The Impact of the Reformation on the Building and Repair of Churches in the East Riding, 1547-1730

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Introduction

The choice of topic

From before the Norman Conquest to the mid-sixteenth century countless monasteries, convents, churches and chapels were built, repaired and rebuilt throughout England; only the outbreak of the plague from 1348 to 1350 occasioned a hiatus in this building programme.[1] Yet few new churches were erected in the late sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and by the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries many churches were in serious disrepair. How did this situation arise? The change coincided with the establishment of Protestantism in place of Catholicism as the national religion, a process which took from the early sixteenth century until at least the early eighteenth century.[2] Were the two processes connected? This thesis is a contribution to answering that question, via a detailed regional study, assessing the impact of the Reformation on the building, repair and furnishing of churches in the archdeaconry of the East Riding between 1547 and 1730.[3]

I should make clear that I am not suggesting that the English Reformation began in 1547 – or, indeed, in any one year – but the Chantries Act of 1547 was a final step in the process of dissolving monasteries and suppressing chantries[4], and the implementation of that

[1] I use 'church' to include chapels where the sense requires, and 'collegiate entity' or 'monastery' or 'religious house' to include all places the province of any college of canons, monks or nuns, and 'monastic' and 'conventual' interchangeably (subject to contextual demands).

[2] See Patrick Collinson, 'Comment on Eamon Duffy's Neale Lecture and the Colloquium', 71-86, Eamon Duffy, 'The Long Reformation: Catholicism, Protestantism and the multitude', 33-70, Tyacke, 'Introduction', 1-32, in Tyacke, *Long Reformation*.

[3] The geographical area covered by this thesis is the archdeaconry of the East Riding as it stood in 1547. I use the phrases 'the archdeaconry', 'the East Riding' and 'East Yorkshire' interchangeably to mean 'the archdeaconry of the East Riding as it stood in 1547', unless the context requires a different meaning. See Appendix 1 for a map of the archdeaconry and Appendix 2 for a list of parishes and deaneries.

[4] T.E. Tomlins, ed., *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. *IV* (London, 1819), 24.

legislation was highly significant both for the English Reformation in general and for the fabric of English churches in particular – hence its choice for the commencement date for the period studied. I selected 1730 as the end-date for several reasons. First, it usually takes some time for neglect to manifest itself in decay, and periods of 150 to 200 years might elapse before such edifices failed irreparably. For example, Howden's chancel had been decaying for at least a century before its roof fell in 1696 and its chapter house collapsed in 1750. Over the same period St John's, Beverley was allowed to deteriorate, and by 1696 its condition overall was poor and its north transept well out of true; by 1717 the situation had become critical, and Hawksmoor's rescue was not completed until 1731.[5] These periods of neglect were protracted even if we assume that those buildings were adequately maintained before their colleges were dissolved, in 1540 and 1548 respectively.[6] Evidently it would be necessary to consider church fabric over a comparable span.

Second, it might have seemed attractive to conclude in 1714, the year of the deaths of both Queen Anne and John Sharp, archbishop of York from 1691, but the sources encouraged a terminus of 1730. Some archiepiscopal and archidiaconal visitation court books survive from 1662 to 1730, but those from the 1670s onwards shed little light on the state of the fabric. No record of the period 1690 to 1720 matches the detail, thoroughness or scale of the reports which Heneage Dering, archdeacon of the East Riding from 1702 to 1750, made of his inspections of 163 East Riding churches between 1720 and 1725. Terriers prepared in 1726 survive in addition to those of 1685 and 1716, with a scattering from other years. A document entitled 'The State of the East Riding Clergy Anno 1730' provides useful information. The churchwardens' accounts of St

[5] K.A., MacMahon, ed., *Beverley Corporation Minute Books 1707-1835* (*YASRS*, vol. *CXXII*) (London and Hull, 1956), 6; Pevsner, *ER,* 285, 485.
[6] *VCHDII*, 32; *VCHERVI*, 77.

Mary's Beverley, from 1592 to 1723 within our period, provide an invaluable contemporary guide to many aspects (including cost) of maintenance and repair of other churches at the time. The years 1717 to 1730 cover the records of financing the restoration of Beverley Minster. Wardens' accounts of the East Riding are rare, but some covering the period 1690 to 1730 are extant for eight parishes. It would have been perverse not to include that material.

Third, the story of the parish church of St John, Beverley, from 1547 to 1730 is, in one sense, that of many East Riding churches, in that its fabric was long neglected, and its parishioners could not meet the cost of repair. One may contrast the situation two centuries earlier of St Mary's, Beverley, whose tower collapsed in 1520, bringing down the nave arcades, clerestory and crossing: reconstruction began immediately, funded by rich parishioners and guilds, and was probably complete by 1524.[7] Finally, if the Reformation was long, lasting into the eighteenth century, it would be illogical to ignore developments potentially attributable to it, whether as it appeared in the sixteenth century, or as it mutated over the following 130 years.

I chose the archdeaconry of the East Riding for a number of reasons. First, it is a discrete geographical area, bounded by the North Sea to the east and the rivers Derwent and Humber to the north, west and south, and corresponding to the East Riding as it was defined before the boundary changes in 1974, except that until 1974 the Ouse was the western limit, and the tongue on the north-east corner lies and always has lain in the North Riding. This extension includes Scarborough, Hackness and its chapel Harwooddale and Seamer and its two chapels East Ayton and Cayton. These are incorporated because the administrative units which were meaningful between 1547 and 1730 were the archdeaconry of the East Riding, and its constituent deaneries: Buckrose, Dickering,

[7] *VCHERVI*, 239.

Harthill and Holderness.[8] Second, this was the wealthiest Riding in the Middle Ages, and therefore contains many fine churches, often of twelfth century origin. As mediaeval villages shrank or vanished, their places of worship became a greater challenge to maintain, and sometimes became redundant: indeed, this study has entailed consideration of some 300 churches or chapels, of which only 213 survived until 1730. The selection would therefore afford a range of approaches to decay. Third, from 1649 to 1658 Parliament conducted a survey of English places of worship, the most valuable sections of which were compiled in 1649 and 1650. The Parliamentary Survey collected information (inter alia) on the worth and content of the rectories and vicarages; payments made from those receipts; clerical stipends; the identities of the impropriators, ministers and patrons; and the assets held by prebends and the terms on which archiepiscopal and prebendal property was let. This was the first methodical, virtually comprehensive, assessment of such matters since the Valor Ecclesiasticus in 1535, and thereafter there is nothing comparable until archbishop Sharp's compilation (which is less full) in the 1690s: it is therefore invaluable. However, the sections on the North and West Ridings are lost: only that on the East Riding is extant.

Finally, the East Riding provides a wide range of types of ecclesiastical building and of people responsible for the upkeep. The stock included churches, chapels which had become (or became in our period) independent churches, and chapels which remained chapels. They range in size from Fordon (one of the smallest churches in Britain) to the cathedral dimensions of Beverley Minster. Parishioners remained liable to pay church rates to pay for the care of the body of their churches, but many different groups of people were liable for chancel repair. Most East Riding churches (with their chapels) had been appropriated in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries to a collegiate entity, whether local, or

[8] Hinderwell, *Scarborough*, 90-91.

elsewhere in England or abroad, partly because Yorkshire contained more religious houses than anywhere else in Britain.[9] A vicarage had been ordained in most – but not all – such cases. About a quarter of rectories were owned by ecclesiastical dignitaries.[10] Only some 25 churches – some 17% – were never appropriated.[11] Some communities retained the conventual church (or part of it) as their parish church, while others erected a new building which might better suit their needs . The East Riding also contains an unusually high number of peculiars, whose rectors fell into three categories: collegiate entities; the archbishop of York and the deans and chapters of York Minster and Durham Cathedral; and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, including prebendaries. In addition, the archbishop of York had acquired a number of rectories which were not peculiars by a forced exchange with the Crown in 1545.

The Reformation did not alter the fact that the upkeep of church fabric was divided between laity and rectors but in East Yorkshire it dramatically affected the fates of chancels, since the Dissolution caused ownership of most East Riding rectories (and, hence, liability to repair the chancel) and advowsons to pass to a wide range of individuals, who nonetheless shared the characteristic that they personally held that property. By contrast, tenure by religious houses was not personal to any one individual, but collective, and no one person had an unfettered right to dispose of any rectory or to decide how to treat the chancel. The Reformation also affected the disposition of rectories held by ecclesiastics by virtue of their office, because clerics could have legitimate children. Although they could not transfer rectories outright, they could grant leases for

[9] Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 498-565.

[10] I use "rectory" and "vicarage" in their technical sense to mean the rights and obligations of a rector and vicar respectively. I use the phrase "ecclesiastical dignitaries" to include archbishops, bishops, deans and other members of chapters, as well as prebendaries, the precise sense to be determined from its context.

[11] Where the gift is doubtful or very short-lived such cases have been included as never having been appropriated. According to Thompson, at least 392 (or 63%) of 622 late mediaeval Yorkshire parish churches were appropriated: *English Clergy*, 115. The numbers and proportions in 1649-50 are set out in Figure 1 at page 133: footnote 399 and Appendices 9 and 17.

three lives on favourable terms to their relatives. Only those 25 rectories which fell outside those two categories were unaffected by the changes in types of owner. The supposition central to this thesis was that the care afforded to East Riding chancels post-Reformation depended on whether the rector was an ordained incumbent (and, if so, whether he was resident), an absentee ecclesiastical dignitary, or an impropriator, and it varied according to the kinds of people in these categories and their lessees; to the number of impropriators of any one rectory; and to the extent of any connection between the holder and the parish whose rectory he held. My research (summarised below) has proved the hypothesis correct, and the conclusions may well apply to the rest of England.

All rectories which had belonged to collegiate entities passed to the Crown on the Dissolution. Henry VIII included a few in Howdenshire (but not Howden or its chapels) in his endowment of Durham Cathedral, but otherwise their fate may be summarised as follows. Henry granted some to laymen, but Queen Elizabeth preferred to lease them, until financial pressures drove her to grant more away, often to property dealers; James I sold most of the remainder, and during the latter's reign many of these rectories changed hands, often with their advowsons. In this way the obligation to provide an incumbent and to maintain the chancel of most East Riding churches fell into the hands of laity. As to the rectories owned by ecclesiastics, no archbishop of York or dean of York Minster or Durham Cathedral ever acted as the incumbent of any of the livings which they owned by virtue of their office, whereas some ecclesiastics and prebendaries often did so, albeit with the aid of curates, and were often resident when their presence was not required by one of their posts elsewhere. All high-ranking ecclesiastics let out their rectories to laymen during our period, although increasingly on terms which required the tenant to discharge the duty to maintain the chancel, whereas impropriators did not usually impose such a condition on their farmers. Consequently, it is possible, and informative, to compare the treatment of chancels by these different categories of owners and lessees,

one only being the direct consequence of the Dissolution, and, therefore, the Reformation, and thereby to assess the impact of the Reformation on East Riding churches.

Moreover, the changes in the ownership of rectories summarised above also affected those who actually served, and sometimes lived in, the parishes. Prima facie the identity of the incumbent depended on the choice of the patron, and post-Reformation patrons continued to appoint rectors. Sometimes the Crown retained the advowson; sometimes impropriators were patrons; sometimes ecclesiastics who owned rectories by virtue of their post delegated the right to present to their lessees. After the Dissolution the East Riding had 34 perpetual curacies, 30 perpetual vicarages and 22 curacies in non-perpetual vicarages, and their situation also changed. Perpetual curates had no right to any stipend, and after the Dissolution either no financial provision was made for them, or such arrangements as were made were inadequate, except for Beverley Minster and St Mary's Lowgate, Hull. The stipends of perpetual vicars were fixed when their vicarages were ordained – usually in the thirteenth century – and usually had not been increased since; after the Dissolution no new appointments were made to six of these vicarages, and it became necessary for such vicars to hold two or more posts to survive financially. After the Dissolution a pattern developed in 22 parishes whereby, although a vicarage had been ordained, no vicar was presented, and instead a curate served the community.[12] In these cases, the gap between vicars usually lasted about 150 years, and usually began c.1620-1640 or 1661-1666. This practice increased after the Restoration, and became more frequent between 1690 and 1730. In such cases incumbents in these parishes were usually appointed and paid by impropriators, ecclesiastics, or the latters' lessees. The condition of the fabric of churches might well be affected by the different circumstances of such

[12] Such is the effect of *Appropriation of Churches and of Vicars in the same* (15 Ric II c 6: 1391) and *Enforcement of 15 Ric II c 6* (4 Hen IV c 12: 1402): Luders, *SRII*, 78, 136; J.S. Purvis, *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Terms* (London, 1962), 145.

clergy, in contrast to those who were presented by patrons and received the rectorial or vicarial tithes to which they were entitled. The range of livings and incumbents in the East Riding would enable, and has enabled, instructive comparisons to be made.

Implicit in the points adumbrated above is the extent to which the problems of church maintenance were systemic, and inherent in the laws of property and ownership which survived the Reformation; and the relative importance of the rôles played by poverty, non-conformity and recusancy in non-compliance, especially by parishioners. The events of the period 1547 to 1730 took place against the background of these issues, which affected all English parishes.

This thesis might have restricted its ambit to matters which were immediately identifiable as the consequence of the Reformation, such as the abandoning of chantry chapels and their re-casting for some other function, such as a family vault; desertion of chancels or reduction in their size; and insistence on the provision of pulpits and communion cups of adequate size for the congregation. Instead, it seeks to address the state of the fabric of all parts of the churches, including their furnishings, which are important elements in the equipping of the building for Protestant worship. Attitudes to all parts of the building are relevant when considering the impact of the Reformation. Moreover, disparity between the condition of the chancel and the nave is itself significant. Serious decay in the chancel was not generally accompanied by dilapidation elsewhere between 1547 and 1730, although minor defects were often cited with chancel neglect. That disparity is often related to the fact that different people were responsible for the two areas, but it may indicate a growing sense that the chancel was liturgically redundant, whereas the nave was not, as at Lowthorpe. However, such a notion probably did not take hold until after the Restoration, when it ceased to be mandatory to accompany every wedding with holy

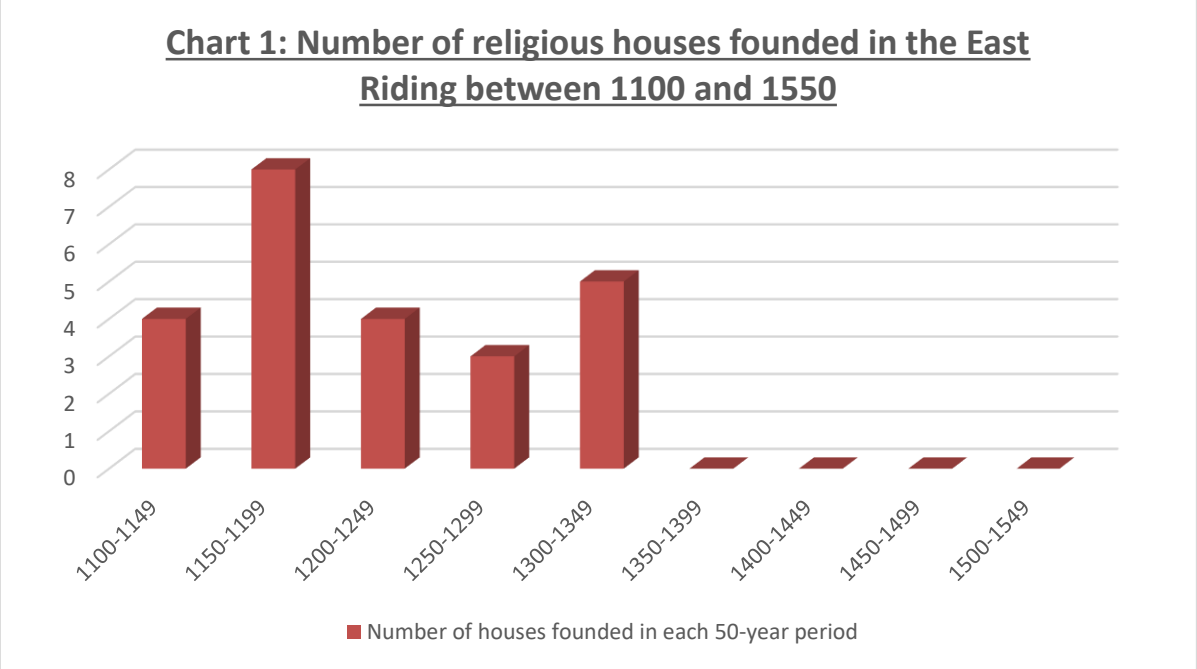
communion.[13] The pre-Laudian spread of seating into the chancel demonstrates that the chancel fulfilled a liturgical, as well as a didactic,[14] function for congregations, as did the changes required by Cosin and Neile and the continued post-Reformation importance of communion.[15] Moreover, clearer indications of the notion that the chancel was partially redundant do not appear until 1731, when Settrington's chancel was reduced by half its length; 1765, when Bessingby obtained a faculty to cut its length from 51 feet to 31 feet; and the 1770s, when Folkton's chancel was likewise shortened, and Lowthorpe's abandoned chancel was walled off from the nave.[16]

There are two main areas relevant to this thesis which I have not sought to cover. The first is the Protestant rejection of the concept of purgatory coupled with the extension of the sacrament of penance so as to permit other activity to be substituted for personal deprivation (such as pilgrimage), and the substitution of activity by another (such as prayer by a priest) to atone for sins.[17] According to Le Goff, the twelfth century saw a rapid development in the doctrine of purgatory which culminated by the end of that century in a belief in it as a distinct place; the theology of purgatory evolved during the thirteenth century and by its end had become established as part of generally accepted dogma.[18]

A rough proxy for the degree to which purgatory and extended penance was acknowledged in East Yorkshire (at least among the well-off) between 1100 and 1550

[13] I owe the point on obligatory communion to Diarmaid MacCulloch.
[14] TNA, SP16/259/78, f.4.
[15] Arnold Hunt, 'The Lord's Supper in early modern England', *Past and Present,* vol. clxi (Nov 1998), 39-83.
[16] Butler, *Glynne,* 368; ERALS, DPX/57; Evans, *Faculties*, 7; *VCHERII*, 175, 277.
[17] F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (3rd edn., Oxford, 1997), 'Penance' and 'Purgatory'; Joseph Goering, 'The Scholastic Turn (1100-1500): Penitential Theology and Law in the Schools', in *A New History of Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey (Brill, Leiden and Boston, 2008) and Iogna-Prat, 'Topographies'.
[18] Jacques Le Goff, *La Naissance du Purgatoire* (Paris, 1981), translated by Arthur Goldhammer as *The Birth of Purgatory* (Aldershot, 1984), 135, 289, 334.

may be found in the dates by which religious houses and chantries were founded there during those centuries, which are set out in Charts 1 and 2 respectively.[19]



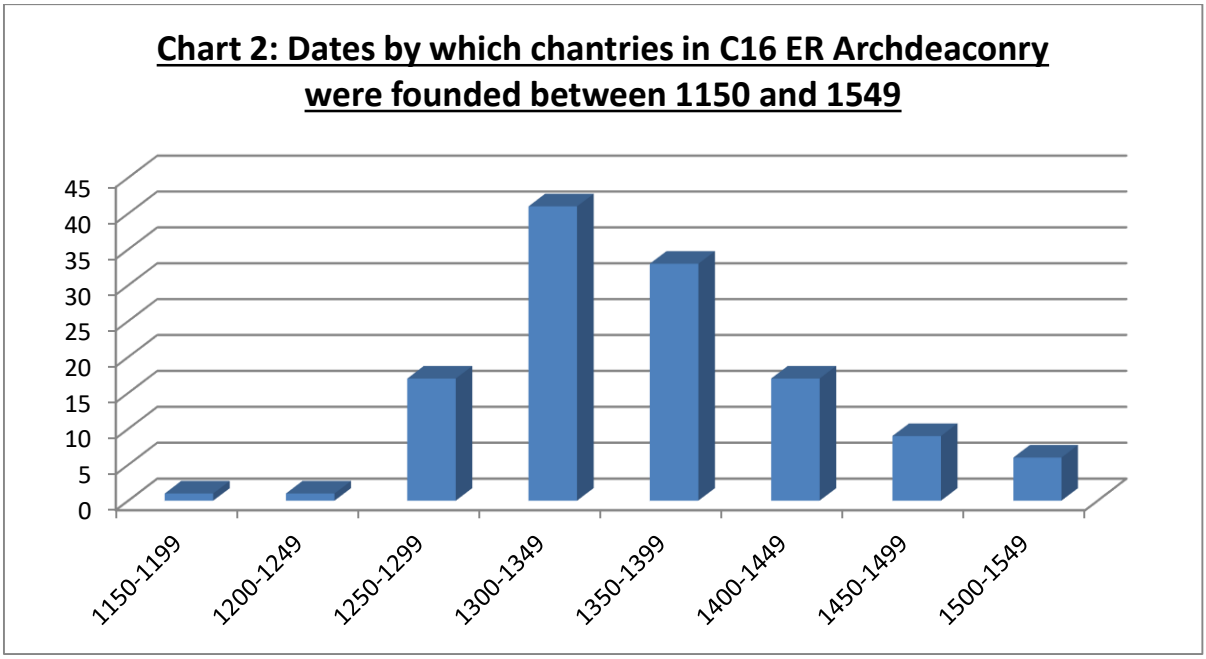


Chart 1 shows a peak in founding religious houses in the late twelfth century and then a reduction until 1350, after which no more were established in East Yorkshire. Chart 2

[19] Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 83, 113, 138-42, 194, 197, 213, 222, 254-55, 272, 292, 300, 415, 417-18.

shows a sharp rise in the endowment of chantries – a practice which directly addressed both penance and purgatory – until the fourteenth century and thereafter a gradual tailing off. Taken together, these profiles reflect the rise in the building and re-building of East Riding parish churches over the same period, while the fifteenth century saw a transfer of bequests from monasteries to parish churches, and considerable work on the latter until the early sixteenth century.[20]

These twin doctrines themselves probably spurred the building and repair of churches in the Middle Ages. From the eleventh century, churches were built and monasteries founded as a form of penance. For example, in order to obtain papal recognition of their marriage and to expiate the sins allegedly committed by their union, William the Conqueror and his wife each built and endowed monastic houses in Caen.[21] In 1070, Bishop Ermenfrid imposed a Penitentiary on all those who had fought at Hastings which permitted the commutation of penance by building a church.[22] In 1089, Pope Urban II asserted that contributing to the reconstruction of Tarragona's cathedral church was a form of crusade; and, in the twelfth century, Gratian specifically identified the sinner's presence at the dedication of a church or on the anniversary of that dedication as a form of penance.[23] According to the mid-thirteenth century Pontifical of William Durandus, an indulgence might be granted at the very outset of building works to sinners present during the ceremony of laying the first stone. In the mid twelfth century, after confessing their faults and having obtained absolution, in northern France men worked like beasts of burden on the sites where churches were being built.[24] Thereafter, indulgences were

[20] Claire Cross, 'Monasticism and Society in the Diocese of York 1520-1540', *TRHS* (1988), 131-45, 132-33; Palliser, *Tudor York*, 227-28; J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford, 1984), 3-6, 12-14.

[21] David C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (California, 1964), 80.

[22] Ibid, 191; Stenton, F.W., *Anglo-Saxon England* (3rd edn., Oxford, 1971), 661.

[23] Gratian, *Decretum Magistri Gratiani, Lib V, Tit XXXVIII, Cap IIIb and IIII,* ed. Emil Friedberg (Leipzig, 1879, repr, Graz, 1959).

[24] Iogna-Prat, *Topographies*, 161-63.

granted from time to time for those who contributed financially to the repair or rebuilding of churches: Drypool in 1428 and Barmby Moor in 1480 are two examples in the archdeaconry.[25]

The removal of such doctrinal and financial incentives to the construction and repair of churches probably played a significant part in post-Reformation attitudes to the building and restoration of ecclesiastical edifices. However, investigating the extent to which the removal and absence of those incentives affected the building and repair of East Riding churches would have been impracticable. The same difficulties precluded consideration of a second area: the extent to which (if at all) English Protestantism in our period was more a faith of interiority than was pre-Reformation Catholicism, and was therefore less concerned with church fabric.

Historiography

The last thirty years have seen much debate on what is meant by 'the Reformation', and when it was established. The very title of Spurr's book, *The Post-Reformation: 1603-1714* presupposes that the Reformation in England was complete by 1603, but by 2002 he apparently accepts that a more appropriate date might be 'somewhere between 1660 and 1760'. Marshall espouses 1640, while Tyacke argued for 1800, because 'the deep divisions among Protestants…resulted during the seventeenth century in the temporary destruction of the Elizabethan "settlement of religion", with the Puritans and their Dissenter successors claiming to be the true heirs of the Reformation – a conflict of interpretation which the 1689 Toleration Act only served to institutionalise'.[26] However, there is much to be said for choosing a date or time-frame within which the essential

[25] *VCHERI*, 299; *VCHERII*, 145.

[26] Peter Marshall, '(Re)defining the English Reformation', *JBS*, 48:3 (2009), 564-586; John Spurr, 'The English "Post-Reformation"', *The Journal of Modern History*, 74:1 (2002), 101-19, at 101-4, 116; Tyacke, 'Introduction', 1-2. Nonetheless, I often use the phrase "the Reformation" as meaning "c.1547".

character of the English Reformation can (in hindsight) be seen to have been settled, for at least a century, and we reach that point in about 1700. By then the implications of the Toleration Act had been worked out and the character of the English Reformation had been fixed as that ordained by the terms implemented in 1661-62, coupled with the conditions of the Act imposed on dissenters and the restrictions on Catholics retained, as it remained until the nineteenth century.

An enquiry into the state of East Riding churches in 1547 and thereafter to 1730 was logically prior to considering the impact of the Reformation on the building and repair of those edifices, but published work on this is limited to the Victoria County History, Canon Purvis' 31-page account covering 500 years and to histories of a few individual churches. Again, I have not discovered any research on the types of persons who or entities which owned rectories or on the correlation (if any) between such types and the extent of maintenance of the relevant chancels. However, Hamilton Thompson states that the reason for the general disparity in condition in the fifteenth century between chancels and naves was the fact that different people were responsible for each and implies that the circumstances of mediaeval rectors were usually relevant to the state of the fabric.[27]

Nor have I found any studies specifically on the impact of the Reformation on the building and repair of churches, but there is considerable research on many themes relevant to the topic. Perhaps the most important of these concerns changes to the architectural setting of worship – whether in mediaeval churches or in the design of churches constructed post-Reformation – brought about by the adoption of Protestantism, as opposed to the maintenance and repair of existing buildings. In 1547 England had a substantial stock of mediaeval churches. Very few new Protestant churches were built in England between

[27] *The Condition of Yorkshire Church Fabrics, 1300-1800* (York, 1958); *English Clergy*, 101-31, especially 128-29.

1547 and 1730. Andrew Spicer lists 72 new consecrations in England between 1600 and 1649, of which only fourteen were of parish churches.[28] The East Riding provides only Harwooddale, built in 1634,[29] and possibly Watton.[30]

The core of mediaeval church architecture was a two-cell unit – the nave for the laity and the chancel for the clergy, which was deemed holier than the nave – to which was later added a third cell (the choir), of intermediate sanctity.[31] Barred from monastic chancels, laymen were seldom permitted within parochial church chancels.[32] Such was the view of Durandus, who in the thirteenth century wrote an enormously influential treatise on the symbolism of church architecture and liturgy:

'dispositio Ecclesiae triplicem statum in Ecclesia salvandorum significat: ordinem virginum, chorus continentium, corpus conjugatorum. Strictius est enim sanctuarium, quam chorus, et chorus quam corpus, quia pauciores sunt virgines, quam continentes, et isti quam conjugati. Sanctior quoque est locus sanctuarii, quam chorus, et chorus, quam corpus, quia dignior est ordo virginum quam continentium. Et illorum quam conjugatorum…Cancelli vero quibus altare a choro dividitur separationem coelestium significant a terrenis'.[33]

Many churches were cruciform; all had fonts, usually at the west end of the nave; many had aisles with altars at each east end; and some had chantry chapels. Protestants in England had to adjust the structure, furnishings and functions of these different areas of mediaeval churches to meet new doctrinal and liturgical requirements, and interpretations of what was needed varied over our period. All involved redefining 'the holy', and the

[28] 'God Will Have a House: Defining Sacred Space and Rites of Consecration in Early Seventeenth Century England', in *Defining the Holy*, ed. Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (Aldershot, 2005), 207-230; Marcus Whiffen, *Stuart and Georgian Churches outside London, 1603-1837* (London, 1947).

[29] *VCHNRII*, 531.

[30] Pevsner*, ER,* 733.

[31] Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, eds., 'Introduction: the dimension of sacred space in Reformation Europe', in Coster, *Sacred Space,* 9, 11, 15; Will Coster, 'Burial, space and society in Chester, 1598 to 1633', ibid, 124-43, at 127; Bridget Heal, 'Sacred image and sacred space in Lutheran Germany', ibid, 39-59 at 39; Parry, 'Sacred Space', 123-139 at 128-30.

[32] Christopher Marsh, 'Sacred Space in England, 1560-1640: The View from the Pew', *JEH*, 53:2 (2002), 286-311, at 288-9; Parry, 'Sacred Space', 128.

[33] Before monastic choirs had been absorbed into chancels: V. D'Avino, ed., Durandus, Williamus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* (Naples, 1859), I:14, 31; G.W.O. Addleshaw and Frederick Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship* (London, 1948), 16-17.

extent to which any one area was peculiarly the province of either the priest or the laity, and was visibly marked as such, although chancels and naves remained distinct areas. Thus, in the early 1550s, the priest was to conduct services from the chancel, but laymen were to enter it to take communion, whereas under the Elizabethan Settlement the minister was to read the offices from the nave, while communion was to be administered in the chancel, around a covered table which was to be brought into the chancel's centre table-wise for that purpose from its usual altar-wise position at the east end. Soon the communion table was placed table-wise invariably, and at all times either at the west end of the chancel or near it within the nave. Chancels were often fitted with seating along all three sides. Parishes were compelled to acquire cups of sufficient size to match their congregations, bibles in the latest translation and (in England) copies of the Book of Common Prayer. Rood-lofts were to be removed, but not rood-screens. Fonts were sometimes re-sited to the east end of the nave so as to ensure the congregation could see baptisms. Chantry chapels were either disused or repurposed, often as family burial chapels.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Protestant logo-centricism led to the addition of substantial pulpits and reading desks within the nave, and of much unregulated fixed seating, including galleries, sometimes by churchwardens and sometimes by individuals, both in the nave and in the chancel. Psalm-singing became an important part of worship in larger churches, supported by organs whose siting was no longer restricted to the nave's west end. In York diocese in the 1620s and 1630s avant-garde conformists sought to ascribe greater holiness to the chancel than to the nave, and to accord primacy in worship to the eucharist, by emphasising its separation from the latter through raising the chancel's floor level relative to the nave; by ordering the erection of rails around the altar; by ensuring that at all times the congregation could see it even if this meant the removal or alteration of pews or galleries recently installed; and by forbidding lay use of

the chancel for anything other than communion. For the same reason they also redefined it as the peculiar province of the clergy by requiring the removal of seating at the east end of the chancel, the communion table to be sited against the east end, and the minister to conduct services from within the chancel. They also sought to convey the sanctity of the entire building by ordering repairs, improvements and adornments. The Restoration saw comparable efforts in the East Riding to enforce ecclesiastical repairs and the re-equipping of churches for Anglican worship, as did the period between 1690 and 1730.

These changes in English churches were charted first by Addleshaw and Etchells, followed by George Hay[34] and Ian Lindsay,[35] both on Scottish churches, and then by James White, who considered adaptations of existing buildings and also designs for new ones, both in England and elsewhere.[36] Horton Davies summarised the rival contemporary theologies behind the changes.[37] Mark Chatfield recorded fifty surviving English 'Prayer-Book' churches.[38] In *The Stripping of the Altars*, Eamon Duffy explored changes in church furnishings and permitted forms of worship in England from the Reformation to the 1570s.[39] His book was complemented by *Altars Restored*, in which Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke examined the changing face of English religious worship from 1547 to 1700. Fincham summarised the developments in 'The Protestant Church and its Churches' and Trevor Cooper discussed them in 'The Interior Planning of the English Parish Church, 1559-c.1640'.[40] The years 1620 to 1640 and the impact of avant-garde conformity have attracted particular attention, from Julian Davies,[41] Andrew

[34] *The Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches, 1560-1843* (Oxford, 1957), 22-69.
[35] *The Scottish Parish Kirk* (Edinburgh, 1960), 36-55.
[36] *Protestant Worship and Church Architecture* (New York, 1964), 78-117.
[37] *Worship and Theology in England: From Cranmer to Baxter and Fox, 1534-1690* (revised edn., Grand Rapids and Cambridge, 1996), *I*, 360-76; *II*, 3-67.
[38] *Churches the Victorians Forgot* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1988).
[39] New Haven and London, 1992.
[40] Barnwell & Cooper, *Places*, 1-21 (Fincham), 52-94 (Cooper).
[41] *Caroline Captivity*.

Foster,[42] Graham Parry,[43] and contributors to *The Early Stuart Church 1603-1642*.[44] Contributions to *Chancel Screens since the Reformation* provide useful analyses of screens throughout our period.[45] However, the work of Andrew Drummond[46] and of Nigel Yates[47] on liturgy and architecture concentrates on developments after 1730.

Diarmaid MacCulloch has suggested that there was "a minor 'building revolution' in churches that gathered momentum from the last years of the sixteenth century: an heroic effort to reequip Catholic worship spaces for Protestant use" which "significantly predated the Laudian campaigns for church restoration from the late 1620s, [which] had different priorities from the Laudian programme", and that seating erected shortly before the implementation of that programme was evidence of pre-Laudian activity. He also claimed that such work implied "a reasonable level of maintenance in church fabrics". His supposition appears justified so far as concerns the elements for which the laity was responsible, especially in respect of church interiors, but less so in respect of chancels. Julia Merritt established that there was a sustained revival of church building and beautification in London (which later spread to the provinces) well before Laud's

[42] Foster, 'Church Policies', 193-223; 'Churchwardens' accounts of early modern England and Wales: some problems to note, but much to be gained', in French, *The Parish*, 74-93; 'Archbishop Richard Neile Revisited', in *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c.1560-1660*, ed. Peter Lake and Michael Questier (Woodbridge, 2000), 159-78.

[43] *Glory, Laud and Honour* (Woodbridge, 2006).

[44] Ed. Kenneth Fincham (California, 1993): Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I', 23-49; Kenneth Fincham, 'Episcopal Government, 1603-1640', 71-91; Andrew Foster, 'The Clerical Estate Revitalised', 139-60; Peter Lake, 'The Laudian Style: Order, Uniformity and the Pursuit of the Beauty of Holiness in the 1630s', 161-85; Nicholas Tyacke, 'Archbishop Laud', 51-70; Peter White, 'The *via media* in the early Stuart Church', 211-30.

[45] Peter M. Doll, 'Dividing it Unites, Concealing it Reveals: a Theology of the Chancel Screen', in Kirby, *Chancel Screens,* 11-24; Lucy J. Wrapson, 'Chancel Screens on the Eve of the Reformation', ibid, 25-44; Trevor Cooper, ''A comely partition betwixt the chancel and the church': English Chancel Screens from Elizabeth I to the Civil War', ibid, 45-84; Mark Kirby, 'A Patristic Experiment: The Screens of Christopher Wren's Churches', ibid, 85-108.

[46] *The Church Architecture of Protestantism* (Edinburgh, 1934).

[47] *Buildings, Faith and Worship* (revised edition, Oxford, 2000), 23-43; *Liturgical Space* (Farnham, 2008), 13-14, 71-86.

emergence.[48] Fincham and Tyacke note much church-building and church repairs and re-furnishings between 1590 and 1625 countrywide, and especially in London and Durham, some (but not all) being signs of avant-garde conformity. Not until 1617 were the communion tables in Gloucester and Durham cathedrals moved against the east wall altarwise. This arrangement was not required in a parish church until 1630; not until 1632 was seating at the east end of the chancel condemned; only in 1633 were parishes required to surround their altars with rails. Notwithstanding Cosin's personal enthusiasm for chancel screens, MacCulloch has demonstrated that Arminianism did not entail the erection or retention of 'partitions'.[49]

An important aspect of the changes in the ordering and furnishing of existing churches driven by the Reformation is the concept of sacred space in early modern Europe, on which Will Coster, Penny Roberts and Andrew Spicer have published significant research.[50] The topic is implicit in the writings on iconoclasm of Margaret Aston[51] and Julie Spraggon.[52] Anne-Françoise Morel analyses the concept in the context of the culture of church building in Stuart England through the lens of consecration sermons.[53]

The research summarised above is invaluable in determining what changes were made to the interiors of existing English churches in response to the Reformation and the beliefs which led to those alterations. However, none directly addresses the issue of how the

[48] 'The Myth of the English Reformation', *JBS,* vol. 30, no.1 (1991), 1-19, at 13-14; 'Puritans, Laudians, and the Phenomenon of Church-Building in Jacobean London', *The Historical Journal*, 41:4 (1998), 935-60.

[49] *Altars Restored*, 92-93, 100-23, chapter 5; Roods, Screens and Weddings', 2021, forthcoming.

[50] Penny Roberts, 'Contesting sacred space: burial disputes in sixteenth century France', in Gordon, *Place of the Dead*, 131-48; Andrew Spicer, '"Defyle not Christs Kirk with your carrion": the development of burial aisles in post-Reformation Scotland', ibid, 149-69; idem, 'Iconoclasm and adaptation: the Reformation of the churches in Scotland and the Netherlands', in *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480-1590*, ed. D. Gaimster, D. and R. Gilchrist (Leeds, 2003), 29-43; idem, 'God Will Have a House'; idem, 'Holiness and *The Temple*: Thomas Adams and the Definition of Sacred Space in Jacobean England', *The Seventeenth Century*, 27:1-24.

[51] *England's Iconoclasts, Volume I, Laws against Images* (Oxford, 2003), 246-342.

[52] *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge, 2003), 1-31, 61-132.

[53] *Glorious Temples or Babylonic Whores* (Leiden, 2019), 95-141.

Reformation affected the extent to which English churches were built or repaired between 1547 and 1730. Indirectly they are relevant, because (as MacCulloch points out) one might expect parishes which spend money on such changes to ensure the building was weather-proof, and expenditure on the former may affect the availability of funds for the latter. Moreover, the extent to which parishioners and rectors of all kinds regarded the building itself as sacred probably affected willingness to maintain it.

Recent relevant research includes Miles Kerr-Peterson's interesting study on the impact of the Reformation on the architecture of some Scottish churches and on patrons' emerging obligation to repair them,[54] and Bess Rhodes' analysis of its impact on the ecclesiastical finances of St Andrews.[55] However, in the only work known to me which touches, albeit tangentially, on the topic of my research, Lucy Kaufman argues that the majority of impropriators sustained rather than undermined the nascent English church and that the laity became more closely tied to the church post-Reformation.[56] So far as concerns East Yorkshire, her conclusions are fatally vitiated by the apparent failure to study any of the buildings themselves or representations or descriptions of them, or any archives other than those whose transcriptions have been published (with isolated exceptions), reliance on unwarranted assumptions, and discounting evidence contrary to her hypotheses. For example, the idea that 'impropriations were also a mechanism that tied the better sort to the welfare of the parish' simply assumes what it asserts;[57] and the view that impropriation was an evil responsible for much damage to church fabric and for unacceptably low clergy pay was not restricted to the Elizabethan godly.[58] She fails

[54] 'Post-Reformation Church Architecture in the Marischal Earldom, 1560-1625', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in the Diocese of Aberdeen and Moray*, ed. Jane Geddes (London 2016), 99-120.

[55] *Riches and Reform* (Leiden, 2019).

[56] 'Ecclesiastical Improvements, Lay Impropriations, and the Building of a Post-Reformation Church in England, 1560-1600', *The Historical Journal*, 58:1 (2015), 1-23, especially 7-12.

[57] Ibid, 19.

[58] Patrick Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal* (London, 1979), 225-26.

to explain the many complaints made of impropriation in contemporary literature or to undermine Hill's analysis of the harm which impropriators wrought.[59]

Thus, my thesis is the first work to address the topic of the impact of the Reformation on the building and repair of churches, and I devote detailed attention to an entire corpus of ecclesiastical buildings over an extended period of time.

The main primary sources

In this research I have used many original documents, most of which are partly written in short-hand ecclesiastical Latin. The archiepiscopal and archidiaconal visitation court books which relate to the East Riding are of critical importance. The former survive sporadically from 1567-8 to 1730; after 1674 only those for 1693-94 contain significant material on the state of ecclesiastical fabric. Extant reports of the annual general East Riding archidiaconal visitations run from 1663 to 1730, with the exception of the years 1664, 1690 and 1692-3: after 1670 these shed limited light on the condition of churches. The court books of the High Commission Court survive from 1562 to 1641, with gaps between 1603 and 1607 and between 1634 and 1638. The reports of the chancery and audience, and exchequer and prerogative, courts of the archbishop of York are virtually complete, but for a major gap between 1640 and 1667 in the former.

Few relevant records of peculiar jurisdictions survive, except the register of visitations by the dean of York in 1568, 1570, 1590-1596 and 1598-1602. Archidiaconal visitations naturally do not cover peculiars except the archdeacon's own. Consequently, there is much more evidence about churches (and their incumbents) within the archdeacon's jurisdiction than about peculiars. It has been possible to address this difficulty by the use of the Victoria County History volumes for Durham and the East Riding, insofar as the

[59] Hill, *Economic Problems*, especially Chapters VI and XI.

latter encompass the area. Unfortunately, while they cover all of Holderness, they consider only parts of Buckrose and Dickering and a small part of Harthill, and those volumes do not include any of the important peculiars of Bishop Wilton, Brantingham and its chapel Ellerker, Bugthorpe, ~~and~~ Market Weighton and Pocklington. This is a serious lacuna. The classic histories of the area do not assist, because Drake only wrote about York; Oliver, about Beverley; Poulson, about Beverley and Holderness; and de la Pryme, chiefly about Hull churches. Those who cover the geographical area – Allen, Gent, Sheahan and Whellan – do not address the issues of this thesis, although they provide some useful evidence on the state of church fabric.[60] Howdenshire poses two particular problems. Pre-Reformation it was a peculiar of Durham priory,[61] but the extent of supervision by Durham was limited because of the distances involved: in practice there are no documents at Durham relevant to Howdenshire churches other than those on ownership of the rectories and advowsons and the leases. The legal status of Howden and its chapels differed from those Howdenshire rectories returned to Durham. Hutchinson's classic history of Durham provides some assistance.[62]

The kinds of data produced by the Parliamentary Survey have been outlined above. The Compton Census affords data on dissent in 1676.[63] James Torre's research undertaken in the late seventeenth century provides scholarly and invaluable summaries of an immense amount of information on the churches of the East Riding, the sources for which he cites: of these, about a third of the originals have since been lost. Archbishop Sharp's survey of his diocese was compiled chiefly between 1691 and 1694 with the aid of Torre's work,

[60] Allen, *Yorkshire*; de la Pryme; Drake, *Eboracum*; Gent, *Hull*; idem, *Rippon*; idem, *York*; Oliver, *Beverley*; Poulson, *Beverlac*; Poulson, *Holderness*; Sheahan and Whellan, *Y&ER*; T. Whellan, *History and Topography of the City of York and the North Riding of Yorkshire* (Beverley, 1859).

[61] Martin Heale, 'The Late Middle Ages, 1380-1539', in *Durham Cathedral*, ed. David Brown (New Haven and London, 2015), 55-69, at 67.

[62] Hutchinson, *Durham*.

[63] *Compton Census*.

but with annotations in 1706-7 and in 1717-18 after his death: it contains little on fabric, but much on the value of the livings, the clergy and the impropriators. Dering's reports on 163 churches from 1720 to 1725 supplement records on church fabric both for those and for earlier years, but exclude most peculiars, hence, omitting 50 buildings. The returns of archbishop Herring's visitation in 1743 supply material on population, Protestant and Catholic dissent, licensed meeting houses, schools, alms-houses, charitable endowments, property bequeathed for the repair of the church, residence, curates and their stipend. The most useful of the cause papers for the period relate to church dilapidation or tithes, but many are incomplete, often lacking the court's decision.

One must enter a caveat as to the value of the evidence provided by the written sources and to the extent to which inferences may validly be drawn from them. One can reasonably take the reports of disrepair as evidence of actual disrepair (although its extent and nature may be unclear); and perhaps reports that the work has been done as evidence to that effect, and even that the chancel was in good repair on the completion of the operation. One cannot assume that reports of neglect led to orders to remedy the damage, nor that those against whom such orders were made complied with them. Nor should one infer that chancels were in a satisfactory state from the absence of complaints, not least because their records may be lost. Furthermore, the reports are by no means a perfect proxy for the state of the relevant chancels. Their accuracy depends upon the willingness and ability of the churchwardens to present chancel decay at all, and to describe the condition of the fabric impartially. Some accounts plainly exaggerate the defects; and the mendacity of some reports of repairs is exposed by subsequent presentments. Moreover, it is impossible to gauge the time which must have passed between the neglect and its consequences, so as to identify the culprit(s). Nonetheless, these records are invaluable. The purpose of the Parliamentary Surveys was not to address the state of church fabric, and there is no equivalent to visitation court papers to fill the void between 1640 and

1662-63. However, one may infer that a chancel required substantial restoration by the end of the period if complaints of disrepair had been made over several decades. It would also be reasonable to suppose that the ecclesiastical courts in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were unwilling to order ecclesiastical dignitaries or their farmers to repair chancels for which they were liable when their neglect was repeatedly cited to no effect, especially in respect of several chancels for which the same dignitary was responsible.

The main primary sources for information on grants and leases by the Crown from the 1530s to 1603 of assets (in particular, rectories) which had belonged to religious houses before their dissolution are to be found in published form in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII* and the *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*. Sales thereafter of such property (and of other rectories and advowsons) were tracked through the conveyancing documents of the Tudor and Stuart periods, and records in the Borthwick Institute, Hull History Centre, and the East Riding Archives and Local Studies, Beverley. Leases by ecclesiastical dignitaries were traced from 1547 to 1730 through a combination of those three archives, and those at Durham Cathedral, Lambeth Palace, the National Archives and York Minster. Inevitably there are lacunae in these patchworks, but enough primary evidence survives to permit one, aided by secondary sources, to discern the pattern of such grants, leases and sales, and to elicit much critical data about the impropriators, the ecclesiastic lessors and the lessees of both groups. The lack of a printed edition of calendar of patent rolls after 1603 or feet of fines after 1625 has hampered the research somewhat. The East Riding Register of Deeds was not established until 1708 and therefore contains no document before that date. The same primary sources were used for identifying and discovering the backgrounds of impropriators, their lessees and tenants of ecclesiastics, chiefly supplemented by the genealogies of Clay, Dugdale, Foster, Glover and St. George; the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography; the History of

Parliament (unfortunately the volume 1640-1660 is not yet published); the Yorkshire Royalist Composition Papers; a 1662 valuation of wealthy East Riding estates; and the East Riding hearth tax returns. Inevitably, it has not been possible to identify every impropriator or lessee of every rectory between 1547 and 1730 or to determine the category into which each falls, but most have been successfully identified and placed in context.

There are significant gaps in the primary sources about dissent between 1547 and 1730. The visitation court books identify many Catholics, and Aveling's work on post-Reformation Catholicism in East Yorkshire supplements gaps. Quaker records go back to 1652. The visitation court books do not always distinguish Protestant from Catholic dissent, nor one type of protestant dissent from another, and there is no national list of Friends for our period. However, the records of Quaker meetings and sufferings, and of their births, marriages and deaths, and the collection of their sufferings by Joseph Besse are invaluable. The earliest records of other Protestant non-conformists appear much later: the registers of Cottingham Hallgate Zion Independent begin in 1681; those of Bridlington's Baptists and Bridlington's Zion Chapel (Independent) start in 1698; and those of Scarborough's Independents commence in 1703.

Chapter I – 1547-1603 – Upheaval and Aftermath

An appraisal of the impact of the Reformation on the building and repair of churches in the archdeaconry of the East Riding requires an assessment of the state of their fabric at the beginning of our period and an identification of other potential causes of dilapidation.

1. Pre-Reformation disrepair

There is considerable evidence that some East Riding churches and many of its chapels were not in good repair in 1547, and that several factors other than the Reformation played an important part in their dilapidation. I address four major points in turn.

1.1 Building v repairing churches

One important consideration is the difference between building a church where none previously stood, and repairing one which already exists, even though the cost of the work may not differ dramatically. Erecting a new church is inherently a more visible and memorable act than repairing one. Creating a new place of worship has far greater theological and social significance than merely maintaining or repairing an existing building. The patron and architect may well derive status from funding, designing and constructing the former: neither maintenance nor repair confers any such kudos. Virtually all East Riding churches standing today were either originally constructed in the early Middle Ages – many by the twelfth century – or are successors to edifices built in that period on or near their present sites: and all required care thereafter. Further construction was undertaken on a grand scale in the thirteenth century, for example, at Beverley St Mary, Bridlington, Hedon, Howden, Holy Trinity, Hull and Patrington – work continued in all these churches into the fifteenth century – and in the fourteenth century, for example

at Bainton, Cottingham, Halsham, West Heslerton, Lowthorpe, Skirlaugh, St James, Sutton and Welwick. Many parishes also embarked on smaller projects from time to time during the Middle Ages, including much rebuilding and the erection of towers in the fifteenth century. However, this archdeaconry saw no major new ecclesiastical architecture after the consecration in 1488 of a new church at Withernsea, whose predecessor had been destroyed by the sea before 1446.[64] In those circumstances it was inevitable that, during the period between the twelfth century and 1547, many East Riding churches were neglected (at least occasionally); some fell into disrepair; some became ruinous; and some disappeared.

Furthermore, when a new church was founded before the Reformation, its cost was usually met by the Crown, or a prelate, or a collegiate entity, or some vastly wealthy individual, who, moreover, paid for the entire edifice.[65] Yet, from the twelfth century, the laity was responsible for the fabric of all the church except the chancel. It was never probable that mediaeval parishioners would be able to raise sums comparable to those invested in the original project, or, indeed, sufficient to maintain the body of every East Riding church. The difficulties East Riding villagers encountered, and the strenuous efforts they made, are apparent in patch-work and hand-to-mouth repairs to churches. For example, the entirety of St Andrew's, Bainton was rebuilt in the 1330s in oolitic limestone from the area around South Cave and North Newbald. But the stonework was later patched with different limestones, from Acklam and Birdsall, Hildenley, Tadcaster and Lincolnshire, and with channel sandstone, brick and flagstone fragments.[66]

[64] Pevsner, *ER,* 33-43, 269, 294-97, 3424-5, 386, 453-54, 485-89, 505-9, 606, 641-43, 689, 761.
[65] Gabriel Byng, *Church Building and Society in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2020), 78-92, 108-9, 122-35.
[66] Pevsner, *ER,* 269; geological information derived from Richard Myerscough, East Riding geologist.

1.2 Chancels & rectors v naves & laity

Another significant driver of fabric disrepair which was unconnected to the Reformation was the English custom of dividing responsibility for maintenance between the rector and the laity. This practice had profound consequences for the state of the fabric of East Riding chancels, both before and after the decade 1537-47. Accordingly, the type of person or entity which owned the rectory was significant from the twelfth century onwards: and these types ranged from conventual entities (before the Dissolution) to the Crown, to ecclesiastical dignitaries, to private individuals. The latter two groups therefore provide continuity (albeit in much altered circumstances) in the ownership of rectories, whereas monasteries lost their rectories to the Crown, which over the subsequent century conveyed virtually all to laymen.

1.2.1 Churches owned by monasteries

Part of the reason for the magnitude of the impact of the traditional division of responsibility for fabric maintenance was the fact that by 1547, and throughout the period of this thesis, some seven out of ten churches or chapels in the archdeaconry of the East Riding had for centuries belonged to collegiate entities. This was inevitable: religious houses were more concentrated in Yorkshire than anywhere else in Britain, and their endowments frequently included rectories, especially of parishes geographically close to the monastic beneficiary. Fifty years later, the percentage of impropriations out of total East Riding livings was apparently even higher, and in any event much greater than those estimated for other places, such as London (30%), Hereford diocese and Northamptonshire (nearly half), Chester diocese (53%), Kent (55%) and Yorkshire overall (63%). In 1603, it was said that some 58% of the livings of York diocese were impropriated. In 1605 William Crashaw, who was a preacher first at Bridlington and then Beverley from at least 1599 to 1605 before being appointed preacher to the Inner and

Middle Temples, claimed that the proportion in the East Riding was higher still, at almost one hundred out of some one hundred and fifty parishes or parochial chapels.[67]

1.2.1.1 Distance between monasteries and their rectories

One important aspect of the impact was the relationship between the rectories and their owners, some of which were separated by considerable distances. For example, in the early twelfth century the abbey of St Martin d'Auchy in Normandy was granted many rectorial estates in Holderness: in 1394, these churches were sold to Kirkstall.[68] In 1115 Bardney abbey in Lincolnshire gained Hunmanby and its chapels.[69] It was never likely that such monasteries would be anxious to spend money on those chancels, especially French abbeys at times of war with England, when it was either impracticable or illegal for them to receive income from their English property.[70]

1.2.1.2 Relative value of rectorial assets v other assets

Moreover, for some monasteries and abbeys outside the archdeaconry of the East Riding, such as Durham, St Mary's, York, Byland, Guisborough, Kirkstall, Nostell and Whitby, their East Riding rectories were but part of their substantial wealth, and those churches were not close to their conventual centres. Maintaining East Riding chancels was probably unimportant both to them, and to less wealthy priories, such as Drax and Wykeham. The same attitude probably prevailed among those within the archdeaconry with several rectories there, such as Bridlington priory, which enjoyed no fewer than thirty-two East Riding churches and chapels; the College of St John of Beverley, which

[67] BL, Harleian MS. 280, f.170v; William Crashaw, epistolary introduction to the second of a pair of Treatises entitled *Of the Calling of the Ministerie* by William Perkins, (London, 1605); Cross & Vickers, *Monks,* 2; Hill, *Economic Problems*, 144-45. See footnote 11.

[68] *VCHERIII*, 387-91.

[69] *VCHERII*, 236.

[70] Luders, *SRII*, 172-73.

owned more than sixteen; and Kirkham priory, which possessed at least ten. Similar considerations will have driven poorer local priories such as Haltemprice and Swine.[71]

1.2.1.3 Relative importance of monastic buildings v rectorial assets

In any event, the priority for all collegiate entities in respect of repair and maintenance of fabric was presumably that of their own church and the other conventual buildings, partly because the monks, nuns or canons lived and worked there, and also because they constituted a major source of income, in that their relics and shrines drew in pilgrims. Keeping these monastic complexes in good condition must have been an enormous task once the major phases of construction were complete.

1.2.1.4 Monastic finance

Moreover, the financial position of many monasteries in England had deteriorated by the mid fifteenth century. The era of major donations had ended by about 1300, when pious giving was restricted by the Statute of Mortmain of 1279 and had in any event begun to shift to parish churches and chantries. Two categories of conventual entities – nunneries and later foundations – were particularly vulnerable to these developments, since their endowments were less valuable than those of monasteries. The Benedictine convents of Nunburnholme, Nunkeeling, Wilberfoss and Yedingham were so indigent that they possessed no East Riding rectories; the Cistercian nuns of Swine owned one, and those of Wykeham, none; the Augustinians of North Ferriby and Haltemprice, none; and the Gilbertine foundations of Ellerton, one, and Malton, three.[72] The poverty of many foundations contrasts with the wealth of Bridlington and Kirkham priories at the

[71] For their clear annual values at Dissolution: Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 140-41, 197; *VCHERIII*, 104, 111, 133, 148, 179, 183, 203, 207, 212, 215, 222, 234, 358-59.

[72] *Fasti Buckrose*, 26, 30, 72-73; *Fasti Harthill*, 205; *VCHERI*, 297, 468-9; *VCHERIII*, 195; *VCHERVII*, 324; *VCHNRI*, 541.

Dissolution, whose net income was then put at £547 and £419 respectively, as appears from Table 1. Watton was notoriously poor in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[73]

Table 1: East Riding collegiate entities with net annual incomes of £100 and below in 1535

Collegiate entity	Net annual income in 1535
Ellerton	£62
North Ferriby	£60
Haltemprice	£100
Nunburnholme	£8
Nunkeeling	£36
Swine	£83
Wilberfoss	£12
Wykeham	£26
Yedingham	£21

Such receipts could scarcely meet the running costs of these establishments, let alone fund appropriate maintenance of the chancels for which they were responsible, to judge by the cost of mediaeval construction in England. In addition, the assets acquired from new recruits probably diminished as the numbers of religious declined from their height in the thirteenth century to the levels reached by 1535.[74]

Thus, many East Riding chancels for which monasteries were responsible were probably not well maintained, and may indeed have been in disrepair, before the Dissolution. For example, Hutton Cranswick's chancel was so seriously dilapidated by 1566 that the Crown was willing to take a reduced fine in exchange for an undertaking to restore and preserve it, and that of Drypool was already in extremely poor condition by 1567-68. By 1575 the state of Ellerton's chancel precluded the delivery of sermons and Langton church

[73] Knowles, *Medieval Religious Houses*, 138, 140-42, 197, 254-55, 272; *VCHYorksIII*, 119, 121, 128, 179, 183, 203, 215, 222, 242, 252-54.

[74] Cross & Vickers, *Monks*, 2-5; Brian Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order* (Oxford, 1995), 4, 214-17, 220-21, 233-34, 263-64, 280-308; David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England* (Cambridge, 1955), *II*, 256-62; L.F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540* (Oxford, 1992), passim, and examples 102-3, 106-9, 111-12, 115.

was so derelict that it had to be demolished and rebuilt.[75] This situation could only have arisen after many decades of neglect.

1.2.2 Churches owned by ecclesiastical dignitaries

Usually, a mediaeval ecclesiastical dignitary held his rectories by virtue of his position at York Minster and neither lived in the relevant parish(es) nor was expected to do so. Any personal connection to geographical area of the rectorial estates was merely fortuitous. An ecclesiastic's control of those assets was restricted to his tenure of that office and the extent to which he might be obliged to meet his repairing obligations might be very limited. In those circumstances, there was little reason for those churchmen to repair the chancels for which they were responsible. Nonetheless, the same ecclesiastical dignitaries owned the same rectories which they had owned before 1547 (although naturally different individuals came to hold those offices). Accordingly, the chancels which they owned form a control group for the purposes of comparison with those owned by monasteries before the Dissolution, but invariably by others thereafter.

1.2.3 Churches never owned by ecclesiastics or monasteries pre-1547

The next small class of rectories exhibits a continuity which is not dissimilar to that afforded by those held by ecclesiastical dignitaries, and for the same reason may provide a helpful contrast with those removed from monastic ownership. This class comprises some twenty-five East Riding rectories, which display the common distinguishing characteristic that before 1547 no ecclesiastic or monastery ever owned either the rectory or the advowson.[76] Responsibility for the chancel therefore lay with whoever might happen to be the incumbent, which might lead one to infer – wrongly – that no pattern of

[75] BIA, V.1567/8/CB1; V.1575-CB1; V.1586/CB; V.1590-1/CB1; *CPR/1563-6*, 2168.

[76] *Fasti Buckrose*, 8, 36-41, 41-46; *Fasti Dickering,* 22-23, 84-8; *Fasti Harthill*, 7-12, 51-59, 96-100, 101-5, 112-15, 118-19, 125-27, 135-36, 140-43, 181-86, 187-90, 214-20, 246; *Fasti Holderness*, 8-9, 48, 56; Lawton, 354.

attitude to care of the building could be discerned. Several indicia – especially in combination – may suggest that a chancel was at least well-maintained before 1547. First, long tenure of the advowson, especially by substantial local landowners, often led to the burial of family members in the church or churchyard, and sometimes to the erection of memorials to them. Second, frequently the patron presented a relative to the living, in which event the incumbent was usually resident. Third, the patron or incumbent sometimes endowed a chantry in the church. Fourth, some of these livings were valuable, and some incumbents and some patrons were wealthy. Finally, the condition of the church itself may indicate whether the fabric was neglected in the Middle Ages.

The combination of these factors encouraged expenditure on the fabric, as Bainton church illustrates. The de Mauleys were the great landowners locally, and patrons of the living, from the early thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries; they presented family members to the living in 1281 and 1317; and in about 1340 they erected a very grand monument in the style of the Percy tomb in Beverley Minster, in the south aisle. In 1314 the Scots demolished much of the church. In 1331 the de Mauleys presented a wealthy Baron of the Exchequer, William de Brocklesby, as rector: he rebuilt the entire church, and in 1349-1351 endowed a chantry in the Lady Chapel.[77] Throughout the Middle Ages Bainton ranked within the richest five of the hundred-odd settlements in Harthill deanery.[78] The fact that the whole church survives virtually unchanged since the 1350s suggests that the building was well protected over the centuries.

On the other hand, the integrity of Bainton's mid-fourteenth century reconstruction also implies that no subsequent patron or rector had either the funds or the desire to alter or add to the church or to bring it up-to-date, other than to a limited extent, whether to reflect

[77] *CPR/1348-50*, 412; *CPR/1350-4*, 111; *Fasti Harthill*, 7-12; Pevsner, *ER,* 269.

[78] On the basis of a comparison between valuations by Pope Nicholas' taxation in 1291, the lay subsidies of 1334 and 1354 and the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* in 1535: Glasscock, *Lay Subsidy*, 360-62; Rosemary Horrox, *The Black Death* (Manchester, 1994), 296-99; Lawton, passim.

the diminution in Bainton's population, or in response to liturgical innovations, parish needs or changing architectural tastes. Yet shrinkage had already taken place at Bainton in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and continued in the late eighteenth century, and the village was not immune to other transitions.[79] One was an increase in the mid-fourteenth century in a sense of the importance of the division between the chancel and the nave as articulated by a rood screen and loft. Another was a growth in the same period of a need for some lapidary expression of the chantry set up by de Brocklesby: this was met by the erection in the Lady Chapel of a canopy over a statue of the Virgin Mary which was purportedly supported by a carving of de Brocklesby's own head. Protestant beliefs compelled the separation of each element of this monument and the destruction of the statue of the Virgin. With those relatively minor exceptions, there were no substantive or structural alterations in response to changes in doctrine, or any indication of evolving architectural styles.

By contrast, many other East Riding settlements responded to such developments, both before and after the Reformation, by major modifications of their church fabric. Six examples must suffice. The size of Wharram Percy church increased with its population until the fourteenth century, and, as the community declined, was thereafter reduced, by the demolition of the new south aisle and blocking up the arcade between the aisle and the nave. Burton Agnes' north aisle was altered in the early fourteenth century to accommodate a chantry founded in 1313, and a new family chapel was added c.1500, and subsequently destroyed. A chantry chapel, constructed on the south side of Lockington's nave in the late fourteenth century, was recast as the Estoft family shrine in 1635. Walter Skirlaw completely and lavishly rebuilt the chapel in his native village Skirlaugh between 1401 and 1405 in the latest Perpendicular style. In about 1500 Howden inserted a two-

[79] Neave, *Contraction*, 294.

storied, two-bay grammar school at the west end of its south aisle. After the dissolution of Lowthorpe college in 1548 its chancel was substantially reduced, before the nave was walled off and the chancel abandoned but for burial of the landed gentry.[80]

The fabric of Catton, Lockington, Londesborough and Rowley churches implies maintenance, repair and investment during the Middle Ages, while reconstruction in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries of the others in this group – of those never owned by a monastery or ecclesiastic – makes it harder to assess whether those were neglected before 1547.[81] Nonetheless, the evidence suggests that the indicia identified above may indeed be relevant features in forming a tentative view of the care taken over these edifices before the Reformation.

1.3 Depopulation

Another important factor was depopulation (especially in the countryside), which was often a consequence of enclosure, and of the conversion of land from arable production to pasture. This change also was apparently independent of considerations of religion. The change to pasture had already begun the decline of the settlement of Wharram Percy by 1435, and was completed by 1527. The same cause led to the desertion of three of the four villages within Wharram Percy parish – Burdale by the mid-seventeenth century, Raisthorpe by about 1680 and Towthorpe by about 1700 – and probably played a part in the fate of their chapels: Towthorpe's lead had already been removed before its demolition by 1556, and both Raisthorpe and Thixendale's chapels, which still stood in 1543, were described in 1566 as destroyed. Likewise, three of the four settlements within

[80] Pevsner, *ER,* 365, 487, 599, 606, 689, 751-52.

[81] Pevsner, *ER,* 588, 601, 662; *VCHERIII*, 155-6. The chancels of Etton, Hotham and Settrington were rebuilt in 1844-5, 1904-5 and 1867-8 respectively: Pevsner, *ER,* 409-10, 483, 675. Everingham, Scrayingham and Thwing were substantially rebuilt in 1763, 1853 and 1898-1901 respectively: Pevsner, *ER,* 411, 673, 724. Full Sutton was rebuilt in 1844-5 (*VCHERIII*, 172-3), and Harswell, in 1871: Baines, *Gazetteer*, 213.

Kirby Grindalythe parish suffered substantial late mediaeval depopulation, and two of its chapels were both disused when they were demolished, by 1556 and 1567 respectively. In the same valley, East Lutton, one of Weaverthorpe's chapels, was disused by 1552 and destroyed by 1556. Holme Archiepiscopi and its chapel had apparently been deserted by the late fifteenth century. Over the century after 1524 Neswick village shrank dramatically, and its chapel was dissolved by 1574. By 1543 significant 'sheep depopulation' had probably occurred at the neighbouring settlement, Bracken: its chapel had been demolished by 1573. By the early sixteenth century, nearby Rotsea village had been reduced to a few farms before being abandoned completely, and the last known references to its chapel are in bequests in 1509. In 1531 Sir Robert Constable bought part of Arras in Market Weighton parish, and completed its conversion from arable to pasture; the chapel disappeared at the same time. Depopulated sometime in the fifteenth or sixteenth century (probably for sheep farming), by 1632 Argam consisted of a single cottage; even its church's layout was forgotten.[82] Naturally chapels disappeared where no villagers remained to care for them.

1.4 Chapels whose settlements survived

At least 26 other East Riding chapels also vanished well before 1547, even where the settlements they served survived beyond that date.[83] Clearly, their disappearance was not connected to the Reformation. Relevant factors include the following. Some chapels were inadequately endowed. Some were effectively private places of worship, within the manor, whose lords treated them as their personal property. Some were dependent upon the continued care of an individual or family, and disappeared on changes in circumstances. These points suggest that one should be wary of concluding that the

[82] https://www.dmv.hull.ac.uk, s.v. Argam, Arras, Bracken, Holme Archiepiscopi, Neswick, Wharram Percy; *VCHERVIII*, 125-26, 167; Neave, *Contraction*, 93, 265-66, 299-300, 341-42.

[83] *CPR/1334-8*, 333; Lawton, 317, 354; Torre, f.994; *VCHERII*, 187, 259, 330; *VCHERIV*, 57; *VCHERV*, 95-96, 199-200; *VCHERVII*, 22-25, 61, 114-15, 303-4, 370-71; *VCHERVIII*, 168; *VCHNRII*, 478.

Reformation was the cause, or a cause, of neglect, decay and loss of East Riding chancels and chapels post-Reformation. Some support for this caution may be derived from the fact that elsewhere 'by 1530 a substantial number of parishes had allowed their churches and chapels to fall into ruin', mostly in major cities, some in towns, and some in the countryside, in Kent, Sussex and Cornwall.[84] Nonetheless, the doctrinal changes of the Reformation added a new dimension to the issue of church maintenance, which posed new questions to ecclesiastical authority.

2. Post-Reformation disrepair

During the period 1567 to 1603 at least 40% of East Riding chancels progressively fell into disrepair, and 20% were seriously dilapidated by the 1590s (only those which are described as such are included).[85] Lucy Kaufman has contended that chancel disrepair was rare in England between 1560 and 1600, and was of the order of 14.8% in Yorkshire; and that if one takes 'a more comprehensive view, the picture is far less extreme than anecdotal evidence implies', and that examples such as Owthorne were 'the exception rather than the rule'. For her claims as to Yorkshire she relies solely on the record of Grindal's visitation in 1575 and Purvis' extracts.[86] The evidence as to East Riding chancels does not support these assertions. Kaufman ignores the robbery, destruction and

[84] *Dugdale I*, 341; McCall, *Wandesforde*, 25, 30; *VCHERIV*, 57; *VCHERVII*, 80, 370; *VCHERVIII*, 168; Robert Whiting, *Local Responses to the English Reformation* (Basingstoke & London, 1998), 37.

[85] **Atwick,** Aughton, Beswick, Beverley Minster, **Birdsall,** Blacktoft, **Boynton,** Burton Agnes, **Burton Fleming,** Burton Pidsea, Catwick, Cayton, Cottingham, Drypool, **Eastrington**, **Ellerker, Ellerton, Elloughton, Fangfoss,** Fordon, Ganton, Garton, **Halsham, Hatfield, Hessle,** Hilston, **Hornsea,** Hotham **Howden,** Hull St Mary Lowgate, **Humbleton, Hunmanby, Keyingham, Kilham, Kilnsea, Kilnwick, Kirby Grindalythe, Kirby Underdale,** Kirk Ella, Kirkham, Langton, Lund, **Lowthorpe,** Mappleton, Market Weighton, **Muston,** Nafferton, **North Cave, North Ferriby, North Newbald,** Nunburnholme, Nunkeeling, **Owthorne, Patrington, Paull, Pocklington, Preston, Reighton, Rillington,** Rowley, Sancton, Scorborough, Seaton Ross, **Sherburn,** Shiptonthorpe, **Sigglesthorne,** Skipsea, **Sledmere,** South Cave, South Dalton, **Sproatley,** Stamford Bridge, Swine, Thornton, Tunstall, Warter, Watton, Wawne, **Weaverthorpe, Wharram Percy,** Wilberfoss, **Willerby, Withernsea, Wold Newton, Yedingham**. Churches whose names are emboldened had seriously dilapidated chancels. Those in red are rectories.

[86] The assessments above have been made by reference to Kaufman's criteria: Kaufman, 'Impropriations', 13-23.

neglect thereafter of monastic churches, especially of their chancels, and of chantry chapels. Indeed, there are several good reasons for believing that more chancels may have become decayed over this period. First, most East Riding rectories remained in the hands of the Crown or of ecclesiastics until the 1590s, and parishes therefore had little or no prospect of successful recourse to the courts. Second, few leases of rectories in this period required tenants to repair the chancel. Third, many of those who acquired such rectories had little reason to maintain the chancels and were too powerful to be compelled to do so. Fourth, no visitation records survive before 1567. These themes are developed below.

2.1 Depopulation

Depopulation in rural East Riding and an apparently associated loss of chapels continued during the subsequent centuries, hastened by enclosure. For example, most of the land round Nuthill chapel in Holderness was enclosed by about 1700, by which date its chapel was no longer standing.[87] Many mediaeval villages which were already shrunken diminished further, if they were not completely deserted: and the chapels-of-ease to many such settlements disappeared, while the mother church survived.[88]

2.2 The Crown as successor to the monasteries

2.2.1 Monastic churches

Conventual churches require separate consideration from those outside the enclosure owned by the relevant community, because they were generally not parish churches, and therefore were treated differently from parish churches after the Dissolution. Many sites

[87] https://www.dmv.hull.ac.uk, s.v. Nuthill.

[88] E.g., (only church names are underlined and their chapels are named in brackets): Bainton (Neswick), North Cave (Kettlethorpe), Cowlam, Elloughton (Wauldby), Givendale (Grimthorpe), Howden (Thorpe Lidget), Kilham (Swaythorpe), Kilnwick (Bracken), Kilnwick Percy, Kirkham, Langtoft (Cottam), Londesborough (Easthorpe), Mappleton (Little Cowden), Middleton (Kiplingcotes), Rowley (Risby), Sancton (Houghton), Scorborough, Wharram Percy (Burdale, Raisthorpe, Towthorpe), Willerby: https://www.dmv.hull.ac.uk, s.v. the names of the settlements; Neave, *Contraction*, 293, 341, 370, 375.

were sold soon after the Dissolution, and the buildings were either demolished or robbed. For example, Henry VIII employed stone from Meaux abbey, including its church, in fortifying Hull.[89] The buildings of Ellerton[90] and Wilberfoss[91] priories, sold in 1542 and 1553, had disappeared by the early nineteenth century at the latest. The Crown disposed of Haltemprice, Kirkham, Nunburnholme and Yedingham priories between 1536 and 1543: the Ellerkers used materials from Haltemprice to rebuild Haltemprice House;[92] Kirkham's stone was employed in building Howsham mansion house;[93] Nunburnholme was despoiled;[94] and parts of Yedingham abbey were incorporated into a late seventeenth century farmhouse.[95]

Nonetheless, there was considerable variation in the fates of churches which had served collegiate communities. In 1540, the king sold Watton priory: the convent was dismantled, but some of its fabric was apparently used to build a small parish church next to the site of the conventual church.[96] In the same year he granted away the property and site of Nunkeeling and Swine nunneries.[97] The fabric of Nunkeeling priory was evidently robbed and the church fell into ruin, while the western arm of Swine's cruciform church (previously the nuns' church, while the eastern arm was the parish church) and the

[89] *VCHERI*, 414.
[90] Baines, *Gazetteer*, 201; *L&P Hen. VIII,* XVII, 274(8); Pevsner, *ER,* 40.
[91] *CPR/1553*, 89; Pevsner, *ER,* 753; *VCHERIII*, 194.
[92] https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1019825.
[93] *Complete Baronetage*, 131; *CPR/1569-72*, 3203; English, *Great Landowners*, 16; Foster, *Glover*, 121; 'Knyvet, Sir Henry', *ODNB*; *L&P Hen. VIII,* XV, 733(61); *VCHERIII*, 175-6, 178; *VCHERVII*, 332; *VCHNRII*, 115-6.
[94] Nunburnholme parish church is at the other end of the village, so there was no incentive to retain the nuns' church: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1011897; Morris, *Nunburnholme*, 165-72.
[95] https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1149556.
[96] *L&P Hen. VIII,* XVI, 235, f.13. In 2014-5, a pristine fragment of fourteenth century carving was found in the rubble within Watton's existing roof. This suggests that the present church was either built or at least re-roofed after the dissolution of the convent and the demolition of most of the complex. Moreover, Watton priory was sited within an area which is mostly surrounded by a stream, and it seems unlikely that the parish church would have been built within this precinct before the Dissolution.
[97] *L&P Hen. VIII*, XVI, 220(2).

conventual buildings were destroyed.[98] In 1541 Warter priory passed to the first earl of Rutland: the third earl never implemented the faculty granted by archbishop Sandys in 1586 to replace it with a smaller edifice, and its nave continued in use as the parish church until its demolition in 1864, while stone from the conventual buildings was used to erect Londesborough Hall in the 1590s onwards.[99] By spectacularly good fortune, Beverley Minster was saved in 1548 through the payment by wealthy residents of £100 to speculators, to continue its existing parochial church functions under the ownership of Beverley Corporation.[100]

The Crown retained Bridlington, Howden and Lowthorpe until the early seventeenth century. Within a month of its dissolution in May 1527, Bridlington's priory and church had been looted; in 1538 lead was removed from all the roofs except the nave's; and soon the monastic complex and part of the church was demolished. The nave remained to serve as the parish church, though some parts of the choir apparently survived until the later seventeenth century.[101] Howden met a similar fate.[102] Lowthorpe was soon converted into a parish church, with further reductions of the chancel until it barely extended beyond the mediaeval nave.[103]

Since ownership of churches which were the property of collegiate entities passed to the Crown on the dissolution of those entities, the Crown became responsible for the chancels of such churches after they became parish churches. That responsibility remained unless and until the Crown sold those rectories. Almost invariably such sixteenth century purchasers were rich, powerful, beyond the reach of ecclesiastical law and devoid of any

[98] Pevsner, *ER,* 639, 719; Poulson, *Holderness II*, 207, 210-11; https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1249440; *VCHERVII*, 117.
[99] Evans, *Faculties, vi*; R.T. Spence, *Londesborough House and its Community 1590-1643* (EYLHS, 2005), 21-23; *VCHERIV*, 15.
[100] Lamburn, 'Minster', 56. Beverley was granted a charter in 1573: *VCHERVI*, 67.
[101] Neave, *Bridlington*, 36-37; *VCHERII*, 45.
[102] See Chapter II.
[103] https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1018404; *VCHERII*, 273-77.

connection to these parishes.[104] Examples include John Bellow,[105] Sir Ralph Ellerker,[106] Sir Richard Gresham[107] and the earl of Rutland.[108] They had no more desire or reason than had the Crown itself to maintain their chancels. Nor did they.

2.2.2 Chantries

Another major factor was the demolition of East Riding chantry chapels in the decades following the dissolution and suppression of chantries: if the chantry were within a church, the rest of the building was spared. The vandalism of destroying both free-standing chantry chapels and chantry chapels within churches was purportedly justified on the ground that those chapels had contained chantries, although the desire to acquire valuable timber, stone and contents at gross under-values, or even free, was a powerful consideration. So much appears from evidence of more than eighty witnesses in proceedings in the 1550s against John Bellow, Crown surveyor by 1536 and commissioner for chantries for Yorkshire from 1548. By the 1540s Bellow had acquired property in Grimsby, which he represented in Parliament from 1547 until his death in 1559. By 1556 at least twenty East Riding places of worship had been largely stripped of their timber, stone and contents and many chapels destroyed, most on Bellow's orders. Of these twenty places of worship, at least twelve held chantries. Mediaeval stonework remained in seven of them: ten years later at least two more chapels had been demolished. Typical of Bellow's conduct was procuring a nominal value for twenty tons of wood from Tickton chantry chapel; arranging the delivery of the wood, and twenty loads of free stone, sixteen fothers of lead and two little bells from the chantry chapel at Melton to his

[104] *CPR/1553*, 89; *CPR/1599-1600*, 1220(3) & (4); GEORGE GALE, of York: *HistParl*; *L&P Hen. VIII*, XI, 519(1); XV, 733(61); XVI, 678(6), 1056(78), Pevsner, *ER*, 495; Stapleton, Sir Philip, *ODNB*; *Tudor Fines II*, 20, 68, 168, *III*, 44; *VCHERII*, 44, 274; *VCHERIII*, 194; *VCHERVI*, 275, 281, 287-88, 293, 298-99, 305, 311; *VCHERVII*, 112, 324; *VCHNRI*, 541; *VCHYorksI*, 474. See Appendix 4.

[105] BELLOW, John, *HistParl*; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cromwell* (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 2019), 383-84, 386, 391.

[106] 'Ellerker, Sir Ralph', *ODNB*.

[107] 'Gresham, Sir Richard', *ODNB*.

[108] 'Manners, Thomas, first earl of Rutland', *ODNB*.

house at Grimsby; taking bribes in exchange for promises not to demolish chapels, while sometimes permitting their destruction nonetheless; and retaining the proceeds of sale of chantry property instead of accounting for them to the Crown.[109] The same mixture of motives was probably the cause of the ruin or disappearance between 1547 and 1603 of many more chapels which contained chantries. For example, the last known presentation to the chantry in Gransmoor chapel was made in 1544, and bequests were made to the chapel in 1545: nothing thereafter is known of the building itself.[110] Moreover, the desire to maintain a chapel might have depended on the continued existence of its chantry: once the chantry had gone, commitment to the fabric first waned, and then vanished. Within the East Riding archdeaconry at least twenty-two more chapels which had once possessed chantries fell into ruin during the century after 1547.[111]

2.2.3 Chapels without chantries

The cause of the disrepair of some chapels without chantries during the sixteenth century is unclear. The last known reference to West Spital, one of Seamer's chapels, was in 1539; to St Giles' chapel, Beverley, in 1541; and to Latham, in 1552.[112] Thirkleby had already fallen into desuetude before it was demolished in 1556.[113] Newton chapel still stood in 1553, but by 1571 it had apparently gone.[114] Knedlington chapel had disappeared by

[109] Those known to have held chantries are marked with a star: allegedly gone by 1556: Arram, Arras, Buckton* (leased in 1561, 1579 & 1582: *CPR/1560-63*, 78; *CPR/1578-80*, 170), Grimston, Kelk (Great* & Little*); East Lutton,* Melton* (*CPR/1569-72*, 1941; Sharp, f.87), Pockthorpe,* Southburn (Lawton, 352), Stamford Bridge* (still standing in 1616, but demolished by C18), Thirkleby, Tibthorpe (*CPR/1553*, 257) and Towthorpe (BIA, CP.G.467); and Bishop Burton (possibly an error for Cherry Burton*, which did have a chantry), Etton,* Fordon, Lund,*(Lawton, 355), Roos,* Speeton,* and Thorngumbald,* in which mediaeval stonework survives: ERALS, DD/CC/139, ff.39-40, 44-46, 66-68, 70-71, 88-91; Pevsner, *ER,* 329, 409, 424, 607, 660, 708, 722; *VCHERII*, 187, 225, 247, 293-95; *VCHERIII*, 155-56, 171; *VCHERIV*, 17, 111-12; *VCHERV*, 125-26; *VCHERVII*, 192-93; *VCHERVIII*, 146-47; gone by 1566: Raisthorpe & Thixendale: *CPR/1566*, 2625.

[110] *VCHERII*, 115.

[111] Lawton, 293, 329, 350, 371, 373, 415-16; Sharp (no.17), f.222; Torre, ff.994, 1065; *VCHERII*, 87-90, 293-95, 338; *VCHERIII*, 163; *VCHERIV*, 34-5; *VCHERVI*, 182-83, 290, 295, 300-1; *VCHERVII*, 171-72, 337-39; *VCHNRII*, 430, 433-44, 478.

[112] Page, *Inventories*, 71; *L&P Hen. VIII*, XVI, 678(6); *VCHERVI*, 182; *VCHNRII*, 489.

[113] Page, *Inventories*, 10, 19-20, 25; *VCHERVIII*, 146-47.

[114] *VCHERIII*, 194-96; *VCHERVI*, 182.

1577.[115] Chapels at Scampston, Haisthorpe and Burniston chapels had crumbled by 1578, 1587 and 1590 respectively.[116] During this period Hatterboard chapel was turned into a stable.[117] Other East Riding churches without chantries also became derelict by the early eighteenth century, albeit at unknown dates.[118]

2.2.4 Parish church chancels: Crown-owned rectories 1547- 1603

The condition of East Riding chancels probably deteriorated over the second half of the sixteenth century. The priorities of Tudor monarchs did not include the state of those chancels, and most of the East Riding rectories which had passed into royal hands by 1547 remained there until the 1590s. Henry VIII granted away very few. He gave Brantingham and its chapels to the dean and chapter of Durham Cathedral as part of its endowment; and sold Kirk Ella and its chapels to Sir Ralph Ellerker; St Giles, Beverley, Nunkeeling, Drypool, and Swine with its chapels to Sir Richard Gresham; Kirkham, Lund, Roos and Warter to the earl of Rutland; Scalby and its chapels to the dean and chapter of Norwich; and Beeford, and a group of eight (by way of exchange) to the archbishop of York. The leases he granted were often longer than twenty-one years and did not require the tenant to repair the chancel.[119] Edward and Elizabeth conveyed a few East Riding rectories, but it was not until the 1590s that Elizabeth began to dispose of them in numbers, and leases of the remainder did not usually impose chancel-repairing covenants.[120] Initially James intended to apply royal impropriations to augment

[115] *CPR/1575-8*, 2254.
[116] *VCHERII*, 87-90.
[117] *CPR/1589-90*, 508(32); *VCHNRII*, 478-79.
[118] Lawton, 360, 373. See pages 38-39.
[119] *L&P Hen VIII, XIII(1)*, g.384(29), g.384(84), p.138; *XIII(2),* g.967(55); *XIV(1)*, g.1056(5); *XV*, pp.563-64, 566; *XVI*, p.715; *XIX(1)*, p.648; *XX(1)*, g.39, g.465(25), g.1537(26), pp.214-16, 356, 563; *XXI(2)*, p440. See Appendix 6.
[120] *CPR/1553*, p171; *CPR/1555*, p180; *CPR/1557-58*, p399; *CPR/1558-60*, p426; *CPR/1560-63*, pp28, 46, 78, 101, 126, 130, 181-82, 221, 294-95, 359, 477, 488-89, 533, 608-9; *CPR/1563-66*, 2, 237, 297, 308, 568, 793, 888, 1386B, 2065, 2111, 2137, 2165, 2168, 2272, 2434, 2558, 2586; *CPR/1566-69*, 459, 501, 892, 1370, 1457, 1898, 2060; *CPR/1569-72*, 1960, 2463, 2906, 3269; *CPR/1572-75*, 62(6), 1581, 3226; *CPR/1575-78*, 262, 407, 597, 670, 1346, 1364, 1369, 1377, 1428, 1454, 1492, 1498, 1502, 2513, 3599, 3627-28; *CPR/1578-80*, 170, 303, 419, 593, 1227, 1481, 1508, 1525, 1581, 1730, 3013, 3193, 3388;

ministerial stipends, but in the event he alienated almost as many such rectories during his reign as Elizabeth did during the whole of hers.[121] By 1625 the Crown held only Rillington of its East Riding rectories and retained only eight advowsons.[122] Moreover, Elizabeth tended to restrict the length of leases to twenty-one years. Tenants of such leases of rectories had little or no incentive to maintain their chancels, which are bound to have suffered from the cumulative effect of neglect over fifty years – perhaps a century.

Only very rarely, and in special circumstances, was Tudor royalty willing to repair any of the chancels in its charge. One example is the Crown's lease of ex-monastic property in Hexhamshire to the warden of the middle marches – an area key to the defence of the border – in 1568.[123] The very fact that the queen gave an express undertaking on that occasion reveals her assumption that she would not normally honour – or perhaps did not even recognise – her obligation to do so. In any event, one does not know whether that promise was fulfilled. A lessee's express covenant to repair and maintain a chancel was naturally more attractive to the Crown: evidently this was part of the price of the renewal in 1566 of a lease of Skerne rectory.[124]

Indeed, the evidence suggests that the Crown invariably disregarded its duty to repair the chancels of rectories which it had obtained after and as a result of the Dissolution. Their

CPR/1580-82, 1, 48, 137, 150, 1052, 1340, 1392, 1878, 1890; *CPR/1582-83*, 54(1)-(2), 1223, 1228; *CPR/1583-84*, 3(1)-(2), 79, 347, 954, 967; *CPR/1584-85*, 95, 249(4), 325, 410, 428, 828, 831, 853-54; *CPR/1585-86*, 227(76), 284, 494(1); *CPR/1586-87*, 234, 283, 288, 487, 1084, 1298; *CPR/1587-88*, 521; *CPR/1589-90*, 401, 983, 1011, 1045, 1048; *CPR/1590-91*, 725, 731(4), 755(35); *CPR/1592-93*, 540; *CPR/1593-94*, 954; *CPR/1594-95*, 1388(2); *CPR/1595-96*, 752(20); *CPR/1597-98*, 620(1), 620(2), 773; *CPR/1599-1600*, 1220(4); *CPR/1601-2*, 3(11), 537(1), 537(3); *CSPDom 1595-7*, p12. See Appendix 6.

[121] Hill, *Economic Problems*, 150.

[122] *CPR/1569-72*, 1941; ERALS, DD/CC/139; *Fasti Dickering*, 1, 14, 45, 58, 65, 73, 93; *Fasti Harthill*, 17, 34, 89, 170, 268; *L&P Hen. VIII,* XXI(i), 465(81); Pevsner, *ER*, 398; *VCHERI*, 297; *VCHERII*, 7, 122, 230, 236, 241-42, 283-97, 299, 307, 336; *VCHERV*, 26, 43-44, 52, 59, 70, 92-93, 125-26; *VCHERVII*, 17, 112, 237, 324, 390; *VCHERX*I, 102-3. See Appendix 3.

[123] *CPR/1566-69*, 250.

[124] *CPR/1563-6*, 2168. Other examples: *CPR/1563-66*, 2168, 2415; *CPR/1566-69*, 1541; *CPR/1582-83*, 18; *CPR/1584-85*, 958; *CPR/1585-86*, 1056; *CPR/1587-88*, 870; *CPR/1588-89*, 148, 150; *CPR/1589-90*, 930; *CPR/1590-91*, 375; *CPR/1592-93*, 601, 615; *CPR/1594-95*, 151, 682; *CPR/1595-96*, 603; *CPR/1597-98*, 545; *CPR/1601*, 767.

condition depended upon the attitude of the tenants. Commonly the lessees ignored their chancels.[125] For example, in the 1560s, Sir Henry Gates, an outsider from the south who had been appointed a member of the Council in the North in 1558, acquired a home at Seamer, represented Scarborough in Parliament, and took a 31-year lease of the rectory of Hunmanby and its former chapels in 1566 and 1575.[126] All six chancels were repeatedly cited for neglect.[127] Similarly, the Crown leased Birdsall rectory to members of the Thorpe family in 1537, 1568, 1576 and 1586 before granting the rectory and advowson to Roger Thorpe in 1601.[128] Birdsall's chancel was dilapidated by 1572, when a grant was made of land 'in which a chapel sometime stood in Birdsall'; and ruinous by the end of the century. So long as they were tenants, the Thorpes successfully defended the ensuing citations for chancel neglect on the ground that their leases contained no repairing covenant, and Queen Elizabeth ignored the complaints.[129] By contrast, the Holgates were never presented for neglect of North Dalton's chancel. In 1539, Watton priory owned North Dalton rectory, and in 1540 its then prior, Robert Holgate (appointed archbishop of York in 1545), granted a forty-year lease of it to his nephew Thomas. In 1576 the Crown let North Dalton rectory for a further twenty-one years, to Thomas' son,

[125] BIA, V.1567-8/CB1, f.204r; V.1575-CB1, ff.66r, 71r, 72r, 73r, 74r, 77r, 85r, 91r-v; V.1575-CB2, ff.148r, 151r, 154v, 161v, 172r; 1582-V.1578-9/CB1, ff.70v, 72r, 179v-180r, 192r-v, 201r-202r, 207v, 209v: V.1586/CB, ff.45r-v, 66r-v, 124r, 126v, 151r, 156v, 159v, 163r: V.1590-1/CB1, ff.118r, 132r, 140v, 176v, 179r, 181v-182r; V.1594/CB, ff.180r, 185r, 190r, 192v; V.1595-6/CB1, ff.107r, 124r-v, 134v, 140r; V.1595-6/CB3, ff.161r, 165v, 177r; V.1600/CB, ff.60v, 117v, 128r, 130r, 139r; *CPR/1553*, 273; *CPR/1580-2*, 1435; *CPR/1587-88*, 903(20), *CPR/1601-2*, 531(4); ERALS, DDCC/139/65, passim; *Fasti Buckrose*, 22-26, 31-33; *Fasti Harthill*, 140; *Fasti Holderness*, 29; HHC, U DDSY/x1/38/36; *VCHERII*, 25, 122, 219; *VCHERIV*, 159; *VCHERV*, 70, 92-93, 132, *VCHERVII*, 17, 68-70; 283, 370; *VCHERVIII*, 182; *VCHERX*1, 42-43, 63-64, 177, 237, 279. See footnotes 131-32, 141 and Appendices 4, 5 and 7.

[126] *CPR/1563-66*, 568, 2434; *CPR/1566-69*, 501; *CPR/1578-80*, 3013; *CPR/1584-85*, 95; *CPR/1589-90*, 1011; *CPR/1590-91*, 731(4); *Dugdale III*, 310-12; GATES, Edward, *HistParl*; GATES, Sir Henry, *HistParl*; *Fasti Dickering*, 45, 58, 65, 93; Reid, *King's Council*, 186; *VCHERII*, 122, 236, 280, 299, 307, 334, 336; *VCHNRII*, 485, 488.

[127] BIA, V.1575-CB1, ff.88v, 90r, 91v; V.1575-CB2, ff.169v, 171r, 172r, 182v; V.1578-9/CB1, ff.38v-39v; 1582-V.1578-9/CB1, ff.201r-v; V.1586/CB, f.165r; V.1590-1/CB1, f.176v; V.1594/CB, ff.189v, 195r; V.1595-6/CB1, f.105r; V.1595-6/CB3, ff.159r, 160r; V.1600/CB, ff.116r-7v; V.1604/CB, f.119r; V.1607/CB, ff.119r, 128v, 130r; ERALS, DD/CC/139.

[128] *CPR/1566-9*, 1823; *CPR/1575-8,* 2220; *CPR/ 1585-86*, 1056; *CPR/1600-1*, 229.

[129] BIA, V.1575-CB1, f.66r; V.1590-1/CB1, f.181r; V.1594/CB, f.185v; V.1595-6/CB1, f.98v; V.1595-6/CB3, f.156v; *CPR/1572-5*, 2443; https://www.dmv.hull.ac.uk, s.v. Birdsall; Pevsner, *ER,* 326.

Thomas, whose sole obligation was to provide a chaplain for the parish; in 1591 the Crown granted a new lease to Thomas' three sons for their lives, which imposed an obligation on them to repair the chancel. The Holgates may have maintained North Dalton chancel, or simply ignored their duty with impunity, given their residence elsewhere, their wealth and their power.[130]

The chancels of churches which had once served collegiate communities were especially vulnerable to neglect (if they had not actually been demolished), as appears from the citations of Ellerton, North Ferriby and Lowthorpe.[131] Adaptation from a conventual to a parish church usually entailed structural changes, and the Crown was unwilling to spend the necessary money. Many post-Reformation complaints were made about the poor state of Howden's chancel, liability for which was persistently disputed and never satisfactorily resolved.[132] An additional cause of the neglect was the fact that after the Dissolution a host of disparate individuals with differing priorities held the assets of the five former prebends of Howden, which were leased individually and at different times. Lessees of both Howden and Barmby prebends, the Welfleets were local Howden farmers, and held their tenancies for a century.[133] George Consett, tenant of Thorpe prebend, also lived in Howdenshire.[134] But Cuthbert Musgrave, of an old Cumberland family, soldier and Crown servant by 1537, knighted and appointed sheriff of Cumberland in 1568, had no connection with Howden, or indeed with Yorkshire, and owed his interest in Skelton

[130] *CPR/1575-8*, 1369; *CPR/1590-1*, 375; J.S. Fletcher, *Memorials of a Yorkshire Parish* (London, 1817), 58; 'Holgate, Robert', *ODNB; Stuart Fines II*, 227.

[131] Ellerton: BIA, V.1575-CB1; V.1586/CB; V.1590-1/CB1; V.1623/CB; North Ferriby: V.1594/CB, V.1595-6/CB1; V.1600/CB1; Lowthorpe: V.1586/CB; V.1590-1/CB1, f.175v; V.1619/CB.

[132] BIA, CP.H.2220, 2221, 2225 & 2253A; ibid, HC.AB.13, 1596-99; ibid, V.1575-CB1; V.1575-CB2; 1582-V.1578-9/CB1; V.1586/CB; V.1590-1/CB1; V.1594/CB; V.1595-6/CB3; V.1600/CB1; V.1604/CB; V.1627/CB; V.1636/CB; V.1640/CB; V.1662-3/CB1; V.1667/CB(a); V.1674/CB; V.1682/CB; V.1693-94/CB LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/227-8; TNA, E134/43Eliz/East.21; E178/4791/10JasI.

[133] BIA, CP.H.2219 (1637); Boyd's Marriage Indexes (Walter Wolflet, 1550; John Wolflet, 1560); *CPR/1563-6*, 308; *CPR/1566-9*, 1102; ERALS, PE121/1 (entries for 1549, 1569, 1573 and 1581).

[134] Britain, Knights of The Realm & Commonwealth Index, Penrith 1556-1601; College of Arms, vol 968e, 63; *CPR/1563-6*, 793; ERALS, PE121/1 (1564, 1565, 1566, 1567, 1569, 1572, 1573, 1577).

prebend solely to the royal preference for granting a life lease of confiscated property in substitution for a pension.[135] Again, one of the lessees of Saltmarshe prebend in 1564, Christopher Estoft, from Eastoft in Lincolnshire, was an outsider, albeit with local associations. He began to acquire property in Holderness in 1549; in Harthill, Howdenshire and near Hull in 1553; in Dickering in 1556; in Buckrose in 1560; in West Yorkshire in 1562; and in Beverley in 1565. The lease of Saltmarshe's tithes was merely one acquisition among many. In the 1550s Estoft rented South Cave's prebendal mansion house until 1563, when he acquired the reversion of a lease of the manor of Bishop Burton. Estoft was appointed *custos rotulorum* and a legal member of the Council in the North about 1559 and was elected MP for Hull in 1563.[136] None of these people lived in Howden and they operated in different spheres: they would never have made common cause to repair Howden's chancel.

Holderness chancels retained by the Crown until the turn of the century disclose a completely different pattern of care. Many were successively let to members of the same local families, some of whom ultimately bought the rectories, and virtually none was presented for neglecting the fabric during their leases. For example, from the Dissolution until their respective sales, the Thorpes held Aldbrough rectory; the Holmes and Catherall families leased different classes of Hollym tithes; the Rawsons were tenants of Holmpton and Humbleton rectories; and the Wrights leased Welwick.[137] All these lessees maintained chancels during the second half of the sixteenth century even though (with

[135] *CPR/1554*, 21-3; *CPR/1554/5*, 29; *CPR/1569-72*, 1882; A. Hughes, *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales from the Earliest Times to A.D. 1831* (London, 1898), 28; *L&P Hen. VIII*, XII(i), 1259 (3)(ii)1, (4)1, 3; XX(2), 1068; XXI(2), 773i.

[136] William Brown, ed., *Yorkshire Deeds* (*YASRS*, vol. *LXIII*) (1922), 7; *CPR/1563-6*, 297, p68; ESTOFTE, Christopher, *HistParl*; Foster, *Glover,* 110; *VCHERIX*, 162; J.G. Hall, *A History of South Cave* (Hull, 1892), 205; Wallace T. MacCaffrey, *The Shaping of the Elizabethan Régime* (Princeton, 2015), 38; McCall, *Wandesforde*, 221, 307-8; Reid, *King's Council*, 186; *SPDomAdd.Eliz. (1566-79),* 9; Stephenson, 'Brasses', 202; *Tudor Fines I*, 139, 174, 199, 268, 302, 312; *VCHERI*, 101, 122, 461, 472; *VCHERII*, 181, 187, 203; *VCHERIII*, 95; *VCHERIV*, 4, 80, 112; *VCHERV*, 194; *VCHERVI*, 67, 233; *VCHERVII*, 136, 364; West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, 230/833.

[137] 'Fawkes, Guy', *ODNB*; 'Wright, John', *ODNB*; *VCHERV*, 43-44, 52, 144; *VCHERVII*, 17, 68-70.

the possible exception of the Catheralls) they were recusants at the time. The case of the Wrights is especially surprising, because Welwick parishioners persistently neglected the body of their church over the same period.[138] Perhaps these impropriators were more inclined to preserve their chancels precisely because of the special significance of that part of the church to them as Catholics. Another possible reason might be that they or their ancestors were buried in the chancel, but in the East Riding that practice seems to have been very rare until the late seventeenth century, and no member of these families was buried in the chancel. Indeed, William Wright and his wife were buried at the east end of the north aisle of Welwick church.[139]

Furthermore, all these families were long-standing residents of the areas in Holderness whose tithes they leased and eventually owned: with a single exception in 1567-68, none was the subject of presentments to court in that period. Indeed only five of the eighteen Holderness rectories retained by the Crown during the second half of the sixteenth century were cited, and two were the special cases of Owthorne and Withernsea, whose proximity to the sea always put them at risk.[140]

One must infer that the Crown ignored Holderness chancels as much as it did others for which it was responsible, but that those chancels had significance for tenants who lived in the area, and often in the parish whose tithes were leased to them, whose families had for many decades held those tithes. This circumstance was especially likely to arise in Holderness, because of its geographical isolation in comparison with the rest of the East Riding.

[138] Aveling, 29, 31, 36, 39, 47, 66; BIA, V.1567-8/CB1, f.202v; V.1567-8/CB2, ff.49v, 108r.
[139] Poulson, *Holderness II*, 12-14, 68-69, 391-92, 511-12.
[140] BIA, V.1567-8/CB1; V.1575-CB1; V.1575-CB2; V.1578-9/CB1; V.1586/CB; V.1590-1/CB1; V.1594/CB; V.1595-6/CB1; V.1595-6/CB3; V.1600/CB1; V.1607/CB.

The other deaneries do not exhibit the same pattern of letting Crown rectories displayed in Holderness, whereby tenants who were related to one another successively held leases. Instead, tithes were granted to lessees who were not each other's relatives. For example, until the end of the century the Crown retained and let out all nine of the rectories in Dickering which had once been owned by Bridlington priory. During those decades, none of the tenants of any of those nine rectories seemingly was related to any of their preceding or succeeding lessees. All were apparently local people, which may have sufficed to provide commitment to the chancel, even in the absence of a family tie to the church created by successive demises to members of that family, and an expectation of further such leases. Yet complaints of neglect were only made about one of those chancels – Boynton – between 1567 and 1603.[141] All these churches are geographically close to Bridlington. Perhaps their chancels owed their excellent condition over that half century to their proximity to the priory – which could therefore maintain them more easily – in addition to the significance they had for the lessees after the Dissolution.

The Crown retained the advowsons of twenty ex-monastic churches during the seventy years after the Dissolution.[142] The Crown's rôle in respect of these chancels was much more limited, in that, in theory, responsibility lay solely with the rector, and the risk of citations to the ecclesiastical courts was the chief restraint on him once he had been presented. Certainly, very few of these incumbents were presented for chancel neglect during the forty years from 1567.[143] But the Crown controlled the appointments, and regularly rewarded ecclesiastical dignitaries with the richest pickings of these livings.[144]

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[141] BIA, V.1578-9/CB1; 1582-V.1578-9/CB1; V.1586/CB; V.1590-1/CB1; V.1594/CB; 1595-6/CB1; 1595-6/CB3.

[142] *Brandesburton, *Bubwith (one mediety), Burythorpe, Catwick, Cherry Burton, Foston-on-the-Wolds, *Foxholes, Goodmanham, *Huggate, Kirby Underdale, *Langton, Leven, *Middleton-on-the-Wolds, Rillington, Long Riston, *Sigglesthorne, *Skirpenbeck, Sutton-on-Derwent, Thwing, *Walkington.

[143] BIA, V.1567-8/CB1, ff.153v, 175v; V.1575-CB1, ff.67r, 73r; V.1575-CB2, f.151r; V.1578-9/CB1, f.179v; V.1586/CB, f.128r; V.1594/CB, f.152r. See footnote 140.

[144] Nine of the twenty rectories: those marked with a star in footnote 142.

Such clergy were unlikely to discharge their rectorial duties, whether pastoral or financial, and they would be able to flout court orders with impunity. The incumbents of Sigglesthorne who preceded chancellor Phineas Hodgson took full advantage of the situation: they left the chancel in decay; they were non-resident pluralists; and they neither provided hospitality nor did they distribute the ¼₀th to the poor.[145]

2.3 Lay impropriators of ex-monastic rectories

Did ex-monastic chancels fare any better once the Crown had sold them? Those who acquired East Riding rectories from Henry VIII were inherently unlikely to care for their chancels, for five main reasons. First, those rectories were often only a small part of large bundles of assets which he transferred by a single grant. For example, Brantingham constituted only one – relatively small – element of many in the endowment of Durham's new cathedral. Accordingly, repair of the chancels of Brantingham and its chapels inevitably ranked low in the priorities of Durham's dean and chapter. Second, the rectories granted to Sir Richard Gresham and the earl of Rutland were merely adjuncts to the associated – and far more valuable – monastic sites and manors with which they were sold.[146] Their new owners were likely to devote more resources to their more expensive and potentially more profitable acquisitions. Third, the recipients of these substantial Crown grants were usually men of considerable standing and wealth: they would not otherwise have been eligible (or able) to buy such valuable property. Rectories probably constituted only a small proportion of their capital. Fourth, for these families their East Riding possessions were of little consequence: their spheres of activity generally lay elsewhere. Indeed, the earls of Rutland appeared only once in the set of great East Yorkshire landowners, in the 1580s, after which their estates there were soon

[145] BIA, V.1575-CB1; V.1575-CB2; V.1586/CB; V.1595-6/CB1.
[146] Hoyle, *Estates*, 22.

dissipated.[147] Finally, these new owners during the second half of the sixteenth century did not usually impose any covenant on their tenants to repair the chancel, unlike the archbishop of York, who from the date of their acquisition in 1545 invariably included such a term in leases of those four rectories.[148]

Sir Richard Gresham, the earl of Rutland and Sir Ralph Ellerker illustrate three types of lay impropriators to whom Henry VIII granted rectories, both in the archdeaconry and elsewhere in England: the outstandingly successful mercer, merchant adventurer and mayor; the aristocratic Crown servant; and the soldier and local MP knighted for services to the Crown.[149] Representatives of these three classes continued to receive Crown grants of rectories after Henry's death for another century, but from and during Elizabeth's reign their number as a proportion of grantees dwindled in comparison with that of property dealers. Elizabeth granted one rectory each to Sir Henry Gates, Dudley, earl of Leicester, and Sir Henry Constable (a member of the most powerful family in Holderness), and nine to minor Yorkshire gentry, but she made at least twenty grants to property dealers.[150]

Tudor and Stuart property dealers in Crown assets also exhibit the five characteristics listed above as being typical of the laity who bought their rectories from the Crown, but for different reasons. They tended to buy in bulk; rectories were a relatively insignificant part of their portfolios; they soon became rich, or very rich; and likewise they had no attachment to their acquisitions; imposed no repairing covenants; and were unlikely to repair chancels. But property dealers bought in order to sell on as soon as possible,

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147 English, *Great Landowners*, 15, 20.

148 BIA, Rev.Deeds; Rev.AL1, ff.5-6, 14; YML, W/a, ff.122v-3v; W/b, ff.61r-2r, 111r-113v, 115r-v, 203r-v, 223r-224v, 264r-v, 323v-324r; 343v-44r, 357r, 364v-65r, 366v-67r; W/c, ff.17v-18r, 50v-51v, 75v-76r, 105r-6r, 121v. See footnote 169 and Appendices 3 and 8.

149 Christopher Kitching, 'The Disposal of Monastic and Chantry Lands', in Heal, *Church*, 119-136, at 122.

150 *CPR/1558-60*, 455-6; *CPR/1587-88*, 897(16); *CPR/1580-82*, 23, 1878; *CPR/1587-88*, 897(16), 903(20); *CPR/1588-89*, 285(14); *CPR/1598-99*, 774(9); *CPR/1602*, 537; English, *Great Landowners,* 16-17; *VCHERII*, 105, 122, 212, 219, 236, 246, 274, 280, 299, 307, 315; *VCHERIV*, 159; *VCHERV*, 13, 37, 43-45, 70, 84, 88, 92-93, 120, 132, 144; *VCHERVI*, 275, 293; *VCHERVII*, 68-70, 209, 264, 347. See footnote 126 and Appendix 14.

whereas other grantees were much more likely to retain their rectories for long periods. For example, Sir Richard Gresham's descendants still held the tithes of Nunkeeling and Swine in 1680.[151] However, dealers were less important in the present context than other grantees precisely because they retained their acquisitions for relatively short periods.

Nevertheless, just as the condition of chancels retained by the Crown for the rest of the sixteenth century depended on the approach of their lessees, so that of chancels sold by the Crown soon after the Dissolution varied according to the attitude of their new owners – irrespective of the category into which each fell. So much appears from the different approaches of four sets of impropriators: the earls of Rutland; the owners of Willerby; those of Yedingham; and those of Cottingham. The Rutlands usually ignored the repeated complaints about the state of Warter's chancel for which they were responsible for some fifty years. Similarly, shortly before they sold Lund's rectory and advowson in 1612, its chancel was said to be in decay, and allegedly 'very ruinous both in the roof and the floor' shortly afterwards.[152] They seem only to have kept Roos in good order, perhaps because Roos was the original estate of, and gave the name to, their ancestors.

By comparison, the record of maintenance of the chancels of Willerby, Yedingham and Cottingham was uniformly poor over these decades, whoever owned or leased their tithes. Seriously dilapidated by 1553, Willerby's chancel was persistently neglected for over sixty years.[153] One cause may have been the fact that the rectory was very much divided during the sixteenth century; another, that Sir Henry Gates (who often disregarded his repairing obligations) may well have owned some of those tithes.[154] Again, despite warnings in 1575, Yedingham's chancel had collapsed by 1582 and had not been rebuilt

[151] *VCHERVII*, 112, 324.

[152] BIA, V.1590-1/CB1; V.1595-6/CB1; V.1595-6/CB3; V.1600/CB1; V.1604/CB; V.1607/CB; V.1615/CB; *Stuart Fines I*, 174.

[153] BIA, V.1586/CB; V.1590-1/CB1; V.1594/CB; V.1595-6/CB1; V.1595-6/CB3; V.1600/CB; V.1607/CB; V.1615/CB; *CPR/1553*, 104; *VCHERII*, 336, 339.

[154] *VCHERII*, 334, 336. See pages 54, 68, 95-96, 100 and footnotes 126-27.

four years later.[155] Confusion as to liability for Yedingham's chancel probably played a part in its downfall. In 1543 Henry VIII had granted its rectory to archbishop Holgate, and in 1547 a licence to found three schools, part of the endowment being Yedingham property; in 1555 the advowson passed to Thomas Spencer, whose family farmed the rectory.[156] As for Cottingham, in 1547 Henry conveyed its rectory to the bishop of Chester, who let it to a series of different tenants. The eighty-year lease granted in 1549-50 included a covenant requiring the tenant to repair the chancel, but no such clause appeared in the subsequent contracts of 1565-66 and 1575-76.[157] Four different sets of lessees were successively presented for chancel neglect thereafter, one repudiating liability on the grounds that his lease imposed no such responsibility, and another claiming that he had already repaired the windows.[158]

By contrast, the only complaint made between 1567 and 1730 of Kirk Ella's chancel was that its windows needed repair, in 1586.[159] North Cave was let in 1572 to the Ellerkers, who were only presented for chancel neglect in 1586 and 1594.[160] The Greshams adequately maintained the chancels of Drypool, Nunkeeling and Swine, being presented only once for each before 1600.[161] In 1553 Edward VI sold Wilberfoss rectory to George Gale, goldsmith, mint-master, mayor of York 1534-35 and 1549-50, and MP for York in 1529, 1536 and 1542.[162] Over the eighty years of their ownership, the Gales were only cited once for chancel disrepair.[163] In 1543 the Crown conveyed Wressle rectory to

[155] BIA, V.1575-CB1; V.1575-CB2; 1582-V.1578-9/CB1; V.1586/CB.
[156] BIA, V.1575-CB1; V.1575-CB2; 1582-V.1578-9/CB1; V.1586/CB; *Fasti Buckrose*, 73-5; *L&P Hen. VIII*, XVIII(i), 981(99); *VCHERI*, 468-9; *VCHNRI*, 541.
[157] James Raine, ed., *Francis Gastrell, Notitia Cestriensis* (Chetham Society, Manchester, 1845), 48-49, *VCHERIV*, 71.
[158] BIA, V.1586/CB; V.1590-1/CB1; V.1594/CB; V.1600/CB1.
[159] BIA, V.1586/CB; *Fasti Harthill*, 171; J.W. Clay, ed., *Yorkshire Monasteries Suppression Papers* (*YASRS,* vol. *XLVIII*, 1912), 116.
[160] BIA, V.1586/CB; V.1594/CB; *VCHERIV*, 27.
[161] BIA, V.1567-8/CB1; V.1578-9/CB1; V.1586/CB.
[162] GALE, George, *HistParl*; *VCHERIII*, 194.
[163] BIA, V.1594/CB.

Anthony Dunriche, a London merchant: there were no presentments for chancel neglect.[164] During the eighty-five years of the Nevilles' tenure of South Cave prebend, from 1553 to 1637, there was only one citation for chancel decay.[165]

The reasons for the care afforded to these chancels varied. Catholic commitment to the significance of the chancel may well have played a part: the Ellerkers of Risby were staunch recusants throughout the sixteenth century. Moreover, they had lived at Risby from 1401, and were bound to attend church at nearby Kirk Ella.[166] These two factors may have led them to maintain Kirk Ella's chancel. The Gales also were probably recusants in the decades immediately after 1547, and there was a special connection in that George Gale's sister-in-law had been the last prioress of Wilberfoss, which probably accounts for the preservation of Wilberfoss' chancel during those decades. However, widow Thomasina Gale's recusancy, attested repeatedly at Wilberfoss from 1594 to 1623, apparently drove her to neglect its chancel: in 1594 it was reported that 'she comes not to church, recusant, a harbourer and relator of recusants, the chancel is decayed in her default'.[167] South Cave's impropriator was probably not responsible for the good state of its chancel, but the tenant may have complied with the repairing covenant in his 1586 lease.[168]

2.4 Ecclesiastical dignitaries

The thirty or so rectories which belonged to diocesan offices other than the archbishops of York had generally been conferred upon them many centuries before the Dissolution: and most retained them thereafter until modern times. This class of rectories may

[164] *L&P Hen. VIII*, XVIII(i), 982(63b).
[165] BIA, 1582-V.1578-9/CB1; *VCHERIV*, 47.
[166] Aveling, 29, 40, 62-63; BIA, V.1586/CB; V.1595-6/CB3; English, *Great Landowners*, 18-19; Foster, *Glover*, 136-37.
[167] Aveling, 29, 40, 59; BIA, V.1594/CB; *VCHYorksIII*, 126.
[168] HHC, U DDBA/4/116.

therefore display features of continuity which are not present in the seven acquired by the archbishops of York in 1545. For that reason the former category is treated separately from the latter.

2.4.1 Archbishops of York

The East Riding chancels for which the archbishop of York was responsible fared extremely well, and usually even better than those which belonged to other ecclesiastical dignitaries during the second half of the sixteenth century. Over this period no complaint was made of three, and only one or two of three others, chiefly because virtually all archiepiscopal leases required the tenant to repair the chancel.[169] Only Keyingham chancel was in disrepair: Archbishop Holgate had let the rectory to the Constables of Burton Constable on a series of leases without any repairing covenants; in 1593, archbishop John Piers demised it to his nephew, Edward Greene, a yeoman of the guard, albeit on terms that he repair the chancel. Neither the Constables nor Greene had any link to Keyingham, and Keyingham rectory was only a small element in the Constable holdings.[170] It is not surprising that the chancel was neglected.

2.4.2 Dignitaries other than archbishops of York

2.4.2.1 York

I consider first the rectories owned by the dean and chapter and prebendaries of York. Only four of their chancels were the subject of persistent neglect: Fangfoss, Kilham,

[169] All leases of Easington (YML, W/b, ff.111r-112v, 264r-v, 323v-324r; W/c, ff.17v-18r, 121v) and Westow (BIA, Rev.AL1, f.14, Rev.AL/2; YML, W/b, ff.115r-v, 203r-v) required the lessee to repair the chancel. Burton Agnes: (no repairing covenant: YML, W/b, ff.61r-2r) BIA, V.1575-CB1; V.1586/CB; Nafferton: (repairing covenant: YML, W/b, ff.223r-224v, 357r) BIA, V.1594/CB; Skipsea: (repairing covenant: BIA, Rev.AL1, ff.5-6; YML, W/b, ff.112v-113v, 235v-7r, 366v-7r; W/c, ff.50v-51v) BIA, V.1590-1/CB1; V.1595-6/CB1. See Appendices 11, 13 and 14.

[170] BIA, Rev.Deeds; ibid, V.1586/CB; V.1590-1/CB1; V.1594/CB; V.1595-6/CB1; V.1607/CB; Poulson, *Holderness II*, 416; *VCHERV*, 58-59; YML, W/b, ff.343v-4r; W/c, ff.75v-76r.

Preston and North Newbald.[171] The chief culprits were the notorious dean of York, John Thornborough (who held the first pair), the sub-dean, Henry Wright, and the prebendary of North Newbald, Richard Remington, because they failed to repair the chancels and ignored the presentments made during their respective tenures of these rectories.[172] Naturally their predecessors share the blame, since they must have failed to maintain the fabric, but both Thornborough and Remington flagrantly disregarded their obligations: serious decay was repeatedly reported in other chancels for which one or the other was responsible, such as Pocklington and Mappleton.[173] By contrast, there were no complaints to the courts during the sixty years after the Dissolution in respect of over half the chancels owned by ecclesiastical dignitaries other than the archbishop of York. Among the others, only one was made in relation to Market Weighton and Wetwang, and two each for Tunstall and Elloughton.[174] This compares favourably both with rectories owned by the Crown and those sold by the Crown from the Dissolution to 1603. The leases themselves do not seem to provide any explanation. During the first sixty years after the Dissolution only one in four of the rectories owned by diocesan offices other than the archbishops of York was apparently let on terms which required the tenant to repair the chancel.[175]

The most significant factor is the type of tenants to whom these dignitaries let their rectories. One group comprises a close-knit community of people whose homes were in or near to the parishes whose tithes they farmed for generations, and who were closely

[171] BIA, 1582-V.1578-9/CB1; V.1586/CB; V.1590-1/CB1; V.1594/CB; V.1595-6/CB1; V.1595-6/CB3; V.1600/CB1; Fallow, 'Visitations', 317, 323-24.

[172] *Fasti York*, 6, 11, 48. See pages 86-87.

[173] BIA, V.1590-1/CB1; V.1594/CB; V.1604/CB; Fallow, 'Visitations', 227, 320, 324.

[174] BIA, V.1586/CB, f.128v; V.1590-1/CB1, ff.103v, 138r; V.1594/CB, f.178r; V.1595-6/CB1, f.124r.

[175] BIA, CP.G.913; HHC, U DDBA/4/116, DDEV/17/1, DDWI/111; YML, W/a, ff.31r-v, 81r-v, 105v-6v, 107v-108r, 116r-v, 120r-21v, 132r-v, 135r-v, 153v-54r; W/b, ff. 18v-19r, 60r-1r, 67v-68r, 79v-90v, 142v-43r, 150r-51r, 155r-156r, 164v-66r, 183v-84r, 185r-v, 286v-87v, 321v-22r, 323r, 328v-329r, 344r-v, 347v-8v, 361v-62r, 368v-9r; W/c, ff.4-5, 16v-17r, 18v-19r, 21v-23r, 34v-35v, 43r-v, 72r-73v, 96r, 97v, 99r-v, 104r-v, 108v-109v, 120r-v, 123r-124v, 135v-136r, 146r-v. See Appendix 12.

related to and lived near one another. For example, in 1541 dean Layton demised Bubwith and Pocklington to Thomas Hatcliffe for fifty-three years and seventy-one years respectively.[176] Hatcliffe's daughter married William Dolman, whose cousin founded Pocklington School: William's daughter married Peter Vavasour of Spaldington (in Bubwith parish).[177] Other locals included George Hall and Robert Myers, tenants of Allerthorpe successively by leases dated 1587 and 1596; and the Constables of Everingham, who held the tithes of Market Weighton and Hayton with Bielby from 1538 and 1537 respectively, and thereafter.[178] These lessees' ties to the parishes ensured adequate maintenance of their chancels. Moreover, many of these tenants – the Dolmans, Vavasours and Constables of Everingham – came of old, local, Catholic families.[179] This factor also may have inclined them to care for the chancels for which they were responsible: there is no evidence of any change of function of the chancel yet.

Another class of tenants comprised those who were newcomers, but settled in the area and forged connections to it: these men also repaired their chancels. One such case was Thomas Wood, clerk of the statutes in London, who bought Kilnwick Percy manor in 1563, and acquired a lease of its rectory in 1568; in 1574 he built a new house there; in 1587 he was buried there; and in 1593 his son renewed the lease.[180] Another example is William Watkinson of Thoroldby, his son-in-law, Sir Edward Payler, and their family, who held leases of Bugthorpe prebend from 1596 to 1721 at least (albeit on terms that

[176] YML, W/a, ff.154v-156r; W/c, ff.73r-v.

[177] *Dugdale III*, 161; Foster, *Glover*, 116.

[178] YML, W/a, ff.81r-82r, 116r-v; W/b, ff. 122, 150r-151r; 369; W/c, ff.70r-v, 99r-v. See page 143. Other examples: Foster, *Glover*, 536; *VCHERVIII*, 221, 227; *VCHNRII*, 425; YML, W/a, ff.47v-48r, 173r; W/b, f.344r-v; W/c, ff.71v, 97v, 120r-v. See pages 87, 98 and footnotes 130, 154, 228-29.

[179] Aveling, 9-10, 17, 19-21, 26, 29, 34, 37, 40, 59-61.

[180] BIA, CC.DY9/KP2; Torre, f.724; YML, W/b, f.158v; W/c, ff.74v-75r; https://www.yorkshiregardenstrust.org.uk/sites/yorkshiregardenstrust.org.uk/files/documents/YGTFINALkilnwickpercy.pdf.

they repair the chancel), and caused monuments to their memory to be erected in Bugthorpe chancel. The family was only cited once for chancel neglect, in 1604.[181]

Other tenants apparently owed their leases to their services to the Crown, or to public standing, and neither lived in the parish whose tithes they farmed nor had any link to it. In 1536 the sub-dean leased Preston to John Tyndale of Knottingley, who had no known connection to Preston, for twenty-one years with no repairing covenant, and granted him a fresh tenancy for a further seventy years on the apparently unique proviso that the sub-dean would himself maintain and repair Preston's chancel.[182] In 1550, Thomas Eynns, secretary to the Council in the North, obtained a thirty-year lease of Bugthorpe prebend.[183] In 1551 Weaverthorpe was demised for thirty-one years to Sir George Dakins the elder, surveyor for the King of Kirkham abbey's property in 1544, when he began to acquire a Yorkshire estate which included Settrington manor and Linton Grange, before being elected as MP for Scarborough in 1553.[184] In 1555 dean Wotton granted a forty-year lease of Burton Pidsea to William Thorpe, a courtier.[185] In 1566 the chancellor leased Wawne for fifty-one years to Sir John Constable of Burton Constable: this passed to the London lawyer Edward Payler, perhaps by 1595: neither had any tie to Wawne.[186] Several aldermen and mayors of York leased rectories owned by ecclesiastical dignitaries in the late sixteenth century: by 1582 Robert Brooke and Christopher Maltby were tenants of Eastrington, and by 1586 Christopher Concett and Robert Watter held Wetwang.[187] Only the late 1580s were such rectorial estates sold, rather than leased: their purchasers – such

[181] BIA, CC.P/Bug10/Bug 1; ibid, V.1604/CB; *Dugdale III*, 15; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/456-61; YML, S1(2)f; L2/3c, ff.23v-24v; W/b, ff.347v-8v; W/c, ff.108v-109v.
[182] *Dugdale III,* 12; YML, W/a, ff.73r-74r; W/b, f.44r-v.
[183] EYNNS, Thomas, *HistParl*; YML, W/b, ff.60r-61r.
[184] DAKINS, George, *HistParl*; YML, W/b, ff.67v-68r.
[185] YML, W/b, ff.79v-90v.
[186] BIA, V.1595-6/CB1; V.1600/CB1; HHC, U DDWI/55, 58-59, 61-62, 111; https://ia802702.us.archive.org/23/items/registerofadmiss00gray/registerofadmiss00gray_bw.pdf; *VCHERVII*, 192-3; YML, S1(2)f, W/d, ff.130v-132r.
[187] All mayors of York: Gent, *York*, 220-22. BIA, 1582-V.1578-9/CB1; V.1586/CB.

as Ralph Hansby (Pocklington, in 1588), and Timothy Hutton (Barmby, in 1586 and Kilham, in 1596) – often had as little known connection to the area as their tenants.[188]

The tenants of four of these rectories – Barmby, Bugthorpe, Burton Pidsea and Weaverthorpe – apparently cared adequately for their chancels, for there were no presentments in respect of these during the second half of the sixteenth century. Part of the reason may be that the leases of Bugthorpe and Weaverthorpe both required the lessee to repair the chancel. By contrast, the record of the local politicians and nouveaux riches was less good. Between 1580 and 1600 there were complaints of neglect of the chancels of Eastrington, Kilham, Pocklington, Preston, Wawne and Wetwang, despite covenants to repair the chancel in the latter three leases from 1566, 1570 and 1592.[189] The absence of any connection between the parishes in question and their lessees seemingly provides some explanation for the disrepair of these chancels.

Other leases were simple cases of nepotism or favours to household servants. For example, Great Givendale, Driffield, Langtoft and Weighton prebends were demised in 1540, 1541, 1542, 1563 and 1565 to the archbishops' servants.[190] Again, in 1570 Robert Dudley leased Wetwang prebend to a relative and servant, John Dudley.[191] Thomas Hewitson, steward of the household of Toby Matthew, shared in these pickings: in 1582 dean Hutton leased Hayton and Bielby to him and, in 1585, Kilham; and Hewitson was co-lessee with Timothy in the 1586 lease of Barmby.[192] By another act of patronage Wetwang was let in 1597 to Henry Cuffe, secretary to the earl of Essex.[193] Most of these

[188] YML, W/b, f.370r; W/c, ff.95v-96r.

[189] BIA, 1582-V.1578-9/CB1; V.1586/CB; V.1594/CB; V.1595-6/CB3; YML, W/c, ff.21v-22r **(R)**, 130v-131r **(R)** (not in 1536 or 1548 lease, but in 1592 and 1599 leases): **(R)** indicates that the relevant leases contain a covenant to repair the chancel.

[190] YML, W/a, ff.132r-v, 152v, 153v-4r; W/b, ff.26v-27r, 150r-51r.

[191] YML, W/b, ff.164v-166r.

[192] DULASC, DCD/B/BA/5, ff.238v-239r; YML, W/c, ff.70r-v, 95v-96r.

[193] 'Cuffe, Henry', *ODNB*. Other examples: YML, W/a, ff.132r-v, 152v, 153v-4r; W/b, ff.26v-27r, 150r-51r.

beneficiaries maintained their chancels, for the only ones whose condition gave rise to complaint were Kilham, Weighton and Wetwang.[194]

Grants to relatives were also common. William Constable demised Weighton prebend to Marmaduke Constable in 1538, and George Fowberry, North Newbald prebend, to John Fowberry, and to John's son in 1539, each for thirty-one years.[195] Archbishop Sandys procured the prebend itself for his son Edwin in 1582.[196] Timothy Hutton's first lease of Barmby was concluded while his father was dean of York; that of Kilham, a year after his father became archbishop of York. In 1597 Thomas Cole, prebendary of Holme Archiepiscopi, demised his prebend to Edward Cole for the three lives of members of the Cole family. In 1602 Edwin Sandys made similar arrangements to enable his family to enjoy Wetwang prebend once he had resigned it.[197] These lessees occasionally neglected the chancels for which they were responsible, especially during the 1590s, no doubt because they had no tie to the parishes and because the leases were plainly conceived and treated purely as a source of income.

2.4.2.2 Durham

Brantingham and its chapels Blacktoft and Ellerker had belonged to Durham priory before the Dissolution, and in 1541 Henry VIII transferred these assets to his new cathedral. The new dean and chapter (formerly the prior and monks)[198] honoured leases granted before the Dissolution.[199] In these ways there was a continuity in the ownership of Brantingham which was similar to that enjoyed by those belonging to the ecclesiastical dignitaries of York: but Brantingham's fate contrasts sharply with that of Howden.

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[194] BIA, V.1586/CB; V.1590-1/CB1; V.1595-6/CB3.
[195] YML, W/a, ff.116r-v, 136r-v.
[196] *Fasti York*, 2, 66.
[197] YML, W/c, ff.95v-96r, 119r-20r,146r-v. Other examples: YML, W/a, f.173r; W/b, ff.183v-84r; CLIFTON, Gervase: *HistParl; Dugdale II*, 441, *III*, 12, 37-39; Foster, *Glover*, 135, 317; Young, Thomas, archbishop of York: *ODNB*.
[198] Hutchinson, *Durham I*, 521-2.
[199] DULASC, DCD/B/BA/2, ff.111v-112r; Hutchinson, *Durham I*, 521-2; MATHEWSON, George, *HistParl*.

Brantingham and Blacktoft were apparently well maintained during the second half of the sixteenth century,[200] whereas Ellerker was not.[201] The causes of this discrepancy seemingly lay in the connections between those townships and those who held the rectories. The grants of Brantingham rectory to Walter Jobson included Ellerker, but not Blacktoft, which the Edwyns held for some sixty years, and which was evidently important to them; by 1569 Giles lived at neighbouring Yokefleet, whose manor he leased between 1571 and 1589.[202]

By contrast, Walter Jobson's ties to Brantingham were limited, although he was effectively tenant for fifty-five years, from 1550.[203] He represented Hull in Parliament in 1547, 1554, 1555, 1558 and 1559, and only began to describe himself as being 'of Brantingham' in the 1580s.[204] Yet neither he nor his son Walter ever lived at Brantingham.[205] In 1580 the dean and chapter terminated the Jobson contract and granted a fifty-year lease of the rectory to the Crown, which was assigned in 1582 to Jobson.[206] Although Jobson's 1560 lease required him to repair the chancels, the 1580 lease imposed no such obligation on the Crown, and this factor also may have played a part in the neglect of Ellerker's chancel.

2.5 Chancel burials

The motive which drove some impropriators or lessees of rectorial tithes in some areas after 1547 to maintain the chancels for which they were responsible may well have been that their ancestors were buried there. However, the circumstances in which such a motive

[200] BIA, V.1600/CB1.
[201] BIA, V.1575-CB1; V.1575-CB2; V.1578-9/CB1; 1582-V.1578-9/CB1; V.1586/CB; V.1594/CB; V.1600/CB1.
[202] *CPR/1569-72*, 1778; DULASC, DCD/B/BA/1, f.225v; DCD/BA/B/3, ff.4v-5r; DCD/B/BA/5, ff.245v-246r; DUL, CCB/B107/5.
[203] *CPR/1550-3*, 5; DULASC, DCD/B/BA/2, ff.111v-112r; *Tudor Fines I*, 245.
[204] JOBSON, Walter, *HistParl*; e.g., BIA, YM/D/SN/28; D/SN/33; D/SN/37.
[205] *CPR/1553-4*, 133; 'Jobson, Sir Francis', *ODNB*.
[206] *CPR/1580-82*, 1219; DULASC, DCD/B/BA/2, ff.111v-112r; DCD/B/BA/4, ff.12v-13r; DCD/B/BA/9, ff.574r-575v.

might be relevant could only obtain if the descendants of those interred in chancels either held or leased the rectory after 1547, and this situation rarely arose in this archdeaconry before the late seventeenth century, for the reasons set out below. Consequently, a desire to maintain the chancel as the burial place of an impropriator's ancestors must be discounted for the East Riding.

2.5.1 Pre-1547 chancel burials of laity

Only eight examples of pre-1547 interments or monuments (or both) of laity in East Riding chancels are known. However, Torre records directions for place of burial given by 142 East Riding testators – of which forty-four were clergy – in wills drawn before 1547, and one may reasonably assume that the wishes of most were respected. Of the sixty buried in the chancel, twenty-eight were priests and the remainder, laity.[207] The latter were usually prominent people, often lords of the manor, and commonly they did not hold the rectory, although occasionally they were the patron. Often such leading figures were buried in chantry chapels, or side aisles (as, indeed, were many priests). Before 1547 the latter sites were chosen for their propinquity to altars of saints who might intercede for the soul of the deceased: after 1547 these were usually reserved to a particular family, or those who could not afford the higher cost of interment in the chancel, which was generally still accepted as the holiest – or at least the most prestigious – place in the church long after 1547.[208]

[207] Torre, ff.162, 236, 244, 254, 270, 483, 532, 634, 644, 658, 684, 702, 736, 748, 772, 776, 782, 790, 814, 816, 841, 861, 863-67, 893, 899, 913, 940, 950, 958, 964, 982, 986-88, 995, 1002, 1066-70, 1093, 1103, 1110, 1117, 1125, 1139-40, 1154, 1175, 1186, 1190, 1205, 1207, 1219, 1268, 1276, 1282, 1286, 1296, 1317, 1339, 1349, 1353, 1358, 1390, 1392, 1438, 1443, 1460, 1483, 1503, 1512, 1535, 1546, 1562, 1566, 1608, 1601, 1616.

[208] In 1642 the prices for burying a corpse at St Mary Lowgate, Hull, were 6s 8d in the cross aisle, 12s in the middle aisle, 10s in the north or south aisles, £1 6s 8d in the chancel and £2 under the communion table in the chancel: ERALS, PE185/52, f.17. In 1713 the prices at Sigglesthorne were 1s in the churchyard; 5s in the church and £1 in the chancel: ERALS, PE144/23. Prices elsewhere in the country were comparable: Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, 148-51.

The known examples of pre-1547 interments of laity in East Riding chancels are those at Aughton, Barmston, Beverley Minster, Flamborough, Garton in Holderness, Goxhill, Harpham and Rudston.[209] To these one may probably add most of the testamentary chancel burials, which include the Askes of Aughton and Ellerton; the St Quintins of Bessingby, of Brandesburton and of Wassand; Lord Greystoke, 5th baron;[210] Robert Holme of Paull Holme; and the Bygods of Settrington.

Only one East Riding family is known to have an ancestor buried before 1547 in the chancel of a church whose rectory they held after 1547 (with the possible exception of Aughton). From about 1295 until 1921 the Holmes family held Paull Holme manor; in the sixteenth century, they leased much of Paull's rectorial estate, and bought it soon after 1615, selling some in the mid-seventeenth century and the remainder in 1712. Between 1590 and 1646 the family was probably recusant. Nonetheless, Paull chancel was often in disrepair in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to the extent that in 1633 the tithes were sequestered to pay for its repair.[211] One might have thought that Aughton should be included in this group since the Askes were cited in 1586 for neglect of its chancel. They owned Aughton manor from the fourteenth century until John Aske sold it in 1595, apart from a short gap between 1537 and 1542. If they ever held any rectorial tithes, their tenure was brief.[212] John Aske apparently owned Ellerton manor briefly by 1592, when he sold it, but none of the Askes ever possessed Ellerton rectory.[213] Aughton's chancel was so

[209] Pevsner, *ER,* 290; Poulson, *Holderness I*, 208-11, *II*, 58; Stephenson, 'Brasses', 196-7, 207-8; Torre, f.988; *VCHERII*, 313, 316, 319, 326, 334; *VCHERVII*, 270.

[210] 'Greystoke family', *ODNB*.

[211] Aveling, 66; BIA, V.1575-CB1; V.1578-9/CB1; 1582-V.1578-9/CB1; V.1590-1/CB1; V.1594/CB; V.1595-6/CB1; V.1595-6/CB3; V.1600/CB1; V.1607/CB; V.1615/CB; V.1619/CB; V.1623/CB; V.1627/CB; V.1633/CB1; V.1662-3/CB1; *VCHERV*, 115-6, 119, 125.

[212] ASKE, John, *HistParl*; BIA, V.1586/CB; *CPR/1560-63*, 181; *CPR/1569*-71, 3269; *CPR/1584-5*, 249(4), 828; *CPR/1597-98*, 620(2); http://catalogue.hullhistorycentre.org.uk/files/u-dx55.pdf; *L&P Hen. VIII*, XVII, 283(8); *Tudor Fines IV*, 57.

[213] *CPR/1560-63*, 181; *CPR/1569-71*, 3269; *CPR/1584-5*, 249(4); *CPR/1588-89*, 285(14); *CPR/1598-99*, 171, 853; *L&P Hen. VIII*, XV, p563; *XVI*, 745 (f.53); *Tudor Fines I*, 363; *II*, 4, 62, 135; *III*, 177.

seriously dilapidated by 1636 that the courts ordered the sequestration of the tithes, and by 1754 it had collapsed.[214]

None of the families of others buried in East Riding chancels before 1547 is known to have been either owners or lessees of the relevant rectorial tithes between 1547 and 1730.[215] Lady Eleanor Percy owed her place in Beverley Minster chancel solely to the power of her family.[216] The Grimstons did not acquire any rectorial tithes of Garton until 1808. The Constables of Flamborough held Flamborough's rectory as tenants for a short period after 1538. Another branch of the Constables owned Caythorpe manor in Rudston from 1513 to 1709, but never held Rudston's rectorial tithes.[217]

Barmston, Brandesburton, Goxhill, Settrington and Sigglesthorne were rectories. Those interred in their chancels were buried there because of their status, usually as lords of the manor and (sometimes) patrons of the living. From the twelfth century the Monceaux family were lords of Barmston manor and by the end of the thirteenth they had acquired the advowson, which they retained until the mid-fifteenth century, when William Monceaux was buried in Barmston chancel. Probably by the late thirteenth century the Lelleys had acquired Goxhill manor and advowson: Joan de Lelley was interred in its chancel a century later. The Bygods, earls of Norfolk, owned Settrington manor and advowson by 1285 and held them throughout our period, two being laid in Settrington chancel in 1426 and 1514. Although the St Quintins were never patrons of Brandesburton or Sigglesthorne, they were lords of Brandesburton manor from the twelfth to the mid-sixteenth century and of Wassand manor from the thirteenth to the early fifteenth century:

[214] BIA, V.1586/CB; V.1627/CB; V.1636/CB; V.1640/CB; V.1662-3/CB1; V.1682/CB; V.1684-85/CB1; ER.V/CB.2-3; ER.V/CB.4 (twice); ER.V/CB.5 (nine entries); ER.V/CB.6; ER.V/CB.10-12; *Dering's Visitation*, 199-200; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, August 1754, vol. XXIX, p 358, which provides the terminus ad quem for the collapse. See discussion of Aughton in subsequent Chapters.

[215] Except, briefly, for Flamborough.

[216] English, *Great Landowners*, 11.

[217] *VCHERII*, 154, 156, 161; *VCHERVII*, 42-43, 45, 312-15, 318-19.

two family members were buried in Brandesburton chancel in 1369 and 1397, and another in Sigglesthorne chancel in 1404. Bridlington priory leased a manor house in Bessingby to Herbert St Quintin, who was interred in its chancel in 1534, but the family never held either the manor, rectory or advowson.[218]

2.5.2 Chancel burials of laity 1547-1603

Virtually all who were buried in chancels after the Reformation owed their place to their standing in the community: neither they nor their descendants owned rectorial tithes in the relevant parishes. This accounts for the monuments to the Rouths in Routh chancel;[219] to the Constables of Wassand in Goxhill chancel;[220] to Lady Isabel Ellerker and her husband in Bishop Burton chancel;[221] and to William Gourley in Norton chancel.[222] Many further examples of chancel interments of prominent people who did not own the relevant rectories occur in the seventeenth century, especially in its second half.[223]

Indeed, the only known chancel burials of lay rectors in the East Riding between 1547 and 1603 are those of Sir Henry Gates and his first wife Lucy in Seamer church; and the chancel was evidently well maintained by their descendants.[224] In 1555 Queen Mary granted Seamer manor to Sir Henry, and in 1560 Queen Elizabeth granted him Seamer rectory and its two chapels; Gates' son retained all until 1613; no impropriator was presented for neglect of Seamer's chancel until 1686.[225]

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[218] *Dugdale II*, 145; *Fasti Buckrose*, 41-45; *VCHERII*, 18-19; *VCHERVII*, 215-61, 220-21, 248, 252-53, 270-72, 367, 370.
[219] *VCHERVII*, 352.
[220] *Dugdale III*, 47; *VCHERVII*, 270.
[221] *VCHERIV*, 4, 13. See footnote 136.
[222] *CPR/1575-78*, 2260; *CPR/1599-1600*, 342(4); Pevsner, *ER,* 625.
[223] See Chapters III and IV.
[224] *VCHNRII*, 485, 488.
[225] BIA, ER.V/CB.5, f.242r; *CPR/1554-5*, 123-4; *CPR/1560-63*, 11; *Stuart Fines I*, 218-9. See pages 54, 95-96, 100 and footnotes 126-27.

2.5.3 Pre-1547 burials of laity in chapels/aisles

Before the Reformation many members of leading East Riding families were interred in side aisles or chantry chapels. Examples of burials in such chantry chapels (which were also effectively family chapels) include the fourth earl of Northumberland in the Percy chapel in Beverley Minster; the de Somervilles and Griffiths of Burton Agnes; four Portingtons in Eastrington church; two St Quintins at Harpham; Sir John Meux and his wife at Aldbrough; the Hiltons, the first lords of Swine manor and benefactors of the convent, in Swine church; the Constables of Burton Constable in Halsham church before their descendants built a mausoleum in 1802; and the Hildyards, lords of Winestead manor from the mid-fifteenth century to the late nineteenth century, first in the south aisle of Winestead church, and later in a chapel erected in its place by Sir Christopher Hildyard (†1634).[226] To these may be added forty-three of those lay testators, directions for whose interment before 1547 Torre recorded.[227]

2.5.4 Burials of laity in chapels/aisles 1547-1603

After the Reformation there were also many burials of prominent parishioners in such chapels or aisles, including the Ellerkers of Risby in Rowley's south chapel, and Thomas Dolman and Robert Sotheby in the Lady Chapel and north transept respectively of Pocklington church.[228] Torre provides fifteen more examples of testators between 1547 and 1603 who sought burial in places within a church other than the chancel, often beside relatives.[229] Usually neither the deceased who were buried there nor their descendants owned the rectorial tithes. Burials in former chantry chapels, newly erected chapels and

[226] *Dugdale III*, 184, 331; Pevsner, 365-66, 398-99; Poulson, *Holderness II*, 11, 197-99, 202, 212-14, 385-86, 467, 469-70, 477-80; *VCHERVI*, 234.

[227] Torre, ff.254, 270, 483, 644, 690-91, 736, 748, 841, 861, 864-66, 913, 982, 986-87, 1065, 1067-70, 1117, 1154, 1175, 1186, 1205, 1276, 1317, 1390, 1392, 1443, 1460, 1512, 1566, 1608.

[228] *Dugdale III*, 161; Alex D.H. Leadman, 'Pocklington Church', *YAJ,* vol. *XIV* (London, 1897), 85-132, at 105-7.

[229] Torre, ff.162, 687, 692, 694, 724, 865, 893, 1103, 1204, 1214, 1243, 1368, 1483.

side aisles, especially in family groups, continued in the seventeenth century, in the archdeaconry and throughout England.[230]

2.6 The body of the church

During the second half of the sixteenth century East Riding laity discharged their responsibility for church fabric much more fully than did rectors theirs for their chancels. The chief reason for this disparity was the ease with which the courts could enforce their orders against church wardens, who resided in the relevant parish and were generally in any event much more willing to comply with directions by church authorities than were the Crown, ecclesiastical dignitaries or lay rectors. Conversely those authorities were more inclined to check whether the laity had obeyed their orders, and had more effective means than were available in respect of breaches by rectors. They obliged wardens to assess parishioners to contribute to the cost; imposed supervision to ensure that the work was done; threatened fines or excommunication for non-compliance; insisted that dilapidated parts of the church beyond repair should be re-built; required certificates that the work had been completed; stipulated that these be supplied by several individuals; compelled the churchwardens to swear on oath that the certificates were correct; and checked that certificates had been produced.[231] Welwick provides an example of the perseverance of court officials over nearly forty years in seeking to ensure that Welwick's steeple, porch, north aisle, churchyard walls were adequately repaired.[232] The wardens also played an important rôle in enforcing the directions of church officials. They fixed the tax which parishioners were to pay; presented individuals for failure to meet their assessments; levied fines for absence from divine service; procured all necessary

[230] Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, 159-61. See Chapters III and IV.
[231] E.g., BIA, V.1575-CB1; V.1575-CB2; V.1578-9/CB1; V.1595-6/CB1; V.1671-2/CB.
[232] BIA, V.1571-2/CB; V.1575-CB1; V.1575-CB2; V.1578-9/CB1; V.1586/CB; V.1607/CB.

maintenance and repair, including the provision of books, furniture and furnishings; and accounted for income and expenditure at the end of the year.

During this period records reveal few cases of potentially serious decay of church fabric for which the laity was responsible. In 1575 Etton's steeple needed repair, as did that of Garton in Holderness by 1578. Between 1571 and 1586 Welwick and the small parish church of Kirkham were in great decay; the steeples of Kirk Ella, Leven and Wilberfoss were dilapidated; and Leconfield had started the daunting task of rebuilding its steeple by laying sound foundations for it and using stone throughout for its reconstruction. By 1586, the body of Fordon chapel, which had already been vandalised by 1556, was in poor condition. In 1594 a storm had done some damage to Catton and Stamford Bridge, and the lead and steeple of Shiptonthorpe were in disrepair. In 1595-96 Lockington's steeple required work, as did Nunburnholme's in 1604. Carnaby was the only case in which problems in the roof were specifically identified.[233] Otherwise, there were general complaints that the body of the church was in decay, or in some decay.[234] Porches sometimes needed repair or replacement, as did windows and churchyard fences; stalls and seating; clocks; and bell houses, bell wheels, bell strings and bells.[235] Evidently some wardens made outlays without being charged with neglect: only two parishes were cited for disrepair of bells, while a further nine churches voluntarily acquired new bells, all made between 1590 and 1602: Burton Agnes and Sledmere each gained two in 1601.[236] However, the most common reports were of absence of or damage to pulpits, cushions

[233] BIA, V.1571-2/CB, f.36r; V.1575-CB1, ff.76v, 80v; V.1575-CB2, f.154r; V.1578-9/CB1, ff.46v, 72r; 1582-V.1578-9/CB, ff.178r, 191r, 198r, 204r, 207r; V.1586/CB, ff.103r, 126r, 150v, 159v; V.1607/CB, f.126v.

[234] BIA, V.1567-8/CB1; V.1567-8/CB2; V.1575-CB1 (four entries); V.1575-CB2 (five entries); V.1578-9/CB1 (three entries); 1582-V.1578-9/CB1 (three entries); V.1586/CB (twice); V.1590-1/CB1 (eight entries); V.1594/CB (four entries); V.1595-6/CB1 (twice); V.1595-6/CB3; V.1600/CB1 (eight entries); V.1607/CB (three entries); Fallow, 'Visitations', 210.

[235] BIA, V.1575-CB1, ff.72v, 82r; V.1575-CB2, ff.150v, 159r; V.1578-9/CB1, ff.50v, 68r; V.1586/CB, f.150v; V.1590-1/CB1, ff.115v, 138r; V.1607/CB, f.135v.

[236] BIA, V.1575-CB1, ff.72v, 82r; V.1575-CB2, ff.150v, 159r; V.1578-9/CB1, ff.50v, 68r; V.1586/CB, f.150v; V.1590-1/CB1, ff.115v, 126r, 138r; V.1607/CB, f.135v; Boulter, *Bells II*, 82, 84, 216, 218; *III*, 26-32, 404-7. See Appendix 10.

and cloths for the pulpit, carpet cloths for the communion tables, boxes for the poor and chests with locks and keys for security.

Other expenditure was occasioned by adaptation to the new religion. Parishes needed bibles (especially of the correct size and translation), the book of common prayer (especially of the correct edition), books of homilies, Erasmus' paraphrases, registers, communion cups, and coverings for them, much at considerable cost. Of the 23 Elizabethan cups belonging to East Riding churches and still surviving in 1912, all but two (those being silver-gilt) were silver, most being made in 1570. Other items were also expensive: between 1595 and 1598 Howden paid £1 for a bible, 4^{s} 6^{d} for a book of common prayer and 17^{s} for a parchment register. Further costs were incurred in removing or defacing movable relics of Catholicism, such as banned vestments, holy water vats, candlesticks, chrismatories, paxes, pyxes and proscribed books; and fixed items such as altars, canopies, crosses carved with banned images, paintings on rood lofts, altars and walls, tabernacles and Easter sepulchres. 21 of the 29 parishes guilty of such retentions were in remote Holderness, in which five parish priests still said masses for the dead in 1567, when many communities (and some clergy) evidently still clung to such items as part of their religious experience. However, this attitude began to die out: there were only two such presentments in 1571, and a single one in 1575, 1578 and 1582 before the last in 1590.[237]

[237] Aveling, 8-31; BIA, V.1567-8/CB1, ff.48v, 150v-51r, 152r, 158r, 186v-188v, 189v, 190v-193v, 194v-95r, 202v, 203v, 205r-206v, 207v, 208v-210r; V.1567-8/CB2, ff.20v, 39r, 43r, 48r, 49v, 108r, 164r, 177r, 188v; V.1571-2/CB, ff.32r, 64v, 67v-68r, 81r; V.1575-CB1, ff.66v, 67v, 71v, 73r, 79r, 81r-88r, 91r, 92v; V.1575/CB2, ff.168r, 170r; V.1578-9/CB1, f.179r; 1582-V.1578-9/CB1, ff.190v, 210v; V.1586/CB, ff.150v, 164r; V.1590-1/CB1, ff.118v, 124r, 138r, 179r; V.1594-CB, f.164r; V.1600/CB1, f.142r; Fallow, *Plate*, 211-12, 214, 229, 233, 235, 241, 244, 257, 271, 284, 288-89, 299, 302, 304, 306, 316-17, 323, 325; Weddall, 'Howden', 458, 466-67.

Some twenty parishes presented chancel neglect at the same time as or before they reported disrepair of the body of the church.[238] Perhaps there is some connection between the deterioration in the fabric of both parts: perhaps parishioners were disinclined to undertake work on the rest of the building while the chancel became increasingly dilapidated. However, the impression one receives from the visitation court books is rather that, while individual villagers baulked at paying their assessment, churchwardens generally wanted to maintain the body of their church, but encountered difficulty in raising the necessary money.

Cost was certainly a problem. Scarborough wardens indignantly claimed in 1575 that they had already spent 100 marks (i.e., £66 13s 4d) on the fabric. By 1583 they had procured a draft contract and specifications for the erection of a new flat steeple, a new belfry, a new conduit house, and new roofs and windows for the nave, aisles and two lesser steeples, all with battlements and decorations, and the contractors were to maintain and repair the new work for the following forty years. By way of payment the contractors were to receive all the lead and timber of the church left over from the contract, the use of six oxen and two horses during it, and 50s at its conclusion. The work did not proceed: presumably the price was too low for the contractors, and the parishioners could not afford to pay more. During 1592-93 (not an exceptional year), Beverley St Mary paid out nearly £38 of which £34 12s 6d was on maintenance and running repairs, and in 1594-95 Howden expended over £26: the only unusual item was the cost of taking out proceedings concerning chancel repair. In 1604 Nunburnholme wardens had reportedly spent £23 on repairing their steeple. This was a substantial sum for a small parish: some twenty families

[238] BIA, V.1567-8/CB1, f.196r; V.1567-8/CB2, ff.10v, 189v; V.1575-CB1, ff.72r, 90r, 91r, 92v; V.1575-CB2, ff.171r, 182v; V.1578-9/CB1, ff.38v-39r, 40v, 71r-72r; 1582-V.1578-9/CB3, ff.178r, 202r, 209v; V.1586/CB, ff.156v, 159v, 163r, 165r; V.1590-1/CB1, ff.98r-99v, 101v, 102v, 103v-104r, 132r, 135v, 138r, 176v; V.1594/CB, ff.126v, 157r, 174r, 190r, 192v; V.1595-6/CB1, ff.107r, 122v, 131r, 140r; V.1595-6/CB3, ff.161r, 164v; V.1600/CB1, ff.91v, 93r, 138r-v; V.1604/CB, f.86v; V.1607/CB, ff.113r, 139r; Fallow, 'Visitations', 210.

lived in Nunburnholme in 1563, according to a survey of the manor of that date, and only thirty inhabitants with hearths were listed in 1672.[239]

Even standard maintenance costs included many items: raw materials, such as glass, lead, lime, solder, ironwork, iron bars, nails, wood, bricks, stone, strings and rope for the bells and oil for the clock; equipment, such as ladders and spades, peat, wood and reeds for the fire, and ovens for heating lead and solder; annual or semi-annual retainers to craftsmen such as glaziers, the clerk (for ensuring the clock was accurate) and the person responsible for the bells; daily wages, which were 6^{d} a day with food and drink being standard for a labourer in the 1590s, while a glazier received double; bread and wine for communion; books; and fees to bell ringers, the sexton, and officials.[240]

Frequently the amounts sought to be levied from individual parishioners were pitifully small: 2^{d}, 6^{d}, 16^{d}, and 20^{d} are typical of the late sixteenth century. Moreover, in absolute terms the dues of the local land-owning gentry were not high. For example, in 1590 Mrs Anna Thweng of Rotsea was only assessed to pay 11^{s} 8^{d} for her Catton property, and Hugh Bethell of Ellerton, only 12^{s} for his North Cave lands. In both 1582 and 1595-96 Francis Nalton was charged 2^{s} 8^{d} for his farm in Rowley. In 1595-96 first 2^{s} 4^{d} and then 6^{s} 4^{d} was demanded of William Hungate of Saxton for his property in Warter. William Daniell of Beswick was taxed at about 4^{s} each for Hutton Cranswick and Kilnwick assets in 1595-96 and 6^{s} 8^{d} in 1600 for Hutton Cranswick.[241]

It may be that some Catholics did not discharge their church taxes because of their faith, although the records in the second half of the sixteenth century do not expressly connect recusancy with non-payment. The Hungates were Catholics, as were the Thwengs:

[239] BIA, V.1575-CB2; V.1604/CB; Castle Howard archive: F4/14/4; ERALS, PE1/51, PE121/55, PE165/2, f.10; Morris, *Nunburnholme*, 233-46; Weddall, 'Howden', 457-61; *YERHT*, 252.

[240] See footnote 239.

[241] BIA, V.1582-V.1578-9/CB1; V.1586/CB; V.1590-1/CB; V.1594/CB; V.1595-6/CB1; V.1595-6/CB3; V.1600/CB1; V.1607/CB; *Dugdale II,* 48, 170, *III,* 470; Foster, *Glover*, 124.

Marmaduke was presented for failure to defray his assessments for Hutton Cranswick in 1586, 1594 and 1604. Likewise recusants, William Daniell failed to make his contributions either to Kilnwick in 1595-96 or to Hutton Cranswick in 1600, and his son Ingleby was presented in 1615 and 1623 for neglecting Warter's chancel.[242]

Overall, the picture of the laity's discharge of its duty is not one of serious neglect, but of natural wear and tear, which had occasionally been exacerbated by the weather, as at Catton, or some deliberate act, such as Filey's church wardens of the 1590s, who stole lead from an aisle roof.[243] Nonetheless, by 1602 archbishop Whitgift was sufficiently concerned by the state of church fabric generally that he wrote to the bishop of Lincoln in the following terms:

> 'Her Majesty being informed that divers churches and chancels within this realm are greatly decayed and some of them either fallen down or like to fall down and likewise that many other churches are very indecently kept within to the disgrace of religion … hath commanded me to write to the archbishop of York for his province and to all the bishops within my province in her name to charge them to have a special regard to the premises and to take care that the same be reformed accordingly, which hereby I notify unto your Lordship, and require you in Her Majesty's name to see the same duly performed and reformed as you will answer to the contrary, and to certify me in convenient time the state of the churches within your diocese, and what you have done concerning the same'.

The bishop's response provides a picture of Lincoln diocese which seems very similar to that of the East Riding at the end of Elizabeth's reign. Of 611 churches described, 104 chancels were gravely dilapidated, through the default of powerful rectors (such as the Crown, dean and chapter of Lincoln and the bishop of Lincoln) or wealthy impropriators (such as the earl of Lincoln, Lord Willoughby and Sir William Wray). 79 churches needed

[242] Aveling, 18, 20-21, 35, 39, 60; BIA, V.1586/CB; V.1594/CB; V.1604/CB; V.1615/CB; V.1623/CB; *Paver's Marriage Licences*, 190; Walter Eliot Thwing, *Thwing: a genealogical, biographical and historical account of the family* (D. Clapp & Son, Boston, 1883), 12.

[243] BIA, V.1594/CB; V.1600/CB1.

work, but only 26 were seriously decayed, the problem often being the steeple. Depopulation and the poverty of the parishioners are cited as obstacles to repair.[244]

3. Conclusions

In 1547 some East Riding churches and many chapels were in poor condition, and some (mostly chapels) had disappeared well before 1547. About 17% of East Riding rectories had never been appropriated, and the chancels for which such rectors were responsible were apparently well maintained before 1547. On the whole, chancels held by ecclesiastical dignitaries and private individuals before the Dissolution and retained thereafter were properly maintained and repaired in comparison with those acquired by the Crown by the Dissolution, whether the latter were granted elsewhere soon thereafter or retained until the 1590s or so, and irrespective of whether they were sold or leased. Chapels containing chantries were usually demolished or at least pillaged. Indicia of good maintenance include connections with the parish of significance to the impropriator, such as long-standing residence or repeated leasing to members of the same family; sole ownership of the tithes; impropriators' recusancy; impropriators' good local standing; a covenant to repair the chancel; whether the parish was in Holderness; and proximity to the main site of the monastery which had previously owned the church. Conversely, those who were nouveaux riches or property agents, or relatives or servants of the tithes' owner often neglected the chancel for which they were responsible. The laity, whether or not recusant, generally discharged its obligations to repair and maintain the body of the church much better than did those responsible for the chancel.

[244] C.W. Foster, ed., *The State of the Church in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I as illustrated by documents relating to the Diocese of Lincoln,* vol. *I* (*Lincs Record Society 23*, Lincoln, 1926), 224-45, at 221-36. The response in August 1602 by the bishop of Lincoln on the archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow is at 219-236. Whitgift sent a letter in similar terms to the bishop of Peterborough, also in June 1602: *CSPDom*, ADD, 1547-1565, 39.

Chapter II – 1603-1640 – Neile's vision, Arminianism and beautification

For many sixteenth century English Protestants their beliefs and the practice of their faith were centred on the Bible alone, which prescribed the only lawful structure for the church (Presbyterianism), and whose meaning was disseminated by sermons alone. This austere approach contrasted with that of Queen Elizabeth, who had retained bishops, cathedrals and deans, with their considerable staff, and maintained the importance of art, music, ritual and beauty, both in liturgy and in places of worship. By the 1590s some leading English clergy had come to see Protestantism as a faith in which many elements other than preaching played a rightful part, including the sacraments, liturgical prayer, music and spectacle, and one whose structure might take a range of forms depending upon the circumstances in which it was developed. Among these divines were Richard Hooker, Master of the Temple from 1585 to his death in 1600 and author of *The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*; his friend and admirer, Lancelot Andrewes, dean of Westminster from 1601 to 1605 and successively bishop of Chichester, Ely and Winchester until his death in 1626; Richard Neile, chaplain to James I and Andrewes' successor as dean of Westminster, and bishop from 1608 until 1632, when he became archbishop of York; and William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury from 1633 to 1645, whom Neile appointed in 1608 as his personal chaplain. These influential men also rejected the Reformed Protestant doctrine of predestination, which led to their being labelled 'Arminians' in the 1610s. This was the name given to adherents of Jacob Arminius in the Dutch Reformed Church: they too repudiated predestination, although they did not share the English Arminians' desire to promote ceremonial worship and the use of the sacraments. (The

term ‘avant-garde conformity’ is therefore more accurate, if more cumbersome.) Once Neile had become bishop of Durham in 1617, a group of Arminians met in his London residence, Durham House, which fostered the achievement of their ideals.[245]

Soon afterwards John Cosin, a protégé of Neile, was appointed his chaplain and joined the ‘Durham House set’ before becoming a prebendary in Durham Cathedral and in 1626 both rector of Brancepeth, and archdeacon of the East Riding. Cosin continued as Neile’s chaplain when the latter became archbishop of York in 1632, arranged the divine services for Charles’ visit to Durham in 1633, and was appointed Master of Peterhouse in 1635.[246] Thus two powerful Arminians came to address the state of church fabric in the East Riding. They were assisted by like-minded men already at work in York, such as Phineas Hodgson, appointed chancellor in 1611, vice-chairman of the High Commission by 1622, and a member of the Council of the North from 1625; and Henry Wickham, prebendary of Fenton in 1614 and archdeacon of York in 1624.[247] By the 1620s both adhered to the ideal of ‘the beauty of holiness;’ and worked with and substituted for each other, and for the new chancellor, William Easdall. Easdall had acted as attorney and personal secretary to Neile between 1610 and 1614 and was deeply committed to Arminian tenets; from 1624 he was commissary of the exchequer and prerogative court of York, and was soon diocesan chancellor, running the Exchequer, Consistory and Chancery courts and reorganising the High Commission, whose sessions he increased from monthly to weekly intervals. Throughout his tenure until his death in 1643 Easdall played a significant part in promoting the plans of Cosin and Neile and in improving East Riding churches. Cosin also found sympathetic support in Edward Mottershed, the Official of his archdeaconry from 1632, who soon became judge of the Admiralty Court in York, commissary of the

[245] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe’s House Divided* (London, 2003), 503-20.
[246] ‘Cosin, John’, *ODNB*.
[247] *Fasti York*, 8, 13, 35.

dean and chapter and advocate-general in the north, charged with prosecuting all offenders in the High Commission Court. Neile consolidated his position by taking his personal secretary with him to York, and by appointing his own nephew to the prebend of North Newbald in 1634 and archdeaconry of Cleveland in 1638.[248]

In June 1626, Robert Claphamson, proctor at York, warned the newly appointed archdeacon of problems in the East Riding:

> these be impropriations and the owners dwell far remote in the southern parts. Another great fault there is among these impropriations especially those which are granted from the Crown the chancels of their churches have been long in decay and presented before His Grace of York and in your jurisdiction, the parties being called show their grants from His Majesty that they are not charged. It falls out that in some of these there are 6 or 7 owners and dwelling all in several jurisdictions. How these are to be remedied I cannot well tell. Our Chancellor hath been sequestering the fruits of some of them, but I see no reformation...[249]

The very first of the articles which Cosin stipulated should be put to all East Yorkshire churchwardens at the 1627 visitation was:

> 'is the body of your church or chapel, and the chancel thereof, in good reparations, decently kept as well within as without; the roof sufficiently maintained with timber and lead, (or with other materials, where there is no lead at all), so that it rains not in; the windows well and seemly glazed, without disorderly patching; the floors plain and clean paved; the pews and seats orderly set and well maintained; the walls, floors, pews and all other places clean, and sweetly kept, in comely and decent sort, without dust, or anything that may be either noisome or unseemly for the house of God...'[250]

Neile likewise began the articles for his first metropolitical visitation of 1633 with a section on the repair of churches.[251] In addition to stipulating that damage should be made

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[248] 'Easdall, William', *ODNB*; *Fasti York*, 15, 48; Foster, *Neile*, 175, 236-38, 242; Foster, 'Church Policies', 193-223; Marchant, *Law*, 43-45, 51-52; Marchant, *Puritans*, 52-7; Rosamund Oates, *Moderate Radical: Tobie Matthew and the English Reformation* (Oxford 2018), 231-32.

[249] BIA, Archbishops' Register 31, f.234 (verso) entry 2; DUL, CLB/1A, 15; George Ornsby, ed. *The correspondence of John Cosin* (Surtees Society 52, 1868) *I*, 93-94.

[250] J. Cosin, *Works,* 5 vols. (Oxford, 1855), 2-16.

[251] Foster, *Neile*, 255; R. Neile, *Articles to be inquired of, in the metropoliticall visitation of the most Reverend Father in God, Richard, by the providence of God, Lord Arch-bishop of Yorke, primate of*

good, Cosin and Neile increased standards so as to require churches to be 'beautified', their floors paved, and their interiors appropriately furnished by the provision of items such as a carpet for the communion table and cloths, cushions and covers for the pulpit; covers for the font; locks for church chests; bibles of the correct size, communion books, books of homilies and a table of marriages.[252] Furthermore, Neile soon began to order churches to place the communion table against the east end of the chancel and to erect rails around the table, and to require them to make all seating of a uniform height with the bottom paved or boarded, to place chancel seating on the north and south walls only, and to arrange nave seating so that the congregation faced the chancel.[253]

In these ways the East Riding was especially significant for the impact of avant-garde conformity on the state of church buildings. Given the importance which its adherents attached to beautification of churches, one might anticipate an improvement in the state of ecclesiastical fabric in the East Riding, and perhaps especially of chancels, irrespective of their ownership, from the dilapidation of the late sixteenth century to the decades of the 1620s to 1640s. This expectation is largely justified in relation to naves, but other factors militated against such an effect on chancels. The 1600s to 1640s abounded in tithe-owners among the new gentry, partly because of increasing upward mobility, and partly because the Crown had granted or sold more assets between 1580 and 1630 than it had previously. Moreover, transfers of such assets occurred more frequently during those decades than over the subsequent century, even if the individuals were not property dealers.[254] Those who did not intend to retain assets were inevitably disinclined to repair

England, and metropolitane. In the yeere of our Lord God, 1633 (Bodleian: STC10380); TNA, SP16/259/78, f.2.

[252] E.g., BIA, V.1633/CB1, ff.298v-299r, 332v, 340v; V.1636/CB, ff.229v, 257r-v, 261v, 286r, 301v.

[253] BIA, Chanc.A.B.25, f.10; ibid, V.1633/CB1, ff.289r, 290r, 348v, 349v; V.1636/CB, ff.219v, 276r, 288v, 289v, 299v, 311v; Fincham, *Altars Restored*, 243-45.

[254] See footnotes 119-21, 150, 303.

chancels, especially since there was no potential correlation between such investment and yield from rectories.

1. Ecclesiastical rectories

It is appropriate to consider chancels which belonged to ecclesiastical dignitaries separately from those owned by lay rectors, for two main reasons. First, clergy did not hold their rectories in any personal capacity, and therefore could not alienate them absolutely (although they could, and did, grant long leases of them): by contrast, the Crown and beneficiaries of Crown disposals owned theirs outright. Second, throughout our period, churchwardens were obliged to have recourse to ecclesiastical courts to seek remedies for chancel neglect: in cases concerning chancels owned by ecclesiastical dignitaries, the latter were often the ultimate judges of their own or their colleagues' breaches. It is also convenient to deal with ecclesiastical dignitaries separately from incumbents and lesser clergy, because, unlike the former, the latter could not sell or let their livings, and had virtually no power in church courts.

1.1 Ecclesiastical dignitaries

For the reasons given in the previous Chapter, it is desirable to distinguish between rectories held by the archbishop of York and those held by ecclesiastical dignitaries other than archbishops of York. This section also addresses two issues of great importance: the power of a covenant which required the lessee to repair the chancel,[255] and the wealth, status and local ties of tenants of all ecclesiastical dignitaries.

[255] Sometimes the phrase "repairing covenant" means "tenant's covenant to repair the chancel", and sometimes "tenant's covenant to repair generally", as will be clear from the context.

Until the early seventeenth century leases of tithes which belonged to clergy often imposed no obligation on the tenants to repair the chancel, but by the 1630s such a covenant was standard in such leases. This change mattered because ecclesiastical dignitaries were effectively judges in their own causes. Indeed, between 1579 and 1590 no fewer than five relatives of archbishop Sandys were either judge or registrar in two major ecclesiastical courts at York, while holding four prebends and leasing three rectories.[256] So long as the duty to maintain and restore the chancel remained vested in the divines, it was improbable that any would make an order against themselves or their colleagues to require them to fulfil that commitment, not least because they were unlikely to survive long enough to meet the consequences of their neglect. By contrast, in the event that the lease transferred that burden to the tenant, the court was much more likely to make an order against him than it would have been against the clergy. Moreover, the lessee's knowledge of that fact might well encourage him to comply with his covenant before any proceedings were issued.

In practice, only those who had sight of the relevant lease could determine whether it included such a repairing covenant. Accordingly, churchwardens during the late sixteenth century were often uncertain whether the ecclesiastical dignitary or his tenant was liable to maintain the chancel.[257] The courts usually concluded during those years that the responsibility remained with the clergy: inevitably, orders against ecclesiastical proprietors were unknown. Judges only began to make orders in respect of chancels for which clerics were liable once leases required lessees to repair them. (Occasionally they made orders against tenants even though the latter were not liable: examples include

[256] BIA, V.1590-1/CB1, f.133v; *CPR/1593-94*, 954; *Fasti York*, 48, 64, 66; Marchant, *Law*, 43; YML, W/b, ff.357r, 364v.

[257] E.g., BIA, V.1575-CB1, f.92v; V.1586/CB, ff.145r, 151r, 161v; V.1590-1/CB1, f.133v; V.1594/CB, ff.156v, 167r; V.1595-6/CB1, ff.138r, 148r; V.1595-6/CB3, f.160r; V.1604/CB, f.114r; V.1607/CB, f.102r; V.1619/CB, f.235v; V.1636/CB, ff.260r, 288r, 312v; V.1662-3/CB1, ff.368v, 373r, 379r.

Market Weighton in 1590-91 and Acklam in 1636.[258]) This change led to an improvement in the state of such chancels once such leases had been concluded.

1.1.1 The archbishop of York

Archbishops of York apparently always leased four of the eight East Riding rectories acquired in 1545 on terms which required the tenant to repair the chancel.[259] Reports of disrepair of these chancels were extremely rare. No covenant to repair the chancel was imposed on the tenants of Burton Agnes and Keyingham rectories until the 1630s – the decade in which such stipulations became standard. Before then, chancel neglect was frequently reported. The churchwardens of Keyingham lamented in 1595-96 that their chancel had been in decay for many years; by then they had established that the archbishop was liable for its condition; unless the work were undertaken soon, the structure would collapse and costs would increase; but they had failed to obtain an order for repairs despite applying to court on several occasions. New leases in 1636 and 1639 imposed that burden on Keyingham's[260] and Burton Agnes' lessees[261] respectively: this induced compliance at both for many decades before churchwardens again reported dilapidations.

1.1.2 Ecclesiastics other than archbishops of York

Ecclesiastical dignitaries other than the archbishop of York owned some thirty-six East Riding rectories. This group comprised the deans and chapters of York and Durham, the

[258] BIA, V.1590-1/CB1; V.1636/CB; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/147-51, 432; YML, W/b, ff.150r-1r; W/c, ff.18v-19r.

[259] See footnotes 148, 169.

[260] BIA, CC.Ab.3/1, f.46; CC.Ab.3/3, f.79/87 & CC.Ab.3/4 f.16; CC.Ab.5/1, ff.304-7; Rev.Deeds; ibid, V.1586/CB; V.1590-1/CB1; V.1594/CB; V.1595-6/CB1; V.1607/CB; YML, W/b, ff.343v-4r; W/c, ff.75v-76r, 184v-185v, 218v-9r.

[261] BIA, CC.Ab.3/1 f.32; CC.Ab.5/9, ff.175-6; Rev.AL1, f.10 & REV.AL/2; ibid, V.1575-CB1; V.1586/CB; V.1633/CB1; YML, W/b, ff.61r-2r.

archdeacon of the East Riding and nine prebendaries.[262] The state of these East Riding chancels improved markedly during the 1620s to the 1640s. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, ecclesiastical dignitaries other than archbishops of York rarely required their tenants to maintain or repair the chancel. Only five of their East Riding rectories were invariably let after 1547 on terms which required lessees to repair the chancel:[263] Bugthorpe (1550);[264] Weaverthorpe (1551);[265] Wawne (1566);[266] Tunstall (1568);[267] and Wetwang (1570).[268] Indeed, leases of at least thirteen rectories never contained repairing covenants.[269] Most of the remainder were demised throughout the sixteenth century without repairing covenants, but all were subject to that obligation by the end of the seventeenth century. Paucity of records precludes certain dating of their introduction in some leases, but it is clear that these covenants were added to many tenancies for the first time in the early seventeenth century, especially in the 1630s, and especially to the most valuable rectories: North Newbald (1600); Kilham (1617);

[262] Confusingly, not all were classified as peculiars (e.g., Kilnwick Percy and Goodmanham were not). Some ecclesiastical dignitaries were also rectors of other places, i.e., not by virtue of their own office, but because their influence occasionally procured their being presented by others (usually the Crown) to additional (usually wealthy) livings (e.g., Argam*, Bainton, Beeford*, Brandesburton, Foxholes*, Harswell, Huggate, Langton, Lockington, Londesborough, Lowthorpe, Middleton-on-the-Wolds, Nunburnholme, Scrayingham, Settrington, Sigglesthorne, Skirpenbeck, Walkington* and West Heslerton. Those starred are classed as peculiars). This section of this Chapter does not address those rectories.

[263] The dates given are the dates of the earliest extant leases in our period.

[264] BIA, CC.P/Bug10/Bug 1; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/456-61; YML, L2/3c, ff.23v-4v; W/b, ff.60r-1r, 347v-8v; W/c, ff.108v-109v; W/z, ff.105v-6v.

[265] LPL, COMM/XIIa/18/106-7; Torre, f.559; YML, W/b, ff.67v-8r, 344r-v; W/c, ff.97v, 120r-v, 245v-246r, 308r-v; W/d, ff.87v-88r, 164v-165v; W/e, ff.142v-143r. Exceptionally, a lease in 1536 had no repairing covenant: YML, W/a, f.81r-v.

[266] HHC, U DDWI/26, 55, 111; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/508-18.

[267] BIA, CC.Succ.9/Tun1 & 2; YML, W/b, ff.183v-4r; W/c, ff.202r-v.

[268] BIA, CC.P/Wet10/Wet; LPL, COMM/XIIa/18/56-61; YML, W/b, ff.164v-166r; W/c, ff.124r-v, 146r-v.

[269] Allerthorpe, Barmby Moor, Bubwith, Great Givendale, Grimthorpe, Grindal, Hayton, Holme Archiepiscopi, Kilnwick Percy, Langtoft, Meltonby, Waplington, Yapham: BIA, CC.DY.10/ALL1-14; CC.DY.10/BM2-3; CC.DY.10/GG1-2, 43-44, 46; CC.DY.10/KP/1-2; CC.DY.10/Yap1; LPL, COMM./XIIa/17/170-72, 362-64, 372-77, 388-89; ibid, COMM./XIIa/18/39-41, 110-1; YML, S1(2)f; S3(5)b, ff.25-29, 31-37, 71-74, 78-79, 81v-82r, 92-3, 103-4, 118-19, 129-30, 137, 141, 145-46, 149-50, 163-64, 149-50; W/a, ff.107v-8r, 111v-12r, 120r-v, 132r-v, 152r-v, 153v-54r, 155v-156r, 158v; W/b, ff.142v-43r, 155r-56r, 321v-2r, 328v-29r; W/c, ff.16v-17r, 34v-35v, 43r-v, 70r-v, 73r-v, 74v-75r, 96r, 99r-v, 133v-34v, 142r-v, 163v-64r, 250v-51r, 254r-5r, 285v-286r; W/d, ff.16r, 87-88.

Weighton (1632); Great and Little Driffield (1636); and Fridaythorpe (1641).[270] The number of complaints of chancel neglect to the courts dramatically fell once lessees were liable to repair them.

1.1.3 The repairing covenant

The power of the repairing covenant is well displayed in the following examples. From at least 1570 tenants of Wetwang (which included Fimber, Fridaythorpe and Elloughton) had been bound to repair all four chancels.[271] In 1582 archbishop Sandys bestowed Wetwang, the most valuable of all York Minster's prebends, on his second son, Edwin, who thereafter embarked on a glittering parliamentary career, with homes in London and Kent.[272] Two days before his resignation in 1602, Edwin executed a lease of Wetwang prebend (again with a repairing covenant) for the benefit of his immediate family, who remained tenants for at least fifty years. The prebend passed to another relative, who was not even ordained, yet apparently retained it until 1660, albeit subject to the continuing rights of the Sandys family. Thus the family had the benefit of the prebend for over a century, and it was clearly no more than a source of income to them.[273] Yet between 1567 and 1730 Wetwang and Fridaythorpe chancels attracted only one presentment for neglect each, and Elloughton, only three.[274]

In 1582 archbishop Sandys installed his third son, Miles, as prebendary of Weighton, while procuring a lease of Nafferton (another valuable archiepiscopal rectory) for another son in 1586. By 1596 Miles held Skipsea – another prize owned by the archbishop. By

[270] The dates which follow are the dates of leases in which the covenant appears for the first time. LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/479-89; ibid, COMM/XIIa/18/56-61; YML, S3(5)b, ff.17-21; W/c, ff.135v-136r; W/d, ff.103v-8r.

[271] See footnote 268.

[272] *Fasti York*, 66.

[273] BIA, CP.H.5288; *CPR/1602-3*, 233; LPL, COMM/XIIa/18/56-61; 'Sandys, Sir Edwin', *ODNB*; SANDYS, Sir Edwin, *HistParl*; Sandys, *Family*, ii, ped.C; TNA, E134/7&8Chas.I/Hil.8; YML, S1(2)f; W/c, f.146.

[274] BIA, V.1586/CB, f.51v; V.1595-6/CB, f.124r; V.1607/CB, f.155v; V.1636/CB, f.260r; V.1693-94/CB, ff.55v, 68v.

1626 Miles had obtained Nafferton, and his family retained both until 1673. The Sandys family had no other connection to either place. In 1602 Miles resigned his prebend and settled in Cambridgeshire; bought a baronetcy in 1611; and was elected to Parliament for Cambridge University in 1614, for Huntingdon in 1621 and for Cambridgeshire in 1628. His life was bedevilled by financial crises. Yet, no churchwardens presented either Nafferton or Skipsea for chancel neglect between 1567 to 1730, except in the early 1590s, and in 1690 (Nafferton).[275]

The Remington family provides another example. Enforceable contractual obligation was evidently the main reason the Remingtons ever repaired the chancels of Mappleton and North Newbald, although they received the tithes of both for about a century. Richard Remington was prebendary of North Newbald from 1586 to 1615 and also held Mappleton from 1589 to 1615 as archdeacon of the East Riding: he was cited four times for neglect of Newbald's chancel between 1586 and 1595-96. In 1573 the previous archdeacon had let Mappleton with a repairing covenant, and in 1587 the new lease required the tenant to repair Mappleton's chancel 'with lead, timber, glass and stone in manner as it is or ought to be'. There was only one charge of chancel neglect between 1573 and 1604. In 1600 Remington let both prebend and rectory to nominees for the benefit of three of his sons, Newbald with a repairing covenant and Mappleton without one. There were no further citations in respect of Newbald's chancel until 1623 and 1627 (both were restricted to the state of the windows), whereas charges of neglect of Mappleton's chancel followed in 1604, 1607 and 1619. In 1627 archdeacon Cosin granted a new lease of Mappleton rectory, with a repairing covenant, to Robert Remington, son of the late archdeacon, for the former's life and those of two of the late archdeacon's

[275] BIA, CC.Ab.3/3, f.79/87; CC.Ab.3/4, ff.31r-v; CC.Ab.5/5, ff.138-49; ibid, Rev.AL1, ff.5-6; ibid, V.1590-1/CB1; V.1594/CB; V.1595-6/CB1; ER.V/CB.8; *Fasti York*, 64; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/18-19; Sandys, *Family*, ii, ped.C; SANDYS, Sir Miles, 1st Bt, *HistParl*; YML, W/b, f.357r.

grandsons. The only presentment for chancel neglect between 1627 and 1730 was in 1636, when a sub-tenant complied with an order to repair the chancel floor and roof. In 1639 prebendary Neile granted a new lease of North Newbald, also with a repairing covenant, to archdeacon Remington's first son Richard for the three lives of other family members. The only citation for neglect of Newbald's chancel during the Remingtons' tenure after 1639 was in 1662, when Timothy Remington certified that he had completed the requisite repairs. He had probably lived in its prebendal house from 1638 at least and was still resident in 1672: this connection may have played a part in his compliance with the covenant, as may the fact that the prebendary was the archbishop's nephew and shared his ideals.[276]

The Remingtons' attitude was very different when they had a vested interest in a parish. The only citation between 1567 and 1730 in respect of Lockington's chancel was in 1662-63, for the churchwardens' failure to report neglect.[277] Throughout the years 1582 to 1684 (the same period during which they benefited from the tithes of Mappleton and North Newbald) one member of the family held the advowson of Lockington and presented another to the living; archdeacon Richard, his wife and one son were buried in its chancel. The Remingtons evidently took good care of Lockington's chancel during that century. They also had close ties to the next parish, Lund, where the archdeacon's son Richard settled, where his grandson Sir Thomas built his grand fifteen-hearth manor house during the 1630s and 1640s, and where many of his twenty children were baptised and buried.

[276] BIA, CC.ER9/Map1; ibid, CP.G.913; ibid, V.1586/CB; V.1590-1/CB1; V.1594/CB; V.1595-6/CB1; V.1604/CB; V.1607/CB; V.1619/CB; V.1623/CB; V.1627/CB; V.1636/CB; V.1662-3/CB1; *Dugdale III*, 493; *Fasti York*, 17, 48; Foster, *Glover*, 560; LPL, COMM/XIIa/18/92-93, 97-103; YML, S1(2)f; W/a, ff.136r-v, 157; W/b, ff.185r-v, 368v-9r; W/c, ff.72r-73r, 135v-136r

[277] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, f.370v.

No Remington ever owned Lund's advowson or tithes, but its churchwardens made no presentments about its chancel after 1615.[278]

Similarly, Isaac Mountaigne probably maintained Westow's chancel during his forty-year tenancy because his leases obliged him to do so.[279] He apparently lived in Cheam until 1621 at least, and perhaps until 1636. He was probably related to the Mountaignes of Westow, who had a long-standing connection to Westow, the place of baptism, marriage and burial of members of the family from at least 1565, and two were lessees of Westow's tithes from 1603. But Isaac's connection to Westow was tenuous.[280]

The absence of such a contractual compulsion often allowed chancel neglect to go unchecked. John Thornborough held York deanery from 1589 until 1617 in commendam while bishop of Limerick (from 1593 for ten years) and bishop of Bristol from 1603. As dean he also owned the tithes of Burton Pidsea, Fangfoss, Kilham and Pocklington: despite repeated unsuccessful presentations during that period of disrepair in the chancels of all four, this notoriously acquisitive dean successfully avoided meeting his obligations in respect of all of them.[281] In 1595, the year of his elevation to York's archbishopric, Matthew Hutton procured a lease of Kilham's tithes from Thornborough, free of any obligation to repair its chancel, for his son Timothy. Thornborough's successor as dean in 1617 promptly imposed a repairing covenant on Sir Timothy. No further citation followed until 1627, when William Thompson, a sub-lessee, was presented for chancel

[278] Many Remingtons were baptised, married and buried at Lockington, in 1592, 1620, 1638, 1648, 1649, 1657: BIA, Bishops' Transcripts 1638; *Dugdale III*, 494; ERALS, PE70/1, 1, 18, 48; PE70/2; PE70/3; PE139/1, 6-7, 9, 14, 16; PE139/2; *Fasti Harthill*, 186, 194-5; Pevsner, *ER,* 607; *YERHT*, 197.

[279] He held leases concluded in 1610, 1616, 1621, 1625, 1632 and 1636/7 until his death in 1648: BIA, CC.Ab.3/1, f.39; CC.Ab.5/1, ff.274-76, 396-98; Rev. Deeds; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/116.

[280] BIA, PR WES/1, pp 17, 34; PR WES/2, pp 20, 22; ibid, Rev.AL1 & 2; *Dugdale II*, 164-67.

[281] BIA, V.1586/CB, f.151r; V.1590-1/CB1, ff.109r, 111v, 112r-v, 126r; V.1594/CB, f.138r; V.1595-6/CB3, ff.160r, 166v; V.1600/CB1, f.100r; V.1604/CB, ff.91v-92r; V.1607/CB, ff.128v-129r, 135r; V.1615/CB, f.219r; V.1627/CB, f.294v; V.1633/CB1, ff.298v-299r; Fallow, 'Visitations', 221, 224, 227, 229, 232, 317, 320, 323-24, 326, 328, 333, 336, 338, 341; *Fasti York*, 6; Bernard Jennings, *A History of the Church and Parish of Kilham* (Kilham, 1990), 21-2; 'Thornborough, John', *ODNB*.

neglect.[282] Kilham's fortunes improved in 1629 with a change of tenant on Sir Timothy's death, a reiterated repairing covenant, and the development of a whole-hearted commitment by the ecclesiastical authorities of York diocese to improving the state of the church fabric.[283] The chancel may owe its restoration to the contractual provision and the attitude of the church courts, but the standing of the tenant and his family and their ties to the parish may also have played an important part. By the early seventeenth century the Thompsons were Scarborough's most prominent merchants: four Thompsons sat in Parliament for Scarborough in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and various family members served as bailiff at least eighteen times between 1603 and 1640.[284] Other Thompsons were wine merchants and held public office in York between 1620 and 1640, one representing York in Parliament four times later that century.[285] Several built up substantial country estates, at Escrick, Humbleton and Kilham, where Richard and his descendants settled: however, there is no evidence that any was buried in Kilham church until 1737.[286]

Kilham presents a typical picture of the change demonstrated in this Chapter, namely: first, in the late sixteenth century, powerful dignitaries of York Minster leasing valuable rectories without imposing any duty on the tenants to repair the chancels; chancels falling into decay; churchwardens finding no remedy in the ecclesiastical courts; and, second, in the early seventeenth century, leases of the same rectories including such a covenant, and the chancels then being restored, apparently mainly in order to comply with that

[282] BIA, V.1595/6/CB1; V.1627/CB; Britain, Knights of The Realm & Commonwealth Index; *Fasti York*, 26; HUTTON, Matthew, *HistParl*; NYCRO, PR Richmond.
[283] YML, S3(5)b, ff.17-21.
[284] THOMPSON, William: *HistParl.*
[285] *VCHYork*, 192.
[286] *Dugdale III*, 148-51; *VCHERII*, 253, 255, 257; *YERHT*, 346-47.

obligation. This change reflects the emergence of Arminianism, as did the bans in 1633 and 1634 of grants of leases for church property for three lives.[287]

1.1.4 Wealth, status and local ties

Kilham's history also displays features of owners and lessees of tithes throughout our period from 1547 to 1730 which were relevant to chancel neglect: their wealth and status and whether they had local ties. These factors were sometimes critical to the condition of chancels which were the responsibility of ecclesiastical dignitaries, irrespective of any repairing covenant. Many such tenants were, indeed, well-off men of standing, often Yorkshire politicians. Such people apparently felt it necessary to maintain or repair the chancels for which they were responsible as a part of their role in public life. Frequently tenants of such rectories either had, or acquired, connections to the area: sometimes they themselves, or some close relative, settled in the parish, perhaps even in the local manor house. Such people almost invariably ensured that the chancel was in good condition.

Preston well illustrates this factor. Subdeans of York let Preston's valuable tithes for some fifty years before imposing a covenant to repair its grand chancel: indeed, the lease granted in 1548 for seventy years imposed a general repairing covenant from which the chancel was specifically excluded. Its neglect was presented no fewer than seven times between 1582 and 1627, although the indentures of 1592 and 1599 required the tenant to repair the chancel, as did the 1638 lease to Sir William Belt and William Frankland for three lives, which they retained for some thirty years.[288] No complaint was made of the state of Preston chancel for the rest of our period.[289]

[287] Hill, *Economic Problems*, 310-16.

[288] BIA, 1582-V.1578-9/CB1; V.1594/CB; V.1600/CB1; V.1604/CB; V.1619/CB; V.1623/CB; V.1627/CB; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/494-9; YML, W/b, f.44r-v; W/c, ff.21v-2r, 130v-1r.

[289] BIA, CP.H.2781.

Evidently the repairing covenant did not achieve its purpose between the period 1592 and 1627. Why did Sir William Belt and William Frankland comply with that covenant in their 1638 lease? Sir Robert and Sir William were sons of Leonard Belt, town clerk of York: both had distinguished careers in public service, and both bought rural estates: Bossall and Overton respectively. MP for Thirsk from 1627 until his death in 1640, William Frankland had a country seat at Thirkleby. Neither lessee had any connection with Preston. Accordingly, the lessees' status was probably a significant element in their care of Preston chancel. The same consideration may have been the chief motive of Sir Robert Belt, an alderman of York, and Lord Mayor in 1628 and 1640, in contributing to the cost of repairing Pocklington's dilapidated chancel in 1638. He did not oppose the sequestration of his tithes in 1637 even though his 1636 lease of Pocklington's corn and hay tithes contained no repairing obligation. Moreover, Sir Robert did not acquire any link to Pocklington until later, when his son Jasper (born in 1625) settled there. No complaints of neglect of Pocklington's chancel were made thereafter until 1662.[290]

Similarly, in 1634, chancellor Phineas Hodgson procured the rectory of Bishop Burton from the dean and chapter for his eleven-year-old son Tobias. The lessor did not stipulate that the lessee maintain the chancel, but no allegation of chancel disrepair was made during the seventeenth century. The explanation may well be that Tobias maintained it because he settled in Bishop Burton: he was buried there in 1664 at the west end of the nave. He had a vested interest in the state of the chancel.[291]

Again some archiepiscopal tenants were plainly actuated by considerations of their standing in the community as well as their connection to the parish and church whose

[290] BIA, DC.CP, 1641/2; ibid, V.1590-1/CB1, f.112r; V.1594/CB, f.158r; V.1662-3/CB1, f.374r; Drake, *Eboracum I*, 261, 365; *Dugdale II*, 616-3, 245; Fallow, 'Visitations', 227, 320; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/468-71; Palliser, *Tudor York*, 99.

[291] BIA, England Births & Baptisms 1538-1975; ERALS, PE140/2; https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1103429; LPL, COMM/XIIA/18/82-5 .

tithes they held. For example, the Griffith family settled at their Norman manor house in Burton Agnes in the fifteenth century, and played an important part in Yorkshire public life during the next hundred and fifty years. Knighted in 1603 and appointed high sheriff of Yorkshire for 1606-7, Sir Henry Griffith built the new Burton Agnes Hall, one of the grandest houses in the East Riding. He was succeeded in 1620 by his son, also Henry Griffith, who was knighted in 1627. The family had held tithes in Burton Agnes from 1568, and from 1605 on a non-repairing lease until 1639, when it was surrendered for a new lease which included a repairing covenant. However, the new obligation may not have played a large part in the family's maintenance of the chancel. The church was an important place to the Griffiths: they had lived next door to the church since the late fifteenth century; had added a family chapel; and had erected monuments to family members in the north aisle. Moreover, by 1630 the family had become wealthy: by then it was one of the ten great landowners of East Yorkshire, in which elite it remained for a century. Further, in 1633 Sir Henry Griffith accepted responsibility for chancel fabric although he had no contractual liability for it.[292] Similarly, from 1623 until his death in 1654-55, Easington rectory was let to James Watkinson, mayor of his home town Hull in 1623-24, and MP for Hull in 1628, but he also resided in Easington. The repairing covenant might have influenced him in keeping the chancel in adequate repair, but his public standing and personal connection with Easington would probably have led him to maintain its chancel in any event.[293]

During the early seventeenth century men in local public life and successful Yorkshire merchants increasingly leased tithes belonging to York Minster dignitaries. Sometimes it is hard to assess the relative importance which such people attached to compliance with

[292] BIA, CC.Ab.3/1 f.32; CC.Ab.5/9, ff.175-6; Rev.AL1, f.10 & REV.AL; ibid, V.1633/CB1; English, *Great Landowners*, 21-22, 26; https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb50-udwb; Pevsner, *ER,* 365-66; *VCHERII*, 111, 117; YML, W/b, ff.61r-2r.

[293] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/6-7, 257-9; WATKINSON, James, *HistParl.*

contractual terms on the one hand, and the requirements of their social standing on the other. When the prominent Thompson family restored Kilham's chancel in the 1630s, they may have been actuated either by their status, or by the fact that Richard Thompson had settled in Kilham, or by the repairing covenant in the lease granted in 1629, or by a combination of factors.[294] In 1636 a similar lease of Weaverthorpe rectory was granted, and an order for sequestration was issued because of chancel disrepair. The lessee was Sir John Lister, wealthy merchant and mayor of Hull, who represented Hull seven times in every parliament between 1620 and his death in 1640. He gave plate to Holy Trinity, Hull, and left property in its churchyard and money for the construction of alms-houses there, and a house for a lecturer at the church: in accordance with his wish, he was buried in Holy Trinity's chancel, not at Weaverthorpe. In 1632 his son John settled at Linton, close to Weaverthorpe.[295] Sir John's motives in reinstating Weaverthorpe's chancel may have been similarly mixed.

1.2 Incumbents and lesser clergy

This section concerns some fifty rectories which exhibit the following distinguishing features: their owners were clergy; they were incumbents,[296] although some held a second benefice; and they alone were responsible for the chancel, even if they delegated the provision of services to vicars or curates.

A few were ecclesiastical dignitaries for whom these additional, wealthy rectories were perquisites of office: such people could escape their repairing obligations, and often did

[294] *Dugdale III*, 41-43, 148-53; *VCHERII*, 253, 255; *VCHYork*, 180-1; *YERHT*, 346-47. See pages 88-89 and footnotes 281-86.

[295] *Dugdale II*, 339-344; Fallow, *Plate*, 271; Gent, *Hull*, 35; 'Lister, Sir John', *ODNB*; LISTER, Sir John, *HistParl*; LPL, COMM/XIIa/18/106-7 (1636); *VCHERI*, 101-2, 122-3, 126, 344; *VCHERV*, 90; *VCHERVII*, 119, 362; *VCHERVIII*, 22, 136, 138, 159, 221; YAS, MD335/Box 57 (part); YML, W/d, ff.164v-165v.

[296] I use "incumbents" to mean rectors who did not hold the living in question by virtue of their office but because they had been presented to them; and "lesser clergy" to mean "those who were not ecclesiastical dignitaries".

so if they had no tie to the relevant parish. For example, in addition to being chancellor from 1611 to 1646, Phineas Hodgson was also the non-resident incumbent of the wealthy living of Sigglesthorne from 1608 to 1624. Protected by his office, he successfully ignored presentments in 1619 and 1623 about the serious dilapidation of the chancel of Great Hatfield, one of Sigglesthorne's chapels, whose nave and then chancel collapsed the following year.[297] Again, Henry Banks was rector of Scrayingham from 1592 to 1627, while also successively prebendary of Riccall from 1595 to 1613, precentor of York from 1613 to 1615 and prebendary of Bugthorpe 1615 to 1623: he ignored complaints of his non-residence and neglect of Scrayingham's chancel.[298] Francis Nalton held Walkington rectory and Hunmanby vicarage from 1588 and the sinecure prebend of Grindal from 1596 until his death in 1616. He disregarded with impunity the many presentments made throughout his tenure about his plurality, non-residence, and persistent neglect of the buildings and of his duties.[299]

Almost all the rectors the subject of this section were lesser clergy. Most sought to discharge their repairing obligations and most were resident, which usually motivated them to keep the parsonage buildings and chancel in reasonable order. A few were appointed by ecclesiastical dignitaries: the dean and chapter of York presented to Foxholes.[300] Philip Ford provides another illustration. By collation of archbishop Hutton, Ford was rector of Nunburnholme from his ordination as deacon and priest in 1601, and the prebendary of Barmby-on-the-Moor leased that prebend to him from 1625 for at least

[297] BIA, V.1586/CB; V.1590-1/CB1; V.1595-6/CB1; V.1607/CB; V.1619/CB; V.1623/CB; V.1627/CB; V.1633/CB1; V.1636/CB; *Fasti Holderness*, 126; *VCHERVII*, 370-71.
[298] BIA, V.1604/CB; V.1607/CB; V.1623/CB; *Fasti Buckrose*, *40*; *Fasti York*, 9, 31, 53.
[299] BIA, V.1590-1/CB1; V.1594/CB; V.1595-6/CB1; V.1595-6/CB3; V.1600/CB1; V.1604/CB; V.1607/CB; V.1615/CB; *Fasti Dickering*, 49; *Fasti Harthill*, 251; *Fasti York*, 39.
[300] *Fasti Buckrose*, 35.

twenty-five years, without any repairing covenants.[301] Throughout those decades he maintained the chancels in both despite having no other connection to Barmby.

Other lesser clerical rectors also generally complied with their repairing covenants: they had a much better record than either the Crown, or ecclesiastical dignitaries or lay impropriators. During the period 1567 to 1637, only Sigglesthorne reported repeated grave breaches, and only one in ten of these chancels suffered serious damage. Most complaints were made either in the last decades of Elizabeth's reign or between 1615 and 1633. The former reflect cumulative neglect; the latter, rising levels of clerical education, the emergence of a preponderance of graduate clergy, and increasing expectations that church fabric should be kept in a better condition than had previously been acceptable, as appears from Canons 85 and 86 of 1604:

'The churchwardens…shall take care and provide that the churches be well and sufficiently repaired, and so from time to time kept and maintained that the windows be well glazed, and that the floors be kept paved, plain, and even, and that all things there in such an orderly, and decent sort, without dust, or anything that may be noisome or unseemly, as best becometh the House of God'

'Every dean, dean and chapter, archdeacon and others which have authority to hold ecclesiastical visitations…shall survey the churches of his or their jurisdiction one in every three years in his own person, or cause the same to be done.'[302]

1.3 Lay impropriators

In her last two decades Elizabeth was driven to sell Crown property on a far greater scale than she had previously, and James I continued to auction them off at comparable rates.[303] Many impropriators of the 1600s to the 1640s were drawn from the same background as

[301] ERALS, PE158/3, 346; *Fasti York,* 55; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/376-7; Morris, *Nunburnholme*, 111-12; YML, S3(5) b, ff.787-9.

[302] Sigglesthorne: BIA, V.1567-8/CB1; V.1575-CB1; V.1575-CB2; V.1578-9/CB1; V.1586/CB; V.1590-1/CB1; V.1594/CB; V.1595-6/CB1; V.1600/CB1; V.1619/CB; V.1623/CB; Barmston: V.1619/CB; V.1633/CB1r; Folkton: V.1623/CB; V.1633/CB1; V.1636/CB; Halsham: V.1590-1/CB1; V.1594/CB; V.1595-6/CB1; V.1600/CB1; Kirby Underdale: V.1567-8/CB1; V.1578-9/CB1; V.1633/CB1; Gerald Bray, ed., *The Canons of 1603 (1604)* (Cambridge, 1998), 379-80.

[303] Hoyle, *Estates*, 17; Alan G. R. Smith, 'The Great Contract of 1610' in *The English Commonwealth 1547-1640* (New York, 1979), ed. Peter Clark, Alan G. R. Smith, and Nicholas, Tyacke, 111-27, at 113-15.

were lessees of tithes owned by ecclesiastical dignitaries, and many had only recently bought their rectories.[304] Among the purchasers was a class of new gentry with political careers, who acquired country estates with matching rectories, often with knighthoods and sometimes other titles. The extent to which these beneficiaries of rectories cared for the chancels for which they were responsible depended chiefly upon the strength of their personal ties to that parish and standing in that area. Those who lived and worked elsewhere, especially outside Yorkshire, usually neglected the chancels. Those who settled in that parish and whose standing was local were much more likely to maintain and repair those chancels.

A group of churches near Filey provides an example: Hunmanby, Muston, Reighton and Wold Newton. Sir Henry Gates of Seamer sub-let his lease of the rectories of those four churches, to his daughter Mary from 1585. In 1592 the Crown granted the rectories to dealers who sold on to Ralph Westrop, subject to Mary's interest, which apparently continued until her death in 1622. Neither family had any connection with those churches: and neither the Westrops nor Mary Gates enjoyed such standing or income as to require or enable them to maintain their chancels, which became seriously dilapidated. Change came when Richard Osbaldeston, London lawyer and member of the new gentry, developed a lucrative practice in York; married Thomas Westrop's sister; in 1622 bought the four rectories and the manor of Hunmanby, where he settled; and rose in 1636 to be knighted and become attorney-general of Ireland. He repaired the chancels of Hunmanby,

[304] Anon., 'Grant of a crest by William Flower, Norry King of Arms, to Edward Hutchinson, of Wykeham Abbey, Esq, 1581' *YAJ,* vol. *XVIII* (1905), 233-40; BIA, CC.Ab.3/1 f.46; CC.Ab.3/3, f.79/87; CC.Ab.5/1 ff.304-7; CC.Ab.5/4 ff.275-7; PR Y/MCS1, 66; Rev.Deeds, Keyingham; CROMPTON, Thomas II: *HistParl*; Drake, *Eboracum*, 105, 261, 365-66; *Dugdale I*, 73, 131, 195-97, 339-40, *II*, 61-63, 124, 339-44, 360, 438, *III*, 179, 258, 385-86, 418-19, 438, 510; HOBY, Thomas Postumus: *HistParl*; http://landedfamilies.blogspot.com/2014/06/127-anderson-of-eyeworth-manby-lea-hall.html; HUTCHINSON, Edward, *HistParl*; HUTCHINSON, Stephen, *HistParl;* LISTER, Sir John: *HistParl*; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/10, 270-1; Marchant, *Law*, 43; Neave, *Bridlington*, 44-5, 47, 53, 56, 76-8, 81, 84, 128; Ormrod, *Lord Lieutenants*, 139, 144; OSBALDESTON, William: *HistParl*; Palliser, *Tudor York*, 99; YML, W/c, ff.184v-5v, 218v-9r; *VCHERII*, 194, 234-35, 334; *VCHERVI*, 108-9; *VCHNRII*, 191, 221-23; *VCHYork*, 180, 190-1, 525; *YERHT*, 96. See footnotes 126, 180-81, 284-86, 288-95, 305-12, and Appendix 13.

Muston and Wold Newton, none of which attracted any complaint thereafter until the end of our period. On being cited in 1633 for neglect of Reighton's chancel, Osbaldeston restored its floor and seating, before conveying the rectories of Reighton and Wold Newton to his son-in-law, Edward Hutchinson. Hutchinson did not enjoy a successful career and had no ties to Reighton: only sequestration compelled him to repair its chancel.[305]

At one end of the spectrum were the impropriators described by Robert Claphamson, who lived in the south of England, none with any connection to the parish whose chancel fell into disrepair, many nouveaux riches, and some possessing only one of several shares in the tithes. Howden and Thorpe prebends of Howden Minster exemplify this type of owner. These former prebends passed through the hands of John and William Morley between 1582 and 1616: they were respectively MPs for New Shoreham in 1601 and 1621 and for Chichester in 1610 and 1614; and for Guildford in 1626 and Chichester in 1640-2. William Morley sold the prebends to Henry Robinson, a London haberdasher, who conveyed them to Thomas Walthall, a Stepney merchant; his family retained them until 1682 at least. Similarly, Cicily Sandys, the archbishop's widow, had acquired some interest in Howden's fourth prebend, Skelton, before 1594, when the Crown granted a 20-year lease of it for the lives of three of their sons, including Sir Samuel, who acquired the former archiepiscopal estate at Scrooby, Nottinghamshire and built up a large estate in Worcestershire. By 1612 the Sandys family had apparently acquired the prebend outright. It later passed to Samuel's son, who lived on the Scrooby and Worcestershire estates, and then to his grandson.[306]

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[305] BIA, PR/Y/MCS1, 66; ibid, V.1615/CB; V.1619/CB; V.1633/CB1; V.1636/CB; *Dugdale I*, 195-7, *II*, 438; ERALS, DDHU/9/33, 35, 48, 50, 117; DDHU/17/48; DDHU/18/3; HUTCHINSON, Stephen, *HistParl*; *VCHERII*, 234, 236, 280, 299, 301, 307. See page 100 and footnotes 126-27.

[306] BIA, CP.H.2222, CP.H.3024; ibid, HC.AB.13, 1596-99; ibid, V.1582-V.1578-9/CB1; V.1586/CB; V.1590-1/CB; V.1594/CB; V.1600/CB1; V.1604/CB; V.1627/CB; V.1636/CB; V.1640/CB; V.1662-3/CB1; V.1674/CB; V.1682/CB; V.1693-94/CB; Boyd's Inhabitants of London (Henry Robinson) 1599;

Nonetheless, the chancels for which such impropriators were responsible did not necessarily become dilapidated under their watch. Sir John Thorowgood was MP for Shaftesbury in 1624-5 and 1628 and for Derby in 1626: although he lived in Berkshire, he and his family owned South Cave prebend between 1637 and 1710.[307] Sir Thomas Wilsford, MP for Canterbury in 1625, and his descendants, resident in Kent, held Flamborough rectory from 1610 to 1767.[308] Edward Payler and his relatives were tenants of Wawne rectory from 1626 to 1665.[309] No member of these families was cited for neglect of their respective chancels.

At the other end of the spectrum are two categories within the new gentry: first, those who became successful within York and the East Riding – especially politicians – and those who represented the area at national level for Yorkshire, yet lacked personal ties to their rectorial assets, such as the Agars, Belts, Dickinsons, Gees, Ingrams, Listers, and Weddells; and second, those living in the parishes whose tithes they held, or who had a special connection, whether they were of local importance (such as the Myers family, the Cobbs, Cundons, and the Pricketts), or of national standing – the Paylers of Thoraldby, the Darleys, Stapletons, Thompsons, Wartons and Wilsons. Almost invariably both groups maintained the chancels for which they were responsible, irrespective of the presence or absence of any contractual obligation. For some, such as the Paylers, who leased the prebend of Bugthorpe, the chancel was to be preserved because they had settled in neighbouring Thoraldby and family members were buried there: monuments to two of them were erected in the chancel.[310] The importance of a personal connection is illustrated

CPR/1593-4, 954; *Dugdale I*, 110-1, *III*, 167-70, 398-9; ERALS, DDSA/607; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/226; MORLEY, Sir John, *HistParl*; MORLEY, Sir William, *HistParl*; ROBINSON, Luke, *HistParl*; Sandys, *Family*, ii, ped.C; TNA, E134/43Eliz/East.21; E178/4791/10JasI; Weddall, 'Howden', 455-57, 473-81; *Stuart Fines II*, 58; *VCHERX1*, 63-64, 279; *VCHNRI*, 542-44.

[307] THOROWGOOD, John, *HistParl*; *VCHERIII*, 47.

[308] WILSFORD, Sir Thomas, *HistParl*; *VCHERII*, 156.

[309] See footnote 186.

[310] *Dugdale III*, 15; https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1309966; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/456-61; YML, W/c, ff.108v-109v.

by Sir Michael Warton, who immediately replaced the stone arch of the north arcade of Eastrington's chancel after its collapse in 1632: he never lived in this remote Howdenshire township, but its north chapel had been the burial place of his mother's family for centuries. By contrast, despite citations, he ignored chancel decay at Hornsea, which meant nothing to him.[311]

Clearly the extent to which the new gentry cared for the chancels for which they were responsible depended chiefly upon the strength of their personal ties to that parish and standing in that area. The same is true of the established gentry and aristocrats who held East Riding rectories during these decades. Some rectories had passed into their families' hands (generally leased from the Crown) soon after the Dissolution, and constituted a small and insignificant part of those spoils. This category includes the Constables of Everingham and those of Burton Constable, the Jobsons, Knyvetts, Vaughans, Gresham, Thynnes and their relatives. Usually they had no ties to these parishes and neglected their chancels.

By contrast, some acquisitions by established gentry and aristocrats were more recent – in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries – and conferred or confirmed a local connection. These impropriators were more likely to maintain their chancels. For example, Sir William Hildyard, whose father had been patron of the living, acquired the manor of Bishop Wilton in 1612 and settled there: its tithes were a natural adjunct. By his will he established a trust to pay for a monthly preacher in the church, and he is commemorated by a wall-tablet in its south aisle. Chancel decay was only reported once, in 1623.[312] The recusant and Royalist Langdales had held Houghton manor in Sancton

[311] BIA, V.1615/CB, f.222v; V.1633/CB1; *Dugdale I*, 136-9; ERALS, DDCC/111/283; DDSA/225; Lawton, 335; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/230; Poulson, *Beverlac I*, 498-99; *VCHERVI*, 273, 275, 293, 299, 305, 311; *VCHERVII*, 283.

[312] BIA, V.1623/CB; *Dugdale III*, 333; https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1083868; HHC, U DDSY/4/57; Lawton, 328; Pevsner, *ER,* 332.

parish since 1303, and acquired Sancton rectory in 1600; a monument to Lord Langdale, who died in 1661, was erected in Sancton chancel: despite the family's financial ruin, there was only one relevant presentment in the century of their tenure, which occurred immediately after the upheavals of 1640-60.[313]

Thus, chancel neglect was relatively common among two groups: established gentry who acquired their rectories soon after the Dissolution, usually as a small part of their booty, and who lacked any connection to the parish; and among dealers and new gentry likewise without local ties. This contrasts with the care usually provided by gentry, both established and new (apparently in the belief that chancel maintenance conferred status upon them), whose acquisitions were recent and linked them to the area. Under their ownership, the condition of their chancels' fabric improved.

2. Ecclesiastical revival: chancels

Two other related factors influenced the improvement during the 1620s to 1640s of the state of chancels (whether owned by divines or impropriators): first, Arminianism; and, second, the increased rigour of the ecclesiastical courts, which were at their zenith of power during the 1620s to 1640s, together with the revival of the chancery courts to help with their work.[314] For example, the impropriators of Willerby had been cited for neglect from 1586, when the chancel had allegedly been in decay already for some twenty years. Further complaints were made repeatedly thereafter, culminating in an impassioned petition in 1615, which achieved the completion of all the work but for the windows. These were the subject of another successful presentment in 1623. No further charges were brought for the next century. Warter provides a comparable example. Its chancel

[313] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; HHC, U DDHA/16/3, 17; U DDLA/22/4; Pevsner, *ER,* 667; *VCHERIV*, 157, 159.
[314] Davies, *Caroline Captivity*, 74-75; Marchant, *Law*, 66-81; Outhwaite, *Ecclesiastical Courts*, 78-94.

had been deteriorating from at least 1590, and the last of eight citations was made in 1623: no further complaint of its condition was made over the next hundred years.[315] In other cases, such as Atwick, Kirby Underdale and Beswick, the necessary work was done without the need for an order for sequestration, although the court insisted upon the provision of a certificate of completion of work.[316]

The same pattern emerges in the case of Muston, which had a long history of chancel dilapidation from 1595 at least: the last citation in our period was made in 1619.[317] Between 1595 and 1620 Mary Gates, lessee of Hunmanby, Reighton and Wold Newton also, was repeatedly also charged with neglect of all three chancels, but the 1615 order nisi for sequestration of Hunmanby tithes was apparently not made absolute, and therefore did not secure compliance.[318]

By the 1620s the courts had accepted that some traditional sanctions had lost virtually all their power to compel compliance with order to repair church fabric – for example, findings of contempt of court, and excommunication. Judges still pronounced impropriators (and others) in contempt of court (often because of their failure to appear when summonsed), and indeed still excommunicated them, but they knew that these decrees would not ensure conformity, and they often added other sanctions. For example, when Folkton's rector failed to restore its chancel, the court not only held him to be in contempt, but also banned him from entering his church.[319] However, that sanction was naturally only effective against a cleric rector.

[315] BIA, V.1590-1/CB1; V.1595-6/CB1; V.1595-6/CB3; V.1604/CB; V.1607/CB; V.1615/CB; V.1619/CB; V.1623/CB.
[316] BIA, V.1627/CB, f.303r; V.1633/CB1, f.324r; V.1636/CB, f.252v.
[317] BIA, V.1595-6/CB3; V.1594/CB; V.1595/6/CB3; V.1600/CB1; V.1604/CB; V.1607/CB; V.1615/CB; V.1619/CB.
[318] BIA, V.1590-1/CB1; V.1595-6/CB1; V.1595-6/CB3; V.1607/CB; V.1615/CB; V.1619/CB. See pages 95-96.
[319] BIA, V.1633/CB1, ff.342r, 343r.

Of more general relevance and more reliable efficacy was the sanction of sequestration. By the late 1620s the courts were willing to sequester rectorial tithes even where there was no long-standing chancel neglect: and judges were more willing during the 1630s than at any other time during our period to direct that tithes be sequestered. At least fourteen such orders were made in the 1620s to 1640s. Apparently only one was issued, and one threatened, between 1547 and 1620; three were directed between the 1640s and 1660s; twice between 1670 and the 1690s an official expressed a desire to obtain one; and none was made during the following forty years.[320]

After a report of dilapidation in the chancel of Kirby Grindalythe in 1575, no further complaint was made until 1633: when the impropriator failed to appear, the court decreed a sequestration.[321] Despite the absence of any citation since 1607, in 1633 the judge directed that Kilnwick's tithes should be sequestered to pay for chancel repairs.[322] One finds the same story at Hilston and Sproatley, both also in 1633.[323] Thomas Wilson had been ordered to repair Sledmere's chancel in 1619, but such work as had been done was evidently inadequate, for he was summoned again in 1636: the decree of sequestration then pronounced was not discharged until he had provided a certificate of satisfactory completion.[324]

Similarly, without the need for such an order, in 1633 Reighton's impropriator evidently restored the chancel floor and seating then presented, for those areas are not mentioned

[320] **Sequestration orders made re chancel disrepair 1620s-1640s:** BIA, Chanc.AB, f.218r; ibid, DC.CP 1641/2; ibid, V.1627/CB, ff.235r-v, 272v, 303r; V.1633/CB1, ff.272v, 279v, 282r, 302r, 324r, 327r, 339r-340r, 347r; V.1633/CB2, f.259r; V.1636/CB, ff.232r, 251r, 290v, 308v, 312v; **Sequestration orders made re chancel disrepair 1547-1620s:** V.1615/CB, f.182r; V.1567-8/CB1, f.153v; **Sequestration orders made re chancel disrepair 1640s-1660s:** V.1662-3/CB1, f.358r; V.1667/CB(a), f.37v; **Sequestration orders made re chancel disrepair 1660s-1690s:** ER.V/CB.3, ff.103r, 156r; BIA, ER.V/CB.4, f.6r.

[321] BIA, V.1575-CB1; V.1633/CB1.

[322] BIA, V.1633/CB1.

[323] No citation since 1595 and 1578-9 respectively: BIA, V.1633/CB.

[324] BIA, V.1619/CB; V.1636/CB.

thereafter. However, his successor soon realised that he would have to fund the repair of the chancel roof, because the court's response to his failure to appear at the 1636 visitation was to order that the rectorial assets be sequestered forthwith and to appoint administrators immediately. The order was only discharged once the court had received evidence – provided on 24th February 1637 – that the work had been completed.[325] A decree of sequestration in 1633 likewise brought compliance from Rillington's impropriators, after four earlier citations had failed to achieve that end.[326]

Holderness provides two further examples of chancels in continuous decay over many decades whose deterioration was apparently halted in the 1630s by the increased rigour with which the visitation system was applied. Owthorne's chancel had been in decay from at least 1567, and Paull's from at least 1575, but citations at almost every archiepiscopal visitation went unheeded. Only sequestration of the tithes in 1633 (Paull) and 1636 (Owthorne)[327] ensured compliance with the court's orders.

The sequestration of Weaverthorpe in 1636 provides an example of successful enforcement typical of the 1620s to 1640s. By a lease in 1636 the dean and chapter let the tithes for twenty-one years to Sir John Lister. It is not known whether the citation was issued before or after this date, but the initial response was to ignore it. The court promptly pronounced the impropriators and any lessees in contempt of court, ordered the rectory's assets to be sequestered, and appointed a lawyer and Weaverthorpe's churchwardens to be the custodians of the sequestration. Sir John speedily repaired the chancel: on his

[325] BIA, V.1633/CB1; V.1636/CB.

[326] BIA, Chanc.AB, f.218r; ibid, V.1578-9/CB1; V.1586/CB; V.1607/CB; V.1633/CB1.

[327] BIA, V.1567-8/CB1; V.1575-CB1; V.1578-9/CB1; 1582-V.1578-9/CB1; V. 1590-1/CB1; V.1594/CB; V.1595-6/CB1; V.1595-6/CB3; V.1600/CB1; V.1607/CB; V.1615/CB; V.1619/CB; V.1623/CB; V.1627/CB; V.1633/CB1; V.1636/CB.

production of a certificate to that effect on 23rd August 1637 the court discharged its order.[328]

Conversely, the sequestrations of Aughton, in 1636 and 1662-63, show that the remedy did not work unless it was pursued rigorously. The chief impropriator, Sir John Wray, had already been cited for chancel neglect in 1627: he replied that he was ready and willing to comply with his obligations, but only in proportion to his share of the tithes. On the failure of the other owners to appear at court in 1636, the judge ordered the sequestration of all Aughton's tithes. On 11th August 1637 one Jonas Rigdon, sub-lessee of Sir John, deposited £10 with the court, claiming that this would suffice to meet the cost of the work, and promising that if it did not he would provide more. The judge therefore discharged the sequestration to the extent of Rigdon's share, soon afterwards releasing more of the tithes. On 7th November 1638 two further sums of £2 and £2 10s were deposited with the court to be applied to the repair of Aughton's chancel, but by 1640 the other impropriators had still contributed nothing, and the fabric continued to deteriorate. Likewise, on 19th March 1662 the court directed Aughton's tithes to be sequestered, but on 1st April 1663 discharged the order merely because one (only) of the lessees had deposited money (£40) to defray the cost of repair. Aughton's impropriators never repaired the chancel and continued to be presented for their dereliction until the chancel finally collapsed.[329]

By the 1630s, for the first time, the courts were prepared to adopt the radical approach of ordering churchwardens to repair chancels, although they had no such liability.[330] In 1633 Francis Thompson had given a sworn undertaking that Scarborough's chancel roof had

[328] BIA, V.1636/CB, f.312v; LPL, COMM/XIIa/18/104-7.

[329] See footnote 214.

[330] No order made against Drypool's churchwardens summonsed in 1567 for chancel neglect: BIA, V.1567-8/CB1. In proceedings in 1586 against Matthew Hutton, then dean of York, impropriator of Wharram Percy's tithes, the judge authorised the churchwardens and vicar to sell the lead on its chancel roof to meet the cost of chancel repairs: BIA, V.1586/CB.

been repaired, which did not address the complaint about its windows: and the court noted that he lived in Humbleton. Perhaps in the belief that he could not compel Thompson to comply, the judge in 1636 ordered Scarborough's churchwardens to remove the chancel lofts and to sell them to fund the repairs. In 1637 the churchwardens certified that they had done part of the work, only to be excommunicated in 1638 for failing to complete it: the excommunication was not lifted until a certificate of completion had been provided, in 1639.[331] In 1633 the courts took the same route against the churchwardens of North Dalton, Hedon and Kilnsea; in 1636 against those of Wold Newton; and in 1640 against the inhabitants of Ellerker.[332] Only one churchwarden refused to accept the liability which the court sought to thrust upon him. Roger Wyvell, Cayton's impropriator, had succeeded in postponing chancel repairs for some five years by claiming that he had begun the work but needed more time. In 1636 a new churchwarden was brought to court on account of the chancel dilapidation: he successfully contended that Wyvell alone was liable, whereupon the judge directed fresh proceedings against Wyvell.[333]

Nonetheless, sometimes the cost of repair was so great that even an order for sequestration could not compel impropriators to comply with their duty. The history of Withernsea's chancel dilapidation is otherwise very similar to those of Paull and of Owthorne, but in 1609 the church was unroofed in a storm and in 1623 its tower was pulled down. An order for sequestration of tithes in 1633 was ineffectual, partly because they were split between several owners, some of whom were released from the order. By 1649 the church had been abandoned; £300 would not suffice to repair it; and much of Withernsea itself was lost to the sea, so there would be fewer inhabitants to contribute to the cost.[334]

[331] BIA, V.1633/CB1; V.1636/CB.
[332] BIA, V.1633/CB1, ff.259r, 264r, 307r; V.1636/CB1; V.1640/CB.
[333] BIA, V.1633/CB1; V.1636/CB.
[334] BIA, V.1575-CB1; V.1594/CB; V.1604/CB; V.1607/CB; V.1615/CB; V.1619/CB; V.1623/CB; V.1633/CB1; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/264-7; *VCHERV*, 166.

Notwithstanding an overall improvement, not all attempts succeeded. The fate of Howden's chancel is the most egregious example of the destruction which the Reformation could, and did, wreak on a magnificent edifice. The factors which contributed to this disaster included the high cost of maintenance and repair (itself partly a function of the size and high quality of the chancel), and its inevitable increase with continued neglect; the want of any clear transfer of responsibility for Howden's chancel from Durham priory after its dissolution; the multiplicity of people potentially liable; the uncertainty as to who should pay; the characters, resources and lack of ties to Howden of the impropriators; the length of and confusion in different legal proceedings; and the inability of the ecclesiastical courts, even in this period, when they were at their most powerful, to address a problem of the magnitude of Howden's disrepair.

The Crown made no provision for Howden's prebends or for the regulation of the repair of Howden's chancel after the Dissolution. Before then, Howden's prebendaries were those primarily liable for such work: afterwards, they had ceased to exist, without being replaced. No one ever suggested that the responsibility had passed to the Crown (although it must have done). This situation inevitably engendered uncertainty and disputes between the various lessees and sub-lessees of the assets of the five prebends and of 'the dividend', a fund for repairing the chancel. In 1575 the court of the High Commission held Musgrave, the tenant of Skelton prebend and 'the dividend', liable, without resort to lessees of the other prebends; nonetheless, it restricted his contribution to £30, and invited voluntary donations.[335] Twenty years later, the same court decided that the sub-lessees of Musgrave's successor, archbishop Sandys' widow, should meet the charges rateably

[335] BIA, HC.AB.8, ff.60v, 64r, 76v, 87r, 90v, 98v, 107v, 117r, 119r, 128v, 144r, 145r, 146v-48r; HC.AB.9, ff.73r, 74r, 89v.

between them.[336] Between 1596 and 1601 they allegedly took the lead off the chancel roof, recast it and effected some repairs, but these were evidently inadequate.[337]

None of those who held any of the five prebends did any work on Howden's chancel thereafter. From about 1612 the Sandys family held Skelton prebend and 'the dividend' for some 150 years, at first through Sir Martin, who held no public office and lived at Scrooby, Nottinghamshire, the site of his father's favourite archiepiscopal residence.[338] Mayor of York in 1633, and MP for York from 1640 to 1653, Sir William Allanson was his tenant between at least 1636 and 1640.[339] For the Walthalls, London merchants, and their descendants, the purchase of two of the prebends in 1621 was merely an investment.[340] Of those who held the other Howden prebends, none was rich enough to repair the chancel, although they had real connections to Howden: the Arlushes of Knedlington, who were lessees of two of Howden's prebends by 1638; the Methams, who held Saltmarshe prebend and had been settled for centuries in Metham in Howdenshire; and the Wilfleets who lived within Howden parish and farmed Barmby Marsh prebend from 1544 until at least 1638.[341] In 1637-8 the ecclesiastical courts sought to ensure the repair of the chancel by bringing and determining proceedings against every owner of every former Howden prebend at the same time, and by ordering all to contribute to the estimated £500 bill.[342] This prodigious effort achieved nothing, as was perhaps inevitable. The courts' failure to compel the impropriators to repair Howden's chancel contrasts

[336] BIA, HC.AB.12, f.317r-v.
[337] TNA, E 134/43Eliz/East21 York; E178/479.
[338] See pages 96-97 and footnote 306.
[339] BIA, V.1636/CB; V.1640/CB; *Dugdale I*, 339.
[340] See page 96 and footnote 306.
[341] Allen, *Yorkshire II*, 403; BIA, CP.H.2219-22, CP.H.2225, CP.H.2253A, CP.H.3024; ibid, V.1640/CB, f.131v; ERALS, PE121/3; Sally Badham and Brian and Moira Gittos, 'The Fourteenth Century Monuments in the Saltmarshe Chapel at Howden, Yorkshire: their history and context', *YAJ,* vol. *LXVIII* (1996), 113-55; *CPR/1569-72*, 1102; *Dugdale III*, 82; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/226, 438; *VCHERX*1, 42-43.
[342] See previous footnote.

sharply with their success in procuring the restoration and improvement of the body of Howden church in the 1630s.[343]

It might be said that the fate of Howden's chancel is irrelevant on the grounds that its purpose derived from the church's collegiate status, so that, with the Dissolution, the chancel became redundant. That suggestion cannot be right: if it were, then the fate of all such chancels – including that of Beverley Minster – would be irrelevant. In this context the main difference between chancels of collegiate churches and those of parish churches was that the former were usually larger both in absolute terms and also in proportion to the nave than were those of parish churches, and more elaborate: this posed a problem of maintenance after the Dissolution. Nor could it be said that chancels themselves became irrelevant post-Reformation, particularly since they held a crucial place in the weddings of the whole community as the setting for wedding communion. Indeed, communities in a sense took possession of chancels post-Reformation, in that, for the first time, they had physical access to them; set up seating in them both before Arminianism prohibited it and perhaps after 1640;[344] generally took communion physically in them; and continued to perceive chancels as the holiest area of churches, and to wish to be buried there. They remained places of significance even before avant-garde conformity stressed that fact.[345]

Although one sees significant improvement in the state of chancels owned by lay rectors during the 1630s, the change in such chancels overall was slightly more limited than was the case with those for which ecclesiastical dignitaries were responsible. Proceedings were brought in the 1630s and 1640s in respect of dilapidation of some thirty-seven

[343] See pages 112-14.

[344] E.g., by 1633 Holy Trinity Hull had seating at the east end of its chancel, which the wardens were then ordered to remove; they agreed to so do in 1659: see pages 114-15, 208 and footnotes 354, 678. In 1723-4 East Cottingwith, East Heslerton and Leconfield still had benches against the chancel's east wall: *Dering's Visitation*, 201, 216, 251.

[345] BIA, V.1633/CB1, f.346v; Marsh, 'Sacred Space', 288-89, 294-96. See pages 18-20, 64-70, 87, 89, 98-99, 131, 143-45, 195-96, 248, and footnotes 33, 207-30, 278, 286, 310-12, 394, 421, 425, 620-22, 795.

chancels in the former category, and thirteen in the latter class. The percentage of dilapidated ecclesiastical dignitaries' chancels of all such chancels is lower than the percentage of dilapidated impropriators' chancels of all lay rectors' chancels. The percentage might well be lower still if one discounted those rectories which belonged to the dean and chapter of Durham: this might be appropriate, because no court in York would ever succeed in compelling those dignitaries to repair such chancels. Another five ecclesiastical dignitaries' chancels were cases of neglect before the introduction of repairing covenants in their leases, none being the subject of any further charge. Clerics were presented as rectors at two, so there was no express repairing covenant.

This slight difference might be caused by the greater availability to lay rectors than to ecclesiastical dignitaries of loopholes to avoid discharging their duty, of which they took full advantage. For example, unless the rectory were held by virtue of ecclesiastical office, the tithes of one parish might be split among several people. In such cases impropriators invariably took the view that their liability was restricted to the proportion of their shares to the whole, and was not joint and several, i.e., such that each was bound to pay for the entire cost, subject to a right to recover a proportion from the other owners. Examples during the 1620s to 1640s include Aughton, Owthorne, Willerby and Withernsea.[346] Sometimes they contended that the extent of the liability was less than that alleged by the churchwardens, as did Thomas Coundon at Willerby in 1633. Some rectors who were clerics presented to the cure of souls simply ignored orders to repair the chancel, or the work was done so badly that they were soon back before the courts. Such an order was imposed in June 1633 upon Folkton's rector. Despite providing a completion certificate that August, he was summoned in 1636 on account of dilapidation to the chancel roof and windows. William Burnsall evidently disregarded the charges brought in 1627 about the

[346] See footnotes 214, 315, 327, 334.

dilapidation of Sproatley's chancel, whose restoration was only achieved by an order for sequestration in 1633.[347]

3. Ecclesiastical revival: the body of the church

The first half of the seventeenth century exhibits the authorities' increased concern for ecclesiastical fabric, and commitment to raising its standards, which was not restricted to chancels, but extended to the body of the church. Probably some of the presentments reflect the ideological commitment of Neile, Cosin and their colleagues, in the sense that their predecessors might not have encouraged the reporting of some offences or might not have pursued some with the vigour displayed in the 1620s and 1630s. Other citations in those decades reflect Arminian concerns and required parishes to undo work done over the previous three decades. Thirty-nine Chancery court orders made during Neile's archiepiscopate survive, of which six relate to East Yorkshire churches: their content and language illuminate the directions given at visitations between 1620 and 1640. The Chancery orders require windows to be unstopped and glazed and floors to be paved, but the characteristically Arminian orders are: to remove items placed at the east end of the chancel; to provide a decent communion table and to set it altarwise against the east end and to rail it off; to provide a decent covering for the altar of silk or similar fabric; to provide a decent cover for the font; to remove all seating in the central aisle; to arrange new seating so as to enable the congregation to kneel; and to procure that all seating be uniform and of a restricted height. In some places the partition between the chancel and the nave was to be removed: in others, one was to be introduced. The guiding principles were that all should be 'decent', 'uniform', 'comely', and 'convenient', and 'to beautify the house of the Lord'. The latter phrase was used by Ezra the priest on his return from

[347] BIA, V.1623/CB; V.1627/CB; V.1633/CB1; V.1636/CB; *Fasti Dickering*, 26.

exile to Jerusalem, where he restored true worship in the rebuilt Temple: that circumstance must have resonated strongly with these avant-garde conformists in Yorkshire. None of those words occurs in East Yorkshire archiepiscopal visitations before those of 1633 and 1636, in which one or more appears some twenty times. One may infer that it was not until Neile became archbishop that Arminian changes were imposed there. They included chancel-wise seating at Drypool; a decent font cover at Holtby; altar rails at Rillington; and beautifying eleven more churches.[348]

Other citations between 1620 and 1640 address serious and potentially expensive structural problems (seemingly more acute than those encountered fifty years earlier) which faced some parishes, especially those with large churches. Some were unable to meet the challenge.

One example is Flamborough, a substantial church with a west tower and four-bay aisled nave. Its steeple was already dilapidated by 1600: presentments followed in 1619, 1627, 1633, 1640 – by which time it had almost completely collapsed to the ground – and 1662, when the wardens admitted that the steeple was beyond repair. Evidently the cost was prohibitive, even in the 1630s, and the parish preferred to concentrate on renewing the pulpit and pews both in the body of the church and in the loft; paving the aisles and beautifying the church in 1632-33; and on glazing windows where necessary and mending the churchyard fence the following year. The churchwardens defended their postponing work on the steeple on the grounds that they had already incurred substantial expenditure on the church, and that the fence would cost more than they had anticipated. In 1640 they claimed to be raising money for rebuilding the steeple, but in 1662 the authorities

[348] BIA, Chanc.AB.25, ff.28-29, 125r, 130v-131r, 135r, 137r-39r, 142r, 221r, 239r, 240r; Chanc.AB.26, ff.36r-v, 42r, 49r-50r, 143r, 164r-v, 198r, 201v-2r, 204v, 206v, 207v, 230v, 243v, 245v, 255v; Chanc.AB.28, f.12v; ibid, V.1633/CB1, ff.259r, 277v, 291r, 306r, 324v, 332v, 337v, 339r, 348v-9r, 352v; V.1636/CB, ff.219v, 251r, 257r-v, 289v, 301v, 311v, 412r; Ezra, 7:27. Puritans also endorsed the duty 'to beautify the house of the Lord': e.g., Samuel Hieron's 1604 catechism, *The Doctrine of the Beginning of Christ* (London, 1619), 678.

apparently accepted their justified plea that the parish could not succeed. Flamborough's advantageous site favoured fishing and trade, but the port fell into decay after the execution of Sir Robert Constable, lord of the manor, in 1537; the sea had destroyed its pier by 1551, and (after its reconstruction) again by 1569; the pier was probably never rebuilt. Constable's property was forfeited to the Crown, and the manor suffered persistent neglect for at least forty years. Furthermore, Flamborough's population in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was seemingly poverty-stricken, as appears from a bequest in 1520 to ninety-two poor people; a report in 1665 that poverty prevented the rebuilding; and an unusually high proportion of households exempt from hearth tax in 1674.[349]

Scarborough provides another illustration of the difficulties parishioners faced in preserving the body of an enormous parish church, especially while up-dating its interior. By 1538 and 1544, when Leland visited, St Mary's consisted of a 90-foot long, aisled choir, north and south transepts, one central and two west towers and a nave with double aisles and a series of stone vaulted chapels on the south side, as it appears in a plan of the town of about 1590. Despite spending over £66 on its maintenance, the churchwardens were presented in 1575 for neglect. The great restoration proposed in 1583 apparently did not proceed, but in 1622 the wardens repaired the little and great bells, the clock and the west door, and did substantial work on the roofs and windows, which cost over £10, some two-thirds of their total expenditure that year, which exceeded their income of some £15. In 1630-1, on an average annual income of some £18, they spent nearly £17 on repairing lead work in the south and middle aisles and on the high roofs next to the steeple; repairing stonework in the church wall and windows, supplying new window bars; removing stone from the parsonage; providing a great lock and key for the church door, an iron string for

[349] BIA, V.1619/CB; V.1627/CB; V.1633/CB1; V.1640/CB, V.1662-3/CB1; *VCHERII*, 154, 156, 158, 162.

the bell-wheel and clock, mending both, and swine grease for the clock and bells; providing a door at the church stile and a post for the north stile; making an alley in the churchyard; and providing an expensive cushion and cloth for the pulpit, as well as meeting the ordinary running expenses of the church as a place of worship, such as oil and candles, heating and cleaning. In 1633, the churchwardens were presented for neglect of the timber, lead, glass and roofs of the church, but, before addressing this comprehensive criticism, by 1634 they had inserted seated lofts and new pews throughout the church, whose cost must have been substantial. During 1637 they continued their normal pattern of expenditure, of nearly £21 against receipts of £20, but also raised an astonishing £132 to meet the anticipated costs of wholesale restoration. The wardens were still fund-raising in 1643, and evidently had not begun the work before the catastrophe brought on the church by the siege of the castle in 1645. Furthermore, the churchwardens were being forced by court order to repair the chancel at the very same time as they were vigorously addressing both the exterior and the interior of the body of the church.[350]

In contrast, perhaps the work done on Howden's 143-foot nave, especially in the 1630s, was the most remarkable achievement of those East Riding large parish churches. In 1609 the parishioners had 'the three arches made up' and paid for 'rails for the arches'. These two phrases probably mean that the wardens isolated the chancel from the nave by blocking the three entrances to it from the nave. Howden usually levied some £20 tax annually between 1603 and 1630, but there was evidently considerable neglect during those years: although a gallery had been erected by 1610, little was spent on maintenance in the 1620s; in 1625 the parish recognised that some previous assessments had not been spent on church repair; and proper financial records were apparently not kept during the

[350] BIA, V.1575-CB1; V.1575/CB2; John Chandler, ed., *John Leland's Itinerary* (Stroud, 1993), 547; ERALS, PE165/1, pp 2, 4, 6-7, 9-11, 14; Hinderwell, *Scarborough*, 93; *VCHNRII*, 554-56. See page 104 and footnote 331, and Chapters I and III on Scarborough.

1610s and from 1625 to 1630, when the wardens' failure to present proper accounts was noted. At Neile's first visitation in 1633 no order was made to address the decay. Nonetheless, between 1634 and 1636 the parish raised some £600 – an average of £200 annually for three successive years – some of which was spent on windows, but most on the nave roof. The accounts provide a detailed description of the work, which began in 1634 and was still incomplete in 1636, when the presentment stated that the body of the church, its seating and its roof were in serious decay. In 1637 the parish was ordered to make the nave seating uniform. The wardens evidently encountered difficulty in meeting that additional cost immediately, for they paid the court official 5s for not presenting them for failing to comply forthwith. In each of the following three years the parish raised and spent an average of £90, chiefly on the new seating and a new organ loft, and on repairing the treasured organs, the steeple and the windows.[351]

It has been contended that in 1634 Howden's wardens stripped the chancel of its lead roof and re-cast it for the nave.[352] This claim – for which no evidence is cited – is unfounded. If the wardens had done so the impropriators in the litigation in 1637-38 about chancel repairs would have repudiated liability on the ground that the disrepair was the result of the parish's theft of the lead: and they did not. Moreover, the parishioners would not have removed the lead without the approval of Sir Thomas Metham: their deference to and trust in him is evident from the churchwardens' accounts. Sir Thomas would not have approved because, as part-owner of Saltmarshe prebend, he was potentially liable to

[351] BIA, V.1633/CB1; V.1636/CB; T. Clarke, *History of the Church, Parish and Manor of Howden* (Howden, 1851), 46-7; ERALS, PE121/55, ff.63, 74-75, 79, 85, 89, 94-96, 98, 100-1, 103, 105, 113, 116, 122-5, 127, 129, 134, 136-39, 141-43, 145, 149, 151, 153, 155, 159, 161, 163, 167, 175, 177-83, 185-232.

[352] T. Bulmer & Co, *History, Topography and Directory of East Yorkshire* (T. Bulmer, Preston, 1892), 649-52; William Hutchinson, *Howden* (Hull, 1892), 27. The error is repeated in *Howden, an East Riding Market Town* (Goole, 1995), 29, by Susan Butler and Ken Powls, and in Briony McDonagh's Preparatory Report on *VCHERX* (Howden and Howdenshire): https://www.researchgate.net/publication/330564396, 11-13. These writers also suggest that a faculty was obtained in 1600 or 1609 for blocking off the chancel, but none can be traced. In any event, in 1600 the litigation with Mrs Sandys had not been determined and in 1604 the parish was still repairing stalls in the chancel: ERALS, PE121/55, ff.79, 96.

repair Howden's chancel, as he well knew: in 1595-6 his father led fund-raising for proceedings to procure the chancel's repair, and in 1638 he himself was ordered to contribute £100 towards the estimated £500 cost of the work. The basis for the contention may be the facts that between 1596 and 1601 the sub-lessees of Mrs Sandys had allegedly removed lead from the chancel roof, recast and relaid some of it on the chancel roof, and in the 1630s the wardens likewise took lead off the nave roof, re-cast and relaid it on the nave roof. This was standard practice, because of the high cost of lead.[353] There is nothing to suggest that the lead used on the nave roof in the 1630s came from the chancel.

Long before Cosin and Neile arrived, Holy Trinity Hull was continuing the modernisation begun earlier to meet the needs of Protestant worship. In 1580 a loft for grammar school boys had been erected at the west end, followed in 1596 by one at the east end of the nave, over the aldermen's pews; by 1598 the nave had been completely re-pewed (albeit with seating of different sizes and heights, some blocking the central aisle); and in 1615 two more lofts were constructed on the north and south sides. Seating had been added at the east end of the chancel and the communion table moved west well before 1633. The churchwardens apparently implemented the orders made in 1633 by which they were to remove the seats from the east end of the chancel, to rail off two bays there and to place a new communion table against the east wall, to rebuild the lofts on a uniform plan, to replace the existing nave seating with uniform rows facing the chancel, to be separated by a central aisle, and to re-floor the nave. With exceptions for the mayor and aldermen, pews were to be no higher than 4`2``. Apparently between 1633 and 1639, the wardens had erected a wooden partition between the chancel and in the nave: in 1639 they were ordered to remove it. The church was 285 feet long (30 feet longer than Howden) and its nave 138 feet long (five feet shorter than Howden's). The cost of the work must have

[353] BIA, CP.H.2221, 2225, 2253A; ibid, HC.AB.12, f.317r-v; ibid, HC.AB.13, ff.35v-36v; ERALS, PE121/55, ff.11, 85, 93, 182, unnumbered folio between f.202 and f.203, 204, 207; *Dugdale III*, 85.

been prodigious. However, Hull's oversea trade grew steadily from 1600 to 1640, although the increase in its population to some 6,000 was curtailed by the arrival of the plague in 1635 and 1637, followed by deaths caused by the wars as well as epidemics. Nonetheless, Hull was well able to finance such work.[354]

St Mary's, Beverley was another large church (197 feet long), the body of which was well-maintained from the Dissolution: its churchwardens were only presented once between 1567 and 1730 – in 1633 – and then only because the pews were not uniform and they lacked a book of homilies and table of marriages. Three factors distinguished St Mary's. First, the foremost, richest and most influential of Beverley attended it. Second, Beverley remained affluent in the sixteenth century, although its trade had diminished in the previous century, and the suppression of St John's College had greatly reduced its wealth. Third, in 1634 St Mary's finally regained much of its original endowment, at the instance of Francis Thorpe, Recorder of Beverley and parishioner of St Mary's.[355] Few parishes had the benefit of parishioners of sufficient standing to procure such an outcome. At Beverley St Mary, a gallery was installed in 1616; in 1622-23 the churchwardens built a new pew in the choir and provided lavish cushions and kneelers for the vicar, mayor and aldermen's stalls in the choir, and added a new pulpit in the choir with steps, a cushion, a great curtain, a new hourglass and a new iron for holding it; and in about 1634 (probably in response to the charge that the seating was not uniform) new pews, which cost more than £93.[356]

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[354] BIA, Chanc.A.B.25, ff.125r-v, 135r; Chanc.A.B.28, f.58v; ibid, CP.H.2315B; Abraham de la Pryme: HHC, DMX/132, 136; John Tickell, *History of the Town and County of Kington upon Hull* (Hull, 1796), 265-6; *VCHERI*, 102-7, 138, 140-42, 148-50, 157, 291-92. The wardens agreed in 1659 to remove most of the chancel seating: either they disobeyed the 1633 order or else reintroduced it: ERALS, DDX17/1, ff.20, 72-91, 151.

[355] BIA, V.1633/CB1; ERALS, DDBC/III/22; D.J. Lamburn, 'Politics and Religion in Early Modern Beverley', in Patrick Collinson and John Craig, eds., *The Reformation in English Towns 1500-1640* (Basingstoke, 1998), 63-78, at 66 and 74; Oliver, *Beverley*, 399; Pevsner, *ER,* 294; *VCHERVI*, 1, 163, 231, 271.

[356] ERALS, PE1/52; *VCHERVI*, 239.

Churches whose parishioners were less wealthy and finances less secure found it harder to meet Arminian demands. The collegiate church of St John of Beverley had lost its endowments at the Dissolution, and its parish covered the poorest parts of the town and the impecunious outlying townships. Although some of the endowments were recovered in 1579, they were bestowed on the newly created Beverley Corporation, which spent them for over a century on civic projects other than the Minster, neglecting the latter. In 1633 the Minster's wardens were ordered to repair the seating and to make it uniform, and they probably re-pewed the entire church soon thereafter, since in 1660 they sold the pews 'which are newly built'.[357]

Sometimes the objection was one of principle, as in the case of the notorious Puritan Ezekiel Rogers, rector of Rowley from 1621 to 1638, who refused to wear a surplice; baptised without making the sign of the cross; administered communion to those who stood to receive it; and left the seating as it had been (not uniform or decent), and the chancel so divided from the nave as to obscure the communion table from the congregation. He emigrated rather than yield to Neile. It should be noted that Puritan clergy were no more likely themselves to neglect church fabric, or to ignore such neglect by their parishioners, than other ecclesiastics, as emerges from a comparison of ecclesiastical fabric in parishes with Puritan ministers and that in parishes whose ministers were not Puritan.[358]

However, smaller East Riding churches were facing grave problems in the early Stuart period. Some became derelict over the period 1600 to 1640, such as Withernsea, and four

[357] BIA, V.1633/CB1; J. Dennett, ed., *Beverley Borough Records* (*YASRS,* vol. *LXXXIV*, 1932), 117; Evans, *Faculties*, 7; Lamburn, 'Minster', 61; *VCHERVI*, 235.

[358] BIA, CP.H.2106; ibid, V.1578-9/CB1, f.35v; 1582-1578-9/CB1, f.191v; V.1586/CB, f.136r; V.1590-1/CB1, ff.105r, 106r, 109v, 119v; V.1604/CB, ff.86r, 114v-15r, 119v; V.1607/CB, f.137v; V.1615/CB, ff.191r, 192r, 207v; V.1619/CB, f.213r; V.1633/CB1, ff.257r, 272r, 319v, 331v, 345r; V.1636/CB, f.297, 230v; V.1640/CB, ff.81r, 118v; *CSP, 1638-9*, 430-1; *Fasti Harthill*, 220; Marchant, *Puritans*, 224-26, 231-32, 234, 237-46, 250-51, 255, 257-59, 261-65, 267-69, 271-77, 279-80, 284, 288, 290-91, 293, 323.

chapels: Easthorpe,[359] Risby,[360] Great Hatfield[361] and Marton.[362] Withernsea parishioners could not afford to replace their church roof, which had been destroyed by a storm in 1609: their task must have been aggravated by the impropriators' persistent neglect and great decay of the chancel.[363] A major factor in the failure of Nunburnholme and Rowley to remedy the defects in their chapels was the diminishing population in those hamlets; another element in the former case was Nunburnholme's insistence that the inhabitants of Easthorpe, and not those of Nunburnholme, were liable to repair the chapel.[364] The inhabitants of Great Hatfield ascribed the ruin of their chapel to chancellor Hodgson's persistent neglect of its chancel, and their failure to rebuild it, to their poverty. In 1636 the judge accepted the churchwardens' submissions and made no order against them. The deterioration of Marton chapel probably owes much to the concentration of recusancy at the time in the area, where more than thirty Catholic families can be identified.[365] (Potential connections between recusancy and non-payment of church taxes in these decades are considered below.)

Eleven sets of churchwardens were presented for ruinous roofs between 1603 and 1640 – all after 1632.[366] Three of them were also cited for neglect of their steeples over the same period, as were eight more for steeple decay, and usually for general decay as well. In 1623 Skeffling employed the desperate remedy, to which most parishioners consented, of pulling the steeple down. The collapse in 1632 of Eastrington's steeple onto the church damaged both the chancel with its adjoining aisles, and the nave. The impropriator

[359] BIA, V.1615/CB; V.1623/CB; V.1627/CB; V.1633/CB1; V.1636/CB; V.1640/CB.
[360] BIA, V.1640/CB, f.119v.
[361] See page 93 and footnote 297.
[362] BIA, V.1636/CB; V.1640/CB; no entry for Marton thereafter; *VCHERVII*, 155.
[363] See pages 104-5 and footnote 334.
[364] Easthorpe: 13 taxpayers recorded in 1543; 5 households in 1672; Risby: 16 people recorded in 1524 ; 6 households in 1672: https://dmv.hull.ac.uk, s.v. Easthorpe and Risby.
[365] Aveling, 66-7; BIA, V.1600/CB1; V.1604/CB; V.1607/CB; V.1615/CB; V.1619/CB; V.1623/CB; V.1633/CB1; V.1636/CB; V.1640/CB.
[366] BIA, V.1633/CB1, ff.280v, 332, 346r, 348v; V.1636/CB, ff.228r, 229r, 276r, 298r, 409v, 412r; V.1640/CB, f.88r.

repaired the chancel, and the parish the nave roof. Nunburnholme's churchwardens repaired their steeple in 1604, but it needed more work by 1636; Brantingham proceeded with rebuilding theirs, but the work was incomplete in 1636.[367] Most of these citations were made in the 1630s, which again indicates the determination of Neile and Cosin to address serious disrepair.

Other parishes also struggled. By 1633, no fewer than four windows had been walled up in St Mary's Lowgate, Hull: the wardens were then ordered to unblock the windows and re-glaze them; to remove the items at the east end of the chancel and to fix the communion table altar-wise there; to provide railing round it; to pave the floor; and to alter all the seating so as to enable the congregation to face east, to kneel at prayer and to make appropriate gestures, with a central aisle and with seats no higher than 4`. The wardens repeatedly sought extra time to comply. Cottingham also had walled up two windows and allowed seating to block the central aisle, and in 1635 the Chancery Court made an order against its wardens similar to that made against St Mary's Lowgate.[368] In 1627, the body of Lockington's church was in great disrepair; in 1633, Fangfoss was said to be ruinous and Tunstall's roof and walls were in decay; and in 1636, Owthorne's south aisle was very dilapidated.[369] The condition of the body of Fangfoss and Owthorne churches was much worse than that of Lockington and Tunstall, whose impropriators cared for their chancels, whereas those of Fangfoss and Owthorne were guilty of persistent neglect which had led to serious decay. The extent to which impropriators neglected chancels for which they were responsible was evidently a relevant – albeit far from conclusive – factor in respect of care for the body of the church.[370] During the period 1603 to 1640, the

[367] BIA, V.1604/CB, f.103r; V.1607/CB, f.169r; V.1615/CB, f.234v; V.1619/CB, f.232v; V.1623/CB, f.174r; V.1627/CB, f.292v; V.1633/CB1, ff.299v, 319r, 332v, 340r, 345v; V.1636/CB, ff.40v, 221v, 254v, 406r; V.1640/CB, f.139r; Pevsner, *ER,* 398. See page 98 and footnote 311.

[368] BIA, Chanc.AB.25, ff.130v-131r, 158v, 239r, 240r.

[369] BIA, V.1627/CB, f.252r; V.1633/CB1, ff.280v, 299r; V.1636/CB, f.232v.

[370] See pages 59, 84, 87-88, 102.

churchwardens of some twenty-one more parishes were presented for neglect of the body of their church. Long-term decay of the chancel in six of these churches, which led to orders for sequestration in both Kilnwick and Weaverthorpe, probably played a part in the parishes' attitude in this period to discharging their duties.[371]

Such new work on church fabric (as opposed to seating and furnishings) as was completed voluntarily in the first half of the seventeenth century seems often to have been driven by the family ties of the wealthy or some other special circumstance. For example, in 1633 Thomas Moyser erected a monument to his dead wife in Lockington's south chapel, which the Estofts, who had long disputed property in Lockington with the Moysers, recast the following year as their family shrine, inserting panelling which was covered with paintings of more than 170 Estoft heraldic achievements. Not to be outdone, in 1635 the Moysers added their arms to the chapel's south parapet. Between them, these families and the Remingtons probably ensured the integrity of the fabric of the chancel and the chapel, and it would be surprising if they did not respond to the 1627 presentment by repairing the remaining body of the church, even if sometimes patching had to be done in brick rather than the stone with which Lockington was originally built.[372] Another example is Winestead, where Sir Christopher Hildyard, whose family had been lords of Winestead manor since the early fifteenth century, demolished the south aisle in the early seventeenth century in order to replace it with a burial chapel for his family.[373] Yet another is Sir Michael Warton's repair of Eastrington chancel in 1632.[374]

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[371] Body of churches: BIA, V.1600/CB1, ff.110v, 120r; V.1607/CB, ff.110v-111r, 126v, 135v, 140v; V.1615/CB, ff.188r, 230v; V.1623/CB, ff.213v, 215r; V.1627/CB, ff.237r, 322r; V.1633/CB1 ff.256r, 267r, 302r, 324v, 332v, 335v; V.1636/CB, ff.289v, 293v; V.1640/CB, f.139r. Chancels: 1582-V.1578-9/CB1, f.180r; V.1586/CB, f.126v; V.1590-1/CB1, ff.116r, 181v; V.1594/CB, f.158v; V.1595-6/CB1, f.127r; V.1594/CB, f.185r; V.1595-6/CB3, f.173v; V.1600/CB1, ff.103r, 135v; V.1604/CB, f.77v; V.1607/CB, f.143r; V.1615/CB, f.173r; V.1633/CB1 f.302r; V.1636/CB, ff.219v, 290r, 297v, 312v; V.1640/CB, f.136v. See pages 92-93, 101-3 and footnotes 295, 322, 328.

[372] *Dugdale III*, 87; ERALS, DDBE/23/62; Pevsner, *ER,* 599. See page 87.

[373] *Dugdale III*, 331-4; Pevsner, *ER,* 756.

[374] See page 98 and footnote 311.

However, both before Cosin became archdeacon of the East Riding in 1626 and afterwards many of his parishes were evidently spending substantial sums on equipping their churches for Protestant worship, even if that were at the expense of undertaking work on church fabric. Many provided their churches with Jacobean pews, pulpits, readers' desks, chests, communion tables and railing round them. According to Neile, £1,322 11^{s} 7^{d} was spent in 1635 on East Riding churches in order to comply with his requirements. The cost involved provoked complaints that year from Yorkshire parishes that they could not afford both to obey Neile's orders and also to contribute to the repair of St Paul's Cathedral.[375]

One should note that some seating was not erected by the parish: evidently some rectors and lords of the manor in the late sixteenth century built pews for themselves, their family and friends, as George Slater did between 1573 and 1590, once in his capacity as rector and once as lord of Applegarth manor within Bainton parish. Other examples include Burton Agnes, Bishop Wilton and Eastrington. Conversely, pews for the laity had already been provided before James' succession by some parishes, such as Eastrington and Pocklington. However, the church authorities apparently did not focus on seating for East Riding congregations until the 1630s: between 1600 and 1630 only four churches were the subject of citations about seating, one of which concerned stalls in Wintringham's chancel.[376]

Part of providing for Protestant worship involved the acquisition of plate, especially appropriately sized communion cups. Many East Riding parishes spent considerable sums on these items, apparently in the first half of the seventeenth century, even if one allows for the possibility that some plate hall-marked with Jacobean dates was acquired at a later

[375] BIA, V.1636/CB, ff.219v, 289v; Pevsner, *ER,* 269, 359, 448, 452, 474, 579, 595, 643, 656, 660, 719, 743, 759; TNA, SP16/304/35, SP16/312/84, f.2; Torre, f.698.

[376] BIA, DC.CP.1613/3; CP.H.5027A; ibid, V.1604/CB, f.111r; V.1607/CB, ff.135v, 140v, 234r; V.1619/CB, f.160v; HHC, U DDSY/4/5; Torre, ff.1214, 1687-89.

period by the church which owned it in modern times, such as Yapham, whose wardens in 1722 gave their church a silver cup made in 1637. Between 1600 and 1650 some thirty-three parishes apparently acquired plate. Some of Hull's plate was given by wealthy citizens of standing, such as Thomas Ferres, master mariner, warden of Hull Trinity House and mayor of Hull in 1620, and Alderman John Lister, merchant and mayor of Hull in 1612 and 1629, donors in 1612 and 1616 respectively to Holy Trinity Hull. Other benefactors were churchwardens, such those who gave a silver cup in 1619 to Bempton and those who (with their minister) donated a silver cup in 1644. Yet other donors were lords of the manor, such as William Vaughan of Sutton-on-Derwent, who gave a silver cup to its church in 1609.[377] However, an indeterminate, and indeterminable, but evidently considerable, number of parishes raised the money for such items in these decades.

Inflation was an additional factor in the failure of some East Riding parishes during the first half of the seventeenth century to raise sufficient money to repair church fabric. During the 1590s average prices rose dramatically, and then increased gently until the 1630s, when they again ascended sharply, and did not begin to level out until the 1670s.[378] For example, in the East Riding, the price of solder rose from 8^{d}/lb in 1595, to 10^{d}/lb in 1622, to 1^{s}/lb in the 1630s; and that of lead increased from 14^{d}/stone in 1595 and in 1622 to 16^{d}/stone in the 1630s. In 1604 Howden paid the glaziers 2^{d}/foot for 75 foot of old glass and for setting it in new lead: in the 1630s, the price had risen to 3^{d}/foot.[379] When Blacktoft's wardens were presented in 1615 for not having a bible in the new translation, the court accepted their explanation that the parish was too poor to buy one.[380]

[377] Fallow, *Plate*, 215, 221-23, 226, 228, 232, 234-35, 247, 251, 256, 259, 261, 267, 269, 271, 275, 282-83, 289, 294, 296, 305, 315, 317, 319, 322, 325, 328, 330, 336-37; Thomas Crathorne and John Swan, merchants of Hull, gave cups in 1619 and 1638 to Hull, St Mary; *Dugdale I*, 298; Gent, *Hull*, 131.
[378] Outhwaite, *Inflation*, 13-15.
[379] ERALS, PE1/52; PE121/55, ff.17, 194, 199; PE165/1, f.12.
[380] BIA, V.1615/CB, f.242r.

Yet another factor in these decades was the survival and resurgence of the old religion, with the development of a connection between the latter and defaults in paying parish dues. More parishioners were presented for recusancy between 1603 and 1640 than had been cited for that reason between 1567 and 1603, and by 1615 the authorities were particularly concerned about increasing numbers of recent converts to Roman Catholicism.[381] They were also encountering many more failures or even refusals to pay church dues, which in some cases were driven by recusancy.[382] William Wright's default on his assessment and neglect of the chancel windows were especially surprising given the Wrights' lengthy tenure of the tithes, long-standing residence in Welwick, and excellent history of payment of assessments and maintenance of the chancel over the previous seventy years at least.[383] Probably some defaults were caused by poverty, but some were apparently the result of cynical calculation that the miscreant could avoid enforcement. One such was Sir William Allanson: lessee of the tithes of Skelton prebend in Howdenshire, he ignored his citation in 1636 for neglect of Howden's chancel, was excommunicated in October 1637, and disregarded his presentment in 1640 for non-payment of tax with impunity.[384]

4. Conclusions

The fate of chancels was very varied, and differed greatly from that of the body of the church during the decades between 1600 and 1650. Most rectories owned by ecclesiastical dignitaries were let during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries on terms which

[381] E.g., BIA, V.1615/CB, ff.210v, 216r, 217v, 219v, 223r, 224v, 226r, 229v, 230v-31r, 233r, 234r, 235v, 239r, 242v-43v.
[382] Aveling, 29, 39, 59-62, 65-66; BIA, V.1604/CB, f.100r; V.1633/CB1, ff.266r, 320r; V.1636/CB, ff.255r-v, 405r; V.1640/CB, ff.100v-101r, 110v.
[383] *CPR/1575-78*, 1428; *VCHERV*, 142.
[384] BIA, V.1636/CB; V.1640/CB. See pages 96-97 and footnote 305.

did not require the lessees to repair their chancel: before the end of this period, repairing covenants were almost universal. Their introduction generally led to a dramatic reduction in neglect of such chancels. The wealth, status and local connections of tenants and of lay impropriators were also very important factors in determining whether they kept their chancels in good repair. The improvement in church fabric and chancels in these decades is owed substantially to the absorption of Arminianism, and to the increased rigour of the ecclesiastical courts, including the much more frequent use of sequestration as a tool for enforcement, and the unorthodox practice – albeit sparingly adopted – of ordering churchwardens to repair the chancel. The laity usually met the substantial costs entailed in meeting changes required by Neile and Cosin, but was unable to pay for the most expensive work required by church fabric. Factors included the following: poverty, sometimes exacerbated by the expense of providing appropriately for Protestant worship; some parishes were adversely affected by serious chancel decay; wealthy individuals seemed more inclined to devote their resources to family memorials; inflation; defaults on parish dues, recusancy, and a connection between the two. The successful revival of churches in the 1630s was not without cost.

Chapter III – 1640-1660 – the Civil Wars and Commonwealth

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries many English protestants believed in the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, while constantly afraid that the national church might be induced to revert to the old religion. Avant-garde conformity seemed to many a route whereby both Calvinist protestantism might be subverted and also Catholicism again adopted as the national faith, and their fears led to the rejection of Arminianism in Britain and the development in the 1640s and 1650s of a large number of religious sects favouring toleration and opposed to an established church. Demands for the restructuring of the Protestant church in England, including the abolition of bishops and the Book of Common Prayer, led to the submission of the 'Root and Branch' petition to Parliament in 1640. At the same time Parliament abolished the Council of the North, which functioned chiefly as the highest court in the north, and the High Commission Court, which was England's supreme ecclesiastical court, while also stripping the ecclesiastical courts of their corrective powers. In addition, Parliament set up several committees to address problems among the clergy, the first of which was established in 1640. Sub-committees were soon appointed to deal with petitions from Puritan clergy and parishioners; to select and maintain preaching ministers, and to eject ministers considered to be 'scandalous'; and to address the needs of clergy evicted by Royalists (also known as 'delinquents'). The latter committee increasingly sequestered the assets and livings of Royalist ministers, and rectories and advowsons held by Royalists, and presented others to those benefices, granting allowances to the families of those deprived, which by mid-1643 were to be no more than a fifth of the assets sequestered. In 1643 Parliament also banned pluralism, and sequestered livings from pluralist clergy. Royalist laity were subsequently permitted to regain possession of their confiscated estates by paying a fine (a process known as

compounding), which would usually be reduced commensurately if they agreed to fund the maintenance of a Puritan minister.[385]

Another Act, of 1643, required the demolition of all altars and tables of stone, the removal of communion tables from the east end of the chancel to the body of the church and the rails around them, the levelling of the chancel floor, and the ejection of candles, crosses, crucifixes, images and pictures. A further Ordinance of 1644 banned the use of copes, surplices, superstitious vestments, roods, rood-lofts and holy water fonts. In 1643 Parliament concluded a controversial agreement called 'The Solemn League and Covenant', whereby the Scots were to provide military assistance to Parliament in order to defeat the King, in exchange for the imposition of uniformity of religion across England, Scotland and Ireland, on the Presbyterian Scottish model, under which, by 1638, the Kirk had no head and no bishops, but played a major rôle in secular affairs. In January 1645 Parliament approved the abolition of the Book of Common Prayer and its substitution by the Presbyterian Directory of Worship. The latter did not prescribe set forms of liturgy, but stipulated that the scriptures be read in order and be followed by a sermon. Baptism was to be administered at the same service, publicly, in front of the congregation where all could see and hear; communicants were to partake of both bread and wine when sat about or at the communion table; and marriage was to take place after notice of intention had been given at a religious service in a place of public worship; but burial ceremonies were proscribed. Copies of the Book of Common Prayer were to be delivered up for destruction.[386]

In October 1646 Parliament passed an Ordinance to abolish archbishops and bishops in England and Wales, and to settle their lands and possessions upon trustees for the use of

[385] Coward, *Stuart Age*, 184, 214; Outhwaite, *Ecclesiastical Courts*, 78; Raithby, *SRV*, 112-13; Shaw, *Church I,* 110-12, *II*, 176-8, 185, 187-89, 192-93, 199-202, 205.

[386] *Acts and Ordinances*, 265-66, 425-26, 582-607; Coward, *Stuart Age*, 232-33, 249-50, 270-72, 302-4; Shaw, *Church I*, 104-10.

the Commonwealth, and, in April 1649, an Ordinance in similar terms to abolish deans, chapters and prebends and to vest their assets in trustees. One major purpose of this legislation was to use that property as security against which to raise loans to pay for the army, but the statutes passed in November 1646 and June 1649 to that end excluded rectories, tithes, advowsons and first fruits, which were from January 1650 vested in trustees to pay for salaries for clergy and schoolmasters confirmed in livings by Parliament. In 1647 Parliament passed an Ordinance for the maintenance and repair of churches and the collection and management of money for those purposes, but it seems never to have been implemented.[387]

Although the Protectorate tolerated a wide range of religious beliefs, at least 23 East Riding clergy were deprived or otherwise penalised. However, East Yorkshire was not re-organised according to the Presbyterian 'classical' system, and many such parishes received no replacement incumbent, but only one or more preachers. Meanwhile, Quakerism drew many East Riding adherents early in its history, probably because Fox and the preacher, Dewsbury (from Allerthorpe), visited the area in the 1650s. The only non-conformists other than Quakers who made much mark in the East Riding between 1650 and 1700, were the twenty-odd 'preaching ministers' in towns who were ejected between 1660 and 1662, and the Independents or Congregationalists (led by John Canne), and the Presbyterians (led by John Shawe), who shared Holy Trinity Hull in the 1650s.[388]

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[387] *Acts and Ordinances I*, 879-83, 887-904, 1065-70; ibid, *II*, 81-104, 142-48; Shaw, *Church II,* 204-18, 253-54.

[388] *Besse, Sufferings*, 90-91, 93-94, 96-101; William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (London, 1923), 65-66, 69-74, 77, 369-70; Dale, *Nonconformity*, 12-13, 16-17, 21-33, 40-41, 45, 76, 79, 96-98, 107-09, 117-18, 126, 134-35, 141-43, 149, 158-59, 168-69; Matthews, *Walker Revised*, 83, 95-96, 390-98, 400; Miall, *Congregationalism*, 38, 43, 50; Reay, *Quakers*, passim; David Scott, *Quakerism in York, 1650-1720* (York, 1991), 3-5, 7-9; Shaw, *Church II*, 33; Edward Smith, *The Life of William Dewsbury* (London, 1836), 19, 47, 55-58, 69-70, 119, 229, 244, 247, 250, 256, 262, 282, 288-91, 313, 343, 369; *VCHERI*, 311; *VCHERII*, 75-76, *VCHERIII*, 146; *VCHERIV*, 35, 57, 81, 102, 122, 163, 170; *VCHERV*, 20, 30, 39, 46, 54, 84, 96, 108, 126, 148, 156, 166, 184; *VCHERVI*, 242-3; *VCHERVII*, 25, 39, 49, 55, 93, 117, 243, 292-3, 402-3; *VCHERX*1, 112-12, 253, 256-57.

These circumstances gave rise to serious problems for the care of East Riding churches between 1640 and 1660. The ecclesiastical structure produced by the Elizabethan settlement of 1558-59 vanished; years passed before a substitute was enacted; the courts which had supervised the maintenance of church fabric ceased to function on the abolition of ecclesiastical offices, no alternative being provided; the church was deprived of its leaders; and many parishes lost their incumbents. Individuals who as ecclesiastical dignitaries had been responsible for chancel repair ceased to be so liable once their office had been abolished, while there was no one to enforce the liability either of their tenants or of lay impropriators to maintain the relevant chancels. Those who were either Royalists or recusants (or both) suffered financial penalties which sometimes prevented them from repairing chancels or paying their church tax. The Quakers on principle would not contribute to the repair of churches, while other non-conformists would ultimately seek to establish their own places of worship and divert funds to that end and to the maintenance of their own ministers. Moreover, parishes were being ordered to reverse many of the very alterations which they had made in the 1630s. In addition, all East Riding communities suffered disruption and loss occasioned by the wars themselves; by the conflict between opposing sides in the same neighbourhoods and even the same families; and by the revolution in the government and structure of their world wrought by Parliament and the Protectorate.

In this Chapter I deploy evidence not only from the 1620s and 1630s, but also from the 1660s, including visitation court records. The archiepiscopal and archidiaconal visitations of the East Riding in 1662 and 1663 were unusual, because they followed twenty-two years during which none had taken place, and the wars and the Commonwealth had intervened, under which structures and practices developed from the Elizabethan settlement had been abolished and replaced by novel arrangements, only themselves to be discarded. Inevitably the authorities were concerned to ensure that churches had

equipped themselves again to comply with the restored order. Nonetheless, there is no reason to suppose that the visitors were stricter than they had been previously, at any rate in respect of the state of ecclesiastical fabric. These sources afford more information than is available for the period before 1662, simply because the report of the archdeacon's visitation in 1663 is the first surviving record of his inspections, and the material elicited by those of 1663, 1665 and 1667 supplements that produced by the archbishop's visitation of 1662-63.

1. War damage

The civil wars and the Commonwealth brought about significant damage to ecclesiastical fabric in the East Riding over the period 1640 to 1660, but little harm was immediately apparent, for three main reasons. First, many buildings had been put into reasonable order during the previous twenty years. Second, churchwardens, and even those responsible for chancels, apparently sought to maintain and repair the buildings, at any rate if the efforts of the churchwardens of Beverley St Mary, Howden, Hull, Scarborough and Sigglesthorne were typical.[389] Third, few churches were directly affected by the fighting, although there was significant action in Hull, Paull, Scarborough and Wressle.

Hull was a Parliamentarian stronghold. In 1642, with a view to securing its surrender, the king took up residence in Beverley; in 1643 a garrison was stationed there; and Royalist troops used Beverley as a base during the siege of Hull. Even after peace was restored, militia were billeted in Beverley during the years 1646 to 1649.[390] Yet virtually none of the work done on the fabric of St Mary's church was necessitated by damage done by the military. Its parliamentarian parish clerk could only complain of the loss of some leases

[389] ERALS, DDBC/III, 36-7; DDX17/1; PE1/53-63; PE121/55, ff.231-48; PE144/23; PE165/241.
[390] C. Boddington and K. Holt, eds., *The Parish Register of Beverley St Mary* (YAS*, PRS*, vol. *CLXXIII,* 2008), 275-79; *VCHERVI*, 91-95.

in 1647-48 and 1648-49, which had to be recopied; soldiers breaking iron work (repaired at a cost of 7s 6d); and damage to the chimes, in 1650-1.[391] Some repairs to the Minster were necessary.[392]

The fabric of St Nicholas', Beverley had apparently already suffered persistent neglect before 1640. By 1600 the roof and windows of the body of the church required work, and litigation about the repairs soon ensued before the ecclesiastical commissioners in York. By 1607 the pluralist and non-resident rector had left the parsonage house dilapidated and the chancel in great decay. The decades 1600 to 1630 saw an unusually high number of defaults on payments due to St Nicholas', in comparison with other East Riding churches in those years. In the 1640s there was pressure for the parish to be united either with St Mary's, or with the Minster. In 1653-4 the church was partially demolished; in 1667 the benefice was united with St Mary's; and in 1691-3 the remainder of St Nicholas' was demolished and the stone used for repairing St Mary's and the Minster.[393] These factors taken together suggest that St Nicholas' was probably already otiose by the early seventeenth century: its redundancy, rather than soldiers' vandalism, led to its destruction. If so, St Nicholas' is another example of mediaeval chapels which had outlived their rôle.

Hull's two mediaeval chapels escaped the civil wars unscathed, despite the sieges of 1642 and 1643, with their deliberate destruction, the pouring of red-hot shot into the city, the blowing up of the north blockhouse and the explosion of a magazine. In 1646 the loft at the east end of Holy Trinity's nave was enlarged; in 1648 the wardens bought a new bell-frame and had the third bell (which was cracked) recast. In 1648, John Canne, an Independent or Congregationalist, was appointed chaplain to the garrison, and the soldiers

[391] ERALS, DDBC/III/36; PE/1/57.
[392] *VCHERVI*, 91-95.
[393] BIA, V.1600/CB1, f.93r; V.1604/CB, f.97r; V.1607/CB, f.139r-v; V.1615/CB, f.202v-204v; V.1623/CB, ff.188r-189r; V.1640/CB, f.110r; Marchant, *Puritans*, 121; P.R. Newman, Atlas *of the English Civil War* (London, 1998), 19, 29, 39, 41; *VCHERVI*, 95, 240-41.

soon wanted a place in which to hear Canne preach. In 1651, Parliament set aside the chancel of Holy Trinity Hull for Canne's use, and the soldiers immediately built a brick wall to divide the chancel from the nave. Chief among the concerns of the dispossessed was the fear that they would have nowhere to celebrate communion and that chancel burials would only be possible for the intruders.[394]

Paull lies about eight miles south-east of Hull, with rising ground to its south-east, on which a defensive battery for twelve gunners was constructed in 1542; a century later this was used as a base from which to prevent supplies reaching Hull by sea. The church is sited on the same eminence. During the 1643 siege of Hull the church was burnt, but the extent of the damage is unclear. The report recorded by Poulson that the church was completely destroyed and rebuilt on a new site is disproved by the evidence from present-day fabric that it was built during the mid-fourteenth to fifteenth centuries (an earlier church had been lost to the Humber estuary). The effect was allegedly severe enough to drive the congregation out of the church and for them to meet at the minister's house for at least seven years, while the chancel was in disrepair by 1662, but neither the citations of the churchwardens in 1662 and 1667 nor the surviving structure itself support Poulson's contention.[395]

By contrast, Scarborough's churches suffered greatly in the course of prolonged sieges during both civil wars. St Mary's sustained catastrophic damage from the Parliamentarians mounting the largest piece of artillery in the kingdom in its chancel during the twenty-two-week siege of the town in 1645, and firing its 65-pound shot through the east window repeatedly at the castle keep until it collapsed, as did the chancel,

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[394] HHC, C BRL/261, 263, 266; ibid, U DX5/8, 715; Porter, *Destruction*, 15, 47, 51-53, 68, 86; *VCHERI*, 102-8, 291-2. Chancels remained the most prestigious locations for burial: Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, 149.

[395] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V.CB.1; V.1667/CB(a); https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1083434; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/272-3; Oliver, *Beverley*, 215; Poulson, *Holderness II*, 485-87; *VCHERV*, 111, 114.

north transept, north aisle, and two western towers, all irreparably damaged by the tremors caused by the repeated firing of the cannon. Despite the fact that its annual income ranged from a mere £4 to £20, St Mary's spent £117 7^{s} 10^{d} on repairing the fabric of its church the very next year: and, in 1647, notwithstanding income of only £12 7^{s} 3^{d}, a further £27 7^{s} on repair. Repairs continued throughout the Civil Wars, and almost annually thereafter. Destabilised by the barrage in the chancel in 1645, the crossing tower fell in 1659, but was rebuilt ten years later. The north aisle was reconstructed in the nineteenth century: the choir was never rebuilt. St Thomas' had been converted into a stable and magazine, which wrecked it irreparably. The charnel chapel, which had been used for the previous century as the school house, saw new functions as a guardhouse and a frontline post from which to storm the battery: its repairs took seven weeks.[396]

Another casualty was Wressle church. This destruction was no doubt part of the damage caused to Wressle castle (the chief East Riding home of the Percies) while it was occupied by Parliamentarians, and by the enforced demolition of parts of the castle between 1646 and 1650. At the same time the interior of Howden's chancel was vandalised.[397]

2. Rectories

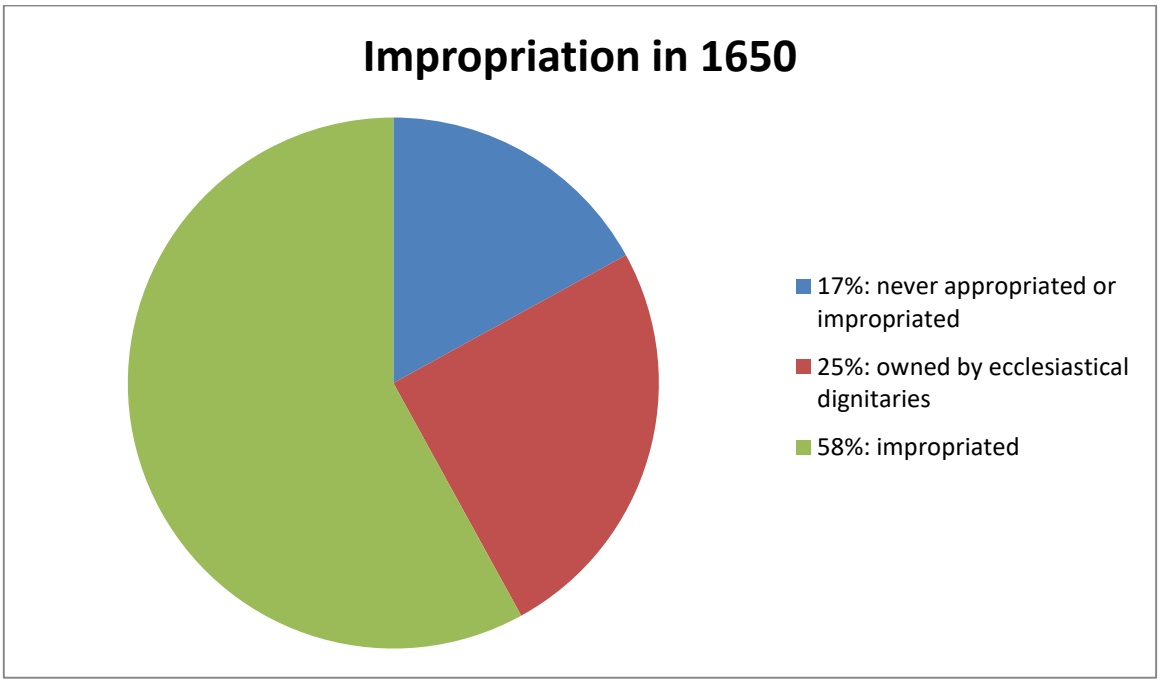
In 1650, of all East Yorkshire rectories, 25% had belonged to ecclesiastical dignitaries before the abolition of their offices; 58% belonged to impropriators; and only 17% had never been appropriated or impropriated, as appears from Figure 1.[398]

[396] Binns, *Scarborough*, 142-43, 150-54, 165-68; Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Yorkshire: the North Riding* (London, 1966), 320; Porter, *Destruction*, 46, 70, 86, 105, 117, 138-39; ERALS, PE165/241; *VCHNRII*, 554-56.

[397] BIA, ER.V/CB.3; Gent, *Rippon*, 55-57.

[398] Compare Thompson's estimate that 63% had been appropriated by late mediaeval Yorkshire: see footnote 27.

Figure 1: ownership of rectories in 1650[399]



Only thirty East Riding chancels were the subject of citations for disrepair in the 1660s.[400] The figure would have been higher if some chancels – for example, those of Bridlington, Nunkeeling and Withernsea – had not already been abandoned. However, the major causes of chancel neglect in the years 1640 to 1660 were financial distress and the combination of recusancy and delinquency in those responsible, whether as tenants or as impropriators; the turmoil of the period; the degree of individuals' attachment to the parishes in question; and the increasing numbers of those responsible for any one chancel.[401] Of those thirty chancels cited for neglect in the 1660s, thirteen had previously been the responsibility of ecclesiastical dignitaries – a disproportionately high number– and the archbishop of York had charge of three of those before 1646.[402] One reason for

[399] Derived from LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/1, 6-7, 10, 12-13, 18-19, 147-51, 157-73, 183-7, 226-33, 236-304, 317-499; COMM/XIIa/18/28-42, 53-64, 82-111, 117. See pages 31-32 and footnote 67.

[400] Aughton, *Blacktoft*, *Bubwith*, Burton Fleming, Catwick, Cherry Burton, Drypool, *Easington*, *Hayton*, *Helperthorpe*, Hornsea, *Howden*, *Keyingham,* Kilnsea, Kirby Grindalythe, *Market Weighton*, *North Newbald*, Paull, *Pocklington*, Reighton, Long Riston, Rowley, Rudston, Sancton, Sledmere, Sproatley, *Thornton*, *Wawne*, *Westow*.

[401] See Appendices 15 and 16.

[402] Those italicised in footnote 400.

the high numbers was that individuals whose ecclesiastical office had been abolished ceased to be responsible for those chancels which they had acquired by virtue of that office, and therefore effected no repairs between their abolition (in 1646 and 1649 respectively) and their reinstatement after the Restoration. Moreover, even if their tenants were contractually obliged to repair the chancel, between 1640 and 1662 there was no one to enforce those covenants. Impropriators were responsible for all the other chancels the subject of such citations. One might have expected chancel disrepair to figure more largely than neglect of the body of churches in the 1662-63 visitations, because chancels were the responsibility of individuals, rather than of communities, and of individuals – moreover – who were much more likely than were communities to be recusant and/or Royalist, and to be penalised financially on those counts.

2.1 Recusants and delinquents

2.1.1 Ecclesiastical rectories

Several tenants of ecclesiastics' rectories came from established families and were both recusant and delinquent: the Constables of Everingham, the Dolmans, the Methams and the Vavasours. All held rectories the disrepair of whose chancels was reported in 1662. When charged with neglect of Hayton's chancel Sir Philip Constable of Everingham successfully defended himself on the ground that his lease did not require him to repair it. However, no such rebuttal was available to the citation for neglect of Market Weighton's chancel. Ultimately, by the use of settlements and trusts, the Constables of Everingham were able to retain their position as one of the great East Riding landowners, but in 1652 Sir Philip was declared a traitor and his estates sequestered and sold, and in 1653 a £758 fine, at a rate of 1/3, was imposed on him. From at least 1538 this family had been tenants continuously of Hayton and Market Weighton, both places close to their home at Everingham. Apart from a complaint about the latter's chancel in 1590 and about

its vestry in 1640, the Constables had evidently maintained both chancels well. Accordingly, the neglect of both chancels during the years 1640 to 1662 probably reflects the family's tumult, financial difficulties and precarious situation, which itself exposed them to being cited for their defaults.[403]

The Dolmans, Methams and Vavasours were less wealthy, and were never among East Riding's leading landowners: they were more vulnerable to the financial burden imposed on them by their recusancy and delinquency, and less able to devise and execute ways of protecting their assets from penalty. The Dolmans suffered long for their staunch beliefs. Tenants of Bubwith from 1582, Lund from 1600 and Millington from 1614, they were charged with neglecting Bubwith's chancel in 1594 and 1619 and Lund's in 1600 and 1615, but generally cared for them (and Millington's) thereafter, probably because Marmaduke Dolman lived in Millington; no Dolman lived in Bubwith; their lease did not require them to repair Bubwith's chancel; and Bubwith had much the largest chancel of the three. In 1651 the committee for compounding imposed fines of 1/3 of the Dolmans' estate. The Vavasours were similarly placed with respect to Aughton's chancel: in 1653 they were fined at 1/3 of their estate. In 1649 two thirds of the Metham estate was sequestered, broken up and sold, and fines at 1/6 totalling £1,349 imposed for the recusancy and delinquency of Sir Thomas and his heir, George, who thereafter lived at North Cave. The Methams were liable to repair Howden's chancel, but none of these three families could meet their obligation in respect of chancels.[404]

Thus a major cause of chancel neglect from 1640 to 1660 was financial difficulty induced by the combination of recusancy and delinquency. This factor provides a further reason

[403] Aveling, 44; BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; V.1667/CB(a); English, *Great Landowners*, 132-33, 137; LPL, COMM/XIIa/18/97-103; YML, S1(2)f; W/d, ff.103v-108r.

[404] Aveling, 17, 20, 26-29, 39-40, 43-45, 49, 59-65; *Dugdale II*, 225; *III*, 162; *Fasti Harthill*, 43; ERALS, PE121/1; ibid, PR POCK 1/107, 110; Foster, *Glover*, 116; LPL, COMM/XIIa/18/110-11; *RCP III*, 3-4; *Stuart Fines I*, 150. See pages 60, 106, 113-14 and footnotes 177, 341, 353.

for the high numbers of chancels which were both reported for neglect in 1662 and also were the responsibility of ecclesiastics (except during the period when their offices were abolished). East Riding recusants rarely became lay impropriators: only the Constables of Burton Constable and the Holmes were substantial tithe-owners.[405] Other Catholic families tended to acquire leases, often over long periods: successive Constables of Everingham were tenants of the dean of York from 1537 and of the prebendary of Weighton from 1538 into 1730 at least.[406] By 1640 the Crown had sold most of its rectories, and ecclesiastical dignitaries formed much the largest group whose practice it was to let out tithes. Recusant Royalists accordingly constituted a disproportionately high percentage and number of ecclesiastics' tenants, and churchmen's chancels were accordingly more likely than others to suffer neglect between 1640 and 1660.

2.1.2 Non-ecclesiastical rectories

A similar picture emerges of impropriators – as opposed to lessees of ecclesiastical rectories – from established families who were both recusant and delinquent, such as the Constables of Halsham and Burton Constable, the Holmes of Paull, and the Langdales of Houghton. The Constables of Burton Constable fared much worse than the Constables of Everingham, although they were the most powerful family in Holderness from the mid-sixteenth century, and were for a century apparently immune to penalty despite their recusancy. Indeed, many attained high positions: deputy steward of Holderness and of all its Crown lands from 1553, Sir John was appointed a member of the Council of the North from 1566-67; his son was MP for Hedon and sheriff of Yorkshire; and his grandson, Sir Henry, was created Viscount Dunbar in 1620. But Burton Constable was plundered

[405] ERALS, DDCC/74/8; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/263-7; *VCHERV*, 10, 13, 43-44, 115-20, 124-25; *VCHERVII*, 17-18.

[406] ERALS, DDCC/74/8; HHC, U DDEV/13/4, U DDEV/17/1, U DDEV/50/141; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/263-67, 362-34; ibid, COMM/XIIa/18/101-3; YML, S3(5)b, ff.33-37, 118-19; W/a, ff.81v-82r, 116r-v; W/b, ff.150r-151r; W/c, ff.18v-19r, 70r-v, 104r-v; W/c, ff.18v-19r, 104r-v; W/d, ff.103v-8r.

during the war; Sir Henry's son went abroad; and Sir Henry himself died of wounds sustained at Scarborough siege in 1645, leaving a debt-ridden and sequestered estate subject to a fine at 2/3. This situation no doubt played a part in the Constables' continued neglect of Paull's chancel, which required additional work after the 1643 siege of Hull. Perhaps the Constables' financial difficulties were also relevant to their persistent failure to repair Withernsea's chancel up to 1640, but the community had plainly abandoned Withernsea's church by 1662: no one bothered to present its impropriators after 1640, and its parishioners worshipped at its chapel, Hollym.[407]

The Holmes family were very much the lesser partner in the ownership of the rectories of Paull and Withernsea with the Constables of Burton Constable. Their main asset was the manor of Paull Holme. Father and son were fined £350 in 1646: the added burden probably played a part in the family's continuing failure to repair Paull's chancel, the cost of which must have been considerable given its century-long history of complaints of neglect.[408]

Similarly, the Langdales were never leading landowners in the East Riding, although Sir Marmaduke was said to have lost £160,000 in the king's service. Certainly adherence to his faith and his king ruined him financially: he was fined at 4/5 and the sequestration of his estates was only lifted – and then only in part – once he had sold his North Dalton estate in 1652. Prominent in Royalist action throughout the first civil war, Sir Marmaduke fled abroad in 1645; returned on the outbreak of the second civil war; was exiled in 1649; and only came home in 1660, dying in 1661. Even if he had had enough money to

[407] Aveling, 39-41, 49, 66; 'Constable, Henry, first Viscount Dunbar', *ODNB*; *Dugdale II*, 301; English, *Great Landowners*, 16-17, 44, 128, 138; Pevsner, *ER,* 449; Poulson, *Holderness II*, 227-35, 383, 386; *RCP I*, 102-3, *III*, 113; *VCHERV*, 10, 12-13, 18, 33, 38-9, 103, 130; *VCHERVII*, 98, 103. See pages 104-5 and footnote 334.

[408] Aveling, 66; *Dugdale II*, 117; *RCP II*, 139; *VCHERV*, 116.

maintain Sancton's chancel during those twenty years, his involvement in action and exile would have precluded his doing so.[409]

By contrast, the Wartons were not long-established gentry, but Hull merchants in the sixteenth century and did not become one of the great landowners of East Yorkshire until about 1630. Sir Michael Warton, a Royalist and Catholic, had been adept at equivocation and in avoiding penalties for recusancy earlier in his life, and before war broke out he could well have afforded to repair Hornsea's chancel, as he had those of Cottingham and Eastrington. However, he had not protected his assets with settlements: he was accordingly fined £4,000 in 1646 in compounding for estates worth over £3,200 pa, and his sequestration was only discharged by offering Cottingham, Hornsea and Eastrington rectories to their ministers in exchange for a reduction in his fine to £1,450. Since Hornsea's substantial chancel had been seriously dilapidated for many decades, Sir Michael might have encountered difficulty in meeting the cost of restoration in the decade before his death in 1655.[410]

2.2 Non-Catholic Royalists and parliamentarians

2.2.1 Politicians and lawyers in public service

Naturally the civil wars and the Commonwealth adversely affected everyone, including non-Catholics, whether or not they were Royalists or parliamentarians, particularly those in public life (sometimes seriously), and it would be wrong to underestimate the impact on that group. Table 2 identifies leading politicians and lawyers who held East Riding rectories. All but two of this group were new gentry in Yorkshire, and only the Paylers

[409] Aveling, 45-49; *RCP III*, 159; F.H. Sunderland, *Marmaduke, Lord Langdale of Holme-on-Spalding-Moor* (London, 1926), 231. See page 99 and footnote 313.

[410] Aveling, 39, 63; *Dugdale I*, 136-39; English, *Great Landowners*, 21-22, 26, 86; ERALS, DDCC/111/283; Oliver, *Beverley*, 226, 515; Poulson, *Beverlac I*, 498-99; *RCP II*, 55; *VCHERVI*, 273; WARTON, Michael, *HistParl*. See page 98 and footnote 311.

were Catholics.[411] Between 1600 and 1640 such people generally maintained the chancels for which they were responsible, especially if they had a connection with the parishes whose tithes they received. However, one must remember that damage to fabric caused by neglect often takes years, and sometimes decades, to become sufficiently obvious to lead to a citation for dilapidation. Subject to that caveat, most Royalist members who were not also recusants apparently kept their chancels in good condition between 1640 and 1660, as one may reasonably infer from the rarity of any presentments for neglect of such chancels between 1640 and 1730.[412]

Table 2: categories of individuals in public life 1640-1660[413]

Local and national politicians: Royalist	**Local and national politicians: parliamentarians**	**Lawyers in public service**
James Brooke of Ellenthorpe	Thomas Agar	Thomas Hesketh (attorney of the Queen's Court of Wards and Liveries)
Sir George Butler of Ellerton	Sir William Allanson	
Sir Francis Cobb of Ottringham	Sir Robert and Sir William Belt (brothers)	
William Frankland	James Brooke of Ellenthorpe	Sir Richard Osbaldeston (attorney-general for Ireland)
The Hebblethwaites	Sir John Buck	
Sir Edward Osborne & Sir Thomas (Earl of Danby)	Richard Darley	
	The Dickinsons	
Sir Henry Slingsby	The Listers	Sir Rowland Wandesford (attorney-general of the Court of Wards and Liveries)
The Thompsons	The Myers family	
Sir John Vavasour	Sir Edward and Sir Watkinson Payler	
James Watkinson	Sir Edwin, Sir Martin and Sir Miles Sandys	
Sir Thomas White		Thomas Wilson (attorney at the Council of the North)
Sir Thomas Wilsford	The Stapletons	
Sir John Wray	Sir John Thorowgood	

Examples include Sir George Butler, MP, tenant of Burton Pidsea, who was fined in 1647 at 1/10 (£569) on an estate worth £424 pa (he maintained the chancel even though his

[411] Aveling, 35, 58.

[412] The only serious cases of chancel neglect among this group were Aughton (footnote 214); Kirkburn (page 181 and footnote 561); and Howden (footnote 132). There were five more cases in 1662-3 (BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, ff.318r, 324r, 352v, 399r; ER.V/CB.1, f.66r), and thereafter Hornsea (BIA, ER.V/CB.4, f.5v); Scarborough (after the irreparable collapse of the tower: BIA, V.1684-85/CB, p.23; ER.V/CB.5, ff.138r,242r); and Wold Newton (BIA, ER.V/CB.14, f.107r).

[413] See footnotes 414-21.

lease contained no repairing covenant); Sir Francis Cobb junior, fined at 1/10 (£72) in 1646, who owned Ottringham rectory and moved there in 1648; Sir William Frankland, MP, lessee of Preston, fined at 1/3 in 1653; Sir Thomas Hebblethwaite, MP, Norton's impropriator, fined £500 and barred from sitting as an MP in 1644; Christopher Thompson, tenant of Scalby, from whom Sir Hugh Cholmley had confiscated goods worth £4,000, who was fined £150 in 1646, and his relatives Francis and Richard, impropriator of Humbleton and lessee of Kilham respectively, both similarly fined; and Sir Thomas Wilsford, MP, impropriator of Flamborough, who was fined at 1/10 (£400), which he remitted by settling £40 pa on Flamborough's minister.[414] Only the Cobbs, Hebblethwaites and Thompsons had personal connections to the relevant parishes.

Perhaps this class of gentry had put their chancels into such good repair in the decades before war broke out that the fabric could withstand neglect or minimal maintenance for some time. Certainly the 1662 assessment of the East Riding assets indicates that some had either retained or recovered significant assets by then. Sir Francis Cobb's estate (which was probably limited to the East Riding) was then valued at £691; that of Sir Thomas Hebblethwaite, at £549.[415]

Some Royalists who were either politicians or lawyers in public service were cited in 1662 for neglect of chancels for which they were responsible, but their failures were usually caused by their own particular concerns. An outstanding example of the latter was Sir Edward Osborne, MP, father of Sir Thomas, who became the earl of Danby. Sir Edward had acquired some of Aughton's tithes by 1636, in which year Sir John Wray,

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[414] BOTLER, George, *HistParl;* BOTELER, Sir Francis, *HistParl*; Drake, *Eboracum I*, 365-66; *Dugdale I*, 266, *II*, 69, 243, 344, 488, *III*, 41, 148; FRANKLAND, William, *HistParl*; HEBBLETHWAITE, Thomas, *HistParl*; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/157-59, 254-56, 262-63, 401, 430, 494-99; LPL, COMM/XIIa/18/88; Ormrod, *Lord Lieutenants*, 144; *RCP I*, 3-11, 14-15, 102-3, 158-60, 259-60, *RCP II*, 2, 106, 134, 144, *RCP III*, 78; THOMPSON, William, *HistParl*; *VCHERVI*, 108-9; *VCHERVII*, 331, 68-70; *VCHNRII*, 542, 556; *YERHT*, 96; YML, S1(2)f; S3(5)b, ff.101-3; W/d, f.43r-v; W/e, ff.63v-64r. See pages 89-93, 95-99 and footnotes 288-95, 304-13.

[415] YAS, MD. 335/Box 57.

Sir John Vavasour and Lady Mary Bethell also held Aughton tithes: none had more than minimal links to Aughton, the state of whose chancel had already led to two ecclesiastical sequestrations of rectorial tithes. In those circumstances Sir Edward would probably not have repaired Aughton's chancel anyway, but any such prospect disappeared once his political career had been cut short by his active service for the king, his property had been sequestered and a £1,649 fine imposed before his death in 1647. Sir Thomas' continued neglect of the chancel thereafter was inevitable, given the impoverishment of his father's estates, his own indebtedness and – most important – his single-minded focus on his own rise to power. Similarly, the delinquency of the other Royalist politicians who were not recusants – James Brooke of Ellenthorpe and Sir John White of Tuxford – cannot have been relevant to their neglect of Howden's chancel. The outcome of Brooke's appeal in 1648 against sequestration is unclear, but he was elected mayor of York in 1649 and 1660, and bought his country seat in 1654. Similarly Sir John was able to acquire East Markham manor in 1670 from his father-in-law, Sir Thomas Williamson, whose fines for delinquency had ruined him.[416]

By contrast, James Watkinson's neglect of Easington chancel before his death in 1654 was probably connected to his part in the wars. Mayor of and MP for Hull, he held Easington rectory under a repairing lease from the archbishop of York, but fought at York for the king before his estate was sequestered and a £400 fine imposed in 1645.[417]

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[416] BIA, V.1636/CB, f.251r-v; V.1662-3/CB1, ff.363v-364r; *Complete Baronetage I*, 99, 153-54; *Dugdale I*, 87, *II*, 225, *III*, 133; Thomas Lawson-Tancred, 'The Township of Ellenthorpe and the Brooke Family', *YAJ,* vol. *XXXIV* (1939), 72-79 at 73; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/226-27, 366, 369-71; OSBORNE, Sir Edward, 1st bt, *HistParl*; 'Osborne, Thomas, first duke of Leeds', *ODNB*; *RCP II*, 159; M.M. Towry White, *Some account of the family of White of Tuxford and Wallingwells*, Transactions of the Thoroton Society, 11 (1907); WHITE, John, *HistParl*; *VCHYork*, 180; 'Wray, Sir John, second baronet', *ODNB*; WRAY, Sir John, *HistParl*. See footnote 214.

[417] BIA, CC.Ab.2/2, f.78v; CC.Ab.3/1, f.30; CC.Ab.3/3, f.80/88; CC.Ab.5/6, ff.30-32; CC.Ab.5/9, ff.281-22; *RCP I*, 109, 111-16, 119-23. See page 92 and footnote 293.

Most new gentry who were within the group constituted by politicians or lawyers in public service were parliamentarians. With few exceptions, these men also apparently continued through the wars and the Commonwealth to maintain the chancels in the parishes whose tithes they received, even if they had no connection to them and lived outside Yorkshire. Examples in the latter class include Sir John Thorowgood, Sir Edwin Sandys, and Sir Miles Sandys.[418] Sir John Wray was an exception. In 1627 he defended a citation for chancel neglect made against him as owner of a fifth of Aughton's tithes by maintaining that he was willing to meet his share of the cost of repair. He thereby postponed any such payment indefinitely, notwithstanding presentments in similar terms made in 1636, 1640 and 1662-63. Factors in Sir John's failure to repair Aughton's chancel include his residence in London and Lincolnshire, his lack of ties to Aughton, and the large number of those responsible for its repair, but perhaps the major determinant was the active part Sir John played as MP for Lincolnshire in 1625 and 1628 and in both the Short and the Long Parliaments, in which, ironically, his chief concern was church reform.[419]

Even if impropriators within the group lived in Yorkshire, sometimes they had no link to the rectories, which they had acquired as investments while holding office in York and living elsewhere in Yorkshire. Examples include Thomas Agar, Sir William Allanson, Sir Robert Belt and the Dickinsons, all sheriffs and mayors of York (Allanson and Thomas Dickinson also being MPs for York); Sir William Frankland, MP for Thirsk; Sir Henry Slingsby, MP for Knaresborough; and the lawyers Sir Rowland Wandesford and Thomas Hesketh of Heslington. However, many such impropriators either had or acquired a genuine local connection. Richard Darley of Bishop Wilton, MP, owned the tithes of that parish and surrounding hamlets; and the son of Sir John Lister, mayor of and

[418] See pages 85-86 and footnotes 271-75, 306.
[419] See page 103 and footnotes 214, 419.

MP for Hull, lessee of Weaverthorpe and its chapels, lived at Linton near Weaverthorpe. Sir Edward Payler and his grandson Sir Watkinson, MP, tenants of Bugthorpe prebend, and recusants, resided at Thoraldby, Skirpenbeck, near Bugthorpe; Sir John Stapleton, MP, lived at Warter and owned its rectory; and the Myers family, sheriffs and mayors of York, had long been based in Allerthorpe and Waplington, whose tithes they owned. Sir Richard Osbaldeston, who lived at Hunmanby, held the tithes of that and of neighbouring parishes, and Thomas Wilson settled at Sledmere with his family, having first leased and then bought Sledmere rectory.[420] Such impropriators usually maintained their chancels.

Some members of the group who had previously maintained their chancels were cited for neglect in 1662. In 1637-8 Sir Robert Belt had paid for repairs to Pocklington chancel even though his 1636 lease did not oblige him to do so. The lease passed on his death in 1656 to his son, whose East Riding assets were assessed in 1662 at £100 – a low figure in the range of those assessed for muster that year – so money may have been short. By 1650 Sir Thomas Dickinson had acquired an interest in tithes from Pocklington and Thornton; by 1662 their chancels were in disrepair. Sir John Lister had complied with his duty to repair Weaverthorpe chancel after the 1637 sequestration, yet after his death in 1640 his heirs did not keep up the much smaller chancel of its chapel, Helperthorpe. In 1636 Thomas Wilson had certified satisfactory completion of the repair of Sledmere's chancel, which he may have maintained until he died in 1640, but the rectory then passed

[420] *Abstracts (Wills),* 109; Aveling, 35, 58; BIA, PR Y/MCS1, 66; J.T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry* London, 1969), 86; DARLEY, Henry, *HistParl*; Drake, *Eboracum I*, 365-66; *Dugdale I*, 174, 195-97, 296, 339-46, *II*, 48, 65, 360, *III*, 25-26, 333, 367, 385-86; ERALS, DDHU/9/33, 35, 48, 50, 117, DDHU/17/48, DDHU/18/3; *Fasti Harthill*, 125; Gent, *York*, 221-23; HoP, *Commons, 1640–60;* Charles Hussey, 'Country Homes ~ Gardens Old & New Aldby Park, Yorkshire: The Seat of Lt.-Col. Geoffrey Darley, D.S.O.', *Country Life*, Nov 9th, 1935, 486-490; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/321-24, 335-36, 362, 372-76, 378-84, 387-88, 391-92, 420-21, 468-77; McCall, *Wandesforde*, 30; *RCP III*, 95; OSBALDESTON, William, *HistParl*; Andrew Sefton, *A Tale of Two Manors,* Bishop Wilton Local History, edn. 19 June 2011, 14-17: issuu.com/bwhere/docs/the_palace_site/17; Pevsner, *ER*, 332 (monuments) 'Slingsby, Sir Henry, first baronet', *ODNB*; 'Stapleton, Sir Philip', *ODNB*; *Stuart Fines I*, 36, 109, 135, 204, *II*, 157; *Tudor Fines IV,* 172; *VCHERII*, 134, 146, 234, 236, 241, 280, 299, 301, 315; *VCHERVIII*, 20, 22, 146, 182, 187, 194, 198, 202; *VCHNRII*, 93, 191; *VCHYork*, 180, 190-91, 525; YML, S3(5)b, ff.25-26. See pages 90-93, 97-99, 101-3 and footnotes 289-90, 295, 324, 328.

to his son and thence to his grandson Robert, who held it in 1662. By then the chancel was dilapidated; in the same year Robert's East Riding property was valued at £110. By 1672, when he sold some Sledmere tithes, Robert had ceased to live at Sledmere and in 1674 he sold the rectory.[421] Perhaps the turmoil of the period 1640 to 1660 exacted their toll on these parliamentarians and their families, and played a part in their neglect of those chancels. Perhaps the younger generation lacked the means or the commitment to the area to repair the chancels.

2.2.2 Other lay impropriators and minor clergy

Other lay impropriators included gentry (both new and established) who did not hold public office and minor clergy. Unsurprisingly, many of the latter who were rector-incumbents[422] neglected their chancels during these two decades. For example, the visitation court books contain no citation for chancel decay either at Cherry Burton or at Routh before 1662; and the most recent one before 1662 for Catwick was in 1575, and for Rowley, in 1604. Richard Cooper, rector-incumbent of Routh from 1631 to 1662 must have been responsible for the chancel decay which Christopher Hildyard immediately repaired on being presented in 1662 by one of his family. The puritan Ezekiel Rogers, who resigned the living of Rowley to emigrate to America, was succeeded by the notorious puritan and parliamentarian Thomas White, from 1638 to his death in 1643, and thereafter Rowley only had the services of an occasional preaching minister until John Burnet was presented in 1662. The religious tumult of these decades must have been the main cause of the neglect of Rowley's chancel then. The same factor probably lies behind that of chancel dilapidation at Cherry Burton, of which the puritan Thomas Micklethwaite was rector-incumbent from 1613 to 1662, when he was deprived, having acted

[421] *Dugdale II*, 339-44; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/436-7; *VCHERV*, 90; *VCHERVIII*, 116, 182, 221; YAS, MD. 335/Box 57.

[422] I.e., clergy who were rectors and also undertook the cure of souls, as opposed to those who happened to be ordained and did not serve the living.

occasionally as preaching minister in 1650. It must also have played a part at Catwick, although the parson's non-residence sometime before 1633 may also be relevant.[423] The difficulty which many encountered in these years in collecting tithes[424] was probably another factor for clergy, for whom this source of income was vital.

Gentry who were not in public life still generally maintained the chancels with which they were associated, especially if they had a connection to the area, as had the Andersons who had acquired leases of Burnby and Kilnwick Percy by marriage to a local, even though there was no repairing covenant; the Etheringtons, who had acquired property, including a share in the rectory, in Rillington, where family members were buried; and the Pricketts, who had long been settled in Allerthorpe, whose tithes they received. Despite being fined £230 in 1647, Toby Hodgson, son of the former chancellor of York, maintained the chancels of both Bempton (of which he was impropriator and patron) and Bishop Burton, where he lived, even though his lease of Bishop Burton's rectory lacked a repairing covenant. In 1646 Sir Henry Griffith, who held Burton Agnes until his death in 1654, was fined the stupendous sum of £7,547 for his delinquency, yet the chancel was apparently in good condition in 1662, probably because of Sir Henry's great wealth and the importance of the church – virtually their private chapel – to his family and estate.[425]

However, some gentry not in public office neglected the chancels for which they were responsible. Decay in North Newbald's chancel was presented in 1662, even though the lessee, Timothy Remington, lived in North Newbald's prebendal house and held the

[423] BIA, V.1633/CB1; V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.1; *Fasti Harthill*, 73, 220; *Fasti Holderness*, 32, 125; Marchant, *Puritans*, 101, 263, 274, 291; *VCHERIV*, 153; *VCHERVII*, 356-58.

[424] Thirsk, *Agrarian History*, 392-97.

[425] *Abstracts (Wills),* 88; BIA, CC.Ab.5/2 ff.20-24 (1639); ibid, PR-RIL 1A, 24-26, 30; *Dugdale I*, 73, 131-31, *II*, 147-48, *III*, 519-21; *Fasti Buckrose*, 1; https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb50-udwb; http://landedfamilies.blogspot.com/2014/06/127-anderson-of-eyeworth-manby-lea-hall.html; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/372-76, 388-89, 407-8, 425-46, 468-71; ibid, COMM/XIIA/18/82-85; *RCP II*, 65, 143; *Stuart Fines I*, 79, 89-90, 125, 200, *II*, 151, 240; *VCHERII*, 13-14, 111, 147-48; *VCHERIII*, 136; YML, S3(5)b, ff.25-26, 129-30. See page 91-92 and footnotes 292-93.

prebend under a lease which required him to repair its chancel. Like Hodgson, he owed his lease to family connections; while prebendary of North Newbald his grandfather had allowed its chancel to become seriously dilapidated. Unlike Hodgson, Timothy was not a Royalist, and he evidently had sufficient means, for he repaired the chancel soon after the visitation: neither the wars nor the Commonwealth played any part in his derelictions of duty.[426] Nor were those factors apparently relevant in respect of decay in Blacktoft chancel, which was presented in 1662. The Jobsons had held Blacktoft from the dean and chapter of Durham under repairing leases since 1575, and must therefore be responsible for the dilapidation reported in 1600, but on Richard Jobson's death in 1627 Blacktoft passed through the hands of three different tenants before John Barwick, newly appointed dean of Durham, leased it to his brother, in 1660.[427]

Different considerations affected other gentry in this class. The citation of Burton Fleming for chancel decay in 1662 probably arose from the fact that the rectory was shared among at least three other people; its chancel had not been especially well-maintained anyway; in any event, one of the co-owners, Alan Lamont, the son of Thwing's incumbent, was not wealthy, for he was only fined £20 for his delinquency in 1646.[428] The Royalist Mountaignes had kept Westow's chancel in good repair pursuant to the lessee's covenant throughout Isaac's long tenancy, and the 1662 citation was their first. By this Isaac's son George was charged with failing to repair Westow's chancel. George probably felt commitment to Westow, where he lived and was buried, and would

[426] BIA, CP.G.913; ibid, V.1662-3/CB1, f.372r; *Dugdale III*, 493; ERALS, PE70/3; *Fasti York*, 17, 48; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/184-87; *VCHERIV*, 135; YML, S1(2)f; W/c, ff.135v-136r.

[427] 'Barwick, John', *ODNB*; 'Barwick, Peter', *ODNB*; DULASC, DCD/B/BA/9, ff. 560v-1r, 574r-5v, 764v-5r; DCD/B/BA/10, ff.173-4; DCD/B/BA/12, ff.521r-2r; DCD/B/BA/13, f.9r-v; DCD/B/BA/14, f.42v; Hutchinson, *Durham II*, 134-50; *VCHERX*1, 102-3.

[428] *RCP I*, 6; *VCHERII*, 7, 120-21.

have complied with his contract had he been able to do so: the fines imposed and cost of composition probably played a significant part in his failure to do so.[429]

It is noticeable that by the 1630s speculators such as those who bought up job lots of rectories and tithes in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign and during that of James I had ceased to play any part in that market, not least because by then the Crown had sold virtually all the rectories it possessed, and there was little trade in them once they had passed into the hands of the gentry. Speculators had had no incentive to maintain chancels and it would be reasonable to assume that they did not do so. They often made purchases to order, and therefore would not usually have held the chancels long, so their neglect would then have had negligible effect. Thus, this source of damage to chancel fabric had dried up by the 1630s. The only person who comes into this class at this period is Humphrey Shallcrosse, London financier and broker, and the only reason he came to own any East Riding tithes was that his daughter married Sandford Nevill, of Chevet and Kilnwick. This connection brought Shallcrosse many northern clients, including Sir Thomas Strickland, who was compelled first to mortgage, and then to sell, Kilnwick manor to Shallcrosse, after suffering repeated and heavy fines for his recusancy and delinquency.[430]

In conclusion, some chancels sustained damage as a result of neglect during the period 1640 to 1660, especially if those responsible for them were both recusant and delinquent, and the chancels were even more likely to suffer if their lay rectors were not very wealthy. Ecclesiastical lessees were more likely to maintain their chancels if their leases obliged them to do so, but they did not invariably comply: owners were more likely to maintain chancels than were tenants. Whether or not they were in public life, the gentry (unless

[429] BIA, CC.Ab.3/1, f.39, CC.Ab.5/1, ff.2747-6, 396-98, Rev.AL1 & 2, Rev. Deeds; *Dugdale II*, 164-67; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/116. See pages 87-88 and footnotes 279-80.

[430] Beloff, 'Shalcrosse,' 693; Boyd's Inhabitants of London Transcription (Humphrey Shalcrosse) 629; *Dugdale II*, 159.

both recusant and delinquent) tended to continue to keep their chancels in good repair, especially if they had connections to the parish in question, but the turmoil of those decades probably played a part in the neglect of some of the chancels whose decay was presented in 1662 – and probably in many whose cumulative dilapidation was only apparent, or only presented, later.

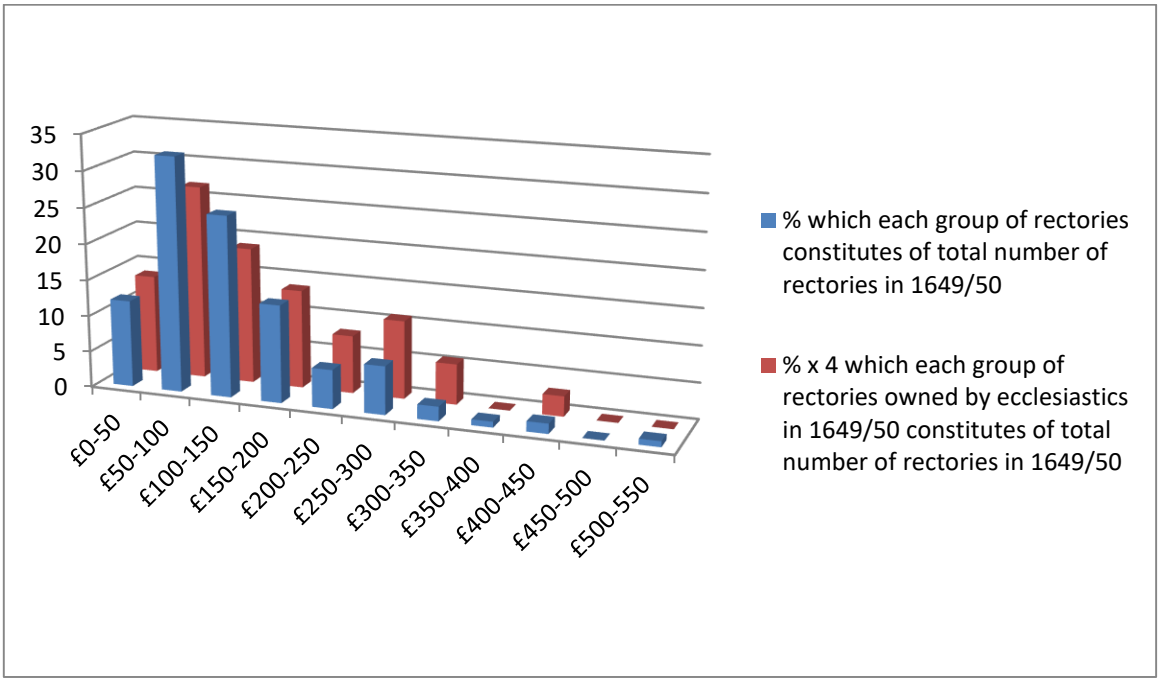
2.3 Value of rectories

The value of rectories had an impact on the owners' willingness (and occasionally, ability) to repair chancels, as appears from the Parliamentary Surveys, which supply the most comprehensive set of data over the same period on East Riding rectories since the Valor Ecclesiasticus. The gross annual incomes of East Riding rectories 1649-1650 ranged unevenly from £6 at the lowest to £513 at the highest, as shown in Figure 2, which compares all such rectories with those owned by ecclesiastical dignitaries, and shows that the distribution of rectories among the latter group was similar to that among those held by impropriators. The value of a rectory was closely related to the state of repair of the chancel(s) which it contained, as appears from the citations in the 1660s for chancel neglect.[431] The spread of value in bands matched the spread of instances of chancel damage. For example, the gross annual income of 32.5% of rectories in 1649-50 was between £50 and £100: 34% of chancels in that group were the subject of citations for neglect in the 1660s.[432] Rectors commonly considered the income which they received from the relevant tithes when faced with calls to repair the appropriate chancel,[433] and

[431] See footnote 400. This point is subject to the caveat that only 30 rectories were the subject of such citations. One may reasonably assume that the incomes of East Riding rectories relative to each other remained unchanged from 1649/50 to the 1660s.
[432] See page 133, Figure 1 and footnote 399.
[433] E.g., BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, f.348.

were less likely to meet those demands if that income were low: and the gross annual income of nearly half of East Riding rectories was below £100.

Figure 2: All ER rectories grouped by gross value as at 1649-50 compared with those rectories owned by ecclesiastics as at 1649-50[434]



Their disinclination increased if the tithes were shared, and a fortiori if the division were unequal: for example, Aughton's rectorial income in 1649-50 of £30 was apportioned with different values between five people. Moreover, these receipts were usually reduced by outgoings such as ministers' salaries (that at Aughton, of £13 6^{s} 8^{d} pa, was standard). Further deterrents included the related factors of the length of time over which the chancel had been neglected, the extent of the damage and the anticipated cost of repair. Unsurprisingly, almost half the chancels the subject of citations in the 1660s had been presented for chancel neglect as long before as the 1630s or in 1640.[435] In any event, no

[434] Derived from LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/1, 6-7, 10, 12-13, 18-19, 61-90, 147-51, 157-60, 169-73, 183-7, 226-304, 317-438, 456-99, COMM/XIIa/18/28-42, 53-64, 85-111. The reason for multiplying the numbers of groups of rectories owned by ecclesiastics by four is to enable a fair comparison to be made with the total number of rectories: the former constitute 25% of all rectories. See Appendix 17.

[435] BIA, V.1633/CB, ff.274v, 279v, 315v; V.1636/CB, f.219v. For references see footnotes 400, 402, 615-16.

one had much incentive to repair chancels between 1640 and 1660, when no court sanction was available.[436]

Table 3: the effect of the value and of multiple ownership of ER rectories on chancel disrepair[437]

ER Rectory	Gross value	Tithes split?	Vol 17[438]	Number of citations post-1603[439]
Aughton[440]	£30	Between 5	366	Twenty-four*
Thornton[441]	£30		378-980	Four*
Reighton[442]	£42		413-4	Three
Kilnsea[443]	£60		257	Three
Paull[444]	£66	Between 3	272-3	Six*
Hornsea[445]	£90		291-2	Four*
Sledmere[446]	£100	Between 2	436-7	Three*
Wawne[447]	£120		234-5	One*
Sancton[448]	£123		357-8	One*
Market Weighton[449]	£137		359-61	Two*
Rudston[450]	£140		408	Three*
Cherry Burton[451]	£147		430-1	Two*
Bubwith[452]	£150	Between 4	366-8	Three*
Kirby Grindalythe[453]	£152	Between 3	420-2	Five*
North Newbald[454]	£160		358-9	Three*
Easington[455]	£177 10s		6-7	One*
Keyingham[456]	£200		270-1	Four*
Pocklington[457]	£264 3^{s} 4^{d}	Between 5	372-6	One*
Howden[458]	£446	Between 9	226-30	Nine*

[436] Outhwaite, *Ecclesiastical Courts*, 82.
[437] Rectories in red type-face have rector-incumbents; mauve shading signifies the rectory had belonged to an ecclesiastical dignitary, although the Commonwealth held it in 1649/50. See Appendix 18.
[438] Folio references to LPL, COMM/XIIa/17.
[439] A star after the numbers in this column indicates that it includes a citation in 1662/3.
[440] See pages 135, 140-42 and footnote 214.
[441] BIA, V.1636/CB; V.1640/CB; V.1662-3/CB1; V.1667/CB(a); YML, S1(2)f.
[442] BIA, V.1633/CB1; V.1636/CB; ER.V/CB.1; *VCHERII*, 307.
[443] BIA, V.1633/CB1; ER.V/CB.2; ER.V/CB.4; *VCHERV*, 70.
[444] BIA, V.1607/CB; V.1615/CB; V.1619/CB; V.1623/CB; V.1633/CB1; V.1662-3/CB1; *VCHERV*, 119.
[445] BIA, V.1615/CB; V.1633/CB1; V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.4; *VCHERVII*, 283.
[446] BIA, V.1619/CB; V.1636/CB; V.1662-3/CB1; *VCHERVIII*, 182.
[447] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; HHC, U DDWI/55, 58-59, 61-62; YML, S1(2)f.
[448] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1.
[449] BIA, V.1640/CB; V.1662-3/CB1; LPL, COMM/XIIa/18/101-3.
[450] BIA, V.1619/CB; V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.4; *VCHERII*, 315.
[451] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.2; *VCHERIV*, 14, 17.
[452] BIA. V.1619/CB; V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.12; LPL, COMM/XIIa/18/110-1; YML, S1(2)f; W/c, ff.285v-286r.
[453] BIA, V.1633/CB1; V.1662-3/CB1; V.1674/CB; ER.V/CB.1-2, *VCHERVIII*, 131.
[454] BIA, V.1623/CB; V.1662-3/CB1; V.1693 letter dated 1 May 1694; YML, S1(2)f; W/c, ff.135v-6r; *VCHERIV*, 135.
[455] BIA, CC.Ab.2/2, f.78v; CC.Ab.3/1 f.30; ibid, V.1662-3/CB1, f.318r.
[456] BIA, CC.Ab.3/1, f.46; CC.Ab.3/3, f.79/87; CC.Ab.5/1, ff.304-7; Rev.Deeds; ibid, V.1607/CB, f.102r; V.1662-3/CB1, f.326v; ER.V/CB.4 f.135r; ER.V/CB.5, f.181r; YML, W/c, ff.184v-5v, 218v-9r.
[457] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1.
[458] See footnote 132.

Table 3 illustrates the effect of the value of East Riding rectories and of multiple ownership of rectories on chancel disrepair. On the whole, those responsible for chancels where the rectories were wealthier were more likely to maintain those chancels adequately than were those responsible for chancels where the rectories were poorer, unless the rectorial tithes were split, in which event the chancel was more likely to be neglected; and the more people between whom the tithes and responsibility were divided, the less probable was it that the chancel would be maintained. Sproatley's rector was unusual in that he complied with the order made against him, albeit by thatching the chancel roof instead of covering it with lead: even so, the cost exceeded £30 – half the gross annual value of his tithes.[459] Another remarkable exception to this picture appears in the rebuilding of Humbleton chancel – albeit in the cheaper brick instead of ashlar – in the seventeenth century, without any citation for neglect and although seven impropriators shared the tithes.[460]

Lessees of rectories owned by ecclesiastics naturally paid rent, which ranged from £13 7^{s} 8^{d} to £43 10^{s} 8^{d} pa for those in this group: these were typical for East Riding rectories at this period. Ecclesiastics invariably exacted substantial fines for the grant or renewal of such leases – James Watkinson's and Isaac Mountaigne's sons each paid £120 to renew the Easington and Westow leases in 1662 – while also stipulating that the tenant pay tenths, havers, thraves, pensions and other additional charges, and (generally by this period) subjecting him to a fully repairing covenant.[461] Nonetheless, despite the authorities' strictures, owners usually applied neither rent nor fines to repairing church fabric.[462] Moreover, the financial position of many ecclesiastics was probably worse during the 1640s than earlier, because rents of rectories were virtually unchanged from

[459] BIA, CP.H.2516; ibid, ER.V/CB.2; *VCHERVII*, 104.
[460] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/244-5; *VCHERVII*, 68-70.
[461] BIA, CC.Ab.2/2, f.78r-v.
[462] E.g, Neile's injunctions of 1636 for Southwell Minster: Fincham, *Visitation Articles, II*, 167.

those imposed over the previous century, despite inflation; and during the 1620s to 1640s there was a flurry of grants by their predecessors of leases for lives (in breach of royal fiat)[463], many of which were still on foot in 1650 (and, indeed, 1660).[464] Those dignitaries probably received few renewal fees before their rectories were seized or subjected to additional charges during the Commonwealth, and they might have had few opportunities to exact any fines.[465] For these financial reasons alone, ecclesiastics were less likely to repair their chancels in the 1640s than were they (or their predecessors) during the previous twenty years, regardless of the presence or absence of a repairing covenant in their leases.

Moreover, the wars and the Commonwealth likewise exposed recusant delinquents who held ecclesiastical tenancies to their sequestration or to additional burdens.[466] Again, some ecclesiastical rectories were much less valuable than others: the range of their income mirrored that of rectories as a whole. These considerations suggest that the presentations of 30 chancels in the 1660s under-represented significant chancel neglect, the consequences of which perhaps were not then manifest.

3. The body of the church

The archiepiscopal and archidiaconal visitation court books of the 1660s record the situation as the visitors found it on inspections in those years. They also reflect the history of the individual churches over the previous twenty to thirty years, particularly of their fabric. This history is considered below in three sections, which address a third of all East

[463] YML, W/d, f.121.

[464] E.g., LPL, COMM/XIIA/17/6-7, 170-72, 185-87, 457-60, 468-71, 472-75, 483-88, 495-99, 508-18; COMM/XIIA/18/39-41, 56-61, 82-85, 88-89, 92-93, 101-3, 104-7, 110-11; Outhwaite, *Inflation*, 14.

[465] I.J. Gentles and W.J. Sheils, *Confiscation and Restoration: the Archbishopric Estates and the Civil War* (Borthwick Paper 59, York, 1981), 15; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/6-7, 116, 157-59, 169-72, 234-39, 244-45, 247-48, 250-52, 254-59, 263, 267-72, 289-90, 292-95, 298-300, 336-39, 351-52, 357-66, 368-69, 372-78, 380-90, 404-11, 426-30, 435-37, 494.

[466] Shaw, *Church II*, 480, 487-88, 490.

Riding churches in three groups: twenty-eight, cited for grave defects; twenty-three, for less serious or unspecified ones; and fifteen, for relatively minor problems.[467] The purpose of this categorisation is to develop a clear impression of the severity of the situation both absolutely and as between each group. The criteria used are as follows, churches being classed according to the acuteness of their most serious type of disrepair. Dilapidations involving any major structural repairs, work necessary to make the body of the church weather-proof and deficiencies which would be expensive to make good were classed as serious defects; those which did not fall into the first group but which might ultimately threaten the integrity of the fabric if not addressed, were categorised as being less serious; and the third set was reserved for deficiencies described without any detail and those unlikely to cause major damage even if left unrepaired. Naturally, the resulting categorisation is not incontrovertible.

3.1 Serious defects

Abandoned buildings were not normally the subject of citations for decay. It is unsurprising therefore to find no reference in the 1660s records to St Nicholas', Withernsea, or to Easthorpe and Risby chapels. However, the authorities were slow to admit that some places of worship were beyond repair and that their congregations had already migrated elsewhere, or that some communities simply could not meet the cost of

[467] Serious defects: V.1662-3/CB1, ff.317r-v, 322v, 345v-346r, 349r-v, 353v, 360r-v, 363v, 391v, 398v, 399v, 400v-401r, 405v, 406v, 411v, 417r; ER.V/CB.1, ff.29r-v, 35r, 37r, 38v, 52r, 57r-58v, 60r, 82r; ER.V/CB.2, ff.45r-46r, 74v, 76r, 83v, 86v, 117r; V.1667/CB(a), ff.27r, 32r. Less serious defects: V.1662-3/CB1, ff.316r-v, 318r, 320r-v, 322r, 325r, 329r-330r, 331r, 357v-358r, 360v, 363r, 369r, 371v-372r, 373r, 374v, 377v, 385v, 387r, 397v, 399v, 403v, 413v, 415r-v, 416v, 507r; ER.V/CB.1, ff.6v, 24v-25r, 27r, 48v, 59v, 81r; V.1667/CB(a), ff.55v-57r. Relatively minor defects: V.1662-3/CB1, ff.313r, 314r-315v, 317r, 319r-v, 321r-v, 323v, 325r, 326v, 327r-328r, 329r, 331r-v, 334r, 335r-336r, 337v, 339v, 340r-v, 343r, 344r, 345r-v, 346v, 348v, 351v-352v, 353v-354r, 355v, 357r, 358r-v, 359v, 361r-362v, 367r, 368r-369r, 370r, 371r, 373r, 374v-375r, 376v, 378r, 379v-80v, 381r-382r, 383r-v, 384v-385v, 387r, 388r-389v, 391r, 396r, 397r-v, 401r-403r, 404r-406r, 407r-9r, 410r, 413v-415r, 416r, 417r; ER.V/CB.1, ff.24v, 41v-42r, 44r, 52v, 59r, 64r, 83v-84r; ER.V/CB.2, ff.26r, 102r; V.1667/CB(a), ff.1v, 38r, 59r. See Appendix 19. The apparent inconsistency between figures relating to rectories and churches arises from the fact that many rectories include chapels.

major restoration, and therefore would not comply with an order to do the work. During these twenty years no attempt was made to restore St Nicholas', Beverley: in 1663 the archdeacon accepted the churchwardens' claim that their church was 'so far demolished to the dry ground that it [was] not to be repaired by them [or] the parish'.[468] Swine's western arm had already been dismantled. The churchwarden of Marton, one of Swine's chapels, had not complied with the order made in 1636 to repair its roof, walls and windows, and was duly excommunicated.[469] Those who had worshipped at Marton evidently forsook their chapel and did not work on its fabric at any stage between 1640 to 1660: it is not mentioned again. The community of Wyton, another Swine chapel, likewise ignored the acute dilapidation of their building, apparently over the forty years between 1620 and 1660, and had already been attending the mother church at Swine instead. Wyton's churchwardens claimed that they simply could not effect the necessary repairs; the authorities insisted that the chapel should and would be rebuilt; but the community never did so.[470] A third Swine chapel, Bilton, was also neglected during these twenty years: its wardens stressed the high cost of complying with the court's order that they should beautify it.[471] Dunnington, one of Beeford's chapels, was already in disrepair by 1636, when it did not even have a churchwarden. The community could not afford the repairs, because it had shrunk to some seven or eight families, and during the years 1640 to 1660 it abandoned the chapel. In 1662 the court accepted the wardens' claim that it was 'utterly demolished', and they were merely directed to attend their mother church.[472] Flamborough likewise persistently disregarded the worsening decay of its steeple, apparently over the previous fifty years, and both in 1662 and 1665 said that the parish was too poor to restore it. In 1662-63 the court persevered in the fiction that the work

[468] BIA, ER.V.CB.1.
[469] BIA, V.1636/CB.
[470] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.1.
[471] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1.
[472] BIA, V.1636/CB; V.1662-3/CB1.

would be done, but in 1665 it made no order against the wardens and advised them to apply to the archbishop, presumably for relief from any penalty.[473]

Other churches suffered continued neglect between 1640 to 1660, a sign that they might well soon be abandoned. Kilnsea provides an example. Its chancel had been seriously dilapidated during the period 1575 to 1586, and in 1633 the wardens were ordered to repair the chancel as well as the nave. In 1636 decay was reported in the porch, the windows and roof: in 1640 the church was still dilapidated. The bland criticism made in 1663 that the church was out of repair because the Lord's Prayer and Creed were not painted on the walls and the bells were out of tune was superseded by the admission in 1665 that no money had been spent on maintenance for many years, the roof timbers were in pieces and the building was likely to collapse soon, quite apart from many other deficiencies. The bell had split; there was no pulpit cushion, no surplice and no bread or wine for communion; the churchyard fence had fallen down and pigs rooted up the dead. The wardens had not even assessed the parishioners for contributions to remedying these defects. By 1684 the building was so derelict that the visitation record stated 'the church is demolished'; in 1699 archbishop Sharp ordered the eastern half to be separated and kept in repair and released the parish from their duty to maintain the western half, which consequently was ruinous by 1720. All the mediaeval church except part of the tower fell over the cliff in 1826, and the remainder followed in 1831.[474]

Yet other churches had encountered serious structural problems by 1662, which indicates earlier continued neglect. No fewer than thirteen steeples were said to be in decay that year.[475] Sometimes the parish adopted the drastic – but relatively cheap – remedy of

[473] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.1-2.
[474] BIA, V.1633/CB; V.1636/CB; V.1640/CB; ER.V/CB.1-2; ER.V/CB.4; V.1684-85/CB; Sharp, f.145; *VCHERV*, 72-73.
[475] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, ff. 322v, 349r, 360v, 391v, 398v, 400v-1r, 405v, 411r-v, 417r; ER.V/CB.1, ff.38v, 52r, 57r, 60r.

demolishing the steeple and capping the tower with a square roof. Bishop Burton followed this course immediately (its steeple had been in serious decay for at least forty years by 1662), but other churches took more time.[476] In 1662 Burton Fleming's wardens sought to conceal the instability of its derelict steeple, implausibly claiming in 1663 that all necessary work was complete: the steeple was eventually taken down.[477] In 1670 Scalby's steeple was said to be ruinous; in 1672 its wardens admitted that it was in decay but claimed that they had begun repairs to it; at some stage it was removed.[478] Cowlam's few parishioners evidently ignored the dilapidation of its steeple until 1735, when the community was granted permission to demolish it.[479] Hilston likewise lost its steeple,[480] as had Norton,[481] Sherburn[482] and Wetwang,[483] at any rate by the early nineteenth century: by then all trace of the entire mediaeval church of Ellerton had vanished.[484]

The citations in the 1660s for serious defects included complaints about the state of the bells in eight East Riding churches. Moreover, bells were usually hung in steeples, and damage to the one area often implied impairment of the other: both defects were present in six churches by the 1660s. [485] If it were necessary to repair the steeple in order to access and repair the bells, the cumulative cost might be too great for a parish to meet.

In 1662-63 Burton Fleming's font was leaking, and six other churches were said to lack a font, but the meaning of this citation is unclear. Pre-Reformation fonts were normally sited at the west end of the church, of stone and lined with lead, while some were of metal

[476] BIA, CP.H.1904; *VCHERIV*, 9.
[477] BIA, ER.V/CB.1.
[478] BIA, ER.V/CB.3; *VCHNRII*, 482.
[479] BIA, ER.V/CB.4.
[480] Poulson, *Holderness II*, 58, 79; *VCHERVII*, 55.
[481] Butler, *Glynne*, 307; https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/2751/.
[482] Baines, *Gazetteer,* 201; *L&P Hen. VIII,* XVII*,* 153-68; Pevsner, *ER,* 401.
[483] https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/101175457-church-of-st-hilda-sherburn#.XZdmX2BKgsg .
[484] *VCHERVIII*, 261-62.
[485] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, ff.391v, 398v, 399v, 400v; ER.V/CB.1, ff.29r, 35r, 38r, 57r, 58v, 60r, 82r; ER.V/CB.2, f.45r.

alone. The Commonwealth proscribed the use of such fonts and stipulated the adoption of a basin in the face of the congregation, to enable the baptism to be visible to all. This edict sometimes led wardens to take out the lead lining of their stone fonts, a course which would render them incapable of use. The stone mediaeval fonts at Burnby, Burton Fleming, Full Sutton and Norton were neither removed nor vandalised during the Commonwealth, so probably the 1662-63 citations simply mean that the lead had been removed, which would account for the leak. This may also have been the fate of Burton Fleming's font. It is unclear when the mediaeval fonts at Great Givendale, Drypool and Scarborough disappeared, but there is no evidence that they were damaged during the Commonwealth.[486] Howden retains its Decorated font, but it needed work in 1662.[487]

Other churches in this group exhibited more general decay in areas critical to making or keeping them weather-proof. Rillington church required repairs to its roof, walls, floors and window: the speed with which the wardens certified completion of this wide range of works makes one suspect that their certification was aspirational rather than accurate. Kilnsea and Winestead had serious problems with their roofs and walls; Carnaby, Etton, Great Givendale, Hedon, Holtby and Wharram Percy, with their roofs; and Brantingham, with its walls. By 1663 the windows at Beverley Minster and Burton Fleming were in disrepair; by 1665 none of Aughton's windows had any glass; and by 1667 Brantingham's nave was unglazed.[488]

Most churches in this group displayed not one, but several, serious defects in the fabric of the building; and not one had all the items necessary to English worship in England in 1662. Many of the deficiencies the subject of the 1660s citations were the result of the Commonwealth's provisions as to worship and rites of passage and the regulation and

[486] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, ff. 317v, 349v, 406v, .363v, 411v, 401r; ER.V/CB.1, ff.57r, 76r; Cox, *Church Furniture*, 161-63, 173-74, 229; Hall, *Reliquiae Liturgicae III*, 45; Pevsner, *ER,* 363, 378, 634; Shaw, *Church I*, 347.
[487] ERALS, PE121/55, f.257; Pevsner, *ER,* 489.
[488] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, ff.345v, 363v, 399v, 411v; ER.V.1, ff.29r, 82r; ER.V.2, ff.45r, 83v; V.1667/CB(a), f.27r.

administration of ecclesiastical matters. During the Interregnum there had been no need to produce terriers or copies of the registers; the use of books of homilies, the canons of the church, and the Book of Common Prayer was forbidden; there was no requirement to paint the Ten Commandments or the Lord's Prayer on church walls; ministers were debarred from wearing surplices and hoods; royal arms were not to be displayed in churches; and font covers were superfluous.[489] But other failings indicate in some cases a more general deterioration in standards. Puritans favoured preaching, yet many churches lacked covers and cushions for their pulpits, and Burton Fleming's pulpit itself was inadequate.[490] Every church should have possessed a chest, locks, keys, bells and a poor man's box, and it was simply a matter of good house-keeping that walls should be white-washed and churchyard gates and fences mended. The Directory did not ban communion, yet many lacked the 'necessaries' for it, whether cloths or carpets to cover the table, or even the bread and wine for Christmas and Easter communion.[491]

Thus, both the body and the contents of most of the churches in this category fell far short of what was required in 1662. By then their fabric decay was sufficiently advanced that the neglect must have been long-standing, and must have begun well before the Commonwealth, and, indeed, the start of the civil wars. Some certainly date to the 1630s at least. Flamborough's steeple had begun to fall soon after James' accession,[492] and Wyton had been derelict since the 1620s.[493] Burton Fleming's steeple was already in decay by 1633, when an order was made for its repair: its wardens presumably disobeyed the court, since no note of compliance was recorded, and those appointed for 1662-63

[489] Royal arms occasionally appeared in churches before 1547, but became obligatory on the Restoration: Cox, *Church Furniture*, 351-53.
[490] BIA, ER.V/CB.1.
[491] E.g., BIA, V.1662-3/CB1 (six entries).
[492] See pages 154-55 and footnotes 348, 473.
[493] See page 154 and footnote 470.

were cited in 1663 for concealing its dilapidation.[494] Decay in the naves of both Bishop Burton and Kilnsea churches was the subject of court direction in 1633, and again in 1662-63.[495]

3.2 Less serious and unspecified defects

By 1662 many other East Riding churches suffered from problems which, if ignored, might ultimately threaten the integrity of the fabric. The roofs of at least six churches needed repairs.[496] The windows at Bridlington, Burton Pidsea, Catton, Hessle, North Newbald, Skidby, Weaverthorpe and Wintringham were in disrepair.[497] Four more churches required work either to their roofs or to their windows or to both.[498] Seven porches were dilapidated, one even roofless.[499] Some citations were vague, which makes it difficult to assess the gravity of the situation. For example, by 1663 Beswick chapel was 'in decay'; Goodmanham needed unspecified repairs; the body of Reighton was 'out of repair'; Settrington was 'very much out of repair'.[500]

3.3 Relatively minor defects

Similarly, some wardens were simply enjoined to 'beautify' their church or chapel or to 'provide all things necessary' for the pulpit, the communion, or the church.[501] Nothing indicates that such defects were serious enough to pose a threat to the fabric of the building, even if left unattended.

[494] BIA, V.1633/CB1, f.345v; ER.V/CB.1 f.57r.
[495] BIA, V.1633/CB1, ff.264r, 288v; V.1662-3/CB1, f.349r; ER.V/CB.1, f.82r.
[496] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, ff.320v, 369v, 371v, 387r, 415v, 507r.
[497] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; V.1667/CB(a).
[498] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, ff.316v, 369v, 397v, 416v.
[499] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, ff.322r, 377v, 399v, 359v, 400v; V.1667/CB(a), f.27r.
[500] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, ff.6v, 329v, 363r, 369v, 373v, 374v, 403v; ER.V/CB.1, ff.24v, 25r, 27r, 48v, 66r; f.27r; V.1667/CB(a), f.37r.
[501] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1 (twenty-three entries).

3.4 General maintenance

Collecting church rates was probably more difficult in these tumultuous decades. Nonetheless, the churchwardens' accounts which survive for these decades imply that general maintenance continued, albeit somewhat sporadically, although the size and status of three of those churches indicates that they cannot be treated as being typical of East Riding churches. Howden's wardens recorded the years 1640 to 1643 and 1645 as one; there was no information for 1644, 1646, 1649, 1653 or 1656 to 1659, and the accounts for the other years are plainly incomplete; many parishioners delayed payment or defaulted altogether; and expenditure was much reduced in comparison with the 1630s – for example, they apparently spent a total of £66 over the six years between 1640 and 1645. Nonetheless, Howden's wardens raised over £50 in 1648 and over £25 in 1651. This was spent on the roof, walls, doors, seating, and windows; on paving the nave floor; and on the bells.[502] Scarborough continued to maintain its fabric even after the attempt in 1647 – at a cost exceeding £100 – to repair the catastrophic damage of 1645, thereafter apparently spending some £20 annually.[503] For the reasons set out in the previous Chapter, the wardens of St Mary's Beverley enjoyed unique financial protection, which enabled them to spend an average of £75 annually between 1640 and 1660, not only on maintaining the church, but also on major repairs to the roofs and windows, and (in 1648-9) on constructing an additional loft, at a cost of some £34.[504] Only very limited information comes from the accounts of the fourth church for which any survive from these decades: in 1649 three single taxes (totalling £8 8s) were laid for the repair of Sigglesthorne church, said to be much decayed. We know nothing of how the tax was

[502] BIA, V.1640/CB, f.131r; ERALS, PE121/55, ff.233-48, 250-52.
[503] ERALS, PE165/1, pp.14-34. See pages 111-12 and 131-32.
[504] ERALS, PE1/53-63. See pages 115-16 and footnotes 355-56.

spent, but this was a substantial levy for a place whose population was a third of Howden's.[505]

3.5 Citations of wardens for concealing defects

There are indications that deterioration in the body of East Riding churches by 1662 may have been either more widespread or more serious, or both, than was revealed by the 1662, 1663 and 1665 visitations (or the records of those visitations). Certainly some churchwardens hid the extent (or even the fact) of such dilapidations at the 1662 archiepiscopal visitation, only to be exposed to charges before the archdeacon (that they had failed to present those defects earlier. Such concealment was possible because visitations did not automatically involve inspecting churches the subject of presentments, still less searching out evidence of neglect or failure to provide items required by canon law; and archiepiscopal visitations were held in centres such as Beverley, Malton and York, and only once every fourth year. The greatest risk was that the archdeacon's Official might empower commissioners to search out deficiencies, and that one's church came early in the list for investigation.[506]

Eight claims for concealment of defects were brought against wardens between 1662 and 1665.[507] Five of these churches required major repairs (the steeples of four were derelict); that at Settrington needed considerable work; the reports do not reveal the nature of the defects at Everingham. Only Halsham's wardens submitted the response – accepted by the court – that the church had been in good order when the presentment was made. That cannot be a coincidence. The more serious the dilapidation, the more money the work would probably cost; and the stronger the motive for seeking to avoid a court order that

[505] ERALS, PE144/23; *YERHT*, 44, 265, 269, 275-76.
[506] Fincham, *Visitation Articles, I*, xxi; Marchant, *Law*, 43, 116-18, 126.
[507] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, ff.322r, 349r, 360v; ER.V/CB.1, ff.38v, 48v, 57r; ER.V.2, f.83v.

the wardens repair the damage. Even if the wardens wanted, or hoped, to arrest the deterioration in and to restore the body of their churches fully, none would wish to be compelled by those means to seek to raise large sums from parishioners and those with assets in the parish, especially if they believed that they could not succeed in doing so. Moreover, the number of these cases in the 1660s – of proceedings against wardens for failing to present decay in the body of the church – was unusually high for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Only four before the 1660s are recorded, including one in 1594, in respect of Cloughton chapel. In 1636, Owthorne's wardens concealed the long-standing dilapidation of their south aisle, and those of Nunburnholme, the disrepair of its chapel at Easthorpe, no doubt because the parish had not restored it, despite providing a certificate in 1633 that they had, and because it was beyond repair: sixty years later archbishop Sharp assumed that Easthorpe had collapsed. In 1640 Rowley's wardens failed to present the fact that their chapel at Risby was derelict, probably because it had long since been abandoned.[508]

This evidence supports the hypotheses advanced above, namely: first, that concealing dilapidation in the body of the church implies that the damage was grave and might well indicate that the community had abandoned or soon would abandon that place of worship; and, second, that the high number of such citations against wardens in the 1660s in comparison with the number before then suggests that dilapidation in the body of churches was probably greater and more widespread by the 1660s than one might have thought, given the determined efforts of Neile and Cosin in the 1630s. It might be said that these tentative conclusions are undermined by the following. First, in four of those seven instances, archdeacons were better placed than archbishops to uncover hidden neglect: the archdeacon discovered that the wardens had successfully concealed the poor

[508] BIA, V.1594/CB; V.1633/CB1; V.1636/CB; V.1640/CB; Lawton, 360.

condition of their church fabric from the archiepiscopal visitors in 1662-63. Second, there are no extant court books of archidiaconal visitations in Yorkshire for any years before 1662. One might infer that the relative absence before 1662 of citations against churchwardens for failing to present deterioration in church fabric is simply because of the loss of the records of archdeacons' visitations. However, the number of citations of wardens for that offence to the archbishop's court is too close to those made to the archdeacon's court justify such an inference.

3.6 Causes of neglect of body of church 1640-1660

Many parishes had sought to comply with ecclesiastical court orders made in the 1630s, but often could not afford to mend the fabric itself. For example, in 1633 Flamborough's warden claimed that the parish had not completed necessary repairs, having been 'lately at cost with providing of other necessaries for the church'.[509] Neile's metropolitical visitation of 1632-34 concentrated on interiors and their re-ordering, and the 1630s were mostly occupied with procuring conformity to his requirements: prosecutions of Yorkshire parishes were still being brought in 1639.[510] Moreover, cumulative fabric neglect often aggravated damage and increased the cost of restoration, thereby deterring wardens in subsequent decades from addressing the problem. Furthermore, parishes tended to be discouraged by the neglect of the chancels of their churches: all but one of the 30 churches whose chancels were the subject of the 1660s citations were presented for neglect of the body of their church. Other deterrents included the disruptions and dislocations brought by civil war and the Commonwealth, both generally and within the

[509] See pages 110-11 and footnote 349. Other examples: ibid, V.1633/CB1, ff.299r, 304v-ar, 322v, 335v, 340v, 348v; V.1636/CB, f.299v, 301v, 405v, 407v, 409v.
[510] Fincham, *Altars Restored*, 210, 238, 243-44, 247.

established church in England, the abolition of ecclesiastical courts and the resignation or ejection of their clergy.[511]

4. Equipment for Protestant worship

The 1662-63 visitations addressed a range of issues, of which the state of the fabric was only one. Their critical concern was that every parish church should be appropriately equipped for Protestant worship as the authorities understood it in 1662. This concept involved ensuring that each church had a terrier, a copy of their register books for lodging at York, a table of the degrees of marriage, the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, a copy of the canons and a book of homilies; a surplice and a hood for the minister; a carpet and appropriate cloths for the communion table, a cushion and cover for the pulpit and a font cover; a church chest, all necessary locks and keys, bells in working order, plate (including a silver communion cup with a silver cover), a poor man's box or alms box; walls which were white-washed and had the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the King's Arms painted on them; and a churchyard whose fences and gates were in proper repair and secure. These requirements effectively reintroduced standards specified as long before as 1607 by archbishop Matthew, which he and his successor repeated in 1622 and 1628-29 respectively.[512]

4.1 Terriers and copies of registers

Virtually all the presentments in 1662-63 referred to lodging a copy of the parish registers, and many to providing terriers. Only thirteen churches out of the 213 listed in the court records of 1662-63 were excepted: the omissions were probably an oversight, especially

[511] Marchant, *Puritans*, 263, 267, 271, 274, 277. In 1650 at least eleven more East Riding parishes had no incumbent, but only a preacher: LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/passim.
[512] Fincham, *Visitation Articles, I*, 56, 58-59, 66-67.

in the six cases in which the wardens were not cited at all in those years. No such entry appears in respect of nineteen chapels: chapels did not normally keep their own registers because their parishioners were baptised, married and buried at the mother church. The wholesale request for these items does not reflect any failing on the part of the parishes during the 1640s and 1650s, but the restored administration seeking to ensure that ecclesiastical matters were properly recorded and regulated. Most parishes had apparently maintained their registers, and the diocese was naturally concerned with the extent of the glebe, since incumbents often depended on it to survive, and ecclesiastical property had been subject to considerable interference during those two decades.[513] For the same reason it was necessary to take stock of what furnishings individual parishes retained.

4.2 Books

Books were a different matter. At least 66 churches lacked the books deemed necessary in 1662: the Directory had proscribed both the use and retention of the Book of Common Prayer, copies of which were to be delivered up for destruction. Most parishes had evidently secreted their copies of the Book of Common Prayer, for only eleven churches were specifically ordered to provide one: plainly many congregations had sought to continue their worship in accordance with its now familiar liturgy and language. Only three lacked Bibles. The Directory warmly encouraged the reading of scripture, and laid out the principles on which sermons should be composed: there was no place for homilies composed by others, and naturally the canons were obsolete.[514] Although parishes were not required to destroy them, homilies and canons were the volumes most frequently missing in 1662. Virtually all the presentments on books in 1662-63 were instructions to reverse the Directory's strictures.

[513] Hall, *Reliquiae Liturgicae III*, 35-42.
[514] Ibid, 8, 84-85, 87-88.

4.3 Surplices and church furnishings

The Directory required that the communion table should be decently covered, but made no other stipulation as to other church furnishings.[515] From 1621 to 1640 seven Puritan ministers who would not wear surplices served Rowley: this may explain its 1662 citation. The numbers of East Riding Puritan clergy had soared from about fifteen between 1547 to 1603 to over seventy between 1603 and 1640, but citations for not wearing a surplice in the latter period do not correlate with the same charges in 1662. Accordingly one should conclude that at least thirty-eight churches had apparently complied with the 1644 Ordinance, for thirty-eight were required to provide a surplice.[516]

4.4 Bells

The citations in the 1660s included complaints about the state of the bells in seventeen East Riding churches.[517] Flamborough's bell was evidently damaged beyond repair, since the wardens were ordered to acquire one. However, any complaint about bells was potentially of concern, even that they were out of tune, as the reason might well be that a bell was cracked, and both repair and replacement were costly options. In the seventeenth century bells played a vital part in both religious ritual, whether Catholic or Protestant, and secular life, whether in times of war or of peace, of rule by a king or by a Protector. (An outstanding example is their use in the continued commemoration of the Gunpowder Plot throughout the civil wars and the Interregnum.[518]) For that reason parishes probably repaired or replaced bells whenever necessary, so long as they could afford to do so, and

[515] Ibid, 54.
[516] See page 126 and footnotes 358, 386. BIA, V.1662-3/CB1 (thirty-four entries); ER.V/CB.1 (eight entries); ER.V/CB.2 (twice); V.1667/CB(a) (twice).
[517] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1 (nine entries); ER.V/CB.1 (nine entries); ER.V/CB.2 (twice); V.1667/CB(a).
[518] David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells* (2nd edn., Stroud, 2004), passim, especially 146-47, 156-57, 164-67.

the reason for the citations about bells in the 1660s was probably that the laity lacked the means to mend or buy new ones.

Indeed, during the fifty years between 1630 and 1680 many communities had allowed their bells to become so dilapidated that replacement was the only option. No fewer than seventeen East Riding places of worship are known to have acquired new bells in the 1630s: none had been ordered to do so, although they might have been encouraged by their archdeacon or archbishop to adopt that course.[519] The wardens of five churches (Bishop Wilton, Hessle, Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, Langtoft and Rillington) were not driven by presentments to purchase bells in the 1640s; nor were those of Pocklington, Seaton Ross, Sherburn and Westow in the 1650s.[520] Fourteen further churches were furnished with new bells in the 1660s, perhaps five as a result of their presentments in 1662-63, but nine apparently of their own accord. In the 1670s new bells were introduced into another twenty churches, four of which might have been responding belatedly to orders made against them in 1662-63. The remainder might simply have chosen to acquire new bells, although they might also have been reacting to the rash of orders. Some may have acquired them for change-ringing.[521] Only six apparently failed to comply with court directions.[522] In total, between 1630 and 1680 sixty churches bought new bells, and only nine did so to comply with the ecclesiastical courts.

Accordingly, the political and religious upheavals of these decades were largely irrelevant to this situation; and the Reformation played no part in the provision of ecclesiastical bells.

[519] Boulter, *Bells II*, 82, 84-86, 216, 219-20, 222-23; *III*, 28, 406-7. See Appendix 20.
[520] Boulter, *Bells II*, 218, 224; *III*, 26-27, 30, 406-7.
[521] J. Sanderson, *Change Ringing: The History of an English Art, I* (Cambridge, 1987), 28-50.
[522] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, ff.357v, 398v, 400v, 417r; ER.V/CB.1, ff.35r, 57r.

4.5 Plate

One cannot assume that parishes acquired plate in the year in which it was made, but there are two reasons for accepting the hypothesis that the evidence of the hallmarks is usually a reliable guide in the seventeenth century to the date on which the parish bought the plate. First, there is a remarkable coincidence between the dates of the Restoration and the associated ecclesiastical legislation on the one hand and the increased numbers of extant East Riding plate made in the 1660s and 1670s, as opposed to the previous twenty years, on the other. Similarly, the numbers of such items made in the 1630s correlates with the known commitment of Cosin and Neile to ensure that parishes were properly equipped, as Table 4 makes clear.[523]

Table 4: total number of churches acquiring plate in each decade from 1630s-1680, regardless of citations

Dates of plate	Number of churches
1630s[524]	18
1640s[525]	5
1650s[526]	2
1660s[527]	15
1670s[528]	10

Second, during the seventeenth century most churches commissioned their plate, as is indicated by the following. Parishes near places where silversmiths worked tended to buy

[523] So far as the plate is extant. The evidence as to plate is derived from Fallow's survey of church plate still owned by the relevant parishes shortly before 1912, 250 years after 1662, and that figure is confined to silver cups made no earlier than 1655. Many parishes lost their plate in the intervening centuries, and some may have acquired in the 1660s plate which had been made some time before. For those reasons the figures may not be accurate. Accordingly, every point made on plate is necessarily subject to that caveat.

[524] Fallow, *Plate*, 221-22, 226, 228, 232-34, 254, 269, 271-22, 275-76, 282, 289, 294, 305, 315, 325, 328, 337.

[525] Ibid, 269, 296, 310-11, 318, 330.

[526] Ibid, 271-72, 286.

[527] Ibid, 210, 218-20, 233, 250, 254, 270-4, 286, 290, 313-14.

[528] Ibid, 244-45, 263-64, 275-77, 281, 285, 300, 311.

items made in such centres.[529] Churches could not usually justify selling silver communion cups because of the continuing liturgical need for them, so one would not expect to find many available: indeed, cases of purchase of second-hand church plate were relatively rare in the East Riding during that period.[530] Finally, silver was very expensive. In 1674 Francis Wright left £5 for a silver cup for Kirk Ella.[531]

In summary, where East Riding parishes had not retained their plate or it needed to be replaced, they were generally keen to respond where they could to the pressure exerted by Cosin and Neile in the 1620s and 1630s to 'beautify' their churches and to provide equipment in good condition and of a high standard, befitting the sanctity of communion. The distractions of civil war and the exigencies of the Commonwealth restricted parishioners' ability and desire to pursue that approach in the 1640s and 1650s. As twin results, a backlog of absence of or defects in church plate had developed by the Restoration, and some churches were unable to remedy those deficiencies, despite a general wish to do so. By the seventeenth century, the Reformation was irrelevant to decisions about repairing or replacing church plate, as appears from the evidence set out below.

The Directory contemplated that parishioners would continue to take communion, albeit perhaps only once a year, while seated 'at or about' a table. Post-Reformation all East Riding churches must have acquired a chalice of a suitable size for the laity, and most retained them during the civil wars and the Commonwealth. Four were still acquiring appropriate silver plate in the 1620s, as were eighteen more in the 1630s. Such purchases probably owe much to Cosin and Neile, but some communities continued to make such acquisitions even during the following two decades, when Sir John Lister gave St Mary

[529] 32 churches acquired cups made in York; 16 churches (mostly in Holderness), plate made in Hull; 13 churches, silver made in London: Fallow, *Plate*, passim.
[530] Only two East Riding examples in this period are known.
[531] Fallow, *Plate*, 281.

Lowgate, Hull, a 1641 silver cup; and the parishes of South Cave and Welwick (in 1640), Sherburn (in 1643), Speeton (in 1645), and Lockington and Holy Trinity, Hull (in 1656), bought silver. The only stipulation the Directory made as to containers for the bread and wine was that the former should be placed in 'comely and convenient vessels', and the wine in 'large cups': no one had to buy silver.[532]

4.6 Not cited in 1660s for fabric defects

Virtually all churches and several chapels were required to produce registers and/or terriers; 47 of them only faced this single complaint. 90% of churches and chapels were cited in the 1660s for fabric defects for which the laity was responsible.[533] The main reason for the absence of the remaining 10% was that fifteen of them were chapels.[534]

5. Dissent and Quakerism

The growth of sects in these decades posed a fresh risk to the condition of ecclesiastical fabric, but from the 1650s onwards the Quakers presented the greatest challenge in the East Riding. Other pockets of dissent there were too small in the 1650s to affect care of church buildings. Unlike recusants and other non-conformists, Quakers were opposed in principle to 'steeple-houses' and to paying tithes and contributions to the cost of church maintenance or repair.[535] Accordingly, the speed and extent of the spread of Quakerism in East Yorkshire posed a considerable threat to the conservation of the body of churches there as well as the chancels. George Fox reached Beverley in December 1651, where he

[532] Hall, *Reliquiae III*, 54; Fallow, *Plate*, 215, 221, 226, 228, 232-34, 254, 259, 267, 269, 271-72, 275-76, 282, 286, 289, 294, 305, 310-11, 315-18, 328, 330, 337; Shaw, *Church I*, 344-46.

[533] Only 22 were not.

[534] Only seven chapels were directed to produce register books: V.1662-3/CB1, ff.327r, 344r, 351v, 361r, 370r, 388r, 407v. Some chapels were treated as parochial churches for visitation purposes even though technically they had the status of chapels.

[535] Reay, *Quakers*, 9, 12, 17-18, 38-39, 43, 59, 62, 85-86.

preached at the Minster: a group of Friends gathered soon afterwards, and Fox held meetings in Richard Purseglove's house in Cranswick in 1651-2. Fox first travelled through Holderness in March 1652, holding meetings in George Hartas' house in Ulrome, and was followed a few months later by William Dewsbury, who preached throughout the East Riding. Meetings were settled at Beverley, Bridlington and Scarborough by mid-1652; at Hull by 1660; in six more places in Holderness by 1665; and in Elloughton, Kelk, North Cave and York by 1669.[536]

By 1662-63 churchwardens throughout the archdeaconry were presenting significant numbers of parishioners both for Quakerism and for non-payment of their assessments.[537] As early as 1662-63, in Holderness alone only eight out of its forty-four parishes lacked a presentment for a Quaker offence.[538] Moreover, many adherents were unswerving in their commitment to their principles. For example, in 1660 alone, at least 78 Quakers from Holderness endured violence, fines, distraint of property, imprisonment and even death.[539] Occasionally parishioners were charged in the 1660s for failing both to attend church and to meet their dues, but not with any other infraction which would permit identification of the reason(s) for these transgressions.[540] Most of these parishioners were Quakers rather than recusants, as is revealed by careful analysis of a combination of evidence from visitation court books, correction books, Quaker records of births, marriages, burials, sufferings and meetings, parish records and hearth tax returns. In 1672 at least a quarter of the 87 entries in the returns for Aldbrough were Quakers: this proportion was typical of much of Holderness.[541] In consequence, the numbers of non-

[536] Roberts, *Yorkshire Quakers*, 13, 27, 30, 33, 43. See page 127 and footnote 388.
[537] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1 (114 entries); ER.V/CB1 (76 entries); ER.V/CB2 (46 entries); V.1667/CB(a), (67 entries).
[538] The exceptions: Atwick, Catwick, Goxhill, Preston, Sproatley, Wawne, Winestead and Withernwick.
[539] Besse, *Sufferings*, 90-91, 93-94, 96-101;
[540] E.g., BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, ff.315r-v, 400v; ER.V/CB1, ff.74v-75r; ER.V/CB2, f.6r; V.1667/CB(a), ff.18v, 19v.
[541] Besse, *Sufferings*; ERALS, DDQR/16-17, 21, 24-25; TNA, RG6/1119, 1202, 1288, 1303, 1363; *YERHT*, 260, 270, 284, 294-95. See Appendix 21.

paying Quakers in East Riding parishes in the 1660s was probably under-stated by the visitation court records significantly.

Some Quakers in Holderness were lords of the manor with substantial land-holdings; and others were well-off, some being rich enough to earn the note 'dives' against their names in presentments or to be recorded in 1672 as owning houses with an unusually high number of hearths (four or more). For example, the Acklams had held Bonwick manor for centuries, and by the late sixteenth century had acquired property in Brandesburton, Garton, Hornsea and Skipsea. Peter Acklam was cited for being a Quaker from 1662 and thereafter repeatedly; in 1674 he was charged with holding conventicles in his house in Hornsea, which had six hearths in 1672.[542] George Hartas bought Ulrome manor & advowson in 1657 but his forebears had been dealing with it since at least 1600-1. George was said to have rebuilt Ulrome manor house with five hearths in the mid seventeenth century. He and his wife Clara were frequently cited as Quakers from 1662, and in 1662 as holding conventicles in their house, until their deaths in 1672 and 1707 respectively.[543] Another Quaker resident of Ulrome in 1672 was James Johnson, whose house had ten hearths: his family owned one of the larger copyhold estates in Skipsea as well as property in Ulrome. He was cited seven times between 1674 and 1683 for offences related to his Quakerism.[544] In 1618 the Pearsons bought Dringhoe manor in Skipsea parish, which they retained until 1743. By 1672 Thomas owned a five-hearthed house in Bonwick and Dunnington (also in Skipsea parish) and a three-hearthed house in Wawne, with other

[542] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; V.1667/CB(a); ER.V/Co.C (1673); V.1674/CB; V.1682/CB; V.1684-85/CB; ER.V/CB.1-5; TNA, RG6/1119, ff.8-9, 13-14, 16, 24; RG1363, ff.125-27, 130, 153, 330, 336-37, 361; *VCHERVII*, 282, 292, 388-9; *YERHT*, 267.

[543] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; V.1667/CB(a); V.1674/CB; V.1684-85/CB; ER.V/CB.1; ER.V/CB.4-5; ER.V/Co.C, (1672); TNA, RG6/1119, ff.157-61, 164-65; *VCHERVII*, 400, 402.

[544] BIA, V.1674/CB; V.1682/CB; ER.V/CB.4-5; *VCHERVII*, 384, 386.

property in neighbouring Barmston and Catfoss. His Quakerism brought him six summonses to the church courts.[545]

Another Quaker family, the Storrs, also held substantial assets in Holderness: by 1657, John Storr held a house and some 70 acres in Hilston. By 1672 two family members owned houses with four hearths, in Hilston and Owstwick nearby. In 1686 John's second son bought Humbleton manor, which then extended into Burton Pidsea, Owthorne and Tunstall with dependent holdings in Humbleton, Danthorpe, Garton, Owstwick and Roos, and included a house with about 95 acres in Fitling. Many of the Storrs were cited for offences associated with Quakerism, and, hence, were subjected to fines and distraint.[546] John Overton was another notable Quaker. His grandfather was rich: the Overtons possessed most of the demesne lands of Easington, and by 1661 they also owned the Skeffling estate. John's father was governor of Hull in 1659-60 and in 1672 was living in Easington Hall (which had ten hearths), while John owned a house with five hearths in Ottringham. He allegedly kept conventicles there in 1678.[547] More than half of those in Holderness cited for Quakerism between 1670 and 1678 were described in the presentments during those years as rich, and only one was labelled 'pauper'.[548] Accordingly, in the mid-seventeenth century Quakerism posed a greater risk to funding the conservation of churches than did recusancy.

[545] BIA, V.1674/CB; ER.V/CB.2-5; ERALS, DDQR/16; TNA, RG6/1119, f.306; RG6/1393, ff.24, 152-54; *VCHERVII*, 387; *YERHT*, 281.

[546] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; V.1667/CB(a); V.1674/CB; V.1693-94/CB; ER.V/CB.1-5; ERALS, DDQR17, 286; DDQR/21, 13, 24, 27; ERALS, DDQR/25; TNA, RG6/1363, ff.5, 23, 125, 129, 131, 147, 151, 154, 329-30, 332, 338, 356; *VCHERVII*, 52, 54, 65, 93.

[547] Abstracts (*Wills)*, 68-69; Poulson, *Holderness II*, 377; *YERHT*, 285, 299, 308; *VCHERV*, 24, 131.

[548] BIA, ER.V/CB.3, ff.56v-57v, 59r-v, 62v, 92r, 135r-v, 137r-139r, 140v, 143r-v, 146v, 152v, 176r, 179r, 181r; ER.V/CB.4, ff.4r, 5v, 6v-7r, 8r, 10v, 12r, 24v-25r, 57r-59v, 61r, 63r, 64r, 65v, 66r-68r, 69r-70v, 72r-73v, 129v, 131r, 132v, 136r-v, 141v, 199r-v, 200v-201r; ER.V/CB.5, f.43v.

6. Conclusion

Only Scarborough and Wressle churches endured significant physical damage from action in the civil wars. However, the upheavals engendered by that conflict and the Commonwealth caused sustained neglect of ecclesiastical fabric throughout 1640 to 1660, both to chancels and to the body of the church. The courts had procured improvements in the state of East Riding churches in the 1630s, but compliance with judicial orders was not invariable: where pre-1640 disrepair was ignored, problems were compounded and damage often became irreparable. Once the ecclesiastical courts had lost their coercive powers and the High Commission had been abolished, there was no judicial court to which to present disrepair, and no judicial means of enforcing repairing obligations. The laity had drawn heavily on their resources to 'beautify' and re-order their churches in the 1630s, and little remained to remedy fabric defects. With the abolition of most church offices, many chancels for which ecclesiastical dignitaries had once been responsible fell into decay. Financial difficulty induced by the combination of recusancy and delinquency was a major cause of chancel neglect. By this stage many impropriators had held their rectories for generations, and their interests had often been divided between family members, which increased chancel neglect.

Chapter IV – 1660-1690 –Restoring the Church

Over the period 1640 to 1660 the institutions and practices of the established church in England, including the episcopate and archidiaconate, the church courts and the use of the Book of Common Prayer, had been destroyed, dismantled or proscribed. Many parishes lost their incumbents: some had no replacement for decades. Many types of religious dissent had arisen. There was no general agreement on what would be its characteristics if the Protestant church established over the period since 1559 were restored. Soon after its first assembly on 25th April 1660, the Convention Parliament endorsed the Declaration of Breda, by which Charles II promised the restoration of a church which would be liberal and tolerant. However, the hopes thereby raised were to be disappointed. A year later, the Cavalier Parliament restored bishops to the House of Lords, and between 1661 and 1665 passed the restrictive set of statutes known as the Clarendon Code.[549]

As a result of the Code, municipal officials were required to take the Anglican sacraments; many clergy were evicted from their livings; Quakers were required to take oaths and forbidden attendance at meetings of five or more Friends; all assemblies of five or more people had to be conducted in accordance with the Book of Common Prayer; and all preachers and teachers who did not take the necessary oaths or make the requisite declarations were prohibited from coming within five miles of any town or city, and all ejected clergy from coming within five miles of their former parishes. The fears which drove the obsessive desire of Parliament and the public to suppress both Catholicism and

[549] These first three paragraphs derive much from John Spurr, *The Post-Reformation: Religion, Politics and Society in Britain, 1603-1714* (Abingdon, 2006), 149-152, 161-8.

dissent were increased in the 1670s and 1680s by Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, the alleged Popish Plot in 1678 and James II's Declaration of Indulgence in 1687, and ultimately led to the deposition of James, the acceptance of William of Orange as King, the failure of the Comprehension Bill to become law and the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689, whereby freedom of worship was granted to non-conformists, although they still suffered social disabilities and were barred from political office, as were Catholics.

Thus, the newly restored Church not only had to resuscitate previous institutions and appoint suitable clergy and administrative and legal personnel at all levels, but also to restore confidence, discipline and control, and to provide divine service, pastoral care and appropriate instruction in church doctrine to a bewildered public, against a background of punitive intolerance. These circumstances all played a significant part in the maintenance and repair of East Riding churches and chapels, as did the establishment of a Protestant monarchy and the changes in the law effected by the Toleration Act.

This is one reason for ending the period which this Chapter covers in 1690. The second reason is that John Sharp, archbishop of York from 1691 to 1714, together with his son-in-law Heneage Dering, archdeacon of the East Riding from 1702 to 1750, inaugurated a new era in managing both clergy and church buildings. These developments merit, and require, a fresh Chapter.

Moreover, the visitation court records for the decades 1660 to 1690 seem less reliable as evidence of fabric neglect than they were for the period 1567 to 1640. Wardens were more likely to conceal problems in the 1660s than had been the case during the earlier period.[550] The lack of any court power to enforce compliance with orders to repair must also have diminished enthusiasm for reporting fabric neglect. Recusancy and dissent were

[550] See pages 161-63.

much more important in the eyes of the church authorities than was decay in the buildings.[551] Failures to present fabric neglect are sometimes revealed by cause papers, but in such litigation parties are apt to exaggerate or minimise the true extent of disrepair, and in any event the survival of evidence is haphazard and not uniformly spread across any deanery or period.

In this Chapter I compare the state of church fabric as it was during the period 1640 to 1660 with its condition between 1660 and 1690, in order to establish the levels of dilapidation; whether more or fewer churches were in disrepair; whether existing damage was addressed or permitted to increase; and the extent to which churches which had not been decayed in the earlier period appear in citations for neglect in the later decades. Because of the absence of court records between 1640 and 1660, and the content of those between 1670 and 1730, this enquiry has entailed comparisons between the data of the two years 1662 and 1663 as the main basis for inferring the state of the buildings between 1640 and 1660, and the data over the period 1660 to 1730 as the evidence for 1660 to 1690. Two problems in this approach stand out: the visitation records of 1662 and 1663 only cover two sequential years, whereas the others are spread (albeit unevenly) over seventy years; and it is necessary to avoid double counting for the years 1662 and 1663. Throughout care has been taken to minimise these difficulties.

1. Case studies

Before I consider chancels as one category and naves separately as another, it is convenient to examine case studies between 1660 and 1690 of three parishes clustered together within five miles – Kirkburn, Kilnwick and Bainton – in some of the richest

[551] See sections 4 and 5.

farmland in the Riding.[552] These address the state of the church fabric as a whole and the rôle of both the impropriators and the laity together, and also exemplify many features typical of East Riding churches in the second half of the seventeenth century. The evidence indicates five striking developments: the dilapidation of chancels whose rectories were valuable; increasing numbers of impropriators of tithes from any one parish and changes in owners' attitudes to maintaining chancels; the failure of the visitation system; the impact of dissent; and the worsening of the plight of clergy who served the parishes. The latter three developments entailed adverse consequences not only for East Riding chancels, but also for the body of their churches, and will therefore be addressed later in this Chapter. These studies draw on sources which post-date 1690, because they nonetheless provide evidence of the situation in the decades 1660 to 1690.

Kirkburn and Kilnwick parishes present a sorry picture. Kirkburn's last vicar had been presented in 1630, but there was no minister in 1650; the vicarage was still vacant at the visitation in 1663; finally, in 1670, the Crown instituted Christopher Smeadley as curate, initially at £20 pa; the Crown did not present another vicar to Kirkburn until 1789. Smeadley's position was even worse than that of perpetual curates or perpetual vicars, because he had no security of tenure and no entitlement to any stipend (which might be reduced at the patron's will), and would have had no right to the vicarial tithes had he not also been appointed sequestrator of the vicarage.[553] In 1705, the vicarage was said to be worth only £8 annually, which was augmented by some £10 in 1715 through Queen Anne's Bounty. In any event, Smeadley encountered resistance in enforcing those rights. In 1670, 1671 and 1673 Kirkburn's wardens made no report to the court, paid no fees and failed to attend the visitations; none was elected in 1672. Soon after his arrival Smeadley successfully sued two parishioners of Kirkburn for vicarial tithes, one of whom promptly

[552] See map in Appendix 22.
[553] See discussion in Chapter I.

promoted proceedings against him for not discharging his duties and for conduct unbecoming in a clerk in holy orders, in undertaking menial work and dressing in a manner unsuitable for a cleric. Smeadley responded that he was driven to fork hay on to carts in order to collect his tithes. Between 1676 and 1684 Smeadley again prevailed in a claim against Thomas Thomlinson, an impropriator, for hay tithes from Eastburn.[554] Smeadley also served the adjacent parish, Hutton Cranswick (where he lived), whose vicarage was only worth between £10 and £21 pa throughout his tenure.[555]

At any one time during the seventeenth century at least three impropriators held (unequal) shares in the valuable rectory, worth £275 pa in 1649-50, when only 8% of East Riding rectories were worth £250 pa or more.[556] Its tithes came from five townships in the parish, which inherently facilitated the division of tithes among different owners, especially since tithes were commonly split not only into great and small, but also into types of produce. In 1607 the entire Kirkburn rectory was granted to John Foster, who immediately sold Tibthorpe's tithe to Francis Hodgson.[557] By 1642 the estate was split, with the Hodgsons owning tithes from Kirkburn, Battleburn and Eastburn; by 1650 Alderman Metcalfe held those on trust for paying debts, while Leonard Weddell and Margaret Salvin respectively owned those of Tibthorpe and Southburn.[558] In the 1660s and 1670s the numbers of impropriators increased, as appears from Table 5.

[554] BIA, CP.H.2971, CP.H.2999, CP.H.3133, CP.H.3134, CP.H.4997, CP.H.52151, CP.H.5705; ibid, ER.V/CB.3; V.1674/CB.

[555] Smeadley was vicar of Hutton Cranswick from 1667, and curate of Kirkburn from 1670, to his death in 1711: CCED; *Fasti Harthill*, 169; *YERHT*, 204. For the value of the curacy of Kirkburn and the vicarage of Hutton Cranswick between 1667 and 1711, see John Ecton, *Liber Valorum et Decimarum* (2nd edn., London, 1723), 380; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17, 321-22, 336-39; *Notitia Parochialis,* LPL, MS 960; LPL, MS 964, 1048-49; Sharp, ff.72-73.

[556] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/1, 6-7, 10, 12-13, 18-19, 147-51, 157-73, 183-87, 226-33, 236-304, 317-499; COMM/XIIa/18/28-42, 53-64, 82-111, 117.

[557] HHC, U DDSY/x1/38/36; U DDSY/39/54.

[558] ERALS, zDDX83/1; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/3363-9.

Table 5: Impropriators of Kirkburn tithes			
Tithes from:	**In 1660s**	**In 1670s**	**In 1680s**
Kirkburn	John Heron	Heron; from 1678, Elizabeth, Heron's daughter, wife of George Dawnay, then of Charles Robinson	
Tibthorpe	Mr Leonard Weddell of Earswick and then his descendants		
Southburn	From 1655 John Dawson		In 1672, Lady Barwick
Kirkburn, Eastburn & Battleburn	Hodgsons	In 1672, Mr William Hodgson	From 1676, Thomas Thomlinson, and then his descendants

None except the Hodgsons lived in Kirkburn. The latter were in financial difficulties in 1650 and in 1676 apparently sold their interest to Thomas Thomlinson, a York goldsmith; the Weddell family, of Earswick and Strensall, included merchants and sheriffs of York; and Lady Barwick was the widow of the Recorder of York. In the 1660s John Heron of Beverley was building up an estate which by 1666 included Eastburn township and much of Southburn and Battleburn, whose depopulation he continued. On Heron's death in 1678 his tithes passed to his daughter Elizabeth, who had married George Dawnay, eldest son of the first viscount Downe: they apparently lived in Kilnwick. Once widowed in 1692, Elizabeth moved to London where she married Charles Robinson.[559]

One salient characteristic of four of these impropriators (John Heron, Thomas Thomlinson and the Weddells) was that they bought rectories as part of building up an estate but were not based in the parish whose rectory they owned. In the early seventeenth century such people generally met their obligation to repair the relevant chancel: after the Restoration this attitude was much rarer.[560] Another striking feature is that some acquired their rectorial estates by marriage or inheritance. This factor led to further division of

[559] *Abstracts (Wills),* 83; BIA, V.1674/CB; ER.V/CB.9; V.1693-94/CB; ER.V/CB.3-5; ER.V/CB.9-10; ER.V/CB.12; ER.V/Co.C (1672); ibid, DC.CP.1690/5; J.T. Cliffe, *The Puritan Gentry Besieged, 1650-1700* (London, 1993), 208; DAWNAY, John, *HistParl*; Drake, *Eboracum I*, 365; *Dugdale II*, 35, 191, 205-7, 335; *Fasti Harthill*, 169; Charles James Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their marks* (London, 1921), 299; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/336-39; Neave, *Contraction*, 349-51; *YERHT*, 193.

[560] See pages 89-93, 95-99, 134-48.

interests in tithes in many cases: and the risk of chancel neglect increased exponentially with rises in the number of impropriators.

No impropriator of Kirkburn was cited for chancel disrepair before 1671, when it was said to be in great ruin. These facts imply adequate maintenance in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century (when Kirkburn still had a vicar), since chancel decay was usually reported in the 1630s (at least); and decades of neglect thereafter. Of disparate backgrounds and interests, and mostly with no tie to the parish, those who held or acquired interests in Kirkburn's tithes between 1640 and 1690 ignored their collective responsibility for its chancel, despite its manifest decay in 1671 and no fewer than seventeen citations for its neglect over the following sixty years. The courts' lack of effective coercive powers rendered their frequent orders nugatory. In those circumstances the chancel unsurprisingly grew ever more dilapidated. A letter of 1718 incorrectly certified that the chancel had been 'put in good and sufficient repair both in lead work and timber and stone and also beautified within so that now it is in as good repair as can be'. Its inaccuracy was immediately revealed by citations in the same year, and in 1724 (when the north wall collapsed), 1727, 1728 and 1730: in 1819, its stone was cobbled together to fashion a chancel at half its original length before the architect Pearson replaced the 'miserable erection' with a new one to the former dimensions, in 1856. Kirkburn's nave fared better than its chancel, although the bells needed work; by 1678 it was in general disrepair; and by 1718 the roof was seriously decayed.[561]

The difficulties in raising sufficient money to meet the ongoing costs of maintaining and running a parish church were exacerbated by the conflicts within communities, of which religion (especially dissent) was a major focus. By 1665 there were Quaker meetings at

[561] BIA, V.1674/CB; V.1693-94/CB; ER.V/CB.1; ER.V/CB.3-6; ER.V/CB.10; ER.V/CB.12-14; ER.V/Co.C (1672, 1727 & 1728); ibid, Faculty Papers, 1818/4; ibid, Faculty Book 4, 25-27; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/336-39; K.A. MacMahon, *The Church of St Mary, Kirkburn* (Beverley, 1953), 21-25.

Cottam and Kelk, and, soon after, others at Elmswell and Skerne: these small settlements are all within a few miles of Kirkburn and Kilnwick.[562] In 1667 ten parishioners of Kirkburn were excommunicated for their Quakerism. In 1671 the community was ordered to choose wardens; in 1672 its parishioners were charged with not electing any; and for five consecutive years from 1670 to 1674, its wardens were cited for failing to appear at visitations. Some certainly, and others probably, were Quakers, seeking to avoid swearing the churchwardens' oath; they would therefore not have levied any church tax in those years.[563] The prevalence of Quakerism in the East Riding overall greatly exceeded the Compton Census figures, which confirms Dr Whiteman's assessment of the Census' value as a guide to dissent, the difficulty of establishing its incidence, and the need for methodical research of visitation court books and dissenters' own records.[564]

Some Quakers had enough property that their church tax, if paid, would have made a significant contribution to the cost of maintaining and repairing church fabric. Thomas Nicholson, whose property had been distrained in 1657 because of his refusal to contribute to repairing Kirkburn church, was often charged in the 1660s for Quaker-related offences. Prosperous, with property in Kilnwick, in 1672 he had the largest house (with five hearths) in the parish .[565] Another well-to-do parishioner of Kirkburn frequently cited for Quakerism was Christopher Towse, a member of a predominantly Quaker family, who during the 1660s to 1680s had property in Great Driffield, Elmswell, Garton, Kilham and Sledmere as well as Kirkburn; he refused to discharge any of his duties as warden in 1673, or to pay his 1674 church tax of 10^{s}. Ironically, Richard Towse owned

[562] Roberts, *Yorkshire Quakers*, 5.

[563] Besse, 101, 105, 111, 132, 146, 170; BIA, V.1661-2/CB1, V.1667(a), V.1674/CB, V.1682/CB, V.1684-85/CB, ER.V/CB.1-7; ERALS, DDQR16 (1678), (1681); TNA, RG6/1119, ff.3, 18, 21, 24; RG6/1202, f.29; RG/1363, f.131. See footnotes 565-67.

[564] *Compton Census*, lxxvi-lxxix. According to the Census, in 1676 Kirkburn had 115 inhabitants, no recusants and only one dissenter: ibid, 602. See Appendix 21.

[565] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.1-2; V.1667(a); ERALS, DDQR/16; TNA, RG6/1119, 14; *VCHERVIII*, 164; *YERHT*, 194.

some of Rillington's tithes, yet he twice spent two years in prison for refusing to pay tithes, and was fined for attending a meeting at Swinkhill in 1682.[566] The Pearsons were another well-off Quaker family, members of which were often cited as parishioners of Kirkburn for their beliefs. In 1661, Isabel, Robert, Thomas and their father Richard were imprisoned for three months for being at a meeting in Skerne; a meeting was held at Richard's house in Driffield in 1661; over twenty-five years both Robert and Thomas were repeatedly presented by Kirkburn churchwardens for Quakerism, including refusal to pay church tax. Their assessments ranged from 11[s] to 17s pa.[567]

The measures taken against Quakers of one parish were often instituted or executed by fellow-parishioners or impropriators of tithes from that or a neighbouring parish, in the capacity of informant, bailiff or magistrate. This situation must have exacerbated tensions within communities. For example, Thomas Crompton of Great Driffield was the magistrate who sent the Pearsons to prison in 1661; in the same year, Sandford Neville, impropriator of Kilnwick, imprisoned nine Quakers caught at a meeting in Warter; and in 1681 Gilbert Lambert, of Cranswick, distrained property of John Stephenson and John Bielby, both Quakers of Cranswick.[568]

As to Kilnwick, its perpetual curates' position was significantly worse than Smeadley's, because no vicarage had ever been ordained at Kilnwick, and no sequestration of any tithes was ordered, so they had no right to any tithes. The chapels or churches of the contiguous hamlets of Kilnwick, Beswick, Bracken, Hutton Cranswick, Skerne, Rotsea and Watton all belonged originally to Watton priory, which lay centrally between them,

[566] Besse, *Sufferings*, 97, 106, 156, 175; BIA, V.1662-3/CB1 (twice); V.1667/CB(a); ER.V/CB.3; V.1674/CB; V.1682/CB; ER.V/CB.1-3; ER.V/CB.4 (twice); ER.V/CB.5 (eight entries); ER.V/CB.6; ER.V/CO.C (1673); ERALS, DDQR/16 (seventeen entries), DDQR/21, f.11; TNA, RG6/1119, 8, 13, 18, 23, 73, 158, 161-62, 170, 179, 301, 303; *YERHT*, 141, 191, 193, 200, 336, 341.

[567] BIA, DC.CP.1675/3; V.1662-3/CB1; V.1674/CB; ER.V/CB.3-4; ER.V/CB.5 (five entries); ER.V.Co.C (1672 & 1673); ERALS, DDQR/16 (four entries); DDQR/21, ff.11, 17; *VCHERVIII*, 164.

[568] Besse, *Sufferings*, 100; ERALS, DDQR/16.

but a vicarage was only ordained at Hutton Cranswick. From 1616 until perhaps 1662 Rowland Feild was curate both of Kilnwick and of Watton, but his situation was atypical of curates in that in 1631 he bought some 13% of Kilnwick's tithes (worth £30 in 1650) from Alderman Thomas Hodgson, and paid other clergy £8 pa to take services for him: his son William inherited those tithes. Subsequent curates of Kilnwick were less fortunate, and more typical. George Hodgson was preaching minister in Kilnwick and Beswick in 1650 with an annual allowance of £16 at Beswick and the small tithes at Kilnwick, worth £12 pa. Instituted as curate there in 1662, but with no other source of income, Hodgson unsuccessfully sued William Feild for the tithes of Kilnwick. William Dickenson, curate from 1671 to 1679, also had no other post, and the property allotted to him in Kilnwick accidentally burned down soon after his arrival: obliged to house himself, he used the wood from a barn which belonged to the curacy and stacked his hay in the churchyard, where he allowed his swine and horse to graze. He, too, inevitably lost his actions against parishioners for tithes, and one of the successful defendants then promoted proceedings against him for misconduct in office. The charges included drinking heavily, refusing to baptise children and damaging church property. He was convicted.[569] In 1684 he was still trying to scratch a living, when he performed a clandestine marriage for a Bainton couple.[570] His replacement, William Ward, increased his receipts when he was presented to the vicarage of neighbouring Lund in 1691, which was worth between £20 and £25 between 1650 and 1706.[571] At least five of his successors in our period were able to supplement their income by holding Kilnwick curacy with Lund vicarage, and one was also curate of Watton. However, the financial plight of Kilnwick's curates is well illustrated by Sharp's comments in 1694: 'This is a vicarage

[569] BIA, CP.H.3405, CP.H.4888, CP.H.4888A-D, CP.H.5044 and CP.H.5191H.
[570] BIA, V.1682/CB, f.119v.
[571] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/334-5; Sharp, f.64.

worth about £12 pa part of which viz: 40^{s} or £3 pa is in glebe land. Mr Neville of Chevet is impropriator' and in 1706: '[the curate] certifies the profits of this living to be £13 10^{s}, viz: £3 paid by Mr Neville, £3 the glebe land, vicarage house with appurtenances; £1 10^{s} paid by the farmers for the small tithes'. Kilnwick was only the third living to receive augmentation, of some £10 pa, under Queen Anne's Bounty, in 1714.[572]

In striking contrast to the plight of its curate, Kilnwick's rectorial tithes were worth £230 pa in 1640-50, almost as much as Kirkburn's.[573] In the sixteenth century the Crown leased Kilnwick's tithes to a series of sole tenants.[574] But by the 1630s the tithes were split among at least three impropriators, whose numbers multiplied as the century progressed, as appears from Table 6.

Table 6: Impropriators of Kilnwick tithes		
In the 1660s	**In the 1670s**	**In the 1680s**
Rowland Field	William, son of Rowland Field	
Humphrey Shallcrosse of London	Dorothy, Shallcrosse's daughter, wife of Sandford Neville of Chevet, and their descendants	
Archbishop Holgate's school in York (Beswick's tithes)		
Mr Tristram Nettleton	Another, unnamed	
Mr Matthew Palmer, Notts.	Mr James Moyser, Mr Butler & Mr Spademan Another, unnamed	

None except Rowland Feild and his son lived in any of these townships. Archbishop Holgate had endowed his school in York with Beswick's tithes, the rent being the inheritance of Tristram Nettleton. The Palmers, who owned the tithes of Bracken, had held an estate at Southwell, Nottinghamshire, from 1546 to 1664. Humphrey Shallcrosse, scrivener, financier and broker of London from the 1630s to the 1650s, acquired some Kilnwick tithes by 1633, which he still held in 1650. These passed to his daughter, who had married Sandford Neville of Chevet: they lived near Wakefield. Their son still held

[572] Hodgson, *Augmentation,* 131; Sharp, f.67.
[573] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/328-29, 336-69.
[574] *CPR/1587,* 234; *CPR/1596*, 1232(1).

them in the 1690s. By 1686, some Kilnwick tithes had passed to James Moyser, deputy lieutenant of the East Riding and Recorder of Beverley, and others.[575]

Sir William Ingleby was presented six times between 1590 and 1607 for neglect of Kilnwick's chancel, and by 1636 the decay was so serious that the tithes were sequestered to meet the cost of the work. The chancel was evidently repaired soon afterwards, for there was no further citation for chancel disrepair until 1678, when the wardens were summoned to court for failing to present the decay of the building as a whole; those elected for 1685 did not even appear at the visitation, and made no presentment. In 1686 several impropriators were cited for chancel neglect, to no avail. In 1724 Kilnwick's curate informed the authorities that he intended to rebuild its chancel when he could, because it was so derelict. The nave was not much better served: in 1662 the wardens were presented for general disrepair and decay in the roof; in 1676, for allowing the church, bells, pulpit and porch to be out of repair; in 1678, for continuing disrepair and the lack of a porch; and in 1689, for not providing gates to keep the churchyard secure. The owner of the largest house in Kilnwick never lived there, and Sir Thomas Daniel, resident owner of the fifteen-hearthed house in Beswick, was probably Catholic. Difficulties in collecting church taxes increased as wardens failed to account for receipts, to prepare accounts to pay ecclesiastical fees, or even to collect assessments, and as dissenters, especially Quakers, steadfastly refused to pay them.[576]

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[575] Beloff, 'Shalcrosse', 693; BIA, CP.H.4888A-D; CP.H.5044; CP.H.5191H; CP.H.3405; ibid, V.1586/CB, f.51v; V.1633 (Exhibition Book): 1632-3; V.1633/CB1; V.1636/CB; V.1674/CB; ER.V/CB.4-5; ibid, Bishop's Transcripts of Burials (Sandford Nevill); Boyd's Inhabitants of London, 10154; A.G. Dickens, *Robert Holgate* (St Anthony's Hall Publications, London, 1955), 22; William Dickinson, *Antiquities in Nottinghamshire* (Newark, 1817), 337; *Dugdale II*, 158-161, 205-6, 335, 340, 363, 429, *III*, 87; England Marriages 1538-1973 (Elizabeth Nettleton 1561); Tristram Nettleton †1656: ERALS, E-PE66-8; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17, 149-51, 327-9; NEVILLE, Francis II, *HistParl*; Sharp, f.67; Robert Thoroton, *The Antiquities of Nottinghamshire* (London, 1677), 319; TNA, PROB 6/58, f.144; *YERHT*, 33, 119, 192, 371.

[576] Aveling, 35, 39, 60; BIA, V.1590-1/CB1; V.1594/CB; V.1595-6/CB1; V.1600/CB1; V.1604/CB; V.1607/CB; V.1633/CB1; V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.3-5; ER.V/CB.7; *Dering's Visitation*, 239; *YERHT*, 192, 195.

Foremost among the latter was Richard Purseglove, a committed Quaker from at least 1663 until his death in 1693, imprisoned for two years for not going to church in 1678, fined for attending a Quaker meeting in 1682, and imprisoned for his beliefs for another two years in 1684: he was signatory to the letter of 6th October 1684 written on behalf of 227 Quakers held prisoner in York Castle to the king. He was a man of substance, repeatedly described as 'rich' in the visitation court records, with a house with two hearths in Cranswick and one with five hearths in Watton, and also property in Kilnwick, Rotsea and Swinkhill. The parishes must have felt keenly the loss of his annual contribution to the repair of the 'steeple-houses' of Hutton Cranswick, Kilnwick and Watton.[577]

By contrast, Bainton was a rectory virtually always in private hands, worth £283 pa in 1650 (including Neswick hamlet), with a rector resident in the rectory-house, which, with seven hearths, in 1672 was the largest in the parish. In the seventeenth century this was the rector's sole living, and, in 1682 at least, he was assisted by a curate. By 1650 chancellor Hodgson's family had acquired the patronage, and from 1681 duly presented three family members in succession: Timothy (1681-1692), Thomas (1692) and William (1692-1727). No rector was ever presented for chancel neglect between 1567 and 1730, and the wardens were only cited for disrepair twice between 1660 and 1730. The first occasion was in 1674, when they had failed to tax parishioners to repair the 'ruinous' north and south aisles of the church, and the second was in 1715, when the top of the spire was blown off by the Great Wind: the repairs were certified complete on 20th November that year. No one was cited for any kind of dissent between 1660 and 1730; few were presented for non-payment of tax, and most paid when summoned; and the rector often intervened for those charged with other offences, such as being too drunk to make the

[577] Besse, *Sufferings*, 160-62; BIA, ER.V/CB1; V.1667/CB(a); V.1674/CB (twice); V.1682/CB (twice); V.1684-85/CB; V.1693-94/CB (twice); ER.V/CB.3 (five entries); ER.V/CB.4 (seven entries); ER.V/CB.5 (eight entries); ER.V/CB.6 (twice); ER.V/CB.7; ERALS, DDQR/16 (twice); DD/QR/17, 286; TNA, RG6/1404, f.139; *YERHT*, 196, 204. No figures appear against Kilnwick in the *Compton Census*, 602.

responses, absence from divine service, not receiving communion, and 'being otherwise debauched'.[578]

These three studies suggest that, by the period 1660 to 1690, even great rectorial value did not ensure that the chancel was well kept. Previous Chapters indicated that a chancel was less likely to be maintained if the tithes were shared between several impropriators, especially ones who had no real tie to the parish, and perhaps particularly if there were frequent changes in ownership of tithes. These three studies imply that shares in tithes were further divided by or during the period 1660 to 1690, and that the risk to the chancel increased with rising numbers of impropriators, especially where they acquired their interests by marriage or inheritance: a person who actively chose tithes – and a fortiori who paid for them – was more likely to have or to develop connections to the relevant parish. Conversely, a chancel had a better chance of being kept in good order if the relevant rectory were owned by a resident incumbent, whose patron was a member of the same, well-off, family, because its members not only had ties but also a vested interest in the church and its chancel being well maintained. These studies also demonstrate that the visitation system had ceased effectively to function by 1670, so far as concerned fabric. They also suggest that the poverty and insecurity of vicars and curates disabled them from leading their parishioners, caused significant tension between clergy and laity, and had an adverse effect on the latter's willingness to maintain the naves of their churches. Further, the rise of dissent – especially Quakerism – between 1660 and 1690 had a significant impact on the state of church fabric. The cumulative effect of these developments was an overall deterioration from the 1630s in the fabric of the naves as well as the chancels of Kirkburn and Kilnwick.

[578] BIA, V.1674/CB; ER.V/CB.3-4; ER.V/CB.12; CCED; *Fasti Harthill*, 7. According to the Census, in 1676 Bainton had 160 inhabitants, no recusants and no dissenters: *Compton Census*, 601.

2. Chancels

These conclusions are also valid for other East Riding chancels between 1660 and 1690. By the 1680s at least twenty were seriously dilapidated; at least another thirty-five were in disrepair; and the situation only worsened for most thereafter. Of those whose condition was grave, only two – Aughton[579] and Howden[580] – had a history of persistent chancel neglect. Others appear for the first time decades after citations and repairs, often in the 1630s – Blacktoft,[581] Burton Agnes,[582] Kilnwick and Sledmere.[583] The owners of Aldbrough's tithes had not been presented since 1567; those of Swine's, not since 1578; and those of the rectories of Birdsall, Garton and South Dalton, not since the 1590s.[584] Flamborough's impropriator had only once been presented before 1682.[585] There was no citation of Burton Fleming's chancel between 1600 and 1662, or of Keyingham's between 1607 and 1662, or of Lowthorpe's between 1619 and 1721.[586] Four chancels – at Auburn, Carnaby, Cowlam and Kirkburn – had never been previously been cited.[587] In addition, dilapidation was under-reported, although some was certainly long-standing and must have been notorious. Failure to present the decay is understandable once the damage had

[579] See footnote 214.
[580] See footnote 132.
[581] BIA, CP.H.2887, CP.I.1242; ibid, V.1600/CB1, f.56v; V.1633/CB1, f.315v; V.1662-3/CB1, f.354r.
[582] BIA, V.1575-CB1, f.92v; V.1586/CB, f.161v; V.1633/CB1, f.331r; ER.V/CB.5, ff.238r, 268r.
[583] BIA, V.1590-91/CB1, f.179r; V.1619/CB, f.225v; V.1636/CB, f.290v; V.1662-3/CB1, f.413v; Sharp, f.131.
[584] BIA, V.1575-CB1, f.66r; V.1578-9/CB1, f.69r; V.1586/CB, f.159v; V.1590-1/CB1, f.181r; V.1594/CB, ff.185v, 190r; V.1595-6/CB1, ff.124r, 156v; V.1595-6/CB3, f.165v; ER.V/CB.3, ff.43r, 56r, 119v; ER.V/Co.C (1672); V.1674/CB, f.329v; ER.V/CB.4, f.31r; V.1684-85/CB, p.14; ER.V/CB.5, ff.102r, 154v, 178r, 211r, 216r, 249r, 269v; ER.V/CB.6, ff.7r, 21v; ER.V/CB.7, ff.1r, 5r; V.1693-94/CB, f.49v; ER.V/CB.10, ff.24r, 55r; V.1712-13/CB, f.106r.
[585] BIA, V.1604/CB, f.120r; ER.V/CB.5, f.111r; V.1684-85/CB, p.7; ER.V/CB.5, ff.205v, 240v, 269r; *VCHERII*, 156.
[586] BIA, V.1575-CB1, ff.73v, 91v; V.1575-CB2, f.172r; 1582-V.1578-9/CB1, ff.201r-v; V.1586/CB, ff.149r, 161r; V.1590-1/CB1, f.129r; V.1594/CB, ff.176v, 193r; V.1595-6/CB1, f.136r; V.1595-6/CB3, f.170r; V.1600/CB, f.117v; V.1607/CB, f.102r; V.1619/CB, f.235r; V.1662-3/CB1, ff.326v, 399r; ER.V/CB.1, f.83r; ER.V/CB.4, ff.64r, 134v-135r; ER.V/CB.5, ff.181r-v, 214r; Dering's *Visitation*, 163-5; C.J. Kitching, ed., *The Royal Visitation of 1559* (Surtees Society, vol. 187, 1975), p.68, f.99v.
[587] BIA, ER.V/CB.14, f.103v; Inst.AB.10A, ff.7r-8r, 9r; V.1717-19/CB, f.245; Butler, *Glynne*, 138-39*; Dering's Visitation,* 170-71, 174-76, 211, 214; Lawton, 273-74; Sharp, ff.124, (no.9) 210; *VCHERII*, 130, 207; *VCHERVIII*, 53-55, 61, 64.

become irremediable, and accepted to be such, or was perceived to be inevitable.[588] The overall impression, of increasing dilapidation in growing numbers of chancels during the decades 1660 to 1690, must be correct. The following paragraph illustrates the gathering pace at which the irremediable consequences of such neglect became apparent.

In 1671 it was said that Blacktoft had been ruinous throughout for the previous sixty years. Birdsall chancel was already greatly decayed by the end of the sixteenth century and had apparently failed by 1674. In 1686 Aldbrough's chancel was said to be very ruinous and such that it endangered the body of the church if it were not speedily repaired. Sledmere's must have been in a similar condition: in about 1694 archbishop Sharp assumed it had already collapsed, or would soon do so, and a new church was constructed in 1758. Howden's chancel fell in 1696. Cowlam's chancel must already have been well on the way to collapse: it was so ruinous by 1713 that a faculty was granted to reduce its length to 7'6". South Dalton's chancel was so derelict by 1715 that its rector had virtually to reconstruct it. For much of the seventeenth century Carnaby church, and especially its chancel, was in disrepair; although restoration began in 1680, the work was still not complete in 1719, and it was necessary completely to rebuild the chancel. By 1720 the chancel of Burton Fleming required extensive repair. The chancel of Burton Agnes was in so poor a state that it was entirely rebuilt in 1730. One of Carnaby's chapels, Auburn, had been rebuilt inland about 1590, but was already in disrepair by 1605, and by the 1720s was so far run-down that a complete reconstruction would have been necessary, were it to continue in use: instead, the chapel was demolished in 1731. Lowthorpe's grand chancel had been reduced in length soon after the Dissolution, but the remaining structure was thereafter so neglected that in 1777 it was abandoned and walled off from the nave. The impropriators of Aughton were cited for chancel neglect nineteen times between

[588] *VCHERII*, 206-7, *VCHERVIII*, 60: for Withernsea, see Chapter III.

1660 and 1730: its chancel had collapsed by 1754. The chancel of Garton-on-the-Wolds was said to have been out of repair on several occasions between 1679 and 1714, and ultimately became so dilapidated that Pearson was obliged to rebuild it completely in 1856.[589]

2.1 Valuable rectories with dilapidated chancels

The case studies are typical of East Riding chancels generally during the period 1660 to 1690 in that there was much more decay in many more chancels whose tithes were worth annually £150 or more than there had been before 1660. During the period 1547 to 1660 only one chancel of a church whose rectory was valuable by that criterion was seriously dilapidated, and remained so in 1660: Howden.[590] Kilham's rectory was then worth £250: by 1627 its chancel had been continuously decaying for at least forty years, but once tenants were contractually obliged to repair it, the chancel was restored.[591] But the situation had worsened considerably by the 1680s, when ten of the twenty gravely neglected chancels belonged to wealthy rectories, and only Flamborough was repaired with reasonable expedition. Not all these chancels were large, and the tithes of their wealthy rectories were sufficient to meet even considerable repairs (eight were worth £200 or more pa), as appears from Table 7.[592] Why did this happen?

Table 7: twenty ER rectories with serious chancel decay reported between 1660 & 1730 for chancel neglect

Code: Red letters: (e.g. Cowlam) = a parish where the rector is the incumbent
Mauve highlighting (e.g. Blacktoft) = rectory owned by ecclesiastical dignitary
Yellow highlighting (e.g. £242) = rectory worth £150 or more in 1650

ER Rectory	Gross £ s d	Tithes split?	Reported 1660-1730
Aldbrough	£78 10s	Between 3	1671, 1685-6, 1689, 1691[593]

[589] BIA, CP.H.2887; CP.I.134; ibid, Inst.AB.10A, ff.7r-8r, 9r; ibid, V.1674/CB, f.329v; ER.V/CB.5, f.211r; Lawton, 273-4; Pevsner, *ER*, 692; Sharp, ff.124, 131; *VCHERII*, 117, 124, 130, 222, 277; *VCHERIV*, 91. See footnotes 132, 580.
[590] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/226-27, 229-30, 438.
[591] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/408-9. See pages 88-90 and footnotes 281-87.
[592] See Appendix 23.
[593] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/236-38, 246-47; *VCHERVII*, 17. See footnotes 584, 589.

Auburn	£15	No	1720[594]
Aughton	£30	Between 5, perhaps 8	1665, 1673, 1676-7, 1679, 1680-8, 1696, 1707, 1714-5[595]
Birdsall	£168	No	1670, 1672, 1674, 1675[596]
Blacktoft	£200 (part)	No	1662, 1671[597]
Burton Agnes	£242	No	1686, 1687[598]
Burton Fleming	£96	3	1662[599]
Carnaby	£110	No	1717-19[600]
Cowlam	£70	n/a	1713 & before[601]
Flamborough	£208	No	1682, 1685, 1686, 1687[602]
Garton-on-the-Wolds	£100	No	1687, 1688[603]
Howden	£446	Between 9	1662-63, 1667, 1674, 1682, 1693[604]
Keyingham	£200	No	1662, 1676, 1677, 1685, 1686[605]
Kilnwick	£230	Between 5	1678, 1686[606]
Kirkburn	£275	Between 3 or 4	1671-2, 1674, 1678, 1680-1, 1683-4, 1693-5, 1713, 1718[607]
Lowthorpe	£90	Between 3	1721[608]
Rillington	£98	Between 2	1677, 1678, 1679, 1685, 1689, 1698, 1709[609]
Sledmere	£100	Between 2	1662, 1690s[610]
South Dalton	£175	n/a	None[611]
Swine	£379 17^{s}	5 until 1681; then 2 or 4.	1682, 1684, 1686-89, 1693, 1695, 1712[612]

[594] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/405-6; *VCHERII*, 204. See footnotes 587, 589.
[595] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/366. See footnote 214.
[596] INGRAM, Sir Thomas, *HistParl*; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/431; Sharp, f.118. See footnotes 584, 589.
[597] DULASC, DCD/B/BA/13, f.9r-v; DCD/B/BA/14, f.42v; DCD/B/BA/15, ff.24r, 225r-v, 237v; DCD/B/BA/16, f.393r-v; DCD/BA/B/17, f.131; DCD/BA/B/20, f.402; DCD/BA/B/21, f.150v; DCD/BA/B/22, f.292v; DCD/BA/B/24, ff.200v-201v; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/231. See footnotes 581, 589.
[598] BIA, CC.AB.5/9, ff.175-81; *Dugdale II*, 149; WHICHCOT, George, *HistParl*; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/1; *VCHERII*, 111. See footnote 582.
[599] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/414-15; *VCHERII*, 122. See footnotes 586, 589.
[600] *Dugdale III*, 122; English, *Great Landowners*, 25-26; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/404-5; *VCHERII*, 127. See footnotes 587, 589.
[601] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/424. See footnotes 587, 589.
[602] BIA, ER.V/CB.5, f.240r; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/401; Sandys, *Family*, ii, ped.C; *VCHERII*, 156. See footnote 585.
[603] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/400-1; *VCHERII*, 219, 222. See footnotes 584, 589.
[604] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/226-30, 437-38. See footnote 132.
[605] BIA, CC.Ab.5/4, ff.275-77; CC.Ab.5/9, ff.173-75, 237-45; BIA, ER.V/CB.4, ff.64r, 134v-135r; ER.V/CB.5, ff.181r-v, 214r; GUY, Henry, *HistParl*; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/10, 270-71; *VCHERV*, 59. See footnote 586.
[606] See pages 183-87 and footnotes 569-77.
[607] See pages 178-83 and footnotes 556-68.
[608] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/398-9; *VCHERII*, 274. See footnotes 586, 589.
[609] BIA, ER.V/CB.4, ff.175v, 231v; ER.V/CB.5, ff.26v, 199v; ER.V/CB.7, f.20r; ER.V/CB.10 (1698); ER.V/CB.11, f.86v; Y.V/Co.C 1698; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/4252-6.
[610] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/436-37; *VCHERVIII*, 131, 182. See footnotes 583, 589.
[611] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/353-54; *VCHERIV*, 91. See footnotes 584, 589.
[612] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/238-39; *VCHERVII*, 112. See footnote 584.

Most chancels owned by ecclesiastical dignitaries with valuable rectories were at least adequately maintained between 1630 and 1730, as appears from Table 8.

Table 8: Incidence of reports of chancel neglect between 1630 and 1730 in ecclesiastical rectories worth £150 pa or more

Rectory	Value in 1649-50[613]	Reports of neglect[614]
Beeford	£196	Beeford: 1674; Dunnington chapel: 1633 and 1636
Bishop Wilton	£304	None after 1627
Easington	£213	Easington: 1662; Out Newton chapel, 1640
Great & Little Driffield	£300	None after 1636
Kilham	£250	None after 1627
Nafferton	£260	Only in 1690
North Newbald	£160	In 1662 and 1693
Pocklington	£264	None after 1594 except in 1637 and 1662
Preston	£287	None after 1627
Settrington	£250	None
Skipsea	£199	None
Wetwang	£400	Only Elloughton in 1636 and Fridaythorpe in 1693

Did the wealth of those rectories make a difference? The image depicted by Table 8 is much the same as that produced by data over the same period for rectories belonging to ecclesiastical dignitaries whose value in 1649-50 was below £150 pa, as appears from Table 9. The fact that reports of chancel neglect – there were none of derelict chancels – were limited to those listed above invites the inference that chancels whose tithes were owned by ecclesiastical dignitaries derived less protection between 1630 and 1730 from the wealth of the rectories in question than from the following four factors: the repairing

[613] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/6-7, 12-13, 18-19, 1838-7, 250-52, 257-59, 276-79, 342-46, 3585-9, 372-76, 385-87, 408-9, 424-25, 435-36, 468-77, 483, 486, 494-99; COMM/XIIA/18/56-61, 82-85.

[614] BIA, Chanc.AB.25, f.254v; ibid, V.1633/CB1, f.256v; V.1636/CB, ff.218v, 257r-v; V.1640/CB, f.88r; V.1662-3/CB1, ff.318r, 372r, 374v; V.1674, f.298v; ER.V/CB.8, f.15r; V.1693-94/CB, ff.55v, 68v; sheet dated 1 May 1694. Some caution is required in considering rectories owned by ecclesiastics, because much of the evidence of the state of church fabric for the period 1670 to 1730 is contained in the archdeacons' visitation court books, which do not cover peculiars (except Mappleton, which the archdeacon held).

covenants imposed on their tenants; the powers of the ecclesiastical courts, especially in the 1630s; the importance which Cosin and Neile attached to the integrity of church fabric, especially in chancels; and the very fact that these owners held by virtue of their office, so the problems associated with multiple ownership could not arise.

Table 9: Incidence of reports of chancel neglect between 1630 and 1730 in ecclesiastical rectories worth under £150 pa

Rectory	Value in 1649-50[615]	Reports of neglect[616]
Acklam	£90	1636
Barmby Moor	£63	-
Bugthorpe	£50	-
Burton Pidsea	£116	-
Eastrington	£100	-
Fangfoss	£87	1633
Foxholes	£120	1636
Great Givendale	£33	-
North Grimston	-	1633
Hayton and Thornton	£95	1662 and 1667
Helperthorpe	£40	1662
Langtoft	£140	1636
Mappleton	£127	1636
Market Weighton		1662
Millington	£48	-
Tunstall	£50	-
Walkington	£112	1682
Wawne	£110/125	1662
Weaverthorpe	£140	1636
Wharram-le-Street	£32	-
Withernwick	£147	1640

Accordingly, dilapidation and serious decay in ecclesiastical chancels between 1630 and 1730 call for special explanations. Ellerker's chancel evidently suffered long-term neglect, although its dilapidation was apparently not as great as that of Blacktoft, a small

[615] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/147-51, 157-59, 161-65, 169-72, 230, 234-35, 254-56, 292-95, 298-300, 345-37, 362-64, 376-77, 378-84, 387-88, 400, 403-4, 410-11, 419-20, 422-23, 432-33, 456-61; ibid, COMM/XIIa/18/90-92, 94-96, 104-7.

[616] BIA, V.1633/CB1, ff.298v, 325r; V.1636/CB, ff.229v, 286r, 288r, 303r, 312v; V.1640/CB, f.101v; V.1662-3/CB1, ff.368v, 346v-347r, 379r, 380r, 407v; V.1667/CB(a), f.37v, 42v; ER.V/CB.5, f.107r.

mediaeval edifice.[617] Since Brantingham's chancel was generally cared for, the fact that Blacktoft and Ellerker were chapels may also be relevant: their fate may reflect the growing abandonment of chapels in favour of mother churches. Another factor in the decay of these ecclesiastical chancels was that none of the tenants of Brantingham and its chapels between 1660 and 1690 lived in or near those parishes. The decay of Lowthorpe's chancel was more directly the result of the Reformation, because as built for the chantry priests of Lowthorpe College it was redundant once the college was dissolved. The neglect of Burton Agnes' chancel may be ascribed to the heavy penalties imposed on Sir Henry Griffith for his delinquency, his death in 1654 and the turmoil of the Civil Wars, and the facts that his successor, Sir Francis Boynton, lived at Barmston and passed the tithes in 1681 to a son-in-law whose seat was in Lincolnshire.[618]

I now turn to those rectories which were not owned by ecclesiastics.[619] Some rectories owned by impropriators were so poor – Auburn at £15 and Aughton at £30 pa – that chancel neglect might be explicable on that ground alone even if other potent factors were not known to be relevant. However, the main cause of the dilapidation of Carnaby's and Auburn's chancels was the avarice of the Stricklands, Carnaby's impropriators from the early seventeenth century, whose seat was Boynton. Although their family was among the top ten wealthiest in the East Riding, they ignored the increasing decay of the chancels of Carnaby and its chapel Auburn, until the early eighteenth century, when Sir William repaired Carnaby as cheaply as possible, in brick and 'in the coarsest style' and abandoned Auburn. Sir William's meanness is further illustrated by his paying Auburn's curate £3 pa, and his reducing the allowance to Fraisthorpe's curate from £10 pa to £2 13^{s} 4^{d} pa in

[617] BIA, V.1575-CB1, f.84r; V.1575-CB2, f.160r; V.1578-9/CB1, f.52v; 1582-V.1578-9/CB1, f.193v; V.1586/CB, f.64r; V.1594/CB, f.126v; V.1595-6/CB1, f.152r; V.1619/CB, f.180v; V.1623/CB, f.218v; V.1636/CB, f.406v; V.1640/CB, f.129v; V.1693-94/CB, f.42v.

[618] See pages 144, 191-92, 196 and footnote 425.

[619] In the sense that they had not been presented to them as incumbents.

1706. The fate of these chancels contrasts with that of Boynton, whose advowson Sir William's great-grandfather had acquired by 1621, whose rectory his grandfather owned by 1650, and in whose chancel the Stricklands were buried. No Strickland was cited for neglect of Boynton chancel, and it was not until 1768 that Sir George Strickland applied for permission to rebuild the church on the grounds of the serious deterioration of the fabric. The new church was erected on the old foundations, but was split into three compartments, the central one being the chancel and the eastern end a mortuary chapel for the Stricklands. The critical factor was not the value of Boynton's rectory – a mere £50 pa – but the Stricklands' ties to Boynton, whose manor they had bought in 1549 and where they had built their home in the late sixteenth century.[620]

Goxhill provides a similar example. The rectory was worth £44 pa; the manor and advowson passed to the Constables of Wassand, many of whom were buried in its chancel; and in 1786 the church was almost entirely rebuilt at Marmaduke Constable's expense.[621] Similarly the Boyntons' attachment to Barmston was the element which determined them to maintain its chancel. Even after inheriting Burton Agnes in 1654, Sir Francis Boynton continued to live at Barmston, the family seat, until his death in 1695; and even after their removal to Burton Agnes the Boyntons still buried their dead in Barmston chancel. By 1660 Sir Francis had acquired Barmston's advowson and in 1670 he presented the living to his son Henry, who held it until his death in 1719: Henry and his wife are commemorated by monuments in Barmston's chancel. The Boyntons had owned Rudston's rectory (worth £140 pa) since at least 1617, but neglected its chancel until 1721, when Sir Griffith grudgingly repaired it.[622]

[620] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/366, 405-6; *VCHERII*, 23-25, 28, 130. See footnotes 587-89, 594, 600.
[621] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/300-1; *VCHERVII*, 272.
[622] *Dugdale II*, 147-49; English, *Great Landowners*, 16; Poulson, *Holderness I*, 208-11; *VCHERII*, 315. See footnotes 582, 589, 598, 618.

The lack of a connection was a powerful disincentive even when the rectory was valuable. Birdsall (worth £168 pa) had long been neglected, and the cumulative decay was so great that the church was ultimately abandoned: its impropriators were the Ingrams, for whom the rectory was an insignificant element in their vast fortunes.[623] Similarly, by 1610 the Wilsfords had acquired Flamborough's rectory (worth £208 pa), but allowed its chancel to fall into decay (although allegedly they repaired it well in 1687).[624]

By contrast, the value of the rectory might have a significant effect on the condition of the chancel where the owner was an incumbent presented to the living and did not possess independent wealth. Cowlam had fourteen households in 1672 and an estimated forty residents in 1676, so the rector's annual income in the 1670s was probably still the £70 reported in 1649-50. It was not until 1694 that the community had shrunk to the parson and two shepherds and the tithes to £45; the tithe-barn had collapsed; and the rector had moved elsewhere. By 1706 the rectory was only worth £30; by 1712 the chancel was in ruins; and, by 1716 at the latest, so was the parsonage house. The chancel must have been neglected from 1660 and thereafter: clearly the rector could not afford to maintain it from such receipts.[625]

The value of Sproatley rectory, worth £60 pa in 1649-50, to which George Bew was presented in 1657, evidently exerted considerable influence on the state of Sproatley's chancel, even though Bew augmented his income in 1662 by becoming vicar of Swine and curate of Bilton and Wyton chapels, with additional receipts valued at £20 13^{s} 4^{d} in 1649-50. On his arrival at Sproatley the rectory house was derelict and the chancel walls and roof were in disrepair. Mr Bew could only afford to thatch the chancel, and was driven himself to assist in the work: even so, he spent £30 on it, and rain still came into the

[623] See footnotes 584, 589, 596.
[624] See pages 97, 140, 189, 192 and footnotes 308, 414, 585, 602.
[625] See footnotes 587, 601.

chancel. The ensuing litigation provides another example of bad relations between a poor cleric and his flock.[626]

In conclusion, after 1660 a wealthy rectory was less likely to mean a well-maintained chancel than had been the case before 1660, while a poor rectory, if held by an incumbent, might well mean one in disrepair.

2.2 Increased multiple ownership

The increase in division of Kilnwick and Kirkburn rectories over the seventeenth century is also typical of East Riding rectories. Nearly 60% of East Riding rectories were impropriated. The Crown had granted many of these away between 1580 and 1620. Many rectories which came on the market between 1580 and 1620 were divided soon afterwards, and Aldbrough, Burton Fleming and Lowthorpe are typical examples of this group. Subsequent divisions as a result of marriages and deaths were also inevitable. Aldbrough's tithes were split into two in 1607, and soon after into three.[627] Robert Knowsley had bought Burton Fleming rectory in 1618 and bequeathed a quarter to each of his daughters in 1638.[628] Lowthorpe's and Sledmere's tithes were separated on sales in 1627 and 1672 respectively.[629] Multiple ownership usually led to chancel disrepair: the chancels of all four fell into serious dilapidation by the 1680s.[630] Rillington's rectory was divided in 1607-8 between tithes from Rillington and tithes from Scampston; by 1633, three people shared the rectory, as was still the case in 1690. After a gap of forty-five years since the last presentation for chancel neglect in 1633 (when a sequestration was ordered), the impropriators were cited five times in the following twenty years, and the

[626] BIA, CP.H.2516; ibid, ER.V/CB.2; V.1667/CB, Lib. Ord.; CCED; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/253-54; *VCHERVII*, 102-5; *YERHT*, 285, 296, 392-93.
[627] *VCHERVII*, 17-18.
[628] *VCHERII*, 120-21.
[629] See footnotes 608, 610.
[630] See footnotes 132, 214, 583, 586, 589.

chancel was still in some disrepair in 1709.[631] Swine's chancel suffered from its tithes being split between four or five of Sir Thomas Gresham's descendants, none of whom had any connection to Swine, until the rectory was sold in 1681 in two lots, one to Arthur Thornton and the other, to Joseph Micklethwaite.[632]

2.3 Changes in owners' attitude to chancel repair

The change in their attitude to chancel repair in owners of Kilnwick's and Kirkburn's tithes is also typical of impropriators of other East Riding rectories.[633] The market in rectories had been relatively static since 1620, but the 1660s to 1680s saw changes in ownership, albeit at a much lower level than had prevailed between the 1580s and 1620s, and more became impropriators by marriage or inheritance than by purchase. However, this development conferred no benefit upon the chancels in question. Many who acquired rectories in the early seventeenth century settled in the parish and their commitment to the place was reflected in their care of the chancel of the parish church: examples include the Bucks, Darleys, Hildyards, Paylers, Stapletons and Wilsons.[634] By contrast, apparently few who acquired an East Riding rectory between 1660 and 1690 moved into the parish in question, and few maintained or repaired the relevant chancels. Those who bought tithes then were as likely to neglect the chancel as those who acquired them by marriage or inheritance.

For example, in 1653 Dr Joseph Micklethwaite of York and his son acquired Swine manor and the tithes from Swine township, where he and his family settled for several generations, enlarging the estate to nearly 2,200 acres there by 1720. Yet the Micklethwaites ignored repeated citations for chancel neglect.[635] Similarly, the two

[631] BIA, CP.H.3034; ibid, V.1578-9/CB1; V.1586/CB; V.1607/CB; V.1619/CB; V.1633/CB1; *Stuart Fines I*, 79, 89-90, 125, 200; *II*, 151, 240. See footnote 609.
[632] *VCHERVI*, 111-12. See footnotes 584 and 612.
[633] See Appendix 24.
[634] See pages 97-99, 138-39, 142-45 and footnotes 310-12, 410-11, 420, 425.
[635] See footnotes 584, 612.

purchasers of parts of Sledmere rectory also failed to maintain the chancel.[636] Again, by 1662 Leonard Thompson, alderman and twice mayor of York, had acquired some of the Bubwith tithes.[637] By 1677 Sir Edward Barnard, Recorder of Beverley from 1663-96 and Recorder of Hull from 1669-1684, had bought the rectory of Holme-on-the-Wolds as part of a substantial East Riding portfolio.[638] Thompson and Barnard were cited for chancel neglect in 1662 and 1677 respectively.[639] By 1678 the Towses had acquired a share in Rillington rectory: six citations for chancel neglect ensued between then and 1707.[640] Except for the Micklethwaites, these new impropriators display characteristics which were associated before 1660 with chancel neglect: multiple ownership, absence of meaningful connection, and residence elsewhere. Before 1660 those factors had not invariably led to failure to maintain a chancel: thereafter, that outcome seemed inevitable.

Lessees of ecclesiastical rectories display a similar pattern to lay purchasers of tithes between 1660 and 1690, despite the presence of covenants to repair the chancel in their leases. Timothy Remington was lessee of North Newbald prebend from 1649 to 1671; he was succeeded by his nephew; both lived in the prebendal house. Nevertheless, the condition of Newbald's chancel, already serious in 1663, had deteriorated significantly by 1693.[641] Similarly, the Jegons held Nafferton rectory from 1673 to 1719, and lived within the parish, yet Nafferton's large chancel was neglected. The difficulties Anne encountered in the 1670s and 1680s in seeking to meet her husband's debts after his death, and to protect the interests of her under-age children may have played a part in her breach

[636] *VCHERVIII*, 182, 199.
[637] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, f.352v; *Dugdale III*, 272.
[638] BIA, ER.V/CB.4, f.151r; https://landedfamilies.blogspot.com/2019/10/393-barnard-and-boldero-of-cave-castle.html*; YERHT*, 96, 121.
[639] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.4.
[640] BIA, ER.V/CB.4-5; ER.V/CB.7; Y.V/Co.C 1696-1707; ER.V/CB.10-11.
[641] *Dugdale III*, 483; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/183-7; YML, L2/3c, f.23r-v.

of duty.[642] The ruthless politician Henry Guy was tenant of Keyingham from 1669 until his death in 1711: he represented Hedon for many years, and therefore had a connection with the area, but he came from Tring in Hertfordshire, where he built a grand country house with the income and perquisites from being secretary to the Treasury, and lived there and in Westminster. He was presented four times between 1676 and 1686 for its dilapidations.[643]

Those who acquired East Riding rectories between 1660 and 1690 without paying for them usually ignored their chancel obligations even if they had or acquired a link to the area within it. George Whichcot, who inherited his family seat in Lincolnshire in 1664 and was MP for Lincolnshire from 1698 to 1700 and 1705 to 1710, acquired the Burton Agnes lease in 1681 through his marriage in 1677 to Frances Boynton: he was cited for chancel neglect in 1686 and 1687.[644] In about 1660 Aldbrough rectory came by bequests to the Bethells of Rise, by 1670 one of the great landowners of East Yorkshire: there were citations for chancel neglect in 1671, 1685-86, 1689 and 1691.[645] Indeed, most of the tithes of rectories whose chancels were gravely dilapidated between 1660 and 1690 which are listed in Table 7 passed by inheritance or marriage. The former often led to partition, or increased partition, of interests, but even where it did not the chancel was often disregarded. Of those twenty rectories, nine had more than one impropriator; three had rector-incumbents; and four were owned by ecclesiastics. Of those owned by a single impropriator at any one time, Auburn, Birdsall and Carnaby have been considered above. The last, Garton-on-the-Wolds, apparently passed by inheritance, first to Christopher Turner by 1650 and then to his daughter; a Mr Turner was assessed in 1672 for a two-

[642] BIA, CC.Ab.3/4, f.31r-v; CC.Ab.5/5, ff.138-9, 144-5, 140-3, 146-9, 246-9; CC.Ab.5/8 ff.26-34; CC.Ab.5/9, ff.81-90; CC.Ab.5/11, ff.6-11; CC.Ab.5/12, ff.141-7; CC.Ab.5/14, f.95r-v; CC.Ab.5/14a, ff.251r-254r; HHC, U DDSY/62/72; U/DDSY/68/15, 23-24, 26, 29-31; *VCHERII*, 286, 288; *YERHT*, 260, 327.

[643] See footnotes 586, 605.

[644] See footnotes 582, 589, 598, 618.

[645] BIA, ER.V/CB.10; *Dugdale III*, 471; English, *Great Landowners*, 22-23; *Fasti Harthill*, 199.

hearthed house in Garton; yet the impropriator was cited for chancel neglect in 1687 and 1688.[646]

3. The body of the church

In this section I adopt the criteria used in Chapter III, with the same caveats. As with chancels, the three case studies are typical of the treatment of the body of East Riding churches between 1660 and 1690.[647]

3.1 Serious defects

During these decades some forty churches had serious defects in the fabric of the building other than (or in addition to) the chancel.[648] Unsurprisingly, as at Kilnwick and Kirkburn, there was general dilapidation in the body of some churches between 1660 and 1690 whose chancels were in grave disrepair in the same period, occasionally because the community was in the course of abandoning the church as a place of worship.[649] However,

[646] See footnotes 584, 589, 603; *YERHT*, 336.

[647] See Appendix 25.

[648] BIA, CP.H.377, CP.H.2887, CP.H.3770, CP.H.4348, CP.I.26, CP.I.47, CP.I.134, CP.I 558; ibid, DC.CP.1694/5; ibid, TRANS.CP.1691/1; ibid, Fac. Bk, 1699/6; ibid, V.1619/CB, f.232v; V.1627/CB, f.292v; V.1633/CB1, f.340r; V.1640/CB, f.139r; V.1662-3/CB1, ff.320v, 322v, 357v, 360r, 363v, 371v, 387r, 391v, 397v, 400r-v; ER.V/CB.1, ff.6v, 25r, 52r, 57r, 60r, 81r, 82r; ER.V/CB.2, ff.45r-46r, 74v, 117r; ER.V/CB.3, ff.16r, 38r, 58r, 64v, 100r, 115v, 137r; ER.V/Co.C(1672); V.1674/CB, ff.286r, 319v, 320r; ER.V/CB.4, ff.3v-4r, 8v, 26r, 60r-v, 64r-v, 71v, 77r, 93v, 131v, 135r-v, 139v, 200v, 201v, 214r, 231r; ER.V/CB.5, ff.2v-3r, 26r, 73r, 123r, 154v, 180r, 213r; V.1682/CB, f.137v; V.1684-85/CB, pp.8, 15, 22; ER.V/CB.6, ff.2v, 5v, 7r-v; V.1693-94/CB, f.48r, sheet dated 1 May 1694; ER.V/CB.11, f.84r; ER.V/CB.12, ff.45r, 46r, 79v, 81r; *Dering's Visitation*, 134, 153, 178, 191-92; Sharp, f.145; *VCHERII*, 124, 130, 162, 207; *VCHERIII*, 145; *VCHERV*, 72-73, 125-26; *VCHERVI*, 95, 234, 240-41; *VCHERVII*, 55, 79-80, 171-72, 252-53, 290-92, 358; *YAJ,* vol. *XVIII*, 214.

[649] For Aldbrough, Auburn, Birdsall and Blacktoft: footnotes 581, 584, 587, 589, 593-94, 596-97; Bubwith: BIA CP.H.4345; ibid, V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.12; Burton Agnes: BIA, ER.V/CB.3; V.1684-85/CB1; ER.V/CB.5; ER.V/CB.12; *Dering's Visitation*, 165, 171; *VCHERII*, 117; footnotes 582, 589, 598 ; Burton Fleming: BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.1; ER.V/CB.5; ER.V/CB.13; footnotes 586, 589, 599; Carnaby: BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.4; footnotes 587, 589, 600; Cowlam: BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.1; ER.V/CB.4-5; ER.V/CB.11; footnotes 587-89, 601; Flamborough: BIA, V.1619/CB; V.1627/CB; V.1633/CB1; V.1640/CB; V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB1; ER/CB.2; footnotes 585, 602; Garton-on-the-Wolds: footnotes 584, 589, 603; Holmpton: BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; V.1698, Corrections; ER.V/CB1; ER.V/CB.5-7; ER.V/CB.10; ER.V/CB.14; ER.V/Co.C (1727); *Dering's Visitation*, 153-54; Hornsea: BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.4; ER.V/CB.12; *VCHERVII* 290-92; Kilnsea: page 155, footnote 474; Kilnwick: pages 183-86, footnote 576; Kirkburn: page 181, footnote 561.

the most challenging of the structural issues in any East Riding church by this period was the gradually sinking of the north transept of Beverley Minster, whose collapse would have caused the crossing tower to fail, and would have unleashed enormous damage. An attempt had already been made to protect the tower, by constructing a lower vault below the lantern, probably in the fifteenth century. Hawksmoor's solution was to jack up the north transept until it stood vertically, substituting its stone vault with one in wood and plaster, and to truncate the tower drastically, replacing it with an ogival dome.[650]

If one disregards the churches and chapels which had been abandoned by 1660, twenty-two churches had problems with their roofs between 1660 and 1690.[651] Ten of these had been presented in 1662-63: some were repaired, but the answers of some wardens were unsatisfactory: this implies that some roofs were not. However, it is clear also that sometimes the wardens who had not been presented in 1662-63 had allowed leaks to cause structural damage, as at Kilnsea and at Barmby Moor, where by 1665 and 1687 respectively rain had seriously damaged the main timber supporting the roof. [652] Often neglect of the roof formed only part of an overall failure to ensure that the building was weather-proof, as at Routh, where the wardens were also cited for disrepair of the steeple, the bells and the body of the church generally, between 1677 and 1688;[653] and at Garton in Holderness, where complaint was made of the roof and walls in 1674, and of the steeple throughout the 1670s and in 1688.[654] Other examples include Birdsall, Blacktoft and Hunmanby, whose nave was also in disrepair in its roof, walls and windows by 1660:

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[650] Ivan Hall, 'Beverley Minster Observed', in Horrox, *Beverley Minster,* 91-107, at 98-100.

[651] For churches and chapels abandoned between 1600 and 1660, pages 93, 116-17, 130, 132, 153-55, 158 and footnotes 297, 359-65, 393, 396, 468-72, 492-93. Roofs whose disrepair was reported in 1662-3: BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, ff.316v, 320v, 345v, 360r, 363v, 369v, 371v, 387r, 397v, 411v, 507r. Roofs whose disrepair was reported thereafter: BIA, CP.H.2887, CP.H.3770, CP.H.4348, CP.I.26, CP.I.630; ibid, ER.V/CB.3, f.16r; ER.V/CB.4, ff.131v, 139v, 200v; V.1674/CB, ff.286r, 319v; sheet dated 1 May 1694 in V.1693.

[652] BIA, CP.H.3770; ibid, ER.V/CB.2.

[653] BIA, ER.V/CB.4-6; ER.V/CB.12; *VCHERVII*, 358.

[654] BIA, V.1674/CB; V.1693-94/CB, f.48r; ER.V/CB.3 (four entries); ER.V/CB.4 (three entries); ER.V/CB.5 (four entries); ER.V/CB.6; ER.V/CB.7; ER.V/Co.C (1672); *Dering's Visitation*, 134.

unusually, Hunmanby's wardens remedied those defects soon after the Restoration.[655] Generally, neglect of roofs did not lessen after the Restoration, and probably increased.

At least twenty-three steeples were in decay during this period, of which thirteen were already the subject of presentments in 1662-63.[656] The wardens for five of the latter claimed to have completed the repairs, although those at Cowlam at least were perfunctory and inadequate.[657] Four more cited in 1662-63, at Flamborough, Kilnsea, Scalby and Scarborough, were never restored during our period, while ten which had not been presented in 1662-63 fell into disrepair during the decades 1660-1690. Again, the number of steeples neglected between 1664 and 1690 may well have grown in comparison with the period 1640 to 1660. Decay in steeples was often, but not invariably, associated with problems with bells and their equipment. Fourteen churches were cited for the latter in 1662-63 and a further twenty-two between 1664 and 1690.[658] Only nine churches exhibited problems with bells at the same time as disrepair in their steeples.[659]

Sometimes the defects were rapidly put right, as at Huggate, where the complaint was simply that the bells were not well hung, and at Sherburn, where the bells had been out of tune, and the wardens reported in the same year as the citation that they had corrected the bells and repaired the steeple. Only three parishes cited for neglect of bells in 1662-63 appear a second time during the following thirty years on the same charge, and most churches were only presented once for problems with bells between 1660 and 1690. But

[655] BIA, CP.H.4348; *VCHERII*, 243.

[656] BIA, CP.I.26, CP.I.630; ibid, V.1662-3/CB, ff. 322v, 349r, 360v, 391v, 400v, 401r, 405v, 411r, 417r; V.1674/CB, f.286r; V.1684-85/CB, p.8; ER.V/CB.1, ff.38r-v, 52r, 57r, 82r; ER.V/CB.2, ff. 45r-46r, 74v, 117r; ER.V/CB.3, ff.38r, 115v; ER.V/CB.4, ff.8v, 64r-v, 64r-v, 135v, 139v, 231r; ER.V/CB.4, ff.214r, 215r; Sharp, f.145; *VCHERV*, 72-73; *VCHERVII*, 290-92.

[657] See pages 155-56 and footnotes 475-84.

[658] BIA, CP.I.26, CP.I.134; ibid, V.1662-3/CB1, ff.357v, 327v, 391v, 398v, 400v, 417v; ER.V/CB.1, ff.24v-25r, 29, 35r, 38r-v, 57v, 59v, 64r, 82r, 84r, 85v; ER.V/CB.2, f.26r; V.1667/CB(a), f.316v; V.1674/CB, f.320r; V.1682/CB, f.137v; ER.V/CB.3, ff.4v, 38r, 39r, 103r, 115v, 179v; ER.V/CB.4, ff.58v, 60r-v, 71v, 81r, 89r, 139v, 201v; ER.V/CB.5, ff.75r, 189v, 247r, 248v; ER.V/CB.6, ff.4v, 5v, 7r-v, 8v, 10v, 11v, 12r, 13v; *VCHNRII*, 481.

[659] BIA, CP.I.26, CP.I.630; ibid, ER.V/CB.1, ff.38v, 57r, 60r; ER.V/CB.4, ff.8v, 58v, 67r, 130r, 139v, 201v.

it is clear that damage was more widespread and ignored for longer periods than those facts suggest. More typical were the churches where a bell was cracked or broken, or where two, three or even four bells were out of repair.[660] Such a state of affairs indicates delay in addressing the issue, and probably shortage of money, as was evidently the situation at Scalby, whose wardens sought additional time both in 1662 and 1663 to repair the steeple and bells, on the ground that both were 'very ruinous', and prevaricated again in 1670 and in 1672. It was not until after 1674 that they finally acquired three new bells, although they still lacked bell-ropes.[661] Seriously dilapidated overall in 1662, Catton took nineteen years to purchase a new bell.[662] Ottringham's wardens were presented in 1663, 1674, 1687 and 1688 for their bells being out of tune: their three new bells were not struck until 1699. Only ten of 36 churches presented are known to have responded to citations for disrepair of bells by replacing them within a reasonable time (within fifteen years): and the longer the delay, presumably the greater the difficulty in complying.[663] Overall, problems with East Riding bells apparently became more common between 1660 and 1690 than between 1640 and 1660 and during these later decades sixty bells were cast.[664] Some were gifts[665] but at least ten of the forty-seven parishes with new bells themselves paid for them: Burton Pidsea bought three in 1677, and in 1676 Roos spent £5 to have a bell cast and a further £1 10s on carriage and on hanging it (excluding the cost of the bell

[660] BIA, CP.I.26; CP.I.134; CP.H.3772; TRANS.CP.1691/1; DC.CP.1694/5; ibid, V.1662-3/CB1, ff.327v, 331v, 391v, 397v, 398v; ER.V/CB.1, ff.24v-25r, 29r, 35r, 38v, 42r, 57r-58v, 59v-60r, 82r; ER.V/CB.2, ff.26r, 45r-46r, 74v; V.1667/CB(a), f.57r; ER.V/CB.3, ff.4v, 38r, 39r, 81r, 103r, 104v, 115v; ER.V/CB.4, ff.58v, 60v, 67r, 81r, 89r, 201v, 213v-214r; ER.V/CB.5, ff.75r, 139v, 189v, 247r; ER.V/CB.6, ff.5v, 7r-v, 10v, 11v-12r, 13v.

[661] *VCHNRII*, 481.

[662] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1.

[663] Aughton: citation 1672; bell dated 1672; Beverley Minster: citation 1663; bell dated 1663; Burton Fleming: citation 1663; three bells dated 1677; Burton Pidsea: citation 1667; three bells dated 1677; Kirkburn: citations 1663, 1672 & 1678; one bell dated 1678; Lockington: citation 1663; one dated 1662; Rudston: citation 1663; one bell dated 1663; Scalby: citations 1662, 1663, 1670 & 1672; three dated 1674; Sherburn: citation 1663; one bell dated 1663; Willerby: citation 1663, 1665 & 1670; one bell dated 1676.

[664] See pages 156, 160, 166-67, 181, 185, 203-4 and footnote 485.

[665] E.g., Boulter, *Bells II*, 82-83, *III*, 407.

frame and associated equipment), which exceeded its entire average annual income in the 1670s.[666] Barmby Moor's purchase of a new bell in 1670 at a time when the chapel was dilapidated overall implies the especial importance of a bell to the community.[667] Overall, the evidence indicates that many parishes had neglected their bells in decades before 1662, but made strenuous efforts when they could to repair or replace them between 1662 and 1690.

This conclusion is also justified in respect of decay in their walls and fonts between 1662 and 1690, since most East Riding parishes seem to have met the potentially expensive challenges which they posed. Reports which specifically mention decay in the walls between 1660 and 1690 only occur in respect of seven churches, five of which were suffering from wholesale neglect.[668] Brantingham and Lockington apparently soon addressed this problem, but Catton, charged in March 1662, asked for additional time to repair the walls both then and in late 1662 and in April and August 1663, when the wardens had erected scaffolding. Catton's body, especially its roof, was still in decay in 1670; despite a completion certificate from the rector in January 1671, in 1676 its walls and roof were described as ruinous. In 1662 Howden repaired its mediaeval font and provided a cover, and Carnaby and Kirby Underdale acquired font covers.[669] There were no presentments for neglect of fonts between 1664 and 1690.

3.2 Less serious and unspecified defects

Almost one hundred churches were presented between 1660 and 1690 for unspecified decay: of these, three-quarters were presented in the 1660s. Of the latter, about half were not cited again before 1690, so about sixty parishes were cited between 1664 and 1690

[666] ERALS, PE44/90, f.12r.
[667] BIA, CP.H.3770.
[668] BIA, CP.I.630; CP.H.2887; ibid, V.1667/CB(a), ff.27r, 32r; V.1662-3/CB1, f.357v; ER.V/CB.1, f.6v; ER.V/CB.3, f.16r; V.1674/CB, f.286r; ER.V/CB.4, ff.77r, 131v; ER.V/CB.5, f.152v.
[669] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; ERALS, PE121/55, f.257.

for general neglect. It is difficult to assess the gravity of these general complaints, but repeated charges probably indicate that the problems either were, or became, serious. For example, the wardens of Garton in Holderness were presented eight times between 1663 and 1693 for neglect of unidentified parts of the body of the church, and (over the same period) seven times for its steeple, and in 1674 for its roof, walls and bells.[670] Since many of these reports relate both to the steeple and to general decay, the latter cannot refer to the steeple. Nonetheless, the steeple was the major difficulty, which the parish solved by drastically reducing its size.[671] Despite an assurance given in 1665 that Holmpton's nave was in good repair, by 1670 more work was needed; by 1686 it was said that the building was on the point of collapse.[672] In the same way the defects in the body of Kilnsea's church were not identified in presentments after 1663, but were so serious that in 1699 archbishop Sharp permitted that part to be abandoned.[673] Similarly, the only complaint in 1662 of Skidby's fabric was the condition of its windows; in 1667 the chapel was said to be out of repair and in 1676 to be ruinous; in 1707 and 1709 the roof was decayed, and still required repair in 1725.[674] The repeated presentments of the wardens of Kilnwick and Kirkburn for unspecified decay fall into the same category as the others addressed in this paragraph: they betokened significant problems.

3.3 Relatively minor defects

Only twenty-five parishes were presented during the period 1664 to 1690 for minor defects, such as failing to send a copy of the register to York; allowing seats to be in decay; not repairing churchyard walls; not procuring the King's Arms or sentences of

[670] Unspecified: 1663, 1665, 1672, 1675, 1681, 1683, 1685, 1693; steeple: 1671-73, 1676, 1678-79, 1688. See footnote 654, and V.1674/CB; ER.V/CB.1-2; ER.V/CB.45 (three entries); V.1693-94/CB; *VCHERVII*, 49.

[671] Poulson, *Holderness II*, 58.

[672] See footnote 649.

[673] See pages 155 and footnote 474.

[674] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.2; V.1667/CB(a); ER.V/CB.4; ER.V/CB.6; V.1693-94/CB; ER.V/CB.11; *Dering's Visitation*, 256-7.

scripture to be painted on to the walls; and not providing plate, an alms box, a pulpit cushion, a chest with three locks, a Bible, a common prayer or service book or book of homilies or canons; not exhibiting a glebe terrier or a table of the degrees of marriage.[675] This is a great reduction in comparison with the entire period from 1567 to 1640. This is probably because most parishes soon complied with the orders made in 1662-63 that they should procure items which were then deemed essential to English Protestant worship but which had either been prohibited or thought unnecessary during the Interregnum.[676] Indeed, there is evidence at least in the 1660s of expenditure on such items without the wardens being presented. For example, in 1662 Howden's wardens (who were not cited) bought a new common prayer book and books of homilies and canons, and a pulpit cushion; and had their communion table mended (6^{s}), a new poor-box constructed (17^{s}) and two cloths made (one for the communion table and one for the communion (£1 11^{s})), and a surplice (£2).[677] Many parishes must have retained the items needed for Protestant worship. However, from 1664 the focus shifted from church fabric to dissent, and the paucity of reports on the state of the buildings and their contents probably does not indicate that there was no neglect. It is much more likely that little attempt was made thereafter to present such defects.

3.4 General maintenance

Many parishes did considerable work between 1660 and 1690. In 1659 the parishioners of Holy Trinity Hull agreed to have most of the seats in the chancel removed. Its roof was decayed in 1659, and both nave and chancel were dilapidated by 1665: repairs were effected during the 1670s, at a cost which in 1674 alone exceeded £150. In 1690 a further

[675] BIA, V.1667/CB(a), ff.1v, 12v, 14v, 22r, 32r, 55v; V.1674/CB, ff.285v, 330r; V.1684-85/CB, pp.22-23; ER.V/CB.1, f.42r; ER.V/Co.C (1672); ER.V/CB.3, ff.37v, 96v; ER.V/CB.4, ff.32r, 68r, 71v, 77r, 89r, 130r, 175v; ER.V/CB.5, ff.6r, 50v, 130v, 191v, 213r, 239v, 247r.
[676] See pages 164-70.
[677] ERALS, PE121/55, ff.257-73.

assessment, of £100, was laid for replacing some of the timbers of the west end of the nave roof.[678] In 1663 Howden spent some £40 on substantial work on the roof and repairing the bier and the school house windows and set about altering the seating; and in 1664, similar sums on the nave windows, school house and a common coffin. In 1676, aided by a £10 bequest, Sigglesthorne restored its tower, and Burstwick's vicar painted a panel with Charles I's arms on one side and his execution on the other. Londesborough's porch was erected in 1678, and Burstwick's porch is of the same period. In 1684 Leconfield rebuilt its tower and porch. About 1685, when the roof was repaired, Wintringham was fitted with a fine communion table, pulpit, reading-desk, pews and a free-standing poor-box, and sentences of scripture were painted on the walls. Holme-upon-Spalding-Moor apparently provided brick parapets to the whole church about this time, as well as a new pulpit and black-letter texts on the walls. Winestead also acquired a new pulpit. In 1686 Thwing's north aisle was apparently rebuilt, and probably about this time Willerby's north aisle was demolished. Eastrington acquired a new font cover in the mid-seventeenth century.[679]

Mostly in the 1660s, twenty-seven churches acquired new silver. Beverley Minster, Hull Holy Trinity and Trinity House Hull were beneficiaries, but so were some much smaller churches.[680] Many parishes made such purchases even though they had not been required to do so, as appears from Table 10. Fifteen churches were cited in 1662-63 for the absence of plate, and, of these, only Aldbrough, Cottingham and Rillington apparently complied immediately, while Elloughton was given a silver cup in 1678 and Carnaby, one in 1685. Seemingly none of the other nine parishes obeyed the court. A potent factor in eleven of

[678] BIA, ER.V/CB.2; ERALS, DDX17/1, ff.20, 72-91, 151. See pages 114-15.
[679] ERALS, PE144/23, PE121/55, ff.257, 273; Pevsner, *ER,* 59-60, 63, 363-64, 398, 474, 595, 601, 754, 757, 759; *VCHERVII,* 371.
[680] Fallow, *Plate*, 210, 218-19, 233-34, 236, 244-45, 253-55, 264, 270-71, 277, 285-86, 290, 296, 300, 302, 310, 312-13, 326.

these parishes was probably their high number of Quaker residents in the 1660s to 1690s: meetings were settled at Elloughton, Hornsea, Kelk, Malton and Owstwick in 1669, at Sutton by 1665 and at Hull, as early as c.1660.[681]

Table 10: churches acquiring plate in 1660s and 1670s, but not cited in 1660s for lack of plate

Decades when acquired by churches not cited in 1660s for lack of plate	Number.
In the 1660s[682]	12
In the 1670s[683]	9
In the 1680s[684]	7

Overall, East Riding most parishes tried hard in the 1660s to restore their churches, whether in the chancel or the body of the buildings, but struggled against the background of the chaos and upheaval between 1640 and 1660, the lack of ecclesiastical guidance, authority or enforcement, and the accumulated consequence of neglect during those years.

4. The failure of the visitation court system to protect church fabric

Another important reason was that the state of church buildings was a low priority both for Parliament and for church leaders in the press of so many problems which required resolution from 1640 until the Glorious Revolution. During the period 1660 to 1687 Parliament and church leaders accorded priority among ecclesiastical issues, first to abolishing Cromwell's state structures and rules and establishing a rigid Protestantism of which the king was head, and second to suppressing dissent of all kinds. So much is clear

[681] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, ff.313r, 318r, 327v, 331r, 343r, 358v, 361r, 380r, 381v, 387r, 407v, 415v, 417r; ER.V/CB.1, f.37r; V.1667/CB(a), f.38r; Roberts, *Yorkshire Quakers*, 6, 11, 42-44, 55. See pages 170-73, 181-83, 186-87, 222-24, 228-30 and footnote 564.

[682] Fallow, *Plate*, 219-20, 233, 250, 254-55, 270-74, 286-87, 290, 312-14.

[683] Ibid, 263-64, 275-76, 281, 285-87, 301, 310-11.

[684] Ibid, 224, 233-34, 277-79, 307, 316-18, 326.

from the Clarendon Code, the Conventicle Act 1670, and the Test Act 1673 as extended to peers in 1678; archbishop Sheldon's correspondence (for example, his letters of 1665 and 1676 to the bishop of London, and that of 1672 to his suffragans); the response to James' Declaration of Indulgence; the Compton Census itself; and the struggle over the Comprehension Bill and the Toleration Act. Indeed, the early 1680s experienced 'the most intense persecution of Nonconformity during the Restoration period'.[685] East Riding churchwardens reflected this priority in the presentments made over these years, much of which concerned non-conformity or recusancy.

Even during the Civil Wars Parliament had been conscious of the need to make arrangements for the care of ecclesiastical fabric, although seemingly the relevant legislation was never implemented.[686] Once episcopacy had been restored, committees were appointed in June 1661, pursuant to a licence to revise the canons, to consider (inter alia) the repair of churches, but this task was later abandoned.[687] Likewise in 1662 a committee of bishops produced a draft set of visitation articles, but the draft was never finalised, and bishops eventually formulated their own sets of visitation articles on the basis of the draft. All such articles (and those from archdeacons) issued between 1662 and 1730 enquired whether the church fabric was in good order, the usual post-1661 version being:

'Titul I
Concerning Churches and Chappels, with the Ornaments and Furniture thereunto belonging

I. Is your Parish Church or Chappel kept in good and sufficient repair? Are the Roofs thereof well covered with Lead, Tile or Slate? The Windows well glazed, the Floors well-paved, the Seats well fastned, and conveniently placed, and all things so decently ordered, as becometh the House of God?

II. Hath the Steeple or Tower of your Church or Chappel, or any part thereof, been pulled down, or any of the Lead or Bells formerly belonging thereunto, been imbezelled, sold or made away?'

[685] Cardwell, *Annals II*, 270-71, 286-87, 288-91; footnote 549.
[686] See page 127 and footnote 387.
[687] Robert S. Bosher, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement* (London, 1957), 230-31.

Some bishops and archdeacons relegated such enquiries to a position below questions about public prayer, the administration of the sacraments, the availability of a Bible and suitable seat for the parish priest, and the King's authority in ecclesiastical matters, but archbishop Sterne probably placed them first in his articles. Certainly archbishop Sancroft so ranked them for his metropolitan visitation of Lincoln in 1686.[688]

Even if bishops accorded importance to fabric integrity, they were much more likely to devote money to cathedrals, on which in any event the civil wars had inflicted much greater damage than they had caused to parish churches. Moreover, the destruction by the Great Fire of London of St Paul's and 87 parish churches in London made their parishes natural beneficiaries of donations for rebuilding. These factors help to explain the concentration of giving towards church fabric on gifts to cathedrals and St Paul's. A typical example is the bishop of Rochester, who in 1666 left £1,000 to the restoration of Rochester Cathedral and £1,050 to the repair of St Paul's, but nothing towards work on any parish church.[689]

Nonetheless, however highly bishops ranked the state of ecclesiastical fabric (even of parish churches outside London), the sanctions available were restricted to excommunication once ecclesiastical courts (except the courts of High Commission) were restored in 1661.[690] Although excommunication entailed practical disadvantages, especially for a person of property, its deterrent power may have been limited, since increasing numbers and increasing proportions of offenders were excommunicated between 1660 and 1690, in Oxford, Peterborough and Exeter, Canterbury and

[688] *The second report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the rubrics, orders and directions for regulating the course and conduct of public worship* (1867) (London, 1868), Appendix E, 601-85, at 606, 610, 613, 615-19, 621, 624, 630, 633, 638, 646, 652-3, 663; Fincham, *Altars Restored*, 306-7; Green, *Re-Establishment*, 136-37.

[689] Kennett, *Impropriations*, 281-82.

[690] The Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Act, 1661, 13.ChasII c.12, *SRV*, 315-16.

Yorkshire.[691] The ecclesiastical courts retained the power to order sequestration, but only used it three times between 1660 and 1690 to seize rectorial tithes, at Cherry Burton, Drypool and Thornton.[692] In the 1670s sequestration was suggested to enforce the repair of the chancels of Aughton and Kilnsea: if the order was granted, it was ineffectual, as has been demonstrated above.[693] The courts soon realised that such directions were powerless to procure repair of chancels. More realistically, they began to use the power to sequestrate vicarial tithes in vacancies to repair the vicarage house and even the church itself, as at Burton Fleming, Drypool, Folkton, Garton (Holderness), Kilnsea, Norton, and Rudston.[694]

Another difficulty in the disciplinary system by ecclesiastical visitation was that it depended upon the willingness of wardens from the same community as the alleged miscreants to report them. It was difficult enough to order an assessment to raise church taxes: there are many examples in these decades of wardens refusing or failing to do so. However, it was not until the late 1680s that the authorities began to develop a different style of visitation, whereby the active co-operation of the clergy was enlisted: they were provided with a written questionnaire to which they were asked to provide written answers.[695] In the meantime, wardens might simply fail to present offences, as at Everingham in 1662, at Beverley St Mary and Holme-upon-Spalding-Moor in 1663 and at Cherry Burton in 1665, when they were themselves cited for not presenting Catholics.[696]

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[691] G.V. Bennett, 'Conflict in the Church', in *Britain after the Glorious Revolution 1689-1714*, ed. Geoffrey Holmes (Basingstoke, 1969), 155-175, at 156-57; Green, *Re-Establishment*, 140-41; Outhwaite, *Ecclesiastical Courts*, 82.

[692] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.1; V.1667/CB(a).

[693] BIA, ER.V/CB.3. See pages 66-67, 79, 90, 92, 96, 100-5, 109, 119, 141.

[694] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.1; *Fasti Dickering*, 17; Sharp, f.145; *VCHERII*, 174, 317.

[695] Sheils, 'Visitation ', [2]-[17].

[696] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.1-2.

5. The plight and rôle of the clergy

An immediate problem for the restoration of East Yorkshire church fabric in 1662 was the ejection of some twenty-two of its ministers. This inevitably led to considerable disruption, whether or not it involved the reinstatement of incumbents who had been deprived during the Interregnum. This situation was inimical to the maintenance of the buildings.[697]

Another reason for the failure of the church authorities to make adequate provision for the repair of its buildings was that they deemed it more important that parish clergy should be provided with adequate maintenance, and no substantive progress was made on that issue until 1714. Their justified disquiet was shared by many. Published in 1613, Sir Henry Spelman's polemic *De Non Temerandis Ecclesiis* apparently led to the augmentation of certain vicarages to £100 pa before 1647.[698] In 1638 archbishop Neile sought to justify chaplains' residency in impropriators' houses on the ground that they would not be able to serve their communities on their annual stipends without the provision of board and lodging.[699] Parliament's concern about clerical poverty is reflected in many of the entries in the 1649-50 survey, which revealed that the average annual receipts of vicars who served East Riding parishes were less than £20, and only twelve were paid £40 or more a year. The surveyors noted that Hutton Cranswick's £16 would not even maintain a preacher.[700] The allowances made by commissioners in their settlements with East Yorkshire delinquents in the 1640s imply a belief that much higher rates than those were appropriate: for example, £180 for the ministers of Cottingham and Skidby; £60 for an unidentified parish; £50 pa and £41 13s 4d pa on Buttercrambe and

[697] Matthew, *Calamy Revised*, 15, 62, 99, 118, 126, 142, 211, 266, 272, 297, 315, 317, 330, 349, 391, 394, 413, 434, 462, 537.
[698] Kennett, *Impropriations,* 225, 227-28, referring to Spelman's work (re-issued in 1647). It took ten years to implement the Act which established Queen Anne's Bounty: Pruett, *Parish Clergy*, 98.
[699] TNA, SP16/345/85, f.9.
[700] See footnote 555 and Appendix 26.

Westow respectively; £40 pa for the vicar of Flamborough; and £80 pa for Norton. By a series of grants between 1657 and 1659 the trustees for the maintenance of ministers awarded a total of £150 pa to Scarborough's minister.[701] In 1656 Parliament added £40 pa to the £50 already paid annually to the vicar of St Mary's, Beverley, and in 1661 allotted a stipend of £100 to the vicar of Holy Trinity, Hull.[702] The puritan John Shawe claimed that the mayor, aldermen and burgesses of Hull agreed to pay him £150 pa with a house for preaching twice a week at Holy Trinity from 1644, of which they honoured about £100 pa.[703] On 1st June 1660 the King invited all bishops to ensure that their clergy were paid a minimum stipend between £80 and £100 pa.[704] A 1665 statute implied acceptance that vicars should not be paid less than £100 pa.[705] Yet, fifty years later, nearly 4,000 of almost 10,000 livings in England and Wales were worth less than £50 pa and a considerable number of these, less than £10 pa, since augmentation was restricted to that group (apart from those for which third parties offered contributions) until 1747, when the bar was raised to £20 pa.[706] East Riding vicars and curates were much worse off: in 1706 more than 90% were valued under £50.[707] Overall the financial position of these clergy was significantly worse than those in Leicestershire and Wiltshire.[708]

The response to the King's invitation was muted in East Yorkshire, where most vicars of rectories owned by ecclesiastical dignitaries were paid well below the average in that

[701] LPL, COMM/IV/216; COMM/VIa/9, 151, 466; COMM/VIa/10, 292; COMM/VIa/11, 72, 101; COMM/VII/2, 146.
[702] *CSPDom*, 1655-56, p.200; *VCHERI*, 287.
[703] J.R. Boyle, ed., *Memoirs of Master John Shawe* (Hull, 1882), 46.
[704] Cardwell, *Annals II*, 221-24.
[705] Raithby, *SRV*, 576-77, sections 6 and 8.
[706] Best, *QAB*, 83; Ian Green, 'The first years of Queen Anne's Bounty', in O'Day, *Princes*, 231-54; Hodgson, *Augmentation*, 20-21; Alan Savidge, *The Foundation and Early Years of Queen Anne's Bounty* (SPCK, London, 1955), 37, 46.
[707] LPL, COMM/XIa/1, ff.233, 237, 239-45; ibid, COMM/XIa/2, ff.261-62, 265-66, 269-70, 277-8; ibid, COMM/XIIa/17/399; ibid, MS 960, nos. 37, 94, 146, 242; ibid, MS 962, no. 561; ibid, MS 963, nos. 803, 838, 869, 897, 995, 995b, 1008, 1016; ibid, MS 964, nos. 1039, 1041-43, 1045, 1048-50, 1063, 1223; Sharp, passim.
[708] Pruett, Parish *Clergy*, 95-99; Spaeth, *Danger*, 34-38.

region – itself below £20 pa. Accepted Frewen added £20 pa to Easington and Westow vicarages, and his successor, Sterne, increased Keyingham's £12 vicarage by £8. The deans of York between 1660 and 1677 augmented Pocklington's £3 vicarage by £23 10^{s} pa and Withernwick vicarage by £5 pa, with similar boosts to some others. The chancellor of York increased the stipends of Acklam by £6 pa and Wawne by £20 pa. The most significant rise, from £26 16s 4d to £60, came from the dean and chapter of Durham for a vicar of Brantingham and Ellerker and a curate for Blacktoft. These additions were invariably met by the ecclesiastics' tenants.[709] Twenty years later Sancroft urged his ecclesiastical dignitaries to improve their record, with little success. Voluntary augmentations of East Riding vicarages by ecclesiastical dignitaries at the turn of the century ranged from £2 pa to £10 pa.[710] The higher ranks of clergy were not going to remove the poverty of parish clergy or to solve the problems which it generated.

Lay impropriators were even less inclined to pay more to the clergy who served the parishes for whose chancels they were responsible. A few made small increases. from about 1687 Lord Irwin increased Birdsall's curate's allowance from £10 to £15 pa; the impropriator of Garton-on-the-Wolds augmented the curate's stipend of £13 6^{s} 8^{d} by £6 10^{s}; Lord Castleton made ex gratia payments of £5 to Aughton's vicar, and the Duncombes, annual gratuities of £12 to Skerne's curate. However, some actually reduced their allowances: the Wilsfords, who reduced the stipend of Flamborough's vicar of £48 pa in 1650 to £16 pa both in 1706 and 1716. The indifference of lay rectors and patrons (especially the Crown) to the plight of ministers is also reflected in their appointing curates instead of presenting vicars to parishes. The power of vested interests and the fear

[709] BIA, CC.Ab.2/2, f.78r-v; CC.Ab.5/4, ff.275-7; CC.Ab.5/14, ff.89v-91r; CC.Ab.CC.Ab.7; CC.Chan.10/Ack2; CC.DY10/BM2; CC.DY10/Fan1; CC.DY10/GG26, 43-44, 45; CC.DY.10/Kil1; CC.ER9/Map1, 2; CC.Succ.10/Tun 1&2; HHC, U DDWI/26, 62, 64; LPL, COMM/XIIa/18/53-61; Sharp, ff.85-86, 97, 99; YML, S1/1-2a, ff.63-5; S3(5)b, ff.159-60; W/e, ff.142v-143r.

[710] Cardwell, *Annals II*, 294-95; Sharp, ff.102, 129, 182, 186, 191.

of the consequences of reform meant that there was never any prospect of persuading lay rectors adequately to improve the lot of the clergy who served their cures, or of compelling them by force of law to do so.[711]

Low levels of clerical stipends led to many problems, including difficulties in attracting candidates: Duncombe senior only offered to double the curate's salary in 1702-3 in order to persuade someone to take up the post at Skerne. Some parishes had no incumbent for many years. Vicars and curates were increasingly driven after the Restoration to pluralism and non-residence, and consequently to conflict with their parishioners. In such circumstances they could not lead their parishioners to maintain church fabric. Indeed, it was difficult enough to ensure they had a roof over their own heads: during these decades at least fifty parishes had no vicarage house or the accommodation was seriously dilapidated.[712] Such situations were common: Spaeth's description of Robert Randall, vicar of Great Bedwyn from 1668 to 1679, bears an uncanny resemblance to that of William Dickenson, curate of Kilnwick from 1671 to 1681, even down to the performance of clandestine marriages.[713]

Some communities, such as those at Bridlington, Howden and St Mary Lowgate, Hull were applying their resources to maintaining their minister with voluntary contributions.[714] The authorities disliked the latter practice because they thought it inclined preachers to seek too much to please congregations:[715] it may also have diverted

[711] Best, *QAB*, 16; Sharp, ff.19, 69, 118, 214 (no.13), 234 (no.28).

[712] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, ff.316v, 317v, 347r, 350v, 392r, 399r; V.1667/CB(a), f.21v; V.1693/CB, ff.49r, 67; V.1714-16, f.176r; ER.V/CB.1, f.36v; ER.V/CB.2, ff.6v, 10r, 38r, 69v; ER.V/CB.4, f.135v; ER.V/CB.5, f.107r; ER.V/CB.10, f.26v; ER.V/CBV.14, f.120r; BIA, TER.I-K; Sharp, ff.19, 129, 188; *VCHERII*, 14-15, 20, 71, 91, 124, 148, 161, 187, 206-7, 221, 241, 260, 269, 276, 293, 309, 317, 338; *VCHERIII*, 145, 169, 172; *VCHERIV*, 101, 121, 130, 138; *VCHERV*, 29, 53, 73, 83, 95, 134, 147, 182, 198; *VCHERVII*, 23, 115, 179, 267, 327, 398; *VCHERVIII*, 199, 231, 255; *VCHERIX*, 163; *YERHT*, 147, 172, 182, 292, 311, 371. See Appendix 27.

[713] Spaeth, *Danger*, 32-34, 97-100, 102, 130-31, 208-10, 212.

[714] Sharp, ff.82, 59, 232.

[715] See the preambles to the Act for Uniting Churches in Cities and Towns Corporate, 1665 (Raithby, *SRV*, 576-77) and to the Act which established Queen Anne's Bounty (John Raithby, ed., *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. *VIII* (London, 1821), 303.

money from repairing the buildings themselves. In any event such a remedy would normally only be available in a well-populated town. Finally, the solution, whereby the Crown agreed to give up first fruits and tenths to meet the cost of increasing clergy stipends, may have been simple, but many years and great efforts were spent in developing a feasible scheme to implement it and in persuading the church authorities, the Crown and Parliament to agree both to the principle and to the detail. It was essential to do so, but that struggle must have distracted attention and diverted energy from seeking to resolve the yet more intractable problem of the increasing dilapidation of church fabric.

6. Poverty

In the Middle Ages, when most of its churches were built, the East Riding was the wealthiest of the three Ridings, but by 1524 the West Riding had overtaken it by a substantial margin, as appears from Table 11 - a position it still held in 1672. Although one must make allowances for the different bases of the taxes and the effect of inflation, the relative figures between Ridings in the table remain significant. By then, some 82.5% of East Riding households had only one or two hearths and some 23% were exempt from the tax.[716]

Table 11: the decline in wealth of the East Riding relative to the West Riding 1334-1525[717]

Year	East Riding	North Riding	West Riding
1334 (movable wealth)	£14,747 15^{s}	£9,012 6^{s} 3^{d}	£10,945 18^{s} 11½^{d}
1377 (tax)	£1,000	£553 4^{s} 4^{d}	£762 19^{s} 4^{d}
1524 (tax)	£577 8^{s} 7^{d}	£306 10^{s}	£976 14^{s} 6^{d}
1525 (tax)	£506 8^{s} 11^{d}	£358 15^{s} 4^{d}	£876 1^{s} 4^{d}

[716] Purdy, *YHTR*, 123-24.

[717] Carolyn C. Fenwick, ed., *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381, Part 3 Wiltshire-Yorkshire* (Oxford, 2005) 156-74, 234-43, 255-70; Glasscock, *Lay Subsidy*, 356-57; R.W. Hoyle, ed., John Sheail, *The regional distribution of wealth in England as indicated in the 1524/5 Lay Subsidy Returns* (*List & Index Society Special Series*, vol. 29 (vol. 2), Kew, 1998), 398-435.

Thus, by the Restoration the East Riding had grown less wealthy, and was therefore probably less able than before the Reformation to care for its large stock of churches, many of which were of considerable size. Rural parishes were generally poorer than urban ones, and most of the parishes whose churches were in disrepair between 1660 and 1690 were significantly poorer than the average East Riding parish in the same period, whatever the measure used to assess indigence on the basis of the 1672-3 hearth tax returns. It has been established that 'there is a clear correlation between wealth of a householder and the number of hearths in his or her house'. In 1672-3 the percentage of East Riding households (excluding Hull) with one hearth was 75.3%; the percentage with two hearths ranged from 7.5% to 19.68%; most houses with three or fourth hearths were in towns; most of the 222 houses with between five and nine hearths belonged to leading tradesmen, craftsmen, merchants and professionals (including at least thirty-one clergy); only the very wealthy were responsible for the 47 houses which had over ten hearths. Table 12 demonstrates the poverty of some parishes whose churches were in serious disrepair between 1660 and 1690, whether measured by the numbers and percentages of one-hearthed and two-hearthed households of all households in that parish (see columns 2 and 3), or by the numbers and percentages of houses with three or four hearths and those with five or more hearths against the same total, or by the number and percentage of parishioners discharged from taxation because of poverty of all parishioners (see columns 6 and 7). The percentages in column 3 are of the sum of one-hearthed and two-hearthed households against the total number of households, and those in column 5 are of the sum of houses with three or four hearths and those with five or more hearths against the same total.[718] The body of all these churches was in serious disrepair between 1660 and 1690.[719]

[718] *YERHT*, 27-34, 139, 147-48, 193-94, 200-1, 324, 333-34, 336-37, 404-26.

[719] BIA, CP.I.304; ibid, V.1662-3/CB1, ff.369v, 387r, 391v, 417r; ER.V/CB.1, ff.24v, 52r, 56r-v, 58v; ER.V/CB.2, f.117r; ER.V/CB.4, ff.26r, 93v; ER.V/CB.3, ff.104v, 213v; ER.V/CB.4, ff.81r, 221v; ER.V/CB.6, f.21v; ER.V/CB.7, f.14r; ER.V/CB.12, f.156v; ERALS, DPX/57.

Table 12: poor East Riding parishes and concomitant neglect of the body of their churches

Place	1 hearth	2 hearths	3-4 hearths	5+ hearths	No. taxed	No. discharged
Birdsall	65 (93%)	0 (93%)	3	2 (7%)	31	39 (56%)
Burton Fleming	48 (94%)	2 (98%)	0	1 (2%)	27	24 (47%)
Flamborough	87 (86%)	8 (95%)	2	3 (5%)	42	59 (58%)
Carnaby	43 (90%)	3 (96%)	1	1 (4%)	30	18 (38%)
Kilnwick	67 (82%)	7 (90%)	5	2 (10%)	60	22 (27%)
Kirkburn	59 (86%)	5 (93%)	4	1 (7%)	38	31 (45%)
Wetwang	40 (80%)	6 (92%)	4	0 (8%)	21	29 (58%)

Conversely, Table 13 illustrates the correlation between the relative wealth of some East Riding towns and townships with appropriate maintenance of their church fabric.[720]

Table 13 well-off East Riding parishes and concomitant care of the body of their churches

Place	1 hearth	2 hearths	3-4 hearths	5+ hearths	No. taxed	No. discharged
Beverley St Mary	298 (48%)	102 (64%)	133	88 (36%)	434	187 (30%)
Cottingham	149 (51%)	76 (77%)	51	15 (23%)	265	26 (9%)
Drypool	4 (29%)	5 (64%)	3	2 (36%)	14	0 (0%)
Hedon	51 (44%)	28 (68%)	27	11 (32%)	92	25 (21%)
Hilston	1 (17%)	2 (50%)	1	2 (50%)	5	1 (17%)
Hilston/Owstwick	9 (39%)	10 (83%)	2	2 (17%)	20	3 (15%)
Howden	97 (48%)	42 (69%)	42	20 (31%)	157	47 (23%)
Marfleet	17 (52%)	5 (67%)	10	1 (33%)	31	2 (1%)

These parishes were very rarely cited for fabric neglect, and were willing and able to pay for necessary work. Beverley St Mary spent £70 in 1664-5 and an annual average of £50 throughout the 1670s on standard maintenance. Its income mostly came from church tax and the endowments of three chantries whose return to the churchwardens had been procured in 1634, supplemented by seat rentals and gifts from wealthy parishioners and Beverley Corporation, which donated £15 3^{s} 10^{d} after a great storm in 1676 necessitated repairs costing £38 4^{s}.[721] Cottingham, Drypool and Marfleet derived their wealth from their proximity to Hull. In both 1662 and 1663 Cottingham's wardens set special levies

[720] *YERHT*, 205, 265, 269, 275-76, 279, 283, 285, 287-88, 319-20, 404-26, 429-31.

[721] The only citation between 1660 and 1690 was for failing to provide a copy of its register or terrier: BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, f.355v; ERALS, DDBC/III/22; ibid, PE/1/68, 70, 72-80, 82.

and spent £87 10^{s} 11^{d} and £59 16^{s} 8^{d} respectively, which included some £20 on glazing and another £20 on bells in 1662, and £9 11^{s} on two new silver cups and 16^{s} on pewter flagons in 1663, bought in compliance with the archbishop's order. Cottingham's wardens usually agreed a church tax of some £18 annually in the 1670s, but after a citation for fabric neglect in 1676, they spent an average of some £33 annually for five years from 1679.[722] Drypool received no further citations after the orders in 1662 and 1663 for a stone font to be erected: Marfleet had none between 1660 and 1690.[723] Neither did Howden, which was then a prosperous market town, with easy connections by water to the West Riding and to Hull, and its wealth ensured that the body of its Minster was not neglected during these decades.[724] Hedon's long-vanished early mediaeval prosperity is reflected in size of St Augustine's church, which, at 165 feet long and with a tower 129 feet high, substantially exceeded the town's needs by 1660. Nonetheless, it remained a well-to-do market town, as is illustrated by the good condition in which the church was kept, the speed with which its roof was repaired in 1662, and the gift by Sir Charles Duncombe, Hedon's MP from 1685 to 1687, of three new bells in 1686 and of another in 1687. Bells were then priced at some £5 to £25 each, to which must be added the considerable cost of the bell-frames, mounting the bells, and ancillary work and equipment.[725]

Even a tiny, rural, community could maintain its church (absent a catastrophe), provided the wardens discharged their duties and also those who were liable to pay the tax held sufficient property in the parish and were rich enough to meet increased tax rates. In the 1660s and 1670s, there were only six households in Hilston, and seventeen in the

[722] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.4; ERALS, PE2/147; Fallow, *Plate*, 236.
[723] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.1.
[724] *YERHT*, 43-44. See pages 112-13.
[725] 'Duncombe, Sir Charles', *ODNB*; BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, f.320v; ER.V/CB.1, f.81v; ER.V/CB, f.213r; ER.V/CB.6, f.5v; Boulter, *Bells II*, 83; ERALS, PE2/147; PE44/90, f.12r; PE144/23; Neave, *Contraction*, 380; G.R. Park, *The Church Bells of Holderness* (London, 1898), 50-51.

neighbouring hamlet, Owstwick. Some of the latter were also liable to maintain Hilston church, which was one of the smallest churches in Holderness, being only 47' 6" long, and therefore cheaper to maintain than a larger one. In 1660 the land in the two townships subject to that liability was worth £452, of which only £29 was held in shares worth under £10, and fifteen people owned property there worth £10 or more.[726] Seven of the fifteen were Quakers, whose total holdings there were valued in 1660 at £146 10s, 33% of the total, and the situation had not significantly changed by the 1670s, when Quakers probably owned 40% of the hearths in the two hamlets.[727] In the period 1660 to 1730 church tax was frequently assessed on the basis of anything between 1^{d} and 6^{d} in the £ of the value of property in the parish, and Hilston fixed a $4½^{d}$ rate for 1662-63.[728] This would have yielded some £8 9^{s} 6^{d} pa that year if everyone paid. Even if none of the Quakers paid, Hilston would still have levied sufficient to maintain the church, since assessments of that order were then common, even with much larger churches: St Mary's, Cottingham was more than four times the size of Hilston, yet its average annual receipts in the years 1660 to 1661 and 1664 to 1668 were just over £11. In times of need parishes often increased the rate, as Cottingham did in 1662 and 1663:[729] and five of those liable who had significant property in Hilston and Owstwick were not Quakers and were rich enough to meet an increased tax. These factors together account for the care afforded the fabric

[726] Poulson, *Holderness II*, 82-83.

[727] Besse, *Sufferings*, 99, 105, 107, 132; BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, ff.319r-320r, 322v, 334r-v; ER.V/CB.1, ff.77v-78r, 81v, 88v-89r; ER.V/CB.2, ff.14v-15v, 54v-55r; V.1667/CB(a), f.51r; ER.V/CB.3, ff.5r, 10v, 11v, 58r, 61r, 96r-v, 100r, 133r, 137r, 141v-42r, 180r, 209v; ER.V/Co.C (1671-73); V.1674/CB, ff.286r, 293r; ER.V/CB.4, ff.3v, 7v, 9r, 39r, 60r-v, 132r, 138v-139r, 201v, 206r, 208v; ER.V/CB.5, ff.2v, 5v, 7v, 8v, 41v, 43v, 45v, 76r-v, 102r, 124v, 144v, 154v, 169v, 180r-v, 183v, 213r, 216r, 247r; V.1682/CB, ff.248r, 152v; V.1684-85/CB, pp.6, 11; TNA, RG6/1363, ff.3, 35, 125-26, 128-29, 131-32, 136, 147-48, 150-51, 165, 329-330, 332, 337-38, 354, 356-67, 362.

[728] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; ER.V/CB.5; ERALS, PE2/147; PE4/90.

[729] ERALS, PE2/147; http://images.lambethpalacelibrary.org.uk/luna/servlet/detail/LPLIBLPL~34~34~82964~113438?qvq=q%3ACottingham%3Bsort%3Aidentifier%2Cdate%2Ctitle%2Crights%3Blc%3ALPLIBLPL~34~34&mi=11&trs=17; *VCHERVII*, 87; *YERHT*, 33, 284, 293, 305.

of Hilston's church: the only evidence of disrepair is of the steeple in 1662, and of a bell in 1687.

However, the potential for increasing church taxes available to rural parishes was much more limited than that achievable by towns and cities, because the tax was assessed by reference to the value of a parish's acreage and property, and was levied at a flat rate. Receipts might be raised by laying several assessments in any one year, or multiplying the rate in the pound at which it was levied, or a combination, and the paucity of evidence precludes certainty, but between 1660 and 1690 rural parishes probably did not exceed a total annual church tax of 6d in the £, however that was achieved. Thus the maximum which Hilston could hope to levy in any one year was some £11 6^{s}. Hilston's accounts do not survive, but those from 1666 to 1755 for neighbouring Roos are extant. Between 1660 and 1690 the land liable to tax for Roos church (which included parts of Owstwick and comprised 3,623 acres) was worth some £480, which would generate £12 on a single levy at 6^{d} in the pound: during this period Roos fixed rates between 1^{d} and 4^{d} in the £, which was supplemented by rent (between £1 and £2 annually) from property the church owned elsewhere. Sigglesthorne, a comparable parish in Holderness (albeit larger than Roos at 5,807 acres), levied church taxes between 1649 and 1688 between some £5 and £20 annually, probably the equivalent of rates of 1½^{d} and 6^{d} in the £ respectively.[730] In 1672 Roos parish contained 57 households, and Sigglesthorne, 97, and were therefore typical of East Riding rural parishes.[731] It would have been impossible for most rural parishes to increase their annual church tax at any time between 1660 and 1690 (or, indeed, ever) so as to raise sums such as £81, which Cottingham mustered in 1662, still less for any to levy a further £75 the next year (as did Cottingham).[732]

[730] ERALS, PE44/90, PE144/23; *VCHERVII*, 83, 360.
[731] *YERHT*, 265, 269, 275-77, 283-84: see Tables 9 and 10.
[732] ERALS, PE2/147.

Moreover, the potential for raising any tax at all depended on the election of wardens who were willing to discharge their duties. Between 1660 and 1690 forty Holderness townships elected wardens (often Quakers) who then refused to take the necessary oaths, or to attend visitations, or to levy any tax for their churches, and some where Quakerism was dominant failed to elect any. In 1665 Kilnsea's wardens failed to set a rate; none of the wardens for 1669 and 1670 appeared at the visitations, the latter making no presentment; and in 1676 the courts brought proceedings against Kilnsea's inhabitants for 'neglecting or refusing to elect churchwardens there for this present yeare and for suffering the church to be ruinous & much in decay'. In 12 out of the 20 years between 1670 and 1689 Hilston had no wardens at all, or only ones who would not levy church rates: the courts' attempt in 1684 to force the parish to elect wardens failed.[733]

Some East Riding parishes had the benefit of bequests for the repair of church fabric. Between 1660 and 1730 about 10% owned land whose income was given for that purpose.[734] Beverley Minster and St Mary's Beverley enjoyed substantial revenue from property which was recovered from the Crown in 1579 and 1585 respectively, and (in St Mary's case) then from Beverley corporation in 1634. The Minster's rents were worth some £200 annually in about 1694, which had increased to £284 by 1743 (excluding Sir Michael's £4,000 bequest in 1725).[735] The value of land held by rural parishes was invariably much lower: that owned by Roos parish generated an annual average of £2 10^{s} between 1660 and 1690, which rose to £3 between 1690 and 1730. This was a typical

[733] BIA, V.1674/CB, ff.281r, 283r, 285v-86v, 289v, 292r, 297v; V.1682/CB, ff.145v, 148r, 149r-v, 152v; V.1684-85, pp.4, 6-7; ER.V/CB.1, f.82r; ER.V/CB.2, f.13r, 45r-46r, 52r, 75r; ER.V/CB.3, ff.4v, 7v, 10v, 11r-12r, 58v, 63v-65v, 100v-101v, 125r, 134r-35v, 136v-37r, 168r, 177r-v; ER.V/CB.4, ff.3r, 12v, 37r, 59v, 60v, 64v, 65v, 109r, 131r, 133r, 137v, 142v, 144r, 178r-v, 200r, 203r, 207v, 209v; ER.V/CB.5, ff.8v, 66r, 74v, 77r, 114v, 144v, 169v, 179v, 180r, 181r, 182r-83v, 213r-14v, 215v, 216v, 245v-46r, 247r-49r; ER.V/CB.6, ff.6v, 8r; ER.V/CB.7, ff.1v-3r, 4v; ER.V/Co.C (1672).

[734] *Herring's Visitation I*, 35, 101, 115, 149, 151, 161, 220; *II*, 12, 67, 75, 77, 87, 89, 131, 163, 220; *III*, 9, 10, 33, 117, 131, 134, 173, 175, 177, 222, 229.

[735] Sharp, f.46; *VCHERVI*, 235, 240.

return to those countryside churches which had received any such legacy.[736] Other parishes received money bequests: for example, in 1676 a testator left £10 towards the repair of Sigglesthorne church.[737] Such gifts played a significant part in enabling rural parishes to maintain their churches, so long as the total annual cost (including maintenance) remained at the level of £5 to £10: neither Roos nor Sigglesthorne was the subject of a presentment for neglect of the nave's fabric between 1660 and 1730. But few testators were so generous: gifts to most East Riding churches were small. This fact was not related to the Reformation, apparently: with the single exception of the £20 which John Aske bequeathed in 1543 for the completion of Aughton's steeple, the bequests to fourteen East Riding churches between 1540 and 1546 ranged from a mere 3^s 4^d to 20^s.[738]

Given such levels of church income, many rural churches probably struggled to comply with the court orders made in 1662 and 1663. Rural townships generally had many fewer parishioners than had most towns (as appears from Tables 14 and 15), and for that additional reason might well find it more difficult to meet the cost of repairs.

Table 14: numbers of households (maximum of 119) in East Riding townships in 1672-3

Range of numbers of households per place	1-29	30-59	60-89	90-119
Numbers of places in that range	123	109	47	11
Average nos households in places in each range	18	42	67	105

Table 15: numbers of households in large East Riding towns in 1672-3

Place	Beverley	Bridlington	Cottingham	Howden	Hull	Scarborough
Nos. households	621	352	291	372	1373	352
% of total households	4%	2.3%	1.9%	2.4%	9%	2.3%

[736] ERALS, PE44/90.

[737] ERALS, PE144/23.

[738] James Raine and J.W. Clay, eds., *Testamenta Eboracensia,* vol. 6 (Surtees Society, vol. 106, 1902), 102, 104, 106, 112, 143, 173, 174, 200, 205, 212, 215, 241.

In 1672-3 the archdeaconry of the East Riding contained some 15,330 households, of which 72% were in townships of less than 120 households and 44% were in townships of less than 60 households. The numbers in each of the small market towns ranged from 85 to 204, while those in the larger towns was much greater.[739]

This evidence helps to demonstrate the impact of poverty on church maintenance. However, the number of households in any one place is not precisely correlated with the state of church fabric, for two reasons. First, church tax was assessed on land value within the parish, and not on households or hearths. Second, some communities had to meet much greater demands on their financial resources to pay for church repairs than others. Some small townships drew on others within the same parish. Some depended solely on their own inhabitants to maintain the body of their church. Some retained the status of being a chapelry, and thus were liable not only to maintain their chapel but also to contribute to the cost of work on the mother church.

Moreover, the population of England declined from some 5.3m in 1656 to some 4.7m in 1686, and fluctuated over the following forty years before beginning to rise steadily from the 1720s. The decline was accompanied by substantial migration over the same period from the countryside to towns, and the East Riding typified these twin developments. Hence, the population of East Riding rural townships shrank significantly in comparison with that of its towns: for example, Bainton's population halved in size between 1629 and 1776, while Hull's doubled between 1660 and 1750.[740] In addition, an agricultural depression between 1664 and 1691 reduced land values and levels of farm rents (for example, those due to Lord Irwin from Birdsall rectory in 1668).[741] This situation may be connected with defaults on their church tax by those with large holdings in a parish, such

[739] *YERHT*, 22, 37, 43-44, 165, 406-28.
[740] *Compton Census*, 573-74; Neave, *Contraction*, 13-16, 293-98.
[741] C.G.A. Clay, *Economic expansion and social change: England 1500-1700, I* (Cambridge 1984), 130; Thirsk, *Agrarian History*, 75-78, 326-28.

as James Dawson's failure to contribute £11 in 1671 to repairing Blacktoft, or Roger Wilberfoss to pay his £5 assessment in 1682 for Huggate.[742] In such circumstances communities inevitably found it harder to pay for church maintenance.

Furthermore, the length of a church may fairly be treated as a proxy for the cost of its maintenance, since the larger the building, the higher the cost, as a general rule. However, the size of East Riding churches bore little relation to the numbers of people liable to pay tax to repair them. Both Hull and Beverley (with 1373 and 621 households respectively in 1672) supported two churches. Holy Trinity Hull is 285 feet long; St Mary Lowgate, much shorter; Beverley Minster, 330 feet long; and Beverley St Mary's, 197 feet long. Bainton's church is 140 feet long, yet in 1672 the parish had only 71 households, of which 25 were exempt, and only four houses had three or more hearths. Kirby Grindalythe's church is just under half the length of Beverley St Mary's, but in 1672 only 52 households were liable to repair the former, and only three of their houses had three or more hearths.[743]

In short, parishioners generally maintained their churches by constant attention every year, making do with the materials at hand where they could, even if the result was not homogenous. But they lacked the resources to meet catastrophes, such as structural instability, war damage and long-standing neglect.

7. Dissent

Dissent played an important part in the decades 1660 to 1690 in the state of church fabric. 'The Society of Friends was the first to appear [in Bridlington], and for some time it was

[742] BIA, CP.H.2887; ibid, V.1682/CB.

[743] James Bayly, *Four Churches in the Deanery of Buckrose* (London, 1894), Plate XVII; Pevsner, *ER,* 285, 294, 505, 511; *YERHT*, 155, 194, 203.

the most successful.'[744] Although some non-conformists left posts in villages such as Barmby and Boynton, none established dissenting congregations in such places until the later eighteenth century. Such developments were confined in the seventeenth century to towns. In the 1660s Stephen Arlush briefly led a Presbyterian group in Howden. In 1662 William Luck was ejected from Bridlington parish church, and thereafter apparently preached to a small Presbyterian congregation in Bridlington; his successor from 1672 seemingly preached in a site on which a meeting-house was built in 1698. A Presbyterian or Congregational Church was said to have been formed in Beverley by 1689, although no chapel was erected until 1704, and there was a dissenters' group in Scarborough before a meeting-house was built there in 1703. There seems already to have been a dissenting chapel in Cottingham in 1696.[745]

Thus, except for Quakerism, Protestant dissent had not spread widely enough into East Yorkshire to have had any noticeable impact on church fabric during the decades 1660 to 1690. During this period East Yorkshire Quakers came from a range of backgrounds: in Bridlington, they included William Clifton, a very poor man, and Richard Hardcastle, a master mariner and one of its wealthiest merchants.[746] However, some Quakers were sufficiently committed and well-off during that period (as appears from Quaker 'Sufferings' in the original records and as summarised by Besse, the visitation court books and hearth tax returns of 1672) that their refusal to contribute to the cost of repairing their churches must have had a significant effect.

Between 1660 and 1690 Quakerism could have a significant adverse effect on church fabric even in poor parishes whose Quakers were not rich. One example is Kilnsea, which then comprised 1,000 acres: the maximum an assessment at 6^{d} in the £ could raise would

[744] Neave, *Bridlington*, 129.
[745] Dale, *Nonconformity*, 12-14; *VCHERII*, 75; *VCHERIV*, 81; *VCHERVI*, 242-43; *VCHNRII*, 541.
[746] Neave, *Bridlington*, 129.

have been some £3 6^s 8^d. In 1663 seven Quakers of Kilnsea refused to pay their tax, which totalled £1 6^s, and members of their families evaded payment for decades, while one of the wardens (a Quaker) had still not accounted for his disbursements and receipts two years later. In 1664 both Kilnsea's wardens were Quakers: both defaulted on their church tax. Of the nine parishioners cited for refusing to elect churchwardens in 1676, eight were Quakers. By an apparent compromise non-Quakers were sworn as wardens in late 1676, but there were still defaults on payment in 1677. Plainly Quakers played a considerable part in its dereliction by 1699.[747]

The failure of Quakers to pay their assessment for repairing churches was also significant in the context of general poverty and the refusal by wealthier parishioners to pay their share. For example, in 1671 Blacktoft's wardens sued James Dawson, of Whitkirk, Leeds, then the largest freeholder in the parish, for payment of his assessment of £11 16^s 8^d and a reasonable contribution to the estimated £140 cost of repairing the chapel: the parish had only raised £85 11^s 1^d by the assessment. Parishioners of Scalby, Blacktoft's neighbouring township, were also liable to contribute. Of the 79 people liable, 60 were assessed at less than £1; one at £11 13^s 4^d; the next closest was £7 10^s 10^d; and so 24% of the parishioners were to meet 83% of the tax. Although only two were discharged from paying the hearth tax, in 1630 Blacktoft township had taken a lease of 64 acres to be let to its indigent parishioners: poverty was a problem. Not only did Dawson default, but so did William Padley (assessed at £2 3^s 9^d) and William and widow Stather, all members of staunchly Quaker families of nearby North Cave. In 1678 Padley and Stather were prosecuted, excommunicated and imprisoned for non-payment of tithes: Stather was still in prison in 1682. Clearly it was not possible in such circumstances to proceed with the

[747] Besse, *Sufferings*, 101, 107-8, 110, 164; BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; V.1667/CB(a); V.1682/CB; ER.V/CB.1-6; ER.V/CB.9; ERALS, DDQR/17, ff.2, 18, 35, 37, 40, 42, 86, 90, 105, 116, 131, 151, 156, 164, 166, 177-78, 184, 286; DDQR/21, f.14; TNA, RG6/1119, f.10; RG6/1363, ff.2, 10, 22, 31-32, 334, 336, 338, 340, 343, 358-59; RG6/1427, f.25. See pages 155, 224 and footnotes 474, 733.

repairs as the wardens had intended, and the church became derelict, the tower partially collapsing into the nave during a winter storm in 1839.[748]

8. Conclusion

On the whole, these three decades saw a conscious attempt to restore East Riding church fabric, albeit in the face of considerable challenges. These include the transfer of ownership of rectories from collegiate institutions on their dissolution, first to the Crown, and second to lay impropriators which led to the dilapidation not only of chancels, but also of the church as a whole, because historically the clergy were paid out of tithes and glebe land. After 1660, patrons tended to appoint curates instead of presenting vicars, and this practice led to an impoverished underclass of clergy, at the mercy of impropriators who paid as little as they dared. Such curates could not address the state of the fabric. Other factors include the increased cost of the results of neglect accumulated since the 1630s; the aftermath of the Civil Wars and the Protectorate; an explosion in dissent and the priority accorded both by Parliament and the church authorities to suppressing it; the failure of the ecclesiastical courts to enforce compliance with their orders; a growing unwillingness on the part of churchwardens to report misconduct in their communities; and the rise of non-conformists who would not contribute to the cost of repair. When the Church was restored with the Crown, many of its buildings were decayed, and required a sustained programme of repair.

[748] Besse, *Sufferings*, 111, 133, 143, 146, 174; BIA, CP.H.2887, CP.I.584; ibid, V.1662-3/CB1, 372v; V.1684-85/CB; ER.V/CB.1, f.26r-v; ER.V/CB.2, ff.90v-91r; ER.V/CB.3, ff.82v, 153v, 215r; ER.V/CB/5, ff.14v, 50r, 80r, 105v, 130r, 159r, 191r, 225v; ERALS, DDQR17, 286; DDQR/21, 12; TNA, RG6/1288, ff.2, 4, 55, 58, 114, 116; *YERHT*, 166-67, 171, 216; *VCHERX1*, 103.

Chapter V – 1690-1730 – Church fabric in an age of Protestant religious pluralism

Several factors determined the period to be covered by this Chapter. First, the accession of William and Mary and the Toleration Act profoundly altered the context within which Anglican churches and chapels were to receive care. Second, 1691 brought a new archbishop to York and 1702 a new archdeacon of the East Riding, under whose lengthy tenures sustained efforts were made to restore decency, regularity and order in the diocese. After 1689 East Riding presentments gradually began to address neglect of ecclesiastical fabric, in contrast to those between 1670 and 1689: and the number of cases which occur between 1710 and 1720 increases markedly in comparison with those in the decades 1690 to 1710. Third, visitations had apparently not hitherto entailed an archdeacon (still less a bishop) himself meeting the incumbent and churchwardens at the church itself and personally surveying the buildings. This approach was seemingly pioneered by bishop Lloyd of Peterborough in 1681, and bishop Compton of London in 1685, as part of the attempt to restore order to the Church. In 1706 William Wake conducted his primary visitation as bishop of Lincoln by sending written questions to his clergy with the usual articles of inquiry, and by personally visiting his parishes. Some bishops adopted the former practice, and some used the returns and diocesan records to compile an overall picture of their dioceses. While archdeacon of Surrey, the influential reformer Edmund Gibson conducted visitations in person, and in 1712 produced a set of Articles which he sent annually to his clergy. Gibson continued both practices as bishop of Lincoln from 1715 to 1723 and of London thereafter. In 1717 he published his Articles with guidance on visitations, in which he explained that compliance was more easily

achieved by co-operation with and personal visits to the clergy before the formal visitation: other archdeacons had already adopted the Articles, and the use of this process soon became standard. Personal inspection by archdeacons and bishops was potentially an effective way of discovering and addressing dilapidation, but apparently few adopted the approach between 1690 and 1730. Sharp was so close a friend of Wake's that he conducted his wedding in 1688, and Gibson was Wake's protégé – they were part of a powerful group seeking to reform the Church – so Sharp must have known of the practice of personal visitations. Probably either he or his successor (whom Sharp chose) introduced it to York, since Charles Blake, archdeacon of York, like Dering, conducted personal visitations of his archdeaconry between 1721 and 1730.[749]

The reigns of William and Mary brought changes in English attitudes to religious pluralism and the fabric of places of worship within the Church of England. William's priority was to prevent any increase in French power. He deplored factionalism in politics, and made appointments regardless of the appointees' religious convictions; a Calvinist himself, he had successfully practised toleration towards his Catholic subjects in the Netherlands. He adopted the same policies in England, while also ensuring that he did not become identified with the cause of Protestant dissent there.[750] Between 1689 and 1691, eighteen episcopal vacancies occurred. William filled them with men who would be sympathetic to his approach, including Gilbert Burnet. It was Burnet who first conceived the scheme which ultimately became Queen Anne's Bounty.[751]

[749] *Dering's Visitation*, 263-68; Edmund, Gibson, *Visitation Articles for Surrey archdeaconry, 1717* (London, 1717), iii-v; 'Dawes, Sir William, third baronet', *ODNB*; Marchant, *Law*, 116-17, 122-23; Sheils, 'Visitation'; Norman Sykes, *From Sheldon to Secker* (Cambridge, 1959), 16; 'Gibson, Edmund', *ODNB*; 'Wake, William', *ODNB*.

[750] Coward, *Stuart Age*, 405; Rose, *England in the 1690s*, 26-27.

[751] Sharp, *Life I*, 338-39.

William also appointed John Sharp as archbishop of York in 1691, on the recommendation of Burnet and Heneage Finch's son.[752] Sharp's background and personality were of great importance in his twenty-two-year tenure of York. Of humble origins, from 1667 to 1676 Sharp was chaplain and tutor in the family of Heneage Finch, who was elected MP for Canterbury in 1660 and MP for Oxford University from 1661 until 1674; appointed Attorney General in 1670 and Lord Chancellor in 1675; and created the first Earl of Nottingham in 1681. Finch's eldest son Daniel, secretary of state to William and Mary and later to Anne, was the lay leader of those whose hopes that the Church might become more comprehensive were dashed when the 1688 Comprehension Bill failed to become law. Sharp taught two other sons, Henry and Edward: Henry was collated prebendary of Wetwang in 1695 and appointed dean of York in 1702, where he stayed until 1728; his brother Edward was prebendary from 1704 to 1738.[753] Heneage Dering's father was Finch's secretary at the same time that Sharp was his chaplain, and Heneage Dering was named after his god-father. In 1691 Dering went to work as secretary to the newly consecrated Sharp. Dering was ordained in 1701 and appointed archdeacon of the East Riding in 1702: in 1712 he married Sharp's eldest daughter.[754] Sharp meanwhile had become Queen Anne's confidant, adviser and confessor, in preference to the archbishop of Canterbury. For over twenty-two years these closely linked men, Sharp and Dering, worked together to improve the situation of the church, its clergy and its buildings in the East Riding, and Dering continued this endeavour by thorough archidiaconal visitations.

[752] Coward, *Stuart Age*, 405; Rose, *England in the 1690s*, 182.
[753] *Fasti York*, 6,7, 66; FINCH, Heneage, *HistParl*; Sharp, *Life I*, 15, 17, 118.
[754] 'Dering, Heneage', *ODNB*; Heneage Dering, 'Autobiographical Memoranda', in *Yorkshire Diaries and Autobiographies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Charles Jacksons (Surtees Society, vol. 65, 1886), 333-350, at 338-45; Hart, *Sharp*, 294.

Sharp's notions of his duties as archbishop were wide-ranging, and he thought that he could only discharge them properly once he had a full grasp of 'the rights of his See; the state and condition of his cathedral and collegiate churches; the value, endowments, patronage etc of the several benefices under his inspection; and, *above all*, the characters, qualifications and circumstances of the several incumbents within his diocese.' After four years in office, with the aid of James Torre's scholarly and monumental research into the ecclesiastical antiquities of York and other authorities, Sharp had produced a three-volume history of York diocese, its archbishops and York Minster; an analysis of the archiepiscopal assets and liabilities; and an account of all its parish churches and chapels. The latter included up-to-date information on the value of the benefices; the salaries of and dues from vicars and curates and the sources of that income; the number of recusants in the parish; and on patrons, impropriators and incumbents; occasionally something on vicarage housing; but virtually nothing on the state of the churches and chapels. Sharp saw himself as the spiritual guide and tutor of all those within his diocese, to the end of 'making people good', especially his clergy.[755] The care which Sharp exerted over his clergy must have encouraged them, but his gifts to them were usually of the order of £5, which cannot have made a great difference to their financial stability. Sharp knew how inadequate were most curates' salaries, and when rector of St-Giles-in-the-Field he had paid his own curates £120 pa each.[756] Nonetheless, when he came to renew the archiepiscopal lease of Skipsea rectory in 1696, he knew that its vicarage house was in ruins and that the gross value of the vicarage was £13 6^{s} 8^{d}, and yet he only augmented the stipend by £5 pa, which he compelled his tenant to meet.[757]

[755] Sharp, *Life I*, 117-20, 132-33, 135-37, 139-47, 153-65, 201, 203-4; *VCHERII*, 293.
[756] Hart, *Sharp*, 80.
[757] Sharp, f.182.

Likewise, Sharp rarely intervened in cases of neglect of ecclesiastical fabric in the East Riding, and those usually involved acute dilapidation. On learning that Kilnsea church was ruinous and long without a minister, Sharp decided to sequester the profits of the vicarage and to employ them first on fabric repairs and then on providing a curate, while sanctioning the demolition of the west end and tower of the church. After remarking that Sledmere's chancel was said to be 'either fallen down or very near it' he merely added: 'Take some care about this matter'. He also believed that he had settled the disputes about liability for repairing Howden's chancel by an award which he had made on a reference to him by the Court of Exchequer. In 1700 Sharp enforced his tenant's covenant to repair Easington's chancel. His most important intervention by far was with Beverley Minster. He had already computed the income available for its repairs before he had learned the full extent of its outgoings and realised that 'they have nothing in stock'.[758] The Minster had long been neglected, but its most serious problem was the movement of the gable wall of the north transept, which threatened the whole structure. Sharp recognised that meeting such a challenge was beyond the means of the parish, and procured a Royal Brief in 1704, which authorised Beverley Corporation to make a national appeal, supporting it with his name and a personal donation of £100.[759] Such briefs were rare: the only other one in the East Riding between 1547 and 1730 was that granted by Charles II for the purpose of repairing St Mary's, Scarborough in 1660.[760]

Sharp's visitation of 1693-94 made him well aware of the poor condition of many East Riding churches.[761] Complaints ranged from disrepair in chancels, in naves, and in clergy

[758] BIA, CC.Ab.3/5 f.52v; CC.Ab.5/9 ff.283-8; CC.Ab.10. Eas.1; Hart, *Sharp*, 25-6; Sharp, ff.42-48, 82, 131, 145.

[759] Barnwell & Pacey, *Minster*, 14; Lamburn, 'Minster', 61; John Phillips, *Of a Fair Uniforme Making* (Pickering, 2016), 182-87; Sheils, 'Minster', 68-69.

[760] ERALS, PE165.

[761] BIA, CP.H.1686; CP.H.2887; CP.H.2971; CP.H.2999; CP.H.3133-4; CP.H.3222; CP.H.3274; CP.H.3405; CP.H.3770-1; CP.H.3818C; CP.H.4121; CP.H.4154; CP.H.4345; CP.H.4348; CP.H.4402; CP.H.4888; CP.H.4888A-D; CP.H.5044; CP.H.5191H; CP.H.51215; CP.H.5740; CP.I.26; CP.I.47; CP.I.134; CP.I.292; CP.I.558; CP.I.630; CP.I.881-2; CP.I.918; CP.I.1242; DC.CP.1666/16; DC.CP.1694/5; DC.CP.1703/2;

houses, to failures to present defaults, to provide church furnishings or to levy or to pay church rates.[762] Sharp evidently realised that the problems were more widespread and more serious than his visitation had disclosed, for he sought to address the issue by sending a standard letter with a printed date of 1st May 1694 to the impropriators, rectors and churchwardens of North Newbald, and presumably to those of all other churches in his diocese, stating that he had been given to understand in his late metropolitan visitation that

> there are several parish churches, chancels & churchyards, fences, parsonage houses, vicarage houses, barns & outhouses ... much dilapidated, ruinous and in decay, and thereupon did issue to several clergymen among the rest to *Mr Banks vicar of Holy Trinity in Hull & Mr Wilson vicar of St Mary's in Beverley,*[763] or any one two or more of them, thereby giving them full Power and Authority to see, view and inspect, all such parish churches, chancels, churchyards, fences, parsonage houses, vicarage houses, with the barns & outhouses thereto belonging, requiring our said Commissioners after such view and inspection, to certify to us or to our Vicar-General, at or before a certain day, the dilapidations, ruins, decays and defects of all such parish churches, chancels, churchyards, fences, parsonage houses, vicarage houses, with the barns & outhouses thereto belonging, as they should find ruinous and out of repair; and whereas [blank] our said Commissioners have certified unto us that *the Quire is very ruinous and out of repair in many places and the Communion Table wants rails, the Church and Quire windows much broken, the roof and ceals of the church much out of repair, several windows stopt up with bords, one side of the parsonage house ready to fall* wherefore, according to our pastoral duty, and the authority reposed in us by law, we do think fit to admonish, warn, will and require you the said *impropriators or rectors and present CWs of N Newbald* aforesaid, that with all convenient speed you do repair and amend *the said dilapidations, ruins, defects and decays aforesaid* and that you do certify the same, or how far at least you have proceeded towards the repairs thereof, at or before the First day of August next ensuing; upon pain of being proceeded against (in case of neglect or contempt) by sequestration, of other such censures as by law are appointed or allowed for the same.

The next sections of this Chapter consider the period in three tranches: 1690 to 1710, 1710-1720, and 1720-1730. The reason for this division is to assess the effectiveness of

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TRANS.CP.1691/1; Butler, Glynne, 72, 286-87, 296, 303-4, 329, 345, 359, 368, 398-99; *Dering's Visitation*, passim; Lawton, 380; *VCHERII*, 8, 28, 90, 117, 124, 130, 147, 149, 162, 173, 175, 188, 198, 207, 215, 222, 227, 243, 329-30, 339; *VCHERIII*, 169; *VCHERIV*, 9, 18, 30, 34, 56, 91, 113; *VCHERV*, 39, 147, 153-55; *VCHERVII*, 55, 79-80, 102-5, 117, 219-22, 240, 252-53, 259, 268, 272, 290-92, 328, 347-48, 358, 371, 399, 413; *VCHERVIII*, 103-4. See Appendix 28.

[762] BIA, V.1693-94/CB, ff.39r, 39ar, 40v-41r, 42ar, 42v, 44r-v, 48r, 49r-v, 55v, 58r, 67r, 68r-v; sheet dated 1 May 1694.

[763] Italics indicate manuscript text, the remainder being printed.

the approach of Sharp and Dering, first as they settled their policy and sought to implement it; then the decade in which both Sharp and Queen Anne died; and finally the decade in which Dering conducted his visitations and an assessment was made of East Riding clergy.

1. Chancels

1.1 1690-1710

Sharp's uncompromising and ambitious approach was shared by his son-in-law, as emerges from the reports between 1690 and 1730. However, they faced many obstacles. The ecclesiastical courts' loss of their coercive powers and the focus between 1660 and 1690 on identifying non-conformity had led to a reduction in concern for the state of church fabric. Many defects were not reported to the authorities: even if they were, frequently no order was made. Those responsible for the upkeep of the chancels did not appear when summoned to court and seemingly no effective step was taken to compel compliance or to penalise their contempt. By 1690 many rectories had been held by the same family for decades, and their members had often disregarded summonses and court orders with impunity. The records include presentments between 1690 and 1710 in respect of the fabric of only twenty-three East Riding churches, fourteen of whose chancels were in disrepair.[764] As appears from Table 16, those responsible for the care of six had often been cited for their neglect previously, since 1660, and the tithes of all six had remained in the same families for decades.[765] Usually neither Sharp nor Dering could achieve compliance with their orders that the chancel should be repaired. Howden's chancel roof and much of its chancel walls collapsed in 1696, and Aughton's, by 1754;

[764] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, f.372r; ER.V/CB.2, f.70r; ER.V/CB.8, f.15r; ER.V/CB.10, f.25v; ER.V/CB.11, ff.55v, 61; *Dering's Visitation*, 129-31, 133, 162-63, 181-82, 241, 243, 258. See footnotes 132, 214, 561, 584, 612, 762.

[765] *VCHERVII*, 17-18, 112.

the impropriators of Swine were cited as late as 1728; subsequent presentments belie the certificate in 1725 that Kirkburn's chancel had been repaired.

Table 16: Number of citations of rector/impropriator 1660-1689, 1690-1730 & Dering

Church	Number of citations of rector/impropriator		
	1660-1689	1690-1730	Dering
Aldbrough	Four	One	None (1720)
Aughton	Fifteen	Four	One (1723)
Howden	Four	One	n/a
Kirkburn	Ten	Eleven	One (1724)
Rillington	Five	Three	None (1723)
Swine	Eight	Four	One (1720)

Sharp and Dering apparently procured the repair of four – perhaps five – of the chancels the subject of citations for decay between 1690 and 1710, although the work may not have been done until the following decade. The impropriators of Aldbrough, Foston-on-the-Wolds, Hutton Cranswick, Nafferton and Sculcoates were last cited between 1690 and 1695 before Dering's visitations in the 1720s, and their chancels were apparently repaired sometime between the presentments and those visitations. All three rectories of Nafferton, Fridaythorpe and North Newbald[766] had been let under leases which required the tenant to repair the chancel. Nafferton's chancel was probably repaired between 1719 and Dering's visitation in 1721. The Jegons, who had been the archbishop's tenants from 1675, had struggled with financial difficulties and gave up Nafferton's lease in 1719 to Sir William St Quintin: he claimed to have spent over £100 on 'building a new house and repairing the chancel'.[767] Fridaythorpe and North Newbald survive essentially in their mediaeval forms, which may imply that some work at least was done during the decades following their citation in 1693-94. The Sandys family probably did not repair Fridaythorpe's chancel, described in 1693-94 as 'very ruinous and in decay', since the

[766] See footnotes 169, 270-71, 276.
[767] BIA, CC.Ab.9, Bundle N.N., No.41.

tenant, Henry Sandys, died in that year and in 1703 Richard, Henry's brother, was obliged to part with the lease. Meanwhile in 1695 Sharp had presented, first, Henry Finch to Wetwang prebend, and, in 1704, his brother, Edward; by the late 1720s Edward's nephew, Daniel, held the lease.[768] Any repair to Fridaythorpe's chancel was probably effected after 1703.

However, neglect of at least another eleven chancels went unreported between 1690-1710.[769] Impropriators of Garton-on-the-Wolds were cited in 1687 and 1688 for the disrepair of the entire chancel, including its windows and roof, but the adverse reports continued, and the chancel was said to have collapsed in 1714: in 1723 the chancel was still in serious decay, and Dering ordered the roof to be re-laid, a new floor put down, the north door to be walled up and a new door to be inserted in the south side.[770] The dilapidation of Carnaby's chancel was not reported until its rebuilding was almost complete in 1719, and that of its chapels Auburn and Fraisthorpe was not noted until 1721, at Dering's visitation.[771] The derelict state of Cowlam's chancel was never reported, and in about 1694 Sharp was led to believe that the church was kept in repair, although in 1712 the chancel was said to be so ruined and so large that permission was granted to reduce it in length.[772] The last citation for neglect of Sledmere's chancel was in 1662-63; thirty years later Sharp was told that it had either fallen down or was very near to doing so.[773] The final reference to Scarborough's ruined chancel in the court books was in 1685, although it was never repaired.[774] Birdsall's impropriators were likewise presented for chancel neglect in 1670, 1672, 1674 and 1675, but they presumably did little or nothing,

[768] *VCHERVIII*, 245.
[769] See Appendix 29.
[770] BIA, ER.V/CB.5-6; ER.V/CB.12; *VCHERII*, 221; *Dering's Visitation*, 129-31.
[771] *VCHERII*, 23-25, 28, 127, 130, 204. See pages 189-190 and footnotes 587-88.
[772] BIA, Inst.AB.10A; Sharp, f.124.
[773] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; Sharp, f.131.
[774] BIA, V.1684-85/CB.

since a parishioner gave evidence in 1701 that the entire church had been in decay for some sixty years.[775] Burythorpe's rectors were cited for chancel neglect in 1674, 1676 and 1677, but not thereafter, although new owners sued their predecessors in 1700 for disrepair both of the rectory house and of the chancel, and the east window was still decayed and unglazed in 1720.[776] There was still no report of the dilapidation of South Dalton's chancel, only rebuilt in 1715.[777] Beeford's chancel did not figure in any presentment after 1674, yet its chancel was sufficiently decayed to require partial rebuilding in 1719.[778]

Again, the impropriated rectories were held for generations by families who had become accustomed to escaping their obligation to repair the chancel. Sold in 1616 to John Turner, Garton-on-the-Wolds rectory remained in his family until 1715, when it was sold to Brian Towse.[779] The Stricklands acquired the tithes of Carnaby and its chapels between 1609 and 1635 and still held them a century later.[780] William Hayes and Samuel Roper bought Sledmere rectory in 1674; their families retained their shares until 1734, when Hayes' daughter acquired the Roper share.[781]

In summary, between 1690 and 1710 at least twenty-five East Riding chancels were in decay, most of which were not repaired during those decades; some were only repaired in the following decade; and some were never repaired.

1.2 1710-1720

Nevertheless, between 1710 and 1720 Sharp and Dering apparently achieved some success in procuring the restoration of chancels whose neglect was presented in those

[775] BIA, CP.I.134.
[776] BIA, CP.I.47, CP.I.630; ibid, V.1674/CB; ER.V/CB.4; *Dering's Visitation*, 228.
[777] BIA, CP.I.134; *VCHERIV*, 91. See page 189.
[778] BIA, V.1674/CB, f.298v; Poulson, *Holderness I*, 254-55.
[779] *VCHERII*, 219.
[780] BIA, ER.V/CB.14; *Dering's Visitation*, 170-71; *VCHERII*, 127.
[781] *VCHERVIII*, 182.

years, and also of those in decay between 1690 and 1710. The following decade produced presentments in respect of nine chancels, including the three previously cited between 1690 and 1710.[782] The impropriators of Aughton, Kirkburn and Swine had already been cited repeatedly for chancel neglect over the previous fifty years at least, to little or no effect. In 1714 Dering excommunicated Aughton's impropriators. They (and their families) had long disregarded their repairing obligation with impunity, but they included public figures such as the heir of the earl of Danby and Lord Castleton, whom the attendant disadvantages might be expected to galvanise into action. This step at least drove some of Aughton's impropriators to be represented at the next visitation, but achieved no more. They were not cited again, although Dering made a further order against them in 1723.[783] Kirkburn's impropriators met the repeated presentments throughout 1710 to 1730 and Dering's decree in 1724 with disputes about liability and mendacious claims that the work was complete. The curate wrote on 16th January 1725 stating that 'We have not one piece of glass about the chancel, but what is worse than this last week half of the north side wall which was cased with free stone fell down, occasioned by the decay of a leaden pipe which should have conveyed the water from the wall plate so that the water not being carried off the water sunk into the wall, loosened the casing and brought it to ruin'. A certificate dated 20th January 1725 (four days later) falsely asserted that all the stipulated work except the taking down of the King's Arms had been completed.[784] Swine's roof was still leaking in 1720.[785]

Dering apparently achieved greater compliance with his directions which followed presentments made for the first time (or for many decades) between 1710 and 1720. In

[782] BIA, ER.V/CB.11, f.143r; ER.V/CB.12, ff.15r, 39r-40r, 45v, 59v-60r, 74v, 76v, 80r, 124r, 141v, 156v, 187r; V.1712-13/CB, f.106r; V.1717-19/CB, ff.140v, 245r.
[783] *Dering's Visitation*, 199. See footnote 416.
[784] Ibid, 243. See footnote 561.
[785] *Dering's Visitation*, 129-31.

1711 John Pickles, rector of Patrington since 1685, promptly repaired the chancel, parsonage house and outhouses. Despite the fact that four people owned Bubwith's tithes, its chancel was apparently repaired in 1714 in speedy response to the presentment for its neglect. In 1717 trouble was taken to cite anyone who might possibly be liable for Owthorne's chancel; the repair was consequently soon completed, as happened at Sherburn in the same year. The presentment in 1711 of North Frodingham's rector, Christopher Blakiston, achieved nothing and the citation in 1714 of the farmers of the tithes brought only a small contribution to the chancel's repair; but the work was apparently completed by 1720.[786]

Perhaps the decay in Aughton's chancel was more advanced than that of the other chancels listed in the previous paragraph; it would probably have been easier to procure the completion of work which was less extensive than other repairs; perhaps the restoration of those chancels was more readily achieved because the task was more limited. That explanation cannot apply to the chancels of Beeford, South Dalton, Carnaby and Fraisthorpe. Dering may have played a part in the partial rebuilding in 1719 of Beeford's chancel (albeit in brick) by his colleague John Richardson, its rector from 1704, who from 1711 to 1750 was also archdeacon of Cleveland, and precentor of York Minster and prebendary of Driffield prebend. Dering may also have influenced another colleague, Samuel Brearey, to rebuild the chancel of South Dalton in 1715, as soon as he became its rector. Wealthy and well-connected like Dering, Brearey retained the valuable rectory of Middleton-on-the-Wolds and also became succentor of York Minster in 1718 and prebendary of Strensall in 1722. Dering seemingly prevailed upon the parsimonious Sir William Strickland to rebuild Carnaby's chancel in 1719 (albeit in brick) and

[786] BIA, ER.V/CB.11, f.143r; ER.V/CB.12, ff.40r, 124r, 140v; *Dering's Visitation*, 110, 143, 149, 198, 217-18.

Fraisthorpe's in 1720, although Strickland did not comply with Dering's orders to repair Auburn's chancel.[787]

Between 1710 and 1720 Dering apparently also procured the restoration of further chancels which had been in disrepair between 1690 and 1710. Those chancels at Aldbrough, Foston-on-the-Wolds, Hutton Cranswick, Nafferton and Sculcoates which had not been repaired between their presentments in the 1690s and 1710 were restored before Dering's visitations in the 1720s. Presented in 1707 and 1708 respectively, the owners of Rillington's tithes and Thwing's rector were more obstinate, and Thwing's chancel was still dilapidated in 1721, as was that of Garton-on-the-Wolds in 1723. Some work was probably done on Sledmere's chancel, since in 1723 Dering only required its floor to be made even. It may be doubted whether the non-resident and pluralist rector John Garnett implemented the faculty obtained in 1713 to reduce Cowlam's chancel substantially, since he did not comply with Dering's instructions to repair Barmston's barn, and a further faculty was granted in 1735 to demolish Cowlam's steeple and to rebuild part of the church: yet Dering made no order as to its chancel in 1723. The chancels of Birdsall, Burythorpe or Scarborough were left derelict. Since peculiars fell outside Dering's jurisdiction there is little evidence (except for Howden) as to whether their owners repaired the chancels before 1730. By 1840 Ellerker chapel was already 'ancient'; built of brick and tiles, it was clearly a replacement of the mediaeval chapel, which may suggest that the mediaeval chancel was not repaired between 1690 and 1730.[788]

[787] BIA, V.1717-19, f.245r; ER.V/CBV.14, f.103v; CCED, *Dering's Visitation*, 111, 170-71, 174, 248; Dugdale *III*, 271; monument in York Minster; *VCHERIV*, 91-92; *VCHERVII*, 240.

[788] BIA, Inst.AB.10A, ff.7r-8r, 9r; *Dering's Visitation*, 113-14, 214, 224-25; Lawton, 273-74; *VCHERVIII*, 64; William White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the East and North Ridings of Yorkshire* (Sheffield, 1840), 179.

Thus, by 1725 Dering had apparently procured the repair of some 14 of the 25 chancels in disrepair in 1690-1710 and all six of those cited for the first time between 1710 and 1720. However, the reports of his visitations in the East Riding, which took place between 1720 and 1725, reveal that between 1710 and 1720 at least twenty-two additional chancels were in disrepair, in that either the roof or the walls (or both) of all twenty-two were seriously decayed, except for Warter, whose windows all needed to be replaced. This inference may validly be drawn because of the short passage of time between the previous decade and the date of the relevant visitation; and because the extent and nature of some of the work which Dering ordered is sometimes so great and so grave that the chancel must already have been dilapidated at some stage during the decade 1710 to 1720.

The need for some of this work (such as white-washing) might have arisen between 1720 and the date of Dering's visitation, and some of it did not threaten the survival of the building, but much did, and Dering's orders for the repair of roofs, walls and buttresses all imply that the chancels in question were already in decay between 1710 and 1720 (at least). The minimum figure of twenty-two more chancels results from calculations made on the basis of these criteria. Fifteen of these chancels had serious problems with their roofs. The walls or buttresses or both of fourteen of these chancels required significant work. The fact that the east windows of Lowthorpe and Burton Agnes had been bricked up by 1721 and 1723 respectively suggests that they had been ruinous long before then, as does Dering's order in 1720 that the windows of Elstronwick chancel be glazed and the iron work round the windows be made good where it had failed.[789] Finally, most of these chancels exhibited decay in several important respects when Dering inspected them, to the extent that they had clearly been dilapidated overall for many years. For example, in addition to the work on its windows, Dering also required 'the elder trees on the outside

[789] *Dering's Visitation*, 135, 164, 172.

of [Elstronwick's] chancel to be stubbed up; the walls to be pointed on the outsides where awanting with cement mortar; the roof of the chancel (especially the east end) to be repaired and made drop-dry; the inside walls to be white washed.' Leconfield's chancel needed its north walls and its buttresses to be repaired and properly pointed; its roof restored; a new door; its floor to be laid even; the walls inside to be white washed and the windows made to fit. Kilnwick's chancel had long been in disrepair, and the work done between 1714 and 1718 did not adequately restore the fabric, because Dering decreed in 1724 that its 'outside walls and buttress where awanting to be repaired; all the roof to be made good; the insides of the walls to be white washed and the steps up to the altar and the floor within the altar rails to be repaired and new laid and made plain and even'.[790]

In summary, although Dering had seemingly achieved the repair of some 20 chancels by the early 1720s, at least another 31 were in serious decay by then.

1.3 1720-1730

Dering usually conducted his visitations of the East Riding by requiring the attendance of the rector incumbent, vicar or curate, and wardens of his intended itinerary (which was in June and July) and by meeting them at the church; his registrar (or a notary public), and sometimes also the archdeacon's Official, generally accompanied him. On average Dering inspected five churches a day, and these visits began at 8 am and ended at 6pm. The meticulous care with which he viewed and recorded these buildings is impressive. Roofs were to be newly laid, or repaired, or pointed, and made 'drop-dry' (which implies that there had been water ingress), the timber supporting them was to be repaired, and the lead on them was to be restored, renewed or (sometimes) newly cast. Walls and buttresses were to be repaired and pointed with cement mortar. Sometimes Dering specified where the work was needed: for example, 'the buttress on the south side and the east end of the

[790] BIA, CP.I.584; *Dering's Visitation*, 252, 238-39. See the case studies in Chapter IV.

roof or gable to be repaired'; 'both the ends of the chancel roof to be closed and secured from weather'; 'the walls on the north side and the two buttresses to [be] repaired and well pointed with cement mortar; the roof to be repaired and made good and the garret end of the church from the leads upwards to be pointed'; 'the foundation walls on the north side to be repaired'. Interior walls were to be white-washed.[791] Windows were to be glazed and the iron-work around them made good. Doors were to be replaced in oak or mended and made secure. Filey's impropriator was to put a bolt or lock on the north door of the chancel. The north door of the chancel of Garton-on-the-Wolds was to be walled up and a new door be made on the south side. Floors were to be made even and laid with brick or flagstones, both inside and outside the communion rails. Rotten stalls in the chancel were to be mended and made firm. Trees in or near the building (Settrington had one growing out of the steeple) and weeds in and on the walls were to be removed. Ground which rose too high against the chancel walls was to be dug out.[792]

Dering then sent precise orders to the clergy and wardens as to what work was to be undertaken, and within what period (usually four or five months) and to provide an inventory of the church's possessions; where appropriate he directed the wardens to admonish the impropriator(s) to carry out the stipulated repairs. Those responsible for the work were ordered to certify its completion at the archidiaconal court at Michaelmas or in November; those who failed to comply risked being cited to his correctional court.[793] In the spring after the visitation, a list was compiled of the parishes which had not yet complied; the defaulters were reminded of their obligations; and the records were annotated – in Harpham's case, repeatedly, over three years – to show whether the work had been performed. Halsham's rector, Richard Fiddes, ignored Dering's visitation and

[791] This order was made in respect of 25 chancels.

[792] *Dering's Visitation*, 116, 121, 129-31, 135, 139, 142-43, 165-66, 171, 177-78, 183-84, 189-92, 210, 213, 221, 225-26, 238-43, 246-47, 251-4, 269-75.

[793] Ibid, xiii-xiv.

order in 1720 that he should lay a new floor in its chancel and repair the rectory house and was cited before Dering's court in 1725, but he did not appear on either occasion: he had long since disappeared to London.[794] The system could not protect a church against such conduct, and the certification was not itself conclusive, since it was impossible to assess the extent to which the certificates accurately reflected the work done, except by personal inspection. That was unlikely to occur for at least three years.

It is necessary to bear in mind when considering all the information provided by Dering that its very quantity and detail, especially in comparison with paucity of comparable data in respect of the previous fifty years, tends to suggest that church fabric was in a worse condition when Dering visited than it had been previously.

Dering commented adversely on 57 of the 163 East Riding chancels which he inspected. In addition to the work required on roofs, walls and buttresses described in the preceding section (1710-20), by the dates of Dering's visitations many chancels exhibited neglect which did not threaten their structure. For example, some 17 had broken or ruinous windows; about 12 doors were to be replaced or re-sited; the floors of some 32 were deficient, being uneven or lacking proper paving, either in brick or in flagstones; and the interior walls of some 22 chancels needed to be white-washed. Often a chancel was decayed in more than one respect.

Dering achieved some compliance with his orders for the repair of some fifteen of the chancels which were seriously dilapidated when he visited. These included cases where the impropriators had been or were particularly intractable, such as Burton Agnes and its former chapels (Harpham and Lowthorpe), Garton-on-the-Wolds and Swine. All urgently required work, especially on their roofs (except, perhaps, Lowthorpe). In 1721 Sir William St Quintin acquired leases of the tithes of Burton Agnes, Harpham and

[794] BIA, ER.V/CB.12-13; 'Fiddes, Richard', *ODNB*.

Lowthorpe, and that June Dering admonished him to repair all three chancels, which were gravely dilapidated by then. Sir William at first ignored Dering's orders, but Dering compiled a list of defaulters; in 1724 checked the state of the chancels and made further demand on Sir William; and in 1730 procured a commission to view Burton Agnes' chancel in 1730. In 1731 Sir William finally rebuilt it. The St Quintins had owned Harpham manor from 1199, lived there until the seventeenth century, and were buried in the north chapel and under an arch between the chapel and the chancel: both contain monuments to family members which date from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries. These factors no doubt explain Sir William's repair of Harpham chancel, albeit after a three-year delay, and his abandonment of Lowthorpe, whose east window remains bricked up to this day.[795] The Micklethwaites had lived at Swine since 1681, and both Joseph and his wife Constance were buried there in 1713 and 1718 respectively. Their sons had political careers in London and abroad, but the farmer certified the completion of the works to Swine's chancel within five months of Dering's visitation in 1720.[796] The Towses had long lived at Garton-on-the-Wolds, and Brian was the first member of his family to own its tithes, which he bought in 1715: that tie may have encouraged him to execute the substantial chancel repairs ordered by Dering in 1723.[797]

Indeed, for the first time since the 1660s there was a noticeable increase between 1710 and 1725 in the sale and purchase of rectories, as opposed to their being passed by inheritance or marriage. The fact that an impropriator had actively acquired a rectory seems sometimes to have been a factor in his willingness to comply with Dering's decrees. For example, the Dolmans had owned Lund rectory from at least 1600, and only

[795] V*CHERII*, 223. See footnotes 586, 589, 608, 618.
[796] *Dugdale II*, 358.
[797] *VCHERII*, 219.

parted with it in 1716, to Richard Remington, after whose death his sons sold it in 1722 to a surgeon in Beverley. His farmer repaired Lund chancel within the stipulated period.[798]

In other cases, there was a connection between the chancel and the impropriator. In 1636, Roger Wilberfoss acquired half Wilberfoss' tithes and in 1656 the other half; by 1683 they were divided between three family members; by 1694 four local people (one being a Wilberfoss) had equal shares in the rectory, and the situation was unchanged in 1723. Dering restricted his order to Mrs Wilberfoss, who had the closest ties to the chancel, and she duly complied.[799] Watton rectory had been sold with Watton estate in 1672 to William Dickinson, whose daughter Sarah certified the completion of repair to Watton's chancel within five months of Dering's order in 1724.[800] Warter presents a similar history. In about 1630 John Stapleton acquired the estate, which in 1677 he transferred to his daughter Isabella on her marriage to Sir William Pennington, who held the rectory in 1694: by 1724, it had passed to their son, who certified the completion of the work.[801]

Other impropriators had held rectories for many generations, though they had no personal connection to that parish; nonetheless they obeyed Dering's orders. The Appleyards, who lived in Burstwick Hall Garth, and were buried at Burstwick, acquired Elstronwick's corn and hay tithes in 1609 and retained them at least until 1759. Sir Francis, who had inherited the rectory in 1718, also certified the execution of substantial repairs to Elstronwick chapel within five months of Dering's visitation in 1720.[802] The Cromptons of Sunderlandwick had owned Leconfield's tithes since 1650 at least, when Ceziah Crompton held them; her son's heir had Leconfield's chancel repaired following Dering's instructions in 1724. By 1695 Skerne's tithes had passed to the wealthy London financier,

[798] *Dugdale III*, 494; ERALS, DDGR/17/31-32; HHC, U DDHO3/21/148; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/334-35.
[799] BIA, ER.V/CB.5; V.1726-7; *Dugdale III*, 467; Sharp, f.30; *VCHERIII*, 194.
[800] BIA, Yorkshire Marriage Licences rec. seq. no 3, 26; *Dugdale III*, 472; Neave, *Contraction*, 389.
[801] https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/5d3ff1df-6e3c-3c9d-8305-48ac9d519d8e; Neave, *Contraction*, 383; Sharp, f.32.
[802] Poulson, *Holderness II*, 364-65; *VCHERVII*, 69, 79.

Charles Duncombe, and thence to his nephew, whose farmer likewise certified the chancel repair within five months of Dering's order in 1724.[803]

The preceding paragraphs address the fifteen chancels which were seriously dilapidated when Dering visited and which were repaired pursuant to his orders. Of these, twelve had escaped citation for neglect previously, although their increasing decay must have been manifest long before Dering visited. How did it happen that these chancels were repaired? The prime factor must be Dering's approach. His personal inspection prevented anyone withholding information about the true state of the fabric; his meeting the clergy and wardens on site precluded their claiming ignorance of decay, and his detailed records and orders helped them to acknowledge the situation; his stipulating that work be certified complete within a few months encouraged compliance; and his pursuit of defaulters probably also procured more repairs.

However, Dering's orders for the repair of some sixteen additional chancels were ignored. Unsurprisingly, he was least successful where the chancel decay was long-standing and severe, as at Auburn, Aughton, Kilnwick, Kirkburn, Lowthorpe, East Ayton and Cayton. The latter two were chapels of Seamer, as was Osgodby, home to the Wyvills from the mid-fifteenth century, but in 1706 Cayton's tithes passed from the last Wyvell of Osgodby to Sir Marmaduke Wyvill of Constable Burton, while by 1721 the Marquis of Carmarthen held East Ayton's. Neither responded to Dering's reminder of his orders. The rector of Hotham did not even appear at Dering's visitation in 1723 and apparently ignored Dering's orders.[804]

Sometimes the chancels were not in serious decay, but their floors needed to be laid evenly and properly paved with flagstones or bricks, their walls white-washed, and their

[803] See page 217 and footnote 711.

[804] *CSPDom, 1611-18*, 18; *Dering's Visitation*, 190-92, 207-8; *Dugdale III*, 90; 'Osborne, Peregrine, second duke of Leeds': *ODNB*; *VCHNRII*, 433.

windows glazed, and occasionally completely new paving was required, or all the windows needed replacement. Dering made 32 orders as to chancel floors, 22 for white-washing chancel walls, and 17 about windows. Although this work cannot have been as expensive as repairing roofs and walls, nonetheless some of those responsible flouted these decrees. A century before Dering's visitation, Sir Richard Osbaldeston acquired and passed the rectories of Reighton and Wold Newton to his son-in-law, Edward Hutchinson of Wykeham, in whose family they remained.[805] James Hebblethwaite bought Norton rectory in 1623, and his grandson still owned it a century later.[806] Since at least 1630 the Hothams had held tithes of both Beswick and Hutton Cranswick.[807] All these impropriators ignored Dering's orders and reminders about the floors, white-washing and windows. The rector of Thwing absented himself from Dering's visitation in 1721 and disregarded his decree.[808] Dering was not only concerned with the state of the fabric, but also to ensure that the buildings were properly equipped and correctly ordered. He directed the removal of items at the east end of chancels and the placing of communion tables next to the east wall. He ordered Huggate's rector to remove the old wainscot on each side of the communion table up to the walls. He was also concerned to have unauthorised work undone, so he decreed the removal of a tomb in Scalby's chancel, and of the boards over John Pearson's tomb in Lowthorpe's chancel.[809]

In summary, Dering's programme of visitation achieved considerable success in repairing chancels, but an obstinate minority of impropriators and two rector incumbents left more than twenty chancels in disrepair in 1730.

[805] *Dugdale I*, 195-97, *II*, 438; *VCHERII*, 234, 299, 307.
[806] Sharp, f.121. See page 140 and footnote 414.
[807] HHC, U DDHO/70/3; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/321-4, 328-330; Neave, *Contraction*, 337-8.
[808] *Dering's Visitation*, 177-78, 181, 183-84, 225-26, 238, 241.
[809] Ibid, 163-64, 193, 255-56.

2. Body of church

2.1 1690-1710

Only thirteen churches attracted presentments between 1690 and 1710 about other disrepair: specifically, work was needed on North Newbald's roof and windows, Seamer's steeple, Skidby's roof, Swine's vestry, and Thwing's windows, font, communion table, the rails around it, and its churchyard fence.[810] Yet a further thirty churches at least were in decay during this period. Bubwith's nave was said in 1693 to be very ruinous.[811] The parishioners of Barmby Moor continued to litigate about their liability to contribute to the cost instead of repairing the serious leaks in the church roof.[812] Last mentioned in the court books of 1607, Wansford chapel was probably derelict by 1694, when Sharp remarked that he supposed that the chapel was no longer used.[813] Easington's chapel, Out Newton, in decay in 1640 and 1650, may still have been standing in 1694, since Sharp's tenant was still obliged to repair its chancel, and so may North Cave's chapel, South Cliffe, which was also in disrepair in 1650, but apparently disused by 1694: but their ruin was not presented.[814] No one reported the dilapidation and disappearance between 1690 and 1710 of other chapels which were still in use in 1650, such as Broomfleet, Howsham, Spaldington and Willitoft.[815] The court books record neither the decision taken in 1699 to demolish Kilnsea's west end, nor the ruin of Hornsea's tower by 1693 and the permission granted in 1699 to sell lead from it.[816] Decay in the body of the churches of Aldbrough, Auburn, Birdsall, Elstronwick and Fraisthorpe,

[810] BIA, V.1693-4/CB, ff.39r, 40v, 44v, 48r; ER.V.CB.8, f.8v; ER.V/CB.10, f.55r; ER.V/CB.10 (Corrections 1698); ER.V/CB.11, ff.21r, 27v, 80r, 84r; ER.V/CB.12, ff.39r, 72. See page 236 and footnotes 641, 674.
[811] BIA, CP.H.4345.
[812] BIA, CP.H.3770-3772, CP.H.4318; TRANS.CP.1691/1; DC.CP.1694/5.
[813] BIA, V.1607/CB, f.128r; Sharp, f.202.
[814] BIA, V.1640/CB, f.88r; LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/259; Sharp, ff.34, 146; *VCHERIV,* 34-35; *VCHERV*, 30.
[815] LPL, COMM/XIIa/17/353-56, 366-68, 433-34; Broomfleet last mentioned in 1654: *VCHERV*, 55; last substantive return for Spaldington: BIA, V.1636/CB, f.274v; last substantive return for Willitoft: BIA, V.1640/CB, f.124r; in 1662-3, 'information wanting': BIA, V.1662-3/CB1, f.382v.
[816] *VCHERVII*, 290-92.

was already well advanced by 1700, but was not reported to the authorities until Dering's visitations in the 1720s.[817] By 1700 Helperthorpe, whose steeple had been in disrepair in 1688, was in poor condition overall.[818] Although the wardens certified in 1707 that Seamer's steeple had been repaired, only five years later it was in such a dangerous condition that the congregation feared to attend church in high winds.[819] The absence of any reference in the court books to Withernsea church after 1640 reflects the extent of its dilapidation and the community's abandonment of it. Despite the fall of Howden's chancel, the increasing decay of its redundant chapter house was ignored: its roof collapsed in 1750.[820]

Sharp and Dering used their best endeavours to improve the situation, but progress was slow. Nonetheless, there are indications that over the period 1690 to 1710 East Riding churches were beginning to execute repairs and to equip themselves the better for worship. In the early 1690s Skeffling, Cloughton and Wold Newton acquired new bells, and in the late 1690s Skeffling, Ellerton, Barmby Moor and South Dalton received new silver plate. About this time a brick porch was built at Skipsea, and Fridaythorpe was altered and re-furnished; the north aisle may have been removed; the clerestory and east windows were introduced; and communion rails were installed. In the early 1700s a small brick tower was added to South Dalton; four more churches acquired silver plate; and Hunmanby had texts painted on to its walls. In 1708 Holy Trinity Hull obtained a faculty for erecting a gallery.[821]

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[817] BIA, CP.H.4345, CP.I.26, CP.I.134, CP.I.558; *Dering's Visitation*, 133, 135, 170-71, 175-76, 198-99, 227.
[818] BIA, DC.CP.1703/2.
[819] BIA, ER.V/CB.11, f.21r; Inst.AB.10A, f.8r-v.
[820] Pevsner, *ER,* 485. The others were: Atwick, East Ayton, Blacktoft, Burstwick, Cayton, Cottingham, Ellerton, Flamborough, Garton, Hessle, Hornsea, Hutton Cranswick, Kilnwick, Leconfield, Nunkeeling, Paull, Preston, Rudston, Scampston, Scarborough, Sculcoates, Sledmere, Warter, Willerby. See Appendix 30.
[821] Boulter, *Bells II*, 85, 219; Evans, *Faculties*, 46; Fallow, *Plate*, 210, 213, 216, 237-39, 244, 283, 294, 313-14; *VCHERII*, 243; *VCHERIV*, 91; *VCHERVII*, 399; *VCHERVIII*, 103-4; *VCHNRII*, 482.

2.2 1710-20

If the reports between 1690 and 1710 of ecclesiastical disrepair in the East Riding were misleadingly few, the increase during the period 1710 to 1720 in comparison with the previous two decades in the numbers of presentments for fabric neglect probably reflects the condition of church buildings between 1710 and 1720 more accurately than the records between 1690 to 1710 mirror the state of those buildings during 1690 to 1710. The content of the reports themselves suggests that little was done in the 1690s to seek compliance; some steps were taken to that end in the 1700s; but between 1710 and 1720 those presented could expect the archdeacon to pursue defaulters. For example, records of visitations in the 1690s often simply identify the person presented and state the complaint made, after which either no further comment appears, or else 'nil' is noted. By contrast, such reports between 1710 and 1720 were commonly concluded by a note that the miscreant had appeared before the court and had certified that the necessary repairs had been completed. This is particularly noticeable in 1715, the year in which wardens of fourteen churches were cited for disrepair, and in which the 'Great Wind' caused substantial damage to at least three churches – Bainton, Harpham and Reighton. In all cases, one or both of the wardens certified to the court that repairs had been completed in the same year.[822] Parishioners had come to expect that Dering would check whether decay and damage had been reported and repaired, and that on any default he would take such steps as he could to enforce his orders. Hence, he had already summoned Huggate's wardens to the Court of Correction before the anticipated date of finishing the repairs, when it became apparent that the work could only be completed just before that date: accordingly, the rector wrote to the archdeacon asking him to excuse the wardens from appearing at court. Similarly, the archdeacon charged the former wardens of North Dalton

[822] BIA, ER.V/CB.12, ff.68r-69v.

for failing to present dilapidations and required the new wardens either to certify that the damage had been repaired, or to have a date assigned to them on which they should provide such a certificate.[823]

Again this decade saw some parishes spending money on and equipping their churches. In 1710 Rudston's vicarial tithes were ordered to be used to pay for repairing the church. Sigglesthorne had a loft erected in 1712 and battlements added in 1714. In 1717 Holme-upon-Spalding-Moor obtained a faculty for erecting a gallery. In 1713 Scarborough had four windows on the south side of the church repaired and the vicarage parlour floor newly laid, and in 1719 a loft was built in the west end of the church and a candlestick was given. At least nine parishes acquired new silver plate; three more received silver cups or patens made in that decade, either then or later. In 1716 and 1717 North Dalton obtained faculties for selling an old bell and using the proceeds to repair the nave, and for removing and selling a cracked bell. In 1719 Kirby Underdale and Wetwang bought pewter flagons and Everingham a pewter paten; Norton, Nunburnholme, Eastrington and Catton received bells dated 1701, 1717, 1718 and 1719 respectively.[824]

2.3 1720-1730

Half the churches which Dering saw between 1720 and 1725 signalled neglect in that self-sown elder or ash trees and weeds were growing in or close to their walls. At least two thirds (not always the same buildings) lacked adequate equipment for Anglican worship. Often several essential items were either missing or in an unacceptably poor condition, and Dering's descriptions frequently give the impression that the community had all but abandoned the attempt to maintain worship there, even though restoration of the church was perfectly feasible. For example, vegetation was growing round and on the

[823] BIA, ER.V.12, f.72r-v.

[824] Boulter, *Bells III*, 26, 29, 405; Evans, *Faculties*, 21; Fallow, *Plate*, 225, 231, 244-45, 248, 256, 271-72, 278, 280-81, 287-88, 302-3, 323-24, 332. See Appendix 31.

walls of the body of Skeffling church, which needed repair and re-pointing, and the porch was in so poor a condition that Dering ordered its demolition and rebuilding. The communion rails either had to be mended or replaced, the pews were in disrepair, and the floors were uneven. The congregation had no parchment register book, and the communion table needed a new linen cloth to cover it. The body of Wilberfoss church was not at risk at all. In some areas the floor required to be laid anew, and some windows needed mending or glazing or both, but the inadequacies of their communion table, its covering carpet, their Bible and their prayer book – all essential to Anglican worship – were so great that Dering ordered that they be replaced. Watton parish church was structurally sound, but weeds had rooted in its walls; piles of rubbish and old wood lay outside its west end; the wainscot ceiling under the roof required repair or removal; and the parishioners needed a new communion table cloth and cloth to cover the elements, a new sounding board for the pulpit, a new pulpit cloth, the pulpit cushion to be re-covered, a table of the degrees of marriage and a new paten.[825]

Table 17 sets out an analysis of the defects which Dering observed and sought to correct Most churches whose books for worship were missing or needed to be replaced also lacked some movable equipment for worship. Conversely, the want of adequate equipment for worship was often not associated with neglect of the fabric of the body of the church: Dering made no order for the repair of the roof, steeple or walls of 52 churches which were deficient in items needed for Anglican worship. Only two churches had problems with their bells: Beverley Minster, which needed new yokes and other repairs to enable the bells to be rung, and Yedingham, which had a cracked bell. Two thirds of the parishes which Dering visited had inadequate equipment specifically for prayer, preaching or holy communion, although all were central to Anglican worship. Dering was

[825] *Dering's Visitation*, 151, 202, 239-40.

astute to remedy these defects. A surprisingly large number of churches lacked a bible or prayer book (or both) of the correct size, or these volumes needed to be rebound or provided with a new cover. Proper parish administration needed parchment registers and parish chests. Dering ordered six churches to provide three locks and keys for their chests, but Harswell was either to repair its chest or have a new one made; Etton was ordered to buy a new one.

Table 17: Analysis of Dering's East Riding Visitations

Defective or missing/new item needed	**Number**
Bells	
Bell needing repair or related equipment needed	2
Equipment for worship	
Bible needing binding/replacement	33
Book of Common Prayer of correct size	20
Table of the permitted degrees of marriage	49
Parchment register	12
Carpet for communion table	31
Chest – siting, locks and keys	6
Communion table, repair or re-siting	8
Cushion for pulpit	16
Linen cloth to cover elements	59
Surplice	11
Plate	75
Pulpit – replacement, repair, new sounding board, re-site	13
Seating	13
Non-structural fabric	
Doors	11
Porch	9
Floors	50
Rails	4
Steps	4
Font	
Font basin or cover	3
Internal walls	
Painting Ten Commandments/Creed/Lord's Prayer	14
Removal of King's Arms to different site in church	43
Screen between chancel and nave to be removed/reduced	44
White-washing walls	18
Weather-proofing	
Roof	20
Steeple	12
Walls – repair, re-pointing	61
Windows – repair or replacement	9

Preachers needed pulpits: North Dalton, Kilnwick, Kirkburn, Lockington and Scampston were ordered to buy new ones, and six others to acquire new sounding boards. Dering also stipulated where pulpits were to be placed – at the south end of the reading desk or to the north side of the chapel – and insisted that they be firmly fixed to the wall.[826] Threadbare pulpit cushions were to be re-covered and properly stuffed, and suitable pulpit cloths were to be provided. Congregations needed seats: Dering ordered 14 churches to repair their pews and Burton Fleming to remove all its seating. Some communion tables simply had to be replaced (as at East Cottingwith); some could be repaired; while others needed to be moved. Many lacked suitable carpets for the communion table; many more, appropriate napkins to cover the elements. Dering also insisted on suitable communion rails with an appropriate door in them.

Many East Riding churches still had the King's Arms and Ten Commandments painted on tympana or boards above the chancel screen: only two had been the subject of orders in the 1630s to remove them and place them elsewhere.[827] This was apparently what Dering usually meant when he required the screens to be taken down in 44 of the 163 churches he visited, as is indicated by his specification that screens should be 'taken down as far as the [cancella] [cancelli] [seats] [pews]'; that Muston's screen should be 'taken down as far as the pew top on the east side', Burnby's 'as low as the top of the reading desk', Kirkburn's 'as far as the cross-beam over the cancella' and Leconfield's 'as far as the lower cross-beam'; and ordered Roos and Hollym to move their screens to the west end over the arch, and to the north side of the church respectively. But sometimes he stipulated that the screen be 'totally taken down and removed' (as at Goodmanham and Foxholes), contrary to the Elizabethan stipulation that chancel-screens should be retained. At least ten parishes disobeyed his orders. The notion that chancel-screens should be

[826] *Dering's Visitation*, 193-94, 220, 234, 255.
[827] BIA, Chanc.AB.28, f.12v.

removed, or at least reduced in height, may have originated with Dering himself, for his colleague Blake only made such orders against five of the 138 churches he visited, and then not until 1725, exempting at least thirteen screens. The idea seems to have spread, since in 1737 dean Osbaldeston of York removed screens from eight churches subject to his jurisdiction before becoming bishop of Carlisle in 1747: the paucity of chancel-screens in Lancashire may not be coincidental. The rationale for the practice may have been to prevent the congregation's view of the communion table being blocked. This hypothesis is supported by Dering's order that Hessle's arms be removed and replaced above the east arch.[828]

Dering made no fewer than 75 orders about church plate. Most of these parishes had a chalice (usually silver), and a flagon and a plate or paten (usually pewter). Dering was usually content for items to be made of pewter. Virtually all the orders required parishes to exchange old flagons for new ones. Dering required 32 parishes to acquire new patens. Auburn and East Cottingwith were to buy chalices; Holme-on-the-Wolds, Sigglesthorne and Sledmere were to exchange theirs for larger ones; and Goxhill to re-make theirs larger.[829]

Although all but one parish certified compliance with Dering's directions, some apparently did not actually do the work within the stipulated period. For example, Kilnwick only acquired a pulpit in 1726 – two years after Dering's visitation – bought second-hand from Beverley Minster for £3 3^{s}. Three years after Dering's order, East Cottingwith was given a chalice. In 1720 Dering directed Burstwick to exchange the silver salver for a new one; in 1726 the wardens bought one with a bequest from a

[828] Cox, *Church Furniture*, 101-43; *Dering's Visitation*, 80-2, 97-8, 100, 103; Charles Norcliffe, 'The Chancel Screens of Yorkshire', *YAS,* vol. *VI* (1862), 177-183; Aylmer Vallance, *English Church Screens* (Edinburgh, 1936), 78-79, 88-89, 91-92. Dering seemingly uses the terms "cancella" and "cancelli", "pew" and "seat", interchangeably.

[829] *Dering's Visitation*, 121-23, 170-71, 201, 214, 247.

parishioner who had died the previous year. Humbleton was ordered in 1720 to acquire a decent flagon: in 1740 one of the Thompsons of Humbleton gave the church a silver one. North Cave was told to buy a new paten and to exchange the flagon for a new one. Over thirty years later the local squire supplied a silver paten, and the patron a silver flagon.[830]

On the other hand, between 1720 and 1740 some 22 parishes certainly, and a further 11 possibly, acquired silverware which Dering had not ordered them to procure.[831] The basis for the latter assertion is as follows. Items owned by those eleven parishes bear hall marks between 1700 and 1710, and some were probably bought second-hand after Dering's directions. For example, in 1723 Sledmere had no paten, but only a flagon and a silver chalice; Dering ordered the wardens to exchange the chalice and flagon for new ones and to buy a new paten; and Sledmere still has a silver paten hall-marked 1705. Clearly, Sledmere did not have that paten before 1723, but acquired it pursuant to Dering's decree. Similarly, half the parishes which certainly acquired silverware between 1720 and 1740 were given second-hand items. For example, in 1723 Frances Rokeby gave Lowthorpe a silver cup and a silver paten, both hall-marked 1700, in memory of her brother, Matthew Pearson, who died in 1712.[832] Thus one may conclude that at least 33 parishes acquired silverware between 1720 and 1740. Seemingly parishes, or their benefactors, were becoming more willing, or able, to provide plate for their churches: the number of silver items acquired between 1720 and 1740 is twice that known to have been bought or given between 1690 and 1720.[833] Silverware was expensive: Burstwick's silver paten cost £6 in 1725, while two of the silver flagons of Holy Trinity Hull were worth £22 9^{s} 6^{d} and

[830] BIA, Bishop's Transcripts (Thomas Johnson); *Dering's Visitation*, 132-33, 141, 201, 208, 238, 275; *Dugdale III*, 43; ERALS, PE68/3; Fallow, *Plate*, 230, 242, 294; Pevsner, *ER,* 568.

[831] These acquisitions are restricted to the silverware still held by East Riding churches in 1912: there may have been other items which they no longer possessed in 1912. Fallow, *Plate*, 163-65, 213-14, 216, 230-31, 242-43, 251-52, 257-58, 267, 271-72, 275-76, 281, 287-88, 292-95, 309, 314, 317-18, 320-21, 323, 327, 331-2.

[832] *Dering's Visitation*, 163-64, 214; *Dugdale III*, 389; Fallow, *Plate*, 287-88, 316.

[833] 1690-1720 acquisitions: Fallow, *Plate*, 216, 221, 224-26, 228, 231, 244-45, 256, 261, 271-72, 278-79, 281, 283-84, 301-3, 305, 313, 315, 324-28.

£27 10^{s} respectively in 1720.[834] Unsurprisingly over a third of the 66 silver items acquired by East Riding churches between 1690 and 1740 (or made in that period) were certainly gifts,[835] while only eight parishes are known to have paid for theirs.[836]

Work on church fabric may be divided into two categories: that which was vital to sustain the building, and that which was not. Some work was important even though further deterioration of the fabric in question would not normally threaten the survival of the building. Dering made orders against some sixty churches for such repairs. Fifty churches were required to ensure that their floors were made even and laid with brick or flagstones where necessary: ten were ordered to lay new paving throughout. Some doors into churches were so rotten that Dering ordered their repair and reinforcement, or even their replacement, usually in oak. Seven porches merely required work, but three needed to be rebuilt. Brandesburton and Ellerton wanted covers for their fonts, while Warter lacked a font basin. Dering directed eighteen churches to white-wash their interiors and fourteen to have the Ten Commandments painted on their walls; Catton and Kilnwick also had to put up the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. By contrast, repair to steeples, roofs and walls was essential to make the buildings weatherproof and to preserve their integrity, but the orders do not always indicate how serious was the deterioration or how urgent the work. Dering ordered twelve churches to repair their steeples; twenty, their roofs; and sixty-one, their walls. This involved 77 edifices. He also required 70 parishes to remove vegetation from the body of their churches. It is impossible to determine the extent to which these orders imply serious decay or are merely sensible prophylactic measures. Vegetation (especially elder, ash and ivy) in, on or close to walls and roofs, will usually damage and eventually destroy them. Only 40 of those churches directed to dig out vegetation were

[834] *Dering's Visitation*, 141, 157.
[835] Fallow, *Plate*, 164, 216, 220, 230-31, 242, 254, 257-58, 272-73, 274, 281, 287, 291, 309, 314, 317-18, 321, 327, 337.
[836] Fallow, *Plate*, 164, 257, 278, 309, 313, 324, 328, 337.

also ordered to repair their walls, and only eight of these were said to have trees rooted in church walls, a state which might indicate advanced decay. This implies that most directions to remove vegetation were made to prevent damage rather than remedy it.

It is harder to determine the extent or gravity of the condition of the roofs, steeples and walls whose repair and pointing Dering ordered. Most of the orders about walls are qualified by the phrase "where awanting", which may suggest that the deterioration was not severe, but was limited to that which was inevitably occasioned by some neglect over time. However, directions to at least eighteen churches indicate more serious damage. Decay in foundation walls was evident in seven churches. East Ayton's south-west corner and north wall were in such a bad condition that the parishioners were ordered to rebuild them. Burton Fleming's north wall had to be rebuilt. Scampston's south wall bulged out. There were holes in Skipsea's walls. Birdsall's buttresses and walls needed to be 'well repaired and pointed with cement mortar.' Ellerton's buttresses were 'very ruinous'; and those of Full Sutton at the north-west corner had to be demolished and rebuilt. Six churches had gaps between the top of their walls and the eaves, which needed to be filled to prevent the ingress of water and birds. The roofs of six other churches were leaking. Fifteen more were in serious disrepair. Ellerton's roof was so neglected that its timber ends were exposed to the elements. The north side of Nunkeeling's roof needed tiling. All the lead on Foxholes' roof had to be removed, re-cast, repaired and re-laid. Patrington's vestry apparently had no roof. It was necessary to extend or repair overflows from the steeples at Burton Fleming and Harpham, and from Ottringham's north side, for throwing rainwater off the church walls. Nine more steeples needed work. For example, the windows in the steeple at Garton-on-the-Wolds had been stopped up, presumably to prevent leakage into the church.

Only 29 parishes escaped criticism by Dering of the state of the body of their churches. Conversely, at least 23 had serious problems in several important respects. In his assessments Dering was realistic. He did not mention the lost causes of long abandoned or demolished places of worship, whether in whole (such as Withernsea and St Nicholas' Beverley), or in part (such as Flamborough's fallen steeple and Scarborough's ruined chancel and tower). Nor did he usually refer to fabric which, though still standing, was beyond repair, such as Cowlam's steeple. However, Dering's silence is sometimes puzzling. St Mary's, Beverley had had at least three chantries, one dedicated to St Catharine of Alexandria sited in the south aisle of the chancel, another, in the south aisle of the crossing. When Dering visited in 1723, the former's ceiling was still covered with a painted history of her life, and the latter's, with pictures of saints.[837] Curiously, he did not order the wardens to have the ceilings white-washed, perhaps because the ceiling of the chancel was adorned with unobjectionable pictures of forty British kings. In about 1694 Sharp had sanctioned the demolition of Kilnsea's long-derelict west end and tower. One might have supposed that Dering's failure to comment in 1720 on Kilnsea implied approbation, but in that very year its west end was still described as ruinous. Similarly, Seamer's steeple was seriously dilapidated between 1707 and 1712: Dering noted in 1721 that 'all was well except the belfry', yet made no order for its repair. Unsurprisingly, when Glynne visited in 1827, the tower had long since lost all but its ground storey.[838] Apparently Dering passed over cases which seemed (often, justifiably) hopeless to him.

If so, the fact that he addressed even advanced decay in his visitations implies that, when he did, he believed that it was not irreparable. His confidence in the wardens was apparently vindicated, because all but those of Burton Fleming certified compliance with

[837] Gent, *Rippon*, 78-81; 'Gent, Thomas', *ODNB*.

[838] BIA, ER.V/CB.11, f.21r; ibid, Inst.AB.10A, f.8r-v; Butler, *Glynne*, 359; *Dering's Visitation*, 191; Sharp, f.145; *VCHERV*, 72-73.

his orders. Even those of Leconfield certified completion of the substantial work required, albeit three months late. Perhaps the worst example was Burton Fleming, whose south aisle was evidently derelict: Dering proposed that it should be demolished and that new walls under the south arches should be erected and a window inserted in each. Other necessary work included rebuilding the north wall, walling up the north door, pointing the steeple, lengthening the spout from its top, making the floors level, taking out all the seating, re-painting and re-siting the King's Arms, stabilising the communion rails, providing a new carpet for the communion table, a linen table cloth and a table of degrees of marriage, and widening the south gate into the churchyard. On their failure to provide the stipulated certificate by Michaelmas 1721, the wardens were summoned to court in December 1721: they eventually complied.[839]

On the other hand, some churches – especially larger ones – executed major works. In 1730 Sir Griffith Boynton rebuilt a shortened chancel at Burton Agnes and agreed to pay for repairing the nave. In 1731 Beverley Minster completed the stabilisation of the north transept and the associated alterations, the cost of which (some £10,000) was met by gifts from local gentry and high-ranking clerics, investment in the South Sea Company, and the £4,000 bequeathed by Sir Michael Warton in 1725. In 1715 and 1726 St Mary's Beverley obtained faculties for erecting galleries, and in 1727 seven new pews were added: rents for the seating paid for the work. Other parishes could not summon such largesse, but nevertheless undertook work on a smaller scale. In 1722 a brick tower was built into the west end of Withernwick's nave. In 1724 and 1726 Skipsea and Sutton-upon-Derwent respectively obtained faculties for erecting pews.[840]

[839] *Dering's Visitation*, 178.

[840] Evans, *Faculties*, 84, 89; Sheils, 'Minster', 69; *VCHERII*, 117; *VCHERVI*, 234, 239; *VCHERVII*, 413. See page 202.

In summary, in the 1720s, decay in the roof, steeple or walls of body of some fourteen churches dated back to the 1660s or 1670s, and was probably hard to remedy. However, dilapidation was not limited to these buildings: at least another twenty-five had developed decay more recently, even on the conservative basis of discounting Dering's directions for work on walls as preventative measures only. 22 churches[841] had been in serious disrepair in 1662-63, usually because of the condition of their roofs or steeples, but only nine of these had apparently rectified the most acute problems, and Dering still criticised all but Winestead. By the 1720s, the body and equipment of East Riding churches tended to be in a worse condition than they had been in the 1670s. Although Dering's Herculean efforts achieved considerable improvement, and benefactors contributed plate, the state of some churches continued to deteriorate, and Dering disregarded apparently irremediable dilapidation.

3. Pluralism & non-residence

A major factor in the state of the body of a church was whether incumbents resided in their parishes. If the incumbent lived in his cure, his parishioners were much more likely to maintain the body of the church; and an incumbent who also held the rectory was, but for a few exceptions, overwhelmingly more likely to live in his parish than were vicars and curates. The first step in testing this hypothesis was to assess the level of pluralism, and this was done by identifying (where possible) who was in post and where in particular years. The choice of years ten years apart was made in the belief that it would give a reasonably accurate picture of trends; that of 1630 so as to afford a comparison a century apart, and between the archidiaconates of Cosin and of Dering; and that of 1663 because it is the first year after the Restoration for which the archidiaconal clergy lists are

[841] Excluding five peculiars, to permit comparison with Dering.

available. This permits a comparison between the position immediately post-Restoration and the period covered by this Chapter.

Table 18: East Riding clerical pluralism[842]

Clergy identified in post in years in next columns	**1630**	**1663**	**1691**	**1700**	**1710**	**1720**	**1730**
Total number of clergy identified in post	140	130	159	167	170	171	174
Number of pluralists	30	33	62	113	123	126	138
% of clergy identified in post who were pluralists	21%	25%	39%	68%	72%	74%	79%
Total number of rector-incumbents identified in post	48	42	50	51	51	51	51
Number of pluralist rector-incumbents	14	5	27	24	33	33	39
% of rector-incumbents identified in post who were pluralists	29%	12%	52%	47%	65%	65%	76%
Total number of non-rector-incumbents identified in post	92	88	109	116	119	120	123
Number of pluralist non-rector-incumbents	16	28	35	90	90	93	99
% of non-rector-incumbents identified in post who were pluralists	17%	32%	32%	78%	76%	78%	80%

Table 18 addresses the increase in clerical pluralism between 1630 and 1730. It is subject to the following caveats: it is not possible to identify all incumbents for all East Riding places in these years with certainty, or whether they were pluralists in the years in question; in some years there were vacancies; the archidiaconal lists usually do not mention clergy serving peculiars; the numbers for peculiars are understated, since clergy data for them is generally less complete than for other parishes; and the records for 1630 often omit smaller parishes, which may conceal pluralism that year. By contrast, the archdeacon's list from the 1663 visitation names clergy in such places (which consequently reveals more pluralism), and also vacancies (which discloses where the authorities intended to make appointments). For example, in the early eighteenth century two or more of Garton-on-the-Wolds, Hutton Cranswick, Kilnwick, Kirkburn, Lund, Skerne and Watton were often held together. In 1663 the archdeacon listed five different

[842] These figures, and those in the next three paragraphs, are chiefly derived from the archiepiscopal and archidiaconal visitation court books, the CCED, *Dering's Visitation*, *Fasti Buckrose, Fasti Dickering, Fasti Harthill, Fasti Holderness, Fasti York, Herring's Visitation*, lists of incumbents in parish churches, Sharp and Torre. Much data is missing for the year 1690: hence the substitution of 1691. See Appendices 32-34.

clergymen for Garton-on-the-Wolds, Hutton Cranswick, Kilnwick, Lund and Skerne; Kirkburn and Watton were shown as vacant, which indicates that the authorities expected other ministers to serve those parishes: they did not assume that the incumbent of Hutton Cranswick would also serve neighbouring Watton.

Notwithstanding these qualifications, the numbers of clergy who held more than one East Riding parish clearly increased enormously after the Restoration, and continued to increase between 1690 and 1730. One reason was the shortage of clerical manpower after the ejection of a fifth of Anglican clergy at the Restoration; another, the poverty of some East Riding livings. Several took many years to fill. For example, no vicar was presented to Hutton Cranswick between 1662 and 1666, and no minister to Kirkburn between 1632 and 1670, when a curate was appointed. Burton Fleming had no vicar from 1647 until 1667, when Reighton's incumbent undertook to serve both. Leconfield was vacant from 1658 until the engagement in 1673 of Francis Bland, who as rector had served nearby Londesborough alone from 1662. His successor at Leconfield was also rector of Scorborough. Both men are examples of local incumbents who acquired poor, unfilled, curacies while retaining their existing posts. Some clerics added them later: Matthew Crouch's sole post in 1663 was rector of Middleton-on-the-Wolds; in 1700 he also held the curacies of North Dalton and Watton. Appointed vicar of Muston in 1661, Robert Constable became rector of Thwing in 1667 as well, and in 1683 acquired the curacy of Burton Fleming in addition. In about 1693 Burton Fleming passed to the vicar of Reighton, who later added two more curacies, and therefore was responsible for four parishes between 1707 and 1720.

Inadequate stipends meant that many livings could only be filled as a group, even in 1663, and the situation worsened over time. Before the Civil Wars many parishes – such as Atwick, Burstwick, Catwick, Garton (Holderness), Humbleton (with its chapel

Elstronwick), Kirby Grindalythe and Wawne – usually had their own vicars. In 1662 William Richardson was presented to Catwick and Atwick, and John Fenwick to Garton and Humbleton; in 1663 Joseph Nelson to Burstwick and Wawne. In 1680 Robert Richardson held both Atwick and Nunkeeling (with its chapel Bewholme), and in 1691 William James became vicar both of Burstwick and of Paull (with its chapel, Thorngumbald). From 1663 Kirby Grindalythe and Sledmere were usually held together; from 1680 to 1722 John Dobson served them, adding Garton-on-the-Wolds in 1691 and Kirkburn in 1711. Between 1711 and 1715 Robert Jennison was the incumbent at Burton Pidsea, Holmpton, Kilnsea and Welwick. From 1715 to 1723 Thomas Thomson held Aldbrough, Garton and Humbleton. He claimed that Humbleton had always been under sequestration since the Reformation, because there was almost nothing left to the vicar. In 1730 Thomas Dowbiggin was vicar of Hutton Cranswick and also curate of Garton-on-the-Wolds, Skerne and Watton. John Snaith's comments in 1743 probably reflected the motivation and situation of many East Riding clerics between 1690 and 1730:

> 'I do not reside upon the Cure, but at Halsham where I have been licensed resident curate several years; Holmpton & Welwick being vacant about May-Day 1739 lay so till about Martinmass after, no one at all would have them when they knew the poorness of the livings and the badness of the situation; so if I would take them the archbishop was willing I should reside at Halsham provided Holmpton and Welwick had a service every Sunday in summer and every other Sunday in winter, which I having a family and nothing but my curacy was willing to do.'[843]

Pluralism usually meant that an incumbent only resided in one of their parishes. This was generally so when the livings were poor, and in the rare cases of pluralists who had livings both inside and outside the East Riding.[844] However, those who were prebendaries or held posts at York or Southwell Minsters or Ripon Cathedral usually lived in their East Riding livings – invariably in rectory houses – except when they were obliged to reside in the

[843] *Herring's Visitation II*, 84; *III*, 219.
[844] Some 24 out of some 363 clerics between 1690 and 1730.

town or city in question, sometimes leaving the curate or family in their country residence during their absence.[845] Such clergy were able to run two households and wanted to do so, because most rectories were more valuable than vicarages or curacies, and almost always had better clergy accommodation, which the rectors were better able to maintain or improve than were most vicars or curates. Throughout the period 1690 to 1730 rectory houses were available to all rector-incumbents, but for Hotham, and for Long Riston, which was invariably held with Hornsea, where a vicarage house was always provided. These were comfortable properties by contemporary standards. 40 dwellings which were assessed for hearth tax in 1672 can be identified with reasonable certainty as rectory houses: of these, only two (perhaps three) had just one hearth, like virtually all East Riding homes then, while 17 had five or six hearths; Bainton had seven, and Sigglesthorne, nine.[846] Most had outbuildings, stables, dovecots, barns and land attached. Even if the incumbent failed to maintain the rectory house, he was more likely than most vicars or curates to have enough assets to meet a claim for the cost of repairs: in 1719 Christopher Croe, Langton's new rector, sued the administratrix widow of his predecessor for £28 18^{s} 8^{d} for restoration of the house and barn.[847]

Consequently, the percentage of pluralists among rector-incumbents was consistently lower in the early eighteenth century than the percentage of pluralists among incumbents who were not rectors. The percentage of pluralists among rector-incumbents had greatly increased between 1663 and 1691, but this rise was caused by rectors like Joseph Bland, who took on curacies in addition to their rectories: they did not move to the parishes of their curacies, but continued to live in their rectory houses.[848] Accordingly, between 1690

[845] Dorothy M. Owen, 'From the Restoration until 1822' in *A History of York Minster*, ed. G.E. Aylmer and Reginald Cant (Oxford, 1977), 233-71, at 233-34, 239-41; *Herring's Visitation II*, 158.
[846] *YERHT,* 13, 140-41, 148, 153, 156, 172, 177, 182, 187, 192, 194-95, 198-99, 210, 221, 224, 250, 252, 254-55, 258, 262, 265, 269, 272, 274, 276-77, 283, 285, 304-5, 307, 325, 337, 341.
[847] BIA, CP.I.594.
[848] BIA, Bishop's Transcripts (Joseph Bland); *YERHT*, 187.

and 1730 rector-incumbents were much more likely than vicars or curates to live at least part-time in their parishes. Parishioners who had an incumbent living in their parishes were seemingly more inclined to repair and furnish their churches than were those who lacked either encouragement or pressure from a resident minister to do so. This hypothesis has been tested by assessing the probable place of residence of East Riding clergy between 1690 and 1730 and plotting the results against the condition of the fabric of those churches. The evidence of parishes with rector-incumbents in the next section is addressed separately from that of parishes with vicars or curates because of the differences between the two groups of livings and clergy.

3.1 Rector-incumbents

By the period 1690-1730 there were some 213 places of worship still standing in the East Riding.[849] Of these at least 28 were dependent chapels. Only 52 East Riding parishes retained rectors who were clergy, and not impropriators. Almost all the incumbents of these livings resided on their benefices for most of the period 1690-1730, with six exceptions. Argam's church and village had vanished by 1632, although clergy were still presented to the living.[850] Cowlam was also progressively deserted, and its rectory house had disappeared by 1716, not to be replaced until 1883-4.[851] The rector of Long Riston between 1675 and 1721 lived in the clergy house at Hornsea, whose vicarage he held .[852] Folkton was unusual in that it had both a rectory and a vicarage until 1856, with both a rectory house and a vicarage house; the rectory was a sinecure, but vicars probably resided at Folkton between 1692 and 1718.[853]

[849] Excluding churches and chapels which were derelict and/or abandoned by 1690.
[850] *VCHERII*, 7.
[851] *VCHERVIII*, 63.
[852] BIA, ER.V/CB.13-14; ER.V/Co.C (1727); ERALS, PE30/1, PE30/2, p.3; *VCHERVII*, 291.
[853] BIA, V.1726-7/CB, f.169v; *Dering's Visitation*, 105, 185-87; Sharp, f.218; *VCHERII*, 173.

The remaining two exceptions, Kirby Underdale and Scrayingham, fall into the class of wealthy rectories owned by clerics who also held positions either at court or at York or Southwell Minsters or at Ripon Cathedral. These posts did not entail continuous residence in the relevant city. It is often possible to identify where they probably lived. Table 19 below identifies the clergy in this category and the period of their tenure of the relevant rectory, with the evidence which demonstrates that most probably resided in their livings for significant periods.

Table 19: pluralist high-ranking clerics holding wealthy ER rectories[854]

Parish	Clergy	Tenure	Value 1690-1730 (1650)	Resident?
Beeford	Samuel Brearey (1)[855]	1692-1704	£120 (£193)	Likely
Beeford	John Richardson[856]	1704-1730		Likely
South Dalton	Samuel Brearey (2)[857]	1715-1736	£70 (£175)	Likely
Kirby Underdale	John Blower[858]	1687-1723	£180 (£200)	At first
Kirby Underdale	James Warren[859]	1723-1731		No
Londesborough	Jonathan Dryden[860]	1680-1703	£67 (£100)	Likely
Londesborough	John Roe[861]	1703-1707		Likely
Londesborough	James Fell[862]	1707-1708		Likely
Londesborough	Abraham Sharpe[863]	1715-1736		Likely
Middleton-on-the-Wolds	Samuel Brearey (2)	1706-1736	£130 (£144)	Likely
Rise	Jaques Sterne[864]	1723-1759	£100 (£75)	Yes
Long Riston	Jaques Sterne	1729-1759	£85 (£80)	No
Scrayingham	Jonathan Dryden	1680-1703	£140 (£146)	Unlikely
Scrayingham	Heneage Dering	1703-1750		Likely

The body of those eight churches was generally in a condition which was well above average for the period, since at his visitations in the 1720s Dering granted a clean bill of health to five out of those eight churches: Beeford, Kirby Underdale, Middleton-on-the-

[854] For all, see CCED.
[855] *Dugdale III*, 272; ERALS, PE114/2, 3; *Herring's Visitation I*, 108; *VCHERVII*, 238-39.
[856] *Fasti York*, 10, 16, 27, 67.
[857] https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Memorial_to_Samuel_Brearey_in_York_Minster.jpg; *Dugdale III*, 272-4; *Fasti York*, 58; *Herring's Visitation II*, 194; Lawton, 355; *VCHERI*, 18; *VCHERIV*, 91; *YERHT*, 192, 221.
[858] *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in City of York, Volume 3, South West* (HMSO, London, 1972), 26; *Dering's Visitation*, 231; *Fasti York*, 30; *YERHT*, 133.
[859] BIA, ER.V/CBV.13; ER.V/CB.14 (three entries); ER.V/Co.C (1729); CCED; *Herring's Visitation II*, 134.
[860] *Dering's Visitation*, 236; *Herring's Visitation III*, 119.
[861] BIA, Bishop's Transcripts; *Fasti York*, 23.
[862] BIA, Bishop's Transcripts; *Fasti York*, 10, 16.
[863] BIA, PR LON/3, p 22; *Herring's Visitation III*, 223.
[864] *Fasti York*, 10, 16, 18, 23, 61; *Herring's Visitation III*, 35; *VCHERVII*, 338.

Wolds, Rise and Long Riston.[865] He gave such unconditional approval to only 25 of the 163 ecclesiastical edifices which he visited. This correlation is probably the effect of the rector's residence in the parish. At first sight Kirby Underdale may seem inconsistent with this hypothesis, but Blower's three predecessors certainly lived there, and Blower himself probably resided at Kirby Underdale between 1687 and 1707, and attended Dering's visitation there in 1723. The only certain non-resident was Blower's successor, Warren, whose tenure post-dates the visitation. Sterne did not live at Long Riston, but it was only 2½ miles from Rise and therefore within easy reach.

This hypothesis is confirmed by a consideration of the remaining three churches in this sub-category (South Dalton, Londesborough, and Scrayingham), and of other East Riding rectories. Dering required only limited work to be done to the body of the remaining three churches.[866] Elder growing in and beside the exterior walls of Londesborough and Scrayingham church was to be dug up by the roots, and Londesborough was to repair its exterior walls, especially at the foundations. Scrayingham's church yard fence was to be made good and its King's Arms were to be taken down and fixed on the north wall. Londesborough and South Dalton were both to have the floors of their porches and an aisle at each to be laid even; and both were to procure a new paten and a basin for the offertory. South Dalton's Bible was either to be rebound or replaced, its surplice to be mended and the flagon to be exchanged.

The body of the remaining 44 churches with rector-incumbents were reasonably well kept where the incumbent lived in the parish. Conversely, by the time of Dering's visitations, there were considerable problems in some churches with non-resident rector-incumbents. By 1720 the body and furnishings of Halsham's church were neglected. Richard Fiddes,

[865] *Dering's Visitation*, 111, 113, 125-26, 245.
[866] Ibid, 230-32, 236, 248.

its rector between 1696 and 1725, was granted leave of absence from Halsham because of ill-health and moved in 1712 to London where he died in 1725, having ignored summonses to the ecclesiastical courts in 1717, 1720 and 1725. His successor was likewise charged with chancel and parsonage disrepair: in 1731 he had still not built the stables.[867] In 1723 Thorpe Bassett's roof, walls, floor and seating were dilapidated, and Dering ordered the wardens to provide a new carpet for the communion table, a cloth for the elements, a paten and offering plate and a new flagon. Its rector from 1670 to 1706 was living there in 1672, but then apparently moved to Escrick, whose rectory he had secured, and where he was buried. Although his successor, Bernard Lewis was not a pluralist and presumably lived in Thorpe Bassett's parsonage, Lewis' successor Lumley lived in his parish in the North Riding. He did not even have a curate in the parsonage.[868] In 1723 Hotham's steeple, floor and walls needed repair, and they lacked plate, register and table of marriages. Hotham's parsonage was burnt down between 1685 and 1710, when the new incumbent rebuilt it: the incumbent may not have lived in Hotham during those years.[869] In 1724 Burnby needed work on its roof, steeple and walls: but its rector from 1692 to 1708 may have moved from Burnby's small parsonage to the larger one at Harswell when he acquired its rectory in 1704, and certainly moved to Everingham parsonage when he became rector there in 1707. His successor at Burnby was also vicar of Royston, Hertfordshire.[870] In 1725 the roof, walls, windows and seats of an aisle south of Huggate's chancel were dilapidated; the west end floor needed work; and all the rest

[867] BIA, V.1726-7/CB; ER.V/CB.14; Timothy Mowl, *William Kent* (London, 2007), 8-9; *VCHERV*, 39. See pages 246-47 and footnote 794.
[868] BIA, V.1726-7; *Dering's Visitation*, 223; *Herring's Visitation III*, 171; *YERHT*, 148.
[869] *VCHERIV*, 121.
[870] BIA, PR EVE/1; *Herring's Visitation II*, 72; *YERHT*, 250.

of the seating required repair. There is no evidence of a parsonage in Huggate until 1730.[871]

Dering discovered less serious neglect in other churches with rector-incumbents who may not have lived in their parishes. In 1708 Thwing's wardens were cited for neglect of the church windows, font, communion table and rails, and the churchyard fence. In 1721 Thwing needed work to its floor and north walls. Richard Marsden, Thwing's rector from 1719, may not have lived there, since he failed either to appear at Dering's visitation or to comply with Dering's order to repair the chancel, and his absence from Hornsea and Long Riston (which he held from 1722) was so egregious that in 1729 he was deprived of both livings.[872] In 1723 Catton was somewhat run-down: Dering ordered the pulpit to be moved, the interior to be white-washed, and a new surplice, new carpet, new prayer book, and two new flagons be provided. Their rector, Henry Crisp, apparently had no other post until 1725, when he acquired a living in Cambridgeshire, but in 1726-7 and 1729 he was cited for non-residence and the parsonage was in disrepair: in 1730 he recorded that he only lived at Catton pursuant to the archbishop's order.[873]

3.2 Vicars and curates

The situation for vicars or curates was very different. Between 1690 and 1730 the East Riding held some 28 dependent chapels where one would not expect to find accommodation for the clergy at that time in addition to that attached to the mother-church; but there remained some 135 churches served by vicars or curates who needed somewhere to live. Between 1690 and 1710 six clergy houses were reported as being either ruinous or demolished – a higher number in the visitation court books over a

[871] Harding, C., Marlow-Mann, E. and Wrathmell, S., eds, *A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds,* vol. *XII*, *The Post-Medieval Farm and Vicarage Sites* (York, 2010), 25; *YERHT*, 145.
[872] See pages 243, 251 and footnotes 788, 808.
[873] BIA, V.1726-7/CB, f.124v; ER.V/CB.14, f.127r; ER.V/Co.C (1729); *Dering's Visitation*, 234; *VCHERIII*, 155; *YERHT*, 258

twenty-year period than recorded in those sources at any other time between 1567 and 1730.[874] However, other sources indicate that between 1690 and 1730 some seventy places lacked accommodation for their clergy, so those contemporary records grossly understate the parlous situation of clergy housing. Moreover, the situation had deteriorated: thirty-six clergy houses which were probably standing in the mid-seventeenth century (even if in disrepair in the 1660s or 1670s) were derelict or had vanished by 1730, and only seven had been rebuilt in that period.[875]

It may be unsurprising that no one was cited between 1690 and 1730 for failing to build accommodation for clergy where none had previously stood, or none within living memory, or where housing for clerics had been destroyed during the troubles. However, it is remarkable to find so little comment during 1690 to 1730 on the want of so much clergy accommodation and the poor condition or loss of so many clergy houses. Willerby provides the most complete account of the authorities' attempt to compel a vicar to put his house in order. In 1670 Willerby's vicar was ordered to repair his house, said by then to be 'ruinous'; in 1693, 1722 and 1723 three successive vicars were presented for failing to repair it, the last, Thomas Fairside, being served with a notice of excommunication. Fairside simply returned the notice explaining "I think it would be very hard upon me, if I'm obliged to build a house upon a living that was not worth £40 per ann: and Docker enjoyed it for above 30 years and never did anything at it. There is not so much as a stone nor the place cannot be descover'd where it stood, neither can any one remember a house

[874] BIA, V.1693-94/CB, ff.44r, 49r, 67r. 68r; ER.V/CB.10, ff.26v, 36v; ER.V/CB.11, ff.21r, 22r.

[875] BIA, TER.H-K; V.1662-3/CB1, ff.316v-17v, 350v, 399r; ER.V/CB.2, ff.10r, 70r; ER.V/CB.3, f.39r; V.1693-94/CB, ff.44r, 49r, 67r; ER.V/CB.9 (I May 1694); ER.V/CB.10, f.26v; V.1720-2/CB, f.175v; ER.V/CB.13, f.121r; ER.V/CB.14, f.120r; *Dering's Visitation*, 115-16, 156-57, 214; *Herring's Visitation I*, 21, 176, 190-91, 193, 215-16, 218-19; *II*, 17, 19, 79, 132-33, 13-38, 160, 165, 195, 107, 338; *III*, 10, 13-14, 117, 212-13, 223; Sharp, ff.19, 67, 94, 129, 188; *VCHERI*, 301, 307; *VCHERII*, 14-15, 20, 71, 91, 124, 148, 161, 187, 207, 221, 260, 269, 293, 317; *VCHERIII*, 145; *VCHERIV*, 101, 130-31, 138; *VCHERV*, 29, 83, 182, 134, 147; *VCHERVII,* 23, 31, 39, 115, 267, 327; *VCHERVIII*, 199, 231, 255; *VCHERIX*, 163; *YERHT*, 182, 292. See footnote 712 and Appendix 33.

there." Not until 1730 did he produce the dispensation for non-residence for which he had been asked in 1726-7.[876]

There are several reasons for the attitude of wardens and archdeacons. First, it was difficult to find the cost of housing vicars and curates, which was only occasionally met, and then in a haphazard fashion, by individual benefactors,[877] parishioners,[878] or (occasionally) the impecunious clergy.[879] The poverty of most East Riding curates and vicars was then notorious: the average annual receipts of curates and vicars in the East Riding per living were less than £20.[880] Such clergy were driven to pluralism to make ends meet, and if they could not afford to repair one property they certainly could not pay for two. It might have seemed pointless to report decay in clergy housing when there was little chance of its being remedied. Second, and more importantly, the authorities' approach to the accommodation of its vicars and curates implies an acceptance of the status quo, of the decay and destruction of its housing stock without a recognition of the need for a policy to effect repairs and replacements.

Moreover, the ecclesiastical courts were rarely concerned between 1690 and 1730 with disrepair in accommodation which was dedicated to vicars and curates, and never with its absence. Courts might have hesitated to order vicars or curates to rebuild property which had been destroyed during the civil wars, but they might well have required such houses to be repaired before they either fell down or were so derelict that they had to be demolished. Of these there must have been at least twenty-two. Yet there are virtually no reports during these decades that clergy houses other than parsonages needed repair, still

[876] BIA, ER.V/CB.3, f.39r; V.1693-94/CB, f. 68r; V.1720-2/CB, f.175v; ER.V/CB.13, f.121r; V.1726-7/CB, f.175v; ER.V/Ret.1, f.46r.

[877] E.g., ecclesiastical tenant: Sharp, f.91; aldermen: *VCHERI*, 295; archbishops owning rectory: *VCHERII*, 293; former vicar's bequest: *VCHERIV*, 101.

[878] E.g., Sharp, f.94.

[879] BIA, CP.H.3405, CP.H.4888, CP.H.4888A-D, CP.H.5044, CP.H.5191H; *Herring's Visitation II*, 132, 161. Sharp, f.19.

[880] See pages 214-18.

less of orders that the necessary work be done. An additional factor was the increasingly frequent practice after the Restoration of leaving East Riding vicarages vacant and appointing curates instead of vicars. More than thirty vicarages fell into this category, and generally the vacancy lasted over a century. The courts could not have identified who was responsible for housing such curates.[881]

Only eight instances of dilapidation in vicarage property (in addition to Willerby) occur in the visitation court books between 1690 and 1730, although at least 57 cases should have been considered. Moreover, we invariably depend on other sources (such as terriers) to discover the outcome; and in only one instance – Rudston – did the authorities take effective steps to provide accommodation, albeit after twenty years' delay. In 1693 the vicar's widow was cited for failing to repair Rudston's vicarage house, barns and stable; in 1695 his successor met a similar charge in 1695; in 1710 the sequestered vicarial tithes were used to rebuild the house.[882] Barmby Moor's vicarage house – already in decay by 1662 – was ruinous in 1693: it had gone by 1716.[883] In 1693 Swine's impropriator was before the courts for not repairing Swine's chancel or the vicarage house, which was then in danger of collapse and in 1726-7 the vicar was merely required to exhibit his dispensation for non-residence, while no reference was made to the fact that the house had been demolished before 1726.[884] In 1718 South Cave's wardens certified completion of the repair of the vicarage house; the vicar, who held South Cave with Elloughton (where he lived) from 1702-1754, had been charged with its disrepair between 1714 and 1716, and in 1726-7 he was required to exhibit his dispensation for non-residence there.[885] It is most unlikely that he maintained the house at South Cave over such a period, yet the

[881] See Appendix 37.
[882] BIA, V.1693-94/CB; ER. V/CB.10; *VCHERII*, 317.
[883] BIA, TER.I, 1684 and 1716; ibid, V.1662-3/CB1, f.350v; V.1693-94/CB, f.44r; Sharp, f.94; *VCHERIII*, 145.
[884] BIA, V.1693-94/CB; V.1712-13/CB; ER.V/CB.12; V.1726-7/CB; *VCHERVII*, 115.
[885] BIA, V.1714-16/CB; V.1726-7/CB.

court records reveal nothing. In 1728 and 1729 Thomas Tatham, curate of Kilnwick and vicar of Lund from 1720 to 1734, was charged with neglect of the clergy houses in both places, but nothing was done to repair either (he was said to be insane): consequently, by 1734, that at Kilnwick had disappeared while that at Lund was so derelict that his successor was obliged to rebuild it.[886] Nor do the court records reveal the outcome of the charges in 1691 and 1707 respectively of Muston's and Wold Newton's vicars of neglect of the vicarage barn, and the vicarage house.[887] While Dering could not have been expected to comment on the peculiars of Barmby Moor and South Cave, he recorded nothing on accommodation for those serving Kilnwick, Lund, or Muston.

Evidently the church authorities usually between 1690-1730 ignored the absence or derelict state of much East Riding clergy accommodation. So much is confirmed by Dering's reports. He surveyed 163 churches and chapels, of which at least seven were probably accepted at this period as dependent chapels where one would not expect a house for clergy.[888] He commented on only 48 clergy houses, of which 26 belonged to rectories and 22 to vicarages, so did not report on the other 26 parsonage houses or the accommodation available for the clergy who served the other 88 parishes. In particular, Dering failed to record that over half of those 88 parishes did not provide housing for their clergy at all, or that the condition of many of the others was poor. His only adverse comments on houses for vicars or clergy were that neither Drypool nor Skipsea had any, and ordered Skipsea's vicar to rebuild Skipsea's, but took no step to enforce the order. Yet he must have seen the situation in those parishes in the course of his visitation.

[886] BIA, ER.V/CB.14 (twice); ER.V/Co.C (1728); *Herring's Visitation II*, 132, 161.
[887] BIA, ER.V/CB.8; ER.V/CB.11.
[888] The discrepancy with the figures in the previous paragraph arises from the fact that peculiars other than Mappleton were outside Dering's jurisdiction, although he surveyed Beeford and its chapel Lissett, Foxholes and its chapel Butterwick, Grindale, Hedon and Walkington.

The problems of poverty, pluralism and non-residence among vicars and curates in the East Riding between 1690 and 1730 generated a vicious circle in which they were driven to pluralism because of the low level of stipends, which inevitably led to non-residence, which itself led to clergy housing becoming derelict; vicars and curates were generally too poor to pay for rebuilding such accommodation, which itself encouraged pluralism, and also ensured that once a parish had lost its clergy house it would be much less likely to have a minister reside there in the future. This probably aggravated the potential for further decay in ecclesiastical fabric. The correlation of fabric neglect with poverty, pluralism and non-residence is addressed in Tables 20 and 21, by reference to the year 1715.

The section above on the state of the body of the church between 1720 and 1730 identified some 32 churches or chapels whose ministers were either vicars or curates which were in serious disrepair and usually also inadequately furnished or equipped.[889] Of these parishes only four had a resident incumbent.[890] In many cases it is difficult to judge the extent to which a building in this decade was in reasonable condition, albeit with some defects, or when it crosses the line into general neglect and disrepair. Moreover, there is a wide range in the degree to which evidence of non-residence is compelling: complaints of non-residence, certificates of dispensation and statements from the clergy themselves are usually conclusive, but evidence that the clergy housing was destroyed is not, since it may have been rebuilt, and the incumbent may have lived in the parish in rented property.[891] Nor is there a perfect way of assessing residence over four decades in circumstances in

[889] Excluding dependent chapels and peculiars except Foxholes, Mappleton and Tunstall.

[890] This is so even if one excludes dependent chapels in whose parishes no one would then have expected a minister to live. The number of parishes included in Tables 20 and 21 is also reduced by excluding many peculiars, which was necessary for a fair comparison because of the paucity of evidence about the state of their fabric between 1690 and 1730.

[891] In 1743 five vicars and one rector lived in rented property: *Herring's Visitation I*, 113, 118, 153; *II*, 74, 138; *III,* 116, 135.

which one or more clerics hold a living, but they do not all fall into one or the other category. Indeed, some incumbents clearly resided in a particular parish at one stage, and at another, did not. The solution – of selecting one year – at least avoids that problem, albeit preventing any demonstration of change over the time. The chosen year 1715 pre-dates Dering's visitation so as to permit some impression of the impact of non-residence on fabric neglect, and it helps to make conclusions as to where clergy lived more robust, since the terriers of 1716 provide contemporaneous evidence on the state of clergy housing. The data do not permit proof that an incumbent's non-residence caused his parishioners to neglect the body of their church, but only that non-residence is connected with such neglect. Tables 20 and 21 must therefore be considered with those caveats in mind. Nonetheless, they show that at least half the places of worship between 1710 and 1720 which were served by vicars or curates had no resident minister, and half were in disrepair. By contrast, only a third of churches with rector-incumbents were in disrepair, and only eight of those fifty incumbents were non-resident. In 1715 there was a close correlation between non-residence and disrepair: 35 of the 51 buildings in disrepair had no resident vicar or curate, and, of these, 28 of the 32 which were seriously dilapidated had none. Conversely, 30 of the 52 buildings in reasonable condition had a vicar or curate resident in the parish.

Table 20: residence and disrepair in 1715 in East Riding parishes served by vicars/curates[892]

Numbers of East Riding churches/chapels served by vicars/curates 1710-1730		**Whose ministers were**			
		Resident		**Non-resident**	
In serious disrepair	32	4	12.5%	28	87.5%
In disrepair (including serious disrepair)	51	14	28%	37	72%
In reasonable condition	52	30	58%	22	42%
In whatever condition	103	52	49%	53	51%

[892] See Appendix 36.

This relationship did not always obtain, as is demonstrated by the facts that the body of 22 churches was in a reasonable condition although their ministers were non-resident in 1715, while, conversely, 14 of the 51 churches in disrepair had a resident incumbent in that year. However, these two groups do not undermine the hypothesis, partly since it is not suggested that the correlation is invariable, and partly because of the particular circumstances of the parishes. For example, in 1715, Richard Osbaldeston, the patron's son, became vicar both of Hinderwell with Roxby and of Hunmanby and curate of Muston and Fordon, both formerly Hunmanby's chapels. Although he did not reside in any of these livings, his predecessors at Hunmanby and Muston had lived in their respective parishes.[893] This may explain the reasonable condition of those churches.

Table 21: non-residence of rector-incumbents and disrepair in 1715 in ER parishes[894]

Numbers of East Riding churches/chapels served by rector-incumbents 1710-1730		**Whose ministers were**			
		Resident		**Non-resident**	
In disrepair (including serious disrepair)	18	15	83%	3	17%
In reasonable condition	32	28	84.5%	4	12.5%
In whatever condition	50	42	81%	8	19%

Table 21 demonstrates that in 1715 81% of rector-incumbents lived in their parishes (as compared with half of incumbents who were vicars or curates) and 84.5% of churches in reasonable condition had resident rector-incumbents. This strongly supports the hypothesis that the incumbent's residence encouraged parishioners to maintain their churches. Again, this relationship did not always obtain, as is demonstrated by the facts that the body of four churches was in a reasonable condition although their rector was non-resident in 1715, while, conversely, fifteen of the eighteen churches in disrepair had a resident rector-incumbent. As to the former group, those who were rectors of

[893] BIA, ER.V/CB.10, f.36v; *Dering's Visitation*, 184-85, 187-89, 232-33; *Dugdale I*, 196; ERALS, DDHU/11/5; *Fasti Dickering*, 15, 17, 46, 49, 59-60, 65, 67, 94; *Fasti York*, 7; *Herring's Visitation I*, 217, *II*, 90, *III*, 119; Lawton: 293, 298, 302-3, 305, 307, 315; 'Osbaldeston, Richard', *ODNB*; *VCHERII*, 148, 281; *YERHT*, 152, 318-19.

[894] See Appendix 35.

Scorborough and Kirby Underdale in 1715 had probably lived in their respective parishes during the early years of their tenure, while those at Holme-upon-Spalding-Moor and Settrington were preceded by a series of resident rectors in those parishes.[895] The residence of those rectors before 1715 may have ensured that the churches were in reasonable condition before their incumbents departed. Some of the cases of disrepair of churches despite a resident incumbent are explicable on the basis that for a number of years there was no rectory house (e.g. Hotham), or a predecessor had been non-resident (e.g. Thorpe Bassett), or the village was depopulated (e.g., Cowlam), or there were signs that the incumbent in 1715 was apt to be absent (e.g., Richard Marsden, Henry Crisp).[896] A core of about ten parishes neglected their churches notwithstanding a resident rector.

In summary, notwithstanding Sharp's strictures against pluralism and non-residence, both were endemic in the East Riding by the 1690s, and both became even more common over the next forty years, especially among vicars and curates. Parishioners without a resident incumbent were far less likely to execute necessary repairs on the body of their churches. These practices therefore led to further and continuing deterioration in ecclesiastical fabric. Part of the solution lay in clergy receiving a living wage, but neither lay impropriators nor ecclesiastics were willing to provide more than nugatory augmentation. Welcome though it was, Queen Anne's Bounty employed the same mechanism as that already used, which was to acquire property income from which was applied to increase the receipts of vicars and curates, and was therefore vitiated by the same defects, and in any event the increase was of the order of £10 annually per living. This was not enough to enable vicars and curates to serve one parish alone.

[895] BIA, V.1726-7/CB, f.128r; ER.V/CB.14, f.180r; ibid, PR SET/2, p 6; *Dering's Visitation*, 205-6, 221-2, 231; *Fasti Buckrose*, 44; *Herring's Visitation II*, 133-4, *III*, 112, 121; Lawton, 279; 'Egerton, Henry', *ODNB*; *VCHERV*, 29; *VCHERVII*, 115; *YERHT*, 133, 187, 195.

[896] See footnotes 853, 870-75.

4. Rural poverty

Levels of rural poverty were rising between 1690 to 1730, as is indicated by contemporary concern about the increasing cost of poor relief both nationally and in the East Riding. In 1696 the Board of Trade calculated that the national total raised annually by poor rates (then universal in England) was £400,000; by 1748-50, that figure had grown to £689,971.[897] The growing outlay on poor relief led to the creation between 1696 and 1712 of Corporations of the Poor in fourteen towns (including Hull, in 1698); Parliamentary attempts to reform the poor law itself (which failed in 1705); many new foundations of workhouses around 1710; and the passing in 1723 of the Workhouse Test Act, which permitted parishes to establish workhouses (both Hull and Beverley did so). Moreover, some harvests were so bad that the government used its emergency powers to ban the export of corn in 1699, 1709 and 1728.[898]

East Riding hearth tax returns of the 1670s demonstrated that poverty was generally more wide-spread in the countryside than in towns. Probably the gap had grown wider by 1690 and continued to grow over the following forty years. The levy from the poor rate in Scarborough rose from £60 in 1654 to £96 in 1681, to £103 in 1708 and £99 in 1728, but Scarborough did not become impoverished over that period, although the number of poor may have increased: its population trebled between 1672 and 1743.[899] Indeed, the town became wealthier with the successful commercial exploitation of the spa waters there from 1698.[900] Hull also grew richer between 1690 and 1730 with the development of the

[897] Paul Slack, *The English Poor Law, 1531-1782* (Cambridge, 1990), 18-22.

[898] Anthony Brundage, *The English Poor Laws, 1700-1930* (Basingstoke, 2002), 9-12; Paul Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement* (Oxford, 1999), 103, 117, 133; Thirsk, *Agrarian History*, 333, 384; *VCHERI*, 164; *VCHERVI*, 133.

[899] *Herring's Visitation III*, 133; at 6d in the £ on land and houses, valued at 2/3 of the rack-rent, and the number of rates per annum varied from eight to ten: Hinderwell, *Scarborough*, 211; Neave, *Bridlington*, 134-35; Purdy, *YHTR*, 90.

[900] Joseph Brogden Baker, *The History of Scarborough* (Longmans, London, 1882), 407-8; T. Whellan, *History and Topography of the City of York and the North Riding of Yorkshire* (Beverley, 1859), vol. *I,* 715.

Aire and Calder Navigation, authorised in 1699, which enabled wool products from the West Riding to be transported to Hull far more cheaply; and the increase in exporting iron goods manufactured in South Yorkshire from one ton in 1702 to 902 tons in 1758.[901] Beverley, too, became more prosperous by the 1690s and its position as effective capital of the East Riding was consolidated as it added more administrative rôles to its trading and social functions in the early eighteenth century.[902]

East Riding rural parishes were burdened not only by poverty levels, but also by high repair costs and the ability of the wealthy and powerful to evade their obligations with impunity. The 1671 case about meeting the cost of repairing Blacktoft chapel illustrates the impact of the refusal by the wealthiest parishioner to pay his share of the repair costs.[903] Some thirty years later some repairs were still expensive: those required by the body of Aldbrough church in 1704 and 1705 were put at £70.[904] This was a substantial sum for rural parishes whose annual expenses (including maintenance) in the early eighteenth century generally ranged from about £5 to £25: by contrast, Bridlington's assessment for 1714 totalled £72.[905] Moreover, the loss of the £5 which one parishioner refused to pay in 1705 probably adversely affected Aldbrough's ability to complete the necessary work: certainly Dering's order in 1720 indicates long-standing neglect. Furthermore, Sharp evidently knew that many parishes could not meet repair costs. In 1703 he recognised that the parishioners of Beverley Minster could not raise the money necessary for its repair: indeed, they raised only £24 9^{s} 6^{d}, while St Mary's collected £57 12^{s} 6^{d}, towards work which ultimately cost some £10,000. It was the poverty of Kilnsea's parishioners which determined him to allow them to demolish the west end of the nave.[906]

[901] *VCHERI*, 173-75.
[902] *VCHERVI*, 107, 111-13.
[903] BIA, CP.H.2887: see Chapter IV.
[904] BIA, CP.I.26.
[905] E.g., BIA, CP.H.4345; CP.H.5791; CP.I.134; CP.I.292; CP: BIA, CP.I.572; CP.I.881; CP.I.918.
[906] *Dering's Visitation*, 133, 153; Sheils, 'Minster', 69.

In 1707 Kilnwick's wardens appealed against the court's rejection of their claim against Robert Grey, the principal property-owner in Bracken, for his contribution to the cost of repairing and equipping Kilnwick church. The archbishop learned that many of Kilnwick's parishioners, 'especially the poorer sort' were 'very much oppressed by the usual way and unequal method of laying of assessments' for repairing the church: accordingly, in 1709, he ordered the wardens, on any future assessment, to attend court in York so that a fair and proportionate tax could be fixed. Cases from the period 1660 to 1730 are replete with disputes about the correct way of assessing tax to pay for repairing ecclesiastical fabric, but Sharp's acceptance that poor parishioners could not afford to pay is apparently unique. Grey was also farmer of the corn tithe of Bracken, but always refused to contribute to the cost of repairing Kilnwick's chancel, although he was sued on that account for the years 1714 to 1718, during which he was a tax-collector for the Crown. Like Blacktoft chapel in 1671, the building suffered from the pernicious combination of poverty among most parishioners and refusal by the powerful to pay the substantial sums due from them.[907]

5. Dissent

Dissent played only a limited part in the neglect of church fabric during the period 1690 to 1730 and one which differed significantly from that of the years 1660 to 1690. Quakerism had flourished in small townships, but not greatly in towns such as Beverley, Bridlington and Hull. For example, the number of Quakers in Bridlington grew from 14 in 1662 to 30 in 1673 (when the town had 352 households), to a high of 46 in 1685, but they never constituted a group large enough that the refusal to pay church taxes could adversely affect the state of the priory's fabric. By 1691 many of their leaders were dead – in 1660, Robert Fowler, who in 1657 sailed to America with eleven Quaker preachers;

[907] BIA, CP.I.538; CP.I.584; CP.I.3037; see Chapter IV.

in 1661, Thomas Leaper, in whose house William Dewsbury, an early Quaker preacher, stayed in 1652; in 1669, Zachariah Smales, whose home was used for meetings that year; and, in 1682, Robert Prudom senior. The loss of these figures was probably a blow to Bridlington's Quakers, but, significantly in this context, they were wealthy: Fowler and Leaper were master mariners and Smales and Prudom, rich merchants. Also in 1691, two long-standing Quakers conformed and paid their church assessments of 2^{s} 9^{d} and 5^{d}: although some Quakers in Bridlington were well-to-do, many were not. Those defaults can have had no perceptible effect on the maintenance of Bridlington's nave. In any event, citations for non-payment of church tax (probably all by Quakers) become fewer and more sporadic thereafter: 21 in 1695; one in 1714; six in 1715 (who paid); and two in 1724. By 1743, there were only thirteen Quaker households out of Bridlington's 527, and this was the largest Quaker group except for that at Scarborough, where in 1743 they constituted 29 out of a total of 1500 households and 120 people attended their meetings. In the same year some 45 Quakers attended the Sunday meetings in the parish of Holy Trinity, Hull, which with St Mary Lowgate parish then contained some 1373 households.[908]

The countryside had seen the greatest success of Quakerism in the East Riding during the period 1660 to 1690, but their numbers fell dramatically between about 1700 and 1743. For example, in 1669 one hundred people attended a Quaker meeting in Lissett, and in 1676 Compton's Census found 28 and 50 dissenters (mostly Quakers) in Skipsea and Aldbrough respectively, places of 87 and 69 households respectively in 1672. The high incidence of Quakerism in Aldbrough may be reflected in the poor condition of the body of the church in 1705, but the number of its parishioners presented as Quakers dropped

[908] BIA, V.1662-3/CB1; V.1667/CB(a); V.1674/CB (four entries); V.1684-85/CB; V.1693-94/CB; ER.V/CB.1-2; ER.V/CB.3 (four entries); ER.V/CB.4 (four entries); ER.V/CB.5 (nine entries); ER.V/CB.8; ER.V/CB.10; ER.V/CB.12 (twice); ER.V/CB.13-14; *Herring's Visitation I*, 112, *II*, 76, 78, *III*, 133; Neave, *Bridlington*, 128-33; *YERHT*, 22. See Appendices 38 and 39.

to twenty in 1682 and to three in 1691. No Quaker was recorded in either place in 1743. In 1682 the Quakers acquired a burial ground for Friends at Ulrome; a meeting house was registered there in 1711 and registration sought for another in 1713; but in 1743 the vicar reported that no one frequented the Quaker meeting house. About 1670 a Quaker meeting house was built and a burial ground provided at Owstwick, between Hilston and Roos: this was the usual meeting place for Holderness Quakers in the late seventeenth century. A further meeting house was licensed in 1716 in Roos itself, but only ten Quakers attended meetings there in 1743. Again, four or five Quaker families in East Cottingwith were regularly presented between 1667 and 1693, and the village supported a Quaker meeting-house as late as 1743: this pocket of Quakerism may explain the want of the most basic elements of Protestant worship in its chapel in 1723: but its vicar reported only one Quaker household in 1743. The incumbents of nine of the East Riding eighteen parishes which contained Quaker meeting-houses in 1743 then commented that there had been a considerable reduction of Quakers attending meetings 'of late' – only four or five at Hornsea, seven or eight at Hutton Cranswick, 20 or 30 at North Cave, all once thriving meetings.[909] The rise and fall of Quakerism in the East Riding is apparently typical of the national profile.[910]

Other non-conformist groups grew substantially in towns. From the 1670s until his death in 1690 William Luck fostered a Presbyterian community in Bridlington, for which Zion Chapel was built in about 1700. By 1715 its congregation numbered three hundred. In 1698 Robert Prudom junior, merchant and Lord Feoffee, founded Bridlington's Baptist chapel with 22 members; there were 64 by 1708; and a further 62 were baptised before

[909] BIA, CP.I.26; ibid, V.1667/CB(a), f.25r; ER.V/CB.4, ff.75r, 145v, 201r, 222r; ER.V/CBV.5, ff.11r, 49r, 78v; V.1682/CB, f.118r; ER.V/CB.5, ff.99v, 104r, 127r, 157r; V.1684-85/CB, pp.1, 3; ER.V/CB.5, ff.221r, 222v, 254v; ER.V/CB.8, f.1r; V.1693-94/CB, f.39r; V.1714-16/CB, f.177v; V.1717-19/CB, f.264v; *Herring's Visitation I*, 103, 112, 149, 156, 160; *II*, 12, 76, 80, 87-8, 92; *III*, 8, 33, 122, 126, 129, 133, 219; *VCHERVII*, 25, 49, 93, 243, 402; *YERHT*, 260-61, 294-95.

[910] See Chapters 11, 12 and 13 of Adrian Davies, *The Quakers in English Society 1655-1725* (Oxford, 2000).

1734, having acquired premises in 1714. Also by the 1670s the Independents and Presbyterians were flourishing in Hull with their own ministers and (in 1672 and after 1689) their own meeting-places. A Presbyterian chapel was built in Bowlalley Lane, probably in 1691 or 1692, and in 1698 a new chapel was erected for the Independents, whose congregation had grown from 55 in 1669 to 113 in 1698. Further new meeting-places for these non-conformists in and around Hull were registered in 1705, 1709 (three), 1713 (three), 1719 and 1722. A Baptist church was apparently also coming into being, with the alleged registration of a Baptist meeting-place in 1717. Beverley apparently had a Presbyterian community by 1683, and certainly by 1689. In 1713, 130 Presbyterians subscribed to maintain the pastor John Steere, whose congregation was said to number 450, and there were evidently some 50 Presbyterian families in the mid-C18th in Beverley & the outlying townships. They speedily rebuilt the meeting house after it was blown down in the Great Storm of 1715.[911] By 1743 there were significant numbers of Presbyterians in all the larger towns and adjacent townships, and of Baptists in Bridlington and Independents in Hull, but the percentage of the total non-conformist population was generally well below 10% and only above 20% in a few smaller townships, as appears from Table 22.

However, the growth of non-conformity in these places had little adverse effect on the state of church fabric, even where the number or percentage of dissenters was large. Only the Quakers were committed to refusing to pay church taxes: other non-conformists might contribute to the parish churches as well as to their own meeting-houses. Between 1690 and 1730 Beverley, Bridlington, Hull and Scarborough were flourishing and all had wealthy individuals among those who conformed as well as among their non-conformists,

[911] *Herring's Visitation I*, 103, 112; *II*, 76; Miall, *Congregationalism*, 229, 244, 247, 250, 282, 288-92, 343, 369; Neave, *Bridlington*, 128-33; *VCHERI*, 321, 327; *VCHERII*, 75-77; *VCHERVI*, 242-50.

so the loss of any financial contribution from the latter would have been less keenly felt than it would have been in the countryside.

Table 22: nonconformity in larger East Riding places in 1743[912]

COLOUR CODE:
32% = parishes whose Protestant dissenter households constituted 20% or more of its households
29 = dissenters who had a meeting house in the parish

Parish	Total no. families	Number of families					
		Presbyterian	Independent	Baptist	Quaker	Catholic	%[913]
Beverley Minster	340	18 or 19		-	-	-	5.6%
Beverley St Mary's	480	29	-	1	-	-	6.2%
Beverley St Nicholas'	70	4	-	-	-	-	5.7%
Bishop Burton	94	29	-	1	-	-	32%
Bridlington	527	29	-	35	13	-	14.6%
North Cave	123	18	-	-	4	4	17.9&
South Cave	145	23 or 24	-	-	1 or 2	-	17.2%
Cottingham	277	122	-	-	-	-	44%
Drypool	23	6		-	-	-	26%
Ellerker	40	10	-	-	-	-	25%
North Ferriby	c. 60	30	-	-	-	-	50%
Hilston	7	-	-	-	2	-	29%
Holy Trinity Hull	679	38	29	-	5	-	11%
St Mary Lowgate Hull	330	30	-	-	-	-	9%
Kirk Ella	50 to 60	12 to 15	-	-	-	-	25%
Scarborough	1500	27	-	-	29	3	3.7%
Sculcoates	88	5	9	4	3	-	24%

So much is clear from Dering's clean bill of health for four and his minimal orders in respect of Beverley Minster and Beverley St Mary's, and from the value and quantity of its church plate and the identity of its donors. The Wartons provided silver to Beverley St Mary's in 1696 and 1701; aldermen of Hull bestowed silver on Holy Trinity in 1693, 1694 and 1696, and others gave more in 1717 and 1733; and dignitaries donated silver to Scarborough in 1720 and 1722.[914] Settlements around Hull such as Cottingham, Drypool, Kirk Ella and Sculcoates all had over 10% of their houses with three and four hearths in 1672, and all benefitted from the increase in Hull's trade after 1690, with wealthy

[912] Figures from *Herring's Visitation I*, 98, 101-3, 149-50, 161, 176, 212; *II*, 76, 78; *III*, 114, 133: see Appendix 38.

[913] % constituted by the total of Protestant dissenters of all households listed in *Herring's Visitation* in 1743.

[914] *Dering's Visitation*, 157-58, 166, 192, 211-12; Fallow, *Plate*, 163-65, 218-22, 271-74.

merchants moving to North Ferriby and (especially) Cottingham. Bishop Burton, North and South Cave and Ellerker profited from their proximity to Beverley (in 1672 12% of South Cave's households had three or four hearths). Only two of these churches (North Cave and Ellerker, which were Quaker strongholds) were the subject of citations for neglect of the nave between 1690 and 1730, and Dering's orders suggest that only Kirk Ella seems to have suffered significant decay by the 1720s.[915] Moreover, non-conformists (although significant in number) usually constituted a small percentage of the population of these towns. In those circumstances urban non-conformity probably played little part in the condition of town churches from 1690 to 1730.

Table 23: nonconformity in East Riding villages with 45-54 households in 1743

COLOUR CODE:
29 = dissenters who had a meeting house in the parish

Parish	Total no. families	Number of families					
		Presbyterian	Independent	Baptist	Quaker	Catholic	%[916]
Hotham	47	2	-	-	-	-	4.3%
Keyingham	52	-	-	-	-	1	0%
Lund	50	-	-	1 person	-	-	2%
Rowley	54	2	-	-	1	-	5.6%
Skeckling[917]	48	-	-	-	1	8	2.1%
Withernwick	48	-	-	-	-	1 woman	0%
Wressle	40 to 50	1 woman	-	-	-	1	2.2%

The picture was very different in rural East Riding. More than half the 176 places which supplied returns to archdeacon Herring in 1743 reported no non-conformists at all. Table 23 sets out the levels of non-conformity in parishes with 45 to 54 households in 1743, which are typical of those which then declared non-conformity, as is confirmed by the examples of Holme-on-the-Wolds, with one Presbyterian family and one individual out

[915] BIA, V.1693-94/CB, f.42v; ER.V/CB.12, f.72v; *Dering's Visitation*, 156, 208, 210, 257-260, 262; Fallow, *Plate*, 281, 295, 309, 317; *YERHT*, 31, 93-4.

[916] % constituted by the total of Protestant dissenters of all households listed in *Herring's Visitation* in 1743.

[917] *Herring's Visitation III*, 126.

of its twenty households, and Easington, with five Quaker households out of a hundred.[918] At these reduced levels, non-conformity probably had little impact on the state of rural churches and chapels from about 1715, especially since the number of wealthy rural non-conformists had dwindled since the 1690s.[919]

6. Conclusion

The decades from 1690 to 1730 saw mixed fortunes in the condition of both the chancels and the naves of East Riding churches. Archbishop Sharp and archdeacon Dering exerted enormous, sustained and well-planned efforts to improve ecclesiastical fabric – with considerable success – but their labours were much hampered by long-standing neglect in some cases, and because the steps taken to raise clerical stipends per parish to reasonable levels were inadequate, and clergy could not usually meet the cost of maintaining or providing accommodation. Consequently, pluralism became very common, and accepted, with the result that many parishes lacked resident ministers. The absence of an incumbent seemingly led or allowed parishioners to neglect their churches. Rising rural poverty was also important, as was the power of the rich parishioner to refuse to pay his church tax and to litigate over it while essential work was postponed. Impotent courts impeded the effectiveness of ecclesiastical visitations. On the other hand, lay activism, the dwindling of support of Quakerism, and the failure of other non-conformists to acquire many adherents in the countryside increased the prospects of churches being properly maintained.

[918] Figures from *Herring's Visitation I*, 191; *II*, 74, 79, 136, 161; *III*, 30, 126, 211, 225: see Appendix 39.
[919] See Chapter IV.

Conclusion

I began by advancing a hypothesis that there was a causal connection between the establishment of Protestantism in place of Catholicism as the national religion, on the one hand, and, on the other, the facts that many existing churches were in serious disrepair by the eighteenth century and that very few new churches were built between 1547 and 1730. Chapter I showed that, although there was significant neglect of East Riding churches before the Reformation (especially of chapels), the condition of at least 40% of both (particularly of their chancels) progressively deteriorated over the period between 1547 and 1603, contrary to Kaufman's claims.[920] I suggested that one critical factor was who owned the rectories, and I identified seven main ownership categories and several sub-categories which I submitted were significant, as summarised in Figure 3 below.

Figure 3: rectory ownership

<table>
<tr><th>No</th><th>Category</th><th colspan="5">Sub-categories or relevant factors</th></tr>
<tr><td>I</td><td>Ecclesiastical dignitaries</td><td colspan="2">Archbishops of York</td><td colspan="2">Others</td><td>Resident</td><td>Non-resident</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">II</td><td rowspan="3">Collegiate entities</td><td colspan="4">(1) Local</td><td colspan="2" rowspan="3">(1) Vicarages ordained
(2) No vicarages ordained</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">(2) Elsewhere in Britain</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">(3) Abroad</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">III</td><td rowspan="2">Owners of rectories never appropriated</td><td colspan="3">Resident</td><td colspan="3">Owner was the incumbent</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Non-resident</td><td colspan="3">Owner was not the incumbent</td></tr>
<tr><td>IV</td><td>The Crown</td><td colspan="6"></td></tr>
<tr><td>V</td><td>Lessees from the Crown</td><td>)(</td><td>Speculators</td><td colspan="4">Established gentry/ aristocrats</td></tr>
<tr><td>VI</td><td>Grantees from the Crown</td><td>)(</td><td>New gentry</td><td colspan="4">With/without local ties</td></tr>
<tr><td>VII</td><td>Purchasers of rectories</td><td>)(</td><td>Wealth</td><td colspan="4">Status (lord of manor, politician, lawyer)</td></tr>
</table>

I posited that, although the Reformation did not alter the fact that the upkeep of church fabric was divided between parishioners and rectors, the transfer of rectories and advowsons occasioned by the Dissolution from collegiate entities to the Crown and others

[920] Kaufman, 'Impropriations', 13-23. See pages 22, 40.

dramatically and adversely affected the condition of many East Riding chancels, and also (albeit indirectly) damaged other parts of East Riding churches. This was partly because chancel neglect sometimes led to failure to maintain the rest of a church and its furnishings, and partly because of the inadequacy of clergy stipends, for which impropriators (being the majority liable to pay) bore substantial responsibility. The thesis demonstrates that the types of owners of East Riding rectories and the factors identified in Figure 3 were significant in each of the five periods into which this thesis is divided. It also establishes that impropriation in the East Riding was inherently inimical to the proper care of church fabric (especially chancels) and was frequently responsible for neglect and decay (contrary to Kaufman's contention), although impropriators with personal connections to the parishes whose rectories they owned often led them to repair the chancels of their churches.[921]

Chapter I proved that most East Riding rectories remained in the hands of the Crown or of ecclesiastics until the 1590s; that few leases of rectories in this period required tenants to repair the chancel; and that many of those who acquired such rectories had little reason to maintain the chancels and were too powerful to be compelled to do so. It also showed that much chancel deterioration between 1547 and 1603 was the result of those three factors (which probably also led to the understatement of its extent), together with depopulation; shared ownership of rectorial tithes; the grant of former conventual sites to laity (which often resulted in demolition or robbery of the sites for building material); and the problems of converting a monastic church to parish use. The Crown ignored its repairing obligations. On the other hand, tenants and lay impropriators who had or developed ties to the parish usually maintained the chancels for which they were responsible, especially if their leases imposed repairing obligations on them. The desire

[921] Kaufman, 'Impropriations', 19-23.

of lay rectors to maintain chancels because relatives were buried there was not a factor at this period in the East Riding: only one such example is known. Chapter I also showed that during this period the laity took much better care of the body of their churches than did rectors.

Chapter II demonstrated that many East Riding parishes spent substantial sums equipping their churches for Protestant worship (especially in providing bells and plate and extra seating) from the late sixteenth century to the 1620s, before the introduction of changes required by avant-garde conformist ideals. They bestowed still more in the 1630s in making those changes and in complying with the additional requirements of Neile and Cosin that they should make good any fabric damage. Nonetheless, the condition of some chancels deteriorated further during James I's reign, for the following reasons. First, the rate of Crown sales of rectories accelerated from the 1580s to the 1620s, almost exhausting its stock; the initial purchasers were speculators, who did not hold them long enough to invest in church fabric; and the ultimate purchasers tended only to maintain the chancels of churches to whose parishes they were linked, although those in public life were more apt to discharge their duty. Second, few ecclesiastical leases contained repairing covenants. Neile and Cosin revolutionised the situation by rigorously pursuing impropriators in the courts, sequestering rectorial tithes to pay for chancel repairs (a remedy hitherto rarely employed), ordering churchwardens to repair chancels, and including repairing covenants in ecclesiastical leases. This brought about significant improvements in the condition of many East Riding churches overall by 1640, despite the difficulties arising from the cost of the work, inflation, and increasing rates of default on church rates. In some cases (such as Flamborough) the extent of the work required defeated the parishioners; in others (such as Howden), the obduracy of the impropriators defeated the courts.

Chapter III demonstrated that the upheavals engendered by the civil wars and the Commonwealth caused sustained neglect of ecclesiastical fabric throughout 1640 to 1660, both to chancels and to the body of the church, although only churches in Scarborough and Wressle suffered significant damage from military action. The abolition of the ecclesiastical courts in 1641 removed a vital method of compelling both owners (or lessees) of rectorial tithes and parishioners to execute necessary repairs. The abolition of bishops in 1646 and of deans, chapters and prebends in 1649 deprived ecclesiastics of their East Riding rectories, one quarter of which they had owned. There was no one to enforce any repairing covenants. Recusants who were also delinquents constituted a disproportionately high percentage and number of ecclesiastics' tenants, and were often impoverished, and sometimes ruined, by the fines and sequestrations levied on them and their estates (unless they had already set up protective trusts), and were therefore unable to repair chancels for which they were responsible. Some very powerful impropriators successfully ignored their repairing obligations, as did many who shared the tithes of one rectory with other impropriators; but many non-Catholic Royalists and parliamentarians continued to maintain their chancels, especially if they had a connection, such as residence, with the parishes whose tithes they received. Many parishes tried to maintain their churches, but increased neglect and decay was inevitable during these decades, which churchwardens sometimes sought to conceal at the Restoration. Parishes also faced a serious threat from the early advance of Quakerism in the East Riding from 1652, not only among parishioners of average income, but also (in Holderness especially) of wealthy people, who refused to pay either tithes or church tax.

Chapter IV showed that the Restoration of the Crown and the Church brought a conscious attempt to restore East Riding church fabric as well as to ensure that parishes were once again properly equipped for Protestant worship as defined in 1662. This effort was impeded by the large number and scale of the problems facing church authorities; the

magnitude of the task presented by the accumulated neglect of previous decades; increasing divisions in interests in rectorial tithes, which usually led to chancel decay; an ever greater detachment of impropriators from the parishes whose chancels they were supposed to maintain; the increased spread of Quakerism and the refusal to contribute to church costs; the poverty of the East Riding relative to the other Ridings, especially in the countryside and the restrictions on the potential of any rural East Riding community to meet such costs; the priority accorded both by Parliament and the church authorities to suppressing dissent; and the want of power in the restored ecclesiastical courts to compel compliance with such orders as they made for fabric repair. In addition, progress was hampered by clergy pluralism and non-residence, difficulties in filling vacancies and the desperate poverty of many ministers serving East Riding parishes. The situation was illustrated by case studies of three contiguous parishes, all of whose rectories were very wealthy for the East Riding. The tithes of Kirkburn and of Kilnwick were held by several different, unconnected, people, and during these decades Kilnwick was served by a destitute curate, and Kirkburn, by another, impoverished, curate who was also a sequestrator of the vicarial tithes. By contrast, the rector of Bainton was its resident incumbent. The fabric of Bainton church was well-maintained: that of Kirkburn and Kilnwick, badly neglected (especially their chancels).

Chapter V was dominated by the sterling efforts of archbishop Sharp and archdeacon Dering. Sharp recognised that parishes were unable to meet the cost of substantial repairs, and authorised a national campaign to fund work on Beverley Minster. The two men introduced printed demands to parishes for information on fabric and printed articles circulated in advance of a visitation, and (in addition to visitations at towns such as Beverley and Hull) personal inspection by the archdeacon of churches and accommodation by appointment with the incumbent and churchwardens in personal attendance, who were required to compile and submit written inventories, and to certify

compliance with Dering's orders within a stipulated period. Dering then checked whether such certificates had been provided. Dering himself recorded his visits with full details of his findings. While this practice may tend to suggest that more was amiss than had been previously, when no or much more limited notes and orders were made, undoubtedly Dering secured significant improvements in the state of East Riding churches by using these methods. Inevitably, they could not correct long-standing dilapidation, and they were also hampered by increasing rates of pluralism and non-residence among the poorer clergy and deepening poverty in the countryside.

The thesis contributes to wider-ranging debates, to which allusion is made in the Introduction. One was the time taken before the Reformation was successfully established, an element in which is the extent to which the Riding remained predominantly Catholic. Between 1547 and 1590 inhabitants of at least 29 East Riding parishes and a comparable number of clergy openly maintained their Catholicism, but gradually most either conformed, went abroad, or became church papists. Some families remained Catholic and stayed in East Yorkshire after 1590; some of these families died out during our period; and some – like the Wartons – abandoned their faith. By that test the Reformation had become established in East Yorkshire by the end of Elizabeth's reign.[922] However, its course in that Riding supports the terminus of c.1700 advanced in the Introduction. The numbers of its Puritan ministers soared from about fifteen between 1547 to 1603 to over seventy between 1603 and 1640; at least 23 East Riding clergy were deprived or otherwise penalised during the Protectorate; similar numbers were ejected at the Restoration, which saw the establishment of a much harsher and intolerant Protestantism than had been promised. From 1653 to 1693 Quakerism gained a great

[922] See pages 50-51, 57, 66, 72, 74-75, 99, 134-38, 141 and footnote 237.

following, only for it to melt away over the next fifty years, while other minority dissenting groups sprang up.[923]

Another debate has concerned the rise of avant-garde conformity. Once Neile was archbishop, East Yorkshire saw specifically Arminian precepts implemented in at least twenty churches. Moreover, by the 1570s most East Riding parishioners had lost many of the material items which aided their worship. After the Elizabethan settlement parishes were obliged to possess communion cups for their congregations, but the acquisitions (whether of plate or other 'necessaries') in the 1630s were probably in response to the demands of Cosin and Neile, who required ecclesiastical equipment to be of high quality. Dering shared their attitude. Thus communities both in the 1630s and between 1700 and 1730 were once again able to vest such objects with spiritual meaning, for example by inscribing messages on new bells.[924]

Yet another debate has concerned the concept of sacred space. The traditional ascending gradation of holiness from ecclesiastical west to east did not invariably inform East Riding practice: both before and after 1547 many preferred to bury their relatives in aisles or chantry chapels exclusively theirs (or near their relatives) rather than in the chancel. This option was usually only available to the established gentry. Wealthy newcomers often chose to be buried in the chancel, to reflect their higher social status (and perhaps also its greater sanctity), and to have monuments erected there to ensure their remembrance. Some were driven by a desire to appropriate a part of the church as their own, as is evidenced by rectors' requests both before and after 1547 for burial under their respective pulpits, and by laity throughout our period for burial where they used to sit. The accretion of seating for laity in the chancel (especially at its east end) after 1547, and

[923] See pages 127, 170-73, 181-83, 209-10, 223-24, 227-30, 285-91 and footnotes 358 and 388.
[924] See pages 72, 109-10, 164-70.

its use for teaching as well as for communion, indicate its relative secularisation by 1625, when Cosin became archdeacon. He and Neile achieved almost complete success in reorganising seating both in the nave and the chancel so as to prevent offensive use of the latter and to ensure clear sight-lines from the nave to the altar, which must have restored a degree of sanctity to the chancel. The absence of any citation in 1662-63 in respect of pews suggests that East Riding churches had not rebuilt the seating which had been removed in the 1630s. Dering's orders for the reduction in screen height or their removal made chancels and altars more visible, and thereby implied that chancels were especially significant.[925]

The thesis demonstrates that the Reformation brought about the transfer of more than half East Riding rectories to lay rectors, and that this development was a major factor in the dilapidation of church fabric whose impact increased with time. Appropriate maintenance and repair of church fabric required radical thinking and radical re-organisation of the clergy, abolishing tithes and the financial rights and duties of rectors and impropriators, lifting the burden of funding their own housing from the clergy, and providing suitable stipends and accommodation, and adequate finance and supervision to care for church fabric. No one would have contemplated such a programme between 1690 and 1730, but Sharp and Dering achieved much.

[925] Torre, ff.689, 694, 698, 1110, 1209, 1214. See pages 12-13, 18-22, 64-69, 80, 107, 114-16, 118-19, 131.