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NEWS REVIEW

Lincoln Record Society

THE COUNCIL AND OFFICERS WOULD LIKE TO

Welcome you to the tenth edition of the News Review

The national importance of Lincolnshire, as a significant place and space throughout history, has been highlighted through a range of historical commemorations that the Society has supported this year. *Battles and Dynasties*, an exhibition of international standard, was held at The Collection from 27 May until 3 September 2017. The main focus of the exhibition was the anniversary of the second Battle of Lincoln (1217), but more generally it explored the role that Lincolnshire played in historical events from 1066 until the present day. This complemented the exhibition in Lincoln Castle of Great Domesday, the country's oldest surviving public record, which is rarely displayed outside London. A record of the taxable value and resources of all of the boroughs and manors in England, Domesday offers a key insight into life and society either side of the Norman Conquest. For Lincoln, it is particularly pertinent, as William the Conqueror, who commissioned the Domesday survey, was also responsible for establishing Lincoln Cathedral and Lincoln Castle. The exhibition brought together a range of noteworthy pieces relating to Lincoln, for example the wonderful seal of Nichola de la Haye from The National Archives (DL 25/2890). Nichola was an extraordinary woman by the standards of medieval England. A member of a local aristocratic family, she was one of the few women to hold royal office during this period and held the positions of sheriff of Lincolnshire and castellan of Lincoln during the Battle of Lincoln. The Society is proud to part-fund the catalogue for this landmark *Battles and Dynasties* exhibition, edited by the Honorary General Editor of the Society, Dr Nicholas Bennett.

Another important event which the Society wished to commemorate was the 800th anniversary of the issue of the Charter of the Forest. Lincoln Cathedral's copy of the first Charter of the Forest is one of only two surviving originals, which was issued on or around 6 November 1217. It contains the forest clauses included in the first Magna Carta of 1215, in addition to fourteen more clauses which made provision for the administration of the forests and the rights and privileges of those dwelling within or near it. The only surviving original pair of Charters, the 1217 Lincoln Charter of the Forest and the Lincoln original of the 1215 Magna Carta, are on display in the David P.J. Ross Vault in Lincoln Castle. The Lincoln Record Society organised an international conference to bring together the latest research on this fascinating subject, which was held in Lincoln from Friday 22 to Sunday 24 September, in association with Bishop Grosseteste University, the American Bar Association and the Woodland Trust. Our own specialist in this field, Dr David Crook, took the lead in organising this event and I'm sure those of you who attended will agree that the excellent programme of speakers provided a great forum for discussion and debate. Many thanks to David, to all of the speakers and to all delegates for making this such a successful conference.

There is a full report of this exciting conference in this issue of the News Review. In addition, you will find an article from Alison McHardy about the fantastic new volume from the Canterbury and York Society: *Proctors for Parliament: Clergy, Community and Politics, c.1248-1539. (The National Archives, Series SC 10) Volume I: c.1248-1377*, which includes much relevant Lincolnshire material. Chris Johnson shares some of his research relating to the thirteenth-century Jewish community of Lincoln. There is a write-up of the launch of John Manterfield's excellent Lincoln Record Society volume: *Borough Government in Newton's Grantham, The Hall Book of Grantham, 1649-1662*, which took place in St Wulfram's church, Grantham last year. And Alan Kissane shares his latest research with us, discussing his monograph: *Civic Community in Late Medieval Lincoln, Urban Society and Economy in the Age of the Black Death, 1289-1409*. I hope you enjoy it!

Marianne Wilson

THE LAUNCH OF

Borough Government in Newton's Grantham, The Hall Book of Grantham, 1649-1662, edited by John Manterfield

On Friday 30th September 2016, Lincoln Record Society volume 106 was launched at St Wulfram's church in Grantham. The book details borough government in the middle of the seventeenth century and it was particularly appropriate that this volume was launched here, as up until 1835, the annual election of the alderman took place within St Wulfram's, in the area where the Corpus Christi chapel is now. The volume was launched by the Mayor of Grantham, Councillor Linda Wootten and accompanied by a lecture from the editor of the volume, John Manterfield, exploring some of the material covered by the volume. This includes the period that Isaac Newton attended the King's School in Grantham and then afterwards lodged with the apothecary, William Clarke, on High Street. And, of course, the launch was accompanied by plentiful amounts of tea and cake, provided by the parishioners of St Wulfram's, many thanks to them for their hospitality.

Marianne Wilson

THE CLERGY IN PARLIAMENT DURING THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

An unexplored subject

It is a little-known fact that the medieval English parliament contained a substantial clerical element. It consisted of all twenty-one bishops of England and Wales, every cathedral dean, all sixty archdeacons, one representative of each cathedral chapter, and two of the lower clergy from every diocese. There was also a fluctuating number of heads of important abbeys. The groups, that is, the chapters and the diocesan clergy, sent representatives, who, we may presume, sat among the lay commons. Depictions of medieval parliaments show ranks of bishops and abbots seated in prominent positions, near the lay lords. In practice, however, many of those who, in theory, should have gone in person did not do so; instead they sent letters of apology, letters which also contained the names of the substitutes they had chosen to act in their place. All of these, the delegates and the substitutes, are together known as the parliamentary proctors.

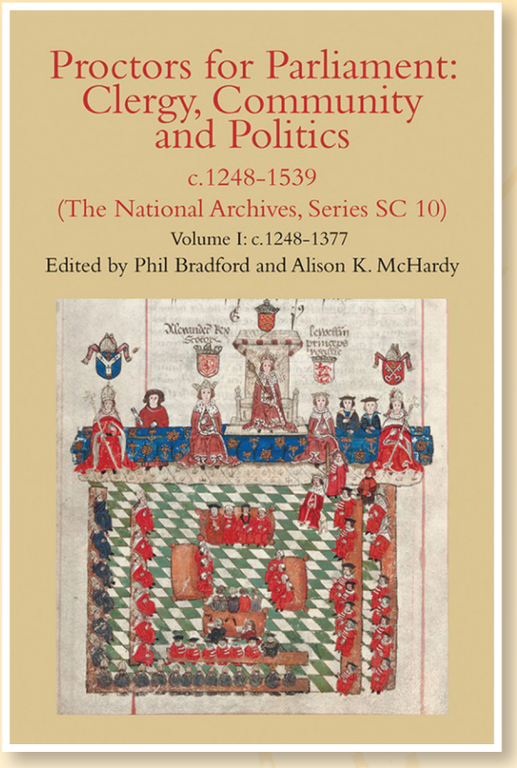
The National Archives contains over 2, 520 letters appointing these proctors, in the series SC10, and the county and diocese of Lincoln feature strongly among them.

There are examples from bishops, deans, archdeacons, the cathedral chapter, the diocesan clergy and the so-called 'parliamentary abbots'. Eight Lincolnshire abbots feature among them: Bardney, Barlings, Crowland, Thornton, (the prior of) Spalding, Swineshead, Tupholme, and Vaudey. Though most of these later dropped off the list of those summoned to parliament in the course of the fourteenth century, the abbeys of Bardney and Crowland continued to be important. Elsewhere in the diocese of Lincoln the abbeys of Peterborough and Ramsey appear most often, along with less evidence from Leicester Abbey and Croxton Kerrial. Bishops' and abbots' letters constitute the overwhelming number of survivals in the collection as a whole.

An individual explained initially, in his reply to the summons, why he could not attend parliament in person, using a vague excuse like, 'too busy' or 'too ill', or 'for certain good and legitimate reasons'. Then he named his substitutes (proctors), and he did not hold back when it came to numbers. A letter naming only a single one was very rare; two, three or four were most common, but there

could be up to six. Their interest lies in the variety of men chosen. Abbots might often choose a fellow-monk of their house, an administrator of their lands, a king's clerk (clerical civil servant) who might well have a connection with the house or could be useful because of his role in the administration of parliament. Bishops often chose men who served in their diocesan administration, or king's clerks who held canonries in their cathedral. In abbots' letters the combination of a monk of his house and a clerk in crown service was very common. But the clergy did not confine themselves to choosing other clerics, and among the proctors we find MPs, both past and future, as well as men sitting in that particular parliament. There were, too, county office-holders, such as sheriffs, as well as country gentlemen who never rose as high, but who performed essential tasks in local government on behalf of the crown. A notable example of this last group is provided by the Enderby family of Somersby and Enderby. Over twenty-five years two generations, Albin Enderby and his son Thomas, occurred as proctors for the abbots of Crowland, and once the two acted together, the only father-and-son commission in the whole collection. If an abbey was involved in a law-suit, the appointing of a judge, or other leading lawyer, was an astute move. In some cases the use of lawyers can be linked to court cases and to petitions from religious houses in the county – as will be evident when the volume of *Petitions from Lincolnshire* is published. Late-medieval Lincolnshire produced a remarkably high number of leading crown administrators and successful lawyers, so individuals, like the abbots, and some groups, like Lincoln cathedral chapter, had plenty of well-informed and important men to call on. They needed the help of such men, for as property owners and claimers of rights, ecclesiastical corporations had many interests to defend. What these appointments show us is a level of political and social life which is otherwise hard to discern, with networking and lobbying which went on while parliament was sitting but which was not noted in the official record of proceedings nor mentioned in chronicles.

These letters of appointment are being published by the Canterbury and York Society. The information is presented in clear and user-friendly tabular format, and no special



skills are needed to appreciate the rich information they contain. There is a full introduction describing the history of representation, and the fortunes of the collection, also illustrations, and biographical notes on the proctors. *Proctors for Parliament: Clergy, Community and Politics c. 1248-1539, volume I: c. 1248-1377*, edited by Phil Bradford and Alison K. McHardy has received a generous grant from the Lincoln Record Society towards production costs, and members of LRS can obtain a copy at the discount price of £28, including postage. Orders should be addressed to the treasurer of the Canterbury and York Society, Dr. Nicholas Karn, Building 65, Faculty of Humanities, University of Southampton, Avenue Campus, Highfield, Southampton, SO17 1BF.

Alison McHardy

NOTICES AND DATES FOR YOUR DIARY

Lincoln Record Society prize
Hannah Barrett from the University of Lincoln has been awarded the Lincoln Record Society prize for the best dissertation in history for her study on: 'Punishment in Seventh-Century Iberia: its scale, visibility and limits'. She has been awarded £100 and three years' membership of the Society.

Dulcie Duke prize
Megan Godber from Bishop Grosseteste University was awarded the Dulcie Duke prize for the best local history essay. She has also been awarded £100 and three years' membership of the Society.

2017 AGM
All members of the Society are invited to attend the AGM on Saturday 28 October at the Robert Hardy Building, Teaching Room 1, Bishop Grosseteste University, at 2pm. There will be a lecture to follow the AGM and afternoon tea from 3.30pm.

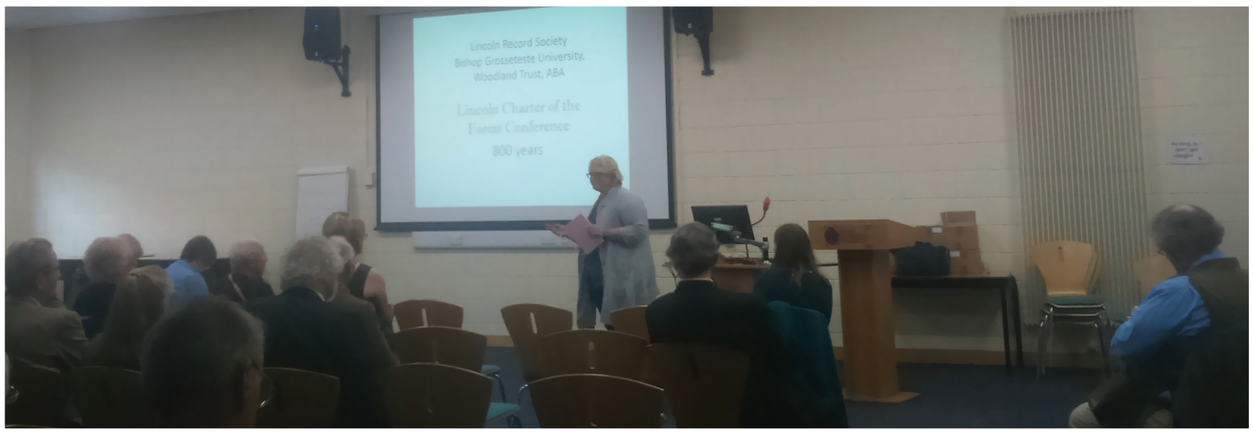
CHARTER OF THE FOREST CONFERENCE

I joined The National Archives as a Medieval Records Specialist in 2014. Since then I have been machinating to make Lincoln and Lincolnshire the centre of everything we do (much to colleagues' annoyance)! This has dovetailed with my role as Secretary of the LRS in that this decade has been rich in high-profile anniversaries, not only of the centenary of the Society but also of some of this country's most iconic records; the Society has been involved in planning, developing and delivering some really exciting events centred upon them. This year has been no exception.

The archive of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral, as you know, holds the world's only surviving pair of the 1215 Magna Carta and the 1217 Charter of the Forest. In 2015 the Society celebrated the 800th anniversary of the sealing of the Great Charter by hosting a very successful international conference, and from 22-24 September the Society hosted a series of events over three days to commemorate the 800th anniversary of the sealing of the Charter of the Forest.

Delegates were initially treated to an optional tour of The Vault, the purpose-built exhibition gallery for both charters in Lincoln Castle. Led by Dr David Crook, Council member and trustee of the LRS and the world's premier expert on medieval English forests and forest law, the tour gave the chance to view both original documents with expert commentary from Professors Nicholas Vincent and David Carpenter, renowned historians of the Magna Carta period. Setting the scene to the Forest Charter in his inimitable style, Professor Carpenter then delivered a typically entertaining lecture as a prelude to the conference dinner in the Lincoln Hotel.

The main lecture day, hosted by Bishop Grosseteste University, witnessed a glittering array of speakers present a series of well-received lectures that showcased some of the most cutting-edge research into both the Forest Charter and the history and landscape of the medieval forest. Nicholas Vincent magisterially introduced his latest findings on the Forest Charter as text and artefact. Lincoln's copy is one of only thirteen surviving from the four main recensions of 1217, 1225, 1297 and 1300, and one of only two 1217 originals. It has unique diplomatic and no witness clause. The 'Little Charter' was most probably sent out as a pair with Magna Carta whenever the latter was renewed and even into counties where no forest existed. Professor Judith Green investigated the intersection of the religious with the forest in the twelfth century: clergymen faced penalties for offences against



the law and some engaged enthusiastically in hunting while monastics, particularly the Cistercians who sought out forest locations as their 'desert', fell foul of forest law. Professor Louise Wilkinson deftly demonstrated the roles played by women in the medieval forest, not simply as inhabitants but also as landholders, office-holders, victims and perpetrators of offences against the vert and venison (including the memorable manuscript depiction of berobed women butchering a deer). She showed that noblewomen, for example, desired an association with traditional aristocratic activities through involvement in hunting and poaching. In two detailed lectures David Crook explored the legal background to and practical implementation of the provisions of the Forest Charter, questioning how effective it was in the short term in addressing the needs of the political community and examining the political opposition to it. Landscape archaeologist and long-time collaborator with our President, Paul Everson captivatingly explored the marginal nature of the medieval forest and how the sacred intersected with the secular in the forest landscape, particularly at Barlings and Kirkstead. Finally, in a session co-sponsored by The Woodland Trust and chaired by the Chief Executive Beccy Speight, Professor Nicholas Robinson of PACE Law School, New York, one of the world's most prominent experts on environmental law, examined the legacy of the Charter as a piece of 'environmental' legislation which, he argued, gave people of all social levels 'common rights' and launched eight centuries of evolving norms for nature stewardship. This was also a chance for the Trust to promote their Charter for Trees, Woods and People (treecharter.uk).

The final day saw a hardy band of delegates board a coach bound for Laxton and Clipstone. A tour of Sherwood led by David Crook visited some parts of the surviving medieval landscape, including the controversial Laxton 'castle'. Andy Gaunt of Mercian Archaeology gave a fascinating tour of King John's Palace at Clipstone. A lovely lunch was taken at The Dovecote Inn, Laxton.

The conference was the brainchild principally of David Crook and the Society owes David an enormous debt of gratitude for pulling together such a fantastic array of speakers and fascinating trips and tours. Thanks also to all the staff at Lincoln Castle, The Lincoln Hotel, Bishop Grosseteste University and The Dovecote, Laxton, for their support.

Paul Dryburgh

THE RISE AND FALL OF A THIRTEENTH CENTURY COURTIER

John of Lexington, brother of Henry, Bishop of Lincoln, is well known to have played a crucial role in the gruesome saga of the dead boy Hugh, son of Beatrice, whose death in the summer of 1255 was conveniently ascribed to the Lincoln Jewish community. The true facts of this incident have been obscured and distorted by biased accounts in contemporary chronicles and later ballads. My aim is to examine the events from John's perspective, and suggest how his circumstances and motivation may have influenced events with far-reaching consequences.

As late as the summer of 1255, John was seen as a model courtier, well regarded by the King. He had been in service for the Earl of Chester in the early 1230s, and then undertaken legal training, becoming a Justice. He accompanied Henry III to France in 1242/43 and for a while in 1249 was accorded the privilege of Keeper of the King's seal, a notable mark of favour. He became involved in the King's Forests in this period: in 1248 he had licence to take view and livery of the King's foresters and other bailiffs in the forest of Theydon.

In 1252 he was appointed Keeper of the Forests beyond the Trent, with an annual grant of 100 marks, and in the following year given custody of three castles, Scarborough, Pickering and Bamburgh. Maybe during this time he also acquired a taste, bordering on obsession, for hunting. In May 1254 he was allowed to pursue minor game in Northamptonshire, Yorkshire and Northumberland, but told firmly not to take any of the King's deer. John instead had to take Royal guests around the forests.

John's weakness showed up in May of that year when he accompanied Guy de Castellione, Count of St Pol, in the forest of Weybridge in Huntingdonshire. Temptation to show off his own skills got the upper hand: he was punished for taking two beasts of the chase. This was later pardoned, but the damage was done. On 20 June John was ordered to forfeit the castle of Pickering to the Sheriff of Yorkshire, and the castle and manor of Bamburgh to William Heyrun, Sheriff of Northumberland. The office of Chief Justice of the Forest was also stripped from him. He was left with relatively minor judicial duties and the keeping of Scarborough Castle.

Lexington was undoubtedly apprehensive of the King's visit to his home at Warsop on his journey north in July and August 1255. Henry realised the parallels with the case of Robert de Ros, former Chief Justice of those same forests. Ros had been entrusted as guardian of Margaret, the young Queen of Scotland, but was restrictive in his regime for her. He was also in disgrace, told that the King was heading north to correct the situation, and was facing the same fate of losing a castle, in his case Wark in Northumberland, which was to be surrendered to William Heyrun. The warning letter to Ros was sent north, from Warsop, on 4 August.

Another factor influencing the King at this point was money: he had decided on another tallage of the Jews, this time for 500 marks, but the Jews had a reduced capacity to meet such a modest target; the Lincoln Jewish community however did have some money, notably Jacob and his father Leo, leaders of the community and still quite wealthy. Henry had also mortgaged the Jews and their regular income to his brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, so was in need of a windfall.

John had little time to consider how to redeem himself in the eyes of the King, as he was to accompany him on this long journey north: perhaps a few days before 4 August, and then another short period on the return journey. He needed a rabbit to pull out of the hat. How coincidental was it therefore that it was apparently on 31 July that the boy Hugh went missing, and his body found towards the end of August. John's pardon for the hunting incident came on 20 September.

There is also speculation as to when Henry actually heard about the disappearance, and certainly doubt surrounds a reputed journey made by the boy's mother to petition the King. She was called Cecily in an official document of 1259, and the ballads gave her at least two other different names; the contemporary chronicles give no name.

The various accounts allocate to John only the role of judicial investigator during the two days in early October when 'Copin' was interrogated and forced into confession. This Copin we now know was Jacob son of Leo, so his execution presented the King with a useful portfolio of valuable properties, including Jacob's own residence, now 13 Steep Hill.

But did John play a wider role in this business? Far-fetched perhaps, but I sense a great desperation for regaining Henry's approval. Could he have stage-managed the discovery, or the appeal of the mother? Later records show that, despite the immense embarrassment caused to the King by his involvement in the business, and the removal of Scarborough Castle from his keeping, John was given further judicial work. He was also ordered by the King to assist Adam of Everingham (a member of a family long at enmity with the Lexingtons) to provide deer for the King in September 1256. During that November his Forest accounts were audited, although John seems to have deputed William de Stokeswelle to submit them on his behalf. The final mention of John in the official record comes in the form of a rescheduled appointment to preside over a case of novel disseisin in Derbyshire on 26 December 1256, and his death was announced in January 1257: how he died is unknown.

Chris Johnson

OBITUARY:

Raymond Albert Carroll (20 March 1930–29 January 2017)

Raymond Albert Carroll ('Ray') was born in Wallasey on Merseyside on 20 March 1930, and died in Boston, Lincolnshire on 29 January 2017. He made a great contribution to the culture of Lincolnshire.

Ray began working as Lincolnshire County Librarian in 1980 and is remembered by other former employees of Lincolnshire County Council for his honourable liberal values, his care for his staff and his love of scholarship and public service, values which were increasingly regarded as old-fashioned in the market-led ideology of the time. Ray was pressured to take an early retirement package in 1985, but this meant he could now enjoy life to the full with all his absorbing interests and friendships.

He continued to serve the book, publishing in 1988 *Holbeach Past*, co-authored with four other editors, and followed by a sequel in 1992. There then followed a great book of which he remained justly proud, the splendid *Printed Maps of Lincolnshire, 1576–1900. A Carto-Bibliography with an Appendix on Road-Books, 1675–1900*, published by the Lincoln Record Society in 1996. His survey of Dorset maps will soon be published, and to the same standard of scholarship.

Ray was also very keen on railways and railway history. The last time I saw him, in October, we were spending an afternoon looking at Lincolnshire houses for a book I am editing, and he made a point of showing me the derelict Whaplode railway station, a building that needs to be saved, but there are so many derelict – even ancient and listed – buildings in Lincolnshire, the county of 'gone-ness', to quote Henry Thorold's expression.

He was a fellow of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society, a committee member of the Lincoln Record Society and also of the Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology. He was reviews editor for that society's journals, *Lincolnshire Past and Present* and *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology*. He always found something positive to say in the hundreds of book reviews he wrote himself, understanding not only the struggle that often went into publishing the book, but also each book's significance for its influential legacy in local history.

Perhaps surprisingly, he did not write many essays, though he contributed two to these journals: one on 'Lincolnshire Roads and Road Signs' to *Lincolnshire Past and Present* in 2011, and another on 'The History of Lincolnshire Committee' in *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* in 2001.

He was chairman and secretary of the St Botolph's Parish Library Committee, which cares for the ancient library in Boston's parish church. He also had a stint as honorary secretary of the Tennyson Society, while also being a long-term member of the executive and publications committee. Soon after he moved to Lincoln, he was involved in the national campaign to save the collection of the Tennyson Research Centre at Lincoln, which was being sold at Sothebys. A national appeal involved John Betjeman and Philip Larkin and Lincolnshire County Council, resulting in a large number of important items being saved for the county, including the *In Memoriam* manuscripts, purchased for £100,000.

An unpublished project, but one he did a lot of work for, and which might still see publication, was a new edition of the Torrington Byng diaries for Lincolnshire in 1791. The manuscript is held at Lincoln and Ray had got as far as completing a detailed comparison and correction of the text against that of the previously-published edition.

Ray will be remembered with great respect and affection.

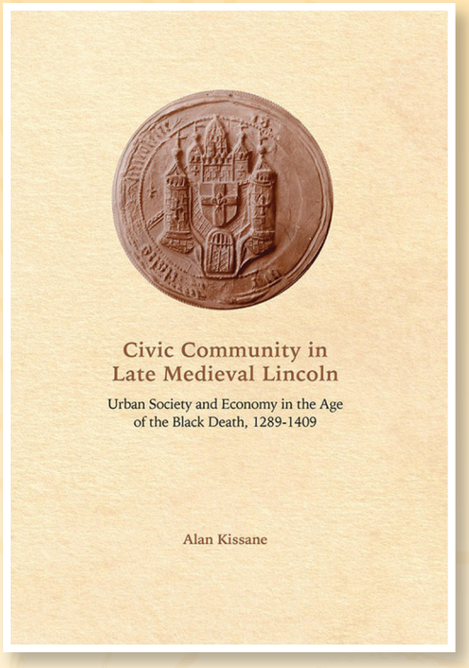
Shaun Tyas

CIVIC COMMUNITY IN LATE MEDIEVAL LINCOLN

Economy and Society in the Age of the Black Death, 1289-1409

In my new publication, I challenge the accepted narrative of Lincoln's medieval decline and question the impact of the Black Death on the city's institutions and structures.

Ever since the publication of J. W. F. Hill's classic text, Medieval Lincoln, in 1948, the status of Lincoln during the later Middle Ages has been accepted in secondary literature as one of steady growth and rapid decline. From its initial success in the three centuries following the Conquest, when it came to dominate regional trade and finance, to its stagnation in the fourteenth century, following the withdrawal of economic institutions (the Staple) and the devastation of plague, Lincoln was, as Hill argued, arguably more poorly equipped than any other medieval city to deal with the various social, economic and religious changes emerging in late medieval society. Of particular significance to this view was Hill's conclusion that the corruption of Lincoln's civic elite, which ultimately led to the suspension of the city's liberties in 1289, was, as he saw it, one of several factors contributing to the collapse of an effective and reliable →



civic government during this period, an outcome devastated further by the plague, as numbers and suitable candidates for local office dwindled. Another was that Lincoln became less attractive to traders following the withdrawal of the Staple to Boston in 1369, which minimised local business and economic opportunities as links to the European cloth and wool markets receded. This was both a reflection and a symptom of the shrinking population which saw Lincoln lose its status as one of the king's leading towns, a position it was never to regain.

And yet, despite the persistence of Hill's narrative of Lincoln's decline in existing scholarship, it is nevertheless likely that the fortunes of Lincoln were in fact far more positive, a conclusion reached through detailed analysis of previously unpublished documentary evidence, in particular records of The National Archives. As these show, Lincoln's relationship with the crown - its taxable contributions; its support for the Anglo-Scottish and Hundred Year's wars through the manufacture of arms and the Exchequer with parchment; its growing status as a judicial centre for the county; the leading financial centre in the Midlands - demonstrate how the city maintained buoyant industrial sectors before and after the initial bout of plague as well as important fiscal and judicial functions too. The growth and the success of the indigenous wool trade in c.1300 also offset the city's well publicised failing cloth industry, a fact underscored by its central role in the trade of the region as it became the de facto inland centre of trade. Subsequent complaints over the perceived poverty of the city - traditionally considered evidence of Lincoln's rapid decline - were likewise no more than politicised attempts to reset the annual fiscal obligation to the crown (through the Fee Farm) which was repeatedly abused for over four decades after c.1370, with the city being forced to pay more than it was legally bound to do. Lincoln's civic government was also remarkably resilient in the face of ongoing demographic and economic problems and the new measures introduced after the restitution of the city's liberties in 1300 (after eleven years in the king's hands) proved somewhat fortuitously as a blessing in disguise, and Lincoln arguably fared better than most other English towns in the half century following the post-Black Death at recruiting and maintaining a pool of well qualified officials. While it remains true that the devastation wrought by subsequent plagues, and before it the famine of 1315-22 and the economic recession of the 1330s, impacted severely on various aspects of Lincoln's society and economy, they nevertheless failed to halt the foundation of dozens of new religious institutions, including guilds and chantries, which reflected and inspired new patterns of devotion and commemoration, aspects largely neglected in existing work on the city. The Black Death, in particular, did not alter in any fundamental way attitudes towards death or dying, though it undoubtedly introduced new measures for the practical management of individual goods, possessions and property. Taken collectively, then, this new evidence points strongly towards only temporary and short term hardships in the city at various junctures during the fourteenth century, not, as existing historiography suggests, sustained decline. In fact, frequent migration into the city combined with a willingness of local merchants to invest in emerging industries meant that it was only after the 1420s that Lincoln, like so many other English towns and cities, began to decline economically and politically

Alan Kissane