

A History of the English Austin Friars

(continuation) *)

PART III

The individual houses

Chapter 1

THE ORGANISATION

The Austin Friars were constituted like other Mendicant Orders. They were ruled by a prior general whose domicile was determined by the residence of the Papal Court. For effective government the Order was subdivided into provinces, ruled by priors provincial who resided as a rule in the principal house of the province, which in England was London. A province consisted of a smaller or larger number of individual houses each under a local prior who was bound to live in the friary under his care.

The power of these superiors was not unlimited but clearly defined by statutes. They comprised first of all the rules for religious prescribed by Canon Law, the Constitutions of the Order and finally the decisions of General Chapters.

The Ratisbon Constitutions ⁴⁴²⁾

The first Constitutions were approved in definitive form at the

*) *Augustiniana* 8 (1958), 22-47, 465-496; 11 (1961), 533-563; 12 (1962), 93-122, 391-442; 13 (1963), 515-551.

⁴⁴²⁾ We shall use the abbreviation CR for *Constitutiones Ratisbonenses*. The *Additiones* begin fol. 40r. A copy of the CR is in FitzWilliam Museum, Cam-

General Chapter of Ratisbon in 1290 and are, therefore, called after this Bavarian city. They had been prepared by Bl. Clement of Osimo, the great general of the thirteenth century, and Bl. Augustine of Teramo (*alias* Augustinus Novellus), a former professor of law at Bologna, then supreme judge of King Manfred's court and papal penitentiary ⁴⁴³). Most of these constitutions were in force before 1284, when Bl. Augustine started their codification. His work consisted in the collection of existing laws, their unification and division into chapters. He also had to add the latest development in monastic rules. For this purpose he used the Dominican Constitutions of 1260 which differed from those of 1228 in austerity and an emphasis on general and provincial chapters ⁴⁴⁴). The sections on faults and their punishments were taken over almost verbatim. The concept of loyalty to the general and his power over the Constitutions was also accepted along with the process of elections through definitors and discretos.

Despite similarities there are essential differences. The Ratisbon Constitutions went into greater detail. They insisted on following the liturgy of the Papal Curia ⁴⁴⁵) while the Friars Preachers observed the revised form of Humbert of the Romans ⁴⁴⁶). Ratisbon accepted the *peculium* ⁴⁴⁷), very small and firmly controlled, but ever present. It was an essential weakness because it was to prove the opening wedge for the breakdown of the common life. Blessed Clement had fought a bitter battle about the question of poverty with Cardinal Richard Annibaldi, the first protector. Bl. Clement had favored absolute poverty but Cardinal Richard insisted on a compromise and he prevailed, since the pope had given him full charge of the Order ⁴⁴⁸). St. Augustine's ideal of the perfect common life entered

bridge, Ms 105, fol. 58-191. For a history of Augustinian Constitutions see the valuable articles by John Barry and James MacDougall in *The Tagastan* 20 (1958) and F. MIER in *Archivo Agustiniano*, 1928, pp. 241/6.

⁴⁴³) For the lives of Bl. Clement and Bl. Augustine see *Vfr.* 458.

⁴⁴⁴) G. R. GALBRAITH, *The Constitutions of the Dominican Order 1216 to 1360* (Manchester 1925) 184.

⁴⁴⁵) « Prosequentes secundum modum romanae curiae, prout est in breviario ordinatum, juxta quod totum officium per anni circulum volumus observari » CR fol. 17v, also fol. 33r, 40r.

⁴⁴⁶) GALBRAITH, *op. cit.* 206; Wm. BONNIWELL, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (New York 1945) 83 sqq.

⁴⁴⁷) This was already noted by P. E. Esteban in AA II, 293n.

⁴⁴⁸) ROTH, *Annibaldi* 100 (III, 26) and p. 36 (VIII, 468) *supra*.

the Order only through the Reform Congregations and was closely connected with his growing veneration.

As early as 1308 the Ratisbon Constitutions had been called the *corpus* of Augustinian law ⁴⁴⁹). The Order's reverential attitude towards its first statutes shied away from any alteration though the needs of changing times led to many new and at times conflicting laws. In 1345, therefore, the newly chosen Prior General Thomas of Strassburg was asked to bring order into the prevailing confusion. He too left the Ratisbon Constitutions intact and harmonized later legislation with each of its chapters. This appendix is known as the *Additiones Thomae de Argentina*. One thousand copies of the Ratisbon Constitutions together with the Additions of Thomas were printed at Venice in 1508 ⁴⁵⁰). This number sufficed because the Order counted at this time not quite thousand houses ⁴⁵¹). It is interesting that in this edition all laws made after 1345 were discarded with the exception of the Reform Decree of Prior General Julian Salemi ⁴⁵²). The importance of the first statutes cannot be overestimated. That they were obeyed in England is evident from the many dispensations requested from Rome. When Jerome Seripando, the great general of the Tridentine period, published new Constitutions in 1549, he deviated but little from the old laws since a complete

⁴⁴⁹) General Chapter of Bologna (AA III, 78).

⁴⁵⁰) The table of contents reads: « Provinciali Gabrieli [della Volta] gratiam debes. Dein primario debes patri Aegidio [de Viterbo]. Horum diligentia pia sum mille nitide excusis exemplaribus ».

⁴⁵¹) The list of houses made by Seripando 1539/41 proves that the Order had less than a thousand houses at the end of the fifteenth century (AA, VI). The false claim that the Order numbered about 2,000 houses with 30,000 members plus 300 monasteries of nuns was made by COCCIUS SABELLICUS, *Enneades sive Rhapsodiae, Opera Omnia* 2 (Basel 1560) 412. He had received these estimates from Master James Baptist de Aloysi, *alias* Alovisiani († 1505). They were taken over by PAMFILO's, *Chronica* 97 and are still repeated by L. HERTLING, *A History of the Catholic Church* (Westminster 1957) 244. On Aloysi see PERINI, *Bibl. August.* I, 23. We are indebted to Father F. X. Martin for the information on Sabellicus.

⁴⁵²) Julian Falciglia of Salemi ruled the Order from 1443-1459. His important term in office was guided by one principle: « Optaremus omnes conventus nobis subditos regulariter vivere » (TORELLI, *Secoli Agost.* VI, 782). He received permission to come to England in 1447 (D 812). On the way he visited the *studia generalia* of Toulouse and Paris. His statutes for Paris were published by Ypma. Those for Toulouse are partially printed in a booklet *Generale Monasterium Tolosanum* (1655), now H-331-ter of the Archives Departementales de le Gironde (Bordeaux). His statutes for England seem to be lost.

revision would have increased the tension and confusion of that difficult period ⁴⁵³).

New laws for the whole Order could be made only by General Chapters, but lost their binding force unless approved by the following chapter, then could be abrogated only when repudiated by two successive chapters ⁴⁵⁴). General Chapters were held regularly every three years until the time of the Great Schism. After this disastrous period had passed they were convened very irregularly, the interval lasting from four to six years. The general could be re-elected as often as the voters desired and usually remained in office for life ⁴⁵⁵). Each province had to send its provincial and two other friars to the General Chapter. One of them was called definitor, the others discretos ⁴⁵⁶). The law-giving power of chapters rested with the definitors (hence their name) not with the rest of the capitulars. For a time two senior masters of the English Province also had the right to vote but seldom availed themselves of this privilege. The failure of English officials to attend these chapters during the fifty years preceding the suppression has been pointed out ⁴⁵⁷).

The Province

Since the first founders of English houses came from southern France and the division into provinces was not determined by the boundary lines of countries it is not surprising that at first France and England formed one province. Within fifteen years of their coming

⁴⁵³) JEDIN, *Seripando* I, 221-222.

⁴⁵⁴) CR fol. 34rv. The extant acts of General Chapters were published in AA II-XIV.

⁴⁵⁵) CR fol. 33v. Sixtus V declared in his *Motu proprio* « Exigit incumbentes » of 14 May 1587 that since time immemorial the generals of the Austins had ruled for life. General Chapters had been held at first every three years, then every four years, a custom which had lasted until 1575, when for the sake of the ultramontane provinces it had been decided to hold them every six years. From now on the tenure in office by the general should be limited to the same period of time (AA X, 146/7). In 1745, however, the general was again elected for life (AA XIII, 32, 81). — In 1538 it had been determined that he should be elected for only four years (AA IX, 52). For a brief survey of the generals and their chapters see N. TEEUWEN in *Anima Una* (Belgium) n° 7 (1958), pp. 26-47.

⁴⁵⁶) « Ad generale capitulum provincialis prior cum duobus fratribus vadat et ex eis tribus unus sit diffinitor et alii duo discreti »: CR fol. 29v.

⁴⁵⁷) P. 121 (XII, 118) *supra*.

enough houses had been established in England to form a province of their own by 1265⁴⁵⁸). The provincial and four councilors, called definitors, were elected at each provincial chapter. At first it was held annually⁴⁵⁹), since 1385* every two years⁴⁶⁰) and since 1453* every three years. The general himself presided, or in his absence his vicar, whose *litterae vicariatus* had to be solemnly read at the chapter⁴⁶¹). The right to vote seems to have been reserved to the priors and discretos of the individual houses⁴⁶²). The Irish Limit had to send only its vicar, one definitor and one discrete, but its other capitulars could attend under the condition that they defrayed their own travel and chapter expenses⁴⁶³). The masters of theology and other graduates also had the right but not the duty to vote. This privilege seems to have been repudiated at times but actually remained in force until the dissolution⁴⁶⁴). The cost of these meetings could not be met by the payment of the *pistura*⁴⁶⁵) required of

⁴⁵⁸) P. 36 (VIII, 469) *supra*.

⁴⁵⁹) « Cuiuslibet provincie omnes conventuales priores singuli cum singulis fratribus a conventibus eorum electis, die et loco in capitulo precedenti statutis semel in anno convenient ad ipsius provincie capitulum celebrandum »: CR fol. 28v. Italics ours.

⁴⁶⁰) The general approved this resolution of the English chapter in 1385 (D 573), but papal permission followed only forty years later (D 745, 787). Accordingly, our note 72 *supra* should be corrected.

⁴⁶¹) CR fol. 42r.

⁴⁶²) Note 459 *supra*. Each house sent one discrete. The *Additiones* 42r limit houses with less than eight brethren to one vote; houses with less than two priests had no vote. — The provincial having resigned his office before the beginning of the chapter is not mentioned as entitled to vote, though CR 31r seems to speak in favor of it when it forbids the visitors to suspend the provincial in such a way that he would lose his vote at the chapter.

⁴⁶³) MARTIN, *Irish Material*, p. 77.

⁴⁶⁴) Note 356 *supra*. Gregory XI in « Ad ea quae » of 1 May 1372 deprived masters of the special privileges in food and clothing, unless they were actually engaged in teaching. They could come to provincial or general chapters only if they held an official position which entitled them to come or were chosen capitulars (AA V, 50/1). The General Chapter of Lauingen confirmed this decision in 1403 (AA V, 222) and it should, therefore, have been a permanent law of the whole Order. After the Great Schism, however, the old English practice was again confirmed by the Prior General Augustine of Rome who declared its usage binding for the future (« perpetuo admittendos »): Dd 4, fol. 224v.

⁴⁶⁵) DuCange does not give the word *pistura* (D 774) and it might be a misreading for *putura*. If not, it would derive from the same root as *pist/atio*, baking and its value might have been that of a loaf of bread.

each capitular. Contributions, therefore, were sought from the king, the diocesan bishop and local noblemen ⁴⁶⁶). The ordinary time for chapters was either the feast of St. Mary Magdalene, July 22, or the Assumption of the Bl. Lady on August 15. The place of chapter changed frequently though for the accommodation of the many visitors and the reduction of travel costs larger houses in centrally located towns were preferred.

The first business of the chapter was the election of the provincial and his four definitors followed by the confirmation of the local priors. Then the capitulars proceeded to the election of a procurator for the province, a secretary for the provincial and two visitors ⁴⁶⁷). The latter received their name from the obligation to visit each house of the Order, but principally they were the controllers of the provincial. They could impose the prescribed penances whenever he broke the rule; they could suspend, but not depose him for misuse or neglect of office, and they ruled the province after a provincial's death ⁴⁶⁸).

The most important task of the chapter, however, was the pro-

⁴⁶⁶) The kings gave between ten marks (D 151) and ten pounds (D 126, 215). See also list of provincials and chapters in the appendix. Archbishop Thoresby donated five marks for the chapter at York in 1361*. Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, contributed 20 marks in 1321: BIGELOW in *Amer. Hist. Rev.* 1 (1896) 425. — In the royal donations we often find the contribution made to the *capitulum generale* [*provinciale*]. Note 57 of our *Sources* in regards to *conventio* (D 917) might not be correct. A *conventio* was probably not a meeting of a limit but an in-between-chapter like the *Intermedium* of to-day, which has the legal power of a regular chapter but does not include a gathering of all voters, since elections do not take place; but academic promotions, transfer of brethren and various appointments which could not wait three years could be transacted. Whether as to-day only the provincial and his definitors met or whether other officials like the visitors or vicars of limits were also called is unknown. The regular provincial chapter as opposed to a *conventio* of this sort would then really be a *capitulum generale* of the province. The Carmelites called these in-between-chapters *convocationes*: Kind communication of Fr. K. Egan.

⁴⁶⁷) For procurator: CR 29v. Only the provincial procurators of 1329* (George Canafeld) and of 1359* (John Arderne) are known by name. — For socius: CR 42r orders the definitors to give the provincial « unum maturum socium cum provisione et expensis ». — Visitors could hold office only three years. Their visitation of a house was not to exceed three days: CR 31rv.

⁴⁶⁸) CR 42v. In D 725, however, the general speaks of those definitors (not visitors) who ruled the province after the provincial's death. Was the office of visitor abrogated in England by that time?

motion to academic degrees. The various limits proposed their candidates, but the chapter decided not only on their fitness but also on the proper sequence between limits ⁴⁶⁹). It alone could give the right to preach and hear confessions ⁴⁷⁰). It could also pass laws for the whole province but like the other chapter acts these laws needed the approval of the general ⁴⁷¹). Only one report, that of 1532* has been preserved.

The priors provincial could be elected as often as the voters so decided. Some provincials, however, tried to perpetuate themselves in office by the use of illegal means. Pope Martin V sharply condemned this practice in 1418* and permitted masters to be elected only for three terms and non-masters for two. This decree « Pro cunctorum Christianae » became known as the *Martiniana*. The Austins did not follow it immediately since their canonists had found a loophole in the fact that it was not properly intimated to the Order. Pope Nicholas V corrected this mistake in 1453 and the law was then strictly enforced ⁴⁷²). The provincial was entrusted with the government of the province and for this task had to undertake the canonical visitation of all houses ⁴⁷³). He had to give his consent to the admission of novices and promotion to Holy Orders ⁴⁷⁴) and was not supposed to be provincial and prior of an individual house at the same time ⁴⁷⁵), a rule, which was not observed in the decades

⁴⁶⁹) P. 152/3 (XIII, 417/8) *supra*.

⁴⁷⁰) CR 40v declares permission for preaching and hearing confessions null and void, if given outside a provincial chapter, unless directly granted by the general. For the later development see P. 142 (XII, 407) and P. 200 (XIII, 537) *supra*.

⁴⁷¹) CR 29r, 42r. Chapter Acts had to be sent by president of chapter and definitors: CR 32, 41r. On 10 February 1460 the general wrote to the English provincial: « Tunc autem volumus quod acta sigillatum ad nos transmittantur et in scriptis redacte sint gratie supradicte »: Dd 6 fol. 175. Provincial Robert Stokes was reprimanded in 1491 for not sending the chapter acts: D 959. For confirmation of provincials see D 1029. The General Chapter of Venice in 1519 declared all provincials deposed who were not confirmed within a month after their election. England, however, was granted four months (AA IX, 36).

⁴⁷²) P. 118, 126/7 (XII, 115, 396/7) *supra*.

⁴⁷³) CR 30r.

⁴⁷⁴) « Novitii quoque... de expressa licentia provincialis et non aliter recipiendi sunt et illud idem fieri volumus de conversis. Volumus etiam quod fratres, qui sunt ad sacros ordines secundum statuta ordinis promovendi, ut de expressa licentia provincialis ordinentur »: CR 30r.

⁴⁷⁵) « Nec provincialis et conventualis prior simul erit »: CR 30r.

preceding the suppression ⁴⁷⁶). If a provincial proved to be inactive he was to be deposed ⁴⁷⁷).

Provincial Limits and their Vicars

Because of its extent the English Province was subdivided into districts, called limits, of which there were four in England and one in Ireland. The Scotch Limit seems to have come into existence only after the dissolution. The four English limits were :

1. The Oxford Limit with eight houses, viz. Oxford, London, Bristol, Northampton, Winchester, Canterbury, Rye and Newport.

2. The Cambridge Limit also with eight houses, viz. Cambridge, Norwich, Clare, Lynn, Little Yarmouth, *alias* Gorleston, Orford, Huntingdon and Thetford.

3. The Lincoln Limit with eleven houses, viz. Lincoln, Leicester, Ludlow, Shrewsbury, Warrington, Boston, Stamford, Stafford, Woodhouse, Droitwich and Atherstone.

4. The York Limit with seven houses, viz. York, Newcastle, Tickhill, Hull, Grimsby, Penrith and Berwick (D 590).

The Irish Limit with twenty-two houses was the largest, but had little if any influence upon the development of the English Province because it created a life of its own.

At the head of each district stood the vicar provincial. Since the creation of limits was the result of a later development and was peculiar to ultramontane provinces ⁴⁷⁸), their rights and privileges are not treated in the Ratisbon Constitutions or in later legislation. They rather followed from the needs of each province and received their binding force from the approval of the general. After the fourteenth century nothing is heard of these vicars provincial, though each limit continued to propose its candidates for academic degrees.

The Establishment of new Houses

Until Boniface VIII demanded papal permission for the esta-

⁴⁷⁶) D 1092, 1135.

⁴⁷⁷) « Removendi enim omnino a ministracione officii sunt, quorum opera augmentum ordinis non producant » : CR 30v.

⁴⁷⁸) Vicariates or provincial limits are known for the extensive provinces of Bavaria, Saxony and Hungary: P. 39/40 (VIII, 471) *supra*.

blishment of new friaries ⁴⁷⁹) their acceptance had been left to the provincial and his definitors ⁴⁸⁰). They appointed the first prior, assigned the personnel (among whom had to be at least two priests) ⁴⁸¹) and supplied the needed funds. The new members retained the conventuality in the monastery « which had begotten them in Christ » ⁴⁸²), but could ask to become permanent conventuals in the new foundation ⁴⁸³). Care had to be taken that the distance of 140 *cannae* ⁴⁸⁴) was kept, if another mendicant house was located in the same city. The papal permission for a new foundation included *eo ipso* the right to a public church, where the word of God could be freely preached and the sacraments of penance and the altar could be administered ⁴⁸⁵).

In the building of new churches, houses or cloisters those *magistri* had to be consulted who had been trained as architects ⁴⁸⁶). Only when their consent was given could construction start. In Paris, and probably in other large monasteries, two *magistri operum* were elected to supervise the erection of new and the upkeep of old buildings ⁴⁸⁷).

⁴⁷⁹) Boniface VIII, « Quum ex eo », *Lib. Sextus Decret. Lib. V, Tit. VI*, ed. FRIEDBERG, *Corpus Iuris Canonici II*, 1052.

⁴⁸⁰) « Ad receptionem autem novi loci prior provincialis consilium et assensum definitorum et aliquorum seniorum de provincia requirat »: CR 29v. The general's permission was also to be asked unless great distances made communication difficult: CR 35v. For the suppression of existing houses the consent of both the general and the provincial chapter was necessary: CR 29v.

⁴⁸¹) CR 42r.

⁴⁸²) CR 21v.

⁴⁸³) Note 76 *supra* and note 494 *infra*.

⁴⁸⁴) Pope Clement IV ordered at first the distance of 300 *cannae* (« Ad consequendam gloriam » of 30 November 1265) then reduced it to 140 *cannae* (« Quia plerumque » of 5 June 1268): TORELLI, *Secoli Agostiniani IV*, 712, 743. Neither document is to be found in the Vatican Registers, but both are enumerated in « Sua nobis dilecti » of 19 December 1296: G. DIGARD, *Les Registres de Boniface VIII, 1294-1303*, n° 1488.

The length of a *canna* had to be eight *palmae* (DIGARD, *op. cit.* n° 10). According to DUCANGE, *Glossarium II*, 91 a *canna* equalled 10 ft.

⁴⁸⁵) Boniface VIII in « Super Cathedram », ed. FRIEDBERG, *Corpus Iur. Canon.* II, 1162 and VAN LUIJK, *Bullarium*, n° 97.

⁴⁸⁶) CR 18r and 40r.

⁴⁸⁷) « Ad quos etiam spectat novis preesse edificiis; ut antiqua servantur et ruinosae edificia reparentur »: MM 301.

The Officials of individual Houses

The prior headed the friary and was responsible for its spiritual and material welfare. He was elected before each provincial chapter by the capitulars of the house who decided by secret vote whether they wanted him to continue in office or not. If not, they had to send at least three names to the provincial chapter which confirmed the one who had the majority of votes. In case he should be unavailable the chapter had to confirm the one who had the second highest number of votes. Priors could be elected from members of their own convent or from another house ⁴⁸⁸). Since the loss of one or several outstanding members could inflict considerable harm upon a monastery, especially one with a small number of brethren, they tried to protect themselves against such losses. In 1456* for example Atherstone obtained the privilege from the prior general that only with their unanimous consent could one of their conventuals be elected prior of another house. If a prior was chosen from another province the consent of the general was needed ⁴⁸⁹). Any illegal activity for the election of a candidate was to be punished by a fifteen day fast of bread and water, and other fines ⁴⁹⁰). A prior could be elected as often as the voters desired, but had to resign before each provincial chapter. Only one election for life is known, that of William Wangford, prior of Boston (D 1004).

The prior was assisted by the subprior who took charge in his absence, by the procurator to whom financial and other material cares were entrusted, and the sacristan who was in charge of masses, church furnishings and ecclesiastical functions. These three officials

⁴⁸⁸) CR 27r and D 722 (which shows John Thirlow of Clare as prior of Gorleston). The provincial had to approve the election of local priors as well as those of other officials elected by house chapters. The provincial also appointed a prior if a house failed to do so within a month (*loc. cit.*).

⁴⁸⁹) « Electionem vero eius qui in priorem conventualem alicuius loci de alia provincia eligitur, non nisi prior generalis confirmet »: CR 27r.

⁴⁹⁰) « Si autem aliquis frater subditus, cuiuscumque conditionis existat, inveniat procurare voces pro aliquo fratre eligendo ad curam animarum vel ad aliquod officium ordinis, XV diebus in pane et aqua sedendo in medio refectorii ieiunet et qualibet die recipiat disciplinam et usque ad triennium careat voce »: CR 27r. Similar fines were inflicted on a provincial or his agents guilty of same misdeed: CR 30v.

were also elected by the house chapter ⁴⁹¹). Various other officials like the cellarer, almoner, infirmarian, porter and particularly the master of novices ⁴⁹²) were appointed by the prior. The number of such functionaries varied according the size of a house and its needs.

The greater autonomy of a medieval friary allowed not only the regulation of its own finances but required also the recruiting of its own candidates and their training in its own monastic elementary school ⁴⁹³) as well as the education of its novices. Furthermore each one admitted to vows became by that very fact affiliated with the house that admitted him. This affiliation obliged the monastery to provide for his education, daily sustenance and care in sickness or old age. He could not be transferred to another house unless he volunteered or necessity required it ⁴⁹⁴). The income of each member belonged to the common fund. This system worked well as long as common life was observed.

Limitors and Limitations

Quite different from the jurisdictional limits of provinces were

⁴⁹¹) CR 19r. CR Chapter 28 speaks of the supprior, Ch. 29 of the procurator and sacristan, Ch. 33 of visitors.

⁴⁹²) CR Ch. 20 mentions *magister* or *superstes operum* (Note 487 *supra*), *cantor in choro*, *pocurator exterior*, *cellerarius*, *servitor hospitum* or *hostiarius*, *minister hebdomodarius*, *eleemosynarius*. Vfr. 260 adds *armarius*, *coquinarius*, *vestiarius*, *infirmarius*, *portarius*. — With the growth of a library *armarius* changed to *custos librariae* (MM 299). — The *minister hebdomodarius* directed the prayers in choir and at table; each week a different man was appointed for this task. — The *eleemosinarius* did not distribute alms but collected them: Note 510 *infra*.

The master of novices was not only appointed by the prior, but had also to follow his directions (« salvo ubique mandato prioris »): CR 22r. In the appendix we shall add a paragraph on this important chapter.

⁴⁹³) Note 262 *supra*. CR 33r has the significant rule that « quilibet prior iuvenes sui conventus faciat in estate in cantu docere ».

⁴⁹⁴) The prior general could transfer a member any time. Within a province such changes were made at the provincial chapter and the prior provincial could act only in case of necessity.

[General] « Statuentes quod prior generalis possit unire et incorporare fratres unius conventus alteri conventui causa rationabili subsistente »: CR 29v.

[Chapter] « ... et fratrum mutatione procedant »: CR 29v.

[Provincial] « ... fratres numquam de loco ad locum mutare aut mittere nisi pro manifesta et evidenti necessitate non debet »: CR 30r.

the begging limits of individual houses which were entrusted to the *terminarii* or limitors. Their important role in the economic and religious life of a province has been described ⁴⁹⁵). Towards the middle of the fifteenth century continental limitors had become quite independent and had degraded their work to a personal business enterprise. They not only lived the greater part of the year outside the monastery but also regarded the income of their limit as their personal property of which they paid only a fixed sum to their monastery ⁴⁹⁶). By their dispensations the generals legalized this abuse. Records of this kind have not come to light in England ⁴⁹⁷). Dispersations from the obligation of limiting ⁴⁹⁸) and complaints about lack of limitors point rather to a dislike of this task. In 1391* Oxford reported great material losses due to the lack of limitors, whereupon the general commanded all future provincial chapters to assign for this work sufficient men from other houses. In 1424* Thetford was also allowed to obtain four men from other houses so that its candidates would be free to study instead of being forced to beg.

⁴⁹⁵) Notes 70, 424 and p. 47 (VIII, 479) *supra*, to which we add CR 29v which orders the provincial chapter: « Quæstam in provincia faciendam ita prudenter inter loca provinciae dividant et de ea ita modeste et religiose disponant, quod ex multiplicitate fratrum petentium per contratam nullum possit scandalum generari ». In 1431 the prior of Ballinrobe received permission to imprison friars from other limits questing in his own: MARTIN, *Irish Material*, n° 51. See also A. WILLIAMS, « The Limitours of Chaucer's Time and his Limitaciouns », *Studies in Philology* 57 (1960) 463-476 and separate.

⁴⁹⁶) A. DE MEIJER - N. TEEUWEN, *Documents pour servir à l'Histoire Médiévale de la Province Augustinienne de Cologne* (Heverlée-Louvain 1961). In 1455 Hermann von Gulpen was allowed to retain the income of his limit as long as he paid his monastery the agreed sum (*op. cit.* 568). Soon other limitors came to a similar arrangement (*op. cit.* 545, 568, 597, 667, 778, 797). In 1459 John of Wesel was permitted to remain in the newly built house for the limit of Sittard (*op. cit.* 595) but this permission was withdrawn in 1465, when Wesel joined the Observance (*op. cit.* 676). — The importance of limitors is also reflected in the command of the general not to shelter certain recalcitrant brethren and to arrest fugitives (*op. cit.* 637, 647).

⁴⁹⁷) Very few details are known of English limits. Five limitors are mentioned by name for Cambridge (D 340). Three limitaciouns are known for Clare. That of Bury embraced 50 villages, that of Levynham 45, but the number for Sudbury is not given: *Suffolk Institute* 20 (1928) 36-42. See also history of Thetford *infra*.

⁴⁹⁸) D 574 (Walter Birington) and Dd 3 fol. 193 (Wm. Chaumont).

Membership

From a few known facts modern historians ⁴⁹⁹) concluded that the membership of the Austin Friars in England rose to over 600 by 1348, was cut into half by the Black Death, experienced an increase to about two thirds of the original high, but had sunk to less than 200 men at the time of dissolution ⁵⁰⁰). Many new data differ somewhat with this estimate.

The earliest information on membership comes from royal pittances for which we have records from 1277-1345. By 1290 these pittances had been stabilized. From then on each friar received a groat or four pence per day when he participated in the royal benevolence, therefore, the number of friars can be concluded from the total contribution for each house. Often, however, the exact number of friars is added to the payment. The king showed himself gracious towards the friars not only because their poverty appealed to him ; they also added to the splendor of his coming into a city by meeting him in solemn procession ⁵⁰¹). It is unknown why the kings ceased to make these bequests after the middle of the fourteenth century. The great financial plight following the Black Death and the changed attitude of the friars towards possessions might have been some of the reasons.

The now available data point to at least 700 Austins before the Great Plague. After the discontinuance of royal pittances data on the membership of friars are meagre indeed. A new source of information, however, can be opened through the ordination lists of episcopal registers ⁵⁰²). By dividing the years into the number of friars one arrives at the annual number of *ordinati*, a most important factor for estimates. Full accuracy, however, is impossible because lists are unavailable for the diocese of Norwich in which five Austin friaries were located including the houses of study in Lynn and Nor-

⁴⁹⁹) KNOWLES-HADCOCK, *Rel. Houses-England* 363; RUSSELL, *Clerical Population* 209, 212. Through the kindness of Fr. Keith Egan many new details on royal pittances were obtained.

⁵⁰⁰) The method by which these figures were obtained is given p. 32 (VIII, 47) *supra*.

⁵⁰¹) This solemn reception is frequently mentioned in *Brit. Mus., Cotton Ms. Nero VIII*, for example on fol. 52, 201, 203, 206v etc.

⁵⁰²) See Appendices. Professor Russell kindly checked our data and in general agrees with our methods and their results.

wich, while endless *lacunae* occur in other registers. During the fifteenth century, for example, not a single ordination is listed for 83 years in the diocese of Worcester and for 50 years in that of Lichfield and Coventry. One might claim that the Austins had no one to be ordained, but it is impossible that they sent a full complement of *ordinandi* from acolyte to priest in one year and had no candidates for the next three to nine years. Medieval religious made solemn vows right after the novitiate and once professed could not leave the Order. Major Orders, therefore, followed the Minor. Consequently, the lack of vocations in some instances was not factual but is an erroneous conclusion from imperfectly kept episcopal registers.

From reliable registers some interesting, previously not mentioned, consequences of the Black Death become evident. The diocese of Ely did not have a single ordination of Austins from 1347-1353 though their *studium generale* of Cambridge was located in its territory. The bishop of Lincoln ordained 45 Austins from 1345-1347 but none for the next three years and only 32 in the following seven years (1350/7). Yet three houses of study, viz. Oxford, Lincoln and Stamford had most of their students ordained in this diocese. The Great Plague supposedly reduced the monastic population by 50 %, but ordinations of Austins in the diocese of Hereford show a loss of more than 60 % without any sign of recovery. In other dioceses, however, new advances can be noted and they continued into the fifteenth century. For this fact we do not only have the boast of Capgrave in 1446* that his house in Lynn numbered 30 priests and 14 little students not counting deacons, subdeacons and those in Minor Orders. The increase can also be proved by the available statistics which point to about 550 friars. Towards the end of the century a drop of 20 % lowered this number to about 430 men.

With the beginning of the sixteenth century an unbelievable decrease of vocations developed. Statistics are few but suffice for proof. For the year of the dissolution the names of 194 Austins in 22 houses could be found so far. This places 8.8 men in each friary. Multiplying the remaining 14 friaries by this average we arrive at a total of 317 Austins who were driven from their antient homes in 1538.

Finances

While affluence has never been the purpose of Mendicant

Orders, the daily needs had to be supplied. The popes did not favor, daily begging otherwise Clement VI (1342-1352) and his two successors would not have made sufficient income for twelve brethren a condition for each new Augustinian foundation in England ⁵⁰³). Not a single foundation, however, made in the fourteenth century, seems to have been thus endowed, neither could more than two or three of the older friaries live off their farms. As to-day the main source of income was the work of the priests. Remuneration was given for preaching. The honorarium for a sermon before the king was as a rule 11s (D-667) ; what it was for ordinary parish sermons is not known. The assistance in parishes over the week-end, known as « singing abroad », was regarded essential for survival ⁵⁰⁴). How highly this assistance was appreciated is evident from the many bequests by pastors ⁵⁰⁵). Another source of income were mass stipends. The usual offering for a mass was 2d ⁵⁰⁶) which rose to 3,4 and even 6d at the *Scalae Coeli* of East Anglia ⁵⁰⁷). Trentals or Gregorian Masses were welcome because the usual offering was 10s or double the ordinary stipend ⁵⁰⁸). After the Black Death some fixed income was derived from the boarding houses owned by friars in the larger cities ⁵⁰⁹). The begging within the assigned limitacions, especially at harvest time ⁵¹⁰), essentially supplemented the ordinary income but was not its ordinary or main source. For extraordinary, large expenses generous contributions were made as a rule by rich friends ⁵¹¹).

⁵⁰³) D 338 (Stamford), 339 (Sherborn), 344 (Stafford), 485 (Urban V for four places, which turned out to be Atherstone, Rye, Newport and Thetford).

⁵⁰⁴) D 1114, 1116.

⁵⁰⁵) In addition to many texts in our *Sources* see GIBBONS, *Early Lincoln Wills* 6, 42, 56, 68, 89, 142 etc.

⁵⁰⁶) For an average of 2d see *Test. Ebor.* II, 93, 129 etc.

⁵⁰⁷) FOSTER, *Lincoln Wills* II, 172, 196 etc.

⁵⁰⁸) FOSTER, *op. cit.* III, 47, 77; J. MUSKETT, *Suffolk Memorial Families* (Exeter 1906) I, 67, 92, 202, 365; II, 388. Most of these gifts date from the sixteenth century.

⁵⁰⁹) P. 57/8 (VIII, 489-490) *supra*.

⁵¹⁰) « Si copia elemosynariorum in loco interdum non sit, studens pro pane bis vel ter in mense ire ad mandatum prioris non renunciaret et pro quaesta musti ubi opus erit, vadat »: CR 32v. It is apparent that the *elemosynarii* were not almoners, i. e. giver of alms, but the collectors for daily needs, as MM 296 clearly states « ... ab elemosynariis, qui quaestam panis faciunt ».

⁵¹¹) To arrive at a fair estimate of the above mentioned small sums see *Ame-*

The procurator, who was in charge of finances, had to keep an exact record of income and expenses and the prior had to give a financial report each month to the assembled fathers, if not, he forfeited his annual provision. Funds on hand had to be deposited in a common chest. Three inventories of all movable and immovable goods of the house had to be kept up-to-date ⁵¹²).

Individual friars were also bound to deposit their valuables in money, gold or silver in the common chest. Anyone who did not or deposited them with outsiders forfeited them to the common fund. As long as he placed them in the common chest he was not regarded as a *proprietary* ⁵¹³). Nevertheless the money could not be used for the common good without his consent and if used had to be returned. These arrangements clearly point to the existence of the *peculium* or personal ownership. It was made legally possible through the weekly provision for personal necessities and the yearly allowance for clothing ⁵¹⁴). At the General Chapter of Rimini in 1318 masters actually engaged in teaching were granted six florins for clothing, bachelors five and lectors four annually. The convent in which they taught had to pay these sums ⁵¹⁵). The chapter of Florence in 1326 added two more florins for masters, totalling eight ⁵¹⁶). With the rapid increase in masters these sums proved too high. In Paris of

ican Histor. Review 1 (1896) 425. Father Egan called my attention to M. POSTAN, « Some Economic Evidence of the Declining Population in the Later Middle Ages », *The Economic History Review* 2 (1950), esp. pp. 223, 226.

⁵¹²) CR 26rv, 41v. A procurator could not spend more than one ounce of pure silver or seven shillings of Tours without the consent of the house capitulars. — Visitors had to contribute for their sustenance after the first day, esp. in the larger houses of study. In 1345 one penny of Tours was sufficient for one day (MM 297), but in 1447 *duo albi* were required (*Statuts* 27). One *albus* or blanc amounted to six pennies of Tours (DUCANGE, *Glossarium* 1087).

⁵¹³) CR 37v.

⁵¹⁴) CR ch. 25 did not mention a fixed sum of money for clothing but ordered the prior to give once a year a cuculla and tunic to those in need of them, but a scapular and shoes only if the convent could afford it. If a friar did not need the money for clothing he could use it for buying a breviary or missal. The vestments of a deceased brother were sold and the income thereof placed in the common treasury.

⁵¹⁵) AA III, 225. The early Dominican Constitutions did not have these provisions, but in 1305 two florins for clothing was made obligatory at the General Chapter of Genova: N. HINNEBUSH, « Foreign Dominican Students and Professors at the Oxford Blackfriars », *O. H. S. n. ser.* 16 (1964) 118.

⁵¹⁶) AA IV, 10.

1345 only two florins was given to every conventual, masters included ⁵¹⁷). The weekly provision was fixed by the General Chapter of Paris in 1329 at 1 1/2 pennies of Tours (*grossi Turonenses*) for masters, 3/4 penny for bachelors and 1/2 penny for lectors ⁵¹⁸). The purpose of this provision was, of course, the practice of simplicity but its danger lay in the fact that the deposit in the common chest was not fixed though large amounts could not be deposited without the consent of the provincial ⁵¹⁹). The proprietorship of the individual is further emphasized by the frequently threatened forfeiture of the provision for transgressing certain constitutions.

Deposits were unproductive since the taking of interest was forbidden by church law. Loans to other houses were, of course allowed. The erection of the cloister in Stamford, for example, was completely financed by Clare, otherwise the receipt by its builder would not have been entered in Clare's cartulary (D 586).

Chapter 2

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF AN AUSTIN FRIARY ⁵²⁰)

The first Austins came to England to promote ideals of eremitical life ; they settled, therefore, in lonely spots like Tickhill and Woodhouse. When in 1256 the pope called all Austins into the cities, he found a willing ear in England. By 1300 they had established themselves in most of the principal cities. This movement continued to the middle of the fourteenth century when it stopped

⁵¹⁷) MM 319. In 1451 Paris found all former provisions « intolerable » and limited the prior and lector to a salary of 4 francs, the *magister scientiae puero-rum* to 8 frcs, the sacristan and his helper to 6 frcs. No one else was to get a provision (*Statuts* 39).

⁵¹⁸) AA IV, 84. This ordinance is repeated in CR 43r. One florin was then valued at ten pennies of Tours or thirteen pennies of Venice (AA II, 347n).

⁵¹⁹) CR 26v.

⁵²⁰) The best available treatise on mendicant architecture is A. R. MARTIN, *Franciscan Architecture in England* (Manchester 1937). He remarks p. 22 that the measurements in Worcestre's *Itinerarium* vary. A pace (*passus*) was always 1 1/2 ft and as a rule 1 3/4 ft. Martin adopted the latter measure and we follow him.

A fine example of early fourteenth century Augustinian architecture is the former monastery in Adare, County Limerick, Ireland. See R. F. HEWSON, « The Augustinian Priory of Adare », *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* 1 (1938) 61-74.

as a result of the Black Death and the resistance of the great abbeys⁵²¹). New opportunities presented themselves in settlements which were still without parish churches. Great abbeys and cathedral chapters were not interested in the formation of new parishes which were a drain on their resources. People, however, disliked burdensome walks to distant parish churches and, with the help of their local lords, tried to remedy the situation by inviting friars to establish a house in their district. Since friars had the right to public churches, administration of the sacraments and burial on their property the essential religious needs of a community could be satisfied. These reasons led to foundations like Clifton-Dartmouth and Atherstone. When this trend also came to an end all further extension ceased, not only for the Austins, but for all Orders. Most of the late foundations did not gain great importance and their buildings remained modest for obvious reasons.

Scattered descriptions and old pictures show that most Austin friaries were located in suburbs, not within the protective walls of their towns. They seldom consisted of one large building but rather of a number of individual units built around a courtyard, known as « The Paradise ». Winchester seems to have been one of the exceptions because the royal visitor of 1538 described it as « a great building after the old fashion » (D 1114), the reason being that the Austins purchased an already existing religious house which had been built a hundred years before their arrival in England. The division into smaller units kept building costs low and proved a protection against fire. It also made some buildings easier available for public use without disturbing the peace of the monastery itself. Most Austin friaries consisted at least of a church with separate choir, chapter house, cloister, dormitory (dorter) and refectory. All buildings were surrounded by a high wall which in Stamford was half a mile long. The enclosure proved a great protection against thievery and in lieu of bank vaults, monasteries were at times used for the safe deposit of money and documents⁵²²). The wall was broken only by the main gate, the entrance to the church and an occasional wicket for convenient access to gardens located outside the enclosure.

⁵²¹) P. 49 (VIII, 481), *supra*.

⁵²²) D 420 (Bristol), D 997 (York).

Churches

Unless churches were planned by master builders, they were of the most simple construction, rather long and narrow. The nave of Bristol, for example, was 105 ft. long but only 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide (D 218). Some churches, however, were of great size. That of London surpassed many cathedrals of England, with those of Norwich, Oxford, York and Newcastle not far behind. English and Irish friary churches distinguished themselves from their European counterparts chiefly through the separation of nave and choir. While on the continent choir and nave form one wide open unit, they were separated on the British Isles by an arched passageway over which the bell tower rose. The only remaining example of such Augustinian architecture is the parish church of Atherstone with its splendid octagonal tower. This separation of nave and choir also explains how the great choir of London could be torn down by the Marquis of Winchester while the nave remained a complete place of worship. The papal directive of 1261* which granted permission for only one bell fell into disuse during the following centuries. At the time of the dissolution, for example, Stafford and Tickhill owned two and Ludlow three bells.

A common feature of Irish friars' churches was an annex to the right or left of the nave for the accommodation of large crowds. This so-called preaching nave was, however, rare in England; it is found only at Warrington, where the foundations of such an annex were excavated in 1887. Its proximity to Ireland and the great conflux of people to its church must have been the reason for this adoption. There is a probability that the friary in Newport also made use of a preacher's nave.

The cemetery lay as a rule within the monastic enclosure and adjoined the church. Burials also took place in the cloisters, the choir, the church, and the chapterhouse. The place of honor before the high altar in either church or choir was reserved for the founder or principal benefactor.

The main gate of the monastery was guarded by the porter. Friendliness and much prudence were demanded of him. Visitors waited at first on the porch (*porticus*) adjoining the main gate⁵²³) and then were led to the chapter house where they awaited the

⁵²³) « In porticu quae iuxta portam exteriorem est »: CR 23r.

disposition of the prior. Thomas of Strassburg ordered a separate guesthouse ⁵²⁴) in which even fellow Austins were lodged in order not to disturb the discipline of the common dormitory. The neglect of guests carried with it serious penalties ⁵²⁵). The proximity of chapter house and choir was required by Augustinian liturgical practices which demanded a quick transfer from one to the other ⁵²⁶).

Larger monasteries did not have one but two cloisters. The first cloister was accessible to secular clergy and some select laymen. It could also be used for meetings of the brethren. The second cloister was reserved to members of the house. Perpetual silence was to be kept there ⁵²⁷). The first cloister was connected with the refectory, because the friars assembled here before entering the dining room. Its fountain permitted the prescribed washing of hands before meals ⁵²⁸).

Choir and first cloister were closed to women except on the patronal feast of the church, the funeral of some important person,

⁵²⁴) « Statuimus... quod ordinetur domus communis in quolibet loco ubi est possibilitas, pro forensibus advenientibus, ita quod propter forenses non sit inquietudo, vel perturbatio fratribus conventualibus in communi dormitorio residentibus. Quod si defectus huius domus ex negligentia prioris fuerit, vel eius vicem gerens, careat provisione annuali » CR ch. 19, fol. 41r. CR 23r speaks of a « domus hospitem », while CR 31r mentions the « forestaria », a section of the house set aside for visitors.

⁵²⁵) The Constitutions prescribed punishment of fifteen days for more serious guilt. An Austin who had to undergo this punishment could not say Mass or receive Holy Communion nor was he allowed to wear the habit. He had to undergo public discipline, take the last place and fast on rough bread and water eaten in the middle of the refectory at a table not covered with a cloth (*nuda tabula*). At the canonical hours he had to lie prostrate at the entrance to the church. No one was allowed to talk to him, but in order not to drive him to despair some older brethren were allowed to encourage him to persevere. He could be re-admitted (in case there was no time limit) only upon the request of the whole community and only the Chapter General could give him back his vote. CR 49.

⁵²⁶) P. 193 (XIII, 530) *supra*.

⁵²⁷) « Paucis... dabitur ad secundum claustrum et [h]ortum vel viridarium ingressus, ita ut claustrum ipsum et ortus sit ab extraneorum accessibus alienus. Primum etiam claustrum nisi in casibus expressis seculares intrare permitti non debent »: CR ch. 19, fol. 23r.

⁵²⁸) CR 24r. On meals see p. 194/5 (XIII, 531/2) *supra*. The church was closed during mealtime and rest periods: CR 20v. The rule of drinking with both hands was also found in the Dominican Constitutions: GALBRAITH, *op. cit.* 216.

the celebration of a first mass, the services of fraternities or societies and at sermon time ⁵²⁹).

Dormitory and Private Chambers ⁵³⁰)

The dorter in Stamford was built above the cloister (D 534). A similar arrangement existed probably in most smaller houses but in larger places the dorter formed a separate buiding in which all friars had to sleep. It was protected by a special enclosure (*clausura*) and was divided into small cells thus giving some privacy to its occupants though each door had to have a clear window. To visit another's cell was forbidden. Anyone who lived outside the dorter lost his right to vote ⁵³¹). Each friar slept on a strawsack placed upon a bedstead. Feather beds or linnen sheets were forbidden, only woollen material was permitted. Pillows were stuffed with straw or rags. The sleeping garment consisted of the *cuculla* with scapular or small capooch.

At first, separate chambers were allowed to masters only. Attitudes, however, changed in the following centuries. The desire and often the need for more spacious quarters set ancient rules aside. Dispensation after dispensation by the priors general permitted not only the construction of special cells within the dorter but also in other places of the monastery e. g. the infirmary. Since these chambers were built at the expense of an individual friar and with permission of the general, they could not be taken away without recourse to Rome. Once the private ownership was established new privileges were quickly added like stove and chimney, (D 777), a

⁵²⁹) CR 20v.

⁵³⁰) « Item fratres omnes, ubi potest fieri, stent in communi dormitorio sub eadem clausura, nec quisquam habeat cellam ab aliis sequestratam exceptis magistris s. theologiae, secus faciens cella privetur et voce careat quamdiu steterit sequestratus » : CR 41v; *Sources* note 205.

« Fratres in dormitorio super fiscones aut paleas tantum dormiant et in cellis eis concessis, quae numquam claudantur neque vellentur... In qualibet autem dormitorii cella sit fisco unus super lecteriam religiosam et honestam, quam prior semel in anno faciat lavari et de novis paleis repleri, et sic etiam unum pulvinar ad tenendum ad caput. Et in qualibet lectisteria sit fargana una, quam frater de super teneat et etiam mantellum... Cultras de syrico aut mataricia seu cervicalia vel alia coopertoria delicata vel curiosa nullus infirmus vel sanus in lecto teneat... Cum cuculla quoque vel scapulari vel capucio parvo quilibet dormiat: extra cellam nullus sine cuculla vel scapulari exeat » : CR 25rv.

⁵³¹) CR 41v.

camera privata or washroom, a special study and even private gardens ⁵³²). When the owners were sent to other friaries they could sell their chambers (D 734) and in case of death they had to be sold to the highest bidder for the benefit of the monastery ⁵³³). This purchase, however, did not guarantee possession unless confirmed by the general. Some friars received permission to invite friends, and even eat and drink with them in their chambers ⁵³⁴), a thing severely frowned upon by the first Constitutions ⁵³⁵). Permission for private chambers became so frequent that the generals began to convey their right of dispensation to the provincials. At his confirmation, Provincial William Wells Jr., for example, was empowered to let nine men have the right to private chambers (D 789). From that year on (1438) very few dispensations for chambers appear in the Registers of the General, which leads to the conclusion that the many faculties which a provincial received with his confirmation also included this privilege or perhaps the general simply accepted it as a common practice (D 734).

In some instances it seems that the prior dwelt in a separate house as was the case with the Dominicans. A tenement in London, called « le priour chambre » (D 1135), « the prior's mansion » in Clare (D 660), and « the place of Friar Bewyck », the well-known prior of York (D 965), point in this direction. Separate library buildings existed in London, Gorleston and possibly Norwich while in other houses the library was located in the dormitory or the choir.

Perpetual silence was enforced in refectory, dormitory and the second cloister ⁵³⁶).

Infirmary. Practice of Medicine

The care of the sick was the first and supreme task of the prior ⁵³⁷). He had to set aside one or several rooms for an infirmary

⁵³²) We translated *aula* as study (D 764). For gardens see D 957 and F. X. MARTIN, *Irish Material* n° 46 and 74, also JEDIN, *Seripando* I, 237 n. 5.

⁵³³) Note 210 *supra*.

⁵³⁴) D 591 (Friars Elingham, Bradfield, Swafham), D 592 (Fr. Swayn), D 604 (Fr. Bermingham).

⁵³⁵) CR 41r.

⁵³⁶) « In choro, in dormitorio, in clauastro, in refectorio quoque atque in charis summum silentium ubique in ordine nostro servetur »: CR 20r.

⁵³⁷) « Circa fratres infirmos tam novitios quam professos seu conversos caveat,

(D 614) and appoint one of the brethren as infirmarian whose just demands for the sick could not be refused. The Additions of Thomas of Strassburg urged that a separate infirmary building be erected wherever possible and that 10 % of the income of procurator and sacristan be set aside for the sick ⁵³⁸). The temptation to remove equipment from the infirmary to other needs was, of course, always present and, therefore, strictly forbidden. The directives for London in this respect (D 438) are only a milder paraphrase of the strongly worded statutes for Paris ⁵³⁹). The sick could also use linen and featherbeds which were otherwise forbidden ⁵⁴⁰).

The Ratisbon Constitutions permitted men trained in medical science to practice their art not only inside but also outside the monastery ⁵⁴¹). In 1388 the General Chapter of Imola rescinded this permission. Nevertheless William Wells who had studied medicine for a long time was allowed in 1422* to practice it and, before him, Robert Waldeby had been the personal physician of King Richard II ⁵⁴²).

Except for demands of cleanliness and the prohibition of public baths only one medical detail found its place in the Ratisbon Constitutions. It is the interesting paragraph on bloodletting (*minutio*) which was permissible four times a year, but not oftener, unless ordered by a physician. Its resulting weakness excused from fasting and rising for Matins on three days and priests were not required to say mass on two days ⁵⁴³).

ne sit negligens, prior, quia cura de eis ante omnia et super omnia est habenda » : CR fol. 21. The whole chapter 13 treats on the sick. See also fol. 31rv (Investigation by visitors); 28r (punishment of prior in case of neglect).

⁵³⁸) « ...in quolibet loco, ubi est possibilitas, sit una domus pro infirmis, extra quam nulli egro exceptis magistris sacrae theologiae liceat residere, nec conventus teneatur alicui extra domum illam in necessariis infirmitatis providere » : CR 40v. Here also the 10 % is prescribed.

⁵³⁹) *Mare Magnum* 290/1.

⁵⁴⁰) CR 41v.

⁵⁴¹) « De arte vero medicinae seu cyrugiae [sic] nullus frater ordinis nostri se penitus intromittat, nisi in ipsa scientia fuerit ita sufficienter edoctus, quod prior provincialis et diffinitores provincialis capituli eidem concedant licentiam in facultate huiusmodi consulendi. Ad incisionem tamen seu ad exustionem si morbus egroti hoc requirere videretur, huiusmodi licentia nullatenus se extendat » : CR 18r.

⁵⁴²) P. 89 (XII, 557) *supra*. In 1358 Fr. Arnold of Ratisbon, is called « physicus regis Hungariae » : Dd I, fol. 59/60. — For Imola see AA V, 79.

⁵⁴³) CR 25v. Vide GALBRAITH, *Constitutions* 211/12.

The Monastic Jail

One feature of mediaeval monasteries unknown to later times was the jail. The Austins merely followed ancient monastic practice when their Constitutions prescribed a good, solid prison for each house with fourteen brethren⁵⁴⁴). England did not prove an exception to this rule. In 1392 the king himself ordered Master John Hornington to be placed for life in the monastic prison [of Hull ?] for tampering with his royal privileges (D 546). Robert Barnes was first kept in the monastic prison of London and then sent to the one in Northampton (D 1057).

The most vigorous exponent of jail sentences was Prior General Gregory of Rimini. He demanded a strong and safe room in which the usual chains were available. When he heard that in the Roman Province some brethren condemned to jail walked about freely and even partook of good meals, he wrote to the provincial that such laxity could only lead to the decay of discipline and contempt for justice. Brethren condemned to prison should be chained and no one was to talk to them but their guard and the prior; neither should they write or receive letters⁵⁴⁵). While in prison an Austin could not wear his habit⁵⁴⁶) and anyone who by advice or deed helped a confrere to escape had to undergo the same punishment as the culprit⁵⁴⁷). A list of those in jail had to be submitted to the provincial chapter⁵⁴⁸).

Prison sentences were prescribed for many transgressions. For example a year in jail was imposed for misuse of the seal of the general or provincial, for the suppression of letters from and to these superiors, six months for stealing, carrying arms or apostasy

⁵⁴⁴) CR 29v.

⁵⁴⁵) AA V, 8. In 1357 Gregory surprised some brethren of Lecceto at the strictly forbidden game of dice (CR 44r) and promptly imposed the prescribed three months in jail. The imprisonment brought about a complete change of heart in Fr. Philip Agazarri, one of the culprits. The former lukewarmness disappeared and his new zeal enabled him to write his well-known *Assempri*, that is edifying examples from the lives of his brethren in Lecceto and other places: PERINI, *Bibl. August.* I, 12-14.

⁵⁴⁶) « Incarcerati autem habitu careant, quamdiu fuerint in carcere vinculati » : CR 38r.

⁵⁴⁷) CR 38r.

⁵⁴⁸) CR 42r.

from the Order ⁵⁴⁹). A local prior could imprison brethren who came from other houses without testimonial letters ⁵⁵⁰). The disgrace connected with imprisonment barred the election to any office for five years. If incarcerated twice the right to vote was lost for life ⁵⁵¹). A prison sentence also precluded promotion to academic degrees ⁵⁵²).

Gardens, Aqueducts, Boarding Houses

Gardens and orchards are frequently mentioned and if not enclosed by the monastic wall, were fenced in as the expression « close » signifies. Farms were owned only by a few houses located in rural communities, such as Clare, Woodhouse, Tickhill and Thetford. Woodhouse seems to have had sixty acres, the largest of an Austin friary in England. The real estate holdings in a city seldom exceeded a few acres, only Boston had ten. At the time of dissolution most of the farms were rented out, a sign that there was no longer a sufficient number of lay brothers; in fact, not a single document at this time mentions them.

Great care was taken to provide good drinking water. Sometimes the building of aqueducts involved a great outlay of money because the water pipes lying within a conduit of bricks had to be carried for considerable distances. In Huntingdon, for example, the water had to be carried from a well outside the walls through the city ⁵⁵³).

A considerable change in the topography of friaries took place as a result of the Black Death ⁵⁵⁴). Many donations were given by surviving relatives for the establishment of chantries or other memorials. At the same time desirable property could be purchased easily and cheaply. Like other farsighted people the Mendicant Orders availed themselves of the opportunity and substantially increased their holdings. This brought them in conflict with the royal policy that Mendicants could alienate in mortmain only such property

⁵⁴⁹) CR 44r.

⁵⁵⁰) CR 41r.

⁵⁵¹) CR 44r.

⁵⁵²) CR 43v.

⁵⁵³) Though Huntingdon's aqueduct was constructed in 1363* it was still in existence in 1810 (vide history *infra*). Aqueducts are also mentioned for Bristol (D 399), Lynn (D 552) and Stafford (D 346).

⁵⁵⁴) P. 57 (VIII, 489) *supra*.

which served their own needs and, therefore, had to adjoin their property (D 475). In 1408, however, the Austins of Canterbury obtained licence from King Henry IV to reconstruct their houses and buildings, rent them to outsiders and apply the proceeds for the maintenance of their monastery. At the time of suppression Canterbury had seven such tenements within its enclosure which were rented for £ 5-10-4 a year. The City Council paid an annual 2s for the use of the friars' « boarde house ». Lynn and Newcastle were so large that they could play host to the king and his retinue on several occasions. Most noticeable, however, was the change in London, where earls and dukes had their regular living quarters, where the ambassadors of France and Spain dwelt and where Italian bankers transacted their business. The available accommodations also brought the Guilds within the monastic confines where they could rent a hall and other rooms for their requirements. The Austins, of course, were not alone in this endeavor. In 1537 the 1,031 beds available for visitors to the city of York were found almost exclusively in religious houses, the four mendicant houses among them ⁵⁵⁵).

Chapter 3

HISTORY OF THE INDIVIDUAL HOUSES

1. *Atherstone* 1374-1538

Atherstonia, also *Adreslonia*, *Adrestonia* (false : *Haresconia*) ; Diocese : Lichfield and Coventry (to-day : Birmingham) ; Country : Warwick ; Limit : Lincoln ; Patron : St. Mary.

Ralph Lord Basset of Drayton ⁵⁵⁶) founded this house in 1374* and assigned to it twelve acres of land. It was the second of four foundations permitted in 1364* by Pope Urban V who demanded that each of them be able to maintain twelve brethren. It seems doubtful that this friary ever reached this complement nor did the small town of Atherstone (population ca. 250) offer a chance for

⁵⁵⁵) *LP Henry VIII, Addenda n° 1192.*

⁵⁵⁶) Ralph Lord Basset of Drayton died in 1389 without heir. He had been Steward of Aquitaine, Seneschal of Gascony, Constable of Devon Castle and Warden of Cinq Ports: *MOOR, Knights* II, 52/3. His wife Joan was the sister of John, duke of Brittany: *Test. Ebor.* I, 361.

great material expansion and, therefore, this house always remained small. Like other similar attempts in the latter part of the fourteenth century it was to serve the religious needs of the local people whose parish church, Mancetter, was difficult to reach. The pastor, Richard Bulcot, understood the problem and came in July 1375 to an amicable understanding with Fr. John Combe, procurator for the Austins (D 670).

A church was the principal need. It was erected on the foundations of an ancient chapel which had belonged to the abbey of Bec and was 55 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long and 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide. When Lord Ralph bequeathed in his will 500 marks towards the completion of the church (D 556) the Austins added a nave 95 $\times$ 31 ft, converted the first church into their choir and connected both by an octagonal tower which was 12 ft. square. The building still stands and serves as parish church. In 1485, before the battle of Bosworth, King Henry VII received in this church Holy Communion from the hands of an Austin friar. He did not sleep in the monastery but in the Three Tunns Inn.

The addition to the church seems to have increased attendance. This and some other reasons led in 1404* to the bitter attack by the Pastor William Brinkelow which has been reported above.

The fixed annual income of this house was but 30s2d (D 1102) which was increased by 20s p. a. when in 1536* Prior Robert Spayne leased the monastic orchard to Thomas Chelwyn.

The house was suppressed in August 1538 (D 1115). In 1543 its buildings and site were granted to Henry Cartwright for 38s4d p. a. with the exception of the church which remained reserved to the inhabitants.

Priors: 1404, 1408 John Bray (D 669, 695).

1536 Robert Spayne (D 1109).

Literature:

J. Cox in *VCH-Warwick* II (1908) 106. A detailed description of the church with picture in *VCH-Warwick* IV (1947) 127. LISLE J., *Warwickshire* (London 1936) 191 gives the name of the church and the news on Henry VII, but omits his sources.

2. *Barnard Castle 1381-

Bernardi Castellum ; [Limit : York] ; Diocese and County : Durham (*Dunelmense*).

Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, gave in 1381* a plot of land for the establishment of an Austin friary in his town Barnard Castle. Since the place had no parish of its own but belonged to that of Gainford, Beauchamp might have been motivated by the same reason as Lord Basset in the case of Atherstone. A Fr. William of Barnard Castle who is mentioned as an Austin in 1348 might have promoted the foundation (D 394). We have no proof that it was ever realized and the list of houses of 1387 does not mention it (D 590). The conjecture of some historians that an old religious building at the end of Thorngate (gate meaning street) was the Austin friary, is therefore, unacceptable.

Literature:

VCH-Durham II (1907 111; R. SURTEES, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham* I (London 1840) 79/80 is the source for all later historians of the above mentioned conjecture. J. R. WALBRAN, *The Antiquities of Gainford* (Ripon 1846) does not mention the friary.

3. *Barnstaple 1348-

Barnastapolia ; [Limit : Oxford] ; Diocese : Exeter (*Exoniensis*) ; County : Devonshire.

After the bitterly fought loss of Dartmouth the English Province tried again to establish itself in the south-western part of their country this time with the aid of the famous Sir James Audley who donated them an area in the town of Barnstaple. John Grandisson, bishop of Exeter, gave his consent in 1348 under the condition, that the Order would not retain another place in his diocese (D 369). Apparently the Black Death hindered the carrying out of Audley's plan. It was resumed in 1353 when Master Robert Bowe received from King Edward III the right to alienate in mortmain five acres to the Austins (D 406), but nothing seems to have been accomplished because in 1363* the Provincial Herdeby complained to Pope Urban V that despite papal permission and the expense of money and labor the Cluniac prior would not allow them to remain, even though the Austins had offered to pay an annual rent « equal to the tithe of the place they occupy » (D 480). Again the Pope granted the request, but without success. The Cluniac prior insisted that permission for a foundation was invalid unless he had given his consent. The list of English Austins for 1387* does not mention the place.

Literature:

R. J. E. BOGGIS, *A History of the Diocese of Exeter* (Exeter 1922) 121. J. R. CHANTER, *Memorials descriptive and historical of the church of St. Peter, Barnstaple* (Barnstaple 1830) 76. J. B. GRIBBLE, *Memories of Barnstaple* (*ibid.* 1830) 76. G. OLIVER, *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis* (Exeter 1846) suppl. p. 18.

4. *Berwick-upon-Tweed* (1259) before 1299

Berwicum-super-Twedam, « Berwae » ; Limit : York ; Diocese : Durham (or St. Andrew's) ; County : Berwick (or Haddington).

Berwick-upon-Tweed was one of the hotly contested border-towns between England and Scotland and often changed rulers in medieval times. It also suffered heavily from the frequent wars.

All four Orders of Mendicants were established here. It might have been as early as 1259 that the Austins arrived (D 20) but they are mentioned for the first time in 1300 when King Edward I gave them for a pittance 6s for three days, indicating the presence of six men. By June 1315 their number had increased to twelve⁵⁵⁷). In 1329*, when the town had been taken by the Scots, its king contributed £ 20 towards the erection of the new Augustinian church. In 1333, when it was retaken, King Edward III demanded from the prior provincial of England, that he remove all friars of Scotch descent and substitute trustworthy and capable men of English descent who by their good sermons would lead the people in fidelity to the English king (D 282). In a distribution of alms in 1337 by Edward III the Austins are not mentioned which leads to the conclusion that the friary was temporarily relinquished, if the entry of the clerk was not faulty. By 1341* it must have again been opened because Fr. William calls himself by the unusual title « prior provincial in the kingdom of England and Scotland ». In the list of 1387 it appears as *Berwae*. Its material recovery must have been sound, because in 1406 it could loan to Holy Island Priory 26s8d (D 678). This is the last news we have of this house. After 1482 when Berwick passed forever from Scottish possession « its monastic history virtually ceases »⁵⁵⁸).

J. SCOTT, *Berwick-upon-Tweed* (London 1888) 332-374 has the best ecclesiasti-

⁵⁵⁷) See Appendix, Membership.

⁵⁵⁸) EASSON, *Rel. Houses Scotland* XXI.

cal history of the city. He pays special attention to the « Austin Friars » of Seggeden, who directed the hospital St. Mary Magdalene in the city. They, however, had nothing to do with our Order but were one of the innumerable hospital Orders following the Rule of St. Augustine.

5. Boston 1317-1539

Conventus Sti. Botulphi (Botulph's stone, Boston) ; Limit, diocese, county : Lincoln ; Patron : unknown.

The Austins were the last of the four Mendicant Orders to arrive in Boston. They settled on the east side of the river Lindis near the graveyard of St. John's. King Edward II personally asked the pope in 1319 for approval of this new foundation (D 216) after he had given two years earlier licence for the alienation in mortmain of five acres of land (D 189, 650). The real founders are unknown, but the most active family was that of Gotere, *alias* atte Gate. In 1318 Andrew Gotere gave an acre of land with a messuage (D 194, 248) which could be replanned, to serve as church and convent. Permission, however, to alienate the messuage in mortmain was given only when the Austins promised to say a daily mass for the king (D 210). John Gotere added two more acres in 1327*, which were considered part of the original grant of five acres but royal pardon was needed for acquiring a messuage from the pastor of Skirbeck, John Milton, because the original licence for five acres did not include taxable buildings. This messuage seems to have been located on an acre of land which was acquired from John Mosse of Leck (D 335).

The first prior of Boston was probably Fr. Robert of St. Alban, because it was he who accepted some property in 1319*. In 1317 his namesake, the former pastor of Essenden, had donated his mansion in London for the benefit of a foundation in Boston (D 187, 652). He might have been an uncle of the prior, but himself did not join the Order. Unfortunately a royal licence had not been obtained for the London property and the Inquisition *ad quod damnum* revealed that it was not contiguous to London's Austin friary and that the prior provincial, John of Clare, had granted its usage to the pastor for life (D 652). Consequently the escheator took the messuage into his own hands and did not release it until 1328*. A petition in 1322* had been to no avail.

In 1328 the new friary numbered 28 brethren (D 653).

Except for a few minor legacies nothing is known about this

house until the sixteenth century. In 1508* a provincial chapter was held here at which John Tunneys was re-elected provincial. In 1510 Boston is mentioned together with Warrington and Northampton as a place of pilgrimage. Whether it was because of devotion to Our Lady of Grace as in Northampton is probable but not certain. The prime mover of this progress was the Prior William Wangford who was so highly regarded by his brethren that they elected him prior for life. The General Giles of Viterbo allowed this on condition that Wangford pay annually £ 3 for the education of students at the two English universities (D 1004). When he could not pay this sum it was reduced to 20s. The general chapter of 1519 forbade elections for life ⁵⁵⁹) and the general, therefore, requested the removal of Wangford, if it could be done without scandal to seculars. He also suggested that Wangford's non-payment of the reduced contribution could be used as lever (D 1029).

For conditions at the time suppression see D 1147.

In 1544 the city bought the whole property, but in 1680 Mrs. Frances Pinchbeck held one capital messuage called « le Augustine Friars », with the backhouse, stables, garden and ten acres of pasture. In 1725 the house, garden, walls and outhouses were sold to David Whyte for £ 80 and the ground ordered to be cleared before Michaelmas that year. The memory of the Order, however, lingered on. In 1820, when Thomson wrote, the pasture adjoining St. John's church yard was still called 'Augustinian Friars pasture'.

Priors: 1319 Robert of St. Alban (D 216).
 1510-1519 William Wangford (D 1004, 1029).
 1524 Thomas Swillington STD (D 1046).

Literature:

A. G. LITTLE in *VCH-Lincoln* III (1906) 213/4; P. THOMSON, *Collection for a topographical and historical account of Boston* (Boston 1820) 67/8. This important work based on the town records seems to have escaped Little. Later histories of Boston like those of Lambert-Walker in 1930 or A. M. Cook in 1934 have nothing new to offer.

6. Bristol 1313-1538

Bristollium, Old English : Bristowe ; Limit : Oxford ; Diocese :

⁵⁵⁹) AA IX, 36.

Bath and Wells ; County : Somerset (Gloucester ?) ; Patron : St. Augustine ⁵⁶⁰).

For a long time Bristol was second only to London within the kingdom. A foundation in that city was, therefore, most desirable and it was brought about by the illustrious family of Montacute or Montagu ⁵⁶¹. In 1313 Simon of Montagu donated a plot of land 100 ft. square (D 174, 649) just inside the Temple Gate and within Temple parish ⁵⁶². From their location the Austins were at times called Temple friars ⁵⁶³. In 1318 William of Montagu, earl of Salisbury and marshal of England, donated another piece of land 200 × 40 ft (D 195, 205). Two years later, on July 7, the new church was dedicated ⁵⁶⁴. William Worcester who visited it in 1478 gave the length of its nave as 30 rods or 54 paces, its width 5 rods ; the length of the choir 30 rods and its width 9 rods or 16 paces, the length of the cloister as 30 rods and its width 3 rods ; the length of the chapterhouse 24 rods and its width 8 rods ⁵⁶⁵).

In 1324* a plot of ground 106 × 80 ft. was obtained from Richard Panes, in 1344* four acres from Lord Thomas Berkeley and in 1350* a plot of land 12 × 80 ft. from Robert Prentis. By that time the monastery itself must have been built and was thought strong enough

⁵⁶⁰) « in honorem beati Augustini inchoata » (D 265).

⁵⁶¹) In D 265 the Montagus are clearly called the founders. The claim of Stow that a John Pecock was the founder (DUGDALE, *Monasticon* VI (3) 1599) cannot be sustained. His name has not been found so far in any document connected with the house. Holmes, the editor of Bishop Shrewbury's Register, notes on p. 786 that the Berkeleys were the founders. They favored the house (D 347) but were not its builders. Apparently some members of their family joined the Order, because Peter and John Berkeley were licensed as penitentiaries together with three of their confreres in 1333 (D 284).

⁵⁶²) « The Augustine Friers howse was harde by the Temple Gate witheyn, northe weste » : LELAND, *Itinerary* 90. The Temple Gate was located on the South side of the city. In memory of their work in Jerusalem the Knights Hospitaller of St. John called all their churches temples.

⁵⁶³) Testaments in 1401 and 1498 called the Austins Temple Friars: *Transactions, Bristol and Cheshire Archaeological Soc.* 6 (1882) 336, 374.

⁵⁶⁴) R. GRAHAM in *VCH* overlooked the testimony of Worcestre (D 218) ; DALLAWAY, *Antiquities* 81.

⁵⁶⁵) D 218. The Latin text of D 218 p. 102* is incomplete. It should read: « ... longitudo chapterhous 24 virgae, latitudo eius continet 8 virgas. Longitudo claustru continet 30 virgas, latitudo eius 3 virgas ». Worcester gives two measures for the nave. The first time his *virgae* are 54 paces, the second time 60 paces. In the second measure the rod is about 3 1/2 ft.

to serve as a depository for valuables. It was, however, not strong enough for men like John Cotereste, mayor of the town, who entered the hallowed precinct by force, took £ 70 of monastic treasure and broke into a chest left there for safe keeping by Roger Cantok and took from it more than £ 1000 in gold and silver besides committing many other crimes (D 420).

Members of the house seem to have been much in demand because in 1333 the Prior Hugh Grafton and three of his confreres were licensed for the neighboring diocese of Worcester (D 284). This steady employment enabled them to make some extraordinary improvements. In 1352 they obtained from Sir Gornay (le Gourney), Lord of Knolle (or Knowle), sufficient ground for an aqueduct which led from Pile Hill to Temple Gate near his house ; it was fed by a fountain called Ravenswelle ⁵⁶⁶). This improvement was no doubt made because the Black Death had made people faintly realize the need for cleanliness and pure drinking water.

A school of philosophy for the Oxford Limit existed here before 1385 ⁵⁶⁷). This might have been one of the reasons why it had been made in 1362* a vacation house for foreign students.

The registers of the bishops of Bath and Wells record from 1407-1465 the ordinations of only fourteen priests, one subdeacon and five acolytes, while from 1466-1538 not a single reference is made to the Order. Such evidence is, however, misleading, since candidates were as a rule ordained by the bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese the *studium generale* of Oxford existed, or in London, where a *studium* for theologians of all limits was located. According to the episcopal records of Bath and Wells the Austins of Bristol should have died out, yet at the dissolution ten priests are known by name.

If a shortage of priests existed it was felt by the diocese as well because it accepted religious to fill vacancies. In 1445 Fr. Thomas Abendon or Abingdon ⁵⁶⁸) was given charge of the church of Cricket Malerby. At the same time he received permission to preach

⁵⁶⁶) BARRET, *Bristol* 553 placed the construction of the aqueduct in 1362 which is contrary to the royal grant, given 20 October 1352*. He also added, that in 1404 Thomas Lyons, esq., granted the friars leave to bring the aqueduct through his land, called Brandiron-close. He found both documents [Gorney and Lyons] in the vestry of Temple church.

⁵⁶⁷) P. 144 (XII, 409) *supra*.

⁵⁶⁸) See Chapter on Authors.

throughout the diocese and obtained the same privilege for Lector John Sokour osa (D 803). In 1446 William Wenlok DD, also a member of the Bristol friary, was appointed rector of the church of Pille on presentation of William Bourghier, kn. (D 809). The acceptance of parishes and the living outside the monastery point also to the neglect of religious common life so frequently met with in the 15th century. The consequent lack of common funds prevented the convent also from paying the assessments required by provincial law, and in 1463* the general had to threaten the prior with excommunication in case of non-payment within a month.

The Montagus remained friendly to their foundation as is evident from the last will of the countess of Salisbury who bequeathed 100s in 1415 (D 679), while in 1427 Count Thomas Montagu bequeathed £ 10 for masses (D 744). In 1415 William Lord Botreaux willed them 40s (D 679) and in 1424 they shared in the 250 marks bequeathed by N. Bubwith, bishop, of the diocese ⁵⁶⁹). In 1463 Edward Greyville bequeathed 3s4d to Friar Thomas « pro diligenti labore michi impenso » and five marks for a trental to be said by the same Thomas, who might be identical with Fr. Thomas Abendon. To the house itself he willed 40s for a daily mass to which was to be added the collect « Deus cui proprium » (D 780). Many minor gifts are recorded and did not cease until the very end ⁵⁷⁰). On 20 August 1538, scarcely a month before the dissolution, John Browne bequeathed £5 to the Prior Michael Sanforde and 20s to four other friars (D 1126).

At his first visit on 23 May 1538 Ingworth advised all three religious houses to surrender, but found the Franciscans and Austins « stiff », while the Dominicans were willing ⁵⁷¹). To prevent the friars from selling their property he sealed « the stuff of their houses » but the Austin prior had anticipated the future. On 27 August Ingworth reported to Cromwell that relying on a personal royal grant the prior had sold the plate and the timber that grew about the place for over 100 marks within the last three years and almost all was gone. On 10 September the prior and eight friars surrendered the house to Ingworth. The inventory of implements taken by the

⁵⁶⁹) *Canterbury, Reg. Chichele* II, 299.

⁵⁷⁰) See indices to WEAVER F. W., *Somerset Medieval Wills* (SRS 16, 19) and *Notes of the Wills in the Great Orphan Book of Wills at Bristol*, *Transactions Bristol and Cheshire Archaeol. Soc.* 6 (1882).

⁵⁷¹) D 1125.

royal administrators, Harry White and William Popley, was extremely meagre ⁵⁷²).

Bristol is so far the only friary of which we know the fate of most of its last occupants. Master Michael Sandford, the prior, became vicar of Bedminster. John Yngman (Yungman) and John Pynder were appointed curates of St. Mary's, Radcliffe. Thomas (John ?) Parker received a chantry in Temple Church, Bristol, and Thomas Pynchin another in Holy Trinity, the cathedral church of the city. Roger Fylyon (*alias* Fygeon, Finyon) is mentioned in 1560 as vicar of St. Edmund's, Salisbury. Nothing is known so far of Lawrence Frankys, John Stere (Storr ?) and Robert Perfey (D 1126). The ready acceptance of the destitute friars indicates a considerable lack of priests within the diocese.

In 1540 the city purchased the three suppressed friaries and converted their buildings into quarries. It paid two men 2s6d for choosing out of the friaries certain stones « to pave withal ». In 1533/4 the land of the Austins was held by Maurice Denis and in 1553 Mathew Grene acquired the yard and a close of pasture within the site of the former Austin priory (D 1125).

- Priors: 1319 Hugh Grafton (D 211).
 1515 John Wyg or Wyge (D 1098).
 1534/8 Michael (Nicholas ?) Sandford (D 1125).

Literature:

Rose Graham in *VCH-Gloucester* II (1907) 110; W. BARRET, *The History and Antiquities of the city of Bristol* (Bristol 1789) 553/4; J. DALLAWAY, *Antiquities of Bristol* (Bristol 1834) 81; J. LATIMER, *Sixteenth Century Bristol* (Bristol 1908) 2, 16.

7. *Calais 1351

Calesia ; [Limit : Oxford] ; Diocese : St. Omer (to-day Arras) ; Departement : Pas-de-Calais (France).

After Calais had been acquired by the English in the treaty of 1347* all inhabitants had to evacuate the town with the exception of twenty-two substantial families. « Henceforth Calais was to be

⁵⁷²) For the following see D 1125/6. The tenth priest, but not mentioned in the act of surrender, was John Clarke (D 1126) who received his capacity in 1539 (D 1129). — The report of the two administrators was also published in *Selden Soc.* 25 (1911) 263.

an English city and proclamation was made in London and throughout England inviting colonists to take up residence there ». The Austins also either applied or were invited to settle in Calais. In 1351 King Edward III granted permission on the condition that the prior provincial in England « put in this place English friars for whom he will answer at his peril and no other » (D 391). The new house was to be located in the parish of St. Mary's between the inn of the earl of Oxford to the West and the house of the Begynnes to the East, but there is no record that it was ever established. The list of English houses in 1387 does not record it nor is it ever mentioned in the registers of the priors general. This does not mean that Austins did not dwell and work in Calais. On 12 April 1420* the Austins John Bery, John Tasborgh and John Morton obtained the consent of the general to stay from one to three years in Calais with William Lord Bardolf. On 16 February 1428, John Tasborgh received licence to stay five more years in Calais as chaplain to some English Lords. In the same year Lector John Multon was allowed to proceed with Sir Robert Brampton to Calais there « to preach, say mass and render other services » (D 748).

8. Cambridge before 1289-1538

Cantabriggia, Canebrigge, Grantebriggia ; Limit : Cambridge ; Diocese : Ely ; County : Cambridge.

As the membership of the East-Anglian houses increased and the academic policy of the Order took form so the desire for a *studium* at Cambridge grew. The exact date of its foundation is unknown but the Austins were firmly settled before 1289, when they received a royal pittance of 20s for three days indicating the presence of twenty men (D 90). When more room was needed for expansion they found a willing and powerful helper in William of Picheford, constable of Windsor, who had helped them in building their first house in London (D 57). In June 1290 he gave them his messuage in Cambridge which lay in the parish of St. James within the city walls. This parish was held in advowson by the Canons of Barnwell and they moved quickly to safeguard their income. In November 1290, John the prior [provincial ?] of the Austins, promised to pay annually 4s in lieu of former taxes and to increase this amount proportionately as they increased their holdings. The Austins

also had to agree not to admit any parishioners to the sacraments and to send even their own secular servants for services to St. James and make them pay the prescribed dues (D 97). Barnwell evidently tried to make sure that the new foundation would be exclusively a house of studies and nothing else. The Austins could have opposed these demands by their papal privileges but they were in a weak bargaining position, because their foundation depended upon the consent of Barnwell.

Despite these restrictions the new establishment made quick progress. On 7 April 1292 royal permission was received to enclose a strip of ground 200×30 ft, extending from their wall to the King's Ditch « provided that they make a gate at each end with a way between for the defense of the town ». In 1293* John Bernard was allowed to alienate in mortmain a messuage 140×24 ft and in 1304* Geoffrey of Waleden and John de Overmarket added three more messuages. Between these two purchases lay an interval of eleven years, during which nothing seems to have been accomplished despite the fact that the membership had grown to 36 (D 126) and new living quarters were urgently needed. The reason for the delay was probably the death of Sir Picheford, who had planned the rebuilding of the friary as a memorial to his deceased son Arnulph. The difficulties were solved by two of Picheford's friends, viz. Robert Cumberton, a burgess of Cambridge, and Thurstan, bedel of the university. They gave in 1335* three messuages of considerable size. Cumberton also seems to have been motivated by the fact that either his son or a close relative, named John, had joined the Austins. He is mentioned as prior between 1342-1348 and had probably much to do with the building program which must have taken place during this period ⁵⁷³). In 1377 the Austins received permission to alienate in mortmain an acre and a half; it took, however, more than a dozen years before they had full possession of it (D 307). In 1376 they were pardoned for obtaining a toft from Robert Lynne and a messuage from William Couper without the king's licence but had to promise to observe forever anniversaries for the king and the queen after their decease (D 527). This purchase constituted the final enlargement of their property which occupied

⁵⁷³) In 1356 protection was given to the servants of the friars employed with a cart and three horses in the counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon fetching vic-tuals and timber for the repair of their church (D 428).

the whole space lying between the modern thoroughfare of Peas Hill on the north, Pembroke Str. (formerly Landgrythes or Dowdriver Lane) on the south, Free School Lane (formerly Lurceburgh Lane) on the west and Corn Exchange Str. (formerly Slaughterhouse Lane) on the east. The whole property does not seem to have exceeded five acres, it was surrounded by a stone wall with the main gateway fronting Peas Hill. Its gateway was « very much like that of Trinity Hall, having a large portal and a small wicket close to it ». Church and monastery also faced the market place of the city (D 600) and the refectory was back of Corpus Christi College. The nave of the church was quite often used for university acts as is evident from the Grace Books (D 881, 980). At the time of dissolution six stables, seven gardens and two houses within the enclose were let to fourteen tenants at £ 4-19-8 a year.

Chapters were held here in 1316 for which the king gave £5. He increased this gift to £10 for the chapters of 1322 and 1323 ⁵⁷⁴). — The membership grew to seventy in 1328, the second largest number of men reported for any English House ⁵⁷⁵). — The remaining news is almost exclusively academic and was treated above ⁵⁷⁶).

The surrender was signed by Dr. John Hardyman, prior ; John Barber, Thomas Watson and Thomas Norley (D 1127). They received their capacities only on 5 December 1539. Cranmer's *Computus* adds the names of Robert Joyne, Robert Garston and Richard Kinge (D 1177). Dr. Hardyman highly recommended by Ingworth « as a Catholic man, very studious and of good conversation and report » (D 1127) wanted to purchase the friary to his own use and stayed on for several years as supervisor of the king. On 1 January 1544 Sir Richard Riche, head of the Augmentation Office, angrily demanded particulars and values of the friary ⁵⁷⁷). In the same year he let the property to George Keynesham who is probably responsible for the sale of slate to Great St. Mary's which meant the destruction of the church (D 1127). He sold the place to John Hatcher, professor regius of physics, who lived in the friary until 1587. If he had died without heirs the property would have been

⁵⁷⁴) See List of provincials and chapters in appendix.

⁵⁷⁵) Membership II in Appendix.

⁵⁷⁶) P. 151 (XII, 416) *supra*. For the plenary indulgence of 1494: p. 127 (XII, 392) *supra*.

⁵⁷⁷) *LP Henry VIII, Addenda n° 1638*.

bequeathed to the university and been called Hatcher's Hall. But he had heirs and one of them bequeathed one part for a free grammar school and another for an almshouse. In 1636 Thomas Buck, the well-known esquire-bedel and university printer, set up his printing shop in the old refectory. His property passed to his nephew who died in 1746. William Cole described the demolition of the refectory and the sale of the last effects, all that remained of the « old monastery »⁵⁷⁸). Part of the refectory with the aged gateway was torn down by W. Finch, esq., who erected a brickhouse in its place. He had not bought the whole friary. The remainder was purchased in 1760 by Dr. Richard Wagner who presented it in 1762 to the university which used it for the old Botanical Gardens. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the university bought most of the site and its medical schools stand on the old monastic property.

Priors: 1290	John (D 97).
1337, 1339, 1341	Richard de Walpole S. T. D. (D 340).
1340	Robert atte Lee (D 340).
1342, 1348	John of Comberton (D 340, 397).
1350	John Tulyet or Tulyet (D 397).
1375	John Blyclyng (VCH 290).
1416	Thomas Cressale S. T. D. (D 701).
1440	Thomas Borough, lector (D 793).
1520	Thomas Swillington S. T. D. (D 1033).
1521, 1522	John Stokes S. T. D., falsely called Stubbs (D 1033). He was a the same time provincial.
1523/25	Robert Barnes S. T. D. (D 1043).
1534, 1538	John Hardyman S. T. D. (D 1127), provincial 1536/7 (D 1111).

Subpriors: 1340 Petrus de Wysbeche (D 340).

Literature:

L. F. Salzmann in *VCH-Cambridge* II (1948) 287-290; D. H. CRANAGE and H. P. STOKES, « The Augustinian Friary and the history of its site », *Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 22 (1921) 53-75 with plan and pictures. W. L. H. DUCKWORTH and W. I. POKOCK, « On the human bones found on the site of the Augustine Friary, Benet Str., Cambridge », *Cambr. Ant. Soc.* 14 (1909) 7-38; W. H. PALMER, *Cambridge Borough Documents* I (Cambridge 1931); H. C. PORTER, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* (Cambridge 1958) 16. A picture of the refectory painted in 1780: *VCH-Cambridge* III (1959) 325.

⁵⁷⁸) PORTER, *Reformation* 16.

9. Canterbury 1318-1538

Cantuaria ; Limit : Oxford ; Diocese : Canterbury ; County : Kent (*Kantia*). Patron : St. Augustine, according to the seal (VCH).

« As a special favor to his beloved Austins » King Edward II granted in 1318 the request of Archbishop Reynolds to alienate in his episcopal city a certain site to the Order (D 199, 651). Part of this place had belonged to the Friars of the Sack who had to abandon it in 1314. The archbishop was probably desirous to sell it to the Austins but they found it unsuitable and in 1324 moved without permission into a stone house within St. George's parish which was held in advowson by the Cathedral Chapter. The manse had belonged to Thomas Bonington ⁵⁷⁹), a well-to-do gentleman of Godwynestone, Kent, and was worth 13s4d p. a. (D 231), a sum which neither the cathedral chapter nor the vicar wanted to lose. Therefore, they opposed the move with such vigor that not even the intercession of Hugh Despenser, earl of Winchester, could change their minds (D 228). The Austins, therefore, gambled on an accomplished fact by opening their new chapel to the public. Since the permission of the archbishop had not been obtained, he appointed a commissioner to look into the matter and to put the Austins under interdict if found guilty. Unhappily for the cause of the bishop the commissioner did not proceed according to Canon Law. This aided the Austins when they proposed a compromise. They offered to pay annually 9s to the parson and 20d to the Chapter in lieu of the former tithes (D 242). This satisfied the opponents. In 1328* the king granted the Austins permission to sell their first place in order to pay for the new. In November 1329* they obtained two additional plots adjacent to their area, one, a vacant piece of a lane 82×55 ft. to the west of their house, as a gift from the king, the other, a messuage granted to them by Henry, son of Robert atte Gayole, worth 20s a year. The next additions were made by Richard Fraunceys or le Frenshebaker, pastor of the church of Monkton in the Isle of Thanet, who granted about two messuages in 1335* and a messuage with garden in 1344. Some time later they purchased from John Chich, who was bailiff of Canterbury from 1351/2, a plot of ground

⁵⁷⁹) A Wm. Bonington was buried 1469 in Austin Friars: DUNCAN, *Test. Kant.* II, 65.

in St. George's parish lying on the highway at the Cloth Market, upon part of which they built their outward gate⁵⁸⁰) on the north-west of the convent. In 1354* John, pastor of the church of St. Andrews, gave them a messuage adjacent to their place worth 12d per year. In 1356* they agreed to pay to the prior and convent of Christ Church 2s4d a year, apparently for these last acquisitions. John Chertesey gave them a messuage and a garden adjacent to their property held of the crown in burgage, in 1394*, the friars paying a charge of 4 marks for the licence.

Through these and some later acquisitions the Austins in Canterbury held most of the area between the city wall to the south and their gardens to the north, the Sheepshank Lane to the east and the Rose Lane to the west. Only in tradition-bound England was it possible that this property kept its exemption from the liberty and jurisdiction of the city until 1790 and longer despite the fact that the reason for this exemption had vanished with the dissolution of the friary (D 1142).

The remarkable change at the turn of the century in the attitude of both the mendicant friars and the government as to property has been described in the introductory chapter. In 1408* the Austins of Canterbury obtained royal licence from Henry IV to reconstruct their houses and buildings and apply the proceeds (« demise at farm ») for the maintenance of their monastery. Sir Thomas Haute was the main benefactor in this undertaking⁵⁸¹). He rebuilt the chapel and hospice probably wishing to make the chapel the burial place of his family. The last Haute to be buried there was William Haute of Bishopsbourne who chose, in 1462*, his last resting place in the choir before the image of St. Catherine between his two wives and left 20 marks for the repair of the church.

In order to carry out their improvement program the Austins found it necessary to enclose two winding lanes which surrounded a great part of their property. These lanes, they asserted, had fallen into disuse and were so full of dung and filth, that the stench was dangerous to the health of the inhabitants and an annoyance to those celebrating and hearing services in the friars' church. In 1431*

⁵⁸⁰) *VCH-Kent* II, 199. In 1457 Richard Pargate, citizen of Canterbury, bequeathed 40s for the making of a new gate (*op. cit.* 66).

⁵⁸¹) *Transact. Kent Arch. Soc.* 24 (1909 ?) 196. There was also a St. Catherine's Hall in the friary, *ibidem* 23 (1908) 235.

the king donated not only the two lanes but also permitted the alienation in mortmain of a messuage and a garden, which had belonged to William Benet ⁵⁸²) and Thomas Langton.

One of these lanes was called Lambert Wrenne Lane, the name of the other is unknown (Urry). The new lodgings were thought fit even for the most honored guests of the city. In 1476*, e. gr., J. C. Puisne, baron of the Exchequer, and the Recorder of London, who had been appointed to mediate between the city and the abbey of St. Augustine, were boarded here at the expense of the city. The relationship between monastery and city remained a happy one. The municipality granted these friars £ 1-6-8 towards the cost of their pavage in 1481/2. A reason for this amicable relationship might also have been that « they were far less litigious than other religious houses in Canterbury. All the rest... were always bringing cases into court »; for the Austins we have but one among the existing records. In 1495/6 Fr. Lambertus, prior of the Austins, sued a certain Lawrence Frere ⁵⁸³).

Little is known about the church. There was an altar of St. Didier, to whom the pastor of St. Andrew's left in 1504 his « little Brevet mass book, covered with red leather » also an image of Our Lady of Pity (Pieta), before which several people wanted to be buried ⁵⁸⁴); also well liked seems to have been the *Scala Caeli* altar. The greatest benefactor of the friary during the sixteenth century was Sir John Fineux, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, whose only son William married the daughter of St. Thomas More ⁵⁸⁵). He expended more than £ 40 in repairing the church, refectory, dormitory and walls of the friary and erected the chapel of the Visitation of Our Lady in which the Austins said daily mass for him ⁵⁸⁶). In this church met the guild of the shoemakers, curriers and cobblers of the city of Canterbury on the feast of the Assumption, St. Cyprian and Crispin and each member offered 1d according to

⁵⁸²) He is identical either with William Benet who left a bequest in 1413 (*Trans. Kent Arch. Soc.* 32 (1917 189) or his younger namesake who was buried here in 1464 (VCH).

⁵⁸³) *Canterbury City Archives J/B/295 fol. 65*. Kind communication of the archivist, Mr. Wm. Urry.

⁵⁸⁴) e. gr. Isabel Walker in 1516 and Wm. Corthorpe in 1530: DUNCAN, *Test. Kant.* II, 5.

⁵⁸⁵) *Transact. Kent Arch. Soc.* 53 (1941) 88.

⁵⁸⁶) P. 206 (XIII, 543) *supra*.

the guild ordinances of 1518 (D 1027). In 1524 William Fiernour left tapers to the Brotherhood of St Erasmus in Austin Friars (D 1046).

In the second half of the 15th century Canterbury seems to have had a spiritually flourishing period because the prior general permitted in 1477 that its brethren could ask from each provincial chapter four priests for the work of the house (D 917). Had there been an actual lack of members the general would have so stated as he did in all other known cases. The marked increase in burials is another secure sign of high esteem ⁵⁸⁷), a third sign is the foundation of chantries. In 1472* Cecily, widow of Sir Thomas Kiriel, kn., wanted a mass sung for herself and her relatives for one whole year. Joan, widow of John Swann (mayor of Canterbury 1491/2) and a very rich woman, left an obit to be held annually for twenty years ⁵⁸⁸). Richard Spenser bequeathed to Fr. Philip Wellys, a member of the convent, 33s4d to sing a daily mass at the church of Hooth for a quarter of a year (D 1017). Lucas Gibbes apparently did not believe that the Austins would stay suppressed and bequeathed in his will of 8 October 1539 (probate 1543) to the prior 6s8d and to the house 20s to pray for his soul ⁵⁸⁹).

In a few testaments like that of Joan Swann the Austins are called White Friars, probably because they wore a white habit at home. There was no house of Carmelites or White Friars in Canterbury.

Ingworth who came to Canterbury on 13 December 1538 found the Austins especially in great poverty. Their debts were £ 40 and the implements not worth £ 6 except a little plate weighing 126 ounces. This poverty, however, had not broken their spirit. Friar John Stone attacked the right of the king to suppress the friary because he could not be head of the church. For this he was thrown into jail and finally died a martyr's death.

For the suppression see D 1142.

For Bl. John Stone see D 1156-1159.

In 1960 the buildings of the Simon Langton Boys School which had been erected over the old Austin Friary were torn down and the

⁵⁸⁷) For a list of the known burials see VCH, 200 and DUNCAN, *Test. Kant.* II, 64/5.

⁵⁸⁸) NICOLAS, *Test. Vet.* 193.

⁵⁸⁹) DUNCAN, *Test. Kant.* II, 65.

local archeological group tried to reconstruct the plan of the former convent. A reliable printed report of their findings has not yet appeared. Right now a parking lot occupies the site, a new street has been planned and it has been suggested to call it Austin Friars. In view of the imminent canonization of Bl. John Stone, this suggestion should be well considered.

Priors: 1326	William Berneye (not Berewyck as stated in D 245).
1429, 1431/2, 1434/5	John Sturey (D 749 and communication of Wm. Urry).
1447, 1462	John Godewyn or Goodwin (D 810).
1499	Lambertus (<i>Canterbury City Records</i> J/B/295, f ^o 65).
1522	John Stobs (correct: Stokes) B. D. (NICOLAS, <i>Testamenta Vetusta</i> 578).
1522	William Mallom or Mallham (D 1043, 1053).
1527	Gilbert Roos (D 1064).

Literature:

A. G. LITTLE in *VCH-Kent* II (London 1926) 199-201 had at his disposal both the printed and manuscript extracts which Cyriac Rondeau Bunce, alderman of the city had made about 1800, from the city records. We could not locate either. A belated message of Father Hackett informs me that the printed booklet of Bunce may be found in the British Museum. A partial reprint of Bunce's notes, made about 1924 may be found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; it is very unsatisfactory. Little seems to have overlooked Ch. COTTON, « Churchwardens' Accounts of the parish of St. Andrew's, Canterbury », *Transactions of the Kent Archaeological Society* 23 (1917). The same society published also D. DUNCAN, *Testamenta Kantiana* 2 vols., London 1907.

10. *Chichester 1282

Cicestria ; [Limit Oxford] ; Diocese : Chichester ; County : Sussex.

About 1269 the Franciscans of Chichester ⁵⁹⁰⁾ moved from their first site to that of the old castle, which the earl of Cornwall had given them. Shortly after, their first site between St. Martin's Square and Little London, where St. Mary's Hospital now stands, passed into the hands of Henry Chikehulle, kn. ⁵⁹¹⁾. He donated it to the

⁵⁹⁰⁾ MARTIN, *Francisc. Archit.* 7, 54.

⁵⁹¹⁾ In 1253 a Lady Chekehull founded the Franciscan friary in Southampton: S. DAVIES, *A History of Southampton* (Southampton 1883) 466.

Austins of London under the condition that they had to return it if their request for a foundation would not be granted. Unhappily it was not the prescribed 1500 ft. distant from the Franciscan friary and, therefore, permission was refused. The Austins did not bring the case to Rome ; they retained, however, the deed of feoffment probably hoping that at some future time conditions would change. Consequently Chikehull complained in 1282 to Archbishop John Pecham, a Franciscan, who immediately commanded the dean of Arches in London to order the Austin prior to return the deed within fifteen days and in case of refusal to put him under ecclesiastical censure (D 74). « There was no question of what good the Augustinian Friars could do for the salvation of souls, in fact, no consideration as far as Pecham was concerned except that there was a possibility of the Franciscans' right being infringed upon » ⁵⁹²). The property was granted in 1285 to St. Mary's Hospital ⁵⁹³).

11. Clare 1248-1538

Clara, Conventus, Clarensis ; Diocese : Norwich, then London ; County : Suffolk (*Southfolchia*) ; Limit : Cambridge ; Patron : Bl. Virgin Mary.

The town of Clare lies in the County of Suffolk and the Hundred of Risbridge, 15 miles SW of Bury St. Edmund and 55 miles NE from London. The river Stour (*Stura*) which separates Suffolk from Essex flows nearby. During medieval times the town was of importance because of its castle, as summer resort of the royal family, and because of its wool market.

At the foot of the castle, Richard, seventh earl of Gloucester and Hereford, established the first house of Austin Friars on English soil. One of the most traveled and experienced diplomats of the kingdom he had gained Cardinal Richard Annibaldi for the plan to procure the Sicilian crown for Richard of Cornwall, brother of King Henry III. Annibaldi used such occasions to promote the expansion of « his » Order and, no doubt, induced the earl to open

⁵⁹²) S. SMITH O. F. M., *The Attitude of John Pecham towards Monastic Houses under his Jurisdiction* (Washington, D. C. 1949) 143.

⁵⁹³) *Cal. Pat. R. 1291/2*, p. 197.

England to the Austins ⁵⁹⁴). Capgrave places the foundation of Clare in the year 1248 ⁵⁹⁵). It marked the beginning of the Order in England and, therefore, this friary was held in deep affection and was specially favored by the priors general (D 902).

The first buildings stood on land which had belonged to John, clerk of the Exchequer (*de Scaccario*). For his gift he received a letter of confraternity at the provincial chapter of 1265* which was probably held at Clare. When Earl Richard died in 1262 little had been done for the monastery. Now his widow Maud, a daughter of John Lacy, earl of Lincoln, bent every effort to put it on a secure basis. For this purpose she obtained from her vassals various parcels of land which she united into one continuous piece. Her main gift was a stretch of land called « Le Bigginge, que nunc vocatur bella vallis sancte Marie de Clare » (D 24). Since the property was at times inundated the Austins surrounded it with a ditch and floodgates ⁵⁹⁶). The main agent of Maud was William Ocstede, who was in charge of the castle and seneschal of the town (D 24). The fact that not a single alienation in mortmain is recorded until 1364* proves that Maud († 1289) had finished her task before the law of mortmain went into effect in 1279.

The friary became nationally known when Joan of Acre, daughter of King Edward I, was buried here in 1307 (D 87, 160). Capgrave called her « a ful holy woman » whose body was still fully preserved fifty two years after her death. The many indulgences granted by bishops had no doubt also the purpose to bring about her canonization by an increased devotion ⁵⁹⁷). Her son Edward was also buried here. The best known mistress of the castle was Joan's daughter, Elizabeth of Burgh, who amassed considerable wealth by her several marriages. Besides founding Clare College in Cam-

⁵⁹⁴) P. 19 (VIII, 34) *supra*.

⁵⁹⁵) « ... quod anno 1248 fundatus fuerat Ordo Heremitarum Sancti Augustini in Anglia per Richardum de Clara, filium Gilberti de Clara comitemque Glovernie »: *De illustribus Henricis* » 230/1. — The same date is given in Bokenham's *Dialogue* (D 842) whose English text is now also published in BARNARDISTON, *Clare Priory* 65-69. — The first document, however, is from 1262*.

⁵⁹⁶) THORNTON, *History of Clare* 72 thinks the ditch to be identical with St. Ann's river which was provided with flood gates. Mrs Barnardiston in her manuscript *Notes on Clare Priory* calls it the « old swei », while in her book *Clare Priory* p. 8 she designs it as the « old river ».

⁵⁹⁷) D 162, 197, 209, 315, 362.

bridge ⁵⁹⁸) she rebuilt the friary at the foot of her castle. Her coat of arms in the chapter house, dormitory and refectory indicate her as the donor. After their completion she surrounded the whole establishment with a high wall.

« Ut patet in multis vitratis ecce fenestris
capituli, dormitorii, refectorii que
loca trina suis fundavit sumtibus hec.

Q. Quis muris adiecit rectum ? R. Sola omnia fecit » (*Dialogue*).

Elizabeth, no doubt, contributed also a large sum for the erection of the new church, which was blessed on 26 August 1338* by the Augustinian bishop, Benedict Icenus. She further favored the friary when she and her husband Roger d'Amory made two friars chaplains of the castle (D 219) ; nor did she forget them in her will (D 352). She was, however, not buried in the chapel of Clare, but in the Minoress convent at Aldgate. The Elizabeth Burgh buried at Clare was her grandniece, wife of Prince Lionel.

Great benefactors are attracted to a religious institute both by the good life of its inmates and the outstanding qualities of a great superior. Such a man seems to have been Friar Robert, who was prior between 1361-1377, and who might be identical with Robert of Godwick, the Elder. Besides Elizabeth Burgh he gained other great benefactors. In 1361* Edmund of Northoft gave 200 marks « ad claustrum nostri cooperturam seu structuram » ; various spiritual benefits were given in return. Two years later Thomas Darcy donated 100 marks for the erection of a bell tower and in 1365 Master John Cavendish, a clergyman, paid 100 marks for leading the roof of the choir. In return he was granted a room in the friary and participation in the common life of the brethren. Through the efforts of Robert's confrere, John Bachelor, the chapel of the Annuntiation was added to the church and richly adorned (D 462). During his superiorship further lustre was shed on the monastery, when the heart and bones of Prince Lionel († 1368) were brought from Pavia to Clare and placed in the choir ⁵⁹⁹). A royal document of 16 October 1364* de-

⁵⁹⁸) *Clare College 1326-1329* (Cambridge 1928) I, 11-14.

⁵⁹⁹) P. 55/6 (VIII, 487/8) *supra*. The exact time of their return is not known, but it happened before 1377, when John Erghome settled the differences between the prior of Clare and Fr. Robert (D 531). John Newbury (*alias* Newborne), one of the knights, who bought Lionell's remains to Clare, was also buried near his master: WEEVER, *Ant. Fun. Monum.* 479.

clared him patron of the Clare friary. He obtained from his father not only pardon for the alienation in mortmain without licence of twelve acres, but was also permitted to add eight more. Through the patronage of Lionel and the fact, that his daughter Philippa became one of the direct ancestors of King Edward IV, Clare was regarded as a royal foundation and was officially designated as such in 1466* when the king permitted the alienation of another twenty acres of land which Henry Bourghier, the new earl of Essex, had donated.

The monastery buildings consisted of a church, dormitory, refectory, chapterhouse, monastery and infirmary all of which were enclosed by a wall. The church was located northeast of the monastery and had at least two chapels, one in honor of St. Vincent, where Joan of Acre wanted to be buried ⁶⁰⁰), and another in honor of the Annuntiation. It also had a bell tower and sacristy. The cloister and chapter house were dedicated in 1380* by the Augustinian bishop, William Edmund. Clare had most probably a prior's lodging (D 660).

The total number of friars was twenty nine in 1296, and thirty in 1335 ⁶⁰¹). In 1463 seventeen priests signed a document which granted a chantry to Lord Henry Bourghier, earl of Essex (D 868). Among the signers were two masters of theology, Osbern Bokenham and John Bury, two lectors, John Elinham and Robert de Clare under an outstanding prior, James Exall. The names recall a rich literary activity and close relationship with the castle. All of Bokenham's rhymed legends were written upon the request of great ladies. Other Clare friars served as military chaplains to the great lords whom they most probably met at the castle. In 1436 William Stokes S. T. B. was active for Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland (D 776), in 1441 Lector John Multon was engaged by Ralph Lord Brampton and in 1456 John Hettingham *alias* Boyort served John Vere, earl of Oxford (D 843). During the War of Roses the members of Clare friary were avowed Yorkists (D 855). They called Richard, duke of York, their patron and promised to say a daily mass for him after he had allowed to alienate twelve acres in mortmain (D 830). When he lost to the Lancastrians, the capable Prior Exall knew how to gain the favor of Henry VI who allowed the alienation of

⁶⁰⁰) « Hinc in honore tuo Vincenti pectore puro qua cubat hanc bellam fundaverat ipsam capellam »: *Dialogue*.

⁶⁰¹) See Appendix on Membership.

all property acquired before 1455 (D 837). Exall also cultivated a friendship with the newly created earl of Essex, Henry Bourghier. Despite the political and ecclesiastical turmoil of this period it was a time of a high cultural standard and material progress for Clare priory.

When the time of dissolution came John Hallybread (or Hallybud) *alias* John Stokes S. T. P., was prior, who preached against Mathew Parker, dean of nearby Stoke college and later archbishop of Canterbury. For this he had been placed into jail. On 29 November 1538 he signed the surrender with seven other friars (D 1138). Among them was a Stephen Luskyn who sought and received permission to wear his habit under the garment of a secular priest (D 1177). Ingworth wrote of Clare what he wrote about most friaries;

« The implements would not pay the debts and save the plate and lead for the king. The plate was pledged for £ 33-2-3 which he has paid out of other money of the king's and so received them. The lands beside the orchards were about 38 acres arable, pasture and meadow worth about £ 4 a year. The house is tiled and in much decay » (D 1138).

In view of such dilapidation it is remarkable that the monastery and the infirmary remained intact until to-day.

The buildings and the land were given to Richard Frende, a trumpeter of King Edward VI. From 1596-1715 the property was owned by the Barnardistons and in 1745 it came again into the hands of the Barkers ⁶⁰²).

« It was the month of February, 1939. The owner of Clare Priory, Lady May (who, though not a Catholic, was noted for her religious principles) said to her convert daughter, Mrs. de Fonblanque : ' I depend upon you to bring about the return of the Friars to Clare Priory ' » ⁶⁰³).

On the feast of Our Lady of Good Counsel 1953 Clare priory was suddenly vacated and for a reasonable sum of money purchased by the Austin Friars of Ireland. Their forbearers had received the Augustinian form of life from Clare and other English houses. They had kept it through the decades of persecution and now they have

⁶⁰²) BARNARDISTON, *Clare Priory* 26-50.

⁶⁰³) *The Augustinians return to Clare* (Clare 1953) with plat plan of former buildings.

brought it back to the place whence they received it. May it always remain there. In 1962/3 the Ministry of Work undertook extensive repairs. Now the 15th century cloister looks quite attractive and the 14th century church (formerly the infirmary) has been rendered safe for many years to come » ⁶⁰⁴).

Priors: 1265	John of Clare (?).
1296	William Flete Sr. (?) (D 126).
1299	Adam de la Hyde (D 131).
1328	William de Wyram or Wyrtham (D 254).
1336, 1341, 1345	John de Waddingfeld (D 304, 334, 353).
1349	John (Waddingfeld ?) (D 375).
1361, 1365	Robert de Clare (D 462, 490).
1374	Thomas Edwardstone (D 517).
1395	John Samforth (Sawford ?) (D 633).
1453, 1456, 1463	James Exall (D 827, 837, 868).
1538	John Stokes, <i>alias</i> Hallybread or Hallybud.

Literature:

For the Register of Clare Friary see p. 10 (VIII, 25) *supra*. J. C. COX in *VCH-Suffolk* II (London 1907) 127/9; W. A. COPINGER, *The County of Suffolk, Records and Documents* II (London 1904/5) 74/5; A. MEE, *Suffolk* (London 1942) 99; K. W. BARNARDISTON, *Clare Priory, Seven Centuries of a Suffolk House* (Cambridge 1962) with excellent photographs and plat plan; C. THORNTON, *History of Clare, Suffolk* (Cambridge 1928). The *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History* contain the following articles: 6 (1888) 73-84: H. JARVIS, « *Clare Priory* »; pp. 77: « A description of the Windows in the Friars' Church (taken from the Lansdown Ms in the Harleian Collection n° 639 fol. 104, Brit. Mus); 20 (1930) 36-42: Lillian REDSTONE, « *Suffolk Limiters* » (taken from the Register of Clare). A plat plan in 8 (1893) 219). « The names of the Nobles burried in the Frere Augustyns of Clare », *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* I (London 1834) 20 from *Br. Mus. Add. 38133* n° 39 fol. 92v.

12. *Clayanger 1257 - after 1260

de Clayangr' (sic); [Limit: Oxford]; Diocese: London or Norwich; County: Middlesex.

Among the early foundations which failed, Capgrave enumerates also Clayanger (D 4). In January 1257 King Henry III commanded the sheriff of Middlesex to make an inquisition, whether it would be to his or anyone's damage, if he would give the chapel of

⁶⁰⁴) *Good Counsel* (Dublin) 11 (1963) n° 2, p. 26.

St. Lawrence by the highway to Clayanger to the friars hermits of St. Augustine, there to live and hold divine services. The sheriff answered, that the chapel had been founded for the upkeep of the highway and if these friars would continue this work the king could, without harm to anyone, grant them the chapel (D 17). The grant was apparently made, because on 25 July 1260 the king donated 5s6d to buy a thousand herring for these friars ⁶⁰⁵). When the place was given up is so far unknown.

Our Clayaungre or Clehungre was most probably located outside the town of Tottenham, Mx. ⁶⁰⁶). There were many hermits who made it their business to keep a bridge or road in repair, but the Austins did not belong to them and the condition made was probably the reason why the foundation failed.

13. *Coventry 1363-

Conventriense ; [Limit : Lincoln] ; Diocese : Lichfield and Coventry ; County : Warwick.

Eight new foundations were attempted between the years 1331 to 1363, of which only Stafford and Stamford were successful. The last of these attempts was made in Coventry when Sir Nicholas Rivel, a priest and clerk at the king's court, wanted to give the Austins a wasteland in Coventry. On 27 April 1363* the Black Prince, to whom the town owed fealty, ordered an Inquisition *ad quod damnum* and on 18 September of the same year Pope Clement VI granted Rivel's request on the condition that both the diocese and city give their consent.

The statement that the house never passed the planning stage, seems to be contradicted by the ordination of Robert de Cliderhowe,

⁶⁰⁵) *Calendar of Liberate Rolls* IV, 520.

⁶⁰⁶) An inquiry at the Public Record Office elicited the information, that the identification with Clayanger in Devon, made in the Index of vol. IV, *Cal. Liberate Rolls*, is not supported by the original. « The evidence of the *Inquisition ad quod damnum* of 40 Henry III (C. 143/1/38) and *Calendar of Patent Rolls* 1258-66 points rather to the place referred to in an Assize Roll of 1294 as « Clayangre extra villam de Totenham », which is identified in *Place-Names of Middlesex* p. 79 with Clayhill Farm in Tottenham. See also the reference under Middlesex in *Calendar of Inquisitions, Miscellaneous* I n° 212 to Nicholas, chaplain of Cleangre in 1255 ». We are most grateful for this information.

a member of this house, on 3 June 1368. The year previously he had been ordained as member of the Austin friary in Warrington ⁶⁰⁷).

Lubin is the only Augustinian historian to mention this house ⁶⁰⁸), but the list of 1387 does not.

14. Dartmouth or Clifton Dartmouth 1331-

Dertemutha ; [Limit : Oxford] ; Diocese : Exeter ; County : Devon.

The dramatic and at times farcical battle for an Austin friary in Dartmouth has been described ⁶⁰⁹). It has been falsely presented by Coulton and others who were either moved by phantasy or dislike of things Catholic. Their presentations were certainly not based on a knowledge of all documents which are now excellently published by H. R. Watkins.

The first and only prior was Roger Mascote (D 328).

It seems that some die-hards among the Austins resented the suppression of their house so much that they stayed on against the will of their superiors and even administered the sacraments. In 1351* Bishop Grandisson took energetic steps to create order, but softened the blow by permitting a foundation of the Austins in Barnstaple (/) under the condition that they retain no other place in his diocese (D 369).

Literature:

Ms. 321 of the Library of York was entitled « Processus litis inter abbatem de Torr' et Aug' » (*Fasciculus Clark* 50); H. R. WATKINS, *Dartmouth. vol. I. Pre-Reformation. Devonshire Association. Parochial History Section*, n° 5 (1935) 278-285; P. RUSSELL, *Dartmouth* (London 1950) 33-35; R. BOGGIS, *A History of the Diocese of Exeter* (Exeter 1922); G. OLIVER, *Monasticon Exoniense* (Exeter 1846) 170; COULTON, *Life in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge 1928) 184/7.

15. *Devizes 1296-

Divisae ; [Limit : Oxford] ; Diocese : Salisbury ; County : Wiltshire.

⁶⁰⁷) *Lichf. and Coventry, Reg. Stretton* 211, 216.

⁶⁰⁸) *Clef* 353.

⁶⁰⁹) P. 51/3 (VIII, 483/5) *supra*.

On 19 June 1296 King Edward I permitted Henry le Parker to alienate in mortmain to the Austins in Oxford a messuage in Devizes for the purpose of establishing a house in that town (D 124). Since this city never opened its gates to any Mendicant Order, the attempt by the Austins must also have failed. The list of 1387 omits it.

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(To be continued).