PAROCHIAL VICARAGES IN LINCOLN DIOCESE DURING THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

By

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Bachelor of Arts

Oklahoma State University

Stillwater, Oklahoma

1976

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
May, 1979

Name: Patrick Bruce McGuigan Date of Degree: May 12, 1979

Institution: Oklahoma State University

Location: Stillwater, Oklahoma

Title of Study: PAROCHIAL VICARAGES IN LINCOLN DIOCESE DURING THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Pages in Study: 101 Candidate for Degree of Master of Arts

Major Field: History

Scope and Method of Study: The aim of this study was to examine conditions in the parochial vicarages of Lincoln Diocese during the thirteenth century. Changes in the vicarage system were made due to the reforming efforts of the Bishops of Lincoln: Hugh of Welles, Robert Grosseteste, Richard Gravesend, and Oliver Sutton. Primary source materials in the form of bishops' registers and episcopal letters provided the bulk of the information utilized in this study, although other primary materials were also used. Modern authorities were consulted to aid in understanding the effects of inflation on church values and vicaral income.

Findings and Conclusions: The analysis indicated that because of the efforts of Lincoln's bishops, major reforms in the administration of vicarages were brought about by the end of the century. However, in a significant number of cases severe problems remained. Despite the best intentions of the four bishops, their diocese was only part of a much larger system designed for the convenience of wealthy church and secular officials. As of 1300 the parochial system in Lincoln diocese was still, in many ways, corrupt.

ADVISOR'S APPROVAL John Paul Bischoff

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PREFACE

In the year 1215, Pope Innocent III called together the leaders of the western church for the fourth Lateran Council. At this critical church meeting the parochial reforms of the previous century were incorporated into formal church law. Pope Innocent III demanded that sufficient portions of churches under monastic control be set aside for permanent vicars or resident rectors. Despite the edicts of the council, abuses of the parochial vicarage system continued throughout England. However, in the diocese of Lincoln, four diligent bishops made a serious and admirable effort to reform the administration of churches. The failure of these sustained efforts provides an interesting insight into the problems of the church in England during the thirteenth century.

I wish to express my deep appreciation for the guidance and assistance provided by my major advisor, Dr. John Paul Bischoff. I also wish to thank Dr. Neil J. Hackett and Dr. George F. Jewsbury for their valuable assistance during the last three years, and their advice in the preparation of the final manuscript.

I also wish to thank Mr. Terry Basford of the inter-library loan staff, and Mr. Patrick McLaughlin of the

reference staff. Marie Dashbasch of the microfilm and microfiche staff provided valuable help and encouragement in the course of this study.

Finally, I thank my wife Pamela for her support of my work. She typed and proofread the final copies of this thesis.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE ORIGIN AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE VICARAGE SYSTEM IN THE DIOCESE OF LINCOLN, ENGLAND

The thirteenth century was the most critical era in the development of the vicarage system in England. Although there were instances of vicars serving churches in the twelfth century, the most significant developments came after the Lateran Council IV in 1215.[1] Many studies have been made on the origins of this system for the whole of England. However, there is a need for more specific knowledge of the local vicarages.

This study will examine the parochial vicars of Lincoln Diocese during the thirteenth century. It will be shown that because of the efforts of the bishops of Lincoln, significant improvement had come for the vicars of many churches. Nevertheless severe problems remained in 1299. Many vicars were not adequately compensated for their work, and various clerical abuses continued at the end of the century.

The basis for research has been laid by previous scholars, but the publication of all the extant episcopal

registers and memoranda for Lincoln diocese in the thirteenth century has made possible a more specific study. The registers were records of a bishop's appropriations of churches, his institutions of rectors and vicars to benefices, and occasionally other matters.

The registers of Bishop Hugh of Welles (1209-1235) proved particularly useful.[2] Bishop Hugh organized the diocese of Lincoln in a thorough manner that served as a model for his successors. The registers served as a catalog of this organization. When the bishop appropriated (assigned the income and other benefits) a church to a monastic house, his registrar recorded the names of the church and its rector, as well as the representative of the house. Later, when the vicarage was set out, the value of the church was recorded as well as specific directions as to who was to receive what benefits. These entries provided information essential to the understanding of the vicarage system.

Bishops Robert Grosseteste (1235-1253) and Richard Gravesend (1258-1279) kept similarly detailed registers.[3] In addition to his voluminous registers, the memoranda of Bishop Oliver Sutton (1280-1299) are extant.[4] The memoranda gave details of parochial life which were absent in the somewhat formulaic registers. The memoranda recorded moments in the everyday lives of vicars and their parishioners. This information provided extremely useful insights into the church life of the thirteenth century.

Besides the episcopal registers, two valuations of church properties in the thirteenth century have been edited and published. In 1926, W. E. Lunt completed his editorial work on the 1254 Valuation of Norwich, and it remains the most definitive valuation for the era.[5] For the purposes of taxation, Pope Nicholas IV ordered a valuation of the churches in England and Wales in 1291. This extensive survey of church values, known as Taxatio Ecclesiastica, was carried out under the partial direction of Bishop Oliver Sutton. Publication of this important document was completed in the early part of the nineteenth century.[6]

The letters of Bishop Grosseteste were collected and edited by H. R. Luard during the nineteenth century. These letters proved of great value in discussing church reform during the thirteenth century.[7]

The work of three recent historians proved particularly helpful in the development of this study. R. A. R. Hartridge's A History of the Vicarages in the Middle Ages remains the most readable and insightful study of English vicarages in medieval times. The recent works of economic historians D. L. Farmer and Michael Prestwich were essential in developing an understanding of inflation in the thirteenth century.[8]

The work was made difficult by the magnitude of material which had to be consulted.[9] However, through the use of the registers and the two major valuations, it was

possible to arrive at some conclusions as to the vicar's role in the church and society of his day.

Before defining the vicar's role, it is necessary to trace the origins of the vicarage as an institution and the general situation of the English church before the Lateran Council of 1215. The effort to correct the worst abuses of the clergy had a long history in the Church as a whole and in England in particular. Other than simony, the most serious problems faced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were clerical marriage and lay control of ecclesiastical benefices.[10] The second problem was closely connected with the larger lay investiture dispute.

Although clerical marriage was always opposed in the western church, it was a constant abuse that was difficult to eliminate. In England, Archbishop Oda faced the problem in 942: "those in holy orders . . . should observe the celibacy befitting their estate."[11] During the reign of King Ethelred, Bishop Wulfstan felt so strongly on the subject that he addressed to the clergy a rare warning in the vernacular.[12] After the Norman Conquest, Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester (1062-1095) cooperated on this issue with William the Conqueror's Archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc.[13] In the late eleventh century, Urban II forbade priests' sons to inherit their fathers' benefices.[14] The canons of the Council of London in 1102 included the statement "no archdeacon, priest, deacon, or canon shall take a wife, or if he takes one retain her."[15] At the

Lateran Council I in 1123, a strict prohibition on marriage was ordered. Just sixteen years later at the Lateran Council II, parishioners were forbidden to attend any masses said by married clergymen.[16] Despite such strict church rulings, Bishop Robert Chesney of Lincoln allowed the son of the parson of Edlesborough to inherit part of his father's benefice.[17]

The problem persisted throughout the twelfth century. Indeed, it was serious enough that Pope Alexander III directed ten chapters of de filiis presbytorum ordinandis vel non[18] specifically to the church in England. All the chapters dealt with clerical marriage and its resulting abuses.[19] Although clerical marriages did not frequently appear in the thirteenth century bishops' registers, they were at least frequent enough to obstruct the bishops' reforming efforts.[20]

In the early Norman period, a parish priest was often little more than the "man" of the lord of the manor on which his church was located.[21] The Norman lords controlled not only the priest, but also the church and its fruits.[22] They often granted tithes to clerics of their own choosing, and the lord's right of advowson (presentment) to his manorial church was nearly universal. During the later eleventh and early twelfth centuries this situation altered somewhat. Many lords donated the tithes of churches under their control to one of the great monastic houses, or in some cases, one of the collegiate

churches. Gaining the tithes and other income of a church made the monastic community corporate rector of the parish. The community served its churches through a cleric, a stipendary priest, or a member of their own house.[23]

Grants of church land and tithes acquired permanence when the twelfth century popes and kings confirmed them.[24] Undoubtedly the grants were often given for pious reasons. Many of the knights and lords wished to have their souls remembered in the prayers of the monks. Others gave up the churches in return for a retirement corrody, an allowance of room and board in their last years. However, most of the grants were made, ironically, under episcopal pressure. During the twelfth century, "lay ownership (of churches) became mere patronage."[25] Still a number of churches remained at least partially in lay control. The church of Thorganby was partially held until the fourteenth century by lay patrons.[26] The wealthy church of Rotherham in the Diocese of York was held by both Clairvaux Abbey and a wealthy local family.[27]

The bishops of England as a whole supported this on-going process of appropriation of churches to monastic control.[28] However, eventually they faced as great, if not a greater, threat to their episcopal authority when the monastic houses claimed exemption from the bishops' authority not only for themselves, but also for the parish churches appropriated to them. Often papal bulls supported these claims of exemption. As a result, during the

thirteenth century there were efforts by the bishops of Lincoln to take parish churches out of monastic control and to bring them under episcopal control.

In addition to the English church's problems with clerical marriage and lay patronage, there was another, eventually more damaging abuse. This was the practice of assigning more than one ecclesiastical benefice to certain favored clergymen. Pluralism promoted many royal, episcopal, and papal goals, some laudatory. The king might gain the rectories of several particularly wealthy churches for one of his advisors. A bishop might assign not only a prebend (a stipend allotted from the revenues of a cathedral or collegiate church), but also a parish church to a favored relative. Popes often granted dispensations for pluralism to members of their inner circle. This practice seemed inevitably corrupting, but normally an attempt was made to insure that the care of souls did not suffer. Many churches in the patronage of the larger monasteries remained unappropriated in the thirteenth century so that the monks might assign numerous livings to their non-monastic friends.[29] In 1215, the Lateran Council IV's canon De Multa (Concerning Pluralities) forbade the practice of pluralism,[30] but it continued because it was so profitable and in fact indispensable to many lay and episcopal powers in England. Although pluralism did not disappear, an honest effort was made to support the care of souls. Since the pluralist was absent, someone needed to

care for the parish in his place. The need for a resident curate led to the development of the vicarage system in the thirteenth century. It should be noted that pluralism was not always a pernicious factor in the church's life. Pluralism often meant a rich life style, but it could also represent an attempt by a poor rural cleric to make a sufficient living serving two poor churches.[31] Also, many young scholars of the Church were supported in their university studies by being made the rectors of several churches by their bishops.

As early as 1102, the Synod of Westminster declared that churches could not be appropriated without the approval of the bishops.[32] This seems to indicate not only the bishops' stewardship of their own episcopal rights, but also an early, sincere concern for the effect appropriation might have on the care of souls. The Lateran Council of 1123 forbade monks "to serve as priests in parish churches owned by the convent."[33] The real problem was not the monks serving as curates, a relatively rare occurrence, but the pitiful stipends the monastic houses paid to those secular clerics who did serve the churches.[34]

The gradual definition of the vicarages was given further impetus by Pope Alexander III. To prevent vicars from becoming pluralists, he forbade them to serve in more than one parish.[35] After the Council of Lateran III (1179), the vicar was answerable for his clerical duties only to his bishop.[36] The Council of London (1200) ordered

that "a vicar should be instituted by the bishop in every church appropriated to religious."[37]

In the diocese of Lincoln, the systematic ordination and endowment of vicarages began earlier than in any other region of England. As early as 1163-1168, Bishop Robert of Chesney appropriated a church to Bardney Abbey and was careful to provide a fair income for the resident priest.[38] St. Hugh of Lincoln established the vicarage of Swynford, Lincolnshire, in 1200.[39] Later, William of Blois forced Augustinian canons of Dunstable to provide the vicar of Pullokeshull, Buckinghamshire "with the altar dues, ten acres of land, and a third of the tithes."[40]

These early developments were given substance and strength at the Lateran Council of 1215, the most important one for the development of the vicarage system. Pope Innocent III denounced those who mistreated or underpaid their vicars, and he demanded that sufficient portions of all appropriated churches be set aside for permanent vicars, if the rector could not reside.[41] Early in his pontificate, Honorius III required residence in the parish being served, and advancement of the vicar to the priesthood.[42] In addition, the Council of Oxford (1222) required that a minimum of five marks yearly be paid to the permanent vicars.[43] Thus by the first quarter of the thirteenth century, the basis for the vicarage system in Lincoln Diocese had been laid.

FOOTNOTES

[1]R. A. R. Hartridge, A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages (Cambridge: 1940), pp. 30, 34.

[2]W. P. W. Phillimore, ed., Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, Episcopi Lincolniensis, 1209-1235, Volumes I-III (Lincoln, England: 1912-1914). Hereafter referred to as Hugh of Welles.

[3]F. N. Davis, ed., Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste Episcopi Lincolniensis necnon Rotulus Henrici de Lexington (Lincoln, England: 1914). Hereafter referred to as Rotuli Grosseteste; F. N. Davis, ed., Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend Episcopi Lincolniensis, 1258-1279 (Lincoln, England: 1922). Hereafter referred to as Gravesend.

[4]Rosalind M. T. Hill, ed., The Rolls and Registers of Bishop Oliver Sutton, 1280-1299, Volumes I-III (Lincoln, England: 1948-1954). Hereafter referred to as Sutton; Rosalind M. T. Hill, ed., The Rolls and Registers of Bishop Oliver Sutton, 1280-1299, Volumes IV-VI (Hereford Times Limited: 1958-1969). Hereafter referred to as Sutton; Rosalind M. T. Hill, ed., The Rolls and Registers of Bishop Oliver Sutton, 1280-1299, Volume VII (London: 1975). Hereafter referred to as Sutton.

[5]W. E. Lunt, The Valuation of Norwich (Oxford: 1926). Hereafter referred to as The Valuation of Norwich.

[6]Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae, Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, circa A. D. 1291 (London: 1802, 1834). Hereafter referred to as Taxatio.

[7]H. R. Luard, ed., Robert Grosseteste's Episcopi quondam Lincolniensis Epistolae (London: 1861). Hereafter referred to as Epistolae Grosseteste.

[8]D. L. Farmer, "Grain Price Yields on the Winchester Manors in the Later Middle Ages," Economic History Review (second series), XXX (1977), pp. 555-566; D. L. Farmer, "Livestock Price Movements in the Thirteenth Century," Economic History Review (second series), XXII (1969), pp. 1-16; D. L. Farmer, "Some Grain Price Movements in the Thirteenth Century," Economic History Review (second

series), X (1957-1958), pp. 207-220; D. L. Farmer, "Some Price Fluctuations in Angevin England," Economic History Review (second series), IX (1956-1957), pp. 34-43; Michael Prestwich, "Edward I's Monetary Policies and their Consequences," Economic History Review (second series), XXII (1969), pp. 406-416.

[9]P. A. Bill, "The Warwickshire Parish Clergy in the Later Middle Ages," Dugdale Society Occasional Papers, #17 (Oxford: 1967), p. 4.

[10]Z. N. Brooke, The English Church and the Papacy from the Conquest to the Reign of John (Cambridge: 1968), p. 25.

[11]R. R. Darlington, "Ecclesiastical Reform in the Later Old English Period," English Historical Review, LI (1936), p. 405.

[12]Ibid., p. 406.

[13]Ibid., p. 394.

[14]A benefice was an ecclesiastical office and the revenue attached to it. C. N. L. Brooke, "Clerical Marriages in England," Cambridge Historical Journal, XII (1956), p. 3.

[15]David Wilkins, ed., Concilia Magnae Brittanniae et Hiberniae a Synodo Verolamiensi (London: 1737) Volume I, p. 382. I owe this translation to Darlington, "Ecclesiastical Reform," p. 407. Hereafter referred to as Concilia.

[16]Philip Hughes, The Church in Crisis (New York: 1961), pp. 196, 198, 199.

[17]F. M. Stenton, "Acta Episcoporum," Cambridge Historical Journal, III (1929-1931), p. 5.

[18]Translation is: "Whether the sons of priests should be ordained or not."

[19]Z. N. Brooke, "The Effect of Beckett's Murder on Papal Authority in England," Cambridge Historical Journal, II (1926-1928), p. 222.

[20]H. G. Richardson, "The Parish Clergy of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (third series), VI, p. 122.

[21]R. A. R. Hartridge, A History of Vicarages, p. 3.

[22]The fruits were in essence the profits of a church, derived from the tithes and various oblations due to the priest or other cleric holding the benefice.

[23]Edward L. Cutts, Parish Priests and their People in the Middle Ages in England (London: 1896) pp. 96-97.

[24]R. A. R. Hartridge, A History of Vicarages, p. 28. cf. W. W. Capes, The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (London: 1909), p. 296.

[25]J. H. Denton, "Royal Supremacy in Ancient Demesne Churches," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXII (1971), p. 290.

[26]A. Hamilton Thompson and Charles Travis Clay, eds., Fasti Parochiales (Yorkshire, England: 1943), p. xv.

[27]Ibid., p. 37.

[28]Z. N. Brooke, The English Church and the Papacy, p. 187.

[29]A. H. Thompson, The English Clergy and Their Organization in the Later Middle Ages (Oxford: 1947), p. 105.

[30]W. W. Capes, The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, p. 22.

[31]An example of such an impoverished vicar serving two churches was found at Bilsby Holy Trinity and Bilsby St. Mary in the diocese of Lincoln. Gravesend, p. 42. see also William A. Pantin, The English Church in the Fourteenth Century (Cambridge: 1955), p. 38.

[32]Concilia, I, p. 383. cf. W. R. W. Stephens, The English Church from the Norman Conquest to the Accession of Edward I, 1066-1272 (London: 1909), p. 294.

[33]G. H. Cook, The English Medieval Parish Church (London: 1954), p. 41.

[34]R. A. R. Hartridge, A History of Vicarages, p. 25.

[35]Ibid., pp. 19-20.

[36]E. L. Cutts, Parish Priests and their People, p. 96.

[37]Egerton Beck, "Regulars and their Appropriated Churches in Medieval England," Catholic Historical Review, IX (1923-1924), p. 211.

[38]F. M. Stenton, "Acta Episcoporum," p. 6.

[39]E. L. Cutts, Parish Priests and their People, p. 101.

[40]Ibid., p. 102.

[41]R. A. R. Hartridge, A History of Vicarages, p. 21.

[42]Ibid., p. 20.

[43]There were 240 pence in a pound. In the Latin documents, pence were denarii, and are abbreviated "d." throughout this text. There were 12 pence in a shilling. Shillings were solidorum, abbreviated "s.". There were twenty shillings in a pound sterling, abbreviated "£". The mark, abbreviated "m." was often used in ecclesiastical transactions. It was worth 13 s. 4 d.

CHAPTER II

THE DUTIES AND BURDENS OF PAROCHIAL VICARS

In order to understand the vicars and their lives, it is necessary to understand the duties and burdens which they sustained as a condition of holding their benefices. The most essential burdens were usually referred to as the "ordinary" burdens. A cleric instituted to a vicarage was required to reside at his church by the definition of the vicarage itself. The Council of Oxford in 1222 ruled that no one could be admitted to a vicarage unless he personally resided at the church. They further required that the resident vicar must proceed within a short time to the priesthood, if he had not already.[1]

In addition to residence, the vicar normally bore another burden to support at his own expense any chaplains, clerks, cleaners, holy-water bearers (aquebajulus) or other ministers as necessary for the adequate care of a church.[2] Some of the poorer vicars could not support any assistants. However, Bishop Grosseteste considered a staff of resident rector, vicar, deacon and subdeacon essential for most parishes.[3] Such a large staff was extremely rare,

although quite often a resident vicar was assisted by a deacon or other cleric. Vicars were also supposed to bear the sinodals, tributes in money or in kind paid to a bishop or archdeacon when he visited a parish. At first the sinodals were the most common burden borne by the vicars.

Many other expenses were considered "extraordinary." In the thirteenth century, appropriation of churches was so common that it led to a new kind of financial burden. In 1287, the Constitutions for the diocese of Exeter gave legal sanction to a common practice of requiring the rector to pay for the construction and repair of a church's chancel. At the same time, it assigned the responsibility for the nave to the parishioners.[4] Other extraordinary burdens often borne by rectors included the provisions of lights, vestments, service books, and other ornaments of the church.[5] Rectors also usually paid the procurations, another form of archdiaconal fee due at the time of visitations. Often the rectors were ordered in ordination documents to provide a home for the vicar and/or his assistants. These extraordinary burdens tended, with the passage of time, to shift from the rectors to the vicars, despite the efforts of many bishops. During the thirteenth century, the episcopal records for Lincoln diocese showed that many different combinations of the above burdens were assigned to vicars and rectors.

Examples of the normal division of duties and burdens can be found in the Bishops' registers. At the vicarage of

Asthill, Oxfordshire, the vicar Othuel, presented by the monks of Ivry in Normandy, bore all the ordinary burdens except procurations, which were borne by the monks.[6] A somewhat different ordination was found for Burgh-on-Bain, Lincolnshire, where Ralph de Keleb' was responsible for sinodals only, while the convent of Nuncotham in Brocklesby was to provide Ralph with land for a house, and was to bear the procurations and all other ordinary and extraordinary burdens.[7] At Stamford St. Andrew's in Lincolnshire, the vicar Thomas of Stamford sustained all the ordinary burdens, while he shared the extraordinary burdens with the nuns of St. Michael's Priory.[8] Similar sharing of the burdens existed at King's Cliff, Northamptonshire,[9] Hameldon, Northamptonshire,[10] and Barnetby, Lincolnshire. At this last church Roger of Dalton bore the sinodals and procurations, while the rectors (Newstead-on-Ancholme priory) cared for the other burdens. As part of his ordinary burdens, Roger paid the Letare Jerusalem, a payment to the archdeacon due every year at mid-lent.[11]

A less common, but nonetheless balanced division of expenses was found at Green's Norton, Northamptonshire, where the vicar paid the sinodals and repaired the books and other ornaments of the church, while the resident rector sustained all the episcopal and archdiaconal dues.[12]

At other churches the rectors and vicars split the burdens in varying proportions. At Scraptoft, Leicester,

the Prior and convent of Coventry held all the ordinary burdens, and shared the extraordinary burdens in a proportion of two to one with the vicar, William the chaplain.[13]

In 1270 at Belton, Leicester, Gracedieu Priory sustained all the ordinary burdens, but split the extraordinaries with the vicar, Alexander, half and half.[14] At Padbury, Buckinghamshire, the convent of Brackwell Priory sustained all the ordinary burdens and procurations, but the sinodals were the responsibility of John Norton, the vicar and priest. The extraordinary burdens were borne in a proportion of two to one.[15] The same proportion was ordained in a vicarage established by Bishop Sutton in 1286. At Thorpe Mandeville, Northamptonshire, the convent of Daventry bore all the ordinary burdens and half of the extraordinary burdens. John of Daventry bore the other half as vicar.[16]

There are some instances, not very common, of the rector bearing virtually all the delineated burdens mentioned in the entry. The monks of Sempringham were ordered to bear all the burdens of the church at Billingborough, Lincolnshire. No mention is made of the vicar having to bear sinodals, so apparently this was the rector's duty.[17] An entry in the register of Bishop Grosseteste is a bit more specific, placing all the burdens on the rectors, the priory of Humberston, and in addition allowing a corrody for the vicar of Humberston and his deacon.[18] At Loughborough, Leicester, Thomas de Turvill, the resident

rector, bore all the burdens.[19] In the neighboring diocese of York, Bretton Priory bore all the burdens of the church at Royston, Doncaster.[20]

At Witham-On-the-Hill, Lincolnshire, the vicar Thomas de Burgo apparently bore all the burdens.[21] The only burden borne by the appropriating abbey of Crowland at Whappelode vicarage in Lincolnshire was to provide a competent house. However, after the death of the vicar Simon, his successors had to bear all the ordinary burdens episcopal and archdiaconal. The vicars had to acquire all the books, vestments, and ornaments of the church, and they had to make any future repairs to the chancel.[22]

During the course of the thirteenth century the parochial clergy bore more and more taxes as a duty of their clerical status. As early as 1199, Pope Innocent III exacted a fortieth of clerical income for the crusades.[23] The Lateran Council ordered a twentieth in 1215, also for the Crusades.[24] Based on these precedents, the parochial vicars were taxed increasingly by the popes. The most onerous taxation of all came in the 1290s. All the clergy paid a tenth of their income to the Pope under the Taxatio Ecclesiastica of 1291. As payments on this tenth were continuing, King Edward I ordered a clerical moiety, or one-half of all clerical income for 1296. Under pressure from the Pope, Edward I lifted the moiety and was granted a tenth for several years.[25]

The vicars had many other duties besides the finance-related obligations discussed above. As early as 1279, Archbishop Peckham of Canterbury ordered rectors and vicars to attend synods four times a year in the archdeaconries.[26] The bishops applied this concept of local conclaves down even to the level of the deaneries. For instance, Bishop Sutton sent a mandate to the dean of Calceworth in January of 1295. He ordered all the parochial vicars, rectors, and chaplains of the deanery who could come together to do so near Swaby, and to speak before him so that he could determine whether or not they were carrying out their duties.[27]

In certain instances, the vicars were appointed by their bishops to serve as coadjutors for fellow vicars, or in some cases for rectors who were indisposed. Unfortunately, memoranda such as that kept by Bishop Sutton are not available for the entire thirteenth century. Sutton's records give a glimpse of what must have been a fairly common practice. At Notley on June 4, 1290, the bishop made Thomas Laxton the coadjutor of John, the vicar of Caddington, who was unable to perform his duties.[28] Sutton gave evidence of a certain generosity of spirit in appointing the coadjutors for two vicars, one who was incurably ill,[29] and another who was paralyzed.[30] This sort of work, while necessary, could make the precarious finances of the typical vicar even more unsure. In August of 1295, the vicar of Stoke Poges, Buckinghamshire, was released from his service as coadjutor to the vicar

of Beaconsfield. He had served as coadjutor for more than a year and nine months, and had spent fifteen and one-half pence more than his pay.[31] There was an earlier example of such an appointment using the word coadjutoris. In Hugh of Welles time, Lambert of Bradham was presented to the vicarage of Melton Ross, Lincolnshire and required to have with him a coadjutor, because he (Lambert) was old and feeble.[32]

It was also considered a duty of the parochial clergy of all stations to advance in education. Clerical illiteracy was much criticized at the time. In the introduction to Hugh of Welles registers, W. P. W. Phillimore pointed out how seldom those presented to ecclesiastical benefices were well educated. In Stowe archdeaconry, out of eighty-five presentations, forty-five were chaplains, twelve were described as clerics, and only six as masters. Table I gives the figures for the other archdeaconries.[33]

TABLE I

EDUCATION OF CLERICS PRESENTED TO ECCLESIASTICAL BENEFICES

Archdeaconry	Presentations	Masters
Northamptonshire	251	20
Buckinghamshire	128	5
Huntforshire	72	10
Bedfordshire	106	9
Lincolnshire	410	37
Oxfordshire	156	13

Another duty often performed by the vicars was to serve as witnesses to, or enforcers of, the wills of their parishioners and fellow clergymen. In 1292, Bishop Sutton appointed the vicar of Bilsby to serve with the sub-prior of Markby and remove the executors of a will of the late rector of Beesby-in-the-Marsh.[34] A similar duty was assigned to Master Thomas, vicar of Moulton, later in the same year.[35] Such examples abound in Sutton's memoranda.

A unique duty assigned to only a few vicars was that given to Robert, vicar of Upton, by Bishop Sutton. Robert and Geoffrey, rector of little Carleton, were assigned to hear the confessions of clergymen in the deanery of Lawres, and to grant absolution except in such cases as were reserved by canon law for a higher authority.[36]

An extremely unusual duty was found in 1292. Warner, the vicar of Hanslope, was appointed by Bishop Sutton to serve as the Master of Studley Priory. Apparently he said mass and gave the sacraments for the nuns of the priory.[37]

Most of the burdens and duties discussed up to this point were of a financial or special nature. In theory the whole reason for a vicar's appointment was that he might care for the souls of his parishioners. To do this he was expected to carry out the essential duties of visiting the sick and the dying, of administering the sacraments of baptism, communion, confession, marriage and last rites, and in general, of ministering to the spiritual needs of his people.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Concilia, I, p. 587.

[2] R. A. R. Hartridge, A History of Vicarages, p. 130.

[3] W. R. W. Stephens, The English Church from the Norman Conquest to the Accession of Edward I, 1066-1272, p. 301, note 1.

[4] Concilia, II, p. 138.

[5] A. H. Thompson, The English Clergy and their Organization in the Later Middle Ages, p. 117.

[6] Hugh of Welles, II, p. 2.

[7] Hugh of Welles, III, p. 60.

[8] Rotuli Grosseteste, p. 32.

[9] Ibid., p. 181.

[10] Gravesend, p. 123.

[11] Sutton, I, p. 18.

[12] Rotuli Grosseteste, p. 183.

[13] Gravesend, p. 148. cf. Davis' introduction, p. xix.

[14] Ibid., p. 151.

[15] Ibid., p. 251.

[16] Sutton, II, pp. 57, 51.

[17] Hugh of Welles, II, p. 78. cf. R. A. R. Hartridge, A History of Vicarages, p. 44.

[18] Rotuli Grosseteste, pp. 48-49.

[19] Ibid., p. 406.

[20]They received all the church's income, bore all the burdens, and paid twenty-five marks a year to the perpetual vicar. A. Hamilton Thompson and Charles Travis Clay, eds., Fasti Parochiales, Volume II (York, England: 1943), p. 44.

[21]Hugh of Welles, III, p. 173.

[22]Gravesend, p. 34. The monastic rectors were ordered to provide "a competent house", meaning a structure which met at least the bare essentials, i.e. a roof which did not leak, sturdy walls, etc. Such orders from the bishops to corporate rectors were common.

[23]Valuation of Norwich, p. 10.

[24]Ibid., p. 14.

[25]Edward I actually used the money for his war against the Scots in 1298-1299. see W. E. Lunt, "Collector's accounts for the Clerical Tenth, 1296-1302," English Historical Review, XXXI (1916), pp. 102-119.

[26]Sutton, III, p. xxx.

[27]Sutton, V, p. 51.

[28]Sutton, III, p. 5.

[29]Ibid., p. 15.

[30]Ibid., p. 200. see also Sutton, IV, pp. 82, 86.

[31]Sutton, V, p. 115.

[32]Hugh of Welles, p. 120.

[33]Ibid., p. xv.

[34]Sutton, IV, p. 11.

[35]Ibid., p. 26.

[36]Ibid., p. 45.

[37]Ibid., pp. 44, 54.

CHAPTER III

REFORM OF PAROCHIAL VICARAGES IN THE DIOCESE OF LINCOLN

The bishops of Lincoln continued the reform movement begun in the tenth and eleventh centuries to the best of their abilities. They pushed for fair treatment of the vicars and other lesser clergymen at a time when many prelates seemed content to hold multiple benefices themselves, or to spend lavishly on entertainment for the king or papal legates. Of course, the four bishops required dedication to the care of souls on the part of their clergymen. The best efforts of these reformers led to some improvements. However, in many ways the condition of the vicarages in the diocese of Lincoln was still poor in 1299. G. G. Coulton said that the church in England was less pure in 1299 than in 1215. This statement might be applied to certain aspects of the situation in Lincoln diocese.[1] In fact, those improvements that came were in some ways not only the result of genuine zeal for reform, but also the result of the bishops' concern to secure their own power.

In their efforts, the bishops of Lincoln often met opposition from their own cathedral chapter. Before his

death in 1215, Pope Innocent III had upheld the rights of English bishops in parish churches, even those under indirect papal exemptions.[2] The cathedral chapter of Lincoln nevertheless claimed exemption from episcopal control or dues of any kind. According to the document Dignitates Libertates et consuetudines recorded in the Black book for 1214, even the laymen within a prebendal parish were subject to capitular and not episcopal control.[3] This "custom" was the cause of much strife between the chapter and Bishop Grosseteste in the second quarter of the century. The chapter guarded its "rights" jealously for financial reasons. There were many churches like the small church at Hibaldstowe. This was not even a prebend of the cathedral chapter, but the chapter did receive all the tithes of wheat. In addition, the subdean and two other members of the chapter received pensions of one-half mark yearly.[4] It is much to their credit that the bishops of Lincoln continually sought to provide an adequate income for the vicars of such churches as Hibaldstowe.

The abuse of pluralism was attacked sporadically, but the Lateran Council IV's canon De Multa (concerning pluralities) provided strong ammunition for the reform-minded bishops. By the early thirteenth century, it was considered part of a bishop's duty to assure a competent vicarage for those churches appropriated to monasteries.[5] Throughout the century, the papal representatives in

England gave some support to those bishops who sought to assure fair treatment for vicars.[6]

During his episcopacy, Bishop Hugh of Welles (1209-1235) approved the appropriation of churches at a much more rapid rate than his contemporaries.[7] The heavy rate of appropriation might indicate an excessive identification with monastic interests on the part of the bishop. However, he did ordain vicarages in the appropriated churches and sought to assure the proper care of the care of souls. He established approximately 300 vicarages in his diocese. His thorough organization of the diocese laid the basis for the efforts of his successors.[8]

Although Hugh did seek to protect the vicars' most crucial interests, he probably did not use episcopal powers as effectively as he could have. For example, he exercised his right of collation[9] infrequently. He might have used this effective tool to appoint well-qualified rectors and vicars to benefices. However, out of 2,132 institutions to benefices during his episcopacy, only eighty-six were collations.[10] Hugh was a forerunner of Grosseteste in the effort to appoint clergymen, rather than mere political cronies, to benefices. He instituted 804 men in higher orders and 535 in lower, usually with instructions to the latter to proceed to the priesthood.[11]

Hugh did not ordain particularly lucrative vicarages. Of 134 recorded incomes in the Liber Antiquus, twenty-one were over six marks, sixty-three were from five to six

marks, and fifty were under five marks in value.[12] Bishop Hugh of Welles did not exercise his right of episcopal visitation extensively. Although he did not actively harm the monastic interests, the Register of Wendover described him at his death as "the enemy of all religious men."[13]

No other bishop of the thirteenth century was as reform minded as Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln (1235-1253). An accomplished scholar and writer in numerous fields, he dedicated himself to his episcopal duties with an admirable fervor.

Like his immediate predecessor, Bishop Grosseteste did not often use the power of collation. Only fifty-four of 1,648 institutions were episcopal collations.[14] However, there were many instances in which the bishop refused to institute until the appropriating bodies or other rector presented an able candidate. Grosseteste instituted 1,445 men in higher orders, and only thirty-one in lower.[15] This impressive statistic is the best evidence of his concern for the training of the parochial clergy.

Grosseteste attacked the all too common life style of many of the rectors. In a letter to a clergyman sometime between 1232 and 1234 (before he became bishop), Grosseteste blasted pluralists, and those whose luxurious and licentious lives "blasphemed the name of Christ, brought the Holy Scriptures into contempt and made themselves the despicable shame of the learned and the scorn and laughing-stock of the people"[16] He told Hugh of Pateshull in 1236:

> to enquire of your conscience whether you are seeking more benefices in order that love may abound among the sheep, or in order that you yourself may be enriched at their expense, whether it is in order that you may feed the sheep by word, by example and by prayer, or in order that you yourself may be fed from their milk.[17]

Bishop Grosseteste was concerned that the quality of the parochial vicars and rectors be raised. He wrote a practical manual for their use entitled Templum Domini,[18] which covered everyday parochial duties and made suggestions for sermon topics. Like his successor Bishop Sutton, he visited many of the deaneries of his diocese, meeting with archdeacons, rectors and vicars. They were called together by his special order, so that he could determine for himself whether they were carrying out their duties.[19] Grosseteste continued to insist that parish priests know and expound their faith to the people.[20] This emphasis on the preaching function is evidence of his admiration for the mendicant friars, and of his life-long friendship with the Franciscan Adam Marsh. In his Constitutions sent to the clergy of the diocese in 1238, Grosseteste said the clergy should understand true confession and power of the sacraments and that they should frequently teach the laity in the vernacular. As he said, "Each one should have at least this simple understanding of the faith."[21] He enjoined the higher and lower clergy to say, as part of their daily parochial duties, Quicunque vult each day at prime (4 a.m.).

Although he supported an adequate education for the parochial clergy, Grosseteste believed that the care of souls should come first. Writing to a young rector in 1235, Grosseteste said he understood the young cleric's love of his studies at Paris, but he encouraged him to give up school and serve his parish. However, the bishop went on to tell the young man that if he had to study, he should make sure that the care of souls was cared for in his absence.[22]

Grosseteste was most effective in his exercise of visitation rights. Despite papal grants of exemption for the royal free chapels and the churches of the cathedral chapters, Grosseteste insisted on his right to visit such churches.[23] For most of his episcopacy, Grosseteste had a running dispute with his cathedral chapter over jurisdiction. The canons of the cathedral once actually sent orders to the vicars serving their prebends and chapels <u>not</u> to obey the Bishop or recognize his visitation.[24] Despite the wishes of the canons, Grosseteste did visit the prebendal churches in 1246.[25] Although he often disagreed with Pope Innocent IV, Grosseteste gained specific papal authority to augment vicarages and force their payment out of the revenues of rectoral livings.[26] In each parish he visited, he asked for the names of those guilty of any of the seven deadly sins, as well as adulterers, fornicators, drunkards, usurers, will-violators, and desecrators of church grounds.[27] Early in his episcopacy,

the bishop forbade the priests to allow the revelries known as "Scotales" by the common people.[28]

After assuming the episcopacy in 1236, Grosseteste moved against simoniacal abuses in a letter to all his archdeacons. He told them simony was "Contrary to both the statute and the provincial council."[29] Apparently many priests only distributed the Easter communion and other sacraments in return for money payments. He urged the archdeacons frequently to announce this to their priests.[30]

It might seem that Bishop Richard Gravesend was not as concerned with the needs of the parochial clergy as the other three bishops of Lincoln in the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, Gravesend was a good bishop by the standards of his day. He was more involved in political affairs than any of the other bishops of Lincoln except Grosseteste. As a result, Gravesend occasionally was forced to turn his attention to political rather than episcopal matters.[31]

Despite his political troubles, Gravesend did not neglect his duties as pastor of England's largest diocese. During his periods of absence, the diocese was in the able care of his assistant, Master John of Maidstone.[32] Gravesend ordained priests in every year of his episcopacy except 1271.[33]

Of the three bishops studied in detail so far, Gravesend used his power of collation most often. Eighty-one of his 1,799 institutions were collations.[34] Examining the

education of those instituted by Gravesend, Daniel Frankforter found among the rectors 187 priests, 664 deacons and sub-deacons, and 34 merely described as clerics in lower orders. Gravesend revealed a concern for the care of souls in his parishes, because among the vicars he instituted 547 priests, ninety-seven deacons, eleven sub-deacons, and no one in the lowest orders.[35] Bishop Gravesend showed an intense dedication to at least this aspect of his duties. He made efforts to improve the quality of rectors and to require their residence. They were supposed to be twenty-five years of age, to be knowledgeable and in possession of good moral character, and be in the process of obtaining the priesthood. Despite this, most rectors continued to be deacons or sub-deacons, non-resident, and pluralistic.[36] Gravesend's frequent use of collation is a hint not only of his dedication to duty, but also of his struggle with the monastic houses for control of the sources of church income. These problems were not, of course, unique to the diocese of Lincoln. Bishop Giffard of York was forced to sequestrate the church of Hooton Pagnell in order to force the vicar to reside.[37]

There are some examples of Gravesend permitting distressingly familiar abuses of a church's income. He allowed the church of Thorganby to be divided into four parts when it was appropriated to Grimsby Abbey.[38] The most noticeable defect in Gravesend's record was his sporadic episcopal visitations.[39] However, he did not

ignore this work. He carried out a thorough visitation of the archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stowe in 1275.[40]

Perhaps his most useful work was done in establishing vicarages in the prebendal churches.[41] He confirmed the ordinations of Aylebury and augmented Grosseteste's ordinations at Louth and Empingham. He made completely new ordinations and taxations of the prebendal vicarages at Asgarby, Nassington, Thame and others.[42]

Bishop Oliver Sutton strongly opposed the accelerating process of appropriations throughout his episcopacy. He once said:

> appropriations of parochial churches, by converting the fruits and profits of them to the use of religious persons, were absolutely odious to the prelates of the church, . . . nor could be tolerated but in cases of manifest poverty or other great necessity.[43]

Despite his seemingly vehement opposition to appropriations, he approved many appropriations for practical reasons. Thus in 1290 he approved the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield's request for the appropriation of the chapel of Knyveton, Derbyshire.[44] The ordination of competent vicarages was the only recourse he had to assure that appropriations did not harm the parochial care of the souls.

As for the quality of those rectors and vicars presented to benefices, Sutton generally refused institution until the candidate was at least a sub-deacon.[45] Sutton acquiesced to the growing tendency to establish private chapels within parish boundaries for the convenience of

wealthy landowners. However, he invariably made efforts to assure that the vicar or resident rector of the mother church had a steady income.[46] He forbade the chaplains of such private chapels to serve anyone except those to whom they were specifically assigned.[47]

There are numerous other examples of Sutton making efforts to help vicars, or to admonish them as needed. In 1291, he ordered the Dean of Grimsby to make the vicar of Holton le Clay, Lincolnshire, repair his home, which had become delapidated.[48] In 1295, Sutton ratified an agreement made between the chapter of Elsham and the vicar of their appropriated church. The vicar claimed his income was insufficient, and as a result of the agreement he was to receive "a toft, bread and beer for himself and a deacon, a share of the offerings and four marks as an annual stipend."[49] Although illicit liasons between vicars and their parishioners must have been common, in 1296 Sutton recorded one of the rare instances of such a liason resulting in disciplinary action. The archdeacon of Oxford was ordered "to deal with Simon vicar of Crowmarsh Gifford, who had been suspended for repeated fornication with Joan Gernun."[50]

Despite the prohibition on simony, Sutton gave commission to the Archdeacons of Bedford to "hear and settle the lawsuit between John vicar of Kingerby and Lady Anora widow of Sir John Syve, knight." Apparently the lady had not given the vicar as great a mortuary offering

as he thought was his due. Such offerings were supposed to be voluntary, but the case indicates that at least the nobility were expected to pay the dues.[51]

Sutton exercised his visitation rights frequently, keeping on the move for all of his twenty year episcopate. According to John of Scalby, Sutton even visited the cathedral chapter twice.[52]

Throughout the thirteenth century, the bishops of Lincoln sought to reform the vicarage system. It was apparent that the power of collation could be used to help the bishops in their own political struggles. However, the willingness of the bishops to use collation, visitation, and other powers did bring some improvements for the vicars of Lincoln Diocese. In addition, the bishops after Hugh of Welles seemed concerned that the vicarages were served by educated clerics with good morals. Although the vicars and the lesser clergy were still impoverished in 1300, their condition most certainly would have been worse if not for the reforms of the previous ninety-one years.

FOOTNOTES

[1]George Gordon Coulton, "Priests and People before the Reformation," Contemporary Review, XCII (1907), p. 72.

[2]J. H. Denton, "Royal Supremacy in the Ancient Demesne Churches," p. 296.

[3]Henry Bradshaw and Charles Wordsworth, Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral, Volume I (Cambridge, England: 1892), p. 37.

[4]Gravesend, pp. 90, 91.

[5]F. M. Stenton, "Acta Episcoporum," p. 2.

[6]F. M. Garlick, "The Provision of Vicars in the Early Fourteenth Century," History, XXXIV (1949), p. 17.

[7]Egerton Beck, "Regulars and their Appropriated Churches in Medieval England," p. 22.

[8]G. H. Cook, The English Medieval Church, p. 42. The large number of appropriations during Bishop Welles' episcopacy was also a reflection of the growing number of monastic houses within the diocese.

[9]When a church benefice fell vacant the rectors or patrons could draw the income to themselves until they presented a new vicar for the bishop's approval. Often monastic rectors allowed vicarages to remain vacant for several months, during which time they could draw the full church income for themselves. In such cases, Bishops could collate the benefice to themselves, i.e. the bishop could take over the rights of patron and present qualified vicars himself.

[10]A. Daniel Frankforter, "The Reformation and the Registers: Episcopal Administration of Parishes in Medieval England," Catholic Historical Review, LXIII (1977), p. 206, note 2.

[11]Ibid., p. 208.

[12]H. G. Richardson, "The Parish Clergy of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," p. 114, notes 2 and 3.

[13]"Omnium virorum religiosorum inimicus." Latin in introduction of Epistolae Grosseteste, p. xxvii.

[14]A. Daniel Frankforter, "The Reformation and the Registers," p. 206, note 2.

[15]Ibid., p. 208.

[16]Epistolae Grosseteste, p. 48. This translation is from John R. H. Moorman, Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century (Cambridge: 1955), pp. 65-66.

[17]This translation from Moorman, Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century, p. 30.

[18]H. G. Pfander, "Some medieval manuals of religious instruction in England and observations on Chaucer's parson's tale," Journal of English and German Philology, XXXV (1936), p. 245.

[19]Epistolae Grosseteste, p. 146.

[20]Dorothy M. Owen, Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire (Lincoln, England: 1971), p. 109.

[21]"habeat quoque quisque eorum saltem simplicem fidei intellectum" Epistolae Grosseteste, p. 155.

[22]Ibid, pp. 57, 59.

[23]W. R. Jones, "Patronage and Administration: the King's Free Chapels in Medieval England," Journal of British Studies, IX (1969), p. 5.

[24]Epistolae Grosseteste, p. xlii.

[25]Ibid., p. 343.

[26]Ibid., p. lxxvi.

[27]W. R. W. Stephens, The English Church from the Norman Conquest to the Accession of Edward I, p. 301.

[28]Epistolae Grosseteste, p. 72.

[29]"Contra statum tam . . . quam provincialis concilia" Ibid., p. 76.

[30]Ibid., p. 76.

[31]See Appendix A, p. 91.

[32] Gravesend, p. ix.

[33] Ibid., p. xvi.

[34] A. Daniel Frankforter, "The Reformation and the Registers," p. 206, note 2.

[35] Ibid., p. 208.

[36] Gravesend, p. xxviii.

[37] A. Hamilton Thompson and Charles Travis Clay, eds., Fasti Parochiales, Volume I (York, England: 1934) p. 145.

[38] Gravesend, p. 66. Later this church was reduced to three parts. see A. H. Thompson and Charles Travis Clay, eds., Fasti Parochiales, Volume II (York, England: 1943), p. xv.

[39] Gravesend, p. xvi.

[40] Ibid., p. xiv.

[41] Ibid., p. xx.

[42] These are discussed in detail below.

[43] J. R. H. Moorman, Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century, p. 43, citing White Kennett, Parochial Antiquities Attempted in the History of Amboschen, Burchester, etc., Volume II (1818), pp. 44-45.

[44] Other examples of such appropriations can be found. Sutton, III, p. 55.

[45] Sutton, I, p. xiii.

[46] Sutton, II, p. xiii.

[47] Sutton, III, p. lii.

[48] Ibid., p. 107.

[49] Sutton, V, p. 57.

[50] Ibid., p. 158.

[51] Ibid., p. 68.

[52] Bradshaw and Wordsworth, Statutes, II, p. lxxv.

CHAPTER IV

SOURCES OF PAROCHIAL INCOME

In their registers, the bishops of Lincoln recorded a number of different kinds of income, and innumerable ways of dividing that income between rectors and vicars. The detailed nature of these records indicated a concern on the part of the bishops to insure that the division of income was canonically correct, and, as far as possible, fair to the vicars. In many ways, the institutions made by Bishops Welles, Grosseteste, Gravesend, and Sutton indicated the accuracy of Emma Mason's observation that the parochial system of the Middle Ages was essentially a financial system.[1]

Incomes for parochial incumbents came from the two sources: a) the income, land, etc. connected with the benefice, that is, the office entered upon by the cleric; and b) spiritual dues payable to the incumbent because of his role as curate.[2] When an English bishop instituted a cleric, the cleric received two things: his office, and his rights as curate.[3] Tithes accrued to the incumbent in both categories.

The tithe system in force in England during the thirteenth century was the result of several centuries of development.[4] As discussed in the first chapter, for some

time after the coming of the Normans the disposal of tithes remained in the hands of laymen, i.e. the lords of manors with attached parish churches. However, by the thirteenth century this source of income was firmly in the control of either the monasteries or the episcopal arm of the church. Bishop Grosseteste still found it necessary to forbid churches being held in lay fee. He added: " . . . neither should they (laymen) regain the tithes."[5]

Tithes were extremely important to the beneficed clergyman. His benefice entitled him to receive a tenth of the income of all his parishioners. The land tithes were primarily of two sorts: the great tithes and the lesser tithes. The great tithes were those of the garb.[6] Wheat was the most profitable of the many grains cultivated by medieval English farmers. Occasionally this great tithe included hay or wool (especially in Lincoln diocese), but usually these were assigned to the lesser tithes.[7]

According to G. G. Coulton: "The tithes . . . constituted a land tax, income tax, and death tax far more onerous than any known to modern times, and proportionately unpopular."[8] Regardless of their popularity, the tithes entitled the rector and/or vicar to an income from all his parishioners amounting to two shillings of every pound sterling.[9]

Besides the tithe of wheat, the incumbent was entitled to the tithe on all agricultural products in his

parish. He claimed ten percent of the hay so that he might feed his own stock animals. He held rights to claim the tithe of flax,[10] a plant grown for its fiber, which could be prepared for spinning. The priest could even gain a share of the farmer's orchard, or his small family garden plot.[11] The defined tithes were innumerable: the cutting of trees, forest pastures, timber sales, profits from vineyards, fisheries, rivers, dovecots, fish-stews, all things sown, captured wild animals, hawks, wool and wine, peafowls, swans and capons, geese and ducks, lambs, eggs, rabbits, bees and their honey, profits from milk, or any hunting carried on by the farmers, and so on.[12] The collection of the tithes of such agricultural products was long established by custom. Powerful laymen could occasionally force a rector or vicar to adhere to such customs. For example, the vicar of St. Margaret's, Leicester tried to change the traditional way of collecting milk tithes from his parishioners. Bishop Sutton, after a complaint from a certain Richard Wagner, noted that "there is a . . . reasonable way to carry out the tithes of milk . . ." and that the vicar had "approved the same way" for his lifetime.[13] Therefore the Bishop ordered the vicar to refrain from making any more changes until Sutton himself could come to the parish and resolve the dispute.

Such concern for the parishioners was rather rare in the episcopal records of other dioceses. The Council of Oxford found it necessary to rule in 1222 that "no one

should deduct expenses" when figuring the tithes they owed.[14] At Chalfont St. Giles, Buckingham, the dean of Burham excommunicated a group of parishioners for denying their priest the customary offerings. Then "they presumed to add to their prior perjuries"[15] when they subsequently stole the tithes of corn and hay. As a result, the archdeacon of Buckingham and the dean of Burnham were ordered personally to excommunicate the thieves on every Sunday and feast day from the feast of St. Lawrence (August 10) until Michaelmas.[16]

With the benefice, the parochial incumbent was also entitled to a glebe, that is, the land belonging to the parish church itself, to be considered his own property as long as he held the office. For the most part, incumbents held their glebe free from feudal obligations to the local manorial lord.[17] Some resident rectors and vicars expanded their holdings by farming and renting land to tenants.[18] Outside of Lincoln diocese, in 1279 the vicar of Linton, Cambridgeshire held an acre and a half of land. On even this small acreage there were eight tenants with messuages and gardens.[19] Some vicars apparently paid feudal dues to lay lords, while others engaged in private business.[20] As pastor, each vicar or resident rector could graze his own stock not only on his glebe, but also on the common pasture land of the parish.[21]

In Chapter two, the duties of both the rectors and their vicars were discussed. It was shown that one of the

rectorial duties was to provide an adequate croft or manse (house) for the vicar. This croft was considered a part of the vicars' income. In 1295, William Golde of Barton, vicar of Elsham, made a formal agreement providing for an income from the rectors, the Prior and convent of Elsham. The vicar received a toft (land for a home), "bread and beer for himself and one deacon, as well as oblations . . . at five feast days per year and up to nine pence" at funeral masses and marriages.[22] In addition, he received four marks as an annual stipend. The significance of these oblations is discussed below.

The sources of income thus far discussed belonged to the incumbent by right of his benefice. He also held other rights because of his possession of the care of souls, i.e. the duty to minister personally to the spiritual needs of the people.

During the thirteenth century, the church exercised a noteworthy ability to discover and exploit numerous sources of income. By 1305, Archbishop Winchelsey gave approval for curates to collect tithes from even the humblest artisans. Merchants of all sorts, craftsmen, tradesmen, carpenters, smiths, stonemasons, weavers, brewers, tailors, shepherds, ploughmen, fullers, miners and quarrymen all paid their share to the parish priest.[23] Other sources of income included the tithes of limeburners, carters and brewers, and hired servants.[24] "The poet's gains are even mentioned . . ." in some parts of England.[25] While these

non-agricultural tithes were certainly lucrative to the incumbents, they were more difficult to collect than the tithes already discussed.[26]

An example of this difficulty, and the importance some vicars placed on each tithe, was found in the memoranda of Bishop Sutton. In 1296, Thomas Browning of Sutterton was excommunicated and subsequently jailed for refusing to pay one penny, his tithe of eels, to the vicar of Sutterton. He was absolved and released after making restitution through the sheriff's clerk.[27]

Perhaps the most lucrative non-agricultural tithes were the customary offerings of medieval parishioners. The care of souls gave the incumbent the right to collect voluntary offerings and fees. According to the Lateran Council IV[28] these offerings were supposed to be free will, especially those for Baptism and burials.[29] However, "already in the thirteenth century the clergy insisted on them as a right."[30] Bishop Hugh of Welles made it clear in 1219 that William of London, the vicar of Skendleby, Lincolnshire, was to receive all the oblations and obventions of his church, as well as the tithe of wool.[31]

In 1298, the rector of Barrowly was authorized to warn and if necessary to excommunicate all those parishioners of the church of Grantham who were reducing the customary offerings at churchings, funerals, and requiems.[32] This was a serious matter, for such offerings and required fees were a staple of vicaral income. In April of 1298, Bishop

Sutton found it necessary to order the dean of Holland to warn certain parishioners who had been taking away the corpse candles after services in the church of Moulton. If necessary, the dean was to excommunicate those who had sought to deprive the church of this income.[33]

In Chapter two, the duty of the vicars to witness and probate wills was noted. Depending on the size of the "estate", such a duty could be a source of income.[34] The most resented fee was probably the mortuary fee, exacted in remittance of any unpaid tithes.[35] It could consist of a heriot, or claims to a family's best stock animal. This fee was especially burdensome because the lords of the manors could also claim such death duties. Regular offerings, or oblations, were customarily made four times a year: at Christmas, Easter, the dedication day of a church, and on the feast day of the patron saint (or on All Saint's day).[36]

In theory, the income of an appropriated church was divided in this manner: approximately one-third of the total went to the vicar, and the rest went to the rector or rectors. At Bradwell, Oxfordshire (which included the chapels of Kelmstock and Holywell), the church appropriated to the Templars was worth thirty marks.[37] The vicar, John of Bradwell, received ten marks yearly from the lesser tithes, customary offerings, and a third of the tithes of wheat.[38] At Saxilby, Stowe, the income was

divided between the canons of Newhouse, who received thirteen marks, and the vicar who received seven marks.[39]

In order to achieve this canonical division of parochial income, Bishop Hugh of Welles on occasion did not reserve the great tithe of wheat for the rectors. At Haddenham, Buckinghamshire, the prior and convent of Rochester did receive all the wheat tithes of the mother church, but only a third part of the wheat tithes from the dependent chapel of Cuddington. The income from that tithe was to supplement the vicarage of Roger the Chaplain.[40]

There were many examples of churches where less than one-third of the income went to the vicar. At the same time there were a few churches where vicars actually received more than half of the church's assessed value as income.[41]

The Council of Oxford (1222) required a yearly minimum income of five marks for vicars. Naturally, this minimum was not always achieved. When churches were extremely small, the vicars, rather than the rectors, suffered. At Winwick, Huntingdon, Geoffrey of Winwick received only four marks as vicar to a church worth eight marks. It was appropriated to the prior and convent of Huntingdon. Bishop Hugh generally supported the poor vicars, but in this case Geoffrey had to bear all the burdens of the church.[42] In such cases, Bishop Hugh's registrar often noted that the vicarage was allowed to have a low value

because it was originally constituted "before the Council."[43]

The intricacies of the division of income were illustrated by the church of Boddington, Northamptonshire. There the income of the church was divided into a mediety.[44] Roger the chaplain was inducted parson into one of these medieties. Hugh of Boddington held the vicarage of the other, but only on the condition that he pay Roger a yearly pension of eight marks.[45] Even more complicated arrangements were not uncommon.

The income of parochial vicars came from varied sources. After decades of development, the tithe system extended, at least in theory, to virtually every transaction of the economy. The tithes of wheat and other agricultural products provided vicars with food and staple goods. In a time of steady upward pressure on prices, vicars turned more and more to customary sources to supplement their meager incomes. As the century progressed, vicars became more concerned to collect these "voluntary" oblations. However, in a time of inflation, these fixed oblations grew less and less able to meet the needs of the vicarage system.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Emma Mason, "The Role of the English Parishioner, 1150-1500," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXVII (1976), p. 20.

[2]This division of the sources of income is outlined by J. R. H. Moorman, Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century, pp. 110, 126.

[3]Ibid., p. 3.

[4]For the development of the tithe system in the western church, see R. A. R. Hartridge, A History of Vicarages, p. 1.

[5]"Non Aedificent de bonis ecclesiae in laico feodo . . . nec decimas reponant." Epistolae Grosseteste, p. 165.

[6]Garb, or garbarum, means a sheaf of corn, i.e. wheat.

[7]W. E. Tate, The Parish Chest (Cambridge, England: 1951), p. 134.

[8]G. G. Coulton, "Priests and People before the Reformation," Contemporary Review, XCI (1907), p. 796.

[9]J. R. H. Moorman, Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century, p. 111.

[10]Ibid., p. 117.

[11]Ibid., p. 117.

[12]This is a partial listing from the Council of Merton (1305). see Abbot Gasquet, Parish Life in Medieval England (London: 1906), p. 12.

[13]Sutton, IV, p. 143. The Latin phrase is: "quod licet de decima lactis . . . rationabilem modum decimandi . . . et vas modum hujusmodi pro vestro tempore approbastis." decimandi is a verb, to tithe, to carry out the tithe.

[14]"Nullae deducantur expensae." Concilia, I, p. 596.

[15]"pejora prioribus (ut dicutur) addere presumpserunt." Sutton, V, p. 102.

[16]Sutton, V, p. 104.

[17]J. R. H. Moorman, Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century, p. 113.

[18]H. G. Richardson, "The Parish Clergy of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," p. 108.

[19]J. H. Clapham, "A Thirteenth Century Market Town: Linton, Cambridgeshire," Cambridge Historical Journal, IV (1932-1934), pp. 196-197. A messuage was a home with its adjoining buildings, as well as a courtyard.

[20]Warren O. Ault, "The Village Church and the Village Community in Medieval England," Speculum, XLV (1970), p. 215. see also J. R. H. Moorman, Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century, p. 113.

[21]J. R. H. Moorman, Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century, p. 114.

[22]"panem et cervisiam pro ipso et uno diacono, necnon oblationes tam ad quique festa anni que ad novem denarios." Sutton, V, p. 57.

[23]A. G. Little, "Personal Tithes," English Historical Review, LX (1945), p. 69.

[24]J. R. H. Moorman, Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century, p. 119.

[25]W. W. Capes, The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, p. 262.

[26]Emma Mason, "The Role of the English Parishioner," p. 21.

[27]Sutton, V, p. 145.

[28]Philip Hughes, The Church in Crisis, p. 217.

[29]J. R. H. Moorman, Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century, p. 111.

[30]G. G. Coulton, "Priests and People", XCI, p. 800.

[31]Hugh of Welles, I, p. 132.

[32]Sutton, VI, p. 125.

[33]Ibid., pp. 87-88.

[34]G. G. Coulton, "Priests and People," p. 803.

[35]Ibid., p. 797.

[36]Abbot Gasquet, Parish Life in Medieval England, p. 82.

[37]Hugh of Welles, I, p. 183.

[38]Ibid., p. 183. see also R. A. R. Hartridge, A History of Vicarages, p. 45.

[39]Ibid., p. 200.

[40]Ibid., p. 71.

[41]Fasti Parochiales, Volume II, p. 2. see also N. H. Lawrance, ed., Fasti Parochiales, Volume III (York, England: 1967), p. 10. see Chapter Five and Appendix B below.

[42]Hugh of Welles, I, p. 194.

[43]"ante Concilium", Hugh of Welles, II, p. 70.

[44]two parts, also known as moieties.

[45]Hugh of Welles, I, p. 151.

CHAPTER V

INCREASES IN PAROCHIAL INCOME AND THE PROBLEM OF INFLATION

According to P. D. A. Harvey, the early thirteenth century was one of the three great inflationary periods of English history.[1] During the century, the crown centralized its power, and constant struggle with the barons was the result. Besides attempts to centralize administration or royal lands, the crown exerted more control over the currency.

Concerning the inflation, M. M. Postan pointed out:

> it is not at all certain that the rise in prices was due to an influx of precious metals, and it is certain that the expansion of trade was not solely due to the rise in the improvements in commercial and financial technique, all played their part in breaking up the self-sufficiency of local markets and in commercializing the economic activities of men.[1]

Despite Postan's view, it appears that the ebb and flow of bullion, and the four major recoinages during the century must have contributed to the inflation.

Wear and tear on coins contributed to currency problems. As coins simply wore out, their real value declined. In addition, it was common for merchants and peasants to clip, cut into halves and fourths, pennies

and farthings in order to make change during their transactions. This contributed to the general debasement of the coinage throughout the thirteenth century.[3]

The "short cross" coinage was begun in 1180, but in 1205 King John ordered a mutatio monetae, a major recasting of the coinage. Between 1205 and 1247, the quality of the short cross coin deteriorated and the metallic content was more and more debased.[4] The number of times this coin was recast increased the amount of coinage in circulation and fueled inflationary pressures.[5] Clipping was a major problem.

In 1247, King Henry III ordered an entirely new coinage struck. Known as the "long cross" issue, the coin was designed to correct clipping abuses. This however, failed.[6] A temporary silver shortage[7] led the King to issue a gold penny for a short time in 1252.[8]

In 1279, King Edward I ordered a new coinage. To bear the cost of reissuing, the real weight of the coins was reduced slightly. Besides a drop in the weight of the farthing, the penny dropped from 22½ to 22¼ grains in weight.[9] This first Edwardian recoinage did not debase the coinage to any extent. The weight per pound sterling actually declined from 242 pence to 243 pence. (This weight per coin difference was practically insignificant.)[10] Monetary policies which more dramatically debased the coinage became common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[11]

King Edward was able to carry out his recoinages in 1279 and 1299 because of a huge inflow of silver bullion into England. Between 1279 and 1303 £ 1,139,978 silver was minted. These high levels of coinage were not matched again for two hundred years.[12]

Despite the massive recoinage of 1279, Edward I experienced serious financial problems between 1294 and 1298 because of his war with Philip of France. Rather than debasing the coinage to make short-term profits, he chose to tax the clergy at an extremely high level.[13] The high levels of taxation caused considerable problems for the churchman. Price levels in the late 1290's fluctuated dramatically (see below) because of the "monetary disturbance" caused by Edward's heavy taxation.[14] Edward's payments to his allies and his armies between 1294 and 1298 led to the outflow of £ 350,000 in just those four years.[15]

In 1299, after the conclusion of the war with France, the King made a determined effort to ease some of the economic problems caused by his earlier policy. The main purpose of the 1299 recoinage was to convert to sterling all the foreign coins in England.[16] The recoinage did not at first radically inflate the prices in the economy because huge English wool exports brought much of the bullion back into the country or kept it in the country in the first place.[17] Eventually the effect of the increase in coinage was felt. Devastating inflation struck the economy after 1307, as prices for economic staples soared.

It was especially after 1314 that the poorer classes began to suffer.[18]

A number of scholars have studied the effects of inflation on price levels and wages during the thirteenth century. W. H. Beveridge charted detailed information relating to nine manors under the control of the Bishop of Winchester. Beveridge developed a price index for the 250 years 1200-1449, with the average prices 1300-1349 as 100. For the thirteenth century, Beveridge showed an increase in the price of oxen from 7.97 shillings each to 10.46 s. on the average. This represented a jump from sixty to seventy-nine on his price index.[19]

J. E. Thorold Rogers argued that the relative stability of the economy for the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was shown in the average price of wheat per quarter: 5 s. 10 3/4 d.[20] Beveridge showed that during the thirteenth century itself, the average price for wheat went from 4.01 shillings to 5.54,[21] representing an increase from 63 to 87 on his price index.[22]

More thorough investigations by D. L. Farmer showed that the purchase price of oxen was consistently above 10 s. from 1262 on, with the only exceptions coming in 1264, 1282, and 1288.[23] Farmer's studies showed the same pressure upwards for wheat prices. Moreover, price fluctuations on this crop from one year to the next could be dramatic. The prices in Table II were per quarter of wheat, unless otherwise indicated. Dividing the century

after 1208 into decades, the highest and lowest prices found by Farmer are given.[24]

TABLE II

WHEAT PRICES PER QUARTER

Lowest Prices		
1208-20	2 s. 3½ d.	(1213)
1221-30	2 s. 7¼ d.	(1223)
1231-40	3 s. 6 d.	(1235)
1241-50	2 s. 5½ d.	(1244)
1251-60	2 s. 11¼ d.	(1254)
1261-70	3 s. 7 d.	(1267)
1271-80	*4 s. 2¼ d.	(1278)
1281-90	2 s. 10½ d.	(1287)
1291-1300	4 s. 10 d.	(1296)

Highest Prices		
1208-20	5 s. 3 3/4 d.	(1218)
1221-30	5 s. 11 ½ d.	(1224)
1231-40	4 s. 2 3/4 d.	(1231)
1241-50	6 s. 5 d.	(1246)
1251-60	8 s. 3/4 d.	(1257)
1261-70	*6 s. 11 ½ d.	(1270)
1271-80	7 s. 4 ½ d.	(1274)
1281-90	6 s. 10 ¼ d.	(1283)
1291-1300	9 s. 2 3/4 d.	(1295)

* Signifies price per wey.

The lower end of the prices show gradual upward pressures, as do the higher price levels. The average higher prices increased from nearly six shillings in 1223 to over nine in 1295. The wrenching fluctuations of the wheat market throughout the century were best illustrated by the figure for 1295. Only eight years before the price had been only 2 s. 10½ d. As shown above, the price for 1295 was 9 s. 2 3/4 d. The price for 1296 was only 4 s. 10 d.[25] Many of the highest prices correspond to periods of famine and disease discussed below.

J. Z. Titow has shown that even within a single season, the sale price for wheat varied dramatically. For instance, in 1247 prices on the Winchester manors of Mardon and Ecchinswell varied from 5 s. to 9 s. 6 d., with the average price at 6 s. 10 d.[26]

Wool was a commodity which had particular importance in Lincoln diocese. A. R. Bridbury illustrated the rise in English wool exports between 1281 and 1310. For the decade 1281-1290, the exports were 26,856 sacks. In the first decade of the fourteenth century, the all-time high export level of 34,493 sacks was achieved.[27] At mid-century wool had been pruchased for 84 s. 4 d. per sack of 364 lbs. J. Z. Titow used this price level as an index to later price increases and decreases.[28] Until 1276, the price hovered right around the above level. However, after the huge increases in export levels beginning in 1277, wool

prices soared, remaining consistently high well into the fourteenth century.[29]

Salt showed particularly large increases in price levels. It went from an average price of 1.87 shillings per quarter in the first half of the century to 2.60 in the second half.[30] On Beveridge's index this represented an increase from 52 to 72. The truly significant increase came after the turn of the century. Between 1200 and 1350, the price of salt per quarter nearly doubled.[31]

How then does this information help in understanding the economic position of the vicars of Lincoln diocese in the thirteenth century? An understanding of the wages of laborers and vicars, and the costs of certain goods that all Englishmen needed, will help determine the vicars' place in their society. One difficulty in comparing wages is that while the vicars were paid a wage usually defined in the institution of their vicarages, the wages of laborers varied widely. Agricultural workers, for instance, were usually paid for piecework, and not by the day. Where it was possible to figure the wages of such workers, Thorold Rogers estimated a daily wage at 2 d. for men, 1 d. for women, and ½ d. for children. If a worker had two working children and a wife he might earn £ 3 15 s. in a year.[32]

Artisans such as masons, carpenters, and sawyers ranked somewhat higher on the income scale. A well paid artisan might earn 3 to 3½ d. a day.[33] If an artisan found 300 days of work in a year, he could earn from £ 3

15 s. to £ 4 7 s. 6 d.[34] Naturally any artisan working in London or for the King could earn a much higher wage.[35] P. D. A. Harvey has pointed out that those artisans employed by the crown or the wealthiest bishops did improve their pay during the thirteenth century.[36]

It has been shown that the canonical minimum wage for vicars was five marks per annum, that is 66 s. 8 d., or £ 3 6 s. 8 d. Theoretically a vicar earned at least as much in a year as a common laborer's entire family. Many vicars were officially paid as handsomely as the most fortunate of the artisans. In addition it should be kept in mind that the incomes listed for purposes of taxation in 1254 and 1291 were sometimes a deliberate underestimate.[37] In many vicarages the benefice included a corrody, or meals for the vicar and his clerics at the rector's table. For the laborer's, such a "fringe benefit", when it was included, was for beer and bread, and only for the duration of a particular job.[38]

This discussion on price levels in the thirteenth century, and the usual wage rates paid to laborers, bears directly on the understanding of church values. The data in the bishops' registers indicated that church values and vicaral income increased during the century. D. L. Farmer's information for most of England seemed to indicate that price increases were nominal, not real. For price levels as a whole this may be true. This would imply that the increases in church values only enabled vicars to keep

even. Close examination of a number of churches and vicarages in the diocese of Lincoln indicated that for some vicars this was not the case. These vicars in fact improved their positions. In others they at least kept even with the pace of inflation, which was in itself better than the lot of many workers. Indeed, the registers for Lincoln diocese seem to support J. R. R. Moorman's contention that "Poor though they were, the inferior clergy of England were better off in 1300 than they had been in 1200."[39] The evidence shows a mixed bag, and some vicars were in extremely poor shape as of 1300. After a century of episcopal efforts to imporve the lot of the vicars, there had been some improvement, but many still lived in dire poverty.

The surface evidence of improvement is misleading. Vicaral incomes were, for the most part, established by episcopal order and by custom. During periods of inflation such as those in the early thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, those who drew income from fixed (customary) sources suffered the most. Those who paid oblations to the vicars undoubtedly benefited from the fact that oblations were set by custom.[40] As general inflation struck the economy, particularly after 1305, the real value of obventions and oblations actually lessened.

What about the vicars' income from tithes? This was usually steady and at least provided the vicar with food. However, there were many years when tithes were virtually

worthless. In 1258 for instance, there were no tithes to be had, for the country was in the midst of the worst famine of the century.[41] In addition, in 1201, 1225, 1277 and 1283 murrain hit England's sheep, lowering the output of wool, and thus lowering vicaral and rectoral tithes.[42]

Another problem with the figures shown in the registers is that they often do not reflect the impact of resistance to tithes. A canonical minimum pay for vicars of five marks was certainly desirable, and in many cases it was achieved. But parishioners sometimes gave less than a tenth of their yield, resisted any payment at all, or gave their worst grain to the vicars as tithes. The archdeacon of Buckingham had to warn the parishioners of Wendover to stop their new, noncustomary methods of assessing tithes. The new method was apparently depriving the rectors of their customary income.[43] Like all clerics presented to benefices, vicars often had to pay for their presentment. This payment could be in the form of an oblation to their bishop at the time of presentment. Often, however, the pope or bishop extracted the "first fruits", that is, the first year's income of the benefice in return for his approval of a presentment. Even for the wealthier clerics, this must have been a substantial burden.

Examination of several churches in the diocese indicated increases in value. Bishop Grosseteste did not indicate the value of the church at Green's Norton, Northamptonshire when he instituted the vicar. However,

the vicarage was valued at 10 m., including the altarage of the chapel at Wittlebury.[44] Neither the vicarage nor the chapel were mentioned in the Valuation of Norwich in 1254, when the entire church was valued at £ 10.[45] By 1291, the church as a whole had doubled in value, although the vicarage was not mentioned.[46] In a church this valuable, the vicarage had probably increased at least somewhat in value.

The church at Billingborough, Lincolnshire increased slightly in value as did the vicarage in the church. Bishop Welles ordained the entire church at fourteen marks and the vicarage at five marks.[47] The church was assessed six marks higher in 1254, but the vicarage remained the same.[48] When Pope Nicholas' Taxatio Ecclesiastica was taken in 1291, the value of the whole church was, curiously, only listed as 15 m. 6 s. 8 d., but the vicar received 9 m. 6 s. 8 d.[49]

The prebendal churches of the canons of Lincoln cathedral provided relatively complete information on the provisions for vicaral income. In the time of Bishop Grosseteste, the prebendal vicar of Louth paid twenty pounds sterling to the prebendary, in five pound increments at the four seasons of the year.[50] The Norwich valuation simply listed the prebend at £ 30.[51] In 1291, the value of the "church of Louth"[52] was £ 46 13 s. 8 d., while the vicar's share was £ 13 6 s. 8 d. This figure was a healthy income compared with that of most vicars, but it was nonetheless below the ideal "third" share which vicars were

supposed to receive. Perhaps for this reason, Bishop Sutton in 1298 reduced the yearly pension from the vicar to the prebendary from £ 24 to £ 20.[53] The Bishop was probably motivated by the fact that at Louth the vicar had to support two or three helpers out of his income.

In 1254, the prebendal church of Lafford was taxed at £ 20. No vicarage was listed in this valuation.[54] Bishop Gravesend found it necessary to ordain a vicarage in 1277. At that time he assigned the bulk of the church's tithes to the vicar, but he ordained a pension of fifteen marks per year, payable from the vicar to the prebendary.[55] Only fourteen years later the church was taxed at £ 32, while the vicarage was listed at £ 8. The amount for the vicarage was again less than a third, but above the canonical minimum.[56]

When Bishop Welles ordained the vicarage of the church at Saxilby, Stowe, the canons of Newhouse received thirteen marks and the vicar seven.[57] At the middle of the century, the whole church had increased in value some 10 m., but no value for the vicarage was given.[58] By 1291, the canons were enjoying what was apparently a much increased income of 24 m., while the vicar received only £ 4 13 s. 4 d.[59] Although the vicar's share exceeded the church's official minimum pay of five marks, it was less than a third of the whole church and apparently had increased only 2 s. 4 d. during the course of the century.

In 1254, the church of St. Mary of Bilsby, Lincolnshire was valued at only four marks.[60] Despite a value that must not have increased much, Bishop Gravesend ordained a vicarage in 1270. No specific value for the vicarage was given.[61] At the time of this appropriation of the church to Markby Priory, the vicaral income was assigned to the vicar of Bilsby Holy Trinity "on condition that he will always have a proper priest" to serve the care of souls.[62] In 1291, the whole church of St. Mary's was valued at £ 3 6 s. 8 d.[63] No vicarage was mentioned, so the vicar of Holy Trinity was probably continuing to pay for a resident chaplain. The vicaral income at Holy Trinity was only £ 4, so this must have been a major burden.[64]

The differences in vicaral and rectoral incomes were not as great at Winwick, Hunts. When Bishop Hugh appropriated the church to the Priory of Huntingdon, he noted the entire church's value at eight marks, and the vicarage at four marks.[65] The church increased to 10 m. in 1254, when no mention was made of the vicarage.[66] Finally, Winwick was taxed in 1291 at £ 8. The vicarage also had increased slightly in value to £ 4 13 s. 4 d. (That is 7 m. 2 s. 4 d.)[67]

In 1217, the church of Scraptoft, Leicestershire was worth 7 m. 6 s. 8 d.[68] Bishop Grosseteste appropriated the church to the Prior and convent of Coventry in 1237. Twenty-two years later Bishop Gravesend found it necessary to supplement the vicar's share of the church,[69] which in

1254 was a corrody worth eight marks out of a total assessed value of ten marks.[70] (This 10 m. value was probably an underestimation of the church's value.) In 1291, the rector's share stood at £ 13 6 s. 8 d.,[71] not including a pension set aside for the boys choir at Lincoln cathedral. The vicar received £ 4 6 s. 8 d. (That is, 6 m. 8 s. 8 d.) This appears to be a decrease.[72] It is possible that this figure does not include the vicar's corrody.

A somewhat confusing series of valuations was recorded for Tilton, Leicester. In 1217, the church was worth only six marks.[73] Bishop Hugh of Welles assessed the entire church at 14 m., with the vicarage at 12 m.[74] In 1254, the assessment of the church was not increased at all.[75] However, when Bishop Sutton oversaw the Taxatio of 1291, the church's value stood at £ 21 6 s. 8 d.,[76] with the vicarage valued at £ 5 6 s. 8 d.

In some churches, the vicarages increased in value, while the effect on the value of the church as a whole was unclear. At Hibaldstowe in 1254, the whole church was taxed at only twenty marks, with ten marks of that reserved for the prebendary of Kirkett.[77] Bishop Gravesend ordained a full vicarage in the 1260s. The sub-dean of Lincoln and two other cathedral chapter members received a yearly pension of one-half mark each. The nuns of Gokewell received a total of one mark yearly. Besides all these pensions, the full tithe of wheat went to the

cathedral chapter, while the vicar received the other tithes, bringing the value of the vicarage to sixty-nine shillings, eight pence (5 m. 3 s. 8 d. or ₤ 3 9 s. 8 d.). The value of the whole church is unclear. Thus the vicar was receiving just above the minimum pay.[78] There was no entry for the whole church in the Taxatio of 1291, but the vicarage had increased in value to 6 m. 6 s. 8 d., or ₤ 4 6 s. 8 d. In this case at least, episcopal reform had resulted in a slight, but genuine improvement for the vicars.[79]

In some churches it was impossible to determine how much, if any, the vicarages increased in value. The church of Witham-on-the-Hill, Lincolnshire was ordained by Bishop Welles at twenty-four marks, with a vicarage of eight marks.[80] The assessment of the church was exactly the same in 1254, when the vicarage was not mentioned.[81] The church was heavily taxed in 1291 at ₤ 21 6 s. 8 d., but no vicarage was listed.[82]

A similar situation existed at the prebendal church of Empingham, Northamptonshire (Rutland). It had no vicarage when assessed in 1254 at twenty-five pounds.[83] Bishop Gravesend established the vicarage and divided the tithes in a standard fashion in 1263. No specific amounts of income were mentioned in the appropriation entry.[84] A more complete entry was found for the Taxatio, when the church was listed at ₤ 36 13 s. 4 d., while the vicarage was assessed at ₤ 10 even.[85]

Among the most perplexing entries were those found for the church of Glen, Leicester. In 1217, the whole church was taxed at ten marks.[86] By 1254, the church was worth fifteen marks, not including a pension of thirty shillings presumably being paid to the rectors.[87] In 1265, Bishop Gravesend ordained the vicarage of Glen. The vicarage was worth a somewhat astounding £ 11 18 s. 2 d. (more than seventeen marks).[88] The appropriators, the monks of Alencaster Abbey, continued to receive their pension. In 1291, the whole church was only taxed at seventeen marks. This represented an extreme example of undervaluation, if Gravesend's records can be believed.[89]

The vicarage at Burgh-on-Bain, Lincolnshire apparently decreased in value as the thirteenth century progressed. The rectors, the convent of Nuncotham, were required by Bishop Hugh of Welles to provide their vicar with a toft. They also bore the major burdens, with the vicar required only to pay sinodals. Ralph of Keleb', the vicar, received the total altarage and the tithes of lamb and wool. The value of this vicarage came to sixty shillings, or 4 m. 8 d.[90] No value for the church as a whole was mentioned by Bishop Welles' registrar. In the 1254 valuation, the church was listed at 11½ m. The vicarage was merely noted as three marks, not including the vicar's corrody.[91] In the next thirty-seven years, the church increased slightly in value, if the Taxatio Ecclesiastica can be trusted. No

value is given for the vicarage, but the church was taxed at £ 8 13 s. 4 d. (13 m.)[92]

The vicars of Skendleby, Lincolnshire, had a difficult time getting fair remuneration. Bishop Welles established the vicarage in 1219. Although no specific value was mentioned, William of London received the church's oblations, obventions, and the whole tithe of wool. The duties of the church were divided in normal fashion between the vicar and the rectors, the abbey of Bardney. The abbey received a pension of one mark *per annum*.[93] Thirty-five years later the entire church was assessed at only fourteen marks.[94] At the time of the papal taxation of 1291, the entire church was listed at £ 12 13 s. 4 d., and the vicars were receiving only £ 3 6 s. 8 d. (5 m. 1 s. 8 d.)[95] Thus after some seventy-two years the vicars of Skendleby were barely receiving the absolute canonical minimum pay.

FOOTNOTES

[1]P. D. A. Harvey, "The English Inflation of 1180-1220," from Rodney Howard Hilton, ed., Peasants, Knights and Heretics, Studies in Medieval English Social History (Cambridge: 1976), p. 84.

[2]M. M. Postan, "The rise of a money economy," from A. M. Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History, Volume I (London: 1954), p. 7.

[3]Carlo M. Cipolla, "Currency Depreciation in Medieval Europe," Economic History Review (second series), XV (1963), p. 414.

[4]George Cyril Brooke, English Coins from the Seventh Century to the present day (London: 1932), pp. 104, 106.

[5]Ibid., p. 106.

[6]Ibid., p. 116.

[7]P. D. A. Harvey, "The English Inflation of 1180-1220," p. 80.

[8]G. C. Brooke, English Coins from the Seventh Century to the present day, p. 110.

[9]Ibid., p. 116.

[10]Michael Prestwich, "Edward I's Monetary Policies and their consequences," Economic History Review (second series), XXII (1969), p. 407.

[11]C. M. Cipolla, "Currency Depreciation in Medieval Europe," p. 420.

[12]Harry A. Miskimin, The Economy of Early Renaissance Europe, 1300-1460 (Cambridge: 1975), p. 140.

[13]M. Prestwich, "Edward I's Monetary Policies and their Consequences," Economic History Review, p. 415.

[14]Ibid., p. 411.

[15]Mavis Mate, "High Prices in Early Fourteenth Century England, Causes and Consequences," Economic History Review (second series), XXVIII (1975), p. 12.

[16]M. Prestwich, "Edward I's Monetary Policies and their consequences," Economic History Review, p. 412. see also: Harry A. Miskimin, The Economy of Early Renaissance Europe, 1300-1460, p. 140.

[17]Mavis Mate, "High Prices in Early Fourteenth Century England, Causes and Consequences," Economic History Review, p. 2.

[18]M. Prestwich, "Edward I's Monetary Policies and their consequences," Economic History Review, p. 415.

[19]William Beveridge, "The Yield and Price of Corn in the Middle Ages," from A. M. Carus-Wilson, ed., Essays in Economic History, Volume I (London: 1954), pp. 20, 21.

[20]J. E. Thorold Rogers, A History of Agriculture and Prices in England, Volume I (Oxford: 1866), p. 180. Rogers' information does not take into account the incredible price fluctuations in for items such as wheat. Huge fluctuations could occur within one growing season. see next page.

[21]W. Beveridge, "The Yield and Price of Corn in the Middle Ages," p. 20.

[22]Ibid., p. 21.

[23]D. L. Farmer, "Livestock Price Movements in the Thirteenth Century," Economic History Review (second series), XXII (1969), pp. 2-3.

[24]Ibid., pp. 4-5.

[25]Ibid., p. 5.

[26]J. Z. Titow, English Rural Society, 1200-1350 (New York: 1969) p. 97.

[27]A. R. Bridbury, Economic Growth: England in the Later Middle Ages (London: 1962), p. 25.

[28]J. Z. Titow, English Rural Society, 1200-1350, p. 100, note 2.

[29]Ibid., pp. 101, 102.

[30]W. Beveridge, "The Yield and Price of Corn in the Middle Ages," p. 20.

[31]Ibid., p. 20.

[32]J. E. Thorold Rogers, Six Centuries of Work and Wages (New York: 1884), pp. 169-170. Rogers' computations were based on the assumption that, in addition to Sundays, a worker and his family would not work on as many as twenty major church holidays during the year. As he did for artisans, Rogers estimated a working year for agricultural laborers of three hundred days.

[33]Ibid., p. 180.

[34]Ibid., p. 182.

[35]Ibid., p. 182.

[36]P. D. A. Harvey, "English Inflation of 1180-1220," p. 71.

[37]F. R. H. DuBoulay, "A Rentier Economy in the Later Middle Ages: The Archbishopric of Canterbury," Economic History Review (second series), XVI (1963-1964) p. 432.

[38]J. E. Thorold Rogers, Six Centuries of Work and Wages, p. 182.

[39]J. R. H. Moorman, Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century, p. 240.

[40]P. D. A. Harvey, "English Inflation of 1180-1220," p. 73.

[41]Ian Kershaw, "The Great Famine and the Agrarian Crisis in England, 1315-1322," in R. H. Hilton, ed., Peasants, Knights and Heretics, Studies in Medieval English Social History (Cambridge: 1976), p. 111.

[42]Ibid., p. 109.

[43]Sutton, VI, p. 19. see also Sutton, VI, p. 78 and Chapter 4 above, St. Margaret's Leicestershire.

[44]Rotuli Grosseteste, p. 183.

[45]Valuation of Norwich, p. 263.

[46]Taxatio, p. 38.

[47]Hugh of Welles, III, p. 78.

[48]Valuation of Norwich, p. 296.

[49]Ibid., p. 582.

[50]Rotuli Grosseteste, p. 99.

[51]Valuation of Norwich, p. 278.

[52]Taxatio, p. 56b.

[53]Sutton, I, p. 224.

[54]Valuation of Norwich, p. 279.

[55]Gravesend, p. 72.

[56]Taxatio, p. 56b. This church was subdivided even further as several monastic houses held small pensions in the church. see Taxatio, pp. 60b, 67b, 68, 68b, 69, 70b, 71, 72, 73.

[57]Hugh of Welles, I, p. 200.

[58]Valuation of Norwich, p. 252.

[59]Taxatio, p. 74.

[60]Valuation of Norwich, p. 230.

[61]Gravesend, p. 42.

[62]Ibid., p. 42 "ita quod semper habeat sacerdotum ydoneum socium."

[63]Taxatio, p. 59.

[64]Ibid., p. 76b.

[65]Hugh of Welles, I, p. 194.

[66]Valuation of Norwich, p. 296.

[67]Taxatio, pp. 36, 42.

[68]Valuation of Norwich, p. 533.

[69]Gravesend, p. 148.

[70]Valuation of Norwich, p. 259.

[71]or twenty marks even. see Valuation of Norwich, p. 533.

[72]Taxatio, p. 64.

[73]Valuation of Norwich, p. 532.

[74]Hugh of Welles, II, p. 272.

[75]Valuation of Norwich, p. 532.

[76]or thirty-two marks. see Valuation of Norwich, p. 582.

[77]Ibid., p. 254.

[78]Gravesend, pp. 90-91.

[79]Taxatio, p. 56b.

[80]Hugh of Welles, III, p. 173.

[81]Valuation of Norwich, p. 243.

[82]Taxatio, p. 61.

[83]Valuation of Norwich, p. 227.

[84]Gravesend, p. 102.

[85]Taxatio, p. 56b.

[86]Valuation of Norwich, p. 533.

[87]Ibid., p. 260.

[88]Gravesend, pp. 146-147.

[89]Valuation of Norwich, p. 533.

[90]Hugh of Welles, III, p. 60.

[91]Valuation of Norwich, p. 239.

[92]Taxatio, p. 57b.

[93]Hugh of Welles, I, p. 132.

[94]Valuation of Norwich, p. 229.

[95]Taxatio, pp. 59, 76b.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The basis for the development of the vicarage system in the diocese of Lincoln was laid by the clerical reformers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Lateran Council IV of 1215 gave authority to bishops to enforce fair treatment for vicars, and the English Council of Oxford (1222) established the five mark minimum income.

Improvements did come in the diocese because the bishops of Lincoln showed an uncommon dedication to their work. There is no doubt that improvements in the lot of their vicars had come by 1300. As to the quality of those vicars, Daniel Frankforter has shown that the bishops appointed more and more priests, rather than clerics in lower orders, to benefices as the thirteenth century progressed. It seems fairly clear that at least in the diocese of Lincoln there had been an improvement in the quality of the men who served the vicarages and rectories. Men such as Bogo de Clare, who held dozens of livings throughout England, were much the exception in England's largest diocese.[1]

However, there were still examples of the old problem of married or licentious clerics. Bishop Sutton granted

four dispensations for bastardy in 1290, so that the men could proceed to the priesthood. One dispensation was to Walter of North Stoke, the son of a deacon and an unmarried woman.[2] Besides the case of the vicar of Crowmarsh Giffard cited above,[3] Bishop Sutton absolved a cleric in 1297 of his fornication with a nun.[4]

The most serious defect in the Church in Lincoln diocese at the end of the century was the continuing exploitation of many of the parochial vicars. Certainly the vicars of Billingborough, Lincolnshire were better off than their predecessors.[5] The vicars of most prebendal churches were fairly treated, although the vicar of Thame, Oxfordshire was receiving only £ 8 out of a total church value of £ 112 in 1291.[6] Vicars at such churches as Sutterton, Lincolnshire were receiving a relatively bountiful income of £ 13 6 s. 8 d. in 1291.[7] However, the reforms of the century left many other vicars untouched. The vicars of Burgh-on-Bain, Lincolnshire, Skendleby, Lincolnshire, and Winwick, Huntingdonshire, were receiving an income barely above the canonical minimum wage. Given the gradual upward pressure on prices during the century, it is difficult to imagine how the vicars of these churches survived. When widespread inflation and devastating famine hit England in the second decade of the fourteenth century, the suffering of these poorer vicars increased.

As Edward I turned more and more to clerical taxation, the financial burden of the vicars and resident rectors

increased. Even when exempted from direct taxation, the vicars suffered when rectors deprived them of income in order to increase rectoral profits. Many vicars who were taxed were forced to farm out their livings to wealthier clerics or laymen in order to meet their burdens.[8] In 1296, a number of rectors and the vicars of Scalford and Byton were actually arrested because they could not pay the moiety which the King had ordered.[9] Eventually that particular taxation was suspended,[10] but other taxations followed. The vicars suffered terribly under such taxes because their incomes were fixed, tied to the productivity of their parishioners.[11] When a moiety struck a poor vicar, he could scarcely meet his ordinary burdens, let alone pay the tax.

Many vicarages were still incredibly poor as of 1300. One of the earliest vicarages established in the diocese was at Swynford, Lincolnshire. Ninety-one years after St. Hugh of Lincoln established it, the whole church was worth only nine marks.[12] In a case even more striking, the value of the church and vicarage at Pullokeshull, Buckinghamshire, ordained by William of Blois early in the thirteenth century, was only five marks in 1291.[13]

Abuses of church income continued throughout England. Certainly these abuses were not as prevalent in the diocese of Lincoln. Nonetheless, even Bishop Sutton collated his relative Thomas to Walgrave rectory, one of many Thomas held in plurality.[14]

The bishops of Lincoln were not at fault for the corruption which still existed in their diocese. They were a part of a church system that was in many ways merely a source of revenue for popes, kings, monks, and bishops, all of whom were already rich. In 1298, Pope Boniface VIII ordered Bishop Sutton to provide Richard of Ashwell with the vicarage of Horton, Northamptonshire, even though Richard was in minor orders.[15] At the end of the century, appropriations of churches to the monastic houses was proceeding apace.

On balance, the bishops of Lincoln evoke respect because improvements had been made in a system that was in many ways beyond their control. As the Church entered the fourteenth century, the vicarage system, dependent on fixed, customary revenues, would not be able to change quickly enough to meet the rapidly changing economic conditions of England.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Sutton, II, pp. 2-3.

[2] Sutton, III, p. 45.

[3] See p. 33.

[4] Sutton, VI, p. 5.

[5] Valuation of Norwich, p. 582.

[6] Taxatio, p. 30b.

[7] Ibid., p. 62b.

[8] Sutton, V, pp. 53-54.

[9] Ibid., p. 154.

[10] Ibid., p. 198.

[11] See pp. 57-58.

[12] Taxatio, p. 256.

[13] Ibid., p. 299.

[14] Sutton, II, p. 129.

[15] Ibid., p. 151.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES OF BISHOPS HUGH OF WELLES, ROBERT GROSSETESTE, RICHARD GRAVESEND, AND OLIVER SUTTON

Born in Lancaster in the mid-twelfth century, Hugh of Welles was the son of a wealthy landowner. Besides the bishop of Lincoln, the family produced Bishop Joceline of Bath and Welles, Hugh's younger brother.[1]

After acquiring his education, Hugh served for nine years as deputy chancellor under King John. During this time his church service began in earnest. He became a member of the cathedral chapter of Lincoln when he acquired the prebend of Louth in 1203. King John helped secure his election to the episcopacy in 1209.

When Hugh became bishop, England was under the Interdict, and the diocese had been without a spiritual shepherd for some time. Hugh went to the continent to accept his consecration from Archbishop Stephen Langton, the King's bitter enemy. In his anger, King John seized the revenues of Lincoln diocese. He did not release them until forced to do so after Hugh's return from exile in 1213.

Hugh's relations with the King apparently improved after his return to England. He sided with the King during the conflicts of 1215. The bishop even opposed the barons at Runneymede when the Magna Carta was signed.

As bishop of Lincoln, Hugh's greatest contribution was his organizational ability. By 1218 he had ordained over 300 vicarages, and he instituted many more in the remaining years of his episcopacy.[2] Hugh was also one of the first to recognize the abilities of his friend Robert Grosseteste. The bishop secured ecclesiastical benefices for Grosseteste,

and made him archdeacon of the cathedral in 1233.[3] Hugh of Welles died on February 7, 1235.

Robert Grosseteste (?1168-1253) was born in Suffolk of humble parentage.[4] His considerable talents were recognized at an early age and eventually he entered Oxford. After a period of study in Paris, he became, by 1214, the Master of the Schools at Oxford. While teaching there he acquired the rectory and eventually the prebend of St. Margaret's, Leicester. He developed an admiration for the Franciscans, and in many ways imitated their work while serving his own parishes.

Grosseteste developed into the greatest English scholar of his day. S. Harrison Thompson has noted that Grosseteste's diverse works ranged from translations of Greek philosophical works to biblical commentaries.[5] He also wrote original works of theology, philosophy, math, and science. Grosseteste even wrote a treatise on agricultural methods.

After the death of Bishop Hugh, the cathedral chapter elected Grosseteste, then dean, as bishop. He was consecrated in June of 1235. His life made lasting contributions to the church in England. The Constitutions he promulgated early in his episcopacy influenced the work of other bishops throughout England and Europe.[6] Bishop Grosseteste felt a special concern for the needs of his parochial clergy. Hoping to eliminate "secular instrusion

into tithe cases," he actually helped his clergymen draft the gravamina (complaints) of 1237-40.[7]

Grosseteste believed in the universal church and in extensive rights for the papacy. He supported the papal taxation of the clergy in 1246.[8] However he did recognize "the advantage to be gained by making grants of taxation contingent upon the remedy of grievances."[9] Despite his normally staunch support for the popes, he minced no words when he felt the pope to be poorly advised. In a speech at Lyons in 1250, he called clerical ignorance a cause of decay and corruption in the Church.[10] In the same speech he blamed the papal curia for many of the Church's problems. He warned the court of Pope Innocent IV to reform itself or face destruction. Attacking papal provisions, he stated that neither absentee rectors nor stipendary priests could properly instruct the laity, relieve the poor, and visit the sick. These duties required resident rectors and vicars.[11] These strong beliefs were rarely compromised. In opposing a papal provision in 1253, he wrote these parodoxical words: ". . . in a spirit of filial obedience I do not obey, I resist, I rebel."[12]

Grosseteste's strong convictions often made him powerful enemies. During a dispute with the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, the chapter excommunicated him.[13] Grosseteste merely ignored their excommunication, and eventually the dispute died out. From 1239-1245, Grosseteste was engaged in a bitter struggle with his own chapter.

The dispute centered over his claim to a right to visit both the cathedral chapter and the prebendal churches.[14] The conflict included attempts by the chapter to forge papal documents and constant efforts at reconciliation by the bishop. The popes of Grosseteste's reign (Gregory IX and Innocent IV) consistently supported his right to visitation. As a result, tolerable relations with the cathedral chapter were restored in 1245 at Lyons. A compromise was struck affirming the bishop's limited visitation rights.

As bishop of Lincoln, Grosseteste served in the parliament of his day. On several occasions he conflicted with King Henry III on matters of church-state relations, although his relationship with the King was basically good.[15] As a result of his political involvement, Grosseteste developed a friendship with the young Simon de Montfort.

Robert Grosseteste, one of England's greatest bishops, died in October of 1253 at Buckden, Huntingdon.

After the brief episcopacy of Henry de Lexington, Richard Gravesend, dean of the chapter, was elected bishop in 1258. Active in political affairs throughout his life, Gravesend went abroad immediately after his coronation to negotiate peace between England and France.[16] During the Baron's War he sided with his friend Simon de Montfort. Still, he helped negotiate a temporary truce between the warring factions in 1263.[17] After the defeat of de

Montfort's forces, the King enlisted the help of the papal delegate Ottoboni in exiling Gravesend for nearly a year.[18] Gravesend spent the last seven years of his life in England, devoting himself to his episcopal duties.[19] His most lasting work was the augmentation of existing vicarages and the ordination of many new vicarages in the prebendal churches of the cathedral chapter. He died in December of 1279.

Bishop Oliver Sutton (?1219-1299) came from the lesser landed nobility of Nottinghamshire. As a youth, he was intent on a church career and studied at Oxford. From 1244 on, this critic of pluralism and appropriation was himself a non-resident pluralist.[20] He became dean of Lincoln in 1275. After the death of Bishop Gravesend, Sutton was immediately and unanimously elected bishop by the cathedral chapter. He was consecrated in May of 1280.[21]

Although he generally avoided politics, Sutton clashed with the King on two occasions in the 1290s. He opposed the King's moiety of 1294-1296, and this drew him into royal disfavor. After the moiety was removed, Sutton made serious attempts to enforce the papal bull Clericos Laicos, which forbade clerics to pay taxes to any layman.[22] Eventually the pope reversed himself again, and limited clerical taxation began once again.

Bishop Sutton traveled constantly throughout his diocese.[23] Because of the precedent established by Bishop

Grosseteste, Sutton was able to visit the cathedral chapter twice during his episcopacy. Thanks to his registrar John of Scalby, a thorough record of Sutton's memoranda and his extensive travels exists for the last ten years of his life.

Sutton's most memorable contributions to his diocese came in his numerous augmentations of existing vicarages. To enforce payment of tithes and respect for episcopal authority, Sutton often used the power of excommunication.[24] According to Rosalind M. T. Hill, Sutton was a good man whose "attitude to his diocese was that of a thoroughly benevolent conservative."[25] The ecclesiastical appointment for which he is best known was his assignment, by Pope Nicholas IV, to carry out the Taxatio of 1291.[26] Sutton finished his career respected and well-liked in his diocese, a difficult task for such a hard-working reformer. Even in death he exhibited a rare generosity of spirit when:

> he directed that the fines levied on adulterers and other sinners should be given . . . to mendicant friars, poor nuns, and to the poor of the parishes where the offenses were committed.[27]

FOOTNOTES

[1]Canon Venables, "Hugh of Welles," Dictionary of Nationary Biography, XXVIII, p. 168.

[2]Hugh of Welles, I, p. xx.

[3]C. Venables, "Hugh of Welles" Dictionary of Nationary Biography, p. 169.

[4]J. H. Srawley, Robert Grosseteste, Lincoln Minster Pamphlets, # 7 (Lincoln, England: 1966), p. 3.

[5]Ibid., p. 7.

[6]Ibid., p. 12.

[7]W. R. Jones, "Bishops, Politics, and the two laws: The Gravemina of the English Clergy, 1237-1339," Speculum, XLI (1966), p. 211.

[8]Epistolae Grosseteste, p. lxv.

[9]W. R. Jones, "Gravamina," p. 238.

[10]J. R. H. Moorman, Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century, p. 91.

[11]Epistolae Grosseteste, p. lxxii, c.f. W. R. W. Stephens, The English Church from the Norman Conquest to the Accession of Edward I, 1066-1272, p. 241.

[12]J. H. Srawley, Robert Grosseteste, p. 27.

[13]Ibid., p. 13.

[14]Ibid., pp. 18-19.

[15]Ibid., p. 17.

[16]Gravesend, p. viii.

[17]C. N. L. Kingsford, "Richard Gravesend," Dictionary of National Biography, XXII, p. 441.

[18]Gravesend, p. viii.

[19]Ibid., p. xiv.

[20]Rosalind M. T. Hill, Oliver Sutton, Lincoln Minster Pamphlet # 4 (Lincoln, England: 1950), p. 3.

[21]R. M. T. Hill, Oliver Sutton, p. 4.

[22]Sutton, V, p. 198.

[23]R. M. T. Hill, Oliver Sutton, pp. 6-7.

[24]Ibid., p. 18.

[25]Sutton, III, p. lxvi.

[26]Ibid., p. xviii.

[27]Henry Bradshaw and Charles Wordsworth, eds., Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral, Volume II (Cambridge: 1894), p. lxxiii, note # 1.

APPENDIX B

CHANGES IN CHURCH INCOME DURING THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

PREBENDS OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL

Louth, Lincs. (Luda) (Rotuli Grosseteste, p. 99) Total value unclear, but vicar paid pension to rectors four times per annum. "xx libris sterlingorum."	1254 "xxx li." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 278	1291 "Ecclia de Luda £ 46 13 s. 4 d. Vicar' ejusdem £ 13 6 s. 8 d. (Taxatio, p. 56b)	1298 Bishop Sutton reduced yearly pension from vicar to rector from £ 24 to £ 20 (Sutton, I, p. 224)
Lafford, Lincs. (Lafford', Sleaford)	1254 "xx li." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 279)	1277 pension of 15 marks per annum to the prebendary, no other specifics. (Gravesend, p. 72)	1291 "Ecclia de Lafford £ 32 0 s. 0 d. Vicar' ejusdem £ 8 0 s. 0 d." (Taxatio, p. 56b)
Empingham, Northants. (Rutland)	1254 "xxv li." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 279)	1263 Vicarage first ordained by Gravesend. No specific amounts given. (Gravesend, p. 102)	1291 "Ecclia de Empynghm cu' Woynghm £ 36 13 s. 4 d. Vicaria ejusdem ibm £ 10" (Taxatio, p. 56b)
Asgarby, Lincs. (Askerby)	1254 "x li." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 279)	1277 Vicarage described by Bishop Gravesend's registrar. No specific values given. (Gravesend, p. 78)	1291 "Ecclia de Asgerby £ 20" (Taxatio, p. 56b)
Nassington, Northant. (Nassington') Undelebe Deanery	1254 "xxx li." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 278)		1291 "Prebend de Nassington' cum porconib' £ 100" (Taxatio, p. 39b)
Thame, Oxon Cudeston Deanery	1254 "xxxv li." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 278)		1291 "Ecclia de Thame Prebendal' £ 112 (Magistri de Sutton) Vicar ejusdem £ 8" (Taxatio, p. 30b)

CHURCHES MENTIONED IN THE

FIRST FOUR CHAPTERS

Asthall, Oxon. (Esthall' Monachorum) (Withenela) Witney Deanery	1254 "x m., portio vicarii iii m., cor' ." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 398, 568, 56b)		1291 "Abbis de Ybreyo Ecclia de Esthalle £ 6 13 s. 4 d." (Taxatio, p. 32)
Stamford St. Andrew's, Lincs. (Stanford Sancti Andrei) (Rotuli Grosseteste, p. 32) two marks annually to the rectors, no other values given (Stanford) Stanford Deanery	1254 "iiii m. iiii s." xxxvi s. xi d. quad preter pensionem ii m. (Valuation of Norwich, p. 244)		1291 no value for the whole church "Vicar' Sci Andree £ 2 13 s. 4 d." (Taxatio, p. 77)
Barnetby, Lincs. (Barnetby le Wold) (Ierdeburg') Yarborough Deanery	1254 "xxv m." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 235		1291 "Ecclia de Bernetby £ 20 Vicar' ejusdem £ 5" (Taxatio, p. 57b; See also Sutton, I, p. 18)
Loughborough, Leics. (Lutteburgh) 1217 (Valuation of Norwich, p. 532) 15 marks (whole church) (Acle) Akeley Deanery	1254 "xxx m. . . . xliiii m. cor'" (Valuation of Norwich, p. 251, 532)		1291 "44 m." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 532)
Padbury, Bucks (Paddebir') Buckingham Deanery	1254 xiiii m. (Valuation of Norwich, p. 284)	5 June 1274 Vicarage is "de novo", no value is given. (Gravesend, p. 251)	1291 "Ecclia de Padebir' £ 12" (Taxatio, p. 32)
Thorpe Mandeville, Northants. (Thop', Thorp') (Brackele) Brackley Deanery	1254 iiii m. (Valuation of Norwich, p. 264)	1286 vicarage established, whole church worth 50 m. per annum (Sutton, III, p. 50)	1291 "Thorp' £ 5" (Taxatio, p. 38)
Stoke Poges, Bucks. (Stok', Stokes) A vicarage, but no value given. (Burneham) Burnham Deanery	1254 xii m. (another manuscript said xv m. Valuation of Norwich, p. 286, see note 11)		1291 "£ 12" (Taxatio, p. 33)
Beesby in the Marsh Lincs. (Beseby) (Calswath') Cacewaith Deanery	1254 "v m." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 230)		1291 "Ecclia de Beseby p't' pens Monial' de Grenefeld indecimabiliem et pet' pens' subscriptam £ 7 16 s. 0 d." (Taxatio, p. 59)

ADDITIONAL CHURCHES MENTIONED

IN THE FIRST FOUR CHAPTERS

Thorganby, Lincs. (Thorgamby) (Walescroft) Washcroft Deanery	1254 "x m." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 236)	1275 Church divided into four parts, each worth five marks. (Gravesend, p. 66)	1291 "Ecclia de Thorgmby porco Abbis de Brymesby reliqua vero portio deividitur in duas Rectorias & est indecimabil' ex m' alibi assignata." £ 6 13 s. 4 d. (Taxatio, p. 57)
Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks. (Chalfunt Sancti Egidii) (Burneham) Burnham Deanery	1254 "xv m." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 286)		1291 "Ecclia de Chalfone Sci Egidii £ 13 6 s. 8 d." (Taxatio, p. 33)
Sutterton, Lincs. (Sutterton') (Hoyland) Holland Deanery	1254 "v m. vicaria eiusdem iii m. et abbas croylandie percipit ex eadem vicaria ii m." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 248)		1291 "Ecclia de Sutt'on £ 36 13 s. 4 d. Vicaria ejusdem £ 13 6 s. 8 d. (Taxatio, p. 62b)
Bradwell, Oxon. (Bradewell) (Hugh of Welles, I, p. 183) A templar's church worth 30 marks, with 10 marks for the vicar.			
Haddensham, Bucks. (Wendovere)	1254 "xxx m." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 282)		1291 "Ecclia de Hadenhm £ 26 13 s. 4 d. Vicar ejusdem £ 4 6 s. 8 d. (Taxatio, p. 32b, 41)
Holton le Clay, Lincs. (Grimesby) Grimsby Deanery	1254 "vi m. et dim." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 234)		
Elsham, Lincs. (Ierdeburg') Yarborough Deanery	1254 "xvi m." (Valuation of Norwich p. 234)		1295 Vicar got four marks yearly as a stipend. (Sutton, V, p. 57)
Crowmarsh Giffard, Oxon. (Crawemers, Crowmers) (Stokes Henle') Henley Deanery	1254 "xl s. . . . v m. cor." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 304)		
Kingerby, Lincs. (Kynerby) (Walescroft) Walscroft Deanery	1254 "viii m. . . . cum pensione indi iii m." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 236)		1291 "Ecclia de Kynerby p't pens Subdecani Lin' taxata' cu' dignitate £ 5 6 s. 8 d." (Taxatio, p. 57b)
St. Margaret's, Leics. (Sancte Margarete)	1254 "xx li." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 279)		1291 "£ 30 13 s. 4 d. Vicaria eiusdem £ 9 6 s. 8 d." (Taxatio, p. 57b)

VICARAGES MENTIONED IN CHAPTER FIVE

Green's Norton, Northants. (Norton') (Rotuli Grosseteste, p. 183) "et capelle de Wytlebir' . . . valet x marcas." (Brackele) Brackley Deanery	1254 "x li." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 265)		1291 "Ecclia de Northon' £ 20" (Taxatio, p. 38)
Billingborough, Lincs. (Billingburg) (Hugh of Welles, III, p. 78) whole church xiv m. vicarage: v ½ m. (Avelund) Aveland Deanery	1254 "xx m. cum vicaria que valet v m." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 246)		1291 whole church assessed at 15 m. 6 s. 8 d. vicarage at 9 m. 6 s. 8 d. (Valuation of Norwich, p. 582)
Saxilby, Stowe (Saxeby) (Hugh of Welles, I, p. 200) canons of Newhouse: 13 m. vicar: 7 m. (Lauris) Lawress Deanery	1254 "xxx m." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 251)		1291 "Ecclia de Saxelby £ 24 Vicaria cuisdem p't' pens £ 4 13 s. 4 d." (Taxatio, p. 74)
St. Mary of Bilsby, Lincs. (Sancte Marie)	1254 "Ecclesia de Billesby Sancte Marie iiii m." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 230)	1270 Vicarage ordained, no values given. Vicaral income assigned to vicar of Holy Trinity, Bilsby. (Gravesend, p. 42)	1291 "Ecclia de Billesby Sce Marie £ 3 6 s. 8 d. (Taxatio, p. 59)
Winwick, Hunts. (Wynewick', Wynwyk') (Hugh of Welles, I, p. 194 Church worth 8 marks, vicarage worth 4 marks. (Leytonstan') Leightonstone Deanery	1254 "x m." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 296)		1291 "Ecclia de Wynewyk £ 8 Vicar ejusdem £ 4 13 s. 4 d." (Taxatio, p. 36, 42)
Scraptoft, Leics. (Scrapetoft) 1217 (Valuation of Norwich, p. 533) 7 m. 6 s. 8 d. the whole church (Gert') Gartree Deanery	1254 "x m. . . . viii m. cor.'" (Valuation of Norwich, p. 259)		1291 20 m. (Valuation of Norwich, p. 533) AND "Ecclia de Scrapetoft preti pensione suor' chori Lincoln indecimabilem £ 13 6 s. 8 d. Vicar eusdem £ 4 6 s. 8 d." (Taxatio, p. 64)

ADDITIONAL VICARAGES MENTIONED

IN CHAPTER FIVE

Tilton, Leics. (Tylton) 1217 (Valuation of Norwich, p. 532) 6 m.	1254 "Tylton cum vicaria 14 m." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 261 12 m. (Hugh of Welles, II, p. 273)		1291 32 m. (Valuation of Norwich, p. 532) "£ 21 6 s. 8 d. Vicaria £ 8" (Taxatio, p. 63b)
Hibaldstow, Stowe	1254 "Hybaldestowe xx m. cum portione prebende de Kirkett', scilicet, x m., que non computate hic (Valuation of Norwich, p. 254)	1262-1264 Value of the whole church is unclear. Small pensions to the members of the cathedral chapter and nuns of Gouthewell. Vicarage valued at 69 s. 8 d. (5 m. 3 s. 8 d.) (Gravesend, p. 90-91)	1291 "Vicaria de Hybalstowe £ 4 6 s. 8 d. (6 m. 6 s. 8 d.) (Taxatio, p. 56b)
Witham-on-the-Hill, Lincs. (Hugh of Welles, III, p. 173) "et valet totius ecclesia xxiiij^{or} m. . . . ., et vicaria viij marcas." (Beltsl', Belteslawe) Beltisloe Deanery	1254 "xxiiii m." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 243)		1291 "£ 21 6 s. 8 d." (Taxatio, p. 61)
Glen, Leics. 1217 (Valuation of Norwich p. 533) whole church: 10 m. 0 s. 0 d. (Gertr') Gartree Deanery	1254 "xv m. videlicet, xiii m. sine pensione xxx s.; item ii m. cor'" (Valuation of Norwich p. 260)	1265 Value of the whole church unclear, vicarage ordained worth £ 11 18 s. 2 d. (more than 17 m.) Gravesend, p. 146)	
Burgh-on-Bain, Lincs. (Burgo sup Beyn) (Hugh of Welles, III, p. 60) "vicaria sexaginta solidorum" (4 m. 8 s.) (Wragho) Wragghoe Deanery	1254 "xi m. et dim. vicaria de Burgo, iii m. nullo necessario deducto cor." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 239)		1291 "Ecclia de Burgo sup Beyn £ 8 13 s. 4 d." (Taxatio, p. 57b)
Skendleby, Lincs. (Sokendelby) 1219 (Hugh of Welles, I, p. 132)	1254 "xiiii m." (Valuation of Norwich, p. 229)		1291 "Ecclia de Skendleby p't' pens £ 12 13 s. 4 d. (Taxatio, p. 59) Vicar' de Skendleby £ 3 6 s. 8 s. (Taxatio, p. 76b) .

VITA

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