A History of the English Austin Friars

(*continuation*) *)

Part V

The Suppression of the Province

Chapter 1

The Weakening of the Spirit

1. *Alienation from Rome*

The separation of England from Rome did not happen over night but was preceded by many factors which sapped the spiritual strength of the Church and thus paved the way for the final break. This weakening of the spirit affected the whole Church ; otherwise it would have been impossible that with one exception all bishops and all religious superiors signed the Act of Supremacy. Within the English Austins some additional hitherto unknown conditions prevailed which show how the power of resistance was gradually broken.

The rapid change of Catholic thought and attitude at the turn of the century is clearly indicated by the two plenary indulgences in English Augustinian history. When in 1494* the first plenary indulgence was published in Cambridge it stirred the English episcopacy to vigorous resistance. Twenty years later and just before the revolt of Martin Luther, a like announcement for Oxford

*) *Augustiniana* 8 (1958), 22-47, 465-496; 11 (1961), 533-563; 12 (1962), 93-122, 391-442; 13 (1963), 515-551; 14 (1964), 163-215, 670-710; 15 (1965), 175-233, 567-628.

did not cause a ripple of excitement (D 1020), because within this short period the grant of plenary indulgences had become common usage ; they proved a most successful means of gathering needed funds not only for the papal treasury but also for bishops, religious Orders and individual parishes [1100]). The stress upon their financial purpose, however, cheapened the whole religious life and increased the cynical, contemptuous attitude towards the church in many circles.

We know little of the Cambridge indulgence except the excitement it caused, but many details have come to light on the indulgence for Oxford. This monastery seems to have been in greater financial distress than any other house of the province. In 1488* its patron, Sir Edmund Rede, had bequeathed hundred marks towards the repair of its building but it was not enough « to save its crumbling walls » [1101]). They appealed to Rome and Pope Leo X in 1516* granted a plenary indulgence for ten years. In order to guarantee its success the provincial, Edmund Bellond, made all his friaries participate. The original papal bull is no longer extant but an agreement between the Papal Curia and some Genoese merchants is. This document is not the final draft, since it contains some corrections and additions but these do not alter the essential facts. Not a single religious note is voiced in it, only financial details

[1100]) The silence of the English prelates was obtained by a breve of Pope Leo X, probably to the bishop of Lincoln, demanding that the bull of indulgence be executed by his suffragan and other subjects: LUNT, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England 1327-1534* (Cambridge, Mass. 1962) 610/11. Lunt is the only author who speaks of the indulgence. He did not have our document at his disposal, but cites the breve of Leo X, which we could not locate in Rome. Since his work was edited posthumously we were unable to gain any further information. In his *Papal Revenues* II, 469 sqq Lunt enumerates many plenary indulgences granted for the purpose of obtaining revenue both for the recipient and the papal treasury. Not only English Austins made use of them but also General Chapters of the Order. Even the great reformer, Giles of Viterbo, did not prove an exception. He obtained a plenary indulgence for the General Chapter of Rimini in 1515. Half of its income went to the building program of St. Peter's, the other half to the Order. Severe punishments were imposed upon secular and religious authorities who would dare to oppose its publication: AA IX, 26. For an interesting side light on this indulgence see Th. FREUDENBERGER, *Der Würzburger Domprediger Dr. Johann Reyss* (Münster 1954) 101.

Another plenary indulgence was granted to the General Chapter of 1526: AA IX, 256. See also PAULUS, *Gesch. d. Ablasses* III, 267 sqq.

[1101]) OHS 79 (1958) 44; D 1032.

are discussed. For the grant of the indulgence the Austins were to pay 1,200 gold ducats to the Papal Datary which wanted the money at once and, therefore, it was advanced by the Genoese merchants, Andrew Gentile and Bernard Bini, to the banker Ralph Maruffus or Marustus who was appointed papal treasurer in this case. Once the debt was paid back all income was to be divided equally between Rome and the Austins. To guarantee an honest accounting the papal bull could not be copied or announced until the money boxes were placed in all Austin churches. Each box was to be locked with three keys one being kept by Maruffus, who was to receive 200 gold ducats for his efforts, the second by the vicar of the Observant Franciscans and the third by the local superior of the Austins. Once a year the boxes were to be opened not only in the presence of the three holders of the keys but also before a notary public and some witnesses. If the old spirit had still prevailed all parties concerned would have reaped great financial benefit, but the fury of Luther's attack was re-echoing in England and created strong opposition to indulgences. Rome did not believe this and when the expected flow of gold was not forthcoming, the Prior General Volta was stirred [1102]) into action. He wrote in 1520* to Provincial Wetherall that his men should make a greater effort to keep their pact with Rome ; for this purpose two or three men should be assigned to preach the indulgence and collect the monies. Wetherall did not answer. In a lengthy and bitter epistle of 22 June 1522 the prior general commanded Master Gilbert Rose [Roos] of Cambridge to carefully check the moneys which the former Provincial Bellond had received because several priors claimed to have given much more than could be found in Bellond's accounts. He should also look into the accusation that Bellond had not returned the 200 gold ducats he had borrowed from the London friary in the first year of the indulgence with the promise to pay it back immediately. Roos should also inquire how much Bellond had received from the « Books of Indulgences », called « Confessionals » and how much the collec-

[1102]) The prior general of the most difficult period in the history of the Order was Gabriel della Volta of Venice, who was in office from 1518-1533. Giles of Viterbo, who had chosen him, thought to have put his reform work into strong hands but Volta « only rested in the shadow of his great predecessor » : JEDIN, *Seripando* I, 161/4. Volta's transactions with England are passed over in Jedin's important work.

tors had actually brought in, since no account had been given. In the same year the matter was also brought before King Henry VIII who cited both Maruffus and Bellond but their accounts checked. Bellond, therefore, had not committed any swindle despite claims to the opposite. In 1517 the Order's share of the returns had amounted to £494, in 1518 it had dropped to £215, in 1519 to £179, in 1520 to £132 and in 1521 to £129, the total being £1,144-13-11. Maruffus had paid a like sum to the Papal Datary. Bellond had also received £373-0-10 from the confessionals raising the total to £1,574-14-9. Unless later revenue increased this sum it scarcely covered the original expense of £1,400. Time no longer favored such schemes. The Papal Datary did not comprehend that its symoniacal treatment of indulgences was a primary cause of the open revolt against the Church. It seems unbelievable, that Prior General Volta — no doubt urged by the Papal Datary — wrote as late as 1535* to the newly created Vicariate of Scotland to promote the plenary indulgence which Paul III had announced for the completion of St. Peter's Basilica.

In June 1519* the same general had admonished Provincial Bellond « not to fall asleep while the Order in England was persecuted in so many ways, he should send a delegate to Rome and defend his rights before the Holy See, where he would lend him his full support ». No details are known so far about this persecution. Bellond did not bother to answer and by December of the same year Volta complained that Bellond had neither paid the prescribed dues [1103]) nor sent in the chapter acts nor asked for his confirmation. It seems that early 1520* the general deposed Bellond for his continuous disobedience because in July of the same year William Wetherall, the new doctor of Cambridge, held the reins of the province while Bellond was only prior of London.

The man who was principally responsible for Bellond's down-

[1103]) The need for increased revenue was to become a matter of deepest concern to Volta. All income from German Provinces, which included Belgium, the Netherlands, Austria and Poland, had ceased and the French Provinces were soon to follow suit. Pope Clement VII, who found himself in the same predicament, demanded in 1523 the sum of 1,600 *scudi* from the Order, which had been free from any papal taxation. On 29 February 1523 the general lamented: « ... illis decimis nuper imperatis ita omnia ferme Italie monasteria exhausit ut vix tenui fratrum victui paria esse queant »: AA IX, 253.

fall was Master Sebastian of Venice [1104]). Since he was the representative of the general and his lifelong friend his false reports were believed at face value. He was soon to be paid in the same coin in which he had dealt. Someone broke into his room and stole 500 gold *panni*. This money had belonged to John and Bernard Cavalcanti, bankers of Florence, who had their head quarters in Austin Friars, London (D 1081). When they demanded the return of the money, Master Sebastian accused Bellond of having admitted the thief or thieves to his room and, therefore, he should be held responsible. Again the general believed every word of his friend (D 1032) and ordered Bellond to pay the stolen sum (D 1035). Bellond refused and Master Sebastian was put to jail from which he was freed only through the united efforts of the chief foreign ambassadors, while Wetherall and Bellond were accused of not having moved a finger for his deliverance. Master Sebastian had scarcely gained his freedom when a rumor accused him of lèse majesté, whereupon the general advised him to leave London. Again the general held Wetherall and Bellond fully responsible without asking first for their side of the story. Neither defended himself, because they saw the uselessness of it. For more than a year they wrapped themselves « in pythagoric silence ». When Bellond finally did write, his defense was summarily rejected. In 1522 Master Gilbert Roos was appointed vicar general for the next chapter with the command to investigate ten clearly defined accusations against Bellond (D 1041). In order to forestall recriminatory actions by Bellond he was deprived of his priorship for one year. Wetherall who had made a vain effort in 1520* to prolong his term as provincial to six years also lost his provincialship through the election of John Stokes, a sound Catholic man (D 1042). The reports of Roos and Stokes must have shown the general that he had placed too much trust in his friend Sebastian. When Bellond took seriously ill in 1525* Volta used the occasion to make a remarkable retraction (D 1050) but the damage was done : the leading men of the province had been alienated from Rome by the misplaced trust of the general. If ever careful circumspection was necessary it was

[1104]) Master Sebastian stayed in London at least from 1519* to 1533*. His predecessor was Dominic of S. Gimignano (D 902: AD 1472). The statement made about him on p. 121 (XII, 118) *supra* applies to Master Sebastian of Venice.

at that moment so filled with universal agitation against Rome. This inner separation from Rome paved the way for the complete exterior break resulting from King Henry's divorce.

2. *Inroads of Protestantism*

The moral strength of the English Province was further sapped by the divisive influence of Protestantism. Its first energetic proponent was Robert Barnes [1105]). Born near Lynn about 1495, he entered Cambridge's Austin friary and was sent in 1520 as lector to the *studium generale Ordinis* in Louvain where he was made bachelor of theology. He returned in 1523* filled with the ideas of the continental reformers. In Cambridge he created a sensation by reading the classics in the original tongue, a study which according to all accounts, had been little practiced before his coming. Even more astounding was his teaching of the Bible in the original text and making it the sole basis of his disputations. He taught not only in the Augustinian College but also at the university. The latter was so gratified that it created him doctor of theology in 1523. It also dispensed him in 1524* from the prescribed regency and determination « because he was so immersed with the tasks for his [religious] community that he could not appear before summer » (D 1070). The words remind one very much of Martin Luther who was so busy before his break with Rome that he had no time for either mass or breviary. Barnes' influence was felt most in a group of prominent intellectuals who came together in the White Horse Tavern of Cambridge, where they studied the works of the German reformers. The populace promptly dubbed them « Little Germany » or « The Germans » [1106]).

[1105]) N. FISHER, *Robert Barnes and the English Reformation*, Dr. Thesis University of Birmingham 1949 (?) was not at our disposal. A good account of Barnes in J. C. MÜLLER, *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction* (New York 1926) 13/18 and chapter 13. COOPER, *Annals of Cambridge* 315/23 gives Barnes' own account of his first trial from FOXE, *Acts and Monum.* V, 414/21, 434/6. LOWE Ms. fol. 96 gives the location of Barnes' letters. See *Additions*.

[1106]) The members of the circle came principally from the various colleges of the university, viz. Dr. Thixtel or Sissel and Thomas Allen from Pembroke. Dr. Furman from Queen's, Took, Parker and Laude from Corpus Christi, Bradford from King's, and Dr. Smith from Trinity Hall : STRYPE, *Eccles. Memorials* I 588/91.

Despite his heretical leanings Barnes was elected prior of Cambridge where some very gifted young confreres were attracted to him. Foxe mentions by name the Masters Cambridge, Burley, Field, Coleman and Coverdale. Thomas Cambridge and William Burlay [1107]) stayed in Cambridge until 1536, when they received their capacities *gratis*, a sure sign that Cromwell favored them (D 1177). Nicholas Field, the youngest of the group, was no doubt an Austin but the membership of Coleman is rather doubtful, since he is not mentioned in the Registers of the General and incepted as master of arts in 1532/5. This was never done by Austins after they had completed their study of theology. If he was an Austin he must have left the Order before 1532. Coverdale, of course, is one of the well known reformers. None of these young men was a master during Barnes' priorship. Coverdale, for example, gained his doctorate only in 1540 at Tübingen. Foxe wrote in retrospect and added the later titles in order to impress his readers with the great learning of the reformers.

Barnes did not air his harsh Puritanical views until he had been fully won over by Master Bilney, a secular priest. With characteristic imprudence he preached a violent, polemical sermon at St. Edward's on Christmas Day 1525, though he had been forbidden by the bishop to enter the pulpit. Since his action was offensive in every respect he was arrested and brought before Cardinal Wolsey who privately interrogated him. When he refused to recant he was put into prison. Two months sufficed to change his mind, whereupon he was sentenced to the prison of the Austin Friars in London, where he continued his Lutheran propaganda [1108]). The local

[1107]) To D 1043* and its note the following can be added: Thomas Cambridge was ordained priest 20 October 1516 (*Ely, Reg. West* fol. 154). He received permission to become lector in 1523 (D 1045) and was baccalaureus 1525/6 (D 1070). — William Burlay « nuper de conventu Cantebrig », received his capacity in December 1536 (D 1177). Since his Christian name is now known he can no longer be identified with Philip Burley. — Nicholas Field (Feeld) was ordained exorcist 24 September 1519 (*London, Reg. Fitzjames*, fol. 178r). — A certain Coleman appears in 1567 as preacher of a group of separatists who met in Plumbers' Hall, London. He was sent to prison in Marshalsea but was set free by Grindal in April 1569. He wrote to Cecil urging further reform (COOPER, *Athenae* I, 285; LOWE Ms. fol. 107/8). Lowe identifies him with the Cambridge Austin, but does not bring any proof.

[1108]) Barnes sold e.gr. Tyndale's translation of the New Testament which was proscribed according to the testimony of John Tyball of Bumpstede : *LP* IV (2) no 4218.

Austins resented this and reported him to Wolsey. For this Foxe called them caterpillars and bloody beasts. The cardinal had Barnes transferred to Northampton's Austin friary and condemned him to the stake but by a ruse he escaped to the continent (D 1057) where he met Martin Luther. Upon the invitation of Cromwell he returned to England in 1531 and walked about in secular dress, his steady companion being an Ex-Franciscan. Thomas More wanted him hung but could not prevail against Cromwell [1109]). When the turn of political events in 1535 favored an alliance with the German Protestant princes, Barnes was sent to them as ambassador. In 1539 he mediated the marriage of Anne of Cleves with Henry. If he had hoped to ingratiate himself with the king by this marriage he was sadly mistaken. Henry's disgust of Anne greatly contributed to his fall from royal grace. His intemperate nature and heretical views soon involved him in new troubles. He was again condemned and this time fate did not spare him. He was burnt at the stake on 30 July 1540 in Smithfield (London). His teaching had been so odious to Catholics that the leaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace had expressly demanded its suppression [1110]). In 1546 his books were listed as forbidden [1111]).

Barnes' most talented student at Cambridge was Myles Coverdale [1112]). In Lent 1528 he left Cambridge and taking the garb of a secular priest stayed with Richard Fox, pastor of Steeple-Bumpstead, one of the principal English reformers. The nearness of

[1109]) MÜLLER, *Gardiner* 83.

[1110]) A. G. DICKENS, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York 1509/28*, (London 1959) 5.

[1111]) WRIOTHESLY, *Chronicle* I, 168/9. Wriothesly's writings were also forbidden.

[1112]) Born 1488 at Coverham, Cover Dale, Richmondshire, Yorks, he was ordained priest at Norwich in 1514. After his flight to the continent he disappears from sight until his translation of the whole Bible appeared on 4 October 1535. It was reprinted in 1537 and 1538. Under the patronage of Cromwell he helped to prepare the Great Bible which was to be set up in every church of the realm. It appeared in 1538 and was reprinted in 1550, 1553 and 1560. He went to Tübingen where he earned his DD in 1540, settled in Bergzabern, returned to England in 1548, became chaplain of the king and was consecrated bishop of Exeter in 1551; deprived under Mary he returned to Bergzabern. He came back to England after the accession of Elizabeth and was co-consecrator of Matthew Parker. He died in February 1568/9. For his biblical work see J. MOZLEY, *Coverdale and his Bibles* (London 1953). See note to D 1111 for his false identification with John Coverdale. LOWE Ms. fol. 108/9.

Bumpstead to the Austin friary in Clare had brought some of its friars under Fox's spell. They were Robert and Thomas Topley, William Gardiner and John Wygge (D 1065). At Bumpstead they found among other books, the *Colloquium* of Erasmus, known for its bitter ridicule of ecclesiastical conditions and Wyclif's *Wicket* which denied the real presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist. When they voiced their opinion in public they were reported to the authorities. Thomas Topley [1113]) and William Gardiner recanted in 1528 before Cuthbert Tunstal, bishop of London. Robert Topley who had married after leaving the monastery abjured four years later (1532) before John Stokesley, Tunstal's successor. He was condemned to the monastic jail in Clare but escaped and returned to his wife. Friar Wygge supposedly caused great trouble to Wolsey [1114]) but this is true only if his identity can be proved with the baccalaureus Wyggen who cheated the house in Oxford and an Austin by the same name who paid Cromwell to become prior of Bristol. That Coverdale greatly influenced these men is clearly stated in Topley's confession. Coverdale also preached in the neighborhood against confession, mass, veneration of the saints and many other doctrines. The king, therefore, ordered his arrest, but Coverdale escaped to the continent where he finished the first complete translation of the Bible into English. It appeared in 1535. His translation of the Psalms is still used in the Book of Common Prayer. He returned to England in 1548, was made bishop of Exeter in 1551, deposed under Mary but was not re-instated under Elizabeth. He died in February of 1568/9.

It cannot have been mere accident that the Austins Martin Luther in Germany, Myles Coverdale in England and the French Austins Julius Macho and Peter Farget were among the leading translators of the Bible. There must have been powerful forces at work within the Order which favored this work long before Protestantism came into existence. A first reason was an intimate acquaintance with the Bible. The Constitutions of Ratisbon (made obligatory in 1290) required every novice to read the Bible avidly,

[1113]) FOXE, *Acts and Monum.* V, 40 gives the whole passage of Th. Thopley's abjuration before the bishop. « It throws considerable light upon the thinking of these friars who left the Order and on the influence which brought about the reaction on their part »: LOWE Ms. 38/9.

[1114]) BASKERVILLE, *Engl. Monks* 236.

listen to it devoutly and learn it more and more by heart [1115]). Combined with this knowledge and love of Holy Scriptures went a conscious effort to cultivate the mother tongue. Luigi Marsili, the spiritual leader of the Florentine humanists, fostered this movement in Italy [1116]), Capgrave and Bokenham in England and Macho and Farget in France [1117]). The translation of these French Austins appeared in 1477 and is said to be the second book to be printed in France. Luther's translation of the Bible was not the first to appear

[1115]) « Sanctam Scripturam avide legat, devote audiat et ardenter addiscat »: CR fol. 22r.

[1116]) R. ARBESMANN, *Der Augustinereremitenorden und der Beginn der humanistischen Bewegung*. AUG. XIV (1964) 603-639.

[1117]) The New Testament translated by Julian Macho and Peter Farget was printed by Bartholomew Buyer of Lyon about 1477 (HAIN 3144/7). The Old Testament, Job. icl., appeared in 1478 and was not a translation of the Bible itself but of the Bible history by Peter Comestor (Mangeur), the principal work of its kind during the Middle Ages.

Buyer was not an Augustinian as has been stated but a married man (Ch. PFRRAT, « Barthélemy Buyer et les débuts de l'Imprimerie à Lyon », *Humanisme et Renaissance* II [1935] 242). Neither is it true that the Austins of Lyon worked only for him.

Julian Macho translated also into French *the Fables of Aesop* (Lyon 1484) and *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (*Miroir de Rédemption Humaine*) by Roderic of Spain, bishop of Zamorra, Lyon 1471, 1478, 1479, 1482, 1483 etc., *Légende des Saints Nouveaux* (1473) and *Facéties de Pogge* (published 1514/5). Macho was baccalaureus in 1458 and master in theology in 1464 (Dd 6 fol. 133, 135).

Peter Farget was sent as student to Paris in 1455 and as lector to Montpellier in 1459 (Dd 6 fol. 131v, 134). By 1476 he was DD (Dd 7 fol. 132) and in 1483 he was appointed visitor general for his Province of Narbonne and Burgundy (Dd 8 fol. 132). He published the *Proprietas Rerum* (*Le Propriétaire des Choses*) by Bartholomew Glanville OFM, which had been translated in 1372 for Charles V, king of France, by the Austin Jean Corbichon (LELAND, *Commentarii* II, 336). Farget himself translated Rolewink Werner's, *Fasciculus Temporum* (*Le Petit Fardelet des Faits*) Lyon 1483, 1494, 1495, 1505, 1513 and J. Paladino's, *Belial* (*Le Procès de Belial*) also known as *Consolatio Pauperum Peccatorum*, Lyon 1481, 1482, 1484, 1485, 1487, 1490, 1494, 1503.

The third Austin engaged by the local publishers was John of Hersin Sr. who was appointed lector in Toulouse on 24 June 1464 (Dd 6, fol. 136v), baccalaureus in 1474 and master in 1476 (Dd 7, fol. 76, 78v). As prior of Lyon he rebuilt the monastery in 1482, was elected provincial in 1492 and was dead by November 1494 (Dd 8, fol. 77, 133, 133v). There is also a John Hersin Jr. who was sent as student to Paris in 1481 (*Archives Départ. de la Somme B 12*).

Hersin Sr. translated as prior of Lyon and DD the *Peregrinationes in Terram Sanctam* (*Voyage et Pèlerinages de l'Oultremer au S. Sépulchre de Hiérusalem*) by B. von Breydenbach. We have not yet examined the probability that

in print but it excelled all predecessors by the beauty and force of its language and made him one of the principal formers of the German language. Coverdale's fame rests on the fact that he was the first to publish a complete translation of the Bible into English. The popularization of the Bible by translating it into the vernacular was in itself an excellent endeavor. It was the way the Reformers used the Bible which provoked opposition.

So far the names of fifteen English Austins who adhered to the new doctrine have become known. They were Browne in London, Barnes and his five followers in Cambridge, four men in Clare under Coverdale's influence, Goodwyn in Northampton (D 1132) and an unnamed member in York (D 1100). This is a very small percentage indeed among two hundred friars whose names have been left to us. The Clare friars were hardly the great disseminators of Lutheranism in East Anglia as has been asserted [1118]). They were caught too soon and surely not eager to endanger their lives again. Neither are the followers of Barnes in Cambridge known for any activities. Only Browne, Barnes and Coverdale played leading roles but they did not carry the new movement. Far more powerful forces were needed to lead England away from the old faith and these forces became really effective only after Henry VIII' death. The corrosive influence of these fallen-away friars, however, must not be underestimated, difficult though its evaluation may be. Browne's promotion of Protestantism while prior and provincial must have had a disastrous effect upon his subjects, especially those who were weak or confused, while Barnes

this work is identical with *Les Passages de Outremere du Noble Godefroy de Bouillon*, translated by Hersin and published at Paris in 1497.

For the literary work of these Austins see J. WADSWORTH, *Lyons 1473-1503. The Beginnings of Cosmopolitanism* (Cambridge, Mass. 1962) 20-28. Since Wadsworth is unacquainted with the lives of these men he tends to underestimate their importance.

It may be added that long before Luther the German Austins Gottschalk Hollen († 1481), John Dorsten († 1481) and John Paltz († 1511) castigated the lack of esteem for and the knowledge of the Bible even among educated people. They recommended reading in this « ars mineralis caelestis » and defended translations into the mother tongue: A. ZUMKELLER, « Das Wirken des Augustiner-Weihbischofs Arnold Cancrinus († um 1524) im Bistum Hildesheim am Anfang der Glaubensspaltung », *Augustinianum* 5 (1965) 520.

[1118]) LOWE MS. fol. 38.

and Coverdale impressed those around them with their intellectual power and learnedness.

3. *Crown appointed Superiors*

King Henry's desire for a male heir and his consequent involvement with Anne Boleyn led to the divorce action against his lawful wife, Catherine of Aragon. The dilatory measures of Rome infuriated the king. By an ever greater restriction of papal jurisdiction in his kingdom he tried to bring about a quick, favorable decision, a policy which ended in the Act of Supremacy of 1534. Meanwhile his ambassador in Rome, John Clerk, bent every effort to win as many cardinals as possible for the king's cause. One of the outstanding cardinals was Giles of Viterbo, former general of the Austins. Clerk glowingly reported Giles' great admiration for Henry's *Defence of the Seven Sacraments* (D 1039*). The evident flattery may have been due not only to the great boon this work was to the church but also because of the rumor that the real author was Bernard André, the Austin from Toulouse. Because of this admiration Clerk thought it easy to gain Giles ; but when he pressed him for a favorable opinion in writing, Giles balked. Clerk tried to bribe him with money and when this failed he threatened him with the suppression of the English Austin friaries of which Giles was the protector. « Let them do with the monasteries what they want », was Giles reply (D 1075/6), whose political conviction kept him on the side of Emperor Charles V and whose conscience forbade him to countenance any support of the divorce.

William Wetherall
Provincial 1520/22 and 1526/34

Though « well learned » the head of the English Province, Dr. William Wetherall, had neither the brilliant mind nor the religious convictions of Giles. He had only a burning desire to remain provincial. Since 1528*, when he was also prior of Oxford, he had favored the king's divorce. He was « not counted among the heretics » but received considerable sums of money from men like Humphrey Monmouth who were under suspicion (D 1072). If

he did not directly favor the new teaching he certainly did nothing to stop it.

Wetherall was ordained priest in March 1501 [1119]) and, therefore, a comparatively young man when elected provincial in 1520*. After his first term in office he was sharply reprimanded by the general for trying to prolong his term to six years (D 1032). He was succeeded in 1522 by Dr. John Stokes (D 1042), an enemy of Protestantism (D 1077). In 1526 Wetherall was again chosen provincial and this time easily obtained from Cardinal Wolsey the extension of his term to six years. Wolsey could grant this privilege because he was papal legate with plenipotentiary powers. In 1527 the general strongly exhorted Wetherall to correct the evil conditions in Canterbury (D 1064). It seems that the general again had not inquired as to the actual facts but had acted on a report. Accused were Master Gilbert Roos, prior, John Parkar and George Brum. Volta demanded the immediate removal of Roos and the two accused confreres. Since he had trusted Prior Roos just a few years before with some rather difficult tasks he should not have condemned him without hearing his side of the story. The general seems to have committed error upon error in the correct legal treatment of the English officials, justified though his attitude was. When Cardinal Wolsey died in 1530 Volta took the opportunity to censure Wetherall sharply for destroying the liberty of his province by extending his term to six years (D 1078). The prior general was not the only one who disapproved of Wetherall's selfish action. It must have been criticized also outside the Order or else Henry VIII would not have given command in 1532* that Wetherall must be honored like any other Mendicant provincial. When Wetherall asked the general in the same year to be appointed president of the next chapter his request was rejected as being contrary to the Constitutions. Thereupon he again made use of his political connections and Parliament commanded the capitulars of 1532* to re-elect

[1119]) William Wetherall was ordained subdeacon 19 Sept. 1500 at St. Mary's, York, deacon on 19 Dec. 1500 and priest March 6, 1501 (Ms. has 1500): *Brit. Mus. Ms. Galba E-X*, fol. 143, 144b, 146 and *York, Reg. Sedisvac.* fol. 506, 507, 50 9.He was BD in 1510/1 and master 1514/5.

He must be distinguished from Ralph Wedell (Wodall, Wodiall) who was admitted to BD in 1517 and was DD by 1518 (D 1030). He was also prior of Oxford in 1515 as WOOD, *Fasti* I, 43/4 clearly states. EMDEN, *BRU Cambridge* identified the two men. We made the same mistake in the index to our *Sources*.

Wetherall. They obeyed and gave him a term of seven years. The president of the chapter, Master Gilbert Roos, reported the fact to Rome. It is the only report of an English chapter which has come down to us. Volta, no doubt, reported the case to the Papal Curia, but relations with England had deteriorated to such an extent that utmost caution was necessary. The general was probably advised to confirm what he could not change, which he did. It was the last known official act for the English Province. A year later the king forbade any contact with Rome. From then on the English Province was no longer regarded as part of the Order (D 1155).

Sir James, Austin of Rye, a martyr ?

Wetherall did not stay in office for seven years. He either died or was deposed by Cromwell because he could not keep his subjects in line. Some of them were too outspoken against the king's divorce while others propagated the new doctrines. On 17 October 1533, an Austin of Rye, known as Sir James, was arested upon Cromwell's command for uttering « malicious words against the king and the queen », an expresion regularly used for men who voiced disapproval of the king's bigamy. He was sent to Sir Edward Guildford, warden of Cinq Ports, but must have remained steadfast, because on 28 October Guildford inquired what to do with him [1120]). This is the last we hear of Sir James. He

[1120]) « I wish to know the king's pleasure what shall be done with the priest of whom I lately wrote and sent the deposition taken by the mayor of Rye, as I wrote in my letter of the 6th inst. The priest [*Addenda* no 871] has remained in ward at my command and charge these three weeks, and whereas it pleased you to write to me that you had written before receiving my letter to the mayor of Rye concerning the priest and *an Augustinian friar named Sir James* I had said nothing of the letter. Your letter dated Stepney 7 October did not reach the mayor of Rye *till the 17th, when the mayor committed the said friar to my keeping*. The witnesses named by Thomas Bartilmewe have not yet come from Yarmouth ». Halden 25 October signed: *LP Addenda* no 879, *Italics ours. State Papers Henry VIII I/238, fol. 177*. See also D 1088 and 1160.

The name of Sir James is not yet known to us from any other source. The world « Sir » is used for ordained friars. See e.gr. the list of priors under Grimsby, Leicester, Newcastle, and Shrewsbury. According to the *Shorter Oxford Dictionary* it was used before the Christian names of priests.

Inold was freed and became perpetual vicar of Rye (LP XVI no 1308.45).

may very well have been one of the two Austins who died for their faith in addition to Bl. John Stone. Rye was a hotbed of discontent. Its pastor, William Inold, was arrested several times for speaking his mind, and was joined by the Austin Sir James and Dr. Maydland. a Dominican from London, who said in 1535 that « he would like to see the head of every maintainer of the new doctrine upon a stake, that of his principal [Ingworth] among them » [1121]). We could know a great deal more about these and men like them if the court records of this period had not been kept so poorly [1122]).

If Wetherall was deposed, it was for his policy of laissez-faire and his known sympathies with heretics though he did not actually join them. Not a single effort to create order is known on his part. He was, therefore, a completely unfit superior for these dangerous years. His good members did not receive any encouragement and the extremists could do as they pleased. The time of Wetherall's death is unknown.

George Browne
Provincial 1534-1536

If Wetherall was deposed it was done because Cromwell's plans had matured and he needed for their execution forceful, active partisans. He thought to have found such a man in George Browne [1123]), prior of the Austins in London. Browne held the

He died about 1545. Was Sir James held in prison until 27 October 1539, when a Commission of Oyer and Terminer was appointed for Rye (LP XIV (2) no 46) ?

[1121]) LP IX no 846.

[1122]) There is a « dearth of documents from the courts in question [civil and ecclesiastical] partly because of the utter confusion which crept into the court records, and partly because of the abbreviated forms used in keeping many of these records ». PETER, *Study* ch. 6, fol. 92.

[1123]) The fullest presentation of Browne's life and activities in M. RONAN, *The Reformation in Dublin 1536-1554 under Henry VIII* (London 1925) 1-128 and 240-419. Dr. London called Browne « lately prior of Oxford » (D 1123). The time of this priorship is difficult to determine. Wetherall was prior of Oxford from 1528/34 though he was provincial. Browne may have succeeded him. He may even have held the priorships of both London and Oxford in his hands. It may also be that Dr. London signified by prior not the local superior but the prior provincial and that Browne never was prior of Oxford. Brother B. Bradshaw S. M. of Dublin University College, who is preparing a Dr. thesis on Geo. Browne, supplied us with some valuable information.

priorship on 16 May 1532* when together with Wetherall he leased to Cromwell two messuages and several gardens within the enclosure of the friary for the erection of a great palace. While this was being built during the next four years, Cromwell lived « half a league away » [1124]), but no doubt frequently checked on its progress. How many times he met Browne on such occasions and how much he influenced him, we do not know but we soon find Browne fully on Cromwell's side. On Easter 1533* he preached at St. Paul's Cross strongly in favor of the king's divorce and asked the faithful to pray for Queen Anne, wherupon his listeneres « took their departure with great murmuring and without waiting for the end of the sermon ». The king was so angered by this popular reaction that he commanded the mayor not to let it happen again. The mayor summoned all the trade unions and gave them the king's command ; but what could he do especially against the women who loudly spoke their mind ?

Chapuys, the emperor's ambassador, who reported these happenings, held Browne in deepest contempt from that day. It is interesting, however, that he did not mention the rumor of Browne having secretly blessed the marriage of Henry and Anne. Only three years later he made this accusation (D 1096) ; hence his testimony is at least dubious. Be this as it may, Browne quickly received the reward for his cooperation. Oxford University « unanimously out of love for Cromwell but without sollicitation » incorporated him as *doctor simpliciter* without costs and charges [1125]) and on 13 April 1534*, exactly a year after his disputed Easter sermon, he was appointed prior provincial by Cromwell. Together with John Hilsey, provincial of the Dominicans, he was charged to visit all Mendicant houses and « make inquiry concerning their lives, morals and fealty to the king ; instruct them how to conduct themselves with safety and reduce them to uniformity, caling in, if necessary, the aid of the secular arm » (D 1090). In May 1534 all Mendicant provincials signed a declaration of fealty to the king, in which they acknowledged his marriage with Anne Boleyn, repudiated the

[1124]) LP X, 381.

[1125]) D 1094. On 14 October 1532* the provincial chapter gave Browne permission to incept at Cambridge. After his gratuitous doctorate at Oxford in 1534 he was incorporated as DD of Cambridge in 1536 and paid 40*d* for his grace and 3*s*4*d* « pro communis » (D 1111).

bishop of Rome and accepted Henry as supreme head of the church in England. Browne signed as provincial of the Austins and prior of London (D 1092). On 4 July 1534 he reported to Cromwell of having visited the Franciscans and Dominicans in Beverley. He found one Franciscan obstinate in regard to royal supremacy and sent him to Cromwell [1126]). On 6 July he received « with loving care » the conventual seals of all Mendicant houses in Newcastle (D 1093). He may have gone there concerning the affairs of the Observant Franciscans.

Browne's rejection of papal authority soon led to the acceptance of other Protestant doctrines. On 17 July 1535* John Stokesley, bishop of London, begged Cromwell to cancel Browne's appointment to preach in his presence before St. Paul's Cross. He pictures Browne as a rabble rouser and resents especially his « indiscreet fashion » of railing against the remembrance of the souls departed, for which he had neither authority nor argument.

The accusation must have pleased Cromwell because in the same year he appointed Browne archbishop of Dublin. Hilsey also was rewarded by becoming bishop of Rochester. It was high time that the partnership of these royal visitors was dissolved because they had started to wrangle among themselves. For one reason or another Browne thought himself superior to Hilsey and interfered in the latter's jurisdiction by assigning a Friar Oliver as prior of the Dominicans in Cambridge. Cromwell was promptly informed that Oliver was a member of the old school, a most serious blunder in Cromwell's eyes. Oliver was quickly deposed and Friar John Dodds put in his place [1127]).

Browne tried to promote the new religious ideas in his diocese but made little headway. Just twelve months after his arrival he was severely censured by King Henry for not showing greater zeal in spreading the Reformation [1128]). In 1551 he was made metropolitan of all Ireland, but in 1553 he was deposed by Mary because he had married. He submitted and was absolved by Reginald Cardinal Pole [1129]) who granted him permission to hold

[1126]) LP VII, no 953. Another Observant friar, John Arthur, in a letter written from Dieppe on 8 November 1535, asked Browne to answer accusations made against him (Arthur) in his absence: LP IX (2) no 789.

[1127]) COOPER, *Athenae* II, 360. Hilsey's letter to Cromwell : LP VII, no 1265.

[1128]) LP XII (2), no 376.

[1129]) M. RONAN, « Cardinal Pole's Absolution of George Browne », *Irish*

a benefice. Queen Mary appointed him on 18 February 1555 to the prebend of Clonmetham which he held until 1558, when Elizabeth deprived him of it. He did not submit to the Elizabethan Reform. Had he accepted the queen's supremacy he could have had any ecclesiastical position. The time of his death is uncertain.

Browne was not a theologian of stature. His doctrinal and religious views always seem to lack the necessary precision [1130]). He did not suppress any religious houses but saw their end coming and worked towards it. For this alone he must be regarded as the worst of all provincials gratifying though his return to the mother church was.

John Hardiman
Provincial 1536-38

The last English provincial was John Hardiman [1131]). Like his two predecessors he obtained his doctorate during his term in office. Like them he also favored the new trends otherwise Hilsey would not have recommended him « as a Catholic man, very studious and of good conversation and report » (D 1127). While obtaining his doctorate he was quite ill and his sickness seems to have kept him from any important activity. He had been prior of the Cam-

Ecclesiastical Record, 5. ser. 77 (1949) 195-202. The important document of Pole's dispensation is preserved in the *Municipal Archives* of Douai and published by RONAN, 145/6. We owe the above reference on Pole to B. Bradshaw S. M.

[1130]) *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et Géographie ecclésiastiques* X (Paris 1938) 869/71.

[1131]) D 1111. From LOWE Ms. 120/1 we add the following items: COOPER, *Annales* I, 366 mistakenly refers to Hardyman as prior of the Dominicans and on p. 251 he lets him supplicate for incorporation as DD in Oxford in 1538 but the register of the university shows no such entry.

Hardyman was instituted to the rectory of St. Martin's, Pomeroy (Ironmonger Lane) on 11 March 1538/9 which living he resigned in 1541 (HENNESY, *Novum Repertorium* 284). He held the prebend of Welton Ryvall, Lincoln, and on 21 June 1560 was made prebendary of Westminster, the third stall, but was deprived of the latter in 1561 (*Ibid.*, 444; *Pat. 2 Eliz. I.*, pt. XIII m 5). About the same time he held a prebend in Chester. About 1565 he held the vicarage of Lyd, Kent. The following year, upon the complaint of the townspeople to Parker of Hardyman's foul language, irreverent treatment of the Blessed Sacrament and putting away his wife, the archbishop ordered him to leave town at once (PARKER, *Correspondence* 342).

bridge friary before Browne's appointment to Dublin and seems to have retained this position as provincial. He personally surrendered the friary but remained its guardian for several years afterwards.

The greatest misfortune of the English Province were its superiors who ruled since 1532. Instead of sustaining or advancing the province entrusted to their care they undermined it. There is but one redeeming feature : None of them was chosen by their fellow religious. They were imposed upon them by the king and upheld by him, a fact which seems to have been unknown so far. This evil leadership prevailed in the whole English church and made it extremely difficult for the individual friar to come to a right understanding and clear decision. Years later, when the die was cast, the evil consequences evident, the standpoint of Rome clear and firm, it was easy to come to the right judgment. But in the beginning, when Rome kept silent, while king and bishop, prior and provincial demanded obedience in a difficult canonical question it must have been extremely difficult for the individual friar to presume the right of opposition. Yet more men than has been believed succeeded in forming the right judgment and no group stirred up the people more than the friars. The most vigorous and vociferous group among them were the Observant Franciscans who suffered heroically for their stand. The former claim, however, that practically all of these 155 men distributed over six houses died for their faith is not true. A report of 1534 states that 32 were either in jail or dead, 35 had returned to the world, 30 had fled to Scotland or the continent and 56 were still in the kingdom (D 1086). A contemporary writer reports that after their suppression all six houses were placed under the jurisdiction of the Austin Friars, but the historian of the English Franciscans, A. G. Little, says that Greenwich and Richmond were dissolved, Canterbury and Newcastle returned to the Conventual Rule, while Newark and Southampton were turned over to the Austins. Little does not indicate any source but apparently based his conclusion on sound reason. The Austins were scarcely interested in the friaries of Canterbury and Newcastle where they had houses of their own. Nothing at all is known of Greenwich, but royal documents definitely place Newark and Southampton in Augustinian hands. Of late, one meagre notice seems to make also Richmond an Augustinian possession (D 1177). There

is not one single indication, however, that any of these six houses were suppressed at this time. Whether any of the 56 Observant Franciscans remaining in England were allowed to stay in their former friaries and join the Austins is not known ; nor is any reason given why these houses were given to the Austins unless it was the work of George Browne.

Chapter 2

The End of the English Province

The suppression [1132]) of all monasteries had been seriously contemplated since 1528. It was to be one of the means by which Cromwell wanted to make King Henry VIII the richest monarch of the world. The Pilgrimage of Grace gave the final impetus necessary to put it into effect. This great uprising of the North in 1536* was directed against the king's ecclesiastical policies and was at first so successful that only the devious political skill of Henry avoided his overthrow. When the treaty with these crusaders had been signed the future of the monasteries seemed secure but the king did not keep a single promise, nor did he spare the lives of the leaders, whether lay or cleric.

Of the Austins only the priors of Grimsby and York appear in the records. The prior of Grimsby, probably Sir William Taylor, had just been appointed superior and was unacquainted with local conditions. He had ridden into the camp of the insurgents and given them money, but since he had done it under duress he was given the benefit of doubt and escaped punishment. John Aske, the prior of York, and probably a relative of the leader of the Pilgrimage, had mingled with the leaders of the crusade, but he also was excused (D 1104). He lived long enough to sign the surrender of his house. While the Austins in York stayed on, those of Grimsby were so afraid that most had run away when J. Fredman came in October 1538 to suppress the house (D 1150).

The Pilgrimage of Grace had cost the royal treasury over £200,000. To refill the empty coffers the suppression of the monasteries was legalised. The friars could not expect help from Rome,

[1132]) Hughes, *Reformation* I, 304/6: Knowles, *Rel. Orders* III, 360/6 give excellent outlines for the general history of the suppression.

their principal protector, nor could they expect aid from the English hierarchy which could not help itself. The bishops appointed by the king firmly supported his policies and those of the old school had made the friars, the scapegoat as late as 1515 for all religious evils which had befallen the church of England [1133]). There was, however, strong popular support for the friars even after the disastrous Pilgrimage of Grace. Ingworth, for example, reported from Ludlow :

> « The friars have many favorers, and great labor is made for their continuance. Divers trust to see them set up again, and some have gone up to sue for them » (D 1120).

Court action with its many delays was the last thing Cromwell wanted. Therefore, he instructed his visitors to extort in each case a document signed by all brethren present, which declared the surrender voluntary thus precluding any redress in court. His main agent, the Dominican Richard Ingworth, seems to have been naive enough to believe that voluntary surrender meant what the words said, but was quickly and sharply corrected by Cromwell, and thereafter carried out his traitorous task with high efficiency [1134]). Cromwell wanted signatures not consent. In order to obtain them every device was used to deprive the friars of their income. Dr. John London expressed this clearly when he wrote in July 1538 : « If the friars would not forsake their houses, their houses would forsake them » [1135]). The very first means was to forestall any sale of real estate by taking away their seals. Seeing that some sustenance was needed Ingworth told them to live « on their stock and plate ». Dr. London regarded this as a serious blunder and reported so to Cromwell. He considered it as stealing the king's property

[1133]) P 130/1 (XII, 395/6) *supra*.

[1134]) D 1118. In his letter concerning Ipswich April 1538 he wrote: « he was not sent to dissolve any house but to reform and if that house were hereafter dissolved, it was by their own act, yet he would leave them there with sufficient to serve God, till their own fact put them out, when they were to resort to me ». He left 20s for the Grey Friars in Ipswich to help them in their need: *LP Addenda*, no 312. The sharp rebuke by Cromwell and the frightened answer of Ingworth in KNOWLES, *Rel. Ordes* III, 361.

[1135]) D 1125. It is scarcely accidental that Ingworth expressed the same idea in similar words: « I am sure that within a year the most part be fain to give up their houses for poverty »: D 1114.

and imprisoned the prior of Northampton for making use of Ingworth's permission (D 1132). The only chance the friars had to make a living was helping out over the week-end. This was called « singing abroad ». The very fact that we know from a number of places that all friars except one needed for conventual Mass were helping out proves that their services were needed. This did not interest Cromwell. The honorarium helped the friars to survive and, therefore, had to be stopped. In Winchester (D 1114) and Stafford (D 1116) Ingworth called all members of the various Mendicant houses together and told them that he had not come « to suppress their houses and put them out, he had come only to reform every man to good order and give injunction for the preservation of the same ». The only injunction given was to stop singing abroad. « If they could accept this injunction they could stay, if not, they would have to surrender their houses ». Since there was no chance to exist under such conditions the friars surrendered them « freely ».

What gain the king expected from the friaries is hard to see, since almost every letter of the visitors speaks of their poverty. « Stafford is a poor house with small implements, no jewels, but one little chalice, no lead on the roof » (D 1116). Thetford was so bare that there was « no earthly thing at all but trash and baggage » (D 1128). In Canterbury the Austins were in debt £40 « which all they have, cannot pay » (D 1142). Huntingdon was « very poor » and in Atherstone Ingworth could not get one penny of the customary fee (D 1115). While the Austins were always poor, because « they were bound to continuous poverty » (D 596) they had become poorer by a lack of common life ; but the extreme poverty of which the records speak was of very recent date. The friars had, of course, been quite aware of what was coming and sold everything they could. Sometimes they divided the income among themselves as in Northampton but in other cases the superiors appropriated everything to themselves. In this respect adherents of the new teaching proved themselves apt pupils of their masters. In the instances where the visitors complained the most about the sale of goods — and nothing could infuriate visitors more — the names of fallen-away Austins crop up. George Browne was accused by Dr. London that he had cut down the best trees in Oxford and taken away « stuff » and plate to the value of 200 marks (D 1123). Since Browne was *persona grata* at court he remained unpunished.

In Northampton Dr. London found « the prior, John Goodwin, one of the most unthrifty he had met. He calls him a great dicer and reveller [1136]) and accuses him « of having delivered all the plate and stuff, and made feigned bills of sale and receipts. In one year the prior had made away with £100 in plate ». But in the next dispatch the sum is reduced to £30 so that his lie is evident (D 1132). Though, John Goodwyn, was a reformer who together with the Dominican Steven Wilson had railed against the Blessed Sacrament in the horse market (D 1133) and had paid Cromwell for making him superior (D 1108), Dr. London put him and all his brethren into ward to force a return of the « stolen » goods. A similar fate befell Richard Alate, prior of Shrewsbury, who did not leave a chalice to say mass, nor bedding, meat, bread or drink (D 1117). Equally successful was the unknown prior of Droitwich, who seems to have been an adherent of the old order. In less than a year he felled and sold seven scores of good elm and all goods « so that in the house was not left one bed, one sheet, one dish » (D 1113). Ingworth ordered his arrest and appointed for the house a poor friar giving him for his living the magnificent sum of 6*d* a week though 2*d* was needed to eke out one day's sustenance.

It needs to be said that the king did not have the least right to deprive the friars of their houses and that they had every right to sell their goods and save what they could, especially when their sales preceded any royal orders.

The taking away of their living was not enough for the men who dominated the kingdom at this period. The wearing of the habit was also forbidden in 1538. When Cromwell saw a friar in London wearing a habit he furiously told him to have it off by noon or he would have him hung [1137]). Yet the friars were judged guilty for taking off the habit without permission. This permission was called a capacity, a name also used for the permission to accept a benefice [1138]). These commands enabled Cromwell to exercise his well-known practice of extortion. It should be re-called that extortion was one of the reasons for which Cromwell was exe-

[1136]) Such accusations were made almost exclusively by Dr. London. In many instances they were not true or based on mere gossip. For his defense see KNOWLES, *Rel. Orders* III, 354/6.

[1137]) FOXE, *Acts and Mon.* V, 396. The friar was Alexander Barclay OFM.

[1138]) « One of your Lordship's [Cromwell] injunctions given in the king's name is that no friar is to be admitted to any benefice »: D 1132.

cuted in 1540, shortly after he had been made earl of Essex. A detailed system of fees had been developed two years before the suppression took place. It demanded £11-15-0 from every mendicant seeking his capacity. Of this sum the king was to receive £5-7-8, the chancellor £1-6-1 $^1/_2$, the clerks 13 $^1/_2 d$, the archbishop of Canterbury £2-18-9, his commissary and scribe 9s9 $^1/_2 d$ each [1139]). Once the friaries were suppressed Cromwell had to lower his demands. Some friars paid £8 but most of the friars were able to give only £4. In order to get the largest possible amount Cromwell let them wait a year and longer until they could get the required fee from relatives and friends. Those who had proved themselves amenable to the regime received their capacities gratis. The viciousness of this system has not been described so far because the only source, the *Computus* which contains Cranmer's receipts for capacities had remained unknown to modern historians [1140]). Despite all these pressures the friars were not anxious to change their garb though transgressors were quickly reported to Cromwell. Friar Patrick, an Austin of Rye, was denounced in 1535 because he continued to wear his religious habit [1141]) and Fr. Stephen Luskyn of Clare will ever hold a place of honor because he paid for the privilege to wear his habit under the garb of a secular priest (D 1177).

Friars did not receive pensions like the discharged monks of the great abbeys. Dr. London in particular loved « to clene put them down » (D 1139) without even a penny for the immediate future. Only George Lawson, a lifelong neighbor of the Austins in York, showed some mercy and gave every member of the houses

[1139]) *PRO State Papers I/104*, fols. 317-329 quoted in PETER, *Study*, fol. 82 and her Appendix III (p. 2).

[1140]) To D 1177 we must make the following additions and corrections. The *Computus Facultatum* bears the official signature F I/Vv; it is scheduled for publication by David Chamber. Father Hackett informs us that the strange SIIXXI stands for *Suppri*[mitur].

[1141]) In a list of eleven presentments by parishioners of Rye, no 5 reads: « Item: that Patrick, a friar Augustinian, doth daily service in the Church in his friar's apparel as a friar »: PETER, *Study* 95 quoting *State Papers I/99*, fol. 67. The list is dated 18 November 1535 and is endorsed: « The treason of three malicious persons declared to Jasper Filoll by one [John] Maidwell » and « High treason of three malicious persons ». The three persons were Pastor Wm. Inold,, Dr. Maydland, O. P. of London and Friar Patrick. So far we have been unable to locate additional data on Fr. Patrick.

in Tickhill, Newcastle and York a few shillings which sufficed for about three weeks. The claim that the friars were allowed to stay in their monasteries and were supported by the king until their capacities arrived is not supported by any document in Augustinian England. Dr London certainly « set them abroad » (D 1132). Priests were allowed to stay with friends (D 1118), novices were sent home and lay brothers are not mentioned ; their institute was extinct.

Except for the hypocritical injunction against singing abroad not a single word is said about true reform or giving the friars a chance to reform. The visitors reported only on financial matters because the suppression had but one purpose, viz, to enrich the royal treasury. This fact must be kept in mind and not be left out in the shuffle of secondary causes. The Reformers saw to it that anything which favored the friars was suppressed while anything which could harm them and thus make the suppression appear a lesser crime than it was would be broadcast, exaggerated and generalized. Despite all efforts to discredit the Orders not a single case of immorality among the Austins is reported by the royal visitors. They did not report, of course, on adherents of the Reformation who had left the cloister and got married.

To blame the friars for the « voluntary » surrender of their houses would be false historiography. Such free surrender consisted in the signature of a legal form, copies of which were brought along by the visitors. Whether this form was signed or not, did not make a particle of difference. In the case of Huntingdon, for example, no signature was taken. The houses were suppressed with or without signatures.

After the official suppression had been signed, an inventory of possessions was sent to the Augmentation Office, but only a few of these inventories have been preserved. Chalices and bells, jewels and plate were sent to the royal treasury. Big trees or woods were reserved to the king. Most buildings and lands were sold to speculators who paid far less than the actual value. Some of the estates were given to favorites of the king at extremely low prices [1142]). In the beginning household goods were sold at public auction but this seems to have been abandoned after the suppression of the first eleven houses because it was not worth it. While in Winchester the sale still realized £5-7-9 and in Ludlow to £6-19-1 it

[1142]) For example Droitwich, Tickhill, Woodhouse.

dropped to 79*s* in Stafford, 40*s* each in Atherstone and Droitwich and in Shrewsbury to 26*s*8*d*. The abandonment of sales after such experiences is probably the reason why so few inventories are left.

The total lands of the Austins did not exceed 350 acres. The buildings themselves should have been the most valuable part but the visitors were principally interested in the lead of the roofs. A valuable document of 1538 estimated each fother of lead — a fother being about 2,400 pounds — at 60*s*8*d* (D 1132). Northampton's roofs, therefore, were worth £102-14-4. Other houses were equally well leaded. The lead was ripped off the roofs, melted down and sold. The uncovered buildings remained exposed to wind and rain until they collapsed. Centuries later some of their ruins were still visible. Royal directives had demanded that « superfluous buildings were to be taken down, defaced and carried away », but few of the new owners were willing to shoulder this expense unless the buildings were located within a city. Then they often were torn down, their stones used for other buildings or paving the streets. If buildings were only tiled they were safe from immediate destruction and served as living quarters or offices. Libraries wasted away in the exposed buildings or were sold to merchants for wrapping paper. The values senselessly destroyed totalled many times the sums gained. One asset, however remained, the new taxes. Friaries had been free from taxation. Now the royal treasury received £150-0-0 annually from former Augustinian sites.

The Fate of the Expelled Austins

So far have been found the names of 195 Austins who were driven from their ancient houses in 1538. The missing names from 14 houses increases this number to about 317. Since vocations to the priesthood had greatly decreased during the last decades not only within the Orders but also among the secular clergy, most friars in good standing could find a benefice or serve as assistants in parishes once their capacities arrived. Very few brethren seem to have left England. So far only Fr. Thomas of Canterbury is known to have entered the Carbonara at Naples in 1544 [1143]). With the

[1143]) AA 24 (1961) 4. Father de Meijer assured us that no other Englishman who sought refuge on the continent is mentioned in the Registers of the Prior General.

exception of the few men who followed the new teaching most expelled friars appear to have passed the rest of their lives in the service of the church. The records of Bristol, Rye and Warrington are clear proofs for this assumption. The Catholic religion was not abolished in England under Henry VIII but under Elizabeth. By that time most former Austins had died.

John Stone, who died as martyr, was not the only Austin to resist during these bitter years. There were many courageous souls who could have formed a powerful force to the good under the right leadership. Sir James of Rye spoke out against the divorce and probably died for his conviction. John Stokes III of Clare preached against Matthew Parker, later archbishop of Canterbury, and landed in jail (D 1138). Richard Alate in Shrewsbury wanted to go to London to regain his lost house but was imprisoned by an obliging magistrate who wanted to spare Cromwell and Ingworth any embarrassment (D 1117). There were other members who showed love for the Order. None of the men in Winchester wanted to leave the Order but asked to be transferred to other houses (D 1114). The Austins of Bristol were « stiff », that is unwilling to surrender. In Droitwich Ingworth found « eleven bulls of the pope and over hundred letters of pardon and in all the books of the choir the bishop of Rome standing as he did twenty years ago ». Unhappily there was none to unite, strengthen and guide these good men. On the contrary, every legal authority was arranged against them. Rome was silent, and since 1517 its legates proved to be its worst enemies. With the exception of John Fisher every bishop, whether he followed the old or new teaching, had taken the oath of fealty and acknowledged the Act of Supremacy. All religious superiors followed their example and demanded obedience from their subjects. With every authority arraigned against the individual friar, with expulsion staring him in the face followed by a future of misery or at least uncertainty, with every resistance ending in jail and death, it took the greatest heroism to speak up. The lying, cruel persecutions of our day give us a better understanding of 1538 ; they have also taught us how poorly even good men react in a crisis where evil men hold the reins of government. Those who spoke loudest afterwards on the necessity of heroism were those who had kept most quiet.

Chapter 3

The Martyrdom of Blessed John Stone (27 (?) December 1539)

> « *Oh fidei lumen Stonnaeus carcere clausus / Obscuro,* fidei lucidus, igne fragat / *Nec tamen* extinctum *est* tenebroso carcere lumen / *Martyrii* rutilo claruit, igne magis » [1144]).

When the suppression of the monasteries was over and the black habit of the Austins was no longer seen in the streets of England, one Austin lay still chained in Canterbury's prison. He was Friar John Stone [1145]) who had fearlessly opposed Ingworth when he arrived on 14 December 1538 in Canterbury for the suppression of the Mendicant houses. Before the friars were expelled they had to sign two documents : one acknowledging the king as supreme head of the church and another declaring their surrender voluntary. In a lengthy and, no doubt, heated discussion, Friar Stone firmly declared before his assembled confreres « that the king could not be head of the church, but that it must be a spiritual father appointed by God ». He was separated from his brethren and subjected to a thorough examination by Ingworth, John Starky, mayor of the city, and Master Spilman, a member of the Augmentation Office. They tried to sway him « but he strongly maintained his conviction and declared his willingness to die for it ». When the examiners had to admit defeat they sent Stone to Cromwell in London. Cromwell also failed to change his mind and sent him back to Canterbury ordering his imprisonment in one of the city's jails, probably in that of the castle. The harshness of prison life did not break John as it had other confessors, but like St. John the Baptist he seems to have been assailed by doubts. Adding fasting from his scarce prison fare he took refuge in prayer and was found worthy of an answer. He clearly heard a voice — though

[1144]) I. A. Knippinga, *Ephemeris Sanctorum Ordinis Er. S. P. Augustini* (Antwerpiae 1672) 36. The poet supposes Stone to have been burnt at the stake. At his time nothing was known about Stone's execution.

[1145]) D 1156/9. In our presentation we closely follow B. Hackett, *Blessed John Stone* (London 1963). As one of the postulators for Stone's canonization he has the best knowledge of Stone's execution. Father Hackett does not accept our presentation that the execution took place during Anne of Cleves' stay.

he saw no one — admonishing him to « suffer death with constancy for the belief he had expressed ». After this supernatural experience he had the strength to remain faithful unto death.

His enemies had not forgotten him. One of them was Sir Christopher Hales, attorney general at the trial of Saints John Fisher and Thomas More, who was now Master of the Rolls. As early as 31 December 1538 he asked Cromwell for the appointment of a Commission of Oyer and Terminer to try Stone. Since he added the request that the trial be held in Canterbury it might be that Stone was still held prisoner in London. Cromwell waited almost a year before he granted both wishes of Sir Christopher. On 27 October 1539 he appointed suddenly six Commissions of Oyer and Terminer, among them one for Rye and one for Canterbury. The Commission for Canterbury consisted of Thomas Bele, mayor of the city, Sir Christopher Hales, Sir William Fynche, John Hales, second baron of the Exchequer, and his son James, a prominent lawyer. It was indeed a formidable panel and shows the importance which Cromwell attached to the trial. John Stone was the only person in Canterbury to take a stand against the usurpation of spiritual power by the king and it was to be impressed upon the people that all resistance would be ruthlessly wiped out.

We would not know that the trial was held in Canterbury and that Stone was called before the commission were it not for two entries in the account books of the city. Under 6 December one reads « Item paid for a lamb sent to the Mayor's when the justices of oyer and terminer did sit 2*d* ». It is followed immediately by the second which says : « Item paid for half a ton of timber to make a pair of gallows to hang Friar Stone 2*s*6*d* ». All other documents have diaspeared : viz. the writ to Kent's sheriff, Sir Anthony St. Leger, to summon a grandjury to hear the indictment and bring in a verdict or any record of the succeeding events. The course of the trial must have been short. A jury confronted with an indictment for high treason had no alternative but to bring in a verdict of guilt. Usually the sentence was carried out without delay but an extraordinary event complicated matters.

Anne of Cleves, Henry's VIII fourth wife, was to arrive on Sunday, December 7, and would be stopping overnight in Canterbury on her way to London. Christopher and James Hales as well as Sir Fynche were among the delegates appointed to receive her at Dover. Anne was delayed by bad weather, however, and did

not arrive at Dover until Saturday, December 27. She arrived at Canterbury on Monday, December 29, and left the following morning.

The financial records of the city closely connect the execution with the arrival of Anne of Cleves. A few lines before the expenses for the execution begin we read : « Item given to the Lady Anne of Clebe in money 6 li ». The end of the bill for the execution is immediately followed by the entry : « Item paid to the gonners at the Lady Annys coming 16*d* ». It seems, therefore, that Stone's execution formed part of the reception festivities arranged for the queen despite the shortness of her stay. This seems also confirmed by the extraordinary expenses for the execution and by the fact that the paraphernalia needed for it were removed only after her departure [1146]).

In Anne's company was also the apostate Austin, Dr. Robert Barnes, then at the height of his power. In Barnes and Stone the worst and the best of the Order confronted each other.

« By linking Stone's execution with Anne's arrival the authorities unwittingly made the martyrdom an event easy to remember. When Harpsfield was in Canterbury in 1557 the memory of that December day, eighteen years before, was still fresh in the minds of the people ».

Of the few extant documents bearing on the arrest, indictment and trial, the bill of execution is the most important. It is not only a unique contemporary record but by inference reports also all important items.

On the day of the execution John was led from his prison cell and tied to a hurdle made especially for the occasion. The place of execution was not Holloway, the traditional site with a permanent gibbet, but the most striking landmark of the city, the Dongeon, now the Dane John. From his scaffold Stone could see the suppressed friary, where he had dwelt, now in the hands of the sheriff directing the execution. Whether he had a chance to address the crowd as it happened on similar occasions is not known. Before the hangman had fully strangled him he was cut down and accor-

[1146]) Father Hackett carefully accepts Saturday, December 27, 1539 as the most probable day of Stone's death. But why wait three weeks for Anne's arrival if she was not to be a witness of the execution ? Why all the extraordinary arrangements if not in honor of the Queen ?

ding to the cruel custom of the day disembowelled. His heart and viscera were thrown into the fire, his body cut into four pieces and set up at the four gates of the city.

The bill for the execution amounted to 15*s*11*d*, in today's equivalent about £70, a great sum when compared to a previous execution which had come to only six pence.

After Harpsfield's *Dialogi* had appeared Friar John Stone was soon venerated as martyr. Pope Gregory XIII (1572/85) sanctioned a painting in the English College at Rome depicting Stone as martyr and gave likewise permission for an engraving of his to be printed in 1584. Stone was beatified by Leo XIII on 9 December 1886. His feast is kept on 12 May. He is included among the forty English martyrs scheduled to be canonized soon.

The houses of mortar and stone where the Austin friars once dwelt in England have diasappeared but the glory of this martyrdom shines brighter with each season and tells his brethren that only fidelity to the church makes an Austin great.

Epilogue

With the martyrdom of Bl. John Stone Augustinian life in England had come to an end, but the membership lists of the general chapters continued to mention the English provincial, definitor and discrete until 1620, when the Irish houses were formed into an independent province. Not one English friar had appeared at these chapters ; their places were taken by Italian friars or the records only remarked that neither English nor Irish delegates had appeared.

When Mary Tudor ascended the throne (1553-1558) the Catholic religion was re-established, but the Parliament of 1554 refused to return the sequestered monastic property ; it only ordered that pillaged churches be restored and the new owners of ecclesiastical property provide proper stipends for their clergy. The prior general Christopher of Padua (1551-1569) was apparently ignorant of the situation or he could not have written to Cardinal Richard Pole that the former houses of the Order be restored. He also expressed the vain hope that their former numerous members (« quorum certe erat amplissimus numerus ») would come forward to claim them. For

political reasons he thought it wisest to appoint for his vicar Master Sebastian Toscana, a well known preacher in Portugal, but unhappily Queen Mary had alienated her people through her marriage to a Spanish prince and Master Toscana was refused entrance [1147]), since Portugal was then united with Spain. Even if he had been successful it would have mattered little, since a permanent restoration would have come to naught by Mary's death on the scaffold and the violent persecution of Catholicism which followed.

Augustinian life continued in Ireland. Its members were ordained in Belgium [1148]), Italy and Spain and returned at the risk of their lives. Almost a dozen of them suffered martyrdom and await the honor of the altars [1149]). Those who did not obtain the martyr's crown suffered unbelievable hardships in the decades of persecution, but this did not deter them of ministering to the religious needs of the people.

When modern industrialization drew many Irishmen into English cities, Austins followed them but they could not open a house before 1864 when they established St. Monica's in Hoxton Square, one of London's poorest districts. Hythe in Kent followed in 1891, Hammersmith-London in 1903 and fullest contact with the ancient tradition was established when they returned to Clare in 1953. Five years earlier (1948) they had been invited to Dundee in Scotland and in 1950 they opened a highschool in Carlisle. These six houses are now united into the Viceprovince of England and Scotland for the purpose of developing into a province of their own.

[1147]) All documents in the archives of the prior general at Rome were published in A. DE MEIJER, « The Attempts to reestablish the English Augustinian Province under Queen Mary Tudor », AA 24 (1961) 5-29.

[1148]) On October 15, 1624 the city fathers of Malines (Mecheln) refused the establishment under mortmain by the English Austins, who had bought a house in order to found a convent: *Inventaire des Archives de la ville de Malines* 1 (Malines 1859) no 513. See also p. 133 (XII, 398) *supra*. After the bitter persecution by Oliver Cromwell (which began in 1649) the Irish Province opened a refuge in Rome in 1656, where their house of theology still exists. Their church, St. Patrick's, is now the national Irish church in the eternal city: F. X. MARTIN, *The Irish Augustinians in Rome 1656-1956* (Rome 1956).

[1149]) *Sanguinea Eremus Martyrum Hiberniae Ord. Erem. S. P. Augustini*, written by Fr. James O'Mahony in 1655, edited by F. X. MARTIN in *Archivium Hibernicum* 15 (1950) 74-91. The most famous of the Irish martyrs OSA was William Tirry: « The Tirry Documents in the Archives of France », Paris, ed. F. X. MARTIN in *Arch. Hib.* 20 (1957) 69-97 and « The Tirry Documents in the Augustinian General Archives », ed. Benedict HACKETT, *Arch. Hib.* 20 (1957) 98-122.

Appendix I

Membership

Lists and Documents

1. *The Thirteenth Century*

After the list of houses and their membership during the 13th century was printed (p. 32 [VIII, 47] *supra*) we received much additional information through the kindness of Fr. Keith Egan, O. Carm., who has prepared for publication a detailed study of all available documents containing royal pittances. We mark his contributions with an *. With his permission we publish the following material on Austins.

**PRO C 47/41 6 Edw. I 1277/78* — To D 58.

fol. 20r 1278 May 5 London 22*s* for 3 days
fol. 24v London 6*s*8*d* for 1 day
fol. 44v London 25*s*9*d* for 3 days.
fol. 50r London 17*s*6*d* for 2 days.

OESA-Winchester is not mentioned (fol. 17) though the other Orders in town are, a sure sign that the Austins were not yet established.

**PRO C 47/4/2 1284/85* — To D 76.

fol. 26v 1285 May 7 London £8-6-8 for 9 days.
fol. 26v 1285 May 20 London £4-10-0 for 3 days.
fol. 27r 1285 May 25 London 40*s* for 2 days ; same June 26.

OESA-Cambridge (fol. 26r) and OESA-Winchester (fol. 29r) are not mentioned though the other Orders in town are.

**PRO C 47/4/4 1289/90.*

fol. 38r London £4-11-8 (for Christmas eve, Nativity, St. Stephen and Circumcision).
fol. 40r Oxford 72*s* for 2 days (Easter).
fol. 42r London 58*s*8*d*, for 3 days, die dominica qua desponsata fuit domina Johanna [d'Acre], filia Regis ad comitem Glocestrie [30 April 1289].

fol. 42v London 20*s*4*d* for feast of Presentation (?).

fol. 43r 1290 June 6 London 18*s*4*d* « celebrantium solemniter pro anima domini Gastonis, vicarii Biarn defuncti ad preces Regis ».

fol. 43v 1290 July 16 London 52*s*11*d* « pro nuptiis factis inter Johannem filium ducis Breb' [Brabant] et dominam Margaritam, filiam Regis », for 3 days.

OESA-Winchester (fol. 41v) and OESA-Northampton (fol. 45r) are not mentioned though the other Orders in town are.

It is quite evident that the foregoing pittances do not permit a tabulation of exact membership, but after 1290 the gift of 4*d* per friar seems to be stabilized.

PRO E 101/352/18, 17, 18 Edw.I 1288/90 — D. 90.

**PRO C 47/4/6,* 25, 26 Edw.I 1296/7.

fol. 1r Cambridge 24*s*, for 2 days through Fr. Roger de London. [36 men].

Fr. Roger could be identical with Roger de Ufford.

London, Br. M., Add. 7965 25 Edw.I 1296/7 — D 126.

**PRO E 101/355/10* 26, 27, 28 Edw.I 1297/99.

m. 1 1299 Dec. 13 Berwick 6*s*, for 3 days, same on Dec. 27 [6 men].

**PRO E 101/356/6* 27 Edw.I 1298/99.

m. 8 London 60*s*, for 3 days [60 men].

PRO E 101/356/7 27, 28 Edw.I 1298/9 — D 129.

**PRO E 101/357/4* 27, 28 Edw.I 1298/1300 — D 137.

**PRO E 101/357/21* published under the title

*Liber Contrarotularis 28 Edw.*I, 1299/1300 by Topham — D 135. original : *London, Soc. of Antiquaries Ms. 119* (= *Br. M. Add. 35, 291*).

*The original (fol. 16r) has 6*s* for Berwick, not 2*s*8*d* as in Topham.

2. *The Fourteenth Century*

a) **PRO E 101/357/21* 28 Edw.I 1299/1300.

1300 Nov. 16 Penrith 5*s*8*d*, for 2 days [8 men].

b) **PRO 101/357/23* 28 Edw.I 1299/1300.

m. 14 Lincoln [amount not given].
m. 19 XXXV fratribus sci. Augustini de Ebor. [amount not given membrane badly damaged].

c) *London, Br. M., Ms. 7966A* 29 Edw.I 1300/01 — D 146.

d) *London, Br. Mus. Add. 8835* 32 Edw.I 1303/04 — D 151.

e) **London, Br. M., Add. 35, 292* 31/33 Edw.I 1303/05.

fol. 57v 1304 Sept. 15, 26 OESA-Newcastle 8*s*8*a* for Nativity BMV.
fol. 62v 1304 Dec. 21, 29 OESA Lincoln 9*s*8*d* « die quo celebraverunt pro anima domini Willelmi Latim[or] defuncti ».
fol. 64r 1305 Jan. 5, 31 OESA Lincoln 31*s*, for 3 days.

For the first time number of friars is given explicitly.

f) **PRO 101/369/11* 34 Edw.I 1305/06

fol. 28r Provincial Chapter to be held at Huntingdon 25 July 1306, X marks.
fol. 28v, OESA-Northampton not given, other Orders are.
fol. 30v, 1305 Nov. 29 Oxford 52*s*, for 3 days [52 men].
fol. 32r, 1306 May 9 Winchester 4*s*4*d*, for 1 day [13 men].
fol. 32v 1306 November 1, London 50*s*, for 3 days [50 men].
fol. 33r 1306 May 21, London £8-0-16 for 9 days : one for vigil of Pentecost « pro domino A. de Valenc' et aliis missis versus partes scocie » ; five days for Pentecost, 2 days for Trinity and 1 day « quo celebrarunt pro domino principe et exercitus suo ». [53 men].

g) **PRO E 101/373/15 1 Edw.II* [8 July 1307 - 7 July 1308].

fol. 41r 1308 Jan. 23 London 16*s*, for one day [48 men]

h) **PRO E 101/374/7 Journal of Wardrobe 4 EdwardII 1310/11.*

p. 8 1310 Jan. 23 York 12*s*, for one day [36 men].
p. 12 1310 Sept. 6 Newcastle 8*s*8*d*, for one day [26 men].

i) **PRO E 101/376/7 9 Edw.II 1315/16.*

fol. 4r 1315 August 29 Lincoln 8*s*, for one day [24 men].
fol. 5r 1315 December 5, London XLIIII fratribus OSA celebran-

tium die anniversarii domine regine matris dicti domini regis pro quolibet IIII *d* ».

The number for London would be really 48 friars, but there is a difference between ordinary pittances and gifts for celebrations.

k) **London, Society of Antiquaries Library Ms. 120, 10 Edw.II 1316/17.*

fol. 8r 1316 Aug. 13 Lincoln 12*s*, for one day.
fol. 8r 1316 August 23 York 10*s*8*d*, for one day.
fol. 8v 1316 July 16 100*s*, for general chapter at Cambridge.
fol. 9v 1317 January 29 Oxford 14*s*4*d*, for one day.
fol. 10r 1317 March 14 Winchester 6*s*8*d*, for one day [20 men].
fol. 10r 1317 April 10 48 OESA-London 24*s*, for one day, each friar receiving 6*d*.

Each Order in Lincoln, York and Oxford received the same amount.

l) **London, Soc. of Antiquaries Libr. Ms. 121 ; Liber Contrarotularis de anno undecimo* [= Edward II 1317/18].

fol. 2r 1317 August 14 « solvuntur diversis fratribus Lincoln' pro anima eiusdem Johannis [filii domini Willelmi de Monte Acuto in ecclesia cathedrali Beate Marie Lincoln sepulti] divina celebrantibus : 30 Dominicans 10*s*, 40 Franciscans 1 mark, 34 Austins 11*s*4*d*, 22 Carmelites 7*s*4*d*. Summa 42*s*. ».

On the same day 40 Dominicans, 48 Franciscans, 34 Carmelites and 34 Austins are mentioned.

fol. 2v 1317 Nov. 7 London : 72 Dominicans, 70 Franciscans, 50 Carmelites, 49 Austins, 15 Crutched Friars, for 1 day. Total £4-5-4.
fol. 3r OESA-Northampton not mentioned.
fol. 3v 1317 July 18 London 16*s*8*d*, for 1 day [50 men].

m) *London, Br. M., Cotton Ms. Nero C VIII* 4 Edw. II to 11 Edw. III (1311/12 to 1337/38) excerpted by Mr. S. Arthur of Br. M.).

fol. 52 1311 27 Jan. OESA-York, one day 10*s* [30 men]. See also D 166.
fol. 201 1314 23 Sept. « Fratribus diversorum ordinum mendicantium Civitatis London obviancium domino Regi cum processione in adventu suo usque Westmonasterium », for one day

70 Dominicans 23*s*4*d*, 80 Franciscans 26*s*8*d*, 80 Austins 26*s*8*d*, 80 Carmelites 26*s*8*d*, 20 Crutched Friars 6*s*8*d*.

fol. 201v 1314 November 3, « XXVIII fratribus OSA Novi Castri pro putura sua unius diei in adventu Regis ibidem per manus fratris Ade de Colierly 9*s*4*d* », same on 21 Febr., 1315.

fol. 202 1315 May 3 « XX fratribus OSA de Tikull obviantibus domino Regi cum processione dimid. marc' ».

fol. 202 1315 May 23 « XXVIII fratribus OSA-York, doing same 12*s*8*d*.

fol. 202v 1315 June 21 « XXVIII fratribus OSA Novi Castro » doing same per manus fratris Simonis de Castro.

fol. 203 1315 December 1 To the various Orders of Newcastle for meeting the king in procession on his return from Scotland 30 Dominicans 10*s*, 36 Franciscans 12*s*, 30 Carmelites 10*s*, 28 Austins 9*s*4*d*.

fol. 203v same to friars of Berwick on Tweed for one day : 15 Dominicans 5*s*, 15 Carmelites 5*s*, 15 Franciscans 5*s*, 12 Austins 4*s*.

fol. 205 London « LXX fratribus Augustinensibus per manus fratris Galfred' de Malden 23*s*4*d* ».

fol. 206v 1317 March 17 same in London. 80 Dominicans, 80 Franciscans, 60 Carmelites, 66 Austins, 20 Crutched Friars, to each 4*d*. Total 105*s*4*d*.

fol. 207 1318 May 19. 32 Franciscans of Beverley, 28 Franciscans of Doncaster, 18 Carmelites of Doncaster and 16 Austins of Hull, each friar 4*d*. Sums paid to each by Walter de Wetewang.

n) *London, Br. M. Aditional 17, 632* 13 Edw. II 1319/20 — D 215.

o) *London, Br. M. Ms. 9951 Liber Contrarotularis 14 Edw. II* 1320/21. Note to D 167.

fol. 2r 1320 Aug. 5 London 18*s* through Fr. Guido [Fressingfeld ?], for 1 day [54 men].

fol. 2r 1320 Oct. 13 London 16*s*, for 1 day [48 men].

fol. 2v 1321 May 13 London 16*s*, for 1 day, through Fr. Nicholas de Morton [48 men].

fol. 2v 1321 July 7 London 16*s*, for 1 day, through Fr. Nich. de Morton [48 men].

fol. 2v 1321 June 15 fod « general chapter in London X*li* », through same D 172.

fol. 22v 1321 March 5 « Fratri Roberto de Wirsop OSA misso per

dominum Regem ad curiam Romanam pro negociis ipsius Regis privatis sibi iniunctis ibidem expediendis de dono ipsius... XX*li.* ». See D 212.

p) *London, Br. M., Ms. Stow 553* Account Book of Roger de Waltham, Keeper of the King's Wardrobe, 1 May 15 Edw. II [1322] to 19 Oct. 17 Edw. II [1323] (excerpted by S. J. Arthur of the Br. M.).

fol. 21 1322 July 6 York 20*s*, for 2 days [30 men].

fol. 21 1322 August 1 and September 14 each Order in Newcastle receives 8*s* and on 4 October (burial of Prince Adam) 5*s*.

fol. 21v 1322 Nov. 29 York 10*s*, for one day (Franciscans and Carmelites receive same sum, but Dominicans get 16*s*).

fol. 22 1323 March 27 Leicester 6*s*8*d*, for 1 day [20 men].

fol. 22v 1323 April 1 London 14*s*8*d*, for 1 day [44 men].

fol. 22v 1323 July 5 York 6*s*8*d*, for feast of SS Peter and Paul [20 men].

fol. 23 1322 July 26 « Fratribus de ordine sancti Augustini qui se congregabunt ad capitulum suum provinciale apud Cantebrig' noviter celebrandum ... per manus fratris Richardi de Ufford de conventu fratrum eiusdem ordinis de Huntyngon recipientis denarios in scaccario XXVI^to^ die Julii anno presenti XVI° [1322] C. s. et per manus fratris Thome de Dunelm' prioris eorundem fratrum London' ibidem XXII° die Decembris anno eodem. C. s. per consimile mandatum. Summa X *li* ».

fol. 118 1323 Aug. 22. To provincial chapter to be held in Cambridge « pro Rege V marcas, pro Regina V marcas et pro eorum liberis V marcas per manus fratris Rogeri (*sic*) de Ufford de eodem ordine » ... Total X *li.*

fol. 123r King donates to each of four Orders in Newcastle four quarts of wheat « per mensuram Anglie rasam sine avantagio ».

fol. 123v King gives to each of the four Orders in Newcastle one cask of new wine.

fol. 139v Friar Elias, prior of OESA-Newcastle, pays £4 for victuals purchased from the royal officials during the year 1322/3. Everyone was ordered to pay on 19 Nov. 1324 (fol. 138r).

q) **PRO E 101/379/19* (Controller's Daily Account Book) 17 Edw. II 1323/24.

fol. 8r 1324 Febr. 27, 50 OESA-London 16*s*8*d* through Fr. Guido de Fressingfeld, for 1 day, to each friar 4*d*.

fol. 11v 1324 May 15, 54 OESA-London 18*s* through Fr. Nicholas de Morton, for 1 day, to each friar 4*d*.

fol. 13r 1324 June 2, 60 OESA-London 20*s* through Fr. Guido de Frisingfeld.

Fressingfeld is a town in Suffolk.

r) **PRO E 101/387/9 19 Edw.II 1325/26* (membranes are not marked).

1325 Nov. 24 « LVIII fratribus OSA de eadem civitate [London] ... per manus fratris Nicholai de Morton ibidem die XIX*s* IIII*d* pro putura unius diei videlicet cuilibet IIII*d* ».

1326 January 18 « XL fratribus OSA de eadem civitate [Norwich] ... per manus Thome de Hillyngdon 1 mark pro putura unius diei ».

1326 February 8 « XL fratribus OSA de eadem villa [Lynn] ... per manus fratris Thome de Castello 1 marcam [pro putura unius diei in adventu regis].

1326 February 20 « LXX fratribus OSA de eadem villa [Cambridge] ... elemosina Regis in eodem adventu suo per manus fratris Elie de Luton ibidem ... XXIIIsIIII*d* ».

There are 55 Dominicans, 70 Franciscans and 50 Carmelites listed for Cambridge.

s) *PRO, E 101/383/14 2 Edw.III 1328/9* — D 653.

t) **PRO E 101/387/9 8/9 Edward III 1334/36.*

1334 March 1 « XXXVI fratribus OSA = York ... per manus fratris Willelmi Quarell XII*s* [pro putura unius diei in adventu regis in civitate Ebor'].

1334 December n.d. « XXX fratribus OSA de Clare X*s* ».

1335 February 14 « XXVI fratribus OSA = Leicester ... XIIII die februarii per manus fratris Roberti Chartres VIIIsVIII*d* ».

1335 March 17 « XXI fratribus OSA de Norht' [Northampton] de speciali elemosina Regis pro putura sua per manus fratris Willelmi de Brompton... domino Willelmo de Retford VII*s* ».

1335 April 4 « XX fratribus OSA ville Huntingdon' ... per manus fratris Rogeri d'Ufford (Ms : Dufford) apud Huntingdon' X die Aprilis d*i*.m*r*. (half mark).

1335 May 4 « XXXVI fratribus OSA eiusdem civitatis [Lincoln] ... per manus fratris Henrici de Neubald XII*s* [pro putura unius diei cuilibet IIII*d*].

1335 June 9 « XXX fratribus sancti Augustini ville Novi Castri de speciali elemosina Regis pro putura unius diei cuilibet IIII*d* per manus fratris Ade de Colyer ibidem X*s* ».

1335 July 2 « XL fratribus sancti Augustini eiusdem civitatis [York] pro putura sua unius diei in adventu Regis ibidem cuilibet IIII*d* ... XIIIsIIII*d*.

u) **PRO E 36/204 Wardrobe Accounts 15-18 Edw. III 1341-45.*

fol. 75r (1343 ?, Nov. 30) « XXX fratribus OSA eiusdem civitatis (Newcastle) obviantibus domino Regi cum processione in adventu suo ibidem de speciali elemosina Regis cuilibet IIII*d* pro putura sua unius diei per manus ultimo die Novembris X*s* ».

The Austins in above documents:

Most of the friars who received royal pittances for OESA were Austins. It may therefore be assumed that the few of whom nothing is known so far were also members of the Order. Those known are:

Quarel = Carel or Clarel William, 1334, was licensed for York Diocese in 1327*.

Castell (Newcastle) Thomas, 1326, was a member of OESA = London when ordained subdeacon in 1295 (*Canterbury, Reg. Winchelsey* 903).

Chartres or Charteris Robert, 1335. See D 311, 366.

Colyer or Colierly Adam 1314, 1335. Probably a senior and junior friar by that name must be distinguished. One of them was a member of OESA = York when ordained acolyte in 1317 (*Winchester, Reg. Sandale*. fol, 184).

Durham Thomas, prior of London, 1322, and Roger d'Ufford of Huntingdon 1322/3, 1326, are expressly called Austins. They are not known by any other source.

London Roger, 1296, may be identical with the better known Robert de London : D 241, 256, 284.

Lutton Elias, 1326, was licensed in 1325 (*Salisbury, Reg. Martival* 187v).

Maldon Geoffrey, 1316/7, see Additions to p. 63 *infra*.

Merton Nicholaus, 1324, 1335, was licensed for Winchester 1321/2 (*Winchester, Reg. Sandale* 105), was prior of that house 1324/5 (*Salisbury, Reg. Martival* II, fol. 187v) and is probably identical with the highly praised Nicholas of London who was pentitentiary of Th. Cobham, bishop of Worcester. See Additions p. 179 *infra*.

Neubold, Newbold or Neubald, Henry, 1335, see D 199a, 311.

Nothing is known so far of Wm. Brompton, 1335, Simon de Castell 1315 and Guido Fressingfeld, 1324.

Royal Pittances 1300-1345

	Berwick	Boston	Cambridge	Canterbury	Clare	Hull	Huntingdon	Leicester	Lincoln	London
1300 [1])	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	47
1300-01	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	20	—
1303-04	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	29*	—
									31*	
1305-06	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50
										49*
										53
1307-08	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	48
1310-11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1314-15	12*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	80*
1315-16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	24	44* [48]
1316-17	—	—	—	—	—	16*	—	—	—	48*
										70*
										66*
1317-18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	34*	49*
1319-20	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	27	—	60*
1320-21	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	36	48*
1322-23	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	—	44
1323-24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50*
										54*
										60*
1325-26	—	—	70*	—	—	—	—	—	—	58*
1328-29	—	20*	—	—	—	—	—	22*	28*	—
1334-36	—	—	—	18	30*	—	20*	26	36*	—
1338	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1341-45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1377	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* = exact number of friars given in original.

[1]) Corrected from original. See p. 32 (VIII, 47) *supra*.

	Lynn	Newcastle	Northampton	Norwich	Oxford	Penrith	Tickhill	Winchester	York	Source
1300	20	25	—	—	—	8	—	—	33	2 — a, b
1300-01	—	26	—	—	—	—	18	—	—	2 — c
1303-04	—	26*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2 — e
1305-06	—	—	—	—	52	—	—	13	—	2 — f
1307-08	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2 — g
1310-11	—	26	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	2 — h, m
									36	
1314-15	—	28*	—	—	—	—	20*	—	28*	2 — m
		28*							[38]	
1315-16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2 — i, m
1316-17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	—	2 — k
1317-18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2 — l
1319-20	—	19*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	D 215
1320-21	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	32	2 — o
1322-23	—	24	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	2 — p
1323-24	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2 — q
1325-26	40*	—	—	40*	—	—	—	—	—	2 — r
1328-29	30*	—	21*	—	—	—	24*	—	—	2 — s
1334-36	—	30*	21*	—	—	—	—	—	36*	2 — t
									40*	
1338	—	—	—	—	15* [2]	—	—	—	—	D 312
1341-45	—	—	30*	—	—	—	—	—	—	2 — u
1377	—	—	—	—	49*	—	—	—	—	note 769 *supra*

[2]) See note 4 to Estimates *infra*.

Ordination lists

We believe to have found a new method of estimating membership by the following use of ordination lists.

We count only the final ordination of a candidate and the number of years of each Episcopal reign for which we have records. Through dividing the number of ordinations by the number of years we establish an annual average. If we multiply these annual averages of each diocese by one hundred (= years) and divide the total by four, — since the average life span of a friar was about 25 years, — we should get an approximate estimate at any given time. See also our remarks pp. 227/28 (XIV, 175/76) *supra*.

The estimates cannot be securely applied to individual houses, because many friars were ordained in the diocese in which they studied rather than by the bishop of their home town.

List I. The Diocese of Hereford

Hereford is the only diocese for which all registers are published. The final figures are not quite accurate because the names of many acolytes are given without affiliation to diocese or Order and were therfore omitted.

	Priests	*Deacons*	*Sub-deacons*	*Acolytes*	*Total Ordinations*	*Total years*	*Vocations per year*
1327-1361	53	21	23	17	114	34	3.3
1361-1404	16	14	12	7	49*	43	1.1
1404-1448	18	11	6	4	39	44	0.9
1449-1516	13	8	7	10	38	67	0.6
1517-1535	3	1	—	—	4	18	0.2
	103	55	48	38	244	208	

List II. The Fourteenth Century

Diocese	*Priests*	*Deacons*	*Sub-deacons*	*Acolytes*	*Total ordinations*	*Total years*	*Vocations per year*
Carlisle 1332-1379	7	1	4	4	16	47[16]	0,34[1.00]
Canterbury							
1295-1345	4	7	10	10	31	50[31]	0.62[1.00]
1350-1391	9	16	8	3	36	41[39]	0.88[0.94]
Durham 1349-1373	9	13	7	1	30	24	1.25
Ely 1346-1356	6	9	8	4	27	10[4]	2.70[6.50]
Hereford 1327-1404	69	35	35	24	163	77	2.14
Lichfield and Coventry							
1300-1355	16	11	20	2	49	55	0.89
1353-1385	45	31	32	?	108	32	3.37
Lincoln 1345-1401	40	31	21	13	105	56	1.89
London 1362-1375	31	21	22	11	85	13	6.54
Winchesteé							
1327-1333	9	5	5	5	24	6	4.00
1346-1365	11	7	4	7	29	19	1.6
1367-1404	6	4	6	0	16	16	1.0
Worcester 1342-1361	8	4	3	3	18	19	0.9
York 1342-1380	91	44	33	21	189	38[31]	4.9[6.0]
	361	239	218	108	926		
Rochester 1319-1352					+21		
					947+280 = 1,227		

One house each of the dioceses Bath and Wells, Chichester, Llandaff and five in the diocese of Norwich are missing. We are justified, therefore, of increasing our total by the average of one large and three small dioceses, or about 280 men.

List III. The Fifteenth Century

Diocese	*Priests*	*Deacons*	*Sub-deacons*	*Acolytes*	*Total ordinations*	*Total years*	*Vocations per year*
Bath and Wells							
1407-1465	14	—	1	5	20	58	0.34
Canterbury 1399-1491	45	32	27	43	147	92[49]	1.59[3.0]
Durham 1411-1437	1	5	1	0	7	26[19]	0.27[0.36]
1446-1447	2	1	5	2	10	1	
Ely 1487-1498	3	5	0	6	14	11[5]	1.27[2.80]
Hereford 1404-1474	24	17	13	8	62	70	0.81

Lichfield and Coventry 1398-1499	67	38	21	6	132	101 [31]	1.31 [4.25]
Lincoln 1402-1489	66	38	40	39	183	87 [29]	2.10 [6.31]
London 1414-1443	14	12	12	25	63	29	2.17
1489-1501	31	12	4	6	53	12	4.42
Winchestes 1408-1500	3	6	2	5	16	92 [10]	0.17 [1.60]
Worcester 1401-1492	9	7	7	3	26	91 [17]	0.28 [1.52]
Salisbury 1397-1495 all for Oxford	1	4	3	1	9	98	0.09
	280	173	138	151	742	104	
					+475		
					1217		

One house each for Carlisle, Chichester and Llandaff, five for Norwich and three for York are missing. The average of two large and three small dioceses, about 475 men, must be added to above list. The actual number of years is below 50, the average number of friars, therefore, above 500 !

List IV. Ordinati in the Diocese of Lincoln during 29 years of the 15th Century

	1402/6	*1420/6*	*1433/6*	*1450/1*	*1473/9*	*1480/9*	*Total*
*Boston	5	9	6	—	3	1	*24
Cambridge	—	—	—	—	1	4	5
Canterbury	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
*Grimsby	—	—	—	1	—	—	*1
*Huntingdon	—	—	3	—	7	5	*15
Leicester	5	5	6	—	—	—	16
*Lincoln	8	4	8	4	5	7	*36
*Northampton	—	8	4	1	5	6	*24
Norwich	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
*Oxford	2	1	4	2	5	15	*29
*Stamford	2	7	8	—	8	6	*31
	20	32	39	8	36	48	183

The houses of the limit are marked with *. Huntingdon increased its membership when it opened a studium, which is mentioned in 1472 (D 902). There were 66 priests, 38 deacons, 40 subdeacons and 39 acolytes among the 183 ordinations. This averages 6.3 vocations per year in this diocese.

List V. The Sixteenth Century

Diocese	*Priests*	*Deacons*	*Sub-deacons*	*Aco-lytes*	*Total vocations*	*Total years*	*Vocations per year*
Ely 1516	1	1	1	1	4	1	4.00
1520	—	1	—	—	1	1	1.00
Hereford 1504-1516	7	2	0	6	15	12	1.25
1516-1535	3	1	0	0	4	19	0.22
London 1501-1508	9	4	10	5	28	7	4.00
1512-1521	2	3	2	4	11	9[4]	1.22[2.75]
Winchester 1528	—	—	—	1	1	1	1.00
York 1502-1534	8	3	2	—	13	32	0.40
1500-1534*	15	5	2	9	31	34	0.91
	45	20	17	26	108	50	2.10

* *Sede Vacante* Register.

Richard Colledge OSA excerpted the York Fegisters. Only the proof of rapidly diminishing vocations can be drawn from the few figures above.

Estimates

	Knowles [1]		*Russell* [2]	*Ours*	
	Houses	*Members*	*Members*	*Houses*	*Members*
1249-1350	14-32	237-609	611	22-32	470-800
1350-1422	33-32	307-400	765 [4]	32-34	350-550
1422-1500	32-32	438-490	576 530 [3]	34-34	550-460
1504-1534	32-32	478-390	— 461	34-34	460-350
1534-1538	34-34	370-294	288	34-36	350-317

[1]) KNOWLES-HADCOCK, *Mediev. Rel. Houses*, 363.

[2]) RUSSELL, *Clerical Population* 209 for first column.

[3]) Estimates of Professor Russell after seeing our lists.

[4]) Professor Russell arrived at this high estimate by presuming that the 15 Austins mentioned in 1338* constituted the entire membership of OESA-Oxford. By comparing it to the 49 Austins mentioned in 1377* he arrived at a great increase of the Order after the Black Death. The 15 Austins of 1338 comprised only the affiliated conventuals, not the ever changing student body which numbered about 30 men. Oxford averaged a steady 45 members.

Appendix II

Lists of Priors Generals, Bishops and Provincials

1. The Priors Generals

1256-1264 Lanfranc Settala of Milan.
1265-1271 Guido Salanus of Stagia.
1271-1274 Bl. Clement of Osimo (or St. Elpidio).
1274-1283 Francis of Reggio.
1284-1291 Bl. Clement of Osimo.
1291-1292 Paulus of Perugia, vic. gen.
1292-1295 Giles (Aegidius) of Rome.
1295-1298 Simon of Pistoia.
1298-1300 Bl. Augustinus Novellus of Tarano.
1300-1307 Francis of Monterubbiano.
1308-1311 James of Orto.
1312-1326 Alexander of St. Elpidio.
1326-1342 William of Cremona.
1343-1345 Denis (Dionysius) of Modena.
1345-1357 Thomas of Argentina (Strassburg).
1357-1358 Gregory of Rimini.
1359-1367 Matthew of Ascoli.
1368-1371 Hugolin of Orvieto.
1371-1377 Guido of Belriguardo.

The Generals during the Great Schism

Roman Obedience	*Avignon Obedience*
1377-1378 Bonaventura Badoer of Padua.	1379-1389 John Hiltalingen of Basel.
1379-1381 Philip of Mantua, vic. gen.	1389-1403 Bernard Pughal.
1381-1383 Nicholas of Amatrice, vic. gen.	1403-1409 Peter of Vena.
1383-1385 Bartholomew of Venice, vic. gen.	1416-1419 Thomas Fabri.
1385-1400 Bartholomew of Venice.	
1400-1409 Nicholas Seracini of Cassia.	
1409-1410 Paul of Venice, vic. gen.	

1410 Simon Vigilanti of Ancona, vic. gen.
1410-1419 Jerome Paul of Pistoja, vic. gen.

Obedience of the Council Popes.

1409-1412 Nicholas Seracini of Cascia.
1409-1418 Peter of Vena.

After the Great Schism.

1419-1431 Augustine Favaroni of Rome.
1431-1434 Gerard of Rimini, vic. gen.
1434-1443 Gerard of Rimini.
1443-1459 Julian Faciglia of Salemi.
1459-1460 Alexander Oliva of Sassoferrato.
1460-1470 William Becchi of Florence.
1470-1476 James of Florence.
1476 Ambrosius Massari of Cori, vic. gen.
1476-1485 Ambrosius Massari of Cori.
1485 Silvester of Bagnoreggio, vic. gen.
1485-1486 Anselm of Montefalco, vic. gen.
1486-1495 Anselm of Montefalco.
1495-1497 Mariano of Genazzano, vic. gen.
1497-1498 Marianus of Genazzano.
1499-1501 Gratian Ventura of Foligno, vic. gen.
1501-1504 Gratian Ventura of Foligno.
1504-1505 Augustine Facioni of Terni, vic. gen.
1505-1506 Augustine Facioni of Terni.
1506-1507 Giles (Aegidius) of Viterbo, vic. gen.
1507-1518 Giles of Viterbo.
1518-1519 Gabriel della Volta of Venice, vic. gen.
1519-1537 Gabriel della Volta of Venice.
1537 John Giacomo of Naples, vic. gen.
1537-1538 John Anthony Theatini of Chieti. vic. gen.
1538 John Antony Theatini of Chieti.
1538-1539 Jerome Seripando of Naples, vic. gen.
1539-1551 Jerome Seripando of Naples.

N. TEEUWEN, « De Generaals en de Generale Kapittels van onze Orde », *Anima Una* (Belgium) 7 (1959) 20-47.

2. Augustinian Bishops in England and Ireland

Abbreviations used here: Brady = W. M. Brady, *The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland and Ireland 1400-1875*, 2 vols. Rome 1876. CPR = *Calendar of Papal Registers*, PRO; Eubel = K. Eubel, *Hierarchia Cathol. Medii Aevi*, reprint Padua 1960; Powicke = F. M. Powicke and E. B. Fryde, *Handbook of British Chronology*, 2 ed. London 1961; its list of Irish bishops was composed by A. Gwynn SJ. — Father Gwynn had the kindness of checking our list in 1959 and adding some valuable information.

[Aderle John
Down and Connor (*Dunen. et Connor*) 26 April 1445 : Eubel II, 147 calls him OESA, but Gwynn states that he was prior of Newark (Surrey) and therefore more probably an Austin Canon].

1. Aketone (Askeaton, Alicone), Robert de
Kildare (*Darensis*) 2 May 1366* (D 496). King Edward III gave his consent on 23 March 1367*. Vacated by 1 May 1404 « Robert, sometime bishop of Kildare » : CPR V, 533, 623, 627.

2. Barret Rory (Rodericus, Rovicus, Roricus, Horoicus)
Killala (*Aladensis*) 3 March 1452* with dispensation a *def. nat.* Though he was « of a race of barons and earls » he could not reside at Killala and partake of his episcopal mensa because of the existing contentions and rivalries. Bishop Lacy of Exeter gave him, therefore, on 29 March 1458 a parish *ad commendam* : CPR XI, 174. His successor was appointed on 17 October 1459 : Eubel, II, 83.

3. Caister (= Icenus) Benedict, also known as Bennet of Norfolk.
Gardici (*Cardicencis*) Greece 30 April 1330* Suffragan of Norwich 1330-1340, Winchester 1340. See *Catalogue of Authors.*

4. Caneton Gerald S.
Cloyne (*Clonensis*) 16 March 1394*. Was transferred by Innocent VII to the see of Ferns (*Elfinensis*) which was falsely thought to be vacant. Gregory XII annulled the appointment 30 July 1408 : Eubel I, 193 and p. 77 (XI, 545) *supra*. Death by 26 July 1413, when Adam Payn became his successor.

See MARTIN, *Irish Material*, no 22 (1392) where he is STL and socius of procurator general in Rome ; he energetically propagated the Irish cause while vicar provincial (no 27, 28).

5. CLONIN Nehemias
Clogher (*Clochorensis*) 24 January 1502*. EUBEL II, 146 calls him Nehemias Hervaeus. He resigned in 1503 and his successor was appointed 6 March 1504 : BRADY I, 251.

CULLEN see O'CULWYN.

6. EDMUND (false : Egumen or Egmund) William
Prizen or Prischtina (*Prissinensis*) Albania : 1377/8. Suffragan of London 1380/81. *Cartulary Clare* FT (159) ; of Lincoln 1390/4 ; still bishop 4 March 1403 : EUBEL I, 409n, 550. See *Catalogue of Authors*.

7. EDWARDSTONE Thomas S.T.M.
archbishop of Nazareth i.p.i. and suffragan of Norwich 1396. Died 20 May 1396 : EUBEL II, 303. See *Catalogue of Authors*.

8. EGREMONT William S.T.B.
Dromore 15 June 1463*. Suffragan of York 1464-1501, because the constant wars kept him from his diocese : CPR XII, 187 (1463). See D 866.

9. GRANDFIELD (Cannafield *etc.*) Geoffrey S.T.M.
Ferns 5 March 1347 - 22 October 1348. Suffragan of Lincoln 1347 (EUBEL I, 247). Died 22 Oct. 1349. See *Catalogue of Authors*.

10. GRAUNT (Grant) William S.T.M.
Paneas (*Panadensis*), Thrace 27 July 1513*. Suffragan in Ely 1515 (EUBEL III, 268, 344), resigned 9 August 1521 but was alive on 23 March 1524 (D 1013).

[GREEN (Greny) John was not OESA, but an Augustinian Canon and prior of Leighs (Essex) : POWICKE 334. According to *Vatican Archives, Oblig. et Solut. vol. 72, fol. 49v*, he is called « Episcopus Insulanus ». Gwynn argues that *Insulanus* was Inis Cattaigh, an obsolete bishopric in the Province of Cashel (Ireland)

and has nothing to do with the Isle of Man, whose bishop is called *Sodorensis*].

11. HERPHARDUS (Terquardus, Certardus, Ferguhardus) Hector
Sodor (Isle of Man) 17 February 1530 ; successor appointed 5 March 1550 : EUBEL III. 302.

12. HUGH, archbischop of Damascus and suffragan to York 1344-1351 : D 363, 376 ; EUBEL I, 550 cf. 221n.

ICENUS vide Caister.

13. John L'Eremite (Johannes de Heremo)
Bazas (*Vasatensis*) France 31 July 1396 but does not seem to have obtained possession : EUBEL I, 517. Suffragan of Auch (*Ausitanum*) 31 September 1396.
He might be identical with John L'Eremyte OESA, chaplain to Elizabeth of Burgh († 1360) : D 352.

14. LOWE John
St. Asaph 17 August 1433*, consecrated 1 November 1433 (D 1173a), translated to Rochester 22 April 1444*, died 21 November 1467*. See *Catalogue of Authors*.

15. MACGARRY (McCarthy ?, Macharry) Dermod
Ross (Ireland) 6 June 1525 with dispensation *de def. nat.*, dead by 1552: EUBEL III, 287, BRADY II, 109.

16. MARTIN Fergal (Forgallus, *alias* Feraldus) S.T.B.
Killala 26 September 1425 : EUBEL I, 79. Consecration only on 11 November 1427 : Document in BRADY II, 171.
On 11 April 1425, while papal penitenciary in Rome he received permission from the prior general to have a socius OESA. On 2 November 1425 he received permission as bishop elect to have a chaplain OESA (MARTIN, *Ir. Mat.* 41, 42). Successor appointed 30 January 1430.

17. MOTHILL (Mothel) John
Limerick 7 October 1426. EUBEL I, 305 gives him as OESA, but his source *Vatican Archives Armig, XII A fol. 104* says only OSA as does BRADY II, 40. He resigned April 1458 and was dead by 1468 : POWICKE 331.

His successor, Thomas Leggher, Can. OSA, paid his tax on 7 June 1456, but is considered an intruder. EUBEL II, 177 says that Leggher should not be considered as bishop of Limerick, while Mothill was still alive. William Russell succeeded on 19 April 1458.

18. NORWICH, John of
Jerusalem ? (*Jerolamen*) 12 December 1402*.
A John of Beverly OESA, diocese of Norwich, received the right to choose his own confesor on 15 March 1399 (CPR V, 235) could be the same person.

19. O'CULLEN (O'CULWYN) Patrick
Clogher 11 February 1517 : EUBEL III, 170. Document in BRADY II, 258/9 calls him Culin Patrick. He died in 1534 : BRADY I, 251. See *Catalogue of Authors.*

[O'REILLY (Irrill, Orell) Thady was a Franciscan : EUBEL III, 188 cf. HERRERA, *Alph. Aug.* II, 450.

20. PAYN Adam S.T.M.
Cloyne (*Clonensis*) 26 July 1413 succeeding Gerald Caneton. See *Catalogue of Authors.*

21. RADCLIFF (Rackelf *etc.*) Thomas S.T.M.
Dromore 31 January 1429*. Consecration took place only on 21 December 1434 at Florence : Document in BRADY I, p. XXIV-XXV. He died about 1446. Finding it impossible to enter his see, he acted as suffragan in the dioceses of York (1435) and Durham (1443) : BRUO III, 1540. The difficulties of succession which confused BRADY I, 298 and EUBEL I, 229 are explained by Gwynn thus : « There were three or four titular (and absentee) bishops of Dromore at this time, all working as suffragans in England ». CPR VIII, 674 falsely calls him a Dominican. See *Catalogue of Authors.*

22. RISHBERRY (Ryschber) John
Emly (*Imelacensis*), Ireland 21 April 1421.
When John failed to get his letter of provision within a year, the Pope appointed in his stead Robert Wyndell OFM on 14 December 1423. The document of 1423 (BRADY II, 33) clearly

calls him OESA, though *Vatican Archives Arm. XII, 121A, fol. 71r* (21 April 1421) calls him OSB.
A John Russhebery of OESA-Woodhouse was ordained Subdeacon on 9 June 1408 : *Hereford, Reg. Mascall* 138.

[SMALTE (Smart) was Canon OSA, not OESA : EUBEL III, 268].

23. SWILLINGTON Thomas
Philadelphia 12 July 1532. Suffragan of Lincoln 1532 to 20 April 1534 : EUBEL III 273, 344 ; suffragan of London 21. Nov. 1534, had prebendary of Stow in Lindsay on 12 April 1544, dead by 1546. BRADY I, 116/7 and EUBEL III, 344 are wrong in calling him Canon OSA. See D 1033, 1064, 1070.

[TATENHALE John was a Dominican].
[THADEUS Hibernicus see O'Reilly Th.].
[TREVOR John was canon of the Cathedral of S. Asaph].
[VALENTE John was a canon OSA].

24. VIVIAN Thomas
Megara in Achaia i.p.i. 4 May 1517, suffragan to Exeter (« ... concessitque pontificalia in civitate et diocesi Exoniensi in Anglia ») : EUBEL III, 240, 344.
He was without doubt OESA (BRADY I, 110) though prior of Bodmin alias Bodrayn (POWICKE 268). He probably held it *ad commendam*. Successor appointed 17 May. 1521. Vivian died 1 June 1533 (D 1023).

VOLTAN see Waltham.

25. WALDEBY Robert
Aire (*Adurensis*) in Gascony 4 June 1386*, translated to Dublin 14 November 1390* ; Chichester 3 November 1395*, York 4 June 1397*, died 6 January 1398*. See Catalogue of Authors.

26. WALTHAM (Waltam, Vulcan etc.) John
Ossory 1. February 1398 (D 644), translated to Dromore 14 May 1400, back to Ossory 9 October 1402, died 5 November 1405. Successor appointed 11 March 1407 : EUBEL I, 380/1, cf. *Vatican Archives, Reg., Lateran. 72*, fol. 2rv, 103 (*olim* 146), f. 182rv.
John Waltham OESA, London, was ordained deacon 21 De-

cember 1370 and priest 22 May 1372 : *London, Reg. Sudbury* 93.

27. WILLIAM John (Johannes Guilelmi)
Holar or Holum (*Olensis, Holensis*) Iceland 1427, translated to Skalholt, Iceland 5 January 1435. Suffragan to Bath and Wells 1436, Exeter 1442, Canterbury 1443, died before 12 June 1446 : EUBEL II, 275, cf. 231.
On 28 May 1436 he was allowed to let John May, captain of the ship St. Catherine of London, inquire on the condition of his diocese which he had not visited. He seems to have resigned soon after and is styled « nuper Olensis » : STUBBS 145. His successor in Holar was the Carmelite John Bloxwich on 5 January 1435 : EUBEL II, 166 while his successor in Skaholt is uncertain.

28. WINTER Henry
Harran or Charran (*Caraciensis*) in Armenia 24 November 1400*.

29. WIRSOP Robert S.T.M.
Ardagh (*Ardachadensis*), Ireland 5 April 1323, but could not get possession ; translated to Connor 20 June 1323, died at Avignon 7 May 1324 : EUBEL I, 102, 202.
See MOLLAT, *Lettres Communes ... Jean XXII.* no. 17164, 17735 (provision for Ardagh and Connor) ; 19026 (15. April 1324 : permission to retain books which he had as Austin friar) ; 19528 death cf. THEINER, *Monum. Hiber. Scot.* p. 229 Doc. CCCLIV.
See *Catalogue of Authors.*

30. WODBORN Robert
Holar of Iceland 27 June 1441*, suffragan of Nidaros (Drontheim).

31. WORSOP Robert
Prischtna or Prizen (*Prissinensis*) Albania ; suffragan to York 1350 ; to Hereford 1360, Chichester 1362, confirmed as bishop by Urban V on 12 June 1363. He had been appointed bishop of Prizen by Patriarch of Constantinople (Gwynn). Suffragan to Worcester 1373/5 : EUBEL I, 409, 550/1.

3. List of Provincials and Provincial Chapters

Abbreviations used below: ch. = chapter, KE = Information by Father Keith Egan, O. Carm; pp = prior provincial; RP = Royal Pittance.

1252/6 William Sengham, first superior according to tradition.

1265 First known chapter, probably held at Clare (D 25) ; John pp (D 27).

1279 ch. at Little Yarmouth (D 66).
Guillelmus de Inghilterra at Florence pp ? (D 65).

1292/3 ch. at Winchester ? RP 40*s* (D 113).
KE quotes E 101/352/27 (19 Edw. I).

1295 Johannes de Anglia, definitor at General Chapter of Order in Siena (D 119). He might be identical with John of Clare but it is at least doubtful that he was pp because the acts of the chapter distinguish between « provincialis et definitor » and just « definitor ». John is called definitor only.

1298 « general » ch. at London. RP £10 (D 126).

1300 Oct 27-Nov. 28 William of Hegham (Heyham) pp (D 142/3). In 1307 he was pp no longer (D 163 : « Willelmus de Hegham, predecesor noster »).

1301 ch. at Little Yarmouth, RP 10 marks (D 146).

1304 ch. at London, RP 10 marks (D 151).

1306 ch. at Huntington, RP 10 marks (E 101/369/11, fol. 28r : KE).

1307 ch. at Lincoln (D 161) John of Clare, pp (D 163).

1310 Aug. 15 « general » ch., RP 40*s* for one day (D 166).

1316 July 16 « general » ch. at Cambridge, RP 100*s* (*London, Soc. of Antiquaries*, Ms. 120, fol. 8v : KE).

1317 Sept. 21 John of Clare, pp (D 652).

1318 July 12 Richard Wetwang pp (D 199a) ; *idem* summer 1320 *Worcester, Reg. Cobham, fol. 51b ; idem* 1324 (D 234).

1319 Aug. 15 ch. at Tickhill RP £10 (D 215).

1320 ch. at Little Yarmouth, royal family donates £10 (D 215).

1321 ch. at London, RP £10 (D 172). Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, donates 20 marks (*American Historical Review* I (1896) 425.

1322 July 26 and Dec. 22. To ch. at Cambridge royal family gives £10 in two installments, the first through Fr. Richard de Ufford of OESA-Huntingdon, and the second

through Fr. Thomas de Durham (*Dunelm*), prior of OESA-London. — 1323 Aug. 22 ch. at Cambridge. Royal family donates 15 marks through Roger (*sic*) de Ufford : *London, Br. Mus. Stowe,* Ms. 553, fols. 23[a], 118[a].

It seems certain, that William of Markeley was not pp in April 1319 (D 211), but only proctor of Richard Wetwang.

1327 Aug. 17 Magister William pp (*Worcester, Reg. Cobham* 125v). Is he Magister William Markeley or Magister William of Lincoln ?

1329 Mag. William, « pp and difinitor » at General Chapter of Order in Paris (D 261).

Galfridus de Cannafield, STB, procurator provincial, in 1329 (D 264).

1331 Cannafield presents eight Austins for licence to the bishop of Lincoln. Since this was usually the task of the provincial he might have held this position (D 311).

1332 ch. at Lincoln. Archbishop Melton of York donates 2 marks (D 281). Queen Philippa [of Hainault] gives 40*s* to « general » chapter on Jan. 24 : *Manchester, Jo. Ryland's Libr., Latin Ms. 235,* fol. 8v : KE.

1334 [Sept. 29] Roger de Glacton pp (D 290). In 1339 he was no longer pp (D 325).

In 1335 and 1338 Gaulfredus [Canafield] represented the Engl. Prov. at the General Chapters of the Order (D 296 and 313). He was not pp. Representation was due to his stay in Rome.

1341 William, pp « Anglie et Scotie » (D 333).

1347 June 12 (*not* June 2) Black Prince gives 20*s* to ch. (D 361).

1348 ch. at Huntingdon (D 371).

1349 Henry Lord Percy bequeathed for next provincial chapters of Austins and Carmelites ten marks in equal portions : *Test. Ebor.* I, 58.

1354 March 24 John Waldeby (probably pp because mentioned in first place), Thomas Thornton *etc.* go to General Chapter of Order at Perugia (D 410).

1355 ch. at Tickhill (D 418).

1356 July 22 William, pp (D 427).

The text reads « William, prior of the friars hermits » ; he was, therefore, prior provincial, not prior of York as stated in D 427 ; *idem* 1357 and 1358 (D 433/4).

1359 Thomas Thornton elected pp (D 445) ; 1360 « prior of the friars hermits » (D 449).

His term in office seems to have been terminated before the regular time, because on 3 June 1360 Thomas Thornton, « the *late* pp » is to be brought before the King's Council (D 453).

1359 John Arderne, provincial procurator » (D 446).

1361 March 2 Geoffrey de Herdeby (D 459).

1361 Archbishop John de Thoresby gives five marks for the « general » ch. at York (D 461). Herdeby elected, since he signs agreement on 26 Nov. (D 468) ; *idem* 23 March 1363 (*Cal. of Papal Rolls-Petitions* I, 409) ; *idem* 1364 (D 484) and 1365 Oct. 9 (D 490).

1366 John, pp (D 493/4). « Frater Johannes Gadawici [= Godwic] » : TORELLI, *Sec. Agost.* IV, 61).

1367 Geoffrey Herdeby (D 1166) ; 1369 ch. at Hull ?, *idem* (D 504). Royal Grant to him in 1371 and 1380 (D 528).

1372 ch. at Leicester to which John of Gaunt gave £10 (D 512). Thomas Grove el. pp. (D 510). 1374 Aug. 6 ch. at Newcastle (D 516).

1377 Sept. 12 Henry Teesdale pp (D 531) ; *idem* 13 Nov. 1379 (D 538). He apparently ruled until 1387.

1383 July 22 ch. at London (D 554).

In the same year a chapter is recorded for 10 August at Shrewsbury, at which Thomas pp gives a letter of confraternity (D 555). This date given by Maxwell cannot be correct. It is probably the chapter at Shrewsbury in 1389 (*infra*).

The King donated £10 for the chapters of the next four years, probably £10 for each chapter (D 552).

1384 June 17 Henry Teesdale pp (Dd 2 fol. 20) ; *idem* re-elected and confirmed 1385 Dec. 6 (D 573/4). He abdicated shortly after because on 5 Oct. 1387 the general wrote : « Concessimus licentiam fratri Henrico Thesdale sanctae theologiae magistro ut vacante suo provinciali officio (*Ms.* officiali) possit fratrem ordinis nostri in servitorem sibi accipere » : Dd 3 fol. 43^{r}.

1385 Chapter may be held but every second year (D 573).

1387 Thomas Winterton elected pp (D 595) ; *idem* 1388 (D 597/8). 12 Aug. 1389 ch. at Shrewsbury, *idem* re-elected (Dd 3, fol. 120 and D 601 ; 1390 ch. at Little Yarmouth, *idem* unani-

mously elected (D 607/8, 610) ; 1391 ch. at Droitwich, *idem* re-elected (D 614) ; again in 1392 (D 624) ; *idem* 1393 (D 630) ; 1400 ch. at Shrewsbury, *idem* re-elected (D 659).

On 16 Dec. 1391 Lady Margaret Courtney left 100s for the « general » ch. (D 618). She was the daughter of Humphrey Bohun and Elizabeth Plantagenet.

1402 William Wells (*Ms.* Welle : D 664) ; *idem* 1404 (D 673).

1417 James (John ?) Bamburgh (D 705, 707) ; *idem* 1419 (D 1172). Bamburgh or Bambourgh is a town in Northumberland.

1419 ch. at Winchester. Divided election (D 710). William Wells pp ; 1420 ch. scheduled for Stafford prolonged one year (D 715, 720). 23 October 1422 William Wells is reported dead, definitors rule province (D 725).

1422 ch. at Little Yarmouth, Thomas Sharington pp (D 723a) ; *idem* 1423 (D 727/8) ; 22 July 1424 ch. at Newcastle (D 730) ; *idem* 1425 (D 737) ; 22 July 1426 ch. at Ludlow (D 742) ; *idem* 1427 (D 746).

1427 June 5. MARTINIANA limits term of provincial to three, (or two) years (D 745). It is not enforced by Austins.

1427 John Lowe pp (D 747) ; *idem* at ch. of Northampton in 1428 (D 749) and York in 1430 (D 757) ; 1432 *idem* confessor to the king (D 763) ; 1433 bishop of St. Asaph (D 767).

1434 Dec. 17 William Wells Jr. pp (D 770) ; 1435 *idem* re-elected Hull (D 774) and 1437 at Canterbury (D 781). 1438 Nov. 26 may resign his office (D 789).

1438 May 8 Thomas Gorston (*alias* Gerston) pp (D 785) ; In October he attends invocation at St. Paul's Cathedral, London : *Canterbury, Reg. Chichele* III, 275.

1438 Nov. 16 William Wells Jr. pp (D 789/90) ; ch. at Droitwich on Aug. 15, 1439 (D 789) ; *idem* re-elected 1440 at ch. in Cambridge (D 793).

1450 Robert Godwick, pp. (D 820).

1453 May 25. MARTINIANA put into effect for Austins. Chapters every three years. Term for pp three years (D 825).

1453 July 22 ch. at Winchester John Capgrave Jr. unanimously elected (D 826) ; *idem* unanimously re-elected on 6 Aug. 1455 at ch. in Lynn (D 835) ; *idem* present at installation of Edm. Rede of Boarstall on 21 April 1456 (D 841).

1459 Aug. 5 John Bury elected at ch. in Orford (D 854) ; 1460 Aug. 3 ch. at Penrith (D 857) ; Nov. 1462 *idem* re-elected,

confirmed conditionally (D 867) ; 1463 May 12 only vicar provincial (D 874).

1463 John Halam (confirmed 25 May 1464 : D 879).

1466 ch. at Little Yarmouth. John Paston gives 75*s* (D 882).

1469 John Sloley pp (confirmed 13 Febr. 1467 : D 888). Same year excommunicated and deposed for disobedience (D 891).

1469 ch. at Thetford, Thos. Penketh, confirmed 22 Oct. (D 891/2), re-confirmed 28 Dec. 1470 (D 894) ; *idem* 1471 (D 897).

1472 Aug. 2 ch. at Hull John Sloley pp (D 902), *idem* 1473 (D 904).

1475 July 22 ch. at London. John Bury pp. (confirmed 12. Jan. 1476 : D 912) ; *idem* 1477 (D 917).

1478 William of Cambridge pp (D 920).

1480 ch. at Oxford, Thomas Penketh pp (D 924), *idem* 1484 (D 939), *idem* re-elected 15. Aug. 1484 (D 941) ; *idem* 1486 (D 946). He died 20 May 1487.

1487 Robert Stokes, pp (confirmed 8 April 1488 : D 950) ; *idem* 1491 (D 959) ; deposed December 1493 because of non-observance of *Martinina* (D 964). Next chapter to be held Sept. 1494 (D 967).

1495 June 7 Robert Warnar pp (D 969) ; *idem* 27 June 1496 (D 970). He must have died during this year because.

1496 August 19 William Galion was vicar provincial (D 970) ; his re-lection as pp confirmed 4 July 1498 (D 974) ; *idem* 1500 (D 981) ; *idem* 12 Oct. 1503 (D 986).

1504 John Stokes I (D 992*), died 1508*.

1505 John Toneys pp for three years (D 992**) ; 1508 *idem* re-elected at ch. in Boston (D 998). Toneys' re-election cancelled because of *Martiniana*. New chapter ordered by general for 1509 (D 1000).

1510 A. Raeth, provl. of Cologne, appointed *praeses capituli*. Sept. 8 ch. at Northampton, John Stokes II pp (confirmed 22 November 1510 : D 1004) ; *idem* 1512 and 1513 (D 1011/12).

1515 August 14 Magister Hugh pp (D 1016).

Two masters by the name Hugh are known : Harley and Lovermore. Harley is the probable pp, because he had been appointed *praeses capituli* 3° resp. 2° loco in 1473 and 1479 (D 904, 922).

1519 Edmund Bellond « newly elected » (D 1029), still pp on 20 Dec., but on 24 May 1520 only prior of London (D 1032).

1520 March 16 William Wetherall pp, confirmed 26 July (D 1032).

His wish to delay chapter for six years refused on 9 Dec. (D 1032, p. 415*), *idem* 1521 (D 1035). He could not have been in power on 20 Dec. 1522 as stated in D 1043, because.

1522 summer John Stokes III was elected pp (confirmed 10 Oct. : D 1042) ; *idem* 20 July 1524 (D 1047).

1525 July 16 ch. at York (D 1052).

1526 William Wetherall. pp (D 1061), *idem* 1527 (D 1064), « prior of the Austin friars » 1528 (D 1072), 1531 (D 1078). 1532 ch. at Leicester. By order of Parliament *idem* re-elected, extends his term to seven years (D 1083).

1534 April 13 King appoints George Browne as pp and prior of London (D 1090, 1092) ; 1535 archbishop of Dublin.

1536/7 John Hardyman pp (D 1111).

F. Roth, O. S. A.

(*To be continued*).