tax.

<sup>11</sup> *Fasti Parochiales vol. IV*, pp. 109-110. Perhaps unfortunately for this argument, the vicar of Skipton in 1381, Bro. Thomas de Kydall, had been vicar since 1369, and so was not one of the canons who disappear between 1377 and 1381, E179/63/12 m. 7.

Benedictines and Cistercians, was compared with that of the other orders which may have had members working in parishes.

In the Lincoln sample there are six houses of black monks: the abbeys of Bardney, Crowland and Humberston and the priories of Freiston, Spalding and St. Leonard's Stamford. Numbers of monks at Bardney (21), Freiston (7), Humberston (6) and Spalding (22) remained the same while Stamford increased by one to three. Crowland however, declined from 31 monks to 24. Of the Cistercian houses in the sample, Louth Park was the same size in 1377 and 1381 at 18 monks, but Kirkstead and Revesby were both smaller, Kirkstead was reduced from 30 to 21 monks and Revesby declined from 28 to 20. The Benedictine and Cistercian houses were certainly not exempt from the decline in numbers. Taking these Benedictine and Cistercian houses together the decline in numbers was 13.9%, only slightly less than the 15.3% decline in numbers of the other orders in the sample. Based on these figures it would seem unlikely that the apparent decline in numbers represents substantial numbers of religious working and paying tax in parishes away from their communities.

Of course parish work was not the only reason why a religious may not have been resident in his community, a proportion of religious may have been studying at the universities, or perhaps in the service of a bishop or the king. These may have formed part of the apparent reduction in numbers, but they could hardly account for the whole of the decline.

The collectors of the poll tax of 1381 were faced with an especially difficult

task: that of delivering to the Exchequer a tax amounting to 6s. 8d. for each cleric, while collecting only 3s. 4d. from the unbeneficed <sup>12</sup>. This was largely achieved by levying a surcharge from more wealthy clerics <sup>13</sup>, but it is Dr. McHardy's belief that a form of underenumeration was used by the abbot of Barlings, collector in the archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow, in order to meet his target. Two 1381 enrolments for the archdeaconry of Lincoln have survived; one is apparently a draft, the other a final copy. Dr. McHardy noted that three *conversi* of Thornton abbey appear in the draft, but not in the final version. Pointing out that these *conversi* were 'doubtfully clerical', she saw their disappearance as a rare case of underenumeration <sup>14</sup>.

Some 20 religious houses appear in both the draft and final enrolments for the 1381 poll tax in the archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow. The entries for each of these were checked for further evidence of names disappearing between the compilation of the two enrolments. In 13 out of the 20 cases the numbers were the same, Louth Park abbey apparently gained a monk but lost two novices, while the other six houses lost members. A total of 227 religious, four *conversi* and four novices on the draft enrolment finished up as 220 religious on the final enrolment, but reasons for some of this discrepancy may be rather more innocent than at first appears.

The final enrolment for Newhouse abbey includes some 23 names while the draft lists 24, but this includes William de Castre who appears twice, one immediately

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<sup>12</sup> See above, Chapter 1.

<sup>13</sup> A surcharge system was employed in the dioceses of Durham, York and Lincoln. See E179/62/6 m.1, for Durham and E179/279/111, the letter of Archbishop Neville to the prior of Shelford for York. McHardy *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. xxxi-xxxii, 151-2.

<sup>14</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, p. xxxi.

after the other, if there really were two monks of the same name it would have been normal practice to distinguish them in some manner. This may therefore be a case of copying error. Another example of clerical error may have occurred when ‘Simon de Humberston, prior,’ was added to the end of the list for Louth Park abbey. North Ormesby priory appears directly below Louth Park in the final enrolment and North Ormesby's prior, Simon de Humbulton, named in the draft enrolment is missing from the final. It is thus possible that this too is a copyist's error and that Simon was really prior of North Ormesby priory. This does, however still leave six religious who disappeared in the drafting of the final enrolment for 1381 <sup>15</sup>.

None of the four *conversi* listed on the draft enrolment appeared on the final enrolment. This may amount to underenumeration, but it should be pointed out that the mandate for collection of the 1381 poll tax in the Canterbury province does not refer to *conversi* <sup>16</sup>. It may therefore be argued that they were not due to pay this tax, even though the draft enrolment would suggest that at least some of them did. Novices were probably liable to pay a shilling in tax, but there seems to be no evidence of novices on the final Lincoln enrolment. What happened about those who actually paid, but whose names do not appear on the final enrolment is suggested by a note relating to the two novices of Louth Park abbey: ‘In the roll among the surcharged, two novices not professed viz. John de Malbus, John Wake.’ If novices did pay it would appear that their contributions were used to help the collector reach his target, while their names may have been listed with the surcharged on a different part of the enrolment <sup>17</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. 104-169.

<sup>16</sup> *CFR 1377-83*, pp. 223, 252. The mandate for the Canterbury province does not mention lay brethren, while the mandate for the York province issued nearly three months later, explicitly requires payment of 12d. from ‘all deacons, subdeacons, lay brethren and clerks wearing the clerical habit and tonsure...’.

<sup>17</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, p. 159.



This examination of material from the two surviving enrolments from the archdeaconry of Lincoln has supported Alison McHardy's contention that some form of underenumeration was employed by the collector to help him raise the required amount of tax. However it has not discovered evidence of underenumeration on a scale sufficient to explain the substantial drop in numbers of religious between 1377 and 1381. If a decision was made to omit names from enrolments, it must have been made before the draft enrolment was drawn up, and if that was the case, then evidence may be impossible to find.

If a few names were deliberately omitted from the lists for each house in 1381, then why do some communities appear to have grown or remained stable? This may suggest that collectors were not even-handed in their approach to different religious houses, being strict with some and lax with others. If a proportion of every community was omitted from the enrolment, then it is possible that some of the expanding communities may have grown substantially between 1377 and 1381. It is also worth raising the question of how any omissions may have been chosen. If particular groups were omitted, then this might explain why the decline in numbers varied from one house to another. Clearly in the archdeaconry of Lincoln, *conversi* and novices disappear quite late on in the process of collecting the poll tax of 1381, but the wording of the mandate for collection in the York province did not allow the collectors to omit *conversi*. Novices may have been prime candidates for omission; so too may have been the aged or infirm.

Tracing the numbers of inmates in an institution may give a measure of the stability of the size of the institution, but as became clear in the discussion of the lay brothers of Bolton priory, numbers can only tell a part of the story. Stability is also a

matter of how often the individuals who formed the community changed, by members dying or leaving and by the recruitment of replacements. The historian must compare names of inmates in order to find out how stable a community really was.

Since the names of the religious in the York sample have been preserved from both 1377 and 1381 it is possible to compare the lists to see what else can be learned about the relative stability of these religious houses over the four years between the two taxations. In order to do this it is necessary to match names of individuals given on the two enrolments, a process which is not always straightforward for two reasons:

Firstly the spelling, and translation into Latin, of surnames was variable at this time. For this reason surnames were probably more prone to copying errors than other parts of enrolments. This leads the historian into the rather difficult task of deciding when to accept that two slightly different names actually refer to the same person. In most cases it is clear: few would doubt that the John de Rotse, canon of Malton in 1377 was recorded as John Botse in 1381. In other cases it is far from clear: is John Steyngton, canon of Malton, who appears in 1377 identical with the John de Setrington who appears in 1381? <sup>18</sup>

The second problem is that in this period a person's surname was not fixed; it could be changed according to circumstances. For example, a note written c. 1411-12 in the Cartulary of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, London, records that the merchant Thomas Convers had also been known as Thomas Chaumbyr, because he had been a

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<sup>18</sup> E179/63/10 m. 1; E179/63/12 m. 5. It was decided to accept that John de Setrington and John Steyngton were the same man, because the only substantive difference between the two names was the transposition of the 'e' and 't', which may have been a copyist's error.

chamberlain, while Convers' son William changed his surname to Kelshull when he was apprenticed to William Kelshull <sup>19</sup>. It is therefore quite possible that Ralph de Wringill, canon of Bolton in 1377 may be the same man as Ralph Grastmer in the 1381 enrolment, though no-one could reasonably argue that such an identification should be made without further evidence <sup>20</sup>.

The method adopted here for identifying variant spellings of the names of religious has been to accept obvious variations or corruptions where the Christian name was identical. Where Christian names were certainly different, no identification was possible. Similarly no identification was accepted if the surnames were clearly different even in the case of the less common Christian names like Simon or Ralph. A further difficulty has been that the York enrolment of 1381 does not record the names of the heads of the religious houses, so it was not possible to compare these names to see if a community still had the same superior. Moreover if a prior or abbot had died and been replaced from within the house, then a name from 1377 will have disappeared as far as the 1381 York enrolment is concerned.

Since the method adopted has rejected a number of potential matches it may be that it is over stringent, it is therefore quite possible that the stability of communities will have been greater than is suggested here.

A comparison of the names of the canons of Malton enrolled in 1377 and 1381 shows that only seven appear in both enrolments, while there are two new names for

<sup>19</sup> G.A.J.Hodgett (ed.), *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, London Record Society vol. VII, (London, 1971), pp. 116-7, 214; Convers' son William also referred to himself as Chaumbrer at various points.

<sup>20</sup> E179/63/10 m. 1; E179/63/12 m. 5.

1381. This means that ten names have disappeared between 1377 and 1381 <sup>21</sup>.

At Watton priory eleven names can be matched and there are apparently two new names, while six canons and all three lay brothers have dropped out of the records.

The names of 13 canons of Bolton can be found in both enrolments, leaving four names missing from 1381. There are five lay brothers in both enrolments, but their names are only recorded in 1381, and as was seen above, they may not be the same five. There are no new names in 1381.

For Guisborough priory, whose enrolment from 1377 is incomplete, 16 names can be matched while seven have disappeared by 1381. The overall impression of this exercise, is that there would appear to have been rather less stability in these four priories, than might have been expected from looking at the numbers alone.

A similar comparison of names for the group of religious houses in Lincoln diocese which appear in two enrolments produced a similar pattern: only some 68.4% of religious who appear in the 1381 enrolment can be positively identified in the 1377 enrolment. If the name evidence can be believed, then it would appear that on average a religious house might expect to change around a quarter of its personnel in four or five years. This 'turnover' of religious must have occurred for one of three main reasons: movement to other houses or ecclesiastical offices; leaving the religious life; or death.

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<sup>21</sup> The priors of all of these houses have been excluded from these figures, since they are not named in the 1381 enrolment.

Some movement of religious between related houses did happen. There is, for example, evidence of movement of Benedictines between Crowland abbey and its cell at Freiston, both in Lincoln diocese: five monks of Crowland in 1377 appear in the 1381 at Freiston, while five of the 1377 Freiston community had returned to Crowland by 1381<sup>22</sup>. It would be reasonable to expect movement of personnel in Gilbertine houses, like Malton and Watton, since the Gilbertines were a centralised order, who also undertook parochial and hospital work. Moreover, the case of Malton priory, which was apparently reduced in numbers from 18 to ten between 1377 and 1381, may have been a special case. Knowles and Hadcock believed that Malton was founded by St. Gilbert as a retreat house for his canons, so that it is possible that it had a number of retreatants as well as the community in residence at any one time<sup>23</sup>.

There was also a tiny number of religious who became bishops, though bishops promoted from the regular clergy tended to be friars. In 1381 there were two bishops of English sees who were religious: Thomas Brunton, bishop of Rochester, who was a monk of Norwich; and John Gilbert, bishop of Hereford, who was a Dominican<sup>24</sup>.

It is difficult to find figures for the number of religious who may have left the religious life, either voluntarily or by expulsion. Of the 414 monks of Christ Church Canterbury between 1395 and 1505, studied by Dr. John Hatcher, 33 (or 8%) left or

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<sup>22</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. 14, 85.

<sup>23</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 198.

<sup>24</sup> Knowles, *Religious Orders*, vol. 2, pp. 369-75, none of Knowles' list of regulars who acted as suffragan bishops appear to have worked in the York province in or around 1381.

were expelled from the community <sup>25</sup>. Obviously this figure relates only to one monastery, but the long period of time to which it relates must give it at least some credibility.

When medieval religious ran away or left their community without permission they were considered to be 'apostate' and their superior could call in the help of the secular authorities to return them. In his study of apostasy Professor Logan estimated that, for the period 1270-1530, between 3.6% and 7.3% of the total population of religious were apostate at some time. This figure, as Logan pointed out, needs to be treated with caution partly because charges of apostasy could be used as weapons in internal disputes but also because an estimate had to be made for apostate mendicants who rarely appear in the records because their superiors had the privilege of direct approach to local officials <sup>26</sup>.

Strictly speaking it could be argued that since an apostate remained a member of his community, he was still liable to pay clerical taxes, so apostates should appear on the enrolments. Unfortunately only one of Logan's apostates from York province is known to have been absent from his community at the time of the poll taxes. Robert of Scurnton, monk of Fountains, left the abbey *circa* 1378 though his arrest was not ordered until 1392 <sup>27</sup>. Since Scurnton does not appear in the 1381 enrolment, it is possible that other apostates were also simply omitted from the enrolments. In order to

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<sup>25</sup> J.Hatcher, 'Mortality in the Fifteenth Century: Some New Evidence,' *Economic History Review*, second series, XXXIX, (1986), p. 25.

<sup>26</sup> Logan, *Runaway Religious in Medieval England*, pp. 68-73. The 1088 alleged apostates detected by Logan constitute 0.91 % of the estimated total population of religious over the period.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210.

assess the impact of apostasy on the poll tax enrolments it is necessary to make some estimate of how many apostates there may have been in the York province at the time of the poll taxes.

The estimates given by Logan cannot be used as they stand because they relate to the proportion of the total population of religious who were accused of apostasy at some point in their religious life rather than how many apostates there might have been in one particular year. Over the period 1351-1400 Logan found some 33 religious from houses in York province who were accused of apostasy <sup>28</sup>. Since this works out to fewer than one each year, and we already know of one who was apostate in 1381, it would seem reasonable to suggest that there were perhaps only three apostates from the non-mendicant orders in York province at the time of the poll taxes <sup>29</sup>.

The most important cause of this 'turnover' of religious would seem to be death. Dr.Hatcher's study of Canterbury cathedral priory in the fifteenth century has shown high and fluctuating death rates with a mean life expectancy at 20 of 28 years. Crude death rates calculated over a 110 year period averaged at 33.12 deaths per thousand per year <sup>30</sup>. A more detailed study of the community of Westminster abbey by Miss Barbara Harvey produced remarkably similar results: the trend in crude death rates between 1410 and 1509 was normally above 30 deaths per 1000 per year. Life expectancy at age 20 was 29.3 years in the years 1395-1419 and 1405-29, though it dropped to less than

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 191-239.

<sup>29</sup> The average of one per year needs to be scaled up to allow for extended absences from communities and for unreported apostasies. Absent mendicants are excluded from this estimate but even if the rate of apostasy was twice that of other orders there would only be three or four of them.

<sup>30</sup> Hatcher, 'Mortality in the Fifteenth Century,' p. 32.

20 years from 1475-99 <sup>31</sup>.

It is also possible to use some late fifteenth century Premonstratensian visitation records to gain some measure of 'turnover' of religious. Richard Redman, abbot of Shap from 1459, bishop of St. Asaph (1468-96), Exeter (1496-1501) and Ely (1501-1505), was also visitor of the Premonstratensians for more than 37 years <sup>32</sup>. Redman's registers record his visitations of the houses of the order and often give lists of the communities of the various houses. Houses were visited every three or four years and numerous lists of the communities of seven of the Premonstratensian houses in York province survive <sup>33</sup>.

The lists of names were clearly intended to be complete since they almost always include the names of canons who were serving parochial benefices and the names of novices and apostates also appear. Lists from Easby, Coverham and Welbeck begin in 1475, Alnwick and Egglestone appear from 1478 while lists from Blanchland appear from 1482 and Cockersand is listed from 1489. The last year in which the lists were compiled was 1500 <sup>34</sup>. Presuming that the names of individuals did not change between visitations it is possible to work out what proportion of a community was still alive at three or four year intervals. Since the base year varied according to when the

<sup>31</sup> B.Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540, The Monastic Experience*, (Oxford, 1993), pp. 124, 128.

<sup>32</sup> F.A.Gasquet (ed.), *Collectanea Anglo Premonstratensia*, Camden Third Series, vols. VI, X, XII, (3 vols. London, 1904-06), vol. i, pp. xix-xx.

<sup>33</sup> Gasquet, *Collectanea Anglo Premonstratensia*, vols. ii-iii, *passim*. The northern houses for which lists of the community are extant are St. Agatha, Easby, Alnwick, Blanchland, Cockersand, Coverham, Eggleston and Welbeck, the smaller houses and Shap do not appear to have had their communities listed.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* There are some gaps so there are eight lists of the communities of Easby and Coverham, seven of Egglestone and Welbeck, six of Alnwick and Blanchland and five of Cockersand.



first list appears, it is not possible to give a figure for total actual losses of personnel over time, but it is possible to work out losses for each house to give an average percentage loss per year. The range of these percentages varied from 2.25% at Easby to 3.68% at Alnwick; the average loss per year for all seven houses was 3.13%. If this is stated in terms of the number of deaths per thousand it gives a figure of 31.3 deaths for every thousand per year, a figure which is remarkably close to the rates calculated by Miss Harvey and Dr.Hatcher.

A further consideration affecting death rates in the late fourteenth century is plague, and it may be significant that there appears to have been an outbreak of bubonic and pneumonic plague in the north of England in 1378-9<sup>35</sup>.

Against this background of an 8% dropout rate and death rates of around thirty per thousand each year, perhaps an estimated turnover of 25% of a community every five years may be reasonable, especially if one of those years was a plague year. Thus the reduction in numbers which often appears when comparing successive poll tax enrolments, need not be the result of underenumeration, but could be the result of losses of personnel which had not been made up, or had been made up by novices who had not paid the later poll tax.

#### A Comparison of Poll Tax material with Ordination Lists

The clerical poll tax enrolments are not, in fact, the only contemporary records which should give a complete picture of the clergy. From the 1260's onwards English

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<sup>35</sup> J.M.W.Bean, 'Plague, Population and Economic Decline in England in the Later Middle Ages,' *Economic History Review*, Second Series, vol. XV (1962-3), p. 428.

bishops' registers contain lists of men ordained to the four major holy orders of acolyte, subdeacon, deacon and priest by the bishop or his suffragan <sup>36</sup>. If surviving lists were complete, then there would be effectively a register of all those who were ordained to holy orders in England. Unfortunately these lists are by no means complete. Recently attempts have been made to use them to give some clue as to the mobility of clergy early in their careers <sup>37</sup> and to examine the career prospects of the unbeneficed <sup>38</sup>. Late fifteenth and early sixteenth century ordination lists have been used to provide biographical information about Yorkshire religious at the time of the reformation <sup>39</sup>.

Ordination lists need to be used with care for a number of reasons. The first difficulty is that there are major gaps in series of them <sup>40</sup>; so if no record of the ordination of a particular person exists, it cannot be presumed that he was not ordained, or that he was ordained elsewhere. The second general problem is that, as was seen earlier, surnames were not necessarily fixed for life in the fourteenth century. Because of this it was decided to restrict the comparison of ordination lists with the poll tax enrolments to the regular clergy since they could be identified more securely by means

<sup>36</sup> V.Davis, 'Episcopal Ordination Lists as a Source for Clerical Mobility in England in the Fourteenth Century,' in N.Rogers (ed.), *England in the Fourteenth Century, Proceedings of the 1991 Harlaxton Symposium*, (Stamford, 1993), p. 153.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 152-170.

<sup>38</sup> S.Townley, 'Unbeneficed Clergy in the Thirteenth Century: Two English dioceses,' in *Studies in Clergy and Ministry in Medieval England*, Borthwick Studies in History 1, D.M.Smith (ed.), (York, 1991), pp. 38-64.

<sup>39</sup> C.Cross and N.Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns in Sixteenth Century Yorkshire*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, vol. CL, (Leeds, 1995).

<sup>40</sup> For example from York diocese an ordinations register kept by archbishop William Melton (1317-1340) has been lost and there are no ordination lists from 1353-1356 (in the episcopate of John de Thoresby) and 1384-1388 (the last four years of the episcopate of Alexander Neville), D.M.Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers of England and Wales*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 11, (London, 1981), pp. 237-40.

of their christian name, surname and house.

The method adopted was to list the religious whose ordinations are recorded in the registers of Archbishops Zouche, Thoresby and Neville (up to 1381), then to see how many of them could be found in the 1381 York diocese poll tax enrolment. These three registers do not provide a complete series of ordinations, since there are gaps in the records. Archbishop William Zouche kept a separate ordinations register which records ordinations between December 1342 and June 1352 <sup>41</sup>. Archbishop John Thoresby's register records ordinations between December 1356 and September 1373 <sup>42</sup>. Archbishop Alexander Neville's register records ordinations held between December 1374 and April 1384, though the last relevant ordinations for this comparison were those held on 9 March 1381 <sup>43</sup>.

The ordination lists thus cover a period of almost 39 years up to the poll tax of 1381, but there are some years for which the lists have not survived. There is a gap of just over four years between the registers of Archbishops Zouche and Thoresby, a further gap of a year between Thoresby and Neville and there are some folios missing from Neville's register which refer to ordinations held after March 1381.

*Lacunae* in the records are not, however the only problem for the historian in dealing with the York ordination lists. A close examination of the lists shows a number

<sup>41</sup> Ordination Register of William Zouche, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Register 10A. This was the chosen starting point since it contains the earliest surviving York ordination lists.

<sup>42</sup> Register of John Thoresby, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Register 11.

<sup>43</sup> Register of Alexander Neville, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Register 12.

of further problems which the historian needs to keep in mind. Firstly there is the difficulty caused by inconsistent spelling of the names of the ordained, for example: in Archbishop Neville's register Brother William Vendure, monk of St. Mary's York, was ordained acolyte on 23 September 1379; on 17 February 1380 one William Vendour became a subdeacon and on 22 September 1380 a William de Wendour was made a deacon <sup>44</sup>. This was a fairly clear case because of the unusual surname, the restricted time scale, and because of the identification of William as a monk of St. Mary's, but other cases are more difficult: the surnames may be spelt rather more differently. In Archbishop Thoresby's register there is a John Engleys (or Ingleys), canon of Egglestone, who received the orders of acolyte, subdeacon and deacon between June 1365 and February 1366, yet there is a John Ingcliffe, canon of Egglestone, who was ordained priest in June 1367 <sup>45</sup>.

There are also a number of instances of repetition in the ordination lists: In Archbishop Zouche's ordinations register, Robert de Lythum and Robert de Tanfeld, canons of Easby, both appear to have received the diaconate twice <sup>46</sup>. While repetitions are probably copyists' errors, occurring when a rough list, actually drawn up in haste at an ordination ceremony, was transferred to the bishop's register, their very existence must suggest that errors of omission may also have occurred. There was also an occasion when no list of those ordained at one ceremony was drawn up. Two slips of parchment attached to a folio in Archbishop Zouche's ordination register record that no record was drawn up of those ordained at Thirsk on 26 May 1347 and give instead a list

<sup>44</sup> Reg. Alex. Neville, fos. 134v, 136r, 137v.

<sup>45</sup> Reg. Thoresby, fos. 360r, 360v, 362r, 366v, in the absence of further evidence, Ingleys and Ingcliffe have to be considered two different men.

<sup>46</sup> Lythum on 18 Dec. 1344 and Tanfeld on 14 June 1348, Ord. Reg. Zouche, fos. 9r, 24r.

based on the testimony of the ordained themselves <sup>47</sup>.

The usefulness of the York ordination lists is also restricted by the periodic absence of identification of the house or order for religious <sup>48</sup>.

Since the 1381 York diocese enrolment does not record the names of heads of religious houses, these have had to be left out of the comparison. There were also some six cases where there appear to have been two religious with the same name from the same house; in these cases it was presumed that the younger one was the person mentioned on the poll tax enrolment.

Out of a total of 509 regular clergy named and enrolled in York diocese, 393 (77.21%) could be traced to the ordination lists. Clearly this is not all of the enrolled regulars, but does seem to be a particularly high proportion, especially given the gaps in the ordination lists and the problems with surnames. Moreover it would be unreasonable to expect to find all of the enrolled religious in the ordination lists since there may have been, for example, newly professed religious who had not yet achieved major orders. It should also be noted that there were a number of 'near misses', where perhaps a 'Richard de Burton' of a particular house appears in the poll tax enrolments, while the archbishop's register notes the ordination of a 'Robert de Burton' of the same house. These may have been scribal errors but such occurrences could not be counted as identifications because of the large number of similar toponymics. A detailed

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<sup>47</sup> Ord. Reg. Zouche, fo. 18r.

<sup>48</sup> For example in Reg. Thoresby, fo. 353, where a large group of the regulars ordained to the diaconate on 27 May 1363 have no house or order specified; the same happened to a group of acolytes ordained on 23 September 1363.

examination of the results of this comparison produced some interesting results.

### The Benedictines

	Named on enrolment	In ordination lists
St. Mary's abbey York	33	31
Selby abbey	25	18
Whitby abbey	19	17
Monk Bretton priory	10	8
Lytham priory (Durham)	1	0
Richmond, St.Martin's (York)	1	1
St. Bees, (York)	4	2
York, Holy Trinity (Marmoutier)	2	2

Out of 87 monks named in the four independent Benedictine houses in York diocese, 74 (85%) could be found in the ordination lists. The fact that William de Kellow, the one named monk at Lytham, does not appear in York ordination lists is hardly surprising: he would more likely have been ordained at Durham or perhaps Oxford, in Lincoln diocese. The only Alien Benedictine house whose inmates were enrolled, Holy Trinity, York, appears to have had at least some of its community ordained in York diocese. The prior of Holy Trinity in 1381, Peter Carpenter, does not appear in the surviving ordination lists, though both of his two monks were ordained to all four major orders in York diocese <sup>49</sup>. It is interesting to note that one of these

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<sup>49</sup> Reg. Alex. Neville, fos. 121r, 131r, 132v, 134r, 136v.

monks was French and that both were said to be under twenty years of age at the inquisition into Holy Trinity priory in 1381 <sup>50</sup>.

### The Cluniacs

Out of the 11 Cluniac monks at Pontefract who are named in the enrolment, all but one appear in the ordination lists.

### The Cistercians

	Named on enrolment	In ordination lists
Byland	11	8
Calder	3	2
Fountains	33	27
Furness	14	11
Jervaulx	15	15
Kirkstall	16	15
Meaux	21	18
Rievaulx	14	11
Roche	13	9
Salley	14	10
Scarborough (Citeaux)	2	0

<sup>50</sup> *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, 1377-88*, p. 84, since both were ordained priest on 17 Feb. 1380, the testimony to their age may seem dubious. For the difficulties with ages given in depositions see P.J.P.Goldberg, 'Marriage, Migration, Servanthood and Life-cycle in Yorkshire Towns of the Later Middle Ages,' *Continuity and Change*, vol. I, (1986), pp. 141-69.

It can be seen from the above table that some 154 Cistercians are named on the 1381 York diocese enrolment as living in the independent houses of the diocese, of these 126 (81.82%) can be found in the ordination lists. Neither of the two Citeaux monks at Scarborough appear in the surviving bishops' ordination records. As with the Benedictines it can be seen that the proportion of monks ordained in York diocese remains high even when the house is far distant from York. Only at Calder and Roche does the number of monks who can be found in the ordination lists drop below 70%. At Calder, which is much closer to Carlisle than York, two out of three appear in York lists, while at Roche it is nine out of thirteen. A comparison between the figures from houses on different sides of the Pennines does show that out of 122 monks living to the east of the hills 104 (85.25%) appear in York ordination lists, yet only 23 out of 31 (74.23%) of those from the west can be found in the lists. Perhaps Cistercians from the west of the diocese were more likely to look outside the diocese for ordination.

#### The Augustinian Canons

	Named on enrolment	In ordination lists
Bolton	13	10
Bridlington	24	22
Cartmel	6	2
Conishead	6	6
Drax	7	5
Guisborough	25	18
Haltemprice	8	6
Healaugh Park	6	3



Kirkham	16	14
Marton	6	5
Newburgh	12	10
North Ferriby	5	4
Nostell	15	13
Warter	10	6
Cockerham (Leicester)	1	0

The 1381 enrolment names 159 Augustinian canons living in the independent houses of the York diocese; 124 (77.99%) of these can be found in the ordination lists. This is a slightly smaller proportion than that found among the Cistercians, but is 7% smaller than that calculated for the Benedictines. The reasons for this seem unclear. The two houses with the smallest proportions found in the ordination lists are Cartmel and Healaugh Park, only two out of six canons of Cartmel appear in the York ordination lists, as do only half of the six named canons of Healaugh. The canons of Cartmel may have had geographical reasons to look elsewhere than York for ordinations since they lived in Lancashire beyond Morecambe Bay, yet the canons at Conishead, which was slightly beyond Cartmel, appear to have been happy to cross the Pennines for ordination since all of the inmates of Conishead can be found in the ordination lists <sup>51</sup>. Moreover excessive distances cannot explain the small numbers for Healaugh since it is no more than seven miles from York.

<sup>51</sup> In fact since both Cartmel and Healaugh were relatively small houses it is  
<sup>51</sup> Out of some 173 ordination ceremonies whose venue was recorded in the registers of Archbishops Zouche, Thoresby and Neville, about two thirds were held in York or Bishopthorpe; none were held west of the Pennines. Ord. Reg. Zouche, fos. 1-55; Reg. Thoresby, fos. 329-393; Reg. Alex. Neville, fos. 118-141.

possible that the figures have been distorted by one or two men who may have been ordained in the years for which we have no ordination lists. Furthermore, since Augustinian canons were more likely than Benedictines or Cistercians to be moved around, in and out of parish work, it is also possible that they were more likely to have changed their surnames than more stable religious.

Only one of the two canons at Cockerham, William de Pyncebek, is named in the enrolment. Since Cockerham was a cell dependent on Leicester abbey his absence from the York ordination lists was probably to be expected; he may perhaps be found in Lincoln ordination records.

#### The Premonstratensians

	Named in enrolment	In ordination lists
Cockersand	10	7
Coverham	15	13
Easby	18	12
Egglestone	10	2
Hornby (Croxtan)	4	0
Kirkby Malham (West Dereham)	1	0

As far as the independent houses were concerned a total of 53 canons were enrolled by name; of these 34 (64.15%) are to be found in surviving York ordination lists. This is a much lower proportion than for the other orders, but it is clear that this percentage is affected by the very small number of the canons of Egglestone who

appear in the ordination lists. If Egglestone is omitted from the calculation, 76.74% of the Premonstratensians from the three remaining houses can be found in the York ordination lists. Why so few canons of Egglestone appear to have been ordained in York diocese is puzzling. It is possible that a large proportion of the house were new recruits, but surely not 80% of the community.

Another explanation might be that canons of Egglestone went into Durham diocese to be ordained since Egglestone was situated on the south bank of the river Tees which formed the northern boundary of York diocese. However the total number of ordinations still recorded for each of the four houses over the 39 years for which we have records does not bear out this suggestion. In the surviving ordination lists from Archbishops Zouche, Thoresby and Neville (up to 1381), there were 35 ordinations from Cockersand, 54 from Coverham, 50 from Easby and 42 from Egglestone <sup>52</sup>. Moreover an examination of the surviving ordination lists in the register of Thomas Hatfield, bishop of Durham 1345-81, found only one canon of Egglestone, one William de Tanfield who was ordained at Auckland on 23 December 1346 <sup>53</sup>. The apparent absence from the ordination records of canons of Egglestone identified in the poll tax enrolment would thus seem likely to be a result of the use of variants of surnames in the poll tax enrolment.

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<sup>52</sup> These figures are of ordinations rather than of individuals, the number of individuals ordained was 18 from Cockersand, 23 from Coverham, 24 from Easby and 17 from Eggleston. It should, however be noted that both the ordination figures are a minimum since there may have been others who did not reach the registers or who are not identified as belonging to the relevant house. The figures for individuals may be rather less accurate because of the problems with variations of surnames.

<sup>53</sup> Register of Thomas Hatfield, University of Durham Archives and Special Collections, Palace Green, Durham, fos. 92r-113v; Tanfield appears on fo. 94v.

The fact that none of the canons of either Hornby or Kirkby Malham appear in the ordination records was probably not surprising since both were small communities dependent on mother houses outside York province: Hornby on Croxton abbey in Lincoln diocese and Kirkby Malham on West Dereham abbey in Norwich diocese.

### The Gilbertines

	Named in enrolment	In ordination lists
Ellerton <sup>54</sup>	4	3
Malton	6	5
Watton	13	7
York, St. Andrew	2	1

Since only 25 Gilbertine canons are named in the surviving 1381 York diocese poll tax enrolment, the numbers are rather small to try to draw any firm conclusions but it can be calculated that some 64% of those named in the enrolments appear in the surviving ordination records. This figure is very slightly smaller than that for the Premonstratensians. It would seem reasonable to argue that this average is rather lower than other orders because the Gilbertines were a centralised order in which members could be moved around.

### The Trinitarians

All four of the Trinitarians named on the 1381 poll tax enrolment received

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<sup>54</sup> As was mentioned in Chapter 5, only the canons of the Gilbertine order were enrolled as tax payers in York diocese in 1381.

major orders in York diocese.

This comparison of the 1381 York diocese poll tax enrolment with the surviving York ordination lists proved to be rather more successful than might have been expected. The fact that 77.21% of the regular clergy named in the enrolments could be traced to an incomplete series of ordination lists must offer the historian some assurance as to the credibility of the enrolment as an historical source. Clearly not all of the enrolled were to be found in the ordination records but they could not all be expected to appear since not all of the religious would have sought major orders, while others may only have been preparing for major orders at the time of the enrolment. Other religious who could not be identified in the ordination lists may have been enrolled using variant surnames or may have been subject to copyists' errors. As far as the independent houses were concerned, only in the case of Egglestone abbey did the proportion of the 1381 community that could be found in the ordination lists drop below half. Dependent priories and cells whose mother houses were outside York province do not generally appear to have sent men to be ordained in York diocese, though both of the two enrolled monks at Holy Trinity, York, appear to have been ordained in York diocese; this may be a sign of increasing *de facto* denization.

## Chapter 7

### The Clergy of the Secular Colleges

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the surviving poll tax enrolments for York province to gain some idea of their completeness and their usefulness as a source of evidence regarding the clergy of York minster and the clergy of the collegiate churches in York province.

Out of three dioceses in York province only one, York, had a cathedral staffed by secular clergy: Durham and Carlisle cathedrals were both cathedral priories, Durham being Benedictine and Carlisle being Augustinian. At the time of the poll taxes there were some 19 collegiate churches in York Province: 14 in York diocese and 5 in Durham diocese <sup>1</sup>.

The figures in the table that follows represent numbers of clergy appearing on poll tax enrolments as belonging to the collegiate churches of York province <sup>2</sup>. The York enrolments appear to distinguish the resident prebendaries from non-residents by marginal notes and by recording additional contributions made by non-residents to help the collector achieve his goal of half a mark from every clergyman. The collector's definition of non-residence is not made explicit, though the frequent occurrence of *marginalia* such as '*moratur Lond*' or '*moratur Oxon*' clearly imply that the taxpayer

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<sup>1</sup> Including York minster, Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 411-446. Graystoke, in Carlisle diocese, is not included because despite attempts beginning in 1342 the church did not actually become collegiate until 1382, *Ibid.* p. 426; Nicolson and Burn, *History of Westmoreland and Cumberland*, p. 362.

<sup>2</sup> E179/63/12 and E179/63/31, from 1381, for York diocese and E179/62/4, from 1379, for Durham diocese.

was only liable for personal poll tax in the diocese of his principal residence<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand the number of resident clergy may be overstated if, for example, a canon of York who was generally not resident, decided to pay his tax with the resident canons. A further complication is that a prebendary could be canonically resident in more than one establishment at the same time<sup>4</sup>, where this happened the tax enrolments would understate the number of residentiaries at one or other church. The figures of residents and non-residents given below should therefore be treated with caution.

It is also possible to attempt to distinguish residents from non-residents for Durham diocese, if it is assumed that those clergy who appear in the listing of their church were resident, and that those who appear elsewhere in the enrolments were not. In fact all those prebendaries who appear not to have been resident were pluralists<sup>5</sup>, and while it is possible that these men were listed with their most valuable benefice rather than where they lived, their other commitments would have rendered them less able to reside permanently in their collegiate church. It is also possible that those listed with the rest of their college, were not actually resident, but merely that it was their sole benefice in the diocese and that they paid their tax with the other prebendaries<sup>6</sup>. The

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<sup>3</sup> See for example E179/63/12 m.7; E179/63/31 m. 5.

<sup>4</sup> For example, Master Richard de Chesterfield was a residentiary canon of both Beverley and Lincoln between 1383 and 1401, McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, p. 83; for discussion of the treatment of pluralists under the poll taxes see Chapter 1.

<sup>5</sup> Three pluralists shared six prebends between them, all three held also parochial benefices in the diocese: John Moubray, rector of Bishop Wearmouth also held prebends in Auckland and Norton; John Henelay, rector of Sedgfield, held prebends in Auckland, Chester le Street and Norton; Hugh Westwyk, rector of Haughton le Skerne held a prebend of Chester le Street. E179/62/4 mm. 1-2.

<sup>6</sup> The 1379 Durham enrolment preserves a number of lists of benefices held by pluralists but since the lists only record benefices in Durham diocese, they cannot be regarded as complete, E179/62/4.

Durham figures should probably be treated with even more caution than the York figures.

Collegiate Churches in York Province

York Diocese	Resident	Non resident
Cathedral church of St. Peter		
Dignitaries <sup>7</sup>	3	2
Archdeacons <sup>8</sup>	1	4
Canons <sup>9</sup>	6	23
Chantry priests	11	
Chaplains	6	
Deacons, subdeacons etc.	11	
York, The Bedern, vicars	34	
York, Chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels, (St. Sepulchre)	2	9

<sup>7</sup> The Deanery of York is omitted from these figures because it was vacant throughout 1381, Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, p. 7; the benefice is noted to have been '*in manu regis*' on the enrolment, though the collector still levied £7 in tax from it, E179/63/12 m. 7.

<sup>8</sup> These figures exclude the archdeacon of Nottingham who does not appear on the enrolments though we know that one Richard de Derby was archdeacon in 1381, J.Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, p. 24.

<sup>9</sup> A further two prebends were vacant, Knaresborough and Masham; E179/63/12 m. 7; E179/63/31 m. 5.



Beverley		
Provost	1	
Prebendaries	1	7
Dignitaries	2	1
Vicars Choral	9	
Chantry priests	6	
<i>Berefellarii</i> <sup>10</sup>		
Kirkby Overblow (Alnwick & York)	1	
Lowthorpe	4	
Pontefract Castle	3	1
Ripon		
Prebendaries	2	5
Vicars	6	
Chantry priests	4	
Chaplains	12	
Sibthorpe <sup>11</sup>		
Southwell		
Sutton	5	
Tuxford		

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<sup>10</sup> There is no reference to this group of clergy in the 1381 York poll tax enrolments, E179/63/12, E179/63/31. They may however, have been included in the list of 23 '*Capellani infra villam Beverlaci*' on E179/63/12 m. 8.

<sup>11</sup> Sibthorpe, Southwell and Tuxford were in the archdeaconry of Nottingham, for which only a fragment of the 1377 Southwell enrolment has survived. According to Knowles and Hadcock, Sibthorpe had a warden, eight chaplains and three clerks in 1399. Southwell had 16 prebendaries, 16 vicars, two subdeacons, choristers under a master and some clerks in 1291, Knowles and Hadcock estimated that there were probably about ten choristers and clerks. There appear to have been three chaplains at Tuxford after 1367. Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 418, 439, 441.

## Durham Diocese

### Auckland

Dean	1	
Priest prebendaries	3	1
Deacon prebendaries	2	1
Subdeacon prebendaries	3	

### Chester le Street

Dean	1	
Prebendaries	5	2

### Darlington

Vicar	1	
Prebendaries	4	

### Howden

Prebendaries	1	5
Vicars Choral	5	
Prebendaries' vicars	6	
Chantry priests	8	
Clerks	5	

### Lanchester

Dean	1	
Prebendaries	7	

### Lazenby

### Norton

Vicar	1	
Portioners	6	2

## The Clergy of York Minster

According to the poll tax enrolments the Cathedral Church of St. Peter, York, had no fewer than 76 resident clergy attached to it; this made it by far the largest secular ecclesiastical corporation in York province <sup>12</sup>. The enrolments also list some 34 non-resident clergy, though the notional total of clergy attached to York minster was greater still, since some York minster benefices do not appear on the enrolments. The enrolments omit the deanery of York, since it was vacant and Richard de Derby, archdeacon of Nottingham <sup>13</sup>, who presumably would have been enrolled with his archdeaconry.

Of 36 York prebends only 31 are mentioned on the enrolments, the five missing ones being Bilton, Bramham, Newthorpe, Thockrington and Wilton. The prebends of Newthorpe and Wilton were doubtless omitted since they both belonged to the treasurership <sup>14</sup>; Master John de Clifford, treasurer of York does appear on the enrolment paying his poll tax and the surcharge to aid the poor clergy <sup>15</sup>.

The prebend of Bramham was probably omitted since it was held by the priors of Nostell, who appear with the regular clergy elsewhere on the enrolment <sup>16</sup>. The

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<sup>12</sup> This excludes the archbishop but includes the prebendaries of the Chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels, E179/63/12 m. 7, E179/63/31 m. 5.

<sup>13</sup> Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, p. 24.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 92.

<sup>15</sup> E179/63/12 m. 7. Clifford does however appear to have underpaid his surcharge by 12s. 6d., since he paid his surcharge on £73. 6s. 8d. the 1318 value of the treasurership only; in 1291 the prebend of Wilton was separately valued at £33 6s. 8d. *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* pp. 297, 305.

<sup>16</sup> E179/63/12 m. 4, it is not possible to tell whether the income of the prebend was considered when calculating the prior's surcharge.

omission of the prebend of Thockrington is somewhat harder to explain: certainly the prebend was in dispute in 1380, but it does appear to have been held by Master Robert de Dalton between 1379 and 1390<sup>17</sup>. A clue may be the note which was added to the Exchequer copy of the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* that the prebend was not taxed with the diocese of York because it was in Durham diocese<sup>18</sup>. Perhaps one of the claimants to the prebend of Thockrington managed to persuade the York collector that he was outside the collector's jurisdiction<sup>19</sup>, or perhaps the dispute made it impossible for the collector to find out who was liable.

Although the prebend of Bilton is absent from the enrolments, it is known to have been held in 1381 by one John Carp<sup>20</sup>. In this case John Carp himself may be the reason that the prebend was not enrolled because Carp was a member of the King's household, serving as Cofferer of the King's Wardrobe between 1376 and 1390<sup>21</sup>. The complete absence of the prebendary of Bilton from the enrolments shows that the York collector did not receive any money from Carp, though it is perhaps possible that Carp paid his money directly to the Exchequer<sup>22</sup>. The enrolment thus appears to be virtually complete, at least as far as the canons of York were concerned.

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<sup>17</sup> Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, pp. 82-3.

<sup>18</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 297, it should be noted that the prebend does not appear in the 1379 Durham diocese or the 1381 Northumberland archdeaconry enrolments, E179/62/4, E179/62/6.

<sup>19</sup> Hexham priory also seems to have managed this, see Chapter 5.

<sup>20</sup> Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, p. 33.

<sup>21</sup> Tout, *Chapters*, vol. VI, p. 27; Carp's career was discussed in Chapter 1.

<sup>22</sup> Richard de Ravenser, master of St. Leonard's Hospital, York, prebendary of St. Martin's Altar in Beverley minster and archdeacon of Lincoln and Master Walter Skirlaw, as dean of St. Martin-le-Grand, London, certainly did so in 1379; E401/535 m. 18; McHardy, *Church in London*, p. 4.

The enrolment records none of the names of the dignitaries and just less than a third of the names of the canons of York. The six resident canons are named, though their prebends are not given and marginal notes record the names of seven of the non-resident clergy. All of the names given on the enrolment can be agreed with the lists of York prebendaries given by Le Neve <sup>23</sup>.

It is somewhat harder to ascertain how complete the enrolment is for the lesser clergy of York cathedral. The enrolment records eleven chantry priests, who were known as the *parsons*, 34 vicars choral, six 'chaplains who celebrate with the canons' and eleven deacons, subdeacons and thurifers.

After the creation of the prebend of Bilton in 1294 <sup>24</sup>, there were 36 prebends; each vicar choral was attached to a particular canon and his prebendal stall, and each canon had to pay the vicars' bursar 40 s. each year for his vicar <sup>25</sup>. There should thus have been 36 vicars choral but only 34 names appear on the enrolment. At first glance it would be very tempting to relate the two 'missing' vicars to the two prebendal vacancies at the time of the 1381 poll tax, but in fact the relationship between the canons and the vicars was a little more complicated than that.

The earliest vicars choral were simply deputies appointed by individual

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<sup>23</sup> Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, pp. 28-93.

<sup>24</sup> C.T.Clay, *York Minster Fasti*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series vols. CXXIII-CXXIV, (2 vols., Leeds, 1958-9), vol. 2, p. 8.

<sup>25</sup> F.Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College*, (London, 1952), pp. 27, 133-4.

prebendaries to sing the offices of the church in their absence, but in 1252 the vicars had been formed into a college led by a *succentor vicariorum* <sup>26</sup>. Canon Harrison, the historian of the vicars choral, believed that admission to the college was by some form of election and subsequent collation by the dean and chapter <sup>27</sup>, but the evidence for this in the late fourteenth century is wanting. Although the charter granted by Henry V to the vicars choral in 1421 stated that vacancies should be filled by the dean and chapter ‘in accordance with the ancient statutes and customs’, there are no references to admissions of vicars choral in the York chapter act book for the period 1352-1426 <sup>28</sup>.

A hint as to the process involved has survived in a judgement made on a vicar choral in 1417: William Esyngton, on being convicted of eleven charges, including eight of fornication, was told ‘you were admitted to the vicarage of the prebendal stall of Newbald by the grace of the chapter while not approving the old insolences with

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<sup>26</sup> Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College*, p. 45. The vicars choral at Exeter cathedral followed a similar development from personal servants of the canons into a corporate body, though they only obtained collegiate buildings in 1382-7; N.Orme, *The Minor Clergy of Exeter Cathedral, 1300-1548*, (Exeter, 1980), p. xiv. At Lincoln there were two separate corporations, the senior and junior vicars each with its own provost and common hall; R.E.G.Cole, *The Chapter Acts of the Cathedral Church of St. Mary of Lincoln AD. 1520-1536*, Lincoln Record Society, vol. 12, (Horncastle, Lincs., 1915), p. xvi. A.R.Maddison, *A Short Account of the Vicars Choral, Poor Clerks, Organists and Choristers of Lincoln Cathedral*, (London, 1878), pp. 4-10.

<sup>27</sup> Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College*, p. 35. In the seventeenth century vacancies in the college were filled by an election held in the Bedern chapel by the surviving vicars choral who then presented the successful candidate to the dean and chapter for admission, *ibid.*, p. 299.

<sup>28</sup> Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College*, p. 297; York Chapter Act Book 1352-1426, York Minster Library, H1(3); the 27 entries relating to vicars choral consist mainly of instructions to induct prebendaries, approvals for admission to higher orders, along with a few testimonials, grants of leave of absence and property transactions. At Lincoln the admissions of vicars choral were recorded in the chapter acts books, Maddison, *Vicars Choral of Lincoln Cathedral*, p. 20.

which you are defamed, at the request of certain brothers of the chapter...' <sup>29</sup>. This rather makes it clear that in the eyes of the chapter, a vicar choral was admitted to the vicarage of a particular prebendal stall, and also shows the importance of patronage in the admission of vicars choral.

It would appear that the vicars choral at York had rather more stability of employment than their counterparts at Lincoln, who in 1408 successfully petitioned that when one of their number was no longer required because his canon had decided to become resident, the vicar displaced should be entitled to the next vicar's stall to fall vacant, so that he should not be left destitute <sup>30</sup>. At York a canon had to have a vicar whether he was resident or not, and a change in the occupancy of a prebendal stall did not necessarily affect the vicar of the stall <sup>31</sup>. It has also been pointed out that the oath taken by vicars on admission makes it clear that the loyalties of the vicar were to the chapter (rather than a particular member of it) and to the college of vicars choral <sup>32</sup>

Since the vicars choral were by their very nature required to be resident the enrolment of only 34 must represent two vacancies, which were probably not caused by

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<sup>29</sup> J.S.Purvis (ed.), *A Medieval Act Book with Some Account of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction at York*, (York, 1943), p. 35. Esyington was expelled from his stall and a chantry he served and the succentor of the vicars was ordered not to admit him to the Bedern to eat or drink. See also A.Ryan, 'Vicars and Prostitutes: Sexual Immorality in and around the Close of York Minster 1396-1489,' (unpublished MA. thesis, York, 1995), *passim* but esp. pp. 6-7.

<sup>30</sup> Maddison, *Vicars Choral of Lincoln*, p. 30.

<sup>31</sup> A new canon could choose a different vicar from the one his predecessor had. Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College*, pp. 59, 188.

<sup>32</sup> R.B.Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages 1215-1500,' in G.E.Aylmer & R. Cant (eds.) *A History of York Minster*, (Oxford, 1977), p. 89.

the prebendal vacancies <sup>33</sup>. Canon Harrison used the account rolls of the vicars' maltster to trace the number of admissions to the college. According to the 23 rolls which survive from the period 1393 to 1534, the admissions of some 71 vicars could be detected, an average of three per year <sup>34</sup>. Against this background the two vacancies implied by the enrolment seem quite reasonable.

Harrison also demonstrated that it was possible to draw up lists of the vicars from the bursar's accounts. One list he published is from 1379, two years before the poll tax enrolment <sup>35</sup>. A comparison of the names on the enrolment with the list of vicars in 1379 found that 27 names could certainly be found on both, and a further two probably refer to the same men. This leaves five new names on the enrolment while there are six men on the 1379 list who have disappeared by 1381. References to all but one of the 'new' vicars in 1381 can be found in Harrison's work, a fact which may add to the credibility of the enrolment <sup>36</sup>. One of the 1379 list who was not enrolled in 1381, John of Alkborow, died in 1379 and left a small bequest to another vicar who was not enrolled in 1381, Richard of Cloudesdale <sup>37</sup>.

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<sup>33</sup> Though it is possible that the absence of a canon from whom to collect the 40s. a year for support of a vicar may have discouraged the early filling of a vacancy in the college of vicars choral.

<sup>34</sup> Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College*, p. 141.

<sup>35</sup> Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College*, p. 134. Harrison states that the list contains 36 names, though only 35 are printed. It is not clear whether one has been omitted in error, or that Harrison was also counting John of Newburgh, the bursar, as the 36th. The former appears most likely because the list already includes one John of Newburgh.

<sup>36</sup> Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College*, pp. 34, 38, 86, 96, 115, 159, 300, 309, 313.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 311.



It is also interesting to note that the order in which the vicars appear in 1379 seems to have been followed to some extent in 1381: the first half of each list is identical (with the exception of those names which are not common), while the second half of the 1381 list is the second half of the 1379 list but in reverse order. This gives the impression that the collector simply went around the choir stall by stall to draw up his enrolment. In conclusion it would appear that the 1381 enrolment of the vicars choral appears reliable.

It is much less easy to make some kind of judgement of the completeness of the enrolment of the rest of the lesser clergy of York minster. This is largely because it is more difficult to ascertain how many there should have been of each of the remaining groups: the chantry priests (or 'parsons'); the chaplains; and the deacons, subdeacons and thurifers.

The enrolment records the names of eleven chantry priests or parsons, but this number does not represent the number of chantry foundations in York minster, rather it represents the number of chantry priests who were not vicars choral. Canon Harrison believed that the vicars choral were customarily first choice to serve chantries in York minster, cantarists who were not vicars were only appointed when there was no vicar available <sup>38</sup>. According to the minster Chamberlain's accounts there were some twelve *persone de choro* in the 1370s <sup>39</sup>, so the figure of eleven on the enrolment would certainly appear to be reasonable, but it should also be possible to check the enrolment with reference to the number of chantries in York minster at the time of the poll taxes.

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<sup>38</sup> Harrison, *Life in a Mediaeval College*, p. 165.

<sup>39</sup> Dobson, 'Later Middle Ages,' p. 97.

According to the lists of chantries given by James Raine the younger, there were some 22 perpetual chantry foundations served by 44 chantry priests and one clerk in the minster at the time of the poll taxes <sup>40</sup>, though it should be remembered that these numbers should be treated with care <sup>41</sup>.

Since the enrolment records the names of 34 vicars choral and eleven chantry chaplains, and there appear to have been 45 chantry benefices in York minster in 1381, it does seem that this portion of the enrolment is complete. There are however, two points which need to be raised to complete the picture.

Firstly it should be noted that one of the 45 chantry benefices was for a clerk rather than a priest <sup>42</sup>. There was in fact no reason why a priest could not serve a chantry as a clerk; it is possible that the clerk's stipend was large enough to attract a priest, especially since the de Gray chantry was one of the wealthiest in York minster <sup>43</sup>. On the other hand, if the clerkship of the de Gray chantry was filled by a man in minor orders, he would most likely have been enrolled with the deacons, subdeacons and

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<sup>40</sup> J.Raine (ed.), *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, Surtees Society vol. XXXV, (Durham, 1859), pp. 274-306.

<sup>41</sup> Professor Dobson, who believed there may have been more than 60 perpetual chantries founded in York minster, described any attempt at enumerating the number of chantry foundations in York minster as a 'hazardous undertaking' because of the paucity of evidence and difficulties in distinguishing perpetual chantries from temporary foundations. Dobson, 'Later Middle Ages,' p. 95.

<sup>42</sup> The de Gray chantry, founded for Archbishop Walter de Gray in 1241 provided for three priests and one clerk; Raine, *Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, p. 297.

<sup>43</sup> Dobson, 'Later Middle Ages,' p. 94. In 1546 and 1548 the Chantry commissioners found that de Gray chantry continued to be served by three priests; there is no reference to a clerk and it would seem a matter for conjecture when the clerkship disappeared; W.Page (ed.), *The Certificates of the Commissioners appointed to survey the Chantries, Guilds, Hospitals, Etc., in the County of York*, Surtees Society, vols. XCI & XCII, (2 vols. Durham, 1894-5), vol. i, pp. 19-20, vol. ii, p. 434.

thurifers, none of whom are identified other than by name. If the clerkship of the de Gray chantry was held by a clerk, then the enrolment records one too many priests for the number of chantry benefice we have calculated.

Secondly, as was noted above, the body of vicars choral on the enrolment is two short of the full complement. This has been attributed to what might be considered a reasonable level of vacancies in the college. By extension of the same argument to the chantry priests of York minster it would be unreasonable to believe that all the chantry benefices were filled at the time of the poll tax. This is only circumstantial evidence but it support the suggestion that the estimate of 45 chantry benefices in York minster in 1381 is perhaps two or three short of the actual figure.

The small group of six chaplains 'who live with the canons' is somewhat puzzling; it is not entirely clear who this group actually were. The heading implies that this was a group of personal chaplains to the resident canons, perhaps poorer family members who had been found employment in the prebendal household. If they were personal chaplains, then the numbers would agree, since there are six of them and six residentiary canons. Certainly they cannot have held perpetual chantries, or they would have been numbered with the parsons, while the fact that they paid tax of 3s. 4d. shows that the collector considered them to be unbeneficed. It is also possible that they were included in the enrolment because they served temporary chantries or performed obits which required them to celebrate with the cathedral clergy. A third possibility, that they were in some way connected with the Chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels, will be considered below.

The Chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels, which was also known as St. Sepulchre's Chapel, was technically a separate collegiate institution even though it was physically attached to the cathedral church of York <sup>44</sup>. Founded in the late 1170s by Archbishop Roger of Pont L'Evêque, the foundation's stated purpose was so that 'divine service may be celebrated for ever to the honour and glory of God, and for the remission of the sins of us and our successors' <sup>45</sup>. It was thus arguably an enormous chantry foundation, having no fewer than eleven churches appropriated to it <sup>46</sup>. St. Sepulchre's college was constitutionally under the archbishop's jurisdiction, rather than the chapter's, though its clergy were often integrated into the liturgical life of the minster <sup>47</sup>. As originally founded it was staffed by a sacrist and twelve prebendaries, but in 1258 Archbishop Bovil augmented the foundation and gave it new ordinances, under which the foundation gained six more clergy, two priest chaplains, two deacons and two subdeacons. The new clergy were stipendiary, being subject to appointment or removal at the will of the sacrist <sup>48</sup>.

The college does not appear to have been able to sustain nineteen clergy for very long however, since in 1291 the survey for the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* found only the

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<sup>44</sup> The Chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels was situated within the precincts of the archbishop's palace, but was connected by a passage to the north aisle of the nave of the cathedral. A. Hamilton Thompson, 'The Chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels, Otherwise Known as St. Sepulchre's Chapel, at York,' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. XXXVI, (1947), p. 63.

<sup>45</sup> Dobson, 'Later Middle Ages,' p. 94.

<sup>46</sup> Hamilton Thompson, 'Chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels,' pp. 70-1.

<sup>47</sup> The prebendaries were for example, the only cathedral clergy below the rank of canon who could be called upon to celebrate mass at the high altar, Hamilton Thompson, 'Chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels,' p. 69-70; Dobson, 'Later Middle Ages,' pp. 94-5.

<sup>48</sup> Hamilton Thompson, 'Chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels,' pp. 64, 68-9.

sacrist and ten prebendaries; judging by the values of their benefices four were priest prebendaries, four held deacon prebends and two were subdeacon prebendaries <sup>49</sup>.

The enrolment of St. Mary and the Holy Angels appears near the end of E179/63/31, immediately after the list of non-resident prebendaries of York minster and just before a similar list of non-resident canons of Ripon. It might therefore be expected that none of the prebendaries of St. Sepulchre's were resident but judging by the payments made two prebendaries appear to have been resident <sup>50</sup>. The whereabouts of seven of the nine non-residents is indicated by marginal notes <sup>51</sup>

A closer examination of the enrolment shows that the names of ten prebendaries are given, the sacrist being referred to by his title only <sup>52</sup>; the enrolment of the prebendaries of St. Sepulchre's may thus be considered complete. An examination of the tax actually paid shows that the prebendaries appear to have paid surcharge at two rates: 2s. 6d. and 1s. 10d. Four of the prebendaries were charged as priest prebendaries but the other six seem all to have been charged as though they were deacon

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<sup>49</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 298.

<sup>50</sup> John Gyffon and William of Cawod paid 9s. 2d. and 8s. 6d. respectively, all of the others paid either 2s. 6d. or 1s. 10d. (22d.) which was clearly surcharge rather than personal poll tax. John Gyffon seems to have paid his personal 6s. 8d. with a surcharge of 2s. 6d. while William of Cawood paid 6s. 8d. and 1s. 10d. surcharge; E179/63/31.

<sup>51</sup> Three including the sacrist are said to have paid their tax in York, one in the deanery of Ainsty, one lived in Lincoln, the other in Oxford and one more was simply marked '*extra provinciam*'; E179/63/31 m. 5.

<sup>52</sup> The sacrist in 1381 was Master John de Waltham, who was also prebendary of South Newbald in York minster at the same time; he became bishop of Salisbury in 1388. Hamilton Thompson, 'Chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels,' p. 222; Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, p. 71.

prebendaries <sup>53</sup>.

Since Hamilton Thompson produced lists of the known *Fasti* of St. Sepulchre's, it is possible to see how many of the enrolled are known elsewhere. Unfortunately the results of such a comparison are disappointing. Of the ten names given by the enrolment just six appear in the lists produced by Hamilton Thompson; of those only four can actually be agreed. According to Hamilton Thompson's lists, the other two had left their prebends at St. Sepulchre's by 1381 <sup>54</sup>.

There is no trace on the surviving enrolments of the six stipendiary clergy of the chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels; this raises the question of why they appear not to have been enrolled? It could be argued that the six clergy 'who live with the canons' were the six stipendiary clergy of St. Sepulchre's, but there would appear to be no real justification for doing this other than the fact that the numbers match.

Although the ordinances of 1258 provided for six stipendiary clergy at St. Mary and the Holy Angels, it is possible that their number, like that of the prebendaries, may have been reduced before the poll taxes. Certainly by 1546 it would appear that the staff of stipendiary clergy had been reduced to two priests and two 'clerkes, called deacons' <sup>55</sup>. It is thus possible that there were only two chaplains in priestly orders at

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<sup>53</sup> This is calculated by working out the value of the prebend from the surcharge paid, assuming that it was charged at a rate of four and a half pence in the pound on the 1291 value of the prebends i.e. 10 marks for each priest prebend and 7 and a half marks for each deacon prebend. *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 298.

<sup>54</sup> Hamilton Thompson, 'Chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels,' pp. 222-224. It should be noted however that the lists given do not constitute a complete *fasti*; the prebends in the chapel were not named, so the historian cannot always gain an idea of the succession of the holders of a particular prebend.

<sup>55</sup> Page, *Yorkshire Chantry Surveys*, vol. 1, p. 5.

St. Sepulchre's at the time of the poll taxes.

It is a possibility that the chaplains of St. Sepulchre's were omitted from the enrolment because they had not paid poll tax, but there could be other reasons for their omission. Since the chaplaincies at St. Mary and the Holy Angels were without cure of souls, they were prime candidates to be held in plurality with other posts. If the stipendiary clergy of St. Sepulchre's held other posts, they may well have been enrolled elsewhere, especially if their other post was a benefice. If the 'clerks' really were deacons or subdeacons, then they could have been enrolled with the other deacons and subdeacons of York minster .

It would thus appear that the enrolment of the Chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels is complete as far as the prebendaries were concerned; it is not possible to make a similar judgement for the stipendiary clergy, since they do not appear on the surviving enrolment in an identifiable manner.

The final group of York minster clergy to appear on the enrolments is a group of eleven 'deacons, subdeacons and acolytes' each of whom paid one shilling in tax. Presumably these eleven were members of the minster staff who were needed for masses, processions and so on.

## Beverley Minster

After York minster, the next largest collegiate church in the northern province of the English church was probably Beverley minster <sup>56</sup>. In 1381 Beverley minster was in the middle of one of the most dramatic episodes in its history <sup>57</sup>; it is necessary to note at least some of the events at Beverley in 1381 in order to make sense of the enrolments.

On 27 March 1381 Archbishop Alexander Neville arrived in person at Beverley in order to perform a visitation. All 55 of the minster clergy were summoned to appear before Neville's visitation <sup>58</sup>, but the chapter, led by Richard de Ravenser, prebendary of St. Martin's altar <sup>59</sup>, disputed Neville's right to visit the chapter and had appealed to the

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<sup>56</sup> The constitution and clergy of Beverley minster in the middle ages were the subject of many years of painstaking study by Canon R.T.W.McDermid, 'The Constitution and Clergy of Beverley Minster in the Middle Ages', (unpublished MA. thesis, University of Durham, 1981); the appendices of which were published as McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*. The constitution of Beverley minster and its relationship with the town of Beverley was considered by N.Heard, 'Beverley Minster, Government and Society, 1381-1540,' (unpublished PhD. thesis, Hull, 1962).

<sup>57</sup> The famous 'clerical strike' at Beverley occurred in 1381. The most detailed and accessible accounts are in A.F.Leach (ed.), *Memorials of Beverley Minster: the Chapter Act Book of the Collegiate Church of St. John of Beverley, AD 1286-1347*, Surtees Society vols. XCVIII, CVIII, (2 vols. Durham, 1898, 1902) vol. 2, pp. lxxiv-lxxxix; and A.F.Leach, 'A Clerical Strike at Beverley Minster in the Fourteenth Century,' *Archaeologia*, vol. LV, (1895), pp. 1-20. A modern interpretation of the events is R.B.Dobson, 'Beverley in Conflict: Alexander Neville and the Minster Clergy, 1381-8,' in C.Wilson, (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions IX, (Leeds, 1989), pp. 149-64. The effects of the events at Beverley on the career of Archbishop Neville were considered in detail by Susan Woolfson Calkin, 'Alexander Neville, Archbishop of York 1373-1388: A Study of His Career with Emphasis on the Crisis at Beverley in 1381', (unpublished PhD. thesis, University of California at Berkeley, 1976).

<sup>58</sup> The 55 consisted of 8 Prebendaries, 3 officers, 7 *berefellarii*, (a group of lesser clergy who served in the choir and who were later known as 'parsons' or 'rectors choral'), 9 vicars choral, 7 chantry priests and 21 'clerks of the second form'; Leach, *Beverley Chapter Act Book*, vol. II, pp. 231-2.



pope. On the first day of the visitation just three clergy appeared: Master Ralph Waleys, the precentor; Thomas de Wyverthorpe, one of the *berefellarii*; and Adam de Waltham, a chantry chaplain<sup>60</sup>.

On 29 March the vicars choral appeared before the archbishop, but refused to submit themselves to his visitation, claiming that they were too frightened of their masters, the canons, to do so. In the days that followed a minority of Beverley minster clergy submitted to the archbishop. On 3 April two canons, Nicholas of Louth and Richard of Thearne, submitted to Neville's visitation, though they stated that they did so without prejudice to the appeal; at the same time Robert of Leconfield, the chancellor, submitted along with two *berefellarii*<sup>61</sup>. By 3 April 16 out of the 55 clergy summoned had submitted to Neville in some manner<sup>62</sup>.

On 5 April the archbishop's messenger reported that the vicars choral had left the church unserved, and by the following day he had searched the town and learned

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Continued from previous page...

<sup>59</sup> Ravenser was a relative of Archbishop Thoresby, a favoured royal clerk and a significant pluralist whose benefices included the mastership of St. Leonard's hospital, York, and the archdeaconry of Lincoln; McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, pp. 50-1; McDermid, 'Constitution and Clergy of Beverley Minster,' pp. 265-269. Ravenser may have been encouraged in his opposition to Neville by his earlier suit against John Buckingham, bishop of Lincoln, in which Ravenser was able to force the bishop to accept an unfavourable compromise; C.Morris, 'The Ravenser Composition - A Fourteenth Century dispute between the Bishop and Archdeacons of Lincoln,' *Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports and Papers*, New Series, vol. X, (1963), pp. 24-39. For Ravenser's appearances in the poll tax enrolments see above.

<sup>60</sup> Leach, 'Clerical Strike at Beverley,' p. 5.

<sup>61</sup> Leach, 'Clerical Strike at Beverley,' p. 6.

<sup>62</sup> The 16 included 2 canons, 2 officers, 5 *berefellarii*, a chantry priest and 6 clerks. The final total of 17 submissions was only reached on 22 April when a third canon, Richard of Chesterfield, submitted to Neville; *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

that the vicars had left York diocese and were on their way to London: the strike had begun <sup>63</sup>.

On Monday 8 April 1381 the church was still unserved, so Neville ordered his own chaplains to lead services, and on 11 April he sent for clergy from York minster to serve the church. Ten days later a royal sergeant at arms arrived at Beverley with letters patent from King Richard II ordering a halt to the visitation, and summoning the archbishop to appear before the king and his council at Westminster by 30 April <sup>64</sup>.

Neville, however, carried on with his attempted visitation and on 22 April accepted the submission of the third and final canon, Richard of Chesterfield and ordered all three submissive canons to reside personally and to perform services. The three protested and on the following day produced documents including the 1307 ordinances of Archbishop Greenfield, which defined residence as twelve weeks each year. Archbishop Neville countered by showing them the ordinances drawn up by Archbishop Romeyne in 1290 which required 24 weeks residence <sup>65</sup>.

On 24 April the three submissive canons, Nicholas of Louth, Richard of Thearne and Richard of Chesterfield, urged Neville to heed the King's writ, but Neville refused on the ground that this was not a case for any lay judge. The archbishop said he

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<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7. The king claimed the right to intervene on the ground that Beverley was a royal foundation, Calkin, 'Alexander Neville,' p. 122.

<sup>65</sup> Leach, 'Clerical strike at Beverley,' pp. 8-11.

would obey the king in all things 'save the rights of our church at York, and our jurisdiction, and visitation of our church at Beverley' <sup>66</sup>.

On 11 May 1381, Neville ordered the restoration of the ordinances of Archbishop Romeyne and another royal writ arrived at Beverley and at this point the record of proceedings breaks off <sup>67</sup>. The affair dragged on for a number of years: the six vicars choral from York stayed at Beverley for over two years <sup>68</sup>. In 1384 five vicars choral, one *berefellarius* and a chantry priest who were still deprived sought reinstatement, but the king's sergeant at arms was prevented from enforcing this by the archbishop and the townspeople <sup>69</sup>. The displaced vicars choral and cantarists lived at Lincoln, where they were supported by Richard Ravenser until his death in 1386 <sup>70</sup>. The dispute only really ended when Neville fled England in 1388 <sup>71</sup>.

It is clear from this account that the clerical strike at Beverley occurred at the same time that the poll tax of 1381 was being collected: the tax was granted on 9 January 1381, and the first payment was due to the Exchequer on 21 April, by which time the enrolment should have been drawn up <sup>72</sup>. Allowing two or three weeks for the

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<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>72</sup> Weske, *Convocation*, p. 289; *CFR 1377-83*, p. 252.

first instalment and a copy of the enrolment to be taken to London, it seems likely that the enrolment was drawn up in late February and March 1381<sup>73</sup>. Since the visitation records include a complete list of the minster clergy on 27 March 1381, when they were all summoned to the visitation by name, it is possible to compare an accurate list of the clerical establishment of Beverley minster with the poll tax enrolment.

A comparison of the visitation records with the poll tax enrolments shows that although the complete establishment of Beverley minster was 55 clergy, there were only 27 taxpaying clergy of Beverley minster in 1381, and of these only 19 were resident<sup>74</sup>. The enrolment also notes the payment of 2s. 6d. surcharge by the minster goldsmith, who was a layman, and a payment of 12d. by Robert Boynton, who received a portion of the goldsmith's benefice<sup>75</sup>.

One reason that the number of taxpaying clergy is so much smaller than the clerical establishment of Beverley minster is that two groups of clergy were completely omitted from the enrolment: neither the *berefellarii* nor the 'clergy of the second form' appear to have paid any poll tax in 1381<sup>76</sup>. It is necessary to consider these omissions

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<sup>73</sup> The fact that Neville certified collectors to the exchequer on 24 February would seem to imply a late February commencement date for the compilation of the enrolment; Reg. Alex Neville, fo. 10v.

<sup>74</sup> The nineteen resident clergy were made up of the provost, one prebendary, two dignitaries, nine vicars choral and six chantry priests. *Beverley Chapter Act Book*, vol. II, pp. 231-1; E179/63/12 mm. 8-9, E179/63/31 m. 5.

<sup>75</sup> E179/63/31 m. 5; the (unnamed) minster goldsmith is not counted in the total of 26 clergy on the enrolment, nor is he included in the 55 clergy summoned to Neville's visitation, Leach, *Beverley Chapter Act Book*, vol. II, pp. 231-2.

<sup>76</sup> Since the visitation summons names every one of the *berefellarii* and the clerks of the second form, it is possible to try to find these names in the enrolment of the Beverley clergy who did not belong to the minster. Only one out of the 28, one John of Hornse, a clerk of the second form, has a namesake elsewhere in Beverley, but there is no evidence that they were the same person; E179/63/12 m. 8.

in some detail.

The *berefellarii* or ‘clerks of the Barfell’ of Beverley minster<sup>77</sup> were a group of seven clergy whose status and function seems to have grown from that of a group of poor men who received food as alms in the canons’ refectory into a corporate body of priests who served in the choir of the church<sup>78</sup>. In the late thirteenth century and the early fourteenth century there is evidence of absentee *berefellarii* being university students or in the service of magnates<sup>79</sup>. They were however, stipendiary clergy, earning only four marks (£2. 13s. 4d.) annually until 1391, when Archbishop Arundel ordered their stipend to be increased to ten marks (£6. 13s. 4d.)<sup>80</sup>. Certainly they do not appear to have been held in high regard at the end of the fourteenth century, for Archbishop Arundel in his statutes ordered that they should be called ‘parsons’ rather than ‘barefellows’ as they had come to be popularly known<sup>81</sup>.

The visitation summons demonstrates that there were seven *berefellarii* at the end of March 1381<sup>82</sup>, and since at least five out of the seven had submitted to Neville’s visitation by 2 April 1381<sup>83</sup>, a majority of them must have been in Beverley when the

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<sup>77</sup> The origin and meaning of the term ‘Barfell’ cannot be explained conclusively, McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, p. xxvii.

<sup>78</sup> The *berefellarii* were incorporated as ‘the seven parsons in the choir of the collegiate church of the Blessed John of Beverley’ in 1472; McDermid, ‘Constitution and Clergy of Beverley Minster,’ pp. 329-334.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 332-3.

<sup>80</sup> McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, p. xxviii.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxvii.

<sup>82</sup> Leach, *Beverley Chapter Act Book*, vol. II, p. 231.

<sup>83</sup> Leach, ‘Clerical Strike at Beverley,’ p. 6.

poll taxes were being collected <sup>84</sup>. It would therefore seem reasonable to contend that the *berefellarii* were deliberately excluded from the enrolment, but the collector would have needed a good reason to do that, especially given the fact that the events at Beverley were being brought to the attention of the King's courts <sup>85</sup>.

It could be argued that the *berefellarii* were omitted from the enrolment because they did not usually pay clerical taxes; they do not appear in the *Taxatio ecclesiastica* valuation of 1291, but neither do the vicars choral, and they all paid their poll tax in 1381 <sup>86</sup>. The *berefellarii* could however have argued to the collector that they were 'poor clerks' by virtue of their office, and there must have been a temptation to the collector to accept this argument. The collector could only expect to levy 3s. 4d. from each of them, but if he did so he would have to raise a further seven quarter marks from elsewhere in order to reach his target of half a mark from every cleric in York province. It would thus seem reasonable to contend that the *berefellarii* of Beverley minster were exempted from the poll tax of 1381 on grounds of poverty as allowed in the mandate for collection of the tax <sup>87</sup>.

If the omission of the *berefellarii* was made on grounds of poverty, then it could be presumed that the clerks of the second form, who were of lower status and wealth

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<sup>84</sup> The first instalment of tax was due at the Exchequer on 21 April 1381, and the second on 1 August, see Chapter 1.

<sup>85</sup> Leach, 'Clerical Strike at Beverley,' pp. 7-12.

<sup>86</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, pp. 297-314; E179/63/12 m. 8.

<sup>87</sup> *CFR 1377-83*, p. 252, see Chapter 1.

than the *berefellarii*, would also have been made on grounds of poverty<sup>88</sup>. There is however a further possibility which should be considered.

In 1307 the chapter reiterated its support for the custom that a clerk should serve a year in choir before he could receive the subdiaconate, a further year for the diaconate and a further year before he could be ordained priest<sup>89</sup>. Thirteen years later, in 1320, the chapter ordered that a man could only be a clerk of the second form for three years unless he received special permission<sup>90</sup>.

Thus it is clear that in the first half of the fourteenth century a clerkship in Beverley was intended to be very much a temporary post for men training for the priesthood. If the clerks of the second form of Beverley minster in 1381 were indeed men in training for the priesthood, then it is just possible that a few of them could also have been omitted from the poll tax enrolment because they were not liable to pay the tax<sup>91</sup>.

If these two groups, the *berefellarii* and the clerks of the second form are ignored, then the numbers of clergy at Beverley in the summons and the tax enrolment seem much more comparable: the summons lists 27 while the enrolment lists 27.

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<sup>88</sup> Archbishop Arundel's statutes of 1391 laid down the clerk's salaries at 40s. for the archbishop's and the prebendaries' clerks and 30s. for the precentor's and parsons' clerks; by comparison the same statutes laid down the parsons' (as the *berefellarii* were then called) stipends at £6. 13s. 4d. Leach, *Beverley Chapter Act Book*, vol. I, pp. 273, 277.

<sup>89</sup> Leach, *Beverley Chapter Act Book*, vol. I, p. 212.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 379.

<sup>91</sup> If, for example, they were under the age of 17 or were waiting to be admitted to minor orders they would not be liable to tax; *CFR 1377-83*, p. 252.

Unfortunately the summons and the enrolment lists are not identical: two of the chantry priests summoned to the visitation do not appear on the enrolment, while the enrolment includes the provost and the goldsmith's portioner. Moreover the enrolment only names the resident canon and officers <sup>92</sup>, though they can be agreed with the names given by McDermid <sup>93</sup>.

The seven non-resident prebendaries, though each made a contribution to the surcharge are all noted in *marginalia* to be elsewhere <sup>94</sup>. Walter de Skirlaw, prebendary of St. Andrew's, Richard de Thearne, prebendary of St. Stephen's, and Hugh de Ferriby, prebendary of St. James' were all said to be '*in curia Romana*'. Skirlaw certainly was abroad twice in 1381 <sup>95</sup>, and Ferriby may have been employed at the *curia* <sup>96</sup>, though Thearne, who was also prebendary of Holme in York minster <sup>97</sup>, was one of the resident canons of York when the tax was collected there <sup>98</sup>. According to the enrolment, the other non-resident prebendaries were elsewhere in England, Richard de Ravenser,

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<sup>92</sup> Nicholas de Louth, prebendary of St. Katherine's, Ralph Wallace (or Waleys), the precentor and Robert Leconfield, the chancellor; E179/63/12 8.

<sup>93</sup> McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, pp. 104, 121, 125.

<sup>94</sup> E179/63/31 m. 5.

<sup>95</sup> Skirlaw was on diplomatic missions to Flanders 2 January to 31 March 1381, and to Rome 20 May to 5 August 1381; Emden, *BRUO*, vol. III, p. 1704. This chronology would rather suggest that these *marginalia* were added by the collector towards the end of the collection of the tax.

<sup>96</sup> McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, pp. 37-8.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>98</sup> E179/63/12 m. 7; it should however be noted that the two entries may both be correct, Thearne could have been in York for the collection of tax there, but at the *curia* when the tax was collected at Beverley.



prebendary of St. Martin's, was reported to be in London <sup>99</sup>. Richard de Chesterfield, prebendary of St. Peter's was said to live 'outside the province' <sup>100</sup>. The two remaining were described as being with the king: William de Birstall, prebendary of St. Michael's and John de Wellingborough, prebendary of St. Mary's <sup>101</sup>.

According to the enrolment there were nine vicars choral at Beverley when the poll tax was collected. Moreover all of the names given on the enrolment agree with the list of vicars summoned to the visitation. We also know from the visitation records that eight of the nine left Beverley on 5 or 6 April 1381 <sup>102</sup>. If the enrolment was accurately drawn up and can be relied upon, then it would appear that the Beverley portion of it was drawn up, and the vicars' tax was collected, between the end of February and 5 April 1381 <sup>103</sup>.

This dating of the Beverley portion of the enrolment may also shed some light on the pattern of submission to the archbishop's visitation. Canon McDermid believed that those prebendaries who submitted to the visitation did so largely because they felt vulnerable to Alexander Neville <sup>104</sup>. The first two prebendaries to submit to the

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<sup>99</sup> Ravenser was Master in Chancery between 1362 and 1386; McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, p. 51.

<sup>100</sup> Chesterfield was a residentiary of Lincoln cathedral; McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, pp. 83-4.

<sup>101</sup> Birstall was Master of the Rolls 1371-81; Wellingborough was Clerk of the Privy Seal from 1376 until perhaps 1400; McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, pp. 64, 72.

<sup>102</sup> Only the archbishop's vicar, Robert de Lowthorpe, remained in Beverley when the vicars left the church and the diocese; Leach, *Beverley Chapter Act Book*, vol. II, pp. 237-9; Leach, 'Clerical Strike at Beverley,' pp. 5-7.

<sup>103</sup> A discussion of the chronology of the collection of the tax appears in Chapter 1.

<sup>104</sup> McDermid, 'Constitution and Clergy of Beverley Minster,' pp. 261-269.

archbishop were Nicholas de Louth and Richard de Thearne: according to the enrolment, Louth was resident in Beverley and Thearne was in York in early 1381. Furthermore the two officers to submit, Ralph Wallace, the precentor, and Robert de Leconfield, the chancellor, were also, according to the enrolment, resident in Beverley. According to the poll tax enrolments all four of these men were resident in York diocese in early 1381; clearly their benefices were vulnerable to the archbishop, but they may also have considered that the archbishop was physically too close to defy safely!

The officers, or dignitaries, of Beverley minster appear in both the visitation summons and the enrolment. Ralph Wallace, the precentor, and Robert de Leconfield, the chancellor, were both resident, while the sacrist, Robert de Ripon, appears on the enrolment of the non-residents, though his name is not given <sup>105</sup>.

On the face of it the most surprising omission from the visitation summons is that of the provost of Beverley minster, but it seems likely that this was because the office was vacant when the visitation summons was issued. Master John de Thoresby, provost of Beverley had died by 1 February 1381 <sup>106</sup>. The chapter chose one of themselves, John de Wellingborough, prebendary of St. Mary's altar, to succeed Thoresby but Archbishop Neville was able to establish his own candidate, Master Robert de Manfield as provost in the spring of 1381 <sup>107</sup>. The provost's slightly detached position seems also to have been recognised by the collector, since Manfield was

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<sup>105</sup> E179/63/12 m. 8; E179/63/31 m. 5; Leach, *Beverley Chapter Act Book*, vol. II, p. 231.

<sup>106</sup> McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>107</sup> Dobson, 'Beverley in Conflict,' p. 158.

enrolled with the provostry of Beverley, rather than with the minster clergy <sup>108</sup>.

A curious inclusion on the enrolment is that of the *aurifaber* or goldsmith, since that office was held by a layman, although a cleric, Robert Boynton, received a portion of it <sup>109</sup>. Neither the goldsmith nor Robert Boynton were summoned to the visitation; doubtless the layman was considered not subject to visitation. Certainly the offices of goldsmith and mason were considered unnecessary by 1391, for Archbishop Arundel's statutes provided for the abolition of both <sup>110</sup>.

The final group of Beverley minster clergy to be considered here are the chantry priests. According to the summons there were seven of these, but only six cantarists appear on the enrolment <sup>111</sup>. A comparison of the names given also shows discrepancies: two of the cantarists summoned, John de Bedale and William of Heselle, do not appear on the enrolment, where one new name appears, that of one Adam de Leven. An examination of the enrolment of the chaplains of the town of Beverley does show a John de Bedale <sup>112</sup>; although there is no evidence to identify him with the chantry priest summoned to the visitation, he may possibly have been the same person. It is also possible that Adam de Leven and William de Heselle both served the same chantry and that this discrepancy is due to the replacement of one by the other.

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<sup>108</sup> E179/63/12 m. 9; this probably reflects the route by which the collector received the money.

<sup>109</sup> The lay goldsmith paid the surcharge, while Robert Boynton paid 1s. which implies that he was not in priest's orders since the surcharge at 4.5d. in the pound on the 1291 valuation of the goldsmith's portioner would have been 2s. 6d. E179/63/31 m. 5; *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 302.

<sup>110</sup> Leach, *Beverley Chapter Act Book*, vol. II, p. 275.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 231-2; E179/63/12 m. 8.

<sup>112</sup> E179/63/12 m. 8.

It would thus appear that the enrolment of the clergy of Beverley minster, for which we have a very closely contemporaneous list, seems remarkably accurate for the clergy of higher status; the lesser clergy, the *berefellarii* and the clerks seem to have been omitted, probably on grounds of poverty in most cases. The example of Beverley must give the historian a very high degree of confidence in this enrolment at least as far as the higher clergy are concerned.

### Ripon

The collegiate church of Saints Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon, had its origins in a monastery following the Celtic rule founded around the year 660. Subsequently it was granted to Wilfrid by Alchfrid, king of Northumbria, but the monks abandoned it objecting to Wilfrid's preference for continental customs, thereby clearing the way for Wilfrid to establish his own monastery which developed into the community of canons under the patronage of the archbishop of York that served the church until the sixteenth century <sup>113</sup>.

By the late fourteenth century the clerical establishment of Ripon probably consisted of 38 clergy: seven prebendaries; six vicars choral; probably seven cantarists; three each of deacons and subdeacons; and six each of thurifers and choristers <sup>114</sup>. There were thus some 20 clergy who should have been in priestly orders and who would therefore have been liable for the poll tax at the standard rates of 6s.8d.

<sup>113</sup> *VCH Yorks.*, vol. 3, pp. 367-72; J.T.Fowler (ed.), *Memorials of the Church of Saints Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon*, Surtees Society vols. LXXIV, LXXVIII, LXXXI, CXV, (4 vols., Durham, 1882, 1886, 1888, 1908), vol. 3, p. viii.

<sup>114</sup> This figure is made up of the 31 choir clergy attested to in the 1439 visitation records and an estimate of 7 chantry priests (serving 6 chantries) drawn from the chantry certificates; Fowler, *Memorials of Ripon*, vol. 2, p. 148; vol. 3, pp. xi-xii.

or 3s. 4d., while the six deacons and subdeacons should each have paid 12d. in tax <sup>115</sup>.

In fact the enrolment of Ripon lists more priests than expected: according to the poll tax records there were 29 priests at Ripon in 1381 <sup>116</sup>. A closer examination shows that only two of the prebendaries, Master Adam de Thornton, prebendary of Monkton, and John Segefild, prebendary of Stanwick, were resident. The other five prebendaries were not named in the enrolment, but each made a contribution to the surcharge in aid of the poorer clergy. The enrolment includes six vicars, which matches the number expected, but it lists only four chantry priests; there seem to be three cantarists missing, but there are an additional dozen chaplains.

It would appear from the enrolment evidence that all seven prebends in Ripon were occupied at the time of the poll tax of 1381, the two resident canons: Master Adam de Thornton, prebendary of Monkton, and John Sedgefield, prebendary of Stanwick, are known to have held these prebends at this time <sup>117</sup>. Three of the non-resident prebendaries, are recorded in *marginalia* to have been with the king <sup>118</sup>,

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<sup>115</sup> CFR 1377-83, p. 252.

<sup>116</sup> E179/63/12 m. 1; E179/63/31 m. 5.

<sup>117</sup> Fowler, *Memorials of Ripon*, vol. 2, pp. 229, 248. Sedgefield certainly held the prebend of Stanwick 1378-84, while Thornton held Monkton from 1372 until at least 1375, his next known successor died in 1409, so the enrolment would seem to prove that Thornton still held the prebend in 1381. Thornton also appears on the enrolment as rector of Patrick Brompton, where he is noted to have paid in Ripon, though he paid surcharge for his rectory, E179/63/31 m. 3.

<sup>118</sup> The prebendaries of Skelton, (Guy de Rouclif); Sharrow, (probably John de Hermesthorpe); and Nunwick, (Master Robert de Manfield after 6 March 1381) were described as '*moratur cum Rege*'. The identification of these prebendaries is from Fowler, *Memorials of Ripon*, vol. 2, pp. 194, 201, 238.

living in London<sup>119</sup>, or as having paid in York<sup>120</sup>.

The enrolment of the vicars choral also appears to be complete: six were enrolled, although only five of them were named. A comparison of the five names given on the enrolment also seems to agree with a list of the vicars of Ripon in December 1380<sup>121</sup>. A problem arises however with the enrolment entry for the unnamed vicar, who is referred to only as 'the vicar of Nidd'. The church of Nidd had been given to the common fund of Ripon by Archbishop Walter de Gray in 1241<sup>122</sup>, but no vicarage was ordained there until 1439<sup>123</sup>. It is possible that one of the vicars choral was vicar of Nidd in 1381, but it seems more likely that the vicarage ordination of 1439 was a recognition of a state of affairs which had existed for some time<sup>124</sup>, in which case it would appear that one of the vicars choral was missing, or his place was unfilled in 1381.

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<sup>119</sup> John de Sleaford, prebendary of Studley Magna 1372-1401, was also rector of Balsham, Cambridgeshire, and had held a number of benefices including the mastership of Greatham hospital, Co. Durham, for a time in 1363, and a prebend in the collegiate church of St. Stephen, Westminster. Sleaford was keeper of the king's wardrobe 1368-1374. Fowler, *Memorials of Ripon*, vol. 2, pp. 187-8.

<sup>120</sup> John de Clifford was certainly prebendary of Thorpe 1379-89 but probably remained so until his death in 1393, he was Treasurer of York 1375-93, and appears as resident on the enrolment of York minster; E179/63/12 m. 7; Emden, *BRUO*, vol. 3, p. 2162; Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. VI, p. 13. See also Chapter 1.

<sup>121</sup> E179/63/12 m. 1; Reg. Alex Neville, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Register 12, fo. 9v. It should however be noted that the enrolment seems to have mistaken John de Clynt junior, who was a vicar choral (1365-occ. 1377), for John de Clynt senior who was a vicar in 1374, but subsequently became a chantry chaplain (occ. 1375-occ. 1380); Fowler, *Memorials of Ripon*, vol. 2, pp. 127-8, 131, 133-4, 136, 138. Such confusion seems to have been common at the time since the initial 'j' for 'junior' in the list in Archbishop Neville's register looks like the scribe started to write 's' but corrected himself.

<sup>122</sup> Fowler, *Memorials of Ripon*, vol. 2, p. 5.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

<sup>124</sup> The wording of the ordination of the vicarage does suggest this; *Ibid.*, p. 150.

The number of cantarists on the enrolment is three fewer than the seven expected. On the face of it this discrepancy would represent vacancies, or absentees. It would be tempting to suggest that some of the twelve chaplains of Ripon were cantarists, but if they were they must have been serving the chantries in a stipendiary capacity, since the cantarists paid 6s. 8d. in tax while the chaplains paid only 3s. 4d.

It may however be significant that two of the chantries belonging to Ripon, employing between them three cantarists, were actually situated outside the collegiate church. The chantry of St. John the Baptist was at the chapel of Hutton Conyers, a mile out of Ripon, while there was a chantry with two chaplains at the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, Ripon <sup>125</sup>. It is possible that the poll tax enrolment of Ripon only included those cantarists who actually celebrated their masses in the main church, though there is no evidence of beneficed clergy of either chantry elsewhere in the surviving enrolments. Of the four chantry chaplains named in the enrolment only two, John de Clynt senior and John de Alhalowgate, are known from other sources <sup>126</sup>.

There is little that can be said about the twelve unbeneficed chaplains who were enrolled with the clergy of Ripon. The existence of such a large number of stipendiary chaplains is probably an expression of Ripon's substantial parish commitments but also indicates the amount of stipendiary work which was available to priests in the late fourteenth century. It is possible that some or indeed all of them held the deacons,

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<sup>125</sup> Fowler, *Memorials of Ripon*, vol. 3, pp. xi-xii, 27-8, 30-1.

<sup>126</sup> John de Clynt is discussed above; John de Alhalowgate certainly possessed the chantry of St. John the Evangelist in 1381, because Archbishop Neville ordered his removal from it on the ground that he did not have proper title on 24 September 1381. Fowler, *Memorials of Ripon*, vol. 4, p. 112. Clearly this date also shows that the enrolment must have been drawn up and tax collected from Alhalowgate by then, but since the final instalment of tax was due at the Exchequer by 1 August, this does not add significantly to our understanding of the tax.

subdeacons and thurifers posts at the church: there were twelve such posts and there are twelve of them. Such a suggestion would have the advantage of answering the question of where were all the deacons and subdeacons when the poll tax was collected, but there does not appear to be any evidence to support it.

In conclusion it would seem that the enrolment of the collegiate church at Ripon seems to be demonstrably complete for the higher clergy: the inexplicable gaps, as might be expected, relate more to the lower clergy.

### The Minor Colleges in York Diocese

The lesser collegiate churches of York diocese, Kirkby Overblow, Lowthorpe, Pontefract Castle and Sutton-in-Holderness, are perhaps more difficult to deal with than the more prominent houses because of the paucity of surviving evidence.

The college at Kirkby Overblow seems only to have had one inhabitant in 1381. The church of All Saints, Kirkby Overblow (*alias* Kirkby Ferrers), was made collegiate in 1362, the existing rector became the first provost and there were to be four chaplains. There was however no intention for the new college to have a common life at Kirkby Overblow, since only the provost was expected to live there, three of the chaplains were to celebrate at Alnwick castle and the fourth was to live as a parson at York minster. Furthermore, since the provost retained the cure of souls, it must have been envisaged that his duties would remain largely parochial <sup>127</sup>. This particular collegiate foundation seems to have been a legal device to allow the establishment of two chantries out of one

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<sup>127</sup> Lawton, *Collections*, p. 65. The admissions of the first provost and the holders of the first and second chantries in 1362 are recorded in Reg. Thoresby, Borthwick Institute Reg. 11, fo. 119v.



parochial benefice.

Certainly the substantial chantry at Alnwick castle seems to have survived until the sixteenth century, since the chantry commissioners noted its existence <sup>128</sup>. The chantry at York minster was identified by Solloway as that of Our Lady; it appears to have been a re-founding of an existing foundation <sup>129</sup>. It would thus appear that there should only have been one beneficed cleric at Kirkby Overblow in 1381, which is exactly what the enrolment shows <sup>130</sup>.

The provost of Kirkby Overblow in 1381 seems to have been one Roger de Waldeby, who held the benefice from 1374 to 1382; the enrolment gives the name of the rector (*sic*) as Roger de Dalby, which seems sufficiently close to be a scribal error <sup>131</sup>. Since the enrolment of the chantry priests of York minster does not identify individual chantries it is not possible to say whether or not the Kirkby Overblow cantarist at York appears <sup>132</sup>. There is no explicit mention of the three cantarists at Alnwick castle on either the 1379 Durham diocese enrolment or the 1381 Northumberland enrolment <sup>133</sup>.

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<sup>128</sup> J.Raine (ed.), *The Injunctions and Other Ecclesiastical Proceedings of Richard Barnes, Bishop of Durham from 1575-1587*, Surtees Society, vol. XXII, (Durham, 1850), p. lxxxiii.

<sup>129</sup> *VCH Yorks.*, vol. III, p. 363.

<sup>130</sup> Though there were three chaplains working in the parish; E179/63/12 m. 4.

<sup>131</sup> *VCH Yorks.*, vol. III, p. 363; E179/63/12 m. 4.

<sup>132</sup> See discussion of the cantarists of York minster above.

<sup>133</sup> These cantarists could however have been enrolled with the chaplains of Alnwick deanery, E179/62/4, E179/62/6.

The collegiate church at Lowthorpe was founded in 1333; six chantries were ordained in the parish church and there were to be three clerks, two of them deacons or at least one deacon and the other a subdeacon <sup>134</sup>. In 1364 a seventh chantry was added, and on the augmentation of this chantry in 1373 the ordination was modified such that one of the chaplains was to be made rector on the nomination of the others <sup>135</sup>. Thus by 1381 the establishment of Lowthorpe collegiate church should have been a rector, six cantarists and three clerks, two of whom should have been in major orders.

In the surviving 1381 poll tax enrolment Lowthorpe was enrolled with the rest of Dickering deanery. According to this record there would appear to have been ten clergy at Lowthorpe in 1381: a rector, three priests paying 6s. 8d. and six more paying 3s. 4d. <sup>136</sup>. On the face of it this would look like four beneficed cantarists including the rector and six stipendiary chaplains and no deacons, subdeacons or clerks.

Thanks to the work of Rev. N.A.H.Lawrance the *fasti* of Lowthorpe are known <sup>137</sup>, so the names on the enrolment can be compared with the evidence of other sources. Since the enrolment gives only the christian name 'Thomas' as rector of Lowthorpe he cannot be identified certainly, though he may be Thomas de Brasse who held the fifth chantry of Lowthorpe 1375-1408 <sup>138</sup>. Two of the three enrolled clergy who paid 6s. 8d., Thomas Hobyn and William de Hoton can be identified as holders of the fourth and

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<sup>134</sup> VCH Yorks., vol. III, p. 365.

<sup>135</sup> N.A.H.Lawrance, *Fasti Parochiales, Vol. III, Deanery of Dickering*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series vol. CXXIX, (Leeds, 1967), pp. 53, 103.

<sup>136</sup> E179/63/31 m. 2.

<sup>137</sup> Lawrance, *Fasti Parochiales, vol. III*, pp. 103-110.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

seventh chantries respectively <sup>139</sup>. Three of the clergy who paid 3s. 4d. can also be identified: John Bras, William de Thweng and John de Dyghton held the first, second and sixth chantries in 1381 <sup>140</sup>.

This leaves one 6s. 8d. taxpayer, John de Allerthorpe, and three 3s. 4d taxpayers on the Lowthorpe enrolment, while we have neither an incumbent for the third chantry nor any of the three clerks. Since John de Allerthorpe paid 6s. 8d he must have been considered to be beneficed, or at least wealthy enough to pay the full amount of tax. Certainly there had been a John de Allerthorpe at Lowthorpe from 1365 until before 1373, when a cleric of that name held the seventh chantry <sup>141</sup>. It seems likely that Allerthorpe held the third chantry in 1381, though he does not appear in the list of *fasti* of that benefice <sup>142</sup>. Thus the enrolment of the cantarists of Lowthorpe probably is complete.

The three chaplains of Lowthorpe who appear on the enrolment but do not seem to have been a part of the college also require some discussion. It would be tempting to suggest that they were priests who held the clerks' posts, in which case the enrolment of Lowthorpe would appear to be exactly as anticipated. The problem with this argument is that according to the 1333 ordination the two clerks in major orders were only paid 3s. a year, while the other clerk was expected to live on offerings for holy water and

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<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 109.

<sup>140</sup> Lawrance, *Fasti Parochiales vol. III*, pp. 104-5, 109. The problem raised by these identifications, that of why these cantarists were charged differently, remains puzzling, perhaps it was related to relative incomes.

<sup>141</sup> Lawrance, *Fasti Parochiales, vol. III*, p. 109.

<sup>142</sup> It should be noted that Lawrence recorded no references to holders of the third chantry between 1378 and 1400, *Ibid.*, p. 106.

alms<sup>143</sup>. These priests may have held the Lowthorpe clerkships, but if they did then the clerkships can only have represented a tiny proportion of their income. It seems more reasonable to assume that they were stipendiary clergy who earned a living in and around the collegiate church of Lowthorpe. If there were still three clerks in Lowthorpe who were not ordained beyond the diaconate, then presumably they could have been exempted from the poll tax on the ground of poverty.

St. Clement's collegiate chapel in Pontefract castle was founded soon after the Norman conquest by Ilbert de Lacy<sup>144</sup>. According to its foundation charter it was for a dean and three prebendaries, but by 1291 one of the prebends had been assigned to Pontefract priory<sup>145</sup>. The chantry certificates show the chapel as having a dean and two prebendaries<sup>146</sup>, so there should probably have been three priests in the college in 1381.

The enrolment of the chapel in Pontefract Castle is written over an erasure and is badly damaged and difficult to decipher, but it is sufficiently legible to see that a dean and two prebendaries were enrolled and an amount of surcharge was collected from a prior (presumably of Pontefract)<sup>147</sup>. The enrolment of St. Clement's, Pontefract would thus appear to be complete even though the names of the clergy are largely illegible.

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<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>144</sup> J.H.Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels 1100-1300: a Constitutional Study*, (Manchester, 1970), pp. 126-7; *VCH Yorks.*, vol. 3, pp. 366-7; Page, *Yorkshire Chantry Surveys*, vol. 2, pp. 323-4.

<sup>145</sup> *VCH Yorks.*, vol. 3, pp. 366-7.

<sup>146</sup> Page, *Yorkshire Chantry Certificates*, vol. 2, pp. 323-5.

<sup>147</sup> E179/63/12 m. 2.

The collegiate church of St. James, Sutton-in-Holderness, was founded in 1347; the first ordination of the college provided for a master and five chaplains but in 1380 Archbishop Neville made a new ordination which provided for an additional two clerks<sup>148</sup>. The enrolment of Sutton, however gives only the names of a 'rector', Peter de Elington, one Thomas de Wetwang paying 6s. 8d., and four other priests each paying 3s. 4d.<sup>149</sup>. This means that the enrolment appears complete for the cantarists; only the two clerks provided for in 1380 seem not to have been enrolled.

A comparison of the names on the enrolment with the *fasti* lists provided by Lawrance is not encouraging: the master, Peter de Elington can be agreed and so can the names of two of the cantarists, William de Barneby and Thomas de Wetwang<sup>150</sup>. One further cleric on the enrolment, Thomas de Poynton, cannot be identified with a chantry in 1381, but was certainly on the staff at Sutton by 1402<sup>151</sup>. It is however clear that there are gaps in the evidence that Lawrance used for his Sutton *fasti* lists, so the comparative lack of agreement between these lists and the enrolment may not be significant.

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<sup>148</sup> N.A.H.Lawrance, 'The Deanery of Holderness,' typescript, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, Additional Manuscript 155, vol. 2, pp. 146-151; *VCH Yorks.*, vol. 3, pp. 374-5.

<sup>149</sup> E179/63/31 m. 1. Presumably Thomas de Wetwang paid more tax than the other four chantry priests because he was the chaplain with the cure of souls, for which he received an annual salary of 4 marks (£2. 13s. 4d.), 6s. 8d. more than the other cantarists; Lawrance, 'Deanery of Holderness,' p. 189.

<sup>150</sup> Elington was presented to the mastership in 1373 and was succeeded at some unknown date by Barneby who held the third chantry from 1369 until at least 1378. Wetwang held the fourth chantry until his death in 1415. Lawrance, 'Deanery of Holderness,' vol. 2, pp. 149, 192-3.

<sup>151</sup> Poynton succeeded William de Barneby to the third chantry at some unknown date, then followed him in the mastership in 1402; Lawrance, 'Deanery of Holderness,' p. 192.

## The Collegiate Churches of Durham Diocese

### Auckland

The origins of the college of St. Andrew, Auckland, are uncertain. The chronicler Symeon of Durham reported that the prebends in the churches of Auckland, Darlington, Norton and 'Ekington' were created for the canons dispossessed by the introduction of the Benedictines to Durham cathedral in 1083, but there is no contemporary evidence for this tradition <sup>152</sup>. Certainly the college was in existence by 1226 and was reorganised by bishop Antony Bek in 1292 <sup>153</sup>.

According to the *Nova Taxatio* of 1318 there was a dean and twelve prebendaries at Auckland <sup>154</sup>. The values of the prebends varied according to their status: there were five priest prebends which were valued from £11 to £21; the four deacon prebends were worth £1. 10s. to £10; while the three subdeacon prebends were worth 16s. to £1. 10s <sup>155</sup>.

According to the poll tax enrolment of Auckland however, there were only eleven clergy, including the dean, in 1379 <sup>156</sup>. Since the enrolment identifies both the prebendaries and their prebends, the two missing prebendaries can be identified as

<sup>152</sup> A.Hamilton Thompson, 'The Collegiate Churches of the Bishopric of Durham,' *Durham University Journal*, vol. 36, (1944), p. 33.

<sup>153</sup> W.Page (ed.), *Victoria History of the County of Durham*, vol. 2, (London, 1907), p. 126.

<sup>154</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, pp. 329-30.

<sup>155</sup> R.Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church,' vol. 2, p. 12.

<sup>156</sup> E179/62/4 mm. 1-2.

those of Auckland Episcopi and West Auckland. Out of the eleven clergy named on the enrolment, eight including the dean, can be agreed with the *fasti* given by Donaldson <sup>157</sup>. The enrolment gives the name of the prebendary of Bires as Richard de Stanopp, though according to Donaldson, the prebend was held by Henry Walyngford from 1376 to 1381 <sup>158</sup>. Both authorities can only be true if Walyngford left the prebend but later returned to it. A similar case would have to be made for the prebend of Fitches: according to the enrolment it was held by John de Wesenham; according to Donaldson John de Wesenham left the prebend in 1377 <sup>159</sup>. It is not possible to confirm that Master Edmund Mirestow held Auckland St. Helen prebend, since Donaldson could give no holders of this prebend before 1403 <sup>160</sup>. The two prebends that do not appear on the enrolment are West Auckland and Auckland Episcopi. West Auckland seems to have been held by Thomas Westwyk 1378-1402, while no prebendaries are known for Auckland Episcopi between 1374, when it was held by one Thomas de Berny, clerk of the Royal Buttery, and 1388 when John de Seggefild occurs first as prebendary <sup>161</sup>.

There is no note of any chaplains at Auckland in 1379, though these men could be in the lists of the unbeneficed. Certainly most of the enrolment of Auckland can be agreed with other contemporary sources so although there is one point of direct conflict, the enrolment appears reasonably reliable as far as the beneficed clergy are involved.

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<sup>157</sup> Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church,' vol. 2, pp. 8, 16-24.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>159</sup> Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church,' vol. 2, p. 21.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 21.

## Chester-le-Street

The collegiate church at Chester-le-Street was founded in 1286 when Antony Bek took advantage of a dispute over the rectory by establishing a college with a dean and seven prebendaries <sup>162</sup>. The dean was required to provide two chaplains and clerks to serve two outlying chapels at Lamesley and Tanfield while three of the prebendaries were required to provide priests as their vicars, and the other four provided deacon vicars. The clerical establishment of Chester-le-Street should therefore have consisted of the dean, seven prebendaries, five priest vicars and four deacon vicars.

The 1379 enrolment of Durham diocese gives the names of a dean and seven prebendaries at Chester-le-Street, so it is apparently complete. A comparison of the names on the enrolment with Donaldson's *Fasti* shows only one name that can certainly be agreed: Hugh Westwyk, prebendary of Tanfield until 1379 <sup>163</sup>. Master Henry Hedlam, dean of Chester-le-Street, and the pluralist John de Henlay, the rector of Sedgefield and prebendary in the Auckland, Lanchester and Chester-le-Street, both appear in Donaldson, though not in 1379 <sup>164</sup>. There is no support for any of the other names on the enrolment, though it is clear from Donaldson's lists that there are gaps in the records <sup>165</sup>. Overall there is little outside support for the enrolment of Chester-le-Street. Perhaps because many of the prebends were not worth much <sup>166</sup>, their

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<sup>162</sup> *VCH Durham*, vol. II, p. 128; C.M.Fraser, *A History of Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham 1283-1311*, (Oxford, 1957), pp. 115-16.

<sup>163</sup> Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church,' vol. 2, p. 73.

<sup>164</sup> Hedlam occurs as Dean in 1382, while Henlay resigned from the prebend of Chester in 1373; *VCH, Durham*, vol. 2, p. 129; Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church,' vol. 2, pp. 64, 72.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 64, 69-73.



holders were less likely to be the more prominent clergy of their day and so they will not figure much in contemporary records, but perhaps for less valuable benefices there was not the same urgency about recording collations. There is no trace in the surviving enrolment of any of the vicars of Chester-le-Street, though they may simply have been included in the list of the chaplains of the archdeaconry.

### Darlington

The church of Darlington seems to have received its collegiate form from Bishop Hugh du Puiset (1153-95) who ordained that it should consist of a dean, who was also referred to as the vicar, and four prebendaries or portionaries<sup>167</sup>. Since the prebendaries were not required to provide vicars until 1443<sup>168</sup>, the complete establishment of Darlington in 1379 should have been five priests.

The 1379 poll-tax enrolment of Darlington gives the names of a vicar and four prebendaries, so it seems complete. Robert Hundemanby, who was named as vicar on the enrolment can be agreed with Donaldson's list of vicars<sup>169</sup>. Donaldson was unable to distinguish between the prebends because they were not given names and were of

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Continued from previous page...

<sup>166</sup> Prebends in Chester-le-Street were valued in 1379 from 5 marks (£3. 6s. 8d.) for Urpath to 20 marks (£13. 6s. 8d.) for Tanfield; the other 5 prebends were all valued at 10 marks (£6. 13s. 4d.); E179/62/4 mm. 1-2. It should be noted that the only Chester-le-Street prebendary who appears in Donaldson *fasti* is the holder of the wealthiest prebend.

<sup>167</sup> *VCH Durham*, vol. 2, p. 125; G.V.Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham*, (Cambridge, 1956), p.110.

<sup>168</sup> *VCH Durham*, vol. 2, pp. 125-6.

<sup>169</sup> Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church', vol. 2, pp. 85.

equal value, so he could only give a list of all known prebendaries. The names of all four enrolled prebendaries can be found in this list, all of them occurring in 1378 or 1379 <sup>170</sup>.

### Howden

The collegiate church of St. Peter at Howden was originally a rectory which had belonged to the prior and convent of Durham since the Norman Conquest. In 1265 the Durham monks seem to have made an unsuccessful attempt to turn the church into a Benedictine community <sup>171</sup>, but two years later Archbishop Giffard assented to their petition to make the church a secular college <sup>172</sup>. Initially the college consisted of five prebendaries, the chantry priests of the three altars of St. Mary, St. Thomas and St. Katherine, and a priest and a clerk provided by each of the prebendaries, a total of thirteen priests and five clerks <sup>173</sup>. In 1280 a sixth prebend, Skipwith, was added <sup>174</sup>, a vicarage was also ordained in Skipwith at the same time <sup>175</sup>.

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<sup>170</sup> Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church', vol. 2, pp. 88-9. The success of this comparison contrasts starkly with that carried out for Chester-le-Street (see above). One obvious difference between the two colleges is the values of the prebends: all of the Darlington prebends were valued at £20 in 1379; the richest of those at Chester-le-Street was worth £13. 6s. 8d. and the rest were worth less than £7.

<sup>171</sup> *VCH, Yorks.*, vol. III, p. 361.

<sup>172</sup> W. Brown, 'The Institution of the Prebendal Church at Howden,' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. 22, (1913), pp. 166-174; *VCH Yorks.*, vol. III, pp. 361-2; A copy of the ordination (wrongly ascribed to Archbishop Walter de Gray) is entered in Register of William Melton, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Reg. 9b, fo. 608r.

<sup>173</sup> Brown, 'Prebendal Church at Howden,' p. 169; the original five prebends were Howden, Barneby, Thorpe, Laxton (also known as Skelton) and Saltmarsh.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.* p. 173.

<sup>175</sup> Lawton, *Collections*, p. 457.

Between 1319 and 1330 Archbishop Melton ordained vicarages in four of the six prebends <sup>176</sup>, placing them on the same footing as Skipwith; a vicarage in the prebend of Thorpe seems to have been established twenty years later <sup>177</sup>. There may also have been an additional chantry established at Howden by the time of the poll taxes <sup>178</sup>. It would thus appear from these sources that there should have been about 21 priests and five clerks at Howden in 1381.

In fact the 1381 enrolment of the clergy of Howden lists 30 clergy: there were six prebendaries; five vicars choral; six prebendal vicars; eight chantry priests and five clerks <sup>179</sup>. None of the prebendaries are named and only one of them appears to have been resident, Master Stephen de Ravenser, prebendary of Saltmarsh <sup>180</sup>. Thus, according to the enrolment, there were actually four more chantry priests at Howden than was anticipated. Since, however, the estimated number of chantry foundations was

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<sup>176</sup> Archbishop Melton ordained a vicarage (with cure of souls) in the prebend of Howden in 1319, similar vicarages followed in the prebends of Saltmarsh in 1320, Barmby in 1322 and Skelton in 1330; Reg. Melton, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Reg. 9b, fos. 609r-v, 610r, 611v, 618v.

<sup>177</sup> The vicarage in the prebend of Thorpe was almost certainly established in 1350 or 1351. The records of the ordination of this vicarage appear to have been lost soon after its foundation, since a copy of the ordination was drawn up in 1365; Dean and Chapter of Durham Archives, 2. 2. Archiep. 6, University of Durham Archives and Special collections, 5, The College, Durham. The first known vicar of the prebend of Thorpe resigned in 1351; W. Hutchinson, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, (3 vols., Newcastle and Carlisle, 1785-94), vol. 3, p. 456.

<sup>178</sup> *VCH Yorks.*, vol. 3, p. 362; Anonymous (Prob. Thomas Clarke), *History of the Church, Parish and Manor of Howden*, (Howden, 1851), pp. 26-7. xxx

<sup>179</sup> Howden, like Lazenby (see below), appears on the 1381 enrolment of York diocese, E179/63/31 m. 5, E179/63/12 m. 9. It should be noted that the prebendal vicars of Howden were enrolled with their mother church though they worked in the individual prebendal parishes.

<sup>180</sup> A rather sketchy list of Howden *fasti* is given in Hutchinson, *History of County Durham*, vol. III, pp. 451-7. According to this list Master Stephen de Ravenser was prebendary of Saltmarsh between 1356 and 1382. Ravenser's tenure of the prebend of Saltmarsh 1356-82 is confirmed in Le Neve, *Fasti 1300-1541*, vol. I, pp. 44; 52-3.

based on the evidence of chantry certificates, the additional four cantarists in 1381 may simply have served chantries which did not survive into the sixteenth century.

A comparison of the names given on the enrolment with the lists of prebendaries and prebendal vicars provided by Hutchinson is disappointing. While the prebendaries are not named at all on the enrolment, all but one of the prebendal vicars are only referred to by their christian name <sup>181</sup>. Thomas Laster, vicar of Skelton, the only prebendal vicar to have been enrolled with his full name, does appear in *fasti* lists <sup>182</sup>. None of the cantarists can be agreed with any of Hutchinson's names, though he only gives lists of the *fasti* of four of the chantries. Stephen Aunger, one of the vicars choral on the enrolment, appears in Hutchinson as priest of St. Katherine's chantry in 1376. It seems fair to say that the comparison of the enrolment with Hutchinson is not particularly fruitful; the enrolment does not provide sufficient full names, while Hutchinson's lists seem too incomplete to be reliable. The enrolment of Howden, like that of Ripon, stands out as a case of a poll tax enrolment listing more clergy than other sources would suggest were to be found.

### Lanchester

Lanchester collegiate church was founded by Bishop Antony Bek in 1284. The college consisted of a dean and seven canons; the dean was required to provide two

<sup>181</sup> E179/63/12 m. 9; E179/63/31 m. 5; Useful *fasti* lists of the prebendaries' vicars whose churches were geographically within Harthill deanery may be found in N.A.H.Lawrance, 'Deanery of Harthill,' typescript, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Additional Manuscripts 153-4, pp. 13, 148, 221, 235, 244. Lawrance gives lists for all of the vicarages but Skipwith. Three out of the remaining four christian name only cases could be agreed.

<sup>182</sup> Hutchinson, *History of County Durham*, vol. III, p. 456; Lawrance, 'Deanery of Harthill,' p. 235.

vicars and a chaplain for each of the outlying chapels of Esh, Helay (or Satley) and Medomsley; the first three prebendaries had to provide priest vicars and the other four had deacon vicars <sup>183</sup>. In principle then, the enrolment of Lanchester should comprise sixteen priests and four deacons.

In fact the poll tax enrolment of 1379 includes the dean and seven prebendaries, but as with the other Durham secular colleges there is no explicit reference on the surviving enrolment to any the unbeneficed priests and deacons of Lanchester <sup>184</sup>. The enrolment seems thus to be complete as far as the beneficed are concerned. A comparison between the enrolment and Donaldson's *fasti* only provides confirmation of the name of the dean: Master Peter Galon, who seems to have obtained the benefice in 1370; none of the prebendaries whose names were enrolled in 1379 appear in Donaldson's lists <sup>185</sup>.

There is contemporary evidence that at least some of the prebendaries of Lanchester employed vicars, since in 1378 Bishop Hatfield found that some of the canons had not been paying their vicars' stipends <sup>186</sup>. Since however the Lanchester prebends were by no means valuable, being worth between £4 and £8 in 1379, it would not be surprising if some of the canons did not employ vicars at all <sup>187</sup>. In view of this

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<sup>183</sup> Hamilton Thompson, 'Collegiate Churches of Durham,' pp. 35-6; *VCH Durham*, vol. 2, p. 127; Fraser, *Antony Bek*, pp. 115-16.

<sup>184</sup> E179/62/4 m. 2.

<sup>185</sup> It should however be noted that the evidence for *fasti* of Lanchester in the fourteenth century is distinctly patchy, for example no prebendaries of Helay are known after 1313, while none of the prebendaries of Ivestone can be named before 1388; Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church', vol. 2, pp. 183, 188-91.

<sup>186</sup> *VCH Durham*, vol. 2, p. 127.

<sup>187</sup> E179/62/4 m. 2.

dispute, it seems particularly unfortunate that the enrolment does not identify any vicars of Lanchester.

### Lazenby

The collegiate chapel at Lazenby in Northallerton parish was founded in 1290 by Sir John de Lythegranes and his wife Alice. The original establishment was for a master and six chaplains who were endowed with the manor of Lazenby. It does not appear that this intention was ever fully realised; probably it was insufficiently endowed. In 1443 the then master, Nicholas Hulme and Robert Neville, bishop of Durham, were licensed to assign the manor to Jervaulx abbey in return for the abbey supplying two chaplains for the chapel. After this date no further masters are recorded and the chapel seems to have become a simple chantry <sup>188</sup>. The last master to be recorded before the poll taxes was Richard de Wellinton, who occurs in 1361, though the king appointed Richard de Clifford to the mastership in 1382 when the temporalities of the see of Durham were in his hands <sup>189</sup>.

Although Allertonshire was enrolled with the York diocese for the poll tax of 1381, there is no trace of this chapel or its clergy in the appropriate section of the enrolment <sup>190</sup>. This may suggest that the mastership of the chapel was vacant, or perhaps that it was being served by an unbeneficed chaplain. Given that the chapel had to be refounded as a chantry early in the next century, it seems quite likely that the

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<sup>188</sup> *VCH Yorks.*, vol. III, pp. 363-4.

<sup>189</sup> The patronage of the chapel seems to have belonged to the bishops of Durham, *VCH Yorks.*, vol. III, p. 364.

<sup>190</sup> E179/63/12 m. 9.

foundation was in a decayed state in 1381.

### Norton

Little is known of the foundation of the collegiate church at Norton, though the chronicler Symeon of Durham claimed it was founded for the canons of Durham who were dispossessed on the foundation of the cathedral priory in 1083<sup>191</sup>. It was similar to Darlington in that it had a vicar and prebends or portions of equal value, though at Norton there were eight prebends<sup>192</sup>.

The enrolment of Norton for the poll tax of 1379 appears to be complete since it includes a vicar and eight prebendaries<sup>193</sup>. Robert Whitby, who appears on the enrolment as vicar, held the vicarage from 1365 until his death in 1379, but only one of the prebendaries appears in Donaldson's single list of all those known to have held portions of the church of Norton, and he is noted to have resigned a portion in 1351<sup>194</sup>. Two of the enrolled prebendaries of Norton: John Mubray and John de Henelay were noted pluralists<sup>195</sup>.

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<sup>191</sup> Hamilton Thompson, 'Collegiate Churches of Durham,' p. 33; *VCH Durham*, vol. 2, p. 127.

<sup>192</sup> *VCH Durham*, vol. 2, p. 127.

<sup>193</sup> E179/62/4 mm. 1-2.

<sup>194</sup> John Belgrave, who resigned a prebend of Norton in 1351; John Mubray and John de Henelay do not appear in Donaldson's list of the prebendaries of Norton. Because the prebends at Norton were not named and were of equal value, Donaldson was only able to give a single list of all the Norton prebendaries he had come across; Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church', vol. 2, pp. 230, 233-36.

<sup>195</sup> In addition to their prebends in Norton, Mubray was rector of Bishop Wearmouth and held a prebend in Auckland, while Henelay was rector of Sedgefield and held prebends in Auckland and Chester-le-Street; E179/62/4 m. 1.

## The Durham Collegiate Churches in 1380

The survival of an enrolment of the 1380 hybrid tax, which preserves the names of the prebendaries of the collegiate churches in Durham diocese <sup>196</sup>, allows a comparison to be made between two enrolments much as was carried out for some of the religious houses in Chapter 6. It should however be recalled that there are significant differences between the enrolments in terms of what the entry of a name on each actually represents.

The 1379 tax was a personal tax so the names it records should be the names of clergy actually present in a particular place at the time the tax was collected <sup>197</sup>. The absence of a name from the 1379 enrolment might mean a vacancy, or that the absentee benefice holder was outside the collector's jurisdiction. Since however, as far as the beneficed were concerned, the 1380 tax was a property tax an absentee benefice holder was still liable to pay the tax. The absence of a benefice holder from the 1380 enrolment should only be for vacancy <sup>198</sup>.

In principle then it should be possible, at least for the beneficed, to use this comparison of the 1379 poll tax enrolment with the same benefices on the 1380 poll and property tax enrolment to distinguish vacancies from absences from the diocese.

There are however two specific difficulties with this comparison: firstly there would

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<sup>196</sup> E179/62/5, this comparison is only possible for those colleges whose clergy paid tax to the Durham collectors, so Howden and Lazenby are not included.

<sup>197</sup> See above, Chapter 1, for discussion of the treatment of pluralists under the poll taxes.

<sup>198</sup> Benefices exempted on grounds of poverty are listed on the enrolment, E179/62/5 mm. 1d-2d; it is also possible, of course, that benefices were omitted in error.



doubtless have been some changes in personnel in between the two taxations so any conclusions drawn can only be tentative and must be couched in very general terms unless there is other contemporary evidence; secondly it is necessary to assume that the overall level of absence and vacancy was fairly stable over the time between the two enrolments and this may not have been the case <sup>199</sup>.

Comparative numbers of clergy in the Durham Collegiate Churches in 1379 and 1380

	1379	1380
Auckland	10	12
Chester-le-Street	7	7
Darlington	4	4
Lanchester	7	7
Norton	8	8

Since both enrolments were complete so far as four out of the five collegiate churches were concerned <sup>200</sup>, the comparison does not appear to be useful, though it would appear that there were no vacant prebends of Auckland in 1380. A comparison of the names given on the 1380 enrolment with Donaldson's *fasti* for Auckland, Chester-le-Street and Lanchester, the only three colleges for which he could supply detailed lists, shows a similar level of agreement to that obtained for the 1379 enrolment. At Auckland seven names were confirmed by Donaldson, the same number as were confirmed from 1379 <sup>201</sup>. At Chester-le-Street, where only one name from the

<sup>199</sup> If there had been an outbreak of plague, for example.

<sup>200</sup> The 1380 enrolment was complete for all five, E179/62/5.

<sup>201</sup> The 7 names agreed were not the same ones as previously, 3 further names were known to Donaldson as having held prebends of Auckland at some time in the preceding five years; Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church', vol. 2, pp. 16-24.

1379 enrolment could be agreed, none could be agreed for 1380<sup>202</sup>. At Lanchester none of the men enrolled as prebendaries in 1380 could be confirmed by Donaldson, just as was found for 1379<sup>203</sup>. A similar pattern to 1379 also appears for Darlington and Norton, the churches for which only a single list of prebendaries was possible. At Darlington, all of the clergy enrolled in 1380 appear in Donaldson's list while at Norton only one of the clergy on the 1380 enrolment could be found<sup>204</sup>

When information from both enrolments is collated with the information provided by Donaldson<sup>205</sup>, it can be confirmed that the prebend of Auckland Episcopi was still held by Thomas de Bernoldby, who is known to have held it in 1374. It can be concluded that Hugh de Westwyk, prebendary of West Auckland, and Thomas Bernoldby, prebendary of Auckland Episcopi, who do not appear on the 1379 enrolment must have been outside Durham diocese when the poll tax was collected.

A comparison of the names of the prebendaries on each of the enrolments is also possible. This, like the earlier comparison of the lists of names of the religious in Chapter 6 should give an idea of the turnover of clergy over one year, though clearly this single year may or may not be typical. At Auckland, if the two prebendaries absent in 1379 are excluded, all but one of the prebendaries of 1379 also appear on the 1380 enrolment. The new prebendary, Thomas de Rome, appears to have replaced Richard

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<sup>202</sup> Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church', vol. 2, pp.69-73.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 188-191.

<sup>204</sup> The four prebendaries of Darlington in 1380 appear to have been the same men as in 1379, see below. The one 1380 Norton prebendary who was known to Donaldson was Master John Mandour, the bishop's chancellor, who was collated in 1379; Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church', vol. 2, pp. 88-9, 234.

<sup>205</sup> See above and Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church', vol. 2, pp. 17, 21.

of Stanopp in the prebend of Bires <sup>206</sup>. Thus at Auckland the turnover of prebendaries seems to have been 8.3%. The same comparison for Chester-le Street, however gives a different impression. Out of seven prebendaries appearing on each enrolment, four of the names on the 1380 enrolment are new: a turnover of 57%. At Darlington all of the prebendaries of 1379 were still in post in 1380. At Lanchester four out of seven prebendaries were new in 1380, a 57% turnover again, while two of the three remaining prebendaries had changed their prebends during the year. At Norton the turnover appears to have been still greater: out of eight portioners, only one name, that of John de Henley, appears on both enrolments, a turnover of 87.5%. This gives an average change in prebendaries over one year of 42%.

Compared with the approximate turnover of members of religious communities of 25% every four or five years <sup>207</sup>, these figures seem excessively high, but secular colleges could never be as stable as religious communities: they were not expected to be so. On examination the figures for individual colleges seem to follow a similar pattern to the comparison between the names on the 1379 enrolment and Donaldson's *fasti* lists and to the average value of a prebend in each college.

Comparison of the turnover of prebendaries with other factors

	Turnover	% Names	Average
		Agreed	Value
Darlington	0%	100%	£20.

<sup>206</sup> Unfortunately neither of these two were known to Donaldson, who believed that Bires was held by Henry Walyngford 1376-81, Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church', vol. 2, p. 21.

<sup>207</sup> See Chapter 6, for details.

Auckland	8%	67%	£11. 11s. 4d.
Chester-le-Street	57%	14%	£7. 2s. 10d.
Lanchester	57%	0%	£5. 8s. 7d.
Norton	88%	0%	£6. 13s. 4d.

If the above table can be believed, then it would appear that the stability of the communities of the secular colleges of Durham diocese seems to have been greater where the prebends were more valuable. It would also appear that collations of these more valuable benefices are much more likely to have been recorded. It is important to remember that this table is based on a small sample of data; further studies would be necessary before any firm conclusions can be drawn about the relationship between the value of prebends and the stability of secular colleges<sup>208</sup>.

#### Conclusion: the Poll Tax Enrolments of the Secular Colleges

This discussion of the poll tax enrolments of the clergy of the secular colleges of the York province of the church points to the following general conclusions:

Firstly the comparison of the 1381 poll tax enrolment of Beverley with the surviving visitation records seem to justify a high degree of confidence in that enrolment, though it is clear that there seem to be whole groups of poorer clergy who were not required to pay the poll taxes and were omitted. As far as the other colleges are concerned it seems reasonable to conclude that the enrolments of both 1379 and 1381 are at their most reliable when they deal with the more valuable benefices: both

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<sup>208</sup> It should also be remembered that since prebends were often held by absentees, the fact of tenure does not imply that a man was a regular member of the community of the college.

enrolments seem almost complete as far as the prebendaries are concerned, but it is much more difficult to confirm the enrolments when they deal with chantry priests. This effect also seems to apply where it is possible to compare the names on the enrolments with *fasti* lists drawn up from other contemporary sources. There appears to be no way of confirming the enrolment of the unbeneficed chaplains in the secular colleges and some of the collectors seem to have omitted deacons, subdeacons and clerks altogether.

Given this high level of confidence in the enrolments of the clergy of higher status it is probably fair to use figures from them as a guide to the level of absenteeism among prebendaries. It should however be remembered that a poll tax enrolment only constitutes a 'snapshot' at one particular time, so it would be unwise to use enrolment data alone to make any kind of judgement as to the extent to which prebendaries in the secular colleges in the northern province took their religious duties seriously. The figures that follow give an idea of the proportion of prebendal benefices that were held by absentees, but because of pluralism this does not translate directly into numbers of absent clerics <sup>209</sup>.

Percentage of prebendaries absent from their colleges according to surviving poll tax enrolments <sup>210</sup>:

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<sup>209</sup> If for example, a cleric held three benefices he would have to be an absentee in two at any one time, at least for poll tax purposes. The number of absentees must therefore be smaller than the number of benefices whose holders were not personally present, though it is not possible to say how much smaller with any degree of certainty.

<sup>210</sup> This table is arranged according to the enrolment from which the figures come since the collection arrangements were slightly different. It includes only those secular colleges whose members were generally referred to as prebendaries, deans and dignitaries are excluded since their offices and duties in different houses were not necessarily comparable. Vacancies and omissions from the enrolments are also excluded.

	Absent	Prebends <sup>211</sup>
1379 Durham diocese enrolment		
Auckland	20	2
Chester-le-Street	28.6	2
Darlington	0	0
Lanchester	0	0
Norton	25	2
1381 York diocese enrolment		
Beverley	87.5	7
Howden	100	6
Ripon	71.4	5
York minster	77.8	21
York, St. Sepulchre	63.6	7

According to the 1379 Durham diocese enrolment non-residence at the time of the collection of the poll tax varied from none to just over a quarter of prebendaries. These figures need to be handled with care since non-residents who only had one benefice in the diocese would appear to be present on this enrolment <sup>212</sup>. The rate of absenteeism according to the 1381 York enrolment, which noted non-residence more carefully, seems much higher: from nearly two thirds to all of the holders of prebends in these houses were absentees.

The reasons for this absenteeism will have varied from cleric to cleric; certainly

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<sup>211</sup> This represents the number of prebends whose holders were absent.

<sup>212</sup> See discussion above.

pluralism must have played a major role, but so too may have been the relative poverty of the Durham churches. The more lucrative prebends in York diocese, like those of York minster, were probably much more likely to have been held by prominent clergy who moved in royal or papal circles and these would be the very men whose other duties would keep them away their benefices for extended periods. The overall impression these figures leave is that the rate of absenteeism seems to have been greater where the prebends were more valuable.

## Chapter 8

### The Beneficed Parochial Clergy

The purpose of this chapter is to try to form some kind of judgement as to the completeness and accuracy of the poll tax enrolments of the beneficed parochial clergy of the York province of the English church. The method adopted is to compare the surviving enrolments with what is known from other contemporary sources <sup>1</sup>. Overall judgements about completeness can be made for the whole of the York province by considering the number and status of benefices, while more detailed comparisons are possible for particular areas for which *fasti* lists are available.

#### York Diocese

In Chapter 4 it was estimated that there were 804 parishes in York diocese at the time of the poll taxes: since 174 of these parishes were in Nottingham archdeaconry, for which no enrolments have survived <sup>2</sup>, the maximum number of parishes that should be represented on the surviving enrolments is 630 <sup>3</sup>. In principle then it could be expected that the number of parishes represented on the enrolments should be 630 less those parishes which were served by stipendiary clergy or religious who were not beneficed <sup>4</sup>,

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 2 for details and the results of such comparisons for the Carlisle diocese.

<sup>2</sup> The only survival from Nottingham is a fragment of the 1377 enrolment of Southwell peculiar, which was not under the jurisdiction of the archdeacon, E179/63/28.

<sup>3</sup> For purposes of this exercise at diocesan level it was decided to consider the representation of parishes on the enrolments since this would provide a fairly straightforward measure of the completeness of the collectors' work. For reasons of accuracy, consideration of the completeness of the enrolments in terms of how many of the beneficed clergy that should have appeared on the enrolments actually do so, was reserved for those areas that are considered in detail below.

<sup>4</sup> Religious who held a benefice would probably have appeared, e.g. Richard  
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absentees <sup>5</sup>, or parishes whose benefices were vacant at the time the taxes were collected. In fact only 430 parishes (approximately 68%) appear on the extant 1381 York enrolments <sup>6</sup>. At the same time it is the case that within the area for which we have enrolments, no deanery has been omitted, though the deaneries of Lonsdale and Kendal are treated as one and the clergy of the deanery of Cleveland are listed among the clergy of Rydale deanery <sup>7</sup>. Clearly the collectors levied the tax from at least the majority of parishes in York diocese, but it is also clear that further detailed work is required in order to form an accurate judgement of quite how well they carried out their duties.

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Ledes, canon of Drax and vicar of Bingley or Constantine de Markham, canon of West Dereham and vicar of Kirkby Malham; E179/63/12 m. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Some absentee benefice holders actually do appear on the 1381 York diocese enrolments since they paid surcharge; e.g. Roger, rector of Langton, in Buckrose Deanery who is noted to have been *extra provinciam*, or the rector of Bedale who paid surcharge to the York collector even though he lived in London, E179/63/31 mm. 1, 3.

<sup>6</sup> On the 1381 York diocese enrolments a parish is generally only identified by the appearance of a rector or vicar E179/63/12; E179/63/31. This does raise the possibility that a benefice holder may appear on the enrolment but not be identified as such other than by the fact that he paid more than 3s. 4d. Since however, in 1381, the York collectors were forced to surcharge the beneficed in order to make their target of 6s. 8d. for every cleric, it seems unlikely that any collector would be prepared to undercharge any benefice holder.

<sup>7</sup> The beneficed of Lonsdale and Kendal appear in a single list marked *Decanatus de Lon' et Ken'*, though the *capellani* appear in two separate lists; E179/63/12 m. 8; E179/63/31 m. 4. The fact that these two deaneries were treated as one in the poll tax enrolments may reflect little more than the manner in which the tax was collected from them, see Chapter 4.

Thanks to a great deal of careful research by a number of scholars it is possible to test the completeness and accuracy of the poll tax enrolments of the deaneries of Craven and Doncaster <sup>8</sup>, and for all four deaneries of the archdeaconry of the East Riding <sup>9</sup>.

### The Deanery of Craven

The deanery of Craven covered a roughly triangular portion of the western part of the diocese of York, from Bingley on its eastern edge westward as far as Slaidburn and north as far as Horton in Ribblesdale. As might be expected in this Pennine region, the 24 parishes in the deanery were generally rather larger than parishes in lowland areas like the Vale of York and in the more settled East Riding. In the middle ages there were some 24 parish churches in the deanery of Craven, and in the late fourteenth century three of these, Burnsall, Kettlewell and Linton were each in moieties <sup>10</sup>.

The poll tax enrolment of the deanery of Craven appears to be almost complete as far as the beneficed parochial clergy are concerned <sup>11</sup>: only one parish, Horton in

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<sup>8</sup> A.H.Thompson & C.T.Clay (eds.), *Fasti Parochiales, Vols. I & II, Deanery of Doncaster*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, vols. LXXXV & CVII, (Leeds, 1933 & 1942); N.K.M.Gurney & C.Clay (eds.), *Fasti Parochiales, Vol. IV, Deanery of Craven*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, vol. CXXXIII, (Leeds, 1971).

<sup>9</sup> Lawrance (ed.), *Fasti Parochiales, Vol. III*; N.A.H.Lawrance (ed.), *Fasti Parochiales, Vol. V, Deanery of Buckrose*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, vol. CXLIII, (Leeds, 1985); Lawrance also completed typescripts of projected subsequent volumes for the deaneries of Harthill and Holderness; Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, Additional Manuscripts 153-155.

<sup>10</sup> Gurney & Clay, *Fasti Parochiales, Vol. IV*, pp. ix-x; there were thus 26 parochial benefices in Craven deanery at the time of the poll taxes.

<sup>11</sup> The method adopted was simply to go through the poll tax enrolments noting  
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Ribblesdale does not appear <sup>12</sup>. When the circumstances of the parish of Horton in Ribblesdale are examined it becomes clear that the parish, which had been appropriated by St. Clement's priory, York, was served by stipendiary clergy, because no vicarage had been ordained <sup>13</sup>. Since the York diocese poll tax enrolments only very rarely identify the roles of the unbeneficed clergy it is not possible to tell whether or not the parochial chaplain of Horton-in-Ribblesdale paid any poll tax in 1381 <sup>14</sup>. As far as the beneficed parochial clergy are concerned however, the 1381 enrolment of Craven deanery is complete; the enrolment lists a holder for every single parochial benefice in the deanery. When the names on the enrolment are compared with the names of incumbents given by Gurney and Clay, 19 (73%) can be agreed. In five cases where the enrolment only gives only the christian name of the incumbent, these too agree, though this need not be a reference to the same man <sup>15</sup>. Two remaining incumbents named on the enrolments were not known to Gurney and Clay <sup>16</sup>. If the christian name only cases

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references to beneficed parochial clergy and their parishes. It remains possible that beneficed parochial clergy do appear on the enrolments without being identified as such, so that the assessment that follows may be overly critical. This method does, however, follow the rules for identification of clergy laid down in Chapter 2.

<sup>12</sup> E179/63/12 m. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Gurney & Clay, *Fasti Parochiales*, Vol. IV, p. 60.

<sup>14</sup> Since only one clergyman in the Craven section of the enrolment is identified as *capellanus parochialis* it would be very tempting to suggest that this *Dominus Willelmus* was stipendiary chaplain of Horton-in-Ribblesdale, but there is no evidence to support such an assertion. E179/63/12 m. 7.

<sup>15</sup> While a high correlation between christian names on enrolments and incumbents known from other sources does not actually prove anything, it should give the historian greater confidence that the names on an enrolment had not simply been made up.

<sup>16</sup> The vicar of Bracewell and the rector of Bolton by Bowland, though it is possible that John Wryght, vicar of Bracewell, according to the enrolment may really also be the John de Ottelay who was vicar 1380-1408. Gurney & Clay, *Fasti*  
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are put to one side as providing insufficient evidence to judge, then 90% of the names on the enrolment are supported by other contemporary evidence. The 1381 enrolment of Craven deanery must be considered to be complete and remarkably accurate <sup>17</sup>.

### The Deanery of Doncaster

Doncaster deanery was a much larger deanery than Craven, consisting of some 55 parishes in the south of Yorkshire, from Penistone in the west to Thorne in the east. It was approximately triangular in shape and was bounded to the north by the deanery of Pontefract, to the south east by the archdeaconry of Nottingham and to the south west by the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield. Early in the fourteenth century there was an attempt to split the deanery into two parts, centered on Doncaster and Rotherham <sup>18</sup>; this division does not seem to have lasted but it is represented on the 1381 poll tax enrolment <sup>19</sup>.

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*Parochiales*, Vol. IV, p.23; see also above, Chapter 2 for a discussion of surnames in the later fourteenth century.

<sup>17</sup> It is also interesting to note that the Craven enrolment seems to have been based on a list drawn up early in 1381. The enrolment names the rector of Bolton by Bowland as one John de Hedon, but according to Gurney and Clay, Henry de Appilby became rector of Bolton by Bowland *per mortem* John de Howden on 14 February 1381, i.e. ten days before the collectors were certified to the Exchequer. Gurney & Clay, *Fasti Parochiales*, Vol. IV, p. 18.

<sup>18</sup> The deanery was treated as one in 1291, but seems to have been considered as two in 1301. *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 300; Thompson & Clay, *Fasti Parochiales*, Vol. II, p. x.

<sup>19</sup> There is an untitled list of the Doncaster section which is followed by a list headed '*Doncaster ex Parte Roderham*', E179/63/12 mm. 4-6.

The enrolment of Doncaster deanery does seem to be less complete than that of Craven since out of 52 parishes served by beneficed clergy <sup>20</sup>, some four are missing from the enrolment <sup>21</sup>; the same four are the only benefice holders to be missing from the 55 benefices in the deanery <sup>22</sup>. It is not clear why the rector of Darfield was not enrolled; the parish was held in moities between the rector and a vicar and according to Hamilton Thompson and Clay the rectory was held by one Edmund de Brerley from 1375 until at least 1388 <sup>23</sup>. An Edmund de Brerley does appear on the enrolment among the unbeneficed clergy in nearby Penistone parish but since the rectory of Darfield was valued at more than £30 in 1291 <sup>24</sup>, it would seem unlikely that the collector would have let Edmund the rector of Darfield pay only the 3s. 4d. he charged the unbeneficed <sup>25</sup>. No explanation can be offered for the absence of the rectors of Hemsworth and Thurnscoe; it is known that both were occupied in 1381 <sup>26</sup>. It is not known who was vicar of Stainton in 1381, so it is quite possible that this benefice was vacant <sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> Three parishes: Adwick-le-Street, Adwick-upon-Deerne and Melton-on-the-Hill were served by stipendiary clergy; Thompson & Clay, *Fasti Parochiales*, Vol. I, pp.1-2; Vol. II, p. 13. The reference on the enrolment to a vicar of Melton-on-the-Hill, would appear to be a sole reference to such a benefice.

<sup>21</sup> The rectors of Darfield, Hemsworth and Thurnscoe, and the vicar of Stainton are omitted from the enrolment; E179/63/12 mm. 4-6.

<sup>22</sup> The enrolment includes 93% of the benefice holders in Doncaster deanery.

<sup>23</sup> Thompson & Clay, *Fasti Parochiales*, Vol. I, p. 76.

<sup>24</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 300.

<sup>25</sup> E179/63/12 m. 6.

<sup>26</sup> Thompson & Clay, *Fasti Parochiales*, Vol. I, pp. 137-8; Vol. II, pp. 87-8.

<sup>27</sup> Thompson & Clay, *Fasti Parochiales*, Vol. II, p. 75.

A comparison of the names given on the enrolment with the lists provided by Hamilton Thompson and Clay shows that in the 42 cases in which the enrolment gives full names, 40 (95%) could be agreed <sup>28</sup>. The enrolment of the beneficed clergy of Doncaster deanery does seem a little less complete than that of Craven, but its accuracy in terms of the names of the beneficed clergy enrolled is in fact better.

### The Deanery of Buckrose

The deanery of Buckrose, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, was made up of some 27 parishes to the south and east of the river Derwent <sup>29</sup>; since five parishes were served by stipendiaries or unbeneficed regulars and there were no churches of moieties by the fourteenth century, there were 22 parochial benefices in the deanery <sup>30</sup>. The enrolment of Buckrose includes only 14 benefices <sup>31</sup>, so at first glance the historian might be inclined to consider it a lamentably incomplete source. However since the poll tax enrolments were organised on a jurisdictional basis <sup>32</sup>, it is also sometimes necessary to take account of jurisdictional peculiars when looking for particular benefices. In the case of the East Riding deaneries this means that the reader may have to look in the enrolments of the jurisdictional peculiars of York minster, Beverley minster and Howden.

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, of the two remaining cases whose full names were enrolled, one had a different surname while the other had a different christian name. Of the eight clergymen who were enrolled by their christian name only, all could be agreed, though this probably means very little.

<sup>29</sup> Lawrance, *Fasti Parochiales*, Vol. V, p. ix.

<sup>30</sup> The five parishes were Birdsall, North Grimston, Norton, Sledmere and Wintringham; Lawrance, *Fasti Parochiales*, Vol. V, pp. 3, 13, 30, 53, 72.

<sup>31</sup> E179/63/31 m. 1.

<sup>32</sup> See examples below, this chapter.

An examination of the enrolment of the parishes in the jurisdiction of York minster found four parishes which were geographically within Buckrose deanery, but whose incumbents paid their poll taxes with the minster clergy<sup>33</sup>. This leaves four parochial benefices which appear to have been omitted from the various enrolments: the vicarages of Bugthorpe, Helperthorpe, Sherburn in Hartfordlythe and Weaverthorpe<sup>34</sup>. It is possible to say where they should have appeared on the enrolments: Bugthorpe, Helperthorpe and Weaverthorpe fell within the jurisdiction of the dean and chapter, so they should have appeared with the York minster clergy; Sherburn in Hartfordlythe, which was appropriated to Guisborough priory, should have appeared in the enrolment of the deanery<sup>35</sup>.

It is not clear why the holders of these four benefices seem to have avoided paying poll tax. It is clear from Lawrance's *fasti* that Bugthorpe, Sherburn and Weaverthorpe all had vicars in 1381<sup>36</sup>. However since the first known vicar of Helperthorpe resigned the living by November 1382, perhaps this benefice was vacant in 1381<sup>37</sup>. It may never be possible to say for certain why these benefices were omitted, though it is probably significant that they were all fairly poor benefices:

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<sup>33</sup> The parishes were East Acklam, Fridaythorpe, Wetwang and Wharram-le-Street, each of which were appropriated to York minster dignities or prebends, (East Acklam to the Chancellorship; Fridaythorpe and Wetwang to the prebend of Wetwang and Wharram-le-Street to the prior of Nostell as prebendary of Bramham). Lawrance, *Fasti Parochiales*, Vol. V, pp. 1, 11, 62, 65; E179/63/12 mm. 7-8.

<sup>34</sup> Lawrance, *Fasti Parochiales*, Vol. V, pp. 3-4, 15, 46-7, 57.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> John de Thorp was vicar of Bugthorpe 1379-1385; John Este de Grymeston was vicar of Sherburn in Hartfordlythe 1368-1403; John de Soureby was vicar of Weaverthorpe 1359-c1395-6; *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 47, 58-9.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 15.

neither Bugthorpe nor Helperthorpe appear in the 1291 valuation, while Sherburn and Weaverthorpe were both valued at £3. 6s. 8d. in the *Nova taxatio* <sup>38</sup>.

A comparison of the names given on the enrolments with those, known from other contemporary sources in the *fasti* lists is not really possible since the deanery enrolment gives only one full name, that of Roger Py, vicar of Rillington, though he is known to have been vicar of Rillington 1364-1405 <sup>39</sup>. It should however be noted that in all eight cases where the deanery enrolment gives just the christian name of a benefice holder, that name can be agreed with the incumbent recorded in Lawrance's lists. None of the clergy enrolled with the York minster clergy were given their full name, but all three cases where the christian name was given could be agreed <sup>40</sup>.

#### The Deanery of Dickering

The deanery of Dickering comprised 28 churches bounded on the east by the North Sea from Cloughton in the north to Carnaby in the south, and inland as far as Garton on the Wolds. Five churches were appropriated without vicarages and were therefore served by stipendiary clergy or religious <sup>41</sup>. There was one rectory held in

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<sup>38</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, pp. 297, 303, 322, 326.

<sup>39</sup> Lawrance, *Fasti Parochiales*, Vol. V, p. 34.

<sup>40</sup> Fridaythorpe, Wetwang and Wharram le Street; Lawrance, *Fasti Parochiales*, Vol. V, pp. 11, 63, 66.

<sup>41</sup> The five churches were Bempton, Bridlington, Filey, Flamborough, all four of which belonged to Bridlington priory and Hackness which belonged to Whitby abbey (for a discussion of Hackness as a cell of Whitby see Chapter 5); Lawrance, *Fasti Parochiales*, Vol. III, pp. 6-8, 45.



moieties and one parish had a both a rectory and a vicarage, so there were 27 parochial benefices in Dickering deanery <sup>42</sup>.

The enrolment of Dickering deanery refers only to 23 beneficed clergy, leaving four more to be found elsewhere in the enrolments <sup>43</sup>. Three of these benefices, the vicarages of Driffield, Kilham and Langtoft, were within the jurisdiction of York minster and their holders can be found in the enrolment of the minster clergy <sup>44</sup>. This leaves just one parochial benefice missing from the enrolments: the vicarage of Garton on the Wolds, which was appropriated to Kirkham priory <sup>45</sup>. Since the rectory at Garton was valued at £12 in 1318 <sup>46</sup>, it is possible, though perhaps unlikely, that its vicar would be considered too poor to pay poll tax, though it is perhaps possible that the vicarage was vacant since no vicars of Garton are known between 1350 and 1401 <sup>47</sup>.

A comparison of the names given on the enrolments with the *fasti* lists is almost as disappointing as the exercise was for Buckrose. The Dickering deanery enrolment

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<sup>42</sup> The rectory of Thwing was in moieties and the church of Folkton had both a rector and a vicar concurrently; Lawrance, *Fasti Parochiales, Vol. III*, pp. 22-3,84-5. The 1381 York poll tax enrolment includes both a rector and a vicar for Scarborough, but the monk Peter who appears as rector was really prior (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of the Cistercian cell at Scarborough); E179/63/31 mm. 1-2.

<sup>43</sup> This includes rectors of both moieties of Thwing because although there is only one entry for Thwing the tax paid, 22s. 4d., works out to be the correct amount for two resident beneficed clergymen and 4½ d. in the £ surcharge on the 1318 valuation of both benefices. E179/63/31 m. 2; *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 326.

<sup>44</sup> Lawrance, *Fasti Parochiales, Vol. III*, pp. 20-1, 49-52; E179/63/12 mm. 7-8.

<sup>45</sup> Lawrance, *Fasti Parochiales, Vol. III*, pp. 42-44.

<sup>46</sup> No vicarage is mentioned so presumably the valuation was of the whole church; *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 326.

<sup>47</sup> William de Wetwang was presented as vicar in 1350, the next known vicar is William de Attingwyk who died in 1400-1, though it is possible that these two were in fact the same man; Lawrance, *Fasti Parochiales, Vol. III*, p. 44.

gives only four full names, three of which could be agreed with Lawrance <sup>48</sup>. The one full name case that could not be agreed relates to the vicar of Carnaby, who is enrolled as William Nutman, while Lawrance believed that one Richard Noteman became vicar of Carnaby in 1380 <sup>49</sup>. It is possible that these are references to two different men, though given the closeness of the dates this may have been a scribal error. Out of the 14 christian name only cases, twelve could be agreed. The christian names of the rector of Lowthorpe and the vicar of Scarborough could not be agreed. The disagreement over the name of the rector of the collegiate church of Lowthorpe, may perhaps be explained by a muddle over which one of the cantarists actually was rector <sup>50</sup>. The case of the vicar of Scarborough seems harder to explain, the enrolment gives 'Richard', yet it is clear from Lawrance that the vicar of Scarborough from before 1362 until October 1381 was one Henry Bentebowe of Skipsea who was directly succeeded by John de Gousill in an exchange for the rectory of Gilling-in-Ryedale <sup>51</sup>. It is perhaps possible that the Richard who was enrolled had an agreement to exchange benefices with Bentebowe which was not carried out, a scenario for which we have no evidence, but it seems more likely that the collector or his scribe made a mistake.

Only one of the three Dickering clergy enrolled with the York minster clergy is identified by his full name, Richard de Ottelay, vicar of Kilham, but he can be agreed

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<sup>48</sup> William Kelk, vicar of Muston, (though the enrolment erroneously calls him chaplain of Muston and he paid tax as an unbeneficed clerk); Richard Ryby, vicar of Folkton; and Roger Ak, vicar of Ganton. E179/63/31 mm. 1-2; Lawrance, *Fasti Parochiales, Vol. III*, pp. 27, 41, 60.

<sup>49</sup> E179/63/31 m. 1; Lawrance, *Fasti Parochiales, Vol. III*, p. 18.

<sup>50</sup> For a discussion of the collegiate church of Lowthorpe see Chapter 7.

<sup>51</sup> Since the enrolment of Ryedale gives "John rector of Gilling", and since Gousill was presented on 26 October 1381, it is clear that Bentebowe should have been vicar on the enrolment. E179/63/12 m. 8; Lawrance, *Fasti Parochiales, Vol. III*, p. 78.

with Lawrance; the christian names of the other two: William, vicar of Langtoft and John vicar of Driffield can also be agreed <sup>52</sup>. In conclusion it is probably reasonable to say that although this comparison of names on the Dickering enrolments was not entirely convincing because the enrolments do not preserve sufficient full names, the historian can be reasonably sure that the names were not simply invented by the collector or his staff as happened with part of the 1379 enrolment of Carlisle diocese <sup>53</sup>.

### The Deanery of Harthill

Harthill deanery formed a rough rectangle in the East Riding, bounded on the west by the river Derwent, on the east by the river Hull and to the south by the Ouse and the Humber. It contained some 61 parishes <sup>54</sup>, though as in the other East Riding deaneries, some of the parishes were outwith the jurisdiction of the rural dean. Two parishes, Kilnwick-juxta- Watton and North Dalton, were appropriated without vicarages and were served by canons of Watton or stipendiary clergy <sup>55</sup>, and there were two parishes of moities, Bubwith and Goodmanham <sup>56</sup>. Exactly how many parochial benefices there were depends on definition <sup>57</sup>, but if Beverley minster and Howden are excluded there were 55 parochial benefices in the deanery <sup>58</sup>.

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<sup>52</sup> E179/63/12 mm. 7-8; Lawrance, *Fasti Parochiales, Vol. III*, pp. 21, 50, 52.

<sup>53</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>54</sup> Lawrance, 'Deanery of Harthill.'

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 163.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 42-3, 118-9.

<sup>57</sup> The parish of Beverley minster was split between the prebendaries' vicars, as were the parish of Howden and four of the nearby parishes. McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, pp. xxv-xxvi; Brown, 'Prebendal Church at Howden,' p. 167; Lawrance, 'Deanery of Harthill,' pp. 144-5.

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The enrolment of Harthill deanery includes only 26 benefice holders, but a further eleven may be found in the enrolment of the clergy of York minster, six more may be found in the enrolment of Beverley minster, and four more in the enrolment of Howden and Howdenshire <sup>59</sup>. This leaves eight benefices whose holders do not appear anywhere on the surviving enrolments <sup>60</sup>. It seems likely that one of the eight, the vicarage of Sculcoates, may have been vacant (or served by a stipendiary) since at the time the tax was being collected it was caught up in Michael de la Pole's arrangements for the foundation of the Charterhouse at Hull <sup>61</sup>.

Convincing reasons for the omission of the other seven benefices are harder to find: the rectory of Harswell seems to have been very poor, being valued at just £3. 6s. 8d. in 1291, and no rectors are known between 1369 and 1412 <sup>62</sup>. A similar *lacuna* appears in Lawrance's lists of the incumbents of Givendale, where no vicars are known between 1361 and 1526, while at Bishop Burton no vicars seem to be known between 1362 and 1416 <sup>63</sup>. It would certainly appear possible that these benefices were unfilled

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<sup>58</sup> This excludes Beverley minster, and Howden, which were discussed in Chapter 7.

<sup>59</sup> E179/63/31 mm. 1-2; E179/63/12 mm. 7-9.

<sup>60</sup> The eight are: the rector of Harswell; the vicars of St. Mary's, Beverley; Bishop Burton; North Ferriby; Givendale with Millington; Sculcoates; Warter and the vicar of one moiety of Bubwith. It remains possible, though unlikely, that these benefice holders were enrolled among the unbeneficed.

<sup>61</sup> Sculcoates was appropriated to the new priory by 1380 but a vicarage was not ordained until July 1381, Lawrance, 'Deanery of Harthill,' pp. 230-1; see also Chapter 5 for discussion of the Hull Charterhouse.

<sup>62</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 303.

<sup>63</sup> Lawrance, 'Deanery of Harthill,' pp. 29, 117.

in 1381. The church at Bubwith had been divided into two moieties by 1153 <sup>64</sup>; both were vicarages by 1381, one of which was appropriated to Byland Abbey, and the other to the dean and chapter of York <sup>65</sup>. Since the vicar who did pay poll tax did so with the York minster clergy, it would appear that the Byland moiety was the missing one. Although the vicarage in this moiety was ordained in 1365, no vicars are recorded before 1390 <sup>66</sup>, so it is possible that the benefice was vacant in 1381.

The omission from the enrolments of the vicar of St. Mary's, Beverley, is similarly puzzling. Originally the chapel of St. Mary was served by the vicar of St. Martin's altar in Beverley minster <sup>67</sup>, but from 1269 it was served by its own vicar, who was presented by the prebendary of St. Martin's altar <sup>68</sup>. In 1373 Thomas de Lowthorpe was presented as vicar <sup>69</sup>; by September 1382 William de Scarborough was vicar <sup>70</sup>. It is possible that the vicarage of St. Mary's was vacant in 1381, at a time when the presentation of a new vicar may have been held up by the clerical strike <sup>71</sup>. In 1389 however, one William Ibbotson, who may perhaps be identified with William de Scarborough, was recommended to the vicarage by the pope on the ground that it was

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<sup>64</sup> Clay, *York Minster Fasti*, vol. 1, p. 53.

<sup>65</sup> Lawrance, 'Deanery of Harthill,' pp. 42-3.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 46.

<sup>67</sup> Lawrance, 'Deanery of Harthill,' p. 20.

<sup>68</sup> The vicar of St. Mary's does not seem to have been considered one of the vicars of the minster; McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, p. xxvi.

<sup>69</sup> Lawrance, 'Deanery of Harthill,' p. 21.

<sup>70</sup> McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, p.138.

<sup>71</sup> The patron of the benefice was Richard de Ravenser, whose position in the dispute with Archbishop Neville may have rendered him unable to present a successor, see Chapter 7.

void by the death of Thomas de Lowthorpe <sup>72</sup>. According to Lawrance, William de Scarborough also occurs as vicar of St. Mary's in 1392 and 1398 <sup>73</sup>. One possible explanation for all this might be that Scarborough found a need to seek papal support for his tenure of the benefice because his claim to it was tenuous; perhaps he had been presented to it by Master Anthony de St. Quintin, whom Neville admitted to St. Martin's altar on 31 August 1381, but whose claim to the prebend was never accepted by the Crown, *Curia* or the Beverley chapter <sup>74</sup>.

This leaves two omitted vicarages to consider: North Ferriby and Warter. The parish church at Warter belonged to the Augustinian priory at Warter and all of the known vicars were canons regular <sup>75</sup>. Unfortunately there is a gap in the records of presentations to the vicarage of Warter and none are known between 1369, when Bro. John de Hemyngburgh was presented, and 1409 when Bro. John de Poklyngton resigned <sup>76</sup>. The enrolment of the community at Warter priory does not include a John de Hemyngburgh, but a John de Pokelington does appear <sup>77</sup>. It is however known that John de Hemyngburgh became prior of Warter in 1383, so unless he was outside York province at the time of the poll taxes <sup>78</sup>, or he was enrolled with his community under a different name, he would appear to have slipped through the collectors' nets.

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<sup>72</sup> Lawrance, 'Deanery of Harthill,' p. 21.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> It should be noted that there is no evidence to support this explanation. For St. Quintin's tenure of the prebend see McDermid, *Beverley Minster Fasti*, p.51.

<sup>75</sup> Lawrance, 'Deanery of Harthill,' pp. 252-3.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 253.

<sup>77</sup> E179/63/12 m. 5.

<sup>78</sup> Warter also owned the churches of Lund, in Harthill deanery, Melton in Lincoln  
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It would also appear that a similar thing happened at North Ferriby: the church was appropriated by the priory there and after 1348 all the vicars were canons of North Ferriby <sup>79</sup>. It is clear from Lawrance that Bro. William de Anlagby was vicar from 1378 to 1389 <sup>80</sup>, but he does not appear either on the Harthill deanery enrolment or the enrolment of the priory <sup>81</sup>. It is possible that Anlagby was outside the province at the time of collection, or that he was enrolled under a different surname, but this does appear to be a particularly clear case of a cleric being omitted from the enrolments.

The very fact that there were two such instances in Harthill deanery rather suggests that these omissions cannot be treated as mistakes, not least because they are so similar. What would appear to have happened is that Augustinian canons, working as parochial clergy, did not pay tax, either to through the deanery or through their religious communities. There is a similarity with the case of Hexham priory, which seems to have avoided paying poll taxes because there was some question over which of two collectors actually had the right to collect tax from the priory <sup>82</sup>. Perhaps these two canon vicars managed to avoid paying poll tax by exploiting their status as religious to the deanery collector and their status as beneficed clergy to their religious superiors.

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diocese and Askham, Barton and Clifton in Carlisle diocese. Hemyngburgh does not appear to have been at Lund in 1381, nor in one of the Carlisle parishes in 1379, nor at Melton in 1377. E179/63/31 m. 2; E179/60/1 m. 2; McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, p. 14.

<sup>79</sup> Lawrance, 'Deanery of Harthill,' pp. 106, 109.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>81</sup> E179/63/31 mm. 1-2; E179/63/12 m. 6. It should be noted that North Ferriby was the only ecclesiastical property that the priory owned; *VCH Yorks.*, vol. III, p. 242.

<sup>82</sup> See above, Chapter 5.

A comparison of the names given on the enrolment of the deanery with those given by Lawrance shows that out of 18 instances when a full name was given, 17 (94%) could be agreed. The one instance where a full name could not be agreed, that of the rector of Everingham is somewhat puzzling. The enrolment gives the rector as Adam de Allerthorpe, who according to Lawrance held the rectory from 1370 until 1372 when he exchanged it with Lawrence of Allerthorpe; there are scattered references to a Richard de Feriby as rector in 1373 and to a Richard de Schulton in 1388<sup>83</sup>. It would certainly appear possible that the enrolment may be correct. In seven cases the enrolment gives only the benefice holder's christian name; six of these could be agreed. The only name which could not be agreed was enrolled as "Walter, vicar of Hull," and for this benefice Lawrance was unable to find any references between the presentation of Bro. Richard de Lestbury in 1364 and the probate of the will of Bro. John Stayngrave in 1391<sup>84</sup>.

Similar comparisons of names between the other enrolments and Lawrance's Harthill *fasti* lists produced the following results. The few names given on the enrolment of the parishes in the jurisdiction of Beverley minster were disappointing since neither the one full name nor the two christian name only cases could be agreed<sup>85</sup>. The comparison of the clergy on the York minster enrolment was rather more

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<sup>83</sup> Lawrance, 'Deanery of Harthill,' p. 102.

<sup>84</sup> Until 1661 the vicars of Hessle were also vicars of Holy Trinity, Hull; from 1324 until the dissolution they were all canons of Guisborough. Lawrance, 'Deanery of Harthill,' pp. 130, 132.

<sup>85</sup> E179/63/12 m. 9; Lawrance, 'Deanery of Harthill,' pp. 25-6, 87, 197. This may not be considered surprising since the clerical strike at Beverley may have affected record-keeping adversely.



successful: the enrolment gave only ten christian names but six of these could be agreed with rather patchy and incomplete lists <sup>86</sup>. The Howden enrolment was better still. Five of the prebendaries' vicars served churches geographically within Harthill deanery, one full name was given and four christian names; the full name and three of the christian names could be agreed <sup>87</sup>. The enrolment of Howdenshire also includes the full names of three rectors and one vicar from Harthill but who came under within the jurisdiction of Howden <sup>88</sup>; three out of the four names could also be found in Lawrance <sup>89</sup>.

This examination of the names preserved on the enrolments of Harthill deanery, like the similar comparisons for Buckrose and Dickering does seem disappointing, but at the same time it would appear that sufficient of the names can be agreed for the historian to have a measure of confidence in the names enrolled.

#### The Deanery of Holderness

The fourth and final deanery of the East Riding archdeaconry, Holderness deanery, covered the southeast corner of Yorkshire from Barmston in the north, southwards to Spurn Point and inland to the river Hull. It was made up of some 46 parishes in the middle ages <sup>90</sup>. As with the other East Riding deaneries the parishes fell

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<sup>86</sup> E179/63/12 mm. 7-9; Lawrance, 'Deanery of Harthill,' pp. 15, 46, 67, 93, 128, 164, 200, 212, 243, 258.

<sup>87</sup> E179/63/12 m. 9; Lawrance, 'Deanery of Harthill,' pp. 13, 148, 221, 235, 244.

<sup>88</sup> The rectors of Brantingham, Walkington and Welton, and the vicar of Eastrington, E179/63/12 m. 9.

<sup>89</sup> Lawrance, 'Deanery of Harthill,' pp. 39, 91, 249, 265.

<sup>90</sup> N.A.H.Lawrance, 'Deanery of Holderness,' Typescript, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, Additional Manuscripts 154-5.

into a number of jurisdictions, so it is necessary to look beyond the enrolment of the deanery to see the full picture. The deanery enrolment lists 25 beneficed parochial clergy, seven more were enrolled with Beverley minster and five with York minster <sup>91</sup>. Five parishes were served by stipendiary clergy <sup>92</sup>, so four parochial benefices seem to have been omitted from the enrolments <sup>93</sup>.

The rectory of Nuttles seems to have been a very poor benefice: originally a chapelry in Skeckling (*alias* Burstwick) parish, it does not appear in the 1291 *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* and in 1535 it was only reckoned to be worth £2 a year <sup>94</sup>. Nuttles may have been vacant since no rectors are known between 1372 and 1396 <sup>95</sup>, but it is also possible that its rector was absent and since the benefice was not usually taxed he would not have been liable for surcharge.

The three missing vicarages: North Frodingham, Garton-in-Holderness and Humbleton were all appropriated to Thornton abbey <sup>96</sup>. The omission of North Frodingham seems difficult to explain since it is known that the vicar of North

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<sup>91</sup> E179/63/31 mm. 1-2; E179/63/12 mm. 7-9.

<sup>92</sup> This figure includes Hull, which was technically part of Hessle parish which was in Harthill deanery; see discussion above.

<sup>93</sup> The four are the rectory of Nuttles and the vicarages of North Frodingham, Garton-in-Holderness and Humbleton.

<sup>94</sup> Lawrance, 'Deanery of Holderness,' pp. 91-2.

<sup>95</sup> Lawrance's 1372 reference is to an unnamed rector being licensed for absence; *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>96</sup> None of the three were served by vicars who were canons of Thornton in the fourteenth century. *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 45-6, 70-1.

Frodingham from 1376 to 1404 was one Robert Frankysse <sup>97</sup>, though since the vicarage was not valued in 1291, perhaps this was a matter of poverty <sup>98</sup>.

The existence on the deanery enrolment of one Richard ‘chaplain’ of Garton makes it look possible that the vicar, Robert Seme of Wilton (*alias* de Dunham) was absent. The vicar was liable for surcharge, since the benefice was taxed under the clerical subsidies, though perhaps this may have been remitted on grounds of poverty <sup>99</sup>. A further possibility is that the liability for surcharge was unclear since John de Hugate, Seme’s successor, was presented to the benefice on 31 July 1381, which was one day before the final installment of the poll tax was due at the Exchequer <sup>100</sup>.

The vicarage of Humbleton falls into the same category as North Frodingham, although the rectory was valued in 1291, the vicarage was not <sup>101</sup>. The first known vicar was presented in 1302, and it is not entirely clear who was vicar in 1381 <sup>102</sup>. At any rate

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<sup>97</sup> There is no evidence that the unbeneficed chaplain of the same name in the Holderness deanery enrolment is the same person. E179/63/31 m. 2; Lawrance, ‘Deanery of Holderness,’ p. 43.

<sup>98</sup> The rectory was valued at £8; the vicarage does not appear and the first known vicar was presented in 1292. Certainly there was little to share between Thornton and any vicar. Lawrance, ‘Deanery of Holderness,’ p. 43; *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 304.

<sup>99</sup> In 1308 the abbot and convent of Thornton were cited before the archiepiscopal courts for the insufficiency of the vicarial incomes of a number of their parishes including Garton; W.Brown & A.Hamilton Thompson (eds.), *The Register of William Greenfield Lord Archbishop of York 1306-1315*, Part 5, Surtees Society vol. CXXXII, (Durham 1940), p. 226.

<sup>100</sup> Lawrance, ‘Deanery of Holderness,’ p. 46; see Chapter 1 for the terms of the tax.

<sup>101</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 304.

<sup>102</sup> Lawrance, ‘Deanery of Holderness,’ p. 71.

an absent vicar in 1381 would have left no trace on the enrolments because he would not have been liable for surcharge.

A comparison of the names of incumbents given on the enrolments with Lawrance's Holderness *fasti* yielded the following results <sup>103</sup>. On the deanery enrolment all nine of the beneficed parochial clergy whose full names were given could be agreed with Lawrance, while 14 out of the 16 for whom only their christian name was enrolled could also be agreed. The Beverley minster enrolment includes payments from seven Holderness parishes; the one full name and the three christian name only cases could all be agreed. The York minster enrolment includes five Holderness parishes; two incumbents were enrolled with their full name and one of these could probably be agreed <sup>104</sup>, while all three christian name only enrolments were supported by Lawrance's *fasti*.

### Durham Diocese

The 1379 enrolment of Durham diocese was also subjected to a similar scrutiny; each of the two archdeaconries was considered separately.

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<sup>103</sup> E179/63/31 mm. 1-2; E179/63/12 mm. 7-9; Lawrance, 'Deanery of Holderness,' *passim*.

<sup>104</sup> The probable agreement is the vicar of Mappleton who appears on the poll tax enrolment as John Pierson, but who was known to Lawrance as John son of Peter de Sutton or John de Sutton, who held the vicarage from 1369 to 1402. E179/63/12 m. 8; Lawrance, 'Deanery of Holderness,' p. 88.

## The Archdeaconry of Durham

In 1379 there were some 57 parochial benefices in the Durham archdeaconry <sup>105</sup>, 52 of which (91%) appear on the enrolment <sup>106</sup>. The church at Ebchester, which had been given to Sherburn Hospital on its foundation in 1181 by Bishop du Puiset <sup>107</sup>, appears on the 1291 valuation as a rectory worth less than £4 <sup>108</sup>, but it really seems only ever to have been a chapelry served by stipendiary chaplains who would not necessarily be identified as such on the enrolments <sup>109</sup>.

The church at Edmundbyers however, would appear to have been a rectory. According to Donaldson a Thomas de Catherill (or Gaiterygge) was rector in 1377 when he was licensed for three years absence, one of the reasons for which was the smallness of the benefice <sup>110</sup>. This may at first glance seem to explain the absence of the rector of Edmundbyers from the 1379 enrolment, but in fact it does not. Since the 1379 poll tax was levied according to status and income, Catherill's possession of the

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<sup>105</sup> See appendix B; this figure excludes the secular colleges (for discussion of which see Chapter 7) and the rectory at Greatham, since the master of Greatham hospital was also rector of the parish.

<sup>106</sup> The missing five are the churches of Ebchester, Edmundbyers, Hunstanworth, Kimblesworth and Muggleswick.

<sup>107</sup> Hutchinson, *History of County Durham*, vol. II, p. 430.

<sup>108</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 317.

<sup>109</sup> Ebchester was included in the lists in Appendix B because it appears as a rectory in the 1291 valuation but is not treated as a benefice by either Boutflower or Donaldson. Boutflower, *Fasti Dunelmenses*; Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church'.

<sup>110</sup> Catherill also occurs as rector of Edmundbyers in 1392. Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church,' vol. II, p. 113.

benefice should have been noted on the enrolment no matter where he was at the time of the taxation <sup>111</sup>. One possible explanation might be that if the valuers of 1379 accepted that the rectory of Edmundbyers was of negligible value and Catherill held no other benefices or perhaps also worked as a stipendiary, then he may be hidden elsewhere in the enrolment among the unbeneficed <sup>112</sup>.

Hunstanworth, which belonged to Kepier hospital, probably does not appear on the enrolment because it no longer had rectors by 1379 <sup>113</sup>. In 1353 Bishop Hatfield had licensed Kepier hospital to serve the cure by stipendiary clergy because of the smallness of the revenue and defects in the chancel and ornaments of the church and in the rectory house <sup>114</sup>.

The last two missing benefices in Durham archdeaconry, Kimblesworth and Muggleswick, both belonged to Durham priory and both appeared on the 1291 valuation as rectories worth less than £4 <sup>115</sup>. According to Boutflower, Kimblesworth was a rectory and Muggleswick a curacy <sup>116</sup>, but both benefices seem to have been very marginal. Donaldson found both rectors and vicars of Kimblesworth, but believed that

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<sup>111</sup> The 1379 Durham enrolment notes the valuation of benefices held by pluralists who lived outside the diocese, so a value for Edmundbyers and a note of Catherill's absence should appear on the enrolment. See discussion of the taxation of pluralists in Chapter 1.

<sup>112</sup> There is however no evidence for this suggestion; it is also possible that he simply slipped through the collector's net and was not considered worth chasing.

<sup>113</sup> The last known rector of Hunstanworth was Robert de Mortham who became rector in 1345. Boutflower, *Fasti Dunelmenses*, pp. 90, 173.

<sup>114</sup> Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church,' vol. II, p. 162.

<sup>115</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 317.

<sup>116</sup> Boutflower, *Fasti Dunelmenses*, pp. 174, 177.

the benefice was never permanently appropriated <sup>117</sup>. Donaldson thought Muggleswick was a rectory until at least 1406, and that it was certainly a chapelry in 1436, but at the time of the poll taxes there seems to have been only a parochial chaplain at Muggleswick <sup>118</sup>. It is clear from this that both of these were very poor benefices; perhaps their incumbents simply disappeared among the unbeneficed, or were absent and the collectors did not think it worthwhile to find them.

The accuracy of the 1379 enrolment of the Durham archdeaconry was tested in the same way as the York diocese enrolments, but with reference to the parochial *fasti* produced by Boutflower and Donaldson <sup>119</sup>. Out of 27 parochial benefices for which the full names of the holders were recorded, 17 (63%) could be agreed <sup>120</sup>.

### The Archdeaconry of Northumberland

There were probably 59 parochial benefices in the archdeaconry of Northumberland in 1379 <sup>121</sup>, 57 of these [97%] appear on the enrolment <sup>122</sup>. Slaley,

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<sup>117</sup> At the time of the poll taxes, for example, William Baker, rector of Kimblesworth in 1374, seems to have been succeeded by John de Acliffe, vicar of Kimblesworth, who left the benefice in 1383; subsequent holders of Kimblesworth were rectors. Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church,' vol. II, pp. 171-2.

<sup>118</sup> Richard de Hessewell was parochial chaplain of Muggleswick in 1370; Richard de Dunelm (*alias* Doram) became vicar of Muggleswick in 1391. Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church,' vol. II, pp. 216-7.

<sup>119</sup> Boutflower, *Fasti Dunelmenses*; Donaldson, 'Patronage and the Church,' vol. II. It should be noted that these *fasti* lists are by no means as comprehensive as their counterparts for York diocese.

<sup>120</sup> There are no 'christian name only' cases on the 1379 Durham enrolment.

<sup>121</sup> See Appendix B; This omits the rectories of Bamburgh, Carham, Corsenside, Howick, Islandshire, Ovingham and Thockrington. Bamburgh, Carham, Islandshire  
Continued on next page...

although it appears in the 1291 and 1318 taxations as an “*ecclesia*”<sup>123</sup>, which generally means a rectory, seems only to have been a chapelry<sup>124</sup>, leaving only one parochial benefice to have been genuinely missing, that of the vicarage of Woodhorn.

The parish of Woodhorn, which since 1249 had included the formerly separate parish of Horton, belonged to Tynemouth priory<sup>125</sup>. The vicarage of Woodhorn, including the chapel of Horton, was valued at £50 in 1291<sup>126</sup>, while the 1318 *Nova Taxatio* mentions the vicarage of Woodhorn twice, once valued at £1, but also later among the list of benefices considered completely devastated by the Scots<sup>127</sup>. Boutflower and Donaldson give the names of successive vicars of Woodhorn as Robert Aleford, who occurs in 1376 and Robert (or Roger) de(l) Bothe who occurs in 1389<sup>128</sup>,

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and Ovingham were cells of Nostell priory, Kirkham priory, Durham Cathedral priory and Hexham priory respectively; see Chapter 5. Corsenside was appropriated to Holystone priory and served by stipendiary clergy and Howick was annexed to the archdeaconry of Northumberland, Boutflower, *Fasti Dunelmenses*, pp. 191, 196. Thockrington was a prebend of York minster; see Chapter 7.

<sup>122</sup> The missing two are the rectory of Slaley and the vicarage of Woodhorn.

<sup>123</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, pp. 316, 331.

<sup>124</sup> Boutflower, *Fasti Dunelmenses*, p. 206.

<sup>125</sup> Boutflower, *Fasti Dunelmenses*, p. 196; H.H.E.Craster, *A History of Northumberland*, Vol. IX, (Newcastle and London, 1909), pp. 222; 275-7; J.Hodgson, *A History of Northumberland*, Vol. 2 part 2, (Newcastle, 1832), pp. 182-3.

<sup>126</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 316.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 330-1; presumably the latter entry is the erroneous one.

<sup>128</sup> Boutflower, *Fasti Dunelmenses*, p. 209; Donaldson, ‘Patronage and the Church,’ vol. II, p. 302.



though it is not clear that either was vicar of Woodhorn in 1379 <sup>129</sup>. It is thus difficult to explain the omission of the vicarage of Woodhorn from the 1379 taxation and its associated valuation; perhaps it was vacant, or perhaps it was simply omitted in error.

One further omission from the 1379, and indeed subsequent poll tax enrolments is the Free Chapel of Jesmond <sup>130</sup>. The Free chapel of St. Mary, Jesmond, in Newcastle parish seems to have been the subject of litigation in the later fourteenth century <sup>131</sup>, but three incumbents are known from the time of the poll taxes: In 1378 Richard of Rothbury, treasurer of Lichfield petitioned the pope for a canonry and prebend of Hereford notwithstanding that he already held Kepier Hospital and St. Mary's Jesmond <sup>132</sup>. In 1380 the bishop of Durham inducted Thomas of Penrith, but by 1391 Jesmond was held by Richard de Clifford <sup>133</sup>. It would seem most likely that the benefice holder of Jesmond was able to maintain his customary exemption from taxation in 1379 and 1381, perhaps by being absent or perhaps because of the status of the chapel.

A comparison of the names given on the 1379 Northumberland archdeaconry enrolment with the names given by Boutflower and Donaldson is disappointing: out of 57 full names given, only 23 (40%) can be found in the *fasti* lists. Clearly this raises

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<sup>129</sup> There was however an unnamed vicar of Woodhorn who paid tax in 1380; E179/62/5.

<sup>130</sup> E179/62/4; E179/62/5; E179/62/6; Jesmond was also omitted from Appendix B because it was extra parochial and because it was not valued for taxation purposes in 1291 or 1318, *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, pp. 316-7, 330-1.

<sup>131</sup> In 1356-8 (and again in 1505) the perpetual chaplain of Jesmond and the vicar of St. Nicholas, Newcastle, went to court in a dispute over offerings from the chapel, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, C.P.E.78; C.P.G. 22.

<sup>132</sup> F.W.Dendy, 'An Account of Jesmond,' *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Third Series, Vol. 1, (1904), p. 133.

<sup>133</sup> Dendy, 'An Account of Jesmond,' pp. 132-3, 139.

questions about the accuracy of the enrolment, even though the completeness of the enrolment is extremely good <sup>134</sup>. Moreover, since a substantial minority of the names on the enrolment could be agreed and there is no obvious evidence of fabrication <sup>135</sup>, the historian cannot simply reject all of the names on the enrolment.

Under these circumstances it is fortunate that the 1381 poll tax enrolment of the archdeaconry of Northumberland has survived so that it can be subjected to the same tests. The 1381 Northumberland enrolment is in fact complete, all 59 of the parochial benefices are mentioned somewhere <sup>136</sup>. Fewer names are given, but the level of agreement is much more satisfactory: out of 53 full names, 40 (75%) could be agreed. Since the level of accuracy of the 1381 Northumberland seems greater than that of the 1379 enrolment, the historian would perhaps feel more confident about using names from the 1381 enrolment.

### Conclusion

This chapter has shown that for those areas for which, parochial *fasti* lists are available that the 1381 York diocese enrolments are remarkably complete, though this is not always the initial impression because medieval collectors worked within ecclesiastical jurisdictions rather than geographical divisions.

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<sup>134</sup> The numbers of clergy in Northumberland recorded on each enrolment are also extremely close: the 1379 enrolment includes 260 priests and 15 clerks, while 1381 has 268 priests but no clerks.

<sup>135</sup> As was detected in sections of the 1379 Carlisle enrolments, see Chapter 2.

<sup>136</sup> E179/62/6 compared with the Appendix B.

The overall accuracy of the York enrolments in terms of the number of incumbents who were enrolled by their full names that can be agreed with *fasti* lists is 94%, (89 out of 95 cases). While it is clear that there are discrepancies, this simple figure must surely give the historian a very great deal of confidence in the accuracy of the 1381 York enrolments as far as the beneficed parochial clergy are concerned.

Similarly, the overall completeness of the 1379 diocese of Durham enrolment is very high, though the proportion of names of parochial benefice holders that can be agreed with other contemporary sources is much poorer at 50% for the whole diocese. The names given on the 1381 enrolment of Northumberland seem more accurate than those given on the 1379 enrolment.

The 1379 diocese of Carlisle enrolments, which were discussed in Chapter 2, show a similar pattern of completeness as far as the beneficed parochial clergy were concerned, though the accuracy of the names given varied wildly by deanery. If the deaneries for which the names were fabricated are omitted, the overall accuracy at 82% is in fact better than the best surviving Durham diocese enrolment.

The pattern which has emerged from this detailed consideration of the beneficed parochial clergy of the York province should give the historian a good deal of confidence in the completeness of those other parts of the enrolments which it was impossible to study in detail <sup>137</sup>. Although the accuracy of the names enrolled seems more variable, it must be remembered that this measure is highly dependent on the quality of the information used to check names. It is quite possible that a poll tax enrolment really is the only surviving evidence that a particular man held a benefice, so

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<sup>137</sup> Though the historian should always be on the look-out for evidence of fabrication.

the historian should look for clear evidence that an enrolment is inaccurate before rejecting the information it provides. It seems reasonable to contend that the historian can also have a great deal of confidence in the accuracy of poll tax enrolments as sources for the history of the beneficed parochial clergy.

## Chapter 9

### The Unbeneficed Clergy

It has been pointed out by Dr. Alison McHardy that ‘The unbeneficed clergy are important to any examination of the late-medieval church because they formed such a large proportion of the clerical estate’<sup>1</sup>. The role of this group of clergy as stipendiary parochial chaplains, ministers in dependent chapels and chantry chaplains is becoming increasingly well known<sup>2</sup>. This chapter aims to discover what can be learned about these chaplains from the surviving poll tax enrolments from the York province.

There were two main patterns of enrolling the unbeneficed: one was to make a single list of all the chaplains of a deanery: on these enrolments the reader sees a list of unbeneficed clergy headed something like ‘Chaplains of N. deanery’<sup>3</sup>. The other way was to enrol them along with the beneficed: in this form the reader sees: ‘X rector of Y’ with his payment and beneath him the names of a number of unbeneficed clergy, apparently in the parish in which they worked<sup>4</sup>. Both types allow the historian to

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<sup>1</sup> McHardy, ‘Careers and Disappointments,’ p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> The ‘traditional’ view of the unbeneficed is given by J.R.H. Moorman, *Church life in the Thirteenth Century*, (Cambridge, 1946), pp. 52-6; and A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and their Organization in the Later Middle Ages*, (Oxford, 1947), pp. 122-8. More recent studies include: A.K. McHardy, ‘Ecclesiastics and Economics,’ pp. 129-37; McHardy, ‘Careers and Disappointments’; S. Townley, ‘Unbeneficed Clergy in the Thirteenth Century,’ pp. 38-64; P. Mackie, ‘Chaplains in the Diocese of York, 1480-1530: The Testamentary Evidence,’ *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. LVIII, (1986), pp. 123-133; for an example of work on chapels see D.M. Owen, ‘Medieval Chapels in Lincolnshire,’ in *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*, vol. X, (1975), pp. 15-22. An Oxford thesis is at present in progress on the parochial development in Yorkshire (S.N.C. Cash).

<sup>3</sup> E.g. the 1381 enrolment of the archdeaconry of Richmond, E179/63/31 mm. 3-4.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. the 1381 enrolments of the archdeaconry of East Riding, E179/63/31 mm. 1-2.

calculate total numbers and averages and make comparisons with other areas, dioceses and deaneries.

### The Numbers of the Unbeneficed Clergy

Perhaps the most obvious question that can be addressed is 'how many unbeneficed clergy were there in York province at the time of the poll taxes?' However in asking this question it is important to bear in mind that it is not possible to verify the completeness of the enrolments of the unbeneficed, as was possible for the beneficed, since we cannot say accurately how many chaplains there should have been. Historians have however been able to make estimates of the proportion of the total clergy that was unbeneficed, so it is possible to use these for comparative purposes.

More than 50 years ago Moorman used episcopal ordination lists to calculate that there were somewhere around forty thousand ordained secular clergy in England at any one time in the thirteenth century, an average of four or five men for every single parish in the kingdom <sup>5</sup>. Similar figures have also been calculated for York diocese in the fourteenth century before the Black Death <sup>6</sup>. If the unbeneficed formed a similar proportion of the clergy after the Black Death, then one might expect that the unbeneficed clergy would account for somewhere around four fifths of the total parochial clergy on a clerical poll tax enrolment <sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> Moorman, *Church Life*, pp. 52-3.

<sup>6</sup> D. Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy in Cleveland and the East Riding 1306-1340*, Borthwick Paper 37, (York, 1969), p. 8; see also J.H.Moran, 'Clerical Recruitment in the Diocese of York, 1340-1530: Data and Commentary,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 34, (1983), pp. 19-54; V.Davis, 'Episcopal Ordination Lists,' pp. 152-70.

<sup>7</sup> In fact, in view of the reduction in population after the onset of bubonic plague, it may be unreasonable to expect so large a proportion.

It could be suggested that the historian could point to the completeness and accuracy of an enrolment as far as the beneficed clergy were concerned as a measure of its completeness for the unbeneficed. Certainly it would appear that the beneficed and unbeneficed parochial clergy paid their tax through the same route, and to the same sub-collectors, so it might be reasonable to expect a similar level of efficiency on the part of the collector or sub-collector. It would however be unjustified to place too much emphasis on this <sup>8</sup>. Quite simply if a hard-pressed sub-collector omitted a particularly elusive chaplain, who perhaps also worked in another collector's jurisdiction, who was to find out?

At the same time it is easy to overstate the opportunity for underenumeration. The only real opportunity to omit large numbers of the unbeneficed was in 1377, when the Exchequer had no means of verifying the enrolments and when the low rate of tax 'was probably a considerable guarantee against widespread fraud' <sup>9</sup>. In subsequent years the Exchequer could use the enrolments from 1377 as a benchmark against which it could compare any new poll tax enrolment, and presumably any discrepancies could be investigated when the Exchequer took a view of the collector's account. Under these circumstances it is important to consider all of the available material very carefully before judging the reliability or otherwise of individual sources, or of sections within sources.

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<sup>8</sup> Though the completeness of the enrolment in terms of the representation of parishes is a factor in assessing its usefulness as a guide to the distribution of the unbeneficed within a deanery, see discussion below.

<sup>9</sup> McHardy, 'Ecclesiastics and Economics,' p. 131.

## Unbeneficed Clergy in York Province in the Poll Tax Enrolments

Although only fragments of the 1377 enrolments from York province have survived, the totals for the dioceses of Carlisle and York were transferred on to what Russell called the 'Great Enrolment'<sup>10</sup>. According to this source, in Carlisle diocese 97 out of 232 clergymen (42%) were unbeneficed, while in York diocese 1481 out of 3271 (45%) held no benefice<sup>11</sup>. The problem with these figures is that they include the regular clergy, so the proportion of the unbeneficed is not comparable with the figures given by Moorman and Robinson for the earlier period. If however, for the sake of comparison, the numbers of the religious calculated in Chapter 5 are subtracted from the total clergy then the figures work out thus:

Carlisle diocese estimated total secular clergy: 188<sup>12</sup>; unbeneficed 97 (52%)

York diocese estimated total secular clergy: 2545<sup>13</sup>; unbeneficed 1481 (58%).

It can clearly be seen from the above that there seem to be fewer unbeneficed clergy on this first enrolment than Moorman and Robinson found before the Black Death.

The survival of collectors' enrolments from the dioceses of Carlisle and Durham from 1379 allow potentially more accurate comparisons to be made for those two

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<sup>10</sup> Russell, *British Medieval Population*, p. 137.

<sup>11</sup> E359/4b; see also above, Chapter 1.

<sup>12</sup> Total clergy per enrolment 232 less 44 regular clergy, see Chapter 4.

<sup>13</sup> Total clergy per enrolment 3271 less 726 regular clergy, see Chapter 4.



jurisdictions <sup>14</sup>. In fact, according to the Carlisle enrolments, 99 out of 178 secular clergy (56%) were unbeneficed, while in Durham diocese 232 out of 383 clergy (61%) were unbeneficed.

Totals for the unbeneficed, taken from the collectors' accounts for the hybrid tax of 1380, are also to be found on the 'Great Enrolment' <sup>15</sup>. Differences between the numbers of unbeneficed clergy recorded on the Carlisle enrolment for this tax compared with that of 1379 have already been noticed: the 99 unbeneficed chaplains enrolled in 1379 turned into 80 the following year <sup>16</sup>. A closer examination suggests that it is the 1380 figures that are suspect. In 1377 the total unbeneficed clergy of the Carlisle diocese was enrolled as 97 which is much more consistent with the 99 in 1379 <sup>17</sup>. A comparison of diocesan totals of unbeneficed clergy on 1377 and 1380 enrolments from all over England shows the later enrolments to be consistently lower than the earlier ones. Russell found totals from 1377 and 1380 for 13 of the 17 dioceses in England on the 'Great Enrolment'; in every case the 1380 figure was substantially lower <sup>18</sup>.

In 1381, although there was a rate of tax specifically for the unbeneficed, the numbers of the unbeneficed were not recorded on the 'Great Enrolment', nor were

<sup>14</sup> E179/60/1; E179/62/4; unfortunately E359/4b the 'Great Enrolment' does not record numbers from the poll tax of 1379.

<sup>15</sup> E359/4b; Russell, *British Medieval Population*, pp. 134-7.

<sup>16</sup> See above Chapter 2.

<sup>17</sup> E359/4b m. 1v; E179/60/1; figures from 1381 do not appear to have survived.

<sup>18</sup> Russell, *British Medieval Population*, pp. 134-7. The extent of the reduction also varied considerably: in Exeter diocese the 1380 figure was only 23% of the 1377 total; in York and Canterbury dioceses it was 79%. On average the total unbeneficed clergy in 1380 was around 60% of the total for 1377. This discrepancy seems likely to have been caused by a permitted exemption on grounds of poverty, see Chapter 3.

totals recorded on the two surviving York province collectors' enrolments. It is thus necessary to count the unbeneficed as they appear in the collectors' enrolments. The surviving enrolments of the diocese of York (which exclude Nottingham archdeaconry) record some 1737 secular clergy, 1177 (68%) of whom were unbeneficed <sup>19</sup>. The 1381 Northumberland enrolment records the names of 195 secular clergy, 142 (73%) of whom were unbeneficed <sup>20</sup>. For purposes of comparison, the number and proportion of unbeneficed clergy in Northumberland in 1379 was calculated: in 1379, 119 out of 178 (67%) secular clergy were unbeneficed. On these figures it looks as though the 1381 taxation of the unbeneficed in Northumberland was rather more complete than the 1379 taxation <sup>21</sup>.

The proportion of the enrolled secular clergy who were unbeneficed according to the various enrolments may be seen most clearly in tabular form <sup>22</sup>:

Diocese:		<u>Carlisle</u>	<u>Durham</u>	<u>York</u>
Year	1377	52%		58%
	1379	56%	61%	
	1381		(73%) <sup>23</sup>	(68%) <sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> E179/63/12; E179/63/31. It should be noted that this figure includes the 9 vicars choral of Beverley minster because the collector treated them as unbeneficed.

<sup>20</sup> E179/62/6.

<sup>21</sup> This is in line with the conclusion of the similar comparison for the beneficed clergy, see above, Chapter 8.

<sup>22</sup> The figures making up this table are all derived from the preceding discussion; it should be noted that gaps in the table indicate gaps in the records; figures in brackets relate only to parts of a diocese. It was not possible to provide percentages for 1380 since in that taxation the charge to tax for the beneficed was based on property so numbers of the beneficed were not provided on the enrolments.

<sup>23</sup> Archdeaconry of Northumberland only.

Although the figures are not always directly comparable one thing is clear: the unbeneficed would appear to have formed a much smaller proportion of the clerical population than they did before the Black Death. These York province figures can be compared with similar figures from Canterbury province. In 1379 in the archdeaconry of Chester, 80% of the clergy were unbeneficed<sup>25</sup>. In the deaneries of Leominster and Weobley in Hereford diocese the unbeneficed formed 67% of the secular clergy<sup>26</sup>. In Lincoln diocese, the unbeneficed formed 55% of the archdeaconry of Stow, 66% of the clergy of a sample four deaneries in Lincoln archdeaconry, 75% of the clergy of four deaneries in Bedfordshire and 62% of the clergy of four rural deaneries in Leicestershire<sup>27</sup>.

Against these examples it is clear that in general terms the surviving poll tax enrolments from York province seem to fall in with the overall pattern. Certainly there is nothing that would lead the historian to suspect that one or other of the surviving York province enrolments from 1377, 1379 and 1381 omit large numbers of the unbeneficed<sup>28</sup>. This is, of course, not the same as saying that they are complete as far as the unbeneficed are concerned, merely that they look consistent with other enrolments. It should also be noted that on the two occasions when we have directly

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<sup>24</sup> York diocese omitting Nottingham archdeaconry.

<sup>25</sup> M.J.Bennett, 'Lancashire and Cheshire Clergy 1379,' pp. 4-5.

<sup>26</sup> P.E.H.Hair, 'Chaplains, Chantries and Chapels of North-West Herefordshire c. 1400,' *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, Herefordshire*, vol. XLVI, (1988), p. 62.

<sup>27</sup> McHardy, 'Careers and Disappointments,' p. 113.

<sup>28</sup> Though it should be recalled that the 1380 hybrid tax enrolment seems to have consistently under enumerated the unbeneficed.

comparable figures <sup>29</sup>, the number of the unbeneficed is actually higher in the later enrolment, suggesting greater efficiency on the part of the collectors <sup>30</sup>.

Further circumstantial evidence for the completeness of one enrolment as far as the unbeneficed were concerned is contained in a letter from Archbishop Neville to the Exchequer dated 28 September 1384 <sup>31</sup>. The archbishop requested exoneration for the abbot of St. Mary's, York, collector of the poll tax of 1381 in the archdeaconries of York, Cleveland, East Riding and Richmond for the contributions from a hundred chaplains who had not paid. The chaplains in question had been excommunicated for non-payment, and their names were provided to the Exchequer on an attached list. Only eleven names are now legible, nine from the deanery of Ainsty and two from the deanery of Pontefract. The names can easily be traced on the collector's enrolment because they appear in the same order on both lists <sup>32</sup>. The fact that so many of these enrolled chaplains did not pay their poll tax clearly does not prove the enrolment to have been complete, but it is evidence that the collector was keen to enrol as many chaplains as he could <sup>33</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> Carlisle 1377 and 1379 and Northumberland 1379 and 1381, see above.

<sup>30</sup> This fits in with another of McHardy's observations: that the efficiency of collection in large parts of Lincoln diocese increased between 1377 and 1381. McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, p. xxix.

<sup>31</sup> E179/63/29.

<sup>32</sup> E179/63/12 m. 2-4. Nine of the names can be agreed directly, the two others look like variant readings. Although the chaplains are in the same order on both lists, the deaneries are in a different order on the list of defaulters.

<sup>33</sup> Since, technically speaking, the collector was personally liable for the tax due from everyone on his enrolment, it would have been in his interest to omit any clergy from whom he felt he would not get the money. If the abbot had tried to omit those he thought would not or could not pay, one might expect a much smaller number of defaulters.

## The Distribution of the Unbeneficed

The number of unbeneficed clergy per parish can also be calculated <sup>34</sup>: in Carlisle diocese in 1379 there were around 93 parishes, so that there was at least one unbeneficed priest for every parish <sup>35</sup>. In Durham diocese in 1379 there were 1.7 chaplains for each parish while two years later in York diocese there were 1.9 for each parish <sup>36</sup>. By comparison there were sufficient unbeneficed clergy in Chester archdeaconry each parish to provide each parish with three assistants in 1379 <sup>37</sup>, while in an area of London containing 110 parishes there were 647 chaplains, or six for every parish <sup>38</sup>. Dr. McHardy has produced figures for the total number of secular clergy in a large number of deaneries in Lincoln diocese for 1377 and 1379 <sup>39</sup>. When these figures are aggregated it is clear that in 1377 in four deaneries in Stow archdeaconry there were about 1.4 chaplains per parish; in the same year in 21 of the deaneries in Lincoln archdeaconry there were 1.67 unbeneficed chaplains for each parish, while in 1379 there were 2.83 chaplains for each parish in four deaneries in Bedford archdeaconry. It is clear that according to the poll tax enrolments there were generally fewer unbeneficed clergy per parish in the York province than in the Canterbury province.

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<sup>34</sup> Though it should be recalled that the exact number of parishes in a diocese at any given time is not always easy to determine, see above, Chapter 4.

<sup>35</sup> Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts,' pp. 73-4;

<sup>36</sup> See above and Chapter 4, parishes run by religious are included since there is no reason why stipendiary clergy may not have been employed in such parishes.

<sup>37</sup> Bennett, 'Lancashire and Cheshire Clergy,' pp. 4-5.

<sup>38</sup> McHardy, 'Ecclesiastics and Economics,' p. 131.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 129-31.

The overall figures at diocesan or archdeaconry level can however be misleading. It is evident from Dr. McHardy's detailed lists of the numbers of seculars by deanery that the concentration of the unbeneficed varied tremendously within Lincoln diocese: from no more than 0.75 chaplains per parish in the rural Aslackoe deanery to 3.46 in Stamford deanery, which included the town of Stamford <sup>40</sup>. There were also concentrations of chaplains in the towns: 189 in Lincoln; 37 in Boston and Leicester; 28 in Stamford; 14 in Grimsby; 12 in Gainsborough and 10 in Louth <sup>41</sup>. Clearly it is necessary to examine the surviving York enrolments more closely to get a proper understanding of the distribution of the unbeneficed.

It is possible to use the enrolments to draw up lists of how many chaplains there were in the York province on a deanery by deanery basis <sup>42</sup>. The results of these calculations are most clearly presented in a table.

Unbeneficed Clergy in York Province

York Diocese <sup>43</sup>

<u>Archdeaconry</u>	<u>Deanery</u>		<u>Chaplains per parish</u>
York	Christianity (City) of York	97	2.4
	Ainsty	61	1.1

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>42</sup> It should be noted that this table only records the numbers of unbeneficed clergy entered on the enrolments for individual deaneries. The figure for 'chaplains per parish' is a simple average.

<sup>43</sup> E179/63/12 and E179/63/31. Figures from York minster and the other secular colleges are excluded because they were discussed in Chapter 7.

	Craven	39	1.5
	Doncaster	153	2.8
	Pontefract	113	3.3
East Riding <sup>44</sup>	Buckrose	34	1.7
	Dickering	73	2.9
	Harthill	91	2.3
	Holderness	82	2.4
Cleveland <sup>45</sup>	Bulmer	38	0.8
	Cleveland and Rydale	76	1.1
Richmond	Amounderness	22	2
	Boroughbridge	10	0.7
	Catterick	39	1.6
	Copeland	13	0.6
	Furness	6	1.5
	Kendal	20	2.2
	Lonsdale	13	1.4
	Richmond	33	1.4
Allerton and Allertonshire		19	1.3
Howden and Howdenshire		19	3.8

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<sup>44</sup> In order to give a more accurate average, parishes in the East Riding deaneries which were actually within the jurisdictions of York and Beverley minsters and Howden have been excluded, see Chapter 8.

<sup>45</sup> The deaneries of Cleveland and Rydale are enrolled together on E179/63/12 m. 8. Both averages have been calculated with the Allertonshire parishes excluded.

Durham diocese <sup>46</sup>

Durham	Durham and Darlington	113	1.8
Northumberland	Alnwick	19	1.4
	Bamburgh	19	1.5
	Corbridge	22	1.1
	Newcastle	59	3.3

Carlisle diocese <sup>47</sup>

Allerdale	19	1.4
Carlisle	29	1.2
Cumberland	29	2.1
Westmorland	22	0.9

In many respects these figures are similar to Dr.McHardy's figures for Lincoln diocese, though the range of averages is somewhat more restricted: from 0.6 per parish in Copeland to 3.8 in Howdenshire. It is clear that some there were more unbeneficed clergy in urban areas like York and Newcastle <sup>48</sup>, though it is perhaps surprising that

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<sup>46</sup> E179/62/4; separate lists of chaplains are not given for the two deaneries in Durham archdeaconry.

<sup>47</sup> E179/60/1.

<sup>48</sup> York and Newcastle were by far the most important towns in York province, coming third and fourth respectively in a ranking of the assessed wealth of the towns in England according to the lay subsidy of 1334. R.E.Glasscock, 'England *Circa* 1334,' in H.C.Darby (ed.), *A New Historical Geography of England before 1600*, (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 177-185.



there were fewer chaplains in York than in Lincoln<sup>49</sup>. There were generally more in the archdeaconry of East Riding than in the archdeaconries of Richmond and Cleveland<sup>50</sup>. In Durham diocese there were more chaplains in the south of the diocese than there were north of Newcastle. In Carlisle diocese there were fewest unbeneficed clergy in the hills of Westmorland.

These conclusions are however very general, and to that extent they are unsatisfying. Some of the surviving enrolments are however drawn up on a parish-by-parish basis. If they can be relied upon, it may be possible to use them to get a highly detailed picture of the distribution of unbeneficed clergy within deaneries. At first glance this parish-based type of enrolment looks very useful because it apparently assigns the unbeneficed to particular parishes. There are however two difficulties in using this form of enrolment as a source for the unbeneficed clergy.

The first consideration which should be borne in mind when attempting to link the unbeneficed with parishes is that the unbeneficed clergy found work wherever they could. Certainly there were some men who worked entirely in one parish either as parochial chaplains or as priests in dependent chapels; others might only work in one parish for a period of time; others still would work wherever they could, saying masses for the dead, standing-in for parochial clergy and so on<sup>51</sup>. It may therefore be

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<sup>49</sup> Lincoln came seventh in the 1334 ranking, R.E.Glasscock, 'England *Circa* 1334,' p. 184. There are particular problems with the completeness of the 1381 enrolment of the city of York, see below.

<sup>50</sup> The averages for each archdeaconry are East Riding 2.4; Cleveland 1.0; Richmond 1.3; York 2.2. The East Riding was the wealthiest and most populous part of York province, R.E.Glasscock, 'England *Circa* 1334,' p. 141; A.R.H.Baker, 'Changes in the Later Middle Ages,' in Darby, *New Historical Geography of England before 1600*, p. 191.

<sup>51</sup> McHardy, 'Careers and Disappointments,' pp. 115-130.

somewhat misleading to associate chaplains with particular parishes because it cannot be presumed that they performed all or even most of their work in the parishes where they paid their poll taxes. This was probably especially true in the towns where there were many unbeneficed clergymen following a great variety of employment opportunities <sup>52</sup>.

The second difficulty arises because, as was noticed in Chapter 8, a parish is usually only mentioned on an enrolment when its benefice holder was enrolled. Thus parishes which were staffed entirely by stipendiary clergy are not mentioned on the enrolments and the stipendiary clergy who served these parishes are not generally identified as such <sup>53</sup>. Hence at least a few of the lists of unbeneficed clergy which appear beneath the name of a beneficed clergyman probably include stipendiary clergy who did not work in that parish at all. The numbers of clergy involved were probably not large, in many deaneries perhaps no more than a half-dozen, but the historian should consider this difficulty before attempting to quantify the number of chaplains there were in an individual parish.

Perhaps the best way to explore the extent to which parish-based enrolments can be used as a source for the unbeneficed is through a number of illustrative examples.

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<sup>52</sup> It could perhaps be argued that town enrolments apparently arranged on a parochial basis show little more than the route by which the collector received his taxes.

<sup>53</sup> Though there are some examples, such as the 10 chaplains of Allerdale deanery whose churches are recorded on the 1379 Carlisle diocese enrolment. E179/60/1 m. 3.

One of the most useful parish-based enrolments is that of the deanery of Craven in the Yorkshire Dales. It contained some 26 parishes most of which were rural, though there were markets in Bingley, Keighley, Skipton and Slaiburn <sup>54</sup>. The enrolment records the names of some 39 chaplains, an average of 1.5 for each parish <sup>55</sup>. Because all of the parishes in the deanery are mentioned on the enrolment, and because the deanery was rural, it seems reasonable to rely on the enrolment for details of the distribution of chaplains. Even in a deanery like Craven, the distribution was not uniform: some parishes like Broughton and Kirkby Malham had none, while Burnsall had 5, Giggleswick and Skipton each had 4, and Slaiburn had 3. It is probably worth noting that all four of the places known to have had markets had at least two chaplains. In Craven deanery parish size does not seem to have had a clear influence either way: Kirkby Malham, one of the larger parishes had no unbeneficed chaplains, while Bracewell, one of the smallest had 3 <sup>56</sup>.

Another useful parish-based enrolment is of the deanery of Doncaster, in south Yorkshire, a much bigger deanery with 55 parishes including the towns of Doncaster and Rotherham <sup>57</sup>. The enrolment includes 153 unbeneficed clergymen, an average over the whole deanery of 2.8 per parish. According to the enrolment more than half of these men appear to have been in just 9 parishes: 15 being in Doncaster; 12 in

<sup>54</sup> M.L.Faull and S.A.Moorhouse (eds.), *West Yorkshire: an Archaeological Survey to A.D.1500, Vol. 2: The Administrative and Tenorial Framework*, (Wakefield, 1981), pp. 324, 417; K.L.McCutcheon, *Yorkshire Fairs and Markets to the end of the Eighteenth Century*, Thoresby Society vol. 39, (Leeds, 1940), pp. 165, 173, 175-6; E.E.Dodd, *Bingley a Yorkshire Town through Nine Centuries*, (Bingley, 1958), p. 19.

<sup>55</sup> E179/63/12 m. 6-7.

<sup>56</sup> This is probably to be expected, since many of the larger parishes in Craven included a good deal of very sparsely populated moorland.

<sup>57</sup> E179/63/12 m. 4-5; Hamilton Thompson & Clay (eds.), *Fasti Parochiales, Vol. II*, p. xxiii.

Sprotborough; 11 in Tickhill; 10 in Ecclesfield; 6 in Darfield; 8 in Rotherham; 7 in Penistone and 6 each in Hatfield and Sheffield. If these parishes are omitted from the calculations, the average number of chaplains per parish becomes 1.63 per parish.

Unfortunately four parishes are not mentioned in the enrolment, three of which were served by stipendiaries since they had been appropriated by religious houses without the ordination of vicarages<sup>58</sup>. Presuming that the clergy of these four parishes actually paid tax, their names would have been enrolled, but without identifying their parish. Thus there must be at the very least four priests, if not eight or ten, listed with the clergy of other parishes. It would be very tempting to suggest that some of them were enrolled along with the clergy of Sprotborough, since the 12 chaplains apparently belonging to that parish seems excessive<sup>59</sup>, but there is simply no evidence for that. On the other hand, since Doncaster was a market town of some importance<sup>60</sup>, it may be reasonable to believe that there were 15 unbeneficed clergy in the parish<sup>61</sup>. Under these circumstances it seems most reasonable to say we should be very wary of drawing any conclusions about the distribution of the unbeneficed within Doncaster deanery.

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<sup>58</sup> See above, Chapter 8.

<sup>59</sup> The rectory of Sprotborough was valued at £26 13s. 4d., a substantial sum, but hardly enough to support a rector and 12 chaplains, *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, p. 299. There was a hospital of St. Edmund at Sprotborough with a master and chaplains in 1364, which may account for some of the chaplains, *VCH Yorks.*, vol. 3, pp. 331-2. The chantry of St. Nicholas at Sprotborough was not founded until 1482, Hamilton Thompson & Clay (eds.), *Fasti Parochiales, Vol. II*, p.72.

<sup>60</sup> R.E. Glasscock, 'England Circa 1334,' pp. 180-2; McCutcheon, *Yorkshire Fairs and Markets*, pp. 64-6, 148, 174.

<sup>61</sup> There were at least eight clergy in Doncaster in 1547, 6 in the parish church and 2 in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, Page, *Yorks. Chantry Surveys*, vol. I, pp. 175-82.

A less useful parish-based poll tax enrolment, at least as far as the unbeneficed are concerned, is the 1381 enrolment of the city of York <sup>62</sup>. According to this enrolment there were some 97 unbeneficed clergy in the deanery of the Christianity of York <sup>63</sup>. At this time there were some 40 parishes in the city of York <sup>64</sup>. This gives an average of 2.4 chaplains for each parish in the deanery. However only 17 parishes in the city are identified on the enrolment <sup>65</sup>, and there are another 22 beneficed clergy whose benefice is illegible or unidentified. Some of these beneficed men will have been chantry priests but others may well have been parochial clergy, and it is not clear who was which. In this example, in the light of a somewhat confused enrolment of the beneficed parochial clergy and the fact that York was a major city with a variety of employment opportunities for unbeneficed clergymen, it would seem very unwise to try to associate the chaplains of the city of York with individual parishes.

### Conclusion

It is thus clear that what can be learned about the unbeneficed from poll tax enrolments varies according to the individual enrolment. In all cases where the enrolment is apparently complete, it should be possible to obtain totals, though it should be borne in mind that there must have been unbeneficed clergy who managed to avoid enrolment. It is possible to calculate the average numbers of chaplains per parish, but

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<sup>62</sup> E179/63/12 mm. 1-2; the enrolment is damaged and badly stained at this point.

<sup>63</sup> This excludes the 6 unbeneficed chaplains who appear in the enrolment of York minster, see Chapter 8.

<sup>64</sup> Lawton, *Collections*, pp. 7-44.

<sup>65</sup> In this case the enrolment includes at least two city parishes which were within the jurisdiction of the dean and chapter, St. Sampson and St. Wilfred, so the 'missing' parishes are not simply enrolled with the minster, Lawton, *Collections*, p. 2.

the reader cannot simply divide that total number of chaplains by the number of parishes enrolled. In order to get an accurate figure it is necessary to work out how many parishes there actually were in the collector's jurisdiction at the time because poll tax enrolments do not always identify all the parishes they cover. Averages can also be distorted by the existence of a town within the collector's jurisdiction <sup>66</sup>.

Where an enrolment is arranged on a parochial basis, it may be possible to go beyond simple averages to an analysis of the distribution of the unbeneficed on a parish by parish basis, but a number of difficulties should be borne in mind. Firstly, since parishes are generally only identified by the enrolment of the name of a beneficed cleric, those parishes served by stipendiary clergy simply do not appear. Where this occurs the number of chaplains in the enrolled parishes will be overstated by an unknown number <sup>67</sup>. Secondly, in the towns many chaplains must have worked in a variety of parishes all over town, so it may be misleading to try to associate chaplains to particular parishes without additional evidence <sup>68</sup>.

Under these circumstances it is clearly necessary to examine the enrolment carefully and consider a variety of potentially intervening factors, before deciding what

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<sup>66</sup> See discussion of Doncaster deanery above.

<sup>67</sup> It cannot be presumed that there was only one clergyman in a parish served by stipendiary clergy.

<sup>68</sup> For example a note on the enrolment that a certain chaplain 'celebrates at the chantry of...' In this regard the clerical poll tax enrolments of the late fourteenth century compare unfavourably with some of those drawn up for a subsidy in 1526. In these enrolments every unbeneficed clergyman is identified by his position as well as his name so it is possible to distinguish cantarists, parochial chaplains and other chaplains. T.M.Fallow, 'The Fallow Papers,' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. XXI, (1911), pp. 243-252; T.M.Fallow, 'The East Riding Clergy in 1525-6,' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. XXIV, (1917), pp. 62-80. An edition of further portions of this material is currently being prepared by Mr.C.C.Webb of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research.

can be said about the unbeneficed clergy. It would appear that at least some, if not many, clerical poll tax enrolments have a great deal to tell us about the unbeneficed, but they require careful handling and detailed consideration if the historian is to get accurate information from them.

## Conclusion

The clerical poll taxes of the late fourteenth century were designed to shift some of the tax burden from those who had always had to pay tenths to those who were perceived to be perfectly capable of making a contribution to the expenses of the defence of the realm. An examination of the grants of these taxes has shown that the losers under the poll taxes were the poorer clergy, from whom successive poll taxes demanded greater contributions; even at the 3s. 4d. rate charged by some collectors in 1381, an unbeneficed chaplain paid ten times the tax required by the first poll tax. The winners were the holders of wealthy benefices, or the communities of the richer religious houses. Thus in 1379 the bishop of Carlisle, by far the poorest of the northern bishops, found himself paying £4, twice what he would usually have paid for a clerical tenth. The bishop of Durham, on the other hand, also paid £4 instead of £66 13s. 4d <sup>1</sup>.

Pluralists seem to have been treated differently under each of the poll taxes. In 1377 pluralists were only required to make the same tax contribution as any other priest, but in 1379 they were charged on a sliding scale according to their total income. The hybrid tax of 1380 was a return to the clerical subsidies as far as the beneficed were concerned, while in 1381 in York diocese and Northumberland archdeaconry, they paid the personal element of 6s. 8d. only once, but paid surcharge on each of their benefices. In York diocese absentees were required to pay surcharge based on the value of their York diocese benefices <sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter 1.



There are however a number of problems which hamper the use of poll tax enrolments<sup>3</sup>. The first problem that the historian encounters in dealing with clerical poll tax enrolments is that of the patchy survival of enrolments. There are substantial areas, like the archdeaconry of Nottingham and the diocese of Salisbury, for which the surviving enrolments can only be described as fragmentary<sup>4</sup>. It is also clear that some of the enrolments we have are only portions of what were originally much larger documents<sup>5</sup>.

Even where substantial enrolments have survived, the historian must be wary of the problem discovered by Dr.J.L.Kirby in his edition of the 1379 Carlisle diocese enrolment: that one section of the enrolment was partly fabricated<sup>6</sup>. This raised major concerns about the reliability of clerical poll tax enrolments as historical sources.

Detailed examination of the 1379 Carlisle enrolment concluded however, that the extent of many of the difficulties could be determined by comparison with other contemporary sources. In the case of this particular enrolment it was found that the fabrication was limited to the names given for the beneficed clergy of two of the four deaneries in the diocese. This conclusion, when considered alongside Dr. McHardy's view that each poll tax enrolment needs to be evaluated individually<sup>7</sup>, made it clear

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<sup>3</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>4</sup> Part of an enrolment of the peculiar jurisdiction of Southwell from 1377 is all that has survived from Nottingham archdeaconry, E179/63/28; Kirby, 'Clerical poll Taxes,'

<sup>5</sup> E.g.. E179/63/11, which originally also listed 1042 chaplains.

<sup>6</sup> Kirby, 'Two Tax Accounts,'

<sup>7</sup> McHardy, *Clerical Poll-Taxes*, pp. xxix-xxx.

that it was necessary to verify the completeness and accuracy of the remaining York province enrolments, in order to ensure that they reflected the realities of late fourteenth century church life. At the same time the exercise of verifying the enrolments also proved useful in demonstrating some of the uses for material from poll tax enrolments.

The poll tax of 1379 brought about a revaluation of all of the benefices in England, northern examples of which have survived in the 1379 enrolments of the diocese of Durham and Carlisle. These valuations were compared with those of the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1291 and the *Nova Taxatio* of 1318. Although the valuations given seem somewhat stylised to fit the sliding scale of charges for the 1379 tax, it was possible to use this valuation as a measure of changes in clerical incomes. In both dioceses it was plain that clerical incomes had improved since 1318, and that many were in fact more valuable in 1379 than they had been in 1291 <sup>8</sup>.

It proved possible to demonstrate that all but one of these taxes were actually collected by tracing payments, or assignments of revenue, into the central records of the Exchequer <sup>9</sup>. At the same time it was found that both the financial totals and the total number of clergy recorded on collectors' enrolment were, generally speaking, accurately transferred on to the general enrolments of the taxes <sup>10</sup>. Although this did not guarantee that the collectors' enrolments were complete, it did allow use of figures from the general enrolment to fill in *lacunae* where enrolments have not survived.

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<sup>8</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>9</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>10</sup> One exception has been noticed: in 1381 the clerks of the archdeaconry of Middlesex, London diocese, were not transferred from the collector's enrolment on to the general enrolment, McHardy, *Church in London*, p. 38; Russell, *British Medieval Population*, p. 136.

It was thus possible to put together an estimate of 4165 in priestly orders for the total clerical population of the whole of York province, based on the 1379 enrolments of the dioceses of Durham and Carlisle and the 1381 enrolment of York diocese, with figures for the archdeaconry of Nottingham taken from the general enrolments <sup>11</sup>. This includes estimates for the numbers of mendicant friars, who did not pay taxes, for the hospitallers, who paid lay taxes, and for the few religious houses which seem to have been omitted from the collector's enrolments. It should be noted that this estimate gives what must be minimum figures, it remains possible that some clergy, especially unbeneficed seculars, were not enrolled.

The York province enrolments were examined to see what could be learned about the 1449 regular clergy and 70 *conversi* in the province. A detailed consideration of the houses, order by order, found that only four religious houses where there was some form of conventual life were omitted from the enrolments <sup>12</sup>. The most serious omission was that of the major Augustinian priory of Hexham was surprising, though it seems possible that this occurred because of a lack of clarity over the collector's jurisdiction. It was possible to give average sizes of communities for the houses of each order represented in the province. It was found that the poll tax enrolments give little information about women religious, because some collectors did not consider them liable. Hospitals appear even more rarely in the enrolments. The lay brothers of the religious orders were still found to exist, but mainly in the Cistercian and Augustinian houses in York diocese.

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<sup>11</sup> See Chapter 4.

<sup>12</sup> Hexham priory, Grosmont priory, the Trinitarian house in Newcastle, and the Carthusian house in Hull. Other omitted houses seem to have been uninhabited or their inmates paid their tax with the mother house, see Chapter 5.

In a few cases it was possible to compare enrolments of the same religious houses from different years: for four York diocese houses from 1377 and 1381, and for five houses in Northumberland between 1379 and 1381<sup>13</sup>. There were generally fewer regulars enrolled in the same houses in the later enrolments than in the earlier ones, a phenomenon that can also be detected in the Lincoln diocese poll tax enrolments. The York province examples are few and may not be representative, but the effect may be explained by an outbreak of plague in the north of England in 1378-9. Comparisons of names on these 'overlapping' enrolments were used to work out an approximate rate of turnover of 25% of a community every five years. This was found to be in line with estimates drawn up over longer periods of time for Canterbury Cathedral priory and Westminster abbey, and for a group of northern Premonstratensian houses in the late fifteenth century.

The enrolments of the regulars were also compared with ordination lists in the registers of the archbishops of York for a period of 39 years, though there are some gaps in the registers. It was discovered that more than three quarters of the regular clergy enrolled in York diocese, excluding the heads of religious houses whose names do not appear on the 1381 York enrolment, could be traced to ordination lists.

A consideration of the secular colleges discovered the enrolments to be generally complete in terms of the number of establishments enrolled, though Lazenby in Allertonshire, one of the smaller colleges seems to have faded away by the time of the poll taxes<sup>14</sup>. The accuracy of the enrolments, judged by comparing the names enrolled with *fasti* lists or other sources was found to be very high for the more valuable

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<sup>13</sup> See Chapter 6.

<sup>14</sup> See Chapter 7.

benefices, but much less so as the value of the benefices decreased. It was found much more difficult to find confirmation for the names of chantry priests and it was not found possible to confirm the enrolment of the unbeneficed chaplains in the secular colleges.

It was possible to give some figures for the rate of absenteeism among the prebendaries of the secular colleges. According to the 1379 Durham enrolment non-residence at the time of the collection of the poll tax varied from none to just over a quarter of prebendaries, though this may be an understatement because of the way that the enrolment was compiled. The 1381 York enrolment, which noted non-residence more carefully, shows that from nearly two thirds to all of the holders of prebends in these collegiate churches were absentees. The rate of absenteeism seems to have been greater where prebends were more valuable.

The enrolments of the beneficed parochial clergy were tested for completeness and accuracy in a sample of deaneries for which parochial *fasti* are available <sup>15</sup>. The completeness of the enrolments examined, in terms of the representation of parishes, was found to be remarkably high, though there are examples of omissions which may have been due to poverty or vacancy. One factor which emerged was that some deanery enrolments appear hopelessly incomplete because parishes in peculiar jurisdictions, like those of York or Beverley minsters do not appear with the deanery. These parishes are however to be found in enrolments of the peculiar jurisdictions. It is thus extremely important to be aware of the collectors' jurisdictions, because although diocesan collectors generally also collected from peculiar jurisdictions which fell within the geographical confines of the diocese <sup>16</sup>, it is clear that their sub-collectors did not.

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<sup>15</sup> See Chapter 8.

<sup>16</sup> E.g.. Allertonshire, which was jurisdictionally part of Durham diocese, but which appears on the 1381 York enrolments, E179/63/12 m. 9.

A comparison of the names of the beneficed on the enrolments with those known from other sources showed that 94% of the names on the sampled enrolments were also to be found in parochial *fasti*. The equivalent figure for the 1379 Durham enrolment was 50% and for Carlisle (omitting the fabricated sections) was 82%. The York and Carlisle figures must give the historian a great deal of confidence in the accuracy of these enrolments of the beneficed parochial clergy. The Durham figures seem somewhat disappointing, but it should be remembered that this type of comparison is very dependent on the quality of information available to check names.

An examination of the appearances of the unbeneficed found that the format of the enrolment was important in determining what could be found out <sup>17</sup>. For some areas it was only possible to give simple figures, totals and averages, though it should always be borne in mind that it is not possible to confirm the completeness of the enrolments of the unbeneficed. Where the unbeneficed were enrolled apparently in their home parishes it may be possible to produce an analysis of the unbeneficed on a parish-by-parish basis, but it was discovered that this style of enrolment can be misleading. It was found that it is necessary to consider a number of factors including the exact jurisdiction of the collector, the completeness of the enrolment, the number of parishes served by stipendiaries, and the level of urbanisation before deciding whether or not it is reasonable to assign individual clergymen to particular parishes.

This examination of the clerical poll tax enrolments from the York province has found that, although the first of them to be examined had been partly fabricated, this seems to have been unusual. The fabrication itself was limited in scope and perhaps

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<sup>17</sup> See Chapter 9.

misguided rather than fraudulent in intention. As far as it was possible to tell, the other poll tax enrolments were found remarkably reliable. It would thus seem reasonable to conclude that the historian can have a great deal of confidence in the York province poll tax enrolments as sources for a variety of aspects of late fourteenth century church life, though the information they contain needs to be put into context using other sources. Clearly individual poll tax enrolments need to be checked carefully, because the opportunity for fabrication or omission of taxpayers was great, but there can be little doubt that the best of these enrolments are outstanding sources and deserve the serious attention of scholars.

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