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The impact of the Black Death (1348-1349) on the Winchester Diocese through a comparison of the mortality evidence of the rural community and the clergy

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Doctor of Philosophy

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This Thesis has been completed as a requirement

for a postgraduate research degree of the University of Winchester

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UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER

ABSTRACT

The impact of the Black Death (1348-1349) on the Winchester Diocese through a comparison of the mortality evidence of the rural community and the clergy

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The Black Death was one of the most devastating pandemics in human history. Reaching England in 1348, the Black Death ravaged towns and countryside causing widespread disruption and death. In a novel approach, this thesis assesses how a medieval diocese dealt with both its clergy and with its estates in meeting the challenges provided by the Black Death, as it swept through the Winchester Diocese. Details of the specific and differing strategies employed by William Edington, bishop at the time, are compared and analysed. The different 'hats' of manorial landlord and ecclesiastical leader that Bishop Edington had to wear are revealed as the body count from the pestilence rose.

The Winchester pipe rolls provided a rich legacy of information for this thesis. The pipe rolls contain a vast amount of details of the economic side of manorial organisation. Sharp focus has been placed on entries for selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors for the period of the Black Death. Entries under the chilling heading '*Defectus per Pestilentiam'* record the names of many of the people who worked on the land and who died from the pestilence. The resulting mortality rates calculated for these selected manors of the Winchester Diocese are compared with other studies completed on other areas of England during the Black Death.

The impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese is another major feature of this thesis. Using the registers of Bishop Edington, Bishop of Winchester, a key source of clergy data, assumptions about clerical mortality and pastoral care are analysed and re-assessed. The calculation of a mortality rate for the clergy of the diocese during the Black Death has broken new ground. The data collected has enabled a number of short and long term issues to be addressed, for example, 'What was Bishop Edington's reaction to the Black Death?' and 'Did many priests really shamefully desert from their cures?'

The compatibility of mortality suffered by the selected manors of the Winchester Diocese, compared to other areas of England, helps add a new contribution to knowledge of the period. The mortality rate calculated in this thesis provides fresh insight into the impact of the Black Death on the clergy. The percentage of deaths calculated correlrates well with studies of the clergy in other dioceses of medieval England at the time. This study, then, reveals for the first time, how the manorial organisation and ecclesiastical administration of the medieval diocese of Winchester coped during one of the most challenging periods in England's history.

LIST OF CONTENTS

LIST OF CHAPTER CONTENTS

LIST OF CHAPTER CONTENTS (Continued)

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF TABLES (CONTINUED)

LIST OF FIGURES

BIBLIOGRAPHY

LIST OF APPENDICES

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Thesis Main Aim

The Black Death was one of the most devastating pandemics in human history. In 1347 the Black Death swept into Europe, reaching England in 1348. During 1348 and 1349 it ravaged towns and countryside alike causing widespread disruption and death. The main aim of this thesis is to show the impact of the Black Death (1348-1349) on the Winchester Diocese through a comparison of the mortality of the rural community and the clergy. The application of new methods, especially the use of technology, enables a fresh approach to be made into traditional questions about the effects of the Black Death. With its comparison of the rural community with the clergy, this thesis provides a rare insight of how far the manorial organisation and the church of a medieval diocese coped during the challenging period of the Black Death. In this study emphasis is placed on the local *pays* or region. Defined principally, by their physical characteristics, the concept of *pays* was developed by Thirsk as a striking feature of her agricultural regions, defining them by their social and economic processes not the political structures of county government. This thesis recognises the value of *pays* with its sub-regional focus on a comparison of the rural community and the clergy of six selected manors of the Taunton (Somerset) region and six selected manors of the North Hampshire region. Thirsk's map of 'Farming Regions'[1] shows the area of the six selected Somerset manors in 'Mixed Farming, Type B' region or *pays* which is 'Corn and stock variously combined (in clay vales)'. The six selected North Hampshire manors are shown in 'Mixed Farming, Type A', a different region or *pays*, categorised as 'Sheep and corn (on downland, wolds and breckland). There is a great contrast in the landscape of the rich farmlands of the vales of Taunton Deane, i.e., the six selected Somerset manors and, in comparison, the relatively poor acid soils of the chalk downlands of the six selected North Hampshire manors.

The demesne manors at Taunton were re-organised by the year 1308 into an arrangement of five larger manors,[2] namely, Poundisford, Holway, Staplegrove and Bishop's Hull. The inclusion of Rimpton[3] in the Hundred of Taunton Deane was

[1] See Appendix E – Thirsk's Farming Regions.
[2] See Appendix F – The Five Taunton Manors, 1283-1348.
[3] See Appendix C – The Estate of the Bishopric of Winchester c.1300.

principally for administrative convenience. Its remoteness from Winchester and comparative proximity to Taunton aided its inclusion. Lying in the south east corner of Somerset on the border with Dorset, Rimpton was described 'small and simple'[4] but, as Chapter Three will show, Rimpton's economic performance was unusual and exceptional. These five manors selected for this thesis formed a major part of the Vale of Taunton Deane. This region was both among the most valuable of the bishopric of Winchester's possessions. In contrast, the six North Hampshire manors[5] selected for detailed analysis and comparison with the six Somerset manors, formed part of the mixed farming Type A *pays* or region for sheep and corn (see Appendix E). The six selected manors of Highclere, Burghclere, Bentley, Crawley, Overton and North Waltham lay in and adjacent to the long settled band of chalk which dominate the agriculture and landscape of North Hampshire. Downland and arable were mixed in an integration of arable and pastoral farming.[6] Mixed farming dominated Hampshire agriculture but in North Hampshire it was characterised by great flocks of sheep. These chalklands of North Hampshire were among the greatest wool-producing areas in the country and possessed some of the largest known flocks in England.

This sub-regional comparison of the rural community of selected Taunton (Somerset) and North Hampshire manors is followed by a regional focus on the impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the Diocese of Winchester, with a further comparison of other historical studies completed on the impact of the Black Death on other areas of England. By adopting a scalar approach, *i.e.,* the combination of the sub-regional (case-studies), regional (diocese) and national, this thesis recognises the value of local particularity and its loss in the generalisation of national studies. With its comparisons of the rural community and the clergy, a new dimension is brought by this thesis to the knowledge of how a medieval institution coped with the horror of the Black Death.

The main sources of information for researching the rural community of the Winchester Diocese are the Winchester Pipe Rolls for the years 1345-1352. The Winchester Pipe Rolls contain a vast amount of details of the economic side of

[4] T. J. Hunt (ed.), 'The Medieval Customs of the Manors of Taunton and Bradford on Tone, *Somerset Record Society, Vol. LXVI* (Frome, 1962) lxiv.
[5] See Appendix G – The Six Selected North Hampshire Manors.
[6] J. Hare, 'Demesne Agriculture in Medieval Hampshire', *The Agricultural History Review*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (2006), 191.

manorial organisation including the continuance of agricultural operations, the exaction of fines, including marriages, rents and services, the death from the plague of tenement holders and the subsequent payment of heriots and reliefs. As well as recording the rents paid, they typically specify the stock maintained, the crops and areas sown, the labour services used and sold. Additionally, the pipe rolls record, in a long series of detailed accounts, the history of local communities during the period 1208 to 1455, including the names of many of the people who lived and worked on the estate of the bishopric of Winchester. The main focus of this study is on six Taunton manors and six North Hampshire manors within the Winchester Diocese. The Winchester Pipe Rolls provide a rich legacy of information for this thesis. There is a particular focus, in this thesis, on the years 1345-1352 which enable tenant conditions to be traced and analysed before, during and after the Black Death, allowing its impact to be clearly shown. Comparison is then made with other previous studies completed on Winchester Diocese manors, for example, by Levett, Robo and Arthur.[7] This enables the extent of the impact of the Black Death on the rural community to be fully analysed.

The main source of information for researching the clergy of the Winchester Diocese are the registers of the Bishop of Winchester for the years 1345-1352, which provide a detailed record of the clerical administration of the diocese. The registers include a record of the institutions, collations and other clerical appointments made by the bishop, as well as ordinations, general memoranda and royal writs. The bishop at the time of the Black Death was William Edington who, after a successful career in local church administration, had been appointed Treasurer of the Exchequer in 1344 by King Edward III and later served as Lord Chancellor (1356-1363). As a reward for bringing the nation's serious financial difficulties under control, Edington was appointed Bishop of Winchester in 1345.[8] As Bishop, Edington oversaw a vast Winchester Diocese that included sixty manors and eight boroughs spread across seven counties which included Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Somerset, Surrey and

[7] P. A. Arthur, *The Impact of the Black Death on Seventeen Units of Account of the Bishopric of Winchester*, Unpublished PhD Thesis (University of Winchester, 2005); A. E. Levett, 'The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester, in P. Vinogradoff (ed.) *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History, Vol. V* (Oxford, 1916) 1-180; E. Robo, *Everyday life in an Episcopal Manor* (Langham, 1935).

[8] R. G. Davies, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 1986) 1577.

Wiltshire. The bishop's registers are used, also with a range of other historical sources, to research and analyse aspects of the life courses of the clergy during the years 1345-1352. The data gathered in this research enable the impact of the Black Death of 1348-1349 upon the clergy of the Winchester Diocese to be fully explored. The results of this in-depth analysis of the impact of the Black Death are then compared with other research studies of the clergy of other dioceses on the impact of the Black Death, for example, Russell, Shrewsbury, Davies and Dohar.[9] This comparison is then extended and a further comparison made with the analysis and results of the impact of the Black Death on the rural community. This enables this thesis to show clearly the Black Death's devastating overall impact on the rural community and the clergy of the Winchester Diocese.

1.2 Sources and Methodology

The main documentary source materials on which this thesis has been based and the way in which data have been collected and managed from these sources have been carefully considered at all stages of this work. Secondary sources are also included where they have contributed to the data collection and analysis process. The data collection undertaken for this thesis has been substantial, including a vast amount of historical detail which varies in quality and its usefulness. The methods employed to systematically record data and to manage it have been adapted since the commencement and development of this project. Some of the key methodological decisions and recording strategies are detailed below.

1.2.1 Winchester Pipe Rolls

The Winchester Pipe Rolls have provided the key evidence upon which the analyses for chapter three of this thesis 'The Impact of the Black Death on the rural community of the Winchester Diocese' have been based. The pipe rolls are a detailed record of the sixty manors and eight boroughs of the Winchester Diocese. The documents, representing one of the earliest forms of medieval manorial accounting, form an invaluable set of primary documents and contain much evidence relating to the Black Death. The sheer size of the pipe rolls prompted

[9] R. A. Davies, 'The Effect of the Black Death on the Parish Priests of the Medieval Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield', *Historical Research*, Vol.62, Issue No.47 (Feb. 1989) 85-90; W. J. Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership: The Diocese of Hereford in the Fourteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1995); J. C. Russell, *British Medieval Population*, (Albuquerque, 1948); J. F. D. Shrewsbury, *A History of the Bubonic Plague in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1970).

Levett to warn that 'the extreme fullness of the accounts is the main difficulty in extracting evidence'.[10] Nevertheless, Beveridge commended the pipe rolls as 'incomparably the longest and richest series of manorial accounts available for study by modern economic historians'.[11] Likewise, Harvey considered the Winchester Pipe Rolls to be 'by far the most notable series of enrolled accounts…'[12] Britnell declared the pipe rolls to 'constitute the core of one of the most astonishing archives anywhere in the world to survive from the medieval period.'[13] It is the aim of Chapter Three of this thesis to research the mortality evidence of selected sections of the Winchester Pipe Rolls via a comparison of six of Levett's selected Taunton (Somerset) and six selected North Hampshire case-study manors. Further comparison will be made of other different diocesan areas of England to ascertain the wider context of other known data, for example, Arthur, Levett and Robo.[14] This enables the impact of the Black Death on the rural community of the Taunton and North Hampshire regions to be clearly shown.

1.2.2 Physical aspects of the pipe rolls

The pipe rolls consist of parchment of unequal length, varying between 650mm and 740mm from the head to the tip of the tapered end. The membranes are on average 430mm wide. As shown in Appendix A, the foot of each membrane is tapered off slightly to a blunt end, on the face of which the consecutive numbers of the membranes have been written in Arabic number in a modern hand. Above them are written the names of the manors in the same hand as the text of the roll. The tapered ends allow simple and speedy searches to be made for the accounts of particular manors without the necessity of having to unroll the entire document. The membranes are two pieces stitched together. The membranes were probably stitched together at the head but are now held in place with string. At the head of each membrane, the scribe wrote the name of the manor of which he was then copying the account. There is on average 80 lines of writing on each side of the

[10] Levett, 'The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester', 9.
[11] W. H. Beveridge, 'The Winchester Rolls and their Dating', *Economic History Review*, Vol.a7, No.1 (1929-1930) 93.
[12] P. D. A. Harvey, '*Manorial Records*', British Records Association: Archives and the User, 5 (London, 1999) 29.
[13] R. H. Britnell, 'The Pipe Rolls and their Historians' in R. H. Britnell (ed.) *The Winchester Pipe Rolls and Medieval English Society* (Woodbridge, 2003) 19.
[14] Arthur, *The Impact of the Black Death on Seventeen Units of Account of the Bishopric of Winchester*; Levett, 'The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester; Robo, *Everyday life in an Episcopal Manor*.

membranes. On most of the membranes, faint ruled lines, about 7mm apart, can be seen. Each membrane also has two margins. The right-hand margin, on average 50mm wide, has been left blank. In the left-hand margin, on average 60mm wide, the scribe has written the sub-headings of the cash, corn and stock accounts. The names of the manors, at the beginning of each account, and usually too the headings at the beginning of the cash, corn and stock accounts, were written in the centre of the line, rather than in the margin.

1.2.3 Administrative aspects of the pipe rolls

The Winchester Pipe Rolls are a detailed record of the audit process of the bishop's accounts for each financial year which ran from Michaelmas (29 September) to Michaelmas, a convenient approximation to an agricultural year running from harvest to harvest. The keeping of the pipe rolls began in the early 1200s which saw the rapid rise of demesne farming, the direct agricultural exploitation of estates by their lords. Each roll accounts in detail for the income and expenditure of the widespread demesne farms, and the other incidental profits of manorial lordship.[15] It is likely that the compilation of the Winchester Pipe Rolls was initiated by Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester from 1205-1238.[16] Des Roches rose to prominence as a royal clerk and administrator during the reigns of King Richard I and King John becoming Lord Chamberlain and eventually Chief Justiciar, equivalent to Prime Minister, in the year 1213. Des Roches took a close personal interest in the management of his lands in the Winchester Diocese, the example of the royal exchequer's records influencing him to keep similar records.[17] The earliest roll which now survives is for the year beginning at Michaelmas 1208. Thereafter, 191 annual rolls cover the period to 1453-4 in broken series, the accounts continuing from 1457-8 to 1710-11 in the form of 137 parchment volumes.[18] The main purpose of the rolls was to record annual accounts, which had been copied from the *compotus* roll of each manor after the accounts had passed through the final stages of auditing. The *compotus* accounts were instruments of audit, and can be distinguished from the pipe rolls which fair-copy enrolled

[15] T. W. Mayberry, *Estate Records of the Bishops of Winchester in the Hampshire Record Office* (Winchester, 1988) 6.
[16] M. Page, 'The Medieval Bishops of Winchester: Estate, Archive and Administration', *Hampshire Papers, No.24* (Winchester, 2002) 3.
[17] N. Vincent, 'The Origins of the Winchester Pipe Rolls', *Archives* XXI (1994) 39-42.
[18] Mayberry, *Estate Records,* 6.

accounts were drawn up from the audited accounts. The *compotus* rolls usually show corrections made at audit, and may have entire paragraphs or pages struck through or contain details which did not reach the pipe rolls (see Appendix B). Therefore, to a small extent, they amplify the information contained in the pipe rolls and are of special importance when a pipe roll is damaged or missing.[19] Hampshire Record Office confirm that, unfortunately, no *compotus* rolls survive for the manors selected for this thesis. The earliest compotus roll is Hambledon dated 1345-6[20] but by far the majority are dated after 1400. The audit enabled the bishop to control the running of his estate, with the assistance of his main manorial officials, the treasurer, the steward, the bailiff and the reeve. The audit took place annually after the end of the financial year at Michaelmas, usually ay Wolvesey Palace in Winchester. There, the reeves of each of the bishop's manors and boroughs would present their accounts and hand over whatever money they owed to the bishop's treasurer. The auditors would examine the accounts and frequently queried or disallowed what the reeve claimed, usually on the basis of past accounts or the review which was made halfway through the accounting year. When everything had been agreed, the reeve's account and the auditor's alterations were then copied on to the pipe roll.

1.2.4 Structure of the account

The Winchester Pipe Rolls take the form of a 'charge-discharge' account. They deal first with cash, then with corn, and then with stock. Everywhere in England, written accounts became an almost universal feature of estate management. These accounts followed a single pattern, both in external form and in the methods of accountancy. The account was for a single manor. On the inside, or front, of the roll is the cash account, divided into its many paragraphs, and on the outside, or dorse, are the accounts for the various types, first of corn then of stock. There were closely observed conventions about the order of items within this framework. The 'cash charge' always begins with arrears carried forward from the previous account, followed by tenants' rents. In the 'cash discharge', the paragraphs for the running costs of ploughs and carts are always near the beginning; the corn accounts always deal with wheat, rye, barley and oats in that order; and in the livestock accounts

[19] *Ibid*., 7.
[20] Hampshire Record Office, 11M59/B2/22/1.

horses are always entered before cattle, cattle before sheep. The Winchester Pipe Rolls vary only very slightly from this norm. For example, as indicated by Page,[21] the inclusion of 'quittances' and 'defaults of rent' in the 'charge section' of the 'cash account', immediately after the total of the tenants' rents, was peculiar to the bishopric of Winchester (see Figure 1.1 below, Translation of the Account for Poundisford (one of the selected Taunton manors) for the year 1346-47. This uniformity, together with the division of the whole account into headed paragraphs, is very helpful to the historian who, with a little experience, can often find the information needed from no more than a moment's glance, even though the account itself may be long and complex.[22]

1.2.5 Headings and sub-headings in the accounts

The heading of each section of the pipe roll is standardised in large script with the name of the manor it refers to written centrally underneath, along the lines of the following wording from the 1345-46 pipe roll for Taunton:

'The account of the manors of the Bishopric of Winchester in the first year of the consecration of Lord William Edington, Bishop of Winchester,

Taunton'[23]

The account, as stated above, is divided into three main parts or schedules. Firstly, there is the 'Charge', i.e., the income or receipts, being the sum of money the official still owed from the previous year, and what he received from rents, sale of produce and fines and payments imposed in the manorial court. Secondly, the 'Discharge', i.e., expenses, together with a balancing of the two, being monies paid out by the official such as the purchase of corn or livestock, hire of labour, building repairs and other expenses of running the demesne. Thirdly, and finally, there was the 'Schedule or Inventory of Stock and Corn'. Each of these in turn contains several subdivisions, which were entered in regular order, with the usual distinction

[21] M. Page (ed.), 'The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1301-*1302*', *Hampshire Record Series*, Vol. XIV (Winchester, 1996) xix.
[22] Harvey, '*Manorial Records*', 32.
[23] Hampshire Record Office, 11M59/B1/98/1 – *Compotus manerio(rum) ep(iscop)atus Wynton(iensis) de anno cons(ecrationis) d(o)m(ini) Will(elm)i de Edyndon d(o)m(ini) Wynton(iensis) primo Taunton(us)*.

between the arrears and the current account and the receipts and expenditure. Each of the schedules has a number of subdivisions, which vary slightly from manor to manor, but which preserve the same general features. For the purposes of Chapter Two of this thesis these are explained below (see also below, Table 1.1).

Arreragia (Arrears) were the sums of arrears from the preceding years of former accounts. These were almost always paid off in full and the amount should correspond with the entry *debet de claro* (he owes clear) of the preceding roll. *Redditus Assisus (*Rents of Assize) were fixed annual money rents, usually paid quarterly, and based on the size of the tenant's holding. *Acquietantiae* (Quittances of Rent) were where a tenant or manorial official received a quittance or reduction of rent in return for special services as a manorial servant. *Defectus* (Default of Rent) usually occurred through the lack of a tenant or the withdrawal of the tenement. *Defectus per Pestilentiam* (Default through the Plague) was a special entry for the year 1348-49 devoted solely to those vacancies caused by the Black Death. *Consuetudine* (Customary Fixed Payments) were paid by free or unfree tenants holding land according to the customs of the manor. *Annuales Recognitiones* (Annual Recognition) were payments made by unfree male tenants for the privilege of living outside the manor. *Exitus Manerii* (Issues of the Manor) or produce of the manor is an item which varied considerably in different manors and tended to be subdivided under different headings. It generally included such items as pannage, produce of pastures, waste and woods, skins, dairy produce and sale of works.[24] *Fines et Maritagia* (Fines and Marriages) were paid when an unfree female tenant of the bishop was married. As far as the rates at which the fines are levied, as Levett writes, they 'are most difficult to ascertain'. 'There appears to be no support whatever', she continues. 'to the assertion that a fine was roughly equivalent to a year's rent.'[25] *Perquisitum Curiae* (Fine of the Manor Court) which, in the absence of manor court records for the diocese during these years, provided details of the profits of the courts but were usually only entered as totals. *Herietti* (Heriots), generally paid on the death of a tenant, usually took the form of the best live beast or chattel of the deceased tenant which would then be delivered to the bishop. In many manors, it became commuted into a money payment. Finally,

[24] Levett, 'The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester', 25.
[25] *Ibid*., 44.

Table 1.1 – Abstract of Account for Poundisford Manor (Somerset) for 1346-47[26]

ID	Receipts	£	s	d	Expenses	£	s	d
1	Arrears	1	8	0½				
2	Rents of Assize	42	4	3¾				
3	Increment of Rent	0	0	6				
4	Quittances	1	6	8¼				
5	Defaults of Rent	1	5	3½				
6	Defaults through the Plague	-	-	-				
7	Leases	0	1	6				
8	Customary Fixed Payment	5	12	9				
9	Annual Recognition	0	7	6				
10	Issues of the Manor	2	15	0				
11	Sale of Pasture	4	9	7				
12	Sale of Corn	25	11	0¼				
13	Sale of Stock	1	1	4				
14	Sale of Works	15	12	4½				
15	Fines and Marriages	11	6	4				
16	Fines of the Manor Court	6	12	1				
17	Heriots	0	6	0				
18	Miscellaneous Sale at Audit	0	11	1				
19	TOTAL OF ALL RECEIPTS	114	17	4				
20					Cost of Plough Team	1	1	11
21					Cost of Wagon	0	0	11½
22					Cost of Small Cart	0	13	7½
23					Grain Bought	4	3	6½
24					Stock Bought	7	12	0¾
25					Miscellaneous	0	4	9
26					Dairy	0	4	0
27					Cost of the Park	0	16	5
28					Issue of Stores/Goods	0	11	8
29					Harvest-time	0	4	2
30	TOTAL OF ALL ALLOWANCES & PAYMENTS	91	17	7	TOTAL OF ALL EXPENSES	18	3	3¾
31	OWING CLEAR	4	16	5¼				

[26] Hampshire Record Office, 11M59/B1/99/3.

mention must be included of the *Expenses* schedule, also included in the research for Chapter Three of this thesis. The *Expense* (Expenses) recorded the total expenses connected with the ploughs, carts, purchase of stock and of corn, care of the dairy and sheep-folds, the manor-house, farm buildings and all smaller necessaries.

1.2.6 Methodology

To enable the vast amount of detail in the pipe rolls to be captured MS Word was employed from the start. It was the aim of Chapter Three to construct tables, using MS Word, similar to Table 1.1 (above), for each of the six Taunton and the six North Hampshire manors selected from the years 1345-52. The format of the table reflects the main receipts and expenses structure of the pipe roll accounts, as written by the various scribes at the time. As the details are translated for each manor over the prescribed years, they are recorded and then typed into the table format in MS Access. The recording of the details of the pipe rolls in this way enabled analysis of the details of the economic side of manorial organisation of the Winchester Diocese to be made. Particular focus can be placed on various aspects of the accounts, for example, the exaction of fines on marriages, defaults of rents and, particularly in the year 1348-49, entries under *defectus per pestilentiam* (defaults through the plague), to show the impact of the Black Death on the local rural community. The pipe rolls record the names of many of the people who rented land and worked on the estates of the bishopric of Winchester. The number of deaths from the Black Death of the main tenant holders can, therefore, be roughly calculated. The subsequent payment of heriots and reliefs can then be analysed to provide a valuable indicator of the mortality suffered on the manors of the Winchester Diocese selected to be studied. The Winchester Pipe Rolls, therefore, provide a rich legacy of information for this thesis. The study of six Taunton manors and six North Hampshire manors, with special focus on the years 1345-52, enabled tenant conditions of the rural community to be traced and analysed before, during and after the Black Death, allowing its impact to be clearly shown. A comparison with previous studies completed on Winchester Diocese manors, for example, Arthur, Britnell and Mullen, Levett, Postan and Titow and

Robo enabled the impact of the Black Death on the rural community of the bishopric of Winchester to be fully assessed.[27]

1.2.7 The Register of Bishop Edington of Winchester

The main historical source used in Chapter Four of this thesis, 'The Impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese', is the episcopal register of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester from 1346 to 1366. The register is bound in two volumes and deposited among the diocesan records in the Hampshire Record Office, A/1/8 and A/1/9.[28] Both volumes contain parchment leaves which measure approximately 245 X 375 mm, and both have the same binding. The bindings of Edington's register are examples of late fifteenth or early sixteenth century English binding in blind-tooled tanned leather and have safely been ascribed to a craftsman known as the Greyhound Binder.[29] Another three volumes of the Winchester episcopal registers, the two for William Wykeham and that of Cardinal Beaufort[30] have the same binding, bound in a similar pattern with the same tools as Edington's registers. Unfortunately, the spine on both the Edington volumes is badly damaged. However, distinctive plaiting of the headbands with pink cord is present on Beaufort's register, a distinctive feature of the Greyhound Binder's technique, thus confirming that he did complete the bindings on Edington's registers. A sighting of Bishop Edington's two registers in the Hampshire Record Office has confirmed no pink cord on them. Edington' second register is the better preserved; the first was re-backed in the nineteenth century.[31] However, the tooling and construction of the covers in all other respects fits the description given indicating the craftsmanship of the Greyhound Binder.

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[27] Arthur, *The Impact of the Black Death on Seventeen Units of Account of the Bishopric of Winchester*; R. H. Britnell and J. Mullen, *Land and Family: Trends and local variations in the peasant land market on the Winchester Bishopric estates, 1263-1415* (Hatfield, 2010); Levett, 'The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester'; M. M. Postan and J. Z. Titow, 'Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors', *Economic History Review*, Vol. 2, Issue 3 (1958-1959) 393-394 and E. Robo, *Everyday Life in an Episcopal Manor* (Langham, 1935).

[28] *Registers of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester 1346-1366*, Hampshire Record Office, 21M65/A1/8 and 21M65/A1/9.

[29] J. B. Oldham, *English Blind-Stamped Bindings* (Cambridge, 1952) 8, 12, 59 and plate xv (tools 136, 141, 145).

[30] *Registers of William Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, 1366-1404 and Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, 1404-1447*, Hampshire Record Office, 21M65/A1/8 – 21M65/A1/10.

[31] F. S. Hockey, (ed.), 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester 1346-1366', Part 1, *Hampshire Record Series* 7, (Winchester, 1986) xvi.

The pages are well laid out, each having a margin of about 15 mm at the binding, 20 mm at the top, 80 mm at the foot and 65 mm on the remaining side. The margins have been ruled off in pencil on the earliest pages and, in the later pages, in ink or by folds. The volumes were written by a number of different clerks. The first clerk appears to have envisaged a lavish decoration of the volumes as the initial letters of the first words of the principal sections of the register are still waiting embellishment. A very short summary of its contents was entered next to each entry. To draw attention to particular entries, the margins of the volumes also contain notes by later clerks. Entries were made in the registers at intervals ranging from one or two days to several months, presumably from rough notes.[32]

For the purposes of this chapter, the printed translation in two parts of Bishop Edington's register, edited by Hockey[33] has been used. Part 1, published in 1986, is a calendar of the first volume of the register of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester from 1345 to 1366. Visits to the Hampshire Record Office have confirmed that Hockey's translation carefully and accurately follows the original folio pagination and chronology of content of both volumes of the register. The register is a chronicle of the administration of the diocese, especially as regards the clergy. Institutions to and resignations from benefices, dispensations for absence, both for study and at the service of notables all feature prominently. Part 2, published in 1987, completes the story of the administration of the diocese which was begun in part 1. Enrolments in the second volume of the register include letters, commissions, inquisitions, procuration, licences, papal bulls, suits, writs, briefs and other documents which were received or issued by the diocesan administration. Although some ordinations and dimissorial letters are found in the first register, most of them are found in the second. Licences for private oratories, appropriations of churches to religious houses, dispensations from illegitimacy of birth, and matrimonial and testamentary causes are among the other subjects featured. There are occasional references to criminal matters including abduction and violence. These cases sometimes involved the clergy.

[32] Hockey, (ed.), 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester 1346-1366', Part 1, xvii.

[33] F. S. Hockey, (ed.) 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester 1346-1366, Part 1, *Hampshire Record Series 7* (Winchester, 1986) and Part 2, *Hampshire Record Series 8* (Winchester, 1987).

1.2.8 Database Construction

The construction of a database, in which to collate the various data from the registers, was a prime consideration from the start. The database was designed and created using MS Access. The design and construction were determined by the information collected and determined the manner in which recording of the data took place. The main table in the database, 'The Register of Bishop Edington, 1346-1352', contains 713 named entries for those years. The following twelve fields were important in the construction of the main table in the database, as Table 1.2 (below) shows:

Table 1.2: Main Fields used in the database for data collection from the Register of Bishop Edington, 1346-1352[34]

ID	Fol	S'name	F'nam	D	M	Y	Place	Vacancy Cause	Details	Pos./ Title	Presented by
2	9	De Souky	Robert	26	2	1346	Abbots town	Death	Death of Hugh de Sancto	Rector	Sir William Trussell of Cubblesdn

At a later stage, to facilitate analysis of the data, the 'Vacancy Cause' field was extended into the following fields, as Table 1.3 (below) shows:

Table 1.3 - 'Vacancy Cause' Field Extension included in the database

Death	Vacant	Licence	Study Disp.*	Service Disp.	Other Disp.	All Disp.	Exchange	Resignation	Devolution

*Disp. = Dispensation – permission for leave of absence, usually one year.

The extension of the number of fields meant that queries could be built and implemented in the knowledge that full details for the years 1346-1352 had been extracted from the Register of Bishop Edington. Though the database constructed is not a relational database, it enables data to be filtered and retrieved, facilitating

[34] Example data table extracted from the Access Database 'Register of Bishop Edington, 1346-1352(3) for this thesis: data collected from F. S. Hockey, (ed.), 'The Register of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester 1346-1366', Part 1, *Hampshire Record Series 7* (Winchester, 1986) Fol.9, No.17, 3.

the running of queries. Queries are run in MS Access which group required pieces of data together from across a number of fields. MS Access is able to do so in a far more complex and specific way than can be achieved in MS Excel. Each query is designed to answer specific questions for analysis. For the purposes of Chapter Four of this thesis, some forty queries were developed and run in MS Access. Some simple queries, for example, Query 7, listing 'The Institution of Vacant Benefices in Laverstoke Parish (North Hampshire) during 1346-1352', were built. However, more extensive queries, for example, Query 13, listing the 'Vacancy Cause in the Winchester Diocese per month and year during 1346-1352' were developed as the amount of research data increased. MS Access is compatible with other MS applications and it allows ease of data migration and accessibility. This enables information and data drawn together from a number of MS Access queries to be imported into MS Excel. Excel has a number of advantages in the ease of data manipulation and graphical reproduction. This greatly helped in the production of charts and in the completion of the in-depth analysis of data included in Chapter Four of this thesis, to show the impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese. Study of Bishop Edington's register enabled details of the mortality of the clergy of the six selected North Hampshire case-study manors to be calculated. However, unfortunately, no records were kept for the selected Taunton case-study manors, apart from Rimpton, by their administrative body of Taunton Priory. As an alternative, records of the respective Deaneries of Taunton (Taunton manors) and Alton, Andover and Whitchurch (North Hampshire manors) were used to calculate mortality rates of the clergy of these respective case study manors and regions. The analysis of the 'Clergy Experience' on the six selected Taunton (Somerset) and North Hampshire case-study manors enabled calculation to be made of the mortality suffered by these sub-regional case-study manors and the impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese region as a whole. The resulting analysis enables comparison to be made in the wider context of other known studies completed for other areas of England during the Black Death years by, for example, Coulton, Davis, Dohar, Gasquet, Jessopp, Lomas, Lunn and Thompson.[35] This comparison enables the full impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese to be clearly shown.

[35] G. G. Coulton, *The Black Death* (London, 1929); R. A. Davies, 'The Effect of the Black Death on the Parish Priests of the Medieval Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield', *Historical*

Finally, the conclusion to this thesis, compares the results and analysis of Chapter Three, the impact of the Black Death on the rural community of the Winchester diocese, with Chapter Four, the impact of the Black Death, on the clergy, with sharp focus on the mortality suffered by both. The results of this comparison enable a further comparison to be made with the findings of previous studies completed on England, for example, Fletcher, Lunn, Russell, Ziegler, Shrewsbury, Hinde, Benedictow and Bailey.[36] The results of this research and comparative analysis enable this thesis to show clearly the devastating and far-reaching effect of the Black Death on the rural community and the clergy of the Winchester Diocese.

As demonstrated above, the primary source materials consulted contain a wealth of information which can be mined for a study of this kind. The quality and preservation of the materials consulted again make this a key source of information for this period. The issue relating to the analysis of the material have helped to inform the collation of data and the design of the database, so that the current technological methods can be harnessed in order to facilitate a greater level of statistical analysis of these records, and potentially allow other future analyses to be undertaken which may not at this stage be required. Finally, these methods are able to adapt to the needs of the analyses and this methodology is under ongoing development as the final stages of the research are undertaken.

Research, Vol. 62, Issue 147 (February, 1989), 85-90; W. J. Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership: The Diocese of Hereford in the Fourteenth Century*' (Philadelphia, 1995); F. A. Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence (AD 1348-9), now commonly known as the Black Death* (London, 1908*)*; A. Jessopp, 'The Black Death in East Anglia' in *The Coming of the Friars and other Historic Essays* (London, 1908); R. Lomas, 'The Black Death in County Durham', *Journal of Medieval History,* Vol.15 (1989) 127-140; J. Lunn, *The Black Death in the Bishop's Registers* (unpublished PhD Thesis, Cambridge, 1937); A. H. Thompson, 'The Registers of John Gynewell, Bishop of Lincoln for the Years 1347-1350', *Archaeological Journal*, No.68 (1911) 300-360 and 'The Pestilences of the Fourteenth Century in the Diocese of York, *Archaeological Journal*, No.71 (1914) 97-154.

[36] J. M. J. Fletcher, 'The Black Death in Dorset', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society,* Vol.43 (1923); J. Lunn, *The Black Death in the Bishop's Registers*; J. C. Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, 1948); P. Ziegler, *The Black Death* (Stroud, 2010); J. F. D. Shrewsbury, *A History of the Bubonic Plague in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1970); A. Hinde, *England's Population: a History since the Domesday Survey* (London, 2003); O. J. Benedictow, *The Black Death – The Complete History 1346-1353* (Woodbridge, 2004); M. Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk: An Economic and Social History, 1200-1500* (Woodbridge, 2007).

1.3 Thesis Chapter Outline

The Introductory chapter of this thesis is followed by Chapter Two, 'Historians and the Impact of the Black Death (1348-49). This chapter explains how the views of historians regarding the Black Death have changed over time. In relation to the historiography, a number of issues are outlined such as the efforts of contemporary medieval chroniclers to identify the Black Death, track its arrival in 1348 and estimate the death rate as it travelled through England. Chapter Two then outlines historians' attempts to record the effects of the Black Death demographically, economically and socially, especially the mortality suffered. Until the nineteenth century little notable attention had been paid by historians to the Black Death as a major event in English history. The pioneering work in this connection was completed by Seebohm and Rogers, who can be considered the first social and economic historians. Seebohm concluded that, from a peak population figure in 1348 in the region of five million, from half to two thirds of the people in England died from the Black Death.[37] Rogers considered the population must have been something like two and a half million, half of whom perished in that fateful year of 1348.[38] However, Rogers did agree with Seebohm that the Black Death was 'devastating, demographically, economically and socially.'[39] As a result of their work, the impact of the Black Death became a subject of fierce discussion amongst historians and provided a successful catalyst for future research.

Into the twentieth century, historical research was being produced which disputed Roger's findings of the devastating effects of the Black Death and his assertion that it had led to the disintegration of the manorial system and, eventually, to the Peasants Revolt of 1381. Crucially for this thesis, the research by Levett used the Winchester Pipe Rolls showed that there was 'no revolution either in agriculture or in tenure … but there is evidence of temporary changes, with a rapid return to the *status quo* of 1348'[40] and that 'the Black Death did not ... cause the Peasants' Revolt or the breakdown of villeinage.'[41] Accessible to researchers since 1889 but little

[37] F Seebohm, 'The Black Death and its Place in History' *Fortnightly Review,* Vol.2 (1865) 149-160.
[38] J. E. T. Rogers, 'The Black Death and its Place in History', *Fortnightly Review,* No.3 (1865) 191-196.
[39] J. E. T. Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England, 1259-1793*, Vol.1 (Oxford, 1866) 81-83.
[40] Levett, 'The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester', 142.
[41] *Ibid*., 159.

used until then, the Winchester Pipe Rolls have become a central focus of research in medieval economic and social history. Historians realised that, in assessing specific manors using the Winchester Pipe Rolls both before and after 1348-1349, enough data can be produced to analyse any patterns or change in account entries and how far such trends can be attributed to the Black Death. Levett, in particular, made extensive use of the Winchester Pipe Rolls. Since then, to date, some twenty studies have been published based on Winchester Pipe Rolls evidence, notably, for example, Arthur, Beveridge, Postan and Robo.[42] Chapter Two provides analysis of the advantages gained by them and the ways in which their works have been built upon. From 1914 onwards, the Winchester Pipe Rolls have become a central focus of research in medieval and social and economic history. Historians began to realise that the pipe rolls can produce enough data from particular accounting entries for full analysis of patterns or changes taking place. Chapter Two also provides detailed analysis of how the Winchester Pipe Rolls are a huge resource for the examination of specific developments of wide historical significance such as, in the case of this thesis, the impact of the Black Death on the Winchester Diocese.

Levett's investigation of nine Taunton manors, a choice that Levett considered 'accidental' and because 'they alone have a continuous account of the 'works' of the villeins during the ten years of 1345-1356'[43], is revisited in Chapter Three of this thesis. After one hundred years, an approach that harnesses technological advances not available to historians of former generations, enables a fresh look to be made at Levett's findings. The six North Hampshire manors researched in this thesis, selected for their proximity to Winchester and, apart from Crawley,[44] Highclere[45] and North Waltham,[46] have not previously been the subject of a separate medieval study. The data collected enable an in-depth analysis of the years 1346-1352 to be made and a comparison with Arthur's study of seventeen

[42] Arthur, *The Impact of the Black Death on Seventeen Units of Account of the Bishopric of Winchester*; W. H. Beveridge, 'The Yield and Price of Corn in the Middle Ages', *Economic History*, 1 (1927-8) 155-167; M. Postan, 'Some Agrarian Evidence of a Declining Population in the later Middle Ages', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series, 2 (1949-1950) 221-246 and Robo, *Everyday life in an Episcopal Manor*.
[43] Levett, 'The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester', 9.
[44] [44] N. S. B. and E. C. Gras, *The Economic and Social History of an English Village (Crawley, Hampshire), AD 909-1928* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930).
[45] Dunlop, *Pages from the History of Highclere, Hampshire*.
[46] J. Hare, *Exploring Medieval Agriculture: The Bishops of Winchester and their Manor of North Waltham, c.1200-c.1500* (Fareham, 2017).

Hampshire manors, as well as Levett's study, to be completed. To understand the nature of the historic landscape in which the comparisons of the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors in this thesis are made, emphasis is placed on the local *pays* or region. The concept of *pays* was developed by Thirsk as a striking feature of her treatment of agricultural regions. Thirsk defined the local *pays* or region by their physical characteristics such campion, down, fen, forest, heath, marsh, moor and wold,[47] which were illustrated in her 'Map of Farming Regions'.[48] Adopted and developed by the 'Leicester School of Local History', the 'Leicester Approach' used the French word *pays* or region to delineate a very English concept in ways cultural, linguistic and social, as well as economic. This approach demarcated a world of small market towns and their hinterlands with fluid boundaries reflecting a number of factors.[49] Whilst broad distinctions are useful at national level, they lack the subtle details needed for more localised studies. The dividing of England into categories of countryside or *pays* regions takes account of small-scale local variations and enables a region to be studied and understood from the inside. However, the character of a place was determined not only by the physical environment but also the responses to it, over many generations, of individual communities. This can only be described as a complex and diverse process.[50] No two villages follow exactly the same route or chronology to their final form. There is a great contrast in the landscape of the rich farmlands of the vales of Taunton Deane, i.e., the six selected Somerset manors and, in comparison, the relatively poor acid soils of the chalk downlands of the six selected North Hampshire manors. The main focus of chapter three of this thesis is to assess the impact of the Black Death on these two contrasting landscape regions. After this analysis, a comparison is then also made with the wider context of other known data from previous studies completed for the pre and post Black Death years, for example, by Levett, Robo, Postan and Titow, Arthur, as well as Mullen and Britnell.[51] This

[47] A. Everitt, 'Country, county and town: patterns of regional evolution in England', in A. Everitt, *Landscape and Community in England* (London, 1985) 16.
[48] See Appendix E – Thirsk's Farming Regions'.
[49] R. Jones and M. Page, *Medieval Villages in an English Landscape: Beginnings and Ends* (Macclesfield, 2006) 5.
[50] Jones and Page, *Medieval Villages in an English Landscape: Beginnings and Ends*. 5, 15.
[51] Arthur, *op. cit.,* 'The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester'; Mullen and Britnell, *Land and Family: Trends and local variations in the peasant land market on the Winchester Bishopric Estates, 1263-1415*; Postan and Titow, 'Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors', 393-39 and E. Robo, *Everyday Life in an Episcopal Manor*.

enables the full impact of the Black Death on the rural communities of the selected Taunton and North Hampshire manors to be clearly shown.

The impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese forms the main focus of Chapter Four of this thesis. In relation to the church in the time of the Black Death (1348-49), relatively little work has been done by historians. Of the few works that were written early in the twentieth century, Gasquet, Jessopp and Coulton,[52] have particularly enjoyed a remarkably long life in the historiography of the Black Death and the English Church. All three researched original documents such as episcopal registers, monastic cartularies and Crown records to gauge the effects of the Black Death in England. Unfortunately, particularly in the case of Gasquet and Coulton, their skills as historians were blunted by their divergent approaches to the subject of religious history and their different religious beliefs. Of the same generation, Thompson[53] provided a surer and less controversial method. Praised for his careful, critical and unbiased approach, Thompson's study of the Lincoln Diocese was restricted to the effects of the Black Death on clerical mortality rates based on institutions to vacant benefices. Thompson's lead was taken up more inclusively by Lunn[54] who approached the larger question of the Black Death's effects on the English church. This was work presented in his doctoral thesis at Cambridge in 1937, which has unfortunately been lost. Fortunately, Lunn's statistics were salvaged in general works by Gottfried, Shrewsbury, Twigg and Ziegler.[55] However, an over-dependence on such general works can result in too narrow a focus on the question of the impact of the Black Death. The scale of the mortality was the most impressive of the Black Death's effects but, in addition, the wider effects of the epidemic that impacted upon the lives of the survivors through the economic and social changes it precipitated, also need to be assessed. Accordingly, this thesis has adopted a scalar approach. Firstly, there is the sub-

[52] G. G. Coulton, *The Black Death*; F. A. Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence (AD 1348-1349), now commonly known as the Black Death*; A. Jessopp, 'The Black Death in East Anglia', in *The Coming of the Friars and other Historic essays*.
[53] A. H. Thompson, 'The Registers of John Gynewell, Bishop of Lincoln for the Years 1347-1350' 300-360.
[54] J. Lunn, *The Black Death in the Bishop's Registers*, cited in J. C. Russell, *British Medieval Population*.
[55] R. S. Gottfried, *The Black Death: Natural and Human Disaster in Medieval Europe* (London, 1983); J. F. D. Shrewsbury, *A History of the Bubonic Plague in the British Isle*; G. Twigg, *The Black Death: A Biological Reappraisal* (London, 1984) and P. Ziegler, *The Black Death*.

regional study with the assessment, analysis and comparison of the 'clergy experience' in the selected Taunton (Somerset) and North Hampshire case-study manors. This is followed by a regional study of the impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese. The sharp focus of the regional case-studies enables local particularities to complement and add to the overarching focus of the national/area studies. Though the impact of the Black Death on the clergy has been the subject of some general studies, as itemised above, and studies have been completed on individual dioceses, for example, Aberth, Davies, and Dohar,[56] to date, no in-depth study has been completed on the clergy of the Diocese of Winchester. This thesis rectifies this gap by exploring the impact of the Black Death (1348-49) on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese.

There is sharp focus in Chapter Four on clergy mortality in the Winchester Diocese during the years 1346-1352. The main source for the years specified is the Register of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester, as translated and edited by Hockey.[57] The register contains a chronological record of the administration of the diocese under Bishop Edington, who was Bishop of Winchester from 1346 to 1366. Institutions to, after the death of the present incumbent, and resignations from benefices, dispensations for absence, both for study and at the service of notables, all feature prominently. The registers contain examples of pluralism, an even greater problem and linked to absenteeism, where a rector might hold a multiplicity of benefices. The dates and numbers of ordinations into the church are also carefully recorded. Other matters recorded in the registers include exchanges of benefices, appropriation of churches to religious houses, dispensations for illegitimacy of births, matrimonial disputes and testamentary business. Using the registers, the main focus of this chapter is to research the details of clergy appointments to benefices. With the use of MS Access to construct a database of the data collected, an in-depth analysis of the severity of the Black Death is calculated. For example, this enables the calculation of a mortality rate for the clergy of Winchester Diocese to be made. In addition, the data collected also

[56] J. Aberth, 'The Black Death in the Diocese of Ely: The evidence of the Bishop's Register' 275-287; R. A. Davies, 'The Effect of the Black Death on the Parish Priests of the medieval diocese of Coventry and Lichfield', 85-90 and W. J. Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership: Diocese of Hereford in the Fourteenth Century*.
[57] Hockey (ed.), *The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester 1346-1366*, Part 1 and Hockey (ed.), *The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester 1346-1366* Part 2.

enable the analysis of a number of short and long term issues, for example, Bishop Edington's reaction to the Black Death and the success or failure of his strategies for providing replacement priests to fill in the gaps in benefice holders is assessed; did priests 'shamefully absent themselves from their cures' as we read in the *Victoria County History*?[58]; were mortality rates of the clergy really as high as historians such as Lunn[59] and Benedictow[60] maintain? The resulting analysis is then placed in and compared to the wider context of other known studies completed for other areas for the Black Death years, for example, Coulton, Davies, Dohar, Gasquet, Jessopp, Lomas, Lunn and Thompson.[61] This comparison clearly shows the devastating impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese.

Chapter Five, the conclusion to this thesis, compares the results and analysis of Chapter Three, the impact of the Black Death on the mortality of the rural community of the Winchester Diocese with Chapter Four, an analysis of the 'Clergy Experience' on the selected case-study manors of Taunton (Somerset) and North Hampshire. This is followed by an assessment of the impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the same Diocese, with sharp focus on the mortality suffered. The results of this comparison enable a further comparison to be made with the findings of previous studies completed on other areas of England, for example, Bailey, Benedictow, Fletcher, Hinde, Lunn, Russell, Shrewsbury and Ziegler.[62] The results of this full analysis enable this thesis to show clearly that the Black Death had a devastating impact on the Winchester Diocese. The comparison of the rural community and the church provides a rare insight into the working of the

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[58] J. C. Cox, *Victoria County History of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, II (Westminster, 1903) 35.
[59] J. Lunn, 'The Black Death in the Bishop's Registers'.
[60] O. J. Benedictow, *The Black Death – The Complete History 1346-1353*.
[61] Coulton, *The Black Death*; R. A. Davies, 'The Effect of the Black Death on the Parish Priests of the medieval diocese of Coventry and Lichfield', 85-90; Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership: The Diocese of Hereford in the Fourteenth Century*' Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence (AD 1348-9), now commonly known as the Black Death*; Jessopp, 'The Black Death in East Anglia'; R. Lomas, 'The Black Death in County Durham', 127-140; Lunn, *The Black Death in the Bishop's Registers*; Thompson, 'The Registers of John Gynewell, Bishop of Lincoln for the Years 1347-1350' and Thompson, 'The Pestilences of the Fourteenth Century in the Diocese of York', 97-154.
[62] Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk: An Economic and Social History, 1200-1500*; Benedictow, *The Black Death – The Complete History 1346-1353*; Fletcher, 'The Black Death in Dorset'; Hinde, *England's Population: a history since the Domesday Survey* (London, 2003); Lunn, *The Black Death in the Bishop's Registers*; Russell, *British Medieval Population*; Shrewsbury, *A History of the Bubonic Plague in the British Isles* and Ziegler, *The Black Death*.

institutional administration of a medieval diocese and how that responded across the different areas of its remit during a crisis period in England's history.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORIANS AND THE IMPACT OF THE BLACK DEATH (1348-49)

This thesis adds fresh insight to one of the most significant historical events of the last millennium. Various aspects of the Black Death of 1348-1349 have been researched over the years: from the arrival and the nature of the disease to its effect on the population, economy and society, on the spiritual, rural and urban communities. Using the Winchester Pipe Rolls and the episcopal registers of Bishop Edington as key sources, this thesis compares the impact of the Black Death on twelve manors of the rural community and the clergy of the Winchester Diocese. The application of new methods to assist data gathering, including the use of technology, enables in-depth analysis of the proportion of deaths that occurred on each of the selected manors and the subsequent proportion of tenancies that became vacant. In addition, assumptions about clerical mortality and pastoral care in the Winchester Diocese, as a result of the Black Death, are re-assessed.

This thesis, in its comparison of the two main aspects of the Winchester Diocese, previously not attempted by medieval historians, provides new information about the impact of the Black Death of 1348-1349 on medieval rural society. It is the intention of this chapter to review the main areas that have been debated by historians in order to set the context for research on the Winchester pipe rolls and the Bishop of Winchester's registers. The reassessment and revisiting older studies and material is valuable in the sense that it informs us what gaps previous historians have left. This historiographical review shapes our thinking about how to approach new material and helps drive the research forward. The review begins with discussion of the arrival and a general description of the nature of the Black Death of 1348-1349. This is followed by an assessment of previous research undertaken using the pipe rolls, the Bishop's registers and a range of other primary sources. The Winchester diocese was one of the most important in England, its bishop a powerful royal official. As landlords, the medieval bishops of Winchester governed broad areas and wielded seigneurial power over the resident servile tenantry. The administration with which the bishops ran their vast estates was modelled on that of the crown, and its exchequer has bequeathed 'a rich legacy of records'.[1] The

[1] B. M. S. Campbell, 'A Unique Estate and a Unique Source: the Winchester Pipe Rolls in Perspective' in R. H. Britnell (ed.), *The Winchester Pipe Rolls and Medieval English Society* (Woodbridge, 2003) 21.

Winchester Pipe Rolls are one such record. The pipe rolls are the earliest form of manorial accounts.

Over the years, the pipe rolls in particular, have been studied and researched by a number of historians. For example, Beresford completed a close study of six new town boroughs developed by the Bishops of Winchester during 1200 to 1255. Drury postulated that population growth, having outstripped available resources of land and technology, arrested economic development. Farmer found that exploitation of woodland and pasture by estate officials was half-hearted by comparison with sales of grain and wood. Postan and Titow demonstrated the extent to which years of high prices were associated with rural crises, which coincided with peaks of mortality. Titow showed how some features of social stability depended on the weather because of the extent to which poorer families depended upon the market for their food.[2] Such studies have shed light on a number of topics, ranging from the foundation of new towns to bad weather and harvest failure, as well as the price of wheat and the remarriage of widows.

Evidence from the documented sources of the Winchester diocese has become central to studies of the Black Death, especially the outbreaks in the fourteenth century where generally records are not as prevalent and readily available as those for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Winchester Pipe Rolls for the years 1345-1360 and the Registers of Bishop Edington for the years 1346-1352, including 1348-1349, the worst year of the plague, are therefore of crucial importance in the central part they play in the historical analysis of the impact of the Black Death on the Winchester diocese. This thesis draws on these key sources from the years 1345-1360 and shows clearly the impact of the Black Death of 1348-1349 on the Winchester diocese from an in-depth study and comparison of the rural community and the clergy.

[2] M. W. Beresford, 'The Six New Towns of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1200-1255', *Medieval Archaeology*, 3 (1959) 187-215; G. H. Drury, 'Crop Failures on the Winchester Manors, 1232-1349', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, new ser., 9 (1984) 401-418; J. Z. Titow, 'Evidence of Weather in the Account Rolls of the Bishopric of Winchester 1209-1350', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. No.12 (1959-1960) 360-407; D. L. Farmer, 'Woodland and Pasture Sales on the Winchester Manors in the Thirteenth Century: Disposing of a Surplus or Producing for the Market?' in R. H. Britnell and B. M. S. Campbell, (eds.), *A Commercialising Economy: England 1086 to c.1300*, (Manchester, 1995) 132-193 and M. M. Postan and J. Z. Titow, 'Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors', *Economic History Review*, Vol.2, No.3 (1959) 392-417.

Chapter Three focuses on the impact of the Black Death on six selected Taunton (Somerset) and six selected North Hampshire case-study manors of the Winchester Diocese via a comparison of the mortality evidence of the rural community. In Chapter Four there is a sub-regional focus on the impact of the Black Death, via a comparison of the mortality evidence of the clergy of the six selected Taunton (Somerset) and six selected North Hampshire case-study manors. Importantly, as part of the scaler approach adopted by this thesis, this is followed by sharp focus on the impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the region of the Winchester Diocese. A comparison of the rural community and the clergy of the Winchester Diocese is then completed in Chapter Five. Through a further comparison with other historical studies completed on other areas of England, an overall assessment is made of the success or otherwise of the manorial organisation and church of a medieval institution in coping with the challenge of the Black Death.

2.1 Arrival of the Black Death in England

The Black Death was one of the worst natural disasters in history. In 1347, a great plague, or *pestilentia* as contemporaries referred to it, swept into Europe from the east and ravaged cities, towns and countryside alike causing widespread disruption and death. In the summer of 1348, the plague crossed into England. It seemed to contemporaries to herald the end of the world.[3] Chroniclers provide a contemporary perspective on the events of 1348-1349 and the reliability of particular chroniclers constitute an important variable for the modern historian. Some chronicles were written from first-hand knowledge or from witnesses or participants in events, whilst some made use of written materials such as charters, letters, or the works of earlier chroniclers. Still others were not averse to copying the works of previous chroniclers, making corrections or updating them with information not available to the original authors. Most chroniclers, sited as they were in individual abbeys in different areas of England, put forward a localised view. Therefore, it is no surprise that the date and place of the plague's entry to England is debatable. The chronicle compiled and written between 1360-1377 by the Grey Friars at (King's) Lynn, Norfolk, identified Melcombe in Dorset as 'the first to be infected in England, with the first inhabitants to die from the pestilence doing so

[3] R. Horrox (trans. and ed.) *The Black Death* (Manchester, 1994) 3.

on the eve of St John the Baptist [23 June]'.[4] However, Ralph Higden (1280-1364), a Benedictine monk of St. Werburgh's, Chester, attributed the arrival of the plague to Bristol by writing 'This year around the feast of St John [24 June], the aforesaid pestilence attacked the Bristol area and then travelled to all the other parts of England'.[5] In addition, a Malmesbury monk, writing in the *Eulogium* in the 1350s, recorded that, about July 7th, 'the cruel pestilence … arrived at the port called Melcombe in Dorsetshire'.[6] Robert of Avesbury (d.1359), a secular clerk working in London, concurred on the location, but not on the date, stating 'It began in England in the county of Dorset about the feast of St Peter in chains [1 August]'.[7] Similarly, the *Anonimalle* Chronicler writing anonymously in the fourteenth century, that 'In 1348, about the feast of St Peter in chains [1 August], the first pestilence arrived in England at Bristol, carried by merchants and sailors'.[8] Finally, Geoffrey le Baker (d.1360), a clericus from Swinbrook in Oxfordshire, refers to a Dorset seaport and its hinterland being 'virtually stripped of their inhabitants'.[9] On the weight of evidence, it seems justifiable, therefore, to conclude that there was a focus of the Black Death in the Dorset and Weymouth area by the early autumn of 1348. Bristol can also be considered a plausible entry point favoured by medieval chroniclers. However, it is also possible that the Black Death arrived almost simultaneously at Bristol and Dorset. The Black Death then spread across the rest of the country, according to Watts, 'at a speed of perhaps ten miles (16 kilometres) a month.'[10]

At that time many ports of southern England were in continuous contact with the continent and the Channel Islands, particularly along the Dorset coast. For example, there was a well- established trade route between England and France. In exchange for wool, cloth and hides, large quantities of wine from Gascony crossed the Channel to London and Bristol especially. As Sargeant, in *The Wine Trade with Gascony,* writes 'During no period of English rule in France were the ties which

[4] A. Gransden (ed.), 'A Fourteenth Century Chronicle from the Grey Friars at Lynn', *English Historical Review,* LXXII (1957) 274.
[5] C. Babington and J.R. Lumby (eds.) *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Centrensis,* Rolls Series, Vol.VIII (1865-1886) 344.
[6] S. F. Hayden (ed.), *Eulogium Historiarum sive Temporis*, Rolls Series, Vol.III (1858-1863) 213-214.
[7] E. M. Thompson (ed.), *Robertus de Avesbury de Gestis Miribilibus Regii Edwardi Tertii*, Rolls Series *(1889-1895)* 406.
[8] V. H. Galbraith (ed.), *The Anonimalle Chronicle* (Manchester, 1970) 30.
[9] E. M. Thompson (ed.), *Chronicon Galfredi le Baker der Swynbroke* (Oxford, 1889) 92.
[10] D. G. Watts, 'The Black Death in Dorset and Hampshire' in T. B. James (ed.) *Hatcher Review: The Black Death in Wessex*', Vol. V, No.46 (Salisbury, 1998) 23.

united England and Gascony more numerous or more powerful than in the fourteenth century in the reign of Edward III'.[11] From Melcombe Regis the Black Death struck inland and travelled inexorably through the West Country. By October 1348 it was rife in many parts of Dorset with new vicars having to be instituted in November and December 1348 in Shaftesbury and Wareham.[12] By the middle of 1349, there was hardly a village in Devon or Cornwall that had not been affected by it. In so far as any pattern can be detected in the advance of the plague from West to East across England, Ziegler consider that it seems to have struck from Bristol into Oxfordshire during March, April and May 1349 progressing through Berkshire and Buckinghamshire and from Southampton and the West across Hampshire, Wiltshire and Surrey towards London.[13] The plague arrived in Norfolk and Suffolk in March 1349 before Cambridgeshire, reaching its peak in May and June before travelling into Warwickshire and affecting Worcestershire and Nottinghamshire. This agrees with Benedictow, whose Table 3 – 'Institutions of new parish priests in Cambridgeshire' indicates that the epidemic accelerated in the second half of February reached its peak in May or June 1349.[14] By July 1349 it was spreading across the northern counties. By September and October almost everywhere had been affected, by November and December of 1349 the epidemic was subsiding.

2.2 Contemporary Accounts of the Black Death

The best modern estimates of the mortality rate in England during the Black Death of 1348-1349 cluster between 40 and 55 per cent, which give a probable average mortality of around 47 or 48 per cent.[15] Estimates made by contemporary chroniclers were inaccurate and variable. For example, there are the oft-quoted figures for Norwich of 57,374 deaths in the city from the Black Death[16] and Manny's cemetery in London containing more than 50,000 bodies.[17] Ralph Higden (1280-1364), adding a continuation of the '*Polychronicon*' in the 1340s, without the aid of other chronicles, wrote that the plague 'raged so strongly that scarcely a tenth of

[11] F. Sargeant, 'The Wine Trade with Gascony' in G. Unwin (ed.) *Finance and Trade under Edward III* (Manchester, 1918) 256.
[12] P. Ziegler, *The Black Death* 101.
[13] Ibid., 113.
[14] O. J. Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353 The Complete History* 134.
[15] Horrox, *The Black Death*, 3.
[16] F. Blomefield, *History of Norfolk* Vol. III (London, 1805) 93.
[17] J. Rickman, *Abstract of the Population Returns of 1831* (London, 1831) 11.

mankind was left alive.'[18] However, chronicles were written at different times by different chroniclers who used different sources of information which were often limited to their local area. Henry Knighton (d. 1396), who, using the work of earlier writers and a wide variety of documents, produced in the early 1390s a very precise and accurate account of the first onset of the Black Death of 1349, reckoning that the disease 'came to Bristol, and virtually the whole town was wiped out.'[19] Geoffrey le Baker (d. 1360), whose *Chronicon* was probably begun in the 1340s and deals with the history of the years 1303-1356, considered that 'in the end, in Gloucester, and then Oxford and London too, and finally the whole of England, scarcely a tenth of either sex survived.'[20] Although he was living at the time of the Black Death, much of le Baker's work was based on other writers and consequently the value of his work is lessened. Finally, Thomas Walsingham (d. 1422), a Benedictine monk of St Albans Abbey, wrote that 'scarcely half mankind was left alive.'[21] His *Historia Anglicana*, which Walsingham completed in the 1390s, based on writings taken from earlier chroniclers, can be considered a compilation rather than a history. Whilst contemporary accounts of the Black Death by chroniclers have obvious limitations, the over exaggeration of their mortality figures can be considered 'a measure of their horror and disbelief at the number of deaths that they saw around them.'[22]

As the Black Death swept over Western Asia, the Middle East, North Africa and Europe, causing catastrophic deaths, many medieval people viewed the plague in a religious way. Overwhelmed by forces beyond their control and which they did not understand, people searched for an explanation within their grasp. They were agreed that the plague was an act of God sent to punish mankind for its sinfulness and frighten it into repentance and future good behaviour. Therefore, the only effective hope of averting the plague was to turn to God for help, backing up the appeal with contrition and penance.[23] King Edward III took a lead on the 28th September 1348 by instructing the Archbishop of Canterbury to 'offer God devout

[18] Babington and Lumby, 'Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden', 355.
[19] Lumby, J. R. (ed.), '*Chronicon Henrici Knighton vel Cnitthon monachi Leycestrensis*', Rolls Series, Vol.II (1889-1895) 65.
[20] Thompson, *Chronicon Galfredi le Baker,* 98.
[21] H.T. Riley (ed.), 'Historia Anglicana, 1272-1422', *Rolls Series,* Vol.I (1863-1864) 272.
[22] Horrox, *The Black Death, 3.*
[23] *Ibid.,* 95.

prayer and sacrifices for our salvation'.[24] However, some of the bishops had already taken action on their own and arranged penitential processions and masses. For example, the Bishop of Bath and Wells wrote to the archdeacons of his diocese on the 17th August 1348 instructing them to arrange processions and to 'urge the regular and secular clergy and laity subjects … to come before the presence of the Lord in confession and reciting psalms.'[25] In another example, Bishop Edington's *Voice in Rama* letter of the 24th October 1348, to all religious sections of his diocese, urged them to encourage their parishioners to make 'proper confession of their sins … followed by performance of penance … and directly recite seven penitential psalms on your knees'.[26] Contemporary writers of the time worked within the conventions of their age and they tended to express stock moral judgements.[27] However, chroniclers were not averse to specifying the nature of peoples' sins. For example, the plague's arrival was linked with attendance at tournaments[28] and the wearing of new fashions that were criticised for indecency.[29] In this way the Black Death was linked to the sins of mankind and the effects were exaggerated. Whilst they can provide a useful starting point for plague studies, the reliability of a particular chronicle and the constraints of the society in which the chronicler lived, are important determinants for the modern medieval historian to make as he or she attempts to understand accurately what happened. However, the modern historian has at his/her disposal use of the administrative records of the time. Historians of the Black Death and the Winchester Diocese are fortunate to have access to the episcopal registers of Bishop Edington and the Winchester Pipe Rolls. Although they have their limitations,[30] both are used extensively as key sources in this thesis to provide a large amount of data relating to and enabling in-depth analysis of the impact of the Black Death on the rural community and the clergy of the Winchester Diocese to be made. However, whereas many of the previous studies using these sources are looking at the big picture issues of mortality,

[24] D. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britannia et Hiberniae*, Vol.II (1739) 738.
[25] T. S., Holmes (ed.) *Register of Ralph of Shrewsbury*, Somerset Record Society, Vol. X, (London, 1896) 555-556.
[26] *Vox in Rama* letter dated 24 October 1348, HRO, Reg. Edyngdon, 21M65 A1/9 f o.17.
[27] C. Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1550* (London, 2002) 274.
[28] Lumby, 'Chronicon Henry Knighton', 57-58.
[29] Horrox, *The Black Death*, 131.
[30] The limitations of the Winchester Pipe Rolls and the Register of Bishop Edington are fully discussed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 of this thesis.

questions remain as to how the broader conclusions about mortality played out on the smaller local scale as well. Hence the value of the scaler approach adopted by this thesis.

2.3 Some Black Death Explanations

Just as the Black Death had a major impact on England, so its study had a significant impact on medieval historiography, not least over what the epidemic really was and how far it was something entirely new. The dominant explanation of the Black Death attributes its outbreak to *Yersinia pestis*. In 1894, during an outbreak of disease in Hong Kong, the bacteriologist Yersin identified the bacteria that caused plague. This bacterium came to be called *Yersinia pestis* when Yersin showed it to be the causative agent of the plague in India. Working backwards, Yersin determined that the plague was the cause of the Black Death as well. Yersin also drew a very important conclusion that 'it was probable that rats constituted the principle vehicle of spreading the epidemic plague.'[31] Four years after the discovery of the plague bacillus, Simond demonstrated that the transmission route from the black rat, *Rattus rattus,* to humans was via the rat flea, *Xenopsylla cheopis*. Rat fleas would infect humans and transmit plague through their bites.[32]

However, this interpretation has been challenged by a number of more recent studies. British bacteriologist, Shrewsbury, in *A History of the Bubonic Plague in the British Isles*, denied the existence of a plague outbreak and opted instead for cholera.[33] Shrewsbury has been heavily criticised for his reliance on secondary sources and his extrapolations from nineteenth century India, which have little valid comparative value to fourteenth century England.[34] Twigg, a zoologist, whose speciality is rats, in *The Black Death: A Biological Reappraisal*, claimed that the Black Death carried by rats could not have spread quickly enough. The consensus of historians is that between thirty and forty per cent of the population died which is a considerably lower figure than that put forward by Seebohm and nineteenth century historians. In order to achieve this effect, the plague would need to have

[31] Benedictow, *The Black Death, 1346-1353*, 10.
[32] P. L. Simond, 'La Propagation de la Peste', *Ann. Inst. Pasteur*, 12 (1898) 625-687.
[33] Shrewsbury, *A History of the Bubonic Plague in the British Isles*.
[34] R. Mitchinson, Review of J. F. D. Shrewsbury, 'A History of the Bubonic Plague in the British Isles' (Cambridge, 1970), *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol.50, No.149, Part 1 (April, 1971) 75-78.

made contact with some seventy-five per cent of the population. The essence of Twigg's argument is that there were not enough rats to support plague. Therefore, Twigg decided that the plague was infrequent and unimportant in medieval Europe and that the Black Death was probably anthrax.[35] However, Twigg does not base his case on historical evidence. Amongst other critics, Gottfried, considered that Twigg made a number of ill-considered epidemiological judgements.[36] Twigg dismissed the possibility that other rodents could have been important carriers and he also dismissed the role of the human flea as a carrier, despite the fact that biologists as well as historians have made these claims. Rather, Twigg's 'biological reappraisal' is based on data drawn from twentieth century scientific experiments and applied to medieval conditions. Along the same lines, Cantor's, *In the Wake of the Plague: The Black Death and the World it made*, though a respected historian, adopted a very populist tone in his assertion that he thought that the Black Death may have been a combination of anthrax and other pandemics.[37] Unfortunately, Cantor's thesis has no scientific evidence to support it and he made no attempt to present any hard facts or scholarly apparatus to support his claims.

A different approach was adopted by Cohn, in *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe*. He maintained that the Black Death in Europe of 1347-1352 was any disease other than the rat-based bubonic plague.[38] Cohn's approach to his topic has been criticised by Valante as deliberately making no attempt to offer another disease in place of the plague; the entire book is dedicated to simply proving that the Black Death was not the plague. Valante considers that, whilst Cohn does raise some important questions, his work is too unreliable in its presentation of evidence and too dismissive of evidence that does not fit to his thesis to be a serious contribution to the study of the Black Death.[39] For example, DNA evidence from Southern France of three bodies from a single mass grave, which revealed and proved the presence of bubonic plague as a cause

[35] Twigg, *The Black Death: A Biological Reappraisal*.
[36] R. S. Gottfried, Review of G. Twigg, 'The Black Death: A Biological Reappraisal' (London, 1984), *Speculum,* Vol.61, No.1 (Jan., 1986) 217-219.
[37] N. Cantor, *In the Wake of the Plague: The Black Death and the World it made* (London, 2001).
[38] S. K. Cohn, Jnr., *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe* (London, 2002)
[39] M. A. Valante, Review of S. K. Cohn Jnr., 'The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe' (London, 2002) *H-W-Civ, H-Net Reviews* (July, 2003).

of the Black Death[40], was completely rejected, unjustifiably, by Cohn as being contaminated.[41] Relying on a range of archival sources that covers a wide geographical range from Africa to India and Italy to Vietnam, Cohn argued that the disease commonly known as the Black Death was something other than the rat-base bubonic plague whose bacillus was discovered in 1894. Cohn engaged the earliest extant burial records, letters, wills and testaments, saints' lives, chronicles and other plague tracts to challenge fundamental assumptions of the disease. Cohn's approach confirmed the devastation and terror of the disease but he also brought to light distinct differences between the malady and the modern plague such as speed of transmission, virulence and mortality, seasonality and the ability to acquire immunity. Furthermore, Cohn claimed there is no extant account of a rat epizootic preceding a plague outbreak and those sources that do mention rats or mice do not single out rodents from other animals. Cohn has been praised for this re-assessment of often overlooked evidence and for his ability to look beyond modern plague as an explanation. Though it has limitations, Cohn's Black Death study will challenge historians and scientists to re-evaluate the medieval malady.[42]

Finally, the demographer Scott and physiologist Duncan analysed many of the major epidemics in Britain and concluded that all exhibited the dynamics of an infectious disease with a long incubation period that contained latent and infectious periods. They concluded that the same agent was probably responsible for all the plagues in England between 1348 and 1366 and that it was a haemorrhagic virus, a form of infectious disease they consider to be similar to Ebola.[43] Whilst there is some agreement now that plague was not the only, nor even the major, killer in the late Medieval West, the arguments between historians and scientists about the nature and origins of bubonic plague continued into the twenty first century. However, in 2014, scientists with Public Health England announced the results of the examination of 25 bodies exhumed from the

[40] D. Raoult, G. Aboudharam, E. Crubézy, G. Larrouy, B. Ludes and M. Drancourt, 'Molecular identification by "suicide PCR" of *Yersinia pestis* as the agent of Medieval Black Death' in *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, Vol.97, No.23 (November, 2000) 1280-1283.
[41] Cohn, *The Black Death Transformed*, 247.
[42] M. Clouse, Review of 'S. K. Cohn Jr., 'The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe' (London, 2002), *International Journal of Epidemiology*, Vol.31, Issue 6 (2002) 1281.
[43] S. Scott and C. J. Duncan, 'What caused the Black Death?', *Postgraduate Medical Journal*, No.81 (2005) 315-320.

Clerkenwell area of London. The extraction of genetic material of the causative organisms of the plague *Yersinia pestis* from the remains of people who died during the Black Death, has confirmed the pathogen's role in one of the largest pandemics in human history. Similar results have come from France, as discussed above, where a team of paleomicrobiologists at Marseilles, tested positive the DNA of *Yersinia pestis* from the pulp in teeth of two fourteenth century graves.[44] Additionally, Green, in an overview of pandemic disease in the medieval world, considers 'the use of microbiology to be of major importance in the opening up of historical research based on modern science.'[45] The scientific approach of Yersin and Simond in the latter part of the nineteenth century provided the definitive explanation of the Black Death and how it was spread. Alternative explanations were offered by modern historians in the twentieth and twenty first centuries such as Cantor, Cohn, Shrewsbury and Twigg.[46] Despite these alternative explanations, the use of modern technology by Public Health England and French paleomicrobiologists has confirmed *Yersinia pestis* as the cause of the Black Death of 1348-1349.

2.4 The Black Death, Historians and the Winchester Pipe Rolls

Whilst it has been accepted that the Black Death was a disaster and had far-reaching effects, historians prior to the second half of the nineteenth century paid little attention to the Black Death as a major event in English history. For example, Henry, in his twelve volume opus, *The History of Great Britain*, only dedicated fourteen lines to this subject.[47] *Hume*, in his eight volume work, *History of England,* devoted only one paragraph of sixteen lines to the plague.[48] However, since the second half of the nineteenth century the impact of the Black Death has been the subject of fierce discussions amongst historians. In 1865 Seebohm and Rogers, who can be considered among the first social and economic historians, were probably the first to draw attention to the importance of the Black Death in English history.

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[44] Raoult (et al.), *Molecular Identification by suicide PCR of Yersinia pestis*, PNAS, 1280-3.
[45] M. Green, (ed.), 'Editor's Introduction to pandemic Disease in the Medieval World: Rethinking the Black Death', *The Medieval Globe*, No.1 (2014) 9-26.
[46] Cantor, *In the Wake of the Plague: The Black Death and the World it made*; Cohn, Jnr., *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe*; Shrewsbury, *A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles* and Twigg, *The Black Death: A Biological Reappraisal*.
[47] R. Henry, *The History of Great Britain* (London, 1788) 246.
[48] E. R. Hume, *History of England* (London, 1798) 448.

Seebohm, in *The Black Death and its place in History*, stated that 1348 was a time of peak population in England, asserting a figure in the region of five million. The first historian to calculate a mortality figure, Seebohm concluded that from half to two-thirds of the people in England died from the Black Death.[49] Rogers, in *The Black Death and its Place in History*, disagreed stating that England could not have supported a population of five million. He believed that the population of England and Wales must have been something like two and a half million[50] and, for roughly the next seventy-five years, population estimates varied between these two points. In agreement with Seebohm, Rogers, in *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England, 1259-1793*, also declared that the plague was devastating demographically, economically and socially. He stated that the Black Death acted as a stimulus towards greater mobility of labour and the disintegration of the manorial system. It led, in his opinion, directly to labourers demanding fifty per cent higher wages which eventually resulted in the Peasants' Revolt of 1381.[51] The Reverend Green, another historian of social and economic change, who focused on the everyday people rather than on political history of kings and statesmen, in his very popular *Short History of the English People*, echoed the cataclysmic effects of the plague by writing that 'it was the most terrible plague, which the world ever witnessed, that advanced on Britain'.[52] However, Rogers was criticised by Ashley who considered Rogers, as an economic historian, to be inconsistent, one-sided and laborious. By focussing on the devastating impact of the Black Death of 1348-1349 Ashley felt that Rogers had added little to the understanding of the way in which England became an economic power.[53]

Into the twentieth century, historical research has been produced which further disputes Rogers' findings and, importantly for this present thesis, draws exclusively on Winchester Diocese Pipe Roll evidence from Somerset and Hampshire manors. Levett, whose study of eighteen Somerset and Hampshire manors was published in 1916, found that, during the fourteenth century, the estates of the Bishops of Winchester showed no revolution, either in agriculture or tenure, following the

[49] Seebohm, 'The Black Death and its Place in History' *Fortnightly Review*, 149-160.
[50] Rogers, 'The Black Death and its Place in History', *Fortnightly Review,* 191-196.
[51] Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England, 1259-1793*, Vol.1, 81-83.
[52] J. R. Green, *Short History of the English People* (London, 1874), 241.
[53] W. J. Ashley, 'James E. Thorold Rogers', *Political Science Quarterly,* Vol. IV. No.3 (Sep. 1889) 381-407.

appearance of the Black Death in 1348-1349 and there was no connection between the Black Death and the Peasants' Revolt on the Winchester estates. Levett stated that there was evidence of fleeting effects and temporary changes before a rapid return to the *status quo* of 1348.[54] Unfortunately for Rogers, the existence of the Winchester Pipe Rolls was unknown to him when he was preparing his history of English prices. However, studies, such as those by Seebohm, and Rogers, can be considered as successful catalysts for future research into the Black Death of 1348-1349.

Though the Winchester Pipe Rolls have been accessible to researchers since 1889, very little attention was paid to them in the initial years of transfer to the Hampshire Record Office. This was mainly due to the difficulty of transcribing and translating the rolls themselves. Even the celebrated Victoria County History, prepared for publication between 1900 and 1912, made little use of them. These county by county studies were general studies of the county as a whole, including such themes as religious history, agriculture, industries and population. They began to assess the severity of the Black Death and its general economic and social effects within the boundaries of each county. One notable exception was when, in 1903, Shillington published her Hampshire article including her assessment of the Winchester Pipe Roll records for Burghclere and Cheriton. Shillington found in Cheriton that 'families of twenty-five tenants had died out completely' and similarly in Burghclere she found 'families of some thirty-five tenants had died out completely'.[55] Shillington concluded that the effects of the Black Death were far-reaching when she wrote that 'everywhere harvests were diminished, wages were low, rents were high, and labourers began to wander about the country in search of work'.[56] However, from 1914 onwards, the Winchester Pipe Rolls became a central focus of research in medieval economic and social history. Historians began to realise that, in assessing specific manors from the pipe rolls, both before and after the Black Death, enough data can be produced from the relevant accounting entries to analyse in full any patterns or changes taking place. This enables them to determine how far such trends can be actually attributed to the Black Death.

[54] Levett, 'The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester, 134-135 and 142.
[55] V. S. Shillington, 'Social and Economic History', *Victoria County History, A History of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, Vol.II, (London, 1903) 420.
[56] *Ibid*., 422.

Levett,[57] whose study of Somerset and Hampshire manors made wide use of the Winchester Pipe Rolls, contributed to this debate on the impact of the Black Death, revealing the Winchester Pipe Rolls as an exceptionally coherent and voluminous body of evidence available for further study. Since then, to date, some twenty studies have been published based on Winchester Pipe Roll evidence.

Appreciation of the Winchester Pipe Rolls as a source of historical relevance really began during the first half of the twentieth century mainly due to the interest of Beveridge. Beveridge published *The Yield and Price of Corn in the Middle Ages* which contained articles on prices and crop yields, followed by *The Winchester Pipe Rolls and their Dating*, a comprehensive dating of the Winchester Pipe Rolls.[58] Beveridge's research was important not only as a leading documented survey of evidence based on the Winchester Pipe Rolls and a pioneering commitment to quantitative economic history for the medieval period but also for its influence on Postan. Postan, in *Some Agrarian Evidence of Declining Population in the later Middle Ages*, used the Winchester Pipe Rolls to exemplify his general formulation of late medieval agrarian development, particularly the movement of prices, crop yields and wages in his study of manorial labour.[59] Postan argued that the causes of the severe decline in population during the fourteenth century began thirty years before the Black Death and were rooted in the existing social and economic structure and wholly independent of the Black Death.[60] The difficulties of translating the Winchester Pipe Rolls, which are written in Medieval Latin, continued to deter further major studies until, in 1996, a translation of the 1301-1302 Winchester Pipe Roll was published by Page and it was followed in 1999 by a translation, again by Page, of the Winchester Pipe Roll for 1409-1410.[61] Page not only provided a complete translation but set the material in context highlighting the significance of the content for both agricultural and economic historians. By placing translated texts at historians' disposal Page's work firmly placed the Winchester Pipe Rolls in the mainstream of documentary research. In particular,

[57] Levett, 'The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester'.
[58] Beveridge, 'The Yield and Price of Corn in the Middle Ages', 155-167 and 'The Winchester Pipe Rolls and their Dating', 93-113.
[59] Postan, 'Some Agrarian Evidence of Declining Population in the later Middle Ages' 221-246.
[60] Postan's so-called 'Malthusian' interpretation of the plague and its effects will be discussed fully below.
[61] Page (ed.), *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-1302*a and Page (ed.), *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1409-1410*.

the Winchester Pipe Rolls are a huge resource for the examination of specific developments of wide historical significance such as the impact of the Black Death.

In 2003, Britnell[62] published *The Winchester Pipe Rolls and Their Historians*, a collection of essays to celebrate the survival of the Winchester Pipe Rolls and to place them into perspective as a documentary source in assessing how far their evidence is representative of England. Although addressing various issues of the early fourteenth century, none attempted to extract Winchester Pipe Roll data to determine plague mortality, marriages and wage levels before, during and after the Black Death. However, Arthur's *Study of the Impact of the Black Death on Seventeen Hampshire Manors of the Winchester Diocese* had specific focus on the Winchester Pipe Rolls of 1348-1349. The main thrust of her research was derived from the manorial accounts, such as rental income and entry fines received by the bishop from the holdings of the deceased. These figures were then compared with the previous findings of Levett and Robo. As outlined above, Levett's study of Somerset and Hampshire manors, *The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester*, found that the Black Death caused no major changes either in agriculture or tenure.[63] Robo completed his *Everyday Life in an Episcopal Manor,* the study of Farnham using the Winchester Pipe Rolls and he found that about one third of the population died from the Black Death, after which it took Farnham some years to get back to a semblance of normality.[64] Arthur's completed study, including very careful research and analysis of the various aspects of the accounts, realised a higher mortality rate than both Levett and Robo. Arthur found that Hampshire coastal manors, particularly Gosport, Alverstoke and Hambledon, suffered a period of particularly devastating mortality from the Black Death during 1348-1349. Arthur concluded that the sheer size of the Winchester diocese, with 57 manors and eight boroughs across seven counties meant that no two manors were alike and that there were a range of effects of the Black Death which varied from manor to manor.[65]

[62] Britnell (ed.), *The Winchester Pipe Rolls*.
[63] Levett, 'The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester', 142.
[64] Robo, *Everyday life in an Episcopal Manor*.
[65] Arthur, *The Impact of the Black Death on Seventeen Units of Account of the Bishopric of Winchester*, 262.

Levett's investigation of nine Somerset manors is revisited in this thesis. In Chapter Three, after one hundred years, a fresh look is made at her findings. It is one of the main aims of this thesis to research and analyse the mortality evidence of selected sections of the Winchester Pipe Rolls via a comparison of six of Levett's selected Taunton (Somerset) and six selected North Hampshire case study manors. MS Word was used from the start to construct proforma tables for each of the selected manors and capture the vast amount of details in the pipe rolls. Sharp focus was placed on selected sections of the accounts, for example, the exaction of fines on marriages, defaults of rent and, particularly in the year 1348-49, entries under the section headed *Defectus per Pestilentiam* (Defaults through the Plague), to show the impact of the Black Death on the rural community of the selected manors. To understand the nature of the historic landscape in which the comparisons of the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors are made, emphasis is placed on the local *pays* or region, a concept developed by Thirsk.[66] Instead of counties, Thirsk included different types of *pays* which were more directly relevant to practical agriculture and life and were defined by social and economic processes. There is a great contrast in the landscape of the rich farmlands of the vales of Taunton Deane, i.e., the six selected Somerset manors and, in comparison, the relatively poor acid soils of the chalk downlands of the six selected North Hampshire manors. After this analysis and comparison with Levett, a further comparison is made with the wider context of previous historical studies completed for the pre and post Black Death years of 1346-52, for example by Arthur, Mullen and Britnell, Postan and Titow, as well as Robo.[67] This enables the full impact of the Black Death on the rural communities of the selected manors of the Winchester Diocese to be clearly shown.

2.5 Impact of the Black Death on the Clergy

The disagreements in scholarship over the impact of the Black Death continued into the twentieth century, with the quality and commitment of the clergy becoming a strong area of focus, especially between Gasquet, writing in *The Great Pestilence*

[66] R. Jones and C. Dyer (eds.), 'Farmers, Consumers, Innovators: The World of Joan Thirsk', *Explorations in Local and Regional History*, Vol.8 (Hatfield, 2016) 11.
[67] Arthur, *op. cit.,* 'The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester'; Mullen and Britnell, *Land and Family: Trends and local variations in the peasant land market on the Winchester Bishopric Estates, 1263-1415*; Postan and Titow, 'Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors' and E. Robo, *Everyday Life in an Episcopal Manor*.

(AD 1348-9) and Coulton, writing in *The Black Death*, and in *Medieval Panorama*.[68] As a Benedictine cardinal, as well as a historian, Gasquet defended the clergy whilst stressing the catastrophic effect of the Black Death in declaring that 'The whole ecclesiastical system was wholly disorganised, or, indeed, more than half ruined, and that everything had to be built up anew.'[69] Coulton, on the other hand, ordained into the Church of England and a fierce anti-Catholic, predictably attacked the clergy declaring that their mortality was exaggerated by 'monkish writers' and that 'the clergy readily abandoned parts and fled'.[70] The debate over the Black Death's impact on the clergy was continued into the twentieth century, particularly by Coulton. He used Lunn's analysis of statistical evidence from episcopal registers, which contain a chronological record of the institutions, collations and ordinations made by the bishop, including details of clergy appointments and benefices.[71] Coulton praised Lunn's statistics of the beneficed clergy and agreed with Lunn's assertion in support of the clergy that 'there was no scarcity of priests'[72] by declaring that 'benefices were filled with as little delay as possible, and that the persons instituted to them were in a large number of cases already in priest's orders.'[73] However, Coulton somewhat contradicted his earlier opposition to Gasquet when he clearly confirmed the high mortality, via his percentages, of the beneficed clergy deaths in a number of dioceses, to justify his claim that 'We may take it as almost certain that the general mortality among the incumbents represented something very near 44 per cent of the parishes.'[74] A higher death rate among priests than laity would appear to be the case. The nature of the work of the clergy, if carried out conscientiously, of necessity, brought them into contact with those people who had contracted the Black Death. Also, as Russell in *British Medieval Population* pointed out, the fact that the average age of the clergy was generally higher than that of the population as a whole meant that a higher proportion of priests were likely to die.[75]

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[68] Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence (AD 1348-9), now commonly known as the Black Death*; Coulton, *The Black Death* and *Medieval Panorama, The English Scene from Conquest to Reformation* (Cambridge, 1938).
[69] Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence (AD 1348-9)* xvi-xvii.
[70] Coulton, *Medieval Panorama*, 496.
[71] Lunn, *The Black Death in the Bishops' Registers*.
[72] Coulton, *The Black Death*, 43.
[73] *Ibid*.
[74] *Ibid.,* 38.
[75] Russell, *British Medieval Population*, 230.

Though Lunn's original study was lost years ago, the figures are still used by historians as a general guide to clerical mortality during the Black Death.[76] In addition to Coulton, Russell and Shrewsbury,[77] in particular, have commented on the painstaking research completed by Lunn. Information on the replacement of priests in the episcopal registers has been used to calculate clergy mortality across the country and this has continued through the twentieth and into the twenty first century. Davies, in his study of the Coventry and Lichfield diocese, found nearly 40 per cent of the beneficed clergy had died of the Black Death.[78] Dohar, in his study of Hereford diocese, found at least 33 per cent of beneficed clerics had perished.[79] It is generally accepted by historians that up to 50 per cent of the clergy died during the Black Death, with the Winchester diocese with its large area, at 48.8 per cent, being particularly hard hit.[80] However, the difficulties in obtaining accurate figures have been highlighted by a number of historians, particularly Shrewsbury who referred to the problem of episcopal registers not specifying the causes of benefice voidances.[81] Indeed, this is a particular problem with the registers of Bishop Edington of Winchester Diocese. Benedictow, in *The Black Death – The Complete History 1346-1353* highlighted, in what he called source-critical problems, the fact that the population of beneficed parish clergy at risk was not identical with the holders of benefices. In a number of cases the benefice became vacant more than once because not only did the incumbent priest at the outset of the epidemic die, but also his successor. Consequently, deaths amongst subsequent holders of benefices during the epidemic must be deleted because there is no way of comparing the incidence of their deaths with the number of persons constituting the pool of non-beneficed clergy from which they were recruited.[82] Russell

[76] Lunn, *The Black Death in the Bishops' Registers*.
[77] Russell, *British Medieval Population*, 220-222 and Shrewsbury, *A History of the Bubonic Plague*, 72-80.
[78] Davies, 'The Effect of the Black Death on the Parish Priests of Coventry and Lichfield', 85-90.
[79] Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership: The Diocese of Hereford in the Fourteenth Century*, 45-49.
[80] Benedictow, *Black Death – The Complete History 1346*-1353, 356 – Clergy mortality percentages based on Lunn's original research (see ref. 50).
[81] Shrewsbury, *A History of the Bubonic Plague*, 72-80.
[82] Benedictow, *Black Death – The Complete History*, 343-344. Note: that in Chapter 4 of this thesis, in calculating a mortality rate of clergy for the Winchester Diocese from the data collected from the register of Bishop Edington, the number of second and third deaths/ vacant benefices were deducted from the total number of deaths/vacant benefices for the period September 1348 to January 1350.

reluctantly came to the conclusion that the average mortality percentage appears rather high and it is likely that resignations have been included in with deaths,[83] a point also made by Benedictow.[84] Nevertheless, despite these shortcomings, the most efficient source of data for charting the mortality of the clergy is provided by these records of the numbers of institutions to vacant benefices, that is, records of priests taking over parishes.

The impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese forms the main focus of Chapter Four of this thesis. In relation to the church of England in the time of the Black Death (1348-49), relatively little work has been completed by historians. Thompson's careful and unbiased study of Lincoln Diocese in the early 1900s was restricted to the effects of the Black Death on clerical mortality rates based on institutions to vacant benefices.[85] In the 1930s, Lunn's more inclusive approach was unfortunately lost but was salvaged in the more recent, general works of other historians, for example, Gottfried, Shrewsbury, Twigg and Ziegler.[86] However, an over-dependence on general works can result in too narrow a focus and the loss of local particularity. Though studies have been completed, in the latter part of the twentieth century, on the impact of the Black Death on the clergy of individual dioceses, for example, by Aberth, Davies and Dohar,[87] no in-depth historical study on the Winchester Diocese has been completed. This thesis rectifies this gap by assessing the impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese.

The scale of its impact on mortality was the most impressive of the Black Death's effects but the wider, localised effects also need to be assessed. Consequently, this thesis has adopted a scalar approach. Firstly, there is the sub-regional study with an assessment, analysis and comparison of the 'clergy experience' in the six

[83] Russell, *British Medieval Population*, 221.
[84] Benedictow, *Black Death – The Complete History*, 344.
[85] Thompson, 'The Registers of John Gynewell, Bishop of Lincoln for the Years 1347-1350'
[86] Lunn, *The Black Death in the Bishop's Registers*, cited in Russell, *British Medieval Population*; Gottfried, *The Black Death: Natural and Human Disaster in Medieval Europe*); Shrewsbury, *A History of the Bubonic Plague in the British Isle*; Twigg, *The Black Death: A Biological Reappraisal* and Ziegler, *The Black Death*.
[87] Davies, 'The Effect of the Black Death on the Parish Priests of the medieval diocese of Coventry and Lichfield' and Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership: Diocese of Hereford in the Fourteenth Century*; Jessopp, 'The Black Death in East Anglia', in *The Coming of the Friars and other Historic essays*; Lomas, 'The Black Death in County Durham'.

selected Taunton (Somerset) and North Hampshire case- study manors. This is followed by a regional study and analysis of the impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese as a whole. The resulting analysis is then placed in and compared to the wider context of other known historical studies completed for other areas for the Black Death years, for example by Davies, Dohar, Jessopp and Lomas. Sharp focus on the regional case studies enables local particularities to complement and add to the overarching focus of national/area studies. The conclusion to this thesis, Chapter Five, compares Chapter Three, the impact of the Black Death on the mortality of the rural community of the Winchester Diocese with Chapter Four, the analysis of the 'Clergy Experience' on the selected case-study manors of Taunton (Somerset) and North Hampshire. This is followed by an assessment of the impact of the Black Death on the Winchester Diocese as a whole. The comparison in this thesis of the rural community and the church provides a rare insight into how a medieval institution responded to a crisis period in England's history.

2.6 Impact of the Black Death on the Economy and Population Size

During the middle part of the twentieth century historians' attention turned to the effects of the Black Death on the economy and population size. In this debate, Postan, argued for a 'Malthusian'[88] interpretation of the plague and its effects. Postan, maintained that by 1300 England was overpopulated and famines and plagues which followed were the price medieval people had to pay for the excessive number of children they had. Postan believed that soil exhaustion resulted from over-cropping of fields to feed the growing population. From the year 1300 onwards, Postan maintained, that, as the population was already falling, the Black Death was not as significant as had been previously thought.[89] Postan sought to minimise the effects of the plague in his assessment of the problems suffered by the English economy between about 1250 and 1550. Postan's arguments were not entirely convincing, especially with regard to supposed population decline following the European famine of 1315-1322. In strictly Malthusian terms, a lower

[88] 'Malthusian' is a theory in demography regarding population growth. The theory was proposed by Thomas Malthus, an English Economist in his *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798). The theory holds that population expands faster than food supplies. Famine will be the result unless steps are taken to reduce the population.
[89] M. M. Postan, 'Some Agrarian Evidence of declining population in the later Middle Ages', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series 2 (1950) 221-246.

population would enjoy better subsistence agriculture and therefore the numbers should recover rapidly from the famine's privations. However, in his analysis, the dramatic effects of plague in 1347-1350 lowered the population total which did not immediately recover but went on falling for a century or more. In arguing for a rise in mortality rates, Postan relied heavily on one set of data, namely payment of the tax known as 'heriot' on five manors belonging to the see of Winchester.[90] Postan and Titow analysed these payments over the years 1245 to 1348. The statistical conclusions which they derived from the data point to a rise in mortality rates after 1300. Mortality was, it appeared, related to the price of grain and tended to peak in the years of scarcity. However, Black Death mortality figures proved to be a problem for Postan and the pro-Malthus followers. They fell back on the argument that there was over-population by 1300, that the decline of the population was more a function of over-exploitation of the land than plague mortality and that the population was therefore taking longer to recover than they first postulated. A decline in population, beginning about the year 1300, was essential to their argument, since it demonstrated the degree of over-population existing at the time. Given the latter, a rise in mortality was necessary at that time. The failure of the marginal lands was irreversible and explains why the decline in population was long-lasting and how the decline occurring before the advent of the Black Death in the 1340s and occurring after that date was a single movement.

Around the same time, Russell speculated that the population of England in 1348 was about 3.75 million, that by 1377 the Black Death and later epidemics had reduced it to 2.2 million and thereafter it fell very gently to about 2.1 million in 1400, at which level it remained until about 1430 when a slow recovery commenced.[91] Russell viewed the decline in population as being primarily due to the consequences of the famine of 1315-1317 and the series of plague attacks beginning in 1348. Russell's data revealed a 25 per cent higher mortality than normal for the years 1310-1319. According to Russell, this mortality was enough to halt the increase in population and may have even reduced it slightly. However, in contrast to the famine of 1315-1317, the Black Death of 1348-1349 was catastrophic. Russell, in describing the difficulties in obtaining accurate population

[90] Postan and Titow, 'Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors', *Economic History Review*, 392-417.
[91] Russell, *British Medieval Population,* 222.

figures for the Middle Ages, wrote that 'the trends of total population may be estimated by a sampling process using fragmentary data of other periods.'[92] He used data available about landholders in the Domesday survey, the mortality of the Black Death, especially the episcopal registers of Lincoln and York as studied by Thompson,[93] as well as Lunn's[94] comprehensive study of Black Death mortality. Use of inquisitions post-mortem and frankpledge dues during the Black Death was also made. Another method of testing plague mortality was in Russell's use of court rolls. If they were kept up to date during the plague, the evidence, according to Russell, was reasonably up to date.[95] Using the sources indicated, Russell considered that a 'fairly satisfactory trend of population could be traced from 1348 to 1430, the date at which the data from the succession of generations showed comparative release from plague influence'.[96] Russell's sampling process of fragmentary data and his statistical Life Tables have been criticised, for example by Newhall as 'complex and lengthy' and 'from his belief that five is too high a figure for the family average, the tendency is to offer totals smaller than those of other scholars'.[97] Newhall also maintained that Russell 'persistently recognised and repeatedly emphasized the extent to which his conclusions are indicated as guesses.'[98] Using such a range of sources, including being based on the Poll Tax return of 1377, which was incomplete and inefficiently collated, Russell's was a very tentative scheme but gradually gained acceptance by a number of historians. This led to a distinct lack of agreement about the scale and duration of the decline and particularly about the population trend after 1377, especially as Russell regarded the Black Death as an autonomous agent of change. There is a need for fresh research and analysis to establish more reliable Black Death mortality figures. In any attempt to calculate mortality during the Black Death the size of the household is obviously crucial. In order to measure the impact of the Black Death in a comparison of six selected Taunton (Somerset) and North Hampshire case-study

[92] *Ibid*., 220.
[93] Thompson, *The Archaeological Journal*, LXVIII (1911) 301-338 and LXXI (1914) 97-127.
[94] Lunn, *The Black Death*, cited in Russell *British Medieval Population*, (Albuquerque, 1948) 221-222.
[95] Russell, *British Medieval Population*, 226.
[96] *Ibid*., 367.
[97] R. A. Newhall, Review of J. C. Russell 'British Medieval Population', (Albuquerque, 1948) in '*The American Historical Review*, Vol. 64, No. 2 (Jan. 1959) 346.
[98] *Ibid*.

manors, use is made in Chapter Three of this thesis of both Krause's 5x multiplier and Russell's 3.5 multiplier.

Bean's study of the impact of the plague in late medieval England, was more influential in marshalling opinion against Postan's theory of continued population decline. Bean suggested that the population fall had been arrested by the end of the fourteenth century and that some expansion then ensued.[99] However, Bean's case had a number of serious flaws. Based on the evidence of chroniclers for plague outbreaks and his reliance on the incidence of national outbreaks and the impact of the plague on the level of cloth imports for London, his alternative interpretation failed to maintain much support from other anti-Postan economic historians. During the latter part of the twentieth century, criticism of the Postan theory increased. Gottfried, in opposition to Malthus as well as Postan, was declaring the Black Death an environmental disaster which brought far-reaching changes and was a major turning point in European development.[100] However, in his analysis of this phase of economic and demographic change, Hatcher adopted a compromise position[101] which would appear to be a sensible way forward to this contentious issue, when he declared that our understanding of the demographic experience of pre-industrial England may be advanced if we acknowledge the logic of the Malthusian cycle, in which mortality is both a function of economic change and an exogenous force, i.e., a factor originating outside the economic system. However, he did conclude by stating that historians have long sought to undermine the significance of the Black Death but that there remains much truth in the view that the arrival of the Black Death was a turning point in England's history and that much was transformed, for example, the peasant and labouring classes were better rewarded and better fed.[102] In addition, Herlihy, after initially supporting a Malthusian interpretation, changed his position and saw the Black Death as an external factor and a turning point, that is, without it, Europe would have been economically stable. In his analysis of Pistoia, Herlihy had begun to chisel away at the Malthusian approach. He replaced mortality with fertility as the critical variable

[99] J.M.W. Bean, 'Plague, Population and Economic Decline in England in the Later Middle Ages', *English Historical Review,* 2nd Series, No. XV (1963) 435.
[100] R.S. Gottfried, *The Black Death: Natural and Human Disaster in Medieval Europe* (London, 1983) 162.
[101] J. Hatcher 'England in the Aftermath of the Black Death', *Past and Present,* No.144 (1) (1994) 32-33.
[102] Hatcher 'England in the Aftermath of the Black Death', 32-33.

for understanding Europe's failure to recover from the plague for over a century after its outbreak. He declared that 'The failure of the birth rate to respond to the stimulus of deaths, more even than the deaths themselves, seems the root cause of the shocking population plunge of the fourteenth century.'[103] In the 1960s Herlihy considered that man-made social factors explained the plague's devastation of Europe. By 1985, he had changed his mind. In Herlihy's view, the plague now had little, if anything, to do with social forces. He had moved away from his modified Malthusian framework. By the 1980s Herlihy no longer saw late medieval society headed inexorably towards a Malthusian disaster. By his later interpretation, the Black Death had become an external factor independent of the social, economic, political or even the democratic environment. However, once it had struck, it set Europe on a new path almost totally unrelated to its late medieval social past. Herlihy's mind was changed by attending a conference in which Massimo Livi-Bacci, an Italian demographer, and others had argued vigorously against any causal link between malnutrition and plague.[104]

Into the twenty-first century, Hinde, in a comparison of Russell and Postan, declared that recent research tended to support the Postan thesis. Hinde considered that growth had been maintained but by 1300 mortality had risen and growth became impossible and a slow decline more likely.[105] Using records relating to the institution of clergy to vacant benefices and a series of 'model life tables' Hinde declared a mortality rate of 40 to 45 per cent for the Black Death and a population figure post-Black Death of 2.2 to 2.3 million in the 1420s rising to 2.77 million by 1541.[106] This is comparable to the reduction of population by the Black Death considered by Russell, from about the 3.75 million before 1348 to as low as one or two million by 1450, after which, despite continuing outbreaks of plague, the population began to rise again. Hinde has provided a valuable survey which is well structured and illustrated with helpful graphics and tables. In discussing the social and economic consequences of the Black Death and its aftermath, Hinde considered that the same fundamental question lies behind the debate in relation to population change. Did the Black Death mark a turning point in England's social

[103] D. Herlihy, (ed.), *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West* (Harvard, 1997) 2.
[104] *Ibid*., 3-4.
[105] A. Hinde, *England's Population: a History since the Domesday Survey*, 26-37.
[106] Hinde, *England's Population*, *a History since the Domesday Survey*, 47-50.

and economic development, or did it merely accelerate pre-existing trends?[107] Hinde continued that since Postan first outlined his account of the medieval economy, historians have tended to try to minimize the direct impact of the epidemic, accepting that the economic turning point had come earlier, along with the demographic turning point around 1300.[108] However, Hinde appeared to shift his position by stating that the Black Death had greater demographic significance than this and that the epidemic of 1348-1350 was only the first of many epidemics that were to strike the population of England at frequent intervals and that the severity of these plague epidemics was enough to cause population decline.[109] Finally, in agreeing with Goldberg's important point, which is on the lines of Hatcher's view discussed above, that 'plague was not an autonomous agent of change, but worked in tandem with other processes',[110] Hinde declared that the epidemic of 1348 marked the arrival of a new force to which the demographic and economic system of England had to adjust.[111]

Although Winchester Diocese evidence cannot contribute to arguments about the total size of England's population, it has been used by historians to test the Postan thesis. Watts, at a time when Bean was marshalling opinion against Postan's theory of continual population decline in *A Model for the Fourteenth Century*, used evidence from the Titchfield manors to undermine Postan's Malthusian arguments.[112] He proposed an alternative model to Postan for the period 1325-1345. These were years of favourable weather and good harvests with the population recovering after a temporary check during the Great Famine of 1315-1322. Watts considered that, by 1340, a Malthusian situation did exist in Titchfield and that 'the prospective ghost of Malthus stalked only in 1348-9.'[113] However, unlike Postan, Watts continued by showing the severity of the Black Death of 1348-1349 when, on the Titchfield manors 305 out of 515 tenants died, a mortality of nearly sixty per cent. According to Watts, peasant land hunger was satisfied at this

[107] *Ibid*., 50.
[108] *Ibid.*
[109] *Ibid*., 52.
[110]P. J. P. Goldberg, 'Introduction', in W. M. Ormrod and P. G. Lindley (eds.), *The Black Death in England* (Donington, 1996), 13.
[111] Hinde, *England's Population*, *a History since the Domesday Survey*, 52.
[112] D. G. Watts, 'A Model for the Early Fourteenth Century', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol.20, No.3, (Dec. 1967) 543-547.
[113] *Ibid.,* 547.

time and the average size of land holdings only rose again during 1349-50.[114] After this, despite further plague outbreaks in the years 1361-1362, 1369 and 1374, Titchfield gradually recovered and managed to return to direct *demesne farming*.[115] Therefore, Watts showed the severity of the impact of the Black Death, unlike Postan whose thesis minimised its effects.

Postan's thesis was also tested by his student, Titow. Using the evidence of the Winchester Pipe Rolls, Titow, in *English Rural Society*, supported Postan to an extent by showing some falling-off of crop yields in the period up to the Black Death. However, Titow, in *Winchester Yields: A Study in Medieval Productivity*, could not agree with Postan about the scale of the plague mortality and became convinced through his work on the Winchester manors,[116] which was awarded the Cambridge Ellen McArthur prize for its outstanding thoroughness, that his calculations indicate a mortality above the 50 per cent postulated by Postan for the rural population.[117] Titow's work supported Postan by showing that on some of the Bishop of Winchester's manors, contraction of demesne farming due to previous over-cultivation started as early as the middle years of the thirteenth century. Titow's work centred on evidence taken from the Winchester pipe rolls and it is from these records that Titow believed Postan's fifty per cent mortality rate for the rural population was on the low side.[118] Using the account rolls for Bishop's Waltham, Titow constructed an index of marriages, heriots and transfers of land for the years 1245-1500. This enabled him to reconstruct a fairly accurate list of tenants on the eve of the Black Death and the numbers of deaths thereafter. This reconstruction showed that there were no significant changes in the total numbers of holdings between 1331 and the onset of the Black Death and between the Black Death and the outbreak of 1361-1362 since there were no holdings left vacant after the first outbreak and few duplications of holdings before 1362. Titow declared

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[114] *Ibid*.

[115] '*Demesne Farming*' – the demesne was the part of the Bishop of Winchester's manorial lands reserved for his own use and not allocated to his serfs or villeins or freeholder tenants. Initially the demesne lands were worked, usually for two or three days a week, on the Bishop's behalf by villeins or serfs, who had no right of tenure on it. As a money economy developed in the late Middle Ages, the serfs' unpaid labour came to be commuted to money payments. Eventually, demesne lands were leased out either on a permanent, i.e., hereditary, or a temporary renewable basis so that many peasants functioned virtually as free proprietors, after having paid their fixed rents.

[116] J. Z. Titow, *English Rural Society, 1200-1350* (London, 1969) 68-69.

[117] J. Z. Titow, *Winchester Yields: A Study in Medieval Productivity* (Cambridge, 1972).

[118] J. Z. Titow, *English Rural Society*, 70.

that Black Death mortality represented approximately sixty-five per cent of the total. Titow used this evidence to reject both Postan's and Russell's estimate of mortality as too low and to conclude that the high death rate had little impact upon the English economy.

Postan and Titow, in *Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors*, another study specifically researching heriots and prices,[119] assessed the evidence levied on five manors of the Winchester diocese, namely Taunton, Fareham, Meon, Wargrave and Waltham. Heriots are a valuable area of research on the Winchester estate. References to heriots are in large numbers in the pipe rolls, especially for the year 1348-1349. The heriot was a death duty levied on a person's holdings. It was a tradition or right of the lord of the manor in feudal England to take possession of a tenant's best animal on his death. However, heriots could take the form of a cash payment. For example, the pipe roll of 1348-1349 on the manor of Hambledon shows cash heriots of one shilling each was received from ten cottars.[120] Postan and Titow found a death rate somewhere near 500 per 1000 which is about 50 per cent mortality. Postan and Titow were careful to account for any gap in the evidence by assuming that the deaths on that particular manor were equal to the average mortality for a number of years, usually 8, preceding and following the gap.[121] These mortality rates are compatible to Model Life tables and correspond to mortality rates of 4-5 per cent.[122] However, Titow maintained that using the evidence of heriots is full of problems. For example, the entries do not provide a complete record of the deaths among tenants liable to heriot. The manorial tenants liable for the payment of heriots were the Bishop's customary tenants. However, according to Postan and Titow, within that group, by no means all left behind evidence of heriot payments. Heriots were levied, not on persons but on holdings, and were payable only by heads of households and can only be used as evidence of adult mortality. Unfortunately, Postan and Titow continued, the Winchester estates did not lay down the precise age group to which the term 'adult' should apply. Therefore, evidence may include some boys and girls in their teens.[123] Additionally, the accounts of some manors only record the heriots paid by delivery

[119] Postan and Titow, 'Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors' 392-421.
[120] HRO, 11M59/B1/101, mm 12, 19-20, 39-40.
[121] Postan and Titow, *op. cit*., 411.
[122] Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353*, 251.
[123] Postan and Titow, 'Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors', 393-394.

of animals and do not record money payments. Indeed, some men were too poor to own an animal and therefore did not pay a heriot. Also, some of the heriots were paid '*inter vivos*', that is, at the time of selling portions of their holdings. These were additional to the entry fines payable by buyers of land.[124] Importantly, whilst he felt that the death rate during the epidemic may have been even higher than 50 per cent, Titow decided against using the 1348-1349 data in his calculations. Titow went on to explain that 'in a group like ours … which was not a demographic entity but a tenurial one and which was renewed, not by births but by accessions to tenures, it was possible in catastrophes, such as 1348-1349, for the same holding to be let several times in the course of the same year.'[125] Therefore, Titow decided that such mortalities could not be used as a sample of mortalities in the population as a whole during such a year as 1348-1349. If they had been included, this would have seriously skewed the figures and affected the accuracy of his and Postan's findings regarding averages and trends.

In a previous attempt to determine a mortality rate from the Black Death of a selection of Winchester diocese manors, Levett calculated that each able-bodied tenant represented a family group of three or five, depending if children were taken into account. Assuming that all tenements were heritable, it would follow that the number of the Lord's tenements plus the number of fines would realise an accurate heriots figure. This figure would then act as a comparable indicator for determining the number of actual recordable deaths.[126] Unfortunately, as confirmed by testing of Levett's methodology,[127] Arthur found that Levett had considerably underestimated the mortality rate. Levett herself admitted that her attempts to calculate a mortality figure involved a considerable amount of supposition and were highly unsatisfactory.[128] Robo's attempt to calculate the numbers of deaths, without the use of 'heriots', 'fines' or 'defaults of plague', proved to be very inaccurate.[129] However, Arthur's own attempts at recording tenants shown paying heriots in the pipe roll accounts were more successful. Arthur calculated a mortality rate by recording the names listed under the headings of 'defaults'

[124] *Ibid*., 402.
[125] Ib*id., 408*.
[126] Levett, 'The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester', 80.
[127] Arthur, *The Impact of the Black Death on Seventeen Units of Account of the Bishopric of Winchester,* 114.
[128] Levett, *op. cit*., 81.
[129] Robo, *Everyday life in an Episcopal Manor*, 210-211.

recorded through 'pestilence', 'fines' and 'heriots'. Though it requires a level of consistency on the part of the scribes involved in the completion of the pipe roll accounts, this method enabled Arthur to produce a more accurate list of those tenants that died during the Black Death year of 1348-1349. To avoid any misrepresentation of figures, duplicate names where both appeared, were deleted, that is, where a tenant was documented as defaulting on the rent and paying a heriot, they are most likely to be one and the same person. The total numbers of names for the different manors were then compared with the tenants listed in the same format for 1347-1348. The results were significant. Arthur found a total number of 629 deaths for the year 1348-1349 for the eleven manors in her study, compared to 69 recorded for the year 1347-1348. On this basis Arthur found that the manors of Alverstoke, Hambledon, Cheriton and Woodhay suffered the highest mortality.[130] Although it is uncertain that all these tenants necessarily died of the Black Death, as Arthur herself writes, '… despite some flaws, heriots play an important part in the attempt to measure mortality during the Black Death'.[131] As can be seen, heriots are a valuable area of research on the Winchester estate.

There is a need for fresh research and analysis of this aspect of the Winchester pipe rolls to establish more reliable figures. Making use of the entries in the pipe rolls recorded through defaults of rent due to the pestilence, fines and heriots, this thesis re-visits the six Taunton manors, 101 years after Levett's original study. The six North Hampshire manors, which have not been studied before, apart from Crawley (Gras and Gras), Highclere (Dunlop) and North Waltham (Hare),[132] and all within the hinterland of Winchester itself, provide a fresh and useful comparison. Central to this research is the calculation of the mortality of these twelve selected case-study manors. Records do exist which purport to record the number of deaths, though their accuracy is difficult to evaluate. In addition, as medieval historians have found, it is ultimately unreliable to provide a percentage mortality without an accurate number of people living in a manor before the Black Death struck. However, the use of the 1327 Tax Lists and custumals for the selected

[130] Arthur, *The Impact of the Black Death on Seventeen Units of Account of the Bishopric of Winchester,* 120.
[131] *Ibid*., 135.
[132] Dunlop, *Pages from the History of Highclere*; Gras and Gras, *The Economic and Social History of an English Village* and Hare, *Exploring Medieval Agriculture: The Bishops of Winchester and their Manor of N. Waltham.*

Somerset and North Hampshire manors enable cautious estimates of the numbers of tenants for the selected manors to be calculated. Bearing in mind, the limitations of the historical records used, which are discussed fully in Chapter Three, the size of the 'multiplier', or number of persons per household, is crucial. For the purposes of this thesis, Krause's 5x multiplier and Russell's 3.5 multiplier, the merits and limitations of which are also discussed in Chapter Three, are both used in estimating the populations of the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors. The resulting mortality rates for the twelve case study manors and their respective regions reflect a range clearly demonstrating the potential impact of the Black Death on different areas of the rural community of the Winchester Diocese.

2.7 Challenges to Postan and Titow

Over the past forty years the views of both Postan and Titow have been challenged by historians. Hatcher and Bailey have proposed three 'supermodels' by way of explanation of medieval economic history. Hatcher, in *Plague, Population and the English Economy*,[133] stated that population did not behave in a Malthusian manner. Moreover, Bailey's first publication, *A Marginal Economy? East Anglian Breckland in the later Middle Ages*[134] contained sustained refutations of the key role which Postan assigned to marginal regions in his model of pre- and post-Black Death economic development. Combining forces in 2001, in *Modelling the Middle Ages*, Hatcher and Bailey's first 'supermodel' is entitled the 'population and resources' model which corresponds to the 'Malthusian' model previously outlined.[135] The second 'supermodel' Hatcher and Bailey call the 'Class Power and Property Relations' model which can be considered a 'Marxist' approach.[136] For Marxist historians, for example, Brenner, in *Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe*[137] and Kosminsky, in *The Evolution of Feudal Rent in England from the XIIth to the XVth Centuries*,[138] a contradiction in the feudal mode of production emerged, especially in the thirteenth century. Hatcher and

[133] J. Hatcher, *Plague, Population and the English Economy 1348-1530* (London, 1977).
[134] M. Bailey, 'A Marginal Economy? East Anglian Breckland in the later Middle Ages' *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought*, Fourth Series (Cambridge, 1989).
[135] J. Hatcher and M. Bailey *Modelling the Middle Ages: The History and Theory of England's Economic Development* (Oxford, 2001) 21-65.
[136] *Ibid*., 66-120.
[137] R. Brenner, 'Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe', *Past and Present*, No.70 (1976) 30-35.
[138] E. A. Kosminsky, 'The Evolution of Feudal Rent in England from the XIIth to the XVth Centuries, *Past and Present*, No.7 (1955) 36.

Bailey suggest that they focus mainly on the transition from feudalism to capitalism and on the contentious relationship between the feudal lord, the controller of the economy's factor of production, and the labourer. The feudal lord's appetite for consumer goods necessitated more aggressive extraction of rent from the labourer, an extraction which deprived the peasantry of the wherewithal to improve the productivity of the land. Marxist historians acknowledge this as a crisis in population where the demographic pressures of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries led to overpopulation relative to the mode of production and the extraction of wealth. Finally, the third 'supermodel' outlined by Hatcher and Bailey is labelled the 'commercialisation' model due to its emphasis on an inexorable movement towards a more commercialised economy. Based on the ideas of Adam Smith, in *The Wealth of Nations*[139] and von Thünen, in *The Isolated State*,[140] this advancing commercialisation provided an outlet for the demographic and social pressures of the era. In this model, the growth of population ceases to be a problem. Instead, demographic buoyancy engenders larger and denser settlements, better communication and transportation, greater willingness to develop and apply technology, more economic and occupational specialisation and ultimately a more commercialised economy.[141]

Whilst the 'population and resources' and the 'Marxist' models focus on a 'crisis' approach, the 'commercialisation' model focuses on 'progress', Hatcher and Bailey find strengths and weaknesses in each of the three 'supermodels'. Both the demographic and Marxist models have difficulty in dealing with the Black Death as an exogenous factor, a factor existing beyond the model's neat confines. Those historians wedded to an imbalance of population and resources or to a struggle among classes as the lone engine of change, must minimise the impact of the Black Death and relegate it to the role of an accelerating agent. Having questioned the usefulness of these approaches, Hatcher and Bailey conclude with a compromise alternative. They consider that the influences shaping medieval economic and social history are so multitudinous and so variable in strength over time, that, to explain the medieval past requires historians to consider the process of change in

[139] A. Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (London, 1776).
[140] J. von Thünen, *The Isolated State* (Berlin, 1826).
[141] Hatcher and Bailey, *op. cit.,* 121-173.

the long *durée*,[142] across centuries and epochs. The long *durée* was a style of historiography developed from the *Annales* School by French historians. Of these, Braudel was particularly prominent post 1945. In his first book, Braudel downplayed the importance of specific events like the Black Death. Instead, he employed the technique of the long durée, emphasising the importance of the slow, long term effects of such factors as geography, climate and demography.[143] For the purposes of this thesis, these attempts by historians have served to heighten interest in the Winchester Pipe Rolls and the Winchester estate and encourage medieval historians to reflect upon and debate the precise nature of the lessons that they offer.

New generations of historians began to produce further evidence of high mortality as a direct result of the Black Death, turning the clock back to what was argued by Rogers and Gasquet. Rogers, writing in 1865 in *The Black Death and its Place in History*,[144] had declared the plague was devastating demographically, economically and socially. In 1908, in *The Great Pestilence (now commonly known as The Black Death),* Gasquet[145] stressed the catastrophic effects of the Black Death. In the latter part of the twentieth century, historians began to make full use of advancements in information technology, particularly computers. Improvements in computer speed, memory and storage and the evolution of the database enabled the historian to retain the integrity of the original sources and analyse data easily and quickly. Gottfried, in *The Black Death: Natural and Human Disaster in Medieval* Europe, making full use of computer programming and statistical analysis, arrived at a figure of 40-50 per cent mortality for the Black Death.[146] Horrox, in *The Black Death*, with her survey of contemporary attempts to explain the plague, has provided historians with a rich variety of sources, and with the aid of modern technology, enabled them to construct a more complex view of this crucial period in history and a mortality figure of 47-48 per cent.[147]

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[142] D. Routt, *The Medieval Review* 02.09.32 (2002) 4, Review of Hatcher and Bailey, 'Modelling the Middle Ages'.
[143] F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (California, 1996).
[144] Rogers, 'The Black Death and its Place in History', 191-196.
[145] Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence.*
[146] Gottfried, *The Black Death: Natural and Human Disaster in Medieval Europe*, 162.
[147] Horrox, *The Black Death*, 67.

By the end of the twentieth century, assessments of the mortality in 1348-1349 had been climbing steadily towards the Postan/Titow death rate of 50 to 60 per cent. In 1994 Horrox, following Postan and Titow, believed that the most accurate estimate of the mortality rate in England during the Black Death of 1348-1349 clustered between forty and fifty-five per cent. In other words, nearly half the population died in something like eighteen months.[148] Additionally, Benedictow published in 2004, a somewhat higher figure of 62.5 per cent.[149] According to Benedictow, in England, mainstream scholarly opinion holds that the population was reduced from a pre-plague population of around 6 million to a late medieval population of minimum of 2 – 2.5 million, i.e., a decline of between 58.3 and 66.7 percent. Benedictow then averaged these two figures to finalise a general population mortality figure for England, as a result of the Black Death, of 62.5 percent. For the purposes of this thesis, the impact of the Black Death of 1348-1349 on the mortality of the rural community and the clergy is likely to be in the region of 40-60 per cent. This revised death rate signalled a major shift in attitudes towards the plague and its likely impact but, as Horrox writes, 'it does not mean that the Black Death is about to be re-instated in its old role of an agent of cataclysmic change.'[150] Horrox continued that, as studies of the demographic impact of the major famine in the second half of the fourteenth century have shown, the population, left to itself, could recover rapidly from such disasters. For example, Razi maintained that, although the famine years of 1315-17 brought crisis mortality levels of perhaps 10-15%, this constituted a temporary setback from which the population had been able to recover by the mid-century.[151] Horrox explains that it was only the continuing recurrences of plague which prevented the population from increasing.[152] Given a death rate of one in three, rising to the widely accepted one in two, Horrox felt that some change did occur as a direct result of the first outbreak but that it was, for a time, contained. It was only after two major recurrences of the plague in the 1360s that change became unmanageable so that pressures which can be seen in the 1348-1352 period, became apparent on a far larger scale in the 1370s. Horrox believed that little

[148] Horrox, *The Black Death*, 3.
[149] Benedictow, *Black Death – Complete History*, 382-383.
[150] Horrox, *op. cit*., 236.
[151] Z. Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death in a Mediaeval Parish: Economy, Society and Demography in Halesowen, 1270-1400* (Cambridge, 1980) 94.
[152] Horrox, *op. cit*., 12.

changed in the short-term, wages remained at pre-plague levels, prices did not fall and vacant land holdings soon found takers. According to Horrox, it was only in the mid-1370s that changes became perceptible, wages rose, holdings stood empty and landlords lost interest in the direct cultivation of their estates – 'harbingers of an economic malaise which was to last into the fifteenth century'.[153] Therefore, although there was a shift in attitude in respect of the revised death rate, the discussions of medieval historians over the last sixty years or so have drawn attention to many other elements. The result of this has been that the Black Death can no longer be viewed as the sole cataclysmic force of change. As Horrox puts it 'there is now perceptible impatience with attempts to fit the fourteenth century into the straight jacket of a single fatal flaw.'[154] Consequently, modern medieval historians have become adept at explaining why Black Death mortality had a smaller impact on the economy.

The most sustained challenge to Postan's work came from historians questioning the representative nature of the data that stressed declining productivity, especially declining productivity in arable farming, as the brake on economic development that the population-resources model implied. The work of Campbell has been particularly important in this respect. He showed what could be achieved by studying a region, rather than an estate, and increasingly proved the value of large computerised data sets. He demonstrated how, in East Anglia, agricultural practice was different in almost every respect from that of the Winchester estates.[155] He also queried the extent to which productivity trends on large demesne manors like those of the Winchester estate were characteristic of the much smaller holdings of peasant families. His work has suggested that the low and declining yields of the Winchester estate could not be generalised to English agriculture generally.[156] Campbell's paper defines clearly the considerations to bear in mind when using the rolls as evidence for anything other than regional studies. Arthur's conclusion to her study of 18 Hampshire manors, as already discussed, that the sheer size of the Winchester Diocese with 57 manors and 8

[153] Horrox, *op. cit*., 232.
[154] Horrox, *Black Death*, 236.
[155] B. M. S. Campbell, 'Agricultural Progress in Medieval England: Some Evidence from Eastern Norfolk', *Economic History Review*, Series 2, Issue 36 (1983) 26-46.
[156] Campbell, 'A Unique Estate and a Unique Source: The Winchester Pipe Rolls in Perspective', 21-43.

boroughs spread across 7 counties, meant that no two manors were alike and that there were a range of effects of the Black Death which varied from manor to manor.[157] Levett's original study highlighted the 'partial and irregular character of the visitation of the Black Death' and declared 'there is evidence of severe evanescent effects and temporary changes into a rapid return to the *status quo* of 1348'.[158] More recently, Stone's study of Fenland economy, in the immediate aftermath of the Black Death, disputes whether the economy continued to be disrupted in the years that followed. Accounts for Fenland manors suggest that the Bishop of Ely and his officials experienced fewer problems in filling tenant land that had been vacated as a result of the Black Death. Stone concludes that 'the demographic and economic impact of the Black Death must have varied from one locality to another'.[159]

The variance found by the above historical studies has engendered the regional focus adopted by this thesis. This consists of the comparison of the impact of the Black Death on the rural community of six selected Somerset and six selected North Hampshire manors of the Winchester Diocese. This is followed by a comparison with the 'Clergy Experience' of the same case-study manors of the Winchester Diocese. Further comparison is also made with studies of the impact of the Black Death completed on other areas of medieval England. The sharp focus of the regional case-studies enables local peculiarities to complement and add to the overarching focus of the area/national studies.

2.8 The Black Death and the Peasant Land Market

In the latter part of the twentieth century historians also began to focus on the peasant land market as an integral part of the local economy and society. By examining the effects of the Black Death on the land market patterns, studies began to provide insight into the timing of the changing nature of the bond between land and family, as well as the influence of both regional and local factors. This area of interest was brought to the fore in 1953 by Hilton in *Gloucester Abbey leases of the*

[157] Arthur, *The Impact of the Black Death on Seventeen Units of Account of the Bishopric of Winchester*, 262.
[158] Levett, 'The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester, 142.
[159] D. Stone, 'The Black Death and its immediate aftermath: Crisis and Change in the Fenland Economy, 1346-53' in M. Bailey and S. Rigby (eds.) *Town and Countryside in the Age of the Black Death* (Begijnhof, Belgium, 2011) 230.

thirteenth century,[160] who discovered that villeins were leasing lands from Gloucester Abbey. In 1960, Brooke and Postan produced for the Northamptonshire Record Society a collection of charters and other documents relating to the twelfth and thirteenth century land holdings of Peterborough Abbey.[161] This unique work, the *Carte Navitorum*, included a clear account of the manuscript by Brooke, who also provided an English abstract of each document. The analysis was provided by Postan, who found that an active peasant land market existed at that time. Postan also found that it was not merely the wealthier peasants who engaged in such transmissions but also the 'small men' or sub-tenants of the peasant tenants.

As a result, a number of detailed local and regional surveys were subsequently undertaken by other historians. Faith's study of the fourteenth and fifteenth century land market on nine manors in Berkshire and one in Wiltshire found that, after the Black Death, there was a fundamental shift in the manner in which peasants transferred land. With more land now available, 'sons no longer had to wait to step into their father's shoes as there were vacant tenements and odd pieces of land available to them.'[162] Razi's work on family structure at Halesowen in Worcestershire, *Life, marriage and death in a mediaeval parish: economy, society and demography in Halesowen 1270-1400*, showed, after the Black Death, an increasing involvement of more distant relatives in the network of family land transfers, i.e., the bond between land and family was less visible.[163] However, in providing a counter argument to the role of the Black Death, Hyams, in *The origins of a peasant land market in England*, argued that the peasant land market first developed in East Anglia and Kent in the early thirteenth century and Slota in *Law, land transfer, and lordship on the estates of St Albans Abbey in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries*, looked at the way manorial courts of St. Albans Abbey accommodated the growing number of land transfers.[164] These aforementioned

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[160] R. H. Hilton, 'Gloucester Abbey leases of the late thirteenth century', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal,* No.4 (1953) 11-13.
[161] C. N. L. Brooke and M. M. Postan (eds.), *Carte navitorum: a Peterborough Abbey cartulary of the fourteenth century* (Northampton, 1960) xxviii.
[162] R. J. Faith, 'Berkshire: fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', in P.D.A. Harvey (ed.), *The Peasant Land Market in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1984) 106-107.
[163] Z. Razi, *Life, marriage and death in a mediaeval parish: economy, society and demography in Halesowen* 76-97.
[164] P. R Hyams, 'The origins of a peasant land market in England', *Economic History Review,* 2nd series, No.23 (1970), 18-31 and L. A. Slota, 'Law, land transfer and lordship on the

studies were dependent on the chance survival of complete series of manorial court rolls, the fewer the gaps the more likely we are to gain an accurate picture of the manor's peasantry and their transactions. However, one study stood out as being on a far larger scale than any of the previous work on this topic and owed nothing to court rolls. The investigation of the land market on the estates of the medieval bishops of Winchester was based on the bishops' estate accounts, the Winchester Pipe Rolls. In Mullen and Britnell's study, *Land and Family: Trends and local variations in the peasant land market on the Winchester Bishopric Estate, 1263-1415*, using entry fines details from the years 1262-1415, 60,000 fines were analysed to provide insight into the development of the peasant land market.[165] The results, particularly in relation to the effects of the Black Death, showed a clear accumulation of holdings became common after the population collapse, leading to a widening gap between those peasants who did and those who did not accumulate land, even if some tenants reduced their holdings at a later date. There was also a growing tendency for land to move outside the immediate family, especially in the post Black Death decades so that holdings on the Winchester estate became viewed less as hereditary family resources and more as marketable assets.[166] Whilst Winchester land markets cannot be expected to offer a representative picture of the land market for the whole of England, they were sufficiently scattered across a wide range of different environments to enable analysis of interregional differences to be made. They certainly add to historians' knowledge of medieval rural society and the ways in which tenant landholders dealt with their most important asset. Mullen and Britnell's study again shows the importance of the Winchester pipe rolls in providing a wealth of information concerning varying aspects of medieval manor life, in this case, the peasant land market on the Winchester estate, the process of the acquisition and disposal of customary land.

estates of St. Albans Abbey in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, *Law and History Review,* No.6 (1988) 121-138.

[165] J. Mullen and R. Britnell, *'*Land and Family: Trends and local variations in the peasant land market on the Winchester Bishopric Estate, 1263-1415', *Studies in Regional and Local History,* Volume 8 (Hatfield, 2010) xiv.

[166] Mullen and Britnell, *'Land and Family: Trends and local variations in the peasant land market on the Winchester Bishopric Estate, 1263-1415'*, 82-83.

2.9 The Black Death and Manor Court Evidence

Another area that developed into the twenty first century has been the use of manor court evidence. Unfortunately, for the years of this thesis, 1345-1352, no manor court rolls, apart from Hambledon, for Winchester diocese estates, have survived. However, exceptionally in the Winchester Pipe Rolls, under the heading *Perquisites* the fines exacted by the manor court were recorded, with lists of individual payments.[167] The sum total of fines was recorded at the end of the sub-section.[168] Where no details are provided, it was because they would have involved duplication of the court rolls. The manor court governed those areas over which the lord of the manor had jurisdiction. It applied only to those who resided on or held lands within the manor. In the Winchester diocese and other areas of England, the manor court met regularly, depending on the jurisdiction, and dealt with such items as land transfers, managing the open fields, settling disputes between individuals and manorial offences.[169] Most importantly, court rolls provided customary tenants with evidence of title, so it was in the interest of the heir or new tenant to have it properly registered following a death, However, it was also in the interest of the lord as it registered the collection of the entry fines. Historical documentation of changes in the medieval period has always been difficult for historians, partly because it was impossible to identify precisely the vast majority of peasants in a particular locality.

The use of manorial court records to study demography and social interrelationships among medieval English peasantry was pioneered by Raftis in his early 1960s study, *Tenure and Mobility: Studies in the Social History of the Medieval English Village*.[170] Through painstaking study of the manorial court rolls and other little-used local records, Raftis worked to uncover the life activities of individual peasants. His work attracted many able and enthusiastic students who became known collectively as 'The Toronto School'. Historians, such as Razi, in *Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish: Economy, Society and Demography in*

[167] 11M59/B1/58.6, m3. For the entry for Holway (Somerset) for the year 1301-1302 under the heading of *Perquisites*, 96 separate items are recorded for a total of £45 6s. 1d.
[168] 11M59/B1/156, m3. The entry for Nailsbourne (Somerset) for the year 1409-1410 under the heading of *Perquisites of Court* reads 'And for 2s. 8d. from the *perquisites* of the tourn of Martinmas (11 November)'.
[169] P. D. A. Harvey, *Manorial Records* (London, 1999).
[170] A. Raftis, *Tenure and Mobility: Studies in the Social history of the medieval English Village*, (Toronto, 1964).

Halesowen,[171] inspired by the work of Raftis and his 'Toronto School', realised that, because it was very likely that the member of a manor, probably an adult male or, less frequently, female, would appear in the manor court roll at some time, it would be possible to reconstruct the tenant population of that manor on the basis of the manor court rolls. Using a process of nominal listing and linkage Razi was able to establish the identity of the total landholding population in Halesowen. Razi was fortunate that in Halesowen he was able to use an exceptionally complete set of court rolls covering the period 1270-1400. Razi gives the example of the name 'Richard le Bond' which appears in the court rolls twenty-five times and, therefore, a detailed history of him could be constructed.[172] Though he still had the problem of people who were too poor or destitute not appearing in the rolls and, tenants who did appear, may have transferred their land when sick or they decided to retire, that is, they had not actually died, Razi was able to identify members of the village and construct biographies for each individual.[173] Using this method Razi has been able to reveal precise data about life expectancy, the size of families and the age distribution of the male population during the Black Death. Razi has been criticised, particularly by Poos and Smith, in 'Legal Windows onto Historical Population', concerning the limitations of manorial court records and the validity of some of Razi's demographic inferences.[174] In order to establish the total population of a village there is a need to identify non-landholders and establish linkages with landholders. This involves a large group of about forty per cent of families. However, in defence of his research methods, Razi, in 'The Use of Manorial Court Rolls in Demographic Analysis: A Reconsideration', has explained that, whilst manor court rolls on their own may not permit a total demographic reconstruction of the communities from which they were derived, they are worth considering as an alternative or an additional source of information for the demographic analysis of an area.[175]

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[171] Z. Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish: Economy, Society and Demography in Halesowen, 1270-1400* (Cambridge, 1980)
[172] Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish*, 13-15.
[173] *Ibid.,* 76-97.
[174] L. R. Poos and R. M. Smith, '" Legal Windows onto Historical Population", Recent Research on Demography and Manor Court in Medieval England', *Law and History Review*, 2 (1984) 128-52.
[175] Z. Razi, 'The Use of Manorial Court Rolls in Demographic Analysis: A Reconsideration', *Law and History Review* 3 (1985) 191-200.

A recent notable study that utilised manorial court records to gain valuable insight into various aspects of the daily lives of the medieval English peasantry has been completed by Briggs.[176] He set out to explore and compare the rural credit market in five different Cambridgeshire manors. By examining and analysing in detail the various private lawsuits concerning debts brought into the manorial court, Briggs was able to offer unparalleled insights into how peasants dealt with debt and credit in their communities. He succeeded in painting a positive picture of the role of credit in medieval villages. However, Briggs does not see the credit market simply as a symbol of economic crisis, instability or dearth. Instead, he reveals a very resilient and flexible credit market, adaptable to local circumstances and not easily disrupted.[177] Despite some local differences in the extent to which villagers were involved, Briggs found that generally lending and borrowing were widespread. However, the frustrating limitations of the available resources, a common problem with manor court records, restricted the examination of the lengths of the loan term or the duration of the credit arrangements.[178] A number of interesting case studies with loan terms ranging from one day to one year are included by Briggs. Whilst more details of individual cases would have been preferable, as Müller opines in her review,[179] Briggs is very cautious in pointing out that there is little direct correlation between the size of the debt and the level of compensation raised. However, it is notable that Briggs maintained that, in many cases, creditors did not demand or exact the damages awarded to them by the court.[180]

The role of land and lease holding in rural credit relationships was also examined by Briggs.[181] He suggests that the leasing of land was sometimes used to secure loans. Unfortunately, the limitations of the court rolls preclude knowledge of how many and how often this occurred. Briggs confirmed that most credit in villages was given on a short term basis, usually for less than a year, while land was used only occasionally as security for credit arrangements. Briggs shows the peasantry as resilient and intelligent and he keenly rejects their status as 'victims'. One does not have to view the peasantry as helplessly subjugated, and his section on women

[176] C. Briggs, *Credit and Village Society in Fourteenth Century England* (Oxford, 2009).
[177] *Ibid*., 15.
[178] C. Briggs, *Credit and Village Society in Fourteenth Century England,* 71-72.
[179] M. Müller, Review of *Credit and Village Society in Fourteenth Century England*, http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/835 (November, 2009) 155-157.
[180] Briggs, *Credit and Village Society* in Fourteenth Century England, 77.
[181] *Ibid*., 90.

in the credit market is a very welcome addition to the increasing interest in the role of women in credit relationships.[182] Overall, as Müller maintains, Briggs' study, and the use of manor court rolls, is a welcome addition to a growing body of works dealing with the nature of rural society in late medieval England.[183] It is also of great interest to those concerned with the social and economic history of rural communities in the pre-modern era.

It is unfortunate, as stated above, that manor court rolls do not exist for the manors of Somerset and North Hampshire of the Winchester Diocese selected for this thesis during the years of 1345-1352. However, 'Fines of the Manor Court', shown as *Perquisites* in the Winchester Pipe Rolls, are used as an alternative. The fines (profits) of the court are usually entered as a total amount and no details are given, presumably as this would have involved duplication of the court rolls. According to Hall, the practice of copying the court rolls on to the pipe roll had nearly ceased by 1301.[184] Whilst these limitations will preclude this aspect of this thesis matching Razi's achievements outlined above, nevertheless, research of *Perquisites*, 'Fines of the manor court', enables aspects of the development of jurisdiction on the Diocese of Winchester's Taunton and North Hampshire manors to be studied and analysed. For example, the *Perquisites* entry for Holway, Taunton, for the year 1348-9 shows the amount of £4.8s.6d, the lowest enter shown for the years 1345-1352. Likewise, the *Perquisites* entry for Crawley, Winchester, for the year 1348-9 shows the amount of 8s.8d, also the lowest amount for the years 1345-1352. This would appear to show the effect of the Black Death on the rural community and the jurisdiction process. Without this research and analysis aspect of the accounting system, a gap in our knowledge of this part of medieval history would exist.

Another study demonstrating skilful use of primary source material concerning a local area was conducted by Poos in *Rural Society after the Black Death: Essex 1350-1525*. Rather than just use fiscal evidence Poos researched records of tithing groups, depositions at ecclesiastical tribunals, churching records and records of the court of the King's Bench in his examination of why England experienced a prolonged period of demographic stagnation, consequent on the visitation of the Black Death. Though his study can be criticised for inaccuracies in tithing

[182] *Ibid.,* 114.
[183] Müller, Review of *Credit and Village Society* in Fourteenth Century England, 157.
[184] H. Hall (ed.) *Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1208-9* (London, 1900) xiii.

membership, Poos constructed a convincing argument in favour of the period 1350-1525 being one of a 'transitional nature.'[185] In a period, consequent upon plague outbreaks, which saw reduced population levels and a scarcity of labour leading to high wage levels, which should have encouraged expansion and created opportunities for upward social mobility, instead England experienced a period of prolonged demographic stagnation.[186] Poos has been praised for his use of an unprecedentedly wide range of original manuscript records and his application of current qualitative and comparative demographic methods. However, Poos approach has been criticised by Neville[187] for his use of tithing records that do not truly reflect the decline in 'original' members. This has led to a substantial margin of error and underestimation of the real levels of mortality suffered by the Essex community. In addition, the earliest population lists used by Poos were from 1351, some two to five years after the Black Death, during which time much could have changed. Nonetheless, Poos is to be commended for the addition of these types of source materials to the more traditional records of poll taxes, subsidies and manorial courts, serving as a reminder that studies of demographic continuity and change should not be confined to examination of the fiscal evidence generated by the economic forces that shaped medieval England.[188]

In a more recent study, Sapoznik, in 'The productivity of peasant agriculture: Oakington, Cambridgeshire, 1360-1399', used manor court rolls and tithe accounts effectively to research the productivity of Oakington in Cambridgeshire.[189] By demonstrating that productivity of peasant arable land was substantially higher than that achieved on the demesne Sapoznik clearly showed that the flexible farming arrangements allowed in that area helped to increase the productivity. As mentioned above, whilst no manor court records are available for the Winchester estate during the time period of this thesis, 1345-1352, the summaries of fines and rents, marriage fines, entry fines and land transfers contained in the pipe rolls, provide an alternative and rich source of information allowing tenant conditions on the Winchester estates to be traced over those years. These can then be compared

[185] L. R. Poos, *Rural Society after the Black Death: Essex 1350-1525* (Cambridge, 1991) 299.
[186] Ibid., 292-293.
[187] *Ibid*., Review by C. J. Neville in *Speculum*, Vol.69, No.2 (Apr. 1994) 551-553.
[188] *Ibid*., 553.
[189] A. Sapoznik, 'The productivity of peasant agriculture: Oakington, Cambridgeshire, 1360-1399', *Economic History Review,* No.62, Vol. 2 (2013) 518-544.

with the studies outlined above, the medieval estate of the Winchester diocese having been researched and studied by a number of historians.[190] In addition, major studies of large estates other than Winchester, have ensured that the attention of historians have been drawn to other collections of estate material, for example, Dyer on the bishopric of Worcester, Harvey on Westminster Abbey, Hatcher on the Duchy of Cornwall, Kershaw on Bolton Priory, King on Peterborough Abbey, Miller on the bishopric of Ely and Raftis on Ramsay Abbey.[191] These studies also provide a useful means of comparison for this thesis and have prevented, as Lipson asserted, 'a generalisation for the country as a whole from the limited evidence of the Winchester estate, which is not valid for other estates.'[192]

2.10 Conclusion

This extensive historiographical review has revealed the many diverse areas of debate and discussion entered upon by medieval historians in relation to the Black Death. In terms of the narrative and rationale for this thesis, the literature review has shown how the work of this thesis can contribute and stretch some of the above debates further. Overall, whilst at the present time, there appears to be a consensus of opinion amongst historians that the demographic effects of the Black Death were very severe and far-reaching, and, whilst a number of studies have involved the use of the Winchester Pipe Rolls, there is still plenty of room for further research. In the absence of Manor Court Rolls for the period of the Black Death and the limited details of the *Perquisites* (Fines) sections of the Winchester Pipe Rolls, the focus of this thesis is on the sections of the pipe rolls headed *Defectus*

[190] M. W. Beresford, 'The Six New Towns of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1200-1255', 187-215; G. H. Drury, 'Crop Failures on the Winchester Manors, 1232-1349', 401-418; J. Z. Titow, 'Evidence of Weather in the Account Rolls of the Bishopric of Winchester 1209-1350', 360-407; D. L. Farmer, 'Woodland and Pasture Sales on the Winchester Manors in the Thirteenth Century: Disposing of a Surplus or Producing for the Market?' 132-193 and M. M. Postan and J. Z. Titow, with statistical notes by J. Longden, 'Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors', 392-417.

[191] C. Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society: The estates of the Bishopric of Worcester, 680-1540* Cambridge, 1980); B. F. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1977); J. Hatcher, *Rural Economy and Society in the Duchy of Cornwall, 1300-1500* (Cambridge, 1970), I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory: The Economy of a Northern Monastery, 1286-1325* (Oxford, 1973); E. King, *Peterborough Abbey, a Study in the Land Market* (Cambridge, 1973); E. Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely: The Social and Economic History of an Ecclesiastical Estate from the Tenth Century to the Early Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1951) and J. A. Raftis, *The Estates of Ramsey Abbey: A Study in Economic Growth and Organisation* (Toronto, 1957).

[192] E. Lipson, 'The Black Death', *Economic Journal*, 27 (1917) 83.

(Defaults), *Defectus per Pestilentiam* (Defaults due to the Pestilence), *Fines et Maritagia* (Fines and Marriages and *Herietti* (Heriots). With the use of technology, not available to historians of former generations and the aid of population multipliers developed by Krause and Russell, Black Death mortality rates for six selected Somerset and six selected North Hampshire case-study manors are calculated. A comparison of the impact of the Black Death on the rural communities of the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors is then undertaken. Using the register of Bishop Edington, mortality rates for the clergy of the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors are calculated. This enables a comparison of the rural community and the 'Clergy Experience' of the Black Death on the selected manors to be undertaken. This is followed by a comparison with the Winchester Diocese as a whole. In addition, further comparison is made with historical studies of the impact of the Black Death on other dioceses and areas of medieval England. The sharp focus of regional case studies enables local peculiarities to complement and add new insights to the overarching focus of area/national studies. The use of technology to research the Winchester Pipe Rolls for the years 1345-1352, and Bishop Edington's Registers for the years 1346-1360, as well as a range of primary and secondary evidence, and comparison with previous studies undertaken on other dioceses, enable this thesis to show that the Black Death had a devastating effect on the rural community as well as the clergy.

CHAPTER THREE

THE IMPACT OF THE BLACK DEATH (1348-49) ON THE RURAL COMMUNITY OF THE WINCHESTER DIOCESE

This chapter addresses the impact of the Black Death 1348-1349 on the rural community of the Winchester Diocese through a comparison of six Taunton and six North Hampshire manors during the years 1345-1352. Data collected from the Winchester Pipe Rolls under the main sub-headings of *Default through the Plague*, *Fines and Marriages, Heriots*, *Arrears*, *Rents of Assize and Default of Rent*, enable in-depth analysis of these different aspects of the life courses of the rural communities of the selected manors to be made.[1] To facilitate the comparison of these aspects, a group of six Somerset manors, namely, Bishop's Hull, Holway, Nailsbourne, Poundisford, Rimpton and Stapleford, lying in the area called 'Taunton Deane', have been selected. This group of manors, clustered around the main town of Taunton have been chosen because their economic conditions are fairly uniform and, apart from Rimpton, which is situated to the east of Taunton on the Somerset/Dorset border, they are, for the most part, contiguous. The six North Hampshire manors selected, namely, Bentley, Burghclere, Crawley, Highclere, North Waltham and Overton are likewise contiguous and uniform. They lie within a few miles of Winchester on the neighbouring downlands and in the valley of the River Test.[2]

In the comparisons made of the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors in this thesis, emphasis is placed on the local *pays* or region. The concept of *pays* was developed by Thirsk as a striking feature of her treatment of agricultural regions. However, the character of a place was determined not only by the physical environment but also the responses to it, over many generations, of individual communities. This can only be described as a complex and diverse process.[3] No two villages follow exactly the same route or chronology to their final form. Historians who seek to understand past landscapes and their development are only too aware of the fragmentary nature of the available evidence on which they must base their conclusions as to why different communities developed alternative

[1] Note: A full description of the Winchester Pipe Rolls has already been included in the Introduction to this thesis.
[2] See Appendix C – 'The Estate of the Bishopric of Winchester, c.1300'.
[3] Jones and Page, *Medieval Villages in an English Landscape: Beginnings and Ends*, 5, 15.

forms of communal living: the nucleated village, the dispersed settlement, the hamlet and the farmstead.[4]

Thirsk's map of 'Farming Regions'[5] shows the area of the six selected Somerset manors in 'Mixed Farming, Type B' region or *pays* which is 'Corn and stock variously combined (in clay vales)'. The six selected North Hampshire manors are shown in 'Mixed Farming, Type A', a different region or *pays*, categorised as 'Sheep and corn (on downland, wolds and breckland). There is a great contrast in the landscape of the rich farmlands of the vales of Taunton Deane, i.e., the six selected Somerset manors and, in comparison, the relatively poor acid soils of the chalk downlands of the six selected North Hampshire manors. The main focus of chapter three of this thesis is to assess the impact of the Black Death on these two contrasting landscape regions. A further comparison is then made with the wider context of other previous studies completed on the Black Death, for example, Levett, Robo, Postan and Titow, Arthur as well as Mullen and Britnell.[6]

The demesne manors at Taunton were re-organised by the year 1308 into an arrangement of five larger manors.[7] The new manors reflected the topography of the landscape with Nailsbourne lying towards the Quantock Hills. Poundisford, situated under the Blackdown Hills, incorporated nearby Corfe into a new, larger manor. In the centre, Holway and Staplegrove, south and north of Taunton and the River Tone respectively, remained unchanged. The lands of Trull were added to Bishop's Hull to form another new manor south-west of Taunton. The inclusion of Rimpton[8] in the Hundred of Taunton Deane was principally for administrative convenience. Its remoteness from Winchester and comparative proximity to Taunton aided its inclusion. The short distance of six miles from Ilchester, the ancient county capital, Rimpton provided a temporary but convenient residence for

[4] *Ibid*., 222, 242, 243.
[5] See Appendix E – Thirsk's Farming Regions.
[6] P. A. Arthur, *The Impact of the Black Death on Seventeen Units of Account of the Bishopric of Winchester*, Unpublished PhD Thesis (University of Winchester, 2005); A. E. Levett, 'The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester, in P. Vinogradoff (ed.) *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History, Vol. V* (Oxford, 1916) 1-180; E. Robo, *Everyday life in an Episcopal Manor* (Langham, 1935); J. Mullen and R. Britnell, *Land and Family: Trends and local variations in the peasant land market on the Winchester Bishopric Estates, 1263-1415* (Hatfield, 2010); M. M. Postan and J. Z. Titow, 'Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors', *Economic History Review,* Vol.II, Issue 3 (1958) 393-39.
[7] See Appendix F – The Five Taunton Manors, 1283-1348.
[8] See Appendix C – The Estate of the Bishopric of Winchester c.1300.

the Bishop of Winchester's officers during assize periods. In addition, its value as a resting place only a day's ride from Taunton enabled the Bishop's officers to spend the night there on their journeys to and from Winchester. Lying in the south east corner of Somerset on the border with Dorset, Rimpton was described 'small and simple'[9] but, as later in this chapter will show, Rimpton's economic performance was unusual and exceptional.

These five manors selected for this thesis formed a major part of the region known as the Vale of Taunton Deane. This region was both among the most valuable of the bishopric of Winchester's possessions and one of the largest manorial units in medieval England. The demesne lands were of exceptional size and, taking advantage of the good quality soil, one of the most dedicated to arable production, cropping about 1,400 acres around the year 1300.[10] However, distance from Winchester posed significant management problems for the administration of the bishopric. Distance precluded the Taunton manors, like the smaller demesne of Rimpton from contributing much to consumption requirements but the production from sale alternative was faced by a relatively limited regional market for grain.[11] Unfortunately, the Great Famine and Agrarian Crisis of the second decade of the fourteenth century resulted in the sown area of the Taunton manors being reduced to about 800 acres. Perhaps this reduction was influenced by a combination of decreased demand and a policy shift that place greater emphasis on money rents. Thus the average net yield per hundred acres for all crops for the Taunton manors and Rimpton for the years 1283-1348 show that the scale of production had declined significantly from its early thirteenth century peak.[12]

The Taunton manors output was more or less identical to Rimpton which was cultivated similarly with a 3-course rotation of wheat, oats and fallow. It is surprising that identified variation in soil quality did not influence crop selection across the selected manors more strongly. There were minor variations, for example at Nailsbourne where a little less wheat was grown in favour of some rye,

[9] T. J. Hunt (ed.), 'The Medieval Customs of the Manors of Taunton and Bradford on Tone, *Somerset Record Society, Vol. LXVI* (Frome, 1962) lxiv.
[10] M. Page (ed.) 'The Pipe Roll of the Bishop of Winchester 1301-2, *Hampshire Record Series Vol XIV* (Winchester, 1996) xxii.
[11] C. C. Thornton, 'The level of arable productivity on the bishopric of Winchester's manor of Taunton, 1283-1348' in R. Britnell (ed.) *The Winchester Pipe Rolls and medieval English society* (Woodbridge, 2003) 110.
[12] *Ibid*., 115.

a less soil-demanding winter-sown crop. However, these variations did not obscure the homogenous character of crop choice and rotation of the Taunton manors.[13] In contrast to parts of Kent, Sussex and Norfolk, there was no concerted effort at Taunton to sow legumes to increase the cropped area or to feed livestock. This was a method medieval farmers used to compensate for a more demanding cropping regime than soils would normally allow but their full benefit was never exploited fully by the Taunton manors.[14]

The six selected Somerset manors remained wedded to the serf-based production system outlined above but there is also much evidence that the bishopric had developed into one of the most commercially orientated of landlords. Grain consumption demands were insignificant, allowing more than three quarters of the annual harvest of both wheat and oats to be sold during the years 1283-1348, the wheat as a bread grain and the oats for malting as well as for fodder. It is also clear that the bishopric disposed of a substantial part of Taunton's grain without recourse to formal marketing. A manorial custom obliged customary tenants to buy much of the corn that they had personally threshed. Between 1283 and 1348 approximately 28 per cent of Taunton's wheat and about 86 per cent of oats was bought in this manner by Taunton manors customary tenants.[15] This type of institutionally determined disposal significantly interrupted the connection between demand, prices and production. The management strategy to which Bishops of Winchester long adhered thus seems to have been to exploit customary labour to engage in large scale commercial production for cash.[16] Despite fluctuations, there was immense profitability to be had from the Taunton manors and the administration in Taunton continued to send enormous cash liveries to Winchester. These averaged over £650 in the second half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth century, perhaps representing about 15 per cent of the bishopric's total cash income.[17] The Taunton manors must have rated at that time as one of the single, largest and most lucrative manorial units in England. It is evident that the bishopric's exploitation of its agrarian assets could be financially

[13] *Ibid*., 121-122.
[14] *Ibid*., 123.
[15] T. J. Hunt, 'The Medieval Customs of the Manors of Taunton and Bradford on Tone, xxxi.
[16] B. M. S. Campbell, 'Measuring the Commercialisation of Seigneurial Agriculture c.1300' in R. H. Britnell and B. M. S. Campbell (eds.), *A Commercialising Economy: England 1086 to c.1300* (Manchester, 1995) 132.
[17] M. Page (ed.) 'The Pipe Roll of the Bishop of Winchester 1301-2, xxii.

rewarding even when the policies adopted led to a comparatively low level of productivity.[18]

In contrast, the six North Hampshire manors[19] selected for detailed analysis and comparison with the six Somerset manors, formed part of the mixed farming Type A *pays* or region for sheep and corn (on downland, wolds and brackland) (see Appendix E). The six selected manors lay in and adjacent to the long settled band of chalk which dominate the agriculture and landscape of North Hampshire. The manors of Highclere, Burghclere and Bentley were situated on the northern downlands whilst Crawley and Overton were situated near the richer, more fertile chalkland valleys near Winchester, leaving North Waltham in the poor chalkland plateau area north of Basingstoke. Settlements in the region were nucleated and tended to concentrate along the river valleys that dissected it or along the chalk escarpments. In the river valleys estates, tithings and parishes tended to be long and thin, running back from the valley. This gave each settlement a portion of the available types of land: meadow, well-drained land at the springline for settlement, heavier more fertile soils, thinner arable soils and the downland pastures. Each was an integral part of the economy of the settlement. Sheep produced wool and meat but they also generated and spread manure, which helped to enhance the arable yields. Thus downland and arable were mixed in an integration of arable and pastoral farming.[20] As described by Leland 'This was sheep-corn country *par excellence* with arable on the hill as well as in the valleys but also with great flocks of sheep.'[21]

Mixed farming dominated Hampshire agriculture but in North Hampshire it was characterised by great flocks of sheep. These chalklands of North Hampshire were among the greatest wool-producing areas in the country and possessed some of the largest known flocks in England. Up to the year 1300 the bishopric maintained well over 20,000 sheep, including individual flocks of over 1,000 sheep at Crawley

[18] C. C. Thornton, 'The Level of Arable Productivity on the Bishopric of Winchester's Manor of Taunton, 1283-1348' 137.
[19] See Appendix G – The Six Selected North Hampshire Manors.
[20] J. Hare, 'Demesne Agriculture in Medieval Hampshire', *The Agricultural History Review*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (2006) 191.
[21] L. Toulmin Smith (ed.), *Itinerary I of John Leland in or about the years 1535-143* (London, 1906) 247.

and Overton.[22] Though North Waltham's flocks of sheep were not one of the largest bishopric flocks, they did have some significance. Flock numbers fluctuated as flock sizes could be affected by disease, management decisions and even the death of the bishop. Flock sizes at North Waltham averaged over 400 up to 1270 but fell thereafter. In the second quarter of the fourteenth century, flocks averaged as low as 100 and there were times when North Waltham appears to have lacked a residential flock, for example 1282-7, 1321-3 and 1329-41.[23] In Hampshire, flocks were run on an inter-manorial basis and transfers of sheep were common. Although such movements may have been very localised, for example between Highclere and Burghclere, transfers further afield have been recorded between Marwell, Twyford, Merdon and Crawley.[24] As was usual on many chalkland estates, the wool was pooled and sold separately. In the case of Crawley, some of the Lord's wool was purchased by local Winchester wool dealers. However, most of the wool was sold in bulk, for example, in 1326, to foreign merchants of Perugia or to London merchants. From 1337 the wool was sent to Wolvesey Castle in Winchester, there to be marketed through a central selling agency.[25]

Marketing of produce was important to the medieval economy. By the early thirteenth century bailiff, reeves and estate officials had a number of ways to market their surplus produce. One route alluded to above was through direct sales to the lord's tenants and other villagers or to travelling wholesalers like wool merchants and cornmongers. Another route was to despatch surplus products to a regular market nearby. In the case of the North Hampshire manors, Basingstoke had a thriving market since the Domesday Book.[26] Also, from the tenth century onwards, Winchester, as one of the centres of the woollen cloth industry, as well as the centre of government, church life and culture, held an important market in the centre of town serving, for example, Crawley.[27] A further outlet was to take surplus produce to one of the great fairs such as St Giles Hill Fair in Winchester. By the eleventh century Winchester held an important fair on St. Giles' Hill over 16

[22] J. Z. Titow, 'Land and Population on the Estates of the Bishop of Winchester, 1209-1350', Table IV, WCL, composite account, 1311 (unpublished PhD thesis University of Cambridge, 1962) 54.
[23] *Ibid*., 46-47.
[24] Hare, 'Demesne Agriculture in Medieval Hampshire', 205.
[25] N. S. B and E. C. Gras, *The Economic and Social History of an English Village (Crawley, Hampshire) A.D. 909-1928* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930) 44.
[26] J. H. Bettey, *Wessex from AD 1000* (Harlow, 1986) 9.
[27] See previous paragraph regarding Crawley and Winchester market.

days from September 1st yielding £163 in the year 1239.[28] Fairs were the occasions for lords to make their purchases rather than sales. The markets in towns and villages provided regular opportunities the staple items of diet, the fairs the chance to buy luxuries and livestock. However, markets and fairs began to decline well before the Black Death, for example, revenues of St. Giles' dropped from about £160 in 1250 to £66 in 1300 and £31 in 1347.[29]

The general trends on the North Hampshire manors reflected what was also happening on the Somerset manors and elsewhere on the bishopric. Titow, who made a detailed study of all the bishopric manors, remarked re all the Hampshire manors that 'reclamation of land was the dominant feature of the thirteenth century and contraction the dominant feature of the period after about 1270'. This decline was typical of general developments on the bishopric estate: when between 1277 and 1333 the total sown acreage fell from 12,000 acres to 7,500 acres.[30] Population growth in the thirteenth century meant that many rural communities were ripe for calamity where marginal lands under the plough could only produce satisfactory crops in favourable years. In most manors, arable land had reached the expansion limit. Even the marshy lands of central Somerset and the ultra-thin soils of the chalk downlands of North Hampshire had been ploughed. The critical years of 1325-22, with bad weather, murrain-infected sheep and cattle and disastrous harvests paved the way for the calamitous years of the Black Death.

The five selected Taunton (Somerset) case-study manors lie adjacent to one another in the Vale of Taunton Deane (see map at Appendix C) with the outlying manor of Rimpton lying some thirty miles distant to the east. Dedicated to arable farming in the rich, fertile soil, these case-study manors consisted of a very large number of smallholdings, many only one or two acres in size. Additionally, there were many tenants in the area living in the area in dispersed farms or small hamlets of roughly five acres. The popularity of the more fertile Taunton (Somerset) manors is reflected in the approximate population for the six selected case-study manors, as shown below in Table 3.9. The closeness of the five selected manors and their

[28] D. L. Farmer, 'Marketing the Produce of the Countryside, 1200-*1500*' in J. Thirsk (Gen. Ed.) and E. Miller (Ed.) *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. III, 1348-1500*, (Cambridge, 1991) 341.
[29] *Ibid*., 345.
[30] J. Z. Titow, Field Crops and their cultivation in Hampshire 1200-1350, in the light of documentary evidence (unpublished paper, Hampshire Record Office) 97M97, C1.

proximity to the major town in the region of Taunton providing an important and accessible outlet for marketing produce, with the considerable density of population, appeared likely to aid the transferability of the Black Death and lead to a high casualty rate.

In contrast, the six selected North Hampshire case-study manors were well spread out in and adjacent to the long band of chalk land which dominated the landscape (see map at Appendix G). Settlements in the region were nucleated and concentrated along the river valleys and chalk escarpments. Mixed farming predominated but North Hampshire was characterised by great flocks of sheep. The individual nature of shepherds meant less contact with other villagers. Though there were ready marketing opportunities in the local markets, for example, Basingstoke, most wool produced was sent to Wolvesley Castle in Winchester to be marketed to foreign buyers, for example, Italian, through a central selling agency. This would also preclude the necessity for locals to visit more populated areas. The relatively lower population size of manors and lower density of population, added to the larger size of tenant holdings, averaging about 40 acres, would suggest that the Black Death would spread less quickly and that casualties in the North Hampshire manors would be less than the Taunton (Somerset) manors.

Having been set in the context of time and place, it is the aim of this chapter to use the Winchester Pipe Rolls, with special focus on the years 1345-52, to study and compare the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors. This enables tenant mortality rates of the rural community to be traced and analysed before, during and after the Black Death, allowing its impact to be clearly shown. This chapter explores the number and proportion of deaths that occurred on each of the selected manors, the evenness of distribution of the mortality rate, the proportion of tenements that passed into the Lord's hands, the extent to which whole families were exterminated and how far the existing population was able to fill up the gaps caused by the numbers deceased tenants. To address these issues, sharp focus is placed on the above-mentioned *Defaults through the Plague*, *Fines and Marriages, Heriots*, *Arrears*, *Rents of Assize and Defaults of Rent* sections of the Pipe Roll accounts. The Black Death's impact is tellingly reflected in the recording of the aforementioned aspects of village economy.

Estimating the population of a manor from the information given in the pipe roll accounts is, however, difficult as the entries do not provide enough information for such a calculation. The accounts are limited to recording events and transactions involving the tenant landholders. Villagers who did not own land or were too poor, as well as children, were not mentioned. To assist in the calculation of the mortality occurring on the selected manors, use will be made of the Lay Subsidy of 1327 which list and name the individuals who paid money to the Crown, in this case King Edward III. Lay Subsidy Rolls recorded details of a tax levied on lay people on their movable property rather than land. The taxes levied between 1334 and 1524 only give the village tax totals so, for the purposes of this thesis, 1332 is the last tax to provide personal information, such as the names of the tenant holders.[31] Historians have long been aware that these Lay Subsidy returns offer only a very limited guide to the population of medieval England 'because of the number of tacit, as well as explicit, exemptions'.[32] However, Nightingale affirms that 'tax lists remain a valuable source of information, especially when they are used in conjunction with other types of record'.[33]

To facilitate the study of mortality evidence relating to the rural community, adapting a method used by Arthur in her study of Winchester manors,[34] the extent of mortality amongst tenement holders can be calculated by recording the names listed in the pipe rolls under the headings: *Defaults through the Pestilence*, *Fines* and *Heriots* for the pre-Black Death year of 1347-48 and the Black Death years of 1348-49 and 1349-50. Whilst acknowledging the existence of different people with the same name, for example, father and son, duplicate names, where they appear, in the *Defects*, *Fines* and *Heriots* sections, are deleted to avoid any misrepresentation of figures. For example, where a tenant is documented as defaulting on their rent and paying a heriot, it is likely that they are one and the same person. Although it is uncertain that all these tenants did die of the Black Death, in this way, a list of those tenants that died during the Black Death years of 1348-49 and 1349-50 can be established. A comparison is then made with the

[31] G. L. Harriss, *King, Parliament and Public Finance in Medieval England to 1369* (Oxford, 1975) 320.
[32] P. Nightingale, 'Lay Subsidies and Distribution of Wealth in Medieval England, 1275-1334', *Economic History Review*, No.57 (2004) 1-32.
[33] *Ibid*., 28.
[34] Arthur, *The Impact of the Black Death on Seventeen Units of Account of the Bishopric of Winchester*, 117.

tenants listed in the pipe rolls for the Black Death years of 1347-48, 1348-49 and 1349-50. Taking into account the average death rate of that time, considered by Benedictow[35] as between 4-5%, a percentage of the tenants who died as a result of the Black Death can then calculated. A comparison between the Somerset and North Hampshire manors is also made to ensure that the impact of the Black Death on different areas of the Winchester Diocese is fully assessed. Finally, a further comparison is made within the context of other known data and studies of the Winchester Diocese completed on the impact of the Black Death, for example by Arthur, Dunlop, Gras and Gras, Levett, Mullan and Britnell, Postan and Titow, Robo.[36] This enables the impact of the Black Death on the rural community of the selected manors of the Winchester Diocese to be clearly shown.

3.1 Mortality

This section of the thesis addresses the thorny question of mortality. Three sub-sections from the Winchester Pipe Rolls 'Defaults', 'Fines' and 'Heriots' are the main focus of this section on mortality. The *Arreragia*, (Arrears) from preceding years, and *Defectus* (Defaults of Rents), which usually occurred through the lack of a tenant or the withdrawal of the tenant, sub-sections are dealt with fully later in this chapter. The *Defectus per Pestilentiam* (Defaults due to the Pestilence) sub-sections of the pipe roll accounts are considered to be the most useful and important item when assessing the impact of the Black Death on the rural community of the Winchester Diocese. 'Fines' are the second area of importance when assessing mortality. These are listed in the pipe roll accounts under the heading of *Fines et Maritagia* (Fines and Marriages). The entry consists of all the normal payments expected of tenants, for example, 'fines on entry upon lands held in villeinage', 'reliefs on entry upon free lands', 'fines on sales between villeins tenants', 'fines on exchanges between villeins', 'fines for inheriting land' and various 'marriage fines'. The rates at which the fines are levied are very variable. There appears to be no support for T. W. Page's assertion that a fine was roughly

[35] O. J. Benedictow, '*The Black Death 1346-1353: The Complete History*, 251.
[36] Arthur, *The Impact of the Black Death on Seventeen Units of Account of the Bishopric of Winchester*; Dunlop, *Pages from the History of Highclere*; Gras, *The Economic and Social History of an English Village (Crawley, Hampshire)*; Levett, 'The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester'; Mullan and Britnell, *Land and Family: Trends and local variations in the peasant land market on the Winchester Bishopric estates*; Postan and Titow, 'Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors'; Robo, *Everyday Life in an Episcopal Manor*.

equivalent to a year's rent.[37] Levett is of the opinion that perhaps each holding had a traditional fine, which bore little relationship to its area.[38] Whatever their origins, they are very useful in providing an insight into those who died from the Black Death. The third area of significance is *Herietti* (Heriots). Heriots were generally paid on the death of the tenant and appear in large numbers in the pipe roll of 1348-49. Payment would usually be in the form of the best live beast or chattel of the deceased tenant, which would then be delivered to the lord. Heriots could also take the form of a monetary payment. In the case of the Somerset and North Hampshire manors selected for this study, they were usually charged at 6d per heriot. Heriots are a good indicator of the number of deaths occurring during the first and subsequent years of the Black Death and, as such, are a valuable source of information for this study. The heriot was a death duty levied on holdings not on persons. Therefore, any attempt to calculate a mortality rate for all the individuals who died of the Black Death is beset with difficulties. For example, if the evidence base was the appearance in the pipe rolls of individual heriot payments, assessment of mortality would be limited to the heads of households who held lands for which a heriot was payable and, as a result, this figure could only be used as evidence for the mortality of adults. Heriots do not record all the deaths of the rural population to which they relate, they do not include the deaths of infants and children but may, as Postan and Titow declare, include a few instances of deaths of boys and girls in their teens.[39] Benedictow is also of the opinion that manorial pipe rolls are inaccurate because they do not record the poor, women or children but only heads of households leading inevitably to an underestimation of mortality.[40]

Therefore, in light of the above, it can be seen that it is almost impossible to arrive at an estimate of the population of a manor from the information given in a pipe roll account. Indeed, Levett believed that it is practically impossible to work out a mortality rate of the Black Death from the pipe rolls. As she herself writes, 'one cannot be very confident'[41] of establishing 'the number of deaths due to the plague'.[42] Levett continues that 'calculations involve a considerable amount of

[37] T. W. Page, *The End of Villeinage in England* (New York, 1900) 28.
[38] Levett, op. cit., 44.
[39] Postan and Titow, 'Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors', 393-4.
[40] Benedictow, *The Black Death – The Complete History 1346-1353*, 375.
[41] Levett, 'The Black Death' 77.
[42] *Ibid.*

supposition, all the figures used are somewhat suspicious and are highly unsatisfactory'.[43] To this negativity Levett adds 'Moreover, extremely little is gained by making out an *average* death-rate. The mortality varied widely, not only from manor to manor, but from tithing to tithing.'[44] Using a method that assumed all tenements were heriotable, Levett declares that 'it is clear that the number of tenements in the lord's hand, plus the number of fines, would give one approximately the number of heriots, and would check the calculation of the number of deaths.'[45] However, as Levett herself admits, 'on some manors one finds this correspondence in figures, but is not to be relied on. Many small tenements did not owe heriots and a tenement consisting entirely of overland did not pay a heriot.'[46] Arthur's analysis of Levett's methodology found that, by ignoring the defaults section of the pipe rolls, Levett's method of mortality under-estimated the mortality rate of the year 1348-49, the first year of the Black Death[47]

Another study that attempted to calculate the number of deaths through the Black Death was made by Robo in relation to the Farnham Hundred. Robo declared, with no parochial registers and no record of burials, 'we do not know what was the population of the Farnham Hundred in 1348' and that 'our figures will be approximate'.[48] However, Robo decided to leave aside the heriots which he believed to bear little or no relation to the number of deaths, deciding instead to use the 'fines' and 'defaults through the plague' sub sections of the pipe roll instead. Robo believed that adding their two figures together would provide a full list of dead tenants. To this total Robo added three more deaths of dependents for each death of a head tenant, similar to Levett, in that every tenant had dependents, many of whom probably died from the Black Death. Arthur found that, as with Levett, Robo under-estimated the mortality rate of the year 1348-49, the first year of the Black Death.[49] It is difficult to see the merit or any semblance of accuracy in the methods used by either Levett or Robo. Levett ignored the large number of 'Defaults in rent due to the Pestilence' (*Defectus per Pestilentiam*), i.e., defaults

[43] Levett, *Op. cit., 81.*
[44] *Ibid.*
[45] Levett, *Op. cit.* 77.
[46] *Ibid.* 80.
[47] Arthur, *The Impact of the Black Death on Seventeen Units of Account of the Bishopric of Winchester,* 117.
[48] Robo, *Everyday Life in an Episcopal Manor*, 210-211.
[49] Arthur, *op. cit.,*117.

from the tenant due to the plague. On the other hand, Robo, whilst taking into account both the defaults arising from the plague and the number of fines, decided to ignore the list of 'Heriots' (*Herietti*). Arthur calculated that Levett's under-estimation was in excess of seventy per cent compared to Robo's under-estimation of over six per cent.[50] These two studies demonstrate the difficulties facing historians in estimating a mortality rate for the first year of the Black Death.

The 1327 Tax Lists for Hampshire and Somerset further demonstrate the difficulty in estimating the population of a medieval manor. The 1327 Tax List is a very limited guide. In the countryside, medieval taxes were based on the value of a family's farm livestock and agricultural produce. In 1327 people with fewer than 10*s*. worth of goods were exempt and across Hampshire, for example, only one quarter to a third of householders paid. Most of the householders named in the tax list were members of the upper and middling ranks of the peasantry, and were probably free or customary tenants holding more than 5 acres of land.[51] Scrutiny of the tax rolls for Somerset[52] and Hampshire[53] confirms the limited nature of these sources. It is difficult to arrive at any accurate estimate of the size of the total population of individual manors using the Tax List data as summarised in Table 3.1 details.

Table 3.1 – Tenant Numbers from 1327 Tax List

Somerset Manors	No.	North Hants Manors	No.
Bishop's Hull	10	Bentley	21
Holway	8	Crawley	28
Nailsbourne	8	Burghclere	20
Poundisford	c.11[54]	Highclere	9
Staplegrove	c.11[55]	North Waltham	10
Rimpton	21	Overton	16

[50] *Ibid*.
[51] Mitchell-Fox and Page (eds.), 'The Hampshire Tax List of 1327', Introduction.
[52] The National Archives: Public Record Office, E179/169/5.
[53] The National Archives: Public Record Office, E179/173/4.
[54] Poundisford is missing from manuscript–mean average of five other manors used = 11.
[55] Staplegrove manuscript is largely illegible–mean average of five other manors used = 11.

Titow considers that this evidence refers to the tenant population only and there are no ways of judging the depth of population behind the tenurial façade.[56] However, Titow continues that the total number of tenants can be calculated from the mid-century custumals which exist for most of the manors on the Bishop of Winchester's estates. Custumals can be defined as 'an early type of survey which consists of a list of the manor's tenants with the customs under which each held his house and lands.'[57] Regrettably, Titow is of the opinion that 'since little or no comparable evidence exists for these manors at other periods, the analysis of these custumals gives a static picture of the peasantry at one point in time only.'[58] On the other hand, it is a good starting point for any enquiry into the life courses of the medieval peasantry. In his study Titow offered the following figures for the tenant population of the following North Hampshire manors, calculated from the custumals for those manors which do have them: Crawley 54, Bentley, Burghclere, Highclere and Overton – no information and North Waltham 42.[59] By way of confirmation of these tenant numbers, Pledge refers to the customary tenants of the manor of Crawley, writing that 'they did not exceed seventy in number of whom not less than twenty-five of them died'[60] in the year 1348-49, the first year of the Black Death. Of the list of twenty-one names listed by Pledge, seven of them appear in the 1327 Hampshire Tax List under Crawley (*Craulye*)[61] and twenty-one are entered in the pipe roll account of 1348-49 for Crawley (*Craule*), as having paid a heriot (beast).[62] Titow completes what he calls 'a very rough guide to the number of customary tenants' which appeared in the pipe roll account of 1376-77 as follows: Bentley 66, Burghclere 69, Highclere 38 and Overton 80.[63] Titow emphasises again that these figures must not be taken too literally, for coming as they do, from a post-Black Death period they can serve as no more than a very rough guide for comparative purposes.[64]

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[56] Titow, *Land and Population on the Bishop of Winchester's Estates, 1209-1350*, (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1962) 95.
[57] National Archives 'Glossary: Manorial Documents' *(http.//www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/mdr/help/mdr/glossary.htm).*
[58] Titow, *Land and Population on the Bishop of Winchester's Estates*, 93
[59] *Ibid*., 96.
[60] F. W. Pledge, *Crawley: Glimpses into the Past of a Hampshire Parish* (Winchester, 1907) 67.
[61] Mitchell-Fox and Page, *The Hampshire Tax List of 1327*, 4.
[62] HRO, 11m/59/B1/102/26.
[63] Titow, *op.cit.*, 101.
[64] Titow, *Land and Population on the Bishop of Winchester's Estates*, 101.

The number of tenants of the six chosen Somerset manors has been estimated from the 'Customs of the manor of Taunton' which form part of a large volume among the 'Egerton MSS 2418' at the British Library, Manuscript Collections. It is described as a 'Register of Inquisitions, customs, services and rents and manors and lands in counties Southampton, Somerset and other counties, belonging to the bishopric of Winchester taken at various times in the 13th and 14th centuries.'[65] No direct mention of the date of the compilation of the Taunton Custumal is given nor has it proved possible by collation with the surviving account rolls to fix a precise date. Evidence from within the Taunton section of the document, with the help of confirmatory references in the accounts, seems to limit the information to a period of about seven years in the middle of the thirteenth century, with 1245 as the earliest possible date and 1252 as the limiting date.[66] Whilst the data from the Taunton custumal appear to be very limited, in that they record a static situation some one hundred years before the Black Death, they do enable a comparison to be made, as shown in Tables 3.2 and 3.3 (below).

The paucity of full and reliable data has meant that it is difficult for medieval historians to be sure, in any one year, of the exact number of tenants residing in any one household. Krause considers that, in medieval population history, where the basic data refer so often to holdings and households, the size of the 'multiplier', traditionally 5, or number of persons per household, is obviously crucial.[67] Needing a multiplier to use in conjunction with the number of landholders listed in the Domesday Book and in the national extents, Russell solved the problem by using a number of old and new methods. Firstly, he argued that the group represented by the landholder was essentially the nuclear family, i.e. husband, wife and children. Secondly, having the figures from the 1377 Poll Tax of the number of persons over the age of 13 years per house, Russell used his life tables to estimate the number of persons who were 13 years old and under. Thirdly, by analysing the relationships between age distribution, age of marriage and the percentage of families headed by women, he arrived at his hypothesis that 3.5 was the average family size.[68]

[65] T. J. Hunt, (ed.), 'The Medieval Customs of the Manors of Taunton and Bradford on Tone', *Somerset Record Society*, Vol. LXVI (Frome, 1962) xiii.
[66] Op. cit*., xiii* - xiv.
[67] J. Krause, 'The Medieval Household: Large or Small?', *The Economic History Review,* New Series, Vol.9, No.3 (1957*)* 420.
[68] Russell, *British Medieval Population*, 22-31.

Krause maintains that, in the construction of life tables and the use of such variables as age distribution and age of marriage, Russell's work, if shown to be valid, possesses empirical and theoretical importance of the first order.[69]

Due to the absence of medieval censuses, historians have often used data from other historical periods to estimate the size of medieval households. For example, Salvioni's study of sixteen nations showed that all but two countries, France and Sweden, had multipliers of 4.4 or more. The overall average for the sixteen countries was 4.6.[70] Whilst nineteenth century data are not necessarily applicable to earlier periods, the fullest body of evidence is provided by Beloch's study of Italy which showed that the size of the multiplier varied from time to time and from place to place. He found that it was about six in 1400-1600 and fell to about five in 1600-1800.[71] In addition, 5.2 persons to the household were indicated by the census for Franche-Comté in 1688.[72] Another set of data indicating that there were about five persons to the household is a United States census for 1790, indicating a household multiplier of 5.7.[73] Finally, Pirenne's study of Ypres showed that the multiplier varied between 3.2 and 4.3 but most important, he found that the size of the multiplier varied inversely with the amount of industrial activity.[74]

Krause points out that, with the exception of Ypres, the data refers to relatively large units and not to isolated localities. Therefore, it minimises the extreme variations to which a small locality would be subject. Krause also notes that the data, including that for the nineteenth century, are likely to understate the truth. For example, 2 or 3 million Americans may have been omitted from the 1940 census.[75] However, Russell, whilst he was aware of data which were inconsistent with his hypothesis, relied heavily on his description of the holding and did not make a strong effort to explain the inconsistency. In discussing the 5.7 multiplier of the United States in 1790, he objected that the population was increasing rapidly and that the houses often contained several families.[76] Kraus rightly countered that

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[69] Krause, *op. cit.*, 430.
[70] G. B. Salvioni, 'Zur Statistiik der Haushaltungen', *Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv*, VI (1898) 197.
[71] K. J. Beloch, *Die Bevölkerungsgeschichte Italiens* (Berlin, 1937) 1, 3.
[72] A. Landry, *Traitéde Demographié* (Paris, 1945) 33.
[73] P. Glick, 'Types of Families: An Analysis of Census Data', *American Siociological Review*, VI (1941) 830-8.
[74] H. Pirenne, *Histoire économique de l'occident médiévale* (Brussels, 1941) 468.
[75] Krause, 'The Medieval Household: Large or Small', 424.
[76] Russell, *British Medieval Population*, 366.

it is the size of the household, not the family which is important in most population history.[77]

In relation to his evidence, Russell's largest body of direct data was provided by the Inquest of Inclosures of 1517. According to Russell, data showed that inclosure had destroyed 146 messuages in Berkshire and Buckinghamshire, a total of 754 inhabitants or 5.2 persons per messuage. Russell pointed out that the holdings of 0-20 acres had an average of about 3.5 persons, hence his 3.5 multiplier. Russell also used some scattered data. He used one chantry return for Tysdale in Suffolk of forty-five households, a count in pre-plague Harlech of eighteen families and the ninth century *Polytyptique* of the Abbot Irminon as support for his 3.5 multiplier.[78] The difficulties of establishing accurate medieval data is highlighted by Russell himself who notes that the data for Tysdale was estimated with no apparent means of testing the evidence's reliability. The sample for Harlech is small and Russell again pointed out its non-typical nature.[79] As for the *Polytyptique*, Krause considers that analysis has shown that the average number of children per family was below that for similar materials for other areas and that children of under thirteen years of age were probably omitted.[80]

Russell regarded the 1377 Poll Tax data, from which, with the aid of modified life tables for 1348-75, he obtained his 3.5x multiplier, as his most formidable argument.[81] Krause comments on the surprising omission of data for Halughton, Nottinghamshire which showed an average of 3.86 persons per unit, which multiplied by 1.5, derived from the life tables modification, gives 5.79 persons.[82] Surprisingly, Russell excluded these data because he surmised that the unit in Halughton was the messuage. Krause continues his criticism by declaring that Russell did not make allowances for omissions in the 1377 poll tax, the data, upon which, Russell relied heavily. Had an omission estimate been included, this would have raised the multiplier to 3.8. Consequently, Russell's life tables, which contain relatively low infant and child mortality rates, are quite unusual. Therefore, Krause concludes, Russell's calculations of life expectancy and life table age distribution

[77] Krause, *op. cit.*, 424.
[78] Russell, *op. cit.*, 338.
[79] *Ibid*.
[80] Krause, 'The Medieval Household: Large or Small?' 425.
[81] Russell, *British Medieval Population*, 26.
[82] Krause, *op*. *cit*., 425.

must be considered, for the most part, inaccurate or atypical because they do not conform to conclusions based on relatively firm foundations.[83]

Russell's hypothesis,[84] that substitutes a 3.5 multiplier for the traditional 5 multipliers, is recognised as an important innovation in medieval demographic studies. Substituting the 3.5 multiplier for the traditional 5 multipliers has greatly modified the estimates of medieval population densities despite the different viewpoint of such eminent historians as Bloch,[85] for example, who believed that the multiplier should normally be 5 or over. Krause continues that part of Russell's failure is a result of his dependence on the life table, for which he had inadequate data.[86] According to Krause, using data from the 1377 Poll Tax, for which Russell did not make allowances for omissions, is a weakness of Russell's hypothesis.[87] In view of the uncertainty of the multiplier and the difficulty of deriving interpretative generalisations entirely from medieval sources, the data from which are too sparse, too unrepresentative and subject to many sources of possible error, Tables 3.2 and 3.3 (below), estimating the population of the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors, therefore include two options: one for a household of 5, hence a 5 multiplier, and the other option for a smaller household based on a 3.5 multiplier.

To reiterate, it must be emphasised that the figures shown in Tables 3.2 and 3.3 must not be taken too literally and could not be used with any confidence in calculating a mortality rate for the impact of the Black Death. Coming, as they do, from historical sources dating from the mid thirteenth century, the 'Customs of the manor of Taunton', to the late fourteenth century, 'Account Roll of 1376', they can serve as no more than a very rough guide to the tenant population of the chosen Somerset and North Hampshire manors at the time of the Black Death epidemic.

[83] *Ibid*., 428.
[84] J. C. Russell, *British Medieval Population*, 22-31.
[85] M. Bloch, 'La Population de la France, an xiv siècle – Comment la connaître', *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, III (France, 1931).
[86] Krause, *op. cit*., 430.
[87] *Ibid*., *425.*

Table 3.2–Estimated Population of Somerset Manors, c.1348-49

Manor	Estimated No. of Tenants[88]	Max. Pop. based on Household Av. of 5	Max. Pop. based on Household Av. of 3.5
Bishop's Hull	24†	120	84
Holway	62†	310	217
Nailsbourne	66†	330	231
Poundisford	36†	180	126
Rimpton	33*	165	116
Staplegrove	50†	250	175

Table 3.3 - Estimated Population of N. Hants Manors c.1348-49

Manor	Estimated No. of Tenants[89]	Max. Pop. based on Household Av. of 5	Max. Pop. based on Household Av. of 3.5
Bentley	66**	330	231
Burghclere	69**	345	242
Crawley[90]	54*	270	189
Highclere	38**	190	133
North Waltham	42*	210	147
Overton	80**	400	280

[88] * = Mid-century custumals; Titow, *Land and Holdings*, 93. † = Account Roll of 1376; Titow, *Land and Holdings*, 100-101.

[89] * = Mid-century custumals; Titow, *Land and Holdings*, 93. ** = Late 14th century list of holdings; Titow, *Land and Holdings*, 100-101.

[90] Note: An alternative population figure is to be found for Crawley in Gras and Gras, *Economic History of an English Village (Crawley, Hampshire*),153 – 'In 1086 the population of Crawley was 260, in 1256 it was 370 and by 1307 it had reached 400'.

However, as referred to earlier in this chapter, a more accurate method of calculating mortality is to use the Winchester pipe roll accounts to record the names listed under the sub-headings of '*Defectus per Pestilentiam*' (Default through the Plague), '*Fines et Maritagia*' (Fines and Marriages) and *Herietti* (Heriots). Using the pipe roll accounts for the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors, a list of those named tenants who died during the year 1348-49 and 1349-50, the two main years of the Black Death, and who are recorded under the sub-headings specified above, namely, '*Defectus per Pestilentiam*', '*Fines et Maritagia*' and '*Herietti*', can be extracted. Duplicate names, where they appear more than once in the sub-sections of 'Defaults through the Plague', 'Fines and Marriages' and 'Heriots' are deleted to avoid any misrepresentation of figures. This necessarily involves careful cross-checking across the relevant sub-sections. For example, where a tenant is documented as defaulting on their rent and paying a heriot, it is likely that they are one and the same person. Although it is not certain that all these tenants did die of the Black Death, in this way, an estimate of the number of tenants that died during the Black Death years of 1348-49 and 1349-50 can be established. This number is then compared with the number of tenants listed in the same way for 1347-48, the year before the plague. A further comparison is then made between the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors to gauge the relative impact of the Black Death on these two areas of the Winchester Diocese.

The difficulties in obtaining accurate figures are well documented by medieval historians attempting to analyse and evaluate the extent of the impact of the Black Death on local communities of England. Originally the research parameters for this thesis were planned for sharp and narrow focus on the years 1345-52, aiming to include the Black Death year of 1348-49 and three years either side. However, in view of the above difficulties in establishing accurate figures, especially the practice in the pipe rolls of carrying forward the names of tenants who had defaulted on their rent payment/died as a result of the Black Death until replacement tenants had been found, the original research years of 1345-52 were extended to the year 1359-1360. This was because it was expected that, by 1359-60, a reasonable time had elapsed after the year 1348-49 for the number of defaults/deaths to have fallen below the year 1347-48 levels. This would suggest a return to pre-Black Death normality and the disappearance of duplicated names. Additionally, there was the

careful cross-checking of all recorded data entries to ensure there was no duplication of names. There was also the concern to avoid overlapping with the pestilence outbreak of the year 1361-62. With reference to Tables 3.7 – Mortality on Selected Somerset Manors, 1347-60 and Table 3.8 – Mortality on Selected North Hampshire Manors, 1347-60 (see Chapter Three, below), the data clearly shows that, by the year 1360, the numbers of defaults/deaths had, indeed, dropped below the year 1347-48 levels, therefore justifying the extension of the date range to the year 1359-1360. This was virtually proved to be correct in eleven out of the twelve selected manors. The only exception was the North Hampshire manor of Burghclere with 5 recorded defaults/deaths in the year 1347-48 and 8 recorded defaults/deaths in the year 1359-60.

The results of the research details extracted from the pipe roll accounts under the sub-headings of *Defectus per Pestilentiam*, *Fines et Maritagia* and *Herietti* for the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors are shown below in Tables 3.4 and 3.5. Reference has already been made above to the striking fact that the pipe roll accounts were continued without a break and without change in form before, during and after the Black Death years of 1347-1350. It is also evident that, on all the manors of the Winchester Diocese, there still survived an official, e.g., the reeve, capable of compiling and submitting the exact details of his administration. On several manors, the same reeve continued in office throughout the years 1348-52, or even longer. Also, Levett refers to 'the absolute continuity of the Account Rolls'.[91] Historians can, therefore, examine the condition of Diocesan manors before the devastation of the Black Death, go to the pipe roll accounts for the actual years of the Black Death and trace both the direct references to it and the direct results of the heavy death toll. Tables 3.4 and 3.5 (below) reveal the ravages of the Black Death. The comparison of the 'before', i.e., the year prior to the Black Death, 1347-48 and the 'after', i, e., the Black Death years of 1348-50, clearly reveals the losses and misery caused. The headings of 'Defaults', 'Fines' and 'Heriots' reveal how many tenants died, how much land was thrown onto the lord's hands, i.e., lands that became vacant on the death of the tenant-holder and how long it had remained in the lord's hands. Table 3.4 clearly shows, in comparison to 1347-48, for the years 1348-49 and 1349-50, the years of the Black Death, the numbers of

[91] Levett, The Black Death, 72.

tenements that became vacant, paid no rent and remained so during these years. It is noticeable across the twelve selected manors in Table 3.4 that many tenants defaulted on their rent due to their death from the Black Death during 1348-49, and that a further number defaulted on their rent during 1349-50.

However, it is remarkable how Rimpton of the Taunton (Somerset) manors, and to a lesser extent, Crawley, of the North Hampshire manors, show little or no defaults of rent during this period. In fact, Table 3.5 shows that Rimpton continued this amazing statistic of 'no' 'Defaults from the Pestilence' throughout the years 1351-60. In the midst of all the death and suffering experienced by other manors, this is a truly remarkable achievement. It could be argued that it was due to the isolation of Rimpton's location, being situated in South Somerset, some twenty-six miles east from Taunton and the other Somerset manors, and/or the skills of the manor's organisation, that enabled it to be protected from the ravages of the Black Death. It could also be argued that the 'none' entry for the '*Defectus per* Pestilentiam' sub-section of the Rimpton accounts for the years of this study, i.e., the years 1347-1360 reflect a break-down in administrative procedures, especially for the years 1348-50 when the Black Death was at its height. It could also be that a certain amount of luck was involved, for Rimpton not to be visited at all by the Black Death. However, on closer investigation, it would appear that there is possibly more to the Rimpton account figures. In a well-researched study of Rimpton[92], Thornton states that 'Rimpton's fine documentary resources',[93] particularly the pipe roll accounts, suggest that administrative standards were continuous throughout the period of the Black Death. In addition, Thornton concludes his thesis by stating that 'Winchester's administration was successful in maintaining a relatively high level of income from Rimpton's manorial farm, despite many problems'.[94]

A study of Rimpton's economic performance reveals an increase in the amounts of Arrears for the years 1345–1360 as shown in Table 3.13 - Arrears of Selected Somerset Manors, 1345–1360 (below). From an average of £0. 15s. 5¾d per year for the years 1345–1347, arrears rose to an average of £9. 1s. 7½d per year for the Black Death years of 1348-1351, an increase of 1170%. By the year 1359-1360,

[92] C. C. Thornton, *The Demesne of Rimpton, 938 to 1412: A Study in Economic Development*, (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 1988) 402-20.
[93] *Ibid.*, 408.
[94] Thornton, *op. cit.*, 419.

Table 3.4 – Impact of the Black Death on Defaults of Rent, Fines and Heriots – Somerset and N. Hants Manors (1) *

	1347-48			1348-49			1349-50			1350-51		
	Defaults	Fines	Heriots	Defaults	Fines	Heriots	Defaults	Fines	Heriots	Defaults	Fines	Heriots
Bishop's Hull	2	23	2 in pence 0 beasts	24	39	60 in pence 36 beasts	38	59	10 in pence 1 beast	25	c.42	7 in pence 1 beast
Holway	6	25	4 in pence 2 beasts	25	c.102	67 in pence 76 beasts	31	94	26 in pence 2 beasts	24	59	10 in pence 4 beasts
Nailsbourne	0	13	7 in pence 1 beast	31	c.54	40 in pence 36 beasts	61	22	4 in pence 0 beasts	28	36	9 in pence 0 beasts
Poundisford	1	29	8 in pence 2 beasts	52	87	83 in pence 58 beasts	65	104	23 in pence 2 beasts	44	61	10 in pence 2 beasts
Rimpton	0	3	1 in pence 0 beasts	0	16	3 in pence 8 beasts	0	3	0 in pence O beasts	0	2	0 in pence 0 beasts
Staplegrove	3	14	0 in pence 0 beasts	17	87	60 in pence 42 beasts	39	70	6 in pence 5 beasts	15	47	17 in pence 1 beast
Totals		**146**		**1103/146**	**=**	**756% increase**	**665/146**	**=**	**456% increase**	**444/146**	**=**	**304% increase**
Bentley	0	9	0 in pence 3 beasts	14	43	0 in pence 46 beasts	14	c.36	0 in pence 1 beast	2	7	0 in pence 1 beast
Burghclere	0	5	0 in pence 0 beasts	9	28	0 in pence 32 beasts	14	8	0 in pence 0 beasts	30	12	0 in pence 0 beasts
Crawley	0	0	0 in pence 4 beasts	6	24	0 in pence 28 beasts	8	14	0 in pence O beasts	2	3	0 in pence O beasts
Highclere	8	4	0 in pence 1 beast	9	12	0 in pence 12 beasts	22	11	0 in pence 0 beasts	2	4	0 in pence O beasts
North Waltham	0	1	0 in pence 1 beast	20	1	0 in pence 12 beasts	36	9	0 in pence O beasts	11	3	0 in pence O beasts
Overton	8	3	0 in pence 1 beast	34	12	0 in pence 3O beasts	18	23	0 in pence 1 beast	15	6	0 in pence 1 beast
Totals		**48**		**372/48**	**=**	**775% increase**	**215/48**	**=**	**448% increase**	**99/48**	**=**	**206% increase**

***Note:** Unless otherwise stated, all Tables and Figures in Chapter 3 are drawn from the Pipe Roll of the Bishop of Winchester, 1345-60 held by the Hampshire Record Office (HRO), Winchester, Manuscript Cat. No. 11M59/B1.

Table 3.5 – Impact of the Black Death on Defaults of Rent, Fines and Heriots – Somerset and N. Hants Manors (2)

Manor	1351-52			1352-53			1354-55			1359-60		
	Defaults	Fines	Heriots	Defaults	Fines	Heriots	Defaults	Fines	Heriots	Defaults	Fines	Heriots
Bishop's Hull	10	20	5 in pence 0 beasts	7	16	0 in pence 0 beasts	3	18	1 in pence 0 beasts	0	9	0 in pence 0 beasts
Holway	0	34	8 in pence 0 beasts	0	35	0 in pence 0 beasts	2	43	5 in pence 6 beasts	0	23	0 in pence 0 beasts
Nailsbourne	23	c.20	4 in pence 3 beasts	12	22	0 in pence 1 beast	7	15	0 in pence 1 beast	0	9	0 in pence 0 beasts
Poundisford	17	35	8 in pence 0 beasts	9	34	8 in pence 0 beasts	2	c.24	2 in pence 2 beasts	0	27	6 in pence 1 beast
Rimpton	0	3	1 in pence 0 beasts	0	5	0 in pence 0 beasts	0	0	0 in pence 0 beasts	0	0	0 in pence 0 beasts
Staplegrove	c.9	37	8 in pence 2 beasts	6	29	8 in pence 0 beasts	0	c.26	6 in pence 0 beasts	0	27	5 in pence 3 beasts
Totals	**247/146**	**=**	**169% increase**	**192/146**	**=**	**132% increase**	**163/146**	**=**	**117% increase**	**110/146**	**=**	**75% increase**
Bentley	2	7	0 in pence 0 beasts	1	4	0 in pence 0 beasts	0	7	0 in pence 2 beasts	0	4	0 in pence 0 beasts
Burghclere	16	13	0 in pence 0 beasts	12	5	0 in pence 0 beasts	6	7	0 in pence 0 beasts	3	5	0 in pence 0 beasts
Crawley	4	5	0 in pence 0 beasts	1	2	0 in pence 0 beasts	c.10	0	0 in pence 0 beasts	1	0	0 in pence 0 beasts
Highclere	1	4	0 in pence 0 beasts	3	8	0 in pence 0 beasts	0	5	0 in pence 1 beast	3	1	0 in pence 1 beast
North Waltham	0	1	0 in pence 0 beasts	1	5	0 in pence 1 beast	1	0	0 in pence 0 beasts	1	0	0 in pence 0 beasts
Overton	5	7	0 in pence 0 beasts	0	9	0 in pence 0 beasts	2	0	0 in pence 0 beasts	0	3	0 in pence 1 beast
Totals	**65/48**	**=**	**135% increase**	**52/48**	**=**	**108% increase**	**41/48**	**=**	**85% increase**	**23/48**	**=**	**48% increase**

arrears had recovered to a lower amount of £6. 0s. 6¾d but still a large increase of 779%. In addition, Table 3.17 – Comparison of Arrears/Income – Somerset Manors 1345-1360 (see page 121, below) reveals that Rimpton's annual income dropped from an average of £69. 6s. 3¼d for the pre-Black Death years of 1345-48 to a low of £41. 3s. 4½d for the year 1348-49, a decrease of 59.49%. However, during the post-Black Death years 1349-52, the average income rose to £82. 17s.9d, an increase of 101.16% from the 1348-49 level. By the year 1359-60, Rimpton's annual income had reverted back to nearer the pre-Black Death figure of £51. 7s. 2½d. Additionally, further scrutiny of Tables 3.4 and 3.5 (above) reveals that Rimpton suffered an increase of fines from 3 in the pre-Black Death year of 1347-48 to 16 in the Black Death year of 1348-49, an increase of 500%. There are also recorded 11 heriots, consisting of 3 in pence and 8 beasts, for the year 1348-49. Thereafter, the number of fines reverts back to the average of 3 per year and the heriots are limited to 1 in pence (1351-52) for the following post Black Death years of 1349-60. Conceivably, these increases emanate from the Black Death's progress East through Somerset after its arrival in Bristol in June 1348 and also its progress North after its arrival on the Dorset coast, also in June 1348. New tenants, usually a family member, were required to pay the fine for taking up the tenancy after the tenant's demise. Therefore, it can be said that Rimpton did not escape unscathed. Nevertheless, these figures tend to agree with Thornton's statements regarding the quantity and continuity of Rimpton's economic performance.

This chapter now adapts a method to measure the extent of mortality developed by Arthur.[1] The names of the tenants recorded for the years 1347-48, 1348-49 and 1349-50 of the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors under the sub-headings in the Winchester pipe rolls of 'Defaults because of the Pestilence', 'Fines and Marriages' and 'Heriots' are extracted and listed. This produces a full list of all the tenants who died before and during the Black Death years. Names are then carefully cross-checked across all the years of this study, i.e., 1347- 1360 to avoid any duplication and thereby inaccuracies in the figures produced. For example, it is noticed that in the case of unpaid fines, names and details are carried forward to the next year and beyond. Also, where a tenant has defaulted on a rent and also pays a heriot, it is likely that they are one and the same person. The list of names

[1] P. Arthur, 'The Black Death and Mortality: A Reassessment' in C. Given-Wilson (ed.), *Fourteenth Century England VI* (Woodbridge, 2010) 63.

for the years 1348-49 and 1349-50, the Black Death years, are then compared with the number of tenants listed in the same format for the pre-Black Death years of 1347-48. The results, as shown in Table 3.6 (below) are significant. All the selected manors, Rimpton apart, suffered a spectacular increase in deaths during the years 1348-50 compared to the previous pre-Black Death year of 1347-48. Although it is uncertain that all the tenants listed necessarily died of the Black Death, it cannot be a coincidence that, during the main Black Death years, the percentage of death increased so dramatically. By using this method of compiling percentage numbers of tenants who died during 1348-49 and 1349-50, the scale of the impact of the Black Death on the rural community of the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors is conveyed. Table 3.6 (below) compares the number of deaths for the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors for 1347-48 and 1348-49, the first year of the Black Death.

Table 3.6 – Summary of Mortality for the Years 1347-1350

	Number of Deaths 1347-48	Number of Deaths 1348-49	% increase 1347-48 to 1348-49	Number of Deaths 1349-50	% increase 1347-48 to 1349-50
Bishop's Hull	27	159	589%	108	400%
Holway	37	270	730%	153	414%
Nailsbourne	21	161	767%	87	414%
Poundisford	40	280	700%	194	485%
Rimpton	4	27	675%	3	75%
Staplegrove	17	206	1212%	120	706%
Somerset Totals	**146**	**1103**	**756%**	**665**	**456%**
Bentley	12	103	858%	51	425%
Burghclere	5	69	1380%	22	440%
Crawley	4	58	1450%	22	550%
Highclere	13	33	254%	33	169%
N. Waltham	2	33	1650%	45	2250%
Overton	12	76	633%	42	35%
N. Hants Totals	**48**	**372**	**775%**	**215**	**448%**

Whilst there is a larger increase in the number of deaths on the six Somerset manors, rising from a total of 146 to 1103, when compared to the six North

Hampshire manors, which rise from 48 to 372 deaths, the percentage increase of 756 percent for the Somerset manors is very similar to the 775 percent increase for the North Hampshire manors. The Somerset manors, apart from Rimpton, are clustered around the main town of Taunton and consist of a large number of very small holdings. Levett confirms that 'where the number of tenements is the largest, the bulk of the defaults belonged to cottages with curtilages, crofts and plots of one or two acres in size and paying one penny to one shilling in rent.'[2] In Hampshire, the holdings tended to be larger and the empty holdings include a number of virgates, consisting of approximately thirty acres of land per virgate. Hence the much lower numbers of tenement deaths for 1348-49. Similarly, Table 3.6 shows, that for the year 1349-50, the number of deaths for the Somerset manors was 665 compared to 215 for the North Hampshire manors but, again, the percentage increase of 456 percent for the Somerset manors compared to 448 percent for the North Hampshire manors was very similar. Whilst it is unreliable to provide a percentage mortality rate without an accurate list of tenants alive before the Black Death, by compiling a list of names and numbers of tenants who died during the Black Death years of 1348-49 and 1349-50, in comparison to 1347-48, the sheer scale of the impact of the Black Death on human life is revealed.

Tables 3.7 and 3.8 (below) and Figures 3.1 and 3.2 (below) provide details of the mortality suffered by the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors. Table 3.7 – Mortality of the Selected Somerset Manors, 1347-60, the total of deaths for the six Somerset manors rises from 146 in 1347-48, an average of 24 deaths per manor, to 1103 in 1348-49, the first and worst year of the Black Death, an average of 184 deaths per manor. From the year 1349-50, the second year of the Black Death, numbers of deaths fall to 665 in total, an average of 111 per manor. In succeeding years, the numbers continue to fall until the year 1359-60, the year prior to the outbreak of the Second Pestilence of 1360-61, when the number of deaths total 110, an average of 18 deaths per manor, which is below the number and average for 1347-48. Figure 3.1 - Graph of Mortality on Selected Somerset Manors, 1347-60, clearly shows the rise and fall, particularly the large spike for the year 1348-49. The downward trend of mortality is also clearly shown as the number of

[2] Levett, *The Black Death*, 82.

deaths decrease over the years 1350 to 60 until it falls below the annual and average figures for 1347-48.

Table 3.7 – Mortality on Selected Somerset Manors, 1347-60

Manor	1347-48	1348-49	1349-50	1350-51	1351-52	1352-53	1354-55	1359-60
B. Hull	27	159	108	75	35	23	22	9
Holway	37	270	153	97	42	35	56	23
Nailsbourne	21	161	87	73	50	35	23	9
Poundisford	40	280	194	117	60	51	30	34
Rimpton	4	27	3	2	4	5	0	0
Staplegrove	17	206	120	80	56	43	32	35
Totals	**146**	**1103**	**665**	**444**	**247**	**192**	**163**	**110**
Average p. manor	**24**	**184**	**111**	**74**	**41**	**32**	**27**	**18**

Figure 3.1 – Graph of Mortality on Somerset Manors, 1347-60

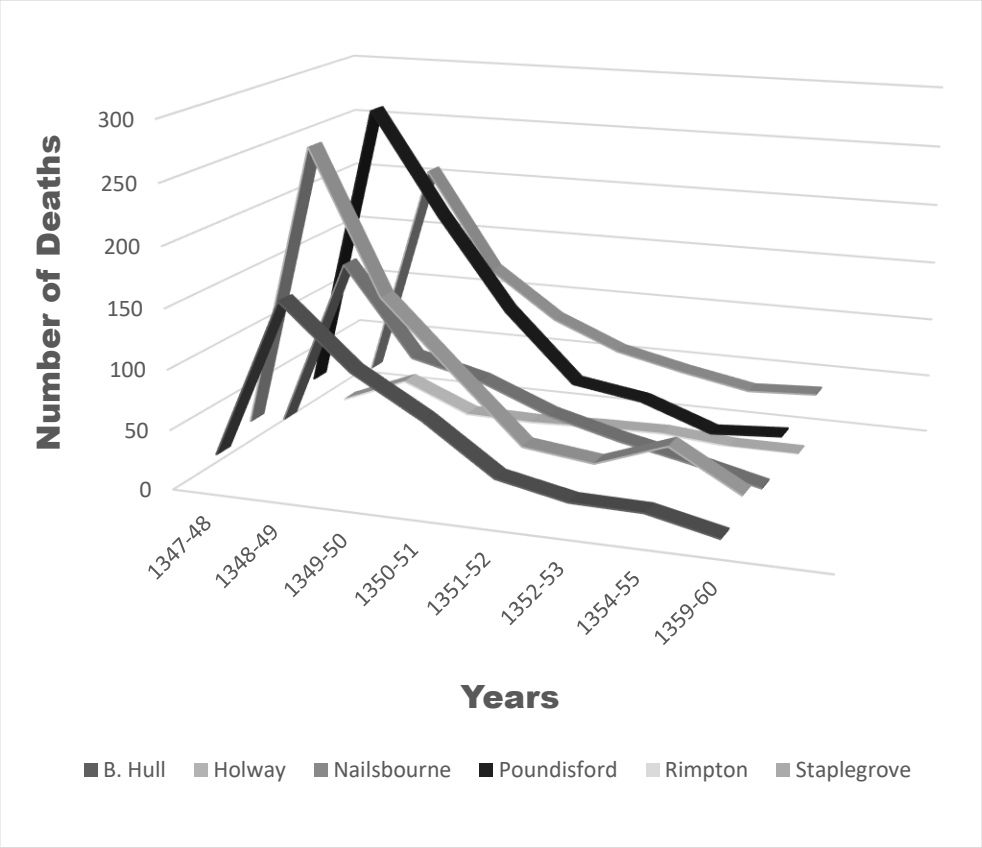
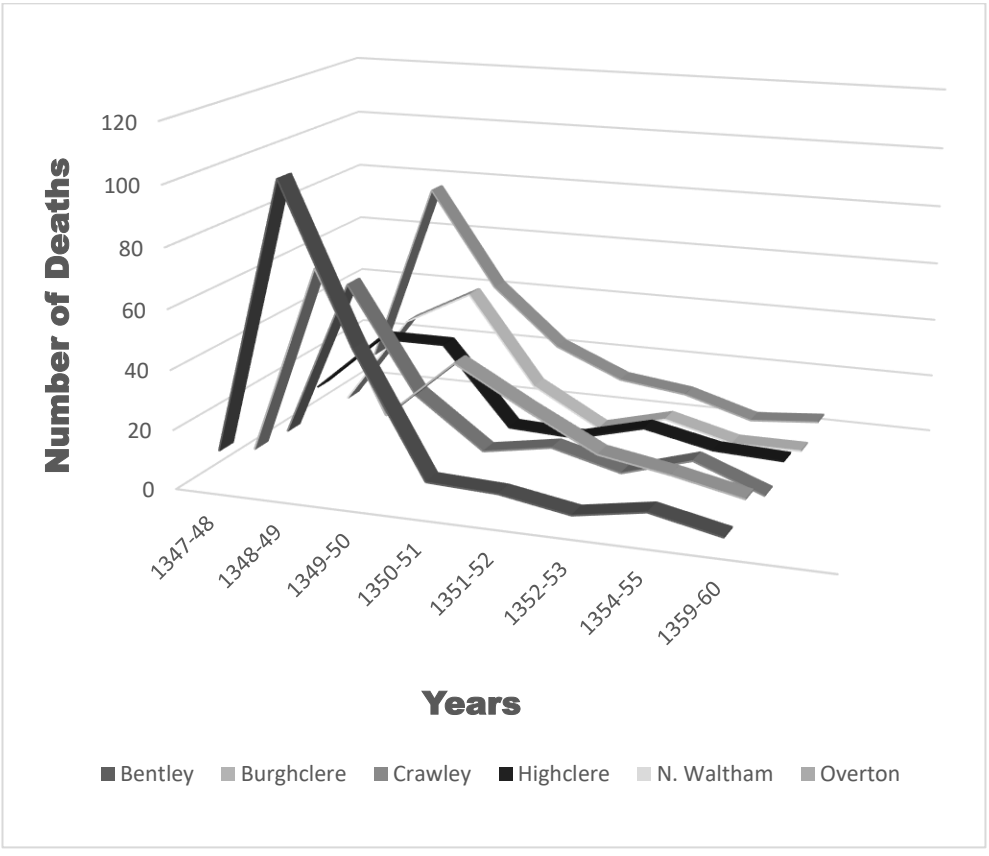


Table 3.8 – Mortality on Selected N. Hants. Manors, 1347-60

Manor	1347-48	1348-49	1349-50	1350-51	1351-52	1352-53	1354-55	1359-60
Bentley	12	103	51	10	9	5	9	4
Burghclere	5	69	22	42	29	17	13	8
Crawley	4	58	22	5	9	3	10	1
Highclere	13	33	33	6	5	11	6	5
N. Waltham	2	33	45	14	1	7	1	1
Overton	12	76	42	22	12	9	2	4
Totals	**48**	**372**	**215**	**99**	**65**	**52**	**41**	**23**
Average p. manor	**8**	**62**	**36**	**17**	**11**	**9**	**7**	**4**

Figure 3.2 – Graph of Mortality on N. Hants Manors, 1347-60



Closer study of Tables 3.4 and 3.5 (above) reveals the full extent of the impact of the Black Death on the rural communities of the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors. For example, the Fines and Marriages sub-section of the Somerset manor of Poundisford account for 1348-49 records the names of three male members of the Schole family, Thomas, Henry and Richard having fines paid for them due to their demise as a result of the Black Death.[3] Another example, the devastation of the Quigge family, daughter Alice, Father Thomas and wife Johanna, occurs in the Fines and Marriages for the Somerset manor Bishop's Hull account for 1348-49.[4] A further example is found in the 1349-50 account for the Somerset manor of Nailsbourne. Four members of the Haveling family, John, David, Thomas and Robert have their deaths due to the pestilence recorded in the sub-section headed *Defectus per Pestilentiam*[5]. A sample of the care a historian has to take when researching the pipe rolls is over the duplication of names appearing in the accounts. An example is to be found in the account for the North Hampshire manor of Burghclere in the year 1348-49. William King's name appears three times. In the Fines and Marriages sub-section, fines are paid for William King by his wife Emma and by Walter atte Dorew. A heriot (beast) of one *vacca* (cow) is also paid for William King in the 'Sale of Stock' sub-section.[6]

Evidence of the scale of deaths and the disruption caused by the Black Death is revealed by a new entry of *in manu domini* (in the hand of the lord), appearing from the year 1351-52 in the pipe roll accounts sub-sections of *Defectus per Pestilentiam* and *Fines et Maritagia*. This was when no one stepped forward to take up the vacant tenancy or pay the fine for the dead tenant. Defaults of rent and fines for taking on a tenancy which had not been paid usually reverted back to the lord of the manor until someone, usually a relative or family member, paid the rent owing or paid the fine for taking on the tenancy. For example, under the sub-heading of *Defectus per* Pestilentiam, for the year 1351-52 on the Somerset manor of Holway, all 18 entries had *in manu domini* recorded at the end of each entry.[7] In the case of this manor, these entries are all carried forward from the previous year of 1350-51, showing the difficulty at the time, of getting a new tenant to step forward, pay

[3] HRO 11M59/B1/101/3 and 4.
[4] HRO 11M59/B1/101/2 and 3.
[5] HRO 11M59/B1/102/8 and 9.
[6] HRO 11M59/B1/101/74 and 75.
[7] HRO 11M59/B1/104/2.

the fine and agree to take on the tenement. In the following year's accounts, 1352-53, all 14 entries of the sub-section for *Defectus per Pestilentiam* for Holway are carried forward from the previous year of 1351-52, revealing that there were still major difficulties in getting the fine for default paid and for the tenancy to be taken up by new tenants.[8] However, by the year 1354-55 the situation had improved. Only two names are recorded in the sub-section *Defectus per Pestilentiam* for Holway, both referring to *in manu domini*. It therefore appears that the previous entries for Holway that had been carried forward have all found new tenants and the rent paid.[9] By the year 1359-60 Holway had reduced its *Defectus per Pestilentiam* to one,[10] the entry of William Bacon, which has been carried forward from 1349-50. There were also 23 fines paid in the *Fines et Maritagia* sub-section. This a much improved situation in Holway from the year of 1349-50 when there is a total of 32 entries recorded in the *Defectus per Pestilentiam* sub-section, including one Black Death victim, Ade le Frere, carried forward from the year 1348-49.[11]

The North Hampshire manor of Overton also provides some interesting details revealing the impact of the Black Death on the rural community. In the accounts for Overton for the year 1348-49, in the *Defectus per Pestilentiam* sub-section, 34 individual names are recorded and only 10 fines in the *Fines et Maritagia* sub-sections.[12] In the accounts for the year 1349-50, 26 names are recorded in the *Defectus per Pestilentiam* sub-section but eight of these are names carried forward from the previous year of 1348-49. In the *Fines et Maritagia* sub-section, the number of fines had increased to 23.[13] By the year 1352-53, 27 names are recorded in the *Defectus per Pestilentiam* sub-section of the account but all 27 named individuals' names have been carried forward from previous years.[14] All 27 entries have a suffix of *in manu domini* (in the hand of the lord), indicating the difficulty this manor was having in finding someone to pay the defaulted rent and take over the holding. Also in this account for the year 1352-53, there are recorded 9 *Fines* and, in addition to the phrase *in manu domini*, the phrase '*et nichil de sanguine*' (and nothing from blood) appears, meaning no relative or family member had come

[8] HRO 11M59/B1/105/1.
[9] HRO 11M59/B1/107/3.
[10] HRO 11M59/B1/112/2.
[11] HRO 11M59/B1/102/6 and 7.
[12] HRO 11M59/B1/101/79 and 80.
[13] HRO 11M59/B1/102/57 and 58.
[14] HRO 11M59/B1/105/50 and 51.

forward to pay the fine and take on the responsibility of the holding, so another member of the manor, not related to the deceased, had paid the fine and taken it up. By 1359-60, some 19 names were recorded under the sub-section of *Defectus per Pestilentiam*, of which 17 are still being carried forward from 1352-53 and 2 from 1351-2 with all 19 still designated *in manu domini*.[15] This shows that there was still a need for members of the community to step forward and pay the defaulted rents and take over the tenancies. However, with reference to Tables 3.4 and 3.5, it can be confirmed that by 1352-53 the number of vacant tenements had been greatly reduced. By the year 1359-60, the number of defaults and fines had reverted back below the pre-Black Death levels of 1347-48. It is interesting to note that a large number tenants succeeded in the ordinary way to fathers, brothers and husbands. Levett gives the example of Poundisford in the year 1348-49. Of 87 fines, some 47 were descended from relatives, 18 from land which had escheated to the lord, 15 for sale or sub-letting of land and 7 for marriages.[16]

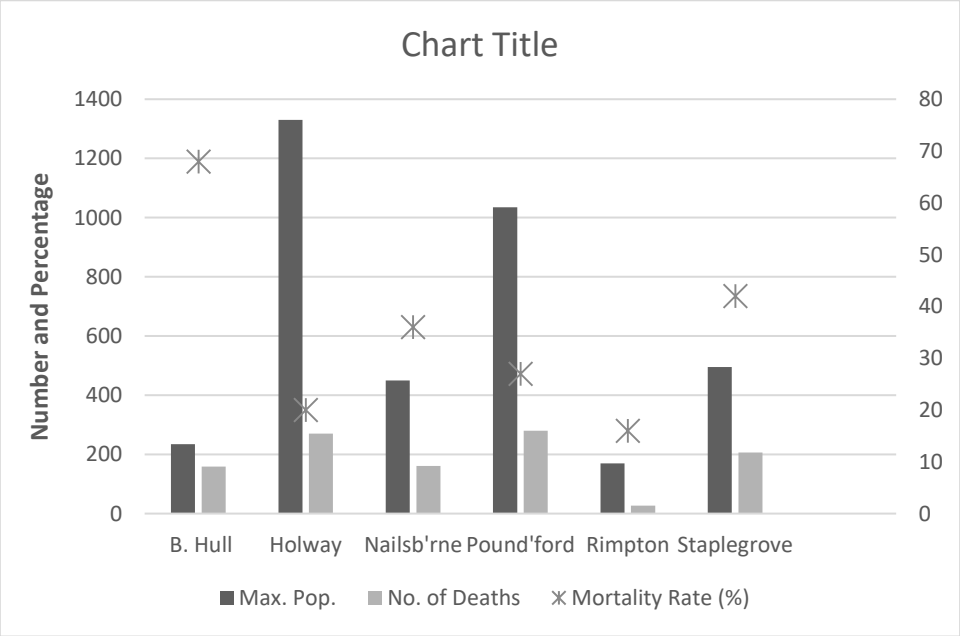
A review of the evidence pertaining particularly to the exact make-up of the customary lands of the selected Somerset manors, as carefully outlined by Savage[17] and re-visited by Hunt[18] enables a more accurate population figure for each manor and an approximate mortality rate to be calculated. These are shown in Table 3.9 – Estimated Mortality Rate of Selected Somerset Manors and Table 3.10 – Estimated Mortality Rate of Selected North Hampshire Manors (below). As well as the approximate number of deaths calculated for the Black Death year of 1348-49, Krause's 5x multiplier and the 3.5x multiplier recommended by Russell, the limitations of which have been discussed above, have both been included for use in this thesis chapter. The resulting mortality rates for the selected Somerset and the selected North Hampshire manors reflect a range clearly demonstrating the potential impacts of the Black Death.

[15] HRO 11M59/B1/112/23-25.
[16] HRO 11M59/B1/101/3-5.
[17] J. Savage, *History of Taunton in the County of Somerset* (London, 1822) 46-47.
[18] [18] Hunt (ed.), 'The Medieval Customs of the Manors of Taunton and Bradford on Tone', 31-82.

Table 3.9 – Mortality Rate of Somerset Manors, 1348-49

Manor	Estimated No. of Tenants[19]	Max. Pop. Household Av. of 5	Max. Pop. Household Av. of 3.5	Estimated Deaths 1348-49	Est. Mort. Rate (%) Av. of 5	Est. Mort. Rate (%) Av. of 3.5
Bishop's Hull	47	235	166	159	68	96
Holway	266	1330	931	270	20	29
Nailsbourne	90	450	315	161	36	51
Poundisford	207	1035	725	280	27	39
Rimpton	34	170	119	27	16	23
Staplegrove	99	495	347	206	42	59
Averages p. manor	**743÷6 =124**	**3715÷6 =619**	**2603÷6 =439**	**1103÷6 =184**	**209÷6 =35%**	**297÷6 =50%**

Figure 3.3 (i) – Graph of Mortality of Somerset Manors, 1348-49, Household Average of 5



[19] Hunt (ed.), 'The Medieval Customs of the Manors of Taunton and Bradford on Tone', 31-82.

Figure 3.3 (ii) – Graph of Somerset Manors, 1348-49, 3.5 Multiplier

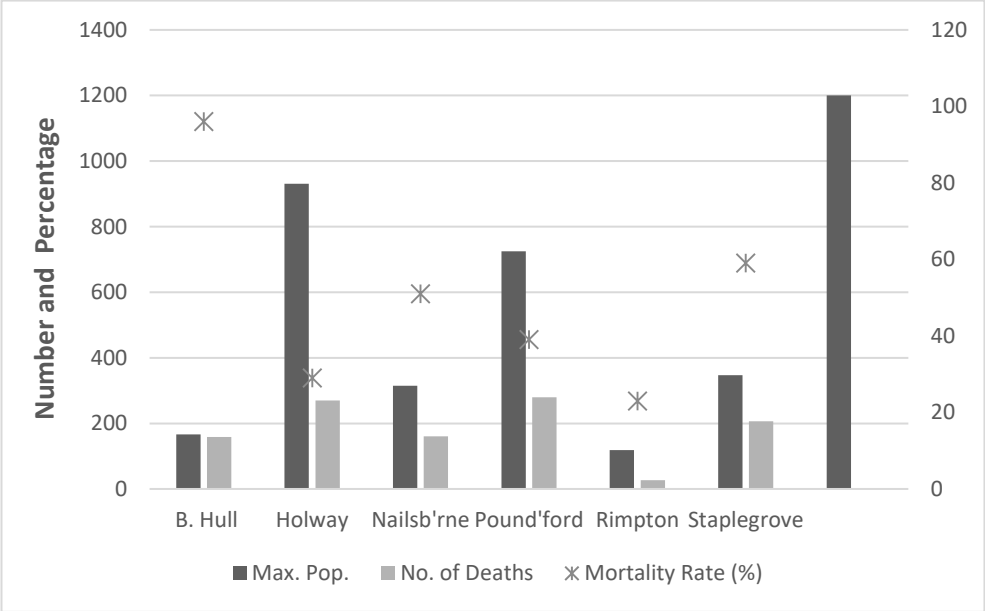


Figure 3.4 (i) – Graph of Mortality of N. Hants Manors, 1348-49, Household Average of 5

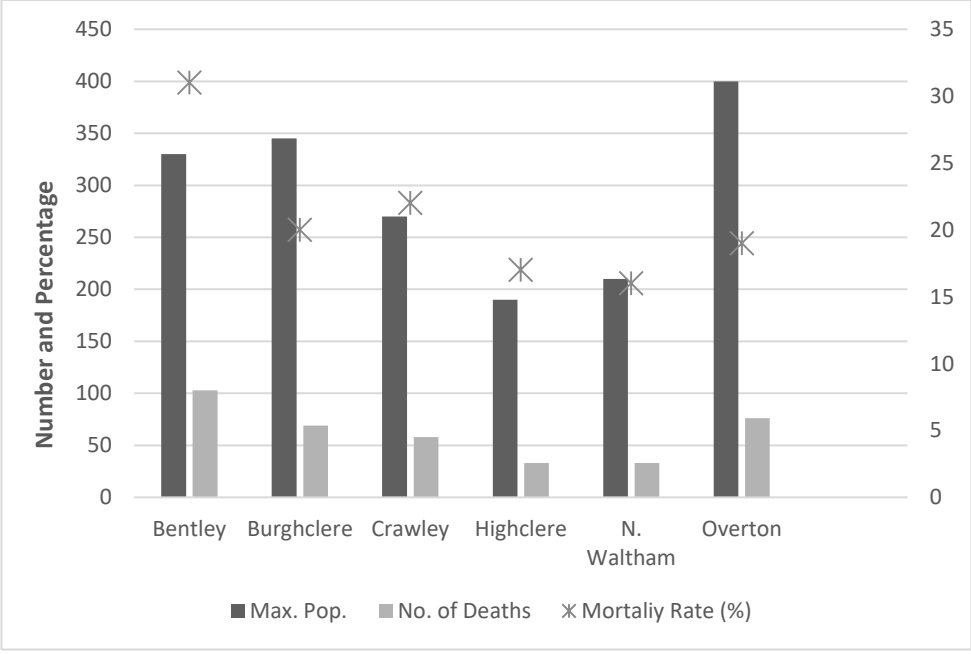


Figure 3.4 (ii) – Graph of N. Hants Manors, 1348-49, 3.5 Multiplier

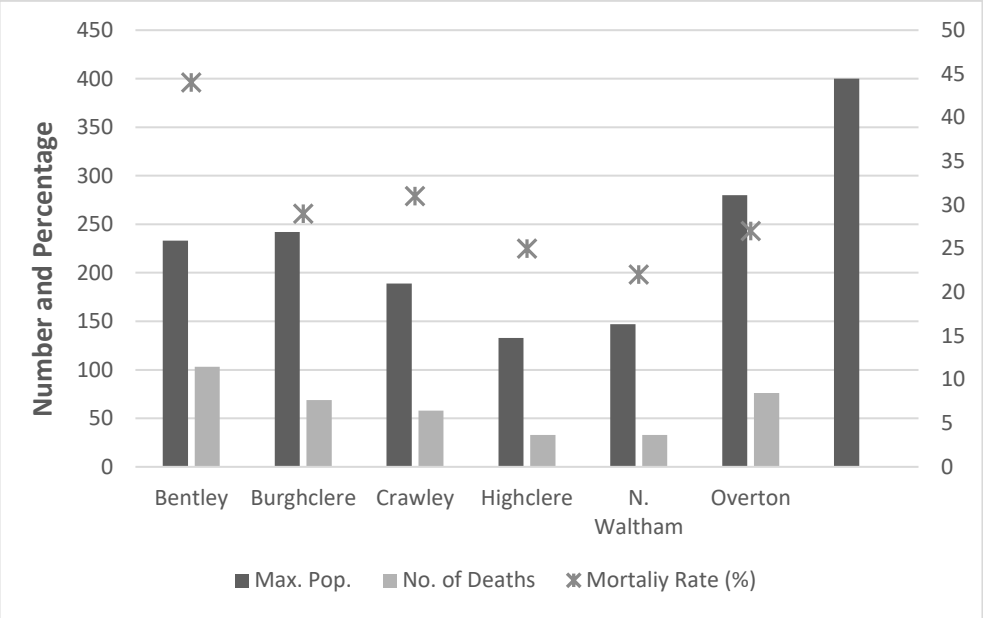


Table 3.10 – Mortality Rate of N. Hants Manors, 1348-49

Manor	Estimated No. of Tenants	Max. Pop. Household Av. of 5	Max. Pop. Household Av. of 3.5	Estimated Deaths 1348-49	Est. Mort. Rate (%) Av. of 5	Est. Mort. Rate (%) Av. of 3.5
Bentley	66	330	233	103	31	44
Burghclere	69	345	242	69	20	29
Crawley	54	270	189	58	22	31
Highclere	38	190	133	33	17	25
N. Waltham	42	210	147	33	16	22
Overton	80	400	280	76	19	27
Averages p. manor	**349÷6 =58**	**1745÷6 =291**	**1224÷6 =204**	**372÷6 =62**	**125÷6 =21%**	**178÷6 =30%**

Further to the discussion, earlier in this chapter, of the physical and cultural landscape of the selected case study manors, it is worth considering the position the five Somerset manors, situated in the Vale of Taunton Deane, plus the more outlying manor of Rimpton. Dedicated to arable farming, these case study manors

took advantage of the rich quality soil in the region. Apart from Rimpton, the other five manors consisted of a large number of very small holdings, many of only one or two acres in size. Also, reference has already been made above to many tenants living in dispersed farms or small hamlets with holdings of roughly five acres. Up to 1,800 acres of land were sown in the early 1300s with the selected Taunton (Somerset) manors wedded to a strict serf-based three course system of wheat, oats and fallow. The proximity of the five selected manors and their closeness to Taunton itself, the major town in the region, providing an important and accessible outlet for marketing produce, was a prime factor in aiding the spread of the Black Death and helped contribute to the high casualty rate suffered by these manors. Even the manor of Rimpton, situated some thirty miles east of Taunton, had a ready-made marketing of produce centre some six miles away at Ilminster, the county town of Somerset. The considerable density of population in the area and the visiting of tenants to the largest town in the area for the selling of produce would inevitably aid the transferability of the Black Death, as the mortality rates below show.

Contrastingly, the six selected North Hampshire case study manors formed part of a mixed farming *pays* or region of corn and sheep on downland, wolds and bracken. Lying in and adjacent to the long settled band of chalk, which dominated the landscape of North Hampshire, the manors of Highclere, Burghclere and Bentley were situated on the northern downlands, whilst Crawley and Overton were situated on the more fertile chalkland valleys near Winchester, leaving North Waltham on the poor, chalkland plateau north of Basingstoke. As Leland described 'this was sheep-corn country *par excellence* with arable on the hill as well as in the valleys, but also with great flocks of sheep.'[20] As a result, the selected North Hampshire case study manors tended to be much larger than the selected Taunton (Somerset) case study manors, many up to forty acres in size. The popularity of the more fertile Taunton (Somerset) manors is reflected in the higher approximate population density calculated for the selected manors. The approximate total population for the six selected Taunton (Somerset) manors of 3,700 for an average manor size of roughly 600 people, as shown in Table 3.9 (above) is nearly twice the

[20] L. Toulmin Smith (ed.), *Itinerary I of John Leland in or about the years 1535-143* (London, 1906) 247

approximate population of the selected North Hampshire manors of 1,750 for an average manor size of roughly 290 people per manor, as shown in Table 3.10 (above).

The individual nature of shepherds meant that contact with other tenants on the selected North Hampshire manors was relatively limited. There were marketing opportunities at the two main towns of Winchester, some six miles away from Winchester and at Basingstoke, some six miles away from Overton and North Waltham. Thought there were marketing opportunities for the local rural population, they tended to be more limited than for the Taunton (Somerset manors. For example, much of the wool produced was sent direct to Wolvesley Castle in Winchester to be marketed for foreign buyers. The manor of Bentley, the remotest of the North Hampshire manors, was some 14 miles from Basingstoke, therefore going to sell produce at market would be less frequent for the rural community than other manors which were a lot nearer the main towns. Overall, the holdings of on average about forty acres of the North Hampshire manors, and the fact that they were more widely spread out across the region along the river valleys and chalk escarpments, meant that they were possibly less susceptible to the spread of the pestilence. It is no surprise, therefore, that the selected Taunton (Somerset) manors were particularly hard-hit by the Black Death, as the approximate mortality rates below show.

Taking into account both Krause's 5x multiplier and Russell's 3.5x multiplier, the selected Somerset manors suffered a mortality range which fell within the bounds of 16 to 96 per cent but with an overall average mortality rate within the bounds of 35 to 50 per cent. Table 3.9 and Figures 3.3(i) and (ii) (above) show that the Somerset manors of Bishop's Hull, within the bounds of 68 to 96 per cent, situated immediately west of Taunton, together with the neighbouring manors of Staplegrove, within the bounds of 42 to 59 per cent and Nailsbourne, within the bounds of 36 to 51 per cent, were particularly hard hit by the Black Death. Bishop Hull's relatively central position, together with Staplegrove and Nailsbourne, having the highest approximate population of the selected manors, make it likely that they would suffer more heavily from the Black Death than the more outlying and less populated manors of Rimpton, within the bounds of 16 to 23 per cent, and, as already discussed above, Holway, within the bounds of 20 to 29 per cent and Poundisford, within the bounds of 17 to 39 per cent. In comparison, Table 3.10 and

Figure 3.3(i) and (ii) (below) show that the less heavily-populated North Hampshire manors suffered less with a mortality range which fell within the bounds of 16 to 44 per cent but with an average mortality rate within the bounds of 21 to 30 per cent. Of the selected North Hampshire manors, Bentley, with the highest approximate mortality rate within the bounds of 31 to 44 per cent, instead of being protected by its detached position, being located some fifteen to twenty miles from Basingstoke on the Hampshire/Surrey border, suffered a lot more deaths than the other manors. The other five North Hampshire manors, being a lot less heavily populated than the Somerset manors, with a mortality rate within the bounds of 16 to 31 per cent, appeared to have suffered a lot less. From these very approximate figures we can see the absolute extremes. it would appear that the impact of the Black Death of 1348-49 was far more severe on the Somerset manors, with an average mortality rate within the bounds of 35 to 50 per cent, than the impact on the North Hampshire manors, with an average mortality rate within the bounds of 21 to 30 per cent, reflecting a significant loss of life in both the selected case study areas of the Winchester Diocese. The acceptance by this thesis of Russell's 3.5x multiplier and Krause's 5x multiplier has enabled mortality rates to be established for both the six selected Somerset manors and the six North Hampshire manors which fit the current views of medieval historians on the impact of the Black Death on England. For example, Horrox considers that medieval historians' assessment of mortality in 1348-49 have been rising steadily towards a death rate of almost one in two.[21] Whereas Hatcher maintains that the most judicious estimate of a national death rate in 1348-49 would be in the region of 30-45 per cent.[22] Therefore, the average death rate within the bounds of 35 to 50 per cent calculated by this thesis, for the selected Somerset manors, fits well into the higher end of Horrox's suggested death range. In contrast, the average death rate within the bounds of 21 to 30 per cent, show the Black Death inflicted some severe losses on the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors. However, by one means or another, by 1360, most of calculated for the selected North Hampshire manors, is at the lower end of Hatcher's suggested 30-45 per cent national death rate. As the above statistics show, the many vacant tenements were filled up so that the manorial organisation was maintained almost without alteration. Levett

[21] Horrox, *The Black Death*, 234.
[22] Hatcher, *Plague, Population and the English Economy, 1348-1530*, 25.

maintains that 'among the Bishop of Winchester's manors there is not one that suffered any important changes of system during the years 1348-55'.[23]

This thesis has shown that the population had been greatly reduced but the surviving population was able to meet the new demands made upon it and, to a large extent, fill the gaps left in its ranks. All twelve of the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors studied, Rimpton apart, perhaps, suffered a significant percentage increase in deaths compared with previous years. Although it is not certain that all those tenants listed necessarily died of the Black Death, this study of the number of deaths on those selected manors has shown that the mortality rate increased significantly in comparison to the pre-Black Death year of 1347-48. As other historians have found, it is difficult, and ultimately unreliable, to provide a percentage mortality rate without an accurate number of tenants that died before the Black Death. However, by studying the names and number of tenants that died during the Black Death years of 1348-49 and 1349-50, as well as the post- Black Death years of 1350-60, this thesis has shown the sheer scale of the impact of the Black Death upon the rural community. Personal tragedy is also very evident through the names of multiple family members and generations who died as a result of the Black Death. Examples given above included members of the Schole family of Poundisford who died, the devastation of the Quigge family of Bishop's Hull and the deaths four male members of the Haveling family of Nailsbourne are reminders of the horrific loss of life experienced at the time.

3.2 *Herietti*

Herietti (Heriots) are another useful historical source for researching the mortality of the rural community during the Black Death period. Heriots were generally paid on the death of a tenant and usually took the form of the best live beast or chattel of the deceased, which would then be delivered to the bishop. In many manors it became commuted into a money payment '*quia nullum habuit*' (because they had no livestock). In the Winchester pipe roll accounts, the *Herietti Denarii* (Heriots in Cash) sub-section usually follows the *Perquisites Curiae* (Profits from the Manor Court). The Heriot (Beast) entries are usually found in the Stock sub-section of the account under the specific animal heading, for example, *Affri* (Horses), *Boves* (Oxen), *Vacca* (Cows), *Boviculi* (2nd/3rd year old oxen), *Vituli* (calves) and so on. In

[23] Levett, *op.* cit., 86.

normal years, the heriot entry would be sparse and of little academic interest but as Levett confirms 'it becomes a valuable mortality indicator of deaths from the Black Death'.[24] In both the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors the Heriots (in Cash) were usually levied at the rate of 6 pence and, occasionally 1 shilling. As shown in Tables 3.4 and 3.5 (above), heriots were collected for the selected North Hampshire manors for both Heriots (in Cash) and Heriots (Beasts). However, heriots were collected for the selected Somerset manors for Heriot (Beasts) only.

As a source for calculating mortality, it is evident from Tables 3.4 and 3.5 (above), as well as Tables 3.11 and 3.12 (below), that the number of heriots received for the selected manors of both Somerset and North Hampshire during the Black Death year of 1348-49 increased substantially. For example, the Somerset manor of Holway's total heriots increased from 6 in 1347-48 to 143 in 1348-49, an increase of 2,383 per cent.[25] The North Hampshire manor of Bentley's total heriots increased from 3 in 1347-48 to 46 in 1348-49, an increase of 1,638 per cent. Figures 3.5 and 3.6 (below) show in graphic form the dramatic rise in the number of heriots via the huge spike in columns for the year 1348-49. The average number of heriots (in cash) and (beasts) received for the selected Somerset manors also increased from an average of 4.5 per manor in 1347-48 to an average of 94.8 per manor for the year 1348-49, an increase of 2,107 per cent. The average number of heriots (beasts only) received for the selected North

Hampshire manors increased from an average of 1.7 in 1347-48 to an average of 26.7 for the year 1348-49, an increase of 1,571 per cent. By the year 1351-52 the total number of Heriots (in Cash) and (Beasts) for the selected Somerset manors had dropped to 39 an average of 6.5 heriots per manor, i.e., returning to the more normal numbers of the pre-Black Death year of 1347-48. In that year of 1351-52, there were no Heriots (in Cash) or Heriots (Beasts) recorded for the selected North Hampshire manors. However, in each of the previous years of 1349-50 and 1350-51, 2 Heriots (Beasts) had been recorded, showing that these manors' numbers had dropped well below the 10 Heriots recorded for 1347-48. Finally, by the year 1359-60, the total number of heriots for the selected Somerset manors, Heriots (in Cash)

[24] Levett, *The Black Death*, 55.
[25] HRO 11M59/B1/101/7-9.

and (Beasts) combined, dropped to 15, an average of 2.5 per manor, indicating that these manors, too, had dropped below the pre-Black Death level of 27 heriots recorded for 1347-48. A comparison of the number of Heriots recorded in Tables 3.11 and 3.12 (below) with the number of Defaults and Fines reveals that the number of Heriots recorded is considerably fewer than the number of tenants defaulting on their rent or handing down land requiring the payment of fines. For example, in the pre-Black Death year of 1347-48, the total number of Heriots paid to the Bishop of the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors was 37, yet the number of tenants defaulting or fined was 157, a shortfall of 120 heriots.

Table 3.11 – Heriots of Selected Somerset Manors, 1347-60

Manor	1347-48	1348-49	1349-50	1350-51	1351-52	1352-53	1354-55	1359-60
Bishop's Hull	2	96	11	8	5	0	1	0
Holway	6	143	28	14	8	0	11	0
Nailsbourne	8	76	4	9	7	1	1	0
Poundisford	10	141	25	12	8	8	4	7
Rimpton	1	11	0	0	1	0	0	0
Staplegrove	0	102	11	18	10	8	6	8
Totals	**27**	**569**	**79**	**61**	**39**	**17**	**23**	**15**
Average	**4.5**	**94.8**	**13.2**	**10.2**	**6.5**	**2.8**	**3.8**	**2.5**

Figure 3.5 – Graph of Heriots of Somerset Manors, 1347-60

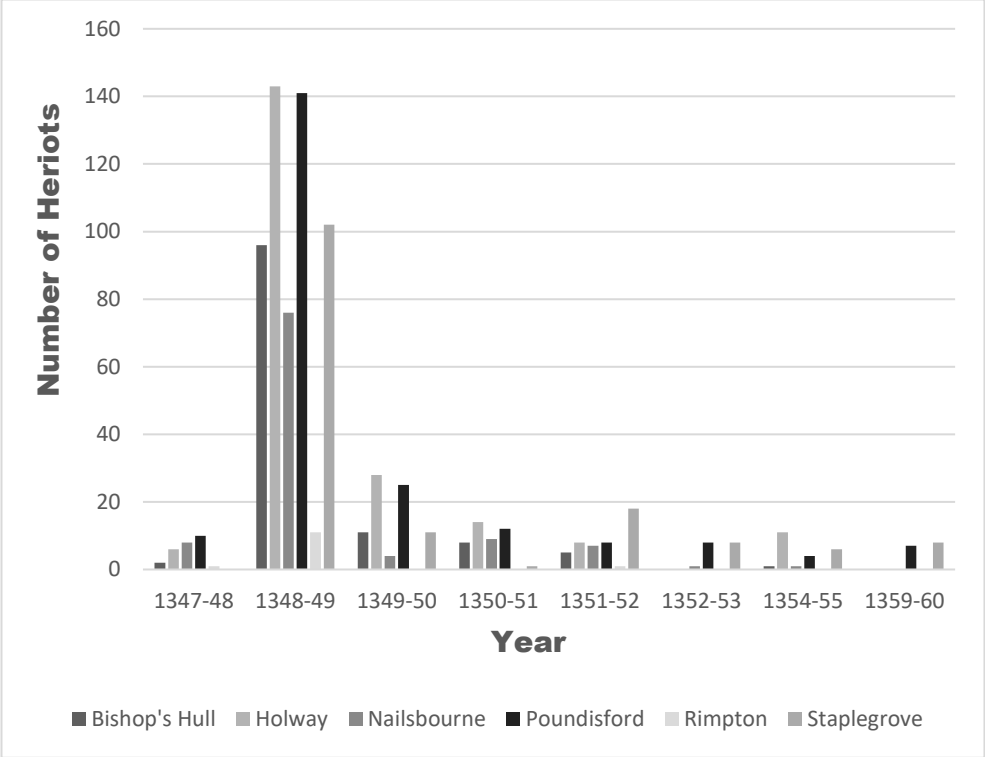
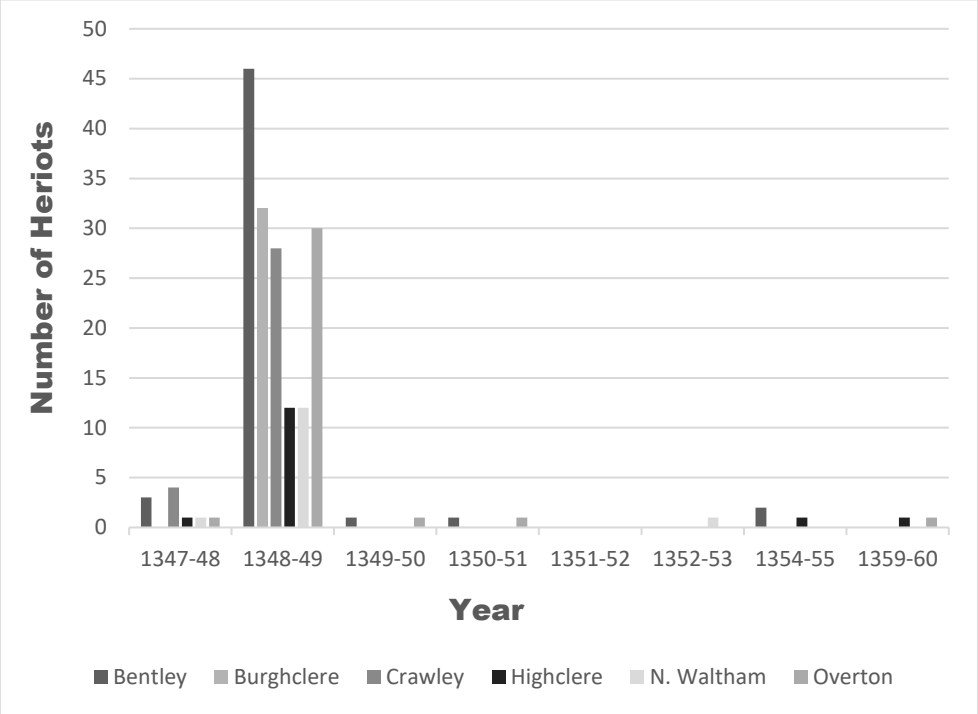


Table 3.12 – Heriots of Selected N. Hants Manors, 1347-60

Manor	1347-48	1348-49	1349-50	1350-51	1351-52	1352-53	1354-55	1359-60
Bentley	3	46	1	1	0	0	2	0
Burghclere	0	32	0	0	0	0	0	0
Crawley	4	28	0	0	0	0	0	0
Highclere	1	12	0	0	0	0	1	1
N. Waltham	1	12	0	0	0	1	0	0
Overton	1	30	1	1	0	0	0	1
Totals	**10**	**160**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**3**	**2**
Average	**1.7**	**26.7**	**0.3**	**0.3**	**0**	**0.16**	**0.5**	**0.3**

Figure 3.6 – Graph of Heriots of N. Hants Manors, 1347-60



During the Black Death year of 1348-49, the total number of Defaults and Fines for the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors rocketed to 746, as did the number of individual Heriots to 729 but there was still a shortfall of 17. By the year 1351-52, the situation had eased and the numbers of Defaults and Fines and the numbers of Heriots had dropped to more normal levels as England recovered from the Black Death. The number of Defaults and Fines for the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors totalled 273 and the number of Heriots totalled 39, a shortfall of 234. By the year 1359-60, the totals had dropped below the pre-Black Death year of 1347-48 numbers, to 116 for Defaults and fines compared to 16 Heriots, again, a shortfall of 100. It is clear from these figures that the number of Heriots received does not match the number of Defaults and Fines.

The above figures, compiled from Tables 3.4 and 3.5 (above) clearly show the impact of the Black Death, the numbers basically going 'through the roof'. However, as a measure of the number of deaths due to the plague, as Levett writes, 'one cannot be too confident'.[26] Robo is correct in his opinion that 'heriots are an unreliable source of mortality, which bear little or no relation to the number of

[26] Levett, *The Black Death*, 77.

deaths.'[27] As discussed above, Robo was wrong to disregard heriots altogether from his calculations. In an ideal situation, if each man's land paid only one heriot, the number of heriots paid would be an accurate guide to mortality. However, it is possible that, when a tenant added to his holdings, a heriot might be paid for each. In the pipe roll accounts, there are occasions when a tenant is recorded more than once paying a heriot. For example, in the Somerset manor of Poundisford's sub-section for Heriots (in Cash) for the year 1349-50, Richard Dollebury appears twice consecutively at heriot numbers 16 and 17.[28] Also, in the same account page, Richard Alwyne appears twice at numbers 19 and 20.[29] Another example is for the year 1348-49, in the Somerset manor of Bishop's Hull's sub-section for Heriots (in Cash) Thomas atte Putte appears twice, at numbers 10 and 12.[30]

This thesis has been careful to cross-check all pipe roll account entries for duplicate names across the years, across the sub-sections of Defaults, Fines and Heriots. When noted, duplicate names have been disregarded in the compilation of the various tables and figures, in an attempt to establish accurate lists of casualties of the Black Death to enable the impact of the Black Death to be analysed as accurately as possible. If all tenements were 'heriotable', it is clear that the number of tenements in the lord's hand, plus the number of fines, would give an approximate number of possible heriots and would thereby check the number of deaths. Unfortunately, as Levett says, 'many small tenements did not owe heriots and a tenement consisting entirely of overland, did not pay a heriot.'[31] Heriots are, indeed, a limited and unreliable source of evidence because they do not record all the deaths of the rural population to which they belong. Postan and Titow have declared that heriots do not include the deaths of infants and children but may include a few instances of deaths of boys and girls in their teens.[32] Whilst heriots are an important source to be included in any assessment of the impact of the Black Death on the rural community, it must be remembered that the heriot was a death duty levied on holdings, not on persons. Therefore, any attempt to calculate a

[27] Robo, *Medieval Farnham*, 211.
[28] HRO 11M59/B1/102/1 and 2.
[29] *Ibid.*
[30] HRO 11M59/B1/ 101/2 and 3.
[31] Levett, *The Black Death*, 80.
[32] Postan and Titow, 'Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors', 393.

mortality rate for all the individuals who died of the Black Death is going to be beset by difficulties.

3.3 Pipe Roll Accounting

The financial responsibility for the individual manors of the Winchester Diocese rested with the reeve (*prepositus*).[33] He was an unfree tenant of the bishop and was usually chosen for the position by the lord of the manor or, more often, by his fellow tenants.[34] In the cash account, the *Charge*, the reeve listed the income of the manor first. This derived partly from rents, the collection of which was one of the reeve's many duties, partly from fines imposed by the manor court and partly from the sale of produce. From these receipts were deducted the rising costs, the *Discharge*, of the manor, as expended by the reeve, the bailiff and other manor officials. Once the receipts and expenses were totalled up, the remainder, the *Arrears*, were owed by the reeve to the treasurer (*thesauriatus*) at Wolvesey Castle in Winchester. As Page explains, there was a tendency not to leave money in the reeve's hands and often the income collected on the manors was sent to Wolvesey Castle during the year before the audit at Michaelmas.[35] In the case of the Taunton manors, the income would first be sent to the receiver (*receptor)* at Taunton Castle and then on to Wolvesey Castle. On other occasions, explained by Harvey, the lord's representative would come to collect the proceeds, and take it to Winchester, soon after each quarter-day when the tenants paid rent.[36]

The importance of the reeve becomes evident when each manorial entry in the pipe roll accounts is studied. Each entry begins with a statement of the year of the bishop, in the case of this thesis, Bishop Edington, dating from his consecration. The name of the reeve follows; sometimes there are two names included. Levett considers that this might possibly be the name of an incoming and an outgoing reeve. The reeve might remain in office during a number of years or might change every year. In many cases the reeve seems to have survived the dangers of the Black Death and went on uninterruptedly accounting for the proceeds of the

[33] Note: A full description of the Winchester Pipe Rolls, the main historical source used in this chapter, has already been discussed in the 'Introduction' to this thesis (see pages 3-10).
[34] Harvey, *Manorial Records*, 5.
[35] M. Page, *The Pipe Roll of the Bishop of Winchester 1301-2*, xx.
[36] Harvey, *Manorial Records*, 30.

manor.[37] This was certainly the case for the Somerset manors and the North Hampshire manors of this study between the years 1345-1352. Research of the pipe rolls reveals that Ade atte More remained reeve of Holway manor throughout the years 1349-1354,[38] as did Robert atte Wood at Rimpton manor during the years 1346-1355.[39] Nicholas Eggisbury remained reeve of Staplegrove manor throughout the years 1348-1355,[40] as did John atte Hall at Crawley during the years 1345-1354.[41] It is also interesting to record that the treasurer at Wolvesey Castle, Winchester, John de Nubbeleye, remained in post throughout the period of this thesis, 1345-1355.[42] Therefore, the continuity of the administration effort, essential to the smooth-running of their manorial organisation, was certainly maintained in the above mentioned manors. As Hunt puts it 'the continuance in office for several years of the same person points to the value of expert knowledge and experience gained through service as reeve in balancing the demands of the manorial organisation against the grudging compliance of the customary tenants'.[43] However, further analysis of the position of reeves of the manors studied reveals that eight (75%) out of the twelve manors selected for this thesis, had a change of reeve during 1348-1349, the crucial year when the Black Death struck, confirming its potentially devastating impact on the smooth-running of the rural community.

The medieval pipe rolls system of accounting was ideally constructed to reveal at a glance the responsibility of the accounting officials and how far these responsibilities were discharged. As Hall explains, in an economy that was only just becoming geared to the idea of production for a market on any appreciable scale, profit and loss were not of primary concern to a lord, whereas his relationship with his manorial officials and the efficiency with which they performed their customary duties, were.[44] Therefore, pre-dating the accountancy concept of double-entry book-keeping, the pipe roll accounts were not designed to indicate profit. Their purpose was to indicate the state of the account between the official, usually the reeve, and his lord and to show how much was owing to one or the

[37] Levett, *The Black Death*, 14.
[38] HRO, 11M59/B1/102-107.
[39] HRO, 11M59/B1/99-108.
[40] HRO, 11M59/B1/101-108.
[41] HRO, 11M59/B1/98-107.
[42] HRO, 11M59/B1/98-108.
[43] Hunt, (ed.), *The Medieval Customs of the Manors of Taunton and Bradford on Tone*', xxv.
[44] N. R. Hunt, (ed.), *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1210-1211* (Manchester, 1964) xvii.

other once every transaction had been allowed for. Nevertheless, it is possible to calculate the level of income generated by the estate, to assess the various sources of this income, and estimate the profit made thereon. In the year 1301-1302 the total of cash deliveries amounted to about £2,405, a sum equivalent to the annual income of a middle ranking earl.[45] An examination of the pipe roll of 1302-1303 reveals that the £1,425 arrears carried forward from the previous year were paid into the treasury at Wolvesey by Michaelmas 1303 at the latest.[46] This meant that the bishop's total income from his estate between the end of 1301 and Michaelmas 1303 amounted to the considerable sum of £4,121. This was typical of the late 13th and 14th centuries as a whole. Titow has calculated that between 1299 and 1308 gross receipts ranged between £4,500 and £5,250 a year,[47] although Titow's figures are almost certainly too low because Titow excluded receipts from several manors and all the boroughs in his calculations. A further calculation has been made by Harriss, that the income received by the Bishop of Winchester in the first decades of the fifteenth century was upwards of £3,700 per annum, placing him in the ranks of the higher nobility.[48]

It would appear, from these figures of before and after the Black Death of 1348-1349 and a study of the pipe rolls themselves, that the accounts were continued without a break and without change in format during the two years of the plague. There is no sign whatsoever of the disuse of old methods, owing to the death of all the experienced accountants. However, the handwriting of the rolls appears to change during 1349 and does change during 1350-1351, being larger, in appearance. However, Levett considers that this is only a temporary change and only denotes a change of scribe at Winchester.[49] In addition to the continuity of reeves discussed above, it appears that on all the manors there still survived an official capable of giving in the usual exact details of his administration. Levett maintains that anyone who looked through one of the Winchester pipe rolls for the year 1349 or 1350 and compared it with a similar roll ten years earlier or later in date, 'can only be left with a strong impression of continuity in method and

[45] Page, *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2*, xx.
[46] HRO, 11M59/B1/59.
[47] Titow, 'Land and Population on the Bishop of Winchester's Estate, 1209-1350, 67.
[48] G. L. Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort* (Oxford, 1988) 109-110.
[49] Levett, *The Black Death*, 72.

prosperity'.[50] Levett continues her argument by stating that 'there is absolutely no sound evidence for retrogression or greater severity in exacting services after 1349 on the Winchester estates and that there is no connection between the Black Death and the Peasants' Revolt'.[51] Thus there was, according to Levett, no apparent ground for dissatisfaction on the bishop's manors; his tenants were, without doubt prosperous and were increasing in wealth and importance towards the critical years of 1377-1382. The hand of the bishop, though heavy, was firm and consistent, and his demands were probably being spread over an increasing population.[52] However, Levett's argument that, due to the lack of administrative dislocation upon the estates of the bishopric of Winchester, the Black Death was not of sufficient influence to produce any or lasting short-term economic effect, lacks substance. Hinde states that the plague of 1348-49 was only the first of many epidemics that were to strike the population of England at frequent intervals until the third quarter of the seventeenth century. It is clear, Hinde continues, that repeated mortality crises can have the effect of retarding population growth, even after accounting for the ability of the population to recover.[53] Goldberg also makes an important point where he writes that plague was not an autonomous agent of change, but that it worked with other processes. Therefore, he continues, the Black Death marked the arrival of a new force to which the demographic and economic system of England had to adjust.[54] Ormrod successfully argues that the clerks who wrote such records were trained not to chronicle catastrophes but to preserve information most crucial to the procedures of government.[55] It is to be remembered that the scribes for the Somerset and North Hampshire manors are compiling their accounts at Taunton and Winchester respectively from the details sent to them by the various reeves. Consequently, for Ormrod and Arthur,[56] the constant repetition of the phrase *per Pestilentiam*, 'on account of the pestilence', reflects a representation of the dramatic detail reaching central administration. The fact that the scribes continued

[50] *Ibid*., 72.
[51] *Ibid.,* 134.
[52] *Ibid.,* 135.
[53] Hinde, *England's Population: a History since the Domesday Survey* 32.
[54] Goldberg, 'Introduction' in Ormrod and Lindley (eds.), *The Black Death in* England, 4.
[55] W. M. Ormrod, 'The Politics of Pestilence: Government in England after the Black Death', in *The Black Death in England*, W. M. Ormrod and P. G. Lindley (eds.) (Donington, 1996) 148.
[56] Arthur, *The Impact of the Black Death on Seventeen Units of Account of the Bishopric of Winchester,* 234.

to document the workings of the manor cannot be assessed as an indifference to the horrors of the plague. When the pipe rolls are studied, from the very first heading, which list the amount of *Arreragia* (Arrears), the impact of the Black Death is revealed.

3.4 *Arreragia*

Data collected under the main pipe roll sub-heading of *Arreragia* list the amounts of arrears recorded for each manor for each particular year. For the purpose of this thesis, as shown in Tables 3.13 and 3.15, the years before, during and after the Black Death, 1345-1352, have been considered. The year 1359-1360, the year prior to a second outbreak of the Plague in the year 1361-1362, has also been included. The amount shown is the amount of the arrears from the preceding year. The amount always corresponds exactly with the entry '*et debet de claro*' (and he owes clear) of the previous year, and which is almost always paid off in full '*per 1 talliam'* (by one tally). As Dyer has commented, 'arrears were inevitable in a period when rents were tending to decline and strict auditing could leave large sums 'charged on account'.[57] Only by a judicious policy of allowing or respiting items from year to year, could they be kept within reasonable limits. Dyer continues that 'respiting was not applied too readily in order to maintain pressure on the manorial officials to pay up as much as possible.'[58]

Figures 3.7 and 3.8 and Tables 3.13 and 3.14 (below) clearly show the impact of the Black Death on the working of the rural community on the six Somerset manors chosen for this thesis. The Black Death reached Bristol in the summer of 1348 and then spread West through Somerset during the ensuing twelve months. It then abated somewhat during the following years but the cumulative effects of two years of epidemic and disorganisation can clearly be seen by studying the arrears figures for the Somerset manors. For example, the reeve of Holway during 1348-49, Ade atte More, would have tried hard to collect the £26.2s.10½d arrears and increase of 112 per cent from the average arrears amount of £23. 6s. 1d from the years 1345-48 and send it through to the treasurer at Taunton Castle. However, the arrears for 1349-50 rose to the unprecedented sum of £153. 15s. 9d, a

[57] Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society: Estates of the Bishop of Worcester 680-1540*, 117.
[58] *Ibid.*

considerable increase of 659 per cent. This was followed by a further high sum of £118. 9s. 2d, another considerable increase of 508 per cent for the following year of 1350-51. A similar problem faced, Nicholas Eggisbury, reeve of Staplegrove during these years. Staplegrove's arrears total, from an average during the years 1345-48 of £4. 8s. 9d increased to £19. 15s. 8¾d, an increase of 143 per cent in 1348-49, to £82. 14s. 7¼d in 1349-50, a massive increase of 1,855 per cent. This was followed by an even larger increase of 2,176 per cent to £97. 1s. 4¾d in 1349-50. As Tables 3.13 and 3.14 and Figures 3.7 and 3.8 (below) indicate clearly, the effects of the two years of the epidemic had made themselves severely felt by the end of 1350. However, further analysis of Tables 3.13 and 3.14 (below) and Figures 3.7 and 3.8 reveal, the impact of the Black Death somewhat abated during the 1350s, the arrears figures showing a gradual reduction. By the year 1359-60, prior to another outbreak of the plague in 1361-62, Tables 3.13 and 3.14 and Figures 3.7 and 3.8 show that arrears had been reduced to the more normal average pre-Black Death levels. For example, Holway's arrears were reduced to £12. 12s. 6d by 1359-60, a mere 54 per cent of an average of £23. 0s. 4d during the years 1345-48. Staplegrove's arrears had also been reduced by 1359-60 to £4. 3s. 0½d again a low 93 per cent of the average of £4 8s. 9d during the same years. Auditors were careful to keep arrears within reasonable limits by allowing or respiting certain amounts. Unfortunately, no annotated auditors' copies, as per Appendix B (1409-10 *compotus* roll for Droxford showing a number of crossings out made by the auditors) of the accounts for the Black Death period, have survived. However, it appears that this could be the case with the arrears of the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors. Enough arrears were left so as to maintain pressure on manorial officials to pay up as much as possible.

Table 3.13 – Arrears of Selected Somerset Manors, 1345-1360

	1345–46	1346–47	1347–48	1348–49	1349–50	1350–51	1351–52	1359–60
B. Hull	None	£9. 16s. 7½d	£21. 7s. 6½d	£34. 11s. 4d	£29. 2s. 4¾d	£51. 18s. 3¼d	£37. 16s. 3d	£31. 18s 10d
Holway	£28. 7s. 2¾d	£24. 9s. 7¾d	£17. 1s. 7½d	£26. 2s. 10½d	£153. 15s. 9d	£118. 9s. 2d	£91. 10s 4¼d	£12. 12s. 6d
Nailsbourne	None	£12. 16s. 7d	£26. 9s. 5¾d	£2. 17s. 10¼d	£18. 0s. 0¾d	£26. 10s. 8¼d	£21. 2s. 3d	£2. 4s. 3¾d
Poundisford	£2. 14s. 7¼d	£1. 8s. 0½d	£4. 16s. 5¼d	£6. 1s. 0¾d	£42. 9s. 1d	£69. 10s. 5¼d	£45. 13s. 8d	£16. 8s. 10¼d
Rimpton	None	£1. 10s.11¾d	£0. 15s. 8¾d	£2. 2s. 6d	£6. 4s. 3d	£18. 13s. 2d	£15. 10s. 3½d	£6. 0s. 6¾d
Staplegrove	£4. 3s. 11d	£0. 2s. 3d	£9. 0s. 11½d	£19. 15s. 8¾d	£82. 14s. 7½d	£97. 1s. 4¾d	£51. 19s. 0d	£4. 3s. 0½d

Figure 3.7 – Arrears of Selected Somerset Manors, 1345-1360[1]

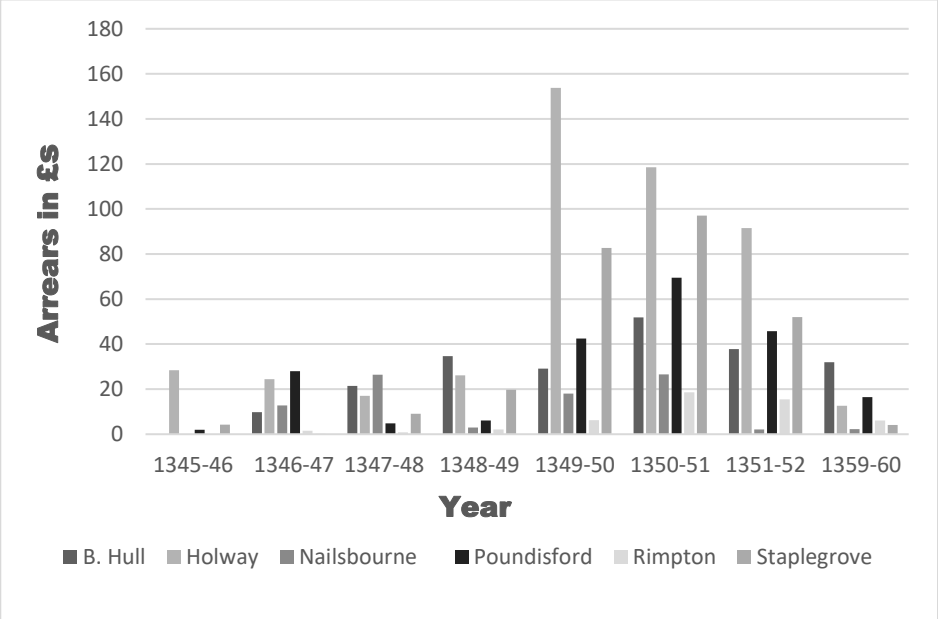


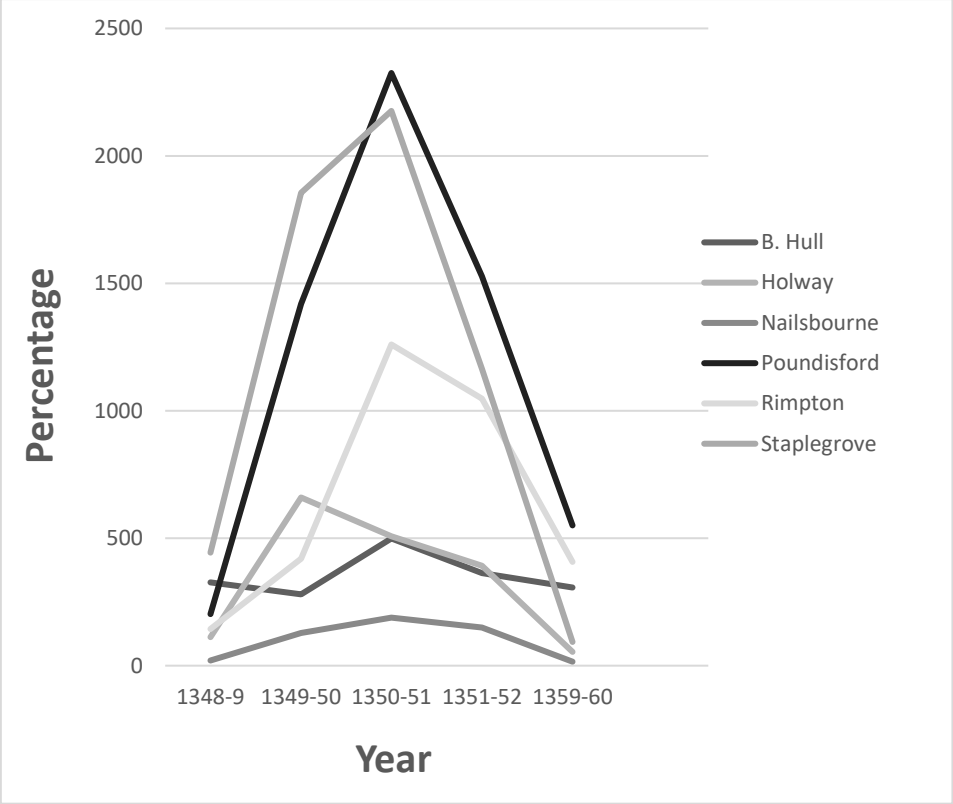
Table 3.14 – % Arrears Increase of Somerset Manors 1348-60[2]

	1345-48 Av. Arrear	1348-49 % Increase	1349-50 % Increase	1350-51 % Increase	1351-52 % Increase	1359-60 % Increase
B. Hull	£10.40	326.69	279.91	499.13	363.56	307.12
Holway	£23.31	112.14	659.76	508.19	392.62	54.18
Nailsbourne	£14.07	20.75	127.93	188.56	150.04	15.71
Poundisford	£2.99	202.34	1419.73	2325.18	1527.76	549.81
Rimpton	£1.48	143.92	419.61	1360.14	1047.97	407.43
Staplegrove	£4.46	444.17	1855.61	2176.46	1164.81	93.05

[1] Note: For ease of graphical representation, shillings and pence have been converted to a fraction of a pound, expressed as a decimal to two places. For example, North Hampshire manor of Burghclere for 1346-47, £54. 13s. 11¾d = £54.70.

[2] Note: In relation to Tables 3.13 and 3.14, Figures 3.7 and 3.8, an Index Value was created from an average of the Arrears amounts for the pre-Black Death years of 1345-46, 1346-47 and 1347-48. A comparison was then made with the Arrears accrued during the Black Death years of 1348-49 and 1349-50, as well as the post-Black Death years of 1350-51, 1351-52 and 1359-60. In this way the impact of the Black Death on the selected manors could be assessed and analysed.

Figure 3.8 – % Arrears Increase of Somerset Manors 1348-60



Similar to the impact of the Black Death on the Somerset manors, Tables 3.15 and 3.16 and Figures 3.9 and 3.10 (below), 'Arrears of Selected North Hampshire Manors, 1345-60', also clearly show the Black Death's impact on the working rural community of the six chosen manors. The Black Death reached North Hampshire in the early months of 1349. Bishop Edington's register records the death of Thomas, no surname given, and the appointment of Gregory de Stokebrugg' to St. Michael's Church, Basingstoke, on 7 April 1349.[3] This is followed by Stephen de Shirefeld's appointment to North Waltham Church on 15 April 1349,[4] William de Byketon's appointment to Overton Church on 12 May 1349[5] and Roger de Beutre to Highclere Church on 22 May 1349.[6] Finally, the register records the appointment of John de Ware's appointment to Crawley Church on 22 May 1349.[7] Though no reason is

[3] Hockey (ed.), The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester 1346-1366, Part 1, Fol.89, No.437, 73.
[4] *Ibid*., Fol.90, No.453, 75.
[5] *Ibid*., Fol.95, No.513, 82.
[6] *Ibid*., Fol.97, No.530, 84.
[7] *Ibid*., Fol.107, No.603, 93.

noted in the bishop's register for these last four appointments, it is likely that the previous incumbents were victims of the Black Death.[8] In comparison to the previous years, the totals of arrears recorded for 1349-50 and the years immediately following are much increased from the previous years. The following North Hampshire manors had particularly large increases: having had no arrears for the years 1345-48, Bentley's total of arrears increased from £6. 16s. 0d to £54. 4s. 10¼d, an increase of 798 per cent for the year 1348-49; from an average arrears amount of 8s. 3d for the years 1345-48, Crawley's arrears total increased from £1. 11s. 0½d in 1348-49 to £4. 2s. 0¾d in 1349-50 an increase of 1,000 per cent; North Waltham's average pre-Black Death arrears level of £1. 5s. 5d for the years 1345-48 increased to £4. 19s. 0d, an increase of 389 per cent. These large percentage increases in arrears, especially during the Black Death years of 1348 and 1349, reflect its devastating effects as it spread through the North Hampshire manors.

It should be noted that Bentley during the years 1345-48, Crawley during the years 1346-48, North Waltham during the years 1347-49 and Overton during the years 1347-48 had no arrears recorded. This may have been helped by the fact that during those years, i.e., for a number of years prior and during the Black Death, the same reeve had been in charge of affairs facilitating the continuity of the administrative effort and the smooth-running of the manorial farming processes. It is also easier to pressure local manorial officials than those further away. The continuance in office for a number of years of the same person 'points to the value of the expert knowledge and experience gained through service as reeve'.[9] This was the case at Bentley manor where Henry de Bathe was reeve from 1345-48 and arrears were recorded as 'none'. At Crawley manor, John atte Halle was reeve throughout the period 1345-52, with arrears during the years 1346-48 recorded as 'none'. Finally, at North Waltham manor, John Walkford was reeve from 1345-48 where arrears during 1347-49 were also recorded as 'none'. In contrast, on the selected Somerset manors, whilst there is some evidence of continuity of reeves, evidence from the pipe rolls indicates less of an effect on the arrears. For example, at Bishop's Hull manor, Roger Pegge was reeve during the years 1345-48 where arrears during 1345-46 only were recorded as 'none'. At Rimpton manor, Robert atte Wood was reeve throughout the period 1346-52 but was unable to lower the

[8] Note: this evidence is examined in more detail in Chapter Four.
[9] Hunt (ed.), *The Medieval Customs of the Manors of Taunton and Bradford on Tone*, xxv.

arrears below the arrears total of £0.15s.8¾d in 1346-47. Likewise, at Holway manor, Richard Harding's years of 1345-8 were unable to prevent the escalation of arrears, especially during the Black Death years of 1348-49. Again, the devastating impact of the Black Death is clearly shown through the escalation of arrears during the years 1348 and 1349. As in the North Hampshire manors, the selected Somerset manors suffered badly as the 'pestilence' spread rapidly through England.

The example of Burghclere from the North Hampshire manors is worth noting. Burghclere, consisting of 1,200 acres, cannot be considered a particularly large manor when compared, for example to the 6,762 acres of a large manor such as Overton. However, the number of arrears for the manor of Burghclere appears to be particularly high throughout the period shown in Table 3.15 with an average total of arrears of £38. 18s 1d recorded during the years 1345-48. A closer investigation of the figures for Burghclere from the pipe rolls reveals that, during the years 1345-60, on only three occasions, 1345-46, 1352-53 and 1354-55[10], were the arrears paid off in full by '*1 tallia*' (1 tally) and the words '*Et quietus est*' (And he is quit) included as confirmation by the scribe. Settling the arrears amount, usually early in the financial year, tended to be standard practice on manors throughout England at the time. Unfortunately, by only paying off small amounts, the Burghclere reeves allowed the total of arrears to build up unusually high. Whilst the reeves of Burghclere could be criticised for inefficiently handling the manor's finances, and perhaps failing to collect the required rents in time, these were, however, extraordinary times. The reeve could only pay off what he could collect. Consequently, this led to unusually high arrears levels during these years. Burghclere's tenants appear committed to unusually or artificially high rents, emphasizing again that the Black Death hit Burghclere particularly hard.

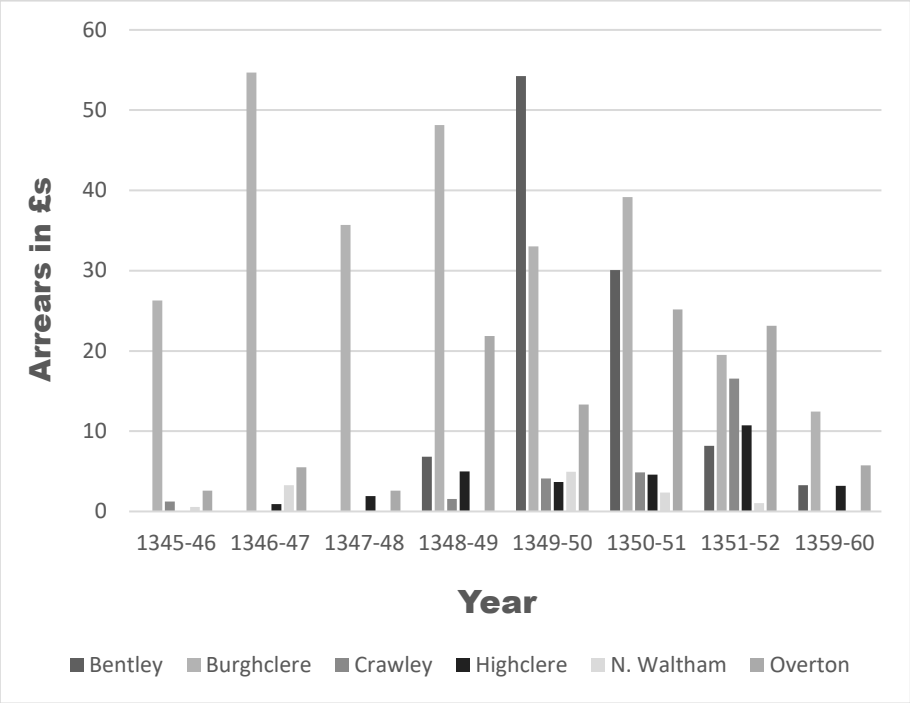
Burgclere is situated about seven miles north of Basingstoke where the first recorded Black Death victim was on 7 April 1349 with the death of Thomas (surname given), rector of St. Michael's Church[11] in the town centre. The Black

[10] HRO, 11M59/B1/98/30; 11M59/B1/105/19; 11M59/B1/107/19.
[11] S. F. Hockey (ed.), 'The Register of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester, 1346-1366, Part 1,' *Hampshire Record Series*, Vol.VII ((Winchester, 1986) Folio 89, No.437, 73.

Table 3.15 – Arrears of Selected North Hampshire Manors, 1345-60

	1345-46	1346-47	1347-48	1348-49	1349-50	1350-51	1351-52	1359-60
Bentley	None	None	None	£6. 16s. 0d	£54. 4s. 10¾d	£30. 1s. 3¼d	£8. 3s. 7d	£3. 5s. 4d
Burghclere	£26. 6s. 0½d	£54 13s.11¾d	£35. 14s. 3½d	£48. 2s. 11d	£33. 0s. 4d	£39. 3s. 9¼d	£19. 10s. 2d	£12. 8s. 10¼d
Crawley	£1. 4s. 9d	None	None	£1. 11s. 0½d	£4. 2s. 0¾d	£1. 17s. 8d	£16. 11s. 0¼d	None
Highclere	None	£0. 18s. 4¾d	£1. 16s. 8½d	£4. 19s. 4d	£3. 13s. 6d	£4. 12s 0½d	£10. 14s. 5½d	£3.3s.7d
N. Waltham	£0. 11s. 3d	£3. 5s. 1d	None	None	£4. 19s. 0d	£2. 7s. 1¾d	£1. 0s. 10½d	None
Overton	£2. 12s. 0¼d	£5. 9s. 11¾d	£2. 12s. 0¼d	£21. 16s. 10¾d	£13. 6s. 4d	£25. 2s. 11d	£23. 2s. 11d	£5. 15s. 0½d

Figure 3.9 – Arrears of Selected N. Hants Manors, 1345-60



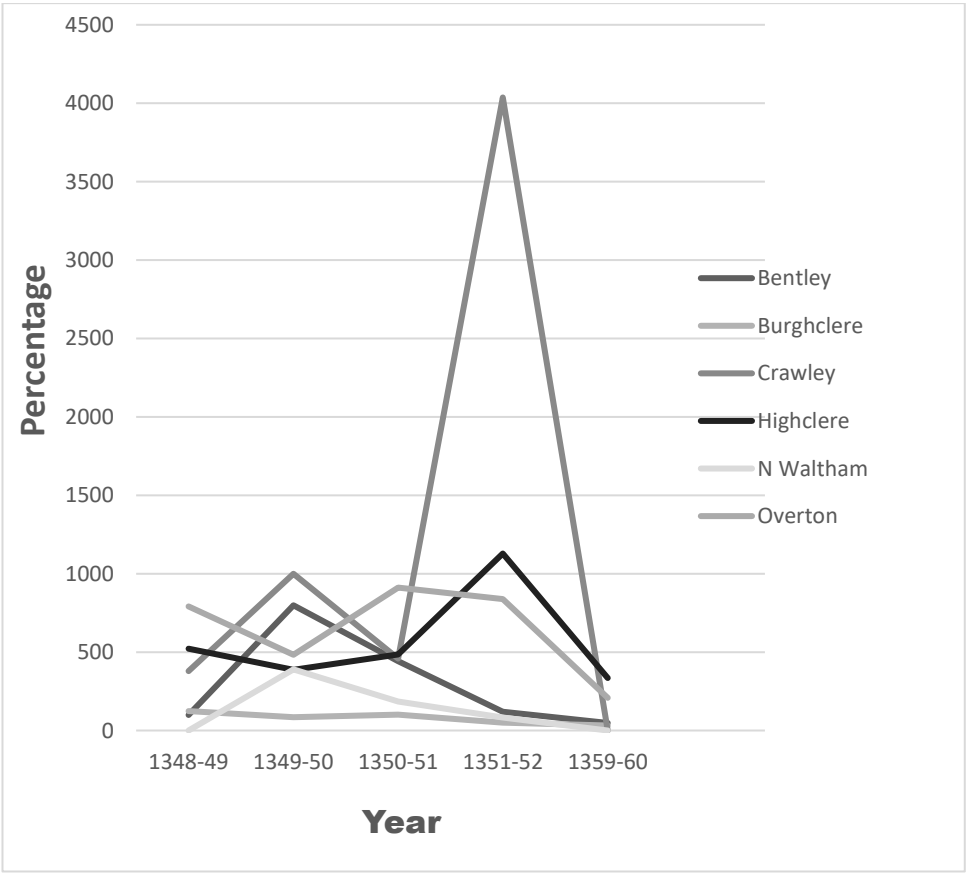
Death then quickly spread throughout the manors in the surrounding area, including Burghclere and the five other selected North Hampshire manors. The appearance of the Black Death in Burghclere was confirmed by the large total of arrears of £48. 2s. 11d recorded for Burghclere in the pipe roll of 1348-49. Burghclere suffered hugely from the Black Death, the amount of £4. 0s. 8d recording the names of thirty-five tenant holders, who died of the plague, under the sub-heading *Defectus per Pestilentiam*, in the pipe roll for the year 1349-50.[1] This is confirmed by Shillington, in the *Victoria County History*, writing that 'the north and north-west of the county of Hampshire also suffered. On the manor of Burghclere, for instance, the families thirty-five tenants died out.'[2] Nevertheless, after the high amounts incurred during previous years, by 1359-60 Burghclere's arrears had been greatly reduced to £12. 8s. 10¼d.of arrears.

[1] HRO, 11M59/B1/102, m. 53.
[2] V. S. Shillington, 'Social and Economic History' in W. Page (ed.), *The Victoria County History, a History of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, Vol.V, (London, 1903) 42.

Table 3.16 – % Arrears Increase of N Hants Manors 1348-60

	1345-48 Arrears	1348-49 % Arrears	1349-50 % Arrears	1350-51 % Arrears	1351-52 % Arrears	1359-60 % Arrears
Bentley	£5.04	100.00	798.24	442.06	120.29	48.09
Burghclere	£38.90	123.80	84.88	100.64	50.17	31.98
Crawley	£0.41	378.05	1000.00	458.54	4036.59	0.00
Highclere	£0.95	521.05	387.37	484.21	1128.42	334.74
N Waltham	£1.27	0.00	389.76	185.03	81.89	0.00
Overton	£2.76	790.58	482.61	911.23	838.77	208.33

Figure 3.10 – % Arrears Increase of N Hants Manors 1348-60



Similarly, as shown in Table 3.15 and Figure 3.9 (above) and Table 3.16 and Figure 3.10 (above), overall the arrears for the other selected North Hampshire manors show a gradual reduction and recovery during the decade of the 1350s. By 1359-60, prior to a further outbreak of the plague in 1360-61, Table 3.15 shows that, for each of the six selected manors, arrears had been reduced to nearer more average pre-Black Death levels. However, a closer scrutiny of the data suggests that the reduction of arrears was not necessarily a natural progression by the six North Hampshire manors. At Crawley and North Waltham, the aforementioned continuity of the same reeve in charge for a number of years helped keep the arrears down below five pounds per annum on average and helped achieve a 'None' return again by 1359-60. This had previously been achieved by Crawley in 1346-47 and by both Crawley and North Waltham in 1347-48. However, the large percentage increase in arrears shown by the manor of Crawley from 378% in 1348-49 to 1000% in 1349-50, as indicated in Figure 3.10 by the large spike in the graph, is the result of a relatively low amounts of arrears during the years 1345-48. Unfortunately, the impact of the Black Death on Crawley was particularly severe, as will be shown later in this chapter by the large numbers of deaths and defaults in rent due to the 'pestilence' recorded in the pipe roll accounts.

In contrast, the arrears figures of the other four North Hampshire manors suggest a degree of help, on the lines suggested by Dyer.[3] Taking the 1345-48 average arrears as an index value, Bentley's arrears had been reduced from a peak of £54. 4s. 10¾d in 1349-50 (an increase of 798 per cent) to £3. 5s. 4d, an increase of only 48 per cent, by 1359-60. As previously discussed, Burghclere's arrears had been reduced from a high of £38. 10s. 0d, an increase of 84 per cent, to £12. 8s. 10¼d, an increase of a mere 31 per cent, by 1359-60. Highclere, whose arrears had increased to £10. 14s. 5½d, from a low average per year of £0. 18s. 11¾d, an increase of 1,128 per cent, for the previous years of 1345-48, managed to reduce the arrears to £3. 3s. 7d, an increase of 334 per cent, by 1359-60. Finally, Overton, whose low annual arrears average of £2. 0s. 6d for the years 1345-48, including 'None' in 1347-48, had risen to a higher average amount of over £20. 16s. 4d during the years 1348-52. However, by the year 1359-60, this had been reduced to £5. 15s. 0½d, a more manageable increase of 208 per cent. In the case of these last

[3] Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society*, 117.

four manors, it is likely that, as Dyer suggests, by a policy of allowing or respiting items from year to year, arrears could be kept within reasonable limits.[4]

It is also noteworthy how far the arrears compare to the overall income of the chosen Somerset and North Hampshire manors included in this thesis. Study of the details of the pipe roll accounts for these manors, as shown in Table 3.17 and Figure 3.11, and Table 3.18 and Figure 3.12 (below) for selected years during the period 1347-1360, detail a comparison of arrears and income for the chosen Somerset and North Hampshire manors and reveal the extent of these gains. In relation to the chosen Somerset manors, Table 3.17 shows that in the years 1345-48 the total arrears consisted of an average of one thirteenth or 8 per cent of the total income received. During the Black Death years of 1348-49 and 1349-50 the amounts of arrears increase dramatically to average arrears of one fifth or 20 per cent of the total income. However, by the year 1359-60 the arrears have reduced back down again to one thirteenth or 8 percent of the total income, i.e., back to the pre-Black Death levels.

The examples of the manors of the Somerset manors of Holway and Staplegrove show particularly dramatic changes in both the amounts of arrears and income. Comparison of Holway's arrears and income figures, as shown in Table 5, for the pre-Black Death years of 1345-48, realise an average for the arrears of £19. 19s. 9d compared to an average income of £135. 9s. 6d, i.e., the arrears consisting of one seventh or 14 percent of the income for those years. During the two years of the Black Death, 1348-49 and 1349-50, the arrears average increased to £89. 19s. 3¾d, as did the income average for those two years increase to £384. 7s. 8¾d. The arrears, therefore, increasing to one quarter or twenty-five per cent of the income, show a substantial increase as a result of the Black Death. However, by 1359-60 Holway's arrears had decreased to £12. 12s. 6¼d, and the income had decreased to £225. 11s. 10¼d. The arrears had, therefore, largely returned to around the pre-Black Death levels of one eighteenth or 5 per cent of the income. Comparison of the arrears and income figures for Staplegrove, show that the pre-Black Death amounts of arrears for the years of 1345-48, as listed in Table 3.17, average out at £4. 9s. 0½d per year, which is equal to approximately one twenty seventh or about 4 percent of the average annual income of £120. 12s. 5¾d for the same years. The

[4] *Op. cit.*, 117.

Black Death years of 1348-49 and 1349-50 show a significant change. Similar to Holway, the average annual arrears amount for those two years increased to £51. 5s. 2d which is one quarter or 25 per cent of the average annual income of £229. 11s. 7¼d for the same period. However, by the year 1359-60 arrears and income amounts have largely been reduced down to the pre-Black Death levels as shown in Table 3.17. The arrears amount has been reduced to £4. 3s. 0½d which is one thirtieth or 3 per cent of the income amount of £125. 19s. 11½d.

In relation to the selected North Hampshire manors, Table 3.18 shows that in the years 1345-48 the total arrears consisted of an average of one eighth or 14 per cent of the total income received. During the two years of the Black Death, 1348-49 and 1349-50, the amounts of arrears increased to one fifth or 20 per cent of the total income. However, by the year 1359-60 the arrears are reduced down to one fourteenth or 7 per cent of the total income received, i.e., back to below the pre-Black Death amounts. The pipe rolls for the North Hampshire manors of Bentley and Highclere for the period 1345-60 reveal some interesting accounting details. Study of Bentley's figures for the pre-Black Death years of 1345-8 show 'None', compared to an average income of £55. 14s. 2¼d, perhaps a tribute to the hard work of Henry de Bathe, reeve during these years. During the two years of the Black Death, 1348-49 and 1349-50, the arrears averaged £30. 10s. 5½d compared to an income average of £75. 18s. 1¼d. The arrears, therefore, increasing to one third or 33 per cent of the income, thus showing a substantial increase as a result of the Black Death. However, by 1359-60 Bentley's arrears and income had decreased to £3. 5s. 4d and £49. 6s. 1d. respectively. The arrears had, therefore, been reduced to one fourteenth or 7 per cent, a level similar to the other manors in North Hampshire and Somerset. The accounting details for the manor of Highclere reflect a slightly different set of results. During the period 1345-48 Table 3.18 (below) shows an average arrear of £0. 18s. 4½d compared to an average income of £38. 15s. 5d, the arrears consisting of one forty second or 2 per cent of the income for those years. During the two years of the Black Death, 1348-49 and 1349-50, the arrears average increased rapidly to £4. 6s. 5d, as did the income average increase to £56. 13s. 2¾d. The arrears, therefore, increasing to one thirteenth or 8 per cent of the income and showing the considerable impact of the Black Death. However, by 1359-60, Highclere's arrears decreased to £3. 3s. 7d, which is one fourteenth or 7 per cent of the income of £52. 3s. 5¼d.

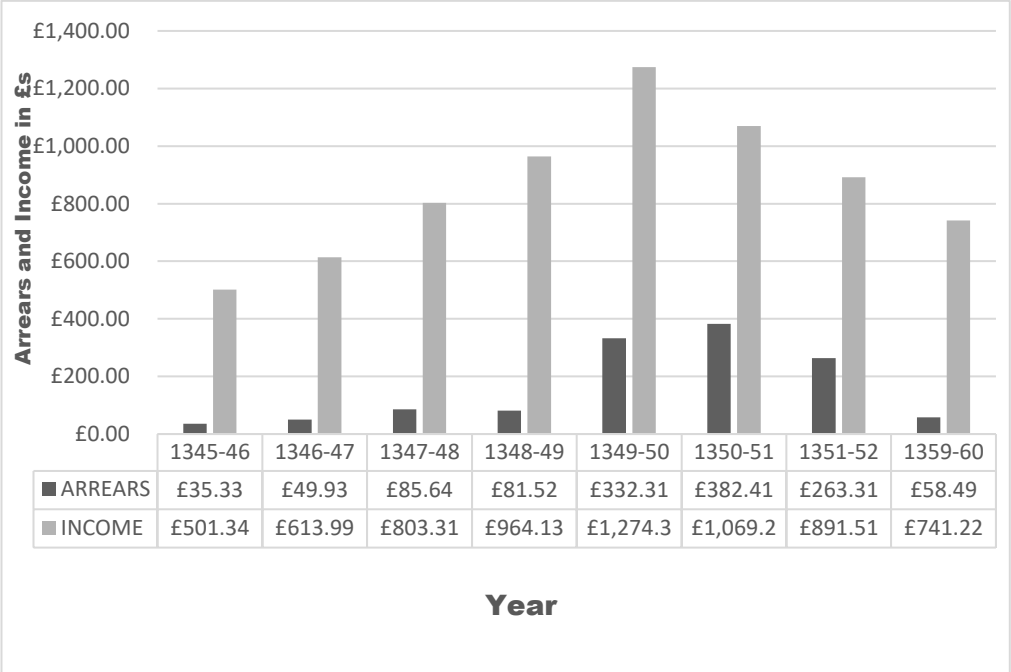
Table 3.17 – Comparison of Arrears/Income – Somerset Manors, 1345-60

	1345-46	1346-47	1347-48	1348-49	1349-50	1350-51	1351-52	1359-60
B. Hull	None £86.7s.1d	£9.16s.7½d £128.7s.8¾d	£27.7s.6½d £131.10s.0¼d	£34. 11s.4d £148.1s.5¼d	£29.2s.4¾d £174.4s.10¾d	£51.18s.3¼d £161.8s.3½d	£37.16s.3d £124.6s.8d	£26.18s.10d £146.16s.11½d
Holway	£28.7s.11¾d £97.1s.9¾d	£24.9s.7¾d £69.17s.6¼d	£17.1s.7½d £239.9s.2½d	£26.2s.10½d £333.16s.5½d	£153.15s.9d £434.19s.0d	£118.9s.2d £337.3s.6d	£91.10s.4¼d £282.16s.9¾d	£12.12s.6¼d £225.11s.10¼d
Nailsbourne	None £42.11s.5½d	£12.16s.7d £109.8s.2¾d	£26.9s.5¾d £104.2s.8d	£2.17s.10¼d £74.4s.5d	£18.0s.0¾d £80.14s.8d	£26.10s.8½d £106.0s.3½d	£21.2s.3d £81.19s.1d	£2.4s.3¾d £69.10s.6¾d
Poundisford	£2.14s.7¼d £110.1s.9¼d	£1.0s.8½d £114.7s.4d	£4.16s.5¼d £115.10s.0d	£6.0s.1¾d £159.2s.3d	£42.9s.1d £235.5s.4¾d	£69.10s.5¼d £183.17s.9½d	£45.13s.8d £159.16s.1¾d	£16.8s.10¼d £141.19s.4¼d
Rimpton	None £53.9s.2d	£1.10s.11¾d £65.17s.10½d	£0.15s.8¾d £88.11s.9½d	£2.2s.6d £41.3s.4½d	£6.4s.3d £98.1s.10d	£18.13s.2d £70.3s.4d	£15.3s.10½d £80.8s.11d	£6.0s.6¾d £51.7s.2½d
Staplegrove	£4.3s.11d £111.15s.6d	£0.2s.3d £126.1s.2¾d	£9.0s.11½d £124.0s.7½d	£19.15s.8¾d £208.3s.9d	£82.14s.7½d £250.19s.5¾d	£97.1s.4¾d £210.9s.3d	£51.19s.0d £162.2s.6¾d	£4.3s.0½d £125. 19s.11½d
Totals	**£35.6s.6d** **£501.6s.9½d**	**£49.17s.7½d** **£613.19s.11d**	**£85.11s.9¼d** **£803.6s.3¾d**	**£81.10s.5¼d** **£964.1s.8¼d**	**£332.6s.2d** **£1274.5s.3¼d**	**£382.8s.1¾d** **£1069.2s.5½d**	**£263.5s.2¾d** **£891.10s.2¼d**	**£58.9s.11½d** **£741.4s.10¾d**

Table 3.18 – Comparison of Arrears/Income – North Hampshire Manors

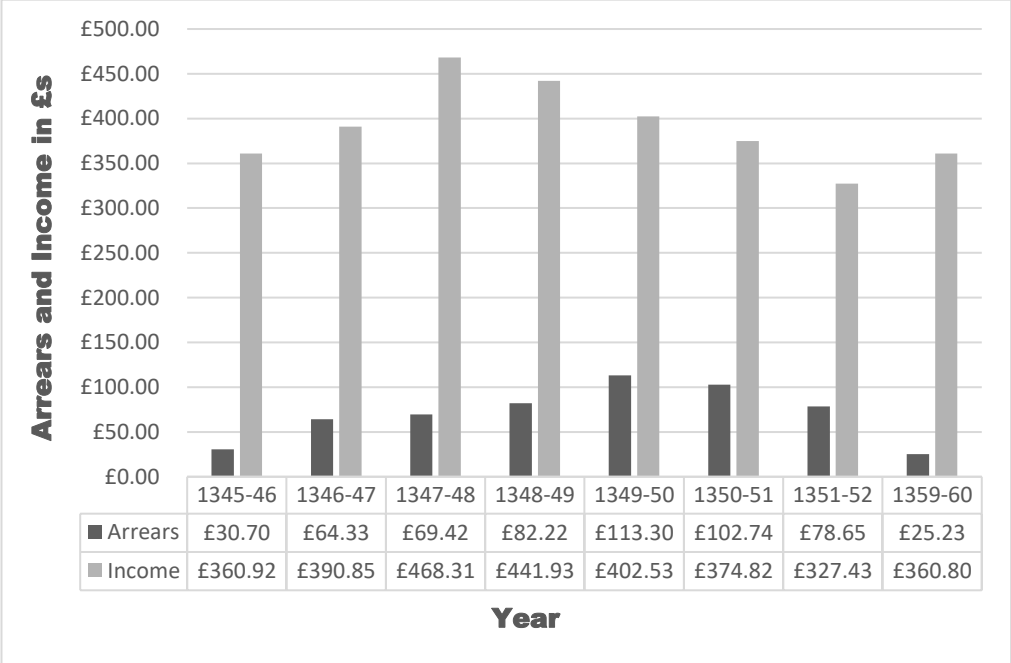
	1345-46	1346-47	1347-48	1348-49	1349-50	1350-51	1351-52	1359-60
Bentley	None £46.18s.2¾d	None £44.11s.2¼d	None £75.13.2d	£6.16s.0d £95.6s.0½d	£54.4s.10¾d £56.10s.2d	£30.1s.3¼d £35.11s.10d	£8.3s.7d £43.10s.3d	£3.5s.4d £49.6s.1d
Burghclere	£26.6s.0½d £97.16s.11d	£54.13s.2¾d £130.17s.3d	£34.14s.3½d £135.5s.3¾d	£48.2s.11d £138.19s.1d	£33.0s.4d £121.6s.3½d	£39.3s.9¼d £96.19s.6½d	£19.10s.2d £61.3s.10d	£12.17s.5¾d £71.15s.5¾d
Crawley	£1.4s.9d £58.1s.10½d	None £59.19s.5d	None £69.19s.10d	£1.11s.0½d £55.0s.2¼d	£4.2s.0¾d £68.7s.3¾d	£1.17s.8d £76.13s.5d	£16.11.0¼d £51.11s.8d	None £69.0s.8d
Highclere	None £53.19s.3d	£0.18s.4¾d £17.14s.7½d	£1.16s.8½d £44.12s.5d	£4.19s.4d £61.9s.9½d	£3.13s.6d £51.16s.8d	£4.12s.0½d £46.17s.2½d	£10.14s.5½d £41.19s.2d	£3.3s.7d £52.3s.5¼d
N. Waltham	£0.11s.3d £18.0s.7d	£3.5s.1d £44.14s.10½d	None £26.13s.10d	None £12.4s.7d	£4.19s.0d £24.0s.3d	£2.7s.1¾d £17.19s.4d	£1.0s.10½d £9.12s.0d	£0.18s.1½d £30.0s.3¼d
Overton	£2.12s.0¼d £86.10s.8½d	£5.9s.11¼d £93.2s.7¾d	£2.12.0¼d £116.3s.8¼d	£21.16.10¾d £78.19s.0d	£13.6s.4d £80.9s.8d	£25.2s.11d £100.17s.1d	£23.2s.11d £119.11s.8¾d	£5.0s.0½d £88.11s.5¾d
Totals	**£30.14s.0¾d** **£360.17s.5¼d**	**£64.6s.7¾d** **£390.17s.11d**	**£39.4s.10¼d** **£468.5s.3d**	**£82.4s.2¼d** **£441.18s.8¼d**	**£113.6s.1½d** **£402.10s.6¼d**	**£102.13s.9¾d** **£374.16s.5d**	**£79.3s.4d** **£327.8s.7¾d**	**£25.4s.7¼d** **£360.17s.5d**

Fig. 3.11–Comparison of Arrears/Income, Somerset Manors 1345-60



	1345-46	1346-47	1347-48	1348-49	1349-50	1350-51	1351-52	1359-60
ARREARS	£35.33	£49.93	£85.64	£81.52	£332.31	£382.41	£263.31	£58.49
INCOME	£501.34	£613.99	£803.31	£964.13	£1,274.3	£1,069.2	£891.51	£741.22

Fig. 3.12–Comparison of Arrears/Income, N. Hants Manors, 1345-60



	1345-46	1346-47	1347-48	1348-49	1349-50	1350-51	1351-52	1359-60
Arrears	£30.70	£64.33	£69.42	£82.22	£113.30	£102.74	£78.65	£25.23
Income	£360.92	£390.85	£468.31	£441.93	£402.53	£374.82	£327.43	£360.80

Similar to the focus on the other aspects of the North Hampshire and Somerset manors of this study, the arrears, therefore, had begun to reduce and return to the pre-Black Death levels. Figures 3.11 and 3.12 represent in graphic form the relationship between the arrears and income of the selected Somerset manors, especially how the pre-Black Death amounts are impacted upon by the two main Black Death years of 1348-49 and 1349-50 before reverting back to the pre-Black Death levels by the year 1359-60. The income accounts, extracted from the pipe roll accounts for the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors show how Bishop Edington gained rather than lost during 1348-49 and 1349-50. The Bishop of Winchester particularly gained from the number of fines that ensued from defaults of rent due to the death from the pestilence of numerous tenant farmers. Fines became due when the tenancies were taken over by new tenants. The other account items that show a large and consistent increase are the heriots which are also included as a cash item in the income sub-sections. The heriots paid in kind can only be found in detail in the 'Stock' sub-section towards the end of the account, with no attempt being made at a cash evaluation.[1]

The increases in income of the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors as a result of the Black Death are clearly shown in Figures 3.11 and 3.12. Figure 3.11 shows an increase in monetary value of the Somerset manors of between 2 to 11 times as much as in normal years. Figure 3.12 shows an increase in monetary value of the North Hampshire manors of between 2 to 4 times as much as in normal years. Overall, their average monetary value increases between 3 times (North Hampshire) to 6 times (Somerset). Not for nothing was the Vale of Taunton, containing five of the selected six Somerset manors, called the 'paradise of England'.[2] Indeed, Page considers that the bailiwicks of Taunton were by far the most valuable in the Winchester diocese, 'generating an income almost double that of most others'.[3] Though the Somerset manors were larger in size of acreage than the North Hampshire manors and better in the quality of soil and the amount of grain produced, thereby generating a larger income, when the two areas are compared, as in the tables and figures above, there is a similar pattern of an increase in cash revenue for the two Black Death years compared to the pre-Black

[1] Note: The Fines and Heriots sub-sections of the pipe roll accounts, as an aspect of the impact of the Black Death are analysed and discussed fully later in this chapter.
[2] E. Miller, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, III, 1348-50 (Cambridge, 1991) 137.
[3] Page, 'The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2, xxi.

Death years of 1345-48 which, in turn, is followed by a decrease back to the pre-Black Death average by 1359-60. This is in agreement with Levett who, in the general conclusion to her comprehensive study of the Black Death, considers that 'there is evidence of severe evanescent effects and temporary changes, with a rapid return to the *status quo* of 1348'.[4] This also corroborates the view of Horrox who maintains that some change did occur as a direct result of the Black Death of 1348-49 but that it was, for a time, contained.[5]

The large increases in the amounts of arrears and income generated by the six selected Somerset and six selected North Hampshire manors are a reflection of the high death toll experienced by those manors during the Black Death of 1348-49. As people in the rural communities died, more arrears accrued. The more people that died the larger the number of fines that were accumulated by the lord of the manor and, eventually, Bishop Edington of Winchester. As the arrears and fines increased, so did the Bishop's income. Page maintains that, out of the £5,188 generated by the Winchester Diocese in 1301-2, over £1,590 came from rents.[6] Harriss has calculated that, by 1409-10, the income received by the Bishop was upwards of £3,700 per annum,[7] making him very rich indeed. It is no coincidence that the amounts of arrears recorded immediately after the Black Death are among the highest documented for the period studied. Tenants rents had remained almost unchanged for over a century before the Black Death. As a consequence of the large numbers of people dying from the pestilence, rents went unpaid leading to a large increase in the amount of defaults being recorded during this time. In addition, the number of fines of family members and people of the manor, who took over vacant tenancies, which became due when tenancies were taken over by new tenants, rose to unprecedented heights. Much of the increase in monetary gains accrued by Bishop Edington of Winchester during the period of 1345-60 came mainly as a result of the Black Death.

[4] Levett, The Black Death, 142.
[5] Horrox (trans. and ed.), *The Black Death*, 236.
[6] Page (ed.), 'The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1302-2' xxii.
[7] Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort*, 109-110.

3.5 *Redditus Assisus*

Redditus Assisus (Rents of Assize) provide further evidence of the impact of the Black Death on the rural community. 'Rents of Assize' were fixed annual money rents that were usually paid quarterly, and were based on the size of the tenant's holding. As Table 3.19 (below) shows, the 'Rents of Assize' for the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors appear as a standardised account item recorded in the pipe rolls. These rents, fixed by custom, generally remained unchanged between the years 1301 to 1409.[8] The amount of rents, according to Levett, had increased since 1208 but by 1346 the 'Rents of Assize' had become a fixed and conventional item in the pipe roll accounts.[9] Table 3.19 (below), comparing the 'Rents of Assize' for the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors between the years 1345-60 confirm the stable nature of the rents during this period. This is also in agreement with Levett who states that 'the rent figures in some districts hardly vary between 1346 and 1455'.[10] However, occasionally an *Incrementum Redditus* (Increase of Rent) is noted. Levett gives the example of one of the tenants adding a few yards of path or a tiny corner of a field or a plot of the lord's waste, to his holding and paying an additional 2d or 3d in rent.[11] *Incrementum* examples from Table 3.19 (below) are: an increase of 3d at Nailsbourne from £26. 19s. 2¼d (1346-47) to £26. 19s. 5¼d (1347-48);[12] an increase of 7d at Bentley from £17. 15s. 2½d (1349-50) to £17. 15s. 9½d (1350-51) recorded as *Incrementum Redditus* for 'a piece of land 22 feet by 1 foot acquired by John Gode.'[13] Another example, of an increase of 1d, was recorded for Overton from £31. 18s. 2¼d (1346-47) to £31. 18s. 3¼d (1347-48) recorded as *Incrementum Redditus* for Robert le Smyth for 'one piece of waste land'. As discussed above, Tables 3.13 and 3.14 and Figures 3.7 and 3.8 clearly show the escalating arrears totals during the1340s culminating in the peak Black Death year of 1349-50. The fact that the 'rents of assize' continue almost unchanged during this time and in the absence of the bishop raising or lowering rents to reflect prevailing economic conditions, arrears were inevitable. Tenants often became unable or unwilling to

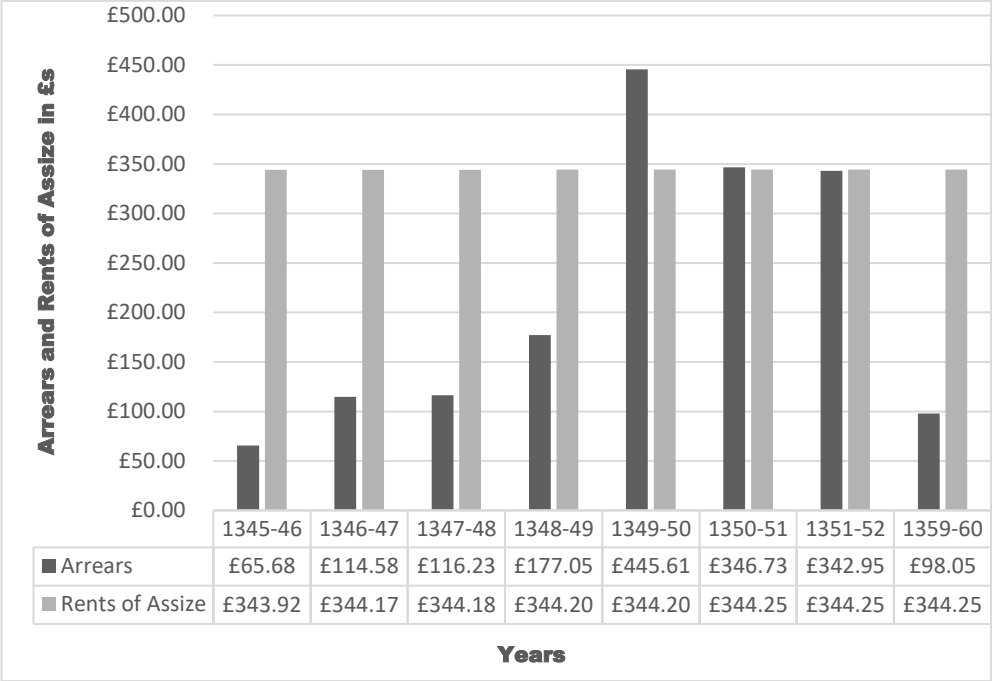
[8] Arthur, *The Impact of the Black Death on Seventeen Units of Account of the Bishopric of Winchester*, 235.
[9] Levett, The Black Death, 14.
[10] Levett, The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester' 14.
[11] *Ibid*.
[12] HRO, 11M59/B1/99/5; 11M59/B1/100/5.
[13] HRO, 11M59/B1/102/60; 11M59/B1/103/86.

pay such a high rental demand for reasons of poverty. Deaths from the plague meant that many rents were impossible to collect until a new tenant came forward. Consequently, this would account for the high number of arrears recorded in 1349-50. The pipe rolls for the period record a succession of unaltered rents as shown in Table 3.19 (below) but more telling are the arrears figure shown in Tables 3.13 and 3.15 (above) which reflect a long list of unpaid rents. When both rents charged and arrears are compared on the same graph, as in Figure 3.13 (below), the impact of the Black Death on the selected manors is clearly shown. It is evident that, whilst rents remain the same, arrears grow rapidly during the period of the Black Death.

Table 3.19 – Rents of Assize of Somerset and N. Hants Manors

	1345-46	**1359-60**
Bishops Hull	£26. 16s. 5½d	£26. 16s. 5½d
Holway	£73. 17s. 6¾d	£73. 17s. 10¾d
Nailsbourne	£26. 19s. 2¼d	£26. 19s. 5¼d
Poundisford	£42. 4s. 1¾d	£42. 5s. 11¾d
Rimpton	£5. 3s. 0d	£5. 3s. 0d
Staplegrove	£44. 5s. 0½d	£44. 5s. 0½d
Total	**£219. 5s.4¾d**	**£219. 6s.9¾d**
Bentley	£17. 15s. 2½d	£17. 15s. 9d
Burghclere	£25. 17s. 3d	£25.19s. 3d
Crawley	£15. 0s. 11d	£15. 0s. 11d
Highclere	£23. 10s. 7½d	£23. 10s. 7½d
North Waltham	£10. 14s. 11½d	£10. 14s. 11½d
Overton	£31. 18s. 2¼d	£31. 18s. 3¼d
Total	**£124. 19s. 2½d**	**£124. 16s. 9¼d**
Grand Total	**£344. 4s. 7¼d**	**£344. 3s. 7d**

Figure 3.13–Comparison of Arrears with Rents of Assize, 1345-60



	1345-46	1346-47	1347-48	1348-49	1349-50	1350-51	1351-52	1359-60
Arrears	£65.68	£114.58	£116.23	£177.05	£445.61	£346.73	£342.95	£98.05
Rents of Assize	£343.92	£344.17	£344.18	£344.20	£344.20	£344.25	£344.25	£344.25

3.6 *Defectus Redditus*

This section is in addition to the in-depth study of mortality at the beginning of this chapter. The mortality section focusses fully on analysing the impact of the Black Death on the rural population of selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors. This section focusses on analysing the impact of the Black Death on the financial accounting processes of the same Winchester manors. *Defectus Redditus* (Defaults of Rent) referred to uncollected rent from land which had become vacant. Defaults of rent usually occurred through the lack of a tenant or the withdrawal of a tenement or it had been taken back into demesne. Whenever a holding became vacant it was invariably described as being in the lord's hands (*in manu domini)* and its rent was lost to the landlord. This remained so until the holding was let again. This information on vacant holdings and lost rents is recorded in the section headed *Defectus Redditus* which, in the Winchester accounts, is placed at the beginning of each manor's account, along with *Redditus Assisus* (Rent of Assize) and *Acquientatia* (Quittance or Reduction of Rent Paid). These were faithfully recorded year after year, often for centuries on end, and therefore do not usually refer to the year of the account roll in which they appear. This becomes apparent when Table 3.20 (below) is studied.

Table 3.20-Defaults of Rent, Somerset and N. Hants Manors

Somerset	1301-02	1348-49	1349-50	1359-60	1409-10
B. Hull	None	£0. 8s. 0d	£0. 8s. 0d	£0. 8s. 0d	£0. 8s. 0d
Holway	£3. 2s. 5d	£3. 18s. 3d	£3. 18s. 3d	£3. 18s. 3d	£3. 18s. 3d
Nailsbourne	£0. 7s. 1½d	£0. 7s. 1½d	£0. 7s. 1½d	£0. 7s. 1½d	£0. 7s. 1½d
Poundisford	£0. 19s. 3½d	£1. 5s. 3½d	£1. 5s. 3½d	£1. 5s. 3½d	£1. 2s. 6½d
Rimpton	£0. 1s. 0d	£0. 1s. 0d	£0. 1s. 0d	£0. 1s. 0d	None
Staplegrove	£0. 2s. 0d	£0. 6s. 6d	£0. 6s. 6d	£0. 6s. 6d	£0. 6s. 10d
N. Hants					
Bentley	£0. 9s. 5d	£0. 9s. 5d	£0. 9s. 5d	£0. 9s. 5d	£0. 9s. 5d
Burghclere	£2. 7s. 10d	£1. 17s. 10d	£1. 17s. 10d	£1. 17s. 10d	£2. 6s. 2d
Crawley	£1. 0s. 4d	£1. 0s. 4d	£1. 0s. 4d	£1. 0s. 4d	£1. 0s. 4d
Highclere	£0. 2s. 9d	£2. 11s. 6d	£3. 1s. 6d	£3. 1s. 6d	£3. 19s. 3d
N. Waltham	£0. 17s. 0d	None	None	None	None
Overton	£5. 12s. 3d	£5. 12s. 3d	£5. 12s. 3d	£5. 12s. 3d	£5. 12s. 3d

The reeves of Bishops Hull (1301-02), Rimpton (1409-10) and North Waltham (1348-49) are to be congratulated on maintaining a 'None' return for 'Defaults of Rent' sections of their manors' accounts. In the case of the manors of Bentley, Crawley and Overton, the same amount of defaults of rent are carried forward, for example, from 1301-02 to 1409-10. In relation to the other selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors, apart from some slight variations, Table 3.20 clearly shows the same amounts of defaulted rents being carried forward each year, involving the same named tenants and the same pieces of land. For example, the following entry for Rimpton was made in the 'Defaults of Rent' section for 1301-02 and the same entry was included in the account for 1359-60: 'In default of the house and curtilage of John de Molendino because it is in demesne 1s. Total, 1s.'[14] However, by 1409-10 this entry was replaced by 'None' and had therefore been re-let. Another example, from the following entry for Staplegrove, was made in the account for 1301-02:

[14] HRO, 11M59/B1/58/4 and 11M59/B1/156/2.

'In default of one acre of meadow drawn into demesne at Mill Lane 6d;
2 small holdings drawn into demesne 1s. 6d. Total, 2s.'[15]

In the account for 1409-10, the same details for Staplegrove are included plus the following additions, increasing the total rent due to 6s. 10d:

'… 3 acres of land at Riggesway which Robert Pal recently held in Nailsbourne and for which the reeve there was charged the rent, 4s. 6d; 2 day-works of land of the lord's waste demised by William Rugeborn', recently steward, at Obridge, taken back into desmesne because it was harmful to the lord's fair, 4d. Total 6s. 10d.'[16]

This section on *defectus redditus*, with its repetitive nature of carrying forward defaults of rent across the centuries, has proved to be of limited use to historians searching for information concerning the Black Death.

3.7 *Defectus per Pestilentiam*

The *Defectus per Pestilentiam* (Default through the Pestilence) sub-section of the Winchester pipe roll accounts is highly significant to historians researching the mortality of the Black Death. The Black Death left in its wake a long record of lost rents and vacant holdings. The Winchester accounts always list vacant holdings one by one. In the Winchester accounts, prior to the Black Death, as discussed above, there is a single section for lost rents and the holdings concerned usually represent peasant land that had been incorporated into the demesne or park. From the Black Death onwards, i.e. from 1348-49, the holdings which became vacant through the death of the tenant holder from the Black Death, and which are not taken up by another tenant, are grouped under their own heading: *Defectus per Pestilentiam* (Default (Loss of Rent) through the Pestilence). After the 1361-62 outbreak, vacancies caused by the plague were usually listed in two separate sections as *Defectus per Primam Pestilentiam* (Default (Loss of Rent) through the First Pestilence), i.e., 1348-49 and *Defectus per Secundam Pestilentiam* (Default (Loss of Rent) through the Second Pestilence), i.e., 1361-62. However, this distinction was ignored if the number of holdings lost in the second pestilence was not significant. These arrangements in the accounts were adhered to continuously, with each

[15] HRO, 11M59/B1/58/2.
[16] HRO, 11M59/B1/156/2.

current year being numbered consecutively from the year of the outbreak. For example, in the account for Overton manor for the year 1409-10, 'Default through the First Pestilence' were said to be in its sixty-second year and 'Default through the Second Pestilence' were said to be in its forty-ninth year.[17]

On a considerable number of manors, the bishops found it impossible to fill the tenements in the traditional way, for rent and labour services. Many were leased on an *ad hoc* basis, at market value, and the money raised from them usually set out in another new section headed *Exitus Terrarum in Manu Domini per Pestilentiam* (Issue of the Holding in the Lord's Hands through the Pestilence), for example, Overton Manor Account for the year 1409-10.[18] The cash income from these holdings was often greater than that previously obtained as rent, although, as Page writes 'this ignores the loss sustained by the inability to exact entry fines and labour services.'[19] Page continues that the dissatisfaction felt by the episcopal administration with these arrangements, and the desire to return to the favourable conditions prevalent before the Black Death, was reflected in the provision attached to some of the leases that they were only temporary, for example, in the Overton account for 1409-10: '16s. from 1 messuage and 2 virgates of land formerly of John Thorny, let to John Lange until someone should come to fine for the same.'[20] Page ends with a warning that the evidence for defaults of rent needs to be treated with caution.[21] He maintains that, notwithstanding the division of the more recent defaults into those caused by the plague of 1349 and those resulting from the outbreak of 1361, it is by no means certain that all the vacancies included in the Winchester accounts were attributable to mortalities arising at these particular times. Later abandonments, for a variety of reasons, might also be grouped together under these headings.[22] Titow is of the same opinion, writing that reliance on the recorded totals alone could be greatly misleading and that there is a danger of accepting the evidence of the Winchester Pipe Rolls at face value. In his study of lost rents and vacant holdings as a result of the Black Death, Titow emphasises that the recorded totals of lost rents are neither a true reflection of the total value of

[17] HRO, 11M59/B1/156/14.
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] Page (ed.), *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1409-10*, xxix.
[20] HRO, 11M59/B1/156/14.
[21] Page (ed.), *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1409-10*, xxix.
[22] *Ibid.*

the lost rents, nor a valid measure of the true extent of the peasants' withdrawal from agriculture.[23] Whilst there is a strong focus in this chapter on the mortality evidence of the Winchester Pipe Rolls, there is a considerable amount of cross-checking made of the main sub-sections of the pipe roll accounts, as identified in this chapter's main aims above, i.e., the details under the headings of 'Default of Rent', 'Default through the Pestilence', 'Fines and Marriages' and 'Heriots'. Use is also made of the *Lay Subsidies* of 1327 and 1332, as well as the *Taunton Custumal* of c.1252, to assist with the calculation and analysis of the numbers of deaths occurring from the plague on selected manors. In addition, use of and comparisons are made with other known data and studies completed on the impact of the Black Death. This enables as accurate a picture as possible to be made on the impact of the Black Death on the chosen areas of the Winchester Diocese, particularly the calculation of a mortality rate.

Table 3.21 (below) reveals that, apart from Overton's loss of £6. 12s. 4¾d in 1348-49, in no selected manor is the loss more than six pounds per annum. By the mid-1350s losses in five of the twelve selected manors had been reduced to small amounts of less than one pound. By the end of the 1350s, seven out of the twelve selected manors had no losses with Holway, the only selected Somerset manor still with a recorded loss of £0. 15s. 9d for 1359-60. By the year 1409-10, all six of the selected Somerset manors had the notable achievement of 'None' for both the 'First Pestilence' (1348-49) and the 'Second Pestilence' (1361-62). In relation to the selected North Hampshire manors, only Bentley had no recorded losses, the other five manors incurring losses of between one pound and six pounds. Under the *Defectus* headings, the pipe roll entries for individual manors provide the names, status and landholdings of individuals who had perished in the pestilence and, as a result, had not paid their rent. For example: 'In default of rent 1 messuage, 1 acre of villein land and 1 acre of overland in the tithing of Nailsbourne which was of Walter Rokesford who died of the pestilence and remains in the hand of the lord for the payment of 8d…'[24] Entries for Nailsbourne, as do the other manors in this study, continue to provide a long list of similar entries for cottages, messuages and holdings from half an acre to ten acres and more.

[23] Titow, 'Lost Rents, Vacant Holdings and the Contraction of Peasant Cultivation after the Black Death', 97.
[24] HRO, 11M59/B1/102/8.

Table 3.21 – *Defectus Redditus* 1347-48/*Defectus per Pestilentiam* for Select Years 1348-1410

	1347-48	1348-49	1349-50	1350-51	1351-52	1354-55	1359-60	1409-10[1]
B. Hull	£0. 8s.0d	£1. 7s. 10¼d	£1. 6s. 11d	£0. 12s. 6d	£0. 17s. 5½d	£0. 4s. 2d	None	*None **None
Holway	£3. 18s. 3d	£3. 15s. 10½d	£3. 9s. 11½d	£1. 14s. 0½d	£3. 14s. 0d	£1. 10.0d	£0. 15s. 9d	*None **None
Nailsbourne	£0. 7s. 1½d	£4. 14s. 9½d[2]	£3. 12s. 8¾d	£0. 13s. 0¼d	£1. 10s. 3¾d	£0. 11s. 5¼d	None	*None **None
Poundisford	£1. 5s. 3½d	£1. 9s. 4¾d	£1. 13s. 1¼d	£1. 0s. 10¾d	£1. 5s. 8½d	£0. 6s. 10d	None	*None **None
Rimpton	£0. 1s. 0d	None	None	None	None	None	None	*None **None
Staplegrove	£0. 6s. 6d	£1. 2s. 11¾d	£1. 15s. 0½d	£0. 13s.11d	£0. 12s. 4d	None	None	*None **None
Bentley	£0. 9s. 5d	£1. 14s. 11d	£3. 1s. 0½d	£2. 0s. 6½d	£1. 14s. 0½d	£0. 13s. 7½d	None	*None **£1. 3s. 5d
Burghclere	£1.17s.10d	£1. 5s. 10½d	£4. 0s. 8d	£4. 8s. 9¾d	£3. 11s. 1d	£4. 13s. 7d	£0. 16s. 4d	*£3. 2s. 4½d **None
Crawley	£1. 0s. 4d	None	£0. 6s. 0d	£0. 9s. 6d	£1. 4s. 8d	£0. 3s. 7d	None	*£1. 1s. 1d **None
Highclere	£3. 1s. 6d	£1. 12s. 6d	£5. 3s. 3d	£5. 2s. 0½d	£4. 4s. 10½d	£2. 12s. 10¼d	£1. 7s. 4d	*£1. 5s. 6d **£2. 10s. 6½d
N. Waltham	None	£4. 1s. 6½d	???[3]	£5. 18s. 8½d	None	£3. 0s. 4½d	£2. 6s. 1d	*£5. 5s. 4d **£1. 11s. 9d
Overton	£5. 12s. 3d	£6. 12s. 4¾d	£4. 12s. 3¼d	£5. 12s. 9¾d	£5. 18s. 7¾d	£2. 12s. 3¼d	£1. 18s. 7¼d	*£4. 11s. 0d **£4. 18s. 9d

[1] * = First Pestilence 1348-49, ** = Second Pestilence 1360-61.

[2] HRO, 11M59/B1/101/5 - Estimated total due to water stain on total rendering it illegible.

[3] HRO, 11M/59/B1/102/56-57 – Manuscript illegible = badly faded and stained.

By 1409-10, as Table 3.21 (above) shows, there are two entries, *Defectus per Primam Pestilentiam* (i.e., 1348-49) and *Defectus per Secundam Pestilentiam* (i.e., 1360-61). Again, the six chosen Somerset manors had by then no defaults of rent for either the 'First' or the 'Second' pestilence. However, of the six North Hampshire manors, only the manor of Bentley had 'None' for the 'First Pestilence'. Of the remaining five selected manors, all had defaults of rent from both the 'First' and the 'Second' Pestilence. Location would certainly appear to be a factor in the take up of tenement holdings in the selected Somerset manors, consisting of the sub-manors of the multi-manorial complex of Taunton, namely, Bishops Hull, Holway, Nailsbourne, Poundisford and Staplegrove, as well as the East Somerset manor of Rimpton. The Taunton complex is rated by Campbell as 'one of the most valuable manorial units in medieval England'.[1] Its demesne was of exceptional size and one of those most dedicated to agricultural production. It is, therefore, no surprise that the vacant tenements of the Somerset manors were filled completely and the fines paid by the manorial organisation. Rimpton's relative individuality and isolated position is worth noting separately. Rimpton lies in the south east corner of Somerset on the boundary with Dorset, about 25 miles from Taunton and some 6 miles from Yeovil. Situated some distance from the Taunton group, Rimpton was a small isolated manor farming an area of roughly 375 acres. Described by Hunt as 'small and simple',[2] Rimpton's account figures, as shown in Table 3.17, are unusual and exceptional. Apart from the £0. 1s.0d default of rent recorded for 1347-48, Rimpton realised no other defaults of rents throughout the selected years 1348-1410 of Table 3.17. Perhaps, Rimpton's relative isolation meant that the effect of the Black Death was restricted and/or excellent management of resources by the various reeves over the years enabled the manor economy to function very efficiently and recover very quickly from any privations.

In contrast, the selected North Hampshire manors, namely, Bentley, Burghclere, North Waltham, Highclere, Crawley and Overton, were considered by Levett to be a 'group of smaller and poorer manors'.[3] The poor soil in this area in Hampshire was also commented on by Cobbett, writing that 'at Highclere and Burghclere, they

[1] B. M. S. Campbell, 'A Unique Estate and a Unique Source: The Winchester Pipe Rolls in Perspective' *24.*
[2] T. J. Hunt, 'The Medieval Customs of Taunton and Bradford on Tone', lxii.
[3] Levett, 'The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester', 82.

have land not worth one single farthing of an acre'.[4] As Table 3.20 indicates, the North Hampshire manors had more difficulty in filling the vacant tenements and meeting their financial commitments. In particular, the manors of Burghclere, Highclere, North Waltham and Overton found 1348-49, 1349-50 and 1350-51, the peak years of the Black Death, very challenging in relation to the number and amount of defaults of rents occurring. However, by the end of the 1350s, their defaults totals had been heavily reduced: Burghclere, from £4. 8s. 9d to £0. 16s. 4d, an 82 per cent reduction; Highclere, from £5. 3s. 2d to £1. 7s. 4d, a 74 per cent reduction; Overton, from £6. 12s. 4¾d to £1. 18s. 7¼d, a 71 per cent reduction. Contrastingly, Crawley, along with Bentley were more successful, reducing their number of defaults of rent to 'None' by the late 1350s. Bentley, situated some twenty-five miles east of Winchester and about five miles south west of Farnham, on the Hampshire/Surrey border, was in a similar position to Rimpton, being some distance away from the other North Hampshire manors. Though not as successful as Rimpton in reducing the amount and number of defaults of rent, Bentley was able to keep defaults of rent below one pound for four of the selected years in Table 3.19 and by 1359-60 had reduced them to 'None'. However, though Table 3.20 shows that the annual totals of defaults of rent as a result of the Black Death appear to be somewhat trifling, in that apart from Overton, none of the selected manors totals for the years 1348-52 rise above six pounds, compared to the other sub-section totals. Tables 3.13 and 3.15 (above).

Arrears of the selected Somerset and North Hampshire Manors, reflect the amount of money owed annually by the Reeve after the account list and totals the money the Reeve has to answer for, the Charge. The account then lists all the occasions and items of the Reeve's paying out of money. This, too, is totalled. The difference between the two totals, the Balance, is then entered in the account. This is the amount that the Reeve owes to the lord or, if the outgoings exceed the income, vice versa. Therefore, defaults of rent and defaults due to the pestilence figure in the arrears section of the accounts, along with other items which the reeve received or ought to have received. Defaults of rent, which are recorded year after year, often for centuries, do not reflect the seriousness of the Black Death, as the following extracts show:

[4] W. Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, Vol. 1 (London, 1885) 43.

Default through the Pestilence (1348-49):

> In default of 1 messuage and 1 virgate of land formerly of Isabel Guldene in the lord's hands through the death of the same in the pestilence 7*s.* 10*d*.[1]

Default through the first pestilence, this being the sixty-second year (1409-10):

> In default of 1 messuage and 1 virgate of land formerly of Isabel Guldene in the lord's hands through the death of the same in the pestilence 7*s.* 10*d*.[2]

Issues of the lands and tenements in the lord's hands through the pestilence (1409-10):

> And for 5*s*. from the issue of 1 messuage and 1 virgate of land formerly of Isabel Guldene in the lord's hands through the death of the same in the first pestilence.[3]

As seen in Table 3.19, the Defaults of Rent hardly change, in fact, as Levett puts it, they become 'a conventional item'.[4] This is similar to the Rents of Assize, as Table 3.18 shows, which had also become a fixed and conventional account item. Therefore, due to their static nature, the Defaults of Rent and Rents of Assize are of very limited use when assessing the impact of the Black Death. As Tables 3.13 and 3.15 show, consequent to the Black Death, as the number of defaults increase and with little movement in the selling of tenements market, the leasing of tenements at a reduced and more affordable price, even though this ignores the loss sustained by the inability to exact entry fines and labour services, enabled the total of arrears to be gradually reduced. In addition, the total of arrears was also reduced by the judicial writing-off or respiting of items from year to year by the auditors. Although the Black Death had a huge impact on conduct of the rural economy, as shown by the sheer numbers of tenements becoming available, vacant tenements were filled up enough by the manor's administrative team for the manorial organisation to be maintained.

Reference has previously been made above to the importance of the consistent presence of the reeve facilitating continuity in the smooth-running of the manors' farming commitments. Analysis of the 'Expenses' sections of the pipe roll accounts for the selected manors reveals a more varied picture in relation to other manorial

[1] HRO 11M59/B1/101/79.
[2] HRO 11M59/B1/156/14.
[3] *Ibid*.
[4] Levett, 'The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester', 22.

officials throughout the years 1347-55. The hayward, for example, whose duties included supervision of the plough-land, harvest and pastures and woods, in the North Hampshire manor of Crawley, is entered as a consistent annual amount of 6s.8d 'for wages of the hayward' (*in stipendium haywardi*). Whereas, the Somerset manor of Staplegrove has no entry or mention of the hayward in either the expenses as a separate item or included within the harvest expenses. The annual amount of expenses for Staplegrove averages at 1s.9d which is much lower than the £5 per annum average of Crawley which suggests that the employment of a hayward was not considered necessary during the Black Death years. However, in relation to the duties of other manor officials, there is consistent reference throughout the pipe rolls to stewards' (*senescalli*) and bailiffs'(*ballivi*) expenses and wages. The range of steward's duties included 'viewing the state of the manor, to hold court and to expedite other business of the lord'.[5] The bailiff's duties included 'overseeing the administration of the manor and assisting the reeve in drawing up their accounts'.[6] The consistent level of entry of these manorial officials confirms the continuity of the manorial organisation and agrees with the findings of Levett. Levett maintains, and this is borne out by the evidence of this chapter, that 'among the Bishopric of Winchester's manors, there is not one which suffered any important change of system before 1355'.[7] It seems that the surviving population was able to meet the new demands made upon it and, to a large extent, fill the gaps left in its ranks.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated a number of findings concerning the impact of the Black Death on the rural community of the Winchester Diocese. It is difficult to ignore the numbers involved and the length of the list of fines and heriots which reveal just how cataclysmic the visitation of the Black Death in 1348-49 was. What must be borne in mind is that there were thousands of peasants residing on the manors of the Winchester estate at any one time in the medieval period. It is generally only the names of those peasants responsible for the payment of rent that remain recorded but it does not take much imagination to realise that the impact of the Black Death to have been every bit as severe in the greater

[5] Page (ed.), The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1301-2, xvi -xvii.
[6] *Ibid*., xvii-xviii.
[7] Levett, 'The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester' 86.

community as it was for those recorded by the administration. This chapter has also demonstrated that estimating plague mortality is a difficult business, even though the lists identifying the plague victims have been carefully researched and compiled so as to be as accurate as possible, given the nature of the primary sources used. It is apparent that, in this study of six Somerset and six North Hampshire manors, that no two manors are alike and that each manor has its own unique story to tell. However, research reveals that there were certain areas where all the selected units of account were compatible, these were the rise in arrears, the rise in defaults and fines, usually the result of the tenant-holder's death from the pestilence, the decrease in expenditure and the increase in heriots. The latter item tested the organisation of the different manors to the limit. Sufficient and reliable workers and grazing land had to be found to provide a safe environment for the influx of animals put forward as heriot payments. Besides making a telling contribution to the historical knowledge of the Black Death, this chapter has focussed attention on the uniqueness of the Winchester Pipe Rolls. The pipe rolls will always be important for their documentation of a whole number of areas related to the running of a medieval economy. As Campbell says 'they constitute the core of the most astonishing archives anywhere in the world to survive from the medieval period.'[8]

The main focus of this chapter has been, using a variety of sources, especially the Winchester Pipe Rolls, to assess the impact of the Black Death on six selected Somerset and six selected North Hampshire manors. Central to this enquiry is the assessment of the mortality of the twelve selected manors. Compiling accurate mortality figures from medieval sources is, Horrox writes 'as every historian agrees – virtually impossible.'[9] Records do exist which purport to give the number of deaths in a particular region, though their accuracy is difficult to evaluate. However, such raw figures are meaningless unless the size of the group within which the deaths occurred is also known and that becomes less likely the larger the group. Unfortunately, it is not possible to obtain reliable percentage figure for all the residents of a medieval manor, let alone a particular village or town. As Horrox declares, 'Any attempt to arrive at regional or national percentages … relies on the

[8] Campbell, 'A Unique Estate and a Unique Source: the Winchester Pipe Rolls in Perspective', 43.
[9] Horrox (ed.) *The Black Death*, 230.

historian's judgement of whether the figure for specific groups may be taken as representative of the population at large, and is, therefore, speculative at best.'[10] The difficulty in estimating the size of the total population of individual manors and calculating a mortality rate are discussed earlier in this chapter. Levett added to the debate by stating that, by her estimation, 'some two fifths to one half of the adult population must have perished but the mortality is very irregularly distributed.'[11] Assuming that children formed one-third of the total population of a manor and that children suffered from the plague, Levett asserted 'the proportion of death sinks to about 33 per cent'.[12] However, she adds that 'these figures involve a considerable amount of supposition and are highly unsatisfactory'. 'Little is gained', she contends, 'from making out an average death-rate, mortality varied widely, not only from manor to manor but from tithing to tithing'.[13] Unfortunately for Levett, she omitted the details of 'Defaults' recorded in the pipe roll accounts she studied, especially the *Defectus per Pestilentiam* sub-sections. She insisted instead that 'the number of heriots paid is the best guide',[14] inevitably rendering her mortality figures inaccurate and under-estimated to a figure, according to Arthur, 'in excess of 70 per cent'.[15] As described above, this thesis went to great length to ensure the data recorded, especially for the calculation of a mortality rate, were as accurate as possible. By double-checking across the names of tenants listed in the *Defectus per Pestilentiam*, *Fines et Maritagii* and *Herietii* sub-sections of the Winchester pipe rolls, in order to eliminate any duplicate names, a definitive list of tenants was compiled. Use of a number of other historical sources, for example, the 1327 and 1332 Lay Subsidies as well as the Taunton Custumal, enabled analysis of the numbers of deaths, including the calculation of mortality rates for the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors, to be made.

It is noteworthy that the mortality percentages bandied about during the twentieth century provide a useful measure of comparison for the findings of this thesis and of the importance which their compilers attached to the Black Death. Bradford declared 'one third of the inhabitants of Somerset must have perished in the great

[10] Horrox, *The Black Death*, 231.
[11] Levett, *The Black Death*, 81.
[12] *Ibid*.
[13] *Ibid*.
[14] *Ibid*., 77.
[15] Arthur, 'Impact of the Black Death on Seventeen Units of Account of the Bishopric of Winchester', 114.

catastrophe of the Black Death'.[16] Boucher wrote 'we may put down the losses of Bristol from the plague as roughly … from 35 to 40 per cent.'[17] Capes was of the opinion that 'over one third of the labouring population of Hampshire was destroyed at the time of the plague.'[18] Pledge, writing about the manor of Crawley, Hampshire, considered that 'here, as elsewhere, at least half the population died.'[19] Postan and Titow suggested a death rate of 500 per 1,000 (50 per cent) or even higher.'[20] Finally, Watts suggested 'on Titchfield manor perhaps two thirds of all the villein tenants died.'[21] By the year 1970, the 'safe' estimate was generally taken to be a national Death Rate of one third (33⅓ per cent). This is a shockingly high figure but, even so, few historians using that figure felt the Black Death had any immediate impact on the medieval economy. According to Horrox, it became accepted that surprisingly little had changed in the short term.[22] For example, wages remained low, at pre-Black death levels, prices did not fall and vacant land holdings soon found takers.[23] This study of six Somerset manors and six North Hampshire manors found that, indeed, after the high numbers of deaths in 1348-49 and, to a lesser extent, in 1349-50, the numbers of Defaults, Fines and Heriots had dropped by the year 1352-53. By the year 1359-60, figures had returned to, or even below, the pre-Black Death year of 1347-48.

The tenor of many studies of mortality during the Black Death (1348-49) in the latter years of the twentieth century has been to raise rather than lower mortality rate estimates. Informed opinion began to feel that one third (33⅓ per cent) mortality lay towards the bottom of any likely range. Instead 40 per cent or more was offered by medieval historians as the best estimate, and even this appears very cautious. Local studies were regularly yielding mortality figures over 40 per cent. For example, in his study of the parish of Halesowen in the West Midlands, Razi's cautious estimate of the death rate was between 399 deaths per thousand (40 per

[16] G. Bradford, 'Social and Economic History', *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, Somerset*, (London, 1908) 290.
[17] C. E. Boucher, 'The Black Death in Bristol', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, Vol.60, (1938) 37.
[18] W. W. Capes *Rural Life in Hampshire* (London, 1901) 66.
[19] F. W. Pledge *Crawley: Glimpses into the past of a Hampshire Parish* (Winchester, 1907) 67.
[20] Postan and Titow, 'Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors', 408.
[21] Watts, 'The Black Death in Dorset and Hampshire', 27.
[22] Horrox, *The Black Death*, 231-2.
[23] *Ibid*.

cent) to 459 per thousand (47 per cent).[24] Ravensdale calculated 49 per cent mortality in his study of Cottenham manor in Cambridgeshire.[25] In his study of deaths in County Durham, Lomas found that sixteen of the twenty-eight townships studied had a death rate that exceeded 50 per cent.[26] Poos found a 45 per cent mortality from the Black Death in his study of mid-Essex communities.[27] Lock's research discovered a 45-55 per cent mortality rate as a result of the Black Death in the Suffolk manor of Walsham-le-Willows.[28] As historians tighten up their methodology and adopt more sophisticated techniques to produce higher mortality rates, it is becoming more difficult for them to argue that their data come from areas of unusually high mortality and that any national average needs to be made much lower to allow for the less badly-affected areas.

This thesis has calculated an average mortality rate within the bounds of 35 to 50 per cent for the impact of the Black Death of 1348-49 on the rural community of the six selected Somerset manors and within the bounds of 21 to 30 per cent for the six selected North Hampshire manors. The average mortality rate calculated for the six selected Somerset manors agrees with the higher end of Horrox's suggested possible average death rate of up to 50 per cent.[29] Whereas the average mortality rate calculated for the six selected North Hampshire manors agrees with the lower end of Hatcher's judicious estimate of a national death rate of 30-45 per cent.[30] Both sets of figures, therefore, calculated by this thesis, using Russell's 3.5x multiplier and Krause's 5x multiplier, for the Somerset manors and the North Hampshire manors, are compatible with current academic thinking and, as such, add to the knowledge of the impact of the Black Death on the rural community of medieval England. The use of the twelve sub-regional manors of the Taunton (Somerset) and North Hampshire Manors, in the scalar approach of this study, has added to the significance of the data collected. Whilst broad distinctions are useful at national level, they lack the nuances provided by the local sub-regional study.

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[24] Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish: Economy and Society in Halesowen, 1270-1400*, 103.
[25] Ravensdale, 'Population changes and the Transfer of Customary Land on a Cambridgeshire Manor in the Fourteenth Century', 197-9.
[26] Lomas, 'The Black Death in County Durham', 129.
[27] Poos, *A Rural Society after the Black Death: Essex, 1350-1525*, 107.
[28] R. Lock, 'The Black Death in Walsham-le-Willows', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, No.37 (1992) 320.
[29] Horrox, *op. cit*., 234-5.
[30] Hatcher, *op. cit*., 24.

The use of the 3.5x and the 5x multipliers in calculating local population and mortality figures shows the value of local particularities. The variation of mortality rates for the case-study manors in their respective regions in this study clearly shows the potential impact of the Black Death on the different rural communities of the Winchester Diocese.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE IMPACT OF THE BLACK DEATH (1348-49)

ON THE CLERGY OF THE WINCHESTER DIOCESE

4.1 Background

Levels of mortality among the clergy resulting from the arrival of the Black Death are widely considered to be high. Lunn calculated that, on average, across ten of the seventeen dioceses at the time, 46.6 per cent of the clergy died during the Black Death.[31] Priests were also known to run away. We read in the *Victoria County History* of 'priests shamefully absenting themselves from their cures'.[32] This begs the questions, were mortality rates really that high? How did the church manage to accomplish its pastoral aims during the Black Death? Using the registers of Bishop Edington, 1346-1352, as a key source for clergy replacements, this chapter reassesses the assumptions about clergy mortality and pastoral care in the Winchester Diocese as a result of the Black Death. The use of MS Access software, which has been central to data gathering, has been instrumental in the construction of a database of the details of Bishop Edington's episcopate. The database enables data to be filtered and retrieved, facilitating the running of queries. Queries are run in MS Access which group required pieces of data together from across a number of fields. This has enabled an in-depth analysis of the impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese to be done. This chapter also examines the practical and logistical problems caused by this mortality as evidenced through clergy replacement and considers the impact of these high turnover rates on clerical provision within the diocese. The turbulence of this period will be placed in the broader context of social attitudes to the clergy in England, and how these changed across the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

This chapter commences with an outline of the nature and organisation of the Winchester Diocese at the time of the Black Death. The role of the clergy, in the city of Winchester as well as the surrounding archdeaconries, is also considered. The diocese was the basic unit of church life, a gathering of parish communities under the spiritual leadership of the bishop whose duties included the guiding of his flock and the training of others to assist him in his wide ministerial duties of

[31] Lunn, *The Black Death in the Bishop's Registers* (unpublished PhD Thesis, Cambridge University, 1937) cited in Russell, *British Medieval Population*, 222.
[32] Cox, *Victoria County History of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, II, 35.

preaching, teaching and blessing.[33] The main source of research for this chapter is the register of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester. The years 1346-1352, providing a chronicle of the administration of the diocese, especially as regards the clergy, are critically examined. Assessment of the source material and its contents also provides opportunity here to examine the rationale behind the database design and its advantages for this study. In line with the methodology outlined in Chapter One, this chapter analyses the 'Clergy Experience' of the Black Death in the Winchester Diocese through a comparison of the clergy of the six selected case-study manors of Taunton (Somerset) and the six selected case-study manors of North Hampshire. This is followed by study of the impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese as a whole. The results are then compared with other known studies completed for other areas for the pre and post Black Death years, for example, Aberth's study of the Diocese of Ely, Davies' study of the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield and Dohar's study of the Diocese of Hereford.[34] Whilst little recent work has been done to advance the discussion of the Black Death's effects on the English church, this research enables its impact on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese to be clearly shown.

4.2 The Winchester Diocese

The Winchester Diocese covered a large area of the South of England. As shown in Appendix D – 'Map of the Seventeen English Dioceses', Winchester Diocese stretched from Southwark in London in the East to Somerset in the West, and from Oxford in the North to the Isle of Wight in the South. The diocese comprised of the counties of Hampshire, including the Isle of Wight, and Surrey. The diocese was divided into two archdeaconries: Winchester and its ten deaneries and Surrey with three.[35] The estate, giving the bishops of Winchester possession of one of the largest and richest of medieval England, extended far beyond the spiritual boundaries of the see and included lands in five southern counties, namely, Somerset, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire (see Appendix C).

[33] W. J. Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership: the Diocese of Hereford in the Fourteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1995) 6.
[34] J. Aberth, 'The Black Death in the Diocese of Ely: The evidence of the Bishop's Register', *Journal of Medieval* History, Vol.21, Issue 3 (1995) 275-287; Davies, 'The Effect of the Black Death on the Parish Priests of the medieval diocese of Coventry and Lichfield', 85-90 and Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership*.
[35] Page (ed.), The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester, 1301-2, ix.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century the bishop of Winchester held an estate consisting of 57 manors and 8 boroughs spread over these southern counties.[36] William Edington, whose register as Bishop of Winchester forms the main historical source of evidence for this chapter, was a native of Edington in Wiltshire, from which his name derived. After his studies, possibly at Oxford, Edington joined the *familia* of Adam Orleton, to be clerk to the household of the Bishop of Worcester by 1332. With most of Orleton's staff Edington moved with the bishop to Winchester in 1333, to become master of St. Cross Hospital in March 1335 and rector of Cheriton parish in August of that same year. For him as for the other members of the *familia*, Orleton secured the canonries of Lincoln in 1342, Salisbury in 1343 and Hereford in 1344, which Edington vacated when he became a bishop. Through Orleton, Edington's abilities as an administrator were brought to the attention of King Edward III who made him King's clerk by 1335, keeper of the wardrobe by 1341 and then to be treasurer of the exchequer from 1344 to 1356.[37] This was a job fraught with problems as the nation was in serious financial difficulties by the mid-1340s. The treasury was in debt from the early stages of the Hundred Years' War. King Edward III had reneged on his debts and was struggling to obtain new loans. By budgeting all revenues and expenses as well as making currency reforms, Edington brought the situation under control. Considering him to be 'the model civil servant', McKissack recognises Edington's reform of the currency as 'an outstanding achievement.'[38] As a testimony to Edington's capabilities and energy as an administrator, he was rewarded by the king appointing him as Chancellor in 1356, a post he held until his retirement from the national scene in 1363. Edington was recognised as the most influential of Edward III's circle of administrators. In particular, Edington was the character who persuaded the different departments of state to work more flexibly together, for example, Edington enabled his Chancery to work more closely with the office of the Privy Seal.[39]

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[36] *Ibid.,* xii.

[37] D. S. F. Hockey (ed.), 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester 1346-66', Part 1, *Hampshire record Series 7* (Hampshire Record Office for Hampshire County Council, Winchester, 1986) vii.

[38] M. McKissack, *The Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1959) 213.

[39] R. G. Davies, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 1986) 'Edington, William (d. 1366)'.

However, a far more prestigious advancement was to be conferred on him. Bishop Orleton died on 18 July 1345. At King Edward's request, Pope Clement VI nominated Edington in his place. However, the St. Swithun's monks of Winchester had already elected one of their own, John de Devonishe, to the position of Bishop of Winchester but he was not of the calibre King Edward was looking for. Given the continuing confrontation with the French and the constant threat to the strategic ports of Hampshire and to the Isle of Wight, the king wanted Edington, a man of great talent and merit who would be a *de facto* lieutenant for an important and vulnerable area of the kingdom. The Pope conceded the point and Edington was confirmed as Bishop of Winchester on 9 December 1345.[40]

Edington remained a minister after becoming Bishop of Winchester. It was possible for him to reside just within his diocese at his palace of Southwark, then in Surrey. The long periods he spent there testify to the distractions of royal business and explain why he undertook few visitations as his Itinerary for the years 1346-66 shows.[41] Although Edington resided almost continually in Southwark, nevertheless his register gives evidence of full activity and his attention to routine matters, with ordinations normally celebrated by the bishop himself. In spite of the disorganisation and stress of the Black Death, the register of Bishop Edington is well kept. [42] The essentials of the diocese administration were carried out by the official, the commissary-general and the sequestrator- general, a group of highly qualified and able men but always with a clear direction from Bishop Edington himself. By this means, Edington was able to keep an eye on his diocese but at the same time avoid excessive delegation.[43] However, despite his undoubted skills and his involvement away from his see, Edington was not averse, as was common at the time, to using his new position as bishop of Winchester to indulge in extensive nepotism. His register shows that his nephew, John Edington, became master of the *Domus Dei*, Portsmouth in 1348,[44] then in 1349, master of St. Cross,[45] with a seven year leave for study. Another relative, Thomas Edington, canon of Salisbury

[40] *Ibid*.
[41] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester', Part 1, xxiii-xxiv.
[42] *Ibid.,* vii. (Note that the detailed response of Bishop Edington to the Black Death will feature later in this Chapter.)
[43] M. Hicks, *Who's Who in Late Medieval England* (London, 1991) 103.
[44] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington', Part 1, Fol.65, No.249, 46.
[45] *Ibid*., Fol.91, No.464, 76.

and Chichester, aged 17, received dispensation to hold another benefice[46] and presumably had dispensation for ordination under the canonical age.

The esteem with which Edington was held in the Church is shown by the fact that, on the death of Archbishop Islip of Canterbury, in April 1366, with Edward III's blessing, the monks of Christ Church elected Edington as Islip's successor. Edington turned down the highest office in the English Church because he knew his physical powers were waning. In October 1366, Edington died and his body was buried in Winchester Cathedral. The Latin verse inscribed on Edington's tomb, 'He was discreet, and mild, yet a match for thousands in knowledge and sagacity. He was a watchful guardian of the English nation; a tender father of the poor, and the defender of his rights.'[47] is a fitting tribute to the qualities and achievements of a Bishop whose episcopate was marked by the Black Death. Bishop Edington's reaction to the Black Death is analysed in depth later in this chapter.

4.3 Parish clergy of the Winchester Diocese

The main focus of this chapter is on the impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese. By clergy is meant the 'secular clergy', the parish priests who administered the spiritual and pastoral needs of the local community in the Middle Ages. The Church in medieval England had its own organisational structure and was closely integrated into the life of the nation.[48] The personnel of the medieval church were the agents integrating the institution within its society. The allegiance demanded by the Church was just as great and just as indisputable as that required by the State. Every man was subject to secular power, which had certain rights over his property and his labour but he was equally in the power of the Church.[49] The clergy were responsible for overseeing attempts to maintain the Christian view of society and, as agents of the institution, had the duty to protect its property and rights. The clergy had the responsibility for *cura animarum*, the 'cure of souls' and the spiritual welfare of their parishioners. This was the exercise by priests of their office. As mediators between God and man, they were the

[46] *Ibid*., Fol.120, No.725, 109.
[47] A. Paice *William Edington - The First Garter Prelate* (unpublished study) (Winchester, 2011).
[48] R. N. Swanson *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1989) 1.
[49] J. R. H. Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1946) 2.

principal agents, through the celebration of masses, for the redemption of souls from Purgatory.[50]

The greatest moments in peoples' lives, baptism, marriage, burial, centred on the sacred building of the church. The building itself, usually standing in a prominent location within the parish, symbolised the place of the Church and clergy in medieval life. It was to the parish clergy that people turned for instruction, consolation and general support.[51] The local shrines, wayside crosses and even the tithe barns, were other reminders of the omnipresence of the Church and clergy.[52] In particular, medieval people were constantly reminded of the all-important fact that it was a person's last moments that mattered. Nothing could overcome the fact of death and its concomitants – judgement and doom. The fears and superstitions of the parishioners were encouraged by the clergy who brought comfort and the hope of another world after death. The part played by religion, particularly by the clergy, cannot be underestimated in a medieval English society in which the majority of people were Christian believers of the Roman Catholic Church.[53]

As with many aspects of medieval life, there is uncertainty as to how many parishes and how many clergy there actually were in medieval England at any one time. Using the *Taxatio* of 1291,[54] Moorman has calculated the number of medieval parishes to be in the region of 9,500.[55] Whilst accepting that the *Taxatio* was not a complete survey of all the parishes in England, using a multiplier of four or five per parish, representing the average number of assistant clergy staff, Moorman arrived at an estimated figure of about 40,000 for the number of clergy in England about the year 1300. Using the same multiplier of four or five per parish but using the Register of Bishop Pontissara from 1282-1304,[56] which contains a full list of the

[50] Swanson, *op. cit.*, 27.
[51] H. S. Bennett, *Life on the English Manor: Study of Peasant Conditions 1150-1400* (Cambridge, 1937) 29.
[52] *Ibid*., 30.
[53] *Ibid*., 21.
[54] The *Taxatio* contains the valuation, plus related details, of the English and Welsh parish churches and prebends listed in the ecclesiastical taxation assessment carried out on the orders of Pope Nicholas IV in 1291 -1292.
[55] Moorman, *Church Life in England* 4-5.
[56] C. Deedes, (ed.), *Registrum Johannis de Pontissara, Episcopi Wyntoniensis*, *A.D. 1282-1304*, Canterbury and York Society, 2 Vols., 19, 30 (1915-1924).

parishes in the Winchester diocese, Moorman calculated a total of 477 parishes and a total number of clergy for the Winchester Diocese of at least 4,000.[57]

The motives for entering the Church were many and varied. For many, personal salvation and spiritual service to a community was the main incentive to enter the clerical order. Some sought job security, others might have been pushed unwillingly into ecclesiastical careers.[58] Many entered the clergy for purely economic reasons but those who did so were condemned by contemporary writers. Thomas gives the example of the historian, Henry of Huntingdon, who compared clerics who entered office mainly for gain to shepherds who never loved their flock, only their fleeces.[59] However, as Thomas affirms, 'in a society in which many men faced limited economic prospects outside the Church, the prospect of an ecclesiastical income was an important practical incentive for many to enter the clergy'.[60] Formally, there were age restrictions and a number of stages in the progression from lay to priestly status. Barrow confirms that, by the end of the eighth century, there were eight distinct grades of ordination that had to be gone through in due order and with the following minimum age restrictions: tonsure (7 years), doorkeeper, exorcist, reader, acolyte (14 years), subdeacon (17/18 years), deacon (19 years) and priest (24 years).[61] It was perfectly acceptable for clerics to stop in any of the lower grades and not progress to the priesthood but those who wanted to become a priest could not miss out any of the grades lower down.

Swanson refers to the extended length of time, before the Black Death, that could elapse between ordinations as acolyte and as subdeacon, in some cases, as much as seven years.[62] Robinson confirms that promotion in Lichfield diocese seems to have been leisurely, indicating commitment to a celibate career at an earlier age.[63] However, from about 1350, as a result of the Black Death, in general, advancement beyond acolyte occurred fairly quickly. This speedy ordination pattern suggests that the commitment to a career in the church was being made later than had been

[57] Moorman, *Church Life in England*, 52.
[58] Swanson, *Church and Society* 40.
[59] H. M. Thomas, *The Secular Clergy in England, 1066-1216* (Oxford, 2014) 26.
[60] *Ibid*.
[61] J. Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics their Families and Careers in North-West Europe c.800-c.1200 (Cambridge, 2015) 35.*
[62] Swanson, *Church and Society*, 42.
[63] D. Robinson, 'Ordination of Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield 1322-1358', *Archives xvii*, No.*73* (1985) 7.

the case before the Black Death[64] and, also was as a result of the large number of deaths of the clergy from the pestilence itself. Cullum argues that this late commitment could represent a measured and thoughtful choice, in the full knowledge of what was involved or, Cullum continues, the delay might also represent the putting off a commitment to the very last moment. Finally, Cullum maintains that the choice of a clerical career and celibacy at around twenty-three or four or even later would have been starker by the fact that this was probably at the age at which the intending priest's lay contemporaries would have been beginning to get married.[65] Davis considers the whole issue of progress through the ranks of the clergy is a very difficult one to tackle. The figures are difficult to collect and interpret. However, what is clear, Davis concludes, is that the normal practice seemed to become one that men did not even take the minor orders until they were ready to enter the church and then rapidly proceeded throughout the orders,[66] which confirms the views of Swanson and Cullum, and the finding of Table 4.1 below. Though it was illegal to receive orders under age, it was possible to be granted papal dispensation.[67] In addition to receiving a dispensation, commitment to orders could also be short-circuited. By using the several small ordination ceremonies which took place in addition to those on Ember Days,[68] an individual might advance to the priesthood in a very short space of time. Under normal circumstances it could take from the age of fourteen to twenty-four, ten years in total to become a fully qualified priest. However, particularly during the Black Death years, there was such a shortage of priests that ordination to priesthood could take a lot less time. Swanson confirms that from the mid-fourteenth century candidates normally received successive major orders at successive ceremonies. They could then rise from laity to priesthood approximately within six months if they were promoted at the normal intervals. With a governing age of twenty-four,

[64] Swanson, *Church and Society*, 42.
[65] P. H. Cullum, 'Clergy, Masculinity and Transgression in Late Medieval England' in D. M. Hadley (ed.) *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London, 1999) 179.
[66] V. Davis, *Clergy in London in the Late Middle Ages: A Register of Clergy ordained in the Diocese of London based on Episcopal Ordination Lists 1361-1539* (London, 2000) 15.
[67] *Ibid*.
[68] Ember Days are four separate sets of three days within the same week considered suitable for special prayer and fasting and especially for the ordination of the clergy. Traditionally they comprise of the Wednesday, Friday and Saturday following the first Sunday in Lent, after Pentecost (Whitsun), Holy Cross Day (14 September) and St Lucy's Day (13 December).

this represents formal commitment to a celibate career at about the age of twenty-three at the earliest.[69]

Bishop Edington's register contains the example, in the Winchester Diocese, of Andrew de Bokensfeld who managed to complete the qualification from acolyte in June 1349 to priest by February 1350, a total of nine months, which fits in with the time schedule described by Swanson (see Table 4.1 below).[70] Full examination of the ordinations of Bishop Edington in the Winchester Diocese is undertaken later in this chapter.

Table 4.1 – The Progress of Andrew de Bokensfeld' to Priesthood[71]

Name	Date	Ordained by	Venue	Ordination	Position
Andrew de Bokensfeld'	6 June 1349	Bishop Edington	Sandown, Surrey	Acolyte	Rector of Wisley
Andrew de Bokensfeld'	15 Sep.1349	Bishop Edington	Bishops Waltham	Subdeacon	Rector of Wisley
Andrew de Bokensfeld'	19 Dec.1349	Bishop Edington	Southwark	Deacon	Rector of Wisley
Andrew de Bokensfeld'	20 Feb.1350	Bishop Edington	Southwark	Priest	Rector of Wisley

Heath maintains that 'The examination for entry into the clergy was lax, far from infallible on competence and it did let through into clerical ranks men not entirely fitted for the Church'.[72] Even examinations with good intentions were defeated by the system of 'letters dimissory'. These were testimonial letters given by a bishop or by a competent religious superior to his subjects so that they could be ordained by another bishop. 'Letters dimissory', eventually abolished in 1529, enabled a candidate to evade the examination of their fitness for the clergy altogether.[73] Certainly, during the Black Death years, some compromise on standards was

[69] Swanson, *Church and Society*, 42.
[70] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester' Part 2, Fol. 464, No.781, 145; Fol.466, No.787, 147; Fol.469, No.793, 151 and Fol.472, No.799, 154.
[71] *Ibid*.
[72] P. Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation* (London, 1969) 15.
[73] *Ibid.,* 17.

unavoidable if the Church was to recruit personnel in sufficient numbers. As Heath declares 'Until candidates were subjected to seminary training and observation before ordination, there was little chance of making the selection process more rigorous and less fallible.'[74] The poor standard of many priestly incumbents and of new recruits to the clergy is examined fully later in this chapter.

Having decided on an ecclesiastical career, and secured orders, most clerics aspired to a benefice and thereby a freehold income with its obligations. A benefice could be obtained prior to ordination as a priest, possibly with only the first tonsure but most clerics obtaining benefices would have to become a priest eventually. However, various factors came into play. Clerical career prospects were affected by supply and demand, though not necessarily in a straightforward way. Parochial benefices were not a static feature of medieval ecclesiastical geography. Initially, all parishes had been rectories but following the establishment of new religious orders in the twelfth century, this situation changed. The system of appropriations, whereby the benefice's revenues would be taken by a religious house or sinecurist, a small portion usually being reserved for a vicar who would assume responsibility for the spiritual tasks and the pastoral needs of the parish, clearly reduced the status of many incumbencies.[75] These appropriations continued throughout the fourteenth and into the fifteenth centuries. Between 1291 and 1535 the number of appropriated churches in England and Wales rose from under 2,000 to over 3,300, their revenues being transferred mainly to religious houses. By the year 1300 at least half the parish churches in England had been appropriated in this way.[76] This change in the benefice's status affected more than the incumbent's income. Being non-resident, a rector could exploit his revenues but vicars were different. From the thirteenth century permanent residence was an established requirement and a vicar also had to be a priest from the start. As a vicar, he was personally required to maintain 'cure of souls' (*cura animarum*) or rather, 'care of souls', which was the exercise by priests of their office.[77] As outlined above, typically, this embraced providing instruction, admonitions, administration of the sacraments and pastoral care to all members of his parish. For example, an entry in the Bishop of Winchester's register on 27 February 1349 reads that 'Henry de Guldeford' was

[74] *Ibid*., 18.
[75] Swanson, *Church and Society*, 44.
[76] *Ibid.*
[77] *Ibid*.

appointed vicar of St. Mary's, Portchester, on the death of Richard Baron, the last vicar, with obligation of residence for which Henry took the oath.'[78] An analysis of the numbers of rectors and vicars recorded in the register of Bishop Edington during the years 1346-52 is undertaken later in this chapter (see Table 4.3). In addition, an analysis of the number of rectors and vicars of the Winchester Diocese appropriated to religious house recorded in the register of Bishop Edington for the years 1346-52 is also undertaken later in this chapter (see Table 4.4).

Although the Winchester Diocese did not fully adopt the system of appropriations to religious houses, there is not much doubt in the minds of medieval historians that this system was unjust and unfair. Even Gasquet, who found it difficult to see the imperfections in the Medieval Church, wrote, 'The practice of impropriation has been regarded by most writers as a manifest abuse, and there is no call to attempt to defend it.'[79] It was obviously unjust that money which was paid in tithes by hard-working peasants should go to the creature comforts of monks or other ecclesiastics who did nothing in return. This system also led to much spiritual neglect, for the monasteries tended to employ the cheapest hirelings that they could find and consequently churches which they had appropriated were served by totally incompetent or unworthy people.[80] Hartridge explains how the Lateran Council of 1215 had drawn attention to the fact that in some churches the parish priest was receiving only one sixteenth of the revenue of the church, and in those regions, hardly any moderately educated parish priest can be found. Hartridge continues that the Lateran Council went on to declare that in future the priest must receive a decent wage and become a perpetual vicar. 'As such' Hartridge declares, 'this canon may be termed the Magna Carta of the parish priest.'[81] The two foundation-stones of the vicarage system were security of tenure and a minimum wage. The vicar had a secure wage which ranged across England from five marks a year to £10 or more but by far the majority were in the neighbourhood of £4 per annum.[82] Langdon, Walker and Falconer considered that a skilled labourer, for example, a master mason, could expect to earn 4½d a day for an average of 240

[78] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester', Part 1, Fol.81, No.365, 63.
[79] F. A. Gasquet, *English Monastic Life* (London, 1904) 193.
[80] R. A. R. Hartridge, *Vicarages in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1968) 43
[81] *Ibid*., 21.
[82] Moorman, *Church Life in England*, 45-46.

annual working days which equals £4.10s.0d per annum. In comparison, an unskilled labourer, for example, when harvesting, could expect 2d a day which equals £2 per annum.[83] Therefore, the vicar's wage of £4 per annum was comparable to that of a skilled workman on the Winchester estate. However, out of this low stipend a vicar was expected to bear heavy burdens, such as the provision of assistant priest and clerk, the payment of repairs and renewals in the church, and the ever-pressing calls of hospitality and charity.[84] Therefore, it would be difficult for a vicar in such a position to be able to make ends meet. Evidence of appropriation in the Winchester Diocese, from the Registers of Bishop Edington for the years 1346-52, is critically examined later in this chapter. Other issues, particularly those relating to clerical pluralism, absenteeism, exchange of benefices and lack of learning, will also be critically examined later in this chapter.

4.4 Sources and Methods

This section outlines the main documentary source materials on which this chapter has been drawn and the way in which data has been collected and managed from these sources. Secondary sources are also discussed where they have contributed to the data collection and analysis process. The data collection undertaken for this study has been extensive, including a vast amount of historical detail which varies in quality and its usefulness. This section highlights some of the key methodological decisions and outlines what was recorded, how and for what purpose, as well as some of the limitations of the sources included.

Practically every aspect of pastoral care in the fourteenth century diocese of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester has been found and examined in the episcopal register. The bishop's register was a documentary representation of diocesan government. The entries, including his itinerary, reflect the bishop's activities within and outside of the diocese and his policies regarding pastoral care, administration of the see and the cure of souls which were, at least in theory, his first priorities. The registrar, M. John de Beautre, the diocesan official responsible for copying and preserving the bishop's records, also influenced, to some degree,

[83] J. Langdon, J. Walker and J. R. Falconer, 'Boom and Bust: Building Investment on the Bishop of Winchester's Estate in the Early Fourteenth Century' in R. Britnell (Ed.), *The Winchester Pipe Rolls and Medieval English Society* (Woodbridge, 2003) 154.
[84] Moorman, *Church Life in England*, 36.

what went into the bishop's register.[85] A more vigilant and organised scribe was often behind the fuller and more complete register. In short, they are not the random samplings of documents but records of the regular and frequent duties the bishop performed.

Though we are fortunate to have complete the Winchester Diocese registers of Bishop Edington, they do, however, have their limitations. We can never know precisely how many clerics died during the course of the Black Death. There are clues in the institutions to vacant benefices and clerical ordinations that indicate the swiftness and widespread nature of the changes taking place within the clerical population of the diocese. But even here these figures occupy the lower ranges of the likely rates of mortality from the Black Death. They include only the higher or beneficed clergy; the stipendiary chaplain and the apprentice clerics, who were part of the parish community, are never mentioned. Also, not all the institutions that took place in the Winchester Diocese were always faithfully entered in Edington's register. The bishop's registrar and clerks were usually careful to enter all institutions in their master's records but some may have been missed during the turmoil of the epidemic. Benedictow maintains that the bishop's officials took preliminary notes of these events in order to enter them in the bishop's register later. Such notes could easily be lost, especially if the official died from the epidemic.[86] This could particularly be the case during the year 1349 when the Black Death struck the Winchester Diocese. Especially during the months of March to July 149, as Figure 4.3 (below) shows, when the pestilence was at its height and the pastoral and administrative roles of the clergy were stretched to the limit, it was more likely that casualty details could be missed and forgotten, or even lost. Another difficulty with Bishop Edington's register is the number of institutions entered without any specific reference to how they became vacant. They have no stated cause of vacancy. This is particularly noticeable during the Black Death year of 1349. Of the 344 institutions to Winchester benefices recorded in the bishop's register and shown in Figure 4.2, only 47 are recorded as 'death' whilst 253 are recorded as 'vacant', as well as 12 recorded as 'dispensation', 26 as 'exchanges' and 8 are recorded as 'resignations'. This difficulty is examined fully later in the chapter when the details of Figures 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 (below) are discussed. Finally, Bishop

[85] Hockey, (ed.) 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester', Part 1, ix.
[86] Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353,* 345.

Edington's Itinerary has proved useful in assessing his role in providing replacement priests in particular and his pastoral leadership in general during the crisis of the Black Death. Whilst Bishop Edington can be criticised for appearing to focus more on his political duties and for remaining in his Southwark residence for long periods during the Black Death years, a study of his itinerary reveals that the Bishop did make a number of forays into different areas of the Winchester Diocese. As Table 4.5 (below) shows, he visited a number of places ordaining priests to replace the many clergy who had died as a result of the Black Death. Bishop Edington's role in providing replacements is also examined fully later in this chapter.

The registers of Bishop Edington are invaluable sources of information of the pastoral care and administration of the Winchester Diocese. They tell us about Bishop Edington's management of clerical mortality and the faltering faith among his diocesan population. However, as Dohar asserts, 'there are inevitably *lacunae* in the documentation, critical points where the narrative is broken and the historian is challenged to span the distances between the firmer ground of unembellished records with a combination of interpretation, deduction and guesswork.'[87] Benedictow, Russell and Shrewsbury[88] have highlighted the difficulties that medieval historians have in gaining accurate mortality figures. Their views are discussed at length in this next section dealing with an in-depth analysis of beneficed clergy mortality.

4.5 Charting Clerical Mortality

Since the early years of the twentieth century, Black Death mortality amongst the clergy has been calculated by historians. A number of studies, particularly by Coulton, Gasquet, Jessopp (Norwich), Lunn, Russell, as well as Shrewsbury and Thompson (Lincoln and York) have used data from the episcopal registers on the replacement of priests and institutions to benefices to calculate clergy mortality.[89]

[87] Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership*, xii.
[88] Benedictow, *The Black Death, 1346-1353*; Russell, *British Medieval Population* and Shrewsbury, *A History of the Bubonic Plague*.
[89] Coulton, *The Black Death*; Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence (AD 1348-9)*; Jessopp, 'The Black Death in East Anglia'; Lunn, *The Black Death in the Bishop's Registers*; Russell, *British Medieval Population* and Shrewsbury, *A History of the Bubonic Plague*; Thompson, 'The Registers of John Gynewall, Bishop of Lincoln for the years 1347-1350' and 'The Pestilences of the Fourteenth Century in the Diocese of York'.

More recent studies, such as Aberth (Ely), Davies (Coventry and Lichfield) and Dohar (Hereford) have also used the episcopal registers.[90]

The omission of the cause of the vacant benefice from the number of institutions to benefice entered is a problem encountered with other episcopal registers, including the registers of Bishop Edington of Winchester Diocese used in this chapter. Also occurring, is the problem that we cannot be certain that, at the height of the Black Death epidemic, all institutions were always faithfully entered in the bishop's register. It is possible that some were missed at the height of the epidemic or that the registrar and his clerks were simply not able to keep up with the recording process. In the case of the appearance of a large number of 'vacant' entries not specifying the cause of the vacancy, it is likely that, if they occur during the peak period of the Black Death outbreak, that the cause will be death due to the pestilence. However, by the same token, it is also likely that the vacancy may be due to desertion. Dohar's assertion, that the inevitable gaps in the documentation can be spanned by the historian using a combination of 'interpretation, deduction and guesswork',[91] would appear to be relevant.

In fourteenth century England there were seventeen dioceses for the period of the Black Death (see Appendix D). Thirteen of these dioceses provide statistical matter of greater or less value. Unfortunately, the remaining four dioceses of London, Chichester, Carlisle and Durham provide no statistical information at all in their registers. Salisbury, Rochester and Canterbury have gaps in their information which renders them unreliable and thus unusable. In the case of Salisbury, the institutions to vacant benefices are recorded fully up to 8 March 1349, but thereafter there are two blank periods, for twenty days after 8 March and for ten days after 20 April. Lunn estimates that the Black Death reached its peak in February 1349 as it was the month with the maximum institutions[92] but Shrewsbury maintains that this runs counter to the epidemiological behaviour of the bubonic plague in a temperate climate.[93] Shrewsbury explains that, in medieval England, epidemics of bubonic plague usually erupted towards the end of spring, rose rapidly

[90] Aberth, 'The Black Death in the Diocese of Ely: 275-287; Davies, 'The Effect of the Black Death on the Parish Priests of the Medieval Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield' 85-90 and Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership*.
[91] Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership,* xii.
[92] Lunn, *The Black Death in the Bishop's Registers.*
[93] Shrewsbury, *A History of the Bubonic Plague*, 59.

to a peak of intensity in late summer or early autumn, collapsed or declined sharply with the arrival of the autumn frosts and were extinguished in or remained dormant throughout the winter months.[94] As regards Rochester, Lunn states that the bishop's register is continuous but has two serious defects as a record of clerical mortality. Firstly, after March 1349 no cause is given for the voidance of a benefice; secondly, the deanery of Shoreham was under the jurisdiction of Canterbury.[95] Additionally, Lunn affirms that owing to the loss of the Canterbury register, and the confusion that undoubtedly resulted from the deaths of three archbishops in succession during August 1348 to August 1349, it is impossible to produce statistics of clerical mortality from the Black Death in this diocese that are of any value.[96] The ten dioceses, for which sufficient information survive, are shown in Table 4.2 – 'Beneficed Clergy Mortality by Diocese'. Of these ten remaining dioceses the most valuable, according to Shrewsbury,[97] are Lichfield, Lincoln and York, with Worcester and Hereford of considerably less value. In fact, according to Lunn's findings[98] only the Lichfield register supplies reliable data. This was because the Lichfield register contains only four unspecified institutions. The Lincoln register contains sixty-two unspecified institutions, while in the diocese of York the archbishop only instituted to slightly more than half of the thousand or so parishes in his diocese and these are the only ones that are recorded in the episcopal register. As the registers of York and Lincoln had already been examined by Thompson,[99] Lunn confined his studies to the eight registers for which sufficient information survive. Lunn[100] emphasised that an episcopal register is only of 'statistical value' for mortality studies if the cause of the voidance of a benefice is given when the institution is made. If the cause is given as 'plague' or 'pestilence' it may have been due to bubonic plague or to any one of the other lethal epidemic diseases that were a 'plague' to fourteenth century recorders. However, if, as has been stated above, the incumbent's death can be shown to have occurred during the plague months, coincident with an unusual peak mortality among his parishioners, the possibility that he died from bubonic plague is heightened. In Bishop Edington's register for

[94] *Ibid.,* 3.
[95] *Ibid*., 94.
[96] *Ibid*., 92.
[97] *Ibid*., 51.
[98] Lunn, *The Black Death in the Bishop's Registers* cited in Russell, *British Medieval Population*, 221-222.
[99] Thompson, *The Archaeological Journal*, No.68 (1911) 301-360 and No.71 (1914) 97-154.
[100] Lunn, *The Black Death in the Bishop's Registers*.

the year 1349, the year of the Black Death, 47 'death' and 253 'vacant' are recorded under 'Cause of Vacancy' (see Figure 4.2). In the case of the institutions to benefice shown as 'vacant' there is no certainty that the incumbent had, in fact, died, apart from checking that the name of the incumbent does not appear again in the register. Indeed, they might appear in a different diocese and so in a completely different register. It can also be argued that not every report of death during 1349 was necessarily due to the Black Death. However, for the purposes of this thesis, it is difficult not to see these uncertain vacancies as likely to have been the result of the death of incumbents who died during the course of the epidemic.

Table 4.2 (below), based on figures collated by Benedictow,[101] shows that the Black Death struck Winchester diocese with particular ferocity. Of all beneficed clergy, 48.8 per cent died, a figure only exceeded by Exeter and Ely dioceses in England and Wales. It has been suggested by Ziegler that the coastline of Hampshire was particularly exposed to ship-borne infection and therefore particularly susceptible to the spread of the Black Death.[102] The other two dioceses to suffer most were those of Exeter and Norwich, both of them similarly vulnerable. The diocese of Exeter, comprising of the counties of Devon and Cornwall, had the longest coastline relative to its area of any of the English bishoprics, and as the bulk of its population was likely to live on a coastal zone, it is no surprise that the heaviest plague mortalities occurred in the coastal and estuarine parishes.[103] However, Pickard notes that it is not known when the outbreak occurred in Exeter.[104] Benedictow states that the early presence of the Black Death in Exeter suggests that the pestilence was spread by ship from Weymouth to the small town of Budleigh Salterton on the estuary of the River Otter and then transported by boat or barge upstream to Exeter, and from there it spread into the surrounding districts of the Exeter diocese.[105]

[101] Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353*, 356
[102] P. Ziegler, *The Black Death* 119.
[103] Shrewsbury, *A History of the Bubonic Plague*, 60.
[104] R. Pickard, *The Population and Epidemics of Exeter in Pre-Census Times* (Exeter, 1947) 22.
[105] Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353*, 129.

Table 4.2 - Beneficed Clergy Mortality by Diocese[106]

Diocese	Medieval Counties	Mortality
Bath and Wells	Somerset to the River Avon	47.6%
Coventry/Lichfield	Shropshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Cheshire, Lancashire to the River Ribble	40.1%
Ely	Cambridgeshire	57-60%
Exeter	Cornwall, Devonshire	51.5%
Hereford	Herefordshire, Shropshire to the River Severn	43.2%
Lincoln	Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingdon, Rutland, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire	40.2%
Norwich	Suffolk, Norfolk	48.8%
Winchester	**Hampshire, Surrey**	**48.8%**
Worcester	Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, Warwickshire	44.5%
York	Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, Lancashire from the River Ribble	44.3%
	Average	**46.6%**

In East Anglia, including Cambridgeshire, Suffolk and the north of Essex, the Black Death arrived in March 1349, reached its peak in May, June and July and died out during the autumn.[107] The Black Death appeared in Norfolk in 1348 but did not assume epidemic proportions until 1349 when ravages are 'testified by the enormous number of institutions to the benefices in the county that year.'[108] In the

[106] Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353,* 356.
[107] Ziegler, *The Black Death* 140.
[108] M. E. Simkins, 'Ecclesiastical History (from AD 1279)' in W. Page (ed.) *The Victoria County History of the County of Norfolk*, II (London, 1906) 241.

case of the diocese of Norwich, Jessopp affirmed that 'in no part of England did three such important towns as (King's)Lynn, (Great)Yarmouth and Norwich lie within so short a distance of each other.'[109] He could have added that nowhere around the coast of Britain were so many busy seaports and river-ports so closely together as on the East Anglian coast.[110] Benedictow explains how the contagion flowed out of London in all directions and met up with the contagion flowing south eastwards from the early contamination in western England. The Black Death flowed northwards and eastwards from its landings on the south coast, and northwards and westwards from its landings on the east coast.[111] By the end of 1349 the Black Death had covered the whole of England.

The difficulties in gaining accurate figures, a recurring theme in medieval demographic studies, as mentioned above, have been highlighted by a number of historians, particularly by Benedictow[112] and Shrewsbury[113] who referred to the problem of episcopal registers not specifying the causes of benefice voidances. Indeed, this is a particular problem with the registers of Bishop Edington. Nevertheless, despite these shortcomings, the most efficient source of data for charting the mortality of the clergy is provided by these records of the numbers of institutions of vacant benefices, i.e., records of priests taking over parishes. Table 4.2 shows that, on average, across those ten of the seventeen dioceses, some 46.6 per cent of the clergy died during the Black Death and that, at 48.8 per cent, Winchester Diocese was particularly hard hit, along with Ely at 57-60 per cent and Exeter at 51.5 per cent for the beneficed clergy of the rural parishes.[114]

4.6 Clergy Mortality on the Selected Case-Study Manors

In line with the methodology outlined in Chapter One of this thesis, a comparison of the impact of the Black Death, during September 1348 to December 1349, on the clergy of the six selected Taunton (Somerset) manors and the six selected North Hampshire manors has been attempted. A further comparison of the impact of the impact of the Black Death on the rural communities and the clergy of the selected

[109] Jessopp, 'The Black Death in East Anglia' 204.
[110] Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353*, 138.
[111] Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353*, 138.
[112] *Ibid*., 343-346.
[113] Shrewsbury, *A History of the Bubonic Plague*, 54.
[114] Note that Benedictow's figures for Exeter and Ely have been used as Lunn's original figures of 48.8% and 48.5% appear rather low.

Taunton (Somerset) and North Hampshire case-study manors forms part of Chapter Five, the Conclusion to this thesis. As indicated above, the use of Bishop Edington's and Ralph of Shrewsbury's episcopal registers has confirmed the difficulties in gaining accurate clerical details. However, it is worth noting that analysis of Bishop Edington's positive attempts to cope with the onset of the Black death and its impact on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese is made later in this Chapter Four. In addition, the attempts of Ralph of Shrewsbury, Bishop of the Diocese of Bath and Wells, to be pro-active at the time of the spread of the epidemic in early 1349, should also be noted. On 17 January 1349, Bishop Ralph circulated a desperate letter to all surviving priests trying to bolster their morale, stipulating what people should do should they fall sick of the pestilence and, being on the point of death, be unable to secure the services of a priest. He declared that 'they should make confession of their sins even to a layman, and, if a man is not to hand, then even to a woman.'[115] An extraordinary statement for a bishop to make but these were extraordinary times.

Study of the register of Bishop Edington, Bishop of Winchester, revealed details of the institutions to benefice for the six selected North Hampshire manors. Unfortunately, apart from Rimpton, there are no entries for the five selected Taunton (Somerset) manors, namely, Bishop's Hull, Holway, Nailsbourne, Poundisford and Staplegrove. However, further research revealed that these Taunton manors benefices, although holdings of the Bishop of Winchester, were served and administered by the canons of Taunton Priory. Research into the Priory's history revealed that no detailed list of incumbents was kept by the various Priors. Study of abstracts of Priory documents, including the Black Death years of 1348-49, also failed to reveal any record of the selected Taunton (Somerset) manors.[116] Therefore, as an alternative, in order to calculate a mortality rate for the six selected Taunton (Somerset) manors, this thesis has utilised the records of Taunton Deanery and of Alton Deanery (Bentley manor), Andover Deanery (Crawley manor) and Whitchurch Deanery (Burghclere, Highclere, North Waltham and Overton manors) for the six selected North Hampshire manors, as listed in the *Taxatio*, *circa* 1291, of Pope Nicholas IV.[117] As discussed fully below, in relation to

[115] Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence (A.D. 1348-9) 82.*
[116] T. Hugo, *The History of Taunton Priory in the County of Somerset* (London, 1860) 41-43.
[117] T. Astle, S. Aynscough, J. Caley (eds.) *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, circa AD 1291* (London, 1802).

clerical mortality, the *Taxatio* provides a detailed statement of the number of benefices in each constituent deanery. Whilst reservations have been made by historians as to the accuracy of re-creations of the original assessment returns, for example, by Denton,[118] the *Taxatio* is a unique record of the English and Welsh parish churches listed in ecclesiastical taxation assessments carried out on the order of Pope Nicholas IV about 1291-2.

After a probable entry point in the Weymouth, Dorset and Bristol areas by the early Autumn of 1348, the Black Death spread northwards and eastwards towards Somerset, appearing there on the southern border on the third of October 1348 at Pendomar.[119] This coincided with entries made in the Bishop of Bath and Wells' register for benefice vacancies at Saltford,[120] between Bristol and Bath, on the sixth October 1348 and at Bridgwater[121] on the tenth November 1348. Table 4.3 (below) shows how, as the Black Death spread across Somerset during October and November 1348, Taunton Deanery, including the six selected case study manors, was not touched. However, by December 1348 Bath and Bathampton[122] had been reached, as had Taunton Deanery with benefice vacancies recorded at Nynehead,[123] seven miles south west of Taunton, on the second and at Orchard, two miles south of Taunton, on the ninth of December.[124] Table 4.3 and Fig.4.1 (below) show how Taunton Deanery benefice vacancies peaked during the months of February, March and April 1349. During those three months, Taunton Deanery received the full force of the Black Death with ten vacancies to be filled before the vacancy numbers begin to drop back to zero levels by the end of the year. Reference is made to benefice vacancies made at Rimpton on the sixth of February[125] and the third of June, 1349.[126] Although none of the remaining five selected case study Somerset manors appear in the Bishop of Bath and Wells' register, Table 4.3 (below) shows that, at least sixteen out of twenty-eight were

[118] J. H. Denton, 'The value of the ecclesiastical benefices of England and Wales in 1291-2', *Historical Research*, No.66 (1993) 242-50.
[119] T. S. Holmes (ed.), 'The register of Ralph of Shrewsbury, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1329-1363', Part 2, *Somerset Record Society Publications*, 10 (London, 1896) Fol.326, No.2049. 557.
[120] *Ibid*., Fol.326, No.2051, 557.
[121] *Ibid*., Fol.327, No.2059, 559.
[122] *Ibid*., Fol.334, No.2137, 572.
[123] *Ibid*., Fol.334, No.2143, 573.
[124] *Ibid*., Fol.359, No.2434, 624.
[125] *Ibid*., Fol.337, No.2210, 581.
[126] *Ibid*., Fol.352, No.2378. 614.

vacated and new priests appointed, a possible mortality rate of 57 per cent, before vacancy numbers dropped to the pre-Black Death levels of zero from the beginning of September to the end of August 1349. From these figures, it would appear that Taunton Deanery, including the six selected Taunton (Somerset) manors was hit hard by the Black Death. However, the records show that any benefice vacancies occurring during the months of the Black Death were filled as a matter of expediency and a return to pre-Black Death levels was effected by the end of 1349.[127] It is remarkable how the clergy responsible continued to record clerical and benefice changes during the terrible Black Death years of 1348-49.

By way of contrast, a comparison is now made with the six selected case study manors of North Hampshire. Study of Table 4.3 and Fig. 4.1 shows a similar position in relation to the chronological spread of the Black Death northwards through Hampshire. The first visitation recorded in the county was in Knighton, Isle of Wight on the thirteenth of November 1348, with the recording of the death of John Russell.[128] As the Black Death spread northwards through Hampshire from the south coast, the death of Hugh de Welewyk at Hursley, five miles south of Winchester was recorded on the second of January 1349.[129] The first recorded death in Winchester itself was on the first of January 1349, of the unnamed priest, of St. Elizabeth's Chapel in present-day College Street.[130] Marching northwards, the Black Death reached Basingstoke with the death of Thomas, the last rector of St. Michael's Church in the town, on the seventh of April 1349.[131]

In relation to the impact of the Black Death on the six selected case study manors of North Hampshire, Bentley manor, located in Alton Deanery some twenty miles north east of Basingstoke, on the Hampshire Surrey border (see map, Appendix F), appeared to lead a charmed life during 1348-49. No entries were recorded for Bentley in Bishop Edington's register whilst other manors in Alton Deanery suffered

[127] Note: As discussed later and referenced in this chapter, from the data collected from the Register of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1329-1363, in accordance with Benedictow's reference to the 'source-critical problem' of using institutions of parish priests as sources for the demographic study of mortality, only the number of first deaths or vacancies have been used.
[128] Hockey, D. S. F. (ed.), The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester 1346-66, Part 1, *Hampshire Record Series 7* (Hampshire Record Office for Hampshire County Council, Winchester, 1987) Fol.73, No.302, 54.
[129] *Ibid*., Fol.76, No.324, 57.
[130] *Ibid*., Fol.76. No.323, 57.
[131] *Ibid*., Fol.89, No.437, 73.

losses and changes of clerical personnel, especially during the peak Black Death months during 1349. For example, a vacancy was filled at the vicarage and church of Alton itself, twelve miles south of Basingstoke dated 29 January.[132] Another vacancy, due to resignation, was recorded at Sheldon, two miles north of Alton, on 30 January.[133] After two quieter months in February and March 1349, with no recorded vacancies, as Table 4.3 shows, a total of six vacancies were recorded from the beginning of April to the end of July 1349. The death of Thomas de Wynt' of Selborne church, recorded on 29 June,[134] shows that the Black Death was all too real a possibility at that time. Apart from a vacancy at Newton Vallance recorded on 23 September,[135] the last four months of 1349 saw the Alton Deanery revert back to the zero levels of the pre-Black Death years.

Further study of Table 4.3 shows how the Deanery of Andover, including the selected manor of Crawley, fared during the Black Death years of 1348-49. Table 4.3 and Fig 4.1 clearly show the six months from April to July 1349 as the peak months of the Black Death for both the Andover and Whitchurch Deaneries. Three vacancies each month were recorded for each of the two deaneries for the months of February, March and April 1349. The month of February can be considered a key month for Andover Deanery since all three vacancies refer to the death of the previous incumbent, namely at Nether Wallop on 7 February,[136] Monxton on 10 February[137] and Abbots Ann on 11 February.[138] The months of March 1349, with one death and two vacancies and April 1349, with three vacancies complete, can be considered the Black Death's peak months. The months of May and June 1349, with one and two vacancies respectively, can be considered as the pestilence on the wane. However, the selected manor of Crawley features at this time with a vacancy recorded as being filled by John de Ware, acolyte, as rector on 20 June 1349.[139] This is a significant appointment in itself, confirming the shortage of priests at that time, in that a number of acolytes, i.e., trainee priests, were fast-tracked by Bishop Edington of Winchester (see below in this Chapter) to replace the 49.2 per

[132] *Ibid*., Fol.78, No.337, 59.
[133] *Ibid*., Fol.78, No.339, 59.
[134] *Ibid*., Fol.108, No.618, 95.
[135] *Ibid*., Fol.117, No.688, 105.
[136] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington, Part 1, Fol.79, No.348, 61.
[137] *Ibid*., Fol.79. No.352, 61.
[138] *Ibid*., Fol.79, No.351, 61.
[139] *Ibid*., Fol.107, No.603, 93.

cent of priest benefices calculated to be vacant by this thesis, roughly one in two, as a result of the Black Death.

In relation to the Whitchurch Deanery, a similar pattern emerges. After no vacancies recorded for the months of September to December 1348, a vacancy was recorded on tenth of January, 1349 at Steventon, seven miles west of Basingstoke, on the resignation of Geoffrey de Brockhampton.[140] This was followed, during the months of February to May 1349, by a peak period during which ten vacancies were recorded. Of these months, February can be considered the peak month of the Black Death epidemic with the recording of the death of Walter Passelewe at St. Mary Bourne on 9 February,[141] the death of Robert le Veysi at Longparish on 26 February[142] and the admission of William Gurgan to the vacancy at Freefolk on 25 February.[143] The selected North Hampshire case study manors of Burghclere, Highclere, North Waltham and Overton feature significantly during these peak months in Whitchurch Deanery. There is the recording of the filling of a vacancy due to exchange of benefice for the church of Burghclere on 28 March,[144] followed by the filling of vacancies at Overton on 12 May[145] and at Highclere on 22 May 1349.[146] The selected case study manor of North Waltham, six miles south west of Basingstoke, in particular, has four entries recorded in Bishop Edington's register during the months of April to July 1349 showing the key impact of the Black Death on the North Hampshire area. An exchange of benefice was recorded on 10 April[147] for John de Lech' to be instituted to Arreton church on the Isle of Wight, perhaps a safer place to be. On 15 April[148] a further collation consigned Stephen de Schirefield' to fill the North Waltham vacancy. These benefice changes were followed by the filling of vacancies on 3 May[149] and 20 July 1349.[150] Significantly, the 20 July vacancy at North Waltham was filled by John de Sannford', acolyte.

[140] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington, Part 1, Fol.76, No.325, 57.
[141] *Ibid*., Fol.79, No.350, 61.
[142] *Ibid*., Fol.82, No.370, 64.
[143] *Ibid*., Fol.81, No.366, 63.
[144] *Ibid*., Fol.85, No.409, 69.
[145] *Ibid*., Fol.95, No.513, 82.
[146] *Ibid*., Fol.97. No.530, 84.
[147] *Ibid*., Fol.89, No.444, 74.
[148] *Ibid*., Fol.90, No.453, 75.
[149] *Ibid*., Fol.94, No.503,81.
[150] *Ibid*., Fol.110, No.630, 97.

Another example of Bishop Edington fast-tracking a trainee priest to fill a vacancy at the height of the Black Death during 1349.

Confirmed by Table 4.3 and Graph 4.1 and similar to the findings in relation to Taunton Deanery, the beginning of January through to the end of July 1349 were the main months of the Black Death. Alton Deanery suffered approximately nine out of nineteen benefices vacated for a possible mortality rate of about 47 per cent. Andover Deanery suffered approximately thirteen out of thirty one benefices vacated for a possible mortality rate of about 42 per cent. Whitchurch Deanery suffered approximately thirteen out of twenty eight benefices for a possible mortality rate of 46 percent. In comparison, Taunton Deanery suffered approximately sixteen out of twenty-eight benefices vacated for a possible mortality rate of about 57 per cent. Overall, Taunton Deanery, containing the six selected Somerset case study manors, experienced an approximate mortality rate of 57 per cent compared to the combined Deaneries of Alton, Andover and Whitchurch, containing the six selected North Hampshire case study manors, who experienced an approximate mortality rate of 45 per cent.

Further study of Table 4.3 and Graph 4.1 confirm a similar chronological pattern of December 1348 to September 1349 for the Black Death as it travelled north across Somerset and Hampshire. Although Bishop Edington of Winchester Diocese and Ralph of Shrewsbury, Bishop of Bath and Wells Diocese strove manfully and eventually unsuccessfully to restrict the effects of the Black Death, ultimately it was the nature of the landscape that resulted in the Taunton (Somerset) manors suffering more from the Black Death than the North Hampshire manors. The superior nature of the land leading to a very large number of small tenant-holders in the selected Taunton (Somerset) manors helped account for the higher mortality rate experienced by the clergy of those manors. In relation to the density of population of the selected Taunton (Somerset) manors and the increased amount of pastoral support required, the risk of catching the Black Death for priests administering to the pastoral needs of the rural community was much higher than for the smaller rural population of North Hampshire.

Reference has been made in Chapter Three to the differences between the Somerset and Hampshire regions. The five case study manors of Taunton, plus Rimpton, were situated in a region of arable farming that took advantage of the

good quality soil of the region and where some 1,800 acres of land were sown in the early fourteenth century. The selected case study manors were clustered round Taunton. Consequently, there were a large number of very small holdings, confirmed by Levett as 'where the number of tenants is the largest, there were cottages … with plots of one or two acres in size'.[151] Also, reference is made by Thornton to 'many tenants' who 'lived in dispersed farms or small hamlets with five acre holdings'.[152] In contrast, the six case study North Hampshire manors tended to be larger in acreage, many up to forty acres and spread out over a mixed farming region consisting of meadows, well-drained fertile land, less arable land and downland pastures. Large flocks of sheep were commonplace, for example at Crawley and Overton, requiring a lot less manpower to upkeep and supervise. 'Settlements' in the North Hampshire region 'tended to be nucleated with long thin parishes settled along the river valleys'.[153] The differences in the type of land and farming is reflected in the approximate densities of population. The approximate total population for the Somerset case study manors of 3,700 people for a rough average per manor of 600 people is nearly twice the approximate population of the North Hampshire manors of 1,750 people for a rough average of 290 people. The higher density of population as a result of the popularity of the fertile nature of the region's land in the selected Taunton (Somerset) manors is reflected in the higher mortality rates than the selected North Hampshire manors for both the rural and the clergy population.

This is borne out by the data shown in Table 4.3 (below) with Taunton Deanery clergy suffering an approximate 57 percent compared to the clergy of the North Hampshire Deaneries approximate average mortality rate for the clergy of approximately 46 per cent. Overall, therefore, in comparison to the rural community of the selected Taunton (Somerset) case study manors, whose overall average mortality rate fell within the bounds of 35 to 50 per cent and that of the selected North Hampshire case study manors, whose overall average mortality rate fell within the bounds of 21 to 30 per cent, the impact of the Black Death on the clergy of Taunton Deanery was far more severe.

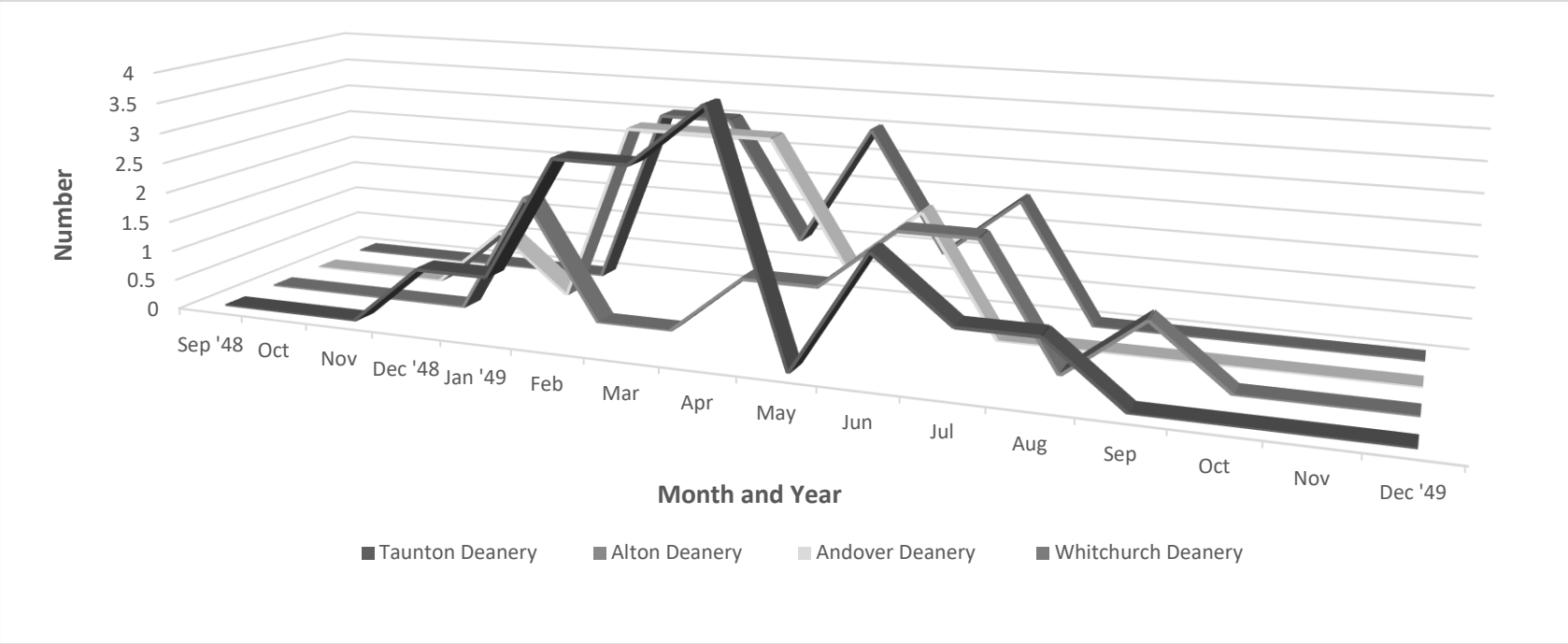
[151] Levett, 'The Black Death', 82.
[152] Thornton, 'The Level of Arable Productivity on the Bishopric of Winchester's Manor of Taunton, 1283-1348', 113.
[153] Hare, 'Demesne Agriculture in Medieval Hampshire', 191.

Table 4.3 –Taunton and North Hants Benefice Institutions[1], Sep. 1348 – Dec. 1349

Deanery	Sep. 1348	Oct.	Nov.	Dec. 1348	Jan. 1349	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec. 1349	Totals/Poss. Mort. Rates
Taunton	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**3**	**4**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**16/28 MR = 57%**
Alton	0	0	0	0	2	O	0	1	1	2	2	0	1	O	O	O	**9/19=47%**
Andover	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	**13/31=42%**
Whitchurch	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	1	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	**13/28=46%**
North Hants Totals	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**6**	**6**	**5**	**5**	**5**	**4**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**Average MR = 45%**

[1] North Hants Deanery Benefice Institution details taken from Hockey, D. S. F. (ed.), The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester 1346-66, Part 1, *Hampshire Record* Series 7 (Hampshire Record Office for Hampshire County Council, Winchester, 1987). Taunton Deanery Benefice Institution details taken from Holmes, T. S. (ed.), *The Register of Ralph of Shrewsbury, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1329-1363* (London, 1896).

Fig. 4.1 – Graph of Taunton and North Hants Deaneries Benefice Institutions, Sep '48- Dec '49[1]



[1] Number of original benefices in Taunton and North Hants Deaneries based on *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate Papa Nicholai IV, circa AD 1291*, Astle, T, Aynscough, S and Caley, J. (eds.) (London, 1802).

4.7 Clergy Mortality on the Winchester Diocese

For the purposes of this chapter, an attempt has been made to calculate a mortality percentage for the clergy of the Winchester Diocese during the period of the Black Death from September 1348 to January 1350. Lunn's estimates are considered by Benedictow to relate only to institutions performed in 1349, were reached without due consideration to the source problems outlined by him and, as a consequence, tend to be on the low side.[1] Whilst the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*,[2] a detailed record of English and Welsh churches and parishes, ordered by Pope Nicholas IV and completed in 1291, has been used by historians to ascertain the number of churches in the fourteenth century, it is not considered a complete record. Historians have, instead, used the register of Bishop Pontissara,[3] Bishop of Winchester from 1282 to 1304, which contains a full list of the parishes in the diocese of Winchester at the end of the thirteenth century. In Bishop Pontissara's register there are 345 churches listed compared to 300 in the *Taxatio*. The 345 represent the ten deaneries of the Winchester Diocese. Surrey's 4 deaneries are represented in the *Taxatio* by 115 parishes, considered by Moorman to be 87 per cent of a more accurate figure.[4] As a 100 per cent figure, the total number of parishes is calculated as 132 parishes. Therefore, adding these two figures of 345 (Winchester) and 132 (Surrey) gives a total of 477 parishes for the Winchester Diocese.

The establishing of the total number of parishes enables the mortality rate for the Winchester Diocese to be calculated. From the data collected from the register of Bishop Edington, in accordance with Benedictow's reference to the 'source-critical problem'[5] of using institutions of parish priest as sources for the demographic study of mortality, only the number of first deaths or vacancies have been used. The total number of deaths and vacant benefices recorded for September 1348 to January 1350 totals 306. From this total was deducted the number of second (45) and third (26) death/vacant benefices giving a total of 71 to be subtracted from the 306,

[1] Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353*, 353-356.
[2] T. Astle, S. Aynscough, J. Caley (eds.) *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, circa AD 1291* (London, 1802).
[3] C. Deedes, (ed.), *Registrum Johannis de Pontissara, Episcopi Wyntoniensis*, A.D. 1282-1304, 2 vols., 19, 30.
[4] Moorman, *Church Life in England*, 4.
[5] Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353,* 343-344.

which leaves a total of 235. By calculating the deaths/vacant benefices as a percentage of the total number of parishes (477), a mortality rate of 49.2 per cent for the clergy of the Winchester Diocese during the period of the Black Death was achieved. Whilst this is slightly higher than Lunn's figure of 48.8 per cent, it is within the limits suggested by Benedictow's assertion that Lunn's estimates tend to be on the low side.[6] It is suggested by Benedictow that the discrepancy in Lunn's figure could be because it relates only to institutions performed in 1349, and not to the totality of institutions that must be assumed to be plague-related. Alternatively, the discrepancy could be explained by a scribal error on the part of Coulton, that Lunn's figure was 58.5 per cent and not 48.5 per cent.[7] Whilst accepting Benedictow's revised figures that Exeter Diocese, at 51.5 per cent, and Ely Diocese, at 57-60 per cent appear to have come off worst in the Black Death, with 49.2 per cent mortality, Winchester Diocese clergy can clearly be seen to have suffered badly.

Benedictow has also calculated mortality rates of the beneficed parish clergy for the cities of Exeter, Lincoln, Bristol and York and found them to be around 60 per cent.[8] Whist this small sample of data can be challenged as being unrepresentative and no study has, as yet, been published on the mortality arising among the urban population, it is interesting that this urban mortality rate is similar to the mortality rates of beneficed clerics found in Barcelona by Gyug.[9] Unfortunately, due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence, no figures are available for the city of Winchester. However, of the 57 churches in use in Winchester in *c.*1300, this number had been reduced to 33 by *c.*1400. Keene confirms that at least six churches went out of use during 1348-1349.[10] Though the evidence is not conclusive, the figures that we do have suggest that the decline in the number of parish churches was the direct result of the loss of population rather than any attempt at rationalising the parochial structure. More evidence is needed in this

[6] *Ibid*., 356.
[7] *Ibid*., 357-358
[8] *Ibid*., 358-*359*.
[9] R. Gyug, 'The Effects and Extent of the Black Death of 1348: New Evidence for Clerical Mortality in Barcelona', *Medieval Studies*, 45 (1983) 391.
[10] D. Keene, 'Survey of Medieval Winchester' in M. Biddle (ed.), *Winchester* Studies, Vol. 2, i (Oxford, 1985) 116-117.

connection but it would seem that beneficed clergy in urban areas suffered more from the Black Death than their rural counterparts.

Table 4.4 – Comparison of the Numbers of Rectors and Vicars Instituted to Winchester Benefices, 1346-1352

Year	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352	Total
Rector	42	33	51	145	45	47	35	398
Vicar	3	2	9	89	19	11	4	137
Ratio	1:14	1:16.5	1:5.7	1:1.6	1:2.4	1:4.3	1:8.8	1:2.9

Table 4.4, derived from evidence from the register of Bishop Edington for the years 1346 to 1352,[11] reveals a total number of 535 rectors and vicars were instituted to Winchester benefices. Of these, 348 were rectors and 137 were vicars. Between the years 1346 to 1348 and 1350 to 1352, an average of 42 rectors and 8 vicars per year were instituted. However, the impact of the Black Death in 1349 can clearly be seen with a dramatic rise in the numbers of rectors instituted increased to 145 and the number of vicars instituted increased to 89. This is a substantial increase of three and a half times the average of 42 rectors being instituted to benefices between the years 1346 to 1348 and 1350 to 1352. The number of vicars being instituted increased by eleven times, even more substantially, from an average of eight per year during 1346 to 1348, and 1350 to 1352. This agrees with the findings above that a rector was able to exploit his position by accepting the financial benefits of a number of benefices and pay a vicar a much lower sum to maintain 'cure of souls'. The lower status of the vicar is also clearly shown when considering how the ratio of rector to vicar changes during the time of the Black Death. On average the ratio of rector to vicar is 1 to 9 during 1346-48 but during the Black Death year of 1349 the ratio increases sharply to 1 to 1.6. This shows the need to fill a large number of vacancies was accomplished by appointing a large number of vicars, much cheaper than appointing a large number of rectors. It is significant that the ratio of rector to vicar during 1350-52 does not revert back to the 1346-48 ratio of 1 to 9, stalling at 1 to 1.3. Clearly, there are a much larger number of vacancies than usual to fill. This is even allowing for Benedictow's 'source-critical problem', the fact that, in a number of cases, the benefices became vacant more

[11] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester', Part 1, 2 – 140.

than once because not only did the incumbent priest die at the outset of the epidemic but also his successor.[12] There is a big increase in vacant benefices and this clearly shows the impact the Black Death had on the clergy in the Winchester Diocese. However, the mortality rate during non-plague years should also be considered as it is still reasonably high. As such, this mortality rate would have to be deducted to give a truer extent of its impact.[13]

Table 4.5 – Comparison of the Numbers of Rectors and Vicars of the Winchester Diocese Appropriated to Religious Houses, 1346-52

Year	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352	Total
Rector	8	1	2	40	4	10	4	69
Vicar	2	3	5	55	9	7	3	84

Table 4.5, also using the evidence from the register of Bishop Edington during the years 1346 to 1352,[14] shows, that of the 535 Institutions shown in Table 4.3, 153 appropriations to religious houses occurred. It is noticeable that, far from reflecting the trend of at least half the parish churches in England being appropriated to religious houses, the total of 153 reflects just over one quarter, 28.5 per cent, of the 535 total of Table 4.3. As in Table 4.3, the year 1349 is significant for the dramatic rise in appropriations from an average of approximately five rectors and five vicars per year between 1346 to 1348, and 1350 to 1352, to 40 rectors and 55 vicars, an increase of 800 per cent. Again, these figures clearly show the effect the Black Death had on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese. With a large number of vacant benefices to fill, a cleric was able to accept a number of benefices as a rector and then farm them out to willing vicars at a much lower annual salary who would then reside there and provide 'cure of souls'. However, as in Table 4.4, the number of appropriations quickly revert back to six on average, just over the previous annual average, by 1351 to 1352. Bishop Edington's register for the years 1346-52 shows that a number of different religious houses were used for the purpose of appropriations across the length of England. They range from the Abbot and

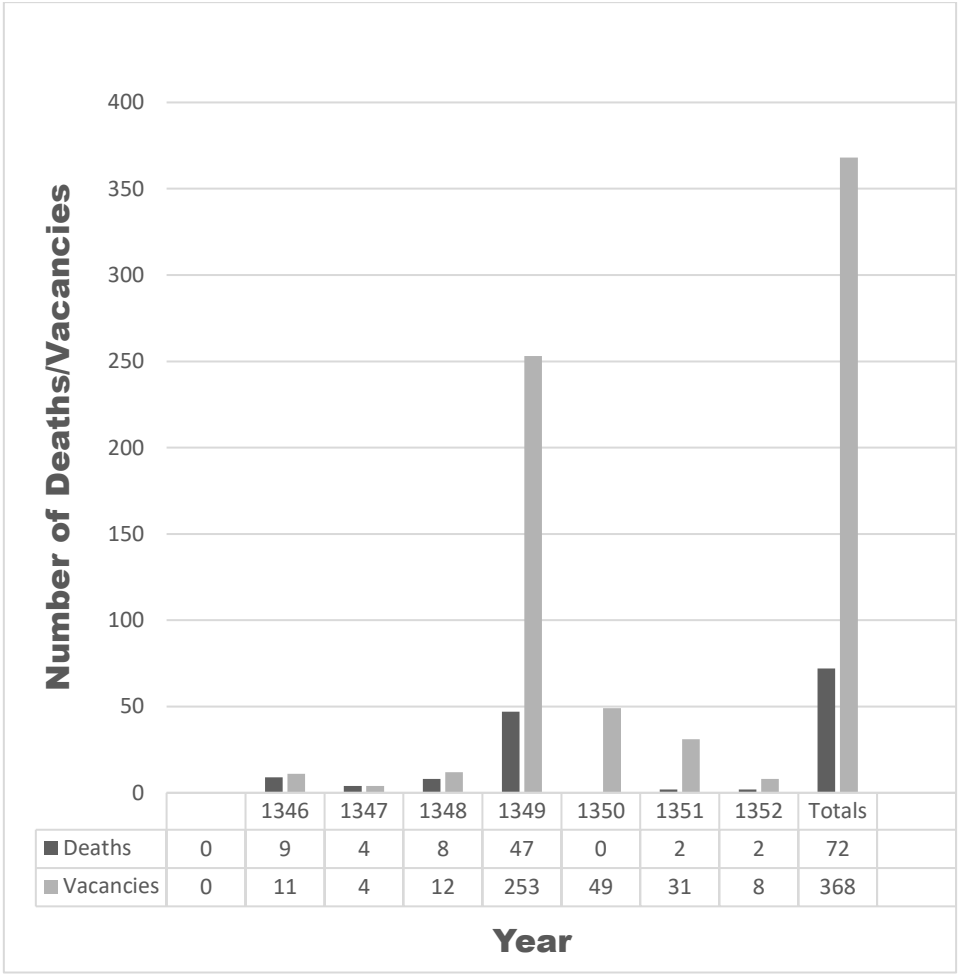
[12] Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353,* 344.
[13] See also p.111-112, the conclusion to this chapter, which takes into account a normal mortality rate of 4-5% of England's clergy, based on Model Life Tables and as expounded by Benedictow, p.251.
[14] Hockey, (Ed.), 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester', Part 1, 2 – 140.

Convent of Quarr, Isle of Wight and the Abbot and Convent of Chertsey, Surrey to the Prior and Convent of Leeds, Yorkshire. Table 4.5 reveals that virtually equal numbers of rector and vicars were being appointed under this system of appropriations. It is significant that far more rectors were being appointed than vicars during the Black Death year of 1349. Bishop Edington's reaction to the Black Death and his strategies for clerical replacements are examined fully later in this chapter, through further analysis of the evidence.

Figure 4.2 (below) gives the deaths and vacant benefices in the Winchester Diocese for the years 1346 to 1352. Further to the justification explanation for the date range chosen for the study of the selected manors in Chapter Three, the year 1346 was chosen for study of the clergy. The year 1346 was selected as this was the year that William Edington officially became Bishop of Winchester. The year 1352 was selected as, for example, the research details contained in Figure 4.1(below) confirmed that, after rocketing from 20 in 1348 to 300 in 1349, by 1352 the numbers of deaths and vacant benefices had dropped to 10 which is below the 1346 level of 20, suggesting that the main effect of the Black Death had passed and that things had returned to more normal levels. However, exceptionally, for Table 4.5 and Figure 4.4(both below), research of the Winchester Diocese Ordinations was extended from 1346-52 to 1346-56. This was because the years 1346-50 had witnessed very high levels of ordinations, peaking at 592 in 1349 and averaging 399 for each year 1346-50. It was only in the year 1351 that the numbers of ordinations began dropping to an average of 70 per year for the years 1351-56. Hence the need to extend the research and data recording to 1356.

The average had been one or two deaths/vacancies a month as per 1346 to 1348. However, in 1349 the numbers of deaths increased sharply to 47 and the vacancies to 253 with an average of 25 per month, the critical and peak months for these deaths and vacancies being April and May (see Figure 4.3). The devastating impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese is clearly shown. The year 1350 sees a drop in the number of deaths recorded at zero with a corresponding drop in the number of vacancies to 49. By 1352 the number of vacancies has dropped to below the 1346 level. Though we can never know precisely how many clerics died during the course of this plague of 1348-1349, these numbers of deaths and vacancies indicate the swiftness and widespread nature of the spread of the Black Death.

Figure 4.2* - Winchester Diocese Deaths/Vacant Benefices, 1346 - 1352[15]



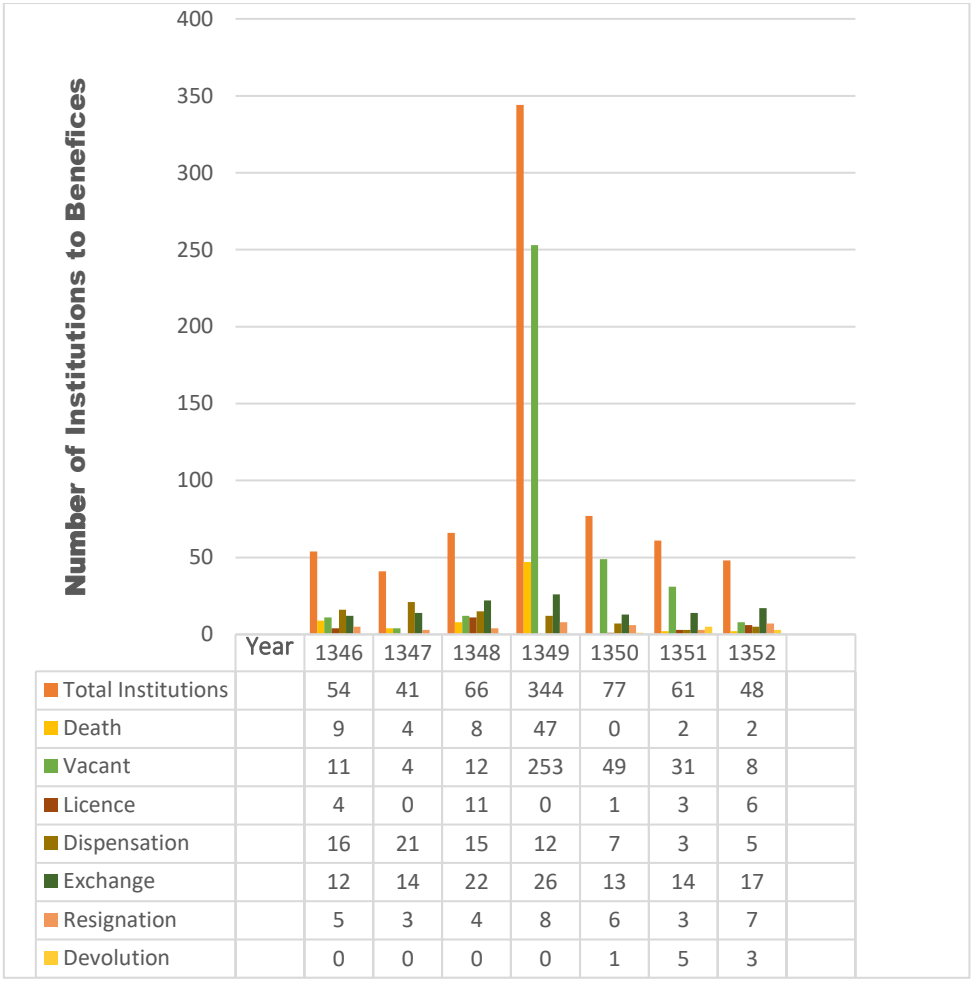
		1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352	Totals
Deaths	0	9	4	8	47	0	2	2	72
Vacancies	0	11	4	12	253	49	31	8	368

* Note: Figures are based on modern calendar years.

Figure 4.3 (below) shows the Institutions to Winchester Benefices for the years 1346-1352 and includes a fuller summary of the reasons for the vacancies that occurred. This is a comprehensive tabulation of the information gleaned from the main source researched, the register of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester during the years 1346 to 1366. As stated above in Chapter Two, the 'Sources and Methodology' section, visits to the Hampshire Record Office have confirmed that Hockey's translation carefully and accurately follows the original folio pagination and chronology of content of both volumes of the register. Considering the figures that fall confidently under the category of 'death', it can be seen that of the 300 benefices that became vacant during 1349, only 47 of these, 15.6 per cent of the total in the diocese, lost their incumbent to the Black Death.

[15] Hockey, *The Register of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester*, Part 1.

Figure 4.3* – Institution to Winchester Benefices, 1346-1352[16]



Year	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352
Total Institutions	54	41	66	344	77	61	48
Death	9	4	8	47	0	2	2
Vacant	11	4	12	253	49	31	8
Licence	4	0	11	0	1	3	6
Dispensation	16	21	15	12	7	3	5
Exchange	12	14	22	26	13	14	17
Resignation	5	3	4	8	6	3	7
Devolution	0	0	0	0	1	5	3

*Note: Figures are based on modern calendar years

Even if the deaths are presumed victims of the Black Death, they may include deaths from other causes, in line with numbers seen with this cause of vacancy in other 'normal' or pre-Black Death years. This figure is not insignificant when the subsequent effects these deaths had on the administration of individual parishes and the leadership of the diocese is considered. However, more startling is the figure for which there is no stated cause of vacancy, 253 out of 300, which equals 84.4 per cent, fall into this category. There is no certainty that the incumbent had, in fact, died and it can be argued that not every report of death during 1349 was necessarily a death due to the Black Death. Death could also be from a variety of other causes or the vacancy could possibly involve desertion by the clergyman.

[16] Hockey, *The Register of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester*, Part 1.

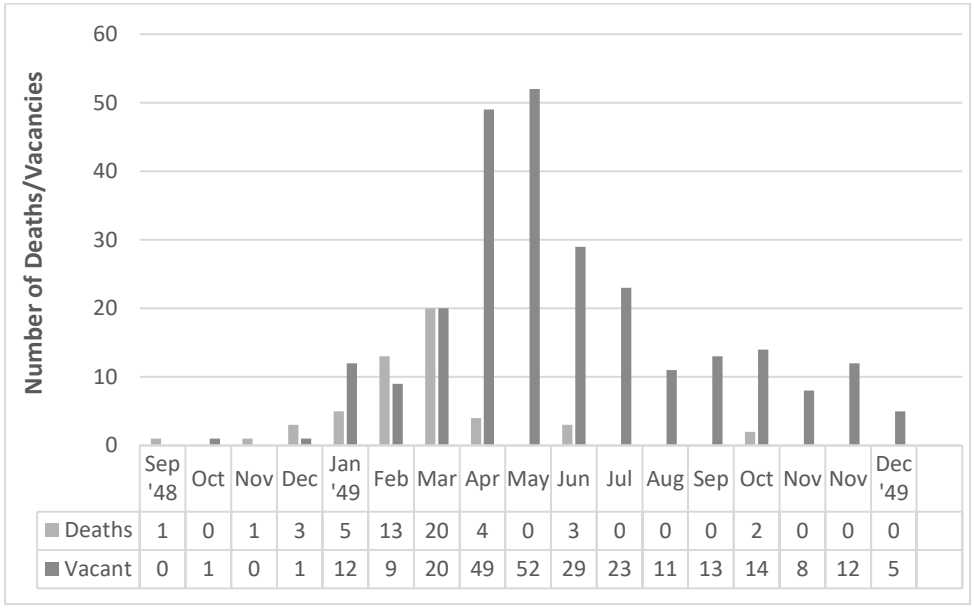
However, it is difficult not to see these uncertain vacancies as having become the result of the death of incumbents who died during the course of the epidemic.

Although Figure 4.3 shows that the number of vacancies caused by death had quickly fallen to zero in 1350 and two in 1351, there was still, however, a high number of institutions with no stated cause of vacancy, 49 in 1350 and 31 in 1351. This may be due to a number of factors. One reason could be that the bishop's registrar was hard-pressed to keep up with his master's usual business and may have neglected to receive every aspect of an institution to benefice, especially at the height of the Black Death. The registrar was unable to note the cause of the vacancy in every case so he resorted to what he knew. Therefore, in the institutions for benefice in the years 1349, 1350 and 1351, his information was restricted to the names of the benefice, the patron, the presentee and the date of the institution. Another possibility is the 'fear' factor that, in 1349, and especially in the years 1350 and 1351, a number of priests reputedly abandoned their post and left the area in a bid for self-preservation from the Black Death as it spread through the parishes of the diocese. Figure 4.2 confirms that a number of official resignations took place with an average of four per year taking place in the years 1346 to 1348 but rising to eight in 1349, double the previous average, before gradually lowering to five in the following years of 1350 to 1352. In addition, a number of entries, one in the year 1350, five in the year 1351 and three in 1352 are entered in the register as 'devolution',[17] suggesting that the incumbents may have deserted. This gives credence to the statement made, at the beginning of the chapter, from the Victoria County History, of 'priests shamefully absenting themselves from their cures'[18] and Coulton's assertion that 'many clergy readily abandoned their benefices and fled.'[19] However, in comparison to the staggering numbers of deaths and vacant benefices shown in 1349 particularly, assuming that the incumbents did flee their posts, the numbers of devolutions fall within acceptable limits. On average, of the nine entries recorded, one year appears to be the time span to have elapsed before the benefice was classed as a 'devolution'. A good example is provided by the chapel of Knighton on the Isle of Wight. On 13 November 1348, Richard de Sutton was

[17] 'Devolution' refers to an institution being vacant for an unusually long time.
[18] Cox, *Victoria County History of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, II, 35.
[19] Coulton, *The Black Death*, 47.

appointed vicar to Knighton on the death of John Russel.[20] One year and two months later, on 9 February 1349, Hugh Lysewy was appointed vicar on the death of Richard Crityan.[21] It can be assumed that Richard de Sutton either resigned or deserted as he reappears in the register on 16 July 1359, appointed vicar of Wandsworth.[22] On 9 February 1349, 1 year 12 days later, John de Skeryngton is recorded as being appointed vicar of Knighton.[23] A further 1 year 10 months later, on 29 December 1351, John de Mangrove was appointed vicar of Knighton.[24] On neither of these last two entries was the fate of the previous incumbent recorded. Figure 4.2 and the example of Knighton, show clearly the sudden and extensive changes that the diocese and individual parishes had to bear in a narrow span of time. The dramatic increase in deaths and vacant benefices and subsequent institutions reveal the big differences from the relatively stable nature of the years before 1349 and the changeful times that followed, and continued into the early 1350s.[25]

Figure 4.4*– Number of Deaths/Vacant Benefices, Sep. 1348 - Jan. 1350[26]



	Sep '48	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan '49	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Nov	Dec '49
Deaths	1	0	1	3	5	13	20	4	0	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Vacant	0	1	0	1	12	9	20	49	52	29	23	11	13	14	8	12	5

[20] Hockey, *The Register of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester*, Part 1, Fol.73, No.302, 54.
[21] *Ibid*., Fol.79, No.349, 61.
[22] *Ibid*., Fol.196, No.1197, 179.
[23] *Ibid*., Fol.122, No.736,111.
[24] *Ibid*., Fol.140, No864, 129.
[25] Vacancies due to the increase in Licences, Dispenations and Exchanges will be the subject of in-depth analysis later in this chapter.
[26] Hockey, *The Register of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester*, Part 1. (Note: Figures are based on modern calendar years).

In Figure 4.4 (above) the number of Deaths/Vacant Benefices for the Winchester Diocese for the main period of the Black Death, September 1348 to January 1350, have been set out by month. The progress and impact of the Black Death becomes evident if the increase, rise and decline in the numbers of institutions during the plague year of 1349 are considered. Lunn declared the first Black Death victim was on 13 November 1348 in Knighton, Isle of Wight, with the death of John Russel.[27] This was followed on 25 December 1348 by the 'death of the last rector', not named, in Peniton Mawsey, modern-day Pennington near Lymington.[28] On 2 January 1349 the death of Hugh de Welewyk at Hursley, just south of Winchester, was recorded.[29] The Black Death was marching northwards across the county of Hampshire after its arrival on the south coast during the latter part of 1348 and, in so far as any pattern can be detected, it seems to have struck from Bristol and the West across Hampshire.[30] In January and February 1349, the numbers of deaths and vacancies at seventeen and twenty-two are considerably higher than the five and seven of September to December 1348. By March the total number of deaths and vacant benefices for the diocese had nearly doubled with forty institutions recorded. The increase in deaths and vacant benefices continued with institutions totalling 53 in April and with 52 in May. In June and July there was a slight levelling off with thirty-two and twenty-three institutions but still a high toll of numbers. In August and September, the numbers reducing to eleven and thirteen followed by a slight rise to fourteen deaths/vacant benefices in October. The final two months of the year saw the beginnings of a recovery with the number of institutions reducing to eight and twelve. By January of 1350 the number of deaths/vacant benefices had reduced to five.

The seasonality of plague epidemics should be a consideration as it contains important clues as to the mechanism of its spread and to the numbers of deaths and vacancies shown in Figure 4.3. Benedictow calculated that the Black Death spread by land at 1.2 miles per day as opposed to 25 miles by sea.[31] Watts reckoned on a speed of perhaps 10 miles per month.[32] This rate of spread of the Black Death

[27] *Ibid*., Fol.73, No.302, 54.
[28] *Ibid*., Fol.75, No.314, 56.
[29] *Ibid*., Fol.76, No.324, 57.
[30] Ziegler, *The Black Death*, 113.
[31] Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353*, 231.
[32] D. G. Watts, 'The Black Death in Dorset and Hampshire' 23.

is somewhat at variance to the entries mentioned above in the register of Bishop Edington, i.e., the entries reporting the death of John Russel of Knighton church on the Isle of Wight on 13 November 1348[33] followed, on 25 December 1348, by the reported death of the last rector of Peniston Mawsey near Lymington on the South Hampshire coast.[34] By the 7 April 1349 the death is recorded of Thomas, the last rector of Basingstoke church in North Hampshire,[35] some 60 miles away. With the rate of spread of Watts this would take 6 months not 3.5 months; with Benedictow's rate of spread this would take 4.5 months. However, as Benedictow states, the question of pace of spread is variable and depends on of the condition of the roads and the question of the time needed for the Black Death to blanket local areas.[36] Benedictow considers that the seasonality of the Black Death exhibits a very clear pattern. In southern Europe, winter weather temporarily slowed down its pace of spread or stopped its territorial spread. Dubois, in relation to the Black Death's spread in France, discovered that 'usually, it was stopped or slowed down by the winter.'[37] Benedictow confirmed this when considering the slowdown of the Black Death's pace of spread and epidemic intensity in cool weather which could be seen 'out of Aix-en-Provence in the direction of Arles and Avignon and then in the direction of Lyons.'[38]

A further examination of Figure 4.4 bears this out, and the 'seasonality factor' discussed above, comes into play. With cold winter weather impeding and preventing the reproduction of plague bacteria in rats and reproduction of the flea population human travel also slowed due to unsuitable roads. Therefore, in the months of January, February and March 1349, the rise in the numbers of deaths and vacancies, could be due to pneumonic plague. This is disseminated by cross-infection through the agency of droplets containing plague bacteria coughed up by patients in an advanced stage of the disease's course of development and is not dependent on the season.[39] However, by April and May of 1349 the numbers of deaths and vacancies rise sharply and, during what would normally be milder and

[33] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington, Part 1, Fol.73, No.302, 54.
[34] *Ibid*., Fol.75, No.302, 56.
[35] *Ibid*., Fol.89, No.437, 73.
[36] Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353*, 231.
[37] H. Dubois, 'La dépression (XIV et XV siècles)', in *Histoire de la population Français* (Paris, 1998) 316.
[38] Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353*, 234.
[39] Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353*, 235.

warmer spring weather, were most likely to be the result of bubonic plague. Figure 4.3 continues to show high numbers of deaths and vacancies through the summer months of June, July and August 1349 before dropping down again during the autumn months of September and October 1349. With the advent of colder winter weather in November and December 1349, the number of deaths becomes minimal and the number of vacancies drop to an average of ten per month. As Benedictow says, 'There can be no doubt that this seasonal pattern reflects the spread pattern of the Black Death and that it was overwhelmingly an epidemic of bubonic plague. This does not, however, rule out the episodic occurrence of pneumonic plague.'[40] This is certainly confirmed by the figures shown in Figure 4.4. The seasonality of deaths is an important factor to consider when analysing the cause of the deaths and vacancies shown during the period September 1348 to January 1350, the period of the Black Death. This adds weight to the suggestion that a number of unspecified vacancies recorded were very likely the result of plague deaths.

4.6 Bishop Edington's Reaction to the Black Death Crisis

Bishop Edington had the responsibility of dealing with the Black Death epidemic in the Winchester Diocese. News of the encroaching disaster began to reach him during the summer of 1348 when Edington was on a first inspection tour of the southern half of his diocese. He was at Farnham Castle until 21 August, then he travelled to Bishop's Waltham, Hambledon, Beaulieu before heading north to Highclere Castle on the 17-19 September. Edington returned to Farnham on 1 October 1348.[41] His inspection tour turned into a reconnaissance prompted by reports of deaths in Southampton, Portsmouth, Titchfield and Romsey as the Black Death spread from the coast inland and travelled up the rivers. Edington avoided Winchester and headed for London, still free of the plague and, from his manor at Southwark issued a 'Mandate for prayers to avert the Pestilence' to all his clergy on 24 October 1348.[42] His 'Voice in Rama' (*Voce in Rama*) speech, using Jeremiah 31:15 and King Herod's slaughter of the Innocents, Edington referred to 'Nations … that have already been stripped of their population by the calamity of the said pestilence.'[43] These are the words of a man in shock from what he had witnessed

[40] *Ibid.*
[41] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester, Part 1, xxiii.
[42] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester' Part 2, Fol.305, No.166, 24.
[43] HRO, 21M65 A1/9/17.

and heard first-hand, backed up by reports from his diocese. The only remedy he could offer was the sacrament of penance. In the above mentioned 'Mandate for prayers',[44] in effect his acknowledgement of the Black Death's arrival, Edington called on his clergy to gather their people together to arrange special extra prayers and bare foot processions, as well as fasting, in the hope of staving off the severity of the Black Death.[45] The belief was that people's penance would alleviate the cause of the Black Death which was people's sinfulness. Unfortunately, Edington had no idea that the pneumonic plague, unlike the bubonic plague from the bite of a flea, spread from the mouth.[46] His advice, therefore, would only have compounded the situation by crowding chanting people together. By Christmas 1348 the Black Death had begun to take effect and by mid-January it had a grip on the diocese.[47] In response to the rising number of deaths, the Bishop, on 19 January 1349 granted plenary indulgences to all who 'should confess their sins with severe repentance to any priest they might choose'.[48] The indulgence which was originally to last until Easter was subsequently extended to the feast of St. Michael, 29 September 1349.[49] The escalating numbers of vacancies shown in his register during 1349 reflect the failure of Bishop Edington's strategy.

As discussed above and shown in Figure 4.2, in the Winchester Diocese the average number per year of benefices due to death/vacancy presented in the three years of 1346, 1347 and 1348 prior to the Black Death rose from an average of six to seven to a total of 300 in 1349. Bishop Edington's task was to replenish his pastoral army which had been decimated by the Black Death. Using his well-oiled administrative machine, he recruited a large number of those young men who had survived the pestilence. He lowered their age qualification and reduced intervals, which were meant for study between the four levels of ordination. A note has already been made in Table 4.4 (above) of the swift rise of Andrew de Bokensfeld' who completed the qualification from acolyte in June 1349 to priest in February 1350, a total of nine months.

[44] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester' Part 2, Fol.305, No.166, 24.
[45] *Ibid*., Fol.305, No.167, 24.
[46] Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353*, 27.
[47] G. Deaux, *The Black Death*, (London, 1969) 130.
[48] Hockey, *op. cit.,* Fol.310, No.199, 27.
[49] Deaux, *op. cit.,* 130.

The clergy were particularly vulnerable during the Black Death, part of their pastoral role was to visit the sick and provide comfort as well as deliver the last rites and prepare the person for absolution at death. As discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis and as Table 4.2 above shows, the clergy were hard hit by the Black Death, with a mortality rate of approximately 50%.[50] Also discussed in Chapter Two, recent scholarship, for example by Postan and Titow, has been pushing the mortality rate of the rural population to be also in the region of 50%.[51] There is evidence that what was happening in England was also happening across Europe. Reference has already been made above to Gyug who found similar rates to England of clerical mortality in Barcelona.[52] Additionally, Boccaccio, in Florence, referred to 'a multitude of men and women, negligent of all but themselves, deserted their city.'[53] In Messina, Franciscan Michele da Piazza wrote that 'Corpses lay unattended in their own homes. No priests … dare enter.'[54]

Table 4.6 (below) represents details from Bishop Edington's register for 1346-1356, including the Black Death years and clearly shows the large number of acolytes, subdeacons, deacons and priests being ordained as clerical replacements. Ordination ceremonies were usually held on the four seasonal 'Ember' Saturdays, usually at the Bishop's London head-quarters at Southwark. Additionally, the Bishop also ventured to Esher, Farnham and Bishop's Waltham where he had residences. Bishops Waltham was the summer residence of Bishop Edington. Here he had fishponds and at Fishers Pond near Colden Common, so on his meat-free Fridays he could still enjoy good food. Occasionally he travelled to Cobham and Highclere to perform ordinations. Ordinations could be celebrated on the vigils of Passion Sunday and Easter. Apart from 1348, Table 4.6 shows a high number of priests progressed to the priesthood, 118 in 1346, and 136 in 1347, and in 1349 to 1350, an average of 120 new priest becoming available each year. A supply of replacements always seemed to be readily available, especially during the worst years of the Black Death, i.e., 1348 and 1349. It is noticeable that there is a large

[50] Benedictow, *The Black Death*, 356 – Clergy mortality percentages based on Lunn's original research.
[51] Postan and Titow, 'Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors', 411.
[52] Gyug, 'The Effects and Extent of the Black Death of 1348: New Evidence for Clerical Mortality in Barcelona' 391.
[53] J. M. Rigg (trans.) *The Decameron of Giovanni Boccaccio* (London, 1924) 28.
[54] R. Gregorio (ed.), *Cronaca of Franciscan Michela* 1921 *de Piazza* (Palermo, 1791) 562.

Table 4.6 – Winchester Diocese Ordinations, 1346-1356[55]

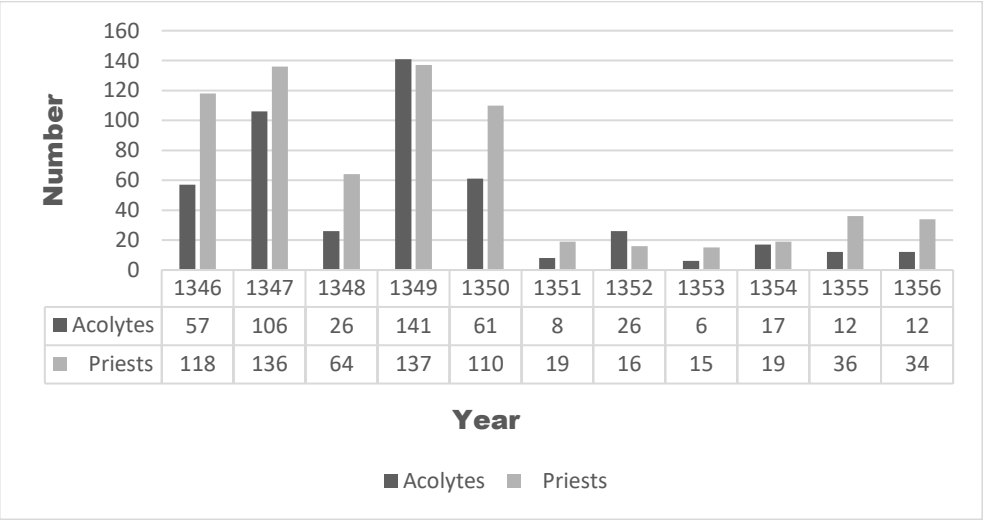
Year	Venue	Acolytes	Sub-deacons	Deacons	Priests	Total
1346	Southwark	57	77	92	118	344
1347	Southwark/South Waltham	106	123	121	136	486
1348	Southwark	26	61	56	64	207
1349	Cobham/Farnham/Sandown/ Southwark/B. Waltham	141	172	142	137	592
1350	Southwark/Kingston/Esher/ Highclere/Lambeth	61	104	90	110	365
1351	St Pauls, London/Esher	8	15	17	19	59
1352	Southwark/Esher/Farnham/ Esher	26	29	17	16	88
1353	Southwark	6	5	8	15	34
1354	Farnham/Esher/B. Waltham	17	13	9	19	58
1355	Southwark/Esher	12	19	25	36	92
1356	Southwark/Esher	12	17	23	34	86
	Totals	**472**	**635**	**600**	**704**	**2411**

number of ordinations in 1347, almost as if preparation was being made for the onset and onslaught of the Black Death. It could also be the result of the newly-appointed Bishop Edington trying to make his mark and create a favourable impression in his new Diocese by his ordinations of a number of new clergy. It is not until 1351, two years after the main Black Death outbreak, that a reduction in the numbers of ordinations is seen. However, high rates of clerical recruitment had been characteristic of the English Church in the fourteenth century.[56] Clerical ordinations in York, under Archbishop la Zouche (1342-1352), show consistently high numbers of acolytes and priests being ordained during 1343-1348, with a

[55] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester 1346-1366', Part 2.
[56] J. A. H. Moran, 'Clerical Recruitment in the Diocese of York, 1340-1530: Data and Commentary', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol.34, No.1, (1983) 24.

sharp increase in the Black Death year of 1349.[57] Additionally, Dohar refers to a high number of acolytes and priests ordained in Hereford Diocese under Bishop Trillick (1344-1360) during 1345-1347, followed by a drop in numbers in 1348, only to rise again in 1349.[58] Therefore, ordination levels in the first years of Trillick's pontificate were high, as were those of Bishop Edington's in Winchester. According to Moorman, this continues the trend that had predominated English dioceses in the thirteenth and the first quarter of the fourteenth century.[59] Overall, it is clear that the initial impact of the Black Death did not cause a crisis of faith or deter men from entering the priesthood. It is unlikely that those who flocked into orders during these catastrophic years were not motivated by the prospect of career opportunities. As Harper-Bill puts it 'for many, personal salvation, and indeed, spiritual service to a country in crisis must have been the main incentive to enter the clerical order.'[60]

Figure 4.5 - Winchester Acolyte/Priest Ordinands, 1346-56[61]



	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352	1353	1354	1355	1356
Acolytes	57	106	26	141	61	8	26	6	17	12	12
Priests	118	136	64	137	110	19	16	15	19	36	34

The data in Figure 4.5 suggest that the presence of plague mortality was a factor of change in the clerical candidate pool during the period of the Black Death but the image is sharper if consideration is given to the progress of individuals from one order to another during the Black Death years. The high numbers of priests

[57] *Ibid*, 22.
[58] Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership*, 99.
[59] J. R. H. Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* 198.
[60] C. Harper-Bill, 'The English Church and English Religion after the Black Death', in M. Ormrod and P. Lindley (eds.), *The Black Death in England*, (Donington, 1996) 89.
[61] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester 1346-1366', Part 2, 105-178.

ordained for 1346/1347/1348 is noticeable, as opposed to acolytes, suggesting shortening of training time and a willingness to consider taking anyone for the priesthood. Indeed, as mentioned above re the figure in Table 4.5, the high numbers of ordinations during the years 1346-1348, prior to the main onset of the Black Death, may have been because Bishop Edington, newly appointed in 1346, wanted to make his mark on his new diocese by making plenty of appointments. He might also have been installing 'his men', people who were loyal to him or to whom he wished to give some form of reward with the promise of benefices as soon as they were available. Alternatively, it could be that the high numbers of 1346-1348 reflect the fact that it took the new Bishop time to get to grips with his new position and the developing situation as regards the threat of the Black Death. By mid-1348 Bishop Edington would have been aware of reports of the arrival, from the Continent, of the Black Death in the south of England and its spread towards his Winchester Diocese. However, in relation to the data in Figure 4.4, the number of acolytes was not always a clear indication of how many subdeacons, deacons, or priests would follow. Many factors might intervene along the way which would delay or alter career paths. This was less likely to occur in the relatively short time between ordinate to the diaconate and priesthood when most deacons were on a well-marked path to completion. Figure 4.4 shows this quite clearly. However, as discussed above, it was also perfectly acceptable for clerics to stop in any of the lower grades and progress to priesthood at a later date. During the years 1346 to 1347 and 1349 to 1350 the high levels of priests ordained do not match the number of acolytes. Even the lower numbers of the year 1348 do not match. However, there does seem to be a pattern established that high numbers of acolytes and priests were followed by lower numbers the following year. As discussed above, it may be that acolytes were not progressing straight through to priesthood at the earliest opportunity but were waiting until it is the right move at the right time for them. It may, however, be when they met the requirements of age, understanding and intervening steps. It is also noticeable that the high numbers of clerical recruitment were not maintained after the Black Death. From 1351 onwards the numbers of ordinations in both acolyte and priests dropped drastically. Acolyte ordinations reduced from an average of 78 for the years 1346-50 to 13 for the years 1351-1356. Similarly, priest ordinations reduced from an average of 113 for the years 1346-1350 to 23 for the years 1351-1356. Recruitment levels in Winchester

dropped as they did in other dioceses across the country. Post Black Death, clergy replenishment from a diminished population was difficult. The drop in numbers in Figure 4.4 reflect this trend of a lower attractiveness of the priesthood as a career, particularly in the light of improving economic circumstances, with better employment opportunities becoming available in other areas. Fathers became reluctant to commit sons to the church, particularly if other, older children had died from the Black Death.

Closer examination of the evidence from the bishop's register for the years 1346-1352 reveals that the average time of progression through the orders of acolyte, sub-deacon, deacon and priest was being reduced. In December 1346, the average time of progression from acolyte to priesthood was between 1 and 4 years. For example, Richard Snodenham took 3 years 1 month 29 days[62] and William de Middleton took 1 year 3 months 10 days.[63] The Black Death arrived on the south coast of Hampshire in November 1348 and began to spread northwards during 1349. By 1349, the worst year of the Black Death, the average time taken to progress through the levels had been reduced to less than 1 year. For example, John Fareman took 8 months 5 days[64] and Hamond atte Solere took 9 months 21 days.[65] By September 1349, the time taken had been reduced even further to below 6 months. For example, John de Tunnbregg took 5 months 24 days[66] and John de Fulford took 5 months 23 days.[67] By February 1350, the figure of 1 month 1 day was achieved by George de Applederle,[68] suggesting an acute shortage of clerical manpower, as a result of the Black Death, had reduced the time to an all-time low. By 1351 and 1352 the number of ordinations dropped rapidly, as shown in Figure 4, and the time taken to pass through the orders was increased to what

[62] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester 1346-1366', Part 2, Fol.436, No.715, 114; Fol.465, No.782, 115; Fol.469, No.793, 151; Fol.472, No.799, 154.
[63] *Ibid*., Fol.436, No.715, 114; Fol.438, No.722, 115.
[64] *Ibid*., Fol.463, No.778, 143; Fol.465, No.783, 148; Fol.469, No.794, 151.
[65] *Ibid*., Fol.464, No.781, 145; Fol.466, No.787, 147; Fol.469, No.793, 151; Fol.474, No.807, 156.
[66] *Ibid*., Fol.466, No.786, 147; Fol.468, No.792, 150; Fol.471, No.798, 154; Fol.473, No.803, 156.
[67] *Ibid*., Fol.466, No.786, 147; Fol.477, No.814, 160; Fol.478, No.820, 161; Fol.479, No.826, 162.
[68] *Ibid*., Fol.470, No.801, 152; Fol.473, No.801, 155; Fol.474, No.806, 156; Fol.476, No.811, 158.

could be considered a more normal time-frame. For example, John atte Hette took 7 years 1 month 3 days to pass from acolyte to priesthood.[69]

In the evidence from the bishop's registers for the years 1346-1352 there are also examples of individuals missing stages of qualifying for priesthood or dispensation to miss stages was given. For example, Walter de Brockhampton progressed from sub-deacon to priest on 20 February 1350 by-passing the order of deacon. A number of ordinations for acolyte were made during the years 1346-1350 and did not progress through the orders to priesthood. There could be a number of reasons for this. As their names do not appear again in the register, perhaps they did not survive the Black Death year of 1348/1349 or perhaps they changed their mind and decided to leave the profession. Another possibility is perhaps the number of years in the particular orders was being stabilised to a more normal timescale or, as indicated above, they were stopping in the lower acolyte order with a view to progressing to priesthood at a later date. Another interesting feature of the evidence of the ordinations recorded in the registers is the number of individuals shown as progressing straight in to ordination at the level of priest. However, a change began to take place in 1349 with a small number going from deacon to priesthood. This could reflect the seriousness of the situation as the Black Death took hold during 1348 to 1349, that there was a need for priests to be ordained quickly. They may have been ordained to the other stages in years prior to 1346 so do not figure in Bishop Edington's register but were eligible to be ordained as priest as the vacancies occur. By the years 1350 to 1352 individuals were being ordained in each of the four stages, so it would appear that things were perhaps getting back to a more normal footing. It can, therefore, be said that the impact of the Black Death on clerical recruitment was considerable but only in the short term.

4.7 Unsuitable and Illiterate Clergy

The necessity of filling in the gaps caused by the deaths of so many clergy highlighted an ongoing problem, not only in the Winchester Diocese but also in the dioceses across the rest of England, that of the perceived poor standards and competence of the clergy. The vast majority of those clergy who served the parishes had likely been only very partially provided with an education, instruction in the rituals of the Church had been minimal and clergy were basically illiterate.

[69] *Ibid*., Fol.483, No.833, 165; Fol.500, No.889, 182; Fol.503, No.900, 185; Fol.503, No.186.

However, this was not a new problem. In 1250, Robert Grosseteste, after fifteen years as Bishop of Lincoln, wrote to the clergy of his diocese of 'so many evils, so serious, so hateful, so foul, so scandalous, so criminal, so wicked, so profane'[70] which, he says are due to the neglect of the clergy and to the bad example which they set. In the same year, Grosseteste drew the Pope's attention to the terribly low standard of the clergy, whom he described as 'utterly sensual, given over to fornication, adultery and incest, sunk in every kind of gluttony and polluted with every sort of depravity and crime and abomination.'[71] In 1281, Archbishop Pecham famously wrote 'The ignorance of priests casteth the people into the ditch of error; and the folly or unlearning of the clergy, who are bidden to instruct the faithful in the Catholic faith, sometimes tendeth rather to error than to sound doctrine.'[72] Chronicler Knighton, writing his history in the 1390s, made reference to 'a great crowd of men, whose wives had died in the pestilence, rushed into priestly orders. Many of them were illiterate,[73] no better than laymen – for even if they could read, they did not understand what they read.'[74] Coulton relates the example, given by the Dean of Sarum, in a visitation found the curate of Sonning, who had been a priest for four years, was unable to understand the gospel for the first Sunday in Lent. Also he could not translate the first words of the Canon of the Mass. Another curate, who also became a priest four years earlier, confessed that he could not read.[75]

However harsh and extraordinarily sharp these criticising words may be, Clanchy is of the opinion that cases of priestly ignorance indicate not that priests were generally ignorant but that reformers were requiring higher standards.[76] Orme gives the example of Lincoln Diocese, over the period 1209-35, that out of 1,958 institutions to benefices, only 101 candidates were recorded as deficient in learning and only four deficient candidates were already priests.[77] If most parish priests

[70] H. R. Luard (Ed.), *Roberti Grosseteste Episcopi Quondam Lincolniensis Epistolae* (London, 1861) 439-440.
[71] E. Brown (Ed.), *Fasc. Rerum Expetendarum ac Fugiendarum*, ii, (London, 1690) 252.
[72] D. Wilkins (Ed.), *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, Vol. II (London, 1737) 54.
[73] Knighton uses the word *illiterarus* in its usual medieval sense, to denote an inability to read or write Latin.
[74] Horrox (ed.) *The Black Death* 79.
[75] Coulton, *Medieval Panorama: The English Scene from Conquest to Reformation*, 158-159.
[76] M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066-1307* (Chichester, 2013) 243.
[77] N. Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1973) 17.

were of peasant origin and if by the year 1230 many were sufficiently instructed, it follows that a number of persons of peasant origin had been efficiently instructed in Latin, with a view to becoming priests, even in the twelfth century. Clanchy continues that the role of the church in disseminating free instruction in villages through its priests may have been underestimated. Village priests became increasingly common from the eleventh century onwards as a network of parish churches became established. Priests and their books were more widely and permanently distributed over the countryside.[78] As Barlow writes 'by 1154 the existence of elementary education was taken for granted. Basic education was available for everyone who wanted and could afford it, and the clever poor would often be educated free.'[79]

Denton considers that the accusatory criticisms reflect the reforming agenda of the thirteenth century episcopate.[80] Following papal impetus, illustrated by the Fourth Lateran Council, with its canons against clerical pluralism and absenteeism, as well as immorality and lack of learning, many of the English bishops had become extremely active reforming legislators. Denton is insistent that such criticisms were aimed mostly at perceived deficiencies and that historians should guard against accepting them too easily as clerical characteristics of the age.[81] On the positive side, for instance, in the testimony of laymen in some Devon parishes in 1301, they warmly approved of the preaching and teaching of their serving clergy.[82] Moorman considers that 'to the uneducated, the clergy may have appeared in a different light', that many from the humble class made 'fine parish priests, for they understood their people and could speak to them in their language' and that 'the scholar does not always make the best parish priest, nor is intellect to be identified with intelligence'.[83] Despite these positive comments, it is evident that many of the clergy fell short of the required standards. However, as Denton writes, 'In the quest for understanding the actual, as distinct from the idealised, and as a result, disparaged qualities of the parish clergy, new kinds of evidence are needed.'[84]

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[78] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 243.
[79] F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154* (London, 1979) 229.
[80] J. H. Denton, 'The Competence of the Parish Clergy in Thirteenth Century England' in C. M. Barron and J. Stratford (eds.), *The Church and Learning in Late Medieval Society: Essays in Honour of R. B. Dobson*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies XI, (Donington, 2002) 275.
[81] *Ibid., 275.*
[82] Moorman, *Church Life*, 214.
[83] *Ibid*., 99.
[84] Denton, *The Church and Learning,* 277.

Denton maintains that there are ways forward such as approaching the question of the competence of the local clergy with the benefit of a much wider knowledge of their social position than exists at present and whether the needs of the parish were the same as the needs of the Church. In this connection, it may be possible to achieve a deeper understanding of some of the basic questions.[85]

4.8 Breakdown of Law and Order

Not only were priests called upon to hear a confession from and give absolution to penitents, celebrate Masses, visit the sick and bury the dead, they were needed to administer churches in times more violent than usual. The devastation of the Black Death in certain places had brought with it reactions that included explosions of violence against authority. Dohar gives the example of Worcester where, after the death of the bishop in August 1349, looters raided his lands, carrying off livestock and other goods belonging to the bishop's estate.[86] In Winchester relations between the laity and churchmen were deteriorating as Extract 1 explains. Tensions flared up between townspeople, who were anxious to limit burials in the cathedral cemetery and the monks of St Swithun's Priory who wished to exercise their right to bury Black Death victims in their cemetery in an area adjacent to what is called 'The Square'. This area had been used by local tradesmen and local people as part of a weekly market and, on occasion, for a fair. On 21 January 1349, Friar Ralph de Staunton, plainly recognisable by his habit and tonsure, was attacked while conducting a burial in the cemetery, whence the body was removed to a 'place for animal refuse', possibly close by, as Appendix E shows the animal market was located in that vicinity.

Edington's register stresses the serious view taken by the bishop of this attack and the obstruction of the burial of the dead 'at a time of great mortality', when cemeteries needed to be enlarged. Extract 1 refers to the attackers' excommunication:

[85] Denton, *The Church and Learning*, 283
[86] Dohar *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership,* 77.

Extract 1 – Bishop Edington Excommunicates Violent Winchester Citizens[87]

> MANDATE to the cathedral prior, the abbot of Hyde and the official. The bodies of the dead lie in consecrated ground awaiting the resurrection. Nevertheless, the bishop has learned how wicked men have entered the cemetery at Winchester, assaulted friar Ralph de Staunton when officiating at a funeral, and for their own profit, removing the body to a place for animal refuse. And this at a time of great mortality, when cemeteries need to be enlarged. The faithful are to be instructed in this article of the faith; those who assaulted Friar Ralph are to be denounced as excommunicated. The bishop expects a reply before Sexagesima.
>
> **Esher, 22 January 1349**

King Edward III became involved and issued a fierce defence of the bishop in the face of sustained assaults on monks carrying out burials. There had also been noisy threats to burn down the cathedral, dig up bones and other insults to the bishop. The townspeople had occupied this area for markets and fairs since the 12th century and were unwilling to give it up. The matter was eventually resolved by Bishop Edington taking the townspeople of Winchester to court and winning the case. The townspeople were required to build a wall and a number of buildings at the edge of the cemetery to prevent further burials and to prevent encroachment on either side. Today this area is occupied by the City Museum and shops on the South side of the Square next to the cathedral (see Appendix E). However, at the time, it led to the disturbance of a number of recently buried bodies and extra burial space had to be found in other parts of Winchester and the surrounding area, e.g., at St Cross and an area at the bottom of town, Morne Hill and further afield near the Leper Hospital. So it is clear that the Black Death put a lot of extra pressure on burial space. The result was a lot of increased tension between the local clergy and the townspeople. The incident demonstrates that Bishop Edington was not averse to using the law and his power and influence to obtain King Edward III's support, especially when the property and land belonging to the church were threatened.

King Edward III and Bishop Edington, his Treasurer, also acted nationally and locally to stem what must have seemed to them have been collapsing social order in the face of steeply diminishing incomes. As a result of the Black Death and a shortage of the usual manpower, labourers of all description had been refusing to work on

[87] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester', Part 2, Folio 311, No.201, 27-28.

demand of higher, or even double wages. On 18 June 1349 Edward issued an 'Ordinance of Labourers and Beggars' which insisted that, 'the king … and nobility have decided that every man and woman in the realm, under the age of 60, shall be bound to work for anyone who seeks to employ him, and then receive wages or goods in kind which were customary in the district in 1346.'[88]

Extract 2 (see below), issued one week later on 25 June, mirrors the royal ordinance by drawing attention to unwelcome wage demands within the church:

Extract 2 – Bishop Edington reacts to the Ordinance of Labourers and Beggars[89]

> The bishop therefore orders the clergy to publish the brief in the archdeaconry of Winchester, on Sundays and feasts when there is the greatest concourse of people, and in the vulgar tongue; urging all rectors to encourage their people to work and to keep to the ordinances – and to control the avarice of certain chaplains in demanding higher salaries because of the lack of man-power through the plague; to appeal to them to be diligent to their service, to accept the customary stipend, under threat of ecclesiastical censure. The bishop should be informed of any such cases before St Peter's Chains (1 August) next.
>
> **Southwark, 23 June 1349**

However, Extract 2 shows how the Bishop was passing on the king's baton to the local rectors in an attempt to get them to exercise some control over the avarice of the clergy in their area. This again demonstrates the impact of the Black Death on the clergy of Winchester and other dioceses.

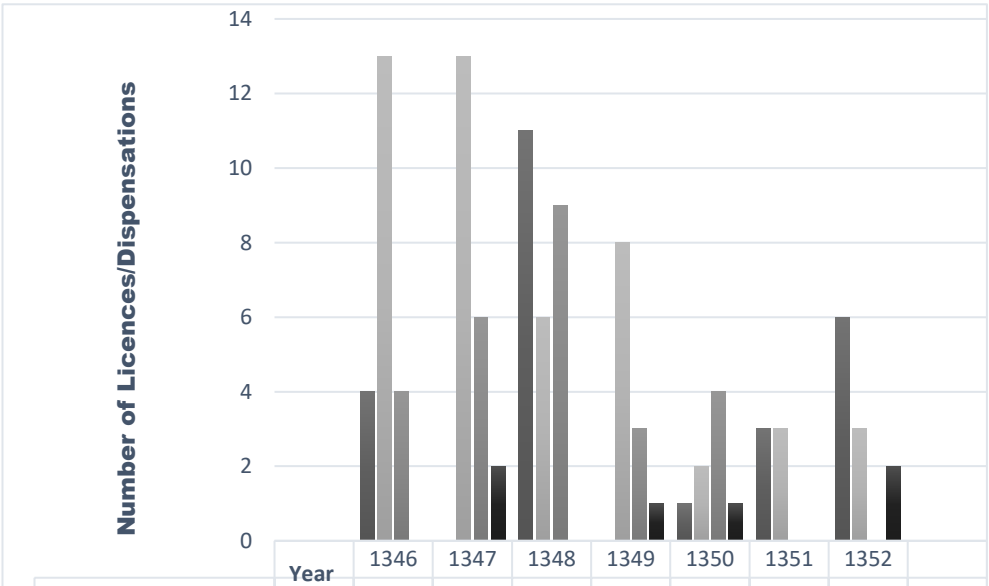
4.9 Absenteeism

Absenteeism was another problem of the clergy during this time. Study of the Bishop's Register reveals a large number of dispensations for absence. The constitution of Boniface VIII of 1298 had given bishops the authority to grant leave of absence for university study, referred to as '*cum ex eo*'. This could be granted for a period of up to seven years but most were for one year. There were usually three conditions attached to the granting of a licence/dispensation: firstly, that

[88] *Ibid*., Fol.418, No.662, 96.
[89] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester', Part 2, Fol.419, No.662, 97.

substitutes were provided for the *cura animarum,* cure of souls; as described above, this was the exercise by priests of their office which would typically involve instruction by sermons, admonitions and administration of the sacraments to the congregation over which they had authority from the church; secondly, that within a year the cleric would seek ordination to the sub-diaconate; thirdly, that a year after returning of his parish he would be ordained to the priesthood. During the years 1346-1352, some 25 licences for study were issued and over 110 such licences were issued during the Bishop's tenure of 22 years. The university of the individuals concerned is only named twice in the register, once as Oxford (1366) and once as Cambridge (1365). In addition, 65 dispensations were issued for absence at the service of notables, usually for one year and usually to a bishop or abbess or to people of title, including knights. Figure 4.6 (below) clearly shows that the licences/dispensations for study were much reduced during the Black Death years of 1348/1349 with no licences for study being issued during the worst year of 1349. Even after the Black Death, numbers failed to reach the high numbers of the pre-Black Death years. Indeed, Bishop Edington kept a close watch on absentees, reminding them when their licence was about to expire or needed renewing.

Figure 4.6 - Winchester Diocese Licences/Dispensations,1346-52[90]



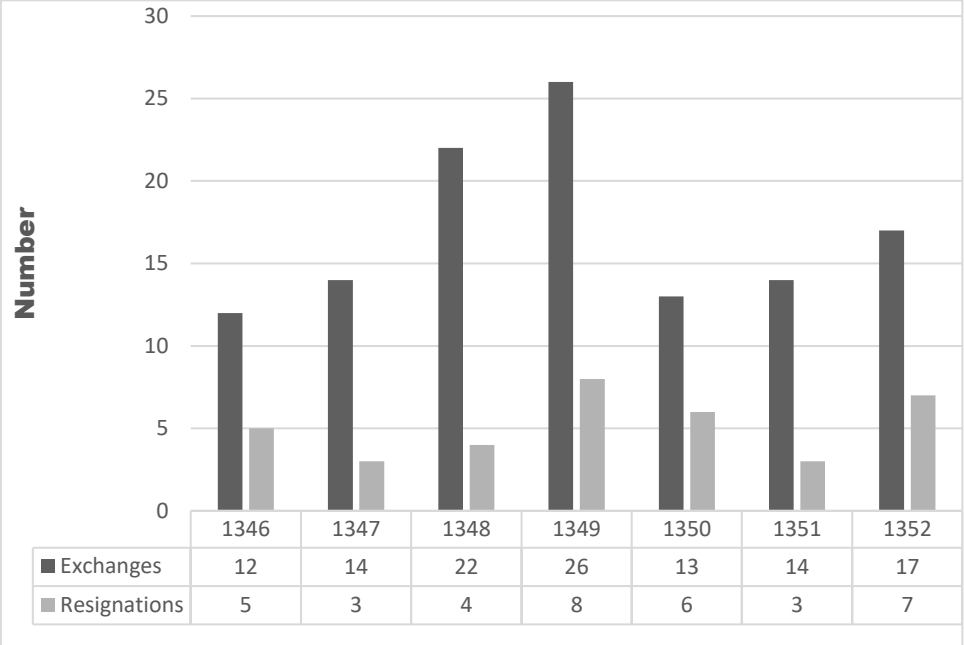
Year	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352
Licence	0	4	0	11	0	1	3	6
Dispensation/Study	0	13	13	6	8	2	3	3
Dispensation/Service	0	4	6	9	3	4	0	0
Dispensation/Other	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	2

[90] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester', Part 1.

On 1 April 1350, the Bishop issued a 'General Admonition … against non-residence' that 'through absence the ministry is neglected' and that 'He will enquire into such absences and admonish the offenders.'[91] He was even prepared to dispute publicly with his nephew John de Edyndon, absent on study licence for 7 years, insisting on 22 November 1355 'that he should reside and proceed to major orders according to the constitutions of Boniface.'[92] In other words, that he should return as rector to the church of Ringwood in Hampshire. In general, bishops resisted granting leave of absence during and immediately following the Black Death. However, it can be said that Bishop Edington made an effort to promote growth in the academic quality of the clergy but, understandably, it was too important that parishes had some stability and leadership, and the continued presence of their priest, at that particular time.

4.10 Exchanges and Resignations

Fig. 4.7 –Winchester Diocese Exchanges/Resignations, 1346-1352



	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352
Exchanges	12	14	22	26	13	14	17
Resignations	5	3	4	8	6	3	7

Once clergy were available for service in the churches and ordained properly to that end, bishops had to contend with the challenge of keeping them in their cures. Study leave apart, there were provisions for a beneficed cleric to resign his cure but

[91] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester', Part 2, Fol.316, No.233, 31.
[92] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester', Part 1, Fol.177, No.1062, 160.

it had to be cleared by the bishop or one of his officials. It was also possible to exchange one's benefice for another. This involved the resignation of one cure and taking up another, not necessarily in the same diocese. The register contains many examples of exchanges and resignations. Figure 4.7 shows a clear rise in the number of exchanges during the worst years of the Black Death. The numbers of exchanges peak during the worst Black Death years of 1348-1349, with 22 exchanges made in 1348 and 26 exchanges in 1349, all being approved by Bishop Edington. This could be one way of an incumbent moving to what was perceived as a safer or plague-free area if it behove the Bishop to give his approval, as long as there was another benefice holder willing to exchange. However, the problem became more acute with the mismanagement of benefices by rectors who had financial gain in mind more than spiritual vigilance. The benefice was seen as little more than property to be handed from one rector to another. Although there were a range of motives behind exchanges, even some that were administratively sound, the practice of exchanges threatened to undermine the traditional bond between a rector and his church. Figure 4.6 does show that the number of exchanges reduced in the years following the Black Death, the average number during 1350 to 1352 being eleven, less than half the average of 24, which occurred during 1348 and 1349. Otherwise, the person wishing to exchange may possibly have resigned or deserted their position should exchange permission not be granted. Figure 4.7 also shows that the number of resignations averaged four per year during the years 1346-1348 with a rise to eight in 1349. The number of resignations then drops again to an average of five during the years 1350-1352. Whilst there is a rise in the number of exchanges and resignation during the Black Death year of 1349, it can be seen from Figure 4.6 that these figures cannot be considered high at any stage. Reference has already been made in Figure 4.3 to the number of devolutions occurring during the years 1346-1352. Devolutions are recorded in the Bishop's register when an institution has been vacant for an unusually long time, usually more than one year. As Figure 4.3 shows, no devolutions were recorded during the years 1346-1349. It is only when the years 1350-1352 are analysed that devolutions begin to appear: 1 for 1350, 5 for 1351 and 3 for 1352. Whilst there is some evidence of clerical absence during the Black Death years, the findings of this thesis contradict the claim, as far as the clergy of the Winchester Diocese are concerned, of the Victoria County

History's claim of 'priests shamefully absenting themselves from their cures' [93] and Coulton's bold declaration that 'the clergy readily abandoned parts and fled'.[94] Nevertheless, Coulton confirmed the high percentage of clergy deaths, based on Lunn's findings in a number of dioceses, including Winchester.[95] Coulton also praised Lunn's statistics of the beneficed clergy and agreed with Lunn's assertion that there was no scarcity of priests and that the persons instituted to them were, in a large number of cases, already in priest's orders.[96] This agrees with the findings shown in Table 4.5 in relation to the numbers of replacement priests ordained by Bishop Edington during the years 1346-1356, particularly during the Black Death years of 1348-1349.

Table 4.7 – Case Study 1 - Exchanges in Abbots Ann in 1349[97]

Surname	Forename	Date	Place	Reason	Position
Eykerynge	Thomas	13 April 1349	Abbots Ann	Dispensation to be at the service of John de Maxfed	Rector
Ercheffonte	William	24 April 1349	Abbots Ann	Vacant	Rector
Fulford	Roger	6 June 1349	Abbots Ann	Vacant	Rector
Enham	Thomas	17 July 1349	Abbots Ann	Exchange with John de Fulford	Rector
Fulford	John	19 Oct 1349	Abbots Ann	Exchange with Walter de Brugge	Rector

Table 4.7 (Case Study 1), gives the example of Abbot's Ann, in North Hampshire, and the full effect over one year, 1349, albeit the worst year of the Black Death, of dispensation, resignation and exchange being approved by the bishop. It should be noted that many clerics felt that their churches had become too poor to support them and they used resignation as a contrivance to acquire a more profitable benefice or indeed as a way of escaping the Black Death's clutches. However,

[93] Cox, *Victoria County History of Hampshire*, II, 35.
[94] Coulton, *The Black Death*, 43.
[95] Lunn, *The Black Death in the Bishops' Registers*.
[96] Coulton, *The Black Death*, 43.
[97] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester', Part 1.

though St. Mary the Virgin Church in Abbot's Ann did have a number of changes during 1349 and, as confirmed by King,[98] that the rector Thomas Enham died of the Black Death in 1349. Bishop Edington's register confirms that St. Mary's then subsequently entered a period of stability. The next incumbent, John Fulford, took up position on 19 October 1349, was ordained priest on 12 March 1351[99] and was still there at St. Mary's on 27 October 1357[100] when granted one year's study licence. In contrast, Dohar[101] gives the example of Coventry and Lichfield where, in the year prior to the Black Death, there had only been four resignations. However, from April to October 1349, there were 35 resignations and during the following year as many as 42. As a result of the Black Death, often the church had become so poor that curates chose to look elsewhere rather than serve a cure with diminishing revenues.

4.11 The Problem of Pluralism

Another problem of the clergy linked to absenteeism, and which was an even greater abuse, was pluralism. In medieval England a rector might hold not only one rectory but also a multiplicity of such benefices. It would not be uncommon for some clerics to have six benefices or even more. Dohar gives the example of John Mansell, a royal minister and Dean of Wimborne who, by 1347, is said to have held 300 benefices,[102] though this is probably an unfriendly exaggeration. Another example is given by Thompson of Bogo de Clare, younger son of the Earl of Gloucester, who had an astonishing list of pluralities.[103] By the year 1280 he had acquired livings in Northamptonshire, Cambridgeshire, Berkshire, Northumberland and Ireland, to which he shortly added fourteen others. In 1282 he was instituted to the rectory of Settrington in Yorkshire and in 1285 he was appointed by the king to the office of Treasurer of York. By the time of his death in 1294 he held two canonries and prebends, three dignities in cathedrals and collegiate churches and 24 parish churches or portions of such churches with 'cure of souls'. Only four English dioceses, London, Bath and Wells, Carlisle and Worcester did not reckon

[98] P. J. King, *Abbots Ann in Hampshire* (Abbots Ann, 1992).
[99] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester', Part 2, Folio 479, No.826, 162.
[100] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester', Part 1, Folio 188, No.1128, 169.
[101] Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership*, 73.
[102] Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership*, 134.
[103] Thompson, 'Registers of John Gynewell, Bishop of Lincoln', 329.

Bogo among their clergy. It is most unlikely that he served any of his churches but it is to be hoped that he paid chaplains to officiate in his absence. It is fairly certain that he was not yet a priest when he amassed twenty of his endowments. Probably, also he was never ordained before his death.

With the aid of a powerful kinsman, or with royal or papal favour, there was nothing to stop a man from collecting benefices for almost any number and not necessarily in the country of residence. A large proportion of the richest English endowments went to papal protégés who never set foot in this country. The more illegal endowments a man succeeded in amassing, the more dispensations he could buy from Rome. The significance of the clause 'without being obliged to reside' will be obvious. Though universities at the time were staffed by absentee rectors, which could be excused as a pardonable form of endowment for research, but elsewhere the wholesale growth of pluralism spelt equally wholesale absenteeism. Even in 1520 a visitation report for Oxford County reported 58 absentees covering 193 parishes which equals 30 per cent absences. As Thompson himself writes 'Perhaps there has never been any prohibitionist law which has lent itself to such open and systematic bootlegging as this of ecclesiastical pluralities'.[104]

Therefore, this was another problem for the Church authorities to overcome before, during and after the Black Death. However, in the Diocese of Winchester, the Bishop's Register seems to indicate that this was less of a problem since the perpetual vicars, that is, those with a perpetual endowment, had to take an oath to 'reside continually', according to the constitutions of the legates of Otto and Ottobon.[105] This oath is a regular feature in the Winchester Diocesan registers. However, the example given in Table 4.8 (see below), Case Study 2, John de Edyngton, shows how it was still possible for a cleric, during the years 1348-1351, to hold down more than one position and use the exchange facility to his advantage. During these years, John de Edyngton was able to acquire the benefices of the Hospital of St. Nicholas, Portsmouth, Cheriton, Burghclere, the Hospital of St. Cross, Winchester, Brightwell, East Clandon, Ringwood, Romsey and Morestead. The benefices of Cheriton, Baughurst, Houghton and East Clandon were the result of an exchange made but, even so, John de Edyngton made full use of the system

[104] Thompson, 'Registers of John Gynewell, Bishop of Lincoln, 330.
[105] L. E. Boyle, 'The Constitution *Cum ex eo* of Boniface VIII' in *Pastoral care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400* (London, 1981).

to promote his own ends. In addition, probably with the influence of his uncle, Bishop Edington, by 1358 John de Edyngton was able to acquire the position of Archdeacon of Surrey.[106] It was possible that John de Edyngton, as was the custom at the time, was able to procure and pay someone to act as vicar to take his place during any absences he might have from his various benefices. However, this would not help the situation during the Black Death when the Church authorities needed every available position filled, not least to be able to fulfil the pastoral needs of the local congregation.

Table 4.8 - Pluralism in the Winchester Diocese,1347-49[107]

Case Study 2 – John de Edyngton

Surname	Forename	Date	Place	Cause	Position
Edyngton	John de	12 March 1348	Hospital of St. Nicholas(P)*	Vacant	Clerk
Edyngton	John de	14 March 1348	Cheriton	Death	Clerk
Edyngton	John de	26 March 1348	Burgclere	Exchange	Clerk
Edyngton	John de	2 March 1349	Cheriton	Death	Subdeacon
Edyngton	John de	18 April 1349	Hospital of St. Cross(W)+	Perpetual Benefice	Subdeacon
Edyngton	John de	23 Oct. 1349	Brightwell	Death	Subdeacon
Edyngton	John de	24 Jan. 1351	Houghton	Exchange	Rector
Edyngton	John de	1 Mar. 1351	East Clandon	Exchange	Rector
Edyngton	John de	2 Mar. 1351	Ringwood	Lapse of Time	Rector
Edyngton	John de	28 May 1351	Romsey	Vacant	Clerk
Edyngton	John de	9 Oct 1351	Morestead	Exchange	Rector
Edyngton	John de	12 Nov 1351	Hospital of St. Nicholas (P)*	Resigned	Rector

(P)*= Portsmouth, (W)+ = Winchester

4.12 Was Winchester Diocese Clerical Mortality Atypical?

Reference has already been made in Chapter Two to Knighton and other contemporary chroniclers attempts at recording the enormous thinning of the ranks by the Black Death, resulting in inaccurate and variable estimates of clergy mortality. However, to arrive at a more rational and accurate figure for the

[106] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester', Part 1, Fol.198, No.1200, 180.
[107] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester', Part 1.

mortality of the clergy at that time is not an easy task. As discussed previously, one much-favoured method is to seek to calculate from the ecclesiastical records the number of beneficed clergy who died, and then to establish this as a percentage proportion of the total. Creighton considered that the first systematic attempt to deduce the mortality percentage for 1349 from the number of benefices vacant through death was made in 1865 by Seebohm[108] who, using original research for the diocese of York, calculated a mortality rate for the clergy of 68 per cent.[109] With the additional use of Blomefields's collections,[110] for the diocese of Norwich, Seebohm calculated a mortality rate for the clergy of 66 per cent. In effect, this meant that, in relation to York and Norwich, about two-thirds of the clergy died as a result of the Black Death. The figure of mortality for the Norfolk clergy was confirmed, with fuller details, later in the new century, by Jessopp. In 1908 Jessopp found that during the year ending in March 1350, 66 per cent of the benefices of the diocese of Norwich had become vacant.[111] The imperfections of their methods have been discussed above, as has the rivalry between Gasquet, who put forward a mortality rate of 50 per cent,[112] and Coulton, who estimated that 44 per cent of the clergy died as a result of the Black Death.[113]

The more careful and evolved approach of Thompson and Lunn[114] in the twentieth century produced interesting and highly relevant results. Between them they established the mortality rate of beneficed clergy in ten of England's seventeen dioceses. The figures are remarkably consistent, ranging from 38.97 per cent (Lunn) and 39.85 per cent (Thompson) for York Diocese, 40.1 per cent (Lunn) and 46.22 per cent (Thompson) for Lincoln Diocese to 39.6 per cent (Lunn) for Lichfield Diocese, 40.12 per cent (Lunn) for Bath and Wells Diocese, 48.5 percent (Lunn) for Ely Diocese and 48.8 per cent (Lunn) for Exeter, Winchester and Norwich Dioceses. The mortality rate of 49.2 per cent calculated earlier in this thesis chapter for the beneficed clergy of the Winchester Diocese during the period of the Black Death is very comparable to the figures produced by Thompson and Lunn. On the basis of

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[108] C. Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain*, Vol. 1 (London, 1894) 133-134.
[109] Seebohm, 'The Black Death and its Place in English History', 149-160.
[110] Blomefield, *History of Norfolk*, Vol.III, 94.
[111] Jessopp, *The Black Death in East Anglia*, 215.
[112] Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence*, 203-204.
[113] Coulton, *The Black Death,* 63.
[114] Thompson, 'The Registers of John Gynewall, Bishop of Lincoln for the years 1347-1350', 300-360 and 'The Pestilences of the Fourteenth Century in the Diocese of York', 97-154; Lunn, *The Black Death in Bishop's Registers*.

the above figures and, taking into account a normal mortality rate of 4-5 per cent of clergy, based on Model Life Tables as expounded by Benedictow,[115] who would, under normal circumstances, have died anyway, it is reasonable to assume that, at least, some 45.2 per cent of all parish priests, including those in the Winchester Diocese, likely died of the Black Death.

More recent studies of the episcopal registers of specific areas have also calculated comparable results to those of Thompson and Lunn. Davies' study of the effects of the Black Death on the parish priests of the Coventry and Lichfield Diocese revealed dramatically the extent to which the beneficed parish clergy suffered.[116] Davies found an average death rate from the Black Death across the diocese of 40 percent. By deducting the natural death rate of 4 per cent, Davies confirmed that 'we are still faced with a death rate of some 36 per cent, all of which can confidently be attributed to the Great Pestilence.'[117] This figure is comparable to Lunn's 40.1 per cent, though Davies found significant variation within the archdeaconries of the diocese, Lichfield's 40 per cent shows that overall it suffered less than the 49.2 per cent of the Winchester Diocese.

Another study was completed by Lomas in 1989. His study focussed on how many and the percentage of people in County Durham who died from the Black Death.[118] Unfortunately, the episcopal register for the Durham Diocese does not cover the period of the Black Death. However, Lomas was able to research three small parchment rolls on which were recorded the names of the customary tenants who died during the Black Death. In addition, the value of the evidence was enhanced by the existence of the bursar's rental for the year 1347-1348.[119] In form, these consisted of lists of tenants under township headings. Despite these deficiencies of evidence, Lomas was able to use this evidence to calculate overall that, among the farming community, deaths from the Black Death exceeded 50 per cent and that they suffered slightly more than monks and parish clergy, for whom he postulated a maximum death rate of 45 per cent.[120] Though it is unusual for the

[115] Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353*, 251.
[116] Davies, 'The Effect of the Black Death on the Parish Priests in the Medieval Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield'.
[117] *Ibid., 87.*
[118] R. Lomas, 'The Black Death in County Durham', 127-140.
[119] *Ibid., 128.*
[120] *Ibid., 131.*

mortality percentage rate for the rural community to exceed that of the clergy, and Lomas includes no details of his calculations for his clergy percentage, the figure he gives of 45 per cent for the clergy would appear to be comparable to the figures calculated for the clergy in general and only slightly less than the figure of 49.2 per cent calculated for the Winchester Diocese in this thesis.

In contrast to Lomas, Dohar's study of the impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the diocese of Hereford was fortunate to have available virtually a continuous set of episcopal registers of John Trillick, Bishop of Hereford from 1344 to 1360, including the period of the Black Death. However, Dohar stipulates that the registers only contain the details of the higher or beneficed clergy and as such his figures only occupy the lower ranges of the likely rates of mortality for 1349. Also, Dohar considers that the records for the most populous region in the diocese, the deanery of Hereford itself, are missing. Finally, he considers that not all the institutions that took place in the diocese were faithfully entered in Bishop Trillick's register. The bishop's registrar was usually careful to enter all the institutions in his master's records but some may have been missed.[121] Nevertheless, despite these limitations, and the fact that, as in registers of other dioceses, over half the plague-year institutions have no stated cause of vacancy,[122] Dohar found that, conservatively, between 38 per cent and 40 per cent of all beneficed clergy died during the Black Death year of 1349.[123] This correlates well with Lunn's finding of 43.2 per cent for Hereford Diocese[124] but is certainly less than Lunn's overall clergy mortality rate of 48.8 per cent and the 49.2 per cent calculated for this thesis for the clergy of the Winchester Diocese.

Aberth's study of the Black Death in the Diocese of Ely, published in 1995, examined the evidence of Thomas de Lisle, Bishop of Ely from 1345 to 1361.[125] Bishop de Lisle's registers had not been studied since Lunn's thesis of 1937. Aberth found it necessary to establish the parameters for his calculations since the methods by which Lunn arrived at his calculations are not known.[126] Using a method similar to

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[121] Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership: The Diocese of Hereford in the Fourteenth Century*, 40.
[122] *Ibid., 43.*
[123] *Ibid*., 52.
[124] Lunn, *The Black Death in the Bishop's Registers.*
[125] Aberth, 'The Black Death in the diocese of Ely: The Evidence of the Bishop's Register', 275-287.
[126] *Ibid*., 276.

that adopted by this thesis, Aberth firstly established the total number of institutions to benefices for the year 1349 at 79 vacancies. This number was next calculated as a percentage of the total number of benefices prior to the Black Death. The most reliable source of the latter figure is the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1291 which recorded 176 Cambridgeshire benefices.[127] Aberth then calculated the number of vacancies as a percentage of the total number of benefices which realised a mortality rate for the beneficed clergy during 1349 of 46.7 per cent. In addition, Aberth also calculated a mortality rate of 47 per cent for the period March 1349 to March 1350.[128] This is different to the range of 57 to 60 per cent clerical mortality calculated by Benedictow, who considers Aberth's figures to be incomplete and unsatisfactory. According to Benedictow, Aberth's approach does not consider the question of total clerical mortality but refers to the more limited question of the extent of clerical mortality in the year 1349 only, hence the lower figure of 47 per cent.[129] However, Aberth's mortality rate figures are not far behind the 48.5 per cent mortality rate calculated by Lunn for the Ely Diocese, and they are not far off the average rate of 46.6 per cent compiled from Lunn's statistics for all ten dioceses for which registers are extant during the Black Death.[130] Again, this compares well with the figure of 48.8 per cent mortality for the clergy of the Winchester Diocese calculated by Lunn and the 49.2 percent calculated for this thesis.

4.13 Conclusion

In conclusion, the Black Death had a huge impact on the beneficed clergy of England. On average 46.6 per cent of the clergy died, with Ely Diocese (57 per cent) and Exeter Diocese (51.5 per cent) being the worst hit. Winchester Diocese, with 49.2 per cent mortality, was also particularly hard hit. In comparison, there has also been much debate on the effect of the Black Death on the general population but there is some consensus among historians that up to 40 per cent of the population died during 1348-1349. So the Winchester Diocese, partly because of its position and size, appeared to suffer more than the average. For this reason, it can be considered to be atypical but in line with the mortality suffered by the clergy across

[127] Astle, Aynscough, Caley (eds.) *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, circa AD 1291*, 265-267.
[128] Aberth, *op. cit.,* 279.
[129] Benedictow, 'The Black Death 1346-1353', 354-355.
[130] See Table above 'Beneficed Clergy by Mortality'.

other dioceses of England. Across the whole country there was a crisis in pastoral care. The demands made on the local clergy were immense. If they kept to their cures and survived, their main task was to provide a constant ministry to the dying and the dead. Traditional ways of burying the dead were less available. Traditions of mourning were abbreviated and gathered together for many. Common funerals were held and cemeteries had to be expanded. Clergy replenishment from a diminished population became difficult. The labour market after the Black Death became more diversified so there were fewer willing to serve in the clergy.

Bishop Edington's attempts to make good the crippling of his pastoral army can be considered a success. With reference to Table 4.5, using his well-oiled administrative machine, Edington recruited large numbers of those young men who had survived, lowered the age qualifications and reduced the intervals, meant for study, between the four levels of ordination. For example, when promoting his nephew, John, from Domus Dei Hospital in Portsmouth to be Archdeacon of Surrey, he put seventeen-year-old Thomas Edington in his place. He sought the Pope's dispensation for Thomas to hold more than one benefice and ordained him as an acolyte at Esher before, in September 1354, raising him to sub-deacon.[131] There is some evidence of clerical absence during the Black Death years but the findings of this thesis do not support the Victoria County History claim of 'priests shamefully absenting themselves from their cures'[132] and the declaration by Coulton that 'the clergy readily abandoned parts and fled'.[133] Nevertheless, Edington could be very stringent with his clergy. On 9 April 1350 he issued a general admonition against non-residence to all those who had left their parishes 'neglecting (them), with danger to many souls', having 'most shamefully absented themselves', presumably fleeing to safer areas.[134] Throughout the winter of 1349-50 reports came to Edington that parish congregations had no one to conduct their services and church buildings were falling into ruin. In another admonition on 10 June 1350[135] and a mandate on 10 July 1350,[136] all clergy were ordered to return to their charges within the month and forbidden to 'seek or demand excessive fees'. It is a tribute to

[131] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington, Part 2, Fol.488, No.848, 170.
[132] Cox, *Victoria County History of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, II, 35.
[133] Coulton, *The Black Death*, 43.
[134] *Ibid*., Fol.316, No.233, 31.
[135] *Ibid*., Fol.317, No.236, 31.
[136] *Ibid*., Fol.318, No.239, 31.

Edington's organising ability that, despite suffering the worst ravages of the Black Death, Hampshire villages survived. Edington can be criticised for his lack of direct personal pastoral care; his itinerary reflects his lack of movement from Southwark during the Black Death years. However, it should be remembered that, as Treasurer of England, he had national responsibilities that prevented him from intervening in the urban and rural communal tragedies occurring up and down the Winchester Diocese.

The image of the clergy had been sullied by its failure during the Black Death. People were very disappointed with the clergy's failure to deal with the plague effectively. Absenteeism and exchanges were still a problem with priests looking for more profitable benefices. It was important that priests were encouraged to stay in their parishes and provide some stability and leadership in these challenging times. Chantry chapels had increased and there was a steady market for these part-time positions but even these began to decline after 1350. Fewer priests led to a demand for minor clerics to carry holy water, light candles and ring bells. Clergy competence was still a very live issue. Many priests lacked the learning required from an education and many also lacked 'pastoral sense' that comes from clerical education and parish experience. Church leaders like Bishop William Wykeham of Winchester[137], Bishop Bateman of Norwich[138] and Archbishop Islip of Canterbury[139] tried to address the problem of intellectual poverty with their foundation of Oxford and Cambridge Universities colleges. Overall, the clergy across the country had been hard-hit by the plague but there is no doubt that a sea-change occurred in the Church after the Black Death. The Church had needed to reform and had, in some ways, been moving forward but the Black Death had interrupted that progress. Patterns of recruitment and standards had declined as a result. The employment and introduction of less able men and boys was an understandable necessity. However, the Church was changing, albeit slowly, whilst still clinging to traditional notions of piety and pastoral care. As long as there was sin, a priest would be needed. The detailed investigation carried out in this study has been valuable in adding specific details and providing fresh insight into the impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese.

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[137] E. Venables, *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol.3 (London, 1885) 396.
[138] E. B. Fryde (*et al.)*, *Handbook of British Chronology* (Cambridge, 1996) 232.
[139] *Ibid.,* 262.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This thesis was conceived as contributing to the knowledge of the Black Death (1348-49). As such, this thesis provides a rare insight into how far the manorial organisation and the ecclesiastical administration of a medieval diocese coped during one of the most challenging periods in England's History. The Winchester Diocese's particularly fine documentary resources contain considerable scope for a fresh and in-depth assessment of the impact of a topic of such major historical interest. As one of the two main documentary historical sources used, as well as a range of other historical sources, the Winchester Pipe Rolls provide a rich legacy of data for this thesis. The pipe rolls include excellent details of the economic aspects of manorial organisation. In effect, they record the history of the rural community during the Black Death of 1348-49, including the names of many of the people who lived, worked and died on the estate of the Bishop of Winchester, before, during and after the Black Death. The other main documentary historical source, used for researching the clergy of the Winchester Diocese, is the register of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester from 1346-66. Bishop Edington's register provides a detailed record of the clerical administration of the Winchester Diocese. The main focus of this thesis, with special emphasis on mortality, is a comparison of the impact of the Black Death on twelve selected manors of the rural community with the clergy of the Winchester Diocese. Comparison is also made with other historical studies completed on other areas of England which enable the impact of the Black Death to be fully assessed and analysed.

Using a range of primary sources, especially the incredible detail of the Winchester Pipe Roll accounts, a mortality rate for the six selected Somerset manors was calculated, ranging from 16 percent (Rimpton) to 68 percent (Bishop's Hull), with an average mortality rate of 35 percent. The mortality rate calculated for the six selected North Hampshire manors ranged from 16 percent (North Waltham) to 31 percent (Bentley) with an average mortality rate of 21 percent. There is a particularly large increase in the number of deaths in the selected Somerset manors, rising from 146 deaths in 1347-48, an average of 24 deaths per manor, to 1103 deaths in 1348-49, an average of 184 deaths per manor. In 1349-50, numbers of deaths fall to 665 in total, an average of 111 deaths per manor. By 1359-60, the

numbers of deaths total 111, an average of 18 deaths per manor, which is lower than the average number of deaths for 1347-48. Similarly, the number of deaths in the selected North Hampshire manors rises from 48 deaths in 1347-48, an average of 8 deaths per manor, to 372 deaths in 1348-49, an average of 62 deaths per manor. In 1349-50, the number of deaths fall to 215 in total, an average of 36 deaths per manor. By 1359-60, the number of deaths falls even lower to 23, an average of just below 4 deaths per manor. Further analysis reveals that, whilst there is a larger increase in the number of deaths from 1347-48 to 1348-49 on the selected Somerset manors, the 756 percent increase in the number of deaths is very similar to the 775 percent increase on the selected North Hampshire manors. Also the increase in the number of deaths from 1347-48 and 1349-50 on the selected Somerset manors of 450 percent is very similar to the 448 percent increase on the selected North Hampshire manors.

In-depth analysis of the research data revealed the human cost of the Black Death with numerous families particularly badly hit by the pestilence. Examples of deaths recorded in 1348-49, given in Chapter Three, include three male members of the Schole family[1] of Poundisford, the devastation of the Quigge family[2] of Bishop's Hull with father, mother and daughter all succumbing to the Black Death, and four Haveling brothers[3] of Nailsbourne recorded as dead in 1349-50. Further evidence of the scale of deaths is provided by a new entry *in manu domini* (in the hand of the lord) appearing in the accounts from the year 1351-52. This was when no one stepped forward to take up the vacant tenancy or pay the fine for the deceased tenant. Tenancy defaults or fines, which had not been paid, usually reverted back to the responsibility of the lord of the manor until someone, usually a relative or family member paid. In an example given, in the account for the Somerset manor of Holway, for the year 1351-52, under the sub-heading of *Defectus per Pestilentiam*, all eighteen entries had *in manu domini* recorded at the end of each entry.[4] There were a number of similar entries for 1352-53,[5] showing the difficulty of obtaining new tenants. This was not achieved until 1354-55,[6] with only two

[1] HRO 11M59/B1/101/3 and 4.
[2] HRO 11M59/B1/101/2 and 3.
[3] HRO 11M59/B1/102/8 and 9.
[4] HRO 11M59/B1/104/2.
[5] HRO 11M59/B1/104/2.
[6] HRO 11M59/B1/107/3.

names recorded as *in manu domini*. The difficulty of obtaining new tenants is also shown in the account of Overton in North Hampshire for the year 1352-3, with the appearance of the phrase *et nichil de sanguine* (and nothing from blood).[7] This meant that no relative or family member had come forward to pay the fine so another member of the manor, not related to the deceased, had paid the fine and taken up the tenancy. Given that competition for such holdings had been strong for such holdings, the difficulties in obtaining new tenants is very telling of conditions and changed economic opportunities. Whole families had either been extinguished completely or individuals had deserted landholding to look for better opportunities elsewhere.

Estimating a mortality rate for medieval manors at the time of the Black Death is a difficult task for historians. Contemporary accounts of medieval chronicles tended to be exaggerated and emotionally-charged. Horrox refers to 'chroniclers taking refuge in clichés: there were not enough living to bury the dead; whole families died together.'[8] Then there were the numerical clichés: 'scarcely a tenth of the population survived; other writers opted for one in five.'[9] Whilst there is exaggeration, as Horrox confirms 'these figure do reflect a measure of the horror and disbelief at the number of deaths they saw around them.'[10] At the same time, accurate figures are hard to come by, if they exist at all. Clearly, the mortality rate was nothing like ninety or eighty per cent. By the same token, calculating the population of a medieval manor from the pipe roll accounts is a difficult task as entries do not provide enough information. Accounts are limited to recording events and transactions involving the tenant holders. Villagers who did not own land or were too poor, as well as children, are not mentioned. However, some women, those who owned or had inherited land, and women who became subject of a fine on becoming married, are recorded in the accounts.

This problem has not necessarily deterred dedicated and determined medieval historians. Following the pioneering work of Seebohm and Rogers in the nineteenth century, attention focussed on the Black Death as 'devastating, demographically, economically and socially.'[11] This led to the impact of the Black

[7] HRO 11M59/B1/105/50 and 51.
[8] Horrox, *The Black Death*, 3.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England, 1259-1793*, Vol.1, 81.

Death becoming a subject of fierce discussions amongst historians and providing a successful catalyst for future research. Into the twentieth century, the Winchester Pipe Rolls had become a central focus of research as historians realised that the pipe rolls can produce enough data to enable analysis of patterns or change in account entries and how far such trends can be attributed to the Black Death. The historical significance of the Black Death has been discussed at length in Chapter Two of this thesis. The key discussion point was whether the Black Death was a turning-point in late medieval society and inaugurated new perceptions and institutions or whether it accelerated trends that had already begun to take place before the 1340s. Demographic, economic and local historians helped dominate discussions on the Black Death as a force of change in medieval society. Postan and Titow for example, argued for a Malthusian interpretation of the Black Death from 1300 onwards.[12] As the population was already falling, the Black Death was not as significant as had been previously thought. By the end of the twentieth century, historians were still grappling with the question: Did the Black Death mark a tipping point in England's economic and social development or did it merely accelerate pre-existing trends? Sensibly, after much heated discussion amongst medieval historians, Hatcher adopted a compromise position suggesting that 'we acknowledge the logic of the Malthusian cycle, in which mortality is both a function of economic change and an exogenous force'.[13]

The efforts of new generations of historians, based on better records and improved methods, raised rather than lowered the estimates of mortality rates of the Black Death. Horrox estimated that an average mortality of 47 or 48 per cent was not unreasonable.[14] Titow felt that Postan's estimate of 50 per cent mortality was too low, and identified a higher estimate of 66 per cent mortality through analysis of data for Bishop's Waltham.[15] Benedictow reckoned on a magnitude of 62.5 per cent mortality rate.[16] However, these higher mortality rates did not mean that the Black Death was being reinstated 'in its old role as an agent of cataclysmic

[12] Postan 'Some Agrarian Evidence of a Declining Population in the later Middle Ages', 221-246.
[13] J. Hatcher 'England in the Aftermath of the Black Death', *Past and Present,* No.144 (1) (1994) 32-33.
[14] Horrox, *The Black Death*, 237.
[15] J. Z. Titow, *English Rural Society, 1200-1350* (London, 1969) 68-69.
[16] Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353*, 377.

change.'[17] There was a definite shift in attitude towards the impact of the Black Death. Change, according to Horrox, is more likely being seen as 'the result of a complex interplay of forces, of which the Black Death is only one.'[18] Horrox continues 'historians have become adept at explaining that change did occur as a result of 1348-49 but was contained.'[19] Razi had a similar view that despite a mortality rate of 40-46 per cent, the local population of Halesowen could recover and that gaps in the ranks of tenants and workers were quickly filled.[20] However, change became unmanageable after two further occurrences of plague in the 1360s, as a result a lot more pressure was put on the population and the economy.

Historical documentation of changes in the medieval period has always been difficult for historians, partly because it was impossible to identify precisely the vast majority of peasants in a particular locality. This thesis has provided some telling examples. Levett's attempt at a mortality rate in her study of the Winchester Pipe Rolls, involved, in her words, 'a considerable amount of supposition, all the figures used are somewhat suspicious.'[21] Levett's focus on the Heriots and Fines sub-sections of the accounts, to the neglect of the defaults meant, according to Arthur, an under-estimation of 70 per cent.[22] Robo's study of Farnham mortality, declaring 'our figures will be approximate'[23], excluded heriots, which meant that he too, under-estimated, by over six per cent.[24] Arthur's study of eighteen Hampshire manors was more inclusive, using names listed under the sub-sections of *Defaults, Fines* and *Heriots*. Her results provided mortality rates ranging from one hundred per cent (Gosport) to fifty-four per cent (North Waltham) leading her to conclude 'no two manors are alike and there were a range of effects which varied from manor to manor.'[25] Judging from the above studies, there was clearly a need for fresh research and analysis to establish more reliable figures and add to the existing knowledge. Using the Winchester Pipe Roll entries, this thesis has re-visited the six Taunton (Somerset) manors over 100 years after Levett's original study. Six North

[17] Horrox, *op. cit., 236.*
[18] *Ibid*.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] Z. Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish: Economy, Society and Demography in Halesowen, 1270-1400* (Cambridge, 1980) 103-31.
[21] Levett, 'The Black Death', 39.
[22] Arthur, *Study of the Impact of the Black Death*, 117.
[23] Robo, *Everyday Life in an Episcopal Manor*, 211.
[24] Arthur, *op. cit., 117.*
[25] Arthur, *op. cit.,* 262.

Hampshire manors were also researched to provide a fresh comparison, enabling the extent of the impact of the Black Death to be clearly shown. The Winchester Pipe Rolls provided data from the six selected Somerset manors and the six selected North Hampshire manors. The data collected from the main sub-headings of *Arrears, Rents of Assize, Defaults of Rent through the Pestilence, Fines and Marriages* and *Heriots*[26] enabled in-depth analysis of the mortality of the rural communities of the selected manors to be made. The 'absolute continuity of the Account rolls'[27] enabled this study to examine the condition of the selected twelve Winchester Diocesan manors before (1347-48), during (1348-49), (1349-50) and after (1359-60) the Black Death. Adapting Arthur's research method,[28] tables of figures for the sub-headings of *Arrears, Rents of Assize, Defaults of Rent, Defaults of Rent through the Pestilence*, *Fines and Marriages* and *Heriots* were compiled. Great care, including a large amount of cross-checking to avoid duplication, was exercised in extracting and recording the names of deceased tenants for analysis. A comparison was then made between the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors enabling the impact of the Black Death on both areas to be assessed. A further comparison was made with the wider context of other previous studies completed on the impact of the Black Death, for example, Levett, Robo, Postan and Titow, Arthur, as well as Mullen and Britnell.[29]

The main focus of this thesis assessed the impact of the Black Death on six selected Somerset manors and six selected North Hampshire manors. Central to this enquiry was the calculation of the mortality of these twelve selected manors. Records do exist which purport to record the number of deaths, though their accuracy is difficult to evaluate. Also, as other medieval historians have found, it is ultimately unreliable, to provide a percentage mortality rate without an accurate number of people living in a manor before the Black Death struck. As Benedictow confirms

[26] Note: to aid the relevance and significance of these sub-headings shown in the Winchester Pipe Rolls accounts, a description and explanation of each item has been included in the 'Methodology' section of the 'Introduction' to this thesis (see pages 6-9).
[27] Levett, The Black Death, 72.
[28] P. Arthur, 'The Black Death and Mortality: A Reassessment' in C. Given-Wilson (ed.), *Fourteenth Century England VI* (Woodbridge, 2010) 63.
[29] Arthur, *Study of the Impact of the Black Death on Seventeen Hampshire Manors of the Winchester Diocese;* Levett, 'The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester'; Mullen and Britnell, *Land and Family: Trends and local variations in the peasant land market on the Winchester Bishopric Estates, 1263-1415*; Postan and Titow, 'Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors', 393-39 and Robo, *Everyday Life in an Episcopal Manor*.

'manorial pipe rolls are inaccurate because they do not record the poor, women or children but only the heads of households leading inevitably to an underestimation of mortality'.[30] However, use of the 1327 Tax List and custumals for the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors enabled an estimate of the numbers of tenants for the selected manors to be calculated. This thesis confirmed the limitations of the Tax Roll of 1327 for Somerset and Hampshire due to exemptions, the people named tended to be the larger landowners and that this list is some twenty years before the Black Death. As Titow cautioned when he wrote 'there are no ways of judging the depth of population behind the tenurial façade.'[31] The use of custumals dating from about 1245-52 is obviously very limited, with no comparable evidence from other periods available and, as Titow observes 'the analysis of custumals gives a stable picture of the peasantry at one point in time only.'[32] Bearing in mind the above limitations, The Taunton Custumal of about the year 1252 aided by an explanatory study by Tailman, plus the application of both the 3.5x multiplier calculated by Russell and the traditional 5x multiplier recommended by Krause,[33] established a cautious estimate of the total population of the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors. Having already carefully calculated the numbers of deaths recorded in the pipe rolls for the years 1347-60, the addition of the total population figures for each selected manor enabled an approximate mortality rate to be calculated.

From the analysis of the figures calculated, this thesis has concluded that the impact of the Black Death was far more severe on the selected Somerset manors than the selected North Hampshire manors. The selected Somerset manors, Rimpton apart, formed the Taunton complex, which was rated as 'one of the single largest and most valuable manorial units in the land.'[34] The Somerset manors were better in soil quality, dedicated to agricultural production, produced a larger amount of grain and thereby a bigger income. However, the superior nature of the land led to a large number of very small tenement holdings. In comparison, the North Hampshire holdings, poorer in soil and lower grain output, tended to be larger in

[30] Benedictow, *The Black Death – The Complete History*, 375.
[31] Titow, *Land and Population on the Bishop of Winchester's Estates, 1209-1350*, 95.
[32] *Ibid*., 96.

[34] B. M. S. Campbell, 'A Unique Estate and a Unique Source: the Winchester Pipe Rolls in Perspective', in R. H. Britnell (ed.), *The Winchester Pipe Rolls and Medieval English Society* (Woodbridge, 2003) 24.

acreage. As a consequence, the population of the selected Somerset manors (including Rimpton) of approximately 3,715 was over twice as numerous as the population of approximately 1,745 of the selected North Hampshire manors. Hence, the much higher numbers and percentage of deaths for the selected Somerset manors during the Black Death years of 1348-49 and 1349-50. The selected Somerset manors average mortality rate within the bounds of 35 to 50 per cent fits well into the higher end of Horrox's suggestion that a 'national mortality range of 30 to 45 per cent for the year 1348-49, rising steadily towards a death rate of one in two, no longer seems unreasonable'.[35] However, the average mortality rate of 21 to 30 per cent for the selected North Hampshire manors is at the lower end of Hatcher's estimated 30-45 per cent band[36] demonstrating, as Levitt puts it 'the fact that stands out with certainty is the partial and irregular character of the visitation of the Black Death'.[37] A view shared by Arthur, who concluded that 'it is apparent that no two manors are alike'.[38]

In relation to the mortality percentages calculated for the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors, academic studies of the impact of the Black Death referred to in this thesis provide a useful means of comparison for the findings of this thesis. By about the year 1970, the 'safe' estimate of a national mortality rate for the Black Death was generally taken to be one third, 33⅓ per cent. Though this is a high enough figure, few historians considered that the Black Death had any immediate impact on the medieval economy. For example, Horrox felt that 'surprisingly little had changed in the short term'.[39] Indeed, as shown in this thesis, by the year 1360, the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors had recovered from the horrors of the Black Death years of 1348-49 and 1349-50. By the end of the twentieth century, the tenor of many studies of the Black Death had been to raise mortality rate estimates. Informed opinion began to feel that a one third mortality rate lay towards the bottom of any likely range. Forty percent or more was offered by medieval historians as the best estimate and even this appeared very cautious. Local studies were yielding mortality figures over forty percent. Improved research methods, the use of technology and a new willingness

[35] Horrox, *The Black Death*, 234.
[36] Hatcher, *Plague, Population and the English Economy, 1348-1530*, 25.
[37] Levett, *The Black Death*, 142.
[38] Arthur, *Study of the Black Death on 17 Manors of the Winchester Diocese*', 262.
[39] Horrox, *The Black Death*, 232.

of historians to take figures at face value, made an average mortality rate of fifty per cent seem possible. The average mortality rate calculated in this thesis within the bounds of 35 to 50 per cent for the selected Somerset manors and, to a lesser extent, the average mortality rate of 21 to 30 percent for the selected North Hampshire manors, fits in well with these views.

Heriots (*Herietti*) are another source utilised by this thesis to add to the knowledge of the impact of the Black Death on the rural community of the Winchester Diocese. Heriots usually took the form of the best live beast of the deceased which was then presented to the bishop. In the Winchester Pipe Roll Accounts, in many manors, it became commuted to cash payment *Herietti Denarii* (Heriots in Cash), usually at the rate of 6 pence or occasionally 1 shilling. Heriots were collected from the six selected Somerset manors for beasts only but for the six selected North Hampshire manors heriots were collected for both cash and beasts. The dramatic rise in the number of heriots paid, recorded and analysed in this thesis, during the period of the Black Death clearly show the impact of the Black Death on the selected Somerset and North Hampshire rural community. As demonstrated in this thesis, heriots clearly show the impact of the Black Death on the rural community, with numbers 'going through the roof'. However, as a measure of the number of deaths due to the plague, heriots have their limitations. Robo considered that 'heriots bear little or no relation to the number of deaths'.[40] Similarly, Levett's view was that 'heriots are not to be relied on as a calculation of the number of deaths'.[41] There was the problem of when a tenant was recorded more than once paying a heriot. In the cross-checking of all pipe roll entries, this study was careful to take into account any such duplication. A further problem was noted by Levett, where she writes, 'many tenants did not owe heriots because a tenement consisting entirely of overland did not pay a heriot.'[42] Whilst heriots can be considered an important and useful source for estimating the extent of mortality and should be included in any attempted assessment of the impact of the Black Death, there are limitations to their usefulness, not least, that it must be remembered that a heriot was a death duty levied on holdings not on persons.

[40] Robo, *Medieval Farnham*, 211.
[41] Levett, *The Black Death*, 80.
[42] *Ibid.,* 80.

The importance of the reeve (*prepositus)* who had financial responsibility for the individual manors of the Winchester Diocese has been highlighted by this thesis. In compiling the cash account of the manor, the reeve listed the income first, the Charge, then the costs, the Discharge, were deducted. The remainder, the Arrears, were owed by the reeve to the treasurer (*thesauriatus*) at Wolvesey Castle in Winchester. The importance of the long-serving reeve in the continuity of the administrative effort was stressed in the smooth-running of the manorial organisation, for example, John atte Hall, reeve of North Hampshire manor, Crawley, from 1345-54.[43] Analysis of the reeves present in the pipe rolls revealed that eight out of the twelve manors researched for this thesis, 67 per cent, had a change of reeve during 1348-49, the crucial year when the Black Death struck, confirming its potentially devastating impact on the smooth running of the local community. The efficiency of the reeves throughout the diocese realised, between 1299 and 1308, gross receipts of £4,000 to £5,250 a year,[44] making the Bishop of Winchester very rich indeed, although Titow's figures are probably rather low because he excluded receipts from several manors and all the boroughs in his calculations. However, Levett maintains that anyone studying one of the pipe rolls for 1349 or 1350 'can only be left with a strong impression of continuity in method and prosperity.'[45] Levett continues by stating that 'there is absolutely no sound evidence for regression or great severity in exacting services after 1349 on the Winchester estate.[46] However, Hinde states that 'the Black Death was only the first of many epidemics that were to shrink the population of England at frequent intervals.'[47] Hinde continues 'repeated mortality crises can have the effect of retarding population growth even after accounting for the ability of the population to recover.'[48] Goldberg remarked that 'the plague was not an autonomous agent of change, that it worked with other processes.'[49] He continues that 'the Black Death marked the arrival of a new force to which the demographic and economic system of England had to adjust.'[50]

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[43] HRO, 11M59/B1/98-107.
[44] Titow, 'Land and Population on the Bishop of Winchester's Estate, 1209-1350, 67.
[45] Levett, *The Black Death*, 72.
[46] *Ibid*.
[47] Hinde, *England's population: a History since the Domesday Survey*, 32.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] Goldberg, 'Introduction' in W. M. Ormrod and P. G. Lindley (eds.), *The Black Death in England*, 4.
[50] *Ibid*.

Examination of the Arrears (*Arreragia*) of the pipe roll accounts by this thesis, for the period of 1345-60, revealed the impact of the Black Death. As Dyer comments 'arrears were inevitable in a period when rents were tending to decline.'[51] The cumulative effect, especially, of two years of the Black Death, during 1348-49 and 1349-50, can clearly be seen in the figures recorded for the selected Somerset manors. Clearly the effects of the two years of the Black Death had made themselves severely felt by the end of 1350. However, further analysis of the arrears for the selected Somerset manors shows a gradual reduction during the 1350s and, by the year 1359-60, the arrears had been reduced to more normal pre-Black Death levels. In the absence of auditors' copies of the accounts analysed in this thesis, in line with Dyer comments 'auditors were careful to keep arrears within reasonable limits by allowing or respiting certain items,'[52] in the case of the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors, the total of arrears had been reduced but not too much.

A similar impact of the Black Death on the Somerset manors was experienced by the selected North Hampshire manors. They experienced a sharp rise in the amounts of arrears. For the Black Death years of 1348-49 and 1349-50, the total arrears increases, compared to the average for the years 1345-48, particularly for Bentley (798 per cent), Crawley (1,000 per cent) and North Waltham (389 per cent), reflect the devastating effects as the Black Death spread northwards through Hampshire. However, the North Hampshire manors could have fared a lot worse. It is noteworthy that Bentley during 1345-48, Crawley 1346-48, North Waltham 1347-49 and Overton 1347-48 had no arrears recorded. This was probably helped by a combination of luck and by the continuity of having the same reeve for the majority of these years helped the smooth running and efficiency of the estate management during a very difficult time. Nevertheless, the figures do show clearly the escalation of the arrears, particularly during 1348 and 1349. The selected North Hampshire manors, therefore, suffered as badly as the selected Somerset manors.

How far the arrears compare to the overall income of the selected manors is another noteworthy feature of this thesis. In relation to the Somerset manors, for

[51] Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society: Estates of the Bishop of Worcester 680-1540,* 117.
[52] *Ibid.*

the years 1345-48, the total arrears consisted of an average of one thirteenth or eight per cent of the total income received. During the Black Death years of 1348-49 and 1349-50, the amounts of arrears increased dramatically to an average arrear of one fifth or twenty per cent. However, by 1359-60, the arrears had reduced back down again to one thirteenth or eight per cent of the total income, i.e., back to the pre-Black Death levels. In comparison, the North Hampshire manors in the years 1345-48, the total arrears consisted of a similar one thirteenth or eight per cent of the total income received. During the Black Death years, the arrears increased sharply to one fifth or twenty per cent of the total income. Again, however, by the year 1359-60, the arrears were reduced to one fourteenth or seven per cent of the total income.

The increases in income as a result of the Black Death are clearly shown by this thesis in the tables of arrears amounts and graphic representations of the figures. As a result of the Black Death, the Somerset manors show an increase in income between two to eleven times as much as in normal years. Correspondingly, the North Hampshire manors show an increase in income between two to four times as much as in normal years. Overall, the manors monetary value increased between three times (North Hampshire manors) to six times (Somerset manors). Though the Somerset manors were better in soil quality, grain produced and generally generated a larger income, when compared side by side, there is a similar pattern of an increase in cash revenue for the two Black Death years for the two sets of manors compared to the pre-Black Death years of 1345-48 which, in turn, was followed by a decrease back to the pre-Black Death average by 1359-60. This agrees with Levett's conclusion to her Black Death study that 'there is evidence of severe evanescent effects and temporary changes, with a rapid return to the *status quo* of 1348'.[53] This also corroborates the view of Horrox who maintains that 'change did occur as a direct result of the Black Death but, that it was, for a time, contained'.[54]

This thesis has confirmed that these large increases in arrears and income generated by the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors are a reflection of the high mortality experienced by those manors during the Black Death. As

[53] Levett, The Black Death, 142.
[54] Horrox, *The Black Death*, 236.

people in the rural community died, more arrears accrued. The more people that died, the larger the number of fines accumulated by the Bishop of Winchester. As the arrears and fines rose, so did the Bishop's income. The number of fines of family members and people on the manor who took over vacant tenements, which became due when tenements were taken over by new tenants, rose to unprecedented heights. Much of the increase in monetary gains accrued by Bishop Edington of Winchester during the period of 1345-60 came mainly as a result of the Black Death.

Another aspect of the pipe roll accounts to be utilised by this thesis to show the impact of the Black Death on the rural community of the Winchester Diocese are the Rents of Assize (*Redditus Assisus*). Rents of Assize were fixed annual money rents, usually paid quarterly, and were based on the size of a tenant's holding. Fixed by custom, these rents remained unaltered between 1301-1409, as confirmed by the figures produced by the research of the pipe roll accounts for this thesis. This is in agreement with Levett who states that 'the rent figures in some districts hardly vary between 1346 and 1455.'[55] The fact that the Rents of Assize continue almost unchanged and, in the absence of the bishop raising or lowering the rents to reflect the prevailing economic conditions, arrears were inevitable. When both rents charged and arrears are compared on the same graph, as in Figure 3.13 of Chapter Three, the impact of the Black Death on the manors of the rural community is clearly shown. However, it is evident that, whilst rents remain the same, arrears grew rapidly during the period of the Black Death.

Defaults of Rent (*Defectus Redditus*) refer to uncollected rent from land which had become vacant or had been taken back into demesne. Whenever a holding became vacant it remained in the lord's hands (*in manu domini*) until the holding was let out again. Defaults of Rent, similar to Rents of Assize, became a fixed entry in the pipe roll accounts and, as Levett puts it, a 'conventional item'.[56] Recorded year after year, often for centuries, Defaults of Rent do not reflect the seriousness of the Black Death. Due to their static nature, Defaults of Rent and Rents of Assize are of very limited use when assessing the impact of the Black Death. In contrast, the 'Default due to the Pestilence' (*Defectus per Pestilentiam*) sub-section of the

[55] Levett, 'The Black Death', 14.
[56] *Op. cit*., 22.

Winchester Pipe Roll accounts is highly significant for researching the mortality of the Black Death. The Black Death left in its wake a long record of lost rents and vacant holdings. From 1348-49 the holdings which became vacant through the deaths of the tenant holder from the Black Death, and which were not taken up by another tenant, were grouped under their own heading *Defectus per Pestilentiam* (Default (Loss of Rent) due to the Pestilence). This sub-heading arrangement of the Pestilence of 1348-49 was adhered to continually and diligently in the pipe roll accounts but Page warns that the evidence for defaults of rent 'needs to be treated with caution'.[57] He maintains that 'it is by no means certain that all the vacancies included in the Winchester accounts were attributable to mortalities arising at that particular time.'[58] Titow is of the same opinion, that there is the danger of accepting the evidence of the Winchester Pipe Rolls at face value.'[59] As already discussed earlier in this Conclusion, whilst there is a strong focus in Chapter Three of this thesis on the mortality evidence of the Winchester Pipe Rolls, a considerable amount of cross-checking of the main account sub-sections took place to ensure accuracy and that there is no duplication of names. Use has also been made of the Lay Subsidies for 1327 and 1332, as well as the Taunton Custumal of c.1252 to assist with the calculation and analysis of the number of deaths and the calculation of as accurate a mortality rate as possible. In addition, use of and comparisons are made with other known data and studies completed on the impact of the Black Death on rural communities in other parts of England.

Of the defaults of rent amounts recorded by this thesis during the years 1347-60, apart from Overton's loss of £6. 12s. 4¾d in 1348-49, in no selected manor is the loss more than six pounds per annum. By the mid-1350s losses in five of the twelve selected manors had been reduced to small amounts of less than one pound. By the end of the 1350s, seven out of the twelve selected manors had no losses with Holway, the only selected Somerset manor still with a recorded loss of £0. 15s. 9d for 1359-60. By the year 1409-10, all six of the selected Somerset manors had the notable achievement of 'None' for both the 'First Pestilence' (1348-49) and the 'Second Pestilence' (1361-62). In relation to the selected North Hampshire manors,

[57] Page, *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1409-10*, xxix.
[58] Page, *The Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester 1409-10*, xxix.
[59] Titow, 'Lost Rents, Vacant Holdings and the Contraction of Peasant Cultivation after the Black Death', 97.

only Bentley had no recorded losses, the other five manors incurring losses of between one pound and six pounds. Under the *Defectus* headings, the pipe roll entries for individual manors provide the names, status and landholdings of individuals who had perished in the pestilence and, as a result, had not paid their rent. By 1409-10 there are two entries, *Defectus per Primam Pestilentiam* (i.e., 1348-49) and *Defectus per Secundam Pestilentiam* (i.e., 1361-62). Again, the six chosen Somerset manors had by then no defaults of rent for either the 'First' or the 'Second' pestilence. However, of the six North Hampshire manors, only the manor of Bentley had 'None' for the 'First Pestilence'. Of the remaining five selected manors, all had defaults of rent from both the 'First' and the 'Second' Pestilence'.

As a consequence of the Black Death and as the number of defaults increased, the leasing of tenements at a reduced and affordable rent, even though this ignored the loss sustained by the inability to exact entry fines and labour service, enabled the total of arrears to be gradually reduced. This was in addition to the total of arrears being reduced by the judicious writing-off or respiting of items from year to year by the auditors. Although the Black Death had a huge impact on the rural economy, as shown by the sheer numbers of tenements becoming available, vacant tenements were filled up enough for the manorial organisation to be maintained without drastic alteration. The consistent level of payment for manorial officials, for example, reeve, bailiff and steward, confirm the continuity of the manorial organisation. This is borne out by the evidence of tables of figures produced in this thesis and agrees with Levett who maintains that 'among the Bishopric of Winchester's manors, there is not one which suffered any important change of system before 1355.'[60] The 146 Somerset manors vacant tenements, in 1347-48, at an average of 24 per manor and the 48 North Hampshire manors vacant tenements, at an average of 8 per manor, rocketed to 1,103 for the Somerset manors in 1348-49, at an average of 183 per manor and 372 for the North Hampshire manors, at an average of 62 per manor. By 1359-60 the selected Somerset manors vacant tenements had been reduced to 110, at an average of 18 per manor. The selected North Hampshire manors vacant tenements fell to 23, at an average of 4 per manor. Thus, the surviving population was able to meet the new demands made upon it and, to a large extent, fill the gaps left in its ranks.

[60] Levett, 'The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester' 86.

Evidence from the study of the twelve selected manors of this thesis confirms these views.

The impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese is the other major feature of this thesis. Using the register of Bishop Edington, Bishop of Winchester from 1346-66, a key source for clergy replacements, assumptions about clergy mortality and pastoral care are re-assessed. The turbulence of the period is placed in the broader context of social attitudes to the clergy in England and how these changed across the fourteenth century. The value of the *pays* has been recognised by this thesis and a sub-regional focus on a comparison of the rural community and the clergy of six selected manors of the Taunton (Somerset) region and six selected manors of the North Hampshire region was completed. This was followed by a regional focus on the clergy of the Diocese of Winchester, with a further comparison of other historical studies completed on the impact of the Black Death on other areas of England. The combination of the sub-regional, regional and national in a scalar approach has avoided an over-dependence on the generalisations of national studies, leading to a loss of local particularities. With its comparisons of the rural community and the clergy, this thesis has brought a new dimension to knowledge of the extent of the success of the strategies of a medieval institution trying to cope with the horror of the Black Death.

In line with the methodology outlined in Chapter One, a comparison of the impact of the Black Death, during September 1348 to December 1349, was undertaken on the clergy of the six selected Taunton (Somerset) and the six selected North Hants case-study manors. Study of the registers of Bishop Edington, Bishop of Winchester, revealed details of the institutes to benefices of the selected North Hampshire manors. However, in the absence of clergy details, Rimpton apart, in the administering Priory records, to enable the calculation of mortality rates, use was made of the Taunton Deanery records and the Hampshire Deaneries records. Overall, Taunton Deanery, containing the six selected Taunton (Somerset) manors experienced a mortality rate of approximately 57 per cent. In comparison, the combined deaneries of Alton, Andover and Whitchurch, containing the selected North Hampshire manors, experienced a mortality rate of approximately 45 per cent. Despite the efforts of both Bishop Edington and Ralph of Shrewsbury, Bishop of Bath and Wells to restrict the spread of the Black Death, ultimately it was the

nature of the medieval landscape that that resulted in clergy of the Taunton (Somerset) manors suffering more from the Black Death than the clergy of the North Hampshire manors. The more densely populated Taunton (Somerset) manors, due to the superior soil quality, helped account for the higher mortality rate experienced by the clergy of those manors. The increased level of pastoral support required increased the risk of catching the Black Death for priests administering to the pastoral needs of the rural community population of the was much greater than for the smaller rural population of North Hampshire. Overall, therefore, in comparison to the rural community of the selected Taunton (Somerset) case study manors, whose overall average mortality rate fell within the bounds of 35 to 50 per cent and that of the selected North Hampshire manors, whose overall average mortality rate fell within the bounds of 21 to 30 per cent, the impact of the Black Death on the clergy of Taunton Deanery with a mortality rate of approximately 57 per cent and that of the North Hampshire Deaneries with a mortality rate of approximately 45 per cent, was far more severe.

The extent and importance of the Winchester Diocese is noteworthy. Stretching from Southwark in London to Somerset in the west and from Oxford in the north to the Isle of Wight in the south, (see Appendix D), the Bishop of Winchester oversaw an estate of 57 manors and eight boroughs spread across seven counties. According to Morman, the Diocese consisted of 477 parishes and at least 4,000 clergy.[61] The role of the secular clergy was to administer the spiritual and pastoral needs of the local community in the Middle Ages. The greatest moments in peoples' lives centred on the sacred building of the church usually in the centre of the village. In a medieval English society, where the majority of people were Christian believers in the Roman Catholic Church, the part played by the Church and the clergy cannot be under-estimated.

This thesis has broken new ground by calculating a mortality rate for the clergy of the Winchester Diocese during the period of the Black Death from September 1348 – January 1350. Using the Register of Bishop Pontisarra to establish the total number of parishes for the Winchester Diocese as 477, by calculating the number of deaths/vacant benefices as a percentage of the number of parishes, a mortality rate of 49.2 per cent was realised. Whilst this is slightly higher than the only

[61] Moorman, *Church Life in England*, 52.

previous calculation of a mortality rate for the Winchester Diocese clergy, that of 48.8 per cent recorded by Lunn's thesis in 1937[62], it is within the limits supported by Benedictow's assertion that Lunn's estimates tended to be rather on the low side.[63] Accepting Benedictow's revised figures for the diocese of Exeter (51.5 per cent) and Ely (57-60 per cent), with a mortality rate of 49.2 per cent, the Winchester Diocese can clearly be seen to have suffered badly from the Black Death. Benedictow has also calculated mortality rates of the beneficed parish clergy for the cities of Exeter, Lincoln, Bristol and York at 60 per cent.[64] This figure is very similar to the urban mortality rate of beneficed clergy found in Barcelona by Gyug.[65] Unfortunately, no evidence or data are available for the city of Winchester, apart from Keene confirming that at least six churches went out of use during 1348-1349.[66] However, it does seem to suggest, therefore, that the beneficed clergy in urban areas suffered more from the Black Death than their rural counterparts.

This thesis has been particularly fortunate to have full access to the register of the Bishop of Winchester from 1346 to 1366. Practically every aspect of pastoral care in the fourteenth century diocese of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester at the time, has been found and examined in the episcopal register. The bishop's register was a documentary representation of diocesan government. The entries, including Bishop Edington's itinerary, reflect his activities within and outside of the diocese and his policies regarding pastoral care, administration of the see and the cure of souls which were, at least in theory, his first priorities. The register, however, does have limitations. We can never know precisely how many clerics died during the course of the Black Death. They include only the beneficed clergy; the stipendiary chaplain and the apprentice clerics, for example, part of the parish community, are never mentioned. The bishop's registrar and clerks were usually careful to record all institutions to benefices but some may have been missed during the turmoil of the Black Death. Another difficulty is the number of institutions entered with no stated cause of vacancy, particularly during the year 1349. Of the 344 institutions

[62] Lunn, *The Black Death in the Bishop's Registers* cited in Russell, *British Medieval Population*, 221-222.
[63] Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353*, 354.
[64] *Ibid*., 358-*359*.
[65] Gyug, 'The Effects and Extent of the Black Death of 1348: New Evidence for Clerical Mortality in Barcelona', 391.
[66] Keene, 'Survey of Medieval Winchester' in M. Biddle (ed.), *Winchester* Studies, Vol. 2, i, 116-117.

to Winchester benefices recorded, only 47 (14 percent) are recorded as 'death' whilst 253 (74 per cent) are recorded as 'vacant'. 'Dispensations', 'exchanges' and 'resignations' make up the remaining 12 percent. Though invaluable sources of the pastoral care and administration of the Winchester Diocese, as Dohar asserts 'there are inevitably *lacunae* (gaps) … which the historian is challenged to span … with a combination of interpretation, deduction and guesswork.'[67]

Despite these limitations, common to the episcopal registers of the Winchester Diocese, since the early 1900s, Black Death clergy mortality has been calculated by historians. A number of studies, particularly by Coulton, Gasquet, Jessopp (Norwich Diocese), Lunn and Russell, as well as Shrewsbury and Thompson (Lincoln and York Dioceses) have used data from episcopal registers on the replacement of priests and institutions to benefices to calculate overall clergy mortality.[68] The more recent and specific diocesan studies of Aberth(Ely), Davies(Coventry and Lichfield), Dohar(Hereford) and Lomas(County Durham) have also used episcopal registers.[69] Table 4.2 (above), 'Beneficed Clergy Mortality by Diocese', based on Lunn's original study,[70] with amendments by Benedictow,[71] shows that, overall, 46.6 per cent of the clergy of England died during the Black Death. The clergy of the Winchester Diocese are shown to have suffered 48.8 per cent mortality, a mortality rate exceeded only by Exeter and Ely Dioceses and equalled by Norwich Diocese. The key finding of this thesis, the mortality rate calculated at 49.2 per cent and, taking into consideration a normal annual mortality rate of 4–5 per cent, compares well with the 43 per cent average of the more recent and specific studies of clergy mortality referred to above. This confirms the particular ferocity with which the Black Death struck the clergy of the Winchester Diocese.

A stark and visual representation of the increase in the number of beneficed clergy deaths and vacancies recorded in the Winchester Diocese for 1348-49 compared to

[67] Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership*, xii.
[68] Coulton, *The Black Death*; Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence (AD 1348-9)*; Jessopp, *The Black Death in East Anglia*; Lunn, *The Black Death in the Bishop's Registers*; Russell, *British Medieval Population*; Shrewsbury, *A History of the Bubonic Plague* and Thompson, 'The Registers of John Gynewall, Bishop of Lincoln for the years 1347-1350' and 'The Pestilences of the Fourteenth Century in the Diocese of York.
[69] Aberth, 'The Black Death in the Diocese of Ely; Davies, 'The Effect of the Black Death on the Parish Priests of the medieval diocese of Coventry and Lichfield', Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership* and Lomas, 'The Black Death in County Durham'.
[70] Lunn, *The Black Death in the Bishop's Registers*.
[71] Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353*, 356.

1346-48 and 1351-52 is given in this thesis by Figure 4.1 'Deaths/Vacant Benefices, 1346-52' (above). From an average of one or two deaths/vacancies per month, the numbers of deaths rise sharply to 47 and the vacancies to 253, an increase of 1,875 per cent. The devastating impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the Winchester Diocese is clearly shown. Though we can never know precisely how many clerics died during the course of this plague of 1348-1349, these numbers of deaths and vacancies indicate the swiftness and widespread nature of the spread of the Black Death taking place within the clerical population of the diocese. Although the numbers of vacancies by death quickly falls to zero in 1350 and to two in 1351, there is still a high number of institutions with no stated cause of vacancy, 49 in 1350 and 31 in 1351. The figure for which there is no stated cause of vacancy, 253 out of 300 which equals 84 per cent, is rather startling. There is no certainty that an incumbent of the 253 had, in fact, died or, indeed, that he had died of the Black Death. However, it is difficult not to see these uncertain vacancies, in the context of 1348-50, as other than the deaths of the incumbent from the Black Death. Another possibility is the 'fear' factor when, in 1349, and especially 1350 - 51, a number of priests reputedly abandoned their posts and left the area in a bid for self-preservation. The institution to benefices figures confirm that during the years 1345-48 an average of four official resignations rose to eight in 1349, before gradually lowering during 1350-52. Additionally, entries recorded as 'devolution'[72] during 1350-52 suggest that the incumbents may have deserted. This gives credence to the statement in the Victoria County History of 'priests abandoning their cures'[73] and Coulton's assertion that 'priests shamefully abandoned their benefices and fled.'[74] However, compared to the staggering number of deaths and vacant benefices, assuming that the incumbents did flee their posts, this thesis considers that the numbers of 'devolutions' and 'resignations' fall within acceptable limits.

The person who had the responsibility of dealing with the Black Death epidemic in the Winchester Diocese was Bishop Edington. This thesis has shown that his actions proved to be ineffective in preventing a high mortality rate amongst the clergy. As news of the encroaching disaster reached him, he issued a 'Mandate for Prayers to

[72] 'Devolution' refers to an institution being vacant for an unusually long time.
[73] Cox, *Victoria County History of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, II, 35.
[74] Coulton, *The Black Death*, 47.

avert the Pestilence'[75] to all his clergy on 24 October 1348. His 'Voice in Rama' speech, issued at the same time, referring to 'Nations … that have already been stripped of their population by the calamity of the said pestilence,'[76] were the words of a man in shock from reports received from his diocese. Edington called upon his clergy to 'arrange special extra prayers and bare foot processions,'[77] to stave off the severity of the Black Death, believing that peoples' penance would alleviate the Black Death, the result of sinfulness. Unfortunately, having no knowledge of pneumonic plague, that it was an airborne disease spread by respiratory action, crowding people together only compounded the situation. As the Black Death intensified its grip and the death toll rose, Bishop Edington granted plenary indulgencies to all 'who should confess their sins … to any priest they might choose.'[78] The escalating numbers of vacant benefices recorded in this thesis reflect the failure of Bishop Edington's strategy.

However, Bishop Edington was successful in replenishing his pastoral army which was being drastically reduced by the Black Death, the number of deaths rising to three hundred in 1349. He recruited a large number of young men, lowering the age qualification and reducing the intervals between the four levels of ordination. A ten-year course of study was reduced, in many cases, to a matter of roughly one year. There was an urgent need for this recruitment as the clergy were being particularly hard hit by the Black Death with a mortality rate of approximately fifty per cent. The mortality rate of the rural population was also approaching fifty per cent. Table 4.5 in this thesis, 'Winchester Diocese Ordinations, 1346-56', gives details of the large numbers of young men being prepared as clerical replacements. The large numbers for 1347 would appear to support the view that Bishop Edington was preparing for the onset and onslaught of the Black Death. However, high rates of clerical recruitment were characteristic of the fourteenth century English Church. For example, high numbers of ordinations were a feature of York under Archbishop la Zouche during 1343-48 and particularly in the Black Death year of 1349.[79] It is noticeable that the high numbers of recruitment were not maintained after the

[75] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington' Part 2, Fol.305, No.166, 24.
[76] Hampshire Record Office, 21M65 A1/9 fo.17.
[77] *Ibid*., Fol.305, No.167, 24.
[78] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington' Part 2, Fol.310, No.199, 27.
[79] Moran, 'Clerical Recruitment in the Diocese of York, 1340-1530: Data and Commentary', 24.

Black Death. This thesis has shown that, from 1351 onwards, the numbers of ordinations in both acolyte and priests dropped drastically. However, It is clear that the impact of the Black Death did not cause a crisis of faith or deter men from entering the priesthood. As Harper-Bill puts it 'for many, personal salvation, and indeed, spiritual service to a country in crisis must have been the main incentive to enter the clerical order.'[80]

This thesis has shown how the devastation of the Black Death in certain places had brought with it reactions that included explosions of violence against authority. The attack on Friar Ralph de Staunton led to a Mandate of Excommunication[81] issued by Bishop Edington. With the support of King Edward III, a court action was won by Bishop Edington and, as Appendix H shows, the townspeople had to fence off their market from the Cathedral cemetery. The result was increased tension between the local clergy and the townspeople. Edward III and Edington, his Treasurer, also acted nationally and locally to stem what must have seemed to them have been collapsing social order. In June 1349, at the height of the pestilence, Bishop Edington issued a communique urging 'all rectors to encourage their people to work and to keep to the ordinances of 1346',[82] that is, to keep to wages and goods customary before the Black Death struck. This shows how the Bishop and the king adopted a united front in the face of the horrendous events of the years 1348 and 1349. Edington was also shown to be adept at passing on the king's baton to the local rectors in an attempt to get them to exercise some control over the avarice of the clergy in their area.

Overall, Bishop Edington's attempts to make good his pastoral army can be considered a success. It is a tribute to his organising ability that, despite the ravages of the Black Death, Hampshire villages survived. Though Bishop Edington can be criticised, at times, for a lack of direct pastoral care, it should be remembered that his key role as Treasurer of England necessarily took up a lot of his focus. Edington's 'Mandate for Progress' and 'Voice in Rama' speech show his concern for his pastoral flock as he attempted to deal with the threat of the Black Death. His 'Mandate of Excommunication' showed that Edington was prepared to use the law and the

[80] Harper-Bill, 'The English Church and English Religion after the Black Death', 89.
[81] Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington Bishop of Winchester', Part 2, Folio 311, No.201, 27-28.
[82] *Ibid*., Fol.419, No.622, 97.

power of the king to support members of his diocese, especially when the property and land belonging to the church were threatened. The 'Ordinance of Labourers and Beggars' is another example of Edington and King Edward III working closely together to use their power to preserve what they considered to be the *status quo*. Finally, the detailed list outlined in this thesis of Edington's appearances at Esher, Farnham and Bishop's Waltham during the Black Death show his willingness to travel around his diocese replenishing and supporting the Church's pastoral effort rather than just sitting out the danger of the pestilence by residing in the relative safety of his London headquarters at Southwark. Overall, Bishop Edington can be commended for his efforts to replenish his pastoral army and his attempts, bearing in mind the limited medical knowledge of the time, to restrict the spread of the Black Death. His use of the law and his political power to quell the developing social unrest demonstrated his attempts, which, unfortunately, were to ultimately fail, to deal with the unprecedented impact of the Black Death.

There is no doubt that a sea-change occurred in the Church after the Black Death. The Church had needed to reform and had, in some ways, been moving forward but the Black Death had interrupted that progress. Patterns of recruitment and standards had declined as a result. The employment and introduction of less able men and boys was an understandable necessity. Clergy competence was still a very live issue. Many priests lacked the learning required from an education and many also lacked 'pastoral sense' that comes from clerical education and parish experience. Later church leaders like William Wykeham of Winchester, Bateman of Norwich and Islip of Canterbury tried to address the problem of intellectual poverty with their foundations of Oxford and Cambridge. Absenteeism and exchanges were still a problem with priests looking for more profitable benefices. It was important that priests were encouraged to stay in their parishes and provide some stability and leadership in these challenging times. The Church was changing, albeit slowly, whilst still clinging to traditional notions of piety and pastoral care. As long as there was sin, a priest would be needed.

Was the mortality rate of the Winchester Diocese atypical? Reference has been made at the beginning of this thesis to contemporary chroniclers attempts at recording the numbers of deaths caused by the Black Death. To arrive at a rational and accurate figure for the mortality of the clergy is not an easy task. The much-favoured method and, indeed, the method used in this thesis, is to use the

ecclesiastical records to record the number of beneficed clergy who died, and then to establish this as a percentage of the total. In the nineteenth century, mortality rates for the clergy were calculated for York (68 per cent) by Seebohm,[83] Norwich (66 per cent) also by Seebohm, with the help of Blomefield[84] and also Norwich (66 per cent) was confirmed by Jessopp.[85] Into the twentieth century, a mortality rate for the clergy (50 per cent) was put forward by Gasquet[86] and Coulton (44 per cent).[87] Between them, Thompson[88] and Lunn[89] established the mortality rate of beneficed clergy in ten of England's seventeen dioceses. Their figures are remarkably consistent, ranging from 38.97 per cent (Lunn) and 39.85 per cent (Thompson) for York Diocese, 40.1 per cent (Lunn) and 46.22 per cent (Thompson) for Lincoln Diocese to 39.6 per cent (Lunn) for Lichfield Diocese, 40.12 per cent (Lunn) for Bath and Wells Diocese, 48.5 per cent (Lunn) for Ely Diocese and 48.8 per cent (Lunn) for Exeter, Winchester and Norwich Dioceses. The mortality rate calculated in this thesis for the beneficed clergy of the Winchester Diocese of 49.2 percent during the period of the Black Death is very comparable to the figures produced by Thompson and Lunn. More recent studies have also calculated comparable results to those of Thompson and Lunn. Davies' study of Coventry and Lichfield Diocese (40 per cent) revealed the suffering of the parish clergy.[90] Lomas found in County Durham (45 per cent) that, unusually, the rural community mortality rate (50 per cent) exceeded that of the clergy.[91] Dohar found, rather conservatively, that, in Hereford (38-40 per cent) the clergy suffered less but his findings still correlated well with Lunn's (43.2 per cent) findings.[92] Finally, Aberth's (47 per cent) mortality rate figures for the Ely Diocese compares well with the 48.8 per cent for the Winchester Diocese calculated by Lunn and the 49.2 per cent

[83] Seebohm, 'The Black Death and its Place in English History', 149-160.
[84] Blomefield, *History of Norfolk*, Vol.III (London, 1806) 94.
[85] Jessopp, *The Black Death in East Anglia*, 215.
[86] Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence*, 203-204.
[87] Coulton, *The Black Death*, 63.
[88] Thompson, 'The Registers of John Gynewall, Bishop of Lincoln for the years 1347-1350' 300-360 and 'The Pestilences of the Fourteenth Centuries in the Diocese of York', 97-154.
[89] Lunn, *The Black Death in Bishop's Registers*.
[90] Davies, 'The Effect of the Black Death on the Parish Priests of the Medieval Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield', 85-90.
[91] Lomas, 'The Black Death in County Durham', 127-140.
[92] Dohar, *The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership: The Diocese of Hereford in the Fourteenth Century*, 40.

calculated by this thesis.[93] In summary, the Black Death had a huge impact on the beneficed clergy of England. On average, 46.6 per cent of the clergy died with Ely Diocese (57 per cent), Exeter (51.5 per cent) being the more badly hit. Winchester Diocese (49.2 per cent) was particularly hard hit. The Winchester Diocese, therefore, appeared to suffer more than the average. For this reason, it can be considered to be atypical but in line with the mortality suffered by the clergy across other dioceses of England.

This thesis makes a new and valuable contribution to the historical knowledge and understanding of a fascinating period of England's history. A novel aspect of the thesis is showing how a medieval diocese, in this case, Winchester, dealt with both its clergy and with its estates in confronting the Black Death as it swept across England in 1348 and 1349. This thesis findings of an average mortality rate within the bounds 35 to 50 per cent and 21 to 30 per cent respectively for the average mortality suffered by the rural communities of the selected Somerset and North Hampshire manors, are compatible with a number of studies completed on manors in different parts of England and reflect the widespread suffering across the country caused by the pestilence. The well populated Somerset manors, with a one person in three mortality rate, particularly suffered from the Black Death years of 1348 and 1349, the more thinly populated North Hampshire manors, with a mortality rate of one person in five, less so.

The detailed investigation carried out in this thesis is especially valuable in adding specific details and providing fresh insight into the mortality of the clergy of the Winchester Diocese during the Black Death. An analysis of the impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the Taunton Deanery containing the six selected case study manors resulted in a mortality rate of approximately 57 per cent. Whereas, in comparison, the impact of the Black Death on the clergy of the North Hampshire Deaneries, containing the six selected case study manors, resulted in a mortality rate of approximately 45 per cent. The establishment of a mortality rate of 49.2 per cent, approximately one in two, for the clergy of the Winchester Diocese as a whole fits well with the well-respected findings of Thompson and Lunn, whose mortality rates are used as a yardstick in medieval Black Death studies.

[93] Aberth, 'The Black Death in the Diocese of Ely: The Evidence of the Bishop's Register', 275-287.

The findings of this thesis confirm, with an approximate one in two mortality rate for the selected Somerset manors and an approximate one in three mortality rate for the selected North Hampshire manors, that both the clergy and the rural community of the Winchester Diocese suffered severely from the Black Death. The extent of the mortality figures for the years 1348 and 1349 vividly illustrate the horror of the Black Death.

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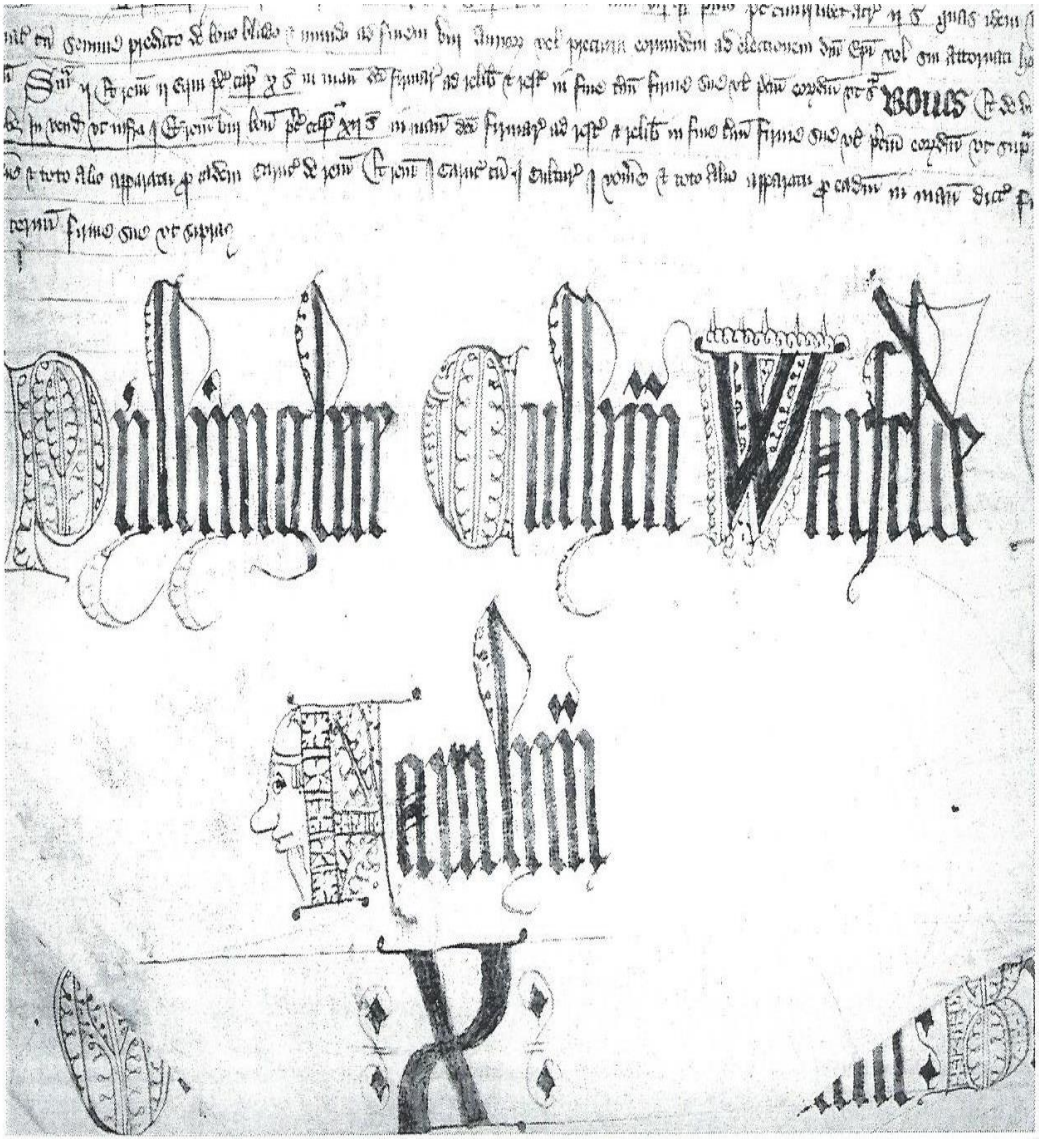
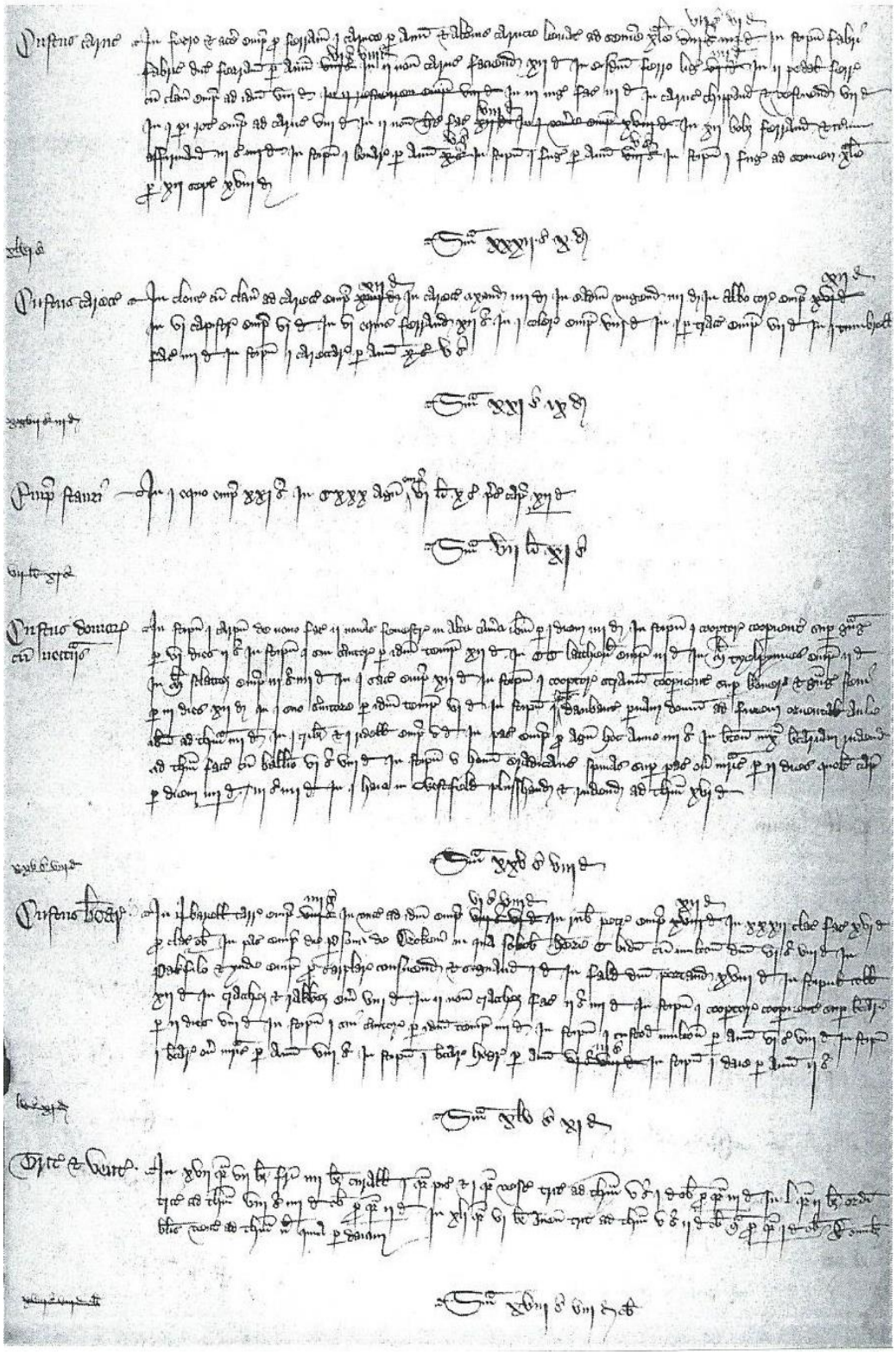
APPENDICES

Appendix A – 1409-10 pipe roll account for Morton showing the tapered end.[1]



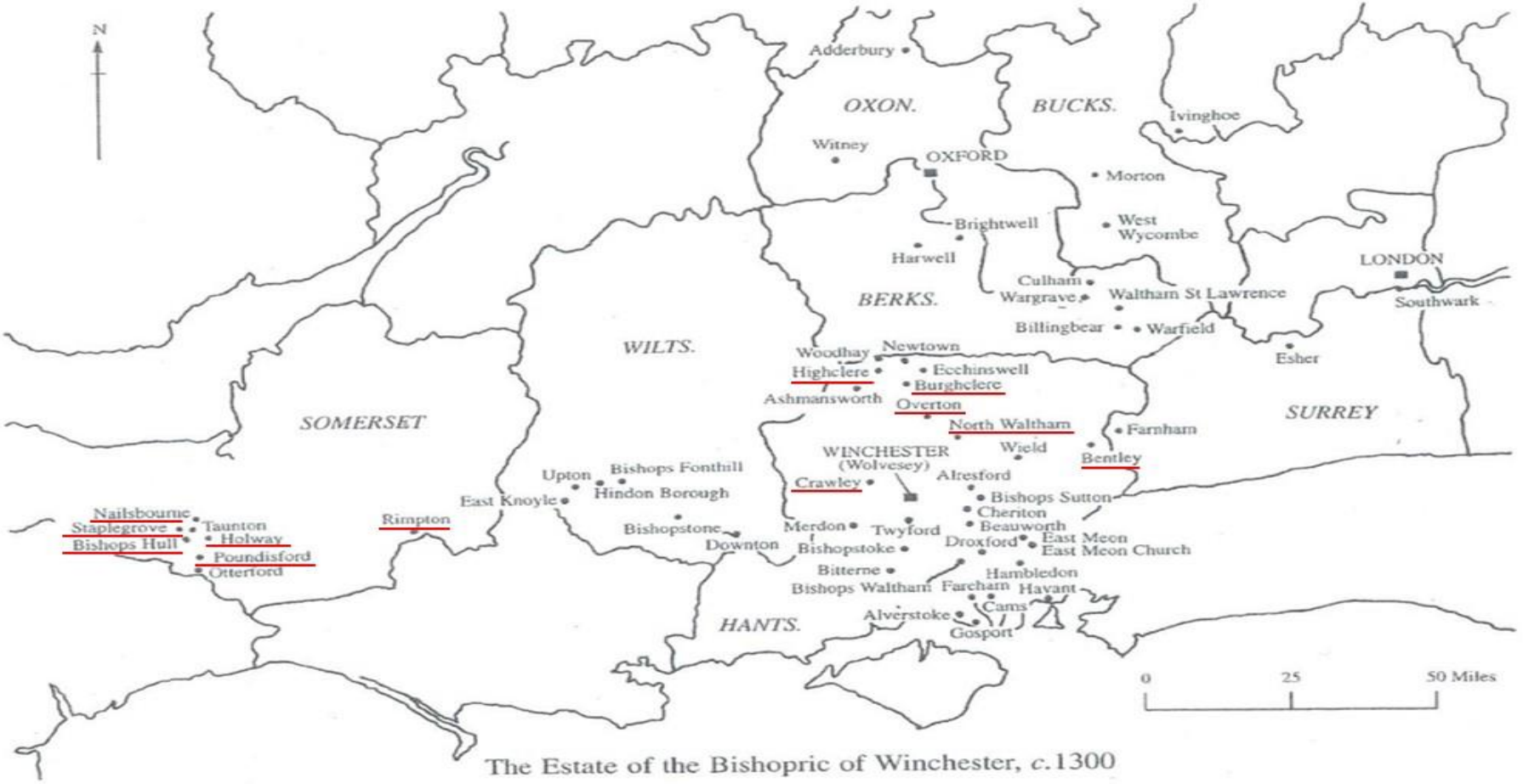
[1] HRO, 11M59/B1/156, m.10.

Appendix B – 1409-10 *compotus* roll for Droxford, showing a number of crossings out made by the auditors.[1]



[1] HRO, 11M59/Bp/Dr/41 – Expense Account for Droxford.

Appendix C – The Estate of the Bishopric of Winchester, c.130

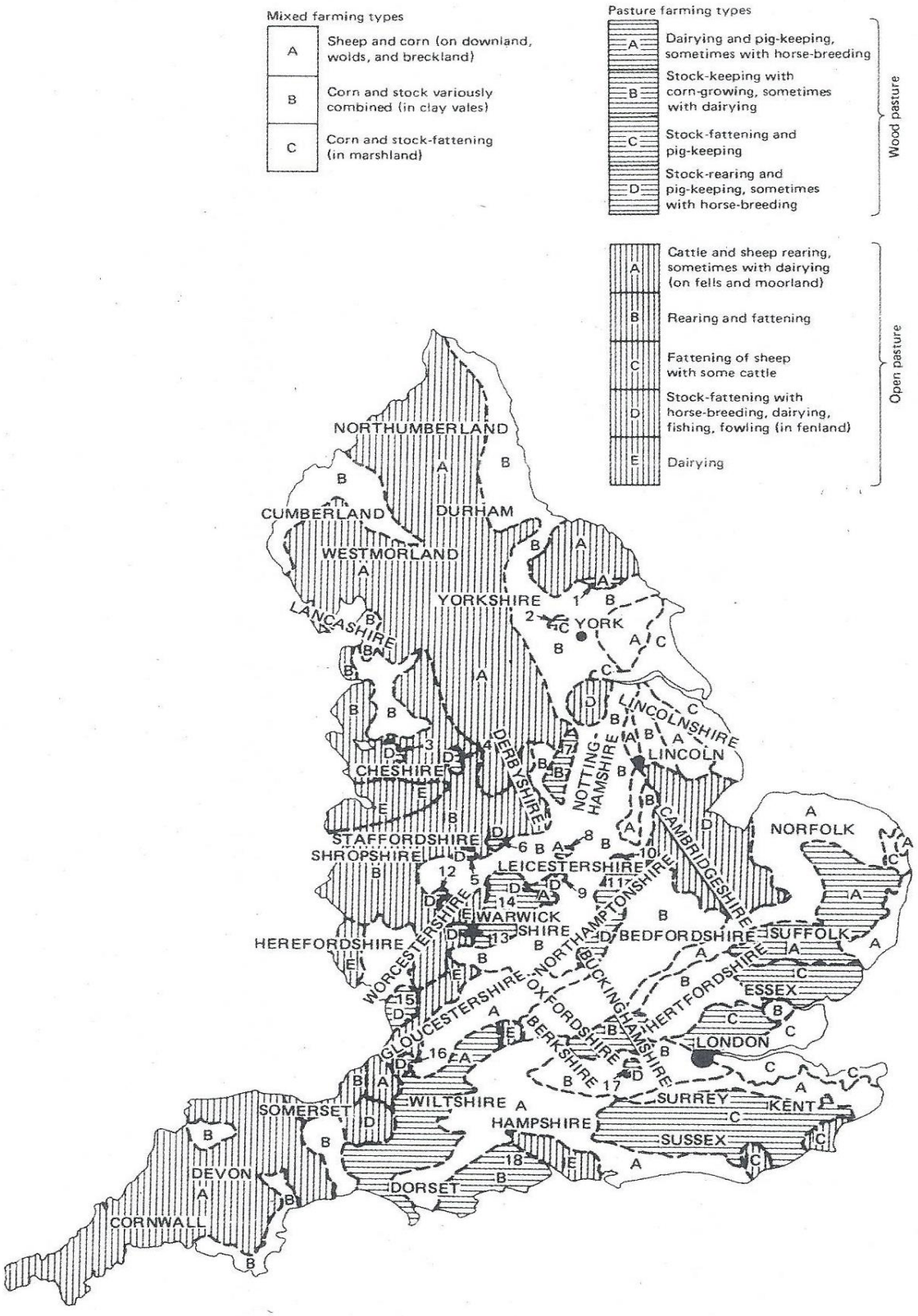


The Estate of the Bishopric of Winchester, *c.*1300

Appendix D - Map of the Seventeen English Dioceses[1]

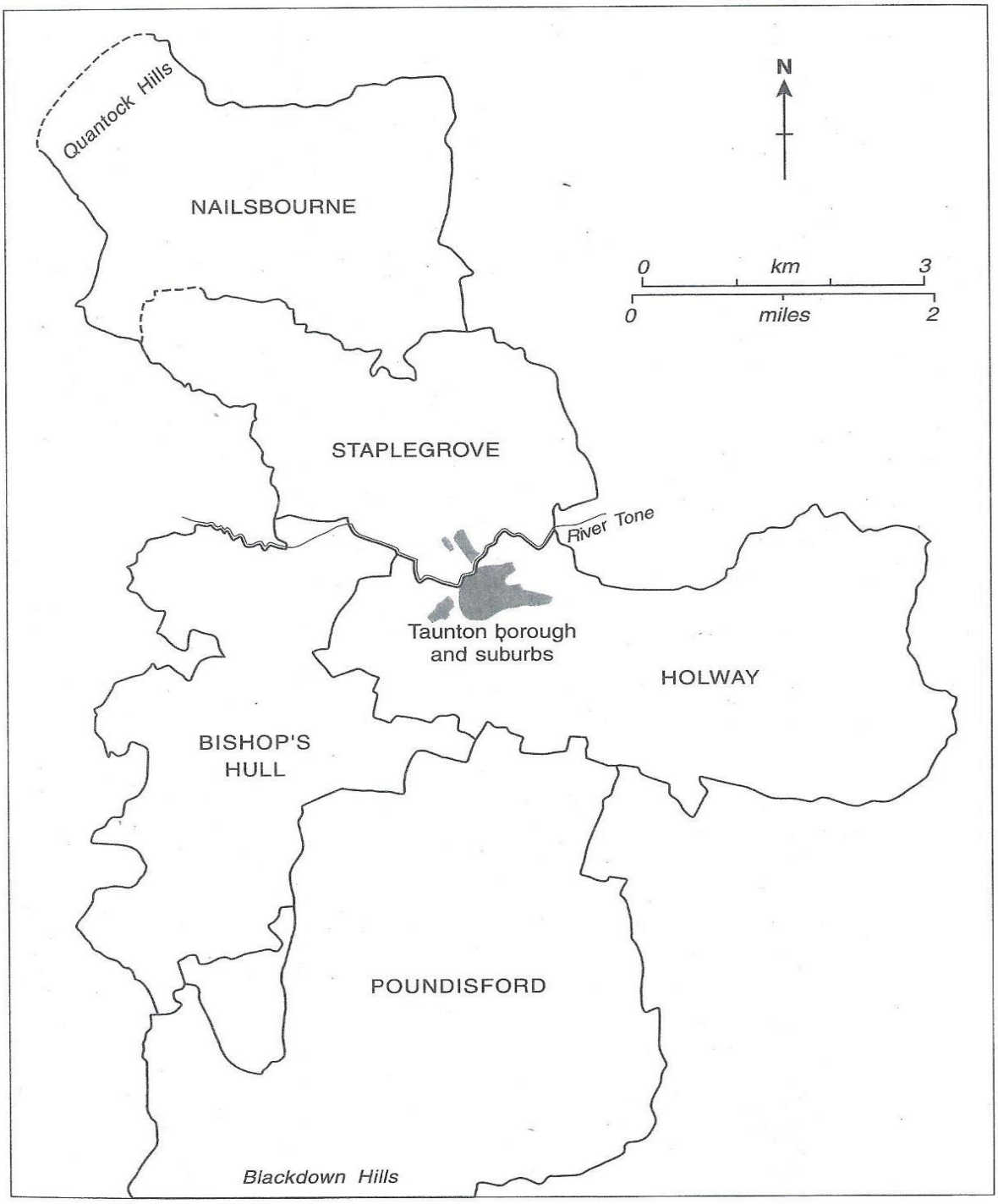
[1] Davis, *Clergy in London in the Late Middle Ages*, 26.

Appendix E – Thirsk's Farming Regions[1]



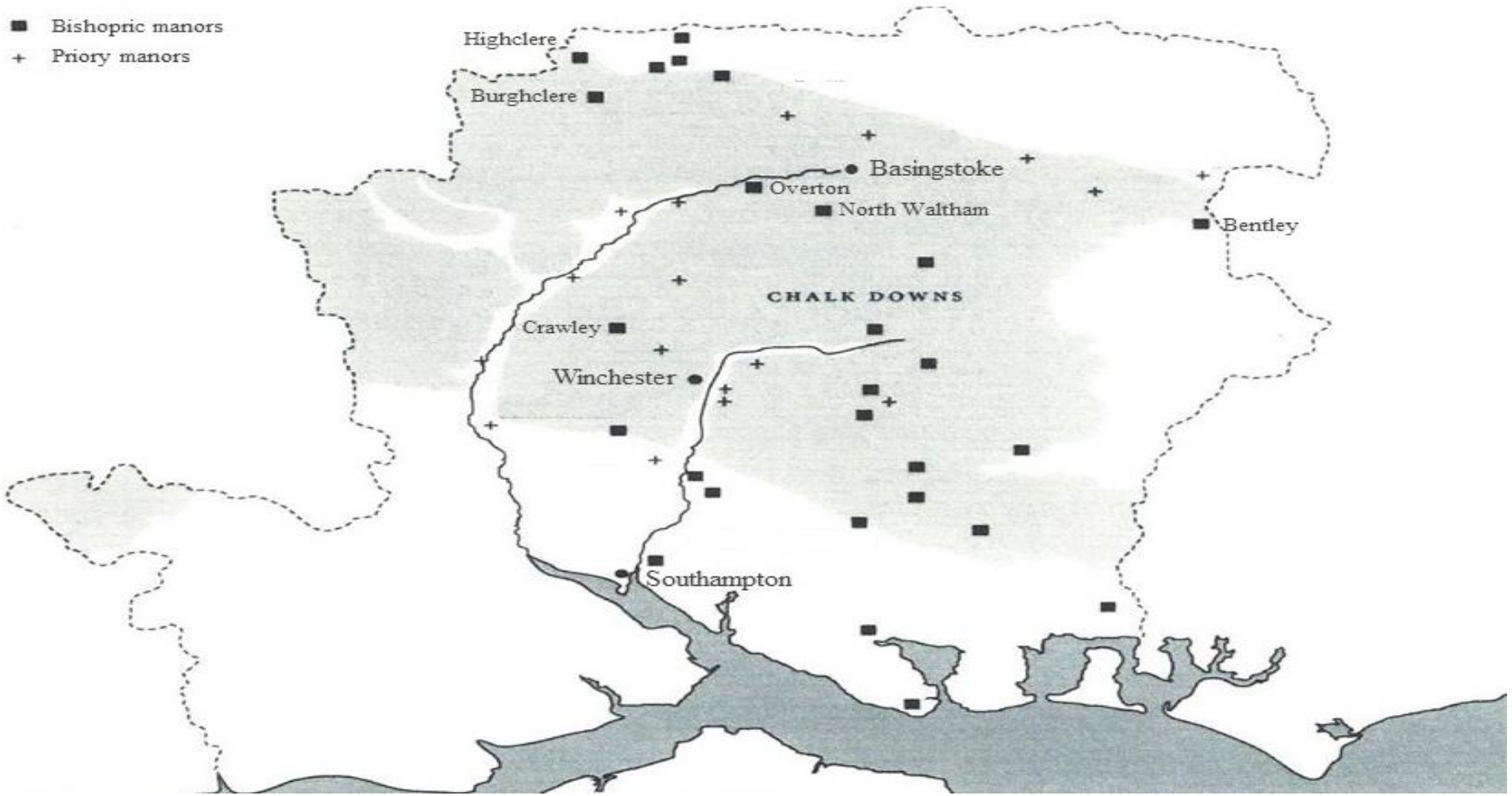
[1] J. Chatres, 'Joan Thirsk and agricultural regions: a fifty-year perspective' in R. Jones and C. Dyer (eds.), *Farmers, Consumers, Innovators,* Explorations in Local and Regional History, Vol. 8 (Hatfield, 2016) 18.

Appendix F – The Five Selected Taunton Manors[2]



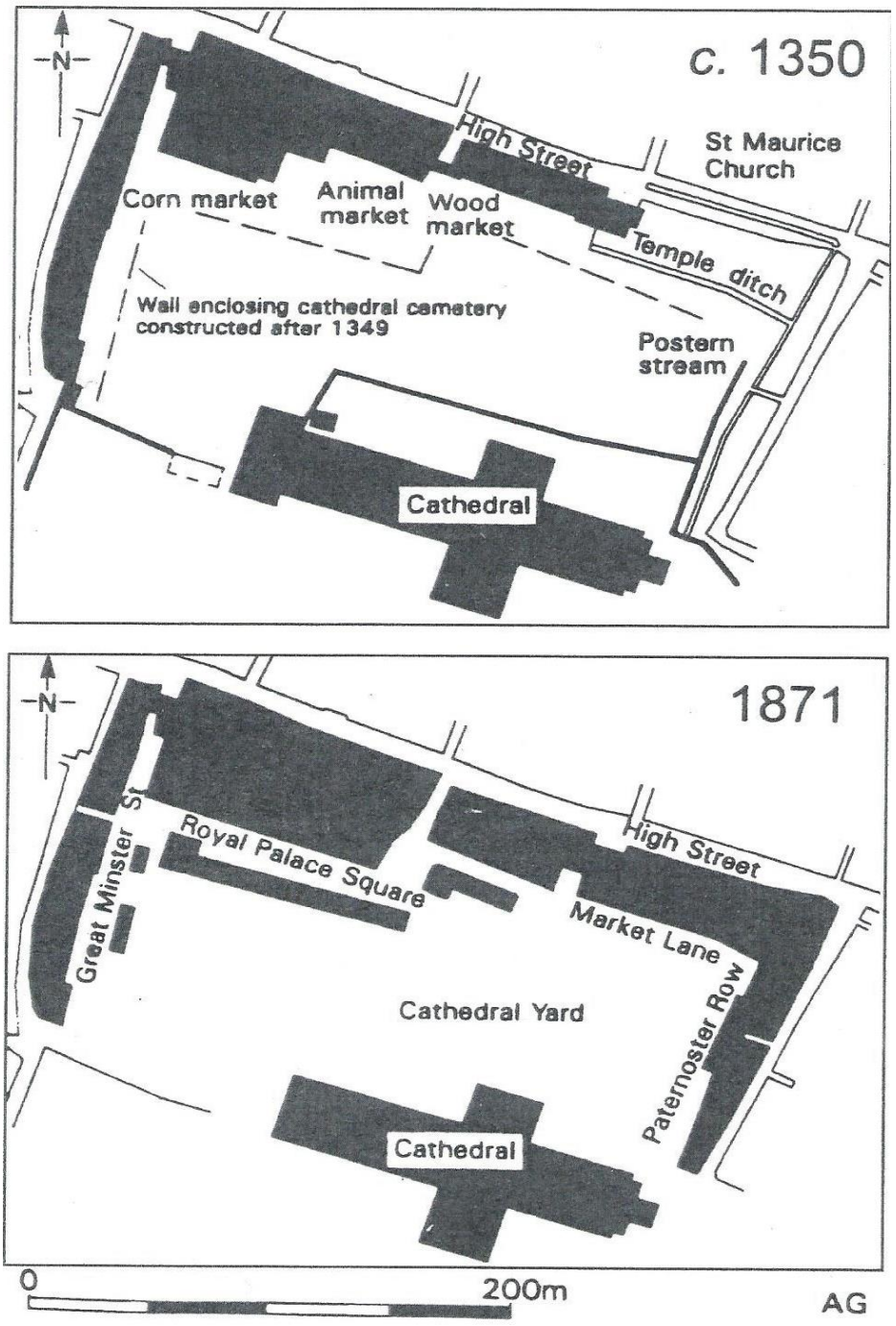
[2] C. C. Thornton, 'The Level of Arable Productivity on the Bishopric of Winchester's Manor of Taunton, 1283-1348 in R. Britnell (ed.), *The Winchester Pipe Rolls and Medieval English Society* (Woodbridge, 2003) 114.

Appendix G – The Six Selected North Hampshire Manors[1]



[1] J. Hare, 'The Bishop and the Prior: Demesne Agriculture in Medieval Hampshire', *The Agricultural History Review*, 2006, Vol.54, No.2 (2006), 190.

Appendix H – Winchester Cathedral Cemetery showing the site of the wall built through the cemetery/market area[1]



[1] James, T. B., 'The Black Death in Hampshire', *Hampshire Papers*, Issue 18 (Winchester, 1999) 3.