## PATRONAGE, PERFORMANCE, AND REPUTATION IN THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CHURCH

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Lancelot Blackburne, Archbishop of York. After unknown artist. Mezzotint, sold by Thomas Bakewell. 1724 or after. Private collection of Daniel Reed.

For Freya

#### Abstract

The perceived success of the revisionist programme in dissipating the 'longest shadow in modern historiography' calls into question the ongoing relevance of 'optimistic' versus 'pessimistic' interpretations of the Church of England in the long eighteenth century. And yet, the case of Lancelot Blackburne, Archbishop of York (1724-1743), has not benefitted from the 'revisionist turn' and represents an unparalleled problem in accounts of the Georgian episcopate. Whilst Benjamin Hoadly has been the most maligned bishop of the period for his theology, Blackburne is the most derided for his personal imperfections and supposed negligence of his episcopal duties. These references are often pernicious and euphemistic, manifesting in several quasi-apocryphal tales. The most regularly occurring being accounts of Blackburne's lasciviousness, speculation over the paternity of his chaplain Thomas Hayter, and the Archbishop's association with piracy. As long as these bastions of resistance to revisionism remain, negative assumptions will linger on in contemporary studies of the Church, regardless of whether they are reframed by current trends.

As such, this thesis utilises under-explored archival sources to reorient Blackburne's case to its historical context. This is achieved through an exploration of the inter-connected themes of patronage, performance, and reputation. First, this thesis delineates Blackburne's distribution of episcopal patronage across the various administrative strata of his diocese, exploring how these appointments contributed to the task of 'turning' the diocese toward the Whig ministry. It also investigates the reciprocal obligations of the patronage bargain, elucidating the correlation between spiritual services and temporal rewards. Second, this thesis challenges the claims of neglect that underpin pessimistic accounts of Blackburne's archiepiscopacy, positing that supposed marks of poor performance are mis-reading of the Archbishop's changing approach to diocesan management occasioned by his declining health. Finally, this thesis investigates under-analysed afterlives of patronage relationships, and the long shadow cast by a patron over their clients' subsequent careers. Finally, Blackburne's status as a mythologised patron is considered, exploring the intertwining of contemporary, politically-motivated scandal and the mythologisation of an historical figure.

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#### List of Abbreviations

Audley Letters	Osborn c195. Letters of John Audley, Yale University, USA
BIA	Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York
BL	British Library
CCEd	Clergy of the Church of England Database
CRO	Cornwall Record Office
CRS	Catholic Record Society
ERYAS	East Riding of Yorkshire Archives & Local Studies Service
GA	Gloucestershire Archives
ННС	Hull History Centre
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationary Office
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
N&Q	Notes & Queries
NA	Nottinghamshire Archives
RA	Royal Archives
SA Gibson	Edmund Gibson MS, University of St. Andrews
SPCK	Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
Stephens Letters	CRO. G/1968, letter book from Lewis Stephens to Francis Gregor
TNA	The National Archives
UDSC	University of Durham Special Collections
ULSC	University of Leeds Special Collections
UNSC	University of Nottingham Special Collections
WYJS	West Yorkshire Joint Service (Archives)
YCA	York City Archives
YML	York Minster Library

#### Note on Dates

Before 1752 all dates are given in Old Style, eleven days behind the New Style or Gregorian calendar. The year is taken to begin on 1 January.

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#### INTRODUCTION

In 2001, Gareth Walker stated that historians who persisted in opening their studies of the eighteenth-century Church with *apologia* were at danger of 'protesting too much'.<sup>1</sup> The inference being that at the turn of the Millennium the revisionist programme which was set on foot by Norman Sykes (with notable forerunners), and gathered pace through the 1980s and 1990s, had succeeded in dissipating the 'longest shadow in modern historiography' over what was once considered a 'lifeless and least interesting' period in the Church's history.<sup>2</sup> And yet, the 'optimistic' versus 'pessimistic' debate is one that refuses to stay down. The ongoing relevance of this dichotomy was exemplified by a heated exchange over opposing views of Anglican life in industrialising Lancashire in the long eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Whilst acknowledging the merits of his study, Mark Smith stated that Michael Snape had taken up an out-dated, polemicist agenda that amounted to little more than a refurbishment of the pessimistic case.<sup>4</sup> In retort, Snape claimed Smith was no less entrenched in a position that was beholden to anachronistic, comparative analysis with the nineteenth-century Church.<sup>5</sup> Despite the authors' intentions, their attempts to dismiss the historiographical relevance of the 'optimistic' versus 'pessimistic' debate inadvertently demonstrated its vitality and contributed to its continuance.

Rather than repeat the debate's long history here, it is more fruitful to acknowledge that this thesis benefits greatly from the 2017 publication of the second volume of the *Oxford History of Anglicanism*, and its crystallisation of the current historiography of the Church in the long eighteenth century.<sup>6</sup> This landmark series takes on the heavyweight agenda of producing a history of sufficient depth to reflect a global communion originating in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Walker, Gareth, 'The Church in York, 1688-1747, Aspects of the relationship between church, politics and society at York during the late-Stuart and early-Hanoverian period', University of York MA thesis, 2001.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sykes, Norman, *Church and State in England in the XVIIIth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934). Earlier works that challenged prevailing Victorian views of the eighteenthcentury Church include Rowden, Alfred W., *The Primates of the Four Georges* (London: John Murray, 1916), and Wickham Legg, John, *English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement* (London: 1914); for an overview of the key way-points in this debate see, Gregory, Jeremy (ed.), *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II, Establishment and Empire, 1662-1829* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 2-21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Smith, Mark, 'review of *The Church of England in Industrialising Society. The Lancashire Parish of Whalley in the Eighteenth Century*' (review no. 444). With Michael Snape's author response, November 2009 [accessed at https://reviews.history.ac.uk/review/444 on 4 September 2019].
<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Gregory (ed.), The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II.

Henrician Reformation.<sup>7</sup> It is telling, however, that Jeremy Gregory's introduction to this instalment is peppered with references to lingering Evangelical and Tractarian critiques of the later Stuart and Hanoverian Church.<sup>8</sup> More recently, these perspectives have been appended by the search for indicators of 'modernity' in eighteenth-century religious life, and society as a whole. This strand of historical inquiry was the chief concern of Robert Ingram's investigation into the career of Archbishop Thomas Secker of Canterbury, in which he emphasised that contemporary notions of church reform did not necessarily correlate with modern notions of innovation.<sup>9</sup> Ingram's most recent study further roots the political and religious concerns of eighteenth-century churchmen in the Reformation and the revolutionary wars that followed.<sup>10</sup> And yet these findings have not entirely extinguished the old dichotomy. Recent scholarship has divergently characterised the turn of the eighteenth century as either the dawn of an 'Age of Infidelity', or the crux of a religious revival in which the Church was central to the foundation of new benevolent institutions and societies in England and Wales.<sup>11</sup> It seems there is still plenty of mileage in J. Wickham Legg's 1914 assessment that 'some may see decivilisation where others see progress'.<sup>12</sup>

These themes are particularly relevant to a study of Lancelot Blackburne (1658-1743), Archbishop of York from 1724 to 1743. Despite the successes of the revisionist programme, Blackburne remains a persistent and unparalleled problem in the historiography of the eighteenth-century Church. His name has been a by-word for criticism of the Georgian episcopate since Alexander Pope ironically coupled it with that of Bishop Benjamin Hoadly in 1740; 'Yea moral Ebor, or religious Winton'.<sup>13</sup> Whilst Hoadly has been the most maligned bishop of the period for his theology, Blackburne remains the most derided for his personal imperfections and negligence of his episcopal duties.<sup>14</sup> Recognising this shared burden for the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ibid, p. xix-xxviii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ibid, pp. 2, 7, 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ingram, Robert G., *Religion, Reform, and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century: Thomas Secker and the Church of England*, Studies in Modern British Religious History (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007); Clark, J. C. D, Religion, Reform and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century: Thomas Secker and the Church of England, *The English Historical Review*, vol. CXXV, no. 513, (2010), pp. 451–453.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ingram, Robert G., *Reformation Without End: Religion, politics and the past in post-revolutionary England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Corfield, Penelope J., "An Age of Infidelity': secularization in eighteenth-century England', *Social History*, vol. 39, no. 2 (2014), pp. 229-247; Sirota, Brent S., *The Christian Monitors, The Church of England and the Age of Benevolence, 1680-1730* (New York: Yale University Press, 2014).
<sup>12</sup> Wickham Legg, *English Church Life*, p.3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Warton, Joseph (ed.), The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq., vol. 4 (London: 1797), p. 355.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Gibson, William, *Enlightenment Prelate, Benjamin Hoadly, 1676-1761* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2004).

supposed failings of the eighteenth-century Church, Walsh and Taylor asserted that both bishops were in fact 'diligent, if not outstanding'.<sup>15</sup> Despite this lukewarm reassessment, Blackburne's case has not been effectively reappraised by the 'revisionist turn' and is still deployed as a counterpoint to accounts of clerical achievement.<sup>16</sup> When Frank O'Gorman revisited his sweeping study of Britain in the long eighteenth century in 2016, he persisted in identifying Blackburne's tenure at York as a low-point for the Church in the period.<sup>17</sup> In other instances Blackburne is subject to omission. Despite occupying the second archiepiscopal throne for almost twenty years, Blackburne does not merit a mention in the Oxford History of Anglicanism. More frequently, however, references to Blackburne are pernicious and euphemistic, manifesting in several quasi-apocryphal tales. The most regularly occurring being accounts of Blackburne's lasciviousness, speculation over the paternity of Thomas Hayter, his aside to Queen Caroline regarding the fate of Joseph Butler, and his association with piracy (see, Chapter 9). Each of these rumours have distinct lineages, some of which arose from political disputes during Blackburne's lifetime, whilst others developed as fanciful tales many decades after his death. Over time, these strands have developed into a robust mythology which all but obscures the historical figure at its centre.

This mythology has persisted without the counterweight of a rigorous biographical treatment. In 1863, a correspondent to N&Q stated that Blackburne's life had 'yet to be written', and this largely remains the case.<sup>18</sup> Norman Sykes was the first to mount a scholarly challenge to the way in which Blackburne was frequently utilised as a lightning rod for continued criticism of the Hanoverian episcopate. In 1931, an excoriating article in the *Devon and Exeter Daily Gazette* prompted Sykes to defend Blackburne's historical reputation.<sup>19</sup> He stressed that if the oft-repeated accusations were to be upheld, 'more evidence should be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Walsh, John, and, Taylor, Stephen, 'Introduction: The Church and Anglicanism in the 'long' eighteenth century', in, Walsh, John, Haydon, Colin, and, Taylor, Stephen (eds.), *The Church of England, c.1689-c.1833, From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Virgin, Peter, *The Church In An Age of Negligence: Ecclesiastical Structure and Problems of Church Reform 1700-1840* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 1989).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> O'Gorman, Frank, *The Long Eighteenth Century, British Political and Social History 1688-1832*, second edition (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), p. 175.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> 'Archbishop Blackburne', in, *N&Q*, third series, III (May 1863), pp. 430-431. Nineteenth-century topographical works added little to our knowledge of Blackburne's life and career. See, Oliver, George, *The History of Exeter* (Exeter: 1821), p. 109; Starkie, Andrew, 'Blackburne, Lancelot (1658–1743)', *ODNB* [accessed at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2516 on 27 August 2019]. This entry is deficient on many grounds.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The Devon and Exeter Daily Gazette (Saturday, 31 October 1931).

produced than gossip and rumour, easy to repeat and well-nigh impossible to verify'.<sup>20</sup> But whilst Sykes grounded his rebuttal in evidence from the Wake papers at Christ Church, his antagonist was unmoved. A reply followed: 'a clever young curate tried to rehabilitate Judas Iscariot, and Professor Sykes is to be complimented for his success in white-washing Lancelot Blackburne'.<sup>21</sup> Sykes's interest in Blackburne culminated in the 1940 essay, "The Buccaneer Bishop", in which he treated his subject with the same revisionist scrutiny as his other major biographies.<sup>22</sup> The essay is a miniature in comparison, but it is apparent that Sykes felt Blackburne deserved reassessment.<sup>23</sup> The essay chiefly aimed to counter the aspersions of Horace Walpole and amplify existing refutations of unsubstantiated slights against Blackburne. Sykes introduced new biographical matter, but this largely related to the period from 1700 to 1720 reflecting his reliance on the Wake papers.<sup>24</sup> As such, the essay added little to our knowledge of Blackburne's early life, or archiepiscopate at York. Despite these shortcomings, Sykes's conclusions were highly revisionist, asserting that contrary to the popular portrayal of Blackburne as the 'jolly old Archbishop of York', he was a 'moderate man' at a time when men of that character could ascend to the highest stations in the Church.<sup>25</sup>

Sykes's essay remains the last significant thrust towards better understanding Blackburne's life and clerical career. But whilst "'The Buccaneer Bishop" should have been an important stepping-stone towards dispelling the lingering historiographical problems detailed above, it has not been effective. One hundred years after Archbishop Cosmo Lang expressed his satisfaction with repeating old 'legends' about his predecessor for the amusement of visitors to Bishopthorpe, the mythologised Blackburne remains more familiar than the historical figure.<sup>26</sup> Popular interest in the 'buccaneer bishop' seems greater than ever, with Blackburne more likely to appear in an historical novel or a *Horrible Histories* title than in a scholarly work.<sup>27</sup> Whilst this could be dismissed as light-hearted or playful, the frequent deployment of Blackburne in semi-fictitious settings reinforces historical inaccuracies rooted

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The Devon and Exeter Daily Gazette (Tuesday, 3 November 1931).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Sykes, Norman, "The Buccaneer Bishop": Lancelot Blackburne, 1658-1743, in, *The Church Quarterly Review* (April-June 1940).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Sykes, Norman, *Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, 1669-1748* (London: Oxford University Press, 1926); Sykes, Norman, *William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury 1657-1737*, two vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Sykes, "The Buccaneer Bishop", pp. 86-90. Sykes greatly illuminated Blackburne's service as Hanover chaplain through his letters to Archbishop William Wake.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ibid, p. 100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> YML. Add. MS 273, lecture on Lancelot Blackburne by A. R. Gill, with letter from Cosmo Lang, to, A. R. Gill, 13 June 1916.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Deary, Terry, *Horrible Histories Annual 2016* (London: Scholastic, 2015), p. 41; Deary Terry, *Horrible Histories: Pirates* (London: Scholastic, 2019), p. 24.

in pessimistic critiques of the eighteenth-century Church. Furthermore, Blackburne's staple appearances in popular histories of piracy may be an unfortunate consequence of Sykes's ironic title of his biographical essay, allowing the association with buccaneering to endure among those who have not engaged with his thesis.<sup>28</sup> It is surely no coincidence that Blackburne's recent entry in a podcast series dedicated to historical 'libertines, lotharios and complete bastards' was titled 'God's Buccaneer'.<sup>29</sup> Eighty years on, Sykes's assessment still rings true,

Equally remarkable is the readiness of nineteenth and even twentieth-century writers to repeat [rumours] without examination of their evidence or inherent credibility. Any stick is good enough to beat an eighteenth-century dog of a bishop.<sup>30</sup>

That backward-looking works like Butler-Gallie's 2018 'toilet book' *A Field Guide to the English Clergy* are strong sellers suggests that Sykes's admonition can be extended into the twenty-first century.<sup>31</sup>

It is a paradox that Blackburne's case has been treated as beneath serious historical investigation, whilst simultaneously stimulating ongoing popular interest. This duality is a peculiarity among eighteenth-century bishops. In his essay on Archbishop Frederick Cornwallis of Canterbury, Grayson Ditchfield found that the prelate had been characterised as 'neglectful as well as neglected'<sup>32</sup> Samuel Thomas has stated that when we approach a historical study 'through the lens of a single individual', readers will ask whether that person was 'typical of his or her time.'<sup>33</sup> Blackburne was a not esteemed by the international Protestant churches like William Wake, nor was he an avid Church reformer in the mould of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Marley, David F., *Daily Life of Pirates* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2012), p. 66; Donaldson, William, *Brewer's Rogues, Villains and Eccentrics: An A-Z of Roguish Britons Through the Ages* (Cassell, 2002), pp. 80-81; Gosse, Philip, *The History of Piracy* (New York: Tudor, 1934), p. 171.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Blake, Robin, *A Dark Anatomy: A Mystery* (London: Pan, 2012); Rogues Gallery Online, 'Archbishop Lancelot Blackburne – God's Buccaneer', podcast audio (23 July 2018) [accessed at https://www.youtube.com/user/RoguesGalleryOnline/videos?disable\_polymer=1 online]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Sykes, "Buccaneer Bishop", pp. 84-85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Butler-Gallie, Fergus, 'Stay Weird, Church of England', *The Church Times* (26 October 2018) [accessed at https://www.churchtimes.co.uk/articles/2018/26-october/features/features/stay-weird-church-of-england on 9 December 2018]. A rehash of Hinde, Thomas, *A Field Guide to the English Country Parson* (London: Heinemann, 1983).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Ditchfield, G. M., 'A Neglected Archbishop of Canterbury? Frederick Cornwallis (1768-1783)', in *Archaeologica Cantiana*, vol CXXXII (2012), p. 215.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Thomas, Samuel S., *Creating Communities in Restoration England. Parish and Congregation in Oliver Heywood's Halifax*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, no. 164 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 16.

Thomas Secker.<sup>34</sup> His published works, amounting to a few sermons, merit little scholarly attention. And yet, there was a moment in the mid-1720s when Blackburne was considered the match of Bishop Edmund Gibson, and carried greater favour with Robert Walpole. By virtue of his long life, Blackburne's clerical career spanned pivotal moments in the history of the Church. He was born in London during the Interregnum to a Yorkshire-born draper and his wife, where the family endured the ravages of both of the pestilence of 1665 and the Great Fire of the following year.<sup>35</sup> Blackburne's first clerical post was as a minister in the Leeward Islands in the 1680s, where he was engaged in the uncertain business of transplanting English society and Anglican worship to the colonial Caribbean. His return to England coincided with the unrest of James II's reign, and he was stationed in the tumultuous south-west at the coming of the Glorious Revolution. Throughout this period, Blackburne was politically flexible enough to makes allies of Sir Jonathan Trelawny and Francis Atterbury, whilst also finding favour under each successive monarch from William III to George I. It was at the latter's accession, Blackburne was selected as the King's first Hanover chaplain to accompany him to the continent. His steadiness in the Revolutionary settlement of 1688 and the Protestant succession guided his eventual appointment to the Archbishopric of York in 1724.

When we look to readdress this historiographical neglect, Robert Ingram has warned of the inherent dangers of pursuing studies that are excessively narrow in their focus, stating that 'the least interesting and fruitful works on the eighteenth-century Church of England are those which aim to rescue the reputations of individual bishops, not least because their reputations often do not merit rehabilitation.'<sup>36</sup> This assessment is suggestive of the broader difficulties that exist in the relationship between biography and history. David Nasaw characterises biography as the 'unloved stepchild' of history, with the former often treated as a 'lesser form' of inquiry.<sup>37</sup> Nasaw emphasises, however, that successful biographies always seek to place the individual subject in their historical context. If 'rehabilitation' is not the task in hand, biographical studies allow for the reinsertion of individuals into historical narratives as 'signifiers and agents'.<sup>38</sup> As such, we might challenge Ingram's verdict on studies of individual bishops. William Gibson's *Enlightenment Prelate* has been a major step towards

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Sykes, William Wake; Ingram, Religion, Reform, and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Lancelot's father, Richard Blackburne (1621-1685), left his home in the North Riding of Yorkshire at seventeen to take up an apprenticeship in London. He was Warden of the Drapers' Company, 1678-1679. See, The Drapers' Company. 'Boyd's Roll, A Register of Apprentices and Freemen of the Drapers' Company of London'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Ingram, Robert G., review of *Thomas Herring (1693-1757): Bangor, York and Canterbury*, by L.W. Barnard, in, *English Historical Review*, vol. cxxiii, no. 505 (December 2008), pp. 1563-1564.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Nasaw, David, 'Introduction', in, *The American Historical Review*, vol. 114, no. 3, (2009), Pages 573–.578.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Ibid.

correcting the historiographical issues surrounding Bishop Benjamin Hoadly's life and theology.<sup>39</sup> Whereas, Judith Jago's *Aspects of the Georgian Church* is a respected study of episcopal visitation, despite primarily exploring the life and career of Archbishop Robert Drummond.<sup>40</sup> Indeed, Ingram's own biographically-focussed studies have been among the richest of recent contributions to the history of the eighteenth-century Church.<sup>41</sup>

To reorient Blackburne to his historical context this thesis utilises and builds on W. M. Jacob's identification of the eighteenth-century Anglican clergy as a 'distinctive professional group', who were comparable to the other emergent professions of law and medicine through their education, training, and ubiquity.<sup>42</sup> Progress through the clerical profession was reliant on the 'vertical links of mutual dependence and obligation' of patronage, which was pervasive in all aspects of eighteenth-century British society from the Navy to the Church.<sup>43</sup> The ecclesiastical patronage system was framed within these broader societal notions of reciprocal duty. Writing in 1754, the politician George Bubb Dodington provided a contemporary summary of the expectations of patronage,

Service is obligation, obligation implies return. Could any man of honour profess friendship, accept the offer of his friend's whole services, suffer those offers to be carried into execution, avail himself of their whole utility, and then tell him he could not or would not make him any return? Could there be such a character?<sup>44</sup>

Jeffrey Chamberlain drew on the interdisciplinary work of Sharon Kettering to further illuminate the 'much maligned and poorly understood' patronage system of the eighteenth century.<sup>45</sup> He defined patronage as a 'reciprocal exchange relationship' that was personal, emotional, and unequal.<sup>46</sup> The patron expected 'gratitude, deference, and loyalty' in exchange

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Gibson, *Enlightenment Prelate*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Jago, Judith, *Aspects of the Georgian Church, Visitation Studies of the Diocese of York, 1761-1776* (London: Associated University Presses, 1997).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Ingram, Religion, Reform and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century; Ingram, Reformation Without End.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Jacob, W. M., *The Clerical Profession in the Long Eighteenth Century, 1680-1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 1-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Rodger, N. A. M., *The Wooden World, An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy* (London: Fontana Press, 1988), p. 275.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Dodington, George Bubb, *Autobiography, A Collection of the Most Instructive and Amusing Lives Ever Published, Written by the Parties Themselves....* (London: 1828), vol. 22, p. 162.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Chamberlain, Jeffrey S., Accommodating High Churchmen, The Clergy of Sussex, 1700-1745 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), pp. 68-79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Ibid.

for favours bestowed on their clients.<sup>47</sup> As a short-hand, this thesis refers to this complex array of balanced expectations as the 'patronage bargain'.

All ecclesiastical patronage was ultimately derived from the Crown, cascading downwards through the ranks of British society by the legal settlement in Church and State. This made the distribution of patronage as much a political as an ecclesiastical consideration. The importance of Court connections to those who aspired to the episcopate is manifest in the 1761 account of Bishop Thomas Newton of Bristol.

All I know is, that the [King] personally knows me, and has often expressed a favourable opinion of me: but there are so many changes & chances in courts, so many wheels within wheels, that God only knows what will happen<sup>48</sup>

Whilst the early Hanoverians wielded significant influence over ecclesiastical appointments, with the separate royal households establishing their own respective clerical circles, Crown patronage was usually settled by government agents.<sup>49</sup> Thomas Pelham-Holles, 1st Duke of Newcastle, was long held to have operated as a self-styled 'ecclesiastical minister', but this view was rigorously challenged by Stephen Taylor who concluded that his predominance in Church matters was not cemented until the fall of Walpole in 1742.<sup>50</sup> The informal vortex of influence over Crown patronage that subsisted in the decades that preceded is well-illustrated in a 1729 letter from Peniston Booth to the Countess of Lincoln regarding the vacant deanery of Windsor.

As y<sup>e</sup>. King is inclinable to dispose of y<sup>e</sup>. Deanery of Windsor... to one allied to Quality, y<sup>e</sup>. Bishop of London... has moved it to L<sup>d</sup>. Townshend and S<sup>r</sup>. Robert Walpole, and they make no Objections against it... & therefore I don't doubt but your Ladyship will be so good... to write a line or two to his Grace of Newcastle in my favour; M<sup>r</sup>. Secretary Pelham has promis'd to do all in his power for me, and I've

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Bodl. MS Eng. Misc. c. 399, f. 137, letter from Thomas Newton, 26 February 1761.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Sykes, Norman, 'Queen Caroline and the Church of England', in, *History*, new series, vol. 11, no. 44 (January 1927), pp. 333-339; Lees, J. C., 'Hanoverian Successions, Whig Schism, and Clerical Patronage: Chaplains of George and Caroline, Prince and Princess of Wales, 1714-1727, in, Gibson, William (ed.), *Religion, Loyalty and Sedition: The Hanoverian Succession of 1714, Special Issue of The Journal of Religious History, Literature and Culture*, vol. 2, no. 2 (November 2016), pp. 63-83.
<sup>50</sup> Taylor, Stephen, "The Fac Totum in Ecclesiastic Affairs"? The Duke of Newcastle and the Crown's Ecclesiastical Patronage', in, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, vol. 24, no.

<sup>3 (</sup>Autumn 1992), pp. 409-433.

good ground to believe  $y^t.$  if  $y^e$  Duke & he join in espousing my cause I can't loose  $it^{51}$ 

For clergymen in the eighteenth century, advancement through the respective stations of the Church entailed a transition from client status to the accrual of patronage in their own right. Bishops sat atop this hierarchy of preferment, and their patronage networks represented the sum total of their clerical appointments.<sup>52</sup> Unlike other landed patrons, translation of a bishop to a new diocese entailed the transplanting of an existing patronage network to a different geographical area or ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Few men faced this prospect with the same trepidation as John Williams on his appointment to the bishopric of Chichester in 1697.

I am now upon the point of leaving London, & going into a New World, to a place & people that I never saw, & entring upon a new state of life, an office that I never sought, & can take no delight in. So that I am at a great loss how to manage my self, amongst all the various Interests & inclinations I have to deal with.<sup>53</sup>

As discussed above, the jostling interests and inclinations dreaded by Bishop John Williams were mediated by the patronage bargain. This required the 'performance' of certain expectations; a word that held particular resonance in the eighteenth century. It must be deployed carefully, however, because since the late twentieth century the emergence of performance studies as a distinct interdisciplinary field has seen performance increasingly associated with the arts, literature, and social sciences.<sup>54</sup> This is apparent in historical studies of the long eighteenth century, where performance has been deployed in reference to dramatic, musical, or theatrical productions.<sup>55</sup> Despite the prevalence of this interpretation, 'performance' still holds the potential for alternative applications. Drawing from the theoretical origins of performance studies in anthropology and theatre studies, Marvin Carlson offers divergent meanings of 'performance', summarised as either a display of 'skills', or 'culturally coded patterns of behaviour'.<sup>56</sup> Tangential to these definitions are usages of 'performance' that may not relate to either of these definitions exclusively, but rather as a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> BL. Add. MS 32687, letter from Peniston Booth, to, the Countess of Lincoln, 27 January 1729

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Sykes, *Church and State in England in the XVIIIth Century*, p. 147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> CRO. PB/8/1, letter from John Williams, to, Humphrey Prideaux, 26 May 1697.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Carlson, Marvin, Performance: A Critical Introduction (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Examples include, O'Quinn, Daniel, Straub, Kristina, and, Anderson, Misty G. (eds.), *The Routledge Anthology of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Performance* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019); Gardner, Matthew, and, DeSimone, Alison, *Music and the Benefit Performance in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Nussbaum, Felicity, *Rival Queens, Actresses, Performance, and the Eighteenth-Century British Theater* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010);

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Carlson, Performance: A Critical Introduction, p. 4.

synonym for 'achievement' against a standard that may (or may not) be explicitly articulated.<sup>57</sup> In this context, we may draw a line between performance as enacting (playing out or impersonating), and acting (doing something).<sup>58</sup> The language of performance as the fulfilment of actions permeated reciprocal patronage relationships of the long eighteenth-century. As Carlson states, 'performance is always performance for someone'.<sup>59</sup> Agreements, duties, obligations, promises, services, and trusts were all 'performed' between patron and client. In the ecclesiastical sphere, ordinations, penances, residence, sermons, submissions, and visitations (amongst others) were all performed by respective agents. On 22 May 1728, Lord Thanet recommended the case of the curate of Haldon to Archbishop William Wake, stating that all in the neighbourhood believe 'he performs his Duty exactly well'.<sup>60</sup> Whilst conversely, poor or non-performance held its own social significance. In the 1690s, John Sharp rebuked a clergyman in Norwich for his 'ill-performance' of divine service.<sup>61</sup> As such, this thesis takes performance to represent patronage in action.

When investigating eighteenth-century patronage, the slur of 'Namierite' still carries negative historiographical connotations instilled by a subsequent generation of social historians who decried Namier's analysis of political structures as the outright rejection of ideas.<sup>62</sup> It is apparent, however, that Namier's historical works and reputation are currently being re-evaluated.<sup>63</sup> Most conspicuously, Niall Ferguson drew attention to Namier in his 2017 study of networks, *The Square and the Tower*.

With hindsight, I should have paid more attention to those historians of the midtwentieth century, such as Lewis Namier or Ronald Syme, who had pioneered prosopography<sup>64</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Ibid, p. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Campbell, Patrick (ed.), *Analysing Performance: A Critical Reader* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Carlson, *Performance: A Critical Introduction*, p. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> CRO. PB/8/7, letter from Lord Thanet, to, William Wake, 22 May 1728,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> CRO. PB/8/1, letter from John Sharp, to, Humphrey Prideaux, [1690s].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Colley, Linda, Namier (London: George Weidenfeld & Nicolson Ltd., 1989), p. 94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Recent scholarship includes, Smyth, James, 'Lewis Namier, Herbert Butterfield and Edmund Burke', in, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 35, 3 (September 2012); Hayton, D. W., 'Sir Lewis Namier, Sir John Neale and the Shaping of the History of Parliament', in, *Parliamentary History*, 32, 1 (February 2013); Hayton, D. W., 'Lewis Namier: Nationality, Territory and Zionism', in, *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* (2017); David Hayton's 2019 biography of Namier is likely to further stimulate discussion of the historian's legacy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Ferguson, Niall, *The Square and the Tower: Networks, Hierarchies and the Struggle for Global Power* (London: Penguin, 2017), preface.

This is significant on two counts. First, it suggests that the reassessment of Namier's methodology has passed through the historiographical food-chain to the mainstream. And second, Ferguson takes for granted that Namier was a leading proponent of prosopography. Much discussion of Namier's methodology centres on his monolithic Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III (1929). In the preface, Namier stated controversially that he aimed to 'deliberately refrain from discussing so-called parties and political groups'.<sup>65</sup> Adherence to anachronistic notions of political parties, he argued, would require a 'mental adjustment' of ideas and habits to perceive the entire political system of the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>66</sup> This challenge to the Whig interpretation of history had profound implications for methodological approaches to the eighteenth-century state. His work opened the gate for adherents of the 'Namierite' position, such as Robert Walcott, put forward a vision of a 'party-less' political system in the early eighteenth century.<sup>67</sup> Conversely, contemporary critics such as Herbert Butterfield criticised Namier's structural analysis as static and lacking historical narrative; devoid of the motivations behind the actions of those in political power.<sup>68</sup> Such was the influence of social historians like Christopher Hill and E. P. Thompson that the Namierite approach came to be viewed as 'how history should not be written'.<sup>69</sup> Some redress was offered, however, by revisionist historians of the 1980s. J. C. D. Clark (another iconoclast) claimed that after the Namierites few historians 'constructed their arguments around analyses of all that was being done or said in society', which 'drew attention away from what was typical'.<sup>70</sup> Despite this, Namier's rehabilitation has not been total, and his re-entry into current historiographical debates is owing to the development of a methodological approach that accommodates his ideas.

The 2007 collection *Prosopography Approaches and Applications* is testament to both the growing international interest in the discipline, and the degree to which Namier has been

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Namier, Lewis, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III*, second edition (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1957), p. ix; Colley stresses that whilst this view was highly innovative, it was not unique, and can be traced to challenges to the Whig interpretation of history in the late nineteenth century. Colley, Linda, *Namier* (London: George Weidenfeld & Nicolson Ltd., 1989), p. 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Beckett, J. V., 'Introduction: Stability in Politics and Society, 1680-1750', in, Jones, Clyve (ed.), *Britain in the First Age of Party, 1680-1750* (London: Hambledon Press, 1987), pp. 1-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Sewell, Keith C., *Herbert Butterfield and the Interpretation of History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 188.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Colley, Linda, *Namier* (London: George Weidenfeld & Nicolson Ltd., 1989), p. 94; Thomas, Peter, review of Lewis Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* [accessed at http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/32a on 24 November 2017].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Clark, J. C. D., *English Society, 1688-1832, Ideology, social structure and political practice during the ancient regime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 3.

co-opted as one of its progenitors.<sup>71</sup> This is, however, a retroactive association. Whilst prosopography was an emergent concept at the turn of the twentieth century, it was chiefly associated with group biographical works in ancient and medieval history. The first international conference on prosopography was held in 1982, and definitions of the term remain slippery.<sup>72</sup> Marietta Horster explains,

Prosopography is a modern word for the study of individual persons in a larger context. Although no agreed definition exists, in classics and ancient history it is often used to give a name to a lexicon, or a study, that includes all persons considered relevant to a specific and fixed period, or to a political structure or other entity<sup>73</sup>

Like the groundswell of criticism to Namier's methods that appeared following his death, his association with prosopography is entirely posthumous. Arnold Toynbee's obituary for Namier was one of the first publications to associate 'the Namierite method' with prosopography.<sup>74</sup> Since that time, the *Structure of Politics* has come to be viewed as a cornerstone in the development of the practice, both within and without overtly prosopographical scholarship.<sup>75</sup> This is not to say, however, that views of Namier within prosopography are uncritical. Whereas Linda Colley has stated that 'in the case of prosopographical analysis... we are all Namierites now', T. D. Barnes has compared Namier's achievements unfavourably with those of the historian of ancient Rome, Ronald Syme.<sup>76</sup> According to Barnes, Namier 'showed himself unable to use prosopography to write narrative

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Keats-Rohan, K. S. B. (ed.), *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook* (Hockley: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Keats-Rohan, K. S. B., 'Introduction: Chameleon or Chimera? Understanding Prosopography', in, Keats-Rohan, *Prosopography Approaches and Applications*, p. 231.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Horster, Marietta, 'The Prosopographia Imperii Romani (PIR) and New Trends and Projects in Roman Prosopography', in, Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Prosopography Approaches and Applications*, p. 231.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Toynbee, Arnold, 'Lewis Namier, Historian', in, *Encounter*, 16 (January 1961), pp. 39-42; Barnes, T. D., 'Prosopography Modern and Ancient', in, Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Prosopography Approaches and Applications*, p. 76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Dickinson, H. T., *The Politics of the People in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1994), p. 2; Verboven, Koenraad, Carlier, Myriam, and, Dumolyn, Jan, 'A Short Manuel to the Art of Prosopography', in, Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Prosopography Approaches and Applications*, pp. 41-43. The method was most fully-realised by Namier in the *History of Parliament* series, now online at https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Colley, Linda, *Namier* (London: George Weidenfeld & Nicolson Ltd., 1989), p. 110. This quotation is taken out of context by Peter Thomas, who removes the reference to prosopography, thereby exaggerating Colley's assessment of Namier's influence. See, Thomas, Peter D. G., *George III: King and the Politicians, 1760-1770* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 1; Barnes, T. D., 'Prosography and Roman History', in, Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Prosopography Approaches and Applications*, p. 89.

history', and was concerned only with a 'remarkably stable period of British history'.<sup>77</sup> Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the principles of prosopography have provided a context for the reintroduction of Namier into current historiographical discussions of networks and patronage such as this study.

When considering the eighteenth-century Church more particularly, the influence of prosopography is most evident in the ambitious *Clergy of the Church of England Database* (CCEd). Launched in 1999, the CCEd aims to create a relational database of all clergymen in England and Wales between 1540 and 1835.78 Drawing chiefly from diocesan collections, the database charts the careers of clergymen through records of their appointments and key life events. By 2008, the CCEd contained information concerning above 105,000 clerics, comprising nearly 1.5 million evidence records.<sup>79</sup> Alongside other expansive projects such as London Lives, 1690-1800 and The Old Bailey Proceedings from 1674 to 1913, Corfield has referred to the focus on 'individual lives' presented by these resources as the 'Namierisation of social history'; albeit for the digital age.<sup>80</sup> But whereas Namier was meticulous to the point of obsession, these ambitious digital resources have their shortcomings.<sup>81</sup> Despite its impressive aims, the funded phase of the CCEd is now over, and the database remains incomplete. The project directors have not shied away from this, acknowledging that the CCEd remains 'a work in progress'; but future updates are now reliant on the part-time work of the dedicated few, and voluntary contributions from external researchers.<sup>82</sup> As such, the CCEd in its current form is a vast, but problematic resource for historical research. Many evidence records remain unlinked, missing, or even erroneous.<sup>83</sup> Consequently, the CCEd must be used

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Barnes, T. D., 'Prosopography and Roman History', in, Keats-Rohan (ed.), *Prosopography Approaches and Applications*, p. 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> 'About', CCEd [accessed at http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/about on 11 November 2018].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Burns, Arthur, Fincham, Kenneth, and Taylor, Stephen, *Prosopography Approaches and Applications*, 275-289.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Corfield, Penelope J., 'The Exploding Galaxy: Historical Studies of Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 34, no. 4 (2011), p. 521.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Namier's exactness is most evident in his scathing response to Sir John Fortescue's 1937 edition of George IIIs correspondence. Namier, Lewis, *Additions and Corrections to Sir John Fortescue's Edition of The Correspondence of King George the Third, vol. 1* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1937). Interest in Namier has been further spiked by the 2015 launch of the Georgian Papers Programme which promises to re-energise the study of George III through the digitisation of over 350,000 pages of documents held by the Royal Archives. 'Introducing the Georgian Papers Programme' [accessed at http://georgianpapersprogramme.com/about/ on 11 November 2018].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Burns, Fincham and Taylor, 'Counting the Clergy', in, *Prosopography Approaches and Applications*, 275-289.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> For examples of difficulties with the CCEd, see, Gibson, William, 'A chaplain and his patron: Samuel Willes and the 7th Earl of Huntingdon', in, Adlington, Hugh, Lockwood, Tom, and, Wright, Gillian (eds.), *Chaplains in early modern England, Patronage, literature and religion* (Manchester: University

with caution. Whilst it can be very useful as a guide in preparation for first-hand inspection of diocesan records, the database often falls short as the 'unparalleled and powerful' research tool to which its creators originally aspired.<sup>84</sup> As such, this study does not cite the CCEd directly.

The reclamation of Namier within prosopography raises the question, what can we still learn from his work in the twenty-first century? Despite the proliferation of digital resources for the study of social history, Namier's work underlines the importance of attention to detail when engaging with primary sources. This study takes up this challenge, drawing evidence from a broad survey of archival material to perceive (as Clark phrased it) 'all that was being done or said' within defined parameters of historical investigation. The lessons learned from the social historians who came after Namier, and the revisionists who followed both, is a greater appreciation of the underlying ideological motivations that underpinned the patchwork of interconnection that linked many public figures in the eighteenth century. To appreciate the best qualities of these divergent methodologies is to ward against the dangers of ostensibly Namierite approaches leading to studies in ecclesiastical history that lapse into antiquarianism or genealogy.<sup>85</sup> As such, despite the interest this study takes in administrative structures of the Church, and the personnel within those structures, it is not strictly Namierite or prosopographical in its approach or intentions despite any superficial similarities.

To explore the issues of patronage, performance, and reputation this thesis is divided into nine chapters divided into three thematic areas. Chapter One first provides an historical discussion of Blackburne's rise to prominence under the Hanoverian regime, elucidating the political conditions of 1723 when he rivalled Bishop Edmund Gibson for influence over ecclesiastical affairs. This is framed by Blackburne's negotiation of the patronage bargain, and how this led to both his appointment as Archbishop, and subsequent fall from favour. Chapter Two shifts focus from the national stage to the diocesan by providing a broad survey of the establishment of Blackburne's episcopal administration at York. This chapter delineates Blackburne's distribution of episcopal patronage across the various administrative strata of his diocese, exploring how the appointments of secretaries, chaplains, cathedral dignitaries, and regional agents contributed to the task of 'turning' the diocese toward the ministry. It also

of Manchester Press, 2015), 190, n. 4; Reed, Daniel, 'Digital Pitfalls – Laurence Sterne and the 'Clergy of the Church of England Database', *The Shandean*, 28 (2018), pp. 129-138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Burns, Fincham and Taylor, 'Counting the Clergy', in, *Prosopography Approaches and Applications*, p. 289.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Payne, Reider, *Ecclesiastical Patronage in England, 1770-1801, A Study of Four Family and Political Networks* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2010); Ford, Gillian, *The Rise and Fall of Thomas Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, 1634-1689* (self-published, 2016).

investigates the patronage bargain in a diocesan context, elucidating the correlation between spiritual services and temporal rewards. Finally, Chapter Three reveals how patronage was managed through the creation of bespoke administrative tools and challenges prevailing historiographical assumptions that tethers the development of diocese books to a narrative of visitation reform.

Having explored the distribution and management of patronage in Blackburne's administration, Chapter Four considers the impact of old-age and ill-health as defining characteristics of the eighteenth-century episcopate. Using disparate archival and newspapers sources, this chapter explores contemporary opinions toward the changing health of bishops and the implications for diocesan management. Blackburne's case is exceptional in this respect because of the steps he took to accommodate his declining health and orchestrate a retreat from certain episcopal functions. Chapter Five discusses the active phase of Blackburne's administration through a reassessment of visitation practices in York, critically reappraising notions of visitation reform, and highlighting the Archbishop's rigorous use of administrative tools such as articles of inquiry. In contrast, Chapter Six examines Blackburne's approach to confirmation during the period of his absence from the diocese. In this section it is posited that supposed marks of neglect are misreadings of the Archbishop's delegation of episcopal functions by commission. This chapter re-establishes Blackburne's agency in the execution of these commissions, which themselves reflected interconnections of patronage and kinship.

The final third of this thesis investigates under-analysed afterlives of patronage relationships, and the long shadow cast by a patron over their clients' subsequent careers. Chapter Seven utilises case studies of two of Blackburne's principal clients, Thomas Hayter and Jaques Sterne, to examine the manner in which episcopal patronage relationships were permeated with the likelihood that clients would outlive their patrons. Their future success was largely dependent on the status, networks, and financial independence afforded by their patrons in life which would propel their careers after their death. This thesis describes this accelerative dynamic as 'patronage slipstream', and further defines its functioning through comparative analysis between the career progress of patrons and their clients. Also indicated, however, is that patronage slipstream was no guaranteed of later rewards. This theme is carried further in Chapter 8, which illuminates the career and writings of Lewis Stephens, Blackburne's former chaplain. Stephens stands apart from the other figures discussed in this study, insofar that he broke from his patronage relationship with the Archbishop in the 1730s. This section explores his motivations and response to this breach through his previouslyunexplored letters and satirical compositions. One of which, 'The Ecclesiastical Climbers' provides a subversive alternative to the 'ladder of preferment' model of ecclesiastical patronage in the eighteenth-century. And more broadly, Stephens's case illustrates that the task of 'turning' a diocese towards Walpole's ministry was not without its challenges. Lastly, Chapter Nine interrogates Blackburne's status as a mythologised patron, exploring the intertwining of contemporary, political-motivated scandal and the fictionalisation of an historical figure into the nineteenth-century. This is achieved through a rigorous analysis of the basis for the 'piracy' myth.

It is a further aim of this study to vigorously engage with the archival record and to utilise under-explored primary source material. In the 1940s, Norman Sykes stated that Blackburne had 'denied to posterity a possible means of vindication' by ordering Thomas Hayter to commit his private papers to the flames after his death.<sup>86</sup> It seems this direction was carried out dutifully, as a little over one hundred of Blackburne's letters are known to survive, of which less than a fifth date from 1724-1743.87 From this modest total, no more than half a dozen have been published.<sup>88</sup> Consequently, it is fortunate that Blackburne's long archiepiscopate is well-documented in the York Diocesan Archives, allowing for a rigorous reappraisal of the Archbishop's episcopal administration from the working papers of his clients and officials.<sup>89</sup> Despite this, there are still occasional gaps in the record. To give one example pertinent to this study, there are no planning documents for Blackburne's primary visitation, and only a small clutch of returns to the articles of inquiry issued during that tour survive.<sup>90</sup> It is also necessary to indicate that the York Diocesan Archives are currently being re-catalogued, but this work is not complete. For the sake of clarity, the references used in Smith's 1973 guide to the diocesan archives and its successor publications are followed in this thesis.<sup>91</sup> Other important material about the jurisdiction of the archbishops is located in various

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Sykes, "The Buccaneer Bishop", p. 81; TNA. PROB/11/725, The will of Lancelot Blackburne, Archbishop of York.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Blackburne's known letters date from 1696 to the 1739. The overwhelmingly majority are in the Wake papers at Christ Church, Oxford.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Examples include, Nichols, John (ed.), *Letters on Various Subjects, Literary, Political & Ecclesiastical to and from William Nicolson, D. D., Successively Bishop of Carlisle, And of Derry; And Archbishop of Cashell (...)*, vol. II (London: John Nichols & Son, 1809), p. 563. Letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, William Nicolson, 9 December 1723; HMC, *The Manuscripts of the Earl of Carlisle, Preserved at Castle Howard*, Fifteenth Report, Appendix, Part VI (London: HMSO, 1897), p. 60. Letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Earl of Carlisle, 9 July 1729; Watts, Isaac, *The Sermons and Practical Works of the late Isaac Watts D.D.* (London: Albion Press, 1805), p. 105. Letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Isaac Watts. 16 October 1739.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III, papers of Lancelot Blackburne.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> BIA. V. 1726-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Smith, David M., *A Guide to the Archive Collections in the Borthwick Institute of Historical* Research, Borthwick Texts and Calendars: Records of the Northern Province 1 (York: The University of York, 1973); Smith, David M., *A Supplementary Guide to the Archives Collections in the Borthwick Institute* 

other collections, of which the most significant are the records of the Dean and Chapter at York Minster Library; the Chapter of the collegiate church of Southwell at Nottinghamshire Archives; the Archdeaconry of Nottingham at the university of the same; and the Dean and Chapter of Ripon at the University of Leeds.<sup>92</sup> I am also grateful to Professor William Gibson for directing me to the letters of John Audley (c1680-1744), diocesan chancellor of York, at the Huntington Library.<sup>93</sup>

Norman Sykes founded his authoritative biography of Archbishop William Wake on the thirty-one volumes of his papers that are the jewel of the collections of Christ Church, Oxford. In the preface to his last great work, Sykes acknowledged multifarious debts to scholars and private individuals who brought manuscript discoveries to his attention, such as Archbishop Wake's autobiographical writings, and his outgoing foreign correspondence dispersed in collections across Central Europe.<sup>94</sup> Some sixty years later this thesis has benefited from an archival windfall closer to home. In 2015, I identified four orphaned volumes comprising over 520 of Wake's letters and papers for the period 1717-1735 at Cornwall Record Office.<sup>95</sup> I use the word 'identified' with all due caution, recognising that the volumes had been catalogued, and are noted on Wakes's entry in the ODNB.96 Despite this, they are completely unused by historians. This collection has (seemingly) separate provenance to the Christ Church papers, forming a sequence with four further volumes of correspondence of Dean Humphrey Prideaux of Norwich (1648-1724).<sup>97</sup> All eight volumes are uniformly-bound and annotated throughout by his son, Edmund Prideaux (d. 1745). These strays are a direct continuation of the Christ Church manuscripts and starkly depict the eclipsed Archbishop's final decades. In this collection are letters from nearly every prelate of the period, valuable material about the Church in Ireland, and additional items from Wake's Gallican correspondents. Whilst pursuing this thesis, I transcribed all English-language items in these volumes (the foreign letters were beyond me) which was not only hugely fruitful for this study, but scratched just deeply enough below the surface to reveal the enormous potential this overlooked collection holds for further study.

of Historical Research, Borthwick Tests and Calendars: Records of the Northern Province 7 (York: University of York, 1980)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> YML. DC; NA. SC; UNSC. AN; ULSC. Ripon Cathedral MS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Gibson, William, "Good Mr Chancellor," The Work of Dr John Audley, Chancellor of York, 1710-1744', in, *The Yale University Library Gazette*, vol. 73, nos. 1-2 (October 1998).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Sykes, William Wake, I, pp. ix-xiii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> CRO. PB/8/5-8, letters of William Wake, 1717-1735.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Taylor, Stephen, 'Wake, William (1657-1737)', *ODNB* [accessed at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28409 on 3 February 2019].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> CRO. PB/8/1-4, letters of Humphrey Prideaux, 1670s-1724.

It is the more remarkable that Cornwall Record Office is home to not one hithertounused collection relevant to a study of the Northern Province, but two. The correspondence of Francis Gregor and Lewis Stephens (1693-1747), chaplain to Blackburne at Exeter and York, also appears to have gone unnoticed by historians.<sup>98</sup> This thesis draws heavily on the incoming portion of this collection, which comprises 120 letters and other papers transmitted from Stephens to Gregor.<sup>99</sup> The identification of this material has been crucial, because (like Blackburne) there are no substantial biographical accounts of many other figures central to this study, or even the most basic outlines of their clerical careers. Despite rising to be canons and archdeacons, neither Joseph Atwell, Lewis Stephens, or Jaques Sterne have entries in the ODNB. And whilst the identification of certain personal papers has been a boon to this study, the burden of my work with the York Diocesan Archives has been in chasing shadows. The absence of explicit statements of intention or meaning in many working papers has meant that the activities of individual figures within the episcopal administration could only be deduced from close-reading, and the aggregation of multiple sources. Furthermore, many of these items do not feature the autograph of the creator, so I have relied on the imprecise art of identifying the handwriting of individuals I have worked on for several years and have grown familiar with. Tracing the after-lives of patronage relationships has posed a serious challenge, as it was necessary to broaden the chronological scope of the study into the decades after Blackburne's death. To give an impression of the scale of this task, one of the best accounts of an episode from Blackburne's primary visitation of 1726-1728 is found in a 1763 letter to Archbishop Robert Drummond.<sup>100</sup>

It is also necessary at this stage to indicate omissions, and areas for further research. This thesis makes little reference to the engagement of Blackburne and his episcopal administration with local electoral politics, recognising that this was an important facet of the Archbishop's political-religious programme in York, but the subject has been approached elsewhere and more effectively than I could hope to manage in the space available. Likewise, Blackburne's relationship with the City of York is not a primary focus of this study, having been outlined effectively by Gareth Walker in his 2001 dissertation.<sup>101</sup> Finally, as this study developed and found its focus on episcopal patronage it was necessary to omit more extensive analysis of the attitudes of Blackburne's administration towards Catholicism and Dissent in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> CRO. G, Gregor family of Trewarthenick papers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> CRO. G/1968, letters of Francis Gregor and Lewis Stephens, 1710-1747.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> BIA. Bp. Sch./52, letter to Robert Drummond, 23 October 1763.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Walker, Gareth, 'The Church in York, 1688-1747'; Hall, Richard, and, Richardson, Sarah, *The Anglican Clergy and Yorkshire Politics in the Eighteenth Century*, Borthwick Paper No. 94 (York: University of York, 1998); Collyer, Cedric, 'The Rockinghams and Yorkshire Politics, 1742-1761', in, *Miscellenea*, The Publications of the Thoresby Society, vol. XLI, pt. 4, no. 99 (1954).

York, particularly the Archbishop's survey of Catholics and responses to the Quaker tithes bill in the mid-1730s. There is rich archival material available for in-depth studies into these areas, which warrant further investigation in the future.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Trappes-Lomax, Richard (cont.), 'Archbishop Blackburn's [sic] Visitation Returns of the Diocese of York, 1735', in, *Miscellanea*, Publications of the CRS, vol. XXXII (London: John Whitehead & Sons Ltd., 1932); BIA. Bp. C&P/7, papers relating to the prosecutions of Quakers for not paying tithes, 1720-1740.

## 'OUR WORTHY FRIEND IN YE WEST': LANCELOT BLACKBURNE AND THE PATRONAGE BARGAIN

1723 marked a decisive transition point in the Whig consolidation of church-state affairs in Britain. Against the backdrop of the final suppression of the Atterbury Plot, and the subsequent strengthening of Robert Walpole's position as chief minister, nine sees fell vacant across England and Wales.<sup>1</sup> This exceptional turnover of episcopal oversight included the diocese of Winchester, vacated by the death of Bishop Charles Trimnell, Clerk of the Closet to George I.<sup>2</sup> With Archbishop William Wake politically side-lined following an irrecoverable breach with the ministry over the proposed repeal of the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts, Trimnell cemented his position as 'adviser in church matters' to Sunderland and Stanhope.<sup>3</sup> But with Trimnell dead, the ministry determined to delegate the management of church affairs on a small group of 'court bishops'; Lancelot Blackburne, Richard Willis, and Edmund Gibson.<sup>4</sup> The latter's translation to London in April 1723 marked his predominance among these three, despite lukewarm protests over being burdened with *de facto* administration in the Church.<sup>5</sup> By October of that year, however, Bishop Gibson was reassured that if he rose to the responsibility his advice would always be sought by the King, whilst Walpole wrote privately to Newcastle that the new bishop of London must be 'our pope'.<sup>6</sup> Gibson's advancement came about in the unprecedented circumstance that both archbishops were then considered not 'in measures' with the government.<sup>7</sup> Archbishop William Dawes of York was an active proponent of the Tory interest, whereas Archbishop Wake remained a 'discarded minister'.<sup>8</sup> In this vacuum of ecclesiastical authority, Gibson's scheme for filling the Church vacancies of 1723 was closely followed by the King's ministers on advice that the 'difficulties of any other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sykes, Norman, William Wake, II, pp. 144.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bickersteth, John, and, Dunning, Robert W., *Clerks of the Closet in the Royal Household, Five Hundred Years of Service to the Crown* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1991), pp. 43-44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sykes, *William Wake*, II, pp. 129-130; Taylor, Stephen, 'Wake, William (1657-1737)', *ODNB* [accessed at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28409 on 3 February 2019].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Charles Trimnell died at Farnham Castle on 15 April 1723; Jacob, W. M., 'Charles Trimnell (1663-1723)', *ODNB* [accessed at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27742 on 18 February 2019]; SA. Gibson MS, MS5220, draft notes on Church management, c. 1723.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Sykes, Norman, *Edmund Gibson*, pp. 86-87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> SA Gibson. MS5186, letter from Lord Carteret, to, Edmund Gibson. 26 October/6 November 1723; MS5187, letter from Lord Townshend, to, Edmund Gibson, 26 October/6 November 1723; Sykes, *William Wake*, II, pp. 144-145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> SA Gibson. MS5220, draft notes on Church management, c. 1723.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Sykes, William Wake, II, pp. 144-145.

method, will be endless'.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, this scheme exemplified the cornerstones of Hanoverian church-state relations that moderate Church Whigs were promoted to protect. Namely, unity of the episcopal bench, steadiness in support of the Protestant Succession, and administration of Church affairs at all times to the honour of 'his Majesty and Government'.<sup>10</sup>

For Blackburne, the ecclesiastical reorganisation of 1723 marked the culmination of over forty years' duty to the Crown. Having first entered 'his majestie's service' through colonial ministry in the Leewards Islands from 1682 to 1684, on his return to England he was rewarded with the rectory of Camerton in Somerset.<sup>11</sup> Blackburne's activities during the upheaval of James II's reign are unknown, but his published sermons from the 1690s demonstrate a firm adherence to the politico-religious settlement of the Glorious Revolution.

Since it is Now our Happyness to have those two very great and concerning Interests united, which so long have driven different ways; we have a double tye upon us, to defeats the Hopes of our Adversaries, by laying aside our Animosities about Either, least they proved in the end the ruin of Both<sup>12</sup>

Blackburne's unwavering support for the Crown led to successive appointments as chaplain in ordinary to William III, Anne, and George I.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, in the south-west he cultivated the patronage of Bishop Jonathan Trelawny alongside continued marks of royal favour.<sup>14</sup> Whilst Blackburne did not share Bishop Trelawny's high churchmanship, he did follow his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> SA Gibson. MS5184, draft letter from Edmund Gibson, to, Lord Townshend, [c. September 1723]; MS5190, draft letter from Edmund Gibson, to, Lord Carteret. [c. November 1723].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> SA Gibson. MS5201, draft letter from Edmund Gibson, to, Robert Walpole, [c. November 1723]; MS5202, draft letter from Edmund Gibson, to, Robert Walpole, [c. 1724]; MS5198, draft letter from Edmund Gibson, to, Lord Carteret, 16 September 1724.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Clark, Andrew (ed.), *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695, described by Himself*, III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894), p. 87; Weaver, Frederic William, *Somerset Incumbents* (Bristol: 1889), p. 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Blackburne, Lancelot, *The Unreasonableness of Anger. A Sermon Preach'd before the Queen, at White-Hall, July xxix 1694* (London: 1694).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Blackburne, Lancelot, *The Love of God manifested in giving our Saviour for the Redemption of Mankind, A Sermon Preach'd before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, On Nov. the 29<sup>th</sup> 1696 (London: 1697); BL. Add. MS. 28888, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, John Ellis, 30 March 1702; Lancelot Blackburne, to, John Ellis, 9 April 1702; Blackburne, Lancelot, <i>A Sermon Preach'd before the Honourable House of Commons at St. Margaret's Westminster, on the Thirtieth of January, 1715/16* [etc.] (London: 1716).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Smith, M. G., 'The Cathedral Chapter of Exeter and the Election of 1705: A Reconsideration', in, *Reports and Transactions of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art*, vol. 116 (December 1984), p. 115; Hardy, William John (ed.) *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of William III*, vol. 8 (London: HMSO, 1927), p. 56. Blackburne was presented by the King to the rectory of Calstock in Cornwall, 13 March 1697.

patron's exactness in ecclesiastical discipline, and was similarly alert to the threat of Catholicism to the established Church.<sup>15</sup> Trelawny took regular opportunities to remind his clergy of his defiance of James II, and was held in regard for his 'firmness in that difficult time of Tryal'.<sup>16</sup> Under Trelawny's protection, Blackburne steadily rose through the respective stations of Exeter cathedral, earning a reputation as the Bishop's 'favourite', and eventually succeeding as dean on his patron's recommendation in 1705.<sup>17</sup> This relationship subsisted until 1707, when in a bid to exert greater authority over increasingly fractious ecclesiastical affairs, Queen Anne personally nominated the High Church controversialist Ofspring Blackall to succeed to Exeter, placing Blackburne and the Whigs in chapter in contention with their diocesan.<sup>18</sup>

But the accession of George I in 1714 brought new opportunities for Whig clergymen, and at Archbishop William Wake's intercession Blackburne was selected to attend the King as chaplain on his first visit to Hanover in July 1716.<sup>19</sup> In a climate of popular debate over King George's religious identity, Blackburne's success in the politically-sensitive and largely-undefined role of providing Anglican worship for the Royal retinue on the continent set a precedent for expectations of higher ecclesiastical preferment for future Hanover chaplains.<sup>20</sup> This was initiated at Blackburne's return to England in November 1716 when he found Bishop Blackall suffering with a broken leg which (as he reported to Archbishop Wake) gangrene 'eats hourly'.<sup>21</sup> Blackburne quickly mobilised allies in the chapter at Exeter to frustrate the ailing bishop's attempts to collate Tory supporters to key diocesan posts, stating in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Smith, M. G., '*Fighting Joshua*', A Study of the Career of Sir Jonathan Trelawny, bart, 1650-1721, Bishop of Bristol, Exeter and Winchester (Redruth: Dyllansow Truran, 1985), p. 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Gibson, William, 'A happy fertile soil which bringeth forth abundantly: the diocese of Winchester, 1689-1800', in, Gregory, Jeremy & Chamberlain, Jeffrey S. (eds.), *The National Church in Local Perspective, The Church of England and the Regions, 1660-1800* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), p. 103; Whitfield, William, *The Kingdom of Jesus Christ: In Answer to some Points treated of, in the Rights of the Christian Church In A Sermon Preach'd before the Right Reverend Father in God, Jonathan Lord Bishop of Winchester, At His Primary Visitation At Guildford, July 5. 1708* (London: 1708), p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Smith, 'Fighting Joshua', A Study of the Career of Sir Jonathan Trelawny, p. 107.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Bennett, G. V., *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730. The career of Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), pp. 88-89; Sykes, 'Buccaneer Bishop', p. 86.
 <sup>19</sup> Sykes, 'Buccaneer Bishop', p. 86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Stevens, Ralph, "King George's Religion': Lutheranism And The Religious Politics Of The Hanoverian Succession', in, Gibson, William (ed.), *The Journal of Religious History, Literature and Culture*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (November 2016), pp. 84-104. Sykes, 'Buccaneer Bishop', p. 89; SA Gibson. MS5207, notes on Dr Gilbert, [c. 1725]. Gibson referred to the successive nominations of Lancelot Blackburne, Hugh Boulter, and Richard Willis to bishoprics following their attendance of the King in Hanover.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Sykes, 'Buccaneer Bishop', p. 91.

characteristically martial terms that he 'would die in the breach rather than deliver up any of the king's forts into the enemy's hands'.<sup>22</sup> It was posthumously alleged that as futile attempts were made to save the bishop, Blackall remarked 'why all these Pains to reprieve an useless Life at best, and keep out a better Man?'<sup>23</sup> Whilst this account emphasised Blackall's humility at the point of death, he could hardly have had Blackburne in mind. Blackall succumbed to his injuries on 29 November, and with the support of the ministry and Archbishop Wake, the King accepted Blackburne's nomination as successor in January 1717.<sup>24</sup>

Blackburne's elevation to the episcopal bench was a marker of the Whig ascendancy under George I, as the ministry strived to prefer loyal and able churchmen to positions of state.<sup>25</sup> As early as December 1716 Blackburne sought to position himself closer to Court, seeking a canonry of Westminster to hold in *commendam* with his bishopric, and a house in London 'to put his head in for the parliamentary attendance'.<sup>26</sup> Blackburne's influence among the Church-Whig party at this time is evident in his central involvement in discussions initiated by Archbishop William Wake to mollify the high tensions aroused by the Bangorian Controversy and the subsequent censure of Convocation.<sup>27</sup> By the autumn of 1723, the ministry were determined that their 'worthy friend in y<sup>e</sup> West' should be stationed in the capital more permanently, a move which Newcastle adjudged would be 'of great service to the king's affairs'.<sup>28</sup> As part of the scheme to settle ecclesiastical oversight on the triumvirate of court bishops, Blackburne was to be appointed Lord Almoner. Bishop Edmund Gibson's immediate response was to raise doubts over his suitability for the post.<sup>29</sup> Writing to Carteret, he queried whether Blackburne, then in his mid-sixties, would 'be easy' under the 'perpetual applications' from the poor, and the 'downright persecution' from the nobility and gentry in

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Blackall, Ofspring, *The Works Of the Right Reverend Father in God, Ofspring Blackall, D.D., Late Lord Bishop of Exeter* [etc.], vol. 1 (London: 1723), preface.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Stamford Mercury (Stamford: Tuesday 17 January 1717).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Gibson, *Enlightenment Prelate*, p. 149.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Sykes, *Church and State in the XVIIIth Century*, p. 150; in April 1721, Blackburne was lodging in Channel (Cannon) Row in Westminster, and by January 1725 had acquired a house in the newlydeveloped Downing Street. See, BL. Blenheim Papers, Add. MS. 61464, ff. 100-103. Letter from Sarah the Duchess of Marlborough, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 18 April 1721; BIA. Bp. C&P II/29, letter from Marmaduke Fothergill, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 25 January 1725.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Sykes, *Edmund Gibson*, p. 78; Gibson, *Enlightenment Prelate*, p. 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> SA Gibson. MS5180, draft letter from Edmund Gibson, to Lord Carteret, 4 September 1723; MS5181, letter from Lord Carteret, to, Edmund Gibson, 1 October 1723; Sykes, 'Buccaneer Bishop', p. 96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> SA Gibson. MS5179, draft letter from Edmund Gibson, to, Lord Carteret, 4 September 1723; MS5180, draft letter from Edmund Gibson, to, Lord Carteret, 4 September 1723.

the weeks prior to the Maundy service.<sup>30</sup> Pressing further, Gibson cited Blackburne's 'known resolution to enjoy his own time', and warned against placing him in a position to do 'an ungracious thing by refusing it'.<sup>31</sup> But in this early test of Gibson's influence, the government's new 'pope' failed to alter the ministers' resolution, and Carteret's reply was succinct. Blackburne would be Almoner, because he was ultimately designed for the Deanery of St. Pauls.

The place of L<sup>d</sup> Almoner has never been given but to a person, who either had great preferments already, or who was mark'd out for ym; & ought always to be given to a Prelate, y<sup>t</sup> has, a sort of residence, in, or near London, or y<sup>t</sup> is intended soon to have one.<sup>32</sup>

For both Gibson's part in swallowing this rebuke, and Blackburne's in accepting the 'numerous disobligations' that came with it, Carteret outlined that 'some little inconveniencys must be endured, by all persons of publick spirit'.<sup>33</sup>

This resolution did not hold for long. Within six months the ministry's aim of installing Blackburne at St. Pauls had been supplanted in favour of even higher preferment. In April 1724, a health scare for Bishop Richard Willis spurred rumours that Blackburne might succeed to Winchester, but just weeks later this was overshadowed by the sudden death of Archbishop William Dawes of York.<sup>34</sup> A protégé of Archbishop John Sharp, Dawes had been similarly energetic in the High Church interest, galvanising Tory opposition in the Lords.<sup>35</sup> Whilst in the North, he notably supported the successful campaign of his son-in-law Sir William Milner to become Tory MP for the city of York in 1722.<sup>36</sup> But despite being a committed Hanoverian, Archbishop Dawes's position as Northern Metropolitan grew increasingly at-odds with the resurgent Whig ministry. That Bishop Henry Downes of Meath

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> SA Gibson. MS5180, draft letter from Edmund Gibson, to, Lord Carteret, 4 September 1723.
 <sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> SA Gibson. MS5181, letter from Lord Carteret, to, Edmund Gibson, 19 September 1723. Blackburne officiated at the marriage of Cornishman Edward Elliot to Elisabeth Craggs at St. Pauls on 24 April 1718. See, Clay, John W., *The Registers of St. Pauls Cathedral*, Publications of the Harleian Society Registers Vol. XXVI (London: 1899), p. 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Nichols, ed.), *Letters on Various Subjects, Literary, Political & Ecclesiastical to and from William Nicolson, D. D*, vol. II, p. 563. Letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, William Nicolson, 9 December 1723; SA Gibson. MS5181, letter from Lord Carteret, to, Edmund Gibson, 19 September 1723.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of His Grace The Duke of Portland, K. G., Preserved at Welbeck Abbey*, Vol. VII London: HMSO, 1901), p. 377.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Tindal Hart, A., *The Life and Times of John Sharp, Archbishop of York* (London: SPCK, 1949), pp. 245-246; Bennett, *The Tory Crisis in Church and State, 1688-1730*, p. 231.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Walker, Gareth, 'The Church in York, 1688-1747', pp. 82-84.

felt necessary to express that the late archbishop was 'no Pretender's man' highlights the depth of this discordance.<sup>37</sup> The vacancy at York therefore provided an opportunity to further wrest the Northern Province into the hands of the Whigs, and place a churchman of unquestionable loyalty to the Crown and government on an archiepiscopal throne. The historical record is peculiarly silent on the discussions surrounding Blackburne's elevation, but contemporary news reports heralded the appointment in hopeful terms.

The Death of this excellent Prelate [Dawes] is exceedingly lamented, particularly for his exemplary Benignity and Liberality to our Charity Schools; which however cannot but have the comfortable Assurances of receiving the same Acts of Love and Charity from his Grace's Successor, the Right Reverend Dr. Blackburn<sup>38</sup>

Despite this narrative of continuity, the 1720s witnessed an almost total suppression of Toryism among the episcopacy in the North of England. This sea change was typified by the translation of Bishop William Talbot, Blackburne's kinsman and favourite of George I, to the bishopric of Durham at the death of Nathaniel, Lord Crewe, in 1721.<sup>39</sup> A symbol of longevity, Bishop Crewe had occupied the episcopal bench for fifty years, notwithstanding lingering suspicions over his activities on James IIs ecclesiastical commission in the 1680s.<sup>40</sup> A year earlier, Joseph Wilcocks had written to Bishop White Kennett from Hanover observing that the octogenarian Abbot of Loccum 'holds as fast as the Bishop of Durham'.<sup>41</sup> But this grip was rapidly loosening. By 1730, four of the five Northern dioceses were occupied by appointees agreeable to the ministry.<sup>42</sup> For ardent Tory observers like Thomas Hearne, it provoked alarm to see High Church bishops replaced by Latitudinarians like Blackburne, who he dismissed as 'a most vile, scandalous, illiterate Man'.<sup>43</sup> To other Whig prelates, however, Blackburne's elevation was a necessary realignment of Church affairs in the North. On 9 May 1724, Bishop Thomas Bowers of Chichester wrote enthusiastically to his patron Newcastle about the ministry's choice for northern primate.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Nichols, *Letters on Various Subjects* (...) *Ecclesiastical to and from William Nicolson*, vol. II, p. 269. Letter from Henry Downes, to, William Nicolson, 6 May 1724.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Caledonian Mercury (Edinburgh: 18 May 1724).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Gibson, William, 'William Talbot and Church Parties, 1688-1730', in, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 58, no. 1. (January 2007), p. 5; Blackburne married Talbot's sister Elizabeth in 1684.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Johnson, Margot, 'Crew [Crewe], Nathaniel, third Baron Crew (1633-1721)', *ODNB* [accessed at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6683 on 27 February 2019].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> BL. Landsdowne MS 1038, letter from Joseph Wilcocks, to, White Kennett, 5 September 1720.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> William Talbot to Durham, 1721; John Waugh to Carlisle, 1723; Lancelot Blackburne to York, 1724; Samuel Peploe to Chester, 1726.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Oxford Historical Society (ed.), *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, vol. VIII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), p. 209.

You have certainly prefer'd a very able man in y<sup>e</sup> A B<sup>rick</sup> of York, & I hope y<sup>e</sup> choice will be approved by all y<sup>e</sup> friends to y<sup>e</sup> Government in y<sup>e</sup> north, & I doubt not but he will be at least as useful to y<sup>e</sup> public in y<sup>t</sup> Province as he can be in y<sup>e</sup> Diocese of Exceter<sup>44</sup>

It was in the south-west that this private approbation for Blackburne's translation was played out with great ceremony on the public stage. On 25 August 1724, Robert Walpole and an entourage of Whig grandees including his son, two Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, the Paymaster of the Revenue in Ireland, and the Governor of Plymouth Fort, descended on the city of Exeter.<sup>45</sup>

they were receiv'd with great Demonstrations of Joy and Respect, they went directly to the Lord Bishop of Exon, and Nom. of York Palace, where they were entertained at a most magnificent Dinner, of 100 Dishes of Meat, after which the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, waited on them, in a full Body, at the Guild-Hall, where they were pleas'd to accept of the Freedom and Privileges of Exeter<sup>46</sup>

Walpole reciprocated this civic display with a 'very affectionate Speech' and a gift of £100 to the poor of the city, and it was reported that toasts were made to the King and 'many other Loyal Healths were drank'.<sup>47</sup> The appearance of the first minister alongside the archbishopelect was a potent demonstration of Whig unity in Church and state, and an unequivocal endorsement of the new Northern primate. Blackburne wore this honour ostentatiously, signing his letters for the remainder of 1724 as '*Lan: Exon nom Ebor*'.<sup>48</sup>

But as the ministry threw their weight behind Blackburne's elevation to York, cracks were already developing in their fledgling scheme of Church management. As noted by Sykes, the formation of an 'Ecclesiastical Cabinet' was fundamentally flawed in terms of precedence,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> BL. Add. MS. 32687, letter from Thomas Bowers, to, Duke of Newcastle, 9 May 1724; Thomas Bowers, to, Duke of Newcastle, 3 June 1724.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> The Nottingham Mercury; Or, a General View of the Affairs of Europe, But more particularly of Great-Britain: Being a Weekly Account of News (Nottingham: Thursday 27 August 1724). Walpole utilised an adjournment of the Lords of the Treasury to visit his son, who married Margaret Rolle of Heanton in Devon on 26 March 1724.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Newcastle Courant (Newcastle: Saturday 5 September 1724); see also, Parker's London News or The Impartial intelligencer, no. 904 (London: Wednesday 2 September 1724).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> North Devon Archives. 3335A/PB/1, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Lord Clinton, 21 June 1724; Audley Letters. Letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, John Audley, 24 July 1724; Letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, John Audley, 22 August 1724; Christ Church College. Wake MS, vol. 10, no. 81, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, William Wake, 26 September 1724; BIA. Bp. Conf., confirmation of the election of Lancelot Blackburne as Archbishop of York, [1724]; I have not encountered any other instances of an eighteenth-century bishop signing their name this way.

and delegation of authority.<sup>49</sup> In the summer of 1724, negotiations over the proposed appointment of Francis Hare to the Deanery of St. Pauls prompted Bishop Edmund Gibson to raise concerns that anyone brought into a pre-eminent position in his diocese should support his interest and not 'work against' him.<sup>50</sup> In this light, it is difficult to conceive that two figures as ambitious as Gibson and Blackburne could have co-existed comfortably in such close proximity. In this sense, Blackburne's nomination to York was successful in removing his sphere of ecclesiastical jurisdiction farther from Gibson's doorstep. But the question of influence over national Church matters remained. The ministry had previously demonstrated their willingness to take Blackburne's advice on appointments, and his authority was respected over clerical nominations in his new jurisdiction. In November 1723, Carteret considered him a 'good judge' in the case of a vacant canonry of Westminster.<sup>51</sup> Whereas, prior to Blackburne's installation at York, Newcastle acted as a broker for Crown patronage in the North. In July 1724, Sir John Vanbrugh urged the Duke to use his influence on behalf of his 'Friend and Kinsman' Theophilus Garencieres, vicar of Scarborough, being assured that Blackburne would 'do, whatever your Grace wou'd have him'.<sup>52</sup>

But Blackburne soon revealed himself to be more independently-minded than the ministry anticipated. The question of ecclesiastical authority came to a head over vacancies in Chester, a diocese which posed particular challenges to the ministry who believed it to be 'full of Papists' and possessed of a body of clergy who had been emboldened in the Tory interest by Bishop Francis Gastrell.<sup>53</sup> These political interests had to be balanced, and in June 1725 Newcastle was concerned to maintain an 'equality' of Whigs and Tories in the Collegiate Church of Manchester.<sup>54</sup> When the bishopric itself fell vacant just five months later, Newcastle turned first to Bishop Edmund Gibson for advice. Recognising that the matter fell under the auspices of the Northern metropolitan, Blackburne was subsequently consulted, and to Newcastle's 'very great Surprize' the Archbishop named his former chaplain, the thirty-three-year-old John Gilbert as his preferred candidate.<sup>55</sup> Blackburne's desire to bring his principal client from the south-west into the North by way of a bishopric was objectionable on several grounds. Gibson led opposition to the scheme, indicating that to elevate Gilbert ahead of more senior churchmen would set a 'dangerous precedent' and risk unsettling the rank and file of the clergy. Furthermore, Chester required an equally zealous and experienced hand to bring

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Sykes, *Edmund Gibson*, pp. 86-87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> SA Gibson. MS5194, draft letter from Edmund Gibson, [c. August 1724].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> SA Gibson. MS, MS5189, letter from Lord Carteret, to, Edmund Gibson, 19/30 November 1723.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> BL. Add. MS. 32687, letter from Sir John Vanbrugh, to, Duke of Newcastle, 23 August 1724.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> SA Gibson. MS5207, notes on Dr Gilbert, [c. 1725].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> BL. Add. MS. 32687, letter from the Duke of Newcastle, to, Duke of Rutland, 26 June 1725.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> BL. Add. MS. 32687, letter from the Duke of Newcastle, to, Lord Townshend, 17 November 1725.

the clergy there under the authority of a new bishop.<sup>56</sup> Blackburne was rumoured to have a better interest with Robert Walpole in the affair, and it soon became publicly-known that the 'two great prelates' were 'at open defiance'.<sup>57</sup> The tussle between Blackburne and Gibson raged across New Year 1726, and political opponents of the ministry commented that the prospect of Gilbert's advancement was (alongside Blackburne's own promotion) 'the most remarkable that has ever happened in this poor church'.<sup>58</sup> By mid-January, however, it was apparent that Blackburne had not gained the support of his episcopal brethren, and the Archbishop's claim was put down 'under the highest resentments'<sup>59</sup>. Gibson's scheme prevailed, and he cemented his position as chief ecclesiastical advisor. Samuel Peploe was appointed to Chester, whilst Gilbert was offered a canonry of Christ Church.<sup>60</sup>

Within a little over two years, Blackburne reached the apogee of his clerical career, only to find himself excluded from further influence by seriously misjudging the patronage bargain. The highest Church appointments were made to stick, and Robert Walpole was gravely concerned that the breach between the two 'governing prelates' might undo measures taken to bring one of the archbishoprics in line with the ministry.<sup>61</sup> This might be seen as a precipitating step in the failure of the Whig alliance that finally faltered in the mid-1730s.<sup>62</sup> Blackburne's fall from influence demonstrates that despite the backing of the King, Walpole, the ministry, and promises made to him as archbishop, patronage remained at the mercy of political imperatives. In 1721, an embittered Duchess of Marlborough observed to Blackburne that 'I know by Woefull experience that there is no regard had to pass'd services'.<sup>63</sup> As such, she thought it fortunate that Blackburne was 'very little acquainted with ministers'.<sup>64</sup> This provides a possible explanation for his fatal misstep. Despite Blackburne's age, experience, and influence in the south-west, he was not politically astute enough to appreciate the multilateral nature of patronage at Court. His determination to promote a client to a bishopric in the North, however unlikely a candidate, brought Blackburne into direct conflict with his former friend and ally Gibson, accelerating the Bishop of London's rise as sole ecclesiastical

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Sykes, Edmund Gibson, pp. 123-125.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> HMC, *Manuscripts of His Grace The Duke of Portland*, Vol. VII, p. 406. Letter from William Stratford, to, Lord Harley, 2 December 1725; letter from William Stratford, to, Lord Harley, 23 December 1725.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Ibid, p. 410. Letter from William Stratford, to, Lord Harley, December 1725.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Ibid, p. 417. Letter from William Stratford, to, Lord Harley, 18 January 1726.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Sykes, *Edmund Gibson*, pp. 126-127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Sykes, 'Buccaneer Bishop', p. 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Sykes, *Edmund Gibson*, pp. 126-127.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> BL. Add. MS 61464, letter from the Duchess of Marlborough, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 12 May 1721.
 <sup>64</sup> Ibid.

advisor to the ministry.<sup>65</sup> The extent to which Blackburne subsequently 'receded into obscurity' on the national stage is evident in negotiations to fill the bishopric of Durham in 1730 at the death of the Archbishop's brother-in-law, Bishop William Talbot.<sup>66</sup> Bishop Edward Chandler was informed of his translation by Gibson, Newcastle, and Walpole. Archbishop Wake was notified after the fact, and Blackburne is conspicuous by his absence from the records.<sup>67</sup> Thereafter, Blackburne's primary focus was in establishing his administration in York and forwarding the ministry's interest in his diocesan capacity.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Bodl. MS Add. A. 269, letter from Edmund Gibson, to, William Nicolson, 29 July 1718. Gibson referred to Blackburne and John Hough as the two bishops 'with whom I correspond as formerly'.
 <sup>66</sup> Sykes, 'Buccaneer Bishop', p. 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> CRO. PB8/8, letter from Edward Chandler, to, William Wake, 17 October 1730.

## ESTABLISHING AN EPISCOPAL ADMINISTRATION

The 'episcopal administration' as a distinct unit of ecclesiastical governance was explicitly explored in John Daeley's 1967 doctoral study of the sixteenth-century archiepiscopacy of Matthew Parker at Canterbury.<sup>1</sup> Daeley's thesis focussed primarily on Parker's diocesan (rather than metropolitical) functions, exploring the workings of the 'administrative machine', and how that machine was populated.<sup>2</sup> Daeley deployed the term 'administration' in various senses; as the chronological span of Parker's archiepiscopacy, key personnel and officials of the diocese, and the politico-religious imperatives of his prelacy.<sup>3</sup> For the purpose of this thesis, the term 'episcopal administration' refers to the hierarchical structure of governance centred on the bishop, his household, and chief officers responsible for the conduct of diocesan business. Episcopal administrations were formed according to the politico-imperatives of individual bishops, and this provided a rationale for the exercise of patronage. With no acknowledged biological children and few blood relatives, Blackburne matched Swift's model of the ideal ecclesiastical patron 'not overstock'd with Relations' to provide for.<sup>4</sup> As such, politico-religious bonds were stronger between Blackburne and many of his clients than ties of kinship. At Exeter, Blackburne built a reputation for exercising his episcopal patronage in favour of loyal, Whig clergymen. In July 1718, Blackburne wrote to Sunderland to inform him that he had put 'Good Men' into seven parishes in Exeter to cure 'the Madness of the People'.<sup>5</sup> In the same letter, Blackburne made plain his understanding of the patronage bargain, acknowledging that for their service his clients would be duly rewarded.

For where the subsistence of the Clergy depends upon the Voluntary Contributions of disaffected Parishioners, I can think of no way we have to ensure Their Reddyness in their Duty to the King & Government, so likely to be effectual, as to enable 'em to live of Themselves. Your Lp knows better that I can say; It is not the Gift of Every Priest to persevere in Principles that Starve him: And tho' I use the utmost Care to find out such, & to prefer non Other: Yet, as the world is made, I wish to guard 'em from the Trial, & to make it easy & comfortable to 'em to be Just.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Daeley, John I., 'The Episcopal Administration of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1559-1575', University of London PhD thesis, 1967.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibid, pp. 11, 13, 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Swift, Jonathan, *A Letter to a Young Gentleman Latterly Entered into Holy Orders by a Person of Quality* (London, 1721), 4, quoted in, Gibson, William, *A Social History of the Domestic Chaplain, 1530–1840* (London: Leicester University Press, 1997), 146.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> BL. Add. MS. 61612, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Lord Sunderland, 26 July 1718.
 <sup>6</sup> Ibid.

In his capacity as episcopal patron, Blackburne professed that he would only seek to prefer those clergymen who he adjudged to be firmly attached to the King and ministry, and for their dutiful service he would grant them certain advantages.

Blackburne carried this understanding of the patronage bargain to York at his translation in 1724. Whilst the archbishops only held a relatively small percentage of the overall patronage rights in their diocese (computed as 9.9%), the extensive See still provided ample opportunity to reward deserving clients.<sup>7</sup> In the absence of explicit statements by Blackburne regarding the exercise of his patronage in York, this section takes as its starting point comments by his successor, Archbishop Thomas Herring. Within a day of learning of his translation to York, Archbishop Herring turned his mind to the potential of the diocese for serving his clients. In a letter to his cousin dated 31 March 1743, Herring expressed two principal concerns regarding his patronage and elevation to the archbishopric. First, was the appointment of a chaplain, particularly his desire to recall his nephew into his household. Second, were the broader possibilities across the diocese for serving his clients.

That one great view in my taking this Preferment is the hope of doing good to yourself & my best Friends, w<sup>ch</sup> if it please God to continue my Life I can hardly fail of doing. The ArchB<sup>p</sup> of Yorke is a Patron of above forty Prebends in y<sup>e</sup> two Cathedrals of York & Southwell, all w<sup>th</sup> Corpses, some good ArchDeaconries & other things, & many Livings of one Hundred a Year & some few of two.<sup>8</sup>

Reflecting on Archbishop Herring's comments, this chapter will investigate the ways in which Blackburne utilised his archiepiscopal patronage to form an administration at York, focussing on diocesan rather than parochial appointments. First, there is a discussion of the selection of episcopal secretaries and chaplains, before exploring the appointments of dignitaries in the cathedral and collegiate churches of York. It will then consider how the administration utilised agents and spies to locally manage the Archbishop's interest across the extensive diocese, and identify an inner circle of principal clients who were intimate with Blackburne's family and household. Finally, framed in the context of the patronage bargain it will be assessed how far the Archbishop's patronage equated to financial reward. This study is not intended to be exhaustive of all diocesan appointments for this period, so for brevity's sake excludes lay officers (excepting the bishop's secretaries), acknowledging that court officials, diocesan registrars, stewards of estates and various others were subject to the same politico-religious

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Hirschberg, Daniel Ray, 'A Social History of the Anglican Episcopate, 1660–1760', University of Michigan PhD thesis, p. 236.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> UNSC. Pw V 120, letter from Thomas Herring, to, William Herring, 31 March 1743.

considerations as their clerical counterparts and contributed to diocesan administration in diverse ways that are not discussed here.<sup>9</sup>

### **Bishop's secretary**

A bishop's secretary was often one of the first appointments to an episcopal administration in order that diocesan business could be continued effectively during the prelate's translation and beyond. In 1743, Archbishop Thomas Herring took steps towards recalling his nephew as secretary in the same week that he learned of his translation to York.<sup>10</sup> A secretary's proximity to the bishop placed him at the heart of diocesan affairs, enhancing their status and prospects of future patronage. Secretarial functions were undertaken by either an episcopal chaplain (or multiple chaplains in rotation) or a lay clerk, and the respective qualifications of bishop's secretaries varied from diocese to diocese. In Durham, laymen fulfilled this role for much of the eighteenth century.<sup>11</sup> Whilst there was considerable cross-over between the duties of chaplains and secretaries, the two roles were acknowledged as separate and discrete. Writing in the 1730s, Heneage Dering made the distinction that he had been formerly lay secretary, and then chaplain and secretary to Archbishop Sharp.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, in the 1750s Archbishop Hutton referred to Hugh Thomas as his 'chaplain and secretary'.<sup>13</sup> Whilst lay secretaries did not undertake the spiritual duties of episcopal chaplains, they were still closely involved in diverse aspects of diocesan administration.<sup>14</sup>

The position of bishop's secretary is particularly significant to our understanding of Blackburne's administration because it was primarily undertaken by one individual throughout his archiepiscopacy. Thomas Hayter (1702-1762) served in this role for almost twenty years, first as a lay clerk, then as chaplain and secretary. Despite Hayter's later rise in the Church, his activities in York have received little scholarly attention, and his initial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The role of lay officers in the politico-religious aims an episcopal administration is starkly illustrated by a letter of c.1725, in which Edward Becher bullishly wrote to the Duke of Newcastle claiming positions within the Liberty of Southwell on the promise that he'd bring people over to the 'Government Side'. See, BIA. CC Ab. 9, letter from Edward Becher, to, Duke of Newcastle, [c. 1725].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> UNSC. Pw V 120, letter from Thomas Herring, to, William Herring, 16 May 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Shuler, John Christopher, 'The Pastoral and Ecclesiastical Administration of the Diocese of Durham, 1721-1771; with Particular Reference to the Archdeaconry of Northumberland', University of Durham PhD thesis, 1975, pp. 281-286.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Jackson, Charles (ed.), *Yorkshire Diaries and Autobiographies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Publications of the Surtees Society, vol. 65 (Durham: Andrews & Co., 1877), p. 345.
 <sup>13</sup> PLt D = COP XUL to the sevent backson of the Surtees Society.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P XVI, testimonial of Marmaduke Buck, 13 October 1750.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Robertson, David, *Diary of Francis Evans, Secretary to Bishop Lloyd, 1699-1706*, Worcestershire Historical Society (Oxford: The Society, 1903).

introduction to Blackburne remains obscure and shrouded in mythology (see, below).<sup>15</sup> It is apparent that the twenty-three year old was engaged by Blackburne as secretary prior to his first journey North, and began transacting diocesan business from the Archbishop's house in Downing Street in the Spring of 1725.<sup>16</sup> Hayter was possibly known to Blackburne through his education at Tiverton School, an institution which at that time had strong links to clerical Whigs in the south-west. William Rayner, master of the school from 1698 to 1730, delivered Blackburne's consecration sermon in 1717, and was subsequently chosen as preacher at the bishop's primary visitation in the following year.<sup>17</sup> In 1725, Samuel Newte, another future chaplain to Blackburne, preached at the first anniversary feast at Tiverton School and dedicated the sermon to Rayner.<sup>18</sup> It was under Rayner's mastership that Hayter benefited from an influx of income to the trustees of the school in 1720, which funded two exhibitions to either of the universities. £400 was loaned to Hayter's father, rector of Chagford, with the interest paid directly to his son at Balliol College, Oxford.<sup>19</sup> Little more is known of Hayter's activities at this time, except that he returned to Exeter in December 1723 (shortly before the award of his B.A.) to publicly sign his name alongside his mother in accordance with the Oath Act of that year.<sup>20</sup>

Whilst there are no systematic records of secretaries to the archbishops, Hayter's administrative work can be traced through the York diocesan archives and other contemporary documents. This voluminous (although fragmentary) evidence demonstrates that Hayter made

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Haydon, Colin, 'Hayter, Thomas (1702-1762)', *ODNB* [accessed at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12789 on 9 April 2019].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> The earliest identified examples are, BIA. CC. Ab. 9. Letter from Nicholas Sugar, to, Thomas Hayter, 8 March 1725; Audley Letters. Letter from Thomas Hayter, to, John Audley, 21 April 1725.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Rayner, William, A Sermon Preach'd in Ely-Chappel, at the Consecration Of the Right Reverend Father in God, Lancelot, Lord-Bishop of Exeter [etc.] (Exeter: 1717); Rayner, William, A Sermon Preach'd in the Cathedral of St. Peter, Exon, at the Visitation Of the Right Reverend Father in God, Lancelot, Lord Bishop of Exeter [etc.] (Exeter: 1718).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Newte, Samuel, A Sermon Preach'd in the Parish-Church of Tiverton, On Wednesday Sept. 1. 1725. At the Opening of an Anniversary Meeting of the Gentlemen Educated at Tiverton School, And under the Revd. Mr. Rayner, the present Master of it, before his Removal from Barnstaple (Exeter: 1725).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Donations of Peter Blundell, [Founder] and Other Benefactors to the Free Grammar School at *Tiverton* (Exeter: 1804), p. 67; Sampson, Mike, *A History of Blundell's School* (Tiverton: The School, 2011), p. 48. Thanks to Mr Sampson for his assistance in tracing records of Hayter's time at Blundell's School.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Devon and Exeter Oath Rolls, 1723. QS17/2/5/3b, Oaths sworn at The Castle, Exeter, 18 Dec 1723 before Bampfylde Rodd; Richard Beavis John Gibbs esqs. [accessed at http://www.foda.org.uk/oaths/qs17/2/5/3b.htm on 12 May 2015]. Hayter's father, George, signed the roll at Cheriton Bishop in September of the same year. See also, Vallance, Tom, 'The 1723 oaths to George I: a resource for family historians' [accessed at https://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/things-to-do/london-metropolitan-archives/the-collections/Pages/1723-oaths.aspx on 4 April 2019].

important contributions to the initial establishment of Blackburne's episcopal administration in the North. This included the creation and maintenance of the Archbishop's diocese books (see, below), drawing up new registers, and renewing other tools of diocesan administration.<sup>21</sup> His other work on Blackburne's behalf was diverse. In the autumn of 1725, Hayter acted as intermediary in correspondence with the corporation of Beverley regarding the settlement of a charitable bequest to the town.<sup>22</sup> Hayter was also closely involved in Blackburne's investigations into the political and theological characters of the clergymen of his new diocese. In April 1725, Hayter enquired of John Audley, diocesan chancellor, about the character of Robert Burrow, vicar of Darrington. Burrow had (in Hayter's words) 'rashly' sent the Archbishop a letter detailing his supposed misfortunes along with a copy of his book, An Essay on Divine Providence.<sup>23</sup> It was suspected that Burrow may have 'liv'd as well as thought too freely', but upon Audley's account, and further consideration of the case, Blackburne declared that he thought Burrow in 'more need of good Physic than reproof' and ordered Audley not to accept any resignation he might present.<sup>24</sup> Later in the same year, Hayter informed the wayfaring clergyman Henry Topping of his appointment to the curacy of Guisborough in the North Riding, where he was to act as agent to Blackburne and report on the state of ecclesiastical affairs in the town (see, below).<sup>25</sup> Hayter's public position among the clergy of the diocese was further bolstered during Blackburne's primary visitation of 1726-1728, where he conducted matters which required the personal attention of the Archbishop, such as certifying the appearance of clergymen, excusing others from the same, and issuing licenses.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Volumes drawn up by Hayter include, BIA. Inst. AB. 11, Institution Act Book, 1724-1733; BIA. Bp. Dio. Bk. 10, Archbishops of York 922-1909, [c1724]; NA. DD/E/213/1-2, timber warrants granted by the archbishops of York, 1726-1770.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> ERYAS. BC/IV/14/4, order and correspondence book of Warton's Trust, 1725-1730

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Burrow, Robert, Melemata Darringtoniana, An Essay upon Divine Providence, With a particular View of its Symmetry In Reference to the Natural and more especially to the Moral World (London: 1725); 'if the Most Reverend the PRELATE, to whose Jurisdiction I am subject, shall conceive that I do in some Points Pelagianize (...) more than can be safely allow'd a Person benefic'd in the Church (...), I shall make way for the Effects of Authority'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Gibson, 'The Work of Dr John Audley, Chancellor of York, 1710-1744', p. 35; Audley Letters. Letter from Thomas Hayter, to, John Audley, 21 April 1725; letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, John Audley, [c. May 1725].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/31, Guisbrough, 1725-1726.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> BIA. V. 1726-7/CB, Visitation Court Book, ff. 7-8, letter from Thomas Hayter, to, Thomas Jubb, [October 1726]; ff. 58-59, memo. concerning Mr. Haworth; ff. 73-74, memo. concerning Mr. Thomlinson, 13 October 1726; memo. concerning Thomas Dowbiggin, 22 September 1726; V. 1726-27, Misc. Papers Certificates, letter from Anthony Garley, to, Thomas Hayter, 20 September 1726; memo. concerning Wriggan Webster, 22 September 1726; memo. concerning John Hagger, 13 October 1726.

Hayter was a client of Blackburne during a period in which the social status of episcopal chaplains and secretaries was rising.<sup>27</sup> In May 1743, Archbishop Thomas Herring remarked that 'I [...] feel by experience, that, in these high Stations, Chaplains & Secretarys are not taken in for show'.<sup>28</sup> During Blackburne's archiepiscopacy his southern counterpart's secretary was Richard Chichele, a former fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and descendant of its founder. Amid raging disputes in the College, Chichele gave up his fellowship to enter Archbishop William Wake's household, who subsequently determined to 'take such care of him that he shall not repent of the resignation'.<sup>29</sup> In contrast, it is evident that (on at least one occasion) Hayter's relatively low status was a point of contention. In 1727, Blackburne engaged in a terse correspondence with Sir Hardolph Wasteneys concerning a vacancy of the sinecure rectory of Headon in Nottinghamshire. As patron, Wasteneys proposed to present one Smith to the living, but requested his nominee might be excused a journey to London on account of being seventy years old and 'very infirm'.<sup>30</sup> Blackburne refused to permit this without personally examining the candidate, suspecting 'some unjustifiable practice' in the disposal of the living, namely simony.<sup>31</sup> Wasteneys grew increasingly impatient under the weight of this accusation, retorting that he could not rely on a letter received from the archbishop's secretary, 'w<sup>n</sup> y<sup>u</sup> consider M<sup>r</sup> Hayter was a p<sup>r</sup>fect strainger to me, & one I never heard of before'.<sup>32</sup>

Blackburne sought to raise the status of his secretary by ordination, thereby granting him access to the full extent of his episcopal patronage. Thomas Hayter was made deacon by Blackburne at Bishopthorpe on 9 July 1727, and was priested just twenty days later.<sup>33</sup> This leap in Hayter's standing was exceptional because he was ordained to neither a college or parochial title, a highly uncommon practice in the eighteenth century. Ordination to a title acted as a preventative against the creation of vagrant clergy unable to support themselves financially. Whilst this has been characterised as the result of an over-supply of clergymen in Hanoverian Britain, Guy has demonstrated that this varied widely by locality, and that the Welsh dioceses were routinely under-supplied in this period.<sup>34</sup> It remained, however, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Gibson, A Social History of The Domestic Chaplain, pp. 64-65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> UNSC. Pw V 120, letter from Thomas Herring, to, William Herring, 16 May 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Sykes, *William Wake*, II, pp. 241-247; Mandelbrote, Scott, and, Davis, John H. R. (eds.), *The Warden's Punishment Book of All Souls College, Oxford, 1601-1850*, Oxford Historical Society, New Series Vol. XLV (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), p. 135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/29, letter from Hardolph Wasteneys, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 2 October 1727.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/29, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Hardolph Wasteneys, 5 October 1727.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/29, letter from Hardolph Wasteneys, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 18 November 1727.
 <sup>33</sup> BIA. Inst. AB. 11, Institution Act Book, 1724-1733, pp. 85, 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Virgin, Peter, *The Church in an Age of Negligence: Ecclesiastical Structure and Problems of Church Reform, 1700-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 138-142; Guy, John R., "An

prerogative of the ordaining bishop to interpret the instruction of the canons that it was incumbent on them to 'keep and maintain (...) with all things necessary' anyone ordained without a title. In 1736, Bishop Martin Benson ordained George Whitefield without a title, and a year below the canonical age on the grounds of a stipend he received from Sir John Philipps. Benson was persuaded by reports of Whitefield's highly affecting preaching, and his treatment of the poor in Gloucester.<sup>35</sup> The stipend promised to Whitefield offered the financial security that might otherwise have been acquired through an ecclesiastical post, and likewise Hayter's future was secured through his continuation in Blackburne's household. As Hayter's prominence grew and his activities within the diocese diversified, some secretarial work was delegated to another, unidentified individual in the mid-1730s.<sup>36</sup> For the most part, however, Hayter's role mirrored that of his predecessor Heneage Dering in the household of Archbishop John Sharp in the 1700s, continuing as secretary following his ordination 'as long as [he] lived with the archbishop'.<sup>37</sup>

# Chaplains

Through proximity to the bishop and participation in the management of diocesan affairs, appointment to an episcopal chaplaincy offered similarly vital clerical experience in preparation for higher office. The degree to which the 'glittering cage' of chaplaincy presaged further advancement in the Church is evident in that over half of all bishops in England and Wales between 1660 and 1760 formerly served as chaplains.<sup>38</sup> This convective process was supported by the advantages granted to domestic chaplains through their legal position within the Church. Their status was defined by a law passed in 1530, and further clarified in subsequent acts over the following century. These acts permitted domestic chaplains to hold two benefices in plurality, providing that they were sufficiently qualified. Therefore, appointment to a chaplaincy could be utilised by an ecclesiastical patron as a mechanism by which to bestow further patronage on a client. Further provisions within the 1530 act also established the number of chaplains permitted to members of the peerage according to their

investigation into the pattern and nature of patronage, plurality and non-residence in the old diocese of llandaff between 1660 and the beginning of the nineteenth century", University of Wales PhD thesis, 1984.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Gibson, William, 'Whitefield and the Church of England', in, Hammond, Geordan, and, Jones, David Ceri (eds.), *George Whitefield, Life, Context, Legacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 48-49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> A potential candidate for this secretarial work is John Jauncey. See, BIA. Res., resignation of the rectory of Etton, 13 August 1739.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Yorkshire Diaries and Autobiographies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, pp. 340-341.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Gibson, *A Social History of The Domestic Chaplain*, p. 67; Hirschberg, "A Social History of the Anglican Episcopate", p. 236.

rank, stating that archbishops and bishops were allowed eight and six chaplains at any one time, respectively.<sup>39</sup> Tracing the identities of episcopal chaplains is far from straightforward, however, as evidence of their appointments and dismissals is scattered and piecemeal.<sup>40</sup> As such, eighteenth-century chaplains suffer from the same 'relative invisibility' in the archival record as Fincham observed for their counterparts in the previous century.<sup>41</sup> And whilst it was in this period that it notionally became a requirement for domestic chaplains to noblemen to be registered at Lambeth to qualify them for dispensations for plurality, this information was only submitted voluntarily and as such is not comprehensive of all chaplains appointed by any given bishop.<sup>42</sup>

## Table 1, Lancelot Blackburne's episcopal chaplains, 1717-1743

Persons marked (+) appointed by Blackburne as Bishop of Exeter Persons marked (\*) appointed by Blackburne as Archbishop of York

Name	Age at appointment	Appointment recorded at Lambeth	Appointment recorded at York	Appointment recorded elsewhere
William Stuart <sup>43</sup> (c. 1675- 1734)+	mid-40s	_	N/A	Title page of visitation sermon, 2 May 1717. Formerly chaplain to Bishop Blackall
William Hall <sup>44</sup> (d. 1722)+	?	22 December 1717	N/A	
John Fursman <sup>45</sup> (1678-1757)+	45	23 January 1723	N/A	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Gibson, A Social History of The Domestic Chaplain, pp. 4-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> For the difficulties in tracing chaplains see, Lees, 'Hanoverian Successions, Whig Schism, and Clerical Patronage', pp. 63-83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Fincham, Kenneth, 'The roles and influence of household chaplains, c. 1600-1660', in, Adlington, Hugh, Lockwood, Tom, and Wright, Gilliam (eds.), *Chaplains in early modern England, Patronage, literature and religion* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp.11-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Stuart, William, *Of Divine Grace. A Sermon Preached in the Parish-Church of St. Mary Major in Exon, May the 2d, 1717. At the Visitation Of the Reverend the Arch-Deacon of Exeter* (London: 1717); Sykes, *William Wake*, I, pp. 207-208.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Oliver, George, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities in Devon* [etc.], vol. I (London: 1840), p. 131; LPL. F V/1/VII, Register of Noblemen's Chaplains, f. 59v.

John Gilbert <sup>46</sup> (1693-1761)+	31	-	-	Mentioned in the <i>Stamford</i> <i>Mercury</i> , April 1724
Lewis Stephens <sup>47</sup> (c. 1689- 1747)+	34	-	N/A	Mentioned in the <i>Stamford</i> <i>Mercury</i> , September 1724
John Lambert <sup>48</sup> (c. 1688- 1738)*	38	3 September 1726	3 September 1726	
Samuel Dennis <sup>49</sup> (c. 1700- 1776)*	28	3 February 1728	3 February 1728	
Thomas Hayter <sup>50</sup> (1702-1762)*	27	8 August 1729	-	
George Arnet <sup>51</sup> (c. 1680- 1750)*	50	3 January 1730	3 January 1730	-
James Silke <sup>52</sup> (c. 1690-?)*	40	2 November 1730	2 November 1730	-
Samuel Newte <sup>53</sup> (c. 1688- 1742)*	43	_	2 December 1731	-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Oliver, George, *Ecclesiastical Antiquities in Devon* [etc.], vol. I (London: 1840), p. 131; LPL. F V/1/VII, Register of Noblemen's Chaplains, f. 59v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> LPL. F V/1/VIII, Register of Noblemen's Chaplains, f. 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Stamford Mercury (Stamford: Thursday 23 April 1724).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Stamford Mercury (Stamford: Thursday 3 September 1724).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> LPL. F V/1/IX, Register of Noblemen's Chaplains, f. 55v; BIA. Inst. AB. 11, Institution Act Book, 1724-1733, p. 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> LPL. F V/1/IX, Register of Noblemen's Chaplains, f. 103; BIA. Inst. AB. 11, Institution Act Book, 1724-1733, p. 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> LPL. F V/1/IX, Register of Noblemen's Chaplains, f 173v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> LPL. F V/1/IX, Register of Noblemen's Chaplains, f. 184; BIA. Inst. AB. 11, Institution Act Book, 1724-1733, p. 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> LPL. F V/1/X, Register of Noblemen's Chaplains, f. 22v; BIA. Inst. AB. 11, Institution Act Book, 1724-1733, p. 237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> BIA. Inst. AB. 11, Institution Act Book, 1724-1733, p. 268.

Richard Levett <sup>54</sup> (c. 1690- 1749)*	43	-	-	Mentioned in the Derby Mercury, February 1733
Jaques Sterne <sup>55</sup> (c.1695- 1759)*	40	_	-	Mentioned in collation to Precentorship of York, November 1735
Joseph Atwell <sup>56</sup> (1696-1768)*	41	_	-	Named in Lancelot Blackburne's will, August 1737
Richard Robinson <sup>57</sup> (1708-1794)*	30	3 May 1738	-	-
George Talbot <sup>58</sup> (1715-1785)*	24	-		Mentioned in York Chapter Acts, December 1739

Between 1717 and 1743, Blackburne appointed at least sixteen episcopal chaplains, eleven of which were chosen at York (see, Table 1). Only six of those appointments can be traced in the registers at Lambeth, and corroborating evidence from diocesan sources is similarly fragmentary. From 1724 to 1733, five appointments of chaplains were noted in the first institution act book of Blackburne's administration, but these entries were not continued in successive volumes.<sup>59</sup> To identify all of Blackburne's chaplains it has been necessary to seek out incidental references to their status in contemporary publications, diocesan working papers, and Blackburne's will. Doing so more than doubles the number of chaplains known to have been appointed by Blackburne than appear in officials' registers. If these chaplains were appointed sequentially this would have exceeded an archbishop's legal quota of chaplains, so it must be inferred that some lost their status between the time of their appointment and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Derby Mercury (Derby: Thursday 22 February 1733).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P XIX, 'Forms of Collation to the Precentorship of the Church of York and Prebend of Driffield together with Mandates for Induction & Installation', 1735.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> TNA. PROB/11/725, will of Lancelot Blackburne, Archbishop of York.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> LPL. F V/1/XI, Register of Noblemen's Chaplains, f. 192v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> YML. DC/H7, Chapter Act Book, 1728-1747.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Lancelot Blackburne's archiepiscopacy is covered by two institution act books. See, BIA. Inst. AB.

<sup>11-12,</sup> Institution Act Books, 1724-1733; 1733-1744.

end of Blackburne's administration. There are, however, no surviving records of their resignations, so the duration of individual appointments must be inferred from other evidence.

### **Attendant Chaplains**

Identifying those who were appointed as chaplains to any given bishop is only the starting point for better understanding an episcopal administration. Alone, the bare names reveal little about the rationale for individual appointments, or what function each chaplain performed (if any). These individuals were all jointly connected by their client status to the bishop, but their respective position within the administration was largely dependent on whether they were appointed as attendant chaplains, or as chaplains 'at large'. This study uses the term 'attendant' over 'resident' chaplains, as this more accurately conveys the roving nature of chaplains' duties to their bishops at their various residences within and without their dioceses, on the road, at visitation courts (etc.).<sup>60</sup> With no records specifically describing chaplains' attendance, it has been possible to establish which of Blackburne's chaplains were attendant at any given time through evidence from legal instruments that involved both the Archbishop and a chaplain (or chaplains) acting as witness. Appendix A is derived from three principal categories of documentary evidence; leases, wills, and instruments relating to diocesan appointments (admissions, deputations, patents, and resignations).<sup>61</sup> The former category provides the majority of entries, all of which are taken from the registers of leases of archiepiscopal estates (unless otherwise stated), although it must be noted that the names of witnesses are only recorded consistently from 1733.<sup>62</sup> Collating this disparate documentary evidence allows for an investigation into the attendance of episcopal chaplains that would be otherwise impossible to discern elsewhere.

Witness evidence from 1726 to 1743 (Appendix A) places only three of Blackburne's chaplains in personal attendance on the Archbishop; Lewis Stephens, Thomas Hayter, and Jaques Sterne. Stephens is recorded only in 1726, and Sterne during spells in 1736 and 1737. At all other times Hayter was in near-continuous attendance. Agreements that required two witnesses were usually signed by Hayter alongside one of Blackburne's domestic servants, a lay officer, or an official of the ecclesiastical courts. Occasions where no chaplain was named

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> The term 'resident' chaplain is used in, Gibson, A Social History of The Domestic Chaplain.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Resignations were not valid unless directed to the ordinary with power to admit, with the resigning party personally appearing or by an instrument attested by a public notary. The resignation was only valid once accepted by the ordinary. See Gibson, Edmund, *Codex juris ecclesiastici Anglicani: or, the statutes, constitutions, canons, rubricks and articles of the Church of England* [&c.] (London: 1713), vol. II, p. 869; Thomas Hayter was registered as a notary public from 10 February 1727. See, LPL. F I/G, Muniment Book, f. 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> BIA. CC. AB. 5/15-16, registers of leases.

merely signifies that Hayter was a party to that legal instrument. This pattern is mirrored in the subscription books for the diocese, in which either Blackburne signed, or Hayter notarised all but four entries during the final thirteen years of the administration.<sup>63</sup> Collating this disparate witness evidence starkly illustrates how Hayter became synonymous with Blackburne and his administration. This was neatly summarised by the curate of Kirkby Overblow at Archbishop Herring's primary visitation in 1743, who reported that Hayter had never personally resided on the living 'haveing always attended his Grace the late Arch Bishop of York as Domestick Chaplain'.<sup>64</sup> This approach does not, however, contribute much to our understanding of the roles undertaken by Blackburne's other chaplains, particularly in the first years of his administration. As such, it is necessary to interrogate other sources to illustrate the cases of Lewis Stephens and Jaques Sterne.

The origins of Blackburne's administration at York can be found in the patronage network he developed over forty years as a clergyman in the south-west. Once raised to the bishopric of Exeter in 1717, Blackburne appointed at least five episcopal chaplains, four of which were still living in 1724. Like other peers, bishops automatically inherited the chaplains of their predecessors, and Blackburne's chaplain William Stuart (c.1675-1735) had formerly served Bishop Ofspring Blackall. In 1716, Blackburne (then dean of Exeter) was consulted by Archbishop William Wake as to Stuart's character to ascertain whether he was suitably qualified for a dispensation. Blackburne reported that he was a 'religious, quiet, bookish man' who though 'of the Tory kind, of the better sort of them, and his morals I think unquestionable'.65 Blackburne evidently esteemed Stuart's abilities over his political inclinations, as he kept him on as chaplain into the 1720s and made him his commissary for diocesan business.<sup>66</sup> In contrast, there is no evidence that Blackburne retained any of Archbishop William Dawes's chaplains on his translation to York in 1724. After seven years on the episcopal bench, Blackburne was able to draw on his existing coterie of chaplains and wider patronage network in Exeter when first forming his Northern administration, whilst simultaneously beginning the considerable task of identifying capable and reliable clients in his new jurisdiction.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> BIA. Sub. Bk. 18-23, subscription books, 1722-1757; these four entries were notarised by Thomas Ridding.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Ollard, and, Walker (eds.), Archbishop Herring's visitation returns, 1743, II, p. 104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Sykes, William Wake, I, pp. 207-208.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Bodl. MS Rawl. letters 9, fol. 227, letter from William Stuart, to, Thomas Hearne, 2 July 1720; Christ Church College. Wake MS, 21, no. 173, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, William Wake, 7 December 1719.

With his client John Gilbert designed for higher preferment, Blackburne selected just one of his chaplains from Exeter to bring to York. Lewis Stephens (1689-1747) was a talented young clergyman who had highly promising credentials for future adveancement having served successively in the households of Bishops Jonathan Trelawny and Charles Trimnell. Stephens's apparently inexorable rise was reported in the *Stamford Mercury* for 3 September 1724,

We hear, that the Reverend Mr. Lewis Stephens, Chaplain to the last two Bishops of Winchester, and at present Chaplain to the Archbishop of York, is nominated to the Archdeaconry of Barnstaple.<sup>67</sup>

For the period prior to Blackburne's translation to York, Stephens's abilities in managing all sides of the patronage bargain can be observed in a series of letters concerning the appointment of Joshua Howell as master of Looe School in the 1720s.<sup>68</sup> A native Cornishman, Stephens exercised a thorough knowledge of the principal families, clergy, and customs of the county.<sup>69</sup> Despite then serving Bishop Charles Trimnell at Winchester, Stephens acted as intermediary between Howell, Blackburne, and the Trelawny family, advising the young appointee that 'you must know that the Bp is a good friend to the family & always ready to serve it'<sup>70</sup>. Despite being still in his mid-thirties at Blackburne's translation to York, the extent to which Stephens arrived in the North as one of the Archbishop's most important clients is evident in a letter of January 1725. In contrast to the early treatment of Hayter (see above), Marmaduke Fothergill attempted to curry favour with Blackburne by referring to his acquaintance with 'your Arch-Deacon Stephens'<sup>71</sup>.

To understand Stephens's place within Blackburne's administration it is important to recognise that the foundations of his success in cultivating the favour of influential patrons lay in his scholarly abilities. As Gibson observes, the practice of appointing chaplains who were accomplished scholars became increasingly prevalent after the Restoration.<sup>72</sup> Stephens's aptitudes as an impressive writer and compelling preacher were noticed early at Oxford, where he met with approval from Thomas Hearne. In 1716, the diarist recorded that he thought

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> BL. Stowe 749, letter from Lewis Stephens to John Anstis, 29 August 1723; *Stamford Mercury* (Stamford: Thursday 3 September 1724).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> CRO. DDHL, letters concerning Joshua Howell, 1720s. The appointment also involved Blackburne's other clients, John Gilbert, and William Stuart.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> CRO. DDHL(2)/171, letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Joshua Howell, 16 November [c1723].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> CRO. DDHL(2)/179, letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Joshua Howell, 23 April 1724.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P II/29, letter from Marmaduke Fothergill, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 25 January 1725.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Gibson, A Social History of The Domestic Chaplain, pp. 60-61.

Stephens 'a good Scholar & a studious Man'.<sup>73</sup> Such high praise from one famously uncharitable towards to Low Churchmen is suggestive that Stephens subsequently realigned his sermonising with Latitudinarian views over the years that followed.<sup>74</sup> When Stephens's funeral sermon for Bishop Charles Trimnell came to Hearne's attention in 1723, he adjudged it a public declaration of Stephens's ambitions in the Church.<sup>75</sup>

A greater Character cannot be given a Man than Stephens gives of this B<sup>p</sup>, tho', among other Things, he reckons it as one of his great Excellencies y<sup>t</sup> he was so zealous for King George. Stephens aims at Preferment.<sup>76</sup>

Walker identified that sermons delivered in York after 1724 shifted from a tone of 'godly providentialism' that was prevalent under Archbishops John Sharp and William Dawes, to an outlook which praised the 'goodness of the present age'.<sup>77</sup> As Blackburne's chaplain, Stephens emerged as the most prominent exponent of this rhetoric. Between 1726 and 1727, three of his sermons preached on public occasions were ordered to be printed 'by his Grace's command'.<sup>78</sup>

Stephens's scholarly abilities were also utilised in various other aspects of diocesan administration, such as conducting investigations into the foundation of schools in York, and searching medieval land surveys such as Domesday and Kirkby's Quest for information about archiepiscopal estates.<sup>79</sup> More significant still was Stephens's role as the Archbishop's examining chaplain. On 10 March 1726, Archdeacon Robert Marsden of Nottingham recorded in his commonplace book that one Samuel Fenton had been refused orders, and his title to the curacy of Bingham deemed 'insufficient'. The offer of an alternative title was reportedly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Rannie, D. W. (ed.), *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne, Vol. V* (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1901), p. 376.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Douglas, David C., *English Scholars* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1939), pp. 226-249.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Stephens, Lewis, A Sermon Preached in the Cathedral Church of Winchester (...) at the Funeral of the Right Reverend Father in God, Dr. Charles Trimnell [etc.] (London: 1723).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne, vol. VIII (Sept. 23, 1722 – Aug. 9, 1725) (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1907), p. 125.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Walker, Gareth, 'The Church in York, 1688-1747', pp. 82-85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Stephens, Lewis, A Sermon Preached in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, at the Consecration of (...) Samuel, Lord Bishop of Chester (London: 1726); A Sermon Preach'd in the Chapel of Bishop-Thorp near York, At an Ordination [etc.] (London: 1727); A Sermon Preached On the 10<sup>th</sup> of August, 1727, at the Consecration of Trinity-Chapel, in the Town of Leeds in Yorkshire (London: 1727).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> YML. Add. MS 536, letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 12 October 1728 (photocopy); letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 17 October 1728 (photocopy). Kirkby's Quest was a land survey directed by John Kirkby, Bishop of Ely, and Lord Treasurer in the 1280s. See, Raban, Sandra, *A Second Domesday? The Hundred Rolls of 1279-80* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 13.

rejected by Stephens on the grounds that Fenton was 'ill affected to y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>t</sup>.' Marsden suspected that Fenton was in fact refused because of a lawsuit instigated by his father who had been 'tutor to Mr Atterbury'.<sup>80</sup> In August of the same year, William Ashton, rector of Carltonin-Lindrick, nominated Martin Rutter as his curate pending examination. Despite having testimonials from five neighbouring clergymen, when Rutter was examined by Stephens he was refused a license and subsequently ordered to leave the diocese, being told to inform Ashton that the Archbishop 'wou'd send him another Curate'.<sup>81</sup> It is likely that this was also a political consideration, as in 1729 Rutter was offered preferment by the Jacobite Earl of Strafford; whilst he did not accept, Rutter promised to recommend another who would 'always vote straight'.<sup>82</sup> These cases also demonstrate the manner in which examining chaplains directly contributed to the politico-religious aims of an episcopal administration.

Despite being one of Blackburne's most significant clients during his first decade at York, Stephens is now virtually unknown to the historical record. This can be attributed to the way in which his central position in Blackburne's administration began to shift around the time of his marriage to Philadelphia, daughter of the late Sir Thomas Dyke, in February 1727.<sup>83</sup> Gibson notes that a contributing factor towards the turnover of episcopal chaplaincies in the early eighteenth century was the custom for individuals to resign their positions upon marriage; a practice that was prevalent at York under Archbishop John Sharp.<sup>84</sup> There is no record of Stephens's resignation of his chaplaincy, but the date of his marriage coincides with the rise to prominence of Thomas Hayter. The latter's repositioning within the administration is evident in a letter of October 1728, in which Stephens expressed his willingness to wait on the Archbishop in case Hayter was required to travel to Devon following the death of his father.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> NA. DD/TS/14/2, commonplace book [of Robert Marsden], 1724-35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/20, examination of Martin Rutter, 7 Sept 1726.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> The Sedbergh School Register 1546 to 1895 (Leeds: 1895), p. 125. Martin Rutter's banishment from the diocese did not last long. He was instituted to the rectory of Slaidburne in the West Riding on 16 March 1730.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Sir Thomas Dyke was a distinguished Tory during the reign of William III. The Dyke family were politically inactive from Sir Thomas's death in 1706 until the nineteenth century. See, B. M. Crook, 'DYKE, Sir Thomas, 1st Bt. (c.1650-1706), of Horeham, Waldron, Suss.' [accessed at http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/dyke-sir-thomas-1650-1706 on 7 July 2015].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Gibson, A Social History of The Domestic Chaplain, pp. 7-8.

I am sorry for M<sup>r</sup> Hayter's loss, if his affairs call him to Devon, I shall be ready to attend your Grace at Edmonton during your stay there, whenever you are pleased to command me in my brother Hayters absence.<sup>85</sup>

Internal evidence from the diocesan subscription books show that Stephens briefly assumed secretarial duties during Hayter's absences in February, March and May 1729, but this represented only a temporary change from what became the status quo for the remainder of Blackburne's administration.<sup>86</sup> Whilst the preferments bestowed by Blackburne on his chaplains (see, below) appear to have strengthened the bonds between Thomas Hayter and the Archbishop, Stephens's association with the administration loosened. No longer in regular attendance in Blackburne's household, at some time between 1731 and 1734 all ties between Stephens and the administration were broken. Notwithstanding the survival of Stephens's correspondence from 1735 onward, the cause of the breach has not been identified. What is clear is that the rupture was acrimonious and final. Consequently, Hayter cemented his position as Blackburne's constant attendant, whilst Stephens returned to his living in Hampshire and gradually withdrew from ambitions to future preferment, the tumultuous world of politico-religious activity, and from deference to his ecclesiastical superiors (see, Chapter 8).

The third attendant chaplain identifiable through witness evidence is Jaques Sterne (c1695-1759). Unlike Thomas Hayter and Lewis Stephens, Sterne was a Yorkshireman who initially came into contact with the administration during Blackburne's first summer in York. In September 1725, Sterne corresponded with Stephens regarding the state of archiepiscopal lands near Ripon.<sup>87</sup> Stephens later recalled that Sterne originally 'gained his favour [informing Blackburne] of y<sup>e</sup> value of Estates in [Yorkshire]'<sup>88</sup> Whilst it might be assumed that the Archbishop's primary visitation would have offered the first opportunity to identify new clients, Sterne's case is revealing of how the transmittance of local intelligence to the administration was a means for clergymen in York to cultivate favour with the new archbishop. This also appears to be the case for John Lambert, rector of Foxholes, who in 1726

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> YML. Add MS 536, letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 17 October 1728 (photocopy); Thomas Hayter's father, George Hayter of Chagford in Devon, was buried in that parish on 9 October 1728. See, Crisp, Frederick Arthur (ed.), *Visitation of England and Wales, Notes*, vol. 13 (Bowie: Heritage Books, 1998), p. 52.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> BIA. Sub. Bk. 21, subscription book, 1727-1730, pp. 213-218, pp. 232-236. Unsigned entries identified by Lewis Stephens's handwriting for 10 February to 4 March, and 9 to 12 May 1729.
 <sup>87</sup> BIA. CC. Ab. 9, letter from Jaques Sterne, to, Lewis Stephens, 18 September 1725.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 24-26 September 1743.

provided the administration with information about the foundation of schools in the diocese.<sup>89</sup> Lambert was subsequently appointed as Blackburne's first chaplain from York, and both he and Sterne were selected as preachers at the archbishop's primary visitation in September 1726.<sup>90</sup> Whilst Sterne does not appear to have been appointed as a chaplain until the 1730s, he increasingly assumed the role of Blackburne's principal local agent in the diocese, as auditor of the archiepiscopal estates, and the Archbishop's representative in York chapter affairs.<sup>91</sup> This also included occasionally waiting on Blackburne, as Sterne related in his return to Archbishop Thomas Herring's visitation queries in 1743. Sterne stated that he personally served his parish of Rise until 'my Attendance upon the late Arch Bishop; and my Duty of Residence at York call'd me thither'<sup>92</sup>

# Chaplains 'at large'

Having established that witness evidence accounts for just three attendant chaplains, the others appointed by Blackburne should be considered chaplains 'at large'. As Gibson describes, these chaplains enjoyed the legal advantages of their position but did not attend the bishop personally, although they might serve their patron in other capacities.<sup>93</sup> This distinction is artificial to some extent, insofar that these chaplains were regularly appointed and obligated to the same duties as their attendant contemporaries. It is useful, however, to distinguish between the two to better understand the cross-diocesan nature of episcopal patronage. Chaplains 'at large' were untethered from regular attendance on a bishop, so their appointments were less restricted by jurisdictive boundaries. As such, it can be difficult to establish the precise nature of the connection between patron and client in the case of chaplains 'at large'. For instance, it is unclear in what capacity York clergymen such as Samuel Dennis, Richard Levett, and Richard Robinson served Blackburne through their chaplaincies. Others appear to have been rewarded for former service, or through the satisfaction of prior obligations. James Silke and Samuel Newte were clergymen from Exeter who never held a benefice in the Northern Province. In the latter's case, a chaplaincy appointment appears to have been part of a scheme to hold livings in plurality in the south-west. In December 1732, Blackburne wrote to Archbishop William Wake recommending Newte for a portion of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> BIA. Bp. Sch., letter from Thomas Perrott, to, John Lambert, 19 September 1726.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> ERYAS. PE144/23, Church book, 1629-1766

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> BIA. CC. Ab. 9, Manor of Wistow auditor's summonses, 1730-1740; YML. DC/H7, Chapter Act Book, 1728-1747.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Ollard, and, Walker, Archbishop Herring's visitation returns, 1743, III, p. 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Gibson, A Social History of The Domestic Chaplain, p. 113.

church in Tiverton, stating that this 'Gentleman I am confident wil answer truly to any commands Your Grace may lay upon him'.<sup>94</sup>

Other important patronage connections among Blackburne's chaplains 'at large' came via the Archbishop's largely-overlooked links with the Talbot family. Ashby has drawn attention to the prevalence of inter-marriage between clerical families in the eighteenth century.<sup>95</sup> Through his marriage to Catherine Talbot in 1684, Blackburne was brother-in-law to William Talbot (1659-1730), successively bishop of Oxford, Salisbury, and Durham.<sup>96</sup> Bishop Talbot's patronage network has been subject to extensive scholarship largely focussing on the 'distinguished circle of young men' that included Martin Benson, Joseph Butler, Thomas Secker, and Thomas Rundle, all of whom went on to illustrious clerical careers. None more so than Secker, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1758.97 These connections were extended and strengthened by Bishop Talbot's son, Charles (1685-1737), later Lord Chancellor, and first Baron Hensol.<sup>98</sup> At the latter's sudden death, his son William Talbot urged Lord Hardwicke to fulfil his late father's 'dying request' to provide for his friend Joseph Atwell (1696-1768), excusing himself for writing 'even before [Chancellor Talbot's] corps is committed to the grave'.<sup>99</sup> Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, from 1733 to 1737, Joseph Atwell resigned the position to take up several ecclesiastical posts, including a chaplaincy to Blackburne.<sup>100</sup> In October that year, Blackburne referred to Atwell as a 'freind & servt of mine' in correspondence with the Duke of Newcastle, and soon after he named him as an executor of his will alongside Thomas Hayter.<sup>101</sup> Blackburne also provided for the Talbots more directly. By December 1739, he had appointed the late Lord Chancellor's youngest son,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> CRO. PB8/8, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, William Wake, December 1732.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Ashby, Michael Robert, 'Episcopal Palaces in Georgian England, Form, Function and Meaning', PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2015, p. 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Starkie, 'Blackburne, Lancelot (1658–1743)', *ODNB* [accessed at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2516 on 27 August 2019]; CRO. PB8/6, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, William Wake, June 1727. Blackburne refers to Talbot as 'My Brother the Bishop of Durham'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Johnson Margot, 'Talbot, William (1659–1730)', *ODNB*, [accessed at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26945 on 27 August 2019]; Fendley, John, 'Martin Benson, Bishop of Gloucester', pp. 155-176; Ingram, *Religion, Reform and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> From the 1720s, Blackburne engaged Charles Talbot's legal expertise in York. See, BC/IV/14/4, order and correspondence book of Warton's Trust, 1725-1730.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> BL. Add. MS 35586, Hardwicke Papers, Vol. CCXXXVIII, letter from William Talbot, to, Philip Yorke, 22 February 1737.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Stride, William Keatley, *Exeter College*, University of Oxford College Histories (London: F. E. Robinson and Co., 1900), pp. 105-106

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> BL. Add. MS 32690, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Duke of Newcastle, 3 October 1737; TNA. PROB/11/725, will of Lancelot Blackburne, Archbishop of York, 1737-1742

twenty-four-year-old George Talbot, to both a chaplaincy and the prebend of Ulleskelf at York.<sup>102</sup>

Intricate ties of obligation crossing diocesan and generational divides also played a role in George Arnet's chaplaincy appointment in January 1730. In his will, Blackburne made the provision of £500 capital from South Seas stocks for the use of the wives of Arnet and Thomas Billington, being both 'descendants of the Reverend [Henry Wyche] sometime Rector of Sutton in [Surrey]'.<sup>103</sup> The nature of Blackburne's obligation to the Wyches is unclear, but it is apparent that he exercised his episcopal patronage to serve the family on several occasions. In 1718, Blackburne sought to secure the Devon living of Ermington for Billington, having previously planted him in Exeter to further his interests.<sup>104</sup> As a mark of reciprocal respect to his patron, in 1724 Billington chose Blackburne as godfather to his son, Lancelot.<sup>105</sup> Likewise, George Arnet's appointment as chaplain at York allowed him to hold the rectory of Wheldrake in plurality with the vicarage of Wakefield.<sup>106</sup> In turn, Arnet repaid his patron's trust when he was selected to preach at Thomas Hayter's archidiaconal visitation on 30 June 1732.<sup>107</sup> This duty was particularly sensitive, as a year prior William Bowman had used the same occasion to preach a notorious anti-clerical sermon which was subsequently published 'in open defiance of all Ecclesiastical Authority.'<sup>108</sup> In contrast, Arnet's sermon was a reassertion of the rights of the clergy, of the authority of Blackburne's administration, and a final push to extinguish the controversy that had erupted twelve months' earlier. Arnet disavowed Bowman's position by addressing the assembled clergy as 'the light of the world'

<sup>106</sup> LPL. VB 1/7/301, dispensation for George Arnet, 1730.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> YML. DC/H7, Chapter Act Book, 1728-1747; Ollard, and, Walker (eds.), *Archbishop Herring's visitation returns*, *1743*., vol. V, p. 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> TNA. PROB/11/725, will of Lancelot Blackburne; Henry Wyche (d. 1678) was rector of Sutton from 1636 until his death. In November 1711, George Arnet and Jane Smith were married by Wyche's son William, then rector of Silk Willoughby in Lincolnshire. See, LA. HOLBEACH ALL SAINTS PAR/1/3, general register of baptism, marriages and burials, 1701-1738.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> BL. Add. MS. 61612, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Lord Sunderland, 26 July 1718.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> TNA. PROB/11/725, will of Lancelot Blackburne; Lancelot Billington (1724-1745) was born in Exeter, and drowned in the Thames Estuary aged twenty aboard a Gravesend tilt boat. See, Billington Family MS in private hands [accessed at https://www.ancestry.co.uk/family-tree/person/tree/8599260/person/6058392181/facts on 4 June 2019]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> McMaster University. Sermon of George Arnet, 30 June 1732

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Taylor, Stephen, 'The Bowman Affair: Latitudinarian Theology, Anti-clericalism and the Limits of Orthodoxy in Early Hanoverian England', in, Cornwall, Robert D., and, Gibson, William, *Religion, Politics and Dissent, 1660-1832* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 35-50; Bowman, William, *The Traditions of the Clergy destructive of Religion: With an Enquiry into the Grounds and Reasons of such Tradition* (London: 1731).

and denied that 'any earthly power' could 'disannul' the inheritance from Christ of perpetual government over the Church.<sup>109</sup>

### **Prebends and dignities – York**

Returning to Archbishop Thomas Herring's comments of 1743, alongside making provision for the appointment of chaplains, his other principal consideration was the potential for serving his clients in the 'forty Prebends in ye two Cathedrals of York & Southwell'.<sup>110</sup> York was the only eighteenth-century diocese with three capitular foundations, of which the Metropolitical Church of St. Peter was the most senior in prestige and wealth. The patronage of the archbishops in the cathedral of York comprised four dignities, four archdeaconries, and thirty prebends, and other minor canonries.<sup>111</sup> Whilst this represented a rich bounty for the prospective episcopal patron, a bishop's ability to serve their clients through appointment to cathedral places was dependent on those dignities falling vacant. Openings occasionally arose through the reshuffling of Crown appointments, or by freak occurrences (such as when Gilbert Atkinson, prebendary of Grindal, accidentally shot himself in 1709), but opportunities to make fresh nominations were overwhelmingly reliant on the natural deaths of the incumbents.<sup>112</sup> It is significant, therefore, when considering Blackburne's task of 'turning' the diocese towards the ministry that the first two years of his administration saw the longest period between vacancies in the cathedral of York since 1700 (see, Appendix B). No vacancies occurred between the collation of Thomas Crosse to the prebend of Osbaldwick by Archbishop William Dawes in January 1724, until the death of William Calvert, prebendary of Bugthorpe, in September 1726.

Blackburne's response to this belated vacancy is illuminating of the dynamics of precedence in the exercise of patronage during this period. When a bishop arrived in a new diocese, he brought not only their existing clients but also his outstanding obligations. This was made clear by Archbishop Robert Drummond in November 1762 when he stated his intention to use places in the cathedral of York to satisfy 'prier engagements' before preferring others recommended to him, having only had Welsh preferments at his disposal since his consecration.<sup>113</sup> The precedence of prior engagements was just as applicable earlier in the century. In September 1726, Blackburne granted the vacant Prebend of Bugthorpe to Benjamin Honycomb, a West Country clergyman who held no benefice in the Northern

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> McMaster University. MS001, sermon of George Arnet, 30 June 1732.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> UNSC. Pw V 120, letter from Thomas Herring, to, William Herring, 31 March 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Horn, Joyce M., and, Smith, David M. (eds.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 1541-1857, *IV*, York *Diocese* (London: University of London, 1975), pp. ix-xi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Horn, and, Smith, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1541-1857, IV, York Diocese, p. 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> ERYAS. DDSC/50, letter from Robert Drummond, to, Thomas Anson, 8 November 1762.

Province at the time of his appointment, and did not gain one subsequently.<sup>114</sup> His collation to a prebend at York was likely owed to his position as chaplain to the Whig peer and Blackburne's 'worthy old friend' Hugh Fortescue, fourteenth Baron Clinton, of Filleigh in Devon.<sup>115</sup> Whilst the circumstances of Blackburne's particular obligations to Lord Clinton are not clear, this case is telling of the potency of prior obligations in the eighteenth-century Church. After nearly two years without a vacancy at York, Blackburne waived the first opportunity to either give his administration an additional voice in Chapter affairs, or to reward one of his trusted clients from within the diocese. These considerations, which would have furthered the politico-religious aims of his appointment to York, were secondary to obligations already accrued.

Once prior engagements were satisfied, however, bishops' chaplains were often first in line for cathedral places; a pattern that can be observed at York throughout the eighteenth century. In November 1762, within a year of his translation, Archbishop Robert Drummond declined Thomas Anson's recommendation of one of his clients to the subdeanery as he had already given the dignity to his chaplain.<sup>116</sup> The precedence of bishops' chaplains over other applicants was also weighted towards the most valuable places. Whilst Archbishop Thomas Herring was eager to provide for his 'best Friends', he also ensured that the places they received would be to their best advantage. When the Prebend of Tockerington fell vacant in May 1743, Herring wrote to his cousin that because of the stall's small income he thought it 'not worth your acceptance' and 'scarce worth your Son's'.<sup>117</sup> Tockerington was eventually disposed of by the Dean and Chapter, and three years later William Herring was collated to the six-times more valuable prebend of Warthill.<sup>118</sup> The obligation to provide for chaplains was not limited to the initial establishment of an episcopal administration, but persisted throughout a bishop's prelacy. In 1711, twenty years after his translation to York, Archbishop John Sharp sought to retain the option to a vacant prebend in the face of other competing interests to grant it to one of his chaplains.<sup>119</sup> These dynamics are also observable during Blackburne's archiepiscopacy. Between 1724 and 1731, the Archbishop bestowed seven of the first ten prebends to fall vacant on his chaplains (see, Appendix B). The attendant chaplains were foremost among these appointees, with Lewis Stephens as the most senior being the first

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Benjamin Honycomb (d. 1735). Honycomb was buried in the parish of Weare Giffard in Devon, on 7 December 1735. South West Heritage Trust, 2617A/PR/1/1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> TNA. PROB/11/725, will of Lancelot Blackburne; North Devon Archives. 3335A/PB/1, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Lord Clinton, 21 June 1724.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> ERYAS. DDSC/50, letter from Robert Drummond, to, Thomas Anson, 8 November 1762.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> UNSC. Pw V 120, letter from Thomas Herring, to, William Herring, 16 May 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> ERYAS. PE1/130, Survey of prebends and benefices in York Province, 1724 [sic].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> TNA. SP 34/15/108, ff. 172-173, letter from John Sharp, to, Lord Dartmouth[?], 23 June 1711.

to receive a prebend, being collated to the stall of Barnby in February 1727. Thomas Hayter received the Prebend of Riccall in December 1728, and Jaques Sterne was collated to the Prebend of Apesthorpe in April of the following year. The correlation between appointments to chaplaincies 'at large' and prebends at York was looser but still evident; four of Blackburne's non-attendant chaplains were collated to prebends between 1730 and 1743.

Blackburne's appointments in the cathedral of York also contributed to the task of 'turning' the diocese toward the Whig ministry. It is possible to elucidate the changing composition of the Chapter of York by tracing the attendees of their meetings using the Chapter Act Books (see, Appendix C). Between 4 May 1724 and 8 March 1743, 345 Chapter meetings were held at York. Whilst the archbishops could appoint to thirty dignities and prebends in the cathedral, Chapter affairs were generally managed by a small group of residentiary canons domiciled in York.<sup>120</sup> The other prebends could be brought into meetings, however, when necessary to support the archbishop's interests, as occurred in the summer of 1730 when Thomas Hayter, Lewis Stephens, and Jaques Sterne attended to vote against the Tory contingent in Chapter (see, below). When the functioning of the Chapter at York is viewed in this way, it emphasises the significance of the relative longevity of the dignitaries and prebends of the cathedral. Changing the composition of the Chapter took time. Appointees of Archbishop John Sharp (1691-1713) dominated Chapter affairs between 1724 and 1729, and maintained substantial influence well into the 1730s. By contrast, the canons installed by Archbishop William Dawes (1714-1724) made little impact on the overall composition of the Chapter. Milestones towards breaking in on the influence of the previous administrations were achieved in the mid-1730s. The last Chapter comprised of all Archbishop Sharp appointees was held in 1735; all Archbishop Sharp and Dawes appointees in 1736; and all Archbishop Sharp appointees with Dean Richard Osbaldeston in 1737. Jaques Sterne was the first of the Archbishop's chaplains to attend Chapter regularly, making occasional appearances until he protested his canonical residence in October 1735.<sup>121</sup> Following the deaths of several key Archbishop Sharp appointees, the first Chapter of all Blackburne appointees was held in 1738.<sup>122</sup> Whilst this analysis assumes to some extent a simplified dichotomy in the politicoreligious positions of canons appointed under successive administrations, it is important not to take these complexities at face-value. John Bradley, Prebend of South Newbald from 1707, regularly attended Chapter through Blackburne's archiepiscopacy and worked cooperatively

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Horn, and, Smith, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, *1541-1857*, *IV*, *York Diocese*, p. xi. The number of canon residentiaries had been limited to five (including the dean) after a petition to King William III in 1698.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> YML. DC/H7, Chapter Act Book, 1728-1747.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Horn, and, Smith, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1541-1857, IV, York Diocese.

with the Archbishop's supporters in the 1730s.<sup>123</sup> Nevertheless, analysis of the Chapter at York during Blackburne's archiepiscopacy, an Archbishop who was assiduous in collating his clients to cathedral places, emphasises that 'turning' a diocese was a slow process, taking longer than many individual episcopal administrations.

## **Prebends and dignities – Southwell**

The second capitular foundation of the diocese was the collegiate church of Southwell in Nottinghamshire. 'Mother church' to the peculiar of Southwell, the foundation comprised sixteen prebendaries, one of which was to serve as residentiary in turn on a quarterly basis.<sup>124</sup> Its geographic location, nestled in the southern edge of the diocese, made the church distant in both proximity and influence from the centre of ecclesiastical administration in York. And whilst some visitors in the later eighteenth century such as John Byng (later the 5<sup>th</sup> Viscount Torrington) thought Southwell 'superb', others like Sanderson Miller commented on its remoteness from the archbishops' attentions.<sup>125</sup>

we observed likewise the Walls of the Noble old Church were too much discoloured with damp [if it] was properly kept dry and well aired & the Bishop had a little Hospitality in the old Palace there is no doubt the Venerable Pile would soon have a more wholesome appearance<sup>126</sup>

Despite this dislocation from the centre stage of diocesan affairs, the comments of Archbishop Thomas Herring suggest that the eighteenth-century archbishops conceived of Southwell as contiguous with their episcopal patronage in the cathedral of York. This is not, however, reflected in the current scholarship on Southwell which adds little to our understanding of the role played by the collegiate church in the dispersal of the archbishops' patronage during this period.<sup>127</sup>

In contrast to Blackburne's long wait for an opportunity to appoint to the cathedral of York, two prebends of Southwell fell vacant before he travelled to his new diocese. In August 1724, the archbishop-elect was informed of a vacancy of the Prebend of Halloughton by John

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> YML. DC/H7, Chapter Act Book, 1728-1747; B3/2/2, New Pavement Accounts, 1731-1736; ERYAS. PC7/6/6, Settlement certificate of John Leng, 3 April 1738.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> Summers, Norman, *A Prospect of Southwell, An architectural history of the church and domestic buildings of the collegiate foundation*, revised edition (Southwell: Kelham House, 1988), p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Summers, A Prospect of Southwell, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Hawkes, William (ed.), *The Diaries of Sanderson Miller of Radway together with his Memoir of James Menteath*, The Dugdale Society, vol. XLI (The Society, 2005), p. 377.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Hendy, Graham, 'The Southwell Set: Prebendaries of Southwell Collegiate Church in 'The Long Eighteenth Century', c. 1660-1840, in, *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, vol. 112 (2008), pp. 177-197.

Audley.<sup>128</sup> Blackburne, then preparing to undertake his final visitation of Exeter, chose not to exert his influence over the appointment; 'by the value of it in the King's Book, I perceive must be in the gift of my Lord Chancellor, who will no doubt be pestered with sufficient solicitations for it, & I shall not therefore add to ye number.'<sup>129</sup> As such, Edward Parker was installed by the Dean and Chapter of York (sede vacante) on 24 September 1724.<sup>130</sup> Three months later, a vacancy of the stall of South Muskham was anticipated by James Brydges, 1st Duke of Chandos, who wrote to Blackburne on 23 November 1724 to press his interest. Taking the opportunity to congratulate the new archbishop on his elevation, Chandos related that the current prebendary was suffering a 'dangerous Indisposition', and that he recommended in his place William Standfast, chaplain to his kinsman, Lord Middleton.<sup>131</sup> In arguing his case, Chandos emphasised the convenience of the place to Standfast's other engagements, and the low value of the prebend, stating that 'it cannot be a preferment any ways adequate to the merits of any one you may have a particular or more immediate regard for'.<sup>132</sup> Chandos was unsuccessful, however, and the prebend was granted to Robert Dannye in January 1725 (see, Appendix B). This appointment appears to have been in fulfilment of another prior obligation, as Cassandra Brydges subsequently informed Lord Middleton that Blackburne stated, 'if he knew in what maner it might be in the power of the gentleman who is now Prebend of Southwell to doe him [Chandos] service he would recommend it to him in such a maner as be sure at all times of his friendship'.<sup>133</sup>

It was potentially on account of these vacancies that Blackburne sought an account of the foundation of Southwell, which was duly transmitted by Samuel Berdmore on 23 December 1724.<sup>134</sup> This comprehensive digest provided the Archbishop with details of the officials and places in the collegiate church, its parochial jurisdiction, provision of prayers, preaching, terms of residence, and the values of each prebend with information about their incumbents.<sup>135</sup> Having filled two vacancies according to other engagements, Blackburne sought to reward his clients with prebends at Southwell, often in addition to those granted in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Audley letters. Letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, John Audley, 22 August 1724..

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> NA. SC/4/1/72, Mandate, for the installation of Edward Parker as Prebendary of Halloughton, 18 September 1724.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> LPL. F V/1/VIII, f. 21, register of noblemen's chaplains.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Huntington Library. MS ST25 f. 33, letter from James Brydges, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 23 November 1724.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> O'Day, Rosemary, *Cassandra Brydges (1670-1735), First Duchess of Chandos, Life and Letters* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), p. 186.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P XVII/22, 'Church of Southwel, Breviate of its Consitution from M<sup>r</sup> Berdmore. Rec'd,
23 December 1724'

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

the cathedral of York. Between 1727 and 1729, the Archbishop collated Edward Wilson, Thomas Hayter, and Lewis Stephens to prebends in the church, thereby giving them access to the profits of the canonries, and placing them in a position to forward his interests in chapter proceedings.<sup>136</sup> Aside from the formalities of installation, these clients treated the prebends as sinecures, freeing themselves to fulfil other functions within the diocese. The issue of residence was resolved through delegation, as can be observed in the case of Thomas Hayter, who was excused in July 1732 on the stated grounds of his attendance on Blackburne as chaplain.<sup>137</sup> This placed responsibility for the routine business of renewing leases, repairing the fabric, and exercising the peculiar jurisdiction of Southwell in the hands of the prebendaries who lived nearby in Nottinghamshire.<sup>138</sup>

Like at York, the changing composition of the chapter at Southwell can be traced through the records of its meetings in the Chapter Decree books (see, Appendix D). It was usual for the Chapter to meet quarterly, although prebendaries convened more regularly as business required. The Chapter met 93 times between 19 October 1727 and 23 March 1743, with an up-spike in meetings during their dispute with the vicars choral of the church in the 1730s (see, below). Whilst the Chapter usually comprised between three and eight local men, the meeting of 26 June 1735 was considered exceptional because ten prebendaries gathered to issue an admonition to the rebellious vicars.<sup>139</sup> Whilst it has already been demonstrated that the turnover of appointees of predecessor administrations in the cathedral of York was a lengthy process, it was arguably even slower at Southwell. Two prebendaries appointed by Archbishop Thomas Lamplugh (1688-1691) regularly attended Chapter meetings until their respective deaths in 1728 and 1732. Likewise, it is striking that the first Chapter formed of only Blackburne appointees was held on 23 March 1743, the day of the Archbishop's death. The extent to which places at Southwell were utilised primarily as tokens of patronage by Blackburne is evident insofar that Joseph Atwell, Thomas Hayter, and Jaques Sterne were the only prebendaries not to personally attend their residence during his archiepiscopacy. Furthermore, Thomas Hayter and Jaques Sterne only attended a Chapter meeting at Southwell after Blackburne's death, appearing on a single occasion in July 1744.<sup>140</sup> That is not to say that the absent prebendaries played no role in Chapter affairs, as they occasionally acted as conduits between Blackburne and his agents at Southwell through correspondence, although

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> BIA. Inst. AB. 11, Institution Act Book, 1724-1732, p. 189.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> NA. SC/2/2/2, Chapter Decree Book, 1727-1784.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Hendy, Graham, 'The Southwell Set: Prebendaries of Southwell Collegiate Church in 'the Long Eighteenth Century', c1660-1840', in, *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, vol. 112 (2008), pp. 177-198.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> NA. SC/2/2/2, Chapter Decree Book, 1727-1784.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Ibid.

there is no sense of this dynamic in the Chapter Acts (see, below). The composition of the chapter at Southwell also challenges assumptions about allegiances to predecessor administrations. Blackburne's principal agent in Nottinghamshire, Samuel Berdmore, was an Archbishop Sharp appointee, whereas Lewis Stephens only began to attend to his residence at Southwell after his break with the administration.

#### **Collegiate Church of Ripon**

The third capitular foundation of the diocese was the collegiate church of Ripon. When Edward Southwell visited the town in August 1724, he described the church there as a 'very large Edifice, newly white wash'd with a Choir & 2 porticos of Ionic pillars finely painted by Staiter over the Altar.' Southwell also noted the local importance of Ripon, remarking that ten baronets lived within ten miles of the town.<sup>141</sup> Compared to the churches of York and Southwell, however, Ripon was a minor establishment in terms of both the archbishop's patronage, and revenues. The foundation's entire income in 1725 was £485 9s 8d (less than the Chancellorship of York in 1742), with little change recorded when Blackburne sought a new account of the church in 1733.<sup>142</sup> The deanery was the most prestigious dignity in the church, being a Crown appointment and receiving £93 6s 8d annually, with an additional £70 for acting as residentiary.<sup>143</sup> The dean was also treasurer of the common fund, master of two local hospitals, and appointed vicars choral who acted as curates to chapelries within the Liberty of Ripon.<sup>144</sup> Due to the remarkable longevity of the eighteenth-century deans, only four men headed the chapter between 1686 and 1828.<sup>145</sup> For the entirety of Blackburne's archiepiscopacy the dean was Heneage Dering (1665-1750), who was appointed in 1710 on the recommendation of his father-in-law and patron Archbishop John Sharp. Despite marginalisation during subsequent prelacies, Dering remained one of the wealthiest clergymen in the diocese, holding appointments in York worth over £600 in 1742.<sup>146</sup>

The other dignitaries of Ripon were the seven prebendaries, the most senior of which acted as subdean. The financial rewards of these appointments were meagre, with the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> ULSC. MS328, Account of a Journey by Edward Southwell[?], 1724.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Butler, L. A. S., *The Archdeaconry of Richmond In The Eighteenth Century, Bishop Gastrell's 'Notitia' The Yorkshire Parishes 1714-1725*, The Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series vol. CXLVI (The Society, 1990), pp. 150-153; BIA. Bp. C&P XVI, account of the Church of Ripon, 1733; BIA. Bp. Dio. Vol. 6, Survey of the Diocese, 1725. These details were entered into the survey by Jaques Sterne, possibly transcribed from documents originally drawn up by Thomas Hayter and Thomas Jubb. <sup>143</sup> BIA. Bp. Dio. Vol. 6, Survey of the Diocese, 1725.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> Ibid; Butler, Bishop Gastrell's 'Notitia', p. 150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> *Ripon: with descriptions of Studley Royal, Fountains' Abbey, Newby, Hackfall* [&c.], second edition (Ripon: 1806), p. 100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> BIA. Bp. Dio. Vol. 6, Survey of the Diocese, 1725.

prebendaries receiving £23 6s 8d, annually.<sup>147</sup> Ripon differed from the cathedral of York and Southwell insofar that the archbishop did not have the absolute disposal of the prebends, being obliged to collate one of three nominees made by the Dean and Chapter.<sup>148</sup> Despite the modest financial incentives in Ripon, this arrangement periodically drew the archbishops into disputes with the dignitaries there. In May 1717, Archbishop William Dawes undertook the collation of Dean Heneage Dering's nephew, William Elsley, to a vacant prebend without contention, writing to Chancellor John Audley to confirm the appointment.<sup>149</sup> In 1721, however, Archbishop Dawes was compelled to write to the Dean and Chapter in defence of his rights, expressing that he wished to resolve the dispute without having to contest his right in a 'tedious, expensive, & very often, in ye end, unfriendly way'.<sup>150</sup> Likewise, in 1746 Archbishop Thomas Herring challenged Dean Heneage Dering's right to appoint his son to the subdeanery without the confirmation of the archbishop.<sup>151</sup> Archbishop Herring may have wished to prevent a suspected clandestine attempt by the Dean to provide for his relations, as the subdeanery was the only dignity considered to be in his gift, and had been occupied by William Elsley between 1723 and 1743.<sup>152</sup> In spite of Dean Dering's attempts to claim precedents for his intended appointment, Archbishop Herring subjected the eighty-one year old dean to the indignity of acknowledging an omission under his own hand, to which Dean Dering eventually complied, adding 'I am an old man, and desirous to depart in Peace.'153 In contrast, the Chapter Acts of Ripon reveal Blackburne's archiepiscopacy to have been a period of relative peace in the church.<sup>154</sup> Between 1724 and 1743 four prebends became vacant, and were subsequently filled through the usual process of nomination and collation by the Archbishop.<sup>155</sup> Whilst Blackburne exercised his episcopal patronage in the cathedral of York and Southwell to reward trusted clients from both within and beyond diocesan borders, in 1742 all seven prebendaries of Ripon held livings in the North and West Ridings within forty miles of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> Butler, *Bishop Gastrell's 'Notitia'*, p. 150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P XVI/6, letters between Thomas Herring, and, Heneage Dering, June-August 1746.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> Audley letters. Letter from William Dawes, to, John Audley, 25 May 1717.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P XVI/5, letter from William Dawes, to, the Dean and Chapter of Ripon, 4 October 1721.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P XVI/6a, letter from Thomas Herring, to, Heneage Dering, 8 June 1746; Bp. C&P XVI/6b, letter from Thomas Herring, to, Heneage Dering, 18 June 1746; Bp. C&P XVI/6c, letter from Heneage Dering, to, Thomas Herring, 24 June 1746

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> *Ripon: with descriptions of Studley Royal* [&c.], p. 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P XVI, letter from Heneage Dering, to, Thomas Herring, 12 August 1746.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> ULSC. Ripon MS 43, Chapter Act Book, 1719-1746.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> BIA. Episcopal Register 35, Lancelot Blackburne, ff. 76, 93, 131. Thomas Rud, William Thompson, John Forster, and Thomas Warwick were made prebendaries of Ripon in July 1728, December 1729, June 1733, and June 1742, respectively. See, Brotherton Library. Ripon MS 43, Chapter Act Book, 1719-1746.

town.<sup>156</sup> In 1746, Dean Dering described this arrangement to Archbishop Herring in practical terms, stating that 'we take care to have Prebendaries now placed so neer us, as to come and make a Chapter upon any Special Occasion.'<sup>157</sup> Whilst this contributed toward the effective management of Chapter affairs at Ripon, the collegiate church did not play a significant role in the distribution of the archbishops' patronage during this period. Indeed, during Blackburne's archiepiscopacy only one prebendary of Ripon also held a stall at either the cathedral of York or Southwell.<sup>158</sup>

### Managing chapter affairs - York and Southwell

A bishop's ability to effectively exert their influence in the cathedral and collegiate churches of their diocese was largely dependent on cooperation with the principal dignitaries of those foundations. Friction in that dynamic often led to the breakdown of episcopal authority over Chapter affairs, with wider repercussions for effective diocesan governance. The deaneries of England and Wales were Crown appointments, which could result in the promotion of individuals with interests independent to those of their diocesan. This was particularly acute during the reign of Queen Anne, as the factional disputes that raged in Convocation were refracted into local patterns. In 1704, following a disagreement between Bishop Moore and Dean Humphrey Prideaux of Norwich, the latter received messages of support from other Whig bishops. Bishop Simon Patrick of Ely wrote, 'I beseech God y<sup>u</sup> may be no more troubled by such contests, but May follow y<sup>r</sup> studies & govern y<sup>e</sup> church without disturbance'.<sup>159</sup> Whilst Bishop Gilbert Burnet of Salisbury counselled, 'This is not a time for us to have quarrels among our selves especially for those who agree in all the greater matters'<sup>160</sup> Within a year, however, Bishop Burnet was himself embroiled in disturbances which William Gibson cites as the 'lowest point' in relations between a bishop and his diocese in the eighteenth century.<sup>161</sup> Anne's appointment of John Younger as Dean of Salisbury in 1705 (despite Burnet's protests) led to a prolonged period of antagonism between the Whig Bishop and Tory Dean. Younger's open acts of defiance included blocking the bishop's nomination of White Kennett as a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> ERYAS. PE1/130, survey of prebends and benefices in York Province, 1742. The prebendaries with the locations and (approx.) distances of their livings from Ripon; Marmaduke Buck (Long Martson, 25 miles), Joseph Cookson (Leeds, 30 miles), William Elsley (Ryther, 35 miles), Richard Kay (Moor Monkton, 25 miles), William Thompson (Escrick, 40 miles), John Wakefeild (Sessay, 11 miles), and Thomas Warwick (Appleton Wiske, 30 miles).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P XVI/6c, letter from Heneage Dering, to, Thomas Herring, 24 June 1746.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> William Elsley was made prebend of Ripon in 1717, and of York in 1721. See, Horn, and, Smith, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, *1541-1857*, *IV*, *York Diocese*, p. 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> CRO. PB/8/4, letter from Simon Patrick to, Humphrey Prideaux, 21 December 1704.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> CRO. PB/8/4, letter from Gilbert Burnet, to, Humphrey Prideaux, 21 October 1704.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> Gibson, William, 'English Provincial Engagement in Religious Debates: The Salisbury Quarrel of 1705-1715', in, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 80, no. 1 (Spring 2017), p. 29.

prebendary. Thereafter, Burnet stated that 'all who had countenance from the Dean have been persons who have set themselves against [him] with the utmost indecency, because [Burnet] studies to support the Queen and her government.'<sup>162</sup>

At York, the dean's primacy in cathedral affairs above all but the archbishop was confirmed by the statutes of the church, which defined the role as to preside in the Chapter, and as having responsibility for all the clergy of the cathedral community.<sup>163</sup> The deanery of York was considered one of the most valuable Church appointments below episcopal rank, and by the eighteenth century was worth in excess of  $\pounds700$  per annum; a greater income than several of the poorest bishoprics.<sup>164</sup> At Blackburne's translation, the deanery was occupied by the Hon. Henry Finch (1664-1728), brother of the Earl of Nottingham. Finch owed his appointment to Archbishop John Sharp (formerly his tutor), and was long-designed to succeed to the deanery, even turning down the bishopric of Sodor and Man in 1694 thinking it 'not proper for me'.<sup>165</sup> These efforts were, however, consistently blocked during the reign of William III, who suspected the Finches of being disaffected to the government.<sup>166</sup> The accession of Queen Anne brought greater favour, however, and Finch was finally appointed to the deanery in 1702. Over the next twenty-five years he presided over chapter affairs alongside his brother Edward Finch (a fellow canon residentiary of the cathedral), finding continued patronage under Archbishop William Dawes who shared the moderate High Churchmanship of his predecessor.<sup>167</sup> Dean Henry Finch's political influence was manifest in the wake of the Sacheverell crisis in 1710, when he led a large body of the clergy to vote for the Church Party candidates in the election of that year.<sup>168</sup> With Nottingham's return to the political fold at the Hanoverian Succession, Henry Finch was once again deemed a reasonable candidate for a bishopric, if only to accommodate the ministry's broader aims. In January 1726, it was rumoured that Henry Finch would be translated to Chester to allow for Blackburne's failed scheme to appoint John Gilbert to the deanery of York.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>162</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> Aylmer, G. E., and, Cant, R., *A History of York Minster* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 62-66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> BIA. Bp. Dio. Vol. 6, Survey of the Diocese, 1725; Hirschberg, D. R., 'Episcopal incomes and expense, 1660-c.1760', in, O'Day, Rosemary, and, Heal, Felicity, *Princes & Paupers in the English Church, 1500-1800* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1981), pp. 213-216.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> Tindal Hart, The Life And Times Of John Sharp, pp. 53-55; 139.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> Ibid, pp. 139; 163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> YML. C1/55, letter from John Watkinson, to, Thomas Jubb, 27 April 1724.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> Hall, and, Richardson, *The Anglican Clergy and Yorkshire Politics in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 1. <sup>169</sup> HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of His Grace The Duke of Portland*, p. 416. Letter from William Stratford, to, Lord Harley, 13 January 1726.

On 8 September 1728, Henry Finch died at Bath.<sup>170</sup> The Duchess of Somerset attempted to intercede with Queen Caroline on behalf of Edward Finch to succeed his brother to the deanery, but the King's ministers seized the opportunity to break in on the long-standing Tory influence at York and make an appointment supportive of Blackburne's administration.<sup>171</sup> Their selection was Richard Osbaldeston (1691-1764), an East Riding cleric who was esteemed among the local clergy, and came from an influential landed family in Holderness.<sup>172</sup> Under Blackburne, Osbaldeston's status was bolstered through selection to preach at the Archbishop's primary visitation in 1726, and he was chosen as proctor in Convocation for the Archdeaconry of the East Riding alongside Jaques Sterne in the same year.<sup>173</sup> Osbaldeston was also in favour at the Hanoverian Court, serving as chaplain-inordinary to George I from 1725, a position to which he was re-appointed at the accession of George II two years later.<sup>174</sup> In October 1728, Osbaldeston was in London when he learned of his appointment as dean, so Thomas Jubb, deputy diocesan registrar, proposed that he wait on Blackburne there to obtain his commission before returning to the North.<sup>175</sup> This took place in tandem with the necessary formalities in York, over which Edward Finch could not be convinced to preside 'by reason of his affliction and Tenderness to the memory of his Deceased Brother'.<sup>176</sup> Dean Henry Finch's passing marked the beginning of the ultimate decline of Tory influence in the cathedral at York, as Blackburne's administration took a firmer hold over Chapter affairs.

In the absence of explicit statements about the motivations behind the deanery appointment, a single surviving letter from Richard Osbaldeston to Blackburne of 26 May 1729 is revealing of the cordiality between the new dean and his archbishop. Osbaldeston inquired after Blackburne's health, and related that the day before he had toured the cathedral and Bishopthorpe with the archbishop's kinsmen, Thomas Rundle and Mr Talbot.<sup>177</sup> More purposefully, Osbaldeston sought Blackburne's advice in managing cathedral affairs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> YML. DC/H6, Chapter Act Book, 1701-1728, f. 135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> Thomson, A. T. (ed.), *Memoirs of Viscountess Sundon, Mistress of the Robes to Queen Caroline, Consort of George II* [etc.], vol. I (London: Henry Colburn, 1847), pp. 379-381.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> Aston, Nigel, 'Osbaldeston, Richard (1691–1764), bishop of London', *ODNB* [accessed at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20862 on 30 August 2019].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> Bray, Gerald (ed.), *Records of Convocation. XV. York, 1625-1861*, Church of England Record Society (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), p. 243.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> RA. EB/EB/17, Officers of the Royal Household, 1727.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> YML. DC/H7, Chapter Act Book, 1728-1747, ff. 1-2; BIA. Bp. C&P XIX, letter from Thomas Jubb, to, Richard Osbaldeston, 12 October 1728.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> BIA. Bp C&P XIX, letter from Richard Osbaldeston, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 29 May 1729.

It is a great satisfaction to me, that your Grace approves of the method taken to humble the Insolence of a saucy Vicar. The observations your Grace has been pleased to communicate to me, wil make me knowing in things of this kind for the future, as wel as cautious to have al submissions entered in the Chapter Acts.<sup>178</sup>

In the years immediately following Osbaldeston's appointment, Edward Finch became head of the increasingly side-lined Tories in the Chapter at York, developing a reputation as an 'unaccountable man'<sup>179</sup> At New Year 1729, Osbaldeston encountered obstructionist behaviour when attempting to set the cathedral bells in order to ring on Prince Frederick's birthday.<sup>180</sup> And in the next year, further disputes centred on Edward Finch's determination to live in a private home in the Minster Yard whilst in residence, rather than in a canonical house.<sup>181</sup> This culminated in a Chapter meeting of 1 June 1730, at which Osbaldeston led a coterie of the Archbishop's allies including Thomas Hayter, Lewis Stephens, and Jaques Sterne.<sup>182</sup> Together, they voted as a bloc against Finch's supporters to decree that his residence was not agreeable to the statutes of the cathedral.<sup>183</sup> In December of the same year, Finch was again admonished for refusing to surrender keys to the chest that held the common seal of the Dean and Chapter, and was even accused of detaining the customary fees due for the burial of his late brother.<sup>184</sup> Once again, the Archbishop's allies voted to admonish Finch, along with others who had seemingly lost patience with the curmudgeonly canon.

the said Dean proposed the following Question viz<sup>t</sup>. Whether the Behaviour of [Edward Finch] [etc.] be consistent with the Duty and Canonical Obedience which he owes to the Legall Comands of the Dean and Chapter of this Cathedral? Whereupon the said Mr Bradley, Doctor Brearey Mr Elsley Doctor Sterne Mr Levett and the Dean himself all voted and agreed That the Behaviour of the said [Edward Finch] [etc.] is inconsistent<sup>185</sup>

185 Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> Akehurst, Ann-Marie, 'Wandesford Hospital, York: Colonel Moyser and the Yorkshire Burlington Group', *Architectural History*, Vol. 51 (2008), p. 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Walker, Gareth, 'The Church in York', pp. 93-94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> YML. DC/H7, Chapter Act Book, 1728-1747.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

This was the last gasp of opposition from Tory canons; there are no further disputes recorded in the Chapter Act books of York from 1731 until Blackburne's death. This state of relative quiet was maintained until Osbaldeston was raised to the bishopric of Carlisle in 1747.<sup>186</sup>

Richard Osbaldeston's position as dean was bolstered by Blackburne who exercised his patronage to make key appointments to the other principal dignities of the cathedral. Until the Reformation, the dean, precentor, chancellor and treasurer of York had been 'in theory the rulers' of the church.<sup>187</sup> The Treasurership, formerly 'worth more than the offices of the precentor and chancellor combined', was abolished in 1547, and its assets appropriated by the Crown.<sup>188</sup> By the eighteenth century, this left the dean, chancellor and precentor as the most influential posts at York. In other cathedrals such as Gloucester, the precentor was a lowlier position, being elected annually from the minor canons for being 'more eminent for his behaviour and learning'.<sup>189</sup> This comparatively humble status meant that the place retained closer ties to the musical origins of the dignity's foundation.<sup>190</sup> By comparison, the Precentorship of York 'had lost its organic connection' to its traditional role of supervision of the liturgical aspects of the cathedral. <sup>191</sup> This disassociation was queried by contemporary commentators, such as an enclosure commissioner in the peculiar jurisdiction of the succentor of York.

In the Cathedral at York there is a precentor and a succentor. The precentor is supposed to be the master and leader of the choir - but in the supposition that he may not be able to sing or to direct others, a succentor of subchantor is also appointed, who in all probability is as incapable of the duties of the office as his superior. qr. are they not both sinecure offices and the objects of patronage - and qr. who really does direct the choir?<sup>192</sup>

From 1711, the Precentorship of York had been held in union with the Archdeaconry of Cleveland.<sup>193</sup> The significance of this double-appointment was apparent when both places fell vacant in 1735, and Blackburne's chaplains were rumoured to be next to succeed. It was initially thought that Thomas Hayter would be appointed, but in December 1735 the dignities

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> Aylmer, and, Cant, A History of York Minster, pp. 62-66.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> Eward, Suzanne (ed.), *Gloucester Cathedral Chapter Act Book 1616-1687*, Gloucestershire Record Series, vol. 21 (Bristol: The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 2007), p. xiii.
 <sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> Aylmer, and, Cant, A History of York Minster, p. 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> ERYAS. DDIV/45/1, Tunstall Enclosure Act, 1777.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> Horn, and, Smith, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 1541-1857, IV, York Diocese, pp. 10, 16. This arrangement commenced with James Fall in 1700.

were granted to Jaques Sterne.<sup>194</sup> The chancellorship did not fall vacant until 1741, at which point Samuel Baker was appointed, a canon residentiary of the cathedral who was a close ally of Sterne and Blackburne's administration.<sup>195</sup>

The absence of a strict hierarchy in the foundation of Southwell made management of chapter affairs in the collegiate church less straightforward than in the cathedral of York. As such, it was important for the archbishops to maintain a loyal agent in Nottinghamshire who was politically and theologically well-inclined to their administrations. Prior to Blackburne's translation, this role was assumed by Robert Marsden (1657-1748), a staunch High Churchman who wrote against Bishop Benjamin Hoadly during the Bangorian Controversy.<sup>196</sup> Marsden was instituted to the rectory of Rempstone in Nottinghamshire by Archbishop John Sharp in 1702, and became the prelate's final appointment to a prebendal stall of Southwell in 1714 (see, Appendix B). Marsden's position as the chief agent in the southern portion of his diocese was continued under Archbishop William Dawes, culminating in his appointment as Archdeacon of Nottingham in 1716.<sup>197</sup> In January of that year, Archbishop Dawes wrote to Marsden to congratulate him for steps taken during his residence at Southwell, such as putting the chapter library in order, enforcing Archbishop Sharp's injunctions concerning the vicarage houses, and ordering repairs for the music school.<sup>198</sup> Before Blackburne had reached his new diocese, however, there were signs that Marsden would be by-passed under the new administration. It was prebendary Samuel Berdmore who Blackburne turned to for a new account of Southwell in December 1724, and he was still the Archbishop's chief agent at the outbreak of a dispute between the Chapter and the vicars choral of Southwell in the 1730s.<sup>199</sup> Berdmore acted as the local intermediary in Nottinghamshire between the administration and the Chapter, taking the guidance of Thomas Hayter and Jaques Sterne in the management of the Archbishop's case against the vicars.<sup>200</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> General Evening Post, no. 326 (London: 30 October – 1 November 1735); Horn, and, Smith, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1541-1857, IV, York Diocese, pp. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> Horn, and, Smith, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1541-1857, IV, York Diocese*, p. 8; in the aftermath of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, Samuel Baker and Jaques Sterne acted together on several occasions as Justices of the Peace in the East Riding. See, ERYAS, QSF/155/D/4-5, quarter sessions files, 17 January 1747

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> Marsden, Robert, *Remarks Upon The Lord Bishop of Bangor's Sermon; Entituled, The Nature of the Kingdom, Or, Church of Christ* [etc.] (London: 1717).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> Horn, and, Smith, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1541-1857, IV, York Diocese, p. 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup> NA. SC/15/63/1, letter from Sir William Dawes, to, Robert Marsden, 16 January 1716.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> For a full account of the dispute see, Cummins, Daniel, 'The controversys betwixt the Chapter and the Vicars Chorall', in, *Midland History*, Vol. 39, No, 1 (Spring 2014), pp. 53-68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P XVII/26, Southwell papers, 1730s.

We are much obliged to our friends for their good advice & assistance in this troublesome affair and must still trespass further upon y<sup>e</sup> kind encouragement you give us<sup>201</sup>

Through Berdmore's mediation of the administration's case the affair ended in 1737, and no further disputes are recorded in the Chapter Acts of Southwell during Blackburne's archiepiscopacy.<sup>202</sup> Like at York, cooperation in common politico-religious aims between the Archbishop and trusted agents resulted in a period of relative harmony at Southwell.

### Agents, clients, and spies

Whilst this study does not aim to provide accounts of all clergymen in York who benefited from Blackburne's episcopal patronage, the diocesan papers demonstrate that several of the Archbishop's principal clients (such as Richard Osbaldeston and Jaques Sterne) first came into contact with the administration by providing information about archiepiscopal lands, or intelligence that contributed towards settling local disputes.<sup>203</sup> This was a continuation of measures that Blackburne had employed in Exeter. In December 1716, Blackburne informed Lord Macclesfield of steps taken against the producers of a Jacobite ballad titled *Nero the Second*, stating that 'I have my spies upon him'.<sup>204</sup> In the 1720s, Blackburne hinted at his use of these methods in York in a letter to Sir Hardolph Wasteneys concerning a disputed presentation to the rectory of Headon in Nottinghamshire.

I thought it Incumbent on Me to make some Inquiry in the Country concerning the Matter in question, before I shou'd resolve to put it out of my own reach by giving my word to you that I wou'd take no Notice of any Lapse<sup>205</sup>

These inquiries were somewhat shadowy. In August 1726, Samuel Berdmore was engaged to investigate the case of Kinoulton rectory in Nottinghamshire. Reporting to Blackburne the following month, Berdmore explained, 'I us'd the best art I have to get what Information I could, without giving any suspicion of being employed by your Grace.'<sup>206</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P XVII/26, letter from Samuel Berdmore, [March 1735].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> NA. SC/2/2/2, Chapter Decree Book, 1727-1784.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> BIA. CC. Ab. 9, 'Rentals of the Rectory of Lythe. The one as let by AB Sharp. The other at present 1726. Item Stainton Skipsey and Nafferton memd. Dr. Osbaldeston'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> BL. Stowe MS 750, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Lord Macclesfield, 22 December 1716; Brushfield, t. N., 'Andrew Brice, and the Early Exeter Newspaper Press', *Reports and Transactions of the Devonshire Association* [etc.], vol. XX (Plymouth: 1888P, pp. 171-175.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/29, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Hardolph Wasteneys, 9 November 1727.
 <sup>206</sup> BIA. Bp C&P XVII/26, letter from Samuel Berdmore, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 1 September 1726.

One of Blackburne's agents was Henry Topping (c. 1684-1733), whose clerical career was highly extraordinary. Through the favour of several influential patrons Topping received appointments in five dioceses in little over two decades, at one time claiming to be chaplain to 'three Lords at the same time'; Lord Privy Seal, Lord Rockingham, and Lord Abergavenny.<sup>207</sup> In 1722, he was then chaplain to Bishop Edmund Gibson, who used his option to present Topping to the vicarage of Hemel Hempstead.<sup>208</sup> It was there that he became embroiled in a dispute with his curate which became so heated he was forced to flee the parish. In December 1725, Topping sought the assistance of Blackburne, who offered him a temporary position as curate of the market town of Guisborough in the Archdeaconry of Cleveland.

Your Grace is exceeding good, not only to order Enquiry to be made about an Exchange for me, but likewise to provide for me in the mean time. I accept of the Curacy of Gisburgh with all Gratitude, & do think myself as much Obliged to you as if you had given me the living of Winwick or Hatfield. but I do humbly represent to your Grace that I cannot possibly come to London, my affairs, at present, are so very bad, and the malice of my Enemies so great. I beg therefore that you would dispense with my Coming up, & vouchsafe to Send me a License to Gisburgh, or whatever may give me a Right to Supply it.<sup>209</sup>

Topping's comparison of this humble curacy to Winwick in Lancashire, famed to be the richest benefice in the country (then possessed by Dean Henry Finch), is telling of his desperation.<sup>210</sup> In gratitude, Topping promised to 'act as a true Government man', with Blackburne personally entering his name in the diocese books.<sup>211</sup> By March 1726, Topping was stationed in Guisborough and prepared a report from his observations on the town; its history, population, and the state of its church. He characterised the communicants as 'High Church', and related difficulties he encountered in finding a neighbouring clergyman 'low enough' to assist with the duty of serving over 1000 souls. Topping also reported on the alleged mismanagement of the hospital and school in the town, a dispute which had been 'kindling ever since A. Bishop Sharp's time'. Such was the sensitivity of the case, Topping covertly directed his letters to Blackburne by the churchwardens of his living at East Ham.<sup>212</sup>

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>207</sup> Bodl. MS Rawl. Letters 17, fol. 38, letter from Henry Topping, to, Thomas Hearne, 18 March 1712.
 <sup>208</sup> LPL. VB/1/6/400, dispensation, V. East Ham, V. Hemel Hempstead, 1722.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/31, letter from Henry Topping, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 12 December 1725.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> The Gentleman's Magazine, vol. X (1740), p. 262. Winwick was reputed to be worth £1400 per annum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/31, letter from Henry Topping, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 1 April 1726; Bp. Dio. Bk. 5, survey of the diocese, 1713, f. 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/31, letter from Henry Topping, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 18 March 1726.

Blackburne's obligations to Topping appear to have been proportionate to his case. Whilst other clergymen might have hoped for further advancement as recompense for acting as the archbishop's agent, Topping was merely thankful to have escaped his situation in Hemel Hempstead. In gratitude, he wrote 'It shall be the business of my whole Life to Thank your Grace for saving me from perishing'.<sup>213</sup> Topping continued at Guisborough for eighteen months before returning to Hertfordshire in the summer of 1727.<sup>214</sup> But despite Blackburne's protection, his financial troubles were far from over. An arrangement between Topping and Henry Lambe to exchange Hemel Hempstead for the living of Nursling in Winchester collapsed. On 5 October 1728, Topping detailed his ongoing misfortunes to Bishop White Kennett of Peterborough.

Dr Lambs Curate Sent down to me two men with an Execution for body & goods, without ever having wrote to me So much as one letter to demand his mony, or desiring Dr Lamb or anybody else to do it for him (...) they sold all the few goods I had got together and took away the very bed from under me myself escaping with much difficulty<sup>215</sup>

Topping was particularly incensed by the behaviour of his former curate who he had taken 'from the plough in Yorkshire, having never seen a College'.<sup>216</sup> He provided the curate with a salary, gave him his own with sermons to preach, and settled a position for him at Hemel Hempstead in the event of the proposed exchange. Despite this, Topping's former curate allegedly began assisting his creditors, forcing him to flee Nursling by moonlight. With no other prospects, Topping appealed to the bishops of Winchester and London that he might be sent either to Ireland, or overseas.<sup>217</sup>

Other regional agents were identified from within the diocese, and developed more long-standing associations with the administration. James Borwick (d. 1767) was a literate who was ordained by Blackburne in August 1725.<sup>218</sup> In the 1730s, Borwick sought to ingratiate himself with the administration by providing local intelligence about Church lands, rumoured

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> During Blackburne's primary visitation Topping was cited at Stokesley on 20 July 1727, but did not appear. At the general election in September of that year Topping polled at Hertford. See, BIA. V. 1726-7/CB, f. 280; *A Copy of the Poll for Knights of the Shire, Taken at the Town of Hertford*, *7 September 1727* (1727), p. 72.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> BL. Landsdowne MS 1038, letter from Henry Topping, to, White Kennett, 5 October 1728.
 <sup>216</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> BIA. Inst. AB. 11, Institution Act Book, 1724-1733, p. 8.

appointments by lay patrons, and the political inclinations of the clergy and laity of his neighbourhood.<sup>219</sup> In his letters, Borwick displayed his willingness to serve the administration alongside accounts of his allegedly 'great Misfortunes', particularly relating to his mastership of Old Malton school, where he claimed the trustees were threatening to reduce his wages to that of the 'poorest Day-labourer'.<sup>220</sup> Having gained Blackburne's approval, in February 1734 Borwick demonstrated the extent of his attachment to the administration by travelling to the parish of Sutton-on-the-Forest as a spy, reporting his findings to Thomas Hayter.

But as I'm always determin'd to decline no Labour, which I have y<sup>e</sup>. least Hopes of making useful to his Grace, I resolv'd to go to Sutton in Masquerade (...) I knew y<sup>t</sup>. my appearing in that [Jacobite] Place as an agent of [Sir Miles Stapleton's] wou'd readily introduce me to y<sup>e</sup>. Principal Freeholders, & give me a thousand Opportunities of fishing out what I wanted to know<sup>221</sup>

Borwick discovered that the landlord of an alehouse in Sutton had formerly been clerk to the principal landowner of the parish, and by appearing to him 'in y<sup>e</sup>. character of one of L<sup>d</sup>. Bruce's Emissaries', and conversing about 'y<sup>e</sup>. <u>glorious</u> Work of pulling down S<sup>r</sup>. R. [Walpole]', he surreptitiously extracted information about the settlement of church lands in the village, and the political inclinations of the inhabitants.<sup>222</sup> Following Borwick's undercover exercise in the village, Laurence Sterne's biographer Arthur Cash argued that the future author's appointment to Sutton-on-the-Forest in 1738 was a continuation of the 'major political task' of bringing the freeholders of the village over to the 'Ministerial Party' on behalf of the administration.<sup>223</sup>

Having shown his willingness to take risks, Borwick was manoeuvred into a position to assist Jaques Sterne, the newly-appointed Archdeacon of Cleveland, in furthering the administration's aims in that portion of the diocese. Following the sudden death of his previous agent, Blackburne permitted Borwick's non-residence at West Heslerton to assume a curacy in the coastal town of Whitby. Writing to Archbishop Robert Drummond over fifteen years later, Borwick recalled,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> BIA. CC. Ab. 9, 'Copy of "a true & perfect Terrier, or Rent-Roll, of the Rectory-Land, Glebe & Tythe of Lythe in the North Riding of Yorkshire;, [c. 1730s].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> BIA. CC. Ab. 9, letter from James Borwick, to, Thomas Hayter, 27 March 1734.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> BIA. CC. Ab. 9, letter from James Borwick, to, Thomas Hayter, 7 February 1734.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> Cash, Arthur H., *Laurence Sterne, The Early & Middle Years* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1975), p. 68.

In y<sup>e</sup>. Summer 1736 (...) his Grace order'd me into this difficult Post, as a Person on whom He cou'd depend; intimating – "that if I behav'd properly 'til y<sup>e</sup>. Parish cou'd be brought into order, I shou'd not be forgot."<sup>224</sup>

The difficulties faced by Borwick in Whitby were manifold. There was a long-gestating dispute with the lessee of the rectory, alongside a dispute over the foundation and augmentation of Aislaby Chapel in the parish.<sup>225</sup> Furthermore, Blackburne's 1735 survey of Catholicism in York revealed several parishes and chapelries around Whitby to be inhabited by some of the largest Catholic populations in the diocese, who Borwick deemed to be 'determin'd Enemies' of the King and the Church.<sup>226</sup> In light of these perceived adversaries, Borwick urged his correspondents to use plenty of wax on their letters as he suspected the post office in Whitby of 'foul play', and reported on signs of 'torture' upon correspondence he received.<sup>227</sup> When Borwick returned to his living at West Heslerton in 1744, it was for benefit of his health which he claimed was impaired by serving eight years in Whitby.<sup>228</sup>

James Borwick's case reveals how clients further from the centre of an episcopal administration were rewarded for their loyalty within a regional context. Following his appointment to Whitby, Borwick began to assume a privileged position in the Archdeaconry of Cleveland. On 12 August 1737, he was selected by Jaques Sterne to preach at the archidiaconal visitation at Stokesley.<sup>229</sup> And in the following year, Borwick was 'especially appointed' as representative for the laity at the same meeting, certifying parish officers who were unable to attend the court, either through injury, illness, or being overseas.<sup>230</sup> At the archdeaconry court, Borwick appears to have acted conscientiously on behalf of those summoned. When John Twistleton, a barber from Whitby, was presented for practising his trade on a Sunday, Borwick argued that the penitent was recently widowered, had four sickly children to support, and couldn't possibly pay the dismission fee.<sup>231</sup> On this occasion, however, he couldn't prevent Twistleton's excommunication.<sup>232</sup> It may have been within the courts that Blackburne hoped to further encourage Borwick's clerical career. Having been ordained as a literate, Borwick applied to his 'university Friends' for advice on the least

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> BIA. CC. Ab. 9, letter from James Borwick, 21 September 1762.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/2, Aislaby chapel papers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup>Miscellanea, CRS, pp. 379-380, letter from James Borwick, to, Jaques Sterne, 25 January 1737.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>227</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/2, letter from James Borwick, to, Thomas Hayter, 28 January 1738; BIA. CC. Ab. 9, letter from James Borwick, to, Thomas Hayter, 22 February 1738.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/2, letter from James Borwick, to, John Samuel Hill, 29 September 1744.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>229</sup> BIA. C.V/CB.8, Court Book and Calls, 1734-1742, f. 108.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>230</sup> BIA. C.V/CB.8, Court Book and Calls, 1734-1742, f. 91; f. 139; 173-174; 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup> BIA. C.V/CB.8, letter from James Borwick, to, Robert Jubb, 7 February 1736.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> BIA. C.V/CB.8, Court Book and Calls, 1734-1742, f. 91.

expensive method for acquiring his Bachelor of Laws degree, 'because my Lord thinks it proper.'<sup>233</sup> Whilst these rewards may appear modest compared to the valuable places received by Blackburne's other clients, Borwick's letters convey little sense that he was short-changed in the patronage bargain. Writing to the secretary of Archbishop Robert Drummond in 1763, some twenty years after Blackburne's death, Borwick referred to his former benefactor as 'My great Patron'.<sup>234</sup>

# Inner circle

A further delineation within Blackburne's administration were those who were intimate with the Archbishop's family, and his household. The character of this domestic life is difficult to discern due to the almost complete dearth of Blackburne's personal letters. This gap in the archival record was exacerbated by Blackburne's desistance from writing after 1729, and the destruction of his private papers in accordance with his last will.<sup>235</sup> Several of the Archbishop's domestic staff can be identified through official papers, and evidence suggests that Blackburne was adept at managing his household. In the month following his death, Thomas Herring reported that 'Bishop's Thorp is left in ye best Repairs possible, both House & Gardens, & its Revenues in ve compleatest Order'.<sup>236</sup> In terms of who had access to Blackburne's interior life, his few letters that do survive strongly suggest that the Archbishop only corresponded in his own hand with individuals of similar rank (or higher) than himself, such as members of the nobility and other bishops.<sup>237</sup> An exception seems to have been made for esteemed diocesan officials, such as John Audley, William Ward, and Thomas Sharp.<sup>238</sup> There is little evidence that Blackburne corresponded directly with the lower clergy, or lay persons beneath his station. This might contribute to Horace Walpole's accusation that Blackburne was 'very imperious' to his clergy.<sup>239</sup> Indeed, in some cases his manner of conducting business could be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup> BIA. CC. Ab. 9, letter from James Borwick, to, Thomas Hayter, 23 September 1734.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>234</sup> BIA. CC. Ab. 9, letter from James Borwick, 26 June 1763.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>235</sup> TNA. PROB/11/725, will of Lancelot Blackburne, Archbishop of York.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup> UNSC. Pw V 120, letter from Thomas Herring, to, William Herring, 9 April 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> BL. Add. MS 61464, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Duchess of Marlborough, 24 May 1721; CRO. PB8/6, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, William Wake, June 1727; BIA. CC. Ab. 9, copy letter from Lancelot Blackburne, tom Earl of Chomondeley, 26 June 1733.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> Audley Letters. Letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, John Audley, 24 July 1724; BIA. Bp. C&P XX, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, William Ward, 2 May 1728; Durham Cathedral Archives. Add. MS 319/1, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Thomas Sharp, 25 May 1728.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> Letter from Horace Walpole, to, Sir David Dalrymple, 11 December 1780 [accessed at http://images.library.yale.edu/hwcorrespondence/page.asp?vol=15&page=143&srch=cruwys on 1 September 2019].

taken for haughtiness. In October 1733, George Legh was informed by Thomas Hayter that the representatives of Halifax Grammar School should not petition Blackburne unnecessarily.

They must not Look for any further help or Advise from an Arch-Bishop who has affairs of much Greater Importance to attend to than those of a Single School<sup>240</sup>

This aloofness was not unique to Blackburne. In 1746, Samuel Kirshaw responded to Archbishop Thomas Herring's intervention in the case of a presentation to Leeds with great gratitude that the archbishop condescended to honour him with 'early Advice of it under [his] own Hand'.<sup>241</sup>

Blackburne's manner in his correspondence (where it survives) suggests that personal access to the Archbishop was considered a privilege. The difficulties of gaining an audience with a bishop featured in one of the earliest satirical works to include thinly-veiled references to Blackburne. *The Anatomy of a Modern B-----p: Or An Excellent and Approv'd Receipt for Gaining Preferment in the C-----h* was issued in support of William Bowman following the publication of his notorious anti-clerical sermon in 1731, and took sideways swipes at Bowman's diocesan, and the Whig episcopate at large.<sup>242</sup> In one passage, a set-upon candidate travels to London to 'dance for a License of Institution'.<sup>243</sup>

Every surly Domestic must taste liberally of your Favours before even the *Secretary* can be spoke with: Then, My L----d is not very well to day; you must come again To morrow, his L-----dsh----p is gone out in his Coach, to take the Air. ----- Next Day, he is obliged to dine with my Lord \*\*\*\*, and is now dressing ----- Last Night his L-----dsh----p slept not well, to day sees no Company<sup>244</sup>

Whilst this scene was designed to excoriate bishops accused of acting with indifference to the lower clergy, it prompts the question of who did have access to a prelate like Blackburne, and whether this was analogous with the principal figures in their episcopal administration. Diocesan correspondence and other sources reveal that alongside his secretary and attendant chaplains, other York clergymen were on visiting terms with Blackburne. In 1732, Dean

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> BIA. Bp. Sch., copy letter from Thomas Hayter, to, George Legh, 30 October 1733.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> BIA. Bp. C & P IV/1, letter from Samuel Kirshaw, to, Thomas Herring, 27 October 1746.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> Anatomy of a Modern B-----p: Or An Excellent and Approv'd Receipt For Gaining Preferment in the C----h. [etc.] (London: 1732). This anonymous pamphlet has no entry in ECCO. The only known copy is among Blackburne's papers at, BIA. Bp. C&P III/8/1; for a full account of William Bowman's sermon, see, Stephen Taylor, 'The Bowman Affair: Latitudinarian Theology, Anti-clericalism and the Limits of Orthodoxy in Early Hanoverian England', in, Cornwall, Robert D., and, Gibson, William (eds.), Religion, Politics and Dissent, 1660-1832 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 35-50.

Anatomy of a Modern B-----p, 21

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> Ibid.

Richard Osbaldeston stayed at Downing Street, and two years' later Samuel Berdmore offered his thanks to the Archbishop for a 'kind invitation' for his daughter to visit Edmonton, an offer she would have accepted, 'but that her journey was fixt for the next day'.<sup>245</sup> Certainly, Lewis Stephens considered an invitation into Blackburne's household as a marker of favour. In the 1740s, the former chaplain complained that Jaques Sterne was permitted to 'lay' at Blackburne's house, whilst John Fursman, the Archbishop's former chaplain and associate of many decades from Exeter, 'was only in lodgings.'<sup>246</sup>

Ashby has argued that the experience of episcopal domesticity in the eighteenth century was often mediated by a bishop's wife, but Catherine Blackburne remains a shadowy figure about whom little is known.<sup>247</sup> In the absence of evidence to the contrary, Horace Walpole's oft-quoted description of the Archbishop's household has predominated, despite being written almost four decades after the scene described.

I often dined with him; his mistress Mrs Cruwys sat at the head of the table, and Hayter, his natural son by another woman, and very like him, at the bottom, as chaplain (...) I have heard, but do not affirm it, that Mrs Blackbourne, before she died, complained of Mrs Cruwys being brought under the same roof<sup>248</sup>

This assertion about Hayter's parentage has been dismissed by Jacob as a 'pungent aside' and a mark of anti-clericalism.<sup>249</sup> Morgan-Guy has indicated, however, that in many instances the inveterate gossip was accurate in 'matters of fact'.<sup>250</sup> On 3 August 1734, Thomas Wilson described a similar scene in his diary, having been 'received with the utmost civility' at Blackburne's home at Edmonton, where he dined with Thomas Hayter and one 'Mr Crewe'.<sup>251</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup> YML. B3/2/2, New Pavement Accounts, 1731-1736. Letter from Thomas Jubb, to, Richard Osbaldeston, 24 February 1732.; BIA. Bp. C&P XVII/26, letter from Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 19 July 1734.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 24-26 September 1743. John Fursman was known to Blackburne from earlier than 1709, when he received a bequest from the Archbishop's sister in her will. See, PROB 11/514, will of Elizabeth Blackburne of Calstock, 1709-1710.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> Ashby, 'Episcopal Palaces in Georgian England', pp. 38-41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> Letter from Horace Walpole, to, Sir David Dalrymple, 11 December 1780 [accessed at, http://images.library.yale.edu/hwcorrespondence/page.asp?vol=15&page=143&srch=cruwys on 1 September 2019].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>249</sup> Jacob, W. M., *Lay People and Religion in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996), p. 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> Morgan-Guy, John, 'Thomas Secker M.D.: Archbishop and man-midwife', in, *Journal of Medical Biography*, vol. 26, no. 2 (2018), p. 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> Linnell, C. L. S. (ed.), *The Diaries Of Thomas Wilson D. D. 1731-37 & 1750* (London: SPCK, 1964), p. 117.

This was a relation of Dorothy Cruwys (1683-1757), the 'mistress' described by Walpole, and Blackburne's Devon-born companion through his later life.<sup>252</sup> Whether, as Walpole ascribes, Cruwys was brought into Blackburne's home during the lifetime of his wife is unknown. What is more certain is that at Catherine Blackburne's death in 1726 after a 'long Illness of a Dropsie and an Asthma', it was Cruwys who Blackburne entrusted with 'the ordering' of her funeral arrangements at St. Margaret's, Westminster.<sup>253</sup> Lewis Stephens later claimed, without the barbed certainty one might expect of his disaffected former chaplain, that 'I [believe] he had repudiated his wife, & abused y<sup>e</sup> Conjugal Covenant'.<sup>254</sup>

Whilst Blackburne's last will referred to Dorothy Cruwys as his 'true and faithful friend', historians are agreed that the Archbishop lived openly with her as his mistress. This may have been a theological consideration. Digamy (or remarriage) among bishops was considered inconsistent with the precepts of primitive Christianity and 'indecent' by some contemporary commentators.<sup>255</sup> Discussing this issue with his friend Francis Gregor, Lewis Stephens opined that 'whining after women' was 'far beneath ye Holy Order'.<sup>256</sup> Whatever the arrangement between Blackburne and Cruwys, additional evidence reveals that the Archbishop began to financially provide for his companion within two years of his wife's death.<sup>257</sup> What has also gone unnoticed is the role this relationship played in diocesan administration and the dynamics of Blackburne's inner circle. Later in the century, it was commented that applicants for preferment to Bishop William Ashburnham should first 'make their bows' to his wife, who was 'term'd the real Bishop of Chichester'.<sup>258</sup> Dorothy Cruwys was not Blackburne's wife, but from the 1730s it became increasingly common for the Archbishop's clients to offer their regards to her in their official correspondence. The earliest example is a letter of 29 May 1729 from Richard Osbaldeston, who concluded, 'I beg leave to present my service to M<sup>rs</sup> Cruwys'.<sup>259</sup> During the 1730s, Samuel Berdmore ended nine letters with his compliments to 'good Mrs Cruwys', George Legh sent his respects for 'Mrs C' on two

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>252</sup> 'The will of Dorothy Cruwys, spinster of Westminster', trans. by Debbie Kennett [accessed at https://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/DEV/CruwysMorchard/DorothyCruwys1757 on 9 September 2019].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> Daily Post, no. 2095 (London: Saturday, 11 June 1726; Newcastle Courant, no. 60 (Newcastle: Saturday 18 June 1726); TNA. PROB/11/725, will of Lancelot Blackburne, Archbishop of York.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 4 August 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>255</sup> Ashby, 'Episcopal Palaces in Georgian England', p. 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>256</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 4 June 1744.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>257</sup> Dabhoiwala, *The Origins of Sex*, p. 101; Begiato, Joanne, and, Gibson, William, *Sex and the Church in the Long Eighteenth Century* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2016), p. 243.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>258</sup> Ashby, 'Episcopal Palaces in Georgian England', p. 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup> BIA. Bp C&P XIX, letter from Richard Osbaldeston, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 29 May 1729.

occasions, and in another Jaques Sterne offered his 'service' to Blackburne's companion.<sup>260</sup> The appearance of these salutations in the letters of Blackburne's clients appears to demarcate those individuals who were most intimate with the Archbishop's household. A distinction might be drawn, however, between those already within Blackburne's inner circle, and those that wished to curry favour with the Archbishop by demonstrating deference to it. On 23 December 1735, Thomas Farside, curate of Whitby, concluded his letter to Thomas Hayter,

pray forget not to pay my best complement to Mrs. Cruce [Cruwys] and let her know, that I am now upon making a collection of shells, snake stones, &c the only raretys of this place<sup>261</sup>

Farside's relative proximity to Blackburne's administration is unknown because he died just a year into his post, at which time James Borwick was appointed in his place (see, above). Farside's promise to send gifts of shells and fossils to Dorothy Cruwys seems to have been typical of his generosity to his patrons. A month later, he arranged for nine lobsters to be carried from Whitby to Jaques Sterne in York.<sup>262</sup> Nevertheless, Farside's largesse toward Cruwys identifies him as either an intimate, or someone who desired to be intimate with Blackburne's inner circle. There seems little doubt, however, that no matter how far Blackburne's personal life was accommodated by his clients, the openness of his relationship with Cruwys provided ample fodder for his critics. To Lewis Stephens, it appeared to be another marker of the dissolute character of Church affairs under Walpole's ministry. Reflecting on the misfortunes of his friend Daniel Lombard, Stephens stated that he had 'received hard measures from the Court, the D<sup>r</sup>: was too Honest to stoop to y<sup>e</sup> low modern way of Preferment [...] to make any Court to M<sup>rs</sup>. Cruwys'.<sup>263</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>260</sup> BIA. Bp. Sch. 19, letter from George Legh, to, Thomas Hayter, 15 October 1733; Bp. C&P III/7/23, letter from George Legh, to, Thomas Hayter, 13 October 1737; Bp. C&P XVII/26, letter from Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 16 July 1734; Bp. C&P XVII/26, letter from Samuel Berdmore, to, Jaques Sterne, c. March 1735; Bp. C&P XVII/26, letter from Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 7 April 1735; CC. Ab. 9, letter from Jaques Sterne, to, Thomas Hayter, 26 July 1735; Bp. C&P XVII/26, letter from Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 17 November 1735; Bp. C&P XVII/26, letter from Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 17 November 1735; Bp. C&P XVII/26, letter from Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 2 December 1735; CC. Ab. 9, letter from Thomas Farside, to, Thomas Hayter, 23 December 1735; Bp. C&P XVII/26, letter from Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 18 April 1736; Bp. C&P XVII/26, letter from Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 18 April 1736; Bp. C&P XVII/26, letter from Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 19 Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 27 May 1736; Bp. C&P XVII/26, letter from Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 19 Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 27 May 1736; Bp. C&P XVII/26, letter from Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 19 Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 27 May 1736; Bp. C&P XVII/26, letter from Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 27 May 1736; Bp. C&P XVII/26, letter from Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 27 May 1736; Bp. C&P XVII/26, letter from Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 27 May 1736; Bp. C&P XVII/26, letter from Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 12 October 1737.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>261</sup> BIA. CC Ab. 9, letter from Thomas Farside, to, Jaques Sterne, 23 December 1735.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>262</sup> BIA. CC Ab. 9, letter from Thomas Farside, to, Jaques Sterne, 29 January 1736.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>263</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 12 July 1740.

#### 'To make it easy and comfortable' - clients and financial rewards

As identified above, Blackburne had a keen sense of his share of the patronage bargain. In return for the dutiful service of his clients he aimed to 'make it easy & comfortable to 'em to be Just'.<sup>264</sup> The extent to which service correlated with financial rewards in Blackburne's administration can be examined by calculating the combined values of the preferments of the wealthiest placeholders in the diocese. The following table is derived from information in the diocese books of 1742, and details whether an individual held a dignity of either York [Y], Southwell [S], or Ripon [R], alongside other benefices.<sup>265</sup>

Name	Value of preferments	Preferments in York
Thomas Hayter	£1394	Subdean [Y], Archdeaconry of York [Y], Strensall [Y], North Muskham [S] r. Kirkby Overblow
Richard Osbaldeston	£1130	Dean [Y], r. Folkton, r. Hinderwell, v. Hunmaby, c. Muston
Samuel Baker	£960	Chancellor [Y], Laughton [Y], r. Settrington, r. Dunnington
Jaques Sterne	£766	Precentor [Y], Archdeacon of Cleveland [Y], South Muskham [S], r. Rise, v. Hornsea-cum-Riston
Samuel Berdmore	£751	Bugthorpe [Y], Oxton secunda pars [S], r. Cotgrave
Henry Cooke	£721	Ampleford [Y], Rampton [S], r. Stokesley
Thomas Sharp	£694	Wistow [Y], Norwell Overhaul [S]
Matthew Hutton	£651	Succentor [Y], Langtoft [Y], r. Spofforth
Heneage Dering	£644	Dean [R], Archdeacon of the East Riding [Y], Fridaythorpe [Y], r. Scrayingham
Richard Levett	£625	Stillington [Y], Oxton secunda pars [S]
Thomas Mease	£599	Fenton [Y], r. Scorborough, c. St. John's, Beverley, c. Beswick
Joseph Atwell	£533	Wetwang [Y], Normaton [S]
Charles Cowper	£524	Riccall [Y], r. Foston, r. Osbaldkirk, c. Thorne

# Table 2, Clergy with preferments in York totalling £500 and over, 1742

In the final year of Blackburne's administration, a dozen clergymen in York held preferments with a combined value of £500 or more. Despite the archbishops holding less than a tenth of the total patronage in their diocese, four of these twelve men were Blackburne's chaplains. In

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>264</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>265</sup> ERYAS. PE1/130, Survey of prebends and benefices in York Province, 1724 [sic].

proportion to his proximity to the Archbishop, Thomas Hayter was the wealthiest with preferments totalling almost £1400. This income was comparable to that of Dean John Lynch of Canterbury who was reputed to be the greatest pluralist of the period (see, Chapter 7). This was achieved through appointment to the most valuable preferments in the diocese, such as the 'Golden prebend' of Strensall at York.<sup>266</sup> And yet, these figures must be read as minimum estimates of total income, as several of these clergymen also possesed preferments in other jurisdictions. Hayter was also a prebend of Westminster, whereas Samuel Baker held a prebend of St. Pauls.<sup>267</sup> This table also illustrates how the archbishops utilised places in the cathedral of York and Southwell as a contiguous system of patronage to reward their most trusted clients. Seven of the twelve clergymen held prebends in both churches. Also apparent is the ongoing prominence of key clients of previous administrations. One Archbishop John Sharp appointee (Dering) and three Archbishop William Dawes appointees (Cooke, Mease, Sharp) were still among the richest in the diocese in 1742. Thomas Sharp's place in this group is the more extraordinary because his other valuable preferments were in Durham.<sup>268</sup> Nevertheless, in eighteen years Blackburne exercised his episcopal patronage to make his clients the very wealthiest in the diocese. In accordance with the patronage bargain, service to their patron had earned their ease and comfort.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>266</sup> BIA. CC. Ab. 9, letter from Thomas Jubb, to, Thomas Hayter, 26 January 1736.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>267</sup> Horn, Joyce M (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 1541-1857, VII, Ely, Norwich, Westminster and Worcester Dioceses (London: University of London, 1992), pp. 83-97; Horn, Joyce M., (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 1541-1857, I, St. Pauls, London (London: University of London, 1969), pp. 21, 32, 60. Between 1723 and 1749, Samuel Baker passed through three prebends at St. Pauls.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>268</sup> Gibson, William, "This Itching Ear'd Age': Visitation Sermons and Charges in the Eighteenth Century', in, Francis, Keith A., and, Gibson, William, *The Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon*, *1689-1901* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 299.

## MANAGING PATRONAGE: YORK DIOCESE BOOKS, 1695-1761

The above investigation has elucidated the structure of Blackburne's administration in terms of appointments, ecclesiastical places, financial rewards, and the internal dynamics that determined how that administration functioned. This was only achievable, however, through the development of administrative tools that allowed a bishop to effectively manage his patronage. For a newly-appointed bishop, particularly one entering an unfamiliar diocese, gaining a thorough knowledge of their jurisdiction and clergy was essential to effective episcopal administration. The upheavals of the seventeenth century spurred a practical need to renew the tools of ecclesiastical governance, and the spirit of national initiatives such as the Compton census of 1676 were soon taken up at diocesan level.<sup>1</sup> Bishop Seth Ward of Salisbury (1617-1689) was a pioneer in this respect, compiling a commonplace book which recorded detailed information about his diocese, including the names of all incumbents, their incomes, and patronage of their benefices.<sup>2</sup> The creation of notitia, specula, and surveys (referred to in this study as 'diocese books') became more widespread in the eighteenth century, although there was no single model for administrative tools for managing the clergy.<sup>3</sup> In 1725, Bishop Richard Willis of Winchester outlined the necessity of assembling this information in his printed inquiry to the clergy at his primary visitation.

You cannot but be sensible of how great importance it is that a bishop should be well informed of the state of his diocese; and have such memorials ready by him as may enable without delay to resolve and act according to the variety of occasions that shall happen. I am sorry to say, how little of this I have been able to find among the papers left me by my predecessors<sup>4</sup>

In recognition of the proliferation of the practice in the eighteenth century, historians have come to identify the compilation of diocese books as a marker of effective episcopal governance. As Gregory states, diocese books provided a tool through which bishops could apply 'pastoral pressure' to improve episcopal oversight.<sup>5</sup> He further adds that whilst diocese

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Whiteman, Anne (ed.), *The Compton Census of 1676: A Critical Edition*, Records of Social and Economic History, new series, vol. X (London: Oxford University Press, 1986).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Shiels, W. J., 'Bishops and their dioceses: reform of visitation in the Anglican Church, c. 1680- c. 1760', p. 13 [accessed at http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/cce\_a1/ on 12 October 2015].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ward, W. R., *Parson and Parish in Eighteenth-Century Surrey, Replies to Bishops' Visitation*, Publications of the Surrey Record Society, Vol. XXXIV (Guildford: The Society, 1994), p. xii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ward, Parson and Parish in Eighteenth-Century Surrey, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Gregory, Jeremy (ed.), *The Speculum of Archbishop Thomas Secker*, Church of England Record Society vol. 2 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995), p. x.

books also revealed areas of tension between clerical and lay interests, they fundamentally demonstrated 'activity and vitality' in Church governance.<sup>6</sup>

Much of the current scholarship concerning diocese books is closely tied to a narrative of visitation reform, with their creation often characterised as the direct product of visitation.<sup>7</sup> This may in part be influenced by Bishop William Wake's innovative use of queries directed to the clergy during his primary visitation of Lincoln in 1706, which provided the basis for the earliest published diocese book.<sup>8</sup> This approach was evidently followed by others, such as Bishop Thomas Secker, whose 1735 survey of Bristol was also founded on information gleaned from visitation.<sup>9</sup> Secker's example is also illustrative of the manner in which bishops carried their practices across diocesan boundaries, as his later speculum of Canterbury has been described as 'principally a digest' of visitation returns received between 1758 and 1761<sup>10</sup>. Broad's recent work on Wake's visitation returns is a reminder, however, that the creation of diocese books involved the compilation of disparate sources of data of which visitation returns were just one (alongside diocesan records, antiquarian writings, etc.).<sup>11</sup> The editor of Bishop Martin Benson's surveys of Gloucester only goes as far as stating that it was 'probable' that Benson used visitation returns to compile his books.<sup>12</sup> In the case of York, it is apparent that the historiographical association between diocese books and visitation has potentially obscured other readings of these documents, both as to the motivations behind their creation, and their contemporary uses.

The creation of diocese books in York pre-dated the innovation of visitation queries, and does not appear to have been explicitly connected to the visitation process until the 1740s. Between 1693 and 1695, Archbishop John Sharp created the first diocese books by drawing heavily from the collections of the Yorkshire antiquarian James Torre, who had compiled extensive notes on ecclesiastical antiquities just a few years earlier.<sup>13</sup> Whilst it has been

<sup>10</sup> Gregory, *Speculum of Archbishop Thomas Secker*, p. x.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Gregory, Speculum of Archbishop Thomas Secker, p. xiv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Shiels, 'Bishops and their dioceses', p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cole, R. E. G. (ed.), *Speculum Dioceseos Lincoliensis Sub Episcopis Gul: Wake Et Edm: Gibson A.D.* 1705-1723, Part I Archdeaconries of Lincoln & Stow, Lincoln Record Society vol. 4 (Lincoln: The Society, 1913), p. ii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ralph, Elizabeth, 'Bishop Secker's Diocese Book', in, McGrath, Patrick (ed.), *A Bristol Miscellany*, Bristol Record Society's Publications Vol. XXXVII (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1985), p. 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Broad, John (ed.), *Bishop Wake's summary of visitation returns from the Diocese of Lincoln 1706– 1715, part 1: Lincolnshire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. ix-x.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Fendley, John (ed.), *Bishop Benson's Survey Of The Diocese Of Gloucester*, 1735-1750, The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society (Bristol: The Society, 2000), p. xv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> BIA. Dio. Bk. 2, Archbishop Sharp's MSS, vol. II; Tindal Hart, A., *The Life And Times Of John Sharp Archbishop of York* (London: SPCK, 1949), pp. 144-146, 325-331. Butler, L. A. S. (ed.), *The* 

acknowledged that bishops consulted a wide array of manuscript and printed sources in the compilation of their surveys, these works have generally been presented as of secondary importance to visitation returns.<sup>14</sup> Archbishop Sharp's diocese books were utilised as essential tools of episcopal administration by subsequent archbishops until the early nineteenth century, who periodically compiled their own diocese books to supplement (rather than replace) those in the 1690s. This created a system of episcopal oversight and record-keeping that has not yet been fully elucidated.<sup>15</sup>

This section examines the diocese books created and used by Blackburne's administration in York not in isolation, but as an integrated system of episcopal governance. Unlike other published editions of diocese books, however, it is not the purpose of this study to use the data they present to comment on the state of the diocese. The volumes defined and discussed in this section (see, Table 3) have been identified as having been purposefully compiled by the archbishops and other diocesan officials in support of episcopal governance. This includes all items designated as 'diocese books' in the York Diocesan Archives from the completion of Archbishop Sharp's MSS in 1695, to Blackburne's death in 1743.<sup>16</sup> Also included are the compiled returns to Archbishop Thomas Herring's visitation queries of the same year. In this section, new designations have been given for these materials (**DB1-DB10**), both to overcome the chronological discrepancies of the current sequence of diocese books in the York Diocesan Archives, and to include volumes catalogued under different references, and those held in other collections.

Archdeaconry of Richmond in the Eighteenth Century, Bishop Gastrell's 'Notitia', The Yorkshire Parishes, 1714-1725, York Archaeological Society Record Series Vol. CXLVI (Leeds: The Society, 1990), p. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Gregory, Speculum of Archbishop Thomas Secker, p. xii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Hoskin, Philippa M., *A Decent, Regular and Orderly State? Parochial Visitations of the Archdeaconries of York and the East Riding, 1720-1730*, Borthwick Texts and Studies 40 (York: University of York, 2010), p. xvii, n. 44. Hoskin concluded that the main source for **DB5** could not 'be Archbishop Sharp's manuscripts on the state of the diocese', but makes no comparison to the other diocese books.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> In 2019, these documents are at BIA. Dio. Bk. The York Diocesan Archives are currently being reclassified and these references may be subject to change.

# Table 3, York diocese books, 1693-1743

#	Initial comp. date	Usage dates	Compiler	Summary Desc.	Current Location
DB1	1693- 1695	1695- 1802	Archbishop John Sharp	Historical treatises on the diocese, and City of York. Accounts of the cathedral church of York, and Southwell, etc.	BIA. Dio. Bk. 1
DB2	1693- 1695	1695- 1771	Archbishop John Sharp	Leases of archiepiscopal estates	BIA. Dio. Bk. 2
DB3	1693- 1695	1695- 1836	Archbishop John Sharp	Originally four volumes. 'Notitia' of the clergy and benefices of the diocese	BIA. Dio. Bk. 3
DB4	1713	1713- c.1735	Thomas Lamplugh, Prebendary of Knaresborough	Account of the clergy and benefices of the diocese	BIA. Dio. Bk. 5

DB5	1725	1725- 1742	Thomas Hayter, secretary to Archbishop Lancelot Blackburne	Account of the clergy and benefices of the diocese	BIA. Dio. Bk. 6 <sup>17</sup>
DB6	c. 1720s	c. 1720s	Thomas Hayter, secretary to Archbishop Lancelot Blackburne	Statutes of the Church of York	BIA. Dio. Bk. 4
DB7	c. 1742- 1743	c. 1742- 1743	Thomas Hayter, (then) Archdeacon of York	Account of the clergy and benefices of the diocese	BIA. Dio. Bk. 7
DB8	c. 1742- 1743	c. 1742- 1743	Jaques Sterne, Archdeacon of Cleveland	Account of the clergy and benefices of the diocese	ULSC. Ripon Cathedral MS 47
DB9	c. 1742- 1743	c. 1742- 1743	Richard Osbaldeston, Dean of York	Account of the clergy and benefices of the diocese	ERYAS. PE1/130
DB10	1743	1743	Archbishop Thomas Herring	Compiled volumes of episcopal visitation returns	BIA. Bp. V.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> **DB6** contains transcriptions of the statutes of the church of York, and is currently catalogued in the York Diocesan Archives as Dio. Bk. 4., and dated to 1697. This volume is written entirely in the hand of Thomas Hayter, giving a compilation date of post-1724.

The achievement of Archbishop John Sharp's extensive 'notitia' (**DB1-DB3**) is manifest insofar that these volumes formed the groundwork of all subsequent York diocese books of the eighteenth century, and were still in use by the archbishops and their officials until the 1830s.<sup>18</sup> Whilst the editor of Bishop Francis Gastrell's diocese books for Chester has stressed the importance to bishops of having a 'handbook' to their jurisdiction in order to govern effectively, in the 1720s **DB1-DB3** comprised six large, folio volumes (since rebound) that presented certain logistical challenges when travelling around the diocese, and beyond.<sup>19</sup> In 1713, an attempt was made to remedy this by Thomas Lamplugh, Archbishop Sharp's chaplain. **DB4** contains information abstracted from **DB3** into a quarto volume, succinctly listing the dignities, prebends, and benefices of the diocese against their respective reputed values, assessments in the King's Books, yearly tenths, incumbents, and patrons of each position, arranged by archdeaconry and deanery. The value of presenting the information in this way was recognised following Sharp's death, as **DB4** was adopted by Archbishop William Dawes, who updated the volume in his own hand, amended names of incumbents, and added various notes about livings and patrons.

#### Compilation of a new diocese book

Blackburne began to take steps to gather updated information about the diocese in the months immediately following his nomination. In July 1724, Blackburne corresponded with John Audley, chancellor of York diocese, regarding the extent of his jurisdiction. Audley clarified that, 'when your Grace comes into your Diocese, you will find [your] Authority as readily submitted to, as in any other part of the Kingdom.'<sup>20</sup> With the prospect of a final visitation of Exeter still to complete, Blackburne deemed this overview 'sufficient' for his purposes at that time, and further arrangements were deferred until the conclusion of Blackburne's work in the south-west.<sup>21</sup> Correspondence between officials in York and their incoming archbishop illustrates how diocesan business continued between the nomination and installation of a bishop, with steps taken to gather up-to-date accounts of the diocese before Blackburne even set foot in York. On his eventual arrival in the North in July 1725, Blackburne came into possession of **DB1-DB4**, the diocese books of his predecessors. Up to Archbishop William Dawes's death, **DB3** and **DB4** had been maintained with current information, but during the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Tindal Hart, *The Life And Times Of John Sharp Archbishop of York*, p. 326; Shiels, 'Bishops and their dioceses', p. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Butler (ed.), Archdeaconry of Richmond in the Eighteenth Century, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P XX, letter from John Audley, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 8 July 1724.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Audley letters. Letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, John Audley, 24 July 1724.

vacancy of the See only **DB3** was updated with institutions made by the Dean and Chapter.<sup>22</sup> Internal evidence strongly suggests that in the first instance, Blackburne reviewed the diocese books and personally amended **DB2-DB4** with retrospective details of clerical appointments, leases, and augmentations to livings which had been omitted between 1723 and 1725.<sup>23</sup> Thereafter, primary responsibility for maintaining the diocese books was passed to his secretary, Thomas Hayter, who continued the work of bringing the volumes up-to-date.<sup>24</sup> This process can be observed in **DB2**, where Hayter recorded details of a 1723 lease in Battersea, noting that the renewal had been omitted, it 'being towards y<sup>e</sup> latter End of the Year a little before y<sup>e</sup> Death of Arch-Bishop Dawes'.<sup>25</sup> Hayter updated the diocese books alongside the typical flurry of business that accompanied the archbishop's residence at Bishopthorpe, which can be observed in the nineteen entries of lease renewals between July and October 1725 in **DB2**.<sup>26</sup>

Blackburne and his administration took active steps to maintain the existing diocese books, but a lack of uniformity of current information across **DB2-DB3** left them flawed as effective tools of diocesan management, whilst congested entries compromised the legibility of **DB4**. Blackburne sought to correct this by ordering the creation of a new diocese book. Internal evidence from **DB5** suggests that having reviewed the existing diocese books at Bishopthorpe in the summer of 1725, Blackburne ordered Hayter to compile a new volume in the weeks immediately after their return to London in October 1725, completing the task within the following month.<sup>27</sup> In size and layout, **DB5** was closely modelled on **DB4** but with several improvements. Whereas details of the benefices and dignities of the diocese with their respective incumbents occupied forty folios in **DB4**, the same information was spread over eighty-one folios in **DB5**, creating more space for notes and amendments. Furthermore, additional information, such as the account of Southwell received from Samuel Berdmore was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> BIA. C&P II, Institutions and Licenses Granted by the Guardians of the Spiritualties dureing the Vacancy of the See of York in 1724; BIA. Bp. Dio. Vol. 3, Archbishop Sharp's MSS, East Riding, p. 73. For example, Thomas Jubb recorded in **DB3** the institution of Christopher Gunby to the vicarage of Hutton Cranswick by the Dean and Chapter of York on 5 September 1724. This was not, however, updated in **DB4**.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> BIA. Dio. Bk. 2, Blackburne entered leases dating from 15 July 1723 and 2 February 1725.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Archbishop Dawes also entered retrospectively information into the diocese books on his translation. For example, Dawes recorded a 1712 lease of lands in the lordship of Marton to relatives of the 'late Archbishop' [Sharp]. See, BIA. Bp. Dio. Vol. 2, Archbishop Sharp's MSS, p. 149.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> BIA. Bp. Dio. Vol. 2, Archbishop Sharp's MSS, p. 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> BIA. Bp. Dio. Vol. 2, Archbishop Sharp's MSS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> BIA. Bp. Dio. Vol. 6, Survey of the Diocese, 1725. By cross-referencing the entries in the Act Books of the diocese (see, BIA. Inst. AB 11, 1724-1733) with entries in the survey, an estimated date of completion must be between the institutions of Edward Chappell as vicar of St. Peter, Nottingham (27 October 1725), and Henry Hopkinson to the rectory of Patrington (27 November 1725).

entered ad verbatim at the rear of the volume with an initialled note from Blackburne stating that the account 'was the best that Mr Berdmore cou'd give me but not without some mistakes'.<sup>28</sup> Rather than supplanting the earlier diocese books, however, **DB5** became part of an integrated system for governing the diocese alongside **DB1-4**. Archbishop Sharp's diocese books were still invaluable, and were routinely updated by Blackburne and his attendants. **DB2** remained the principal record of leases of the archiepiscopal estates, and whilst **DB5** became the working diocese book for clerical appointments and managing patronage, the names of successive incumbents were duplicated and (occasionally) amended in **DB3-DB4**. It is also apparent, that Blackburne's primary visitation had no direct influence on the content of his diocese books. Also absent is any data garnered from Blackburne's extensive queries into the numbers of Catholics in the diocese in the 1730s.<sup>29</sup> As such, the information in the diocese books was not sourced from the clergy at large, but rather from specific inquiries and investigation instigated personally by Blackburne and his deputies.

### Using the diocese books

Evidence from other surviving papers from the 1720s attests to Blackburne's confidence in the authority of the diocese books of his predecessors in cases of clerical appointments and disputed presentations. The information in **DB1-DB3** provided a foundation from which the Archbishop could order further investigations by trusted agents. In 1725 and 1726, Blackburne consulted **DB2** in disputes over the value of the rectory of Lythe in the North Riding, which was leased to the family of Catherine Darnley, Duchess of Buckingham. Blackburne ordered a far-reaching investigation into the true value of Lythe, and received detailed accounts of the rectory from his clients Richard Osbaldeston, and James Borwick.<sup>30</sup> In 1727, evidence from **DB2** was also central in the case of a disputed presentation to the rectory of Headon in Nottinghamshire. Following a request from the patron, Sir Hardolph Wasteneys, that his appointee might be excused from travelling to London, Blackburne demurred on the grounds of 'a Memorandum' made by Archbishop Sharp in **DB2**, which noted that whilst Headon was reputed to be worth £80 *per annum*, it had been let for only £30.<sup>31</sup> To Blackburne, this seemed 'to carry a suspicion of some unjustifiable practice', namely simony.<sup>32</sup> In response to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> BIA. Bp. Dio. Vol. 6, Survey of the Diocese, 1725.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> *Miscellanea*, CRS. The returns to Blackburne's survey of Catholics were published in full at pp. 204-361. These records have subsequently been lost.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> BIA. CC. Ab. 9, letter from Catherine Darnley, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 1 February 1725; draft letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Catherine Darnley, [n. d.]; account of the rentals of Lythe rectory, [c. 1726]. Noted on rear by Blackburne as 'memd. D<sup>r</sup>. Osbaldeston'; account of the rentals of Lythe rectory, [c. 1730s]. In the hand of James Borwick.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/29, papers relating to Headon, Nottinghamshire, 1726-1727.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/29, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Sir Hardolph Wasteneys, 2 October 1727.

Wasteney's protests, Blackburne explicitly stated his regard for his predecessor's judgement, which (in his view) had been recorded in the diocese books for the benefit of the future occupiers of the See.

I thought it a Respect due to the Memory of my Predecessor who notwithstanding the Instituting of your Clerk to the Rectory of Headon upon such satisfaction as You then gave him (which you know best what it was) Yet appears plumly not to have been fully satisfy'd therein by the leaving such a Memorandum for the use of his successors upon his books. Out of respect to him (...) I thought it Incumbent on Me to make some Inquiry in the Country concerning the Matter in question, before I shou'd resolve to put it out of my own reach<sup>33</sup>

Likewise, in December 1728 a dispute arose concerning the right of presentation to the perpetual curacy of High Melton in the West Riding. Thomas Hayter corresponded with the clergyman John Fox concerning the legitimacy of his nomination from a lay patron, citing evidence from 'M<sup>r</sup> Torr's Collections'.<sup>34</sup> Whilst it is possible that Hayter consulted Torre's manuscripts directly, it is more likely he was referring to **DB2**, which quotes Torre explicitly in defining Melton as a presentative chapel.<sup>35</sup> Hayter communicated that Blackburne was 'tender' of invading the rights of the supposed patrons, without also 'suff<sup>2</sup> ing his own to be invaded', reminding Fox both of the necessity of applying for a license to officiate, and of a prior obligation he had made to reside at another living in the diocese.<sup>36</sup> It also evident that Blackburne used the diocese books as a means of reviewing his own decisions. In 1730, he returned to an entry he made of a lease renewal of Newstead Grange five years earlier, noting that 'Throu' too much confidence in M<sup>r</sup> Sugar at my first coming to the ABprick this Lease is much underlet'.<sup>37</sup>

The most extensive additions to Blackburne's diocese books came in the 1730s, when the administration sought updated information about the valuations of lands belonging to the prebends of York.<sup>38</sup> Following his appointment as auditor of the archiepiscopal estates in 1730, Jaques Sterne amended numerous entries in **DB5**, adding new sections including lists of livings in the King's gift, those in the archbishop's gift, a new account of the collegiate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/29, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Sir Hardolph Wasteneys, 9 November 1727.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> NA. DDN/221/35, copy letter from Thomas Hayter, [to, John Fox] 31 December 1728. No correspondent given, but deduced from internal evidence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> BIA. Bp. Dio. Vol. 3, Archbishop Sharp's MSS, West Riding, p. 233.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> NA. DDN/221/35, copy letter from Thomas Hayter, [to, John Fox] 31 December 1728.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> BIA. Bp. Dio. Bk. 2, p. 172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P XIX, accounts of the improved values of York prebends, c 1737.

church of Ripon, and summary totals of all 923 benefices in the diocese.<sup>39</sup> Jaques Sterne took particular care in amending the improved value of the dignities and prebends of York, illustrating the extent to which Blackburne's administration made their estates more profitable through the execution of favourable leases. This is evident in the note Sterne made against his own dignity, the Precentorship, which stated that it 'wil now amount to since the Inclosure & Improvemt at [Driffield] as near as can be computed [£600]'.<sup>40</sup> This was more than double its previous value. The work of other hands in DB5 is also suggestive of patronage dynamics within the administration, demonstrating that those closest to Blackburne's inner circle had access to the administrate tools of the diocese. Other identifiable contributors to DB5 alongside the principal compilers and editors Thomas Hayter and Jaques Sterne include Robert Jubb, deputy diocesan registrar (who succeeded his father in the post in 1736), and Laurence Sterne.<sup>41</sup> The latter personally entered his name in **DB5** at his appointment to the Prebend of North Newbald in January 1742, alongside those of William Dodsworth and Hollis Pigot, who were collated to other stalls in the same week.<sup>42</sup> Laurence Sterne owed his favoured position in Blackburne's administration to his uncle, Jaques Sterne, who exerted himself to accelerate his nephew's advancement in the years following his ordination in 1737 (see, below).

### After-lives of the survey

During the lifetimes of the respective diocese books as working documents, their ongoing value was dependant on frequent emendation with current information. **DB5** was maintained (with the names of clerical appointments duplicated in **DB3**) until the latter half of 1742, at which time two or more new manuscript versions were produced by Blackburne's principal clients; Thomas Hayter (**DB7**), Jaques Sterne (purported, **DB8**) and Richard Osbaldeston (**DB9**).<sup>43</sup> Whilst Shiels has asserted that **DB7** was created by Hayter in support of his archidiaconal duties, it does not appear that volumes **DB7-DB9** were innovations towards the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> BIA. Bp. Dio. Vol. 6, Survey of the Diocese, 1725. This account of the total number of livings in the diocese was entered at a later date by Jaques Sterne both on the first blank page of the volume, and at the very rear. Sterne distinguished that 692 of the rectories, vicarages, curacies and chapelries were in Yorkshire, and 231 were in Nottinghamshire.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> BIA. Bp. Dio. Vol. 6, Survey of the Diocese, 1725.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> YML. DC/H7, Chapter Act Book, 1728-1747.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>BIA. Bp. Dio. Vol. 6, Survey of the Diocese, 1725.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> ULSC. Ripon Cathedral MS 47, Parishes in the Dioceses of York, [c. 1743-1743]. **DB8** in this study. There is an inscription in the inside front cover in the hand of Dean Robert Waddilove of Ripon that states, 'Supposed to have been Dr Jaqs Sterne's, an aBps Chaplain'. Internal evidence, however, reveals no trace of Sterne, and the handwriting of the compiler is unknown. An inserted note of 1964 also suggests that the volume might be dated to 1746-1747. In this thesis, I follow Dean Waddilove's assertion until further evidence comes to light.

more efficient management of the respective jurisdictions of the compilers.<sup>44</sup> If this was the case, it might be expected that the collation dates for volumes **DB7-9** would correlate with the respective appointments of their creators, or with Blackburne's commission which sought to defer episcopal powers to his subordinates in light of his ill-health (see below). The timing of the creation of volumes **DB7-9** in late 1742 is suggestive, however, that these diocese books were compiled when Blackburne's health was deemed to be in terminal decline. If so, key figures in his administration deemed it necessary to duplicate the valuable data held in the diocese books before they were passed into the hands of a successor at York. Since the administration of Archbishop John Sharp, responsibility for maintaining the diocese books had been assumed by the archbishops and their closest attendants, and there was no guarantee that Blackburne's allies would enjoy that privilege following the Archbishop's death. In this circumstance, DB7-9 did not become temporal possessions of the See, but remained (at least initially) in the private hands of their creators.<sup>45</sup> This is evident insofar that **DB8** and **DB9** are not currently part of York Diocesan Archives.<sup>46</sup> DB7 only returned to the diocese when it was given by Thomas Hayter to Archbishop Robert Drummond in November 1761, shortly after the latter's translation to York.47

Of the 1742 diocese books, **DB7** is notable in that it demonstrates that leading figures in Blackburne's administration continued to innovate and utilise their experience of governing the diocese to create more effective tools for ecclesiastical administration. Whilst much of the information in **DB7** is extracted directly from **DB5**, the information was re-arranged by Thomas Hayter and supplemented with new data.<sup>48</sup> This included alphabetical lists of all clergymen and benefices in York (with details of the nearest post towns), and an account of the prebendaries of Ripon.<sup>49</sup> Despite these improvements, however, there is no evidence that **DB7** was used as a working document.<sup>50</sup> This may have been a result of the transition from one episcopal administration to another, and changes in working practices. Archbishop

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Shiels, 'Bishops and their dioceses', p. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> On 12 March 1827, Dean Robert Waddilove of Ripon recorded that a lease book was only give to the Chapter there many years after the death of his predecessor, as 'these notices were kept for Dr Dering's own use'. See, ULSC. Ripon Cathedral MS 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> ERYAS. PE1/130, Survey of prebends and beneficies in York Province, 1724 [sic]; ULSC. Ripon Cathedral MS 47, Parishes in the diocese of York, c.1743-1797.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> BIA. Bp. Dio Bk. 7, note in the hand of Drummond on the inside front cover of this volume reads, 'I rec<sup>d</sup>. this Book f<sup>m</sup>. B<sup>p</sup>. Hayter [9 November 1761] *R. Ebor*'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> BIA. Bp. Dio. Vol. 10, Survey of the Diocese, 1742. Hayter's survey was compiled between the appointment of Thomas Warwick in June 1742, and the death of Samuel Berdmore on 24 March 1743.
<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Ibid.

Thomas Herring's issuing of queries to the clergy during his primary visitation of 1743 represented a major shift in the way in which the archbishops compiled information about their diocese. Herring's decision to bind the returns into volumes (**DB10**) demonstrates his intent to use them for his own reference, and as such might be considered the most comprehensive reassessment of the state of the diocese since Archbishop Sharp's compilation of **DB1-DB3**. Like his predecessors, Herring also continued to update **DB2-DB3**, whilst subsequent archbishops adopted their own practices. In the course of his primary visitation of 1748-1749, Archbishop Matthew Hutton consulted **DB10** but did not create his own diocese books, only noting that he encountered little variation from Herring's time aside from the rise of Methodism. Contrastingly, Archbishop Drummed elected to compile the returns to his visitation returns in thirteen volumes, and a new diocese book was created by his administration in 1771.<sup>51</sup>

In July 1743, Edmund Pyle alleged that when Archbishop Thomas Herring came to York, he offended the clergy of the diocese by 'speaking handsomely' of Blackburne, who had 'left behind him characters of many of them for the benefit of his successor'.<sup>52</sup> This unsubstantiated account positions Blackburne's management of patronage as tantamount to political intimation. Unlike other bishops such as Thomas Secker and William Wake, who did make personal reflections on the personalities and political inclinations of their clergy in their diocese books, no such list has been identified for York.<sup>53</sup> Interpreting the diocese books of York not in isolation from one another, but as an integrated system of episcopal oversight, reveals that pessimistic readings of Blackburne's administration cannot be supported in light of additional evidence. This is particularly apparent in Shiels's otherwise excellent study of post-Restoration visitation reform, in which Blackburne's tenure at York is erroneously cited as a period in which the advantages gained from the compilation of diocese books 'could be easily frittered away by a negligent successor'.<sup>54</sup> Not only did Blackburne and his administration utilise and update the diocese books of their predecessors; they oversaw the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Annesley, Cressida, and, Hoskin, Philippa (eds.), *Archbishop Drummond's Visitation Returns, 1764*, 3 vols., Borthwick Texts and Calendars 21, 23, 26 (York: The University of York, 1997-2001); Fisher, Howard (ed.), *Church Life in Georgian Nottinghamshire: Archbishop Drummond's Parish Visitation Returns, 1764*, Thoroton Society Record Series vol. 46 (Bristol: The Society, 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Hartshorne, Albert (ed.), *Memoirs of a Royal Chaplain, 1729-1763. The Correspondence of Edmund Pyle, D.D. Chaplain In Ordinary To George II, With Samuel Kerrich D.D., Vicar of Dersingham, Rector of Wolferton, And Rector of West Newton* (London: Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., 1905), p. 88; Cash, *Laurence Sterne: The Early and Middle Years*, p. 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Ralph, Elizabeth (ed.), 'Bishop Secker's Diocese Book', in, McGrath, Patrick (ed.), *A Bristol Miscellany*, Publications of the Bristol Record Society, vol. XLV (1985), pp. 31-32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Shiels, 'Bishops and their dioceses', p. 18.

most extensive creation of new diocese books for York of any eighteenth-century administration.

# ILL HEALTH AND EPISCOPAL PERFORMANCE

The necessity of filling the archiepiscopal sees with the most experienced churchmen meant that the ability of those individuals to physically and mentally perform their duties was often limited by the encroachment of old-age. Hirschberg has demonstrated that for the period 1722 to 1760, the great majority of those raised to the episcopal bench were aged between fifty and sixty, and the median age of bishops at their deaths was sixty-nine.<sup>55</sup> Consequently, ill-health and the physical decline of old-age were central considerations in the establishment of many bishops' episcopal administrations. In the eighteenth-century, this was further exacerbated by the absence of any legal framework for resigning a bishopric, resulting in distinct administrative challenges in dioceses where a bishop was unable to perform their episcopal functions. In some instances, this necessitated referral to metropolitical authority. In 1699, William Nicolson informed Archbishop John Sharp of a dispute in Carlisle, relating that 'Our own good Bishop's great Age and Infirmities renders Him incapable of acting in it with that briskness which the Case requires; so that we must (of necessity) have recourse to your Grace.'56 But where an archdiocese was headed by an ailing bishop, matters quickly risked falling into disarray. In 1723, Bishop Timothy Goodwin of Kilmore and Ardagh reported on the condition of the Irish archdiocese of Cashel, stating that 'Archbishop Palliser was a Monkish man at best & in the latter end of his life wholly useless so that all things are in disorder'.57

The seniority of bishops demonstrated by Hirschberg's statistical analysis mirrored contemporary cultural connotations of 'old-age'. Ottaway has identified that in eighteenthcentury Britain there was an association between a perception of being 'old' and reaching the age of sixty.<sup>58</sup> For many clergymen, reaching this milestone made them more acutely aware of their mortality. When William Wootton turned sixty in 1726, he did not feel that he had reached the 'Grand Climacteric' of old-age, but considered that at his stage of life every year offered a 'sort of Grand Climacteric'.<sup>59</sup> In 1723, Edward Gee was sixty-six and had served as a royal chaplain for thirty-four years. Gee had been excused from preaching at Whitehall since the age of sixty, and stated that 'I find the Infirmities of old age come faster upon me than they do upon many others, and this very month (...) I have been pursued by so many colds and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Hirschberg, 'A Social History of the Anglican Episcopate', p. 164.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> GA. D3549/6/2/3, letter from William Nicolson, to, John Sharp, 26 February 1699.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> CRO. PB8/5, letter from Timothy Goodwin, to, William Wake, 31 January 1723.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Ottaway, Susannah R., *The Decline of Life, Old Age in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> CRO. PB8/5, letter from William Wotton, to, William Wake, 13 August 1726.

Indispositions, that I have not been out seven days of the seven and thirty past.<sup>60</sup> Gee's account of his ill-health reflected a contemporary medical understanding that old-age was not associated with longevity alone, but with 'illness and decay'.<sup>61</sup> Indeed, for those who were affected by persistent physiological conditions the encroachment of old-age seemed to arrive earlier than for others. In 1746, Lewis Stephens was only fifty-eight, but related to his friend Francis Gregor that 'Tho' I am younger than you, I am much weaker: I can scarcely rise from my chair, (...) age is not in years but Constitution. mine will be few'.<sup>62</sup> Stephens died the following year. Contrastingly, in 1727 fifty-nine-year-old Bishop Edward Chandler of Coventry and Lichfield applied to Archbishop William Wake for the See of Ely, stating that 'I begin to feel old age come upon me' and he wished to 'settle in the country' to spare himself and his wife arduous journeys to London.<sup>63</sup> Despite these concerns, Chandler was translated to Durham in 1730 and lived another twenty years.<sup>64</sup> But whilst many clergymen only experienced serious physical incapacitation with the final decline of old-age, others lived with lifelong disabilities. The most notable example in the eighteenth-century Church was Bishop Benjamin Hoadly, who walked with a stick, could not ride a horse, and described his lot as that of 'a man dragging life like a chain behind him'.<sup>65</sup> Hoadly's disabilities did not, however, prevent his rise to the highest stations of the Church.

At his translation to York in 1724, Blackburne was sixty-six years old and the sixth oldest bishop in England and Wales.<sup>66</sup> Sykes pinpointed Blackburne's advanced years as the root cause of interruptions to episcopal work in York during the second half of his archiepiscopacy, but his overall verdict was that the Northern Province was subject to a level of neglect 'hardly excused by age and infirmity'.<sup>67</sup> Sykes' assessment was strongly influenced by Ollard and Walker's negative analysis of Blackburne's record in York, bringing him to conclusions inconsistent with his views of Archbishop William Wake's administration at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> CRO. PB8/5, letter from Edward Gee, to, William Wake, 31 January 1723.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Ottaway, *The Decline of Life*, p. 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Stephen Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 10 January 1746.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> CRO. PB8/5, letter from Edward Chandler, to, William Wake, 9 October 1727.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Deconinck-Brossard, Françoise, 'Chandler, Edward (1668?–1750), bishop of Durham, *ODNB* [accessed at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5101 on 14 August 2019].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Gibson, William, *Enlightenment Prelate, Benjamin Hoadly, 1676-1761* (Cambridge: James Clark & Co., 2004), p. 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Gibson, *The Achievement of the Anglican Church, 1689-1800*, pp. 205-208. In 1724, the most senior bishop was George Hooper of Bath and Wells (1640-1727). Archbishop William Wake was a year older than Blackburne, and died in 1737 after a prolonged illness. Bishop John Waugh of Worcester was the only bishop born in the 1650s to out-live Blackburne, dying in May 1743, aged ninety-two.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Sykes, Norman, "The Buccaneer Bishop": Lancelot Blackburne, 1658-1743', in, *The Church Quarterly Review* [&c], p. 99.

Canterbury during the primate's final years.<sup>68</sup> More recently, however, Gareth Walker has built on Gibson's revisionist studies to identify that 'age and ill-health, rather than a chronic decline in standards' were more significant factors in the formation of Blackburne's administration than has previously been argued.<sup>69</sup> Certainly, Blackburne stood in stark contrast (both physically and politically) to his predecessor Archbishop William Dawes, who was admired for his youth and energy when he arrived in York in 1714. In February of that year, Dowager Viscountess Irwin remarked that Dawes was 'a fine young bishop, who is not much above forty and a baronet and has a good estate'. She added that, 'all the ladies of the town resolve to endeavour to charm him'.<sup>70</sup> Ten years' later, Archbishop Dawes's premature death from an inflammation of the bowels at the age of fifty-two provoked shock at the nature of his passing.<sup>71</sup> Even Dawes's physician believed that the Archbishop must have been 'ill of mind' because he was unresponsive to treatments which had worked for other patients.<sup>72</sup> This sense of disbelief was most clearly articulated in two sermons preached by Robert Warren in the fortnight immediately after Archbishop Dawes's death.

For how many thousands of poor Innocents do even now bewail his Loss, who have been very frequently, and might reasonably (with respect to his Age) have wish'd much longer to have received supplies from the Treasure of the Rich, drawn forth by his divine and moving Eloquence?<sup>73</sup>

It is important to note, however, that during this period the unexpected death of someone much older could still elicit disbelief. In February 1727, seventy-one-year-old Bishop William Nicolson's sudden passing on the eve of his translation to the Archbishopric of Cashel was lamented as a 'Sad Catastrophe, (...) all ye Circumstances of it considered'.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Sykes, Church and State in the XVIIIth Century, pp. 103, 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Walker, Gareth, 'The Church in York', pp. 86-87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> HMC, Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections, Vol. VIII. The Manuscripts of The Hon. Frederick Lindley Wood; M. L. S. Clements, Esq.; S. Philip Unwin, Esq. (London: HMSO, 1913), p. 90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Handley, Stuart, 'Dawes, Sir William, third baronet (1671–1724)', *ODNB* [accessed at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7336 on 14 August 2019].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Parkinson, Richard (ed.), *The Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byrom*, Vol. II, Part I, Publications of the Chetham Society, vol. XL (Manchester: Charles Simms & Co., 1856), p. 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Warren, Robert, *The Death of a Righteous Man distinctly considered, both as a Judgment, and a Mercy: Being the Substance of Two Discourses Preach'd at the Parish Church of St. Mary Stratford Bow, in Middlesex on the Two Sundays immediately following the Death of the Most Reverend Father in God, Sir William Dawes, late Lord Archbishop of York* (London: 1724), p. 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> James, Francis Godwin, *North Country Bishop, A Biography of William Nicolson* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), p. 280; CRO. PB8/6, letter from Josiah Hort, to, William Wake, 18 February 1727.

In contrast, concerns had been raised about Blackburne's physical abilities some time before his translation to an archbishopric. During the reshuffle of court bishops in September 1723, Bishop Edmund Gibson thought Blackburne might be 'unwilling, at his age' to accept the Almonry because of the number of court sermons he was expected to preach, and the arduous service due to the nobility and gentry.<sup>75</sup> Whilst Gibson may have had a political agenda in bringing this to the ministry's attention, his apprehensions were not without foundation. When Blackburne served as Hanover chaplain in August 1716, he found the rigours of performing Sunday service 'without any assistant or clerk to help (...) to a little breathing-time' particularly wearying.<sup>76</sup> This fatigue, however, was likely occasioned by the extraordinary circumstances of undertaking the as-then undefined role of Hanover chaplain. Indeed, Blackburne was not unduly slowed down by a serious accident on the eve of the borough election for Exeter in March 1722. Bishop Edmund Gibson described the incident to Bishop John Hough, relating that Blackburne (then sixty-four) was injured when trying to open a sash window at his home in Exeter which had been 'swell'd up by ye weather'.<sup>77</sup> Employing his 'whole strength', the window suddenly flew open, causing Blackburne to fall over sixteen feet into a paved court below. Newspapers claimed it was feared that the Bishop had broken his neck, but Blackburne was fortunate to only dislocate his collar-bone and be left 'bruis'd in many places'.<sup>78</sup> This accident was of concern to Blackburne's allies, but it also provided an opportunity for his political opponents to forward a more insidious version of events. William Stratford communicated to Lord Harley that Blackburne had in fact thrown up the sash to 'hearken whether the cathedral bells rang' to announce the coming of the Tory candidates nominated by the corporation of Exeter to oppose 'those who were set up by the court'.<sup>79</sup> The spread of this version of events was circulated in London newspapers, and even as far as the Dutch Republic.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> SA Gibson. msBX5199/ms5179, draft letter from Edmund Gibson to John Carteret, 4 September 1723.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Letter from Lancelot Blackburne to William Wake, 17/28 August 1716, quoted in, Sykes, "The Buccaneer Bishop", p. 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Staffordshire Archives. D1057/M/J/11, letter from Edmund Gibson, to, John Hough, 17 March 1722. Gibson related that Blackburne might have been more gravely injured had it not 'pleas'd God, that he pitch'd first, not on his head, as one would have imagin'd from y<sup>e</sup> in which he fell, but on his buttock, and then on his shoulder, and last of all on his head.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Ibid. See also, Historical Manuscript Commission, *Report On The Manuscripts Of His Grace The Duke Of Portland, K.G., Preserved At Welbeck Abbey*, Vol. VII (London: HMSO, 1901), p. 316. Letter from William Stratford, to Lord Harley, 16 March 1722; *Oprechte Haerlemse* Courant, No. 15 (Haarlem: 9 April 1722).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> HMC, *Report On The Manuscripts Of The Duke Of Portland*, Vol. VII, p. 317. Letter from William Stratford, to, Lord Harley, 21 March 1722.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Oprechte Haerlemse Courant, No. 15 (Haarlem: 9 April 1722).

Political machinations aside, this mishap seems to have neither prevented Blackburne's personal attendance to his episcopal duties in Exeter, nor dampened his determination to progress within the Church. A letter of 9 December 1723 to Bishop William Nicolson of Derry reveals that despite continued rumours of future translation, Blackburne was coy about his ambitions to his contemporaries, stating an apparent disinterest in moving to another diocese at a later stage in life.

I know myself and this world too well to let any translation in it tempt me to one moment's attention to it; for I well know the ground I am quartered on; that if I cannot do all the good in it I would, yet I can hinder more harm than a meer stranger to it well could; and I am too old to begin to learn my way in another <sup>81</sup>

During this period, it was deemed unbecoming for the higher clergy to be overly-solicitous in their applications for appointments. By 1724, Blackburne had been a clergyman in the southwest for forty years, and the financial and mental strains of moving diocese were an enormous undertaking even for younger men. In 1747, Archbishop Thomas Herring attempted to refuse the primacy, lamenting that 'I must not go back and begin the world again at fifty-five'.<sup>82</sup> Like Herring, however, Blackburne was elevated despite his private objections (sincere or otherwise) and structured his episcopal administration according to his capabilities.

Tracing Blackburne's changing state of health through contemporary newspaper reports and diocesan correspondence allows for his administration to be divided into two distinct phases.<sup>83</sup> Between his translation in 1724 and late 1728, Blackburne was more personally involved with diocesan management. Whereas from 1729 until 1743, certain episcopal functions were delegated to others due to recurrent bouts of ill-health. Evidence of Blackburne's first seriously debilitating illness whilst archbishop can be found in a letter of 7 December 1728. William Garforth expressed that he was 'extreemely sorry to hear of your Graces indisposition, God be thanked for your recovery, and may your verry valuable & useful

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Letters on Various Subjects to and from William Nicolson, D. D., vol. II, p. 563. Letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to William Nicolson, 9 December 1723.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Carpenter, Edward, *Cantuar: The Archbishops in Their Office*, third ed. (London: Mowbray, 1997), p. 254.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Reed, Daniel, 'Spreading the News within the Clerical Profession: Newspapers and the Church in the North of England, 1660-1760', in, Brandtzæg, Goring, and Watson (eds.), *Travelling Chronicles: News and Newspapers from the Early Modern Period to the Eighteenth Century*, LWW, Handpress World, vol. 66 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 72-94.

life be long continued', adding that he wished the Archbishop 'health and many happy days'.<sup>84</sup> On 10 May 1729, just weeks after Blackburne personally distributed alms to the poor on Maundy Thursday, *The Craftsman* reported that he was once again 'very much indisposed'.<sup>85</sup> This complaint lingered on, and a month later the *Newcastle Courant* informed its readership that Blackburne was still 'dangerously Ill' and had been 'given over' by his physicians.<sup>86</sup> In 1793, the literary editor George Steevens gave a contemporary explanation of the gravity of this phrase in commentary to Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens*, illustrating his point with a passage from Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*.

"---- Physicians thus "With their hands full of money, use to give o'er "Their patients."

Steevens clarified that 'to give o'er' referred to an 'irremediable patient' whose case has been given up as 'desperate'.<sup>87</sup> The term was used by the *Newcastle Courant* in 1734 to describe Lady Irby as close to death, as she had been 'given over' by surgeons 'on account of her not being able to undergo another Operation', having been tapped nine times for dropsy.<sup>88</sup> She died three months later.<sup>89</sup> Evidently, popular opinion was that Blackburne's condition was very grave, and he was not expected to recover.

Astonishingly, on that occasion Blackburne rallied and for over three years the newspapers were silent about his well-being. Reports of his ill-health returned, however, in 1733 when a flu epidemic threatened the lives of both archbishops.<sup>90</sup> Eighteen months later a report went further and erroneously claimed that Blackburne had died at Bishopthorpe. This caused confusion in the press for the full week of 30 June to 6 July 1734, with various prints

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/16, letter from William Garforth, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 7 December 1728. In June 1726, Garforth made a benefaction of £202 for the augmentation of the rectory of St. Martin-cum-Gregory in York, which was matched by the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty. See, *The Return Made by the Governors of The Bounty of Queen Anne For The Augmentation of the Maintenance Of The Poor Clergy* [&c] (London: 1736), p. 38, and, Hodgson, Christopher, *An Account Of The Augmentation of Small Livings By "The Governors Of The Bounty Of Queen Anne, For The Augmentation Of The Maintenance Of The Poor Clergy" (...) To The End Of The Year 1825 [&c] (London: Nichols & Son, 1826), p. 148.* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Stamford Mercury (Stamford: 10 April 1729); Country Journal or The Craftsman, no. 149 (London: Saturday, May 10, 1729).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Newcastle Courant (Newcastle: Saturday, 14 June 1729).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Johnson, Samuel, and, Steevens, George, *The Plays of William Shakespeare* [etc.], volume 11 (London: 1793), p. 544.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Newcastle Courant (Newcastle: Saturday 6 July 1734).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> The London Magazine: Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer (London: 1734), p. 552.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Derby Mercury (Derby: Thursday 25 January 1733).

backpedalling and contradicting one another with alleged details of Blackburne's passing. On 30 June, the Grub Street Journal was first to refute the report of the Archbishop's death, positing that a story run by another paper was 'without foundation'.<sup>91</sup> This appears to have been aimed at the London Evening Post, which included in its issue of 2 July a notice that the report of the day before was as yet 'unconfirmed', but it was certain that the Archbishop was very ill.<sup>92</sup> Thereafter, daily newspapers such as the Daily Journal published the false account and were then swift to recant, whereas the majority of the weeklies only reported Blackburne's recovery, owing to the fact that between the 29 June and 6 July, most printers had established the true facts.<sup>93</sup> Exceptions were the Craftsman, or Country Journal,<sup>94</sup> which printed the false report a full week after the Grub Street Journal first dismissed it, and the Derby Mercury, whose weekly edition appeared on a Thursday.95 Adding to the confusion, the Daily Courant of 4 July mistakenly attributed the reports to Archbishop William Wake, before announcing in its issue of 6 July that Blackburne had in fact left Bishopthorpe with his physician some days earlier, at the height of the commotion, and was well enough to make the journey to London.96 A week later, Blackburne waited on the Royal Family, where he was 'met with a gracious Reception', and within another fortnight, Thomas Wilson reported that he found the archbishop in 'very good health'.97

These premature announcements and embarrassing retractions in the press provided ample ammunition for satirists. A Latin epigram titled, 'To his Grace the Ld Abp of York on his Recovery after being mention'd as dead in the News-papers', appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1734.<sup>98</sup> The epigram was dated 20 July 1734, just weeks after the mistaken reports of Blackburne's death, and was swiftly followed by translations in English by other writers. One such translation appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October of the same year, and read as follows.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Grub Street Journal, no. 392 (London: Thursday, 30 June 1734).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> London Evening Post, no. 1032 (London: 29 June – 2 July 1734).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Daily Journal, no. 4198 (London: Tuesday, 2 July 1734); Read's Weekly Journal Or British Gazetteer, no. 485 (London: Saturday 6 July 1734); London Journal, no. 784 (London: Saturday 6 July 1734) simply stated that, 'The Archbishop of York is yet living'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Country Journal Or Craftsman, no. 418 (London: Saturday 6 July 1734).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Derby Mercury, vol. III, No. 15 (Derby: Thursday 4 July 1734).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Daily Courant, no. 5694 (London: Thursday 4 July 1734); Daily Courant, no. 5696 (London: Saturday, 6 July 1734).

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Ipswich Journal (Ipswich: Saturday 13 July 1734); Linnell, *The Diaries Of Thomas Wilson*, p. 117.
 <sup>98</sup> The Gentleman's Magazine, (August 1734), p. 445. The epigram also appeared in the *Bee or*, Universal Weekly Pamphlet (The Bee Reviv'd), vol. 7, no. 83 (London: 1733-1734), p. 206.

Of LAN EBOR. should common fame Again belie the sacred name; Should your good grace give up the ghost, Some ages hence in th' *Evening Post,* May you yourself, the news before ye, Laugh in your sleeve, and read the story.<sup>99</sup>

Mistakes of this kind were commonplace, and the absurdity of conflicting reports is wellillustrated in the 18 February 1731 issue of the *Grub Street Journal*. Characteristic of the newspaper's irreverent style, contradictory accounts of Archbishop William Wake's health were cited from four other London prints, which variously reported that Wake had died, or that he was in fact 'pretty well recover'd', and was daily receiving guests.<sup>100</sup> Just as Blackburne experienced three years later, the clamour to announce the death of an archbishop was captured in the 1731 satirical poem, *The Mitre, A Tale*.

'Twas News ill-timd'd, and false Alarms, Presented then ambitious Charms, The Man whose Place each thought to take, Is yet alive, and still a *WAKE*.<sup>101</sup>

These reports provoked mixed responses from the newspaper-consuming ranks of the clergy. On 18 October 1737, Thomas Wilson was compelled to call on Bishop Edward Chandler of Durham after reading about the death of his son in the *London Gazette*.<sup>102</sup> Wilson was relieved to discover that Richard Chandler was quite alive, and the newspaper hastily revised their notice in the next day's issue.<sup>103</sup> In contrast, Blackburne's clients grew wary of taking news reports about their patron at face-value. On 27 March 1734, James Borwick wrote wryly to Thomas Hayter that 'I hope my Lord enjoys continu'd good Health; For, his Grace's being

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> The Gentleman's Magazine, (October 1734), p. 566.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> *Grub Street Journal*, no. 59 (London: Thursday 18 February 1731). The other newspapers cited were the *Daily Journal, Daily Post, London Courant* and *London Post*. The *Echo or Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, no. CXXVI (Edinburgh: Wednesday 9 June 1731) added to its report on Wake's recovery that ''twas strange to hear how eager People were in buying the print we lately mentioned'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> The Mitre. A Tale In Hudibrastick Verse. Describing three B-sh-ps in Lawn-Sleeves Rowing to Lambeth for a See (London: 1731), p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Linnell, *The Diaries Of Thomas* Wilson, p. 214; *London Gazette*, no. 7645 (London: 15 October 1737 – 18 October). Richard Chandler (c. 1703-1769). This mistake came in a report of James Gambier's appointment as Solictor of the Excise, initially stating that the position had been vacated due to Chandler's death. The second report carried the corrected information that Chandler had been made a Commissioner of the Customs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> London Gazette, no. 7646 (London: 18 – 22 October 1737).

greatly indispos'd or dangerously ill ha's not, of a long while, entered even in ye. prolifick Heads of our News-writers.' Whereas in October 1737, George Legh expressed that 'I hope there is as little ground as formerly for w<sup>t</sup>. occurs in y<sup>e</sup> News-papers concerning my Lord Archbish<sup>p</sup>'s state of Health'.<sup>104</sup>

The eagerness of the press to report on the changing health of the higher clergy drew concern from civil and ecclesiastical governors about the propriety of speculating so openly about expected vacancies of bishoprics. Following the flu epidemic of 1733, Bishop Edmund Gibson remarked to Robert Walpole that it was indecent to have bishops' successors 'fixed and generally known whilst they are yet alive', adding that a 'certain Archbishop, if I am rightly informed, feels this in a very sensible manner.'<sup>105</sup> The regular reports on Blackburne's condition fuelled speculation as to who might succeed him at York, but despite faltering health, he was in no hurry to relinquish the archbishopric. In August 1735, Blackburne expressed to Lord Warrington that he strongly desired to deliver the See to his successor in the same condition that he received it, but only in 'God's good time'.<sup>106</sup> Through the 1730s, Bishops Benjamin Hoadly and Thomas Sherlock were mooted as potential successors at York.<sup>107</sup> In 1737, anticipation of Blackburne's passing prompted a particularly poetic report in *The Derby Mercury*, which evoked the recent deaths of Lord Chancellor Talbot and Archbishop William Wake.

'Tis remarked, that Death, that King of Terrors, has made very free of late with the Heads of the Law and the Gospel; and 'tis wished may not soon extend its Empire over some of the remaining bright Ornaments of those two Professions. Yesterday the Lord Chief Justice Lee was carry'd away from the Court of the King's Bench, very much indispos'd. And the Archbishop of York, lyes dangerously Ill.<sup>108</sup>

It seems remarkable then that despite his well-reported physical decline, at the age of seventynine Blackburne was still considered a plausible candidate for the primacy. In the 1780s, Horace Walpole fancifully alleged that after being passed over for Canterbury, Blackburne

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/7/23, letter from George Legh, to, Thomas Hayter, 12 October 1737.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Letter from Edmund Gibson, to, Robert Walpole [c. 1733], quoted in, Sykes, *Edmund Gibson*, p. 414.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III, copy letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Lord Warrington, 26 August 1735.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> *The British Observator*, Number LXXI (London: Saturday, 6 July 1734); Linnell, *The Diaries Of Thomas* Wilson, p. 213. Wilson discussed the matter of succession with Bishop Edward Chandler of Durham. Sherlock was to have York, and Henry Egerton to succeed him at Salisbury. Neither of these scenarios occurred.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Derby Mercury (Derby: Thursday, 23 June 1737).

lamented 'You did not think on me! – but it is true, I am too old, I am too old'.<sup>109</sup> Additional credence is given to Walpole's testimony, however, by a notice in the *Caledonian Mercury* which related that of the potential candidates for Canterbury in 1737, 'the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Oxford are much talked of'.<sup>110</sup>

Despite the widespread discussion of Blackburne's health in newspaper reports and private correspondence, no specific references were made to the nature of his illness, although further evidence suggests that he suffered from a respiratory complaint. This may have been exacerbated by smoking, which Lewis Stephens claimed had ruined his voice.<sup>111</sup> From 1728, Blackburne spent an increasing amount of time convalescing at his house in Edmonton, where (on one occasion) he claimed to have 'retir'd for a little Breath during the Interval of y<sup>e</sup> Session'.<sup>112</sup> At that time, Edmonton was seven miles from the centre of London and popular with fashionable residents who made use of its coach links to escape the bustle of the metropolis. Its reputation as a retreat for Londoners was drawn on by William Cowper in his 1782 comic poem The Diverting History of John Gilpin.113 At times when Blackburne was at Edmonton, he was joined by key figures from his administration and diocesan work continued through correspondence.<sup>114</sup> In May 1729, Dean Osbaldeston wrote to Blackburne that 'I hope the warm weather last week invited your Grace to Edmonton, and that by this benefit your Grace wil enjoy every thing, which tends to the speedy recovery of your health.'115 Also resident in Edmonton at that time was Dr Edward Hulse, a leading Whig doctor who had served as physician in ordinary to Queen Anne, George I, George II (who made him baronet

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937-1983) vol. 15, p. 143. Walpole to Sir David Dalrymple, 11 December 1780 [accessed at http://images.library.yale.edu/hwcorrespondence/page.asp on 18 August 2019].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Caledonian Mercury (Edinburgh: 31 January 1737). Bishop John Potter of Oxford eventually succeeded Wake.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Blackburne used tobacco and snuff. See, Morgan Library. MA549, autograph letter signed: York, to an unidentified purveyor, [10 August]; Stephens letters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P XX, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, William Ward, 2 May 1728

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Baggs, A. P., Bolton, Diane K., Scarff, Eileen P., and Tyack, G. C., 'Edmonton: Growth before 1851', in, *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 5, Hendon, Kingsbury, Great Stanmore, Little Stanmore, Edmonton Enfield, Monken Hadley, South Mimms, Tottenham*, (London: 1976), pp. 137-142 [accessed at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol5/pp137-142 on 29 July 2019].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Durham Cathedral Archives. Add. MS 319/1, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Thomas Sharp, 25 May 1728; BIA. Bp. C&P III/8/11, letter from John Bettesworth, to, Thomas Hayter, 27 September 1731; BIA. BIA. CC Ab. 9, letter from Richard Burdett, to, Thomas Hayter, 4 June 1736; Audley Letters. Letter from Thomas Hayter, to, John Audley, 31 August 1736.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P XIX, letter from Richard Osbaldeston, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 26 May 1729.

in 1739), and Robert Walpole.<sup>116</sup> Hulse was also Blackburne's doctor, and was paid £500 for his attendance at Bishopthorpe in 1734.<sup>117</sup> Such was Blackburne's attachment and gratitude to Hulse, that in his will he left a further £100 for a piece of plate as a 'token of the lasting friendship between him and me'.<sup>118</sup> And when Blackburne was unable to travel to Edmonton, he sought out green spaces in London. On 30 March 1736, Thomas Hayter wrote to John Audley to explain a delay in the chancellor's appointment as advocate for the clergy against the Quaker Tithe's Bill, which was to be completed when Blackburne returned 'from his airing in Hyde Park', an opportunity he was 'unwilling to miss', it 'being so fine a day.'<sup>119</sup>

Like other members of the nobility and gentry, Blackburne also resorted to fashionable spas for the recovery of his health. As Bishop of Exeter, he visited Bath to recuperate from a violent fever.<sup>120</sup> When he was again struck by serious ill-health in 1728, Blackburne deferred his journey North the next summer to visit Tunbridge Wells 'for the benefit of the waters'.<sup>121</sup> Only a day's ride from London, the Wells had grown sufficiently popular to rival the longer-established spas of Bath, Buxton, and Cheltenham.<sup>122</sup> Archbishop William Wake convalesced at Tunbridge every summer from 1727 to 1730.<sup>123</sup> In a letter composed at Tunbridge on 9 July 1729, Blackburne explained to Lord Carlisle that on arrival his physician forbade him from writing, necessitating that he answer correspondence by another hand.<sup>124</sup> From this time, examples of Blackburne's hand-writing exhibit the gradual appearance of a neurological tremor suggestive of an underlying degenerative condition.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Creighton, C., and, Wallis, P. 'Hulse, Sir Edward, first baronet (1682–1759), physician', *ODNB*, [accessed at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14122 on 14 August 2019]; Royal College of Physicians, 'Lives of the Fellows. Edward (Sir) Hulse' [accessed at http://munksroll.rcplondon.ac.uk/Biography/Details/2317 on 13 August 2019].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Stamford Mercury (Stamford: Thursday, 14 July 1734). Hulse travelled back to Edmonton with Blackburne. See, *Daily Courant*, no. 5696 (London: Saturday 6 July 1734).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> TNA. PROB/11/725, will of Lancelot Blackburne, Archbishop of York.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Audley Letters. Letter from Thomas Hayter, to, John Audley, 30 March 1736.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> MS. Bodl. Lib. Add. A. 269, letter from Edmund Gibson, to, William Nicolson, 29 July 1717. Blackburne also returned the following year. See, Christ Church College. Wake MS, 21, no. 27, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, William Wake, 23 August 1718.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> HMC, *The Manuscripts of the Earl of Carlisle*, p. 60. Letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Earl of Carlisle, 9 July 1729.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Hembry, Phyllis, *The English Spa, 1560-1815* (London: The Athlone Press, 1990), p. 85; 231.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Sykes, *William Wake*, II, pp. 183-186; CRO, PB8/7, letter from Catherine Darnley, to, William Wake, 27 October 1728.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> HMC, *The Manuscripts of the Earl of Carlisle*, p. 60. Letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, the Earl of Carlisle, 9 July 1729.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Thorpe, Deborah, 'Quivering Hands And Shaky Morals: The Forger's Tremor' (2014) [accessed at, https://thescribeunbound.wordpress.com/2014/10/09/quivering-hands-and-shaky-morals-the-forgers-tremor/ on 26 February 2015].

Some caution must be taken, however, in using this evidence to make any firm diagnoses of a terminal disorder. At his appointment to the bishopric of Carlisle in 1723, Bishop John Waugh's hand was severely affected by a tremor, but his later letters show marked signs of improvement.<sup>126</sup> In Blackburne's case, a tremor was barely evident in 1729, but did worsen significantly over the final fifteen years of his life.<sup>127</sup> Difficulties in writing had profound implications for the conduct of business in the eighteenth century. In 1741, John Johnson wrote to Lewis Stephens on his father's behalf, 'as a trembling hand renders it very troublesome'<sup>128</sup> Conversely, the ability to write long letters were a tacit marker of health. In 1730, Archbishop William Wake was so weakened by a fever that he lamented, 'I do wth great difficulty write, & hardly know wt I write.'<sup>129</sup> Wake's correspondents wished to excuse the Archbishop from answering by his own hand to preserve his strength.<sup>130</sup> A bishop's inability to write increased the need for the attendance of a secretary who could do so on their behalf. In Blackburne's case, his desistance from writing on medical grounds bolstered Thomas Hayter's position as the Archbishop's amanuensis, and accelerated the delegation of administrative business in York among his principal clients.

## The absent archbishop

Degenerative physical decline was a strong motive for bishops to absent themselves from public occasions where their frailties might be difficult to manage or conceal. In October 1730, Archbishop William Wake excused himself from attending the Royal Family as he struggled to walk 'decently' without assistance.<sup>131</sup> The tension between physical wellbeing and public leadership in the Church comes across starkly in William Cole's 1759 account of Bishop Thomas Sherlock's declining health.

The Bp's Hand [formerly] was very plain & legible: he wrote worse since; & now, 1759 June 4, I suppose can hardly sign his name; tho' his Senses are as perfect, witness his late Charge & other late Performances, as ever, with a very crazed & impotent

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> BIA. Bps. Conf. 1723/1, Carlisle – John Waugh; Audley Letters. Letter from John Waugh, to, John Audley, 28 March 1728.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/43, commission to inspect the vicarage house of Yeddingham, 31 August 1728; Morgan Library. MA524/16, declaration signed by Lancelot Blackburne, 4 June 1742.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> BIA. CC. P/Bar 9/Bar 1, letter from John Johnson, to, Lewis Stephens, [c. 1741].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> CRO. PB8/8, letter from William Wake, to, Richard Reynolds, 12 May 1730.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> CRO. PB8/8, letter from Lord Bruce, to, William Wake, 7 February 1732; letter from Browne Willis, to, William Wake, 16 February 1732.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> CRO. PB8/8, draft letter from William Wake, to, Queen Caroline, October 1730.

Body, & his tongue hanging out of his mouth & slabbering like a Child: so that he is a Spectacle of Concern & Pity to those who know his great worth & greater Abilities<sup>132</sup>

With no provision in civil or ecclesiastical law for the retirement of bishops in the eighteenth century, there was no formal framework or arrangement for their retreat from public life or diocesan business. Indeed, the word 'retirement' was often employed during this period as only a temporary reprieve from practical concerns or specific duties.<sup>133</sup> This did not, however, prevent some bishops from anticipating and orchestrating changes to their roles as they reached the end of their lives. In March 1704, sixty-eight-year-old Bishop Edward Wetenhall of Kilmore stated that if he returned to England he expected to never see Ireland again and end his days 'in private retirement'.<sup>134</sup>

Blackburne's case deserves attention in relation to issues of ill health, old age, and retirement among the eighteenth-century episcopate because of the exceptional steps he took to organise his administration to accommodate his faltering health. By 1731, Blackburne believed (privately, at least) he was coming to the end of his life. Writing to Archbishop William Wake in October of that year, he promised to preserve the friendship between them until the day of his death, which was 'surely at no great Distance'.<sup>135</sup> And whilst Blackburne lived for another twelve years after that moribund declaration, it was from that time that he started taking active steps to relieve himself of certain episcopal functions. In June 1732, an announcement was made at the archidiaconal visitations that the Archbishop would no longer appear personally before the assembled clergy of his diocese, which was subsequently published in Thomas Hayter's charge to the Archdeaconry of York.

To Command and teach these Things with all Authority, would be a Province suited to the high Dignity and consummate Prudence of One, whom an affectionate Regard to the Doctrines and Discipline of the Church of *England*, engaged early in the study of those Maxims, upon which its true Interest is founded; and who, having pass'd through several Stations of it, to that wherein he now presides over us, always Esteem'd the Honours and Profits of each, a Reproach to him, who declines the Duties and Burdens annex'd to them, might experimentally prescribe those Rules for your

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> BL. Add MS 5831, William Cole's Collections, Vol. XXX, f. 159.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> CRO. PB8/7, letter from John Harris, to, William Wake [c. August 1728]; letter from Richard Smalbroke, to, William Wake, 29 December 1729. The latter promised to use the 'retirement' afforded by being excused from preaching an anniversary sermon for the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts to focus on diocesan business.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> CRO. PB/8/4, letter from Edward Wetenhall, to, Humphrey Prideaux, 24 March 1704.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> CRO. PB8/8, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, William Wake, 22 October 1731.

Conduct, which were the steady Measure of his own. But alas! As *Length of Days* hath thus qualified him to *disperse Knowledge*; so at the same Time, by impairing his Health and Strength, it hath deprived him of the Pleasure of *seeing you Face to Face* in a Triennial Visitation. Happy however! If whilst still *absent* from you in *Body not in Mind*, He can enjoy the Fruits of his past Labours, in the Order and Beauty of a well-regulated Diocese, and the Unanimity and Loyalty of a Flourishing Clergy.<sup>136</sup>

Rather than allowing the diocese to slip into disorder through inattention, this announcement clearly and publicly cited Blackburne's old-age and ill-health as the reasons for changes to the way in which the archbishop would perform his episcopal functions from that time forward.

At first, Blackburne's declared absence from his clergy appears to have related specifically to visitation, but following a major health scare in 1734 he did not return to York during the final nine years of his administration. How far this was a calculated step is uncertain. On 26 August 1735, Blackburne replied to a letter from Lord Warrington carried from York to his home in Edmonton; 'my ill Health having detain'd me here this Summer'.<sup>137</sup> It was in November of that year that Blackburne first made provision for an extended absence from York through a commission which formally devolved several of his episcopal functions to subordinates in his administration.<sup>138</sup> Such a step was not entirely without precedent. In August 1706, less than a fortnight after his consecration, Bishop John Tyler of Llandaff designated five of his diocesan clergy as 'archpriests' with authority over specified jurisdictions, effectively granting them equivalent to (the then-defunct) rural deans.<sup>139</sup> Bishop Tyler delegated to his archpriests the authority to induct clergy to benefices and 'all other things which belong or pertain' to the office of rural deans according to ecclesiastical law.<sup>140</sup> Whilst similar in form, Blackburne's commissions were exceptional in their scope. A surviving copy dated 8 May 1740 granted various powers to key ecclesiastical and lay officers from Blackburne's administration who were usually based in York; John Audley, William Ward, Richard Osbaldeston, Jaques Sterne, and Samuel Baker.<sup>141</sup> These commissaries were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Hayter, Thomas, A Short View of Some of the General Arts of Controversy Made Use of by the Advocates for Infidelity. A Charge Deliver'd to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of York At a Primary Visitation Begun June 23, 1732 (London: 1732).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/58, copy letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Lord Warrington, 25 August 1735.
<sup>138</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P XX, 'A Copy of the last Commission granted to the Dean of York and Others, [8 May 1740]'. The earlier commission was revoked by this document.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Bradney, J. A. (ed.), *Llandaff Records*, vol. III (Cardiff: 1909), pp. 158-160. My thanks to John Morgan-Guy for this.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> BIA. Bp C&P XX, 'A Copy of the last Commission granted to the Dean of York and Others, [8 May 1740]'.

granted powers to admit, institute and induct to benefices, accept resignations, collate to capitular dignities and prebends, license curates and schoolmasters, and to grant letters dimissory.<sup>142</sup> The rationale for such sweeping measures was presented in the following terms.

Whereas it is notoriously Evident that We for the present as well as at other times are so engaged and hindred by reason of our Office of Lord Almoner to [George II] & other weighty & urgent Affairs that we are too frequently obliged to reside out of our Diocese & Province Being however desireous as in us lieth and an infirm State of health wil allow Us to Consult the Ease & Convenience of our Clergy during our Absence according to the nature of our Office<sup>143</sup>

This was (in essence), a legal fiction. Whilst Blackburne's ill-health was widely known, and his absence from the diocese publicly announced some years earlier, the Archbishop's physical condition was evidently insufficient grounds alone to warrant such measures. Indeed, a draft, single-purpose commission of August 1736 features several emendations to the line describing the basis for Blackburne's absence.<sup>144</sup> No mention was made of Blackburne's engagements as Lord Almoner, a role in which he was often supported by his sub-almoners John Gilbert, and Thomas Hayter.<sup>145</sup> Evidently, from 1735 the administration were experimenting with ways to express a legal foundation for Blackburne's commissions which only found its final form five years later.

In practical terms, the commission was designed to expedite diocesan business during periods when Blackburne was absent or (potentially) incapacitated. Experience from earlier in his archiepiscopacy demonstrated the advantages of having such a mechanism in place. In March 1728, Michael Bridges wrote to Blackburne about an enclosure in Huttons Ambo, explaining that a scheme by the freeholders of the parish had not been prevented in Archbishop John Sharp's time because he was 'much indisposed in his health'.<sup>146</sup> In turn, Blackburne's wavering health had occasionally put strain on his principal officers before the commissions were in place. In December 1733, Thomas Hayter prefaced a letter to Richard Braithwaite about St. Helen's churchyard in York with an explanation of his slow reply, stating that 'My Lords Indisposition of w<sup>ch</sup> I thank God he is now very well recovered, prevented me till now

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> BIA. Bp C&P XX, 'A Copy of a Special Commission granted to ye Dean of York. [14 August 1736]'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Grub Street Journal, no. 331 (London: Thursday 29 April 1736).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> BIA. CC. Ab. 9, letter from Michael Bridges, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 1 March 1728.

from answering your last'.<sup>147</sup> Likewise, Blackburne's visits to Edmonton for periods of recuperation posed other difficulties. During the summer of 1735, Lord Warrington posed several queries regarding the Archbishop of York's visitorial rights over Manchester Collegiate Church, but Blackburne was reluctant to give any firm answer as there were few ecclesiastical or legal authorities nearby that he could readily consult.<sup>148</sup>

These challenges were even greater in relation to episcopal functions that could not be delegated to commissaries. In Exeter, Blackburne had made it a rule to examine all candidates for ordination personally, and initially he maintained those high standards in York.<sup>149</sup> In 1727, the archbishop made public a series of orders and resolutions directed to the bishops of his province for the better regulation of orders, testimonials, and appointment to curacies.<sup>150</sup> Later the same year, Sir Hardolph Wasteneys protested to Blackburne that he was misled by some local clergy into believing that 'y<sup>e</sup> Arch-Bishops had usually given power to some in y<sup>e</sup> Country, to examin & give Institution in their absence'.<sup>151</sup> That this was deemed a misapprehension on Wasteneys's part speaks to the extent of Blackburne's later *volte-face*. Whilst even Sykes sharply critiqued Blackburne's record in ordination, the Archbishop's eventual desistance from personally performing the function in 1733 four years after his health first began to seriously decline must be viewed alongside concurrent steps taken to manage diocesan affairs at that time.<sup>152</sup> In May 1735, Thomas Hayter explained the process by which a clergyman could be granted ordination prior to taking up a benefice during the Archbishop's absence from the diocese.

You may either wait upon the Dean of York (...) in Order to be examined for Letters Dimissory, or come hither as best Suits your Conveniency, and as You judge Either

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/1, letter from Thomas Hayter, to, Richard Braithwaite [December 1733]. In his reply, Braithwaite expressed that he was glad 'His Grace is so well Recovered'.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/58, copy letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Lord Warrington, 25 August 1735.
 <sup>149</sup> CRO. HL/2/179, letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Joshua Howell, 23 Apr 1724

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> Stephens, Lewis, A Sermon Preach'd in the Chapel of Bishop-Thorp near York, At An Ordination Held there, on the 25<sup>th</sup> September, 1726. To which is Annexed, His Grace the Lord Archbishop of York's LETTER, March 9<sup>th</sup>, 1726, to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishops of his Province, with Orders and Resolutions agreed on between them, and to be communicated to the Clergy of their Respective Dioceses concerning Ordinations, Curacies, &c. (London: 1727); a version was also printed as a single sheet titled, His Grace the Lord Arch-Bishop of York's Directions concerning Orders. See, BIA. Bp. C&P III/21, Directions for Orders, [1726]; a testimonial sent to Blackburne in that year for a nominee to Carlton-in-Lindrick in Nottinghamshire was prefaced as being 'subscribed being mindfull of ye Part of yr Grace's most Excellent Charge & Directions give to yr Clergy'. See, BIA. Bp. C&P III/20, testimonial for Martin Rutter, [1726].

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/29, letter from Hardolph Wasteneys, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 11 October 1727.
 <sup>152</sup> Sykes, "The Buccaneer Bishop": Lancelot Blackburne', p. 99.

of the Ways wil be the most likely means of getting a Bishop to Ordain You in Case his Grace approves of Your Examination.<sup>153</sup>

Although this was a convoluted process for newly-appointed clergymen, there was clearly a procedure in place that was managed through delegation. Considering measures such as these, it would be easy to assume that once the commissions were in place Blackburne retreated from his duties entirely; but this was not the case. This is illustrated by one of the provisions of the commission, the acceptance of resignations. Twenty-one resignation papers for York survive for 1735-1742, of which Blackburne personally attested to fourteen as ordinary, whereas his commissaries Richard Osbaldeston and Jaques Sterne signed six and one, respectively.<sup>154</sup> As such, despite creating such far-reaching commissions for the delegation of certain episcopal functions, it is evident that Blackburne continued to be personally involved with routine diocesan business throughout the 1730s.

By the time of Blackburne's final commission of 1740, however, he was eighty-two and his active presence in diocesan affairs was diminishing. There are no known letters by Blackburne from after this date.<sup>155</sup> Ottaway has outlined that among the more positive connotations of old-age in the eighteenth century was as a 'time for reflection and inner peace'.<sup>156</sup> The scant evidence of Blackburne's activities in his final years are suggestive (to those looking in, at least) that the Archbishop lived in a state of sociable retirement. He remained in close contact with his kinspersons in the Talbot family and their circle, such as Joseph Taylor, Whig MP for Ashburton.<sup>157</sup> In August 1742, Blackburne's former chaplain Lewis Stephens lamented the death of his friend Archdeacon William Worth, comparing his passing with the longevity of his former patron, whose relaxed lifestyle drew his scorn.

but poor man he is dead; whilst Cossa [Blackburne] remains alive! & spends ye morning wth Mrs. C. [Cruwys] the after-noon with Mrs Brac– dle [Bracegirdle] ye Old Actress. & wth ye B-p of G [Bishop Martin Benson of Gloucester] ye whole Evening at cards. – this is a preparation for a cheerful Death.<sup>158</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> BIA. Ord/31, letter from Thomas Hayter, 7 May 1735.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> BIA. Res, resignation papers, 1735-1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> For Blackburne's latest known letter see, Northumberland County Archives Service. SANT/BEQ/4/25/078/A, letter signed by Lancelot Blackburne to Dr Watts re Mr Leland's book, 16 Oct 1739.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> Ottaway, *The Decline of Life*, p. 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> 'A Country Gentleman in London in the Eighteenth Century', in, *The Nineteenth Century and After*, vol. CII (July-December 1927), p. 413;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> Stephen Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 30 August 1742; Anne Bracegirdle (1671-1748) left the stage in 1707, and retreated from the public eye. In retirement she was known for

Whilst it might be questioned how far this was possible for an archbishop with diverse national and provincial responsibilities, Blackburne's commissions did provide a legal framework for an eventual retreat from public life. This was only achieveable through the management of patronage, and the way in which Blackburne positioned key clients within his administration. At his death in 1743, however, questions were raised whether the commissions had gone too far. Shortly after his translation, Archbishop Thomas Herring conducted an investigation into their validity, eventually determining that they were 'thought illegal' and that 'no Commission of this sort was ever granted before ye late Arch Bps Time'.<sup>159</sup> Archbishop Herring sought several opinions, including that of Bishop Edmund Gibson, who thought the commission 'very strange' in certain respects,

when a Bishop has reserv'd to himself the business of Institution, exclusive of his Vicar General, he may not, in that article at least, convey a Power of carrying it into execution to any person he pleases.<sup>160</sup>

Archbishop Herring's repudiation of Blackburne's commission underlined the arrival of a new administration in York, and a return to the direct control of diocesan affairs to the Archbishop out of the hands of his predecessor's clients.

her 'chaste behaviour'. See, Milling, J. (2015, 'Bracegirdle, Anne (bap. 1671, d. 1748)' actress and singer', *ODNB* [accessed at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3156 on 18 August 2019].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> BIA. Bp C&P XX, 'A Copy of the last Commission granted to the Dean of York and Others, [8 May 1740]'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P IV/10, letter from Edmund Gibson, to, Thomas Herring, 16 December 1743.

# PATRONAGE IN ACTION: VISITATION

Having established that the measures taken by Blackburne to accommodate his ill-health allow for his archiepiscopacy to be divided into two distinct phases, the following sections consider the notion of performance through studies of two episcopal functions. The first part focusses on the 'active' period of Blackburne's administration (1724-1728) through an analysis of visitation in York within its historiographical context. Whilst the early eighteenth century has been identified as a period of innovation in visitation practice, the traditional aims of correcting offences against ecclesiastical law and inspecting the diocesan clergy remained largely unchanged since the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> Recent research has demonstrated that despite the triennial requirements of the canons, the provision of episcopal visitation varied throughout the dioceses of England and Wales. Whereas it was usual for annual visitations to be conducted in Winchester, the bishops of Norwich generally visited their diocese only every seven years.<sup>2</sup> Gregory and Chamberlain stress that this did not mean that 'oversight of the Church was necessarily weaker in Norfolk than in Hampshire.'3 The triennial requirements of the canons were to be strived towards, without absolute expectation that they would be strictly fulfilled.<sup>4</sup> In larger dioceses such as York, a bishop's primary visitation was particularly important in gaining a thorough knowledge of an unwieldy jurisdiction through personal inspection. In the early seventeenth century, when Archbishop Richard Neile determined on the case of the parish of St. John in Leeds (a dispute that rumbled on into the eighteenth century), he declared that he could not fully understand the situation until he visited the town in person.<sup>5</sup> Over a century later, the importance of personal knowledge of the diocese was echoed by Archbishop Thomas Herring, who wrote of his primary visitation that, 'I do my Duty, I know many of ye Clergy, & of the Principal Gentry in ye great Towns, & no knowledge is like that of Pastoral inspection."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Smith, Peter M., 'Points of Law and Practice Concerning Ecclesiastical Visitations', in, *Ecclesiastical Law Journal*, vol. 2, no. 9, (July 1991), pp. 195-197.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gregory, Jeremy, and, Chamberlain, Jeffrey S., 'National and local perspectives on the Church of England in the long eighteenth century', in, Gregory, and, Chamberlain, *The National Church in Local Perspective*, p. 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Smith, 'Points of Law and Practice Concerning Ecclesiastical Visitations', pp. 207-208.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P IV/1. Copy letter from Richard Neile, to, John Harrison, 16 September 1634.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> UNSC. Pw V 120, letter from Thomas Herring, to, William Herring, 1 July 1743.

Visitation in York has received extensive analysis, with particular focus on the publication of the 1743 and 1764 returns to the archbishops' queries to their clergy.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the publication of the first volume of Archbishop Thomas Herring's visitation returns in 1929 can be considered one of the earliest contributions towards a revisionist approach to the eighteenth-century Church.<sup>8</sup> Where historians of visitation in York have been less successful, however, is in elucidating a broader lineage of visitation practices in the diocese from which adherence or divergence from established norms can be deduced. The result of these studies is a static snapshot of the diocese in a particular year, with limited comparison made to former or successive administrations. This is most apparent in the treatment of Archbishop Herring's returns of 1743, which depict the diocese as it was immediately after twenty years under Blackburne's leadership. This fact is consistently overlooked by Ollard and Walker, who forward two contradictory views of the period, simultaneously positing that the diocese was neglected prior to Herring's translation, but also that the established Church was 'doing her work far better and more thoroughly than is commonly supposed'.<sup>9</sup> Also, of the clergy of 1743 (many of whom were appointed by Blackburne), they conclude that 'on the whole the strong impression left by these Returns is that of a body of conscientious and dutiful men'.<sup>10</sup> Likewise, with reference to the visitation returns of 1764, Jago declared that in matters 'of regular confirmations and visitations, [Archbishop] Drummond was exemplary throughout his time in Wales and York.'11 Whilst it is evident that Drummond performed well in St. Asaph, at York he visited in 1759-60 (on the commission of Archbishop John Gilbert), 1764 and 1770.<sup>12</sup> This computes to three visitations in seventeen years, which is perhaps average performance at best. The following section is not intended as an exhaustive, interpretive study of visitation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ollard, S. L., and, Walker, P. C., *Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns, 1743*, five vols. The Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series (Wakefield: West Yorkshire Printing Co. Ltd., 1928-1932); Jago, Judith, *Aspects of the Georgian Church, Visitation Studies of the Diocese of York* (Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 1997); Annesley, Cressida, &, Hoskin, Philippa, *Archbishop Drummond's Visitation Returns 1764*, three vols., Borthwick Texts and Calendars 21, 23, 26 (York: University of York, 1997-2001); Hoskin, Philippa M., A *Decent, Regular and Orderly State? Parochial Visitations of the Archdeaconries of York and the East Riding*, 1720-1730, Borthwick Texts and Studies 40 (York: University of York, 2010); Fisher, Howard (ed.), *Church Life in Georgian Nottinghamshire: Archbishop Drummond's Parish Visitation Returns*, *1764*, Thoroton Society Record Series vol. 46 (Bristol: The Society, 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Hamilton Thompson, A, Review of S. L. Ollard, and P. C. Walker 'Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns, 1743', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 9 (1929), pp 263-266.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ollard, and, Walker (eds.), Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns, vol. I, p. xxiii.
 <sup>10</sup> Ibid, p. xviii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Jago, Aspects of the Georgian Church, p. 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Smith, A Guide to the Archive Collections in the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research.

in York, but rather it aims to utilise disparate primary sources to re-evaluate the performance of Blackburne's administration in visitation against the established customs of the diocese.

Dioci		Elsewhere		
John Sharp (1691-1714)	1693-1694 Chester) 1698-1699		1693-1694	(Carlisle &
	10,010,,		1707	(Chester,
by				
	commissary) <sup>14</sup>			
	1712-1713	(Archdeaconrie of the East Riding & York)		
William Dawes	1714-1716			
(1714-1724)	1717-1719			
	1720-1722			
	1723	(Archdeaconry	of	
		Nottingham)		
Lancelot Blackburne (1724-1743)	1726-1728			
Thomas Herring (1743-1747)	1743			
Matthew Hutton (1747-1757)	1748-1749			

# Table 4, Visitations conducted by the Archbishops of York, 1691-1761<sup>13</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The information in this table is chiefly derived from the records of visitation (V. series) at the Borthwick Institute for Archives.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Parsons, M. A., 'Troutbeck Chapel of Ease from its foundation to 1800', in, *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, (series 2), vol. 96 (1996), pp. 152-153. Visitation conducted by Thomas Waite, Commissary of the Archdeaconry of Richmond.

In the seventy years between the translation of Archbishop John Sharp in 1691 and the death of Archbishop John Gilbert in 1761, eleven complete and partial episcopal visitations were conducted in York. This represents a slight reduction in the regularity of visitation from 1660-1691, during which the diocese was visited on average every three or four years.<sup>15</sup> Archbishop Sharp upheld this record until 1698, after which time he did not visit York again until 1712. This hiatus marks the beginning of a period in which visitation work in York became more sporadic, with the records of individual archbishops varying to greater degrees. This variation in visitation practice must be understood as a local, rather than national phenomenon, as in other dioceses the regularity of visitation work increased during the eighteenth century. In Lincoln, the largest diocese in England, the bishops achieved the exceptional record of maintaining (and occasionally, surpassing) the triennial requirements for episcopal visitation for the entire period, 1705-1781.<sup>16</sup>

When assessing individual archbishops' records in visitation for 1691-1761, it is evident that the performance of Archbishop William Dawes was remarkable, having undertaken visitation or confirmation work in every year from 1714-1724. Archbishops Thomas Herring and John Gilbert each served the See for just four years, and both conducted a single visitation in that time. Archbishop Hutton visited the diocese just once in ten years prior to his translation to Canterbury. The longest spells without an episcopal visitation in York came during the prelacies of Archbishops Sharp and Blackburne, with no tours conducted for fourteen and fifteen years, respectively. This is worthy of notice insofar that these two archbishops are generally considered to be at opposite ends of the scale of archiepiscopal performance. In 1931, Ollard and Walker compared Blackburne's performance in visitation unfavourably to that of his predecessors.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Ibid, pp. 69-72. Between 1660 and 1691, the archbishops conducted visitations of York in the following years; Accepted Frewen (1662-1663), Richard Sterne (1667, 1669-1670, 1674, 1682), John Dolben (1684-1685), Dean and Chapter of York (1687, *Sede Vacante*, Archdeaconry of Nottingham, only), Thomas Lamplugh (1690).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Gibson, William, *The Achievement of the Anglican Church, 1689-1800* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), p. 135.

It was recognised, by all that knew, that the new archbishop [Herring] was going to a diocese which had suffered from long years of neglect, after being shepherded carefully and conscientiously by two devout and able archbishops'<sup>17</sup>

Taking a broader view of visitation practice in York in the eighteenth century, this view cannot be maintained in relation to Archbishop Sharp's record. Archbishop William Dawes's performance was exemplary, however, and as Blackburne's immediate predecessor in the See is deserving of more detailed analysis. Following his appointment to the bishopric of Chester in 1708, Dawes quickly developed a reputation as a committed and energetic diocesan. Still in his thirties when raised to episcopal bench, Dawes's indefatigable approach to visitation is portrayed in a 1709 letter between Bishops William Nicolson and William Wake.

Very glad should I be to see you as able to engage in, and go through with, these fatigues as our robust brother of Chester (...) who has undoubtedly the largest diocese in England next to your own, but is so far from being wearied with any such slender circuit as it can afford him. He came hither last week from Whitehaven, and went hence to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. He is now at Durham, from whence he comes back to the remaining parts of his visitation at Richmond and Boroughbridge about the middle of the week. When his own necessary duties are over, he goes on to Bishopthorpe; and thence returning by Nottingham to Chester, will have visited every county in this whole Province <sup>18</sup>

Archbishop William Dawes's exceptional approach to diocesan oversight continued after his translation in 1714, where his record in visitation identifies him as the most vigorous archbishop of York of the eighteenth century.<sup>19</sup> Archbishop Dawes visited the diocese in three-year cycles, spanning the years 1714-1716, 1717-1719, 1720-1722, with a further, unfinished tour taking place 1723.<sup>20</sup> His primary visitation set the model for subsequent tours, in which he visited the Archdeaconry of Nottingham in the summer of 1714, and then resumed in the summer of 1716 to visit the three Yorkshire archdeaconries.<sup>21</sup> This cyclical approach to visitation meant that upon the completion of the summer tours in Yorkshire, there was a year's break before the elapse of three years since the previous visitation of Nottingham, at which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ollard, and, Walker (eds.), Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns, vol. V, p. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Letter from William Nicolson, to, William Wake, 18 July 1709, quoted in, Sykes, *Church and State in the XVIIIth Century*, p. 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Aside from William Gibson's assessment that Archbishop Dawes' approach to visitation was 'conscientious', this aspect of his churchmanship has attracted little scholarly attention. See, Gibson, 'The Work of Dr John Audley, Chancellor of York, 1710-1744', p. 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> BIA. V. 1714-1716, 1717-1719, 1720-1723, 1723.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> BIA. Episcopal Register 34, Sir William Dawes (1714-1724), ff. 14.

point the next cycle would begin. Whilst it is conceivable that this fatiguing programme of visitation work was alleviated to some degree by separating the tour into two parts, in the years 1716, 1719 and 1722 Dawes served all three Yorkshire archdeaconries in little over a month (the exception being the jurisdiction of Ripon, which was visited separately).<sup>22</sup> This gruelling schedule was made all the more remarkable by Dawes's itinerary of between eighteen and twenty-one individual visitation centres in the course of these tours, more than any visited by his three successors.<sup>23</sup> This included a number of additional centres in the North Riding, where the challenging terrain often made travel difficult for those called to appear.<sup>24</sup> Dawes's energetic leadership was also matched by considerable diligence in archidiaconal visitation, marking his prelacy as one of exceptional episcopal and parochial oversight in York.<sup>25</sup>

## When to begin a primary visitation?

One of the main purposes of a primary visitation was for the bishop to familiarise himself with his new jurisdiction and to assess the state of his diocese. As such, it was usual for a tour to take place in the first summer after translation. This approach was taken by leading churchmen of the period, such as Bishop William Wake, who set out to tour Lincoln immediately following his appointment in 1705, commencing his primary visitation in the same week as his installation.<sup>26</sup> The punctual commencement of a primary visitation gave the bishop the earliest possible opportunity to identify and correct faults in the administration of the diocese. Following his 1716 translation from Bangor to Meath in Ireland, Bishop John Evans related to Sir Jonathan Trelawny that 'I have work too on my hands', Meath being left by his predecessor 'in a most distracted state in its Spiritualls, Temporalls too.'<sup>27</sup> In York, Archbishops Dawes, Herring and Hutton all embarked on their primary visitations in the first summer after their translation. Having never served in the Northern Province prior to his 1743 appointment, Archbishop Herring requested in his letter to the clergy that they might assist him getting to know a diocese with which he was 'very much unacquainted'.<sup>28</sup> The custom of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> BIA. V. 1717-1719/Exh. Bk.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> See Appendix E.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> See Appendix E. In the North Riding, Dawes visited at Whitby, Guisborough, Northallerton, Helmsley, and Easingwold. None of these locations were visited by Blackburne or Herring.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Purvis, J. S., *The Condition of Yorkshire Church Fabrics, 1300-1800*, St. Anthony's Hall Publications No. 14 (York: St. Anthony's Press, 1958), p. 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> See, Sykes, Norman, 'Bishop William Wake's Primary Visitation of the Diocese of Lincoln, 1706', in, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), pp. 190-191. Sykes, Norman, *William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1657-1737* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), vol. 1, p. 246.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> CRO. X1277, Collecteana Trelawniana, p. 288. Copy letter from John Evans, to, Jonathan Trelawny, 21 March 1716.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Ollard, and, Walker (eds.), Archbishop Herring's visitation returns, 1743, vol. I, p. 2.

the archbishops to tour the diocese during their first summer after translation was anticipated by diocesan officials, who began making appropriate preparations. Officials made their arrangements through correspondence with the archbishops prior to their arrival in the diocese, so that a tour could start immediately upon the conclusion of Parliamentary or other business. In April 1748, Robert Jubb, deputy diocesan registrar, wrote to Archbishop Matthew Hutton to report that 'I am honoured with your Commands by this post, and in obedience thereto have made out the process for holding your Visitation at Skipton'.<sup>29</sup>

At Archbishop William Dawes's death in May 1724, the legal process for the transferal of jurisdiction began at Blackburne's nomination to the See. Until this process was completed, the diocese was legally *sede vacante* during which time the guardianship of the spiritualities was placed in the hands of the Dean and Chapter of York. Surviving records show that the vacancy lasted five months (from 7 May until 30 September 1724), during which time institutions and licenses were granted on seventeen occasions.<sup>30</sup> Whilst the Dean and Chapter administered the diocese, the incoming archbishop also began to interest himself in Northern affairs as early as the summer of 1724. It was necessary to work reciprocally with existing officers to ensure that administration continued uninterrupted, and to that end Blackburne organised to meet Chancellor John Audley in London to discuss outstanding issues before he travelled to York.<sup>31</sup> In July 1724, it was also suggested that Blackburne's orders might be carried to York by Exton Sayer, chancellor of Durham, and kinsman of the Archbishop through the Talbot family.<sup>32</sup> Blackburne was mindful that his absence could be a hindrance to the administration of the Northern Province, but believed himself duty-bound to complete his service in a diocese where he had long-resided.

I am now within a few days of setting out upon the latter part of my visitation of this large diocese [Exeter], not having confirmed except in some few populous places since the year 1718: & I cou'd not bear the thought of leaving it till I had done my duty in all its parts. I am sorry it happens to be grevious to ye jurisdiction in the Diocese of York, w'ch I know must yet rest in ye hands of the Dean and Chapter. But

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P V/Unlisted, letter from Robert Jubb, to, Matthew Hutton, 5 April 1748; letter from William Herring, to, Matthew Hutton, 18 April 1748.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P, Sede Vacante, 'Institutions and Licenses Granted by the Dean and Chapter of York', 1724.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> BIA. V. 1717-1719/Exh. Bk., f. 71. The license received by Robert Midgley, minister of Husthwaite and Master of Coxwold school in September 1724, was issued, '*Sede Archiepis Ebor Vacan*.'; Audley Letters. Letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, John Audley, 24 July 1724.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P XX, letter from John Audley, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 8 July 1724.

it could not be otherwise, being to leave a Diocese I have liv'd so long in, with any ease to the Mind <sup>33</sup>

Completion of his pastoral duties in Exeter kept Blackburne in the south-west until the resumption of Parliament in the autumn of 1724, and he was subsequently enthroned in York by proxy in December of that year.<sup>34</sup> It is clear that some believed that Blackburne would conduct his primary visitation in 1725, and would therefore have opportunity to exploit the political wind-change expected in the diocese. In May of that year, Blackburne received solicitations to counter the alleged growth of Popery in the East Riding, whilst others discussed the presentment to his courts of a suspected enemy of the government.<sup>35</sup> Blackburne's eventual arrival in York was delayed by the late closure of Parliament on 31 May 1725, after which he attended to business in the capital before travelling North in the late summer.<sup>36</sup> The timing of his journey can be deduced from *Mist's Weekly Journal* for 31 July 1725, which related that 'All the Chief Persons in this City [York] are going to pay their Respects to our Archbishop'.<sup>37</sup> Within a week of his arrival, Blackburne continued his established practice of ordaining his own clergy by holding a ceremony at Bishopthorpe on 4 August 1725. This was followed by a second ordination at York Minster on 9 September, before Blackburne returned to London in mid-October.<sup>38</sup>

Whilst the advantages of visiting a new diocese at the first opportunity were widely understood and the practice encouraged, exceptions were made when a visitation had only recently been conducted. By commencing his primary visitation in September 1726,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> BIA. Episcopal Register 35, Lancelot Blackburne (1724-1743), ff. 1-10; Blackburne was installed by proxy at York on 10 December 1724. This is noted in the diary of the York printer Thomas Gent, who commented on having the auspicious honour of being married there on the same day. Gent, Thomas, *The Life of Mr. Thomas Gent, Printer, of York; Written By Himself* (London: 1832), p. 149.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> *Miscellanea*, CRS, pp. 363-364. Letter from Thomas Thomson, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 22 May 1725. Audley letters. Letter from Sir Reginald Graham, to, John Audley, 2 June 1725; Henry Foulis, to, Sir Reginald Graham, 18 June 1725.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Newman, A. N. (ed.), *The Parliamentary Diary of Sir Edward Knatchbull, 1722-1730*, Camden Third Series, vol. XCIV (London: The Royal Historical Society, 1963). Parliament rose on the following dates in the five sessions of the Second Parliament of George I; 27 May, 24 April, 31 May, 24 May, 15 May. The dates of the sessions of the Second Parliament are as follows; First Session (9 October 1722 – 17 May 1723), Second Session (9 January – 30 March 1724), Third session (12 November 1724 – 22 April 1725), Fourth Session (20 January – 1 April 1726), Fifth Session (17 January 1726 – 26 April 1727, resumed in June upon the King's death).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Mist's Weekly Journal, no. 14 (London: Saturday, 31 July 1725).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> *Stamford Mercury* (Stamford: Thursday, 21 October 1725). 'the Lord Bishop of Chichester from Eaton; the Lord Archbishop of York, and the Lord Bishop of Gloucester, are upon the Road from their several Dioceses'; BIA. Inst. AB 11, 1724-1733.

Blackburne allowed for the expiration of three years since Archbishop William Dawes's partial visitation of the Archdeaconry of Nottingham in 1723, and afforded himself a year without visitation work having toured Exeter in 1724. Indeed, evidence suggests that Blackburne's correspondents in York still considered the archbishop 'new' to the diocese a year after his translation. On 22 January 1726, Edward Chaloner of Guisborough introduced himself in the following terms,

I take the Oppertunity of Congratulating your Grace upon your Accession to this Arch-Bishoprick, & of Wishing Your Health & all Manner of Success & Prosperity, & as Mutch of ye Good Opinion of ye Clergy & Laity, as I am Sure you will By all Your Behaviour allwayes deserve.<sup>39</sup>

The cyclical nature of visitation in York was also accommodated during the prelacy of Archbishop Robert Drummond whose 1761 translation came less than a year after he had toured the diocese on the commission of Archbishop John Gilbert. Consequently, Drummond did not conduct his own primary visitation until 1764.

## Itinerary

Once the legal framework of a visitation had been established, the archbishops could begin to make formal arrangements for the itinerary of their tours, including the selection of dates and locations for visitation centres and correction courts, and the nomination of preachers. Careful planning was necessary to effectively mobilise the clergy, curates, churchwardens, and parish officers of the diocese, alongside midwives, physicians, schoolmasters and all others who required licenses from the bishop. No first-hand evidence of this planning process survives for Blackburne's primary visitation, but correspondence and documents relating to the visitations of Archbishop William Dawes provide insights into the nature of these preparations. One of the steps taken was the composition of an overall plan for the visitation. Surviving examples for Archbishop Dawes's visitations of 1714-1716 and 1717-1719 state the dates and locations for each visitation centre, with the names of all parishes to be called, and the respective preachers.<sup>40</sup> Notes were also made against chapelries and parishes where issues might arise, such as Goole in the West Riding, which was annotated 'this Chappel has been demolisht time out of mind and therefore no Warden Chosen or Sworn for it'.<sup>41</sup> This first

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> BIA. Bp. Sch., letter from Edward Chaloner, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 22 January 1726.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> BIA, V. 1714-1716, 'A Plan for his Grace's Primary Visitation held within the Arch: Deaconry of York East-ryding and Cleveland Ano 1716'; BIA, V. 1717-1719, 'A Plan for his Grace's Ordinary Visitation held in the Year 1719.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> BIA, V. 1714-1716, 'A Plan for his Grace's Primary Visitation held within the Arch: Deaconry of York East-ryding and Cleveland Ano 1716'.

planning phase was likely completed in the weeks immediately preceding the visitation, at which time the archbishop ordered for notices of the tour and confirmation papers to be sent to all parishes.<sup>42</sup> Archbishop Dawes took an active role in this process, writing to John Audley on 4 April 1719 that,

I had happily finished the Route for my Visitation a few hours before your letter came: & herewith I send you a copy of it; as also a list of preachers for each place where I visit. The places I have order'd as conveniently as I can; but if you & Mr Jubb find anything very inconvenient in the ordering of them I shall be very willing to alter it.<sup>43</sup>

The visitation plan for 1717-1719 shows that these directions were followed closely, as there are several minor amendments, adjusting dates and the parishes called to certain centres.<sup>44</sup> The plans were working documents, and different versions were produced. In 1714-1716, a second plan was drawn up for use once the tour was underway, giving detailed figures of all fees received and notes of whether terriers had been exhibited from each parish.<sup>45</sup> Even for a prelate as conscientious as Archbishop Dawes, plans for a tour could not be finalised until the conclusion of Parliamentary business. In April 1717, the Archbishop related to John Audley that the 'uncertainty of the determination of Parliament's sitting makes it impossible for me so much as to ghess [sic] nearly when my visitation will be: but, I believe, some time in August will be most likely for it'.<sup>46</sup> In 1718, Dawes corresponded with his officers regarding visitation business as early as March, remarking that 'when I shall be able to get down to Nottingham, I really cannot forsee: the parliament will certainly sit some considerable time yet; & the business of it is likely to be of such importance that I shall hold myself oblig'd to attend it'.<sup>47</sup> By the time of the next cycle of visitation work in 1719, Dawes could write with greater clarity that 'My coming down into Yorkshire depends upon the time of Parliament rising: w'ch it is generally thought will be by the beginning of May. And as to my visiting Nottinghamshire, I fully design it about the middle of September; as soon as three years from my last visitation shall be expired.'48

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Audley Letters. Letter from William Dawes, to, John Audley, 8 August 1717.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Audley Letters. Letter from William Dawes, to, John Audley, 4 April 1719.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> BIA. V. 1717-1719, Miscellaneous Items.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> BIA. V. 1714-1716, 'A Plan for his Grace's Primary Visitation held within the Arch: Deaconry of York East-ryding and Cleveland Anno 1716'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Audley Letters. Letter from William Dawes, to, John Audley, 15 April 1717.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Audley Letters. Letter from William Dawes, to, John Audley, 3 March 1718.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Audley Letters.. Letter from William Dawes, to, John Audley. 15 March 1719.

### Blackburne's primary visitation of 1726-1728

Whilst the planning documents for Blackburne's primary visitation of 1726-1728 do not survive, the retention of key diocesan officers from the successful predecessor administration is suggestive of continuity in visitation practice. The knowledge of experienced men such as John Audley, Thomas Jubb and William Ward was a great asset, and it is evident that it was usual for officials to consult earlier visitation plans when preparations for a new tour were being made. In 1719, it was noted that the parishes to be called to Skipton, Tadcaster, Wakefield, and York (except for the peculiar of Selby) were to be 'as in ye Year 1716'.<sup>49</sup> In the absence of Blackburne's visitation plan, his itinerary can be reconstructed from entries in the visitation court book (see, Appendix E).<sup>50</sup> Following the model of his predecessor, Blackburne's tour was separated into two distinct parts to take place over two years. He first visited the archdeaconries of Nottingham and the East Riding between August and September 1726, before recommencing in Cleveland and York from July to September 1727. The extent to which this was customary in York is evident in a letter from Blackburne to Archbishop William Wake on the accession of George II in June 1727. It is also striking that Blackburne prioritised his primary visitation over attending Parliament on the succession of the new king. With the prospect of a general election in August of that year, Blackburne considered his presence in York to be of greater service to George II.

As I am just now, upon beginning my Visitation of the greater part of this large Diocese; I presume it wil be neither needful nor expected, that I shou'd make any attendance, under these circumstances, in Parliament, w<sup>ch</sup> perhaps may meet only to be thank'd & dissolve'd in order to a New one; in which case, my being here wil be of more service to His Majestie; than anywhere else; for great struggles there wil be in many places undoubtedly.<sup>51</sup>

This model of visitation for York was also followed by Archbishop Thomas Herring in 1743, who having completed his tour in Nottingham and York moved onto his 'second plan of Visitation'.<sup>52</sup> Whilst Smith has observed that the canons implied that an episcopal tour should begin with a visitation of the cathedral church in the bishop's capacity as visitor (rather than ordinary), this does not seem to have been the practice in York.<sup>53</sup> Whereas the cathedral was visited by Archbishop Thomas Lamplugh in 1690, the usual visitor was the Dean of York. In

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> BIA. V. 1717-1719, 'A Plan for his Grace's Ordinary Visitation held in the Year 1719'; Bp. C&P XIX, letter from Thomas Jubb, to, Lewis Stephens, 14 December 1726.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> BIA. V. 1726-7/CB.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> CRO. PB8/6, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, William Wake, June 1727.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Ollard, and, Walker (eds.), Archbishop Herring's visitation returns, 1743. Vol.5., appendix D, p. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Smith, 'Points of Law and Practice Concerning Ecclesiastical Visitations', p. 203.

this capacity Deans Henry Finch and Richard Osbaldeston visited the Chapter in 1705 and 1730, respectively.<sup>54</sup> Appendix E also highlights the dual nature of the visitation process, sometimes referred to as the archbishop's 'visitations'.<sup>55</sup> The clergy and parish officers were first called to present their respective licenses, dispensations, oaths and presentments at a visitation court headed by the archbishop, and secondly, those presented by the churchwardens at the visitation court or otherwise found to be citeable for another defect or offence were ordered to appear at a designated correction court.<sup>56</sup> If necessary, additional sittings of the correction court were convened in York to follow-up on unresolved issues. These courts were considered part of the formal visitation process and are recorded in the court book alongside other judicial business. During Blackburne's primary visitation, there were at least five of these additional correction courts, extending the duration of the visitation until late 1728.<sup>57</sup>

Another significant factor in the organisation of visitations in York was the great size of the diocese. Sykes stated that for older bishops 'the difficulties of the unwieldy extent of some dioceses and of the problems of travel passed with intolerable gravity'.<sup>58</sup> Whilst the challenges that Blackburne faced in the large diocese of Exeter were not inconsiderable, York was a very different proposition. Comprising upwards of 920 parishes and chapelries, York was the second-largest diocese in England and encompassed difficult terrain for the archbishop and his retinue.<sup>59</sup> Archbishop Thomas Herring was surprised by the dramatic landscape of the West Riding, writing that 'I fancied myself once more got into Wales, & from y<sup>e</sup> great Moors & Mountains'.<sup>60</sup> This is not to say that eighteenth-century bishops were not equal to these challenges. During his 1706 tour of Lincoln, Bishop William Wake visited

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Injunctions given by the Honourable Henry Finch, Dean of the Cathedral and Metropolitical Church of St. Peter in York. And the Right Worshipful the Chapter of the same Church, in their General Visitation [etc.] (York: 1705); Articles To Be Enquired Of, In the General Visitation of the Right Worshipfull Richard Osbaldeston Doctor of Divinity Dean of the Cathedral and Metropolitical Church of St. Peter of York, and the Chapter of the Same Church [etc.] (York: 1730).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> BIA. V. 1726-7/CB, ff. 146-147, letter from Thomas Gee, to, Thomas Jubb, 2 November 1726; ff. 241-242, letter from William Rodwell, to, Thomas Jubb; ff. 367-368, letter from Abraham Barker, to, Thomas Jubb, 10 October 1727; ff. 381-382, certificate concerning barbers in Sheffield, 10 November 1727. In c. 1746, Francis Topham used the term 'visitations' in reference to both archidiaconal and episcopal visitation. See, BIA. Bp. C&P IV/18, letter from Francis Topham, to, Thomas Herring, [c. 1746].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> BIA. V. 1717-1719/Exh. Bk. Whilst each visitation in York usually had its own court book, exhibitions of the clergy were often recorded in a single volume for several visitation. The exhibitions for Blackburne's primary visitation are at ff. 51-94 in the volume for Archbishop William Dawes' visitation of 1717-1719.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> BIA. V. 1726-7/CB, Visitation Court Book, ff. 179, 296-299.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Sykes, Church and State in the XVIIIth Century, p. 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> ERYAS. PE1/130, survey of prebends and benefices in York Province, 1724 [sic].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> UNSC. Pw V 120, letter from Thomas Herring, to, William Herring, 1 July 1743.

twenty-three visitation centres in a gruelling sixty-three days.<sup>61</sup> Blackburne's slower progress in visiting fifteen centres in York can largely be attributed to his age. By contrast, Archbishops Dawes, Herring and Hutton were aged forty-three, forty-nine and fifty-three (respectively) at the time of their primary visitations. At the age of sixty-eight, Blackburne found long days on the road particularly wearying. In October 1727, he explained to Sir Hardolph Wasteneys that he wouldn't consider other diocesan affairs whilst travelling.

it cannot be reasonably expected that I shou'd do business of that kind [^]upon the Road at any time, especially at my time of Life (..) when the hours I can have to spend at my Inn wil be but necessary to rest in after ye Toil of a Journey<sup>62</sup>

Visiting the diocese in the summer meant that the roads were likely to be in a better condition than at other times of the year, but the heat could be problematic. On 3 June 1706, Bishop William Wake recorded that the day of his visit to Boston was 'violently hot', and in June 1743 Archbishop Thomas Herring found himself 'very uneasy' at Sheffield, where the heat of the forges 'added to that of the Season'.<sup>63</sup>

## Entertainments

The arrival of a bishop at a visitation centre was not only a religious occasion, but a major civic event. In many towns public displays during episcopal visitations were only matched in prestige by the assizes, elections, and occasions of national celebrations.<sup>64</sup> And just as the assizes demonstrated the 'power of the legislature' and the social standing of its local protagonists, so the arrival of the visitation court displayed the vitality of church governance and status of an episcopal administration's principal agents.<sup>65</sup> The diary of Bishop William Wake reveals that generous entertainments strengthened ties between civic governors and church leaders, whilst inadequate displays could diminish those bonds. On 7 June 1706, Wake wrote of his visitation at Bourne that 'being very poorly entertained, & the clergy much offended at it, to show my dislike, I went late off, after the Confirmation, to Grantham, where I came in very late, & was expected by nobody'. <sup>66</sup> In York, the corporation of Beverley were assiduous in demonstrating their attachment to successive archbishops and the established church. During the prelacy of Archbishop John Sharp, the mayor provided a lavishly drawn

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Sykes, 'Bishop William Wake's Primary Visitation of the Diocese of Lincoln, 1706', p. 195;
 University of Nottingham. Pw V 120, letter from Thomas Herring, to, William Herring, 10 June 1743.
 <sup>62</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Hardolph Wasteneys, 5 October 1727.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> UNSC. Pw V 120, letter from Thomas Herring, to, William Herring, 1 July 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> This was the case for towns such as Hull. See, HHC. BRB/17, Draft Bench Book, 1704-1738.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Davidoff, Leonore, and, Hall, Catherine, *Family Fortunes, Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*, revised edition (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 445.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Sykes, 'Bishop William Wake's Primary Visitation of the Diocese of Lincoln, 1706', p. 195.

up account of the town in which it was claimed to possess 'two of the finest Largest & best Churches' of any place in England.<sup>67</sup> Archbishop William Dawes visited in 1716 and 1722, but omitted the town in 1719 (see Appendix E). When Blackburne elected to visit Beverley in 1726, the corporation were engaged in ongoing restoration work to the Minster church to the plans of Nicholas Hawksmoor, towards which Archbishop Dawes and several of the Chapter of York had made significant contributions.<sup>68</sup> The corporation minutes record that preparations for Blackburne's visitation commenced three weeks prior to the Archbishop's arrival, and a representative was sent to Bishopthorpe to issue a formal invitation to an entertainment in the name of the town.<sup>69</sup> Blackburne arrived on 9 September 1726, and stayed for two days before travelling on to Hull and Bridlington.<sup>70</sup> The MPs for Beverley, Sir Charles Hotham and Sir Michael Newton, donated £10 each towards a 'treat' to be attended by the town alderman, clergy, and local attorneys. Originally planned to be held at The Bell tavern, the corporation subsequently decided that the house of the town recorder would be more suitable for entertaining Blackburne and his retinue.<sup>71</sup>

Blackburne encountered similar civic displays throughout the diocese. His reception at Leeds was particularly noted in the regional press, as Blackburne was due to consecrate the new church of Holy Trinity alongside his visitation. On 12 August 1727, the *Ipswich Journal* reported that the Archbishop was 'met at some Distance from the Town by the Mayor and Aldermen in their Habits on Horseback, and by a great Number of Gentlemen, Clergymen, and Freholders, and was splendidly entertain'd by the Corporation', adding that the consecration was 'attended with a great Crowd of Spectators'.<sup>72</sup> In other towns public displays of attachment to the Archbishop reflected prominent local trades. In Sheffield, the Church

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> BIA. Bp C&P XVIII, 'Papers about Beverley', [c. 1690-1710].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Baggs, A. P., Brown, L. M., Forster, G. C. F., Hall, I., Horrox, R. E., Kent, G. H. R., and Neave, D., 'Religious Life', in, Allison, K. J. (ed.) *A History of the County of York East Riding: Volume 6, the Borough and Liberties of Beverley*, (London: 1989), pp. 231-250

<sup>[</sup>accessed at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/east/vol6/pp231-250 on 19 August 2019]; ERYAS. BC/IV/14/1, Account book and minutes of the Trustees of the Minster Brief, 1713-1731.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> ERYAS. BC/11/7/6, Minute book of the Governors and Beverley Corporation, 1707-1736; BC/IV/17/2, Orders of Town Chamber, 1742-1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> There is no reference to Blackburne's visitation in the parish records of Bridlington. See ERYAS, PE153. Thanks to the museum staff for checking the records of the Lords Feofees, whose archives are stored at the Bayle Museum in Bridlington.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> ERYAS. BC/11/7/6, Minute book of the Governors and Beverley Corporation, 1707-1736; ERYAS. BC/IV/17/2, Orders of Town Chamber, 1742-1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Ipswich Journal (Ipswich: Saturday 12 August 1727).

Burgess and Cutlers' Company jointly commissioned a set of knives as a gift to Blackburne.<sup>73</sup> Not all encounters with civic officials were as positive. When Blackburne travelled to Stokesley in the far north of the diocese, he lodged in Little Busby at the home of Cholmley Turner, the recently-elected Whig MP for Yorkshire.<sup>74</sup> There, Blackburne was visited by the minister and principal inhabitants of Yarm, who sought his assistance in displacing the master of their school who they deemed 'improper'.<sup>75</sup> Blackburne promised to help his petitioners, and asked that the patent for the school be left with him to consider. Hearing nothing for some time after this meeting, one of the delegates from Yarm was disappointed to learn that after Blackburne left Busby an 'old parchment' was found in the room in which he had stayed, and (as they recalled many years later) 'thus that matter ended'.<sup>76</sup>

## Visitation sermons

As noted above, visitation preachers for each centre were selected in the planning stages of an episcopal tour, and those chosen were often clients of the bishop or known to be well-affected to the politico-religious aims of the administration.<sup>77</sup> When Archbishop William Dawes drew up his visitation plan in 1719, he sent a list of preachers for approval by the chancellor and deputy registrar of the diocese.<sup>78</sup>

as to the preachers I have thought on such persons, as according to my knowledge of my clergy, seem most proper for that service: & generally such as have not preached at any former visitation. I have sent double names for each place (except York) that if one can't do the other may: but I would always have the person first named if it can be<sup>79</sup>

These provisions were not overly-cautious. On 6 May 1719, Dawes informed his officers that he received notice 'from Mr Scott to desire me to excuse his preaching at ye Visitation at Wakefield & that I have excus'd him.' In his place, Thomas Jubb was ordered to write to Robert Burrow, vicar of Darrington, 'to give him as early notice as he can that I would have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Leader, John Daniel, *The Records of the Burgery of Sheffield* [&c] (London: 1897), pp. 357-358. Ebenezer Wallace became a freeman of the Company of Cutlers in 1725. Records of The Company of Cutlers in Hallamshire, communicated (with the thanks) by Joan Unwin, Archivist of the Cutlers' Company, in private correspondence, 9 June 2014.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Sedgwick, R. (ed.), 'Yorkshire', The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1715-1754 (1970) [accessed at https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/constituencies/yorkshire on 27 July 2019]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> BIA. Bp. Sch./52, letter to Robert Drummond, 23 October 1763.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Gibson, "This Itching Ear'd Age', p. 291.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Audley Letters. Letter from William Dawes, to, John Audley. 4 April 1719.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

him preach.<sup>80</sup> By settling these matters in the Spring, Dawes gave his nominated preachers several months to prepare before the commencement of the visitation. In 1743, Archbishop Herring's decision to visit the diocese immediately did not afford his preachers the same luxury, issuing notice of his tour just three weeks prior it commenced.<sup>81</sup> Elsewhere in the Northern Province, prior to his visitation of Durham in 1755, Bishop Richard Trevor sought the advice of Archdeacon Thomas Sharp in selecting preachers for his visitation, as he was 'more a stranger to them' than his experienced subordinate.<sup>82</sup>

Whilst it was increasingly common in the eighteenth century for visitation sermons to be preached before a mixed congregation of listeners, they were historically directed to the assembled clergy of the locality.<sup>83</sup> Bishops had to be sensitive, therefore, to select preachers who would not unduly offend their audience. In 1706, Bishop William Wake was forced to replace a selected visitation preacher because of his dissenting background.

I had appointed Mr. Gatton, but for some persons being offended at it (he having been a Nonconformist Minister and never bred at the University), to avoid scandal, as much as might be, I altered my measures, and with Mr. Gatton's full consent, took Mr. Harrison.<sup>84</sup>

But even carefully selected preachers could surprise their diocesan. Bishop Wake commented that William Wyche of Silk Willoughby preached 'a very good sermon' but 'upon a very odd text'.<sup>85</sup> An allegation that circulated among Blackburne's political opponents during his final visitation of Exeter in 1724 was that one of his visitation preachers had used that platform to attack his bishop, preaching from Revelation, 'The Devil is come down unto you, having great Wrath, because he knoweth he hath but a short time'.<sup>86</sup> In a letter to Lord Harley, William Stratford added that Blackburne had 'been distressing all the clergy that agreed not with him in politics to the very utmost of his power, and has parted with them in the most provoking way possible.'<sup>87</sup> A printed sermon from the same visitation casts serious doubts on this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Audley Letters. Letter from William Dawes, to, John Audley. 6 May 1719.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Audley Letters. Letter from Thomas Herring, to, John Audley. 3 May 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> GA. D3549/7/1/1, letter from Richard Trevor, to, Thomas Sharp, 9 May 1755.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Gibson, "This Itching Ear'd Age': Visitation Sermons and Charges in the Eighteenth Century', p. x.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Sykes, 'Bishop William Wake's Primary Visitation of the Diocese of Lincoln, 1706', p. 206.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Ibid, p. 195.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> N&Q, 9<sup>th</sup> series, III, 24 June 1899 (London: 1899), p. 484. Blackburne is described as '*Vir ob flagitia, Impudicitiae & Adulteriorum Spurcitiem, etiam a vulgo notatus*'.The contributor quotes the extract from the notebook of John Lambe, prebendary of Southwell, which he describes as 'now in my possession'. The current whereabouts of the notebook is not known.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> HMC, *Report On The Manuscripts Of The Duke Of Portland*, Vol. VII, p. 386. Letter from William Stratford, to, Lord Harley, 17 October 1724.

aspersion. *The Several Heterodox Hypotheses*, preached by William Stephens (brother to Blackburne's chaplain, Lewis Stephens) at St. Andrew's Church in Plymouth on 28 August 1724 is a testament of loyalty, rather than defiance.<sup>88</sup>

# Table 5, Preachers selected for Lancelot Blackburne's primary visitation of York, 1726 1728 (with visitation centre and benefice of preachers)

Nottingham	Richard Wood, rector of Gedling
Mansfield	Edward Wilson, rector of Teversal
Worksop	John Key, vicar of Tuxford
Beverley	Jaques Sterne, rector of Rise
Hull	John Lambert, rector of Halsham
Bridlington	Richard Osbaldeston, vicar of Hunmanby
Thirsk	Thomas Rudd, vicar of Northallerton
Stokesley	Henry Cooke, rector of Stokesley
Malton	Thomas Hodgson, vicar of Appleton
York	John Bradley, rector of St. Mary Bishophill Sr., York
Skipton	Thomas Gale, rector of Linton in Craven
Leeds	Robert Dannye, rector of Spofforth
Wakefield	Benjamin Kennett, vicar of Bradford
Sheffield	Richard Goodwin, rector of Tankersley
Doncaster	George Mompesson, rector of Barnburgh
Ripon	No preacher.

Blackburne chose his preachers from clergymen who had already been identified as welldisposed to the administration prior to the commencement of his tour. Two of the three visitation preachers selected to appear in the Archdeaconry of the East Riding were subsequently appointed by Blackburne as chaplains (John Lambert and Jaques Sterne), whereas Richard Osbaldeston was made dean of York in 1728 (see, above). Other preachers such as Benjamin Kennett were known to Blackburne through other channels. The Vicar of Bradford was son of fellow Whig bishop White Kennett of Peterborough, a friend of Blackburne's who expressed hopes of visiting the Archbishop during one of his journeys into

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Stephens, William, *The Several Heterodox Hypotheses, concerning both the Persons and the Attributes of the Godhead, justly chargeable with more Inconsistencies and Absurdities which have been groundlessly Imputed by to the Catholick system, A Sermon Preach'd at the Visitation Of the Right Reverend Father in God, Lancelot, Lord Bishop of Exeter, now, Archbishop of York, Held in the Church of St. Andrew in Plymouth, On Friday, August the 28th. 1724* (Oxford: 1725); Stephens, William, *A Sermon Preach'd before the University of Oxford At St. Mary's On St. Matthias-Day, Feb. 24th 1716/7* [&c] (Oxford: 1717) was also dedicated to Blackburne.

Yorkshire.<sup>89</sup> A firm attachment to Blackburne's administration was also evident in the visitation sermon preached on 9 August 1726 by Edward Wilson, rector of Teversal.<sup>90</sup> Subsequently printed 'at his Grace's special Command, and at the Request of several of the Clergy', Wilson exhorted his listeners to maintain their 'Uprightness and Integrity' in 'the present happy and peaceable Enjoyment of our Religion'.<sup>91</sup> Again, successful performance of a visitation sermon went hand-in-hand with further preferment, as Wilson was made prebendary of Southwell in the following year.<sup>92</sup> Another discourse preached during Blackburne's tour was not a visitation sermon, but represented the most strident expression of the Archbishop's politico-religious agenda to appear in print. On 10 August 1727, Lewis Stephens preached at the consecration of the newly-erected Holy Trinity Church in Leeds where he addressed Tory claims against the management of ecclesiastical affairs by the Whigs,

let us not fear any more where no fear is; nor let us think the Church in Danger under a Protestant KING, a Protestant QUEEN, a Protestant ISSUE, a Protestant MINISTRY, a Protestant PARLIAMENT, Protestant BISHOPS, and Protestant JUDGES.<sup>93</sup>

Whilst this message might have lacked subtlety, it underscored the chief objective of Blackburne's administration. As Stephen Taylor has stated, the Archbishop and his officers aimed to 'win over the Tory clergy' and 'ultimately, turn them into Whigs'.<sup>94</sup> Stephens's sermon captured the political sentiments of the moment. A fortnight later, two Whig MPs were returned uncontested at the general election for Yorkshire.<sup>95</sup> And on 11 October, John Lucas recorded in his memoranda book that the Coronation Day celebrations in Leeds that year were 'the greatest demonstrations of joy I ever saw except when the peace with France was proclaimed'.<sup>96</sup> Despite this prevailing political wind, there were limitations to a bishop's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> BL. Landsdowne MS 1038, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, White Kennett, 31 July 1725.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Wilson, Edward, A Sermon Preach'd at the Primary Visitation Of his Grace Lancelot Lord Archbishop of York, Held at Mansfield, On Tuesday Aug. 9. 1726 (London: 1726).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Wilson, A Sermon Preach'd at the Primary Visitation Of his Grace Lancelot Lord Archbishop of York, p. 4; 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> BIA. Bp. Dio. Bk. 4, diocese book, 1713.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Stephens, Lewis, A Sermon Preached On the 10th of August, 1727, at the Consecration of Trinity-Chapel, in the Town of Leeds in Yorkshire (London: 1727).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Taylor, 'The Bowman Affair', p. 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> *Ipswich Journal* (Ipswich: Saturday 12 August 1727); Sedgwick, R. (ed.), 'Yorkshire', The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1715-1754 (1970) [accessed at https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715-1754/constituencies/yorkshire on 27 August 2019]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Oates, Jonathan (ed.), *The Memoranda Book of John Lucas, 1712-1750*, Thoresby Society, Second Series, vol. 16 (Leeds: The Society, 2006), p. 82.

ability to absolutely manage the public performances of their clergy, especially in subordinate jurisdictions. Robert Marsden, Archdeacon of Nottingham, was a noted High Churchman and chose visitation preachers within his archdeaconry according to his scruples. He made notes on their performances in his commonplace book, often remarking that someone performed 'well' or 'honest', but in November 1726 he recorded that Gilbert Mitchell of Eakring preached 'Bangorly'<sup>97</sup> Likewise, the extreme Latitudinarian (or even freethinking) sermon preached by William Bowman at Wakefield during Thomas Hayter's visitation of the Archdeaconry of York in 1731 was considered an act of outright disobedience. John Bettesworth, Dean of the Arches, explained that Bowman's performance was the more offensive because it was,

deliverd in a Sermon, & not only so, but what is still a greater aggravation, a Sermon preachd at y<sup>e</sup> Visitation of His Ordinary to a large number of Clergy, and afterwards publishd in open defiance of all Ecclesiastical Authority<sup>98</sup>

Archdeacon Hayter provided a corrective at his next visitation in 1732. George Arnet, a trusted client of the administration, preached a loyal sermon at Wakefield (see, above), whilst Bowman was rebuked and forced to recant his actions.<sup>99</sup>

## Articles of inquiry

Central to the process of visitation was the issuing of printed articles of inquiry to the wardens of every benefice within the jurisdiction. Each set of articles was arranged under various headings to detect transgressions against canon law, and dealt with matter such as the fabric of churches, the performance of the clergy, and the spiritual crimes of parishioners. It was directed that the wardens and clergy should meet to confer and consider their responses, before writing their answers under their signatures, and returning them to the ordinary at the visitation. The presentments made in these answers formed the basis of the punitive business transacted at the visitation correction courts. In most narratives of visitation reform in the eighteenth century, Bishop William Wake's 1706 introduction of queries to be answered exclusively by the clergy in Lincoln marks the end of discussion of articles of inquiry as a central component of the visitation process.<sup>100</sup> Whilst it will not be necessary to repeat the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> NA. DD/TS/14/2, commonplace book [of Robert Marsden], 1724-35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/8/11, letter from John Bettesworth, to, Thomas Hayter, 27 September 1731; Taylor, Stephen, 'The Bowman Affair: Latitudinarian Theology, Anti-clericalism and the Limits of Orthodoxy in Early Hanoverian England', Cornwall, Robert D., and, Gibson, William (eds.), *Religion, Politics and Dissent, 1660-1832* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Taylor, 'The Bowman Affair', p. 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Shiels, 'Bishops and their dioceses', p.4. Shiels emphasises that articles of inquiry continued to be used, but is primarily concerned with visitation queries.

overall narrative of visitation reform here, it will be emphasised that the introduction of visitation gueries did not replace articles of inquiry (which are still used by the Church to the present day), but were an additional, discretionary tool used by bishops during episcopal visitations.<sup>101</sup> Whilst the model for visitation queries had taken shape by 1720, they remained separate from the formal process of visitation, and their implementation throughout England and Wales was gradual and uneven, taking over fifty years.<sup>102</sup> Norwich was the last diocese to introduce the system in 1777.<sup>103</sup> Whereas visitation articles of the seventeenth century have received significant scrutiny, the continued use of articles of inquiry (particularly, in the transitionary period between 1705 and 1777) has been largely overlooked.<sup>104</sup> This has been a problem of both terminology, and context. The language used to distinguish between enquiries directed to churchwardens, and queries directed to the clergy has (in some cases) been blurred by historians.<sup>105</sup> The published visitation returns of Bishops Richard Willis, Thomas Herring and Robert Drummond refer to questions directed to the clergy as either 'queries' or 'questions', whereas those issued by Bishop Thomas Secker of Oxford in 1738 were described as 'articles'.<sup>106</sup> Despite this obfuscation, articles of inquiry and visitation queries were distinct and separate devices leaving discrete archival records, each with separate aims, purposes and limitations. In this section, the term 'queries' denotes questions directed to the clergy, and 'articles of inquiry' (or, 'articles') refer to those directed to the church and chapelwardens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Smith, 'Points of Law and Practice Concerning Ecclesiastical Visitations', p. 200. The articles of inquiry issued by the archdeacons of the diocese of Canterbury in 2014 took the form of a digital, online survey. See, Diocese of Canterbury, 'Archdeacons' Articles of Inquiry 2014' [accessed at <u>https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/9ZZS57V</u> on 22 January 2015].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Jacob, W. M., 'Church and Society in Norfolk, 1700-1800', in, Gregory, and, Chamberlain, *The National Church in Local Perspective*, p. 181.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Fincham, Kenneth (ed.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Early Stuart Church*, Vols. I & II, Church of England Record Society Vols. 1 & 5 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994-1998).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Confusingly, the terms 'queries' and 'Articles of Enquiry' are used interchangeably in two of the published accounts of Archbishop Drummond's 1764 visitation of York, when only the queries to the clergy are being discussed. See, Annesley, Cressida, &, Hoskin, Phillipa, *Archbishop Drummond's Visitation Returns 1764, I: Yorkshire A-G*, Borthwick Texts and Calendars 21 (York: University of York, 1997), p. viii; Jago, *Aspects of the Georgian Church*, p. 56, 62-63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Ward, W. R., Parson and Parish in Eighteenth-Century Surrey, Replies to Bishops' Visitations, Publications of the Surrey Record Society, Vol. XXXIV (Guildford: The Society, 1994); Ollard, and, Walker (eds.), Archbishop Herring's visitation returns, 1743; Annesley, and, Hoskin, Archbishop Drummond's Visitation Returns 1764; Lloyd Jukes, H. A. (ed.), Articles of enquiry addressed to the clergy of the diocese of Oxford at the primary visitation of Dr Thomas Secker, 1738, Oxford Record Society Vol. XXXVIII (Banbury: The Society, 1957), pp. 4-5.

In the late seventeenth century, some bishops expressed concerns over perceived faults with the long-standing system of issuing articles of inquiry. In 1680, Bishop William Lloyd of Peterborough wrote with concern to Archbishop William Sancroft that, 'the defects can never be known by the presentments of the churchwardens... They will forswear themselves over and over rather than bring expense on themselves and on their neighbours'.<sup>107</sup> Despite complaints about the lack of cooperation between ministers and wardens in the parishes, articles continued to be one of the primary tools available to a bishop in the pastoral inspection of their jurisdiction. In 1686, Archbishop Sancroft encouraged Blackburne's patron, Bishop Jonathan Trelawny, to use articles to make searching inquiries in his primary visitation of Bristol.

*Omnia bene*, though too frequent, is yet a very undecent and unhandsom Return to a Visitor, who from his soul desires to rectify what is amiss, & cannot so much as get it acknowledg'd (...) The Defaults you markt out for Reformation, are so comon & wthall so enormous & ye Injunctions wch you prescribe for Remedies so p<sup>r</sup>tinent & significant (...) Go but on, as you have begun, & yo<sup>r</sup> diocese will soon be in beautiful order.<sup>108</sup>

Surviving examples of articles from the turn of the eighteenth century generally adhered to a standard form, but were adapted by bishops to serve specific purposes.<sup>109</sup> The articles issued in support of the 1692 visitation of the Diocese of Exeter suggest that Trelawny sought to improve responses by adding titles relating to issues with which he was greatly concerned, such as impropriators, and the education of women.<sup>110</sup> In the North, an additional title added to the articles for Archbishop John Sharp's 1693 metropolitan visitation of Carlisle might be deemed a precursor to the more wide-reaching responses sought by the bishops' queries of the following century. Archbishop Sharp inquired, 'Do you know of any other matter or crime of Ecclesiastical cognizance fit to be reformed, which is not here exprest, or Inquired of in these Articles? You ought likewise to present the same'.<sup>111</sup> The ingenuity of individual bishops did not silence the old complaints entirely, however, and in some regions it is clear that articles alone did not yield satisfactory results. In the Diocese of London, almost all churchwardens'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Shiels, 'Bishops and their dioceses', p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> CRO. X1277, Collecteana Trelawniana, p. 262. Copy letter from William Sancroft, to, Jonathan Trelawny, 8 June 1686.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Shiels, 'Bishops and their dioceses', p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Smith, M. G., 'Bishop Trelawny's Visitation Articles, 1692', in, *Devon & Cornwall Notes & Queries*, vol. XXXVI, Part 1, (Spring 1987), pp. 33-34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Articles To be Inquired of Within the several Parishes of the Diocess of Carlisle in the Primary and Metropolitical Visitation of the most Reverend Father in God, John, by Divine Providence, Lord Arch-Bishop of York (York: 1693).

presentments for the period between 1690 and 1740 returned an uninformative *omnia bene*.<sup>112</sup> Shiels has identified this as indicative of the necessity of visitation reform in the eighteenth century, as 'it became imperative that the bishops, if they were truly to be informed of the state of affairs in their dioceses, devise an alternative strategy.'<sup>113</sup>

As emphasised above, discussion of visitation in York in the eighteenth century has been dominated by the publication of the returns to the queries of Archbishops Herring and Drummond, obscuring the practices of archbishops for whom only partial records have survived. In an otherwise excellent study of visitation reform, Shiels mistakes the approach of Archbishop Matthew Hutton to visitation as being tantamount to neglect. Remarking on Hutton's 1756 annotation to Herring's visitation returns that he found no 'material variation' to the answers received in 1743, Shiels states that 'Hutton's comment not only shows the complacent face of the Hanoverian episcopate, but serves to remind us that not all bishops were convinced as to the utility of the device.<sup>114</sup> This assessment is flawed on two accounts. Firstly, Hutton's diocesan papers demonstrate that queries were issued in support of his primary visitation. On 10 June 1748, Thomas Wright, curate of Halifax, wrote to Archbishop Hutton that 'I have seen your Questions, & believe that the Rev<sup>d</sup>. D<sup>r</sup>. Legh my Vicar will answer them.'115 Second, this view also negates the status of queries as an informal part of visitation practice during this period, and as such, bishops could do as they saw fit with the answers once they had been returned, as there was no formal process for the collation or retention of the records that they produced. In 1725, Bishop Richard Willis of Winchester made it plain in his queries that the intention was for the returns to be retained 'for the use of myself and my successors'.<sup>116</sup> Archbishop Thomas Herring took the same approach in 1743, but it should not be deemed a mark of episcopal neglect that working papers relating to visitation were occasionally disposed of. Much of the material (both manuscript and printed) produced in support of visitation was deemed ephemeral and has since been lost.<sup>117</sup> This can be observed in the after-lives of articles of inquiry, which were printed in their hundreds at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Shiels, 'Bishops and their dioceses', p. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Ibid, p. 5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Ollard, and, Walker (eds.), *Archbishop Herring's visitation returns, 1743. Vol.1.*, p. 1; Shiels, 'Bishops and their dioceses', fn.76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P V/3, letter from Thomas Wright, to, Matthew Hutton, 10 June 1748.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Ward, Parson and Parish in Eighteenth-Century Surrey, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Articles were typically produced locally, bore no printer's name, and were not entered at Stationers' Hall. A rare set of surviving accounts of expenses for the 1730 visitation of the Chapter of York records that £1 7s 0d was spent in printing Dean Richard Osbaldeston's injunctions. See, YML, C1/61-64, 1730.

each visitation, but survive only in extremely small numbers, if at all.<sup>118</sup> At Archbishop William Dawes's 1714–1716 primary visitation, diocesan officials computed that 713 books of articles would be required, but of the 720 that were ordered to be printed no copy survives.<sup>119</sup> In York, for the period 1691-1760 extant articles survive for just three of eleven episcopal visitations, and only seven sets of articles survive for archidiaconal visitations, which were conducted annually across the four archdeaconries of the diocese. A further three surviving examples are articles and injunctions issued to the Chapters of Southwell and York. No articles for the Archdeaconry of Cleveland survive for this period, and there are only two extant set of articles for any jurisdiction in York for the period 1739-1760 (see, Appendix F).

As Blackburne did not issue queries to the clergy in his primary visitation, the articles used in 1726-1728 must be interpreted as one of the main devices used by the archbishop to learn about the state of his diocese. Whilst none of Archbishop William Dawes's articles used in York survive, those used by Blackburne assumed a simpler format to those issued by Dawes in Chester.<sup>120</sup> Blackburne's articles comprised fifty questions grouped under eight headings (or titles), dispensing with references to the canons in the margins.<sup>121</sup> It is also clear Blackburne's directions concerning the responses to the articles issued at his primary visitation were particularly rigid.

It will be strictly insisted upon, that the Directions in this Advertisement be complied with, and no Presentments will be received, unless they be brought signed by the Church-Wardens with distinct Answers to every Article separately under every Title. The Consequence of neglecting to answer in this Manner will be, that the old Church-Wardens will be cited as Defaulters, and obliged to give in their Presentments at the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Kennedy, W. P. M., 'List of Visitation Articles and Injunctions, 1604-1715', in, *English Historical Review* (1925), pp. 586-592. This list of surviving articles is deficient, but still gives an impression of the geographical spread of extant articles in England and Wales.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> BIA. V. 1714-1716, 'A Plan of His Grace's primary Visitation held within the Arch: Deaconrys of York, East-ryding and Cleveland', 1716.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> A single copy of Articles To Be Enquired of And Answered unto By The Church-Wardens and Side-Men in the Visitation Of the Right Reverend Father in God, William Ld Bishop of Chester (London: Anne Speed, 1712) is held at the University of California.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> BL. RB23 B. 5093, Articles To Be Enquired Of, In The Primary Visitation Of The Most Reverend Father in God, Lancelot, by Divine Providence, Lord Arch-Bishop of York, Primate of England, and Metropolitan, holden in the Year, 172[blank]. (1726); Articles To Be Enquired of And Answered unto (...) in the Visitation Of the Right Reverend Father in God, William Ld Bishop of Chester (London: Anne Speed, 1712).

Correction Court. Neither can the new Church-Wardens be sworn, till the Presentments of the old Ones be received.<sup>122</sup>

The clergy of the diocese had never experienced such stringency in this matter. The visitation court book reveals that churchwardens from dozens of chapelries and parishes did not meet Blackburne's exacting requirements, and were subsequently cited to the correction courts for not drawing up their returns 'according to the Direction & Exhibited before the Book of Articles'.<sup>123</sup> Wardens of other parishes, such as Kirk Deighton, Newton Kyne and Oswaldkirk, were also cited for failing to sign their presentments.<sup>124</sup> Whilst only thirty-four returns to the articles survive for Blackburne's visitation, that of the churchwardens of Badsworth in the West Riding provides an example of what was deemed acceptable to Blackburne's court.<sup>125</sup> The return runs to three manuscript, folio pages, and was completed by the churchwardens 'having several times Carefully read, duly Considered Seriously deliberated & Conferr'd with our Rector about answering these Articles'.<sup>126</sup> Despite the comprehensiveness of this return, the churchwardens were still inclined to excuse themselves from answering every article absolutely, noting that under one title they certified that all was well, so as 'not to be tedious in repeating every particular mentioned in the Article'.<sup>127</sup> This process was observed firsthand by the experienced Holderness clergyman John Garnett, who recorded that it was the strictest adherence to the articles of inquiry he had seen in his lifetime.<sup>128</sup>

In York, the form of articles set at episcopal level by the archbishop was subsequently adopted at the lesser visitations of the archdeacons, and ordinaries of peculiar jurisdictions. Blackburne's overall model for articles was successfully imposed across the diocese, with enough flexibility for additions most relevant to the jurisdiction involved. The first major visitation in York after 1726-1728 was that of the Dean and Chapter in 1730, during which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> BL. RB23 B. 5093, Articles To Be Enquired Of, In The Primary Visitation Of The Most Reverend Father in God, Lancelot (...) Lord Arch-Bishop of York, p. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Those cited included the wardens of Adwick le Street, Allerston, Alne, Askham Bryan, Aston, Barnby Dunn, Batley, Birkby, Bracewell, Calverley, Carlton, Cawood, Colthorpe, Crathorne, Danby, Ebberston, Edstone, Farlington, Farnley, Flockton, Gillamoor, Hansworth, Harthill, Hartshead, Hilton, Hook, Idle, Kirkby-Moorside, Kirkby-Wharfe, Knottingley, Leake, Ledsham, Lockton, Middleton, Moor Monkton, Nether Poppleton, Otley, Pickering, Rawcliffe, Rawdon, Riccall, Rothwell, Sandall Parva, Selby, Shelbrook, Sheriff Hutton, Sinnington, Slingsby, Snainton, South Ottrington, Stainton, Stillington, Thorpe Salvin, Todwick, Thornthwaite, Weston, Wibsey, Wighill, Wilton, Wistow, and Yarm. See examples at, BIA. V. 1726-7/CB, Visitation Court Book, ff. 253, 256, 258.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> BIA. V. 1726-7/CB, Visitation Court Book, ff. 266, 322.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid, ff. 383-384.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> ERYAS. PE144/23, Sigglesthorne Church book, 1629-1766.

time all the respective peculiar jurisdictions of the cathedral of York were inhibited. The articles used at this visitation closely followed Blackburne's model, with relevant additions made only to those articles concerning peculiar jurisdictions and an instruction for the appearance of executors of last wills and testaments.<sup>129</sup> Significantly, the 1730 articles also included the same direction that every question be answered particularly, leading to more detailed responses from the parishes.<sup>130</sup> Prior to the 1730 visitation, responses to the articles of the Dean and Chapter were often limited to simple notes from the churchwardens, stating that they had nothing to present, and it was highly unusual for the articles to be addressed individually.<sup>131</sup> Those submitted in 1730, however, were much more detailed, and some churchwardens went as far as to return their answers in a sewn booklet in a similar format to the original printed articles.<sup>132</sup> Surviving articles used in the visitations of Archdeacons Thomas Hayter in 1738, and Jaques Sterne in 1751, demonstrate that the form of Blackburne's articles were preserved and utilised by the Archbishop's principal clients for a number of decades in York.<sup>133</sup> By this stage, the additional direction concerning the completeness of churchwardens' responses had been removed, suggesting that this aspect of visitation had been successfully reformed.

What is not clear, however, is the degree to which the responses to the visitation articles included meaningful input from the clergy. Whilst clerical participation in drawing up answers was encouraged, only two of the thirty-four surviving returns for 1726-1728 were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Articles To Be Enquired Of, In the General Visitation of the Right Worshipfull Richard Osbaldeston Doctor of Divinity Dean of the Cathedral and Metropolitical Church of St. Peter of York, and the Chapter of the Same Church, Holden in the Year, 1730 (York: 1730). See, YML, C1/61-64, 1730. This is the only known copy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> YML. C1/55-59, records of peculiar visitation, 1724-1728. Of the c. 50 surviving returns to articles issued at peculiar visitations in 1724, only the answer of the churchwardens of Tunstall in the East Riding responded to each article in turn. Only one full answer was returned at the visitations in 1726 and 1727, and no full answers survive for 1725 or 1728.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> YML. C1/61, records of peculiar visitation, 1730.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> Articles To Be Enquired of, in the Visitation of the Worshipful Thomas Hayter, Master of Arts Arch-Deacon of the Arch-Deaconry of York (York: 1735). The only known copy is at the University of California; Articles To be Enquired of in the Visitation Of the Right Worshipful Jaques Sterne, Doctor of Laws, Archdeacon of the Arch-Deaconry of the East-Riding (York: 1751). The only known surviving copy is held at YML. Sterne's articles are almost identical to Blackburne's of 1726-1728, except for the alteration to the form of prayer to 'his MAJESTY' in article 3:3, additions to article 6:4 relating to Papists, and an extra article, 6:8, concerning the use of banns and forms of marriage, degrees, etc. The articles also included an additional direction for the keeping of parish registers.

signed by a clergyman.<sup>134</sup> That said, additional evidence reveals that members of the clergy were active in the completion of the returns, as demonstrated by the notes of Archdeacon Robert Marsden, who recorded in his commonplace book the presentments for his parish organised under their respective titles.<sup>135</sup> The innovation of visitation queries certainly eliminated any uncertainties as to who was responsible for the returns at visitations, to the extent that some believed this extended as far as holding the diocesan accountable for responding to their presentments. After Archbishop William Wake's 1728 visitation of Canterbury, John Mackqueen of Dover wrote in complaint that no steps had been taken in response to his report that officials of the ecclesiastical court were abusing their position.<sup>136</sup> Not all clergymen were so forward with their bishop, but it seems that the utility of directing queries to the clergy was quite apparent to Blackburne. Whilst he did not issue queries during his primary visitation, he did direct his 'enquiries' concerning Catholicism to all the clergy of the diocese through the archdeacons at their annual visitations in 1735, thereby introducing queries to York eight years' prior to Archbishop Herring's primary visitation in 1743.<sup>137</sup>

In summary, Blackburne's decision not to use queries to the clergy in his primary visitation of 1726-1728 was not at all backward at a time when no bishop in the Northern Province had utilised the system. His eventual adoption of queries in support of his Catholic survey of 1735 was the first of its kind in the North, followed closely by Edward Chandler's implementation of the practice in Durham at his visitation of 1736.<sup>138</sup> In the meantime, Blackburne relied on the existing system of issuing articles of inquiry, and sought to improve the practice by making strict requirements for the form in which the presentments were to be made. The subsequent failure of many parishes to satisfactorily follow Blackburne's instructions led to the citation of dozens of churchwardens to the correction courts. In turn, the severity shown at to them on that occasion led to a reform in the quality of presentments returned at visitations across York. This improvement was maintained and overseen at lesser visitations, suggesting that Blackburne's administration presented a coherent and unified set of expectations of clerical behaviour and parochial discipline.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> BIA. V. 1726/1727, visitation Papers, Answers to Articles of Iinquiry. Diocese of York. The returns for Fewston and Weston were attested to by their ministers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> NA. DD/TS/14/2, commonplace book [of Robert Marsden], 1724-35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> CRO. PB8/7, Letter book of William Wake. John Mackqueen, to, William Wake, 14 September 1728.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> *Miscellanea*, CRS, pp. 204-361.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> UDSC. DDR/EV/RET, clergy visitation returns.

### Visitation in York after 1728

Four years after the conclusion of formal court business arising from Blackburne's primary visitation, the Archbishop formally announced to his clergy that he would no longer appear before them in a 'Triennial Visitation' (see, above). When considering Blackburne's performance in visitation, it is apparent that some eighteenth-century commentators believed the business of visitation was only rendered effectual by subsequent tours against which standards could be gauged over time. A correspondent of Archbishop John Sharp expressed that,

I suppose Your Grace made your first visitation in order to be acquainted with the Estate of your diocese. And as it may be supposed that Your Grace might find several things out of order and give instructions for bringing them into order again; so your second visitation may be intended to inform yourself whether your instructions have been well observed: And, in my poor judgement, your first visitation will be lame, and imperfect without a second<sup>139</sup>

It should be considered, however, that there was a diversity of opinion among the clergy about the use of visitations in the pastoral work of bishops. In 1723, George Burghope, the octogenarian vicar of Burton Agnes, was frustrated about the lack of action to repair the ruinous part of Harpham church despite frequent presentments, and so ventured to express himself freely in a letter to Archbishop William Dawes,

the Visitations seem to me to be little more than Matters of Forme & conduce little to the Good of the Church but to gett Money &c. - - Y<sup>r</sup> Graces pardon for this or any other ungratefull Truth. It becomes not my Age or Function to dissemble especialy when I write to my Awful & honour'd Diocesan<sup>140</sup>

It might be asked, therefore, whether Blackburne's inability to go through with a second visitation in the final eleven years of his archiepiscopacy imputes poor performance? This view, however, fails to accommodate visitation work by bishops who only occupied a See for a short period of time. There is little question that Archbishop Thomas Herring's primary visitation of 1743 was successful, nor was it invalidated by his inability to perform a second tour before his promotion to the primacy. Archbishop Matthew Hutton's tour of the following year continued the cycle of visitation work in York, and direct comparisons were made with Archbishop Herring's findings five years earlier.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Hart, *The Life and Times of John Sharp*, p. 170.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> BIA. CC Ab. 9, letter from George Burghope, to, William Dawes, 9 August 1723. George Burghope was ordained by Bishop William Nicholson of Gloucester on the 23 December 1665.

Unlike episcopal functions such as confirmation and ordination that could only be delegated to other bishops, visitations could be undertake by surrogates. Blackburne could have ordered his officials to tour the diocese in his absence, but there is no evidence that this was an established practice in York. As such, the burden of corrective business fell on the other ecclesiastical courts of the diocese, and the system of archidiaconal and peculiar oversight that was maintained through annual visitations. Smith has claimed, however, that the first quarter of the eighteenth century saw the archdeacons' courts in the diocese fall into unparalleled decline, with all instance causes and testamentary litigation dealt with centrally in York, and the archdeacons left with 'little else to do but swear in new churchwardens'.<sup>141</sup> Whilst there was no great revival of these courts during Blackburne's archiepiscopacy, the volume of business in each jurisdiction did vary from time to time, and ad hoc courts were arranged for smaller peculiars that experienced unexpected flurries of business. In 1741, Joseph Slater of Sherburn wrote to an official in the ecclesiastical courts stating that there had been 'the moste bisenes in this Perculer and fenton I ever knew in that time', and that a court of the Prebend of Fenton was necessary to see it dispatched. Whilst this only amounted to a few wills, the reply came that one would be set up the following week.<sup>142</sup> Smith adds that whilst the archidiaconal courts in York had less business to transact, their role in the pastoral ministry of the Church grew in significance.<sup>143</sup> This reflected a national trend as the Whig leaders of the Church instigated reforms that saw visitations across England and Wales shift in focus from the 'judicial to the pastoral'<sup>144</sup> Blackburne's contribution to this process was to set high standards for the use of the administrative tools of visitation in York, and maintaining those standards during his absence by the appointment of trusted clients to dignities over which they would exercise peculiar jurisdiction, and would in turn follow their Archbishop's example to present a unified set of behavioural, political, and theological expectations to the clergy and laity of those localities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Smith, M. G., 'Pastoral Discipline and the Church Courts: the Hexham Court 1680-1730, University of York Borthwick Paper No, 62 (York: University of York, 1982), p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> YML. C1/75, letter from Joseph Slater, to, Henry Dryden, 30 November 1741.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> Smith, 'Pastoral Discipline and the Church Courts', p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> Burns, Arthur, 'W. J. Conybeare: 'Church parties', in, Taylor, Stephen (ed.), *From Cranmer to Davidson: A Church of England Miscellany*, Church of England Record Society (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), p. 177.

### THE ABSENT ARCHBISHOP: CONFIRMATION

Unlike visitation, the episcopal rite of confirmation could not be delegated to subordinates within the diocese and therefore has come to be viewed as an important indicator of a bishop's performance of his pastoral functions. In the decade prior to 1724, the archbishops of York had been particularly successful in the provision of confirmation throughout their diocese. Archbishop John Sharp conducted his final confirmations in 1713, and Archbishop William Dawes made tours in 1716, 1719 and 1723.<sup>1</sup> Initially, Blackburne was on track to continue this exemplary record by combining a confirmation tour with his primary visitation of 1726-1728, before his declining health precipitated sweeping changes to his administration. In 1926, Ollard concluded that Blackburne had been deficient in providing confirmation in York, later elaborating that 'it is plain from the official records that the Archbishop grossly neglected his diocese'.<sup>2</sup> His view that at Archbishop Thomas Herring's arrival in 1743, York had suffered from 'long years of neglect' in regards to confirmation was not decisively refuted by revisionist historians such as Sykes, which has contributed towards an enduringly negative view of Blackburne as diocesan.<sup>3</sup> This is exemplified by Blackburne's entry in the ODNB, which erroneously claims that he 'appears to have conducted no confirmations'.<sup>4</sup> The recent work of Phillip Toyey, however, has reemphasised the importance and popularity of confirmation in eighteenth-century life, and contends that many of Ollard's conclusions regarding confirmation in York were undermined by the very information he provided in his studies.<sup>5</sup> Building on Tovey's broad reinterpretation of Anglican confirmation during this period, this section seeks to utilise additional manuscript sources to further analyse the provision of confirmation in York under Blackburne, and seeks new conclusions as to how this reflects on his performance as archbishop.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ERYAS, PE123/1, All Saints, Preston, register of baptisms, marriages and burials, 1559-1735. Includes memorandum of confirmation held at Hull by Archbishop Sharp on 13 August 1713; Valuable first-hand accounts of the 1716 and 1719 confirmations of Archbishop Dawes can be found in, Oates, *The Memoranda Book of John Lucas*, *1712-1750*, pp. 62-63, 72-73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ollard, S. L., 'Confirmation in the Anglican Communion', in, *Confirmation or The Laying On Of Hands*, Vol. 1 (London: SPCK, 1926), p.225; Ollard & Walker (eds.), *Archbishop Herring's visitation returns*, *1743. Vol.1.*, p. xxii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ollard, and, Walker (eds.), Archbishop Herring's visitation returns, 1743. Vol.5, p. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Starkie, Andrew, 'Blackburne, Lancelot (1658–1743)', *ODNB* [accessed at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2516 on 31 August 2019]. This mistaken view is also picked up in otherwise excellent studies, such as Walker, Gareth, 'The Church in York, 1688-1747', p. 86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Tovey, Phillip, Anglican Confirmation 1662-1820 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), p. 113.

### The canons and confirmation in the eighteenth century

The canonical requirements for confirmation during this period were outlined by Edmund Gibson in his Codex of 1713, which stated that in accordance with the sixtieth article of the canons of 1603, confirmation was to be performed by 'every Bishop or his Suffragan (...) in the Bishops Visitation every third year'.<sup>6</sup> The potential obstacles to the fulfilment of this obligation were manifold. The best laid plans of a bishop could be undone by factors as diverse as a laity who could not be compelled to attend the service, or the conditions of the roads in their diocese. Sykes remarked that 'under such difficulties even the most conscientious prelates were unable to satisfy the demands of all their critics." These issues became particularly acute when faced by bishops experiencing ill-health, or the decline of old-age. In these matters, however, the canons were not entirely inflexible, and the sixtieth article explicitly acknowledged that if 'by reason of some Infirmity, he [the bishop] be not able personally to Visit, then he shall not omit the Execution of that Duty of Confirmation the next year after, as he may conveniently'.<sup>8</sup> This caveat emphasises that there was an understanding within the Church of the difficulties faced in the provision of confirmation, and provided some manoeuvrability in how the rite was to be supplied. Gibson demonstrated his own adherence to this interpretation of the canons during his primary visitation of Lincoln in 1718, when a bout of ill-health rendered the performance of confirmation 'hazardous if not impracticable'.9 In his letter to the clergy, Gibson stated that his intention to divide the duties of visitation and confirmation into more manageable, separate tours, would 'contribute to the Order and Solemnity of both, so it will give me greater leisure, at both times, to make my own Enquiries and Observations, and to attend to such Questions and Representations as the Clergy may have occasion to offer.'10 In the Codex, Gibson further elaborated that the former designation of suffragan bishops was of 'evident use in large Dioceses, and under infirm or aged Bishops, especially for the work of Confirmation'.<sup>11</sup> Despite the discontinuation of suffragan bishoprics in the early seventeenth century, the practice of supplying a diocese in cases of ill-heath continued in in the form of individual commissions to other bishops to confirm on another's behalf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Gibson, *Codex*, vol. I, p. 454.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Sykes, *Church and State in the XVIIIth Century*, p. 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Gibson, Codex, vol. I, p. 454.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Cole, R. E. G. (ed.), Speculum Dioceseos Lincoliensis Sub Episcopis Gul: Wake Et Edm: Gibson A.D. 1705-1723, Part I Archdeaconries of Lincoln & Stow, Lincoln Record Society vol. 4 (Lincoln: The Society, 1913), p. iii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ibid.

### Lancelot Blackburne's performance in confirmation

To effectively assess Blackburne's performance in confirmation, it is useful to first consider his time at Exeter. During seven years as bishop in the south-western diocese, Blackburne conducted confirmation tours in 1718 and 1724.<sup>12</sup> He also held additional ceremonies at large centres of population to meet with popular demand, such as in July 1719 when he confirmed hundreds at Plymouth.<sup>13</sup> The two bishops who preceded Blackburne at Exeter (Trelawny and Blackall) confirmed throughout the diocese in 1706, 1709 and 1712 (respectively), and his successor, Bishop Stephen Weston, did the same between 1726 and 1728.<sup>14</sup> This demonstrates that Exeter was well-served in regard to confirmation prior to, during, and after Blackburne's time as bishop. Neither his age, illness, nor a serious accident (see, above) diminished his energies beyond the reasonable expectations of the canons. When turning to Blackburne's performance in York, however, the main challenge is that no records relating to confirmation were retained by diocesan officials between 1724 and 1743.15 Nor does any reference to confirmation appear in the voluminous records created during Blackburne's primary visitation.<sup>16</sup> In the absence of this evidence, the process by which confirmations were organised under Blackburne's administration can be inferred from the records of Archbishop William Dawes.

The retention of principal officers from the previous administration, such as Chancellor John Audley, and Thomas Jubb, deputy diocesan registrar, is suggestive of continuity in the organisation of confirmations in York between the prelacies of Archbishops Dawes and Blackburne.<sup>17</sup> Surviving visitation plans for 1714-1716 and 1717-1719 corroborate Dawes' message to his officials that he intended to 'confirm at every place where I visit'.<sup>18</sup> Prior to the Yorkshire leg of his primary visitation, Dawes also conducted additional confirmations in areas of high population. Between March and June 1716, Dawes performed ten of these services; seven of which at locations which were not also visitation centres. These

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Tovey, Anglican Confirmation, p. 133.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Jewitt, Llewellynn, A History of Plymouth (London: 1873), p. 323.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Tovey, Anglican Confirmation, p. 133.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Ollard, and, Walker (eds.), Archbishop Herring's visitation returns, 1743. Vol. 1, p. vii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> BIA. V. 1726-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> BIA. V. 1714-1716, miscellaneous items. Thomas Jubb later searched through visitation records in the diocesan registry back to the Reformation to answer specific queries relating to calls, inhibitions and other aspects of the archbishop's jurisdiction. See, BIA. Bp. C&P III/58, letter from Thomas Jubb, to, Thomas Hayter, 15 September 1735.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> BIA. V. 1714-1716, 'A Plan for his Grace's Primary Visitation held within the Arch: Deaconry of York East-ryding and Cleveland Ano 1716'; BIA. V. 1717-1719, 'A Plan for his Grace's Ordinary Visitation held in the Year 1719'. Audley Letters. William Dawes, to, John Audley, 8 August 1717.

included the large West Riding towns of Bradford, Halifax and Leeds.<sup>19</sup> John Lucas' account of Dawes' visit to the latter demonstrates that whilst these ceremonies were not part of the formal visitation process, they were still major public occasions and undertaken with the greatest solemnity.<sup>20</sup> Further details on the organisation of confirmations is scant, but in 1717 Dawes communicated that I 'would have him [Thomas Jubb] send notice & confirmation papers accordingly, & withall intimate at the bottom of the papers that I shall begin to confirm by 7 a clock in the morning'.<sup>21</sup> In 1719, Dawes gave instructions regarding confirmation that 'Mr Jubb will take care to have papers for confirmation sent with the book of Articles to every minister as usual.<sup>22</sup> It appears that Blackburne continued this practice, as the articles of inquiry for his primary visitation were prefaced with the instruction that the 'minister and church-wardens are to appear at the visitation, to be held in the [blank] And the next day His Grace will confirm in the said church all such as shall be duly prepared for it.'23 Whilst it is unknown whether Blackburne conducted additional confirmation services in York, his intention to confirm at centres of visitation is corroborated in a 1727 letter from Michael Bridges, who wrote that 'the Archbishop would set forward for Sheffield on the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> of this month, visit and confirm there first, then take Wakefield in his road to Leeds'.<sup>24</sup> These preparations make it clear that by combining a confirmation tour with his primary visitation, Blackburne was following the established practice of the diocese.

### **Commissions to other bishops**

The decline of Blackburne's health from 1728 led to significant changes in the functioning of his administration (see, above). Whilst it was possible for visitations to be undertaken by surrogates and diocesan officials, confirmations could not. As such, after a period of eight years with no confirmation ceremonies in York, Blackburne took steps to commission other bishops to undertake the task. Upon these commissions, tens of thousands of people were confirmed in 1735 by Bishop Thomas Wilson of Sodor and Man, and in 1737, by Bishop Martin Benson of Gloucester. Little is known about Wilson's efforts on Blackburne's behalf,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> BIA. V. 1714-1716, 'A Plan for his Grace's Primary Visitation held within the Arch: Deaconry of York East-ryding and Cleveland Ano 1716'. Dawes undertook additional confirmations at York (twice), Selby, Tadcaster, Easingwold, Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Otley and Wheldrake.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Oates, *The Memoranda Book of John* Lucas, pp. 62-63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Audley Letters. William Dawes, to, John Audley, 8 August 1717.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Audley Letters. William Dawes, to, John Audley, 4 April 1719.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> BL, Articles to be enquired of, in the primary visitation of the most reverend father in God, Lancelot, by divine providence, Lord Arch-Bishop of York.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> NA. DD/FJ/11/1/2/173-174, letter from Michael Bridges, to, Francis Foljambe, 13 August 1727. Whilst Bridges was correct that Blackburne intended to jointly visit and confirm, he was incorrect in nearly all other particulars concerning the archbishop's itinerary. See Appendix E.

but his biographers claim that he acted at 'the earnest request' of his metropolitan.<sup>25</sup> Despite being the most geographically distant suffragan in the Northern Province, there was clear precedent for the bishop of Sodor and Man to act on commission in York, as demonstrated by the consecration of three new chapels in the West Riding by Bishop Richard Parr in 1636.<sup>26</sup> In 1724, it was also the bishop of Sodor and Man to whom the Dean and Chapter of York considered sending letters dimissory for the ordination of a candidate before Blackburne's arrival in the diocese rendered this unnecessary.<sup>27</sup> Comparatively, surviving evidence of Bishop Martin Benson's confirmation work in York has made his tour the subject of considerable scrutiny.<sup>28</sup> Despite this scholarly attention, new evidence reveals that the scale of this tour has been significantly underestimated.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Bishop Wilson's confirmation work is mentioned in, Cruttwell, Clement, *The Works of the Right Reverend Father in God Thomas Wilson D.D. Fifty-Eight Years Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man* [&c], 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 1 (Bath: 1782), p. 39. Cruttwell claims Wilson confirmed 'upwards of fifteen thousand persons'. This figure is treated with some suspicion in, Keble, John, *The Life of the Reverend Father in God, Thomas Wilson D.D., Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man* [&c], vol. 2 (Oxford: 1863), pp. 767-768. Keble's account is also referenced in, Linnell, *The Diaries Of Thomas Wilson D. D.*, p. 148.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> The chapels consecrated were Wibsey, in Bradford parish, Hunslet in Leeds and Attercliffe in Sheffield. See, *The Victoria County History of the Counties of England, Yorkshire* (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1907), p. 58; BIA, Bp. C&P IV/24, letter from Robert Jubb, 14 February 1746.
<sup>27</sup> BIA. Bp C&P XIX, letter from Thomas Jubb, to, Lewis Stephens, 6 August 1725.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Fendley, 'Martin Benson, Bishop of Gloucester', and, Ollard, and, Walker (eds.), *Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns 1743*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ollard, Sykes and Tovey only cite the numbers that Benson confirmed at Halifax. See, Ollard, 'Confirmation in the Anglican Communion', pp. 225-226; Sykes, *Church and State in the XVIIIth Century*, p. 124; Tovey, *Anglican Confirmation*, p. 114.

September			October			November			
	4	Doncaster	4000	2	Scarborough	-	6	Malton	-
	6	Sheffield	-	16	Bridlington	-	-	Ripon	-
	9	Ripponden	1500	19	Hull	-			
	10-13	Halifax	7418	23	Beverley	-			
	14-16	Leeds	9263						
	-	Skipton	3000						
	-	Stokesley	2533						
	-	Wakefield	6588						
	-	Whitby	2223						

 Table 6, Dates, confirmation centres, and numbers confirmed by Bishop Martin Benson

 of Gloucester in the Diocese of York, 1737<sup>30</sup>

On 3 September 1737, the *Newcastle Courant* announced that Bishop Benson would confirm at centres throughout the North and West Ridings over the fortnight that followed. This advanced warning appears to have successfully alerted potential candidates to the upcoming tour, as a month later various London and regional newspapers reported that Benson had confirmed 36,525 people across the diocese. The veracity of these figures is supported by George Legh's first-hand account of 8922 persons confirmed at Halifax; extremely close to the number that made it to the press.<sup>31</sup> Whilst not mentioned in the newspaper reports, Legh stated that around 1500 individuals in Halifax were confirmed when Benson consecrated a chapel at Ripponden, some six miles from the town, indicating that the Bishop may have confirmed at more individual locations than the published lists suggested.<sup>32</sup> In some prints, the numbers of those confirmed at the market town and deanery centre of Stokesley was reported as totalling 25,333, but this was almost certainly a misprint.<sup>33</sup> These reports were published whilst the tour was still underway, and further evidence reveals that Benson conducted confirmations in at least seven more centres, including Sheffield, Scarborough, Bridlington,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Daily Gazetteer, London Edition, no. 702 (London: Saturday, 24 September 1737). Read's Weekly Journal Or British Gazetteer, no. 686 (London: Saturday 29 October 1737); Jago, Aspects of the Georgian Church, p. 79;

Lumb, G. D. (ed.), 'Extracts from the Leeds Mercury, 1737-42', *Thoresby Society Miscellany*, VIII (1924), p. 65; slightly different figures are quoted in *The Derby Mercury*, vol. IV, no. 33 (Derby: 3 November 1737), 'At Doncaster 4000; at Sheffield 6060; at Halifax 8918; at Skipton 3000; at Leeds 9283; at Wakefield 6588; at Stokesley 25333; at Whitby 2333.'

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/7/23, letter from George Legh, to, Thomas Hayter, 12 October 1737.
 <sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Derby Mercury, vol. IV, no. 33 (Derby: 3 November 1737)

Hull, Beverley, Malton, and Ripon.<sup>34</sup> With the full extent of Benson's tour brought to light, an estimated total of the numbers confirmed throughout the diocese in 1737 can be revised upward to in excess of 50,000.

These figures clearly demonstrate that after the absence of confirmation in York between 1727 and 1735, Blackburne's commissions to other bishops were incredibly timely. Indeed, in 1743 Archbishop Thomas Herring related that during Bishop Benson's tour 'ye Young crowded in to his Confirmation under a Notion, that they might be too old, before another B<sup>p</sup> came amongst them'.<sup>35</sup> Despite this, historians have repeatedly failed to acknowledge Blackburne's role in directing the commissions. Sykes curiously side-stepped Blackburne's agency in this process, stating that under his administration confirmations in York were 'virtually discontinued', save for the 'magnificent endeavour' of Bishop Martin Benson.<sup>36</sup> Certainly, Blackburne's selection of one of the most energetic and talented bishops in the country did not go unrecognised by his clergy. When Joseph Cookson, vicar of Leeds, offered his gratitude for the confirmation service in his large parish, it was not directed to Benson, but to his archbishop.<sup>37</sup> William Steer, vicar of Ecclesfield, wrote with gratitude to Blackburne that he had opportunity to speak with Benson in Sheffield, despite there being 'crowds upon crowds to confirm'.<sup>38</sup> George Legh, vicar of Halifax, was most enamoured by Benson's conduct, writing with great approbation that the 'B<sup>p</sup> of Gloucester is a man one w<sup>d</sup> wish to spend a whole Life w<sup>th</sup> instead of 2 or 3 days'.<sup>39</sup> Legh related that Benson had performed the much-desired confirmation with 'great Devotion & Solemnity', and on account of the vicar's preparations for the service, had been 'much pleas'd & said many good natur'd things'.<sup>40</sup> Blackburne's direction of the 1737 confirmation tour is confirmed in the autobiographical notes of Dean Heneage Dering of Ripon, who recorded that,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Benson's sermon notes record that he confirmed at Malton and Ripon in November 1737. Benson later used a confirmation sermon preached in Yorkshire in 1737 in Durham between 1748 and 1749. See, BL, Add. MS. 39313, Berkeley Papers Vol. X. Bishop Bensons Sermons and Charges; HHC, BRB/17, Draft Bench Book, 1704-1738, p. 804. Thanks to Kate Taylor, Wakefield Diocesan Historian, for source information relating to Wakefield. Private correspondence, June 2014. In a letter of 30 January 1738 to Bishop Thomas Secker, Browne Willis intimated that he hoped to receive a Beverley token from Benson from his 'Yorkshire progress'. See, Jenkins, A. P., *The Correspondence of Thomas Secker, Bishop of Oxford 1737-58*, Oxfordshire Record Society vol. 57 (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1991), pp. 2-3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> UNSC. Pw V 120, f. 43, letter from Thomas Herring, to, William Herring, 10 June 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Sykes, Church and State in the XVIIIth Century, p. 124

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/7/24, letter from Joseph Cookson, to, Thomas Hayter, 15 October 1737.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/7/21, letter from William Steer, to, Thomas Hayter, 4 October 1737.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/7/23, letter George Legh, to, Thomas Hayter, 12 October 1737.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Ibid.

I obtained of the archbishop that Dr. Benson, bishop of Glocester, whom he had engaged to confirm in other parts of the diocese, might confirm also at Ripon; which he did November 16<sup>th</sup>, and lodged at the deanery. We had not had a confirmation here since this archbishop came to the see.<sup>41</sup>

This account also reinforces the view that Blackburne was responsive to the varying needs for confirmation within his diocese and (as with Halifax) made provision to supply areas where he had not confirmed during his primary visitation.<sup>42</sup>

## Selection of commissioned bishops

It might be expected that a bishop commissioned to confirm in York would be drawn from the archbishops' suffragans, but of the seven bishops who travelled to the diocese to perform the rite between 1715 and 1760, only four were prelates of the Northern Province.<sup>43</sup> This figure suggests that obedience to the metropolitan was not the predominant determining factor in the selection of those commissioned. Further investigation of Blackburne's case demonstrates that ties of obligation (both familial and professional) were of greater importance, as they transcended diocesan borders. Bishop Thomas Wilson of Sodor and Man was the only bishop commissioned by Blackburne from the Northern Province, and was beholden to the authority of the archbishop by his consecration oath. Furthermore, Bishop Wilson was far from consumed with parochial business in governing his diminutive island diocese.<sup>44</sup> The argument for expediency, however, ends there, as the crossing to England was highly treacherous and one that Wilson took more infrequently as he got older.<sup>45</sup> In 1735, Wilson was seventy-two (five years' younger that Blackburne) and in a fragile state of health, indicating that he was not necessarily chosen for his greater physical abilities. Wilson travelled to England in that year to transact business in London and to procure preferment for his son.<sup>46</sup> Evidence from the diary of Thomas Wilson junior suggests that Bishop Wilson's commission was part of an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Yorkshire Diaries and Autobiographies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, p. 349.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> BIA. V. 1726-7/CB, Visitation Court Book. The visitation court book records that Blackburne conducted his visitation at Ripon on 6 September 1727, but Dering's account suggests that he did not confirm there.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Tovey gives details of confirmation tours in York, 1737-1771. See, Tovey, Anglican Confirmation, p. 114. Bishops commissioned to confirm on the archbishops' behalf after 1737; 1755, Edmund Keene, Bishop of Chester; 1758, Robert Drummond, Bishop of St. Asaph; 1758, John Garnett, Bishop of Clogher; 1760, Edmund Keene, Bishop of Chester; 1760, Richard Trevor, Bishop of Durham.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Manx National Heritage. MS09756, letter from Thomas Wilson, 24 August 1725. Wilson elaborates on the double oath and obligation of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, describing his obedience to the Archbishop of York, and the 'Laws of the Land'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> In 1725 Thomas Wilson junior was almost drowned after being shipwrecked on the coast of Ireland. See, Linnell, *The Diaries Of Thomas* Wilson, p. 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Linnell, *The Diaries Of Thomas Wilson D. D.*, pp. 124-131.

agreement with Blackburne to secure his son a living in the North. The diary records that on 24 July 1735, four days before Bishop Wilson left London, Blackburne offered Thomas Wilson junior the next presentation to the valuable rectory of Rothbury in Northumberland.<sup>47</sup> Despite being outside of York, the patronage of Rothbury was vested in the Bishop of Carlisle, and grants of advowson were frequently made to others for a single turn.<sup>48</sup> Whilst further details of this agreement are not known, it appears that Wilson had opportunity to complete his commission during the six-week return journey to the Isle of Man. This tour greatly fatigued Wilson on what proved to be his final visit to England.<sup>49</sup> Whilst Wilson's confirmations in York undoubtedly served an important pastoral function, the circumstances under which the commission was granted were ultimately disappointing for his family. In February 1736, after a significant setback in gaining a living in London and no further news about the rumoured ill-health of Thomas Sharp (the incumbent of Rothbury), Thomas Wilson junior relinquished the presentation back to Blackburne.<sup>50</sup> This case demonstrates that it was not geographical proximity, or metropolitan authority that was the primary factor behind Wilson's selection for a commission, but obligations of patronage.

By contrast, Bishop Martin Benson was a prelate of the Southern Province, and therefore a suffragan of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The distance between Gloucester and York also argues against geographical proximity as a key determining factor, but Bishop Benson did travel North regularly to attend residence as a canon of Durham, a dignity to which he had been collated by Bishop William Talbot (Blackburne's brother-in-law) in 1724.<sup>51</sup> From that time, Benson attended his duties in that cathedral community with a diligence that was lauded by his contemporaries. In 1741, when approached by Bishop Edmund Gibson to secure a living in Durham for one his relations, Benson stated to Thomas Sharp 'y' as long as I had been a Member of y' body, I had never asked a Living for any one person, & y' if my asking ys favour now could be of any service to his friend I w<sup>d</sup> readily do it.'<sup>52</sup> Beyond residence and the duties required of his canonry, Benson also ordained annually at Durham in October (candidates for both the Church of England and Episcopal Church in Scotland), and acted in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Ibid, p. 129. Rothbury was valued at £58 6*s* 8*d* on the King's books, perhaps yielding an annual income of up to £500. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the living was worth £1106.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Dodds, Madelein Hope (ed.) *A History of Northumberland*, vol. XV (Newcastle upon Tyne: Andrew Reid & Co., 1940), pp. 307-323. Archbishop William Dawes presented Thomas Sharp to the rectory in 1720. See, Bacon, John, *Liber Regis vel Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum* (London: 1786), p. 1269.
 <sup>49</sup> Linnell, *The Diaries Of Thomas Wilson D. D.*, p. 131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Ibid, p. 148. Upon relinquishing Rothbury, Wilson stated that he had 'no prospects of any preferment in the Church' and expected 'nothing but disappointments in the world'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Fendley, 'Martin Benson, Bishop of Gloucester', p. 157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> GA. D3549/7/1/1, letter from Martin Benson, to, Thomas Sharp, 23 November 1741.

various capacities for the ailing Bishop Edward Chandler, including undertaking a visitation in 1746.<sup>53</sup> Alongside Benson's known conscientiousness in the performance of his episcopal duties, and his attendance in Durham, another significant factor was his personal relationship with Blackburne. It has previously been suggested that Benson's confirmation tour was an act of 'family friendship', founded on a shared connection with the Talbot family.<sup>54</sup> Benson also offered companionship to Blackburne toward the end of his life, being known to spend evenings with the Archbishop playing cards.<sup>55</sup> Blackburne expressed his very personal gratitude towards Benson in his will of 1737.

I give and bequeath to my very friendly Brother and generous fellow Labourer in the most Toilsome part of my Episcopal Office Martin Benson Lord Bishop of Gloucester  $[\pounds 100]$  to be laid out by my Executors in some one handsome piece of plate and I beg him to accept the same in remembrance of his most thankfull friend<sup>56</sup>

Benson's personal friendship with Blackburne was coupled with a general willingness to offer his assistance to older members of the episcopal bench, a trait which he demonstrated repeatedly throughout his life. In 1748, Bishop Edmund Gibson (at the age of seventy-nine) reflected on his diminishing strength, and thanked God for being 'able as yet to go thro' the business of my Diocese; with some help from my younger Brethren in the laborious parts'. He added that, 'the B<sup>p</sup>. Of Glocester, who has, with the greatest goodness, given me a general assurance of his readiness to assist on all occasions.'<sup>57</sup> The cases of Bishops Benson and Wilson illuminate the diverse reasons behind the selection of bishops to act on commission for their episcopal brethren during the eighteenth century. Evidence from York to 1760 further suggests that the motivations behind the use of commissions could be more esoteric than they first appear. In the summer of 1758, Bishop John Garnett of Clogher in Ireland conducted a short confirmation tour of the Archdeaconry of the East Riding on behalf of Archbishop John Gilbert. Alongside the usual deanery centres of Beverley, Bridlington and Hull, Garnett also conducted confirmations at less regularly visited places, such as the coastal village of Hornsea.<sup>58</sup> Whilst the occasion of a bishop of the Church of Ireland being commissioned to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> GA. D3549/7/1/1, letter from Martin Benson, to, Thomas Sharp, 14 July 1750. Benson states, 'as usual at y<sup>e</sup> End of October I shall hold an Ordination at Durham'; Fendley, 'Martin Benson, Bishop of Gloucester', pp. 162-163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Fendley, 'Martin Benson, Bishop of Gloucester', pp. 163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 30 August 1742.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> TNA. PROB/11/725, Will of Lancelot Blackburne.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> GA. D3549/7/1/1, Letter from Edmund Gibson, to, Thomas Sharp, 2 April 1748.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> ERYAS. PE30/2, St. Nicholas's Church, Hornsea, Register of baptisms, marriages and burials, 1678-

<sup>1762.</sup> Memorandum, 'Doctor John Garnett Bishop of Clogher held a Confirmation at Hornsea 26th July 1758'; Tovey, *Anglican Confirmation*, p. 118.

confirm in a rural region of York was highly unusual, Garnett was a native of the area, and a son of the former rector of Barmston and Sigglesthorne in Holderness. It was in the former of these parishes that Garnet first entered the Church as curate to his father in 1731.<sup>59</sup>

### **Reassessing Blackburne's performance in confirmation**

With the full extent of confirmation provision under Blackburne's administration revealed, it prompts a re-evaluation of the supposed state of the diocese on the arrival of Archbishop Thomas Herring in 1743. An exchange between Edmund Pyle and Bishop Matthias Mawson of Chichester regarding Herring's primary visitation has gone a long way towards wrong-footing historians.

I feared the pleasure of his Lordship's tour was much abated by the fatigue that must arise from the share he had in the work of Confirmation, which must be very large, I supposed, as the towns in Yorkshire were very populous, and there was an arrear of 12 years' neglect which was to be paid off. To which he said, 'Why, truly, Mr. Pyle, the places were very large, and the people very numerous, but yet I saw nothing in the business of Confirmation but what one pair of hands might very well have performed.'<sup>60</sup>

This source was utilised by Ollard to depict Herring's prelacy as conscientious and energetic, the antithesis of that of his predecessor. In doing so, however, Ollard followed the views of Pyle, but seemingly ignored Bishop Mawson's reproach. As demonstrated above, Blackburne's use of commissions renders Pyle's account of twelve years' arrears completely erroneous.<sup>61</sup> In June 1743, Herring related that his tour progressed 'w<sup>th</sup> great ease', and that the task of confirmation had been 'renderd much more easy to us by y<sup>e</sup> B<sup>p</sup> of Gloucesters Pains six Years agoe.'<sup>62</sup>

Whilst the development of any back-log of confirmation candidates might be read as poor episcopal performance, this must be weighed against Blackburne's known physical limitations, and his efforts to manage the situation through commissions. In a diocese where the previous bishop was known to have been incapacitated, incoming bishops were often keen to resolve any irregularities.<sup>63</sup> In his 1743 visitation queries, Archbishop Thomas Herring

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> BIA. Inst. AB 11, Institution Act Book, 1724-1733.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Memoirs of a Royal Chaplain, p. 88. Edmund Pyle to Samuel Kerrich, 17 July 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Pyle was not in Yorkshire at the time of Herring's visitation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> UNSC. Pw V 120, f. 43, letter from Thomas Herring, to, William Herring, 10 June 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> When White Kennett became bishop of Peterborough in 1718, he sought to correct irregularities relating to the deficient ordination practices of his elderly predecessor. See, Sykes, *Church and State in the XVIIIth Century*, pp. 103-104.

added an additional question concerning parishioners who were not yet confirmed, but made no further reference to confirmation in his letter to the clergy of 2 May 1743.<sup>64</sup> The returns to Archbishop Herring's queries demonstrate that whilst interruption in availability of confirmation did result in greater demand for the rite, this varied widely by locality. Whilst the large urban parishes of the West Riding provided a constant stream of new candidates for confirmation, the clergy of many rural parishes reported that they had very few candidates.<sup>65</sup> The few returns that make explicit reference to deficiencies in confirmation are often couched in terms that show appreciation of the character of Blackburne's administration. Gilbert Wighton, rector of Garforth, described 'Confirmation being not perform'd Regularly and according to Cannon for some Years past Occasiond I imagin by the Infirmities of our late Arch Bishop, that I have not been Constant in Catechising as Formerly, which was every other year'.<sup>66</sup> This approach was echoed in the return of Stephen Clarke, curate of Norton, who stated that, 'I only Catechise against a Confirmation; & the Parishioners send their Children accordingly'. This complacency was dissatisfying to Archbishop Herring, who made a note against Clarke's return of 'Bad Catechising', suggesting that the fault lay with the individual clergyman, rather than his predecessor.<sup>67</sup> Others such as Christopher Coulson, rector of Routh, inferred that the low numbers presented for confirmation were the product of Blackburne's theology. Coulson described that some of his parishioners who had already received communion were unsure as to whether Herring would expect them to offer themselves as candidates, 'his late Grace seeming to be of opinion, yt., it was unseasonable for such to receive confirmation.'68 This suggests that Blackburne was thought to follow the views of Bishop William Fleetwood of St. Asaph and Ely, that those who had already received the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Ollard, and, Walker (eds.), *Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns 1743*, Vol. I, p. viii, xiv-xv, 2. <sup>65</sup> For demand in the West Riding, see, Ollard, and, Walker (eds.), *Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns 1743*, Vol. I, p. 50, Richard Hartley, vicar of Bingley, wrote, 'I believe there are a great many who have been Baptiz'd and of a competent Age to be confirmed, yet have not been confirmed'. Richard Hartley, vicar of Bingley. Ibid, p. 132, there is evidence of want in Pontefract deanery, particularly Coley and Crostone chapelries. 'There are many that are baptiz'd & of a competent Age that are not confirm'd, they not having had ye Opportunity for some Years past'. Ibid, vol. II, p. 40, William Grimshaw, curate of Haworth, wrote, 'there are, I believe, near 400, baptiz'd & of competent Age, not confirm'd'. Ibid, vol. II, p. 143, John Murgatroyd, curate of St. John's Chapel in Leeds; 'There are great Numbers who are Baptized & of a competent Age, & are not confirmed'. For the lack of demand in other parts of the diocese. Ibid, vol. I, p. 97, Charles Richardson, rector of Brandesburton, 'We have but a few ready to be confirm'd'. Ibid, vol. II, p. 54, Henry Plumpton, curate of Hook, wrote, 'I know not of any who frequent the Chapel that are not Baptized, and not of many, since the late Solemnization, that are being Baptized and of a competent Age, are not confirmed'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Ollard, and, Walker (eds.), Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns 1743, Vol. II, p. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Ibid, Vol. II, p. 203.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid. Vol. III, p. 34.

Lord's Supper were fully admitted to communion.<sup>69</sup> Overall, the returns give little sense of excessive want of confirmation in the diocese, and many clergymen offered their assurances that those from their parishes who were not already confirmed would take up the opportunity afforded by the next visitation.

This examination of confirmation in York also illustrates how the publication of the 1743 and 1764 visitation returns has exaggerated the perceived success of Archbishops Herring and Drummond compared to other eighteenth-century archbishops, such as Dawes, Blackburne and Hutton. Just as the wealth of available information in the former cases has encouraged analysis, so the paucity of it in the latter has resulted in historiographical neglect. Even an optimist like Sykes dedicated barely a page of his biographical essay on Blackburne to his pastoral record at York, and relied heavily on Ollard's work on the York Diocesan Archives.<sup>70</sup> Closer inspection of Ollard's sources reveals that the burden of his analysis of confirmation in York rested on just two letters from George Legh, vicar of Halifax, concerning the 1737 tour of Bishop Martin Benson.<sup>71</sup> Legh stated that 'After ye Diocesan's 20 years absence, ye only Confirmn here in Archbp Blackburne's time' was Benson's visit in 1737.72 Whilst this might appear to suggest that there had been no confirmation tours in the diocese for two decades, the itinerary of Blackburne's primary visitation strongly suggests that Legh was commenting on the selection of confirmation centres. In 1727, Blackburne omitted Halifax from his visitation and selected Leeds, Sheffield and Wakefield as alternative centres for confirmation in the West Riding (see, Appendix E). Considering the size of Halifax, thought by Defoe to be the 'most populous' parish in England, this may have been imprudent, and a compelling reason why Benson was commissioned to visit the town in 1737.<sup>73</sup> The visitation returns of 1743 reveal that other West Riding clergymen wished that Halifax would be restored to the confirmation schedule. Thomas Greenwood, curate of Heptonstall chapel in Halifax informed the Archbishop,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Tovey, Anglican Confirmation, p. 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Sykes, Norman, "The Buccaneer Bishop", pp. 98-99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Sykes, *Church and State in the XVIIIth Century*, p. 124. Sykes quotes figures found in, Ollard, 'Confirmation in the Anglican Communion', which are cited from, BIA. Bp. C&P III/7/23, letter from George Legh, to, Thomas Hayter, 12 October 1737.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Ollard, 'Confirmation in the Anglican Communion', p.229.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Defoe, Daniel, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, quoted in, Thomas, Samuel S., *Creating Communities in Restoration England, Parish and Congregation in Oliver Heywood's Halifax*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 10-11.

I have some few Young Persons that are Baptized & Unconfirmed, because when Byshop Benson Confirm'd at Halifax all or most were then Confirm'd in my Chappelry. The remainder being Young & Wakefield being 20 or 22 miles distant, wait in Hopes some time 'ere in long to receive Your Graces Blessing, as used By Arch-Bps Sharp & Daws at Halifax.'<sup>74</sup>

In this case, to overlook the local conditions about which the original correspondents were remarking is to support a negative view of confirmation which cannot be sustained in the light of additional evidence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Ollard, and, Walker (eds.), Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns 1743, Vol. II, p. 36.

## THE SHADOW OF PATRONAGE

M<sup>r</sup> Berdmore I find is dead - & I have collated D<sup>r</sup> Atwell to his Prebend by Virtue of an order from his Grace, and You are to succeed D<sup>r</sup> Atwell in His Prebend (...) His Grace is very weak – If you are not set forward, make hast up.<sup>1</sup>

On 19 March 1743, Jaques Sterne anxiously penned these lines to Matthew Bradford, notifying him that he was to succeed to a prebend of Southwell vacated by Joseph Atwell, himself repositioned into a more valuable stall at the death of Samuel Berdmore. Bradford was to 'make hast' to complete his collation because this prebendal re-shuffle was timesensitive; a few days later Blackburne was dead.<sup>2</sup> At that moment, his episcopal administration ceased to exist, and diocesan jurisdiction reverted to the Dean and Chapter of York. This legal transition was exemplified by the journey of Thomas Lamplugh, the last of Archbishop John Sharp's appointees in the cathedral of York, to take 'peaceable and quiet' possession of Bishopthorpe Palace in the name of the Chapter on 28 March 1743.<sup>3</sup> Those formerly in Blackburne's inner circle were suddenly detached from the central workings of diocesan governance, and their especial prominence changed overnight to a status proportionate to their respective dignities. Indeed, this was the more jarring to Blackburne's commissaries who enjoyed unparalleled pseudo-episcopal powers during the years of the Archbishop's absence from the diocese. Even those named in the sede vacante commission understood that their positions were only temporary. The new archbishop would arrive with his own politicoreligious agenda, clients, and imperatives for the disposal of patronage.<sup>4</sup> The exclusive nature of episcopal patronage relationships meant that the prospect of receiving further preferment in the next administration was extremely low. Of the 133 appointments made in the cathedral of York between 1691 and 1757, only three clergymen received places under more than one archbishop (see, Appendix B). This chapter considers the long shadow cast by an episcopal patron over their clients, and argues that their later clerical careers were dependant on 'patronage slipstream'; the accelerative process by which patrons hastened their clients' advancement during their lifetimes, and bolstered their continued progress by the advantages

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Curtis, Lewis Perry, *The Letters of Laurence Sterne* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 423. Letter from Jaques Sterne, to, Matthew Bradford, 19 March 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> YML. DC/H7, Chapter Act Book, 1728-1747. 'The See of York is vacant by the natural Death of Lancelot Blackburn Doctor in Divinity of honourable Memory the late Lord Arch Bishop of York who died at London the [22 March 1743]'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> BIA. Bp. Conf., 'proceedings in the Vacancy of the See of York', 1743, pp. 9-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> YML. DC/H7, Chapter Act Book, 1728-1747. On 28 March 1743, Richard Osbaldeston, Thomas Lamplugh, Jaques Sterne, Samuel Baker, and Charles Cowper were named in the *sede vacante* commission.

of financial independence, status, and mutual connection. This will be illustrated through a short case study of the interconnected clerical careers of Blackburne's clients; Thomas Hayter and Jaques Sterne.

Given the average age at appointment of eighteenth-century bishops (see, above), episcopal patronage relationships were permeated by the likelihood that clients would outlive their patrons.<sup>5</sup> On 1 November 1726, seventy-five-year-old Bishop John Hough of Worcester gave thanks to Archbishop William Wake for facilitating James Stillingfleet's appointment as dean of his cathedral.

I have reason to believe he will have Friends when I am gone, & such as likely enough to have it in their power to promote him; & to them I have him. in y<sup>e</sup> mean time your Grace has enabled him to live Comfortably; & if he cannot enjoy himself till he has more, I shall think he has too much already<sup>6</sup>

In this statement, Bishop Hough set out a contemporary understanding of patronage slipstream. Having provided for James Stillingfleet during his lifetime, he expected that others in their shared patronage network would continue to offer assistance after his decease. These associations of mutual connection could exhibit remarkable longevity. Ingram has described the network of protégés fostered by Bishop William Talbot (1658-1730) as a 'self-sustaining nexus of support and encouragement, providing one another with friendship, confidence, and, when necessary, patronage'.<sup>7</sup> In 1766, some thirty-five years after Bishop Talbot's death, Archbishop Thomas Secker of Canterbury recorded the names of appointees to ten places in the Southern Province. Secker reserved half of those places for dependants of Bishops Martin Benson and George Berkeley, both fellow Talbot clients, who had themselves both been dead for over a decade.<sup>8</sup> Blackburne was sixty-six at his translation to York, and also promoted clients who might mutually support one another after his death. This is reflected in the age of his chaplains (see, Table 1). In line with national trends in the 1720s, the average age of Blackburne's chaplains at appointment was 39.8.<sup>9</sup> By contrast, Archbishop William Dawes was only forty-three at his translation and brought with him as chaplain Charles Blake (1664-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Hirschberg, 'A Social History of the Anglican Episcopate', p. 164.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> CRO, PB8/5, letter from John Hough, to, William Wake, 1 November 1726.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ingram, *Religion, Reform and Modernity*, p. 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Macauley, John S., and, Greaves, R. W., *The Autobiography of Thomas Secker Archbishop of Canterbury*, University of Kansas Publications Library Series no. 49 (Lawrence: University of Kansas Libraries, 1988), p. 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Gibson, *A Social History of The Domestic Chaplain, 1530-1840*, p. 113. Gibson states that the average age of chaplains at appointment in 1721-22 was 39.36.

1730), his former tutor at St. John's College, Oxford.<sup>10</sup> Archbishop Dawes's appointment of Blake as Archdeacon of York in 1720 likely represented the fulfilment of his obligations to his old tutor, rather than a way-point to further preferment, as it could not have been expected that the Archbishop would predecease his client, as he did in 1724.<sup>11</sup>

Episcopal patrons were time-limited in their attempts to provide for their clients, either by the duration of their episcopal administrations, or by their own life-spans, and as such many bishops compensated for this by accelerating the progress of their clients in their cliental careers. This aspect of patronage slipstream can be observed by comparing the rate at which a patron advanced through the respective stations of the Church to that of their client. Taking Blackburne's clerical career as a model, we can plot certain milestones against the years elapsed from his entrance to the priesthood (brackets). Blackburne was ordained in 1682; appointed to his first canonry in 1691 (9); made subdean in 1695 (13); dean in 1705 (23); archdeacon in 1715 (33); a bishop in 1717 (35); and archbishop in 1724 (42). This can be compared with the career trajectory of Thomas Hayter, who was ordained in 1727, made a canon in 1728 (1); subdean in 1730 (3); archdeacon in 1730 (3); and a bishop in 1749 (21). This example demonstrates that Blackburne's patronage towards Hayter greatly accelerated his progress in the Church far beyond his own experience, outstripping median rates for advancement for the period.<sup>12</sup> After Blackburne's death, patronage slipstream saw Hayter appointed as a bishop in half as many years as it had taken his patron to reach the episcopal bench. Evidently, this is a selective case, and the dynamics of patronage slipstream were not exponential. Thomas Hayter could not reasonably expect to promote a client of his own more swiftly that he had experienced in his clerical career. This form of comparative analysis does, however, help to identify a patron's most significant clients, and is equally observable among the lower clergy.

By 1735, Jaques Sterne was an archdeacon and had begun to accrue patronage in his own right. As discussed above in the case of James Borwick (see, above), Jaques Sterne used this influence to bring clergymen into positions of privilege in the Archdeaconry of Cleveland

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Salter, H. E. (ed.), *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, Oxford Historical Society, vol. XI (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), p. 11; Hoskin, Philippa M., *A Decent, Regular and Orderly State? Parochial Visitations of the Archdeaconries of York and the East Riding, 1720-1730*, Borthwick Texts and Studies 40 (York: University of York, 2010), pp. xiv-xv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Horn, and, Smith, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1541-1857, IV, York Diocese, p. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Hirschberg, 'A Social History of the Anglican Episcopate', pp. 266-268; in the nineteenth century, the rate of advancement slowed further. See, Gibson, William T., 'The Professionalization of an Elite: The Nineteenth Century Episcopate', in, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, vol. 23, no. 3 (Autumn 1991), pp. 459-482.

(and beyond), including several of his relations and clerical allies.<sup>13</sup> It was through these channels that Jaques Sterne encouraged the early career of his nephew, Laurence Sterne. This relationship is the point of some contention within Sterne Studies. That Jaques Sterne was his nephew's clerical patron is not in dispute; Laurence Sterne explicitly acknowledged this in his autobiographical memoirs.<sup>14</sup> It is posited, however, that Jaques Sterne was exploitative of his nephew's journalistic talents during the York electoral campaign of 1741, and oversaw his collation to a prebend that was a 'poisoned chalice' incumbered with an unfavourable reversionary lease.<sup>15</sup> It is for these reasons (it is alleged) that Laurence Sterne publicly broke ties with his uncle in July 1742.<sup>16</sup> This position can be challenged, however, through the principles of patronage slipstream using selective career milestones common to both patron and client; Jaques Sterne was ordained in 1717; obtained a parish living in 1723 (6); preached his first visitation sermon in 1726 (9); received his first prebend in 1729 (12); and was advanced to a more valuable one in 1731 (14). By contrast, through his uncle's patronage Laurence Sterne achieved the same milestones in (2), (1), (4), and (5) years, respectively. This was dependent on both Jaques Sterne's exertion of his own patronage, such as inviting his nephew to preach at his archidiaconal visitation at Thirsk in May 1739, and his ability to leverage favour from his archbishop on behalf of his young relation. As such, Laurence Sterne became one of only four men to move from a prebend of lower income to a more valuable one under Blackburne's administration (see, Appendix B).

Promoting a client so rapidly did not draw widespread notice when those appointments were made within a diocesan or local context, but this could change when their advancement intersected more broadly with public affairs. Blackburne experienced this backlash when he pushed for young John Gilbert's elevation to the episcopate in 1726 (see, above). By contrast, when a patron was thought to be shrewd and judicious, and the client deserving, patronage slipstream could be a cause for praise. John Lynch (1692-1760), Dean of Canterbury, is reputed to have been the greatest pluralist of the eighteenth century.<sup>17</sup> Soon

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Sterne coordinated with his nephew George Fairfax to discover intelligence about the movements of the opposing armies during the Jacobite Rebelleion. See, Wright, John, 'Out in the Forty Five', in, *The Antiquary* (January 1891), p. 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Sterne, Laurence, *Sterne's Memoirs, A Hitherto Unrecorded Holograph Now Brought To Light In Facsimile* (Otley: Laurence Sterne Trust, 1985), p. 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Cash, *Laurence Sterne, The Early & Middle Years*, pp. 114-115; New, Melvyn, and, Gerard, W. B., *The Miscellaneous Writings and Sterne's Subscribers, An Identification List*, The Florida Edition of the Works of Laurence Sterne, vol. IX (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Cash, Laurence Sterne, The Early & Middle Years, pp. 114-115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Sharp, Richard, 'Lynch, John (1697–1760), dean of Canterbury and pluralist'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [accessed online at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/63758 on 8 September 2019].

after his marriage to Archbishop William Wake's daughter, the primate was commended for granting the Mastership of the Hospital of St. Cross in Winchester to his son-in-law.<sup>18</sup> On 16 August 1728, Bishop Edward Waddington of Chichester congratulated Archbishop Wake for the 'Additional Preferment' he had conferred on Lynch, and hoped that he might enjoy 'all Other the blessings and comforts of this life'.<sup>19</sup> Bishop Edward Chandler of Coventry and Lichfield wrote in equally laudatory tones,

Yo<sup>r</sup> Grace, as I observe in the prints hath had it in yo<sup>r</sup> power to provide for D<sup>r</sup> Lench according to yo<sup>r</sup> mind. I give the master of the Hospital much joy, & wish this may be only y<sup>e</sup> earnest of much better fortune to follow.

Acceptance of a patron's generosity, however, had its limits. A later satirical pamphlet titled *The Life of Dean L—ch* jibed that in two years Lynch had amassed 'Church Preferments to the Amount of £1000 per Annum'.<sup>20</sup> And in 1730, Archbishop Wake's attempts to secure Lynch a prebend of Westminster to hold alongside a canonry of Canterbury were frustrated by Newcastle, who cited the King's displeasure at the scheme.<sup>21</sup> Lynch's rise to prominence in Canterbury was contemporaneous with Blackburne's efforts to promote Thomas Hayter in York, and both men have been cited as cases of clerical greed. Evans identified Hayter as one of the 'rich' pluralists of the period who voraciously accumulated church places, without exploring the motivations behind these appointments.<sup>22</sup> And yet, Hayter's clerical career was not viewed so narrowly by many of his contemporaries. When the satirical print *An Ass Loaded wth Church Preferments* appeared in 1737, Lynch's face was the butt of the joke and not Hayter's.<sup>23</sup> This may have been because (to some degree) Hayter was thought deserving due to his evident abilities for diocesan administration in York. In September 1734, James Borwick reflected on the prospect of Hayter's advancement during Blackburne's lifetime.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Gregory, Speculum of Archbishop Thomas Secker, p. 4, fn. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> CRO. PB8/7, letter from Edward Waddington, to, William Wake, 16 August 1728.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> The life of Dean L—ch by a Yeoman of Kent. No Canterbury tale (London: 1748). For Lynch's appointments see, Gregory, Speculum of Archbishop Thomas Secker, p. 4, fn. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Sykes, William Wake, II, p. 185.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Evans, Eric J., 'The Anglican Clergy of Northern England', in, Jones, Clyve (ed.), *Britain In The First Age of Party, 1680 1750. Essays Presented To Geoffrey Holmes* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1987), p. 223.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> 'An Ass loaded wth Church Preferments', *British Museum Collections Online* [accessed at https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\_online/collection\_object\_details.aspx?objectId=3 072782&partId=1&subject=16914&page=1 on 1 September 2019]; Hanson, Craig Ashley, *The English Virtuoso, Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p. 256, fn.7.

Some of y<sup>e</sup> Papers tell us, You are to succeed y<sup>e</sup>. new Bp of Sarum in y<sup>e</sup>. Temple. I shall rejoyce at this, as it is a desirable Thing, if it does not take you from his Grace; But if it shou'd, I shall be extremely sorry; Because your Promotion, upon such Terms, will be a great & general Loss to y<sup>e</sup>. Clergy of this Diocese; who never wanted y<sup>e</sup>. soundest advice & y<sup>e</sup>. kindest assistance, if they had ye. least Pretensions to 'em.<sup>24</sup>

This rumour came to nothing, and Hayter continued to serve Blackburne until his death. This was satirised in the *An Anatomy of a Modern Bishop* of 1732, which euphemistically described a 'ridiculous dotard' of a chaplain who was kept in 'captivity' by his master.<sup>25</sup> Alongside this constant attendance, Hayter performed other time-consuming undertakings on Blackburne's behalf. In the late-1730s, he was consumed with coordinating and compiling *An Examination of a Book, Lately printed by the Quakers*, which Hayter claimed to hardly leave him 'a minute to think of or do any thing else'.<sup>26</sup> But in accordance with the patronage bargain, Hayter's dutiful service over two decades was reflected in the rewards he received. In addition to preferments worth over £1500, Hayter was named as both an executor and a chief beneficiary of Blackburne's will in 1743.<sup>27</sup> The Archbishop was rumoured to have died worth between £50,000 and £60,000, and Hayter was the recipient of several generous bequests.<sup>28</sup> It was generally known that Blackburne had provided his 'true and faithfull friend' with a 'very large fortune'.<sup>29</sup>

Crucial to Thomas Hayter's subsequent clerical career was his introduction to the Court, and appointment to a place in one the great churches in London. In addition to providing generously for Hayter in York, Blackburne secured for his client a royal chaplaincy, and a valuable prebend of Westminster.<sup>30</sup> Whilst Hirschberg has indicated that royal chaplaincies were a 'recognition of success [rather] than a key to it', there was a direct correlation between those who received places at Westminster and future preferment to a bishopric.<sup>31</sup> Hayter's rise

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> BIA. CC Ab. 9, letter from James Borwick, to, Thomas Hayter, 23 September 1734.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Anatomy of a Modern B-----p, pp. 20-21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> An Examination of a Book, Lately printed by the Quakers (...) In Defence of the Clergy of the Diocese of York (London: 1741). Published anonymously but widely known to have been written by Hayter. Raine, James, *A Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of York* (York: 1896), p. 211. 'Given by the author, Archdeacon Hayter, to the Library of York'; BIA Bp. C&P III/7, letter from Thomas Hayter, [18 November n. y.].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> TNA. PROB/11/725, will of Lancelot Blackburne, Archbishop of York.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Ibid; UNSC. Pw V 120, letter from Thomas Herring, to, William Herring, 9 April 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ibid; BL. Add. MS 5831, William Cole's Collections, vol. XXX, f. 52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> 'Index of Officers – H', *The Database of Court Officers: 1660-1837* [accessed at http://courtofficers.ctsdh.luc.edu/Index-H.pdf on 1 September 2019]; CRO. PB8/8, letter from Thomas Hayter, to, William Wake, 14 January 1735.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Hirschberg, 'A Social History of the Anglican Episcopate', pp. 250, 307, fn. 158.

to prominence drew attention to his relationship with Blackburne, and encouraged society gossip founded in rumours of the Archbishop's licentious past. On 11 January 1736, the Earl of Egmont recorded in his diary that he had attended chapel, where 'Dr. Haiter, Archdeacon of York (...) and bastard of the present Archbishop of York, preached'.<sup>32</sup> But there were also clerical allies. Through Blackburne, Hayter developed connections with Bishops Martin Benson, Isaac Maddox, and Joseph Willocks, who offered support after the Archbishop's death.<sup>33</sup> This allowed Hayter to maintain his upward career trajectory, which was punctuated by the delivery of sermons on notable occasions. On 11 June 1746, Hayter preached before the House of Commons at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on the anniversary of the accession of George II.<sup>34</sup> In sight of the unmarked burial place of his patron, Hayter reflected on the ongoing continental war and the defeat of the Jacobite Rising, naming 'faction' (alongside infidelity and Popery) as the greatest evil of the age.<sup>35</sup> Following a shift in rhetoric regarding Britain's status as a 'chosen' nation, Hayter stressed Protestant unity in the face of common foes.<sup>36</sup> These performances contributed to a growing sense that Hayter possessed the 'conspicuous abilities' necessary to be raised to the episcopal bench.<sup>37</sup> On 29 September 1748, Archbishop Thomas Herring vouched for Hayter to succeed Joseph Butler as Bishop of Bristol and Dean of St. Pauls, stating that his 'Integrity, Strength of Constitution, Learning, and generosity of Spirit with an ample Fortune' would be 'very acceptable' to the clergy of London.<sup>38</sup> Tellingly, one of Hayter's rivals for the deanery at that time was another Blackburne client, Bishop John Gilbert.<sup>39</sup> Neither men were successful on that occasion, but just a year later Hayter was nominated to the See of Norwich.<sup>40</sup> The patronage slipstream set in motion by Blackburne facilitated Hayter's appointment to a bishopric just six years after the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> HMC, *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont. Diary of the First Earl of Egmont (Viscount Percival)*, vol. II, 1734-1738 (London: HMSO, 1923), p. 219.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> BIA Bp. C&P III/7, letter from Thomas Hayter, to, Jaques Sterne [19 November n.y.]. Endorsed with the free frank of Isaac Maddox; NA. SC/3/6/5, letter from Thomas Hayter, to, Thomas Sharp, 6 March 1744.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Hayter, Thomas, A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at St. Margaret's Westminster, On Wednesday, June 11, 1746 (London: 1746).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Ibid; Ihalainen, Pasi, 'Patriotism in Mid-Eighteenth Century English and Prussian War Sermons', in, Teulié, Gilles, and, Lux-steritt, Laurence, *War Sermons* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), p. 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> BL. Add. MS 5831, William Cole's Collections, vol. XXX, f. 52. This phrase appears in Hayter's epitaph.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> UNSC. Ne C 772, copy letter from Thomas Herring, to, Duke of Newcastle, 29 September 1748.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> UNSC. Ne C 150/1-2, copy letter from Henry Pelham, to, Duke of Newcastles, 27 September 1748.
 <sup>40</sup> Haydon, Colin, 'Hayter, 'Thomas (bap. 1702, d. 1762), bishop of London. *ODNB* [accessed at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12789 on 8 September 2019].

Archbishop's death. And as Hayter became an episcopal patron in his own right, he gave up all his previous preferments to the King.<sup>41</sup>

Thomas Hayter's favour with the royal establishment reached its pinnacle following the unexpected death of Prince Frederick in March 1751.<sup>42</sup> At their father's passing, oversight of the Prince's education was overhauled, and Hayter was appointed as Preceptor.<sup>43</sup> On 16 April 1751, a notice of these sweeping changes to the educational establishment of the future George III appeared in the *The Protestant York Courant*.

We hear the Right Hon. Lord Harcourt, is appointed Governor to his Royal Highness Prince George, and Andrew Stone, Esq; Sub-Governor; the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Norwich, Preceptor, and George Lewis Scott, Esq; Sub-Preceptor.<sup>44</sup>

It is no coincidence that the newspaper marking Hayter's appointment was a loyal Whig print encouraged by Jaques Sterne, his long-time associate from York.<sup>45</sup> That summer Sterne also lauded Hayter's achievements in his charge to the clergy of the Archdeaconry of the East Riding.<sup>46</sup> Recalling his rebuttal to the claims of the Quakers in the 1730s, Sterne reminded his readers of Hayter's efforts in defence of the clergy in general and 'of this Diocese in particular'.

We are greatly indebted for our ample Vindication to One, who is now an eminent Prelate, and whom our gracious Sovereign hath very lately distinguished and honour'd with the highest and most important of all Trusts, the Education of a PRINCE, the next Heir to his Crown and Dignity, and most dear to his Majesty and the whole Kingdom; a Trust and Honour conferred upon him solely from his Majesty's own good Judgement, of his being equal to that high Charge; and no Wonder that such a Choice has become Matter of public and universal Approbation with all those who wish well to the Establishments, civil and religious<sup>47</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> UNSC. Ne C 894, note on church preferments, [c.1749-1750].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Black, Jeremy, *George III, America's Last King* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 7-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Ibid; Ditchfield, Grayson, *George III: An Essay in Monarchy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> The Protestant York Courant, no. 282 (York: 16 April 1751).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Reed, Daniel, 'A New Historical Perspectives on Jaques Sterne in the East Riding: The Account Book of Hugh Bethell of Rise, 1725-1752', in, *The Shandean*, no. 23 (2012), 98-105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Sterne, Jaques, *A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of the East Riding, in the Diocese of York, at Hull, Beverley, and Hunmanby, at the Primary Visitation, in 1751* [etc.] (York: 1752).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Ibid, p. 16.

This approval for Hayter's appointment cited by Sterne did not last long, however, as his suitability for the post was called into question almost immediately. Factions developed in the educational establishment of the Princes, with their governor, Earl Harcourt and Hayter on one side, and Andrew Stone, sub-governor, and George Lewis Scot, sub-preceptor, on the other. Harcourt and Hayter were portrayed as imperious and inflexible, whereas Stone and Scot were tarred with the slur of crypto-Jacobitism.<sup>48</sup>

To date, the historiography of this affair has largely centred on the accounts of significant political figures and commentators, such as the second Earl Waldegrave and Horace Walpole.<sup>49</sup> The identification among Princess Augusta's papers of an account titled 'the reverend Mr Butler's narrative' throws fresh light on the ways in which Thomas Hayter's credibility was undermined by his opponents.<sup>50</sup> A speculative identification of the author of the 'narrative' is John Butler, Hayter's chaplain from 1753, and to Princess Augusta from the following year.<sup>51</sup> He was later made bishop of Oxford, and then Hereford.<sup>52</sup> The views expressed in the narrative were formed through Butler's interactions with 'Mr C' (likely James Cressett, secretary and confidant to Augusta). Butler recorded that he first became aware of criticisms formed against Hayter in November 1751, but did not believe that they proceeded 'from any settled design against him, but only the Liberty usually taken with absent Characters in Conversation.'53 Subsequently 'Mr. C' proceeded to denounce Hayter as a man of levity, boastful, undignified, and insufficiently knowledgeable to act as tutor to the Princes.<sup>54</sup> Such was the nature of these attacks that by March 1752, Butler began to 'suspect a design formed against Lord Harcourt and [Hayter]'.<sup>55</sup> Significantly, this source reveals that Hayter's relationship with Blackburne was utilised in order to dismantle his reputation. Nearly a decade after Blackburne's death, Butler related that 'Mr. C' had stated that,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Black, George III, America's Last King, pp. 7-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Clark, J. C. D. (ed.), *The Memoirs and Speeches of James, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl Walegrave, 1742-1763* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 52-60; Letter from Horace Walpole, to, Sir Horace Mann, 22 April 1751 [accessed at http://images.library.yale.edu/hwcorrespondence/results.asp?srch=hayter&vol=20&col=1 on 13 September 2019]; Black, *George III, America's Last King,* pp. 7-10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> RA. GEO/MAIN/6/74135-74137, 'The Revd. Mr Butler's narrative', 23 March 1752.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Butler, John, *A Sermon preached at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster* [etc] (London: 1754). The title page describes Butler as chaplain to Augusta.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Horn, Joyce M. (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857: Volume 8, Bristol, Gloucester, Oxford and Peterborough Dioceses* (London: University of London, 1996), pp. 75-80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> RA. GEO/MAIN/6/74135-74137, 'The Revd. Mr Butler's narrative', 23 March 1752.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

their Royal Highnesses can never receive Instruction till they have a good Opinion of their Instructor, that Morality they can never learn without an Example, and that but little Example could be expected from one who had been bred under the late Archbishop of York.<sup>56</sup>

Butler laboured with his conscience for several days before he informed Hayter of the machinations against him.<sup>57</sup> When the matter finally came to a head in late 1752, Harcourt claimed that Hayter had been 'worse us'd' than himself.<sup>58</sup> On 12 December 1752, against the backdrop of unsubstantiated accusations forwarded by both factions in the Princes' educational establishment, the *Protestant York Courant* reported that Harcourt and Hayter had 'desired Leave to resign their Respective charges'.<sup>59</sup>

By contrast, Jaques Sterne's clerical career was firmly rooted in Yorkshire, and his expectations for future preferment were shaped by the achievements of his family.<sup>60</sup> Out of respect for the clerical community, it was customary for bishops to provide for the relations of their predecessors. Gibson has described this feature of eighteenth-century patronage as 'transferred nepotism'.<sup>61</sup> It is important to indicate, however, that this mechanism was still beholden to contemporary politico-religious imperatives. The descendants of Archbishops Thomas Lamplugh and John Sharp had found favour prior to 1724, but their High Church views saw them excluded from preferment during Blackburne's administration. As such, he looked instead to the descendants of Archbishop Richard Sterne (c1596-1683), who by the eighteenth century were Whigs despite the hardened Toryism of their forebear.<sup>62</sup> Jaques Sterne (a former Master), and grew up surrounded by tangible reminders of the achievements of his grandfather. His marble funerary monument stood in the cathedral of York, and a gilded silver cup presented by Charles II was still in the family's possession in the eighteenth century.<sup>63</sup> A coat of arms engraved on the vessel at the marriage of Jaques Sterne's sister Mary to Thomas

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Lewis Walpole Library. Charles Hanbury Williams MSS, vol. 67, no. 10929, ff. 50-53, letter from Mr Fox, to, Charles Hanbury Williams, 8 December 1752.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> The Protestant York Courant, no. 367 (York: Tuesday 12 December 1752).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Bowden, Martha F., *Yorick's Congregation: The Church of England in the Time of Laurence Sterne* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), p. 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Gibson, William, 'Patterns of Nepotism and Kinship in the Eighteenth-Century Church', in, *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 14, no. 4 (1987), p. 386.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Pollard, A. F., rev. Spurr, John, 'Sterne, Richard (1595/6–1683), archbishop of York'. *ODNB* [accessed at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26413 on 8 September 2019].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> 'The Sterne Cup', *V&A* [accessed at http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O85008/the-sterne-cup-lidded-cup-unknown/ on 7 September 2019].

Pulleyn in 1740 is testament to the lasting potency of the object to the Sterne family.<sup>64</sup> These material links to the achievements of Archbishop Sterne also emphasised Jaques Sterne's distance from the main stages of church-state affairs. On 23 October 1730, he wrote to Thomas Hayter that the 'one pleasure' he took from the death of Bishop William Talbot was that Bishop Benjamin Hoadly failed to succeed him at Durham.<sup>65</sup> Sterne saw this as a sign that 'Sattin Caps are no certain way to Preferment'<sup>66</sup> At that time both men were only prebendaries in York, and Sterne clearly took heart to observe an instance that demonstrated royal chaplaincies were not a prerequisite for further advancement. Sterne's acknowledgement that he was an outsider to the Court exemplifies the divergent career paths of Blackburne's clients, as Hayter was appointed to the 'satin cap' just four years later.

One of the first tests of patronage slipstream for Blackburne's clients came at the elevation of Dean Richard Osbaldeston to the See of Carlisle in July 1747<sup>67</sup> This appointment was made in the aftermath of the Jacobite Rebellion, during which Jaques Sterne acted alongside Archbishop Thomas Herring to coordinate the Church's response to the uprising, and led efforts to raise defences in the City of York.<sup>68</sup> Having been marshalled to the Catholic threat throughout his life, the defining moment of Sterne's clerical career came when he hosted the victorious Duke of Cumberland at his home in the Minster Yard on his return from Scotland.<sup>69</sup> In the aftermath of the uprising, Sterne engaged in a 'renewed Whig assault' on targets he suspected of disloyalty, including the city's Tories, the corporation, the Bar Convent, and Catholic population at large.<sup>70</sup> This ran in opposition to the largely conciliatory position adopted by Archbishop Herring after 1746.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, Sterne's friends in Yorkshire ardently supported his application for the vacant deanery. Lord Irwin wrote to Newcastle that, 'no man in y<sup>e</sup> County has deserved better of his Majesty from his steady & resolute as well as prudent conduct in y<sup>e</sup> year 1745'<sup>72</sup> Sterne's interest, however, was not

<sup>65</sup> BIA. CC Ab. 9, letter from Jaques Sterne, to, Thomas Hayter, 23 October 1730.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum, *Review of the Principal Acquisitions During the Year 1925* (London: HMSO, 1927), pp. 46-47; *Weekly Miscellany*, no. CCCLXVII (London: Saturday 5 January).

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> BL. Add MSS 32712, letter from Richard Osbaldeston, to, Duke of Newcastle, 25 July 1747.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> This has been the subject of fairly extensive scholarship. See, Cash, *Laurence Sterne, The Early & Middle* Years, pp. 151-180; Walker, 'The Church in York', pp. 135-162; Oates, Jonathan, 'Dr. Burton versus Dr. Sterne', in, *York Historian*, vol. 20 (2003), pp. 18-28; Oates, Jonathan, 'York and the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745', Borthwick Paper No. 107 (York: University of York, 2005);

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Walker, 'The Church in York', pp. 156-157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Ibid, pp. 167-168.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> BL. Add. MS 32712, letter from Lord Irwin, to, Duke of Newcastle, 25 July 1747.

sufficient and Newcastle confirmed that the deanery would be granted to John Fountayne (1714-1802), the young nephew of Bishop Thomas Sherlock of Salisbury.

I have wrote to the Arch Bishop of York; and have desired Him to talk, in a proper manner, to D<sup>r</sup>. Stearn, on this Occasion, whose Services to the Government I am so well acquainted with, (Tho' I have not the happiness to be personally known to him,) That I should be extremely glad to have it in my Power to serve him, on any proper Occasion, that may offer.<sup>73</sup>

Newcastle's response punctuated Sterne's distance from the main stage of influence over ecclesiastical affairs. Archbishop Herring replied that considering this disappointment, 'a Prebend in one of the three Great Churches would be acceptable to him'<sup>74</sup> In October 1749, Sterne applied to Newcastle that he might succeed Thomas Hayter in his prebend of Westminster following the latter's promotion to the bishopric of Norwich, reminding the Duke of 'how the Deanery of York was disposed of'.<sup>75</sup> Once again, however, he was disappointed.

The patronage bargain determined that Jaques Sterne would almost certainly be rewarded for his formidable activities during the Jacobite Rebellion in some capacity, but his ongoing anti-Catholic agitation was undesirable to both the ministry and Church leaders after the threat of insurrection had subsided. Thomas Hayter assisted Joseph Atwell by appointing him diocesan chancellor of Norwich and commissary of the Archdeaconries of Norfolk and Sudbury, but there is no indication that he attempted to provide for Sterne in his new diocese.<sup>76</sup> At the death of Bishop Martin Benson in September 1752, Sterne applied again to Newcastle for a vacant prebend of Durham, stating that it would be 'equally agreeable' as 'either Westminster, Windsor, or Canterbury'. He begged,

Leave to hope that as I have spent now upwards of Thirty five Years in a faithful Service of the Crown, at an Expence that I believe no Clergyman else has done, that I shall (...) receive a Mark of the King's Favour at this time, when there are so many Stalls vacant in different Churches<sup>77</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> BL. Add. MS 32712, letter from the Duke of Newcastle, to, Lord Irwin, July 1747.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> BL. Add. MS 32712, letter from Thomas Herring, to, Duke of Newcastle, 25 July 1747.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Curtis, *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, p. 426. Letter from Jaques Sterne, to, Duke of Newcastle, 14 October 1749.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> The History of the City and County of Norwich from the Earliest Accounts to the Present Time, vol. II (Norwich: 1768), p. 640.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Curtis, *Letters of Laurence Sterne*, p. 426. Letter from Jaques Sterne, to, Duke of Newcastle, 19 September 1752.

Dean Spencer Cowper of Durham was anxious of this prospect, writing to his brother that 'Stearn, the Precentor of York, a Whigg it is true, but with all the fury of an Inquisitor, and I believe wou'd set all the County of a Flame, was he to come here'<sup>78</sup>. These misgivings might explain the long delay in settling the prebend, as it was three years later that the golden stall was finally granted to Sterne.<sup>79</sup> This long interval did little to assuage Dean Cowper's concerns. During the vacancy of the prebend the residentiaries had divided its income between themselves. At Sterne's arrival in the north-east for his installation, he immediately petitioned Bishop Richard Trevor of Durham for the lost revenue, adding the conceit; 'I woud rather sit down with the Loss, than enter into any suit with my Brethren'.<sup>80</sup> Fellow prebend William Warburton commented on the case following Sterne's first appearance at Durham cathedral.

He is of great fame there in the North, amongst the Whigs, who hate persecution, for utterly routing a Community of Catholic Wenches. It was so pleasant, that While this Prebend, which was to award him for his exploit, being in Suspence, the Chapter was once proposed to apply the revenues of it for the purchase of new Copes (...) I wish it had succeeded; they had been even with this Knight of the two Swords for his Nunnery adventures for I think it a little hard the young Girls can't learn their plainwork in quiet for this zealous protestant Doctor.<sup>81</sup>

Sterne spent the final five years of his life pursuing this cause against the Dean and Chapter of Durham, but died before it came to an end.<sup>82</sup> In Sterne's case, the ministry were compelled to provide for a clergyman whose activities during the Jacobite Rebellion were so notorious in the North of England, but his inflexibility to changing political conditions meant that he was denied a place in one of the 'great churches' as he desired. Patronage slipstream could only achieve so much for those who were not considered to possess the personal qualities befitting higher office. As Bishop John Hough of Worcester stated of his client William

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Hughes, E. (ed.), *Letters of Spencer Cowper*, Surtees Society Publications No. 165 (The Society, 1956), p. 156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Horn, Joyce M. & Smith, David M. (eds.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857, Volume 11 – Carisle, Chester, Durham, Manchester, Ripon and Sodor and Man* (London: University of London, 2004), pp. 95-97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Cash, *Laurence Sterne: The Early and Middle Years*, p. 242; Bowes Museum. Letter from Jaques Sterne, to, Richard Trevor, 5 October 1755; letter from Jaques Sterne, to, Richard Trevor, 17 November 1755.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Harry Ransom Center. William Warburton MSS, letter from William Warburton, to, Thomas Balguy, [1756].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> UDSC. DCD/H/LP27, documents ocuments relating to stall profits sede vacante (Sterne v Sharpe dispute), 1754-1780.

Byrche in 1727: he is 'as high in the Church as I wish him', and that he should 'take up his rest in y<sup>e</sup> plenty God has given him.'<sup>83</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> CRO, PB8/6, Letter book of William Wake. Letter from John Hough, to, William Wake, 4 November 1727.

# LEWIS STEPHENS AND 'THE ECCLESIASTICAL CLIMBERS'<sup>1</sup>

The above chapters have explored the nature of the patronage bargain between Blackburne and his clients, and demonstrated the longevity of those relationships through patronage slipstream. A question that this study has yet to pose, however, is what happened when the ties of patronage were broken? Returning to George Bubb Dodington's summary of the expectations of patronage in the eighteenth-century, a failure to return the obligations implicit in the patronage bargain was almost inconceivable; 'Could there be such a character?' And yet, patronage relationships were occasionally broken when expectations on either side were deemed to be improperly balanced. Significant for this study is the case of Blackburne's chaplain, Lewis Stephens. As detailed above, Stephens was formerly one of the Archbishop's principal clients, whose scholarly abilities were harnessed through his role as examining chaplain, and engagements to preach on notable public occasions. Stephens's later disaffection towards his ecclesiastical superiors could not be further from the sentiments of a sermon he delivered at St. Margaret's, Westminster, at the consecration of Samuel Peploe on 12 April 1726. Speaking of bishops, Stephens urged his listeners,

let us, like Dutiful Sons of the Church, acknowledge their Labours, and pay them those particular Honours, which are due to every Branch of their Power; let us hear them, and reverence them, as our Teachers in the Lord; let us cheerfully obey them, as our Spiritual Governours; let us love them, and honour them, as our Spiritual Fathers<sup>2</sup>

The extent to which Stephens benefitted from Blackburne's patronage only deepens the significance of the subsequent breach between the two men. Certainly, in other contemporary cases the separation of patron and client was the source of great anguish. At the death of Bishop William Talbot of Durham in 1730, his former chaplain Thomas Rundle lamented, 'I have lost my patron, friend, father! To him I owe all the happiness I have ever enjoyed in life, all the comfort (...) that I am still to receive, flow from his bounty to me!'<sup>3</sup> In sharp contrast,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Material in this chapter was previously published in, Reed, Daniel, 'The Shadow of Patronage: Lewis Stephens and the "Ecclesiastical Climbers", 1743', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 41, no. 2 (2018), pp. 241-256.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Stephens, Lewis, A Sermon Preached in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, at the Consecration of [...] Samuel, Lord Bishop of Chester (London: 1726), p. 22

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Letters of the late Thomas Rundle, [...] to Mrs. Barbara Sandys [...] With introductory memoirs, by James Dalloway [&c] (London: 1789), p. 187.

Stephens later observed dismissively that, 'I might have made much greater advances in learning, if I had not danced after Bishops from Palace to Palace'.<sup>4</sup>

This chapter draws extensively from the largely unexplored correspondence between Lewis Stephens and Francis Gregor (1686-1762) of Trewarthenick in Cornwall.<sup>5</sup> This exchange post-dates Stephens's breach with Blackburne's administration, commencing in 1736 and continuing regularly until Stephens's death in 1747. The survival of Stephens's letters and other manuscripts is owing to the care of Gregor, as Stephens refused to produce any 'foul copies' of his compositions.<sup>6</sup> In December 1737, Stephens declared 'I am not so fond of them as think y<sup>t</sup> they deserve to be kept by my friends, when they pass from my hands, they die to me; & I hope y<sup>t</sup> they dye to you also.<sup>7</sup> Despite this assertion, Stephens was aware that Gregor preserved the letters of others, such as those of his uncle, the politician and writer Walter Moyle.<sup>8</sup> Stephens viewed this as highly commendable, thinking Moyle a genius; every [thing] of his is valuable, like y<sup>e</sup> rudest draughts of Raphael or Angelo'.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, it was also Stephens's habit to preserve the letters of his friends. On his deathbed, Stephens ordered that Gregor's letters should be returned to him, as 'not one of 'em is lost'.<sup>10</sup> A friend, John Burne, was charged with organising Stephens's papers after his death, and arranged for their delivery alongside books bequeathed to Gregor in Stephens's will.<sup>11</sup> Gregor's final letter to Stephens, dated 26 January 1747, was retained by Stephens's widow for her 'own perusal', as her husband had been too ill to read it himself.<sup>12</sup> The letter reflected on the character of Gregor's friend, the French-born, Anglican clergyman Daniel Lombard, who predeceased Stephens by a matter of weeks. The loss of two valued friends in such a short space of time was a great affliction to Gregor, who lamented; 'my Learned Correspondents are taken away, in a Month's time, one of the other - I shall Study their Works, and, by their Example, must now begin to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Stephens Letters. Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 9 August 1745.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> CRO. G, Gregor family of Trewarthenick papers. Francis Gregor (1686-1762) was an antiquarian and local magistrate. He served as High Sheriff for Cornwall in 1716. Gregor's correspondence with Daniel Lombard is referenced in, Maclean, John, *The Parochial and Family History of the Deanery of Trigg Minor, in the County of Cornwall*, vol. II (London: 1876), p. 306.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 3 December 1737.<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Woodland, P.,' Moyle, Walter (1672–1721), politician and writer', *ODNB* [accessed at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19474 on 24 August 2019].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 24-26 September 1743; 14 November 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from James Gibson, to, Francis Gregor, January 1747.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from John Burne, to, Francis Gregor, 12 March 1747.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Philadelphia Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 30 May 1747.

learn to dye'.<sup>13</sup> Gregor honoured the memory of his friends by preserving and indexing their correspondence in six quarto volumes, now at Cornwall Record Office.

### Breaking the patronage bargain

Prior to 1730, Stephens's abilities as a writer and orator had been harnessed to further Blackburne's politico-religious agenda in York, but once outside of the administration, these skills made him a potentially dangerous opponent to the Archbishop. In the autumn of 1735, Blackburne's administration reacted with surprise and unease at Stephens's intention to attend to his residence at Southwell. All prebendaries of the collegiate church were notionally obligated to attend a quarterly residence every four years, but in reality, responsibility for the routine business of renewing leases, repairing the fabric, and exercising the peculiar jurisdiction of Southwell lay in the hands of the prebendaries who lived nearby in Nottinghamshire.<sup>14</sup> Stephens's determination to undertake his residence at Southwell despite living the majority of the year in Hampshire was remarkable. At that time, only Thomas Sharp, incumbent of Rothbury in Northumberland, travelled from outside of the diocese to attend residence.<sup>15</sup> Stephens's arrival at Southwell came amid the ongoing dispute between the chapter and vicars choral, and Blackburne's supporters were sceptical whether he could be trusted to further their interests.<sup>16</sup> On 6 October 1735, Samuel Berdmore wrote in anticipation of Stephens arrival, stating, 'I am in some doubt abt his acting for a reason that youl guess'.<sup>17</sup> To Berdmore's surprise, Stephens behaved with civility on coming into residence, and by 2 December 1735 he could report that 'I am persuaded of his sincerity in acting with us'.<sup>18</sup> During three months at Southwell, Stephens coordinated with the other prebendaries to direct the chapter's legal case, and kept meticulous notes of the actions he took in the dispute; an approach welcomed by other outsiders to Blackburne's administration like Thomas Sharp, who commended Stephens for promoting 'the good of Our Collegiate Church'.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Stephens Letters. Copy letter from Francis Gregor, to, James Gibson, 14 February 1747.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Hendy, 'The Southwell Set', pp. 177-198.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> NA. SC/2/2/2, Chapter decree book, 1727-1784; Cummins, "The controversys betwixt the Chapter and the Vicars Chorall', pp. 53-68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> BIA. Bp C&P XVII/26, letter from Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 6 October 1735. This aside, in a postscript to the letter, is the only known reference to the breach between Stephens and Blackburne's administration in the York Diocesan Archive.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> BIA. Bp C&P XVII/26, letter from Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 2 December 1735.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Nottinghamshire Archives. SC/3/4/26, memorandum of proceedings in case Bugg v Southwell Chapter, 1735-1736; SC/3/4/34, letter from Thomas Sharp, to, Lewis Stephens, 18 January 1736; BIA. Bp C&P XVII/26, letter from Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 24 November 1735; letter from Samuel Berdmore, to, Thomas Hayter, 26 November 1735.

Whilst Stephens's behaviour at Southwell in 1735 dispelled any immediate fears that the former chaplain might seek to damage Blackburne's administration, his letters reveal a growing discontentment with politico-religious affairs at large. Over the next decade, Stephens served two further terms of residence at Southwell, fulfilling a desire to distance himself from the main stages of clerical activity and further disassociate himself from the ecclesiastical hierarchy. By 1742, his feelings of disaffection towards the ministry and Church establishment had hardened, and were little eased by the removal of Walpole.

Whoever is y<sup>e</sup> new Minister, I shall pay as little Court [to] him, as to the present; I am resolved to live content w<sup>th</sup> my own river & my own vineyard; & not stretch my desires beyond them. – the days are evil, & I am glad, y<sup>t</sup> mine are few.<sup>20</sup>

At his arrival at Southwell in May 1743 Stephens was determined to preserve his 'independency', ignoring calls from Thomas Hayter and Joseph Atwell (acting as Blackburne's executors), and declining to wait on Archbishop Thomas Herring who passed just four miles away during his primary visitation.<sup>21</sup> Stephens also remained aloof from the traditional indulgences of feasting and hospitality at Southwell, preferring to make use of the chapter library, attend to his duties as residentiary, and tutor local men who intended to enter into holy orders.<sup>22</sup> Describing his residence, Stephens wrote,

I lead here a Philosophical life; I have a mug of ale to refresh me, a few books to divert me, an old woman to dress me a little meat & chide me when I am faulty (...) [I] am that odd thing, w<sup>ch</sup> the old woman says, is always spoiling paper, & writing long Nothings, & great Nothing.<sup>23</sup>

The scholarly seclusion in the 'rural backwater' of Southwell provided Stephens with inspiration, time, and opportunity to write these 'long nothings', two of which were satirical compositions which represent his most significant reflections on clerical identity, patronage, and Church affairs in the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 6 February 1742.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> University of Nottingham. Pw V 120, letter from Thomas Herring, to, William Herring, 9 April 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 9 July 1743; Nottinghamshire Archives. SC/11/1/1, Minster Library lending book, 1717-1756.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 23 May 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Summers, A Prospect of Southwell, p. 1.

#### 'The Ecclesiastical Climbers'

The manuscript satires composed by Stephens at Southwell were included in letters which are bound with his correspondence with Francis Gregor.<sup>25</sup> The first composition is dated 23 May 1743, less than a month after Stephens came into residence, and concerns the indulgent lifestyles of the 'trimestral Priests' of 'Austrofont'.<sup>26</sup> In this reproach to the excesses of the prebendaries, Southwell is reimagined as a palace 'built on Eatables', in which the Goddess Fame dwells among the 'little Grandees', who seek to raise their names through the staging of 'Pontifical dinners'.<sup>27</sup> In the satire, these acts of gluttony are extended to the fabric of the palace, which is described in grotesque detail as formed of cuts of meat, puddings and other foodstuffs. The writer casts himself as the 'rough illiterate Stephanio', who is scorned by Fame for 'sitting whole days with Xenophon, without Coffee or company', and being entirely ignorant of Mary Kettilby's *Three Hundred Receipts in Cookery*.<sup>28</sup> Fame takes solace, however, that Stephens's time at Southwell is only temporary, and the usual business of hospitality will be restored.

She is assured, that Homer & Virgil will not be able to keep possession of y<sup>e</sup> Residentiary house for any long time; but y<sup>t</sup> in a few moons she shall return to it again in peace, & bring all her rumps of beef with her; for then the old unsociable monk must pass away to some other Cell; & when he is gone, she is resolved like a Woman-Goddess, to be revenged on his old Surlyship for loving Demosthenes, more than y<sup>e</sup> ladies of Austrofont; & for despising the reputation of bacon & veal; & for being so stupid, as to think, that preaching up Frugality w<sup>th</sup> a loud voice is more valuable that y<sup>e</sup> Great Eloquence of ale & tongues<sup>29</sup>

This critical vision of life at Southwell emphasised Stephens's clerical identity as an outsider to both the traditions of the collegiate church, and the political temperature of Blackburne's administration. It was, in a second composition, however, that Stephens more fully realised his satirical vision of the defects of the Church.

First transmitted to Gregor in July 1743, 'The Ecclesiastical Climbers' opens as a first-person narrative of an unnamed observer in Rome, who perceives that the Emperors who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> In 1736, Stephens made several references to his 'rats' which may have been the subject of an earlier satirical composition. See, Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 6 October 1736; letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 10 November 1736.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 23 May 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Kettilby, Mary, A Collection of above Three Hundred Receipts in Cookery, Physick and Surgery (London: 1714).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 23 May 1743.

once topped the columns in the city had been removed, and 'saints are climbed up into their places'.<sup>30</sup> This puts the narrator in mind of the 'present Ecclesiastics' of England and Wales who 'pretend to be related to these Elevated Saints' and desire to scale the heights of the clerical profession 'whether qualified or not'.<sup>31</sup> With allusions to the environs of Nottinghamshire, Stephens presented a day-dream vision of clerical preferment which recalled Nicholas Amhurst's treatment of a schoolboy contemplating the fruit of the tree of knowledge.<sup>32</sup>

Whilst I was musing on these Eccles: Climbers, & thinking that they might learn y<sup>t</sup> art at School [very] early, some by climbing after crows nests, & minding little else [...] & others by climbing up y<sup>e</sup> Great apple-tree in Lilys Gram<sup>r</sup>. & gathering the fruit of it in [their] Satchels – I was led unaware into a great open plain, as large as Sherwood forest: in [it] were erected a multitude of Maypoles, of different heights & different sizes - Archiepiscopal Maypoles, Episcopal Maypoles, Decanal Maypoles, Canonical Maypoles, Archidiaconal Maypoles, Preb<sup>1</sup>. Maypoles, Parochial Maypoles. & for y<sup>e</sup> benefit of Curates a great multitude of Barbers poles almost as thick as hoppoles in Kent.<sup>33</sup>

Stephens's presentation of the clerical profession as a plantation of maypoles, distinguished and ordered in precedence according to the respective stations of the Church, was critical and subversive.<sup>34</sup> The origins of the ritual preparation of maypoles were 'wholly antithetical to Christianity', but as late as the seventeenth century the Stuart monarchs had been willing to actively associate themselves with maying games.<sup>35</sup> Deemed by puritans to be an icon of irreligious values, in April 1644 the Lords and Commons passed an ordinance banning maypoles as a 'Heathenish vanity.'<sup>36</sup> As Rogers describes, the most famous maypole in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, July 1743 (hereafter, 'Ecclesiastical Climbers').

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Ecclesiastical Climbers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Amhurst, Nicolas, *Terrae-Filius: Or, the Secret History of the University of Oxford, in Several Essays*, vol. II (London: 1726), pp. 29-34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Ecclesiastical Climbers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Walsh, Marcus, 'Swift's *Tale of the Tub* and the mock book', in, Paddy Bullard, and, James McLaverty (eds.), *Jonathan Swift and the Eighteenth-Century Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Pounds, N. J. G., *The Culture of the English People: Iron Age to the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 399; p. 236.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> 'April 1644: An Ordinance for the better observation of the Lords-Day.', in Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660, ed. C H Firth and R S Rait (London, 1911), pp. 420-422. *British History Online* [accessed at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/acts-ordances-interregnum/pp420-422 on 12 September 2016].

England removed by this order was a sixteenth-century pole that stood in the Strand in London. Its subsequent re-erection at the Restoration was a popular and potent symbol of the return of the monarchy, but following the Hanoverian Succession and 1715 Rebellion the association of maypoles with the exiled Stuarts brought new connotations of Jacobite loyalty and 'High Church idolatry'.<sup>37</sup> The maypole in the Strand was removed for the final time in 1718 during the construction of St. Mary-le-Strand, one of the fifty proposed Queen Anne Churches. Original plans drawn before Anne's death included a Corinthian pillar to be erected near to the original site of the maypole, but following the accession of George I, both the architect and his pillar were removed from the project, as new Whig commissioners attempted to expunge unwanted political associations. This shift, Rogers asserts, is alluded to by Pope in *The Dunciad* of 1728, as a marker of how far the 'Stuarts' pole had fallen' by that time.<sup>38</sup> Whilst Stephens's descriptions of goddesses lurking among the maypoles in 'The Ecclesiastical Climbers' draws comparisons with Pope, any topical contention of the removal of the pole on the Strand was a distant memory. As such, Stephens deployed the device to illustrate politico-religious concerns of the 1730s and 1740s.

A Curate of London had attempted many poles, but always failed; he cd neither climb y<sup>e</sup> Maypole in y<sup>e</sup> Strand, nor the New Church w<sup>ch</sup> stands in y<sup>e</sup> place of it but lodged [in] a garret, from whence he had a fair prospect, but no command: [...] at last he had no Ambition, but to climb up every night to his bed. Mr Walker, the Ambulatory Reader, has no Parochial Maypole of his own; but reads prayers at 7 places every day; & 'tis believed that he will never climb any pillar, except that of the Seven Dials in Soho.

The characterisation of the 'Curate of London' evokes ambitious clergymen who has exhausted themselves in fruitless searches for preferment in the capital. In the 1730s, Thomas Wilson, son of the bishop of Sodor and Man, was driven to despair after receiving several setbacks in his attempts to gain a living in London. Prone to melancholic reflections, Wilson recorded in his diary, 'God's will be done. I expect nothing but disappointments in the world, especially from the court'.<sup>39</sup> Whilst the maypole supposedly attempted by the curate was long gone by the 1740s, the Doric pillar at Seven Dials erected in the reign of William III remained

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Rogers, *Documenting Eighteenth Century Satire*, p. 236; the association of the maypole with the Restoration persisted in some areas into the late eighteenth century. See, Malcolmson, Robert W., *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 31

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Rogers, *Documenting Eighteenth Century Satire*, p. 236.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Linnell, C. L. S. (ed.), *The Diaries Of Thomas Wilson D. D.*, *1731-37 & 1750* (London: SPCK, 1964), p. 148

and stood at the crossroads of a religious revival.<sup>40</sup> In May 1743, John Wesley secured a sevenyear lease of a former Huguenot chapel on West Street for the use of Methodists.<sup>41</sup> For observers such as Stephens, the acquisition of a consecrated building for regular sacramental services challenged Wesley's famous declaration that, 'I have now no parish of my own, nor probably ever shall'.<sup>42</sup>

Aside from these politico-religious connotations, the novelty of depicting Church places as 'fixt on ye tops of Maypoles' allowed Stephens to portray the climbers foolishly in their pursuit of preferment. One character is shoved up a maypole by various allies, but 'is much afraid of falling from his place & bursting asunder', until he is supported by a broom 'in y<sup>e</sup> manner of a prop against an old rotten wall'.<sup>43</sup> Another, identified as the 'Son of a rich Lord', climbs to the top of a maypole by standing on his pedigree, where he is said to 'remain 7 years; & leave nothing behind him, but his coat of Arms, & one sermon foolishly delivered'.<sup>44</sup> Other figures are portrayed more sympathetically as the victims of a ruthless patronage system. 'Burneo', described as a 'learned, industrious, well-behaved Curate', is identifiable as John Burne, a young clergyman and friend of Stephens in Hampshire. His maypole is described as being maliciously removed 'into another mans field', and as such he has climbed a 'Serjeants halberd' (representing an army chaplaincy), in the hopes of gaining a parochial living in the future.<sup>45</sup> Whereas the manner of each character's introduction into the satire recalls Swift, Stephens thought the Battel of the Books to be a lineal extension of older works. On 24 December 1738, Stephens stated that he thought it was "taken" from Strada's *Prolusions*, in which 'every Poet enter[s] the field, upon a horse agreeable to v<sup>e</sup> Character of the Rider each has a Copy of Verses representing his Peculiar manner of writing'.46

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Makdisi, Saree, *Making England Western, Occidentalism, Race & Imperial Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2014), pp. 55-58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Ward, W. Reginald, and, Heitzenrater, Richard P. (eds.), *The Works of John Wesley, Volume 19, Journals and Diaries II (1738-43)* (Nashville: Abingdom Press, 1990), p.326; Lloyd, Gareth, 'Eighteenth-Century Methodism and the London Poor', in, Heizenrater, Richard P. (ed.), *The Poor and the People Called Methodists* (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 2002), p. 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Wesley, John, An Extract of the Revd. Mr. John Wesley's Journal, From August 12, 1738, To Nov. 1 1739 (Bristol, 1742), p. 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Ecclesiastical Climbers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 24 December 1738. Stephens believed that Strada had also been imitated by George Smalridge in *Auctio Davisiana*, a Latin poem concerning a book auction first published in 1689.

The introduction of the characters in 'The Ecclesiastical Climbers' evoked these earlier works, but a pervasive theme throughout the satire was particular to Stephens's clerical identity. Whilst Connell has argue that Pope's political poetry of the 1730s played to suspicions that Church preferment under Walpole's ministry meant the 'abandonment of both political and spiritual integrity', Stephens repeatedly alluded to the redundancy of learning in the pursuit of a clerical career.<sup>47</sup> Many of the climbers are observed to have laid down their books at the bottom of the maypoles, 'yt the weight of them might not hinder them in climbing'.48 The clerics named in the satire are contrasted against the previous generation of Church leaders, such as Bishops William Beveridge, William Lloyd, and Edward Stillingfleet, who the Goddess Divinity 'had formerly power & interest enough' to help to the tops of episcopal maypoles. Stephens's high regard for learning among the clergy is apparent in that he identifies only Archbishop John Potter as being of the same scholarly cast as these Latitudinarian divines and Williamite heroes of the Church. Of other contemporary clerics, Stephens presents ignorance, frivolous pursuits, idleness, negligence of parochial duties, and fervent support of the ministry as their chief qualifications for success in the clerical profession.

they are frequently running after new dignities, & new Maypoles; and are, in every shop in town, except the booksellers; meddling w<sup>th</sup> every thing, except learning; & appearing [^]in every public place, except the Church; and are [^]indeed in every Parish, except their own<sup>49</sup>

# 'Sons of Belial'

The extent of Stephens's antipathy towards Blackburne is plain in his depiction of his former patron in 'The Ecclesiastical Climbers' under the pseudonym of "Cossa".<sup>50</sup>

Cossa climbed some years ago, chiefly by  $y^e$  assistance of his enemies; they rounded his Episcopal pole, & by an imprudent malice [^]kissed him up to the top of it, he laid against the Maypole an old board, w<sup>ch</sup> had been shot thro'. on y<sup>t</sup> he fixt his foot & sprang up the pole [with] great alacrity. & he assisted his own climbing by skrewing VICES into y<sup>e</sup> Maypole, & resting his feet upon them. – his Maypole had generally women about it, & he frequently carried in his pocket a pack of cards, w<sup>ch</sup> he plaid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Connell, Phillip, *Secular Chains: Poetry and Politics of Religion from Milton to Pope* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 231.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Ecclesiastical Climbers.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Stephens Letters. Stephen refers to Blackburne negatively more than twenty times in his correspondence between 1742 and 1745.

with even in his climb<sup>g</sup>: for Spadil is a sure friend & Punto is a good manager of all Ceremonious visits to Ladys' & King of Knave are the best assistants to such as climb Episcopal May-Poles; & when Cossa sat down [^]on the top of y<sup>e</sup> highest Maypole, he constantly kept in his hand Spadil & Basto, and retained them in his highest station: like Masons boys in Exeter, w<sup>ch</sup> frequently play cards upon the tops of the highest Chimneys, where they were advanced only to mend them.<sup>51</sup>

Central to this portrayal are the rumours of sexual impropriety that dogged Blackburne for much of his later life, and were a recurring point of reference for anti-clerical commentary by opponents of the Whig ministry throughout the 1730s. As Begiato and Gibson have noted, sexual scandals in the long eighteenth century often developed as adjuncts to political disputes, and in Blackburne's case this can be traced to the bitter party divisions of Queen Anne's reign.<sup>52</sup> In 1703, he was closely involved in cathedral chapter disputes in Exeter between Bishop Jonathan Trelawny and his opponents.<sup>53</sup> During this quarrel, a rumour emerged of a sexual scandal involving Blackburne and one Mary Martin. Confronted by the allegation, Blackburne immediately resigned as subdean, despite his allies' belief that the rumour was merely the 'common tittle-tattle of Exeter'.<sup>54</sup> Matters were complicated, however, when the scandal reached London, and were shared at Westminster Hall, and with the Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>55</sup> Blackburne's lay supporters, such as John Ellis, the under-secretary of state, grew increasingly concerned that the 'thing has gott aire & begins to make a noise here'.<sup>56</sup> Archdeacon Francis Atterbury of Totnes acknowledged the difficulties Trelawny faced in managing the case, asking of his bishop 'would they have your Lordship be yourself prosecutor of a man who hath so long and faithfully served you upon a mere rumour?<sup>57</sup> At

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> The card game ombre was highly fashionable during this period. A report of the Royal Family playing the game appeared in the *York Courant*, no. 175 (York: Tuesday 14 January 1729).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Begiato, Joanne, and, Gibson, William, *Sex and the Church in the Long Eighteenth Century* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Smith, M. G., 'The Cathedral Chapter of Exeter and the Election of 1705', in, *The Devonshire* Association For the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art Report and Transactions, vol. 116 (184), pp. 116-119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Atterbury, Francis, *The Miscellaneous works of Bishop Atterbury* [etc.], vol. I (London: 1789), pp. 198-200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Atterbury, *Miscellaneous works*, vol. I, pp. 201-202; CRO. PB/8/4, letter from Nicholas Morice, to, Humphrey Prideaux, 17 April 1703.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> CRO. PB/8/4, letter from John Ellis, to, Humphrey Prideaux, 1 May 1703; BL. Add. MS 28880, letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, John Ellis, 29 May 1696; Add. MS 28886, quoted in, *The Antiquary*, Vol. 19 (1889), p. 170. Letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, John Ellis, 3 February 1701.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Atterbury, *Miscellaneous works*, vol. I, pp. 201-202.

the intercession of Dean William Wake, the matter was concluded by an inquiry instigated by the cathedral chapter, which pronounced Blackburne innocent on 23 October 1703.<sup>58</sup>

Whilst the allegations of sexual misbehaviour were never proven against Blackburne, the stain of scandal followed his progress through the clerical profession. Blackburne's increased prominence as a leading Whig prelate prompted the re-emergence of these rumours as the subject of table-talk, epistolary gossip, and popular verse among opponents of the government.<sup>59</sup> During the early years of Walpole's ministry hearsay of this kind rarely appeared in print, as criticism of the government was suppressed. On 7 October 1725, Bishop Edmund Gibson wrote to the attorney general concerning a minor report in the Tory Mist's Weekly Journal relating to Blackburne's high expectations of ordinands in his diocese.<sup>60</sup> Gibson thought the report 'a spiteful and unworthy reflection upon the Archbishop of York', and believed the printers should be punished for portraying the 'King's friends' in 'such ridiculous dresses'.<sup>61</sup> The ability to contain these views was challenged in the 1730s, as increasingly active and erudite opposition writers exploited 'popular anti-clerical prejudices' to pillory the Whig episcopate.<sup>62</sup> The author of *The Anatomy of a Modern B-----p* entered into a deliberate conceit that the pamphlet was written in 'general terms', but it may have been the first printed work to conflate the persistent rumours of sexual scandal with Blackburne's patronage towards Thomas Hayter, asserting that the younger man was the bishop's illegitimate son.63

Has he no Children born to him in Wedlock? Perhaps he may have a natural Son, who shall go into Orders without a Dispensation; who shall be taken into his family as Chaplain and Secretary [...] who shall be Conscience-keeper and Confessor to his Master and Father; who shall lead the venerable Dotard in ridiculous Captivity about with him; and shall procure a good Living, and a large Archdeaconry, and the Promise of much great Preferment, by putting him in Remembrance of past Pleasures, and screening past Impieties.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Smith, 'The Cathedral Chapter of Exeter and the Election of 1705', pp. 120; Sykes, , "The Buccaneer Bishop", p. 83; Atterbury, *The Miscellaneous works*, vol. I, pp. 267-268; Blackburne was reinstated as subdean of Exeter in 1704, and a year later, succeeded Wake as dean.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> ULSC. Lt 35, p. 35. Epigram, 'On Dr Blackburn Archbishop of York when Dean of Exeter', 1724.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Gibson refers to an article in *Mists's Weekly Journal* (London: Saturday 25 September 1725).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> BL. Add. MS 35585, letter from Edmund Gibson, to, Phillip Yorke, 7 October 1725.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Connell, Secular Chains, p. 231.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Anatomy of a Modern B-----p.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Ibid, pp. 20-21.

The *Anatomy of a Modern B-----p* is further revealing of the extent to which a client's reputation was entwined with that of their patron, and similarly open to criticism. This is also evident in *The Farmer's Daughter: Or, the Art of Getting Preferment* (1738), which described the role of the client in colluding in the sexual deviancy of their patron.<sup>65</sup> The poem recounted the tale of a bishop's chaplain procuring a young milkmaid for an 'old, thin, meager Priest' living in a 'Mitred Palace' on the banks of the River Ouse, who gains a Church living for her incompetent brother in exchange for her affections.

This said, she stroak'd his grizly Face, Long Life she cries attend your Grace; The Vacant Vicarage I claim, That Brother *Numps* enjoy the same Thus yielded was to Beauty's Pow'r What long was promis'd to another.<sup>66</sup>

It is likely that these associations were the inspiration for the pseudonym 'Cossa', which was coined by Francis Gregor prior to the composition of 'The Ecclesiastical Climbers'. First appearing in a letter of 11 January 1742, Stephens wrote of his relation John Anstis, 'he lives near Balthazar Cossa (for whom I thank you) but I shall visit none of the Sons of Belial'.<sup>67</sup> This conflation of Old Testament wickedness with the figure of Baldasarre Cossa, a fifteenth-century Neapolitan antipope, is revealing of the depths of Stephens's hostility towards his former patron.<sup>68</sup> The return of an obscure medieval antipope to the eighteenth-century imagination owed much to the political climate of post-Restoration Britain. From the reign of James II, accounts of John XXIII appeared in an increasing number of anti-Catholic texts, such as the polemicist Henry Care's *History of Popery* (1682), which declared the antipope to have been 'the most profligate Villain that one shall read of'.<sup>69</sup> By the time the first full account of John XXIII's papacy appeared in Jacques L'Enfant's *Histoire de Concile de Constance* (1714, English translation in 1730), the antipope had become a prime example of the excesses of Popery, and was cited in anti-Catholic texts and sermons through the 1730s.<sup>70</sup> Where

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Derby Mercury, no. 44 (Derby: Wednesday 19 January 1738).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> The Farmer's Daughter: Or, The Art of Getting Preferment (London: 1738), pp. 4-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 11 January 1742.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> King, John N., *Milton and Religious Controversy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> *The History of Popery; or Pacquet of Advice from Rome, The Fourth Volume* (London: 1682), pp. 53-54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> L'Enfant, Jacques, *Histoire de Concile de Constance* (Amsterdam: 1714); *The History of Popery* [etc.], vol. II (London: 1736), p. 266; *A Preservative Against Popery* [etc.] (London: 1738), Tit. IV, p.

Stephens differed from the writers of these works, however, is that he had personal experience of Blackburne's lifestyle, and continued to be informed of the elderly archbishop's activities through those still in his inner circle. Whilst it was the politically charged scandal from Exeter that formed the backdrop of persistent suspicions of impropriety against Blackburne, his unconventional living arrangements with Dorothy Cruwys fanned the flames of disrepute. And references to the card game ombre in 'The Ecclesiastical Climbers' recall Pope's *Rape of the Lock*, but Stephens may have had in mind the Archbishop's sociable lifestyle.<sup>71</sup> This device allowed Stephens to ironically portray Blackburne as having risen through the Church by the very worldliness which other satirical writers cited in their criticisms of the Whig episcopate.

#### Lewis Stephens and nepotism

Stephens's papers are the richest source for outsider perspectives on Blackburne's administration in York, but his views were firmly rooted in ongoing clerical engagements in Exeter where he was a residentiary canon. Even after his translation to the archbishopric, Blackburne's spectre cast a long shadow over the cathedral community in the south-west. When a diocese fell vacant, the episcopal seals of the former incumbent were broken in a physical and symbolic representation of the severance of jurisdictive ties from one bishop to the next.<sup>72</sup> This was, of course, only a formality, as the influence of predecessor administrations persisted through their clients. It is clear that Blackburne retained an active interest in his former diocese even after translation. On 27 September 1725, John Vinicombe wrote to the Archbishop informing him of a dispute between the civic corporation and cathedral chapter of Exeter, reported on the health of Dean Edward Trelawny, and promised to transmit a 'full account of the Election by the next post'.<sup>73</sup> As late as May 1734, rumours of Blackburne's continued influence in Exeter politics forced Bishop Stephen Weston to address speculation that his predecessor held sufficient sway over his clergy to direct them in electoral affairs.

I have assur'd you already that the story of the Archbishop of York is a mere Chimera, fram'd to deceive the ignorant by False and Crafty men: Neither I myselfe for many

<sup>152;</sup> George Smyth, The Church of Rome's Claim of Authority and Infallibility examined, in a Sermon Preached at Salters-Hall, January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1734 (London: 1735), p. 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Pope, Alexander, *The Rape of the Lock* [etc.], revised edition (London: 1714).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> From the early eighteenth century the breaking of seals was recorded in the Vicar General's Act Books at Lambeth. See, LPL. VB 1/7, Vicar General Act Book, 1723-1734. For the costs of cutting new episcopal seals see, Jones, Clyve, 'The Politics and the Financial Costs of an Episcopal Appointment in the Early Eighteenth Century: The Promotion of William Wake to the Bishopric of Lincoln in 1705', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (Spring 1990), pp. 119-129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P III/15, letter from John Vinicombe, to, Lancelot Blackburne, 27 September 1725.

years have had any correspondence with him;  $\sim$  nor I verily believe, and upon Particular grounds, more than one Person of my Chapter. 'Tis so grosse then and absurd, to believe that he should send his order to the Chapter; or that I am in so poor Credit with my Brethren of the Cathedral, as to be oblig'd Bear such an Indignity. If I have therefore any share in your Esteem Trust me that the Representation of a Party business between the Clergy and the Archbishop is False in fact, any further than the wicked Contrivance of the Reporters themselves may have impos'd on some Innocent men, that know little of the World.<sup>74</sup>

Stephens made frequent references in his correspondence to Blackburne's clients in Exeter, but he reserved particular ire for John Gilbert who he characterised as having inherited many vices and deficiencies from his patron. On 16 June 1740, Stephens related that Gilbert had declined a meeting with Bishop Stephen Weston because he was busy at 'cards with some Ladies of Quality'.<sup>75</sup> In the same year, Stephens was incensed by Gilbert's promotion to the bishopric of Llandaff ahead of other clergymen he deemed to be more deserving. Stephens later confided that 'it gives me indignation y<sup>t</sup> [Gilbert] is B<sup>p</sup>, & [Thomas] Worth was nothing more y<sup>n</sup>: an [archdeacon]'.<sup>76</sup> In 'The Ecclesiastical Climbers', Stephens described Gilbert's advancement in the Church 'with less labour, & no study' having 'learnt it from Cossa',

for he is hugely qualified for it by 5 great & excellent parts of learning: (1) he is six foot high  $(2^{1y})$  he wears a very genteel gown & cassock.  $(3^{1y})$  he is married into a Nobleman's family.  $(4^{1y})$  he rides in a handsome Chariot, &  $(5^{1y})$  he has assurance [^]daring enough for any May-pole<sup>77</sup>

Stephens accentuated this account of Gilbert's worldly qualifications with the melodramatic declaration that he wished 'to be corkt up in a bottle, & not be let out again, till G - rt hath learnt Latin!'<sup>78</sup>

Ingram has outlined that the perceived systemisation of patronage under Walpole drew criticism from opposition commentators, and that clerical nepotism 'rankled some contemporaries'.<sup>79</sup> Remarking on John Gilbert's appointment of his brother as chaplain in Llandaff, Stephens stated that he had 'already laid y<sup>e</sup> foundation of [^]a Nepotism' and that regardless of qualifications 'y<sup>e</sup> Chick must be crammed in every coop.'<sup>80</sup> In the eighteenth

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> CRO. X1277, Collecteana Trelawniana, p. 278. Stephen Weston, to, unknown, 21 May 1734.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 16 June 1740.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 20 December 1742.

<sup>77</sup> Ecclesiastical Climbers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 24 January 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Ingram, *Religion, Reform, and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 18 August 1740.

century 'nepotism' was still strongly associated with the Catholic Church, and retained its association with the Papal practice of conveying illegitimate sons to the cardinalate.<sup>81</sup> An early application to the Church of England appeared in John Edwards's The Preacher of 1706, which stated that those who wished to protect the 'Church in Danger' should expect certain virtues of its governors, including that they 'be not tainted with Nepotism.'<sup>82</sup> Whilst on first reading this might suggest a contemporary belief that bishops should not serve familial clients, this was not the case. It has been demonstrated that the early Hanoverian Church was composed of a mixture of individuals rewarded on the grounds of merit and industry, and those promoted upon a familial or landed interest.<sup>83</sup> Gibson has further described that within the Church (as with the other emergent professions), 'nepotism was difficult to distinguish from the hereditary nature of recruitment'.<sup>84</sup> Moral legitimacy was afforded to the efforts of bishops to provide financially for their clients, and this provision of patronage was selfregulated insofar that the public nature of the patron-client relationship meant that the appointment of an individual insufficiently qualified for a position would reflect poorly upon the patron.<sup>85</sup> As such, some bishops denied places to relatives who did not merit such appointments.<sup>86</sup> At first appearance, therefore, Stephens's views appear to have been uncompromising by contemporary standards. His most potent reflection on the subject came in a letter of July 1745,

I hate Nepotism in y<sup>e</sup> Protestant Clergy, as well as the Popish. grinding Parishioners or Tenants of Chapter-lands, for the sake perhaps of a Worthless Nephew, or even a good one; is buying another man's luxury & idleness at y<sup>e</sup> expense of (...) honour, w<sup>ch</sup> is too high a price.<sup>87</sup>

Stephens was true to his beliefs, inserting a genealogical disqualification into his will which debarred his relations from taking up scholarships he intended to establish at Exeter School.<sup>88</sup> It should be observed, however, that Stephens's criticisms of nepotism were couched in quite specific terms, focussing on disproportionate largesse to a particular client, or profound deficiencies in a client's abilities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Edwards, John, *The Preacher. The Second Part* [&c.] (London: 1706), pp. 155-156.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Sykes, Church and State in the XVIIIth Century, p. 165.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Gibson, William, 'Nepotism, Family, And Merit: The Church of England in the Eighteenth Century', in, *Journal of Family History*, vol. 18, no. 2 (1993), p. 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Ibid, p. 182.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Ibid, pp. 186-187.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 6 July 1745.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

Stephens was especially critical of pluralists such as Thomas Hayter, John Lynch, and John Hoadly. He believed the latter had been granted livings worth  $\pm 1300$  by his father, Bishop Benjamin Hoadly of Winchester, causing the prelate to lose the 'esteem' of his clergy.<sup>89</sup> Bishop Hoadly had formerly issued 'great invective' against pluralities, but by 'heaping them' on his son it abated 'much of y<sup>e</sup> Opinion of his Sincerity.'<sup>90</sup> Stephens was also concerned by the nepotistic basis for patronage among those he thought were underserving. In the months following Blackburne's death, Stephens stated that whilst the 'maypoles' of ecclesiastical preferment scaled by John Lynch were 'matrimonial', Hayter's were 'paternal ones'.91 He added further that the provisions of Blackburne's will carried 'no thing laudable' on Hayter's part.<sup>92</sup> Stephens's criticisms of Blackburne's patronage was offset by his belief that the Archbishop had 'forgotten' the Trelawny family despite being 'entirely raised' by them.<sup>93</sup> Stephens was appointed as chaplain to Bishop Jonathan Trelawny at Winchester in 1716 and retained a lifelong regard for the family.<sup>94</sup> The strength of the connection that formerly existed between Blackburne and the Trelawnys is evident in a letter of Stephens's from 1724. He informed Joshua Howell that 'you must know that [Blackburne] is a good friend to the family & always ready to serve it: & therefore must by no means be disobliged."<sup>95</sup> Indeed, other clergymen of the period were keen to demonstrate their regard for their patron's family even after achieving high office. In April 1729, Bishop Thomas Vesey of Ossory wrote to Archbishop William Wake that 'I must not forget y' of y' Graces family in particular, because I had once y<sup>e</sup> honor to be part of it'.<sup>96</sup> That Blackburne failed to honour this lifelong aspect of the patronage bargain toward the Trelawny family, at least in Stephens's eyes, was yet another indicator of his former patron's dishonourable character.

As Stephens provided no explanation for his breach with Blackburne, his motivations for contravening social norms by breaking the patronage bargain are unclear. As such, examples of other clergymen who broke ties with their patrons are instructive. It is significant that Laurence Sterne's rejection of his uncle's patronage in 1742 was also a repudiation of Blackburne's administration (see, above). He later claimed that he 'quarrelled' with Jaques

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 8 September 1743; Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 17 September 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 8 September 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 4 August 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 12 July 1740; Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 9 July 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 1 Juyl 1738.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> CRO. DDHL(2)/179, letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Joshua Howell, 23 April 1724.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> CRO. PB8/7, letter from Thomas Vesey, to, William Wake, 10 April 1729.

Sterne because 'though he was a party man, I was not', and that he 'detested' the 'dirty work' of political journalism.<sup>97</sup> Whilst this suggests that Laurence Sterne's decision was chiefly guided by personal scruples, the timing of the rupture brings this into question. With Walpole only recently deposed, and Blackburne in declining health, Laurence Sterne may have envisaged that he could cultivate more fruitful patronage connections elsewhere. This was a highly risky strategy, however, given the low probability of receiving additional preferment under successive bishops, and the damage he would sustain to his reputation. The latter is apparent insofar that the breach with his uncle was absolute. In 1750, Jaques Sterne scathingly referred to 'the Only person unacceptable to me in the whole Church, an ungrateful & unworthy nephew of my Own'98 Laurence Sterne's eventual pursuit of fame owed a great deal to his subsequent stasis as a 'lousy prebendary'.<sup>99</sup> Having belatedly found favour with his former college acquaintance John Fountayne at his appointment as Dean of York in 1747, Laurence Sterne was again disappointed in his clerical career.<sup>100</sup> With his novel The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy in the press, Sterne declared that 'I am tired of employing my brains for other people's advantage - 'Tis a foolish sacrifice I made for some years to a foolish person'<sup>101</sup> Whilst Laurence Sterne might be considered an exceptional example, a sense of personal incompatibility also permeated William Cole's justification for breaking ties with his patron in the 1750s.

B<sup>p</sup> Sherlock was a great Man, but an arbitrary one. He gave me a Living, but I soon found that more Servility & Obsequiousness would be expected, than was in my nature to give: so I gave up all my future Prospects of great Ecclesiastical Preferment, for more Liberty & less Constraint, for which I was not made.<sup>102</sup>

Stephens's breach with Blackburne almost certainly had a political complexion. Whilst Stephens polled for the ministerial Whig candidates at the 1734 county election for Hampshire, in 1743 (just months after Blackburne's death) he declared for the Country Interest

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Sterne, Sterne's Memoirs, A Hitherto Unrecorded Holograph, p. 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Curtis, *The Letters of Laurence Sterne*, p. 427. Letter from Jaques Sterne, to, Francis Blackburne, 6 December 1750.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Sterne, Laurence, A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy, 2 vols. (London: 1768), vol. I, p. 65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Reed, Daniel, 'Ambition and Disappointment? Two New Sterne Letters of 1752', in, *The Shandean*, 28 (2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Curtis, *The Letters of Laurence Sterne*, p. 84. Letter from Laurence Sterne, to, Mrs F., 19 November [1759].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> BL. Add. MS 5831, William Cole's Collections, Vol. XXX, p. 396.

in opposition to 'y<sup>e</sup> burden of Courts & courtiers'.<sup>103</sup> For this he expected to be 'chided' by his former ministerial allies in Exeter.<sup>104</sup> By the following year, however, Stephens claimed that his 'dread of slavery from Ministers' was quickly being subsumed by fears of the growing French army and prospect of war.<sup>105</sup> He was particularly alarmed at reports that 12,000 troops were to be stationed near his parish of Droxford.<sup>106</sup> The outbreak of the Jacobite Rebellion in 1745 finally punctured Stephens's disaffection to the ecclesiastical establishment, spurring him into vehement anti-Catholic activity, during which he utilised his abilities as a preacher and writer to denounce the dangers of Jacobitism.<sup>107</sup> In Droxford, Stephens sent anti-Catholic works such as *A Protestant 's Resolution, showing his reasons why he will not be a Papist* to every household, and entered into his will that other books would be left to the parish to form 'a standing magazine against Popery'.<sup>108</sup> Despite failing health, Stephens was determined to do his duty,

I would die consulting the public good, & no other. I wish y<sup>t</sup> my last hour may find me standing upright in my [pulpit] y<sup>t</sup> labour & life may cease together.

For Stephens, the Rebellion sharpened his sense of clerical identity, bringing his actions (if not his moral and scholarly sensibilities) back in line with those he lambasted in his satires. Stephens's case demonstrates that bringing ecclesiastical administration into closer political alignment with the Whig ministry was not without obstacles, giving further weight to Connell's assessment that (for some) the fall of the first minister did not 'mitigate the moral and spiritual corruption of the Walpolean regime'.<sup>109</sup> For those who could not accommodate the changing political landscape, they risked being ostracised by their contemporaries and debarred from progress in their clerical careers. At Stephens's death in 1747, his curate James Gibson expressed that 'tho' he has left some Enemies behind him, he deserv'd none'.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> An Exact List Of the Names of the Gentlemen and Freeholders That Voted for Knights of the Shire for the County of Southampton, As the same was Taken in the Year 1734 (London: 1736); Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 1 November 1745.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 4 August 1743.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 4 June 1744.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 1 November 1745.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Stephens Letters. Letter from Lewis Stephens, to, Francis Gregor, 18 November 1745.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Walker, 'The Church in York, 1688-1747', pp. 85-122; Connell, Secular Chains, p. 234.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> CRO. G/1970/1, letter from James Gibson, to, Francis Gregor, [March 1747].

#### THE MYTHOLOGISED PATRON

IN MEMORY OF The Most Reverend and Right Honourable LANCELOT BLACKBURNE (1658-1743) Archbishop of York and buccaneer

At first glance this epitaph could be mistaken for the dedication to a printed work, or a memorial inscription at Blackburne's burial place at St. Margaret's, Westminster. In fact, it is the opening to *The Pyrates*, a comic novel published in 1983.<sup>1</sup> This obfuscation of reality is central to the piracy myth, the most prevalent of all rumours against Blackburne (see, above). Many parallels can be drawn between Blackburne's case and that of Edward Hyde, third Earl of Clarendon (1661-1723). Better known as Lord Cornbury, Hyde was governor of New York and New Jersey from 1701 to 1708.<sup>2</sup> Whilst the charges against Blackburne oscillate between episcopal neglect and privateering, Cornbury stands accused of corruption and cross-dressing. In her 2012 study of Cornbury, Patricia Bonomi cites the case as being one of 'rare historical consensus' that has remained 'unchallenged' for two centuries.<sup>3</sup> The rumours against both Blackburne and Cornbury emerged and were framed by the political partisanship of Queen Anne's reign during which 'political reputations were more susceptible to attack' than in nearly any other period.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, the Cornbury myth has also been maintained by fictionalisation and spurious material links.<sup>5</sup> A supposed portrait of Cornbury in women's clothing hangs in the New York Historical Society, whilst a Ferrera sword purported as being Blackburne's is displayed in the Senior Common Room at Christ Church, Oxford.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, Bonomi draws attention to the dissonance between oft-repeated rumours and the archival record, in which she has found 'surprisingly little' evidence of the allegations against

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Fraser, George MacDonald, *The Pyrates* (London: Collins, 1983).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bonomi, Patricia U., *The Lord Cornbury Scandal, The Politics of Reputation in British America* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid, p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Bonomi, *The Lord Cornbury Scandal*, p 5; A sword supposed to have belonged to the 'buccaneer' was in the possession of the Blackburne family of Richmond in the 1890s. A similar sword was subsequently donated to Christ Church, Oxford. See, Pemberton, Marilyn, *Out of the Shadows: The Life and Works of Mary de Morgan* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), p. 178; *Christ Church Matters*, no. 30 (2012), p. 2.

Cornbury.<sup>7</sup> Building on this observation, this chapter utilises Natalie Zacek's path-finding work on the Church in the Caribbean and West Indies to explore the historical basis for the piracy myth, before examining how politically-motivated attacks on Blackburne's reputation have morphed into a distinct mythology over time.<sup>8</sup>

Zacek has argued that in the seventeenth century, the Leeward Islands of Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, Saba, Saint Christopher and Statia were the most marginal of all English colonies.<sup>9</sup> Federated by the Board of Trade in 1670 by geographical proximity, the islands shared little in common aside from an economy dominated by the introduction of slaves and sugar.<sup>10</sup> As the most 'exposed, vulnerable, and distant of colonies in North America', settlers faced enormous challenges in promoting the Church of England, and maintaining a characteristically English society.<sup>11</sup> It was during the governorship of William Stapleton that the ecclesiastical foundations of the English Leeward Islands were formalised after a decade of depredations, invasions, and natural disasters.<sup>12</sup> Stapleton's relative success as Governor-General can be observed in the response to his intention to resign the post in 1684. The respective councils of the islands petitioned the Lords of Trade, desiring that Stapleton's commission be extended, and his passage home blocked, arguing that his 'loyalty, courage, fidelity, and military prudence have kept us happy and flourishing, and rendered us formidable to our potent French neighbours'.<sup>13</sup> The importance of military protection from outside forces determined that securing productive and defensive manpower often took precedence over religious orthodoxy.<sup>14</sup> Legal measures were taken to encourage settlers to the islands, such as in August 1681, when the council of Antigua passed an act that conferred upon foreigners all the freedoms of British subjects, drawing 'many Protestant aliens' to the island.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Bonomi, *The Lord Cornbury Scandal*, pp. 1-2, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Zacek, Natalie, A., *Settler Society in the Leeward Islands, 1670-1776* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Zacek, Natalie A., 'The Caribbean and West Indies', in, Gregory, *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II*, pp. 189-200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Settler Society, p. 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ibid, p. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ibid, pp. 5-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ibid, p. 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> 'America and West Indies: February 1684', in, Fortescue, J. W. (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies: Volume 11, 1681-1685* (London: 1898), pp. 581-601. *British History Online* [accessed at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/colonial/america-west-indies/vol11/pp581-601 on 30 March 2017]. Hereafter, '*State Papers Colonial*'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Edmonds, Ennis B., and, Gonzalez, Michelle A., *Caribbean Religious History, An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), p. 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Oliver, *History of Antigua*, p. lxv.

The heterodox character of settler society in the Leeward Islands was most conspicuous in Governor Stapleton's status as an Irish Catholic. At the height of the Popish Plot, Stapleton's friends anxiously informed him of developments in England, and insisted that the governor should not refuse any oaths tendered to him. <sup>16</sup> When Charles II ordered his Catholic brother James, Duke of York, out of England in March 1679, Stapleton's agent of fiscal-military affairs in London lamented that the governor had lost his 'best freinde' in the kingdom.<sup>17</sup> Despite these intrigues, Stapleton's loyalty was unwavering, and he took significant steps towards settling the provision of Anglican ministry in the islands.<sup>18</sup> At the commencement of his governorship, Stapleton reported that aside from a few ministers in Nevis, there were 'no others' in the Leeward Islands.<sup>19</sup> At that time, Anglican services were provided where possible, and families were willing to send their children to orthodox schoolmasters, but there was a desperate shortage of clergymen to serve the settler populations.<sup>20</sup> In 1676, at Stapleton's instigation, the Lords of Trade consulted Bishop Henry Compton of London, who they found 'well-disposed to send able men to those parts'.<sup>21</sup> It was calculated that fifteen ministers would be required in proportion to the number of parishes in the islands, but in real terms 'six more good ones would be sufficient'.<sup>22</sup> In June 1677, Stapleton urged Bishop Compton to proceed with licensing ministers to serve in the Leeward Islands, and by the end of the year, five clergymen had embarked from England aboard the Olive Branch.23 The Lords of Trade encouraged Stapleton to 'dispose the planters and inhabitants to receive them courteously', and on their arrival in early 1678, the governor assigned them to posts throughout the islands.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Freeman, William, 'Freeman's Letters, 1679: nos 58-82', in, Hancock, David (ed.), *The Letters of William Freeman, London Merchant, 1678-1685* (London: 2002), pp. 57-79. *British History Online* [accessed at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol36/pp57-79 on 9 April 2017]; Speck, W. A., 'James II and VII (1633–1701)', *ODNB* [accessed at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14593 on 9 April 2017]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Freeman, 'Freeman's Letters, 1679: nos 58-82', pp. 57-79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Settler Society, p. 84.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Settler Society, p. 124; 'America and West Indies: November 16-30, 1676', in, *State Papers Colonial*. November 1676, 'In all ten churches, in St. Christopher's two, Nevis four, Montserrat two, Antigua two, in the other islands none.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> 'America and West Indies: January 1676', in, State Papers Colonial.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> 'America and West Indies: November 16-30, 1676', in, State Papers Colonial.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The Olive Branch under captain Giles Lawrence has been identified as part of William Freeman's Sugar and Provision fleet of 1678-1685. See, Hancock, David (ed.), 'Appendices', in, *The Letters of William Freeman, London Merchant, 1678-1685* (London: 2002), pp. li-lviii [accessed at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/london-record-soc/vol36/li-lviii on 1 May 2017].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> 'America and West Indies: November 1677', in, State Papers Colonial.

One of the ministers licensed in 1677 for service in the Leeward Islands was Richard Mollineux.<sup>25</sup> Assigned by Governor Stapleton to serve Montserrat, it was there that Mollineux composed a previously unpublished letter of March 1680, directed to Andrew Allam of St. Edmund Hall in Oxford.<sup>26</sup> This letter provides an unparalleled insight into the religious and social conditions in the Leeward Islands during this period, and significantly for this study, contains vital evidence of the patronage relationships that governed the lives of colonial ministers, both in England, and the Caribbean. Central to the ministers' future prospects was the bishop of London, who notionally held ecclesiastical authority over all overseas territories. From the outset of discussions to provide ministers to the islands, assurances were made by the bishop that all clergymen who completed their service would receive 'good preferment at their return'.<sup>27</sup> What Mollineux's letter reveals, however, is that Bishop Henry Compton maintained communication with the ministers during their ministry, offering reassurance, and additional means of executing their posts. Bishop Compton offered his prayers for Mollineux in the completion of his service, and was willing to authorise him with powers to excommunicate. Compton also reassured Mollineux of the 'reward to come' for his service, and reminded him 'fro whence' his office was derived.<sup>28</sup> The implication being, that the bishop's influence over the distribution of ecclesiastical posts in England was to be relied upon the ministers' return from the colonies.

Whilst the bishop of London was central to the colonial ministers' future patronage, the distance between the prelate and those that he licensed to serve overseas meant that in practical terms, his oversight ended when the ministers departed England. From their arrival in the Leeward Islands, their affairs were managed by the governors of the islands, who assumed the role of ordinaries, issuing marriage licenses, proving wills, and instituting the clergy.<sup>29</sup> As such, everyday life centred on the ministers' relationships with the governor and his deputies, merchants, planters, sailors, other clergymen, and the communicants of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Richard Mollineux, son of Richard, of Garsington, Oxfordshire. Matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, 25 October 1672, aged fifteen. B.A. in 1676. This thesis follows Foster in rendering his surname as 'Mollineux', whereas other contemporary documents exhibit a number of variants. See, Foster, Joseph, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1715-1886 and Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714* (Oxford: Parker and Co., 1888-1892).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Bodl. MS Wood F. 43, fols. 154-158, letter from Richard Mollineux, to, Andrew Allam, 26 March 1681 (hereafter, 'Mollineux Letter').

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Caldecott, Alfred, *The Church in the West Indies* (London: SPCK., 1898), p. 51.

islands.<sup>30</sup> In Mollineux's case, his station was defined by the composition of the population of Montserrat. The island was distinct from the other English Leeward Islands in that the predominance of Irish settlers among the white inhabitants resulted in Catholics outnumbering Protestants six to one, retrospectively earning the island the sobriquet, 'Ireland's only colony'.<sup>31</sup> Consequently, Mollineux defined his 'parishioners' as all the 'protestant part of ye Island'.<sup>32</sup> When these demographics were reported to the Lords of Trade in 1676, it was insisted that Montserrat's Catholic population gave 'no scandal to the Protestant Church,' and that many attended Anglican services.<sup>33</sup> This report helped to allay questions of loyalty in the administration of the island, which in the seventeenth century was overseen by a succession of Catholic deputy governors. From 1675, the island was under the auspices of Edmund Stapleton, brother to the governor-general, and described by Mollineux as our 'papistical governour'.<sup>34</sup> Mollineux accompanied Stapleton on hunting excursions to other islands, and it was following such a trip in 1679 that the deputy governor became unwell and later died at Nevis.<sup>35</sup> Stapleton's death did not, however, represent a greater shift towards the established Church in Montserrat. Stapleton was succeeded by Captain Peter Cove, a Presbyterian, who Mollineux stated, was 'always was extraordinary kind to me'.<sup>36</sup>

The relative success of the colonial ministers' service in the Leeward Islands was also dependant on their ability to cope with the vagaries of settler life. In 1680, Mollineux thought to quit his ministry, and preached a farewell sermon, having risked his life intervening in a drunken sword fight involving his landlord.<sup>37</sup> It is unknown whether incidents such as this were common, but in July 1681 Governor Stapleton wrote to the Lords of Trade to address complaints regarding the ministers in his care. By that time, however, Stapleton was able to cite Mollineux's testimony, that he was 'well used' in Montserrat. In Nevis, *An Act for Ministers Duties, &c.*, was confirmed on 8 February 1681, and detailed that all ministers would receive 'Sixteen thousand Pounds of Sugar, free of all Charges (...) for every Year he

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> BL. Sloane MS 678, journal of voyages in the Mediterranean, Antigua, etc., 1678-1680. Among the 171 persons named in this account is William Jones, one of Lancelot Blackburne's immediate predecessors as minister in the island.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Settler Society, p. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Mollineux Letter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> 'America and West Indies: November 16-30, 1676', in, State Papers Colonial.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Mollineux Letter.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Mollineux Letter.

officiateth among them, besides all other Perquisities and Church-dues.<sup>38</sup> Stapleton was also concerned about the quality of the ministers sent, requesting that Bishop Henry Compton send 'four able ministers and not young graduates.<sup>39</sup> The governor was particularly anxious that 'a man of parts' be secured for Saint Christopher, as 'there are not any parish clergy, but French and Dutch Calvinists and Lutherans, which I suppose to be no less adversaries to the Church of England, as it is orthodox, than each is to the other.<sup>40</sup> The appointee to this challenging post would be well-rewarded with 'two hundred pounds per annum, for we will add two parishes together that they may live comfortably.<sup>41</sup> For young clergymen such as Mollineux, securing a sufficient maintenance was a primary motivation for undertaking overseas service.

few have dealt so hardly by me as to deny me a competent maintenance in my native countrey, & forct me to fly into a strange land. but altho  $y^e$  seeking a livelyhood hath caused me to forsake my friends & relations, yet my soul is often-times w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>m</sup>, & does not withstanding y<sup>s</sup> distance of place still dwell amongst y<sup>m</sup>

Despite expressions of homesickness, Mollineux's letter also demonstrates that his overseas service afforded him a more opulent lifestyle than he could achieve in England. Mollineux declared that, 'I would not y<sup>n</sup> change my benefice for y<sup>e</sup> best parsonage in England, scarce y<sup>e</sup> two best', and that, 'I live here in some respects better y<sup>n</sup> I shall in England; except I get a very fat benefice'.<sup>42</sup> Mollineux enjoyed fine clothes, a good horse, and possession of a slave boy, who he feared losing on his return from the Caribbean, as 'ye laws of England admit of no slave there.'<sup>43</sup> Despite fears of 'either a forreign or domestick war', slave uprisings, and social disorder in other American colonies, Mollineux remained in Montserrat for the rest of his life, and was buried there on 8 October 1721.<sup>44</sup>

Richard Mollineux's case is instructive when considering Blackburne's service in the Leeward Islands, for it demonstrates that for clergymen in the late seventeenth century without a substantial patron, undertaking ministry overseas offered the potential of a more lucrative living, or a route towards better preferment in England. As such, despite Governor Stapleton's

43 Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Acts of the Assembly, Passed in the Island of Nevis, From 1664, to 1739, inclusive (London: 1740), p. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> 'America and West Indies: July 1681', in, State Papers Colonial.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Mollineux Letter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Oliver, Vere Langford (ed.), *Caribbeana: being Miscellaneous Papers relating to the History, Genealogy, Topography, and Antiquities of the British West Indies*, vol. III (London: 1914), p. 2; the bishop's transcript of Mollineux's interment on 8 October 1721 is the earliest surviving burial entry for the parish of St. Peter's, Montserrat. Oliver, *Caribbeana*, vol. I, p. 91.

request for experienced ministers, it remained primarily young graduates with few or no prior ecclesiastical appointments who offered themselves for service. The necessity of securing men willing to undertake ministry overseas led to the circumvention of canonical norms for ordination, so that ministers could be licensed and set on their journeys without delay. Bishop Henry Compton ordained and priested Richard Mollineux on the same day in October 1677 to facilitate his passage to the Leeward Islands that winter, whilst in 1681 Lancelot Blackburne was priested by Bishop Compton just thirteen days after his ordination, ahead of his Atlantic voyage to Antigua.<sup>45</sup> Whilst these instances demonstrate that ecclesiastical authorities oversaw the expeditious preparation of young ministers, others left for the colonies in more inauspicious circumstances. In January 1682, Anthony Wood recorded that Edward Sclater, a fellow of Merton College, Oxford, left England for overseas service without leave from the university, 'being plung'd in debt'.<sup>46</sup>

For young men who undertook colonial service, officials of their universities sought to assist their clerical careers. Henry Parkhurst, a graduate of Corpus Christi College who presumably travelled with Blackburne in the winter of 1681, was later permitted to progress to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity whilst still absent in the Leeward Islands. It was reported that Parkhurst was officiating with 'good success' in Nevis, and that his progress should be allowed so that he might 'not suffer in his private concerns whilst he is doing public service abroad.'<sup>47</sup> In January 1684, Blackburne was created a Master of Arts whilst still overseas, being then stationed in Nevis. His movement to that island suggests he had developed a good relationship with Governor Stapleton, who entrusted Blackburne with the papers of the prisoner James Holloway when he eventually left the islands in early 1684.<sup>48</sup> This relationship persisted after Blackburne's return to England, as in the summer of the same year Stapleton consulted his former minister about potentially entering his sons at Westminster School.<sup>49</sup> Cultivation of the Governor's favour, in conjunction with the obligations owed from Bishop Henry Compton, strengthened Blackburne's claim for preferment. This came to fruition in November 1684, when Blackburne received a certificate from Bishop Compton attesting to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Clark, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, vol. II, p. 560.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> HMC, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, K.P., Preserved at Kilkenny Castle*, New Series, vol. IV (London: HMSO, 1906), p. 636.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Daniell, F. H. Blackburne (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of Charles II, 1683-1684, preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Vol. 26: Oct 1683-April 1684* (London: HMSO, 1938).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Oliver, *History of Antigua*, vol. III, p. 104.

his good behaviour in the Leeward Islands, facilitating his appointment to the living of Camerton in Bath and Wells.<sup>50</sup>

These are to certify y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> bearer M<sup>r</sup> Lancelot Blackbourn [Blackburne], whom I sent some time since to y<sup>e</sup> Leeward Islands in quality of a Chaplain, has behavd himself in all respects as becomes his Function, as appears by Testimonials from y<sup>e</sup> Governor of y<sup>e</sup> sayd Islands. Given under my hand y<sup>e</sup> [25 November 1684].<sup>51</sup>

With the support of the governor, and his university, Blackburne secured preferment at a time when Bishop Compton found himself overwhelmed with obligations to clergymen returning from service overseas. George Hickes remarked that the Bishop was 'so burdened with, and so engaged to those whome he hath sent abroad in the ships, and into the Plantations, upon promise of getting them the King's parsonages'.<sup>52</sup> The situation was exacerbated by the expulsion of the garrison at Tangier in 1683, with a number of clergymen requiring positions back in England and Wales.<sup>53</sup> Through service in the Leeward Islands, Blackburne experienced from the earliest years of his clerical career that the Church honoured the patronage bargain even in the furthest reaches of the English colonial empire.

#### The mythologised patron

The first seeds of the transition of Blackburne's service in the Caribbean from an historical account to a mythologised one can be identified in contemporary views of settler society. Zacek has demonstrated that many eighteenth-century observers thought the Caribbean colonies to be distant, dissolute, and largely irreligious outposts.<sup>54</sup>

It is grown a proverb with the English merchants, that the a Man goes over never so honest to the Plantations, yet the very Air there does change him in a short time<sup>55</sup>

Although written as a critique of the colonial judicial system, Thomas Hodge captured contemporary concerns about the corrupting character of settler society. And whilst Richard Mollineux's account of life as a minister in the Leeward Islands demonstrates that the Church

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Weaver, Somerset Incumbents, p. 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Bodl. MS Rawl. letters 106, fol. 12, letter from Henry Compton, 25 November 1684.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Whiting, C. E. (ed.), *The Autobiographies And Letters Of Thomas Comber Sometime Precentor of York And Dean of Durham*, Vol. II, The Publications of the Surtees Society, vol. CLVII (Durham: Andrews & Co., 1947), p. 117. Letter from George Hickes, to, Thomas Comber, 17 January 1684.
<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Zacek, 'The Caribbean and West Indies', in, Gregory, *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume II*, p. 189.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Hodges, Thomas, *Plantation Justice, shewing the Constitution of their Courts, and what sort of Judges they have in them* [etc.] (London: 1701), p. 9.

was sincerely promoted in the colonies, Rediker has indicated that the Atlantic maritime world could be perilous for clergymen unable to accommodate the peculiarities of life amongst seafaring and trading communities.<sup>56</sup> Blackburne's experiences in the Leeward Islands would likely have set him apart from other clergymen who had never lived in those societies. Evidence of this can be traced in the adoption of slang terms, originating in a culture where cursing was embraced with 'distinct gusto'<sup>57</sup> Mollineux's letter is punctuated by bawdy passages characteristic of correspondence with an old university friend, but these vulgarities are further entangled with maritime slang. He disparagingly referred to an acquaintance's pursuit of a young woman, describing her as 'a well trust vessel, & notw<sup>th</sup>standing he be so long he w<sup>ll</sup> scarce (in Seamans phrase) find y<sup>e</sup> depth of her hole'. Likewise, in response to claims that he had been remiss in corresponding with his family, Mollineux conceded that he would 'submit to y<sup>e</sup> lash of y<sup>ir</sup> prattling busie & scandalising tongues.'<sup>58</sup>

Whilst Mollineux's letter provides evidence of a minister's usage of seafaring language whilst living in the Leeward Islands in the 1680s, similar allusions can be identified in Blackburne's correspondence more than forty years after his return from the Caribbean. In the 1720s, Blackburne referred to excommunicates in York as being 'under the lash', and in another instance, offered advice to Bishop William Nicolson in highly evocative maritime terms.<sup>59</sup>

winds and storms have this good in them that they blow themselves away, and can hurt nothing till they have begun to move it, and make it give way. You have left some rocks behind you that have been endured to tempest; which, by the Providence of God, have split themselves upon them.<sup>60</sup>

Blackburne's clerical career coincided with a period in which maritime words entered the English vernacular, so the degree to which his experiences in the Caribbean were manifested in his language and manners is difficult to gauge. What is apparent, however, is that Blackburne's colonial service was recognised during his lifetime. In the 1720s, James Field

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> LPL. Fulham Palace Papers, 14, no, 65, letter from Richard Hewitt, to, Edmund Gibson, 29 July 1725, quoted in, Rediker, Marcus, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea – Merchant Seamen, Pirates, And The Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 176.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Gilje, Paul A., *To Swear Like a Sailor, Maritime Culture in America, 1750-1850* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Mollineux Letter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> HMC, *The Manuscripts of the Earl of Carlisle*, p. 60. Letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, Lord Carlisle, 9 July 1729.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Nichols, *Letters on Various Subjects* (...) *Ecclesiastical to and from William Nicolson*, vol. II, p. 563. Letter from Lancelot Blackburne, to, William Nicolson, 9 December 1723.

applied to Bishop Edmund Gibson for a pension having served in the colonies since 1693, being of the third generation of his family to serve the Crown. In his application he further appealed for Blackburne's assistance, knowing him to have formerly been minister of St. Paul's, Falmouth, in Antigua.<sup>61</sup> Blackburne's service in the Leeward Islands also coincided with a greater public interest in piracy. In 1684, the year he returned to England from the Caribbean, Alexandre Exquelemin's influential *Bucaniers of America* was published in English for the first time.<sup>62</sup> Later, the association between Blackburne and piracy was grafted to the rumours of sexual impropriety that were harnessed by opponents of the Whig ministry in the 1730s. An allusion in the *Anatomy of a Modern B-----p* strongly suggests Blackburne as the subject.<sup>63</sup>

at last perhaps in a lucky Hour he is sent a buccaneering to the West-Indies, to converse a-while with Pyracies, Depredations, Rapes, Murders, and all the licentious Practices of an abandon'd Crew<sup>64</sup>

In this light, Lewis Stephens's chosen sobriquet of 'Cossa' for his former patron takes on a further complexion, as among the supposed crimes of the Neapolitan Anti-Pope were 'piracy, rape, sodomy, murder and incest' (see, above).<sup>65</sup>

Whilst damaging rumours of this kind served a specific political agenda during the subject's lifetime, changing political circumstances could spark their re-emergence. The myth of Lord Cornbury's 'unwholesome reputation' came to be defined by the Revolution of 1776, when it was harnessed as a critique of British impositions and corruption.<sup>66</sup> The re-emergence of the rumours of Blackburne's past was entwined with the subsequent clerical careers of his clients. Thomas Hayter's appointment as Preceptor to the future George III in 1751 first prompted Horace Walpole to comment on his relationship with Blackburne, and it was from the same year that fictional anecdotes of the Archbishop's experiences as a 'buccaneer' began to appear in anthologies of witticisms and jokes.<sup>67</sup> These handbooks to genteel humour were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> LPL. FP XX, letter from James Field, to, Edmund Gibson. [1720s]. Written after Field's return to England in 1725-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Exquemelin, Alexandre Olivier, *Bucaniers of America* [&c] (1684).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Anatomy of a Modern B-----p (1732).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Ibid, p. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Gibbon, Edward, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, new edition (London: 1837), p. 1213.
<sup>66</sup> Bonomi, *The Lord Cornbury Scandal*, p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Letter from Horace Walpole, to, Sir Horace Mann, 22 April 1751 [accessed at http://images.library.yale.edu/hwcorrespondence/results.asp?srch=hayter&vol=20&col=1 on 16 January 2016]; *Aristophanes, being a classic collection, of True Attic Wit* [etc.] (London: 1778), pp. 45-47; *Wit-a-la-Mode; Or, Lord Chesterfield's Witticisms* [etc.] (London: 1778), p. 43; *The Polite Repository; Or, Amusing Companion* [etc.], vol I, (London: 1791), pp. 459-460

a polite refinement of the early modern jest-book, and often presented the scatological and urbane side-by-side.<sup>68</sup> *The tell-tale: or anecdotes expressive of the characters of persons eminent of ranks, learning, wit, or humour* of 1756 included a fanciful story in which two of Blackburne's former shipmates arrived at a West Country church to hear the Dean of Exeter preach. Unaware of their friend's elevation to that station, they are taken aback by the resemblance the preacher bored to their old crewmate. One remarked, it must be either Blackburne or the Devil in the pulpit, to which the reply came, 'It must be the Devil' because 'I'll be d—n'd if Lancy has not been hanged before now'.<sup>69</sup> In the second half of the century, variants of this story were repeated and somewhat legitimised by appearances in periodicals such as the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and the *Town and County Magazine*.<sup>70</sup> It was during a discussion of Hogarth and anecdotes of the notorious gambler Colonel Francis Charteris that Horace Walpole revisited his reminiscences of Blackburne in a letter of 11 December 1780. Repeating these aspersions of Blackburne's character, Walpole excused himself, 'these are gossiping stories, but at least they hurt nobody now'.<sup>71</sup>

The proliferation of mythologised tales about Blackburne prompted an early and rigorous defence of the late Archbishop's reputation by Mark Noble in his 1806 *Continuation* of Granger's *Biographical History of England*.<sup>72</sup> Noble's remarks responded to the principal charges against Blackburne; ill-performance of his diocese duties, accusations of lasciviousness, and involvement in piracy.

There is something mysterious in the history and character of Dr Blackbourne. The former is but imperfectly known: and report has even asserted he was a buccaneer (...) In short, I look upon these aspersions as the effects of mere malice. How is it possible a buccaneer should have been so good a scholar as Blackbourne certainly was: he who had so perfect a knowledge of the classics, (particularly of the Greek

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Raven, James, 'It was only a joke', paper delivered at the International Laurence Sterne Foundation conference, (6 November 2015).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> The tell-tale: or, anecdotes expressive of the characters of persons eminent for rank, learning, wit, or humour. Collected from the best Authors (London: 1756). The same story appeared in, The merry fellow; or, jovial companion: being the wit's pocket-book and entertaining magazine (London: 1757).
<sup>70</sup> The Gentleman's Magazine (1777), p. 376; The Town & Country Magazine (1787), p. 351.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Letter from Horace Walpole, to, Sir David Dalrymple, 11 December 1780 [accessed at http://images.library.yale.edu/hwcorrespondence/page.asp?vol=15&page=143&srch=hayter on 16 January 2016]; Life, Page, 'Charteris, Francis (c.1665–1732)', *ODNB* [accessed at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5175 on 17 April 2017]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Noble, Mark, *A Biographical History of England (...) Being A Continuation of The Rev. J. Granger's Work* [&c], vol. three (London: 1806), pp. 68-69.

tragedians), as to be able to read them with the same ease as he could Shakespeare, must have taken great pains to acquire the learned languages<sup>73</sup>

Noble's assessment was reproduced in early nineteenth-century editions of the works of Lord Byron, where it accompanied the poetic tale, *The Corsair*.<sup>74</sup> The poem was hugely popular, with 10,000 copies sold in a single day when it was published in 1814.<sup>75</sup> The extract from Noble's *Continuation* appeared in John Murray's 1819 edition, where it was noted that the passage 'in some measure connected with the profession of the hero in the foregoing poem' and as such, the editor could not 'resist the temptation of extracting it'.<sup>76</sup> Three years later, Byron's biographer John Watkins struggled to establish a connection between Blackburne and the poem, but inadvertently continued to propagate the historical basis for Blackburne's involvement in piracy.<sup>77</sup> Watkins noted,

what these had to do with the Corsair, the reader is left to guess; and he may conjecture long enough before he can see any similarity at all between the cases (...) with respect to the archbishop, it is surprising how the circumstance of his having, whilst a youth, sailed with Dampier and other buccaneers, could be considered as bearing any analogy at all to a history of pirates; since it is well known that one class of men were smugglers, and the others robbers.<sup>78</sup>

Despite Noble's attempted defence of Blackburne's reputation, the popularity of Byron's romantic depiction of piracy resulted in the further entanglement of reality and fiction in the popular imagination. The lasting influence of *The Corsair* to Blackburne's biography is evident in an 1868 submission to *Notes and Queries*, in which a correspondent queried, '[w]hat is known of Archbishop Blackburne's life as a corsair' and '[h]ow did a corsair ever become a clergyman?'<sup>79</sup> The 1822 publication of Horace Walpole's *Memoirs* further

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Bone, Drummond (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Byron* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> O'Connell, Mary, *Byron and John Murray, A Poet and His Publisher* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), p. 128.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Murray, John, *The Works of Lord Byron*, vol. 2 (London: 1819), pp. 248-249.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Watkins, John, *Memoirs of the Life and Writing of the Right Honourable Lord Byron* (London: 1822), p. 205.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

 $<sup>^{79}</sup>$  N&Q, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, III, 30 May 1868 (London: 1868), pp. 430-431. The correspondent queried a note in *The Saturday Review*; 'The Church, which was dead enough to admit Blackburne, the Corsair, to the Archbishop's throne, was naturally asleep enough to accommodate his son, the deist, with an archdeaconry and a living or two, without more than a faint breath of scandal following the arrangement'. The deist in question was Francis Blackburne (1705-1787), who was not the Archbishop's son and may only have been distantly related.

entrenched the now familiar description of Blackburne as 'the jolly old archbishop'.<sup>80</sup> This is despite a highly critical, contemporary appraisal in the *Quarterly Review* which cited Walpole's treatment of Blackburne as evidence of 'slander bold, amusing, and atrocious'.<sup>81</sup> Nor did Walpole's stock rise much in the decades that followed. On 14 December 1850, an account of Blackburne's life in *Leigh Hunt's Journal* came with a qualification from the author that, 'we must take care how we are detained so long in one spot, by the gossiping of Horace Walpole'.<sup>82</sup>

Despite attempts to dismiss the assertions made in the works of Byron and Walpole shortly after their publications, the depiction of Blackburne the 'buccaneer' persisted, and was subsequently elaborated upon as a conflation of the negative perception of the eighteenthcentury episcopate and a romanticised view of the Golden Age of Piracy. Writing in 1887, Charles Abbey could not entirely dismiss the 'buccaneer legend', citing Blackburne's lifelong retention of 'the bluff and hearty manners of a sailor'.<sup>83</sup> The depths to which Blackburne's reputation had sunk by the twentieth century is well-illustrated in the response of one of his successors, Archbishop Cosmo Lang, to a 1916 reassessment of Blackburne by the Yorkshire clergyman and historian Arthur A. R. Gill.

I delayed writing till I had time to read your account of Archbishop Blackburne. I read it with the greatest interest. His career and his face in the portrait at Bishopthorpe have always interested me, and I am only sorry that I have had no time to make such researches as you have made. There is one tradition which your account seems to dispose of, namely, that he was once at Cambridge. The story is that he was sent down from Cambridge for boisterous living, that he went off with nothing but a fiddle, that he made a living by playing in various Change Houses along the coast, that he was then trepanned by a buccaneer and, finding the life very congenial, stuck to it for some time, made money and then came up to Christ Church. I wonder if you have come across this legend or will be able, in any way, to trace its origin? As to Dick Turpin. Some time ago I read facts about him which seemed to make it doubtful whether he was not a great many people, and almost certain that the Dick Turpin of fame could

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Memoires of the Last Ten Years of the Reign of King George the Second. By Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford. From the Original MSS., vol. one (London: 1822), pp.74-75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> The Quarterly Review, vol. XXVII (April-July 1822), p. 185

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Leigh Hunt's Journal; A Miscellany, For the Cultivation of The Memorable, The Progressive, And The Beautiful, no. 2 (Saturday 14 December 1850).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Abbey, Charles J., *The English Church And Its Bishops, 1700-1800*, Vol. I (London: Longmans, Green, and Co Ltd., 1887), pp. 374-376.

not have been at Bishopthorpe; but I shall continue to tell the story of his residence there for what it is worth!<sup>84</sup>

The matters referred to by Lang, such as Blackburne's time at Cambridge, and his engagement of Dick Turpin as butler, are among the most spurious of the nineteenth-century additions to the Archbishop's biography. Taking the example of Turpin, his entrance into the national pantheon of folk-heroes was largely owed to Victorian fiction writers, and the connection with Blackburne only emerged in the 1890s.<sup>85</sup> That a figure as universally notorious as Turpin was reasonably associated with a former archbishop is indicative of the degree to which the reputation of the eighteenth-century episcopate had sunk by the early twentieth-century. It is also important to recognise that the component parts of the piracy myth only represent the rumours that were repeated and carried forward. Other stories were circulated among private individuals and presumably disappeared over time. In 1765, Theophilus Lindsey repeated an aside about Blackburne that conflated the Archbishop's reputation as a wit, the piracy myth, and rumours of Hayter's parentage.

There goes a story, and a true one, of the old *Buccaneer* Archbishop of York, Blackburne, that having obtained a promise of the old King George of a Prebend of Westminster for Hayter his supposed relation, Sr Robt Walpole pressed very much to procure it for another person, but his majesty was firm and upon the ABps coming to court to thank him, the King called out to him, "My Ld. ABp. I have kept my word with you; your friend shall have the prebend" – to wch. the Old Bp. answer'd "God bless your Majesty, I thank You; may you always keep your word; it will make your friends love you, and your enemies fear you"<sup>86</sup>

Despite the historically-accurate details in this account, there is no evidence that it was perpetuated in print. As the eighteenth century gave way to the nineteenth, readers were more compelled by Blackburne's reputation as a buccaneer than as a patron.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> YML. Add. MS 273, lecture on Lancelot Blackburne by A. R. Gill, with letter from Cosmo Lang, to, A. R. Gill, 13 June 1916.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> *The Evening Telegraph*, no. 5419 (Dundee: Tuesday 3 July 1894). Despite the appearance of the link between Blackburne and Dick Turpin in the 1890s, it did not become universally synonymous. See, *The Yorkshire Herald, and The York Herald*, no. 15057 (York: Saturday 9 September 1899). Separate notes about the two figures appeared in adjacent columns in this issue, but did not refer to any connection between them.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Ditchfield, Grayson (ed.), *The Letters Of Theophilus Lindsey (1723-1808). Volume I: 1747-1788*, Church of England Record Society 19 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), p. 96. Letter from Theophilus Lindsey, to, Francis, 10<sup>th</sup> Earl Of Huntingdon, 20 September 1765.

#### CONCLUSION

In 'The Ecclesiastical Climbers' Lewis Stephens derisively compared Blackburne's elevation to the archbishopric of York with mason's boys playing cards on the tops of chimneys where they were 'advanced only to mend them'.<sup>1</sup> Despite losing influence over national ecclesiastical affairs by misjudging the patronage bargain in the face of multilateral interests at Court, Blackburne's commitment to promoting the interests of the Whig ministry in the regions was unwavering. This thesis has demonstrated that contemporary notions of the patronage bargain were central to this realignment. Blackburne bestowed the advantages of mutual connection, status, and financial reward on clients to encourage their steady adherence to the revolutionary settlement of 1689, and its maintenance through the Hanoverian Succession. Despite these politico-religious imperatives, 'turning' a diocese was a lengthy process, often much longer than the duration of individual episcopal administrations. Blackburne's nineteen-year incumbency of the second archiepiscopal throne contributed toward his success in this respect. The shifting political complexion of the upper ranks of the Church in York reflected wider trends. Whereas 50 per cent of voters in Yorkshire polled for Tory candidates in 1708, only 28 per cent did in 1742.<sup>2</sup> Supporters of the ministry might well have considered the county 'mended'.

The complacency inherent in Lewis Stephens's depiction of Blackburne presages claims of neglect that underpin pessimistic accounts of Blackburne's episcopal performance. This thesis has utilised contemporary manuscript and print sources to challenge this interpretation, and reveal the degree to which Blackburne's approach to diocesan management was shaped by his ill-health. During the first four years of his archiepiscopacy, Blackburne was on track to maintain his predecessor's exemplary record in visitation. His stringency in the use of existing administrative tools such as articles of inquiry allows us to question the present narrative of visitation reform that ties achievement to the introduction of queries to the clergy by bishops William Wake and Edmund Gibson. The high standards set by Blackburne were subsequently followed in subordinate jurisdictions, contributing to the improvement of pastoral oversight across the diocese. Blackburne's subsequent retreat from public life was gradual, clearly communicated to his clergy, and further mediated through the delegation of diocesan functions to his subordinates and episcopal brethren. This thesis has re-established Blackburne's agency in this process, and demonstrated that the steps he took to accommodate his physical limitations were made possible by the effective disposal of episcopal patronage.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Stephens Letters. 'The Ecclesiastical Climbers'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hall, and, Richardson, *The Anglican Clergy and Yorkshire Politics in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 15.

This thesis has also drawn attention to the hitherto-overlooked afterlives of patronage relationships. In the eighteenth-century Church, patrons accelerated the advancement of their clients through patronage slipstream, by providing them with the necessary advantages to progress through their clerical careers even after the patron's death. That progress was, however, defined by the ability of the client to accommodate changing political circumstances. Nevertheless, a patron's reputation also cast a long shadow over their clients' subsequent careers regardless of the factual basis for rumours designed to damage their character. In Blackburne's case, scant traces in the archival record tend to disprove, rather than support the accusations against him. This reinforces the fact that many potentially damaging rumours were politically-motivated in their origins. It is no coincidence that the pervasive myths surrounding both Blackburne and Lord Cornbury arose during the deeply-divided reign of Queen Anne. After the Hanoverian Succession, scurrilous rumours of this type were utilised by opposition writers to pillory the Whig episcopate. Whereas by the middle of the century former tabletalk, gossip, and popular balladry found new audiences in handbooks of witticisms and 'tall tales'. In Blackburne's case, the lasting influence of the increasingly-fictionalised accounts of his life were guaranteed into the nineteenth century by the eminently-popular published writings of Horace Walpole and Lord Byron, despite contemporary criticism. With sufficient distance in time from the subject in question, these threads melded into a robust mythology.

One of the aims of this thesis has been to demonstrate that the 'optimistic' versus 'pessimistic' debate will continue to exert influence over historical accounts of the Church in the long eighteenth century whilst writers are beholden to interpretations tethered to the contemporary concerns of previous centuries. That these interpretations have cast the 'longest shadow' in modern historiography is reason enough to investigate and confront them. To do so has required the identification of the last bastions of resistance to revisionism. The case of Archbishop Lancelot Blackburne is unparalleled in this respect, having been almost entirely left behind by the 'revisionist turn'. As long as this remains the case, negative assumptions will linger on in contemporary studies, regardless of whether or not they are reframed by current trends. This thesis has argued that cases such as Blackburne's are deserving or reinterpretation, and that this is only achievable through rigorous engagement with the archival record. This is all the more necessitous when a historical figure lacks a substantive biographical treatment. The findings of such an investigation are not an attempt at rehabilitation, but rather the reinsertion of a heavily-mythologised figure into their historical context.

#### APPENDICES

## Appendix. A, Witness evidence from the archiepiscopacy of Lancelot Blackburne, 1726-1743<sup>1</sup>

Date	Witnesses	Source
22 September 1726	Lewis Stephens, Thomas Hayter	Patent <sup>2</sup>
1 October 1726	Lewis Stephens, Thomas Hayter	Patent <sup>3</sup>
13 December 1726	Lewis Stephens, Thomas Hayter	Deputation <sup>4</sup>
8 December 1727	Thomas Hayter	Admission <sup>5</sup>
15 December 1727	Thomas Hayter	Admission <sup>6</sup>
27 August 1731	Thomas Hayter	Resignation <sup>7</sup>
18 November 1731	Thomas Hayter	Resignation <sup>8</sup>
30 November 1731	Thomas Hayter	Resignation <sup>9</sup>
11 November 1732	Thomas Hayter	Resignation <sup>10</sup>
26 April 1733	Thomas Hayter	Resignation <sup>11</sup>
June 1733	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
29 June 1733	Thomas Hayter, Charles Clapham	Resignation <sup>12</sup>
6 August 1733	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
11 October 1733	Thomas Hayter	Resignation <sup>13</sup>
17 August 1734	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease <sup>14</sup>
26 November 1734	Thomas Hayter	Resignation <sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> BIA. CC. Ab. 5. 15-16, registers of leases.

<sup>10</sup> BIA. Res. Resignation of George Chappell of the Rectory of Treswell, 11 November 1732.

<sup>12</sup> BIA. Res. Resignation of Marmaduke Downes of the Rectory of Burghwallis, 29 June 1733.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> BIA. CC. Ab. 9, patents for Edward Becher to be Bailiff of Southwell and Scrooby cum North Soake, 22 September 1726, 1 October 1726.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> NA. DD/SR/218/6, deputation from the Archbishop of York about game in the Manor of Southwell, 13 December 1726.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> BIA. Adm. Presentation of Richard Jackson to the Rectory of Headon, 8 December 1727.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> BIA. Adm. Presentation of Marmaduke Downes to the Rectory of Burghwallis, 15 December 1727.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> BIA. Res. Resignation of John Paley of the Vicarage of Kirkleatham, 27 August 1731.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> BIA. Res. Resignation of Benjamin Cooper of the Rectory of Kilvington, 18 November 1731.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> BIA. Res. Resignation of John Wind of the Rectory of Scawton, 30 November 1731.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> BIA. Res. Resignation of John Woods of the Rectory of Stanton, 26 April 1733.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> BIA. Res. Resignation of William Keith of the Vicarage of Royston, 11 October 1733.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> ERYAS. DDEL/1/2, lease for 21 years between Lancelot Blackburne and Richard Reynalds, 17 August 1734.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> BIA. Res. Resignation of James Scott of the Curacy of Holy Trinity, Leeds, 26 November 1734.

2 June 1735	Thomas Hayter	Resignation <sup>16</sup>
18 August 1735	Thomas Hayter	Resignation <sup>17</sup>
9 October 1735	Thomas Hayter	Resignation <sup>18</sup>
11 November 1735	Thomas Hayter, Richard Marsh	Lease
17 November 1735	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Resignation <sup>19</sup>
c. 1735	Thomas Blackmore, Richard Marsh	Lease
c. 1735	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. June 1735	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. 1735	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. October 1735	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
19 December 1735	Thomas Hayter, Richard Marsh	Lease
20 January 1736	Thomas Ridding	Resignation <sup>20</sup>
c. January 1736	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. April 1736	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. 1736	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. 1736	Thomas Hayter, Richard Marsh	Lease
c. April 1736	Thomas Hayter, Richard Marsh	Lease
c. April 1736	Thomas Hayter, Richard Marsh	Lease
21 June 1736	Thomas Hayter	Resignation <sup>21</sup>
c. July 1736	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
31 July 1736	Jaques Sterne, Thomas Hayter	Lease
23 August 1736	Jaques Sterne, Thomas Hayter	Lease
28 September 1736	Thomas Hayter, Edward Swallow	Deputation <sup>22</sup>
29 September 1736	Jaques Sterne, Thomas Hayter	Lease
16 October 1736	Jaques Sterne	Lease
19 October 1736	Jaques Sterne	Lease
6 November 1736	Thomas Hayter	Resignation <sup>23</sup>
2 January 1737	Jaques Sterne, Thomas Hayter	Lease
25 January 1737	Jaques Sterne, Thomas Hayter	Lease

<sup>16</sup> BIA. Res. Resignation of Daniel Hopkins of the Vicarage of Kellington, 2 June 1735.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> BIA. Res. Resignation of Henry Emsall of the Rectory of Thornton, 18 August 1735.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> BIA. Res. Resignation of Edward Robinson of the Rectory of Roos, 9 October 1735.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> BIA. Res. Resignation of Jaques Sterne of the Prebend of Ulleskelf, 17 November 1735.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P XIX, Resignation of Thomas Hayter of the Prebend of Riccall, 20 January 1736.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> BIA. Res. Resignation of Thomas Rose of the Curacy of Owthorpe, 21 June 1736.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> BIA. Bp. C&P XX, copy of Mr. Blackmore's deputation granted to Joseph Wainman his Deputy Apparitor, 28 September 1736.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> BIA. Res. Resignation of William Dealtary of the Rectory of Skirpenbeck, 2 November 1736.

26 January 1737	Jaques Sterne, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
23 February 1737	Jaques Sterne, Thomas Hayter	Lease
3 March 1737	Jaques Sterne, Thomas Hayter	Lease
5 April 1737	Thomas Hayter, Richard Marsh	Lease
c. May 1737	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
9 July 1737	Thomas Hayter Resig	gnation <sup>24</sup>
26 August 1737	Samuel Gandy, Richard Oswald, George Berwick	Will <sup>25</sup>
31 August 1737	Jaques Sterne, Thomas Hayter	Lease
c. September 1737	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
6 September 1737	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. September 1737	Thomas Blackmore, Richard Marsh	Lease
12 September 1737	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
19 September 1737	Thomas Blackmore, Richard Marsh	Lease
c. November 1737	Jaques Sterne, Thomas Hayter	Lease
10 November 1737	Jaques Sterne, Thomas Hayter	Lease
8 December 1737	Jaques Sterne, Thomas Hayter	Lease
24 December 1737	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
25 March 1738	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
25 March 1738	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. May 1738	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. May 1738	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. May 1738	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
6 May 1738	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. June 1738	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. June 1738	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. July 1738	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. July 1738	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. September 1738	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
29 September 1738	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
12 October 1738	Thomas Hayter Resig	gnation <sup>26</sup>
c. November 1738	Thomas Blackmore, John Jauncey	Lease
c. November 1738	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
15 November 1738	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> BIA. Res. Resignation of Robert Hitch of the Rectory of Adle, 9 July 1737.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> TNA. PROB/11/725, will of Lancelot Blackburne, Archbishop of York.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> BIA. Res. Resignation of John Major of the Rectory of Tollerton, 28 September 1738.

13 April 1739	Thomas Blackmore, John Jauncey	Resignation <sup>27</sup>
25 April 1739	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Resignation <sup>28</sup>
Summer 1739	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
Summer 1739	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
Summer 1739	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
Summer 1739	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
4 July 1739	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. September 1739	Thomas Blackmore, Richard Marsh	Lease
Autumn 1739	Thomas Blackmore, Richard Marsh	Lease
c. October 1739	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
Winter 1740	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
3 March 1740	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
5 March 1740	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
14 April 1740	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. April 1740	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. April 1740	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
18 June 1740	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
27 June 1740	Thomas Hayter, John Martell	Resignation <sup>29</sup>
		U
17 July 1740	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
17 July 1740 21 August 1740	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	-
-	-	Lease
21 August 1740	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
21 August 1740 27 August 1740	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease Lease Lease
21 August 1740 27 August 1740 30 August 1740	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease Lease Lease Lease
21 August 1740 27 August 1740 30 August 1740 Autumn 1740	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease
21 August 1740 27 August 1740 30 August 1740 Autumn 1740 5 November 1740	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Blackmore, Richard Marsh	Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease
<ul> <li>21 August 1740</li> <li>27 August 1740</li> <li>30 August 1740</li> <li>Autumn 1740</li> <li>5 November 1740</li> <li>22 November 1740</li> </ul>	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Blackmore, Richard Marsh Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease
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21 August 1740 27 August 1740 30 August 1740 Autumn 1740 5 November 1740 22 November 1740 March 1741 c. March 1741	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Blackmore, Richard Marsh Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease
<ul> <li>21 August 1740</li> <li>27 August 1740</li> <li>30 August 1740</li> <li>30 August 1740</li> <li>Autumn 1740</li> <li>5 November 1740</li> <li>22 November 1740</li> <li>March 1741</li> <li>c. March 1741</li> <li>9 March 1741</li> </ul>	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Blackmore, Richard Marsh Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease
21 August 1740 27 August 1740 30 August 1740 Autumn 1740 5 November 1740 22 November 1740 March 1741 c. March 1741 9 March 1741 c. May 1741	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Blackmore, Richard Marsh Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease
21 August 1740 27 August 1740 30 August 1740 Autumn 1740 5 November 1740 22 November 1740 March 1741 c. March 1741 g March 1741 c. May 1741 c. July 1741	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Blackmore, Richard Marsh Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease
21 August 1740 27 August 1740 30 August 1740 Autumn 1740 5 November 1740 22 November 1740 March 1741 c. March 1741 9 March 1741 c. May 1741 c. July 1741 c. August 1741	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Blackmore, Richard Marsh Thomas Blackmore, Richard Marsh Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease Lease

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> BIA. Res. Resignation of Thomas Hayter of the Rectory of Etton, 13 April 1739.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> BIA. Res. Resignation of William Ashburnham of the Rectory of Cromwell, 26 April 1739.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> BIA. Res. Resignation of Robert Peirson of the Curacy of Kilburn, 27 June 1740.

Summer 1741	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
Summer 1741	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
Summer 1741	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
28 October 1741	Thomas Hayter, Richard Marsh	Lease
21 November 1741	Joseph Butler, William Legard, Henry Lyth	Will <sup>30</sup>
April 1742	Thomas Hayter, Richard Marsh	Lease
8 May 1742	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. 1742	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. 1742	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. 1742	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
Summer 1742	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
23 August 1742	Joseph Butler, William Legard, Henry Lyth	Will <sup>31</sup>
Autumn 1742	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
Autumn 1742	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
24 November 1742	Thomas Hayter, Richard Marsh	Lease
Winter 1743	Thomas Hayter, Richard Marsh	Lease
18 January 1743	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
1 March 1743	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
1 March 1743	Thomas Hayter, Thomas Blackmore	Lease
c. 1743	Thomas Hayter, Joseph Butler	Lease

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> TNA. PROB/11/725, will of Lancelot Blackburne, Archbishop of York.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Ibid.

# Appendix B, Appointments of dignitaries and prebendaries to York and Southwell by the archbishops of York (1691-1761)

Information taken from Le Neve's *Fasti*, and the Southwell Chapter records. Date of collation given for dignitaries and prebendaries of **York** [], and date of installation given for prebendaries of **Southwell** [].

### Date

## Place

## **Appointee**

## John Sharp (1691-1714)

19 January 1692	Precentor of York	James Fall
23 May 1692	Prebendary of Dunham	Daniel Chadwick
26 May 1692	Prebendary of Sacrista	William Pearson
8 February 1693	Prebendary of Holme Archiepiscopi	Edmund Wickins
21 April 1693	Prebendary of Barnby	Francis Pemberton
2 November 1693	Prebendary of Beckingham	Clement Ellis
27 November 1694	Prebendary of Husthwaite	John Denton
3 December 1694	Prebendary of Stillington	Edmund Wickins
5 December 1694	Prebendary of Holme Archiepiscopi	John Killingbeck
1 May 1695	Subdean of York	William Pearson
1 May 1695	Prebendary of Strensall	Edmund Wickins
8 May 1695	Prebendary of Stillington	Robert Banks
5 June 1695	Prebendary of Wetwang	Henry Finch
20 June 1695	Prebendary of Sacrista	Nathan Drake
23 November 1696	Prebendary of Riccall	Samuel Terrick
1 May 1697	Prebendary of Bilton	Chris. Jackson
2 May 1700	Prebendary of Givendale	Thomas Noble
25 July 1700	Prebendary of Beckingham	John Pigot
3 December 1700	Prebendary of Bugthorpe	Christopher Wyvill
7 December 1700	Archdeacon of Cleveland	James Fall
24 May 1701	Prebendary of Bilton	John Richardson
11 September 1701	Prebendary of Dunham	Edward Clarke
7 March 1702	Archdeacon of the East Riding	Heneage Dering
16 May 1702	Prebendary of Botevant	John Blower
8 June 1702	Prebendary of Woodborough	Eli Stansfield
9 September 1702	Prebendary of Fridaythorpe	Nath. Wainman
13 August 1703	Prebendary of Wistow	John Richardson
2 September 1703	Prebendary of Bilton	Nathan Drake

24 February 1704	Prebendary of Norwell Overhall	Thomas Hawkins
26 April 1704	Prebendary of Wetwang	Edward Finch
24 August 1704	Prebendary of Eaton	John Gee
24 August 1704	Prebendary of South Muskham	John Jackson
18 January 1705	Prebendary of Apesthorpe	John Roe
9 February 1705	Prebendary of Grindal	Heneage Dering
8 March 1705	Prebendary of Norwell 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Thomas Lancashire
26 April 1705	Prebendary of Sacrista	Benjamin Carter
26 September 1706	Prebendary of South Muskham	Thomas Lancashire
31 October 1706	Prebendary of Norwell 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Hugh Cartwright
9 June 1707	Prebendary of Apesthorpe	Thomas Scott
2 October 1707	Prebendary of South Newbald	John Bradley
1 May 1708	Prebendary of Fridaythorpe	Heneage Dering
10 May 1708	Prebendary of Grindal	Gilbert Atkinson
22 February 1709	Prebendary of Husthwaite	John Clarkson
27 April 1709	Prebendary of Grindal	Francis Rogers
12 May 1709	Prebendary of Normanton	Geo. Barnardiston
3 August 1711	Precentor of York	John Richardson
3 August 1711	Archdeacon of Cleveland	John Richardson
11 August 1711	Prebendary of Wistow	Samuel Terrick
15 August 1711	Prebendary of Riccall	Patrick Dujon
22 September 1711	Prebendary of Bugthorpe	William Calvert
15 February 1712	Prebendary of Knaresborugh	Thomas Lamplugh
28 August 1712	Prebendary of Normanton	Stephen Cooper
18 November 1712	Prebendary of Grindal	Henry Jefferson
10 July 1713	Prebendary of Warthill	William Steer
27 August 1713	Prebendary of Oxton 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Samuel Berdmore
28 August 1713	Prebendary of Langtoft	Darcy Dalton
18 January 1714	Prebendary of Eaton	Robert Marsden

# Sir William Dawes (1714-1724)

16 September 1714	Prebendary of Fenton	William Milner
28 October 1714	Prebendary of Halloughton	Timothy Fenton
30 April 1715	Prebendary of Stillington	Charles Blake
20 October 1715	Prebendary of North Leverton	William Howson
18 February 1716	Archdeacon of Nottingham	Robert Marsden

18 February 1716	Subdean of York	Charles Blake
18 February 1716	Prebendary of Ampleforth	Thomas Noble
23 February 1716	Prebendary of Holme Archiepiscopi	John Drake
29 February 1716	Prebendary of Givendale	Thomas Burton
7 August 1717	Prebendary of North Newbald	George Bell
6 March 1718	Prebendary of Norwell Overhall	Thomas Sharp
1 May 1718	Prebendary of Weighton	John King
2 March 1719	Prebendary of Fenton	Thomas Mease
29 April 1719	Prebendary of Wistow	Thomas Sharp
28 May 1719	Prebendary of Woodborough	Robert Ayde
28 January 1720	Prebendary of South Muskham	John Lloyd
23 March 1720	Prebendary of Bole	Richard Goodwin
23 May 1720	Archdeacon of York	Charles Blake
2 June 1720	Prebendary of Eaton	John Abson
2 June 1720	Prebendary of Norwell Palishall	Robert Marsden
6 October 1720	Prebendary of Grindal	Fieldan Dunn
20 April 1721	Prebendary of Norwell 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Humph. Bralesford
31 July 1721	Prebendary of Tockerington	William Elsley
10 August 1721	Prebendary of North Leverton	Richard Wood
14 October 1721	Prebendary of Rampton	Henry Cooke
3 April 1722	Prebendary of Barnby	William Herbert
10 April 1722	Prebendary of Ampleforth	Henry Cooke
18 May 1722	Prebendary of Dunnington	Nicholas Gouge
24 October 1722	Prebendary of Strensall	Samuel Brearey
31 December 1722	Chancellor of York	Daniel Waterland
8 November 1723	Prebendary of Botevant	Samuel Brooke
23 January 1724	Prebendary of Osbaldwick	Thomas Crosse

# Lancelot Blackburne (1724-1743)

24 September 1724	Prebendary of Halloughton	Edward Parker
14 January 1725	Prebendary of South Muskham	Robert Dannye
23 September 1726	Prebendary of Bugthorpe	Benj. Honycomb
9 February 1727	Prebendary of Barnby	Lewis Stephens
28 September 1727	Prebendary of Beckingham	Edward Wilson
21 September 1728	Prebendary of North Muskham	Thomas Hayter
31 December 1728	Prebendary of Riccall	Thomas Hayter

19 April 1729	Prebendary of Apesthorpe	Jaques Sterne
24 June 1729	Prebendary of Bilton	Robert Whatley
18 July 1729	Prebendary of Dunham	Lewis Stephens
9 April 1730	Prebendary of South Muskham	Francis Charlton
26 November 1730	Archdeacon of York	Thomas Hayter
26 November 1730	Subdean of York	Thomas Hayter
3 December 1730	Prebendary of Stillington	Richard Levett
27 February 1731	Prebendary of Ulleskelf	Jaques Sterne
16 March 1731	Prebendary of Apesthorpe	John Ray
26 July 1731	Prebendary of Givendale	Robert Fysh
10 June 1732	Prebendary of Weighton	Nicholas Woolfe
16 June 1732	Prebendary of Botevant	George Legh
8 February 1733	Prebendary of Sacrista	Thomas Blunt
2 March 1733	Prebendary of Oxton 1st	Richard Levett
6 December 1733	Prebendary of Norwell 3rd	Edward Gregory
28 February 1734	Prebendary of Sacrista	Andrew Matthews
18 May 1734	Prebendary of Langtoft	Matthew Hutton
25 May 1734	Prebendary of South Muskham	Jaques Sterne
30 July 1734	Prebendary of North Newbald	Robert Hitch
7 November 1734	Prebendary of North Leverton	Bennet Sherard
30 May 1735	Prebendary of Apesthorpe	Benjamin Wilson
17 November 1735	Precentor of York	Jaques Sterne
17 November 1735	Archdeacon of Cleveland	Jaques Sterne
25 November 1735	Prebendary of Givendale	Samuel Baker
25 November 1735	Prebendary of Ulleskelf	Robert Fysh
17 December 1735	Prebendary of Bugthorpe	Samuel Berdmore
20 January 1736	Prebendary of Strensall	Thomas Hayter
28 January 1736	Prebendary of Riccall	Charles Cowper
September 1736	Prebendary of Apesthorpe	Robert Reynolds
13 September 1736	Prebendary of Osbaldwick	Benjamin Wilson
4 March 1737	Prebendary of Normanton	Joseph Atwell
23 February 1738	Prebendary of Wetwang	Joseph Atwell
4 May 1738	Prebendary of Grindal	Richard Robinson
20 December 1739	Prebendary of Ulleskelf	George Talbot
12 January 1741	Chancellor of York	Samuel Baker
16 January 1741	Prebendary of Givendale	Laurence Sterne
5 January 1742	Prebendary of Givendale	Will. Dodsworth

5 January 1742	Prebendary of North Newbald	Laurence Sterne
11 January 1742	Prebendary of South Newbald	Hollis Pigot
9 December 1742	Prebendary of Holme Archiepiscopi	Thomas Clarke
23 March 1743	Prebendary of Oxton 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Joseph Atwell

# Thomas Herring (1743-1747)

9 April 1743	Prebendary of Bugthorpe	William Berdmore
28 April 1743	Prebendary of Normanton	Matthew Bradford
30 August 1743	Prebendary of Tockerington	John Witton
13 July 1744	Prebendary of Apesthorpe	William Herring
31 July 1745	Prebendary of Ulleskelf	George Watts
16 January 1746	Prebendary of Warthill	William Herring
7 March 1747	Prebendary of Barnby	John Samuel Hill
11 April 1747	Prebendary of Dunham	William Herring
25 July 1747	Prebendary of Barnby	Thomas Herring
25 July 1747	Prebendary of Knaresborugh	John Samuel Hill
30 July 1747	Prebendary of Dunham	Thomas Herring

# Matthew Hutton (1747-1757)

2 February 1748 (by king)	Prebendary of Langtoft	Richard Thompson
17 September 1748	Prebendary of Norwell Palishall	Francis Wanley
30 September 1748	Archdeacon of Nottingham	Hugh Thomas
18 May 1749	Prebendary of Stillington	Francis Wanley
29 June 1749	Prebendary of Eaton	Scrope Berdmore
29 June 1749	Prebendary of Oxton 1st	Hugh Thomas
December 1749	Subdean of York	John Wilcox
1 December 1749	Chancellor of York	Francis Wanley
1 December 1749	Prebendary of Stillington	Hugh Thomas
12 December 1749	Prebendary of Strensall	Thomas Hurdis
7 March 1750	Prebendary of Fenton	Richard Jackson
19 April 1750	Prebendary of North Muskham	Lynford Caryl
20 April 1750	Archdeacon of the E. Riding	Jaques Sterne
31 May 1750	Prebendary of Rampton	Edward Chappell
July 1750	Chancellor of York	Hugh Thomas
July 1750	Prebendary of Stillington	Francis Wanley
18 July 1750	Archdeacon of Cleveland	Francis Blackburne

6 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Francis Blackburne Henry Yarborough
16 August 1750 Prebendary of Ampleforth H	Henry Yarborough
29 August 1750Prebendary of WeightonH	Francis Wanley
31 August 1750Prebendary of StillingtonJ	lames Worsley
23 March 1751Prebendary of NormantonO	Claudius Daubuz
5 September 1751 Archdeacon of York E	Edmund Pyle
10 January 1752Prebendary of GrindalH	Henry Goodricke
9 October 1752 Prebendary of Bole	William Cayley
31 January 1753Prebendary of BeckinghamT	Thomas Cockshut
11 August 1753Prebendary of North LevertonO	Granville Wheeler
15 May 1754Prebendary of HalloughtonV	William Cayley
15 October 1754Prebendary of GivendaleI	Lewis Etty
16 October 1754Prebendary of TockeringtonV	William Lowther
30 May 1755Archdeacon of the East RidingF	Robert Oliver
5 June 1755Prebendary of South MuskhamF	Robert Oliver
20 October 1755Prebendary of DunningtonF	Francis Dodsworth
14 April 1756Prebendary of HusthwaiteV	William Cayley
20 May 1756 Prebendary of Bole J	John Fogg
6 December 1756 Prebendary of Holme Archiepiscopi	William Mason

#### Appendix C, York cathedral chapter attendance, 1724-1743<sup>32</sup>

Dean of York Canons appointed by John Sharp (1691-1714) Canons appointed by Sir William Dawes (1714-1724) Canons appointed by Lancelot Blackburne (1724-1743)

#### Note

The names of canons appearing in (brackets) signify those noted as entering a chapter meeting after it was first convened.

#### Lancelot Blackburne (1724-1743)

Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Monday 4 May 1724 Thursday 7 May 1724 Friday 8 May 1724 Wednesday 13 May 1724 Saturday 16 May 1724 Friday 22 May 1724 Friday 29 May 1724 Wednesday 10 June 1724 Monday 29 June 1724 Friday 10 July 1724 Saturday 11 July 1724 Friday 24 July 1724 Tuesday 28 July 1724 Thursday 6 August 1724 Thursday 3 September 1724 Saturday 5 September 1724 Friday 18 September 1724 Tuesday 22 September 1724 Thursday 24 September 1724 Wednesday 30 September 1724 Thursday 15 October 1724 Finch, Bradley, Cooke Saturday 7 November 1724

Richardson, Lamplugh, Brearey Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Lamplugh, Bradley, Herbert Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Finch, E Finch, Lamplugh, Bradley Finch, E Finch, Bradley (Lamplugh) Finch, E Finch, Bradley Finch, E Finch, Bradley Finch, E Finch, Bradley Finch, E Finch, Bradley Finch, E Finch, Bradley

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> YML. DC/H6-7, Chapter Act Books, 1701-1747.

Monday 9 November 1724 Wednesday 11 November 1724 Wednesday 2 December 1724 Thursday 10 December 1724 Tuesday 22 December 1724 Saturday 2 January 1725 Tuesday 26 January 1725 Wednesday 10 February 1725 Wednesday 10 March 1725 Wednesday 5 May 1725 Saturday 28 August 1725 Wednesday 3 November 1725 Thursday 11 November 1725 Saturday 18 December 1725 Thursday 13 January 1726 Saturday 19 March 1726 Tuesday 5 April 1726 Saturday 16 April 1726 Tuesday 20 September 1726 Saturday 24 September 1726 Monday 26 September 1726 Wednesday 26 October 1726 Friday 28 October 1726 Friday 11 November 1726 Tuesday 13 December 1726 Saturday 21 January 1727 Monday 3 March 1727 Thursday 6 March 1727 Thursday 20 March 1727 Thursday 25 May 1727 Thursday 22 June 1727 Saturday 24 June 1727 Saturday 11 November 1727 Monday 13 November 1727 Wednesday 15 November 1727 Wednesday 29 November 1727 Finch, E Finch, Richardson, Bradley Finch, E Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley, Herbert Finch, Richardson, Bradley (E Finch) Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley (E Finch) Finch, E Finch, Bradley (Richardson) Finch, Bradley, Elsley (Richardson) Finch, E Finch, Richardson, Bradley Finch, E Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Finch, E Finch, Lamplugh (Herbert) Richardson, Bradley, Herbert Finch, Lamplugh, Bradley (E Finch) Finch, E Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley (E Finch) Finch, E Finch, Lamplugh, Bradley Finch, Richardson, Bradley (E Finch) Finch, E Finch, Richardson, Bradley Finch, Bradley, Dunn (E Finch) Finch, E Finch, Bradley Finch, E Finch, Lamplugh, Bradley Finch, Lamplugh, Bradley (Honycomb) Finch, E Finch, Herbert Finch, E Finch, Bradley Finch, E Finch, Richardson, Bradley Finch, Bradley, Herbert Finch, Richardson, Bradley Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Finch, E Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Finch, E Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley (Stephens) E Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley E Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh Bradley Finch, E Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley

Saturday 9 December 1727 Tuesday 13 February 1728 Tuesday 27 February 1728 Friday 1 March 1728 Friday 15 March 1728 Friday 22 March 1728 Tuesday 9 April 1728 Saturday 1 June 1728 Wednesday 12 June 1728 Wednesday 4 September 1728 Monday 7 September 1728 Monday 21 October 1728 Wednesday 23 October 1728 Thursday 24 October 1728 Wednesday 6 November 1728 Friday 8 November 1728 Monday 11 November 1728

Tuesday 30 December 1728 Wednesday 1 January 1729 Saturday 25 January 1729 Monday 27 January 1729 Wednesday 29 January 1729 Thursday 6 February 1729 Saturday 8 February 1729 Tuesday 11 March 1729 Tuesday 1 April 1729

Friday 11 April 1729 Wednesday 16 April 1729 Saturday 3 May 1729 Friday 9 May 1729 Saturday 24 June 1729 Monday 30 June 1729 Thursday 3 July 1729 Thursday 10 July 1729 Saturday 12 July 1729 Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley (E Finch) Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley E Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Finch, Bradley, Elsley Finch, Richardson, Bradley Finch, E Finch, Richardson, Bradley Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley E Finch, Lamplugh, Bradley Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley, Gouge Osbaldeston, E Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley E Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, E Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley Osbaldeston, Bradley Osbaldeston, Bradley Osbaldeston, Bradley Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley

Monday 21 July 1729 Wednesday 3 September 1729 Friday 12 September 1729 Saturday 11 October 1729 Tuesday 11 November 1729 Tuesday 25 November 1729

Thursday 27 November 1729

Thursday 18 December 1729

Wednesday 14 January 1730 Saturday 24 January 1730 Saturday 31 January 1730 Tuesday 17 February 1730 Saturday 7 March 1730 Monday 6 April 1730 Thursday 9 April 1730 Friday 8 May 1730 Monday 1 June 1730

Wednesday 1 July 1730 Thursday 2 July 1730

Thursday 16 July 1730 Monday 3 August 1730 Tuesday 18 August 1730 Wednesday 11 November 1730

Friday 20 November 1730

Monday 30 November 1730 Wednesday 9 December 1730 Saturday 12 December 1730 Monday 14 December 1730

Thursday 17 December 1730

Osbaldeston, Bradley, Brearey Osbaldeston, E Finch, Bradley Osbaldeston, E Finch, Bradley Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Sterne (E Finch, Lamplugh, Bradley) Osbaldeston, E Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley, Sterne Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley (E Finch) Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Richardson, Bradley, Clarkson E Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley, Stephens, Hayter, Sterne Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley, Stephens, Hayter, Sterne Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley, Stephens, Hayter Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, E Finch, Richardson, Bradley, Steer, Drake, Brearey, Goodwin, Sterne (Elsley) Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley (Brearey, Elsley, Sterne) Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley, Brearey, Sterne Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley, Hayter, Sterne, Levett Osbaldeston, E Finch, Bradley, Brearey, Elsley,

#### Sterne, Levett

Saturday 19 December 1730

Wednesday 23 December 1730 Friday 1 January 1731 Saturday 20 February 1731 Saturday 3 April 1731 Tuesday 13 April 1731 Thursday 15 April 1731 Saturday 15 May 1731 Monday 17 May 1731 Monday 24 May 1731 Tuesday 8 June 1731 Friday 18 June 1731 Wednesday 20 June 1731 Wednesday 28 July 1731 Saturday 31 July 1731 Tuesday 11 November 1731

Friday 19 November 1731 Friday 26 November 1731 Tuesday 16 December 1731 Wednesday 19 January 1732 Monday 24 January 1732 Saturday 12 February 1732

Saturday 11 March 1732 Wednesday 19 April 1732 Thursday 26 May 1732 Tuesday 6 June 1732 Monday 12 June 1732 Wednesday 14 June 1732 Saturday 17 June 1732 Tuesday 20 June 1732 Monday 24 July 1732 Friday 4 August 1732 Saturday 12 August 1732

Osbaldeston, E Finch, Bradley, Brearey, Elsley,
Sterne, Levett
Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley
Osbaldeston, Bradley, Elsley
Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley, Brearey
Richardson, Bradley, Brearey
Richardson, Bradley, Brearey
Richardson, Bradley, Brearey (Sterne)
Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh
Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh
Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh
Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh, Sterne
Osbaldeston, Richardson, Sterne
Osbaldeston, <mark>Bradley,</mark> Sterne
Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley
Osbaldeston, <mark>Lamplugh,</mark> Hayter, Sterne
Osbaldeston, E Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh,
Bradley, Brearey, Sterne, Fysh
Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh
Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley
Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley
Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh
Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh, Brearey
Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh, Brearey
(Bradley)
Richardson, Lamplugh, Brearey
Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley
Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley (Richardson)
Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley (Richardson)
Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh
Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley
Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley
Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley, Hayter, Sterne
Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley
Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley
Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley, Hayter, Fysh

Friday 25 August 1732 Tuesday 9 November 1732 Saturday 11 November 1732 Friday 17 November 1732 Saturday 18 November 1732 Monday 20 November 1732

Tuesday 14 December 1732 Friday 2 February 1733 Tuesday 8 February 1733 Monday 26 Mar 1733 Monday 14 May 1733 Monday 11 June 1733 Saturday 30 June 1733 Wednesday 18 July 1733 Friday 31 August 1733 Sunday 11 November 1733 Friday 23 November 1733 Monday 17 December 1733 Wednesday 30 January 1734 Monday 4 February 1734 Saturday 16 February 1734 Wednesday 1 May 1734 Friday 7 June 1734 Saturday 8 June 1734 Monday 10 June 1734

[July 1734] Wednesday 24 July 1734 Wednesday 14 August 1734 Friday 16 August 1734 Monday 11 November 1734 Monday 9 December 1734 Monday 16 December 1734 Friday 7 February 1735 Saturday 29 March 1735

# (Sterne)

Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley (Brearey) Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh Osbaldeston, E Finch, Richardson Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, E Finch, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Richardson, Brearey, Sterne Richardson, Brearey, Sterne E Finch, Richardson, Brearey Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley, Sterne Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Hayter, Bradley Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley (Fysh, Woolfe) Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley, Osbaldeston, Hayter, Sterne, Fysh, Woolfe, Legh \_\_\_\_ Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Bradley, Sterne Lamplugh, Bradley, Sterne Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley

Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley

Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley Tuesday 8 April 1735 Saturday 12 April 1735 Monday 14 April 1735 Monday 21 April 1735 Monday 28 April 1735 Saturday 3 May 1735 Monday 16 June 1735 Wednesday 18 June 1735 Monday 21 July 1735 Tuesday 22 July 1735 Wednesday 29 October 1735 Tuesday 4 November 1735 Saturday 8 November 1735 Tuesday 11 November 1735 Saturday 22 November 1735 Monday 24 November 1735 Wed 26 November 1735 Friday 28 November 1735 Tuesday 2 December 1735 Wednesday 3 December 1735 Thursday 18 December 1735 Saturday 20 December 1735 Monday 29 December 1735 Wednesday 14 January 1736 Thursday 22 January 1736 Friday 23 January 1736 Wednesday 28 January 1736 Saturday 31 January 1736 Wednesday 4 February 1736 Monday 22 March 1736 Wednesday 24 March 1736 Monday 29 March 1736 Thursday 15 April 1736 Thursday 6 May 1736 Thursday 17 June 1736 Saturday 26 June 1736 Saturday 24 July 1736

Osbaldeston, Richardson, Bradley Osbaldeston, Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Richardson, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley, Sterne, Woolfe Osbaldeston, Bradley, Sterne, Woolfe Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley, Hitch (Sterne) Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley (Sterne) Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley, Sterne Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Bradley, Clarkson Osbaldeston, Bradley, Clarkson (Fysh, Knight) Osbaldeston, Bradley, Clarkson Osbaldeston, Bradley, Clarkson (Fysh, Baker) Osbaldeston, Bradley, Clarkson (Sterne) Osbaldeston, Bradley, Clarkson (Sterne) Bradley, Sterne, Clarkson Osbaldeston, Bradley, Sterne (Berdmore) Osbaldeston, Bradley, Sterne Osbaldeston, Bradley, Sterne Osbaldeston, Bradley, Sterne Osbaldeston, Bradley, Sterne Osbaldeston, Bradley, Woolfe (Sterne) Osbaldeston, Bradley, Sterne, Wilson Osbaldeston, Bradley, Sterne Osbaldeston, Bradley, Gouge, Cowper Osbaldeston, Bradley, Sterne Osbaldeston, Sterne, Cowper Osbaldeston, Bradley, Sterne, Clarkson Bradley, Clarkson, Dunn (Sterne) Lamplugh, Bradley, Dering (Sterne) Lamplugh, Bradley, Gouge Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley

Thursday 9 September 1736 Wednesday 15 September 1736 Friday 17 September 1736 Monday 8 November 1736 Thursday 11 November 1736 Wednesday 1 December 1736 Friday 24 December 1736 Monday 10 January 1737 Thursday 13 January 1737 Friday 4 February 1737 Thursday 10 February 1737 Monday 18 April 1737 Friday 29 April 1737 Thursday 9 June 1737 Thursday 28 July 1737 Thursday 4 August 1737 Monday 12 September 1737 Friday 11 November 1737 Tuesday 15 November 1737 Wednesday 23 November 1737 Friday 25 November 1737 Tuesday 15 February 1738 Tuesday 21 February 1738 Saturday 4 March 1738 Monday 6 March 1738 Thursday 30 March 1738 Friday 28 April 1738 Thursday 18 May 1738 Saturday 20 May 1738 Friday 26 May 1738 Friday 8 June 1738 Saturday 24 June 1738 Thursday 13 July 1738 Saturday 15 July 1738 Saturday 24 July 1738 Tuesday 8 August 1738 Tuesday 15 August 1738

Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley, Sterne Lamplugh, Bradley, Sterne Lamplugh, Bradley, Sterne Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne (Bradley) Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Reynolds Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Elsley Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Elsley (Bradley) Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne Osbaldeston, Sterne, Reynolds Bradley, Sterne, Reynolds Osbaldeston, Bradley, Sterne Bradley, Sterne, Reynolds Bradley, Sterne, Reynolds Lamplugh, Bradley, Sterne Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Reynolds (Sterne) Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Reynolds (Baker) Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Reynolds (Baker) Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Reynolds Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Reynolds (Baker) Osbaldeston, Baker, Reynolds Sterne, Baker, Reynolds Bradley, Sterne, Reynolds Bradley, Sterne, Baker, Reynolds Bradley, Sterne, Baker, Robinson Bradley, Baker, Reynolds, Wilson (Sterne) Sterne, Baker, Reynolds Bradley, Sterne, Baker, Hitch Sterne, Reynolds, Cowper Bradley, Sterne, Baker, Gouge Bradley, Sterne, Baker

Tuesday 22 August 1738 Thursday 7 September 1738 Monday 9 October 1738 Friday 10 November 1738 Saturday 11 November 1738 Wednesday 3 January 1739 Tuesday 16 January 1739 Wednesday 21 January 1739 Saturday 10 February 1739 Wednesday 14 February 1739 Friday 16 February 1739 Friday 23 February 1739 Wednesday 18 April 1739 Saturday 28 April 1739 Monday 30 April 1739 Friday 11 May 1739 Saturday 21 July 1739 Sunday 11 November 1739 Friday 23 November 1739 Monday 17 December 1739 Thursday 27 December 1739 Saturday 29 December 1739 Saturday 12 January 1740 Monday 21 January 1740 12 February 1740 Wednesday 27 February 1740 Friday 21 March 1740 Saturday 12 April 1740 Friday 25 April 1740 Wednesday 30 April 1740 Friday 4 July 1740 Wednesday 16 July 1740 Friday 24 October 1740 Tuesday 11 November 1740 Friday 14 November 1740 Tuesday 16 December 1740 Thursday 18 December 1740

Bradley, Sterne, Reynolds Osbaldeston, Bradley, Baker Bradley, Sterne, Reynolds Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne (Bradley) Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Bradley, Sterne Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Reynolds (Baker) Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker Osbaldeston, Baker (Reynolds, Lamplugh) Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker Lamplugh, Bradley, <mark>Baker</mark> Bradley, Sterne, Reynolds Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Reynolds Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne (Reynolds) Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Reynolds Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne, Reynolds (Talbot) Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker Osbaldeston, Baker, Woolfe (Lamplugh) Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne, Baker Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne, Baker Sterne, Reynolds, Talbot Sterne, Reynolds, Talbot Lamplugh, Sterne, Reynolds Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne, Baker Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Reynolds Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne

Saturday 17 January 1741 Monday 19 January 1741 Saturday 21 February 1741 Saturday 28 February 1741 Saturday 7 March 1741 Tuesday 21 April 1741 Friday 15 May 1741 20 May 1741

Tuesday 20 October 1741 Wednesday 11 November 1741 Monday 7 December 1741 Saturday 12 December 1741 Wednesday 30 December 1741 Wednesday 6 January 1742 Friday 8 January 1742

Tuesday 12 January 1742 Thursday 14 January 1742 Friday 15 January 1742 Monday 18 January 1742 Thursday 28 January 1742 Saturday 28 February 1742 Thursday 1 April 1742 Monday 19 April 1742 Thursday 12 May 1742 Thursday 15 July 1742 Tuesday 27 July 1742 Saturday 30 July 1742 Tuesday 7 September 1742 Tuesday 14 September 1742 Monday 27 September 1742 Wednesday 13 October 1742 Thursday 11 November 1742 Friday 12 November 1742 Monday 22 November 1742 Wednesday 24 November 1742 Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Reynolds Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Reynolds (L Sterne) Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Reynolds Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne, Baker Osbaldeston, Baker, Reynolds Lamplugh, Baker, Cowper, Hitch, Reynolds, L Sterne Sterne, Baker, Reynolds Lamplugh, Sterne, Baker Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne, Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne, Reynolds (Cowper) Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Reynolds Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker (Cowper, Sterne, Dodsworth) Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker (Sterne, Pigot) Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Dodsworth Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker (Cowper) Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne, Baker, Cowper Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Cowper Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Cowper Lamplugh, Reynolds, Dodsworth Sterne, Cowper, Dodsworth Sterne, Cowper, Dodsworth Sterne, Cowper, Dodsworth (Reynolds) Baker, Reynolds, Dodsworth Osbaldeston, Sterne, Baker, Dodsworth Sterne, Reynolds, Dodsworth (Baker) Sterne, Baker, Reynolds Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne, Baker, Cowper Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne, Baker Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Reynolds (Baker) Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Sterne, Baker

Monday 29 November 1742 Saturday 4 December 1742 Friday 10 December 1742 Monday 13 December 1742

Monday 7 February 1743 Tuesday 15 February 1743 Tuesday 8 March 1743

Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Dodsworth
Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker, Dodsworth
Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker, Reynolds
Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker, Reynolds,
Dodsworth (Clarke)
Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker, Dodsworth, Clarke
Osbaldeston, Lamplugh, Baker, Clarke
Osourdeston, Lumprugn, Dukor, Orarko

### Appendix D, Southwell collegiate church chapter attendance, 1727-1747

Canons appointed by Thomas Lamplugh (1688-1691) Canons appointed by John Sharp (1691-1714) Canons appointed by Sir William Dawes (1714-1724) Canons appointed by Lancelot Blackburne (1724-1743) Canons appointed by Thomas Herring (1743-1747)

### Note

The foundation of the collegiate church of Southwell does not include a dean. The residentiary for the time being (during a three-month residence) assumed the powers of an acting dean, and presided in chapter. The residentiaries for the time being are named first.

## Lancelot Blackburne (1724-1743)

19 October 1727	Abson, Leybourne, <mark>Berdmore, Marsden</mark> , Wilson
7 March 1728	Berdmore, Mompesson, Leybourne
18 April 1728	Berdmore, Leybourne, <mark>Ayde</mark> , Marsden, <mark>Bralesford</mark>
38 July 1728	Berdmore, Ayde, Marsden, Abson, Bralesford,
	Parker
29 August 1728	Berdmore, Mompesson, <mark>Clarke</mark> , <mark>Ayde</mark> , Marsden,
	Abson, Bralesford
21 September 1728	Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Bralesford, Wilson
24 October 1728	Berdmore, Mompesson, <mark>Ayde</mark> , <mark>Marsden</mark> , <mark>Abson</mark> ,
	Bralesford
28 January 1729	Berdmore, Marsden, Abson
17 April 1729	Mompesson, <mark>Berdmore</mark> , <mark>Ayde</mark> , <mark>Marsden</mark> , <mark>Bralesford</mark>
18 July 1729	Mompesson, Berdmore, Abson, Bralesford
24 July 1729	Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Bralesford, Wilson
23 October 1729	Abson, Mompesson, Marsden, Bralesford
22 January 1730	Bralesford, Berdmore, Marsden, Abson
9 April 1730	Berdmore, Abson, Bralesford, Wood, Wilson,
	Charlton
25 June 1730	Sharp, Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Bralesford,
	Wood, Wilson
23 July 1730	Sharp, Ayde, <mark>Marsden</mark> , Abson, Bralesford

23 October 1730	Bralesford, Mompesson, Berdmore, Marsden,
	Charlton
21 January 1731	Marsden, Mompesson, Berdmore, Abson,
	Bralesford, Charlton
22 April 1731	Abson, Mompesson, Bralesford, Charlton
22 July 1731	Bralesford, Mompesson, Berdmore, Ayde, Marsden,
	Abson, Wilson, Charlton
23 October 1731	Berdmore, Mompesson, Ayde, Abson, Bralesford
20 January 1732	Mompesson, Marsden, Abson, Bralesford
20 April 1732	Bralesford, Mompesson, Berdmore, Marsden,
	Abson, Wilson, Charlton
20 July 1732	Wilson, Cooper, Berdmore, Ayde, Marsden, Abson,
	Bralesford, Charlton
19 October 1732	Berdmore, Mompesson, Marsden, Abson,
	Bralesford, Wilson, Charlton
18 January 1733	Charlton, Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Bralesford
8 February 1733	Berdmore, Abson, Bralesford
20 February 1733	Berdmore, Ayde, Marsden, Abson, Bralesford,
	Wilson, Charlton, Blunt
2 March 1733	Berdmore, Abson, Bralesford, Charlton
19 April 1733	Berdmore, Ayde, Marsden, Abson, Bralesford,
	Wilson, Charlton, Blunt
19 July 1733	Cooper, Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Bralesford,
	Charlton
18 October 1733	Berdmore, Marsden, Wilson, Charlton, Blunt
6 December 1733	Berdmore, Marsden, Wilson, Blunt
24 January 1734	Berdmore, Ayde, Marsden, Abson, Wilson, Gregory
28 February 1734	Ayde, Berdmore, Abson, Gregory
13 April 1734	Ayde, Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Wilson,
	Gregory, Matthews
25 May 1734	Marsden, Berdmore, Abson, Gregory, Matthews
6 June 1734	Marsden, Berdmore, Abson, Wilson, Gregory,
	Matthews
18 July 1734	Marsden, Ayde, Abson, Wilson, Gregory, Matthews
24 October 1734	Abson, Berdmore, Ayde, Marsden, Gregory,
	Matthews
7 November 1734	Berdmore, Abson, Gregory, Matthews

23 January 1735	Berdmore, Ayde, Marsden, Abson, Gregory
27 February 1735	Berdmore, Ayde, Marsden, Gregory, Matthews
27 March 1735	Berdmore, Ayde, Marsden, Abson, Parker, Wilson,
	Gregory, Matthews
17 April 1735	Berdmore, Ayde, Marsden, Abson, Gregory,
	Matthews, Sherard
22 May 1735	Wilson, Berdmore, Ayde, Marsden, Gregory,
	Sherard
26 June 1735	Wilson, Cooper, Berdmore, Ayde, Marsden, Abson,
	Parker, Gregory, Matthews, Sherard
24 July 1735	Wilson, Berdmore, Ayde, Marsden, Matthews,
	Sherard
28 August 1735	Berdmore, Marsden, Wilson
23 October 1735	Marsden (deputed by Berdmore), Ayde, Abson,
	Wilson, Stephens, Gregory, Matthews, Sherard
21 November 1735	Stephens, Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Wilson,
	Gregory, Matthews, Sherard
30 December 1735	Stephens, <mark>Abson</mark> , Wilson
22 January 1736	Stephens, Berdmore, Marsden, Gregory, Matthews
29 April 1736	Gregory, Berdmore, Ayde, Marsden, Abson,
	Wilson, Matthews, Sherard
27 May 1736	Matthews, Berdmore, Abson, Gregory
24 June 1736	Matthews, Berdmore, Parker, Wilson, Gregory
22 July 1736	Matthews, Berdmore, Ayde, Marsden, Abson,
	Parker, Wilson, Gregory
21 October 1736	Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Wilson, Gregory,
	Matthews, Sherard
20 January 1737	Sherard, <mark>Berdmore</mark> , <mark>Marsden</mark> , <mark>Abson</mark> , <mark>Gregory</mark>
3 March 1737	Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Gregory
4 March 1737	Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Wilson, Gregory
21 April 1737	Berdmore, Ayde, Marsden, Abson, Wilson,
	Matthews, Sherard
21 July 1737	Berdmore, Ayde, Marsden, Abson, Parker, Wilson,
	Levett, Gregory, Matthews, Sherard
1 September 1737	Ayde, Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Parker, Wilson,
	Gregory, Sherard
20 October 1737	Ayde, Berdmore, Marsden, Abson

17 November 1737	Abson, Berdmore, Marsden
19 January 1738	Abson, Berdmore, Marsden, Wilson, Gregory,
	Sherard
20 April 1738	Marsden, Berdmore, Abson, Wilson, Gregory,
	Matthews
20 July 1738	Sharp, Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Parker, Wilson,
10.0.1.1.700	Gregory, Matthews
19 October 1738	Cooke, Marsden, Abson, Wilson, Gregory,
	Matthews
18 January 1739	Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Wilson, Gregory
12 April 1739	Berdmore, Abson, Gregory, Matthews
July 1739	Records missing
18 October 1739	Stephens, Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Gregory,
	Matthews
24 January 1740	Berdmore, Abson, Wilson, Gregory, Matthews
17 April 1740	Gregory, Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Wilson.
	Matthews
24 July 1740	Matthews, Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Wilson,
	Gregory, Sherard
19 August 1740	Berdmore, Abson, Gregory, Sherard
23 October 1740	Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Gregory, Sherard
22 January 1741	Sherard, Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Gregory,
	Matthews
23 April 1741	Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Wilson, Gregory,
	Matthews, Sherard
25 June 1741	Sharp, Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Wilson,
	Gregory, Matthews, Sherard
23 July 1741	Sharp, Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Gregory,
	Matthews, Sherard
22 October 1741	Abson, Berdmore, Marsden, Wilson, Gregory,
	Matthews
21 January 1742	Marsden, Berdmore, Abson, Gregory, Matthews
18 March 1742	Wilson, Abson, Matthews
22 April 1742	Wilson, Abson, Marsden, Gregory, Matthews
13 May 1742	Cooke, Abson, Gregory
22 July 1742	Cooke, Marsden, Abson, Wilson, Gregory,
2	Matthews

21 October 1742Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Matthews20 January 1743Berdmore, Marsden, Abson, Wilson, Gregory,<br/>Matthews12 February 1743Gregory, Berdmore, Matthews23 March 1743Gregory, Matthews, Sherard, Wilson

# Appendix E, Itinerary of Lancelot Blackburne's primary visitation of York, 1726-1728<sup>33</sup>

	VISITATION	Corre	CTION COURT
5 August	<i>St. Mary's Church, Nottingham,</i> for the deanery of Newark.		
9 August	Mansfield, for the deanery of		
	Nottingham.		
20 August	Worksop, for the deanery of		
	Retford.		
9 September	<i>Beverley</i> , for the deanery of Harthill.		
12 September	Hull, for the deanery of Holderness.		
15 September	Bridlington, for the deaneries of		
	Buckrose and Dickering.		
		28 September	Worksop, for the
			deanery of Retford
			and the jurisdiction
			of Southwell.
		30 September	Newark, for the
			deanery of Bingham
		1 October	Nottingham, for the
			deanery of
			Nottingham.
		30 October	Bridlington, for the
			deaneries of Buckrose and
			Buckrose and Dickering.
		2 November	St. Mary's Church,
		2 November	Beverley, for the
			deanery of Harthill.
		3 November	St. Mary's Church,
			Beverley, for the
			deanery of
			Holderness.

LANCELOT BLACKBURNE'S PRIMARY VISITATION OF THE DIOCESE OF YORK, 1727

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> BIA. V. 1726-7/CB, Visitation Court Book.

# 12 May

ConsistoryCourtofYork,tohearpresentmentsfortheparishesofSuttononDerwent,NorthFerribyandWithernseacumHollym, Marfleet andLittleDriffield.

16 July	Blackburne preached at Thirsk. <sup>34</sup>
17 July	Thirsk, for the deanery of Bulmer.
	Exton Sayer and Thomas Eden
	represented the Diocese of Durham
	in relation to the peculiar jurisdiction
	of Allertonshire, and Richard
	Braithwaite for Alne & Tollerton.
20 July	Stokesley, for the deanery of
	Cleveland.
24 July	Malton, for the deanery of Rydale.
28 July	York, for the City of York.
4 August	Skipton, for the deanery of Craven.
8 August	Leeds, for the deanery of the
	Ainsty.
10 August	Blackburne consecrated Holy Trinity
	Church, Leeds. Lewis Stephens,
	preached the consecration sermon.
11 August	All Saints' Church, Wakefield, for
	the deanery of Pontefract.
15 August	Sheffield, for the deanery of
	Doncaster.
18 August	Doncaster, for the deaneries of
	Pontefract and Doncaster (continued).
6 September	Ripon, for the Liberty of Ripon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Grainge, William, Vale of Mowbray: a historical and topographical account of Thirsk and its neighbourhood (London: 1859), p. 133.

8 September	Easingwold, for the	
	deaneries of Bulmer	
	and Rydale.	
20 September	Stokesley, for the	
	deanery of Cleveland	
	and the peculiar	
	jurisdiction of	
	Allertonshire.	
2 October	St. Michael-le-Belfry	
	Church, York, for the	
	City of York.	
4 October	Tadcaster, for the	
	deaneries of New and	
	Old Ainsty.	
9 October	Otley, for the deanery	
	of Craven.	
11 October	Wakefield, for the	
	deanery of	
	Pontefract.	
13 October	Doncaster, for the	
	deanery of	
	Doncaster.	
7 December	Consistory Court of	
	York, to hear the	
	presentments for the	
	parishes of	
	Easingwold, Thirsk,	
	Stillington, Gilling,	
	New & Old Malton,	
	Pickering, Thornton,	
	Middleton, Ingleby,	
	Skelton, Uglebarnby,	
	Whitby, Yarm, High	
	Worsall, Hutton	
	Buscel & West	
	Rounton.	

# LANCELOT BLACKBURNE'S PRIMARY VISITATION OF THE DIOCESE OF YORK, 1728

14 March	Consistory Court of		
	York, to hear the		
	presentments for the		
	parishes of Whitby		
	and Ugglebarnby.		
10 April	Consistory Court of		
	York, to hear the		
	presentments for the		
	parishes of Whitby		
	and Gilling.		
14 May	St. Peter's Church,		
	<i>Nottingham</i> , for		
	additional		
	presentments for		
	Nottinghamshire.		
8 June	Ripon, for the Liberty		
	of Ripon.		
July-December	Licenses exhibited		
	after Blackburne's		
	return from		
	Parliament. <sup>35</sup>		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> BIHR. V. 1717-1719/Exh. Bk, ff. 96-100.

OFFICE	JURISDICTION	YEAR	LOCATION
Archbp. of York	D. & Ch. of York	1694	Printed [YML]
Archbp. of York	Diocese of York	1698	Printed [YML]
Dean of York	Chapter of York	1705	Printed [ECCO]
			(Injunctions)
Archd. of York	Archd. of York	1705	Printed [ECCO]
Archd. of York	Archd. of York	1710	Printed [YML]
Archd. of York	Archd. of York	1712	Printed [UoL]
Archbp. of York	Chapter of Southwell	1717	Manuscript draft
			[BIA]
Archbp. of York	Diocese of York	1726	Printed [BL]
Dean of York	Chapter of York	1730	Printed [BIA, YML]
			(Injunctions)
Dean of York	D. & Ch. of York	1730	Printed [YML]
Archd. of York	Archd. of York	1731	Printed [WYJS]
Archd. of York	Archd. of York	1733	Manuscript extract of
			article relating to Papists
			[BIA]
Archd. of York	Archd. of York	1735	Printed [UC Santa Barbara]
Archd. of York	Archd. of York	1738	Printed [WYJS]
Archbp. of York	Diocese of York	1749	Manuscript [UDSC] <sup>36</sup>
Archd. of the E. Riding	Archd. of the E. Riding	1751	Printed [YML]

# Appendix F, Extant visitation articles of inquiry for the Diocese of York, 1691-1760

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> UDSC. DDR/EV/VIS/4/3/1, paper volume relating mainly to Richard Trevor's primary previous visitation in 1754, and other earlier information, 1749-1754.

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Beverley: East Riding of Yorkshire Archives & Local Studies Service

BC, Beverley corporation records

DDEL/1/2, lease for 21 years between Lancelot Blackburne and Richard Reynalds

DDIV/45/1, Tunstall enclosure act

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Add. MS 28888, Ellis papers

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Bp. C&P V, Archbishop Matthew Hutton papers

Bp. C&P VI, Archbishop John Gilbert papers

Bp. C&P XVI, Ripon papers

Bp. C&P XVII, Southwell papers

Bp. C&P XIX, Dean and Chapter papers

Bp. C&P XX, Courts and officials' papers

Bp. Conf., bishops' confirmations

Bp. Dio., diocese books

Bp. Sch., schools papers

CC Ab. 9, Church Commissioners' files

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