



NEWS REVIEW

Lincoln Record Society



THE COUNCIL AND OFFICERS WOULD LIKE TO

welcome you to the fifteenth edition of the News Review!

Continuity is one of those words we see overused in thesis titles, but it seems to describe quite aptly the work I have been involved in with the Survey of Ancient Houses and its successor organization the Survey of Lincoln. It is now over 50 years since Stanley Jones began his epic task of recording the architecture of the Close and the Bail, and also 25 years since the Survey of Lincoln began its own work of research and publication, which has often happily involved collaboration with the LRS.

In May 1971 I was made aware of a vacancy at the Lincolnshire Archives Office for a 'Fourth Assistant Archivist', and was very pleasantly surprised, although slightly apprehensive, to discover that the interview was to be held over lunch at the Priory with Sir Francis Hill and Michael Lloyd, the County Archivist. Having overcome this hurdle I started work at the Castle, then the home of LAO, in August 1971, and was very soon introduced to Joan Varley, who had retired at the beginning of the year and was becoming established as a regular reader in the Search Room, getting to grips with the Dean and Chapter leases as part of her huge contribution to the SAH.

Within a few months I had joined the LRS (almost obligatory for new archivists in those days!) and had also encountered Professor Kathleen Major, who was I think in the process of moving back to Lincoln in her retirement. She gave a party to celebrate this, which I greatly enjoyed. By the middle of 1973 I had become very interested in the history of the city of Lincoln, through my involvement in calendaring some of the municipal records, and was invited to join the Working Party of the Survey, which met a few times each year at the Archives on a Saturday morning, followed by a very leisurely lunch at the White Hart, courtesy of Miss Major. With some trepidation I took on the role of Hon. Secretary in April 1974. As a Classics graduate who was enjoying the more relaxed style of medieval Latin in medieval charters, I found three LRS volumes to be of particular importance to my work for the Survey, and which are still of crucial significance to my efforts with regard to the Steep Hill area and the Jewish community in medieval Lincoln.

There are no prizes for guessing that my three chosen volumes are *Registrum Antiquissimum*, volumes viii, ix and x, published as LRS volumes 51, 62 and 67 respectively in 1958, 1968 and 1973. These deal with charters (mostly pre-1300) relating to the various parishes



in the city, and are grouped 'in the order in which the first document relating to each of the parishes is transcribed in *REGISTRUM ANTIQUISSIMUM*' (Preface to vol viii, p.5). The volumes in this series, as inscribed on the front covers, follow the plan laid down by the Society's founder, Canon Foster, who in turn was heavily influenced by scholars of an even earlier vintage such as JH Round, as Professor Holt noted when volume x was published (*Lincolnshire Echo* article, 5 October 1973). At the same celebratory luncheon, Professor Major expressed relief at having finished this *magnum opus*, as she did 22 years later when volume IV of the Survey of Ancient Houses was published. I think that continuity is a cogent theme in all of this.

Working with these charters, and all the other medieval material which, though frequently used and cited, has never been published, is of inestimable importance in writing about the medieval city, and the four volumes of the Survey of Ancient Houses, as well as their successor work, '*Steep, Strait and High: Ancient Houses of Central Lincoln*', could never have been produced without their help. My copies of vols viii and ix were handed to me by Miss Major specifically for the use of the Survey, whilst vol. x was one of the first LRS volumes I acquired as part of my membership of the Society. Apart from the work on the buildings of Lincoln, these volumes and their 'relatives', the *Liber de Ordinationibus Cantuariarum* (Chuntries Cartulary, LAO D&C A.1.8) and the Vicars Choral Cartulary (LAO VC 2/1), provide invaluable support for studies relating to the office holders (e.g. mayors and bailiffs), and even to more humble



witnesses to charters. Digitisation of the name references in these and other documents (now running to c.15,000 entries) has helped me to make slight revisions possible to the dates of some *Registrum Antiquissimum* charters, and there is now an almost complete list of mayors and bailiffs for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, building on the work of Sir Francis Hill and Professor Major. My three chosen volumes will long continue to provide quality information and support, not only to myself but many other students of Lincoln's history.

I would also like to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Council and Officers of the Society, to say that we hope that all of our members all keeping safe and well throughout these uncertain and challenging times. We were particularly saddened to hear of the untimely death of Nigel Burn, an enthusiastic supporter of the Society

for many years, and express our sincere condolences to his family and friends. This edition of the News Review contains lots of material to keep you busy throughout this period of lockdown. Claire Hubbard-Hall and Hazel Kent give us a preview of their forthcoming Lincoln Record Society volume of the minutes of the Civil Defence Committee meetings in World War II. Rob Wheeler provides his insights into the first 'edition' in our digital data series, available through the LRS website. Marianne Wilson shares some interesting details from the fifteenth-century will of Sir Thomas Burgh, builder of Gainsborough Old Hall. And Martin Roberts presents an overview of his thesis 'Effectiveness and Authority: The Bishop of Lincoln's Court of Audience in the early sixteenth century'. We hope that you enjoy it.

Chris Johnson



OBITUARY: NIGEL BURN (1951 – 2020)

Nigel was born on 2nd May 1951, in Nachingwea, Tanzania. His family returned to the UK when Nigel was a toddler and set up home in Petts Wood, South London, close to his maternal uncle. They later moved northwards and Nigel was educated as a boarder at Fettes College in Edinburgh. Afterwards, he spent three years at Leeds University, obtaining a degree in Law in July 1972. In October of that year, Nigel began his training under solicitor Simon Block at Gray's Inn and obtained his professional qualifications at The College of Law in Guildford in May 1977. After qualifying as a solicitor in July 1977, he spent his early career in Belper, Derbyshire, mainly in the area of conveyancing but also pleading in some criminal cases.

At that point his parents were living near Retford in north Nottinghamshire but the family moved to Lee Road, Lincoln, in 1979 and Nigel joined the local firm of Gilbert Blades in its quirky offices at The Glory Hole behind High Bridge. He became a partner there with Fiona Shanks and Gilbert Blades and was held in high esteem by colleagues at Gilbert Blades and then at Wilkin Chapman, when both firms amalgamated. Nigel became greatly interested in criminal law and quickly emerged from Gilbert's shadow and attracted several loyal clients, as word spread of Nigel's skills of persuasion and compassion. As an advocate, he was always well prepared, with the occasional ace up his sleeve. However, his repeated explanation for one regular client, that his client was on the burgled premises looking for his escaped ferret, succeeded only once! He became a Duty Solicitor, attending police call outs in the middle of the night, and qualified as a Higher Court Advocate, entitling him to appear in the Crown Court. Over the years, his fellow professionals saw him establish a reputation for undisputed integrity. Nigel was indeed well-liked and well respected and also described by one senior prosecutor as the best dressed solicitor in Lincoln!

Nigel moved into his own property in Egerton Road in January 1981, a year before his father died. And when his mother died in 2002, some thought he might move back to Lee Road but he was very settled in his own home. It gave him a base close to the attractions of uphill Lincoln, a city that had come to hold a special place in his heart. He embraced various activities both before and after his retirement in 2013. He was initiated into Freemasonry at Ermine Lodge in 1983 and served as Worshipful Master for 1993/1994. He belonged to the same military law association as his cousin Chris, also a lawyer, who specialised in court martial cases.

Throughout his life, Nigel had nurtured a deep love of history and archaeology; this was evident from a glance into his study which revealed a vast array of historical volumes crammed onto every shelf. Nigel would describe himself as a medievalist; he taught himself Latin in order to understand the original texts of the pipe rolls, the principal records of financial audit of the English Exchequer. From 2016 he was Chairman of the Society for Lincolnshire, History and Archaeology, an organisation whose standing he considerably improved in many different roles and through his hard work and great clarity of thought. Nigel became a member of the Lincoln Castle guides twelve years ago, and was the longest serving guiding officer, being described by Malcolm Stainsforth, as a 'leading light' who provided encouragement to others. He was a Lincoln Cathedral Roof Guide leader and a Cathedral floor guide. Nigel was also a great supporter of the Lincoln Record Society which he joined in 2010, and attended many conferences and book launches over the years.



The news that Nigel had passed away on 25th March 2020 shocked our community. His untimely death from coronavirus stole a life that had given so much to the city of Lincoln.

Adapted with kind permission from the eulogy given at Nigel's funeral on May 12th 2020 by Phil Howes, Crown Advocate.



CIVIL DEFENCE IN WARTIME LINCOLN, 1939-45

Civil Defence played a vital role during the Second World War, protecting those on the home front and saving lives. As the significant threat posed by the modern bomber became apparent throughout the 1930s, British governments grew fearful of air attacks and quickly set about preparing Air Raid Precautions (ARP) to protect civilians and their homes. In July 1935, local authorities were informed by the government that they would be responsible for the planning and management of a range of ARP services.

The City of Lincoln Civil Defence Committee coordinated a heavily regulated system designed to protect the people of Lincoln and their families from enemy air attacks. The minutes of the committee's meetings, held at Lincolnshire Archive, shed valuable light on the ways in which the city and its residents responded to the challenges of war.

Following several anniversaries marking key events of the Second World War, historians have renewed their interest in regional and local studies of the wartime home front. Work is beginning on the transcription of Civil Defence Committee meeting minutes for future Lincoln Record Society volumes. This will serve as a timely addition to existing scholarship, providing an insight into local-level Civil Defence mechanisms of mobilising the various services involved in preparing for, responding to and dealing with the aftermath of air raids. These included ARP wardens, the provision of air raid shelters, home shelters, public shelters, first aid posts, fire and ambulance teams, rescue teams, gas decontamination experts, and procedures for dealing with civilian casualties and fatalities.

On 26 October 1939, members of the Civil Defence & Emergency Committee discussed the provision of sandbags and shelters, alongside a stark reality of war – the subject of 'civilian deaths due to war operations'. The Town Clerk reported that a mortuary for civilian dead was to be established in the race-course buildings on the West Common, at a government-approved cost of £280 (applicable for grant reimbursement). In the event of an air raid, two old buses, converted to remove bodies, would be standing ready at the Transport Department at St. Marks. The Transport Manager assured the committee that two drivers would be available around the clock. They were assisted in this grim procedure by four undertakers who had volunteered their services, and who were placed under the general supervision of the City Treasurer.

Across the country, large numbers of people volunteered for ARP duties, providing interesting parallels with those

who have generously offered their time to assist others in need during the COVID-19 pandemic. During the war, volunteers were trained as emergency ambulance drivers, emergency fire-fighters, and ARP wardens, to name just a few of the many roles required in the event of enemy bombing attacks. The youngest volunteers were 15 and 16-year-old messengers who would deliver messages to the ARP controller, a role fulfilled by Lincoln's Town Clerk.

A good communication system was vital in the wake of enemy air attacks, and on the evening of 15 January 1943, Lincoln's system was put to the test. Six enemy aircraft inflicted severe damage and destruction to the city below. This resulted in bombed-out homes, damaged roads and a surface shelter on Avondale Street which was reduced to rubble. Numerous civilians were injured, and some sadly lost their lives as a result of their Civil Defence role.

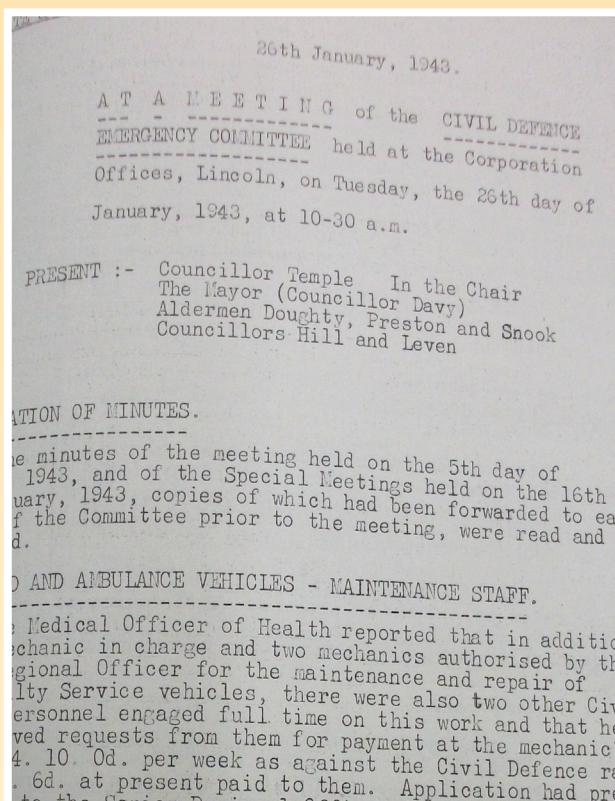
An assessment of the city's response to the incident can be found in the minutes of the Civil Defence Committee meeting of 26 January 1943. These records paint a picture of confusion and poor coordination, vividly illustrating the challenging reality of war and its unpredictable nature. One of the many items discussed was a twenty-minute delay in ambulance response. The Town Clerk resolved that for future incidents, casualty vehicles would respond immediately and not wait to be called.

While things may not have gone to plan in the immediate front-line response, the work of post-raid Civil Defence services was extensive. The committee outlined in detail the damage to houses and the number of workers mobilised to make necessary repairs:

The damage caused to houses by the four bombs in Dixon Street, Vernon Street, Avondale Street and Thomas Street was very light as regards serious damage, but very extensive in the slight damage caused to roofs...The figures at present available indicated that 15 homes were totally destroyed, six houses would have to be demolished, and about 40 suffered extensive damage, but were capable of repair...Something over 800 houses had suffered slight damage.

A labour force of about 100 men was mobilised locally, and the City Engineer and Surveyor had obtained the services of an additional 40 from Scunthorpe, from the Monday to Wednesday following the attack, with the result that the great majority of damaged houses had been temporarily covered in by the Wednesday evening. A further 22 men from Messrs. Cawleys of Nottingham had been drafted in by the Emergency Works Officer and were still at work. →





Lincoln Civil Defence Committee Meeting minutes, 26 October 1943: LAO L1/1/33/2

Sadly, there were three fatalities arising from the New Year incident. One of those was an ARP warden, Harry Brown, who had been opening the air-raid shelter on Avondale Street when a bomb fell around 8.30 pm. He died instantly after being struck by a piece of the shelter's concrete roof. Beatrice May and Harold Onn also lost their lives as a consequence of the night's raid.

The Avondale Street air-raid incident received official attention at a national level, as the Ministry of Home Security sought technical data on the size and type of bomb, alongside the effects of the bomb and the damage caused to buildings. Photographs of the damage to the surface shelter and surrounding homes can be found



Air raid damage to the surface shelter on Avondale Street caused by enemy bombing 15 January 1943: TNA CN 9/4

within the report held by at The National Archives.

Alongside the Civil Defence committee minutes, the forthcoming volumes will draw upon a selection of supplementary records such as air raid damage files, maps, Civil Defence correspondence and pamphlets, wartime posters, newspaper coverage and personal testimony. The volumes will provide a rich resource for those seeking evidence of regulatory approaches to wartime civil defence, and a greater understanding of the impact of war on home front urban communities.

Claire Hubbard-Hall & Hazel Kent



VOLUME 108: PETITIONS FROM LINCOLNSHIRE, C.1200-C.1500

Individual members should have received this volume recently. Mailing to institutional members has been postponed because of the temporary closure of many institutions during the coronavirus restrictions.

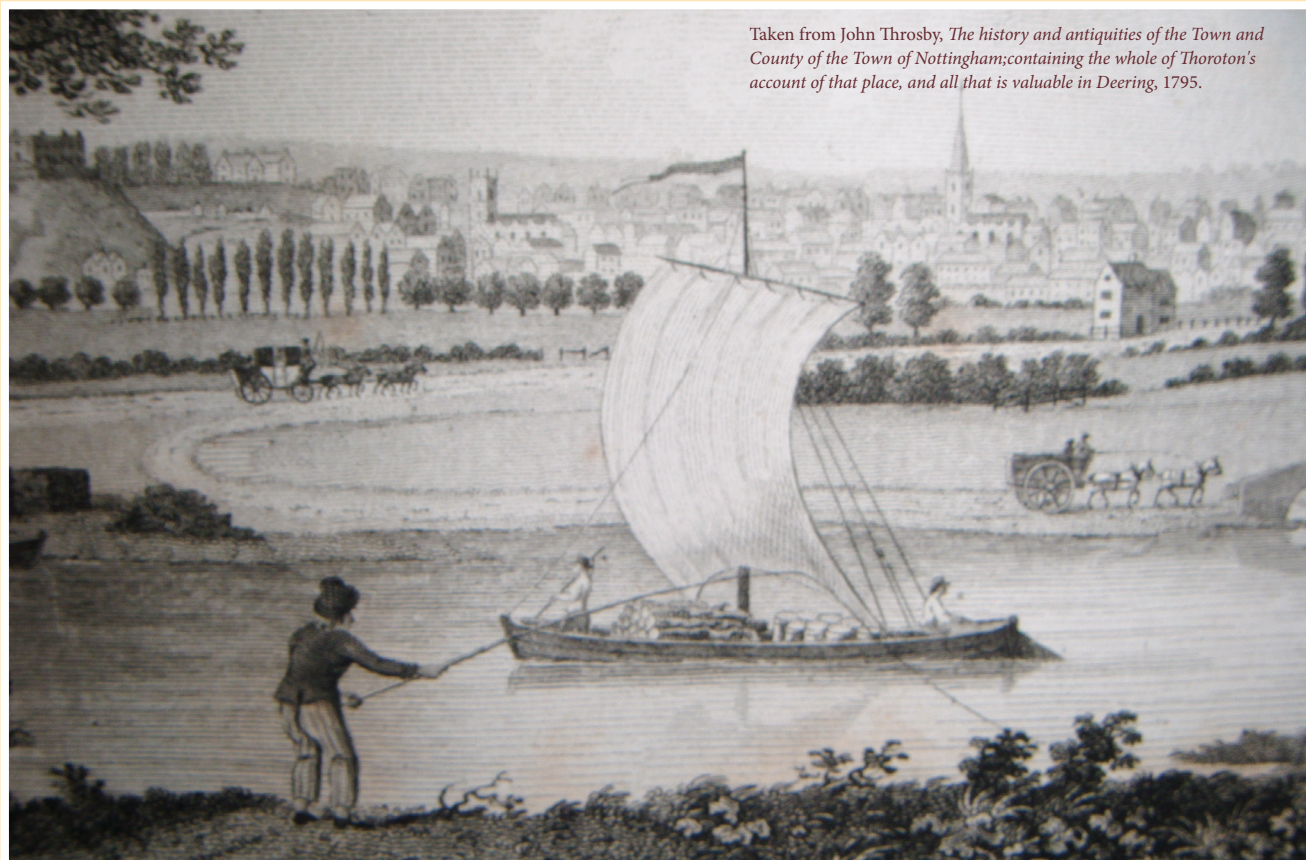
The Society would like to apologise for the accidental deletion, during the production process for this volume, of two footnotes from the beginning of the Introduction. These are the first two notes on page xix: the numbers (1) and (2) remain in the body of the text but the notes themselves are missing.

The missing notes read:

1 An excellent introduction to late medieval kingship and politics is provided by W. M. Ormrod, *Political Life in Medieval England, 1300-1450* (Basingstoke, 1995), ch. 4.

2 *The Antiquarian Repertory*, ed. F. Grose (4 vols, London, 1807-9), i. 314.





Taken from John Throsby, *The history and antiquities of the Town and County of the Town of Nottingham; containing the whole of Thoroton's account of that place, and all that is valuable in Deering, 1795.*



THE FOSSDYKE ACCOUNTS: WHY NUMBERS MATTER

*Quinquireme of Nineveh from distant Ophir,
Rowing home to haven in sunny Palestine,
With a cargo of ivory, And apes and peacocks,
Sandalwood, cedarwood, and sweet white wine.*

[John Masefield, *Cargoes*]

People like to focus on the exotic and the distant. The first stanza of Masefield's poem is far better known than its 'dirty British coaster' carrying 'cheap tin trays'.

This is not a new phenomenon. When Francis Mathew revived national interest in the Fossdyke in 1662 it was as a link in a *mediterranean* route from Norwich to York, along which *squadrons* of boats would proceed, each under its respective commodore. Exactly what commodities Norwich had that were wanted in York was never spelled out: it was enough that the places were famous and distant. Likewise, when Lincoln Corporation agreed in 1672 to mortgage most of its assets in order to fund the improvements, the logic was that this would enhance the city's trade and general prosperity, but there is no record of any discussion of exactly what would be traded.

The result was a flop: average trade in the 1690s was about 750 tons per year. To visualise it, think of a single boat like that in the illustration, making a weekly round trip, and often being only half-loaded. In financial terms, the tolls raised less than £20 per year, barely enough to pay for maintenance, and making no contribution

towards the interest on the Corporation's mortgages. The Corporation ultimately agreed to pay its share towards new locks, presumably as a way of keeping water levels higher for longer, and this resulted in an increase in trade to 2300 tons per year in the decade from 1714. That was enough to pay the bills and provide a small return on the Corporation's investment; but it still only represents about three round trips per week. When the navigation was leased to Richard Ellison in 1741 and he enlarged it, there was another step increase, this time to about 10,000 tons. From that point dates the Fossdyke's role as an important communication link.

The Fossdyke accounts provide details of every consignment on the Fossdyke from 1714 to 1724 and then for a couple of years in the 1730s. At first sight this may seem unimpressive: a decade or so of records from a fairly insignificant waterway. But detailed toll records of this nature are rare; and anything as early as this is extremely rare. What is more, by careful analysis one can use these records to gain a picture, albeit a blurred one, of what was happening before and after, and on more important navigations. →



Take, for example, those step-changes in 1714 and 1741. Most of the commodities carried were not susceptible to a sudden increase of this nature. Wool, for example, the most valuable of the goods carried, was produced by sheep; and the number of sheep in the county was limited by the grazing available. Perhaps a change in the profitability of rearing sheep might lead to a modest increase in their number, but that would not occur overnight. So what commodity might suddenly increase in quantity as much as threefold or fourfold? The answer is coal. It can be shown that the Lincoln market was divided between 'sea-coal' from Newcastle (via Boston) and 'pit-coal' from Nottinghamshire/Derbyshire via the Fossdyke. Even in the 1730's pit-coal's share of the Lincoln market was fairly modest and Lincoln's proportion of total production was trifling. So a slight change in the economics of transport could immediately produce a large change in market-share.

Coal is not like ivory or peacocks, and people often regard it as a vulgar matter beneath their notice. They forget that, for both canals and railways, it was usually coal traffic that paid the bills and drove the profits. That second step-change of the 1740s is key evidence for a change of much

wider economic importance, the capturing of the coal market of the Trent Valley, at least as high as Newark, by the Yorkshire producers. We think of Richard Ellison as important for Lincoln; but he was part of a consortium leasing the River Dun Navigation. That consortium is likely to have been behind this extension of the area supplied by Yorkshire coal; and that in turn played a major role in the industrial growth of the upper Don valley.

The Fossdyke accounts, with accompanying essay, are available gratis on the LRS website. They can be accessed via the Publications drop-down menu or using the following link: <http://www.lincoln-record-society.org.uk/data-series/the-fossdyke-toll-ledger-1714-37/> They form the first 'edition' within the Data Series, which is intended to present material that (it is hoped) readers will want to analyse for themselves and which therefore requires spreadsheets or some comparable means of presenting quantitative data. Those who have material of such a nature which they believe might make an 'edition' within the series are invited to contact the Society.

Rob Wheeler



PEACOCK FEATHERS AND PATER NOSTERS

The post-mortem identity of Sir Thomas Burgh (c.1430-1496)

Last September we came together to share research at our annual Lincoln Record Society conference. The 2019 theme was 'Lincolnshire in the Wars of the Roses' and we were delighted to present a diverse range of papers exploring many aspects of this period. The conference was complemented by a visit to Gainsborough Old Hall, one of the most well-preserved medieval manor houses in England. My paper for the conference (presented in my absence by the inimitable Dr Paul Dryburgh) explored the legacy of a key military and political figure in fifteenth-century Lincolnshire, Sir Thomas Burgh, for whom Gainsborough Old Hall was built. Many of you will be familiar with Gainsborough Old Hall; an impressive building with a large Great Hall and an imposing octagonal tower. An incomplete inventory for the household goods in the hall survives from after Burgh's death in 1496 and strongly suggests that the splendour of the house matched its size (The inventory is held at The National Archives: TNA PROB 2/124). Many of the rooms would have been decorated with tapestries and the bed in the tower chamber was covered with a canopy made of chequered velvet and cloth of gold. This house was a magnificent statement of how Burgh wished others to see him during life: rich with the latest fashions in art and architecture, the model of opulence locally.

From the 1460s Burgh had become Edward IV's right hand man in Lincolnshire and was also one of the county's

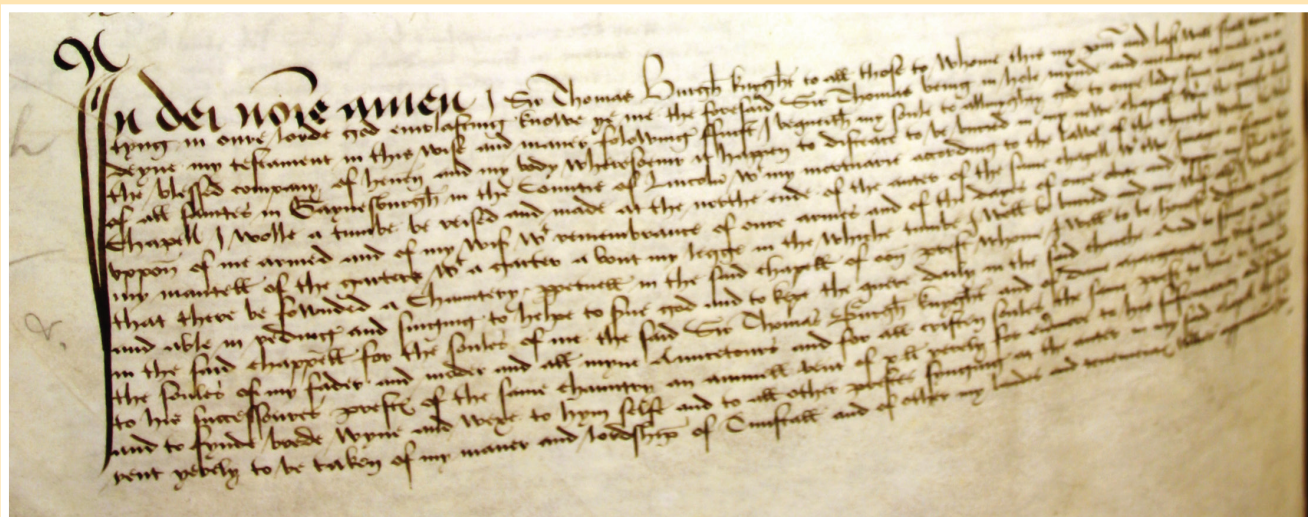
key participants in the activities of the Wars of the Roses. Burgh was a member of a Lincolnshire gentry family and was the individual largely responsible for his family's rise to prominence in local and national affairs. Burgh's will shows a heightened awareness of the necessity of making carefully planned post-mortem provision that would both reflect his interests and position in life whilst also commemorating himself and his family after their deaths. His will was proved before the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, the highest ecclesiastical court in England, on the 19th May 1496 and a copy of the will is now held at The National Archives (TNA PROB 11/10 fos. 29v-31v).

A slightly unusual commemorative gift appears in a series of bequests that Burgh makes to the chantry that he establishes to pray for his soul and the souls of his family.

'I bequeath to my said chantry[chantry] my white sute[suit] of vestments, a cope and ij tapetts [tippets] of the same with ij curtains of white saccanett[saracenit] for mine auter[altar] there. Also my sewte[suit] of peycoke[peacock] feathers for mine obite[obit] keeping there and a cope to be made for the same for my said chantry'. (TNA PROB 11/10, f. 31r)

The suit made of peacock feathers most likely refers to a set or suit of costumes intended to be worn together, with peacock feathers embroidered onto them, and the cope referred to was probably intended to be made





First folio of Sir Thomas Burgh's will: TNA PROB 11/10 fo. 29v

to match the suit, again with embroidered peacock feathers. This would have been a unique commission, as standard vestment decoration in the later medieval period was usually restricted to more generic motifs such as seraphim, bells, lillies or double-headed eagles. Peacocks were cultural symbols of prestige and this bird might have been particularly favoured by Burgh, bearing in mind his penchant for ostentation and grandiloquent display. There were likely to have been peacocks on Burgh's estate, which would probably have been roasted by his household, although perhaps not eaten as the meat was considered tough and unpleasant. It had become a tradition in aristocratic households to replace the feathers of the peacock after roasting to create a spectacular centrepiece, and add vivid green and blue colours to the table decoration, as a signifier of Burgh's wealth and status. If Burgh shared an affinity with the peacock, a bird which has been associated with symbolising vainglory, we should not perhaps be too surprised.

However, peacocks had a wide range of symbolism in the medieval period; the images in bestiaries demonstrated to the medieval populace how the peacock shed its feathers every year and then grew new ones, so because of this a belief developed that the peacock's flesh did not decay

after death, and therefore the peacock became a symbol of the immortal Christ. In addition to this, the pattern on peacock feathers, which resembles an eye, has been associated with the all-seeing eye of God, and a symbol of foresight. A vestment embroidered with peacock feathers would have been an expensive donation but would have made an important statement about Burgh's wealth and status. The representation of peacock feathers on a vestment that would be worn for the celebration of mass might tie in with the idea that Christ sees all things and that whilst no-one escapes death, masses and prayers are the way to true Salvation. Thomas Burgh appears to have had an understanding that, whilst it was desirable to highlight his worldly social status and wealth through his post-mortem provision, it was also essential to emphasise his earthly piety, in preparation for heaven.

Marianne Wilson

To read the full article, see: M. Wilson, 'Peacock Feathers and Pater Nosters: The post-mortem identity of Sir Thomas Burgh (c.1430-1496)', *The Ricardian*, 30 (2020), 151-167. In the same edition of *The Ricardian*, you can also read two more articles based on papers from our 2019 conference by Dr Joanna Laynesmith and Dr Nicholas Bennett.



RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

Having recently completed my PhD studies at the University of Nottingham (supervised by Dr Rob Lutton and Associate Professor Claire Taylor), I am exceedingly grateful to the Society for an invitation to write about my thesis and future research. With archives and libraries closed, and opportunity to discuss history strangely curtailed, the task has provided something positive upon which to focus.

Although concentrating upon the bishop of Lincoln's court of audience between 1528 and 1530, and especially upon a largely overlooked manuscript in Lincolnshire Archives (LAO/Cj.4), my thesis sets out to provide greater insight into

spiritual justice throughout late medieval England. One of three senior courts in the diocese (along with the consistory court and the court of the bishop's commissary), the court of audience was part of an astonishingly vigorous country-wide network of interlinked legal institutions in a jurisdiction comparable to the royal courts in complexity and probably exceeding them in the scale of its activities. By the sixteenth century that jurisdiction had been fully formed for more than two centuries and, for the most part, worked alongside its secular counterpart, the temporal jurisdiction, in a spirit of mutual cooperation. As the senior diocesan court of correction, the court of audience dealt with serious spiritual →





crimes, like heresy and clerical discipline, more mundane offences, such as adultery and fornication, litigation concerning marriage, tithes and probate, and other matters too.

Many members will be familiar with Margaret Bowker's edition of an earlier manuscript from the same court (LRS Volume 61) and her ground-breaking research on Lincoln's archdeaconry records that helped historians move from considering ecclesiastical justice as degenerate, mechanical and filled with avaricious careerist lawyers, towards an appreciation that it was valuable and efficient, its officers hard-working and frequently highly skilled. They may also recall her work on Bishop Longland (1521-47). Although much influenced by more recent scholarship, and covering many issues she did not, my thesis is indebted to her legacy.

The first section examines how best to evaluate a legal system where sources are incomplete, inconsistent, formulaic, bilingual, often heavily abbreviated, and do not readily lend themselves to interpretation or sophisticated statistical analysis. Bowker's efforts revealed the incredible work ethic and painstaking judicial activity of Bishop Atwater (1514-21). Others since have made material elsewhere work even harder. This section examines that scholarship from the perspective of canon law and on the social uses of the jurisdiction. It explains how church courts in Lincoln and elsewhere were structured, what they did, and the historical context in which they existed. The old view of rampant anticlericalism as a useful yardstick to measure effectiveness has gone. Now, church courts and those working in them are believed to have played a vitally important, principled, conscientious, and effective role in late medieval English society.

To further understand how effective the court of audience might have been, my research also investigates its jurisdictional coverage and ability to be procedurally flexible, and examines the contemporary landscape environment and the wills of legal personnel to explore the materiality of travel, considering one journey through Lincolnshire made by Commissary-general Anthony Draycott in October 1528 in particular detail. I have also explored the background, careers, and activities of judges, lawyers, and others, who worked in the audience court between 1528 and 1530. I examined their training, legal knowledge, acuity, professionalism, ethical outlook and inter-personal relations, and looked especially at Chancellor John Rayne, Commissary-

general Draycott, Registrar Edward Watson, and six of the proctors who regularly featured in its litigation records. My thesis also examines evidence for the involvement of advocates. Longland, it concludes, was astute enough, upon his appointment, to leave the court in the hands of a highly educated professional judiciary supported by a secretariat of similar quality, and later to add to their strength. Their dedication, skill, loyalty, and personal interconnection contributed greatly to its ability to function well.

Another key evidence base for my thesis was marriage litigation; I discuss several cases that deal with issues of consent and clandestinity. Such litigation was almost always about whether someone was married or not: canon law required only an appropriate exchange of words, but problems were caused by imprecision in language, changes of heart, failure of proof and imperfect legal knowledge. LAO/Cj.4 reveals much about lay and lawyer involvement, courtroom dynamics, and the kind of decisions made by or forced upon participants whilst such litigation was underway.

To offer further perspective on church-court oversight of sixteenth-century life, and to continue dismantling the idea that the Reformation marks a watershed in sexual regulation, I addressed enforcement of discipline, exploring it via spiritual and practical intersections between the courts and pastoral care, the role of shame and humiliation, and the vital importance of emotion. I examined the processes of inquisition, individualised sentence construction and penitential punishment in cases of sexual misconduct ranging from the mundane to the most serious. To ecclesiastical judges confident in their understanding of the facts and law, the expression of emotion, or lack thereof, signalled the precise penitential prescription and choreography required for the proper administration of justice.

Records of spiritual justice in Lincoln are not vast. But there is more to learn, especially about those who worked within the system or entered its arenas hoping for favourable decisions, advantageous compromise, or at least a bearable result. I hope to continue my efforts very soon.

Martin Roberts

