

STUDIES IN CARTHUSIAN HISTORY IN LATER MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

With Special Reference to the Order's Relations with Secular
Society

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Abstract

The subject of this dissertation is the Carthusian order in England between 1370 and the Reformation. The approach that has been adopted is to look particularly at the order's position within and relations with English society. The history of the Carthusian order differs significantly from that of other orders, and such an approach enables the historian to offer an explanation for these differences.

The most obvious difference between the Carthusian order and other orders is that although the Carthusians attracted little support during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when other orders were expanding rapidly, they began to outstrip those other orders in popularity during the late fourteenth century and continued to do so until the Reformation. This dissertation is concerned with the period of the Carthusians' greatest popularity, although it does also look at the order's previous history to account for the relative lack of support experienced earlier. It investigates the reasons for the order's late medieval popularity, the nature of the order's reputation and the foundations upon which that reputation rested. It does this primarily by examining the attitudes of English society towards the Carthusians. It looks at each foundation, and the motives which impelled particular individuals to found or co-found Charterhouses in preference to houses of other orders; it inquires into the subject of patronage and the reasons why men and women chose to make bequests to the Carthusians; and it scrutinises the works of contemporary writers to discover how attitudes changed towards the Carthusians during the period under review.

The dissertation also examines the attitudes of the monks themselves. It asks what kind of men entered the order; and it looks at two of the literary works produced by those men, and deduces from these some insights into the devotional atmosphere of the priories and the monks' view of the world outside the cloister.

Abbreviations

A.C.	Analecta Cartusiana
<u>B.I.H.R.</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</u>
C.& Y.S.	Canterbury and York Society
C.C.L.	Wills proved before the Commissary Court of London, preserved in the Guildhall, London
<u>C.Ch.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1216-1516 (P.R.O. 1903-27), 6 vols.</u>
<u>C.Cl.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of Close Rolls, 1307-1509 (P.R.O. 1893-1963), 42 vols.</u>
Chauncy, <u>Historia</u>	M. Chauncy, <u>Historia Aliquot Nostri Saeculi Martyrum</u> , ed. V.M. Doreau (Montreuil-sur-Mer, 1888)
Chauncy, <u>Passionis</u>	M. Chauncy, <u>Passionis et Martyrii Sanctorum Patrum Carthusiensium Anglorum</u> , ed. Rev. G.W.S. Gibbs (London, 1935)
<u>C.P.</u>	G.E. Cokayne, <u>The Complete Peerage</u> , ed. V. Gibbs and others (London, 1910-59), 12 vols.
<u>C.P.L.</u>	<u>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, 1198-1484 (P.R.O. 1893-1955), 13 vols.</u>
<u>C.P.R.</u>	<u>Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1216-1509 (P.R.O. 1894-1916), 54 vols.</u>
<u>D.N.B.</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography to 1900</u> , ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee (London, 1908-9), 22 vols.
E.E.T.S.	Early English Text Society
Emden, <u>Cambridge</u>	A.B. Emden, <u>A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to A.D. 1500</u> (Cambridge, 1963)
Emden, <u>Oxford</u>	A.B. Emden, <u>A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500</u> (Oxford, 1957-9), 3 vols.
Emden, <u>Oxford, 1501-40</u>	A.B. Emden, <u>A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford 1501-40</u> (Oxford, 1974)
<u>Fasti</u>	J. Le Neve, <u>Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541</u> , various editors (London, 1962-4), 12 vols.
Fretton	W.G. Fretton, 'Memorials of the Charterhouse, Coventry', <u>Birmingham Archaeological Society Transactions</u> , v (1874), pp. 26-45
Hendriks	L. Hendriks, <u>The London Charterhouse</u> (London, 1889)
Hope	W. St. John Hope, <u>The History of the London Charterhouse</u> (London, 1925)
<u>J.E.H.</u>	<u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</u>
<u>L&P</u>	<u>Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII (P.R.O. 1862-1932), 23 vols.</u>
Le Couteulx	C. Le Couteulx, <u>Annales Ordinis Cartusienis Ab Anno 1084 Ad Annum 1429</u> (Montreuil-sur-Mer, 1888-90), 8 vols.
Le Vasseur	L. Le Vasseur, <u>Ephemerides Ordinis Cartusienis</u> (Montreuil-sur-Mer, 1890) 4 vols.

- M.A. Monasticon Anglicanum, ed.W.Dugdale, re-ed.J.Caley, H.Ellis and B.Bandinell (London, 1817-30), 6 vols.
- Magna Vita Adam of Eynsham, Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis, ed.D.L. Douie and H.Farmer (London, 1961-2), 2 vols.
- Maisons Maisons de l'ordre des Chartreux. Vues et Notices (Montreuil-sur-Mer, 1913), 4 vols.
- Obit List Transcript compiled by Dom.Andrew Gray, drawing upon material in Parkminster Ms.B.77
- P.C.C. Wills proved before the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, preserved in the P.R.O.
- P.L. Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina, ed.J.P. Migne (Paris, 1844-90)
- P.R.O. Public Record Office
- Prob. Reg. Probate Register
- P.R.S. Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, 1179-1188 (London, 1908-25), vols.xxix-xxxviii
- Reg. Episcopal Register
- Reg. Chichele The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-43, ed.E.F.Jacob (C.& Y.S. xlii, xlv, xlvi, xlvi, 1937-47), 4 vols.
- R.O. M.D.Knowles, The Religious Orders in England (Cambridge, 1948-61), 3 vols.
- Rot.Parl. Rotuli Parliamentorum (London, 1783), 6 vols.
- Royal Wills A Collection of all the Wills, now known to be Extant, of the Kings and Queens of England, ed.J.Nichols (London, 1780), 2 vols.
- R.S. Rolls Series.
- Rymer, Foedera J.Rymer, Foedera, Conventiones, Literae (London, 1816-69), 7 vols.
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- S.R.S. Somerset Record Society
- S.S. Surtees Society
- Test. Ebor. Testamenta Eboracensia, ed.J.Raine and others (S.S. iv, xxx, xlv, liii, lxxix, cvi, 1836-1902), 6.vols.
- Thompson E.M.Thompson, The Carthusian Order in England (London, 1930)
- V.C.H. The Victoria History of the Counties of England, ed. H.A.Doubleday, E.Page, L.F.Salzman and R.B.Pugh (London, 1900 onwards)

V.E.

Valor Ecclesiasticus Tempore Henrici VIII Auctoritate Regia Institutus, ed. J. Carey and J. Hunter (Record Commission, 1810-34), 6 vols.

Witham Chronicle

E.M. Thompson, 'A Fragment of the Witham Chronicle, and Adam of Dryburgh, Premonstratensian, and Carthusian of Witham', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, xvi (1932), pp. 482-506.

Y.A.J.

Yorkshire Archaeological Journal

Y.A.S.R.S.

Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series

Introduction

The Carthusian order is currently enjoying a considerable vogue in academic circles, owing to the relatively recent discovery and exploration of its important literary activities during the later middle ages. But although much attention has been focused upon the production and dissemination of manuscripts by the order, less effort has been devoted to the historical research which should underpin and complement such literary studies. There does, of course, exist The Carthusian Order in England by E.M.Thompson, a book whose immense scope and formidable scholarship are likely to ensure that its reputation as the definitive work on the order in England can never be successfully challenged. Certainly this dissertation offers no such challenge. All that it aims to achieve is to supplement E.M.Thompson's work and to augment the historical understanding of the order in a way which may prove useful to the literary direction in which Carthusian studies are presently moving. This thesis therefore approaches its subject from a different stance to that adopted by E.M. Thompson. Its object is fully to justify the title Studies in Carthusian History in Later Medieval England, by examining the order not in isolation, but firmly within the context of its contemporary society, and to scrutinise the relationships between the monks and secular society. Only by tackling the subject in this way does it seem possible to suggest answers to some of the questions which an intelligent perusal of E.M.Thompson's book must inevitably pose.

That the development and status of the Carthusian Order in England were different in significant respects from those of other orders is an assumption which has long remained unchallenged. Surveys of the medieval monastic scene are littered with footnotes exempting the Carthusians from generalisations applicable to most of the remaining orders. This thesis is particularly devoted to examining three problems which highlight the crucial areas of distinction between the Carthusians and the others. The first of these is the unique pattern of development of the order. The Carthusians arrived in England at Witham in about 1178 when, for various reasons which are elucidated in the first chapter, auspices for a swift growth seemed most favourable. Yet between 1178 and 1370 only two further Charterhouses were founded. It was not until 1371 that the real development of the English

order began, and between that date and 1414 the six remaining houses all came into being. The first chapter of this dissertation attempts to explain why the Carthusian order failed to develop at a time when most other orders were enjoying a period of expansion; and the second chapter discusses the other half of the question; why the Carthusian order suddenly achieved a period of growth when the other orders had lost their impetus.

The second problem is the general influence and status of the order in English society. There were in all nine Charterhouses in England, six with thirteen monks at each, two with twenty-five and one with thirty. A simple calculation suffices to establish the fact that even if these houses were full, there could never have been more than 158 Carthusian monks in England at any one time. A twelfth-century member of one of the enormous Benedictine or Cistercian houses would certainly have dismissed any Carthusian pretension to numerical significance. But of course the influence of a group need not necessarily depend upon how large it is - quality rather than quantity is the relevant criterion. The third chapter therefore attempts to assess the status and background of the men who comprised the order. In view of the paucity of the evidence however, such an analysis cannot be more than partially successful, and even were it totally satisfactory, it would only beg further questions. For how could an order of such a retiring disposition hope to permeate society with its ideals when its members were not generally permitted to hold public office, and rarely even allowed beyond the boundaries of the Charterhouses' precinct walls? The answer to this question given by modern literary scholars, and indeed by Guigo the Venerable himself, is that the Carthusians preached with their pens instead of with their mouths. To assess the range of the English Carthusian literary contribution is a task beyond the scope of this dissertation, but it is historically an area of such importance that it demands detailed acknowledgement. Chapters four and five therefore concentrate in detail upon two particularly illuminating texts written by English Carthusians. The first, the late fifteenth-century Scola Amoris Languidi, is chosen because it may be seen as representative of the type of mystical writings then being produced by the order. It therefore illuminates both the devotional atmosphere within the priories, and the pietistical attitudes which they were attempting to diffuse to the outside world. The second text, a verse chronicle written in 1518, is chosen, conversely, because it is unique, because it is the nearest approach by a pre-Reformation English Carthusian to a historical work. It provides some indications of the attitude adopted by the Carthusians towards the society in which they lived, the significance of which is increased by the

date at which the chronicle was written. A Carthusian analysis of the state of society in the pre-Reformation period is invaluable in enabling the historian to understand why the English Carthusians adopted the stance they did towards the events of the 1530's.

One could also respond to the question posed above by pointing out that the Carthusians did not merely preach with their pens - they also preached by example. The order had a reputation for sanctity unparalleled by any other, save only the comparatively new Bridgettines and Observant Franciscans; and it is this reputation which forms the third area of discussion. It is ironic that the historian of a religious order should feel himself compelled to explain why the order maintained a reputation for holiness during the fifteenth century, rather than why it lost it, but this is unhappily the case. In the last three chapters the nature of this reputation is examined. The sixth chapter inquires into the patronage of the order, and is especially concerned to establish from which sectors of the population the Carthusians drew their support. The questions of how the priories adapted to their popularity, what sort of effect it had upon them and whether they continued to merit it are discussed in the seventh chapter. Here literary and other evidence is examined, and used to conduct a survey of the changing nature of public attitudes towards the order during the period under review. The dissertation concludes with a discussion of what light the treatment and behaviour of the Carthusians at the Reformation sheds upon their status in English society.

These three problems form the basic themes underlying this thesis, but since in one sense they are all aspects of the same problem, the demarcation lines between them are extremely nebulous. It might perhaps be as well to stress that certain aspects of English Carthusian history are deliberately omitted from consideration here. There is small mention of economic matters, for example, of estate administration and property transaction. Moreover, many of the subjects discussed in this thesis would have well repaid treatment in greater depth: no doubt more could be discovered about the individual monks or their patrons for example. Yet in the end, all historians have to achieve a balance between breadth and depth, and the aim of this study is to present a more rounded picture than could be achieved simply by analysing one topic in detail. The dissertation is intended therefore as an essay in cultural history, and as such aims to embody two ideals. The first is that approaches to the past should invoke the aid of techniques other than purely historical ones, and, in this case,

great reliance has been placed upon literary evidencé. The second is that although it is of paramount importance to be meticulous and precise in matters of the smallest detail, the historian should not lose sight of the fact that his primary object is to use such details to build up an overall picture, in order to understand himself and to convey to others something of what it felt like to be, for example, a Carthusian monk in England in the fifteenth century.

Chapter One

Introductory: Early Carthusian Foundations in England 1170-1370

The expansion and development of the Carthusian Order in England presents a very different pattern from that of all the other orders - presents, indeed, a completely reversed pattern. For most orders - the Benedictines, Cistercians, Cluniacs, Premonstratensians, the friars, the canons and the military knights - the picture in England was one of rapid growth in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries followed by a period of 200 years when few, if any, new houses were established. By contrast, the Carthusians' arrival upon these shores was belated, and the institution of succeeding houses was equally dilatory. The first priory, Witham, was founded circa 1178, almost a hundred years after the settlement at La Grande Chartreuse. In the next 200 years only two more Charterhouses were built, Hinton (originally Hatherop) in 1222, and Beauvale in 1347. Not until the late fourteenth century did interest in the order wax to the extent of endowing the six remaining Charterhouses. When it is calculated that between 1350 and the Reformation there were less than twenty new religious foundations altogether in England, ⁽¹⁾ it becomes apparent that these six priories account for a sizeable proportion of later medieval monastic foundations. And when, in addition, it is realised that seven other of the new foundations were made by the new orders, the Bridgettines and the Observant Franciscans, it may be appreciated that the Carthusian pattern of development was indeed unique. It was the only one of the older established orders which attracted a significant number of new foundations in later medieval England.

The first two chapters of this dissertation are therefore devoted to an explanation of this phenomenon, and examine each of the foundations in turn. A chronological approach has been adopted here, since it is not only the most convenient method of dealing with the material, but also has the advantage of illustrating the progression which led to individual foundations, and of pointing a contrast between earlier and later houses. Nonetheless, the underlying strategy in these chapters is a thematic one: to explain the unique pattern of the development of the order.

The time-span of this thesis is 1370-1539. The reasons for deciding upon 1539 as a terminus ad quem are obvious. The choice of 1370

1. M.D.Knowles and R.N.Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales (London, 1971), p.42.

as a terminus a quo is easily justified; firstly, because 1371 saw the foundation of the London Charterhouse, an important event in itself, but one which also marked the beginning of the later medieval spate of Carthusian foundations; and, secondly, because 1367 saw the creation of the English province as a distinct entity. These two factors enable one to suggest 1370 as a convenient year from which to begin an assessment of the period of maximum Carthusian influence and activity in England.

The second chapter, which examines the foundations made after 1370, endeavours to account for the upsurge of interest in the order in that period, an explanation which is continued in the seventh chapter, where evidence other than that supplied by the foundation material is considered. The first chapter is devoted to the three Carthusian foundations before 1370, and its function is largely a comparative one: to explain why, in the first two hundred years of its existence in England, the order attracted very little in the way of material encouragement, despite being very favourably received by contemporary commentators.

The Carthusian Order has always prided itself upon being an international community, with its centralisation of decision-making and disciplinary procedures, which has ensured a greater degree of conformity within its scattered priories than used to be the case in most other orders. The disadvantage of writing a dissertation about a single isolated province is that it is bound to neglect the European dimension and perhaps to create a misleading impression that the degree of autonomy enjoyed by the English province may have been greater than it actually was. This impression can quickly be corrected by a brief inspection of the charters of the general chapter relating to England, (1) from which it will be realised that the general chapter maintained, through its visitation system, a minute scrutiny of the actions of the English priories. Nevertheless the treatment of one province in isolation inevitably produces a degree of imbalance. To help redress this, a very brief discussion of the European background is included at the outset, which centres upon the following topics; the foundation of the order, the reasons for its initial survival against considerable odds, its growth in Europe and the unique features of its constitution.

1. Bodleian Ms. Rawlinson D.318; Lambeth Palace Ms.413; summarised by Thompson, pp.263-75, 299-312.

i The European Perspective

The story of the foundation of La Grande Chartreuse subsequently achieved the notoriety of a legend, both within and without the order. Perhaps the most famous and certainly the most beautiful expression of this legend is in Les Belles Heures de Jean, Duc de Berry, begun in 1413, where five miniatures are devoted to the tale. ⁽¹⁾ The legend relates how Bruno became canon of Rheims in 1057 and later chancellor. But he was disgusted by the simoniacal behaviour of two successive archbishops, Manasses and Helinard, and allegedly profoundly alarmed when his teacher Diocrès sat up three times in his coffin to announce that he had been accused, judged and condemned at the just tribunal of God. Consequently Bruno retired to Sèche-Fontaine near Molesme to seek a less fraught existence. In 1084 he and six companions went with letters of introduction from Sequin, abbot of Chaise-Dieu, to the bishop of Grenoble, Hugh de Chateauneuf, later St. Hugh. The latter received them warmly, having just dreamed of seven stars which, after leading him to an isolated spot among the mountains of the French Alps, fell at his feet. Consequently when the seven aspirants came and similarly abased themselves before him, he intelligently inferred that he was required to guide them to the mountainous wilderness of his dream, now of course the site of La Grande Chartreuse. Bruno had only six years in which to build a church and dwelling huts, and to lead his followers in some form of semi-eremitical existence, before he was summoned to Rome by Pope Urban II to be his counsellor in 1090. He was forced to make over the land on which the meagre beginnings of the first Charterhouse stood to Abbot Sequin, but he did persuade the pope to restore the land to the successor he had nominated, Landuin of Tuscany. He managed also to evade accepting Urban's offer of the bishopric of Reggio, and was later able to retire to Lombardy and found two new groups of hermits, La Torre and St. Stephen-in-the-Wood near Sequillac. These were near enough to each other for Bruno to supervise both; they must at some stage have been amalgamated, for they rank as the second Carthusian foundation, Serra San Bruno. Bruno died in 1101 and was succeeded as prior of the second foundation by Lambert of Burgundy. ⁽²⁾

1. Les Belles Heures de Jean, Duc de Berry (Facsimile ed. London, 1974), ff. 95v-97v.
2. See Acta Sancti Brunonis (P.L. 153), cols. 9-638, especially Commentarius Praevius, cols. 9-482, and three lives, Vita Antiquior, cols. 482-492; Vita Altera, cols. 492-526; and Vita Tertia cols. 526-552. Summaries of Bruno's life and the early history of the order may also be found in M.D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 375-380; Thompson, pp. 3-19; C.M. Boutrais, The History of the Great Chartreuse, trans. E. Hassid (London, 1934), pp. 11-24.

At La Grande Chartreuse itself, the priorates of Landuin (1090-1100), Peter of Bethune (1101-2), (both, like Lambert, numbered among Bruno's original companions in the wilderness) and Jean of Tuscany (1102-9) may be passed over briefly. ⁽¹⁾ With no guidance other than a short letter sent by Bruno from Calabria, which exhorted them to maintain their strict observance without explaining what this observance was, ⁽²⁾ they struggled to support themselves and his ideal. A description by Guibert de Nogent, written during this period, ⁽³⁾ shows that what were later to become characteristic features of the Carthusian rule were already present: they were thirteen in number, living in cells round a cloister, which were each supplied with drinking water by a conduit; they ate no meat, cooked food alone in their cells, rarely spoke, wore hair-shirts and celebrated very few of the canonical hours together; they were led by a prior instead of an abbot and practised poverty and austerity in all things save what related to their study.

The next milestone in the development of the order was the priorate of Guigo I, known as 'the Venerable' (1109-36). He had been dean in the church of Grenoble, but entered La Grande Chartreuse in 1107, and must have displayed exceptional ability even in his first two years for he was elected prior at the age of twenty-seven. He numbered among his friends some of the most notable monastic figures of the age, including St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Stephen of Obasine and Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny. The latter was an especial admirer of the efforts of the early Carthusians, but one letter from Guigo ⁽⁴⁾ is the sole survivor of what must have been an extensive correspondence. Guigo was also an able scholar, as may be evidenced by his edition of the letters of St. Jerome, ⁽⁵⁾ a writer who could be expected to have no little influence upon the thinking of such an order; and by his Meditationes de Veritate, a wry, well-balanced and compassionate appraisal of the difficulties facing those aspiring to

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1. C.M.Boutrais, The History of the Great Chartreuse, p.285.
 2. Un Chartreux, Lettres des Premiers Chartreux (Paris, 1962), pp.82-8; A.P.F. Lefebvre, Saint Bruno et l'Ordre des Chartreux (Paris, 1883), ii, 419-21.
 3. A.P.F.Lefebvre, op.cit., ii, 568-70.
 4. Un Chartreux, Lettres des Premiers Chartreux (Paris, 1962), pp.206-8; P.L.153, cols.594-5.
 5. A task he describes in De Suppositiis Beati Hieronymi Epistolis (P.L.153), cols.593-4.

the monastic life. (1)

Guigo's especial importance lies in the fact that it was he who in 1128 compiled the constitutions which transformed a band of hermits into an order. It is accordingly from this date that one can really begin to speak of the Carthusian order, although, as Knowles observes, an order as such did not emerge until the institution of the general chapter in 1142. (2) This explains incidentally why the Carthusians are often treated as a later order than the Cistercians, although the foundation of La Grande Chartreuse predated that of Cîteaux by some fifteen years: the Carta Caritatis was apparently written in 1118, (3) ten years before Guigo's Consuetudines, and its influence is readily detectable in the latter. (4)

Indeed the importance of Guigo in the inception of the order cannot be over-emphasised, as may be demonstrated by a parallel with a later order, the Franciscans. This order, like the Carthusians, was initially motivated by the disgust of one man at current institutional church corruption, and his belief that he had found the formula that would enable dedicated men to attain their objectives without tumbling into the pitfalls which had lured other orders from their original ideals. Francis identified absolute poverty as the precept by which he could remain aloof from the materialist snares of the world; Bruno sought it in the eremitical life. In both cases this ideal was one which was not easily reconciled with the structure of an organising and expanding order. An insistence upon poverty does not foster the institutional needs of a religious order in the service of the church, whilst the eremitical ideal was one which, at the time, was probably rather threatening to the communal traditions of the established monastic orders. Worse still, both saints refused to codify their rather vague ideals: Bruno left only a letter, as we have seen, and Francis only a testament. Despite similarities in the manner

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1. Meditationes de Veritate (P.L.153), cols.601-32.
 2. M.D.Knowles, The Monastic Order in England (Cambridge,1940),p.379.
 3. For a discussion of the dating of the Carta Caritatis, see M.D.Knowles, Great Historical Enterprises, Problems in Monastic History (London,1963),pp.201-15.
 4. Guigo,Consuetudines (P.L.153), cols.737-8. 'tamen post exemplum reverendissimorum ac Deo dilectorum Cisterciensium monachorum'.

of founding however, the subsequent history of the two orders was very different. Even within St. Francis' lifetime, his followers had split into various factions, some wishing only to live in poverty, others to organise and expand, until finally the question led to such bitter wranglings and flirtations with millennial heresies that the doctrine of absolute poverty was itself condemned as heresy in 1322. The Carthusians fared rather better; and that they did so was largely due to the insight and administrative capacities of Guigo: without a rule to transform the idealism of Bruno into practical realities, the Carthusians might have fallen by the wayside. That their survival was largely due to Guigo is further evinced by the fact that Bruno's solitaries were only one of many bands of hopefuls journeying into the mountains to live in some kind of eremitical state. Some indeed survived by being assimilated into other orders: even the famous Italian hermits of Cava, Fonte Avellana, Camoldi and Vallombrosa eventually followed the Benedictine rule, although retaining many distinguishing features of their own. In France, the same impetus was largely absorbed by the new fervour of the Cistercians: Bernard of Clairvaux himself was for several years a solitary in Brittany. ⁽¹⁾ Only the Carthusians ever achieved the status of a distinct order: but it is unlikely that a spectator in about 1100 would have forecast that this community, out of all the others, would be the one to succeed, for there was at that stage little to distinguish it from all the rest, ardour and asceticism being characteristic of all such movements.

Guigo's priorate was also marked by a spate of new foundations which partly occasioned and partly resulted from his formulation of a definite rule. At his accession in 1109 there were two houses, both founded by Bruno, but at his death in 1136 there were eleven. The other nine, besides the mother house and Serra San Bruno; were Vallon (founded in 1136) near the Chartreuse, Durbon (1116), Les Ecouges (1136), and Montrieux (1117) in Provence; Portes (1115), Sylve Benite (1116), Meyriat (1116) and Arrières (1132) in Burgundy; and Mont Dieu (1134) in Picardy. ⁽²⁾

1. M.D.Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, pp.191-227.

2. Discussion of the geographical distribution of the order during the Middle Ages is bedevilled by the fact that national boundaries were in a constant state of flux. Although La Grande Chartreuse itself is always referred to as being French, in fact it was originally situated in the kingdom of Arles, which was, at the time of the priory's foundation, part of the Holy Roman Empire. The same applies to a number of the early foundations, since most were made in the mountainous solitude of what is now the French Alps, but then constituted an area subject to intermittent dispute. The solution broadly adopted here is to refer to boundaries as they stood at the Reformation.

By 1178, the date of the foundation of Witham, the total of European Charterhouses had increased to 34, almost all of which were situated in France. There were four in Italy, three of which - Casotta (1171), Losa (1171) and Valle di Pesio (1173) - were in Lombardy, and one, Serra San Bruno, in Calabria. There were two in Germany, Seitz (1160) and Geirach (1169). There was one in Sweden, Lund (1162); one in Spain, Scala Dei (1163), and none in the Netherlands. It is evident therefore that England was not the only country which housed no Carthusians until the late twelfth century: apart from Serra San Bruno, there were no Charterhouses outside France until 1160. From that date, however, the order began to expand outwards: an expansion of which the foundation of Witham was a part. If the date of the order's entry into England was late by Cistercian standards, it was a reflection of a peculiarly Carthusian unwillingness to venture abroad, not of a particular neglect of England.

It has been noted that another peculiarly Carthusian feature in England was an upsurge of new foundations in the late fourteenth century. This development also finds some parallels abroad (although new foundations of other orders were not quite so conspicuous by their absence in other kingdoms as they were in England. Nonetheless there had been some falling-off). France was divided roughly into seven Carthusian provinces; Chartreuse, Provence, Burgundy, Aquitaine, Picardy, the Loire and the Seine, although the latter two regions were not elevated to the status of separate provinces until 1701. In these seven provinces there were 69 foundations before 1350, but only twelve between then and the Reformation. In Italy there were three provinces, Lombardy, Tuscany and SS. Stephen and Bruno, in which there were 21 new foundations before 1350, and 15 others before the Reformation. In these two countries therefore, there were more Charterhouses formed before the middle of the fourteenth century than afterwards. In the others however, the picture is different. The province of Teutonia, roughly approximating to the Netherlands, was not instituted as a separate province until 1474. Here there were nine pre-1350 Charterhouses, and eleven by 1550. Spain, divided into the provinces of Catalonia (1396) and Castile (1442), saw four foundations before 1350, and twelve afterwards. Germany had four provinces, Upper and Lower Germany (both instituted in 1355), the Rhine (1400) and Saxony (1412), which included two Charterhouses in Sweden, Lund and Gribsholm. Here there were twelve pre-1350 Charterhouses, compared with 38 foundations between 1350 and 1550. These figures demonstrate, firstly, that a number of other provinces achieved independent existence as late as or later than the English one (although, of course, most countries contained more than one province); and secondly, that other provinces exhibited the same feature of a late medieval period of new foundations as did the English one.

The Reformation obviously curtailed Carthusian expansion. 1521 saw the zenith of their development with 195 houses scattered over Europe. Thirty-five were dissolved during the Reformation, and most others fell prey to anti-monastic movements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Even the countries which remained Catholic did not foster many new foundations after the Reformation. There were eight new foundations in the second half of the sixteenth century, 24 in the seventeenth century, none in the eighteenth century, 5 in the nineteenth century and 6 in the twentieth century, including one in the United States of America. At the last count in 1964, there were 19 Carthusian priories, housing 315 monks, 245 lay-brothers, 82 nuns, 61 lay-sisters and 75 novices. (1)

The rule that has sustained the order for almost 900 years still largely consists of the Customs enunciated by Guigo. Such modifications as have been introduced are enshrined in the statutes of the annual general chapters, where a statute which had been approved by the chapter three years successively became henceforward part of the rule. In the medieval period there were three important collections of statutes. The first, Statuta Antiqua, was compiled in 1259 by Riffier of Valence, Prior of La Grande Chartreuse from 1259 to 1267. The second, Nova Statuta, of 1368, was the work of Prior William Reynaldi, 1367-1402. The third was compiled in 1510 by Prior Francis Dupuy, 1503-21, who also had the Customs and all the Compilations printed and bound into one volume. (2)

It is not necessary to say a great deal about the rule here since E.M.Thompson provides an excellent synthesis of it, (3) and since also

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1. These figures are a compilation from a number of sources. Le Couteulx, passim, provides details of all foundations before 1429. A.P.F. Lefebvre, Saint Bruno et l'Ordre des Chartreux (Paris, 1883), ii, 196-379, is a more concise and helpful source, as he supplies brief notices of every foundation in chronological order, but his list includes some priories of very doubtful authority (for example, Hexham, p.329; Saint-Esprit, p.323; La Pierre-de-Refuge, p.304). A more modern, although less detailed account may be found in The New Catholic Encyclopedia (Catholic University of America, 1967), iii, 163-5, written by a monk of La Grande Chartreuse. This includes a useful map showing the distribution of houses, and is the source for the 1964 figures quoted above. E. Baumann, Les Chartreux (Paris, 1928), p.225, has a very brief table of the number of foundations and suppressions in each country, which appears to bear little relation to reality.
 2. C.M.Boutrais, The History of the Great Chartreuse, pp.33, 50, 66.
 3. Thompson, pp.20-48, 249-312; see also M.D.Knowles, The Monastic Order in England (Cambridge, 1940), pp.377-80.

the relevant statutes are cited throughout this dissertation in support of particular arguments. However, a few words will suffice to demonstrate what features are unique to the Carthusians, what features enabled them to maintain their structure and observance, and what features were later modified by experience. Comparison with the Cistercians is to some degree inevitable, since there are numerous similarities between both the constitution and the chronological development of the two orders.

The Carthusian mode of government was fairly similar to that of the Cistercians, and was indeed largely modelled upon it; but there were two vital differences. Firstly, La Grande Chartreuse, as the mother-house, stood in equal relation to every other Charterhouse, whereas in the Cistercian order authority devolved from mother-house to daughter-house to its daughter-house in a hierarchical manner. Secondly, there was no provincial arrangement in the Cistercian order for the enforcing and inspection of discipline at a regional level. In the Carthusian order, executive power lay with the general chapter of all the priors, held annually, of which the prior of La Grande Chartreuse was president, and at which eight diffinitors were elected. At the chapter, any questions from individual monks were answered, amendments to the statutes discussed, and the obits of monks recorded. The records of the chapter were known as chartae or cartae, by which name they are referred to in this dissertation. The other important work of the chapter was the appointment of provincial visitors, and supervision of the visitatorial system. Great care was taken to ensure that the visitors, appointed bi-annually, exercised their authority punctiliously and fairly; and the system whereby each house was scrutinised by provincial visitors, and each visitor was answerable directly to the general chapter, was intended to ensure that uniformity of discipline was maintained throughout the order. (1)

The unique feature of the Carthusian order was, obviously, its emphasis upon the eremitical life, and it must be reckoned the singular achievement of Bruno and Guigo that they created an order which welded together many of the most desirable elements of the regular monastic and hermit lives. The emphasis upon contemplation, austerity, solitude, withdrawal and silence came from the eremitic mode of existence. From the monastic came the security, the discipline, the freedom from material burdens and the sense of belonging to a community. It is still very

1. See Thompson, pp. 254-7.

easy to distinguish the buildings or ruins of a Charterhouse from that of any other monastery, a difference which is symptomatic of the difference in spiritual emphasis within. In most monasteries, pride of place is occupied by the church, physically and spiritually the centre of the community. In the Charterhouse, by contrast, it is to the great cloister with its cells and small gardens leading off that the eye is first drawn.

If solitary contemplation was the particular *raison d'être* of the Carthusian monk, he was nonetheless required to practise the other two traditional occupations of the monastic life, participation in the liturgy and manual work. It had been a reform of the Cistercians to simplify the liturgy so that it occupied a less intrusive place in the horarium, and the Carthusians pruned it still further. Only for matins, lauds and vespers did they gather together in church; the other hours were said privately in the cells. ⁽¹⁾ Manual work for the lay-brother consisted largely of agricultural tasks, for the monk of book-production. Monks of sufficient ability composed, copied or illuminated manuscripts, while others prepared vellum and bound the books. Among the essential equipment of every cell was included everything that was necessary for the preparation of vellum, and for writing; pens, pencils, ruler, razors, pumices etc. This might be described as the Carthusians' only original concession to the outside world, for their emphasis upon book-production as a means to reach a wider audience, which, as will be seen, was much in evidence in later medieval England, was one which was present from the inception of the order. As Guigo wrote, 'We wish books indeed to be guarded most carefully as the eternal food of our souls, and to be made most assiduously, so that since we may not preach the word of God by mouth, we may do it by our hands.' ⁽²⁾

It was the Cistercian order which first legislated for lay-brothers, designed to relieve the monks of the responsibilities of manual labour, which, with the order's emphasis upon semi-wasteland cultivation and grange-settlement, were onerous indeed. Nevertheless, as Knowles observes, provision for a large body of laymen previously exempted by their illiteracy from the monastic vocation was an important factor in the early popularity of the order. ⁽³⁾ The Carthusians took this 'democratic'

1. Guigo, Consuetudines (P.L.153), cols.695-702.

2. Ibid. cols.693-4.

3. M.D.Knowles, The Monastic Order in England (Cambridge, 1940), p.215.

process a stage further. The lay-brothers were expected not only to perform their labouring duties, but also to attend the divine offices in their own church, and to find time for private devotion. They were required to maintain the same rule of habitual silence as the monks, and almost as rigorous a standard of austerity. They were permitted to go outside the boundaries of the house in pursuit of business, but not to go into towns, not to speak unless it was strictly necessary and certainly never to gossip. ⁽¹⁾ In some ways the only practical difference between the lay-brother and the monk was that the former was supposedly illiterate. In fact, the Carthusian lay-brother, like his Cistercian peer, soon acquired sufficient education to render the appellation 'illiterati' obsolete, and there are some famous examples of extremely learned men professing in the order as lay-brothers, presumably as a gesture of humility; Petrarch's brother, Gerard, was a lay-brother at Montrieux (and the only survivor of the plague which decimated that house); ⁽²⁾ and the fiery lay-brother, Gerard, who rebuked even the pious Louis XII for his 'idle allurements', had formerly been Count of Nevers. ⁽³⁾ The sense of vocation and of full participation in the community enjoyed by the Carthusian lay-brother certainly brought special benefits. Adam of Eynsham, St. Hugh's biographer, placed the lay-brothers of La Grande Chartreuse, circa 1170, on a par in 'sanctity and prudence' with the monks, ⁽⁴⁾ and related 'we have heard that most of the lay-brethren of the order knew the historical and moral parts of the testament so well, that, if a slip were made during the reading of the usual lessons from the Bible and the Gospels, they immediately let the reader know that they had noticed this by coughing.' ⁽⁵⁾ Later, in England, the lay-brothers proved themselves as able as the monks to face the test of martyrdom.

The problem of coping with the results of their popularity was one which all medieval religious orders had to face. The devout were anxious to press benefactions upon them, and anxious also to extract favours in

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1. Guigo, Consuetudines, cols. 723-50.
 2. C.M. Boutrais, The History of the Great Chartreuse, p. 39.
 3. Magna Vita, i, 32-3; ii, 55-6.
 4. Magna Vita, i, 31.
 5. Magna Vita, i, 33.

return. It was certainly Guigo's intention, as he mentions in another context, that the monks should not possess lands and rents outside the boundaries of their houses, ⁽¹⁾ an intention that was reiterated in subsequent statutes. ⁽²⁾ They grew, of course, to be considerable property owners, but seem to have made efforts to delegate responsibility for their scattered lands, and to sanction the adoption of secular servants - prebendaries, donati and redditi - to ensure that the monks and lay-brothers had as few dealings with the outside world as possible. ⁽³⁾ Similarly, although the Carthusians did build granges for the husbandry of outlying property, that practice never escalated to the proportions familiar among the Cistercians. In fact, there appears to have been only one Carthusian grange in England, that at Charterhouse-on-~~Wendip~~, ⁽⁴⁾ close enough to Witham to obviate the necessity for any lay-brothers to reside away from the house for any length of time. It remained the case throughout the middle ages that a Charterhouse was required to seek permission from the general chapter for the acquisition of new land. The converse effect - the concessions orders were forced to make to their benefactors - is one which is the subject of some discussion in this thesis. ⁽⁵⁾ A number of original statutes relating to such matters as hospitality and lay-burial within Charterhouse precincts were later relaxed or revoked. That this relaxation did not entail the disastrous consequences for the Carthusians that it had for some other orders appears to be due to their highly centralised organisation, their efficient visitatorial supervision and their essentially élitist conception.

In this last concept perhaps lies the core of the matter. The Carthusian order was always small, with a limited number of personnel at each house. The number of monks was fixed at thirteen to a priory, and the number of lay-brothers to sixteen, ⁽⁶⁾ so the communities were protected from attaining the size or unbalanced monk/lay-brother ratio

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1. Guigo, Consuetudines. (P.L.153), cols.673-4.
 2. See Thompson, pp.115-6.
 3. Thompson, pp.123-4.
 4. See below, pp.22-3.
 5. See below, chapters VI and VII.
 6. Guigo, Consuetudines. (P.L.153), cols.751-4.

exhibited by some Cistercian houses. Occasionally later houses were larger, but thirteen monks remained the norm. The order also, as has been demonstrated, expanded very slowly, so that it was not the case that new foundations outstripped the resources of the central administration. Although the disciplinary procedures of the order were fairly similar to those of the Cistercians, the smallness of the order as a whole and the slow rate of growth enabled the machinery to function far more effectively.

The order was not only small but selective. Intelligent champions of the monastic ideal have never portrayed it as being a life suitable for anyone, and the austerity and intensity of the Carthusian régime in particular renders it an even more daunting prospect: the élite of an élite. If for some in the middle ages a vocation was the equivalent of a career, those at least would not be tempted to join the Carthusian order. There is evidence that the Cistercian ideal was originally far closer to the course which ultimately only the Carthusians pursued: the Cistercians, for example, did away with monastic schools, whose purpose had largely been to prepare potential monks, and they set a minimum age limit for entry to the noviciate, ⁽¹⁾ both of which ideas were copied by the Carthusians. ⁽²⁾ Yet in the period of expansion which was the result of Bernard of Clairvaux's fame, the Cistercian order left behind its original conception in favour of a more missionary zeal. The Carthusian order, by contrast, always retained its exclusive character: the Carthusian rule was not adapted to suit the monks, as much as the monks were chosen to suit the rule.

ii. The Arrival of the Carthusians in England; The Foundation of Witham

By the time of the first Carthusian foundation in England, circa 1178, the Cistercians, although of later origin, had already established eighty-one monasteries and twenty-four nunneries in the kingdom: ⁽³⁾ indeed their progress had been so rapid that the general chapter of 1152 had discouraged further new foundations. Even the new twelfth-century orders, the Premonstratensians and Sempringham canons and the military

1. M.D.Knowles, The Monastic Order in England (Cambridge, 1940), p.212.
2. Guigo, Consuetudines (P.L.153), cols.691-2.
3. M.D.Knowles and R.N.Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales (London, 1971), pp.112-28, 272-7.

orders of the Knights Hospitaliers and the Knights Templar had each acquired more houses in England than the Carthusians were ever to do. (1) But this seems to have reflected a deliberate choice on the part of the Carthusians, since they did not pursue an expansionist policy. The impetus for a new Cistercian foundation might come from within or without: a founder might approach a mother house and apply to endow a daughter house on his property, but equally monks from inside a house might decide to leave and settle elsewhere and search for a willing patron. The foundation of Fountains in 1082 by a group of disaffected Benedictines from St. Mary's York is of course the most famous example, although not by any means typical, of the latter impulse. But with the Carthusians in England the impetus always came externally, and it seems to have been the case that far from being encouraged as the prospective Cistercian benefactor would usually have been, those who wished to found a Carthusian house were subject to some scrutiny. It seems likely that had the founder of Witham not been a king, and one with whom the order had already had some close, if not entirely amicable, contact, the Carthusians might well not have ventured into England until even later. (2)

Henry II, for all his reputed anti-clericalism and championing of the rights of the state against ecclesiastical encroachment, was a man who genuinely recognised and applauded piety in others, as Adam of Eynsham observed. (3) His promotion of Hugh of Lincoln, Baldwin of Canterbury, and Gerald Pucelle of Coventry to their respective bishoprics are examples of occasions when his admiration for their honesty exceeded his opposition to their honestly expressed opinions. (4) The conflict with Becket of course provides the example of when it did not. As with his bishops, so with his monastic foundations: he seems to have preferred them to be exemplary, hence his regard not only for the Carthusians, but also for the ascetic Grandmontines. Carthusian interference in his wranglings with the archbishop of Canterbury - the remonstratory letter they sent him in 1165, and the visits of various Carthusian priors on embassies from the pope (5) - seems to have had the perhaps unexpected result of inspiring him with considerable respect for the order. No record

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1. Knowles and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales, passim.
 2. Le Couteulx, ii, 449-453. Here he stresses that the foundation of Witham was by Henry's express wish.
 3. Magna Vita, i, 70.
 4. W.L. Warren, Henry II (London, 1973), p. 554.
 5. Materials for the History of Becket, ed. J.C. Robinson and J.B. Sheppard (R.S. 67, 1875-85), vi, 165-6, 394-5, 438-529.

remains of his reasons for inviting them to England, or even of the mechanism by which he achieved it. But if it is true, as Adam of Eynsham asserts, that Henry chose to endow a Carthusian house solely because he was impressed by the quality of their 'holy life',⁽¹⁾ it would not be out of character with him.

Three English chroniclers assert that when Henry was too occupied with the intrigues of his sons to perform his promised pilgrimage to the Holy Land in atonement for the murder of Becket, his vow was commuted to the foundation of three religious houses in England,⁽²⁾ which he fulfilled by founding Witham, and reorganising the nuns of Amesbury and the canons of Waltham. However Carthusian authors claim that the Charterhouse of Le Liget in the Loire (which was English governed) was also a product of this expiatory zeal.⁽³⁾ The foundation date of Le Liget is uncertain. Some authorities claim that it was founded as early as 1153, when Henry was still only Duke of Normandy, but Le Couteulx, who devotes several pages to assessing the evidence, concluded that 1153 is too early, since all the surviving foundation documents describe Henry as king, and that 1178 is a much more probable date. All authorities agree, however, that the impetus for Henry's foundation of Witham lay in this vow.

The foundation of Witham is, by twelfth-century standards, well-documented. The student of Witham is exceptionally fortunate in being able to rely upon the delightful Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis by Adam of Eynsham;⁽⁴⁾ a work whose merits have led to its author being compared

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1. Magna Vita, i, 46.
 2. Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, Monarchi Cestrensis, ed. J.R. Lumby (R.S. 41, 1865-6), viii, 58; Chronicon Henry Knighton, ed. J.R. Lumby (R.S. 92, 1889-95), i, 149; Giraldus Cambrensis, Concerning the Instruction of Princes, ed. J. Stevenson, in The Church Historians of England (London, 1858), v, part i, 147.
 3. Le Couteulx, ii, 449-453; A.P.F. Lefebvre, Saint Bruno et l'Ordre des Chartreux (Paris, 1883), ii, 238-9; G. Bohic, Chronica Ordinis Cartusiensis (Tournai, 1911), ii, 2. Bohic cites an unnamed manuscript in the Charterhouse of Paris in support of this view.
 4. The most recent and best edition of the Magna Vita is that by D.L. Douie and H. Farmer (London, 1961-2), 2 vols., which includes a very useful introduction. It is this edition to which reference has been made throughout this thesis. An earlier edition by J.F. Dimock (R.S. 37, 1864) also includes a helpful introduction. For an assessment of the place of the Magna Vita in the English historical tradition, see A. Gransden, Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307 (London, 1974), pp. 310-7.

to Boswell, ⁽¹⁾ and its hero extolled by Ruskin as 'the most beautiful sacerdotal figure known to me in history'. ⁽²⁾ Adam, a Benedictine and later prior of Eynsham, was St. Hugh's chaplain for the last three years of the bishop's life. The constant companionship appears to have sufficiently imbued Adam with Hugh's sense of priorities that when he came to write his biography he did not produce a conventional hagiography, but rather stressed the saint's humanity, humility and honesty. Modern historians have bemoaned the resulting lack of attention to Hugh's official duties as bishop; ⁽³⁾ but Carthusian scholars can only be thankful that Adam included so much information about Witham. The anecdotal style renders the Magna Vita highly entertaining reading, and if it is not always consistent in minor matters of detail and date, its overall integrity, and its willingness to admit that St. Hugh did have human failings ⁽⁴⁾ are such as to convince the reader that the portrait of Witham and its prior-bishop is essentially true to life.

The Magna Vita, therefore, is the source which supplies most of the more interesting and personal material about the foundation. We learn that a party was sent from La Grande Chartreuse of one monk, Narbert, two conversi, Gerald of Nevers and Einard, and presumably others. ⁽⁵⁾ Einard had a reputation for great holiness, and had travelled widely to found new Charterhouses, confronting and confounding heathen and heretic in the process. His only fault, according to the Magna Vita, was that in his eyes the perils of dwelling among such heathens and heretics were infinitely preferable to those of residing with the 'savages' of Denmark and England. ⁽⁶⁾ It was an attitude that was apparently shared by his first two priors at Witham, for Narbert 'remained only for a very short time in England,' for being accustomed to a life of peace and retirement he was too sensitive to bear the responsibility which the business of

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1. R.M. Woolley, St. Hugh of Lincoln (London, 1927), pp. viii-ix.
 2. J. Ruskin, Praeterita (London, 1949), p. 448.
 3. Magna Vita, i, xi.
 4. Such as his irritability (Magna Vita, i, 124; ii, 187).
 5. See also Le Couteulx, ii, 449-452.
 6. Magna Vita ii, 65-9.

the new foundation demanded. He and almost all his companions were dismayed by the unfamiliar food and habits of a foreign people and all the other things contrary to their own customs which vex and annoy strangers in a foreign land....He therefore departed, but his successor was equally discouraged and soon ended his trials by a holy death and entry into life eternal.' (1) This second prior was probably Hamon, (2) and his death left Henry disturbed about the success of the whole venture, until fortunately the Count of Maurienne drew his attention to the virtues of the then procurator of the Grande Chartreuse, Hugh of Avalon. The Count was to be proved correct in his prophecy that Hugh would cause Witham to flourish and that 'the fame of his piety and integrity would bring lustre to the English Church'. (3)

Exactly when the first party of Carthusians reached England is a matter for conjecture, as is also the date of Hugh's accession as prior. Dimock, the original editor of the Magna Vita, believed that Narbert arrived circa 1170, and Hugh about 1176. His evidence for this is that, firstly, Henry was much in contact with the Count of Maurienne in about 1173, since he was attempting to marry his son John to the latter's daughter; and, secondly, that Guigo II, the prior of the Grande Chartreuse who was so distraught at losing his procurator, (4) resigned in 1176. (5) The first of these statements is suggestive, but does not preclude a later contact between king and count. The second is now regarded as incorrect, since Guigo is believed to have resigned in 1180. (6)

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1. Magna Vita, i, 47.
 2. Two Cartularies of the Augustinian Priory of Bruton and the Cluniac Priory of Montacute in the County of Somerset, ed.H.C.Maxwell Lyte and others (S.R.S.viii, 1894), p. 32; Thompson, p.53.
 3. Magna Vita, i, 48.
 4. Magna Vita, i, 57-8.
 5. Magna Vita, ed. J.F.Dimock (R.S.37, 1864), pp.xxi-xxii.
 6. C.M.Boutrais, The History of the Great Chartreuse, p.285.

No reference to the Carthusians in England occurs until the Pipe Roll of Michaelmas 1179-1180, i.e. until after 29 September 1179. Then Robert of Beauchamp, sheriff of Dorset and Somerset, gave them £10 by the writ of the king. ⁽¹⁾ They received also £40 'ad operationem', significantly, from the sheriff of Cornwall ⁽²⁾ and £13 6s.8d. to buy clothes from the sheriff of Hampshire. ⁽³⁾ The evidence therefore presents us only with a terminus ad quem: it is certain that the Carthusians were in England by 1179-80, and that Hugh had left La Grande Chartreuse by 1180. There is no reference made to them before Michaelmas 1179, and indeed one of the payments which they then received, the £10 'fratribus de ordine de Chartusae residentibus in villa de Witham quam Willelmus filius Johannis habuit' ⁽⁴⁾ was in the previous years made to FitzJohn himself 'quamdiu regi placuit'. ⁽⁵⁾ It seems fairly clear that FitzJohn, a man about whom no other sources give us any information, died in about 1178-9, for his name was much in evidence before that date in the Pipe Rolls, but not at all afterwards. This leads one to the conclusion that the first Carthusians did not settle in Witham long before 1179. This only allows a very short timespan for one prior to go to England, stay there long enough to give its discomforts a fair trial and return; for a second prior to be elected, travel to England and die; and for a third prior to be summoned by Henry, prevaricate for some time about the appointment ⁽⁶⁾ and finally arrive in the country. However Le Couteulx gives a date of 1178 for Warbert's departure from La Grande Chartreuse, and 1180 for Hugh's, and, other than the short period involved, there is no serious reason to quarrel with him. ⁽⁷⁾

1. P.R.S., xxix, 106.

2. P.R.S., xxix, 96.

3. P.R.S., xxix, 131.

4. P.R.S., xxix, 106.

5. e.g. P.R.S., xxv, 154; xxvi, 17; xxvii, 38; xxviii, 67.

6. As Hugh undoubtedly did: see Magna Vita, i, 53-60.

7. Le Couteulx, ii, 472.

Further evidence is supplied by two entries in the roll of the Norman Exchequer for 1179-80, which detail expenses for the passage and maintenance of a party of Carthusians; 'In passagio fratrum de Cartosa et Reinaldi clerici regis qui eos duxit in Angliam.xx. solidi per breve regis', and 'Reinaldo clerico regis ad conredium fratrum de Cartosa .c. solidi per breve regis'.⁽¹⁾ Thurstan believed that this referred to the original group, Narbert and his companions.⁽²⁾ E.M.Thompson supposed that the reference was to the second party led by Hamon,⁽³⁾ and Robinson that it was to Hugh himself.⁽⁴⁾ It is too late to be the first, but the other two are both plausible options. Unfortunately more relevant rolls of the Norman Exchequer which could have supplied a solution do not survive.

The pipe roll of 1180-81 shows that Witham received £20 for construction work from Nottinghamshire and Berkshire,⁽⁵⁾ and 54s. from Wiltshire,⁽⁶⁾ also the same payment of £10 from Dorset and Somerset as in 1179-80,⁽⁷⁾ which brings the total to £32 14s., as compared with £63 6s.8d. received in the previous year. However in 1181-2 the house was granted £80 for food and £60 for clothing from the revenues of the vacant abbey of Glastonbury,⁽⁸⁾ £10 from Hampshire for cloth,⁽⁹⁾ £20,⁽¹⁰⁾ and then 100s. for building from Dorset and Somerset,⁽¹¹⁾ and from the same source 27s. for nine ells of blanket,⁽¹²⁾ and £10 for seed,⁽¹³⁾ which amounted in all to £187 7s.⁽¹⁴⁾ It is hardly necessary

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1. Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normannie sub Regibus Anglie, ed. T.Stapleton (London,1840), i, 36-7, 56.
 2. H.Thurstan, Life of St.Hugh of Lincoln (London,1898), p.599.
 3. Thompson, p.55.
 4. J.A.Robinson, 'The Foundation Charter of Witham Charterhouse', Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, lxiv (1918), p.10.
 5. P.R.S. xxx, 11.
 6. P.R.S. xxx, 96.
 7. P.R.S. xxx, 4.
 8. P.R.S. xxxi, 115.
 11. P.R.S. xxi, 109.
 9. P.R.S. xxxi, 139.
 12. P.R.S. xxxi, 50.
 10. P.R.S. xxxi, 108.
 13. P.R.S. xxxi, 109.
 14. Douie and Farmer have underestimated this figure by £60 (Magna Vita, Introduction, p.xxv). However the revised figure serves to illustrate better the conclusions they drew.

to point out the difference between this and the previous year's income of £32 14s., and it is possible that it was the result of Hugh's visit with Einard and the caustic Gerald to Henry II. ⁽¹⁾ Adam relates that some of the brethren had already been sent twice to the king to request money for the purpose of paying the masons, who, deprived of their wages, had become very churlish. Although the king had each time promised to provide all that was necessary, the money was not forthcoming until Hugh himself saw him, when he 'immediately sent the money and ordered that the buildings should be finished as speedily as possible'. ⁽²⁾

1182-3 seems to have been another lean year for the Charterhouse. Only £46 13s.4d. was forthcoming, made up of the usual £10 ⁽³⁾ plus an extra £30 towards food and building from Devon ⁽⁴⁾ and 10 marks for cloth from Hampshire ⁽⁵⁾ where in the previous year £10 had been paid. But the situation improved in 1183-4, when the amount received totalled £110; the same £10 from Dorset and Somerset, ⁽⁶⁾ and in addition £50 from Berkshire ⁽⁷⁾ and £50 from Devon for building work. ⁽⁸⁾ 1184-5 was financially disastrous, for only £10 was given from Dorset and Somerset, and 40s. remitted from payment due on the pasture of Cedresford. ⁽⁹⁾ 1185-6, the year in which Hugh was consecrated to his bishopric, was rather better, with a total of £60. Wiltshire granted £20 towards clothing, hay

1. Magna Vita, i, 64-68.

2. Magna Vita, i, 68.

3. P.R.S. xxxii, 27.

4. P.R.S. xxxii, 112.

5. P.R.S. xxxii, 141.

6. P.R.S. xxxiii, 122.

7. P.R.S. xxxiii, 53.

8. P.R.S. xxxiii, 74.

9. P.R.S. xxxiv, 173. This refers to the grange at Charterhouse on Mendip, about which more will be said shortly.

and corn, ⁽¹⁾ Devon and Somerset the usual £10, ⁽²⁾ and £30 came from the revenues of the vacant abbey of Abingdon for construction work. ⁽³⁾ In 1186-7 the house received £10 again from Dorset and Somerset, ⁽⁴⁾ 62s.6d. worth of corn and 40s. for the pasture at Cedresfield both from Devon and Cornwall, ⁽⁵⁾ and, from the revenues of Salisbury, 10 marks for food and 100 marks for building, ⁽⁶⁾ totalling in all £86 11s.2d. Finally in 1187-8 the large total of £159 11s.7d. was granted, made up of £10 from Dorset and Somerset, ⁽⁷⁾ and from the bishopric of Salisbury, 100 marks and then three separate payments of £20 for the building work, 114s. for thirty-six measures of corn and £26 14.3d. for various expenses such as buying corn and improving the land. ⁽⁸⁾ Nothing further is noted in the Pipe Rolls during the reign of Richard and John, and so presumably the building work had been completed and more regular and secure procedures established for the purchase of food, cloth, seed etc. It is to be hoped that this is the case, for the detailing of grants received by Witham demonstrates how erratic and unpredictable the payments were. It is, of course, possible that grants other than those recorded in the Pipe Rolls were made, but that the level of the king's support was low is confirmed by the criticisms of Giraldus and Einard. ⁽⁹⁾ The total given only amounted altogether to £428 6s.8d. as compared with £1400 to rebuild Waltham Abbey, and £880 for construction at Amesbury, both between 1177 and 1183. ⁽¹⁰⁾

1. P.R.S..xxxvi, 165-6.

2. P.R.S. xxxvi, 135.

3. P.R.S. xxxvi, 117.

4. P.R.S. xxxvii, 157.

5. P.R.S. xxxvii, 157-8.

6. P.R.S. xxxvii, 187.

7. P.R.S. xxxviii, 156.

8. P.R.S. xxxviii, 185.

9. Magna Vita, i, 65; Giraldus Cambrensis, Concerning the Instruction of Princes, ed.J.Stevenson in The Church Historians of England (London; 1858), v, part i, 147.

10. A.L.Poole, From Domesday Book to Magna Carta: 1087-1216 (Oxford, 1955), p.229.

The foundation charter of Witham is itself unremarkable, ⁽¹⁾ except in the degree of punctiliousness it displays in defining the extent of the Carthusians' rights, in ensuring that they were not subject to vexatious exactions and in detailing minutely the boundaries of their land. The boundaries so exactly specified comprise not only the lands adjoining the priory itself, but also the Witham property in the forest of Mendip. The latter, situated some sixteen miles to the north-west of Witham, is still named Charterhouse on Mendip, or Charterhouse-Hydon, and this fact has aroused some speculation that it was originally a cell of Witham. ⁽²⁾ However since cells were a characteristic feature of Black monk organisation and one which had aroused a certain amount of animosity, they had been rejected by the reformed orders; and it is now believed that Charterhouse on Mendip was a grange. The mistake of supposing that monks were actually resident there presumably arose from references in the forest perambulation of 1219, which described the 'magnum petram que stat in divisione inter monachos de Chartuse et manerium de Stok Whitang.' and the 1279 perambulation which had 'lapidem que vocatur Giffarddeston, que stat in divisa inter fratres de Chartuse et manerium de Stotwyteng'. ⁽³⁾ It is more likely however that the grange was staffed by lay-brothers, as Cistercian granges were. The evidence of the Pipe Rolls, cited above, of the foundation charter ⁽⁴⁾ and of the Valor Ecclesiasticus, ⁽⁵⁾ all of which claim that the Carthusians possessed no more than pastures at Cedresford, would seem to be conclusive. Moreover Dugdale himself, who gave rise to the original error, later quotes a roll of the Augmentation office which specifically states that the 'firma grangiae' from Hydon was £40. ⁽⁶⁾ Incidentally this amount compares with £69 9s.10d. at the Dissolution, the assessed

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1. M.A., vi, part i, 1-2; J.A.Robinson, 'The Foundation Charter of Witham Charterhouse', pp.3-5.
 2. M.A. vi, part i, 1; E.M.Thompson, The Somerset Carthusians (London, 1895), p.82.
 3. quoted in J.W.Gough, Mendip Mining Laws and Forest Bounds (S.R.S.xlv, 1931) pp.186-7.
 4. J.A.Robinson, 'The Foundation Charter of Witham Charterhouse', p.4.
 5. V.E. i,158.
 6. M.A. vi, part i, 1.

value of the Charterhouse and its surroundings. The grange was therefore the house's second greatest source of income, although much of this must have been owing to the lead mining industry that later developed there. (1)

The date of the charter is surrounded by doubt, as is the date of most of the events relating to the foundation. Robinson assigns it to 6 January 1182 (2) and E.M.Thompson to September 1186, neither for any better reason than that the king happened to be in the vicinity at the time. E.M.Thompson's argument that 'the charter's language denotes completion' (3) is not in itself particularly convincing; and in any case the evidence of the pipe rolls suggests that the building operations were still continuing in 1183, which would, by her argument, imply that the date of the charter was even later. Adam of Eynsham implies that the buildings were completed while Hugh was yet prior, (4) but Hugh was made Bishop of Lincoln in May 1186, (5) and the Pipe Roll entries record building expenses after that date. The Carthusian historian James Long noted that the house was finally finished in 1189, (6) and there is no reason to doubt this. But the date of the foundation charter is not, in the final analysis, crucially important. The monastic chroniclers of Waverley and Worcester both noted that it was in 1181 that the 'fratres Cartusiae ingressi sunt habitacula sua primo in Anglia' (7) and it is from this date therefore that one may begin to evaluate the impact of the order's arrival in England.

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1. The French Carthusians at an early stage developed considerable skill in iron working, so much so that they have been described as 'les pères de la métallurgie moderne': see A.Bouchayer, Les Chartreux: Maîtres de Forges (Grenoble, 1927), p.6. Previously iron had only been obtainable from iron oxide, but in the course of the twelfth century the Carthusians developed a process by which iron could be extracted from other minerals. They were apparently the first to use coal, and by using a mechanical air blower they were able to achieve very high temperatures in their furnaces, resulting in the production of an iron alloy, which was then decarbonised by having air blown through it (Ibid, pp.7-8).
 2. J.A.Robinson, Op.cit. p.9
 3. Thompson, p.60.
 4. Magna Vita, i, 74.
 5. Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis, ed. W.Stubbs (R.S.49, 1867), i, 345-6.
 6. Parkminster Ms.003, p.10.
 7. Annales Monasterii de Waverleia (A.D.1-1291), in Annales Monastici, ed.H.V.Luard (R.S.36, 1865),ii,242; Annales Prioratus de Wigornia (A.D.1-1377), in Annales Monastici, iv,384. The latter is probably copied from the former.

iii The Twelfth-Century Reaction to the Carthusians

That impact was out of all proportion to the fact that there were at most, only twelve representatives of the entire order in England, especially when one considers the retired situation of the house, and the retiring disposition of its inhabitants. Witham attracted an inordinate amount of attention from contemporary chroniclers, most of it favourable, although some of it admittedly designed as a stick with which to beat the older orders. Even in the period of what may be called, to judge by the number of foundations, their greatest popularity, the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the Carthusians did not command such a degree of comment, and had to wait until the Reformation before they attracted a comparable degree of attention.

Although Adam of Eynsham's objectivity may naturally be called into question, it does not appear that he was guilty of gross exaggeration when he recorded that to 'a great multitude of holy men of different rank and order...Witham was a perfect example of monastic life, and they all brought back wise and sound religious teaching, and each of them spoke warmly of the piety and devotion they had witnessed. Very soon, a rumour of the fragrance of its holy reputation spread throughout all Britain and the hearts of many people were so touched with affection for such delights that men of great learning and considerable wealth abandoned the ambitions of the world, and sought with utter simplicity and fervour this life of humility and holiness, embracing it with the greatest eagerness.' (1) Adam's stress that Witham's appeal was to men 'of different rank and order' may perhaps be taken to imply not only that Witham was attractive to men of different classes, but also that it was receptive to them, and did not disparage the aspirations of those of lower social origins. (2) This is further reinforced by the argument that the early Carthusians clearly derived their social attitudes from the character of St. Hugh, whose reputation was that of the most egalitarian of bishops.

Adam's enthusiasm was shared by Giraldus Cambrensis, Walter Map and Nigel Wireker, in all of whose works praise of the Carthusians forms an oasis in a general desert of disrespect for current monasticism. Giraldus, indeed, was one who had experienced the charisma of St. Hugh, and

1. Magna Vita, i, 77.

2. It has already been noted (see above p.10) that the provision for lay-brothers was an important factor in the broad based appeal of the reformed orders.

whose two brief lives of the saint ⁽¹⁾ are generally regarded as insipid owing to the absence of the scurrilous anecdote which was his usual strategy in dealing with religious orders, and which has largely contributed to his modern reputation as one of the most interesting of medi-
eval chroniclers. Of Witham itself he says little in the lives, save that 'cui loco vel a candare Witham, vel a sapientia Wittham'. ⁽²⁾
It is possible that this was a contemporary bon mot, as Adam made the same point; however since Adam and Giraldus read each other's works, ⁽³⁾ it could equally be in the invention of one copied by the other.

In the Speculum Ecclesiae Giraldus revenged himself on all the religious who had, inadvertently or otherwise, aroused his animosity or hindered his progress at earlier stages of his career. Implacable and unforgiving, he indulged his wounded feelings in a tirade largely directed against the luxury of the Cluniacs and the cupidity of the Cistercians. There is certainly truth in some of his accusations, but to suppose the work to be indeed a mirror of the church would be but to see through a glass darkly. The Carthusians especially, but also the Grandmontines, shine through this murk like angels of light. Yet despite his professed admiration for the Carthusians and Grandmontines, an admiration possibly not uninfluenced by the fact that these were the two favoured orders of Henry II, he devoted less than two chapters to the former and only one to the latter. Their function in his work was obviously that of dramatic contrast.

However even the scattered references to the Carthusians throughout the Speculum Ecclesiae are consistently favourable. Giraldus related with some glee, for example, the story of how St. Hugh of Lincoln 'de carcere Carthusiensi feliciter assumptus' on his way to be enthroned as bishop, was refused permission by the Benedictines of St. Albans to say mass in their church because they were jealous of their exemption

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1. Vita S. Hugonis, pp. 83-147, and a sketch in De Episcopis Tergem-
inis, supplement to Vita S. Remigius, pp. 67-80 in vol. vii of
Giraldus Cambrensis Opera, ed. J.S. Brewer (R.S. 21, 1877).
 2. Giraldus Cambrensis, Vita S. Hugonis, p. 92.
 3. Adam certainly used the sketch in the Magna Vita, and quotes from it; Magna Vita, i, 104-6.

privileges; and how in retaliation he promptly excommunicated them.⁽¹⁾ Of the section that is devoted to the order, one chapter is given over to a vague appraisal of the foundation and customs, and half of the preceding chapter is devoted to a comparison of the Carthusians with the Cluniacs and Cistercians, from which the latter emerge severely castigated.⁽²⁾ The theme is how Carthusian moderation may serve as a rebuke to the 'cupidines insatiates' of the Cistercians, and the following quotation amply serves to demonstrate that hatred of the latter was Giraldus' primary motivation rather than admiration of the former.

'Quam satius quamque salubrius foret juxta facultates juste quaesitas, et non undecunque perque fas omne nefasque res congestas et concupitas, sumptus et impensas more Carthusiensium aptare moderantius et arctare, quam coetus et congregationes, agros et possessiones in infinitum extendere, et modum in rebus et opibus perquirendis ac congerendis non attendere; sed ut multis alendis et hospitio suscipiendis, per curas et sollicitudines multas, vexationes quoque per nundinas et nugas varias, per curias etiam et curiositates immoderatas et cupidines insatiatas, adeo modis omnibus sufficientiam elicere queant, ut sibi ipsis longe minus suaeque saluti propriae sufficere possint aut proficere'.⁽³⁾

Peter of Blois, the archdeacon of Bath, was another who compared the Carthusians favourably with the Cluniacs, and whose evaluation, since it had none of the vituperation that sprang from Giraldus' sense of deprivation behind it, may perhaps be more readily trusted. He wrote to Alexander of Lewes, a dissatisfied novice at Witham who wanted to transfer to the Cluniac house at Reading, and who, according to Adam of Eynsham, had denounced St. Hugh in the following manner; 'Wretch, you have deluded us, and have brought us to this wild and lonely place, taking us away from our pleasant dwellings and a civilized way of life... Here alone and without companionship, we become torpid and dull through boredom, seeing no one for days at a time whose example can inspire us, and having only the walls which shut us in to look at'.⁽⁴⁾ Peter of Blois replied that the fault lay not with the Carthusians, but with

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1. Giraldus Cambrensis, Speculum Ecclesiae, ed. J.S. Brewer (R.S. 21, 1873), iv, 94.
 2. Ibid. iv, 246-254.
 3. Ibid. iv, 246-7.
 4. Magna Vita, i, 81.

Alexander himself,⁽¹⁾ and he enumerated the benefits that the solitude of the desert afforded the soul; 'Ibi sane inveneras locum poenitentiae, secretum solitudinis, pacem animae, contemplationis arcanum gaudium in Spiritu sancto, munus salutis, et efficax beneficium medicinae. Verum manna coeleste fastidians, et suspirans ad ollas carnum, domum illam appetis, quae desiderio tuo satisfaciet, quae tibi delicatius et indulgentius ministrabit.'⁽²⁾ He reminded Alexander of all that he was abandoning in leaving Witham; 'Hierusalem pro Babylone, terram promissionis pro Aegypto, pro exsilio patriam, coelum pro inferno, quietam et pacem pro labore et miseria derelinquis.'⁽³⁾ The Cluniacs, whom Alexander proposed joining, can hardly have been delighted at the implications of this statement, and taking it in conjunction with various comments about their over-long and over-elaborate liturgical ritual, needed some pacification, which Peter with characteristic grace and diplomacy was able to supply.⁽⁴⁾ However Alexander came ultimately to agree with him and regret his desertion of Witham, for as Adam of Eynsham later relates; 'He also implored me with many tears, that I would use my influence to gain permission for him to return to what he called the true Paradise which he had rashly forsaken.'⁽⁵⁾

Among the general approbation of Carthusian virtues, a discordant note was struck by Richard of Devizes. The dedicatory letter prefacing his Chronicon de Tempore Regis Richardi Primi⁽⁶⁾ was addressed to Robert, his ex-prior at Winchester who had become a Carthusian, and reads in tone like Mark Anthony's peroration over the body of Caesar. He explained that he went to visit Robert to examine his mode of living and to discover 'by how much a Carthusian cell is loftier and nearer Heaven than is the cloister at Winchester'. Exercising to the full his

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1. Peter of Blois, Epistola lxxxvi: Ad Magistrum Alexandrum Monachum (P.L.207), col.267.
 2. Ibid. col.264.
 3. Ibid. col.268.
 4. Peter of Blois, Epistola xcvi: Ad Abbatem de Evesham (P.L.207), cols.304-6.
 5. Magna Vita, i, 82.
 6. Chronicon Richardi Divisensis de Tempore Regis Richardi Primi, ed.J.T.Appleby (London,1963), pp.1-2.

ability to render ambiguous the normally precise Latin tongue, he related that at Witham 'I saw something that I would not see anywhere else, something that I could not believe, something that I could not wonder at as much as was fitting', and he proceeded to imply a number of defects, the worst of which were hypocrisy and meanness; 'you are abounding in all temporal goods, since you have nothing and yet possess everything; you are more merciful and kinder than all other men, since you have perfect charity towards each other: and yet you cut your charity to strangers in half, by giving them a blessing without a meal.' His parting shot was the reflection that it was strange how cloistered monks should appear to know so much about events in the outside world 'and sometimes you know about it in advance, even before it is done. And do not think that I am saying this to reflect upon your rule of silence, which is more than Pythagorean. I dare say that men of such gravity and of such an arduous way of life are able to prophesy concerning the madness of the world, better than merely gossiping.' It is a strange piece of writing, and the exact tone is difficult to judge, whether gentle mockery or outright condemnation. However, when it is coupled with references to the order elsewhere, Richard's attitude becomes clearer. Within the treatise itself he referred to Robert's transference to Witham as being 'dolere - an dicam deuotione', and to that of Walter, ex-prior of Bath, as being 'feruore uel furore'.⁽¹⁾ If, as seems likely, Richard was also the author of part of the Winchester chronicle,⁽²⁾ his remarks about the order there were none too complimentary either. He related how Walter, the quondam prior of Bath, was visited at Witham by a monk of Hyde, who 'saw him intent upon pots and cabbages, who a little while before had been intent upon saving souls'. However Walter decided that 'it was holier to save many souls rather than just his own', and returned to Bath, which action the chronicler obviously viewed as similar to that of the prodigal son.⁽³⁾

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1. Chronicon Richardi Divisensis, pp.26-7.
 2. Annales de Wintonia, in Annales Monastici, ii, ed.H.R.Luard (R.S.36, 1865). For a discussion of the probable authorship of Richard, see introduction, pp.xi-xii.
 3. Annales de Wintonia, p. 68.

Richard's attitude is interesting. He did not employ the kind of abuse that characterised Giraldus' treatment of the Cluniacs and Cistercians. The latter was concerned mainly to relate instances of individual depravity, but retained beneath it a respect for the aims of monasticism in general, and of the Cistercians in particular. Richard had nothing to allege about personal Carthusian misconduct, rather he was puzzled by the whole way of life of the order. He was of course a Benedictine, and inter-order rivalry could easily account for much of the innuendo directed against an order which was currently receiving rather more favourable attention than his own: since it is interesting to note that those who praise the order most - Giraldus and Peter of Blois - were not members of an order. (Adam of Eynsham was of course the exception to this rule). But Richard's attitude can perhaps best be described not as 'cold and bitter hostility', ⁽¹⁾ nor yet as 'sarcastic, but not wholly unsympathetic' ⁽²⁾ but rather as bewildered scepticism.

It is an instructive reaction if it is to be understood why the order did not spread further after its initial impact, despite the sometimes ecstatic praise it received. The auspices for a rapid increase in the number of new houses were favourable for various reasons: firstly, more religious houses were founded in England during the twelfth century than during any other period; secondly, Witham was a royal foundation; thirdly, the popularity of St. Hugh must naturally have drawn attention to the order of which he was so distinguished a representative; and, fourthly, as the contemporary chroniclers have shown, in most quarters Witham was the subject of great admiration. But however much admiration it inspired, that is not the same as popularity. It must be remembered that the whole conception of a semi-eremical order was still regarded as alien to established monastic traditions. If this was true in France, a country which had been the scene of many attempts to set up communities of this type, it was even more true in England where there had been few, if any, such experiments. So Witham was admired, but it was admired from afar: it was also regarded as cold, austere and remote. It may be that the bewilderment of Richard of Devizes and Alexander of Lewes at an order

1. M.D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England (Cambridge, 1940), p.387.

2. Thompson, p.77.

whose whole *raison d'être* was so different from anything to which they were accustomed, was shared by many who nevertheless admired while they wondered. Perhaps they also felt a certain cynicism, for the Cistercians too had come to England in a blaze of reformed intensity and austere ardour earlier that century, but had undergone considerable development since, and were beginning to be regarded as rapacious and as betraying their original high ideals. Might not the Carthusians with their even higher ideals, prove to be an even greater disappointment? To anticipate the subject of succeeding chapters a little, it will be seen that these are two good reasons why the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries did not form a propitious time for the expansion of the order while the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries did. For by that time the climate of public opinion seems to have developed to a point where it was rather more receptive to the aspirations of the Carthusians, and the order had proved that it could adhere rigidly to its principles.

There were however other more practical reasons. It has often been pointed out that 'the foundation of a Cistercian, Premonstratensian or Gilbertine house, because of the frugality of these orders and of their liking for remote and wild situations, was infinitely easier and cheaper than that of any medium-sized or large Benedictine house.' (1) Despite the asceticism of the individual monks, a Carthusian house could by no means be classed among the ranks of the 'cheaper and easier' foundations. Giraldus was misled by his conception of Carthusian poverty and his hostility towards Henry II into asserting that the latter 'may be said to have founded at his own moderate expense, the conventual house of the Carthusians at Witham, and that, indeed, a small one; thus endeavouring, by human sophistry and craftiness, to circumvent the sincere and merciful patience of God.' (2) While it is true that the actual buildings were of the plainest and simplest, because of the Carthusian renunciation of unnecessary ornamentation, the structure itself was very complex. Each monk had to have a small house leading from a great cloister, in addition to the necessary communal

1. D.M.Owen, Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire (Lincoln, 1971), pp.48-9.

2. Giraldus Cambrensis, Concerning the Instruction of Princes, ed.J.Stevenson in The Church Historians of England (London,1858), v, part i, 147.

facilities, and at that stage two separate churches for monks and lay-brothers were required, a stipulation that was later abandoned.

A prospective founder of a religious house might, it seems, have asked himself what practical benefits he would receive from his choice. Benedictines, Cluniacs, and the various canons were free in certain circumstances to roam outside their monastic walls; to hold public office, or to serve external chapels. Cistercian monks, who were strictly enclosed, could not fulfil such needs, but apart from the already mentioned fact that a Cistercian founder need not have been unduly wealthy, he also reaped some advantage from the Cistercian method of land settlement; he had the assurance that the property would be efficiently reclaimed and husbanded. However a Carthusian house was of little material use; it did not teach; its members were not necessarily well-educated; it was adverse to providing hospitality on a large scale; it placed no emphasis on providing for the infirm and indigent; and it cultivated no more land than sufficed to produce the necessary support. Other orders fulfilled some or all of these functions, and since they also answered the primary requirement that their foundation was an act of piety bearing assurances of salvation, they were, on the whole, more attractive propositions.

Finally the Carthusians themselves were adverse to any kind of outward expansion. Hugh, for example, was careful that his own celebrity should not be made the occasion for encroachments upon the privacy of the order; 'Very many persons seeing and knowing these things, attempted to become guests at the supper of these holy women. The prior being prudent and discreet in all things did not readily open to those who knocked'. (1) 'The peace of his flock was in every way as important to him as his own salvation' (2) After the initial burst of interest in the order had subsided, Witham retired into the obscurity and isolation St. Bruno had intended. Never again, even at the Reformation, was it celebrated nationally. Its subsequent history is charted by

1. Magna Vita, i, 79. The reference to women is figurative: Adam had just been likening the Carthusian to a widow whose husband is away on a long journey.

2. Magna Vita, i, 84.

E.M.Thompson,⁽¹⁾ but little enough is known. The difficulties it later encountered - intermittent wranglings with its neighbours, and insufficient lay-brothers and employees to husband its property - provide the only occasions when it warranted mention in legal records, but presumably such events were merely interruptions of a calm and contemplative routine. Of its more usual tenor of life - of the priors who led the house, the men who made up the community, the people who donated money and goods to it - some kind of portrait will emerge in succeeding chapters.

iv. Hinton Charterhouse

Hinton Charterhouse⁽²⁾ was founded in 1222 by William Longespée, natural son of Henry II and Earl of Salisbury from 1196 to 1226, together with his wife Ela d'Evreux. It was through his marriage to Ela, a ward of his brother Richard I and Countess of Salisbury, that he obtained his earldom. Longespée was an active soldier and commander⁽³⁾ whose most famous exploit was defeating the French fleet at Damme, thus deterring the French king from invading England,⁽⁴⁾ but whose record is marred by the part he played in the ravaging of Ely under King John.⁽⁵⁾ The two chroniclers from whose works the course of his life can largely be reconstructed, Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris, regarded him highly. Wendover called him; 'comitem tam ardue poenitentiam ad lucis filios pertinere'.⁽⁶⁾ Paris, in his embroidering of the Flos Historiarum, was moved to include an epitaph; 'Flos comitem Willelmus obit, stirps regia; longus Ensis vaginam coepit habere breven'.⁽⁷⁾

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1. Thompson, pp.133-47; E.M.Thompson, The Somerset Carthusians (London, 1895), passim.
 2. Accounts of the foundation of Hinton may be read in Thompson, pp.147-57; E.M.Thompson, The Somerset Carthusians (London, 1895), pp.203-27; J.Hogg, The Architecture of Hinton Charterhouse (A.C. xxv, 1975), pp.x-xvii.
 3. For summaries of Longespée's career see D.N.B. xii, 115-8; C.P. xi, 379-81; E.M.Thompson, The Somerset Carthusians, pp.204-17.
 4. Roger of Wendover, Flores Historiarum, ed.H.G.Hewlett (R.S.84,1886-9), ii, 78-80.
 5. Wendover, Flores Historiarum, ii, 171; M.Paris, Historia Anglorum, ed.F.Madden (R.S.44, 1866-9), ii, 173.
 6. Wendover, Flores Historiarum, ii, 298.
 7. M.Paris, Chronica Majora, ed.H.R.Luard (R.S.57, 1876), iii, 105.

Longespée had apparently not always been such a model of virtue. In his younger days 'de sumendo Christi corpore secundum morem universalis Ecclesiae non curavit'. However his wife Ela persuaded him to hear the preaching of Edmund Rich, later Archbishop of Canterbury, and, moved by the saint's words, Longespée became a reformed character.⁽¹⁾ Ela d'Evreux was a lady of exceptional piety, and St. Edmund was her mentor and advisor. Once when she was ill at Lacock he promised to send her a physician who would cure her. In fact he despatched a phial containing blood of St. Thomas the Martyr, and when she held it she was immediately restored to health. But he refused to accept her gift of jewels in return.⁽²⁾ Ela founded the abbey of Lacock in 1229/30, and the annals of Lacock relate that it was on the advice of Edmund Rich that she became a nun there in 1238.⁽³⁾ In 1240 she became abbess and remained so until her death in 1261.

That Edmund Rich was close to Ela and had much to do with the foundation of Lacock is evident from the Lacock annals. According to one Carthusian author however, Rich also became Longespée's advisor and was equally involved in the foundation of Hinton. The Italian chronicler Tromby claims that the saint told Longespée that it was not enough to abstain from evil: he had positively to perform good works. He suggested that Longespée found a priory, and recommended a Charterhouse for its practice of silence, solitude and contemplation. Longespée allegedly wrote to Martin, prior of La Grande Chartreuse,⁽⁴⁾ asking him to send worthy monks over to England, although Tromby thinks that the first monks actually came from Witham, or from Charterhouses other than the mother house.⁽⁵⁾

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1. Vita Beati Edmundi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi et Confessoris in Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum, ed. E. Martène and U. Durand (Paris, 1717), iii, col. 1791. This is known as the Pontigny Life on a dubious ascription to Bertand, prior of Pontigny. None of the surviving mss. are English: most are French, and of Cistercian origin. It is the only life of Rich which mentions Longespée's conversion. Curiously, comparison of the works of other chroniclers and hagiographers who used the same sources suggests that the omission was deliberate. See C. H. Lawrence, St. Edmund of Abingdon (Oxford, 1960), p. 55.
 2. Vita Beati Edmundi, cols. 1798-9.
 3. M.A. vi, part 1, 502.
 4. Martin was prior of La Grande Chartreuse from 1233-6. Clearly there is a chronological problem here.
 5. B. Tromby, Storia Critico-chronologica del Patriarca S. Brunone e del suo Ordine Cartusiano (Naples, 1773-9), v, 155-6. For an assessment of the usefulness of this source, see Appendix 1.

Of all this, there is nothing in the English chroniclers. What attracted their attention were two miracles associated with Longespée. In 1225 he was returning from Gascony when the ship was threatened for some days by storms. When the sailors had given up hope, they saw a light on the mast-head which assumed the form of a beautiful girl protecting a candle from the wind and rain. Salisbury, who had for a long time kept a candle burning before the altar of the Virgin, realised who the girl was, and the ship landed safely. ⁽¹⁾ Interestingly, just as Longespée was saved from shipwreck by a vision of the Virgin, so Henry II was saved from the same fate by invoking the name of St. Hugh of Lincoln. ⁽²⁾

Longespée died on 7 March 1226 and was buried in the as yet incomplete cathedral of Salisbury. Although there was a furious storm while his body was being carried to the cathedral, the candles in his procession supposedly remained miraculously alight. ⁽³⁾ Even Matthew Paris was moved to note that it was 'similem in hoc beato Hugoni, Lincolnensi episcopo, quo eodem honorabatur miraculo'. ⁽⁴⁾ It is curious that the two miraculous occurrences in Longespée's life should be so close to two miracles of St. Hugh, one indeed almost identical. One would like to be able to conclude from it that there was a popular association between Longespée and St. Hugh, but that is probably overstating the case. Hinton was in any case not the only religious establishment with which Longespée was involved. He was a generous benefactor to the hospital of St. Nicholas, Salisbury, and to Bradenstoke, an Augustine priory founded by Ela's great-grandfather, Walter of Evreux. ⁽⁵⁾ They both supported the building of the new Salisbury cathedral, Longespée laying the fourth foundation stone, and Ela the fifth. ⁽⁶⁾

The evidence describing the foundation of Hinton is very sparse, and is found mostly in the foundation charter and in various documents relating to Lacock. One of the latter describes how on 22 July 1222

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1. Paris, Historia Anglorum, ii, 274-5; Wendover, Flores Historiarum, ii, 287-8.
 2. Magna Vita, i, 73-4.
 3. Paris, op.cit., ii, 281; iii, 253; Wendover, op.cit., ii, 298.
 4. See Magna Vita, ii, 220.
 5. D.N.B. xii, 117.
 6. E.D.Foxcroft, 'Notes on Hinton Charterhouse', Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, xli (1895), p.92.

Longespée 'gave to God and the Carthusian order his monastery of Hethorp'.⁽¹⁾ He also donated his wood at Bradene with his privileges, and the land of Cheleworth, which he had by gift from Henry Basset.⁽²⁾ His will, made in Lent 1225, provided the community with very generous support; he gave it all the profits of the land of the heirs of Richard de Campville, until his own heir William should come of age, various jewelled church utensils and expensive vestments, and also 1,000 ewes, 300 rams, 48 oxen and 20 bulls.⁽³⁾ The monks however were unsatisfied, and complained to Ela that 'non potuerunt invenire in praedictis tenementis locum suo competentem'.⁽⁴⁾ Ela therefore transferred them to her manor of Henton, now normally called Hinton, a property less than ten miles from Witham. Presumably its proximity to Witham was a major factor in the choice of site. The foundation charter that remains to us, and is printed by Dugdale, was not therefore drawn up by Longespée but by Ela. In it she donated to the monks the two neighbouring manors of Hinton and Norton, with the advowsons of the churches, but without the military service due from the tenants, except from one Richard, the park-keeper, and his heirs who were to defend the Charterhouse. The house was dedicated to God, the Blessed Mary, St. John the Baptist and all saints, but subsequently referred to as Domus Loci Dei because it was built 'in loco qui vocatur Locus Dei'.⁽⁵⁾

The date of the charter is uncertain, but it was confirmed by Henry III on 25 May 1228,⁽⁶⁾ by which date it may be considered that the house was firmly established. Against this is the tradition, recorded in the Lacock annals, that Ela founded both Lacock and Hinton in one day, 17 May 1232, Lacock in the morning and Hinton in the afternoon.⁽⁷⁾ E.M.Thompson

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1. M.A. vi, part i, 500. Dugdale claims his source as 'ex chronico incerti auctoris quod est Oxoni in Biblioth. Lindensis Collegii'. Hethorp was the manor of Hatherop near Fairford in Gloucestershire.
 2. M.A. vi, part i, 5. Chelworth is near Bristol, and Bradene defies identification.
 3. M.A. vi, part i, 5.
 4. M.A. vi, part i, 5.
 5. E.M.Thompson, The Somerset Carthusians (London, 1895), p.216, considers that the founders gave the name Locus Dei to the site, but the wording of the charter makes it clear that it already bore this name before the Carthusians moved in.
 6. C.Ch.R. 1226-57, p.77.
 7. M.A. vi, part i, 501.

speculated that this second occasion was in fact the dedication, and not the founding of the Charterhouse.⁽¹⁾ On 8 June 1237 Henry III granted a charter to Hinton whereby the monks or their agents could buy or sell goods throughout the country without having to pay any dues⁽²⁾ and on 7 September 1240 he granted them all the immunities he had previously given to Witham from various forms of exaction.⁽³⁾

This is all that is known of the early history of Hinton from the official sources, but Tromby sheds a little more light on their affairs. He states that the early community at Hatherop was nurtured by St. Edmund and even claims that 'Sancto Edmondo probabilmente in questo tempo sosse stato Certosino nello Stato de' Coristi'.⁽⁴⁾ Quite what 'coristi' means in this context is open to question, but the usual interpretation is 'choirmonk' or 'priest presiding in cloir'. There is no other evidence that St. Edmund had any connection with the Charterhouse, let alone that he became a 'coristi' there. Nevertheless Tromby is insistent that until 1227 he was the monks' 'promotore', and that he greatly inspired them by his presence, his counsels and his example, so that the community developed with considerable fervour. However the death of the founder threw the monks into considerable disarray. They were certain that he had not intended Hatherop to be a permanent site, because of its unsuitability. They therefore made representations to Ela, who was initially uncertain what to do, but after continuous prayer to her dead husband, she decided that the community should move to Hinton. Subsequently she proved to be a generous benefactress, assiduous in extracting concessions from Henry III on behalf of the monks.⁽⁵⁾

Tromby's account, centering as it does upon the role of St. Edmund, is inevitably open to question because of the lack of confirmatory evidence.

1. Thompson, p.149.

2. C.Ch.R.1226-57, p.228.

3. C.Ch.R.1226-57, p.254; M.A. vi, part 1, 5.

4. B.Tromby, Storia Critico-chronologico del Patriarca S.Brunone e del suo Ordine Cartusiano (Naples, 1773-9), v, 156.

5. Ibid. v, 163.

There is however nothing to disprove it, and it receives some circumstantial support. That Ela, at least, relied upon the guidance of St. Edmund is confirmed by the Lacock annals and the Vita Beati Edmundi, and the latter source also reports that it was St. Edmund who effected Longespée's conversion. The Vita has yet another interesting legend to impart. It attributes to St. Edmund the miraculous cure of a sick Carthusian. This monk was sitting in his cell alone at night when a stranger appeared before him and asked what his illness was. The Carthusian complained that he was suffering from 'gravem et intolerabilem dolorem capitis', and the man stroked his head gently whereupon he recovered. The vision commented, 'Si nomen meum scire desideras, me Edmundum de Abbendonia esse scias'. (1) Tromby also notes the story but comments that it probably occurred before 1227 when the saint was still alive and staying at Hatherop. (2) The English chroniclers only report one instance of the saint having any dealings with the order. In 1238 he ordered that John of Chetham, prior of Christ Church, should be removed to the Carthusians for his involvement in the fabrication of a spurious charter of privilege. (3)

The merit of Tromby's history of Hinton is that it is the only one which provides any detail about the foundation, and it is worth consideration for that reason. The subsequent history of Hinton is surrounded by as much obscurity as that of Witham. What little is known centres, again as at Witham, upon litigation over land. (4) Hinton's greatest claim to fame is that it housed the two best-known visionaries of the English Carthusians; Stephen of Flanders, who, sometime in the fifteenth century, dreamed that he encountered Mary Magdalene; and the less discreet Nicholas Hopkyns, whose prediction that the Duke of Buckingham would succeed to the throne succeeded only in ensuring that unfortunate gentleman's execution in 1521. (5) Interestingly, it appears to have been

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1. Vita Beati Edmundi, col. 1798.
 2. B. Tromby, op.cit. v, 157.
 3. M. Paris, Vita Sancti Edmundi, in C.H. Lawrence, St. Edmund of Abingdon (Oxford, 1960), p. 255; Gervase of Canterbury, Gesta Regum Continuata, ed. W. Stubbs (R.S. 73, 1880), ii, 133-4.
 4. Best chronicled in J. Hogg, The Architecture of Hinton Charterhouse, (A.C. xxv, 1975), pp. xvii-xxix.
 5. See Appendix VI for lists of the sources in which the two visionaries' activities are described.

Hinton, rather than the older house, which contributed most to the foundation of the two succeeding priories, Beauvale and London, ⁽¹⁾ and it was the prior of Hinton, John Luscope, who became the first prior of the London Charterhouse.

v. Beauvale Charterhouse

For almost one hundred and twenty years the Somersetshire Carthusian enclave formed by Witham and Hinton remained in near complete isolation until in 1343 Nicholas de Cantelupe, third baron Cantelupe, founded a Charterhouse on his lands at Gresley, some five miles north-west of Nottingham. This ranks as one of the best documented of all English Carthusian foundations, since its beautifully written and immaculately preserved cartulary, compiled in 1486, gives more than adequate details of all the early endowments. ⁽²⁾

Nicholas de Cantelupe emerges from the records as a man of solid respectability, growing wealth and aspiring status. He was appointed keeper of Berwick-on-Tweed in 1335, and was at various times summoned for military service in Scotland and abroad. ⁽³⁾ In the Patent and Close rolls between 1331 and 1354 he figures prominently in his capacity as a Justice of the Peace in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Lincolnshire, and he is cited as a member of numerous commissions of oyer and terminer, of the peace and of surveying and collecting taxes. He came of a family that had some claim to be remembered in ecclesiastical circles. His great-uncle Walter de Cantelupe was bishop of Worcester, and also took the cross with William Longespée in 1320. ⁽⁴⁾ Another grandson of his great grandfather was the more celebrated Thomas, bishop of Hereford, who was canonised in 1320. ⁽⁵⁾ One of the more interesting features of the

1. See below, pp. 42, 51.

2. B.M. Add. Ms. 6060. The Cartulary has 122 folios, measuring 12½ by 8¾ inches. It is carefully laid out, with rubrics and an extensive table of contents. Each section is headed by a coloured initial, most of which have not been completed. The binding is of later date than the manuscript, and extra binding leaves have been inserted at the beginning, with the result that the folios have had to be renumbered. Here references are given to the more recent folio numbering.

3. D.N.B. iii, 899; C.P. iii, 113.

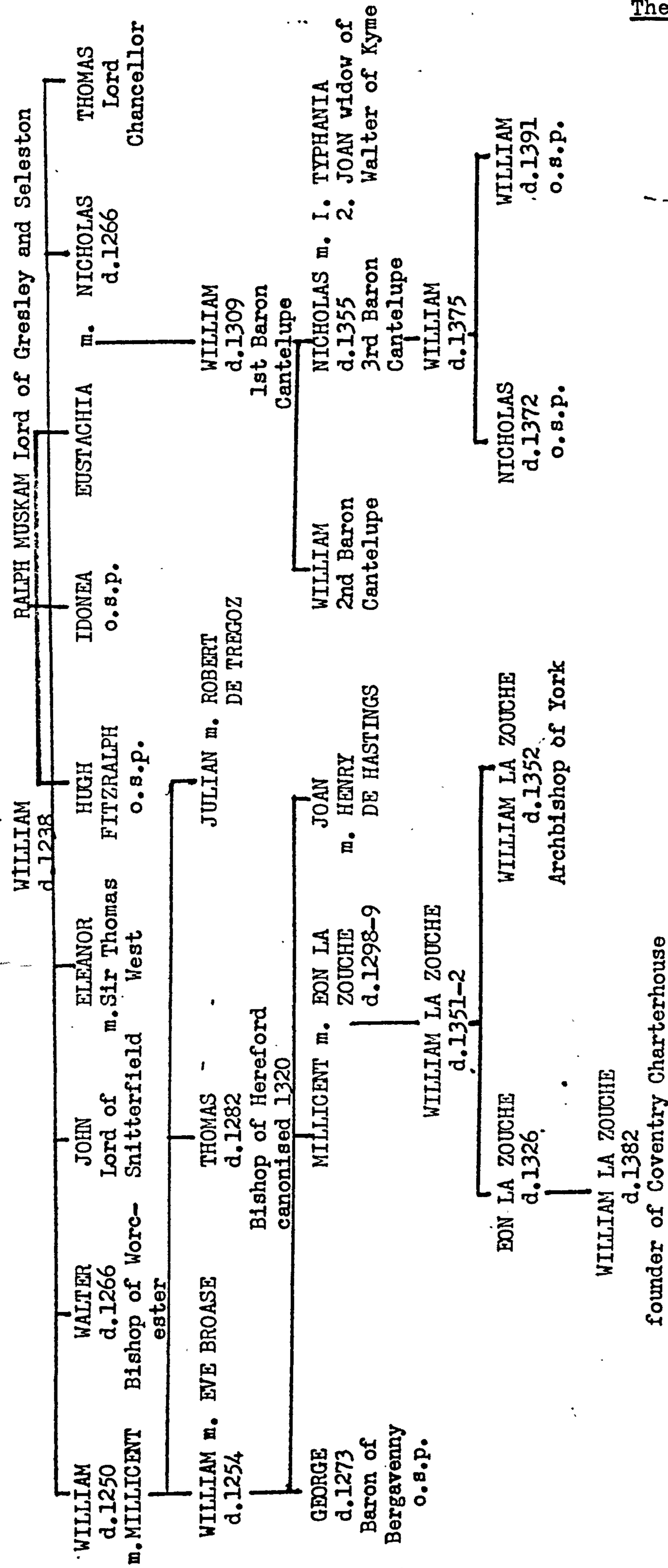
4. D.N.B. iii, 904-6.

5. D.N.B. iii, 900-4.

Beauvale cartulary is the inclusion of a family tree tracing Cantelupe's title of Lord of Gresley back through his grandmother Eustacia FitzRalph to Gilbert Gaunt, one of William the Conqueror's knights. ⁽¹⁾ The incorporation of a genealogy in a cartulary is extremely unusual, ⁽²⁾ and is presumably indicative of the later medieval monastic interest in genealogy and heraldry.

The connexion of the Cantelupes with the De La Zouche family ⁽³⁾ is also worth mentioning. Millicent de Cantelupe married Eon La Zouche whose great-grandson, William was, some forty years later, to found Coventry Charterhouse. The foundation charter also mentions William de la Zouche, archbishop of York from 1340 to 1352. The latter appears to have taken a lively interest in the progress of the house, more than was merited by his being incumbent of the diocese. Not only was he a witness to the second foundation charter ⁽⁴⁾ but he also gave the priory various lands and tenements in Brook; ⁽⁵⁾ and his armorial bearings are present in the floor tiles excavated from the ruins of the monastery. ⁽⁶⁾ T.F.Tout speculated that 'He seems to have belonged to the Haringworth branch of the family, and is generally said to be the younger son of Eon la Zouche, first baron.' ⁽⁷⁾ Since Nicholas de Cantelupe referred to him in the first foundation charter as 'domini et consanguinei mei karissimi', ⁽⁸⁾ the first proposition is established beyond any doubt, and the second rendered very probable.

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2. Indeed I can think of no other example, although I am open to correction on this point. Occasionally a monastery might draw up a genealogy for its founder, as at Kirkstall and Coverham, but in neither of these cases was it included in the cartulary.
 1. B.M.Add.Ms.6060, f.28r; printed in M.A. vi, part 1, 13.
 3. The family tree overleaf is intended to elucidate Nicholas de Cantelupe's relationships with the individuals discussed here.
 4. B.M.Add.Ms.6060, f.19r.
 5. Ibid. ff.45r-46v.
 6. A.Du Boulay Hill and H.Gill, 'Beauvale Charterhouse, Notts.', Transactions of the Thoroton Society, xii(1908), p.88.
 7. D.N.B. xxi,1335.
 8. B.M.Add.Ms.6060, f.17r; printed in M.A. vi, part 1, 13.



Compiled from a number of sources, primarily C.P. 111, 113; D.N.B. 111, 899; and B. Burke, The Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited and Extinct Peerages (London, 1883), p.101.

Beauvale Charterhouse was not Nicholas de Cantelupe's only religious establishment, since he also founded Cantelupe College in the cathedral close at Lincoln, probably in 1355. ⁽¹⁾ This was a house for the accommodation of a warden and seven chaplains who were in perpetual commemoration of the souls of Nicholas and his wife. The latter was presumably Joan, his second wife, who herself in 1359 founded a chantry of five priests in honour of St. Peter to pray for Nicholas' soul. This stood on the ground where previously the Friars of the Sack of Lincoln had dwelt, and probably incorporated their buildings, entirely or partially, since the Friary is known to have been in existence as recently as 1327. ⁽²⁾

It is not known what prompted Cantelupe to found a Carthusian house in preference to that of another order. A factor that might conceivably have weighed in the balance is his connexion with the vital and ever-expanding cult of St. Hugh of Lincoln. Cantelupe's lands were largely in Nottinghamshire, and one might perhaps have expected him to be buried in the archdiocese of York, but instead he was buried at Lincoln. There, in the cathedral, St. Hugh had caused the main choir to be constructed, and the later addition of the beautiful retrochoir, or 'angel choir', finished in 1280, was both designed to accommodate the floods of pilgrims who came to worship at his shrine, and largely financed from the proceeds of their devotion. ⁽³⁾ The cathedral of the fourteenth century was therefore in every sense a monument to the greatness of the Carthusian saint, and one which might conceivably have inspired in Cantelupe a fitting sense of devotion. Certainly not only did he and wife both found religious institutions within the cathedral close, but he was also buried in the angel choir. His highly decorated tomb survived there today, in front of the altar of St. Nicholas, the chaplains of which he had endowed, and indeed it was probably a condition of the endowment that he should be buried there. Possibly therefore Cantelupe nourished an especial reverence for St. Hugh, which led him to an equal respect for his order.

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1. M.A. vi, part iii, 1456; V.C.H. Lincolnshire, ii, 236; M.D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales (London, 1971), pp. 415, 429-30. Both the latter maintain that the college was founded in 1367, which must be inaccurate since Cantelupe was dead by November 1355 (C.P.R. 1354-8, p. 311). Dugdale, following Tanner, believed the date of foundation to be 1355.
 2. M.A. vi, part ii, 1607; V.C.H. Lincolnshire, ii, 224.
 3. G.H. Cook, A Portrait of Lincoln Cathedral (London, 1950), pp. 44-6.

It appears to have been Hinton Charterhouse which provided Cantelupe with the Carthusian support which he required for his foundation. On 28 October 1343, he entered into a surety arrangement with Thomas, prior of Hinton, to finance and build a church and houses for a prior, twelve monks and their household, and to endow them with rents and other benefits to the yearly value of £100. ⁽¹⁾ Failure to accomplish the task within three years meant that he had to pay Hinton £1,000, to be levied on his lands and chattels in Derbyshire, an agreement which he acknowledged before Chancery on 26 October. ⁽²⁾ In the event, the surety was unnecessary. Cantelupe appears to have made all the financial arrangements with a promptness and generosity which must have been envied by later English Carthusian priories struggling with dilatory, disgraced or deceased founders. The details of the endowments themselves can best be demonstrated by a short description of the cartulary.

Compiled in 1486 by Prior Nicholas Wartre with some later additions, ⁽³⁾ the cartulary is divided into sections dealing, for the most part, with the various lands held by the monastery. In tabular form, these are as follows:

	<u>Folio Nos.</u>
Royal Charters of Foundation	10r-15v.
Charters of Grysley, Selston and Wattenowe.	16r-28r.
Charters of Kynmarley.	29v-32v.
Charters of Kyrkeby Orblawers and Kereby.	36r-38r.
Charters of Sellestone, Wannesley and Brynnesley.	38v-40r.
Charters of Wannesley called Cressy Lee.	40v-41v. 60r-64r.
Charters of Watnowe-Chaunworthe.	42r-44r.
Charters of Brokebrystynge.	44v-46v.
Charters of Huknalle Torkarde.	47r-48v.
Charters of Neuthorpe.	50r-54v.
Charters of Etewelle.	56r-59v.
Charters of Willeye.	67v-76r.
Two Royal Charters.	77r.
Apostolic Privileges. ⁽⁴⁾	78r-91r. 104r-122v.
Documents concerning Appropriated Churches.	92r-103r. ⁽⁵⁾

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1. The indenture was enrolled on 20 November: C.Cl.R. 1342-5, p.241.
 2. C.Cl.R. 1342-5, p.245.
 3. B.M. Add. Ms. 6060, f.122v.
 4. These are largely the privileges granted to the whole order.
 5. Modern renderings of these names are, respectively, Gresley, Selston, Watnall, Kimberley, Kirkby Overblow, Wandesley, Brinsley, Cressy Fee, Watnall Chaworth, Brook, Hucknall Torkard, Newthorpe, Etwall and Willey (V.C.H. Nottinghamshire, ii, 105-6). Kereby is not identified.

The relevant documents to a study of the foundation are accordingly those in the first section, as well as the first two items of the second section (the two foundation charters proper). The first charter ⁽¹⁾ is the royal charter licensing Cantelupe to found a Charterhouse in his manor of Gresley and to endow it with an annual £10 worth of land and rents in Gresley and Selston, together with the park of Gresley and the advowsons of the churches of Gresley and Selston. It was dated 22 September 1342. The second charter ⁽²⁾ granted to the house the general liberties which were already enjoyed by its sister houses in Somerset, and was signed at Selston itself on 11 June 1344.

The third royal charter ⁽³⁾ conceded to Beauvale the specific liberties which had been granted to Witham and Hinton and which Edward III himself had confirmed in 1341. It lists the various taxes and customs from which the Charterhouse was to be exempt, such as maintenance of castles, parks, dykes etc, hidage, danegeld, ferry tolls, travelling tolls, bridge tolls and a host of others. The document was testified by an impressive group of witnesses, including the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, Henry of Lancaster, the counts of Northampton and Huntingdon, the chancellor, the treasurer and the seneshall of the king's hospital, and it was dated 20 March 1345. In the charter, the king stated that he chose to concede these liberties 'because of our special affection for the said order which has been demonstrated to abound in fervour of devotion and religious sincerity among the rest of the orders'. This seems to be an admission that the outstanding piety of the Carthusians was recognised by the king and some of the most important of his officers and nobility as early as 1345, and forms an interesting prelude to the argument of the next chapter that the growth of regard for the order in the later part of the century was to a large extent the result of its patronage at court.

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1. B.M.Add.Ms.6060, f.10r-v; C.P.R.1340-3, p.518.
 2. B.M.Add.Ms.6060, ff.10v-11r; C.Ch.R.1341-1417. p.32.
 3. B.M.Add.Ms.6060, f.11r-v; C.Ch.R. 1341-1417,p.37.

The fourth charter ⁽¹⁾ dated 1 March 1345 allowed Cantelupe to grant to the monks an annual £10 worth of land and rents in Gresley and Selston, the same as that referred to in the original royal licence. It specified how the amount was to be made up: thirty messuages, thirty acres held in bond, thirty acres land and 7s. 4d. in rent, all in Gresley and Selston. The fifth document, ⁽²⁾ dated 10 October 1347 similarly permitted Cantelupe at the request of his son, William, to present the monks with £20 worth of land and rent in Gresley, Selston, Watnall, Kimberley and Newthorpe. It included an unspecified number of messuages, a mill and forty acres land, plus the land and services of some twenty-five of Cantelupe's bondsmen and women. It is an extremely convoluted document since it details the land, rents and services of all the latter, and in some cases describes how the land was held, and by whom, after the death of the current tenant. In the copy of this charter, made ten days later, ⁽³⁾ the arrangements were somewhat simplified, and the number of bondsmen and women reduced to seventeen.

The appropriation of Farnham church and the acquisition of ten pounds worth of land and services are the subjects of the sixth charter dated 3 May 1354, ⁽⁴⁾ in which the king allowed that Nicholas could present Beauvale with £10 worth of land and rents which were not held of Edward III in chief, and that he might also donate the advowsons of Farnham which was held of Queen Philippa. The seventh charter, ⁽⁵⁾ dated eleven days later, formed a continuation, since in it Queen Philippa gave Nicholas permission to appropriate the church.

The eighth charter, ⁽⁶⁾ dated 24 November 1355, allowed the prior and convent to acquire £10 worth of land, which Cantelupe had been prevented by death from granting to them; and the ninth, ⁽⁷⁾ dated 5 September, awarded compensation to those injured by this donation. Five marks of the £10 was made up of the manor of Kimberley which was held by

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1. B.M.Add.Ms.6060, ff.11v-12r; C.P.R.1343-5, p.441.
 2. Ibid. ff. 12r-13v; C.P.R.1345-8, p.414.
 3. Ibid. ff.19v-21r: see also C.P.R.1245-8, pp.528,540.
 4. Ibid. ff.13v-14r; C.P.R.1354-8, p.34.
 5. Ibid. f.14r-v. The church is the subject of seven charters later on (ff.22r-23v). It was originally held by Sir William Malbis, who seems to have given it to Cantelupe for the express use of the priory.
 6. B.M.Add.Ms.6060, ff.14v-15r; C.P.R.1354-8, p.311.
 7. Ibid. f.15r-v.

Hugh de Cressy of Robert Barnak and William Breydeston. The charter ruled that the manor should go to the Charterhouse only after the death of Hugh de Cressy. The transaction was the subject of a whole section of charters, eleven in all,⁽¹⁾ the last one of which, made in 1360, showed Hugh renouncing all rights and interests in the manor in return for a pension for himself and his wife while they lived.

The last charter in this section, dated 13 November 1361, is a licence for the priory to acquire £20 worth of lands and rent.⁽²⁾ In the next section, that concerning Gresley, Selston and Watnall, is the foundation charter proper.⁽³⁾ It was dated 9 December 1343, and conceded the £10 worth of land and rents, the advowsons of the two churches and the park of Gresley which were promised in the original licence. The monks were required to pray for the king, William la Zouche, Henry of Lancaster, Cantelupe's wife, his son and his various deceased relatives. The second charter of the same date⁽⁴⁾ repeated much of the first, but specified the £10 worth of land as 300 acres, ten messuages and 18 bovates in Gresley, and 7s. 4d. rent, 13 messuages and 17 bovates in Selston. It also specified that the priory might have stone for its buildings and marl for its land, that it could take these commodities from anywhere on his property, and that it might have free access to all his land.

It would be possible to write a detailed history of the Beauvale estates, for the cartulary includes records of all subsequent spiritual and temporal transactions until the end of the fifteenth century, and indeed contains documents relating to the history of the properties before they entered Carthusian hands.⁽⁵⁾ There is not sufficient space here to discuss all these entries, but the two most important subsequent acquisitions should be noted. Firstly, in 1370 the priory was given the manor of Etwall in Derbyshire, worth £12 a year, by

1. Ibid. ff.29r-32v.

2. Ibid. f.15v; C.P.R.1361-4, p.127.

3. Ibid. f.17r-v: printed in M.A. vi, part 1, 13.

4. Ibid. ff.17v-19r.

5. See Thompson, pp.158-66; V.C.H. Nottinghamshire, ii, 105-9; R. Thoroton, History of Nottinghamshire, ed. J. Throsby (London, 1773-9), ii, 243-5.

Sir William de Fyncheden, Richard de Ravenser, archdeacon of Lincoln, and the clerks Nicholas de Chaddesden, Richard de Chestrefeld and Richard de Tissyngton. ⁽¹⁾ Secondly, Beauvale, like all the subsequent Carthusian foundations, became enmeshed in the tangled web of alien priory acquisition. In 1403 the house acquired the priory of Bonby in Lincolnshire, a cell of St. Fromond in Normandy, which had in 1390 tried to grant it, illegally, to the London Charterhouse. ⁽²⁾ The property included the advowsons of the churches of Stamford and Grafton, which the Carthusians were forced to grant away because of their poverty. ⁽³⁾

As far as the pattern of English Carthusian foundations is concerned, Beauvale is somewhat idiosyncratic. It is neither a product of the initial enthusiasm which led to the foundations of Witham and Hinton, nor can it really be considered a result of the upsurge of interest in the order in the later part of the fourteenth century. Chronologically of course it lies closer to the later houses, since it is separated from them by a period of only thirty years. However the particular thirty year period in question, 1343-71, saw such vast social, economic and religious changes in England, that to make generalisations between foundations at the beginning and end of it is to discount radical revisions in lay modes of thought. What these revisions were, and how they affected popular opinion of the Carthusians will be discussed in succeeding chapters.

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1. B.M. Add. Ms. 6060. ff. 56r-59v; C.P.R. 1367-70, p. 451.
 2. C.P.R. 1401-5, pp. 217, 270; 1413-6, p. 302.
 3. P.R.O. SC8/11416; C.P.R. 1413-6, p. 18.

Chapter Two

Later Carthusian Foundations in England, 1371-1414

In the comparatively brief period between 1371 and 1414 the six remaining English Charterhouses came into being; a figure which is all the more remarkable when one considers that between 1350 and the Reformation there were less than twenty new foundations of monks, friars and canons altogether. ⁽¹⁾ This chapter, like the previous one, examines the houses in chronological order of foundation. Each has its specific and unique points of interest, which are discussed in the sections on individual houses. Nonetheless, the ultimate aim of the chapter is to stress not so much the differences as the similarities between them. The concluding section therefore attempts to account for the upsurge of interest in the order which led to this spate of late medieval foundations, and to discuss the ways in which, despite the manifest differences between them, the foundations cohere into what might be termed a genuine movement. Certain themes recur throughout the later six foundations which were not in evidence at Witham, Hinton or Beauvale. Three of the later foundations were close to cities, by contrast with the order's earlier preference for isolated sites. At two of the foundations the cells were donated separately by different individuals. Almost all of the six priories were expected to support themselves from the revenue of alien priories, and in all six, the influence of the court on the foundation and endowments can be detected. It is these factors particularly which distinguish the later foundations from the earlier ones, and these themes which are explored in the conclusion.

i The London Charterhouse

The London Charterhouse is of course the best documented of the English Carthusian priories, owing to the survival of its register, ⁽²⁾ a work compiled by a monk of the house sometime between 1488 and 1500. ⁽³⁾

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1. M.D.Knowles and R.Neville Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses; England and Wales (London, 1971), p.42.
 2. P.R.O. L.R.2/61, from which all the material relevant to the foundation is edited in W.St.John Hope, The History of the London Charterhouse (London, 1925).
 3. Hope, p.147; see also G.S.Davies, Charterhouse in London (London, 1921), p.8.

In addition to being a reliable source of factual evidence, the register also sheds some light on the way of life inside the house. So thoroughly has the London Charterhouse been studied, and so excellent are the secondary accounts available, ⁽¹⁾ that it is unnecessary to consider its history in detail here. The following account will therefore concentrate on those aspects of the foundation most relevant to the order's general development in England.

The origins of the house, as related by its chronicler, are picturesque, and for that reason alone probably contributed to its contemporary attraction. In 1349 so many people died of the plague in London that the existing cemeteries were insufficient for their burial, and the survivors were compelled to bury them in unhallowed ground, and eventually just to cast them into the river. This distressed Sir Walter Manny (Manny or Mawny) who bought a piece of land called Spitalcroft which was consecrated for the burial of plague victims. The pestilence raged so violently that over sixty thousand victims were buried there, ⁽²⁾ and it is related that their souls were seen by Manny in procession with lighted candles after the consecration of the ground. ⁽³⁾ Manny wished to institute a college of priests to provide services, but was diverted from his purpose by the new bishop of London, Michael Northburgh, who begged him to found instead a Carthusian house, and assured him of his assistance in the project. Manny eventually complied and in 1361 they agreed that the bishop should contribute £1,000 to the project and should become 'suum socium primum post ipsum', the qualification obviously being important. ⁽⁴⁾ That the building erected upon the graveyard was a Charterhouse was due therefore less to Manny, despite the pains he took to assure posterity that this was the case, than to Bishop Northburgh, who deserves at least to be awarded posthumously the honour of co-founder. Indeed in the indenture between the two, provision was made for alternative arrangements should it not prove feasible to build a Carthusian house. Nevertheless Manny, once convinced of the merits of the order, evinced considerable pertinacity in the pursuit of his design.

1. Hope; Davies, op.cit.; Thompson, pp.167-181; L.Hendriks, The London Charterhouse (London,1889); R.O. ii, 130-133; M.D.Knowles and W.F. Grimes, Charterhouse (London,1954); A.Oswald, The London Charterhouse Restored, reprinted from Country Life (1959); D.D.Bearcroft, An Historical Account of Thomas Sutton and of his foundation in Charterhouse (London,1737); V.C.H.Middlesex, i, 159-169.

2. This estimate provides a good example of the chronicler's tendency to exaggerate. For a likelier figure see Davies, Charterhouse in London, p.11.

3. Hope, p.60.

4. Hope, p.31.

If the origins of the house have a certain romantic appeal, so also had the career of the founder, Sir Walter Manny. A native of Hainault, he was born in about 1310 and came to England in 1327 as a page in the service of Philippa of Hainault who married Edward III. He distinguished himself in Edward de Balliol's campaigns against the Scots, and was summoned to the parliament of 1370-1 by writs directed 'Waltero de Mauny', by which he is held to have become Lord Manny. ⁽¹⁾ It is as a representative of the knightly class that he has made his reputation, a class which, as will shortly appear, took a lively interest in the fortunes of this order. Since Manny was a fellow townsman and patron of the chronicler Froissart, the latter was lavish in his praises of the knight's courage and he is represented in his pages as the embodiment of all that is chivalric and gentlemanly. Examples of the type of episode which earned him this flamboyant reputation include the search for the tomb of his father who had been murdered returning from a pilgrimage to Compostella; ⁽²⁾ the taking of the 'Vow of the Heron' by which he allegedly swore that he would be among the first to enter France, take some castle or strong town, and perform some gallant deed of arms; ⁽³⁾ and his relieving of the besieged castle of Hennebon. ⁽⁴⁾ The accuracy of Froissart's portrait may be challenged - Murimuth, for example, accused him of great savagery ⁽⁵⁾ - but Froissart's conception of him as a rigid adherent of idealistic and righteous principles makes Manny an excellent representative of a type who might have found in the Carthusian order an idealism resembling their own. ⁽⁶⁾

Bishop Northburgh was an Oxford doctor of canon law, who entered the royal service and became confessor to Edward III. ⁽⁷⁾ This post necessitated his accompanying the king on his military expeditions to France, and

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1. C.P.viii, 571-6. D.N.B. xii, 961-5.
 2. J. Froissart, Chronicles, Trans. by T.Johnes (London, 1839), i, 138.
 3. Ibid. i, 49.
 4. Ibid. i, 108.
 5. A.Murimuth, Continuatio Chronicarum, ed. E.M.Thompson (R.S.93, 1889), pp.80-1.
 6. See below, p.391.
 7. Bearcroft, op.cit. p.187; Hendriks, p.19; and Davies, Charterhouse in London, p.II, all claim that Northburgh was originally a Dominican friar. There is no evidence for this assertion.

although consecrated as bishop of London in 1355, he was still commissioned to conduct the negotiations for peace with the French. ⁽¹⁾ On one of these occasions he was returning from the curia at Avignon when he stopped in Paris and visited the Charterhouse there several times. That there was a Charterhouse at all in Paris was the result of a change of policy within the order, for initially the houses had all been founded in secluded and desolate places. ⁽²⁾ Now however urban sites were deemed acceptable and as a result there were Chartreux not only in Paris, but also in other large towns, as the bishop was later to point out. Northburgh was impressed by the austerity of the order, and formed the resolution of establishing a house in London, not only for the edification of the city's inhabitants, but allegedly also that he might end his days as a monk there. ⁽³⁾ It was he who embarked upon the difficult task of persuading the priors of the existing English houses that establishing a monastery in London was in their best interests. The letter advancing his arguments is worth quoting in its entirety;

'Because your Order has long been situated in England, almost for two hundred years, and yet among any thousand men of the kingdom scarcely one knew that such an order existed in these parts: (nevertheless it is not to be wondered at, since all the houses which you have are in lonely situations). For which reason we think it would be pleasing and acceptable to the Divine Majesty that there should be a house near the city of London where the concourse of the whole kingdom is; truly supposing that a house so placed will the more advance in a few years the spiritual building up of many than all the houses of England have advanced from the time when they were first founded in these parts. But perhaps you will say that our scheme demands that we be in lonely places and live apart from the busy haunts of men. To which I say, that it is true that this was at first your scheme. But, come now, to confess the truth, wise and holy men, taught by the incitement of the Holy Ghost, considering the ancient solitude of your Order to advance little for the example of others, caused to be built in other kingdoms many houses beside great cities and towns, as we have seen near Paris, Avignon, Bruges, Saint-Omer, within the city of Cologne, and in many other places.' ⁽⁴⁾

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1. D.N.B. xi, 632-3.
 2. Bodleian Ms. Rawlinson D.318, f.129v.
 3. Hope, p.30. His achievement of this ambition was prevented by the plague, on 9 September 1361.
 4. Hope, p.11.

Clearly Northburgh believed that the reason for the previous neglect of the order in England was simply the fact that few people had even heard of it. If he was correct, then it is very likely that one reason why the London Charterhouse was succeeded by five other new foundations in rapid succession was because the siting of a house in the capital drew attention to the order. Northburgh also, rightly or wrongly, credited the order with a desire to set a good example to others, an emphasis which was entirely lacking from the earlier foundations, whose avowed purpose was to be removed from any scene of contamination. But certainly Northburgh's arguments seem to have been accepted since not only was a Charterhouse founded in London, but three of the subsequent foundations were also situated in or near heavily populated areas.

Northburgh's opinion that the establishment of a Charterhouse would enhance the spiritual well-being of the city was not apparently shared by all his contemporaries. The compiler of the register lamented at some length the hindrances placed by the devil in the way of Sir Walter Manny and John Luscote, the new prior of Hinton, who were attempting to carry through the project. The opposition, as far as may be gleaned from his account, seems to have arisen less towards the house itself, than towards its situation;

'Through the testimony of many and great men, both ecclesiastical and others, he [the devil] often strove to prove that it was impossible that such a thing should be done near London.' (1)

The author names some of those responsible for the opposition; 'the master of the hospital of St. Bartholomew and his co-brethren the Bishop of Ely and the chapter of Ely, as well as the dean and chapter of St. Paul's.' (2) That anyone connected with St. Bartholomew's should have been antagonistic towards the foundation of the Charterhouse is understandable, since the older establishment must have viewed the close proximity of the new house as threatening its work in the area. It was St. Bartholomew's hospital which had originally leased to Sir Walter Manny the piece of land 'Spitalcroft' upon which he had established his cemetery, (3) and the brethren may well have felt irked at having dispensed with a piece of land for charitable purposes which now boded

1. Hope, p.12.

2. Hope, pp.12-3.

3. Hope, p.8.

fair to become a rival establishment. There was moreover a very concrete reason why there should have been some disagreement between the Carthusians and both the hospital and the chapter of Ely. The original agreement by which Spitalcroft had been leased to Sir Walter Manny had stipulated that he should pay the brethren of the Hospital twelve marks a year until he was in a position to make over to them a piece of land worth twenty marks a year in compensation. ⁽¹⁾ He offered them the manor of Streetly in Cambridgeshire; but this owed service to the bishop and chapter of Ely, who refused to alienate it without papal consent. However Pope Urban V gave permission in May 1370; ⁽²⁾ and the bishop of Ely was compensated by a rent of 26s.8d. per annum from the manor. ⁽³⁾ The royal assent to the alienation was obtained at the same time, and Sir Walter Manny took the opportunity of doubly assuring his salvation by requesting that the hospital should offer a daily collect for him. ⁽⁴⁾

That the dean and chapter of St. Paul's were hostile to the project is possibly more surprising in view of their association with two bishops who gave the foundation every encouragement. One of course was Northburgh; the other was Simon de Sudbury, later archbishop of Canterbury, who was instrumental in settling the dispute with the dean and chapter of Ely and who was also involved in procuring on behalf of the Charterhouse two pieces of land lying to the north of Spitalcroft. ⁽⁵⁾ However it goes without saying that a dean and chapter by no means always held the interests of their bishop close to their own hearts, and it is to be noted that Northburgh bequeathed in his will considerably less to the cathedral (1,000 marks to be used for loans) than he did to the Charterhouse (£2,000 and various books, vestments, church vessels and rents). ⁽⁶⁾

1. Hope, p.8. The agreement itself does not survive.

2. P.R.O. L.R.2/61, ff.34r-35r.

3. C.P.R.1367-70, p.417.

4. C.P.R.1367-70, p.415.

5. Hope, pp.18-19, 25-26.

6. Sharpe, Wills, ii, 61-2.

However that powerful vested interests were threatened by the proposed foundation is attested by the following passage in the Register;

'There came a certain powerful ecclesiastic, a special friend and a great benefactor of the same prior, calling to witness and affirming that he did ill procuring that such a house could be, because it would be to the prejudice of the rest of the houses of England. He also added that if he would work against the plan, so that never henceforward should a house of his order be founded there, he should receive for the relief of his house one thousand marks or £1000 sterling.' (1)

Luscote refused, but the enormity of the attempted bribe suggests that the anonymous benefactor had issues other than the good of the Carthusian order at heart. An examination of the documents relating both to the London Charterhouse and to Hinton has not served to suggest who this powerful ecclesiastic might have been. The author of the register may have been exaggerating, since to him the extent of opposition by 'the devil and his ministers' would have proved in inverse proportion the usefulness of the foundation to the cause of English spiritual well-being; and yet his accusation here is very specific, and it remains inexplicable.

If the new foundation had its opponents, it also had a considerable amount of support. It was a double foundation for twenty-four monks instead of the more usual twelve, and each cell was distinguished by a letter of the alphabet over the door (2) and was endowed separately on the condition that the inmate prayed to God on behalf of the benefactor. In most cases the obligation was specified by the donor: the usual phrase is that the monks are 'specially bound' to pray for the benefactor. However even where the donor had not laid any condition upon their endowment, the monks obviously considered themselves to be under a reciprocal obligation. This is instanced in the cases of Sir William Walworth and Adam Fraunceys, where the chronicler writes 'though neither of them by any writing has bound us, yet out of good conscience those dwelling in the said cells which they built of their goods are bound specially to pray for them as for their founders'. (3) There seems to have been no

1. Hope, p.12.

2. Each apparently also had a rhymed couplet affixed to it. See A.Gray: 'A Carthusian Carta Visitationis of the Fifteenth Century', B.I.H.R. xl (1967), pp.92-3.

3. Hope, p.66.

shortage of donors willing to come forward, and an analysis of their names and occupations reveals the diversity of social classes to which the Charterhouse made appeal.

Sir Walter Manny himself endowed the great cloister and the first cell, commissioning Henry Yevele, the 'disposer of the King's works', to build it. (1) Manny died in 1372 while the work was in progress, and was buried before the high altar. (2) Cells B,D,G,H and J were endowed by Sir William Walworth, (3) a member of the guild of fishmongers and several times mayor of London. He was of course knighted by Richard II for his bravery at Smithfield during the Peasants' Revolt when he helped to kill the rebel leader, Wat Tyler, (4) and was also involved in quelling the disturbances in 1371 when a riot occurred near St.Paul's. The author of the register relates that on 12 May 1371 Walworth went to the Charterhouse to lay the foundation stone of the first cell and to hear two masses. As a consequence of this act of piety;

'God so graciously worked with him that day that peaceably and without any tumult he had the mayor of the city into his house and the aldermen and those who had been given in custody for the aforesaid sedition; and when they had been magnificently and becomingly refreshed there, they went at once by water to the Tower of London and when these folk had thus been put into prison, the tumult ceased....blessed be God, who so gloriously magnified William himself and so graciously freed the city of London'. (5)

Walworth's five cells were paid for out of his own property and that of the fishmonger to whom he had originally been apprenticed, another quondam mayor, John Lovekyn, of whose will he had been executor. (6) He also financed the completion of the cell Manny had endowed, (7) presumably because the latter had failed to leave sufficient funds to do so.

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1. Hope, p.14; J.Harvey, Henry Yevele (London, 1944), pp.30-2.
 2. The discovery of his tomb is described in M.D.Knowles and W.F.Grimes, Charterhouse, pp.48-9.
 3. Hope, p.80
 4. The Carthusian chronicler seems to think it was Jack Straw whom he killed (Hope, p.39). On Walworth's career, see R.Bird, The Turbulent London of Richard II (London, 1949), passim; D.N.B. xx, 738-41; S.Thrupp, The Merchant Class of Medieval London (Michigan, 1962), p.372.
 5. Hope, p.40.
 6. Hope, p.66. For Lovekyn's will, see Sharpe, Wills,ii, 117-8.
 7. Hope, p.39.

Cells C, E, F, L and M were donated by Adam Fraunceys, mercer, twice mayor of London and founder, in 1386, of the college in the Guildhall Chapel. (1) Cell K was donated in 1376 by Mary de Valence, countess of Pembroke, also called by her maiden name, Mary de St. Pol. She was the daughter of Guy de Chatillon, Count of St. Pol, and the widow of Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke. Her religious interests were many and varied; and she is largely remembered as the foundress of Pembroke College, Cambridge, although most of her charity was lavished upon the Franciscan Order. (2) She aroused a certain amount of antagonism by demanding, in 1339, that the house of Franciscan nuns at Waterbeach should be refounded at the healthier situation of Denny, a demand which was actively resisted by some of the more entrenched members of the community, but the countess' wishes naturally prevailed. (3) She was also a benefactress to the Friars Minor of London and the Franciscans of Bruisyard in Suffolk.

The endowment of a cell at London, and the gift besides of £200, (4) was the nearest the Countess actually came to founding a house of the order, although this seems to have been a long-standing if frustrated ambition of hers. In 1346 she received a licence to found a Carthusian house at Horne in Surrey, (5) and in 1369 she expressed the intention of founding a house on one of her manors of Westmill, Meesden and Little Horne in Hertfordshire. (6) She apparently changed her mind; and the land reverted after her death to the Cistercian abbey of St. Mary Graces by the Tower. (7) However she remembered all the English Carthusian

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1. See S. Thrupp, The Merchant Class of Medieval London, pp. 341-2; G. S. Davies, Charterhouse in London, p. 71.
 2. So much so that H. Jenkinson speculates that she may even, during her 1331-6 sojourn in France, have joined it: see H. Jenkinson, 'Mary de Sancto Paulo, Foundress of Pembroke College Cambridge', Archaeologia, lxxvi (1915), p. 420.
 3. Ibid. p. 421.
 4. Hope, p. 64.
 5. C. P. R. 1345-8, p. 141.
 6. V. C. H. Hertfordshire, iii, 399.
 7. C. P. R. 1374-7. p. 374.

houses in her will; 'item ie deuisse a la maison des freres de chartreux de Henton' treze marz. Item a trois autres maisons des ditz chartreux Dengleterre a chescune maison dix marz'. (1) She was, significantly, related to Sir Walter Manny by marriage. After the death of Aymer de Valence in 1324, the title of earl of Pembroke remained in abeyance until 1339, when it was granted to Laurence, Lord Hastings. His son John made a second marriage in 1368 to Anne, daughter and heir of Sir Walter Manny. Marie de St.Pol and Anne de Hastings therefore bore simultaneously the title of Countess of Pembroke. (2)

Cell N was endowed in 1378-9 with 200 marks from Thomas Aubrey and his wife Felice, about whom next to nothing is known. (3) Cell O cost 260 marks and was paid for by Margaret Tilney, wife of Frederick Tilney, a deputy butler of Boston in Lincolnshire. (4) Sir Robert Knollys and his wife Constance endowed cell P. Knollys was a famous military commander, much of whose abundant wealth was derived from plundering in France at the head of a numerous body known as 'The Great Company'. The spoils he thereby amassed he put to the pious uses of founding a college and hospital in Pontefract, assisting the Carmelites of Whitefriars, rebuilding the Norfolk churches of Sculthorpe and Hartley and endowing the Carthusian cell. (5) John Buckingham, bishop of Lincoln 1363-97, founded cell Q, and was, with Simon de Sudbury, instrumental in acquiring much of the site of the Charterhouse. (6) Another bishop, Thomas Hatfield of Durham (1345-81) founded cells R and S. He had been a canon and prebendary at Lincoln and St.Paul's, and was also a generous benefactor to the university of Oxford and his own cathedral at Durham. (7) Cell T was endowed by William Ufford, earl of Suffolk, another notable soldier. In 1376 he lost the office of Admiral of the North after holding

1. H.Jenkinson, op.cit. p.433.

2. C.P. x, 382-394.

3. He is probably the Thomas Aubrey mentioned as a kinsman of Andrew Aubrey, pepperer (Sharpe, Wills, ii, 1-2). John, the son of the latter, was buried in the Charterhouse (Sharpe, Wills, ii, 222).

4. Hope, p.70.

5. D.N.B. xi, 281-6.

6. See below, p.58.

7. D.N.B. ix, 154-6.

it for only four months, to William de la Pole, founder of the Kingston-upon-Hull Charterhouse, and in 1385 Pole was granted all his estates on his creation as earl of Suffolk. ⁽¹⁾ Cell V was endowed by Richard Clyderhow, who later became sheriff of Kent, ⁽²⁾ and who was buried in the Charterhouse, ⁽³⁾ and cell X was financed by John Clyderhow, clerk, a possible relation. He seems to have been a clerk in chancery between 1399 and 1414 ⁽⁴⁾ In his will of 1433 he requested burial within the priory, ⁽⁵⁾ and the little cloister of the Charterhouse was built of his goods in 1436. ⁽⁶⁾ Cell Y was endowed by William Symmes, citizen and grocer of London, who also gave so much towards the construction of the aqueduct and other parts of the building that he was granted a fraternity in the order. ⁽⁷⁾ The founder of cell Z was Dame Joan Brenchley, widow of Sir William Brenchley; and the donor of the twenty-fourth cell, styled S for some unknown reason, was Dame Margery Nerford with Christian Ypstones, her maid. The founder of the final cell is not mentioned in the Register, but could well have been Robert Manfield, clerk and provost of Beverley, who left £100 in his will for the construction of a cell at the east end of the new chapel. ⁽⁸⁾

The building operations were considerably protracted, since when Luscite first took possession of the monastery only a few cells were built, and even at his death in June 1398 five or six cells, the chapterhouse and other communal buildings remained to be constructed. ⁽⁹⁾ The cell donors therefore were people who came forward gradually over the space of some fifty years; Robert Mansfield's bequest, for example, is dated as late as 1419. The list of cell donors by no means exhausts the benefactors of the priory, but it provides a fairly representative sample of the types of people who were drawn towards the order. The presence of a wide range of social classes is noticeable; the nobility, represented by Marie de St. Pol and William Ufford; the knights, Sir Walter Manny, Sir Robert Knollys

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1. D.N.B. xx, 13-5.
 2. Hope, p.72.
 3. P.C.C. 50 Marche.
 4. Hope, p.72.
 5. C.C.L. iii, f.371r-v. See below, pp. 314-5.
 6. Hope, p.72.
 7. Hope, pp.66-7.
 8. P.C.C. 45 Marche.
 9. Hope, pp.41-2.

and in addition Sir John Popham who founded two chapels in the church (1) and who was the nephew of Bishop Hatfield; the prominent London citizens, Sir William Walworth, Adam Fraunceys, William Symmes, Richard Clyderhow and several others; and finally there is a strong episcopal interest - Northburgh, of course, Simon de Sudbury, Thomas Hatfield, and John Buckingham, whose enthusiasm for the Carthusians impressed Knowles as being substantially more than that which they displayed towards other religious houses at the same period. (2) Three of the cell donors had Lincoln connections - one indeed was its bishop, and Northburgh himself had been a precentor there - and it is possible that even two hundred years later the memory of St. Hugh was still encouraging Carthusian benefactions. More noticeable however is the fact that many of the cell donors had connections with the court of Richard II. Indeed it is the king himself who heads the register's list of chantries. (3) The monks were bound to pray for him perpetually in return for his grant in 1392 of the advowson of Edlesborough church, Buckinghamshire. (4)

The process by which the Charterhouse acquired its site was a long and complex one, and has been described with admirable clarity by Professor Knowles. (5) Eventually the monastery occupied an area of some thirty acres outside the city walls, half a mile north of St. Paul's. It was bounded on the north-west by Clerkenwell Priory, on the west by the priory of St. John of Jerusalem, and on the south-east by St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Manny's original endowment consisted of an area called Spitalcroft or New Church Hawe, the plague graveyard, and a smaller area to the north, probably to be identified with Pardon Churchyard. (6) The latter had been bought by Ralph Stratford, bishop of London, and was part of an area known as Nomansland. In 1371 Manny bought an area north and west of Pardon Churchyard, also part of Nomansland, which was later bought and conveyed to the Charterhouse in 1376 by a group of interested friends, notably Sir William Walworth, and Bishops Sudbury and Buckingham. (7) In 1377,

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1. Hope, p.73. Knights were also very prominent among those buried at the Charterhouse, for example, Sir Edmund Hederset, Sir John Derwentwater, Sir Marmaduke Lumley and Sir John Popham (Hope, pp.100-1).
 2. R.O. ii, 132.
 3. Hope, p.64.
 4. C.P.R.1391-6, p.34.
 5. M.D.Knowles and W.F.Grimes, Charterhouse (London, 1954), pp.18-21.
 6. Hope, pp.16-7.
 7. Hope, pp.18-9, 25-6.

St. John of Jerusalem made over to the Charterhouse an area to the east of Spitalcroft - happily, in the event, for the Carthusians had already rashly made plans to build upon it. ⁽¹⁾ In 1384, St. John's made over a piece of Nomansland north of that held by the Charterhouse, to a syndicate consisting of Walworth, Sir Richard Beauchamp and others. In 1392 Beauchamp gave it to the Carthusian priory. ⁽²⁾ Finally, in 1391, the Abbey of Westminster granted to the monks a piece of land east of Nomansland. ⁽³⁾

The preceding survey has provided a brief account of how Londoners reacted to the siting of a Charterhouse in their midst, but it has yet to be seen how the Carthusians reacted to being situated in London. The author of the register, with his retrospective eye, took an urban location very much for granted; and Northburgh's letter containing an implicit assumption that the English Carthusians would be hard to persuade is perhaps the only indication that to contemporaries, or to contemporary Carthusians at least, it represented a major break with tradition. ⁽⁴⁾ It must also be assumed that the priors who received Northburgh's letter accepted his arguments, and that a Charterhouse was placed in London specifically because it was the capital, and its situation would produce the effect of bringing the order forward into the public eye. This effect was undoubtedly achieved, but brought with it other consequences of a less advantageous nature.

The comparatively heavy burden of spiritual obligations which was placed upon the individual monks as a result of the system of individual cell endowment has been noted, a burden from which it appears that the earlier foundations were exempt. And the progressive weighing down of the order with such responsibilities is a feature which intensifies during the subsequent history of the foundations. The London foundation provides the first example of a founder, indeed of any individual, being buried within the precincts of an English Charterhouse - Sir Walter Manny. He had indeed stipulated in his original indenture with Northburgh that he and his offspring might be buried there if they wished. ⁽⁵⁾ None of the three previous

1. Hope, pp.19, 26.

2. Hope, p.19.

3. Hope, p.20.

4. The anonymous high-ranking ecclesiastic who attempted to bribe Luscombe apparently took this view.

5. Hope, p.10.

founders had been accorded this privilege. Longespée and Cantelupe had ensured themselves chantries in Salisbury and Lincoln cathedrals respectively. It was not only the founder who was buried in the London Charterhouse but others who had no such claim to especial favour. There survives at the College of Arms a list of burials at the house compiled by Wriothesley, Garter King, which has some twenty names on it for a one hundred and fifty year period, ⁽¹⁾ and testamentary evidence demonstrates that many other individuals besides chose to be interred there. ⁽²⁾ In this case, as in others, the practice at the London Charterhouse marked a departure from previous English Carthusian practice. It is not clear why this should have been the case. Perhaps the growing popularity of the order meant that pressure from lay individuals for burial within Charterhouses became so persistent as to be irresistible. Or perhaps the cause was more specific to the London Charterhouse itself. The priory had after all been built upon a plague graveyard, and was originally intended as common burial land. Certainly interment in plague burial grounds was a morbid predilection which enjoyed a certain vogue in the late fourteenth century, as the popularity of the Churchyard of the Innocents in Paris bears witness. There the pressure for burial was such that corpses were soon disinterred to make way for further burials. ⁽³⁾ Possibly the situation of the London Charterhouse earned it a similar kind of notoriety, and brought an increased demand for lay burials within the priory.

It must however be remembered that much of the information about donors and lay burials derives from the Charterhouse register, a source which is unusually detailed and contains material which would not be found in a cartulary proper. No comparable evidence survives from earlier houses. This is a reservation that must be borne even more closely in mind when discussing the less tangible aspects of the priory's social relations - its daily dealings with the outside world - because it is only in the London register that Carthusian information about this sort of contact survives

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1. Printed in Hope, pp.100-102.
 2. For a more comprehensive list of burials at the London Charterhouse, and at the other Carthusian priories, see below, pp.369-72.
 3. J.Huizinga; The Waning of the Middle Ages (London, 1924), p.133. This idea in one which is examined further below, pp.387-90.

at all. Knowles was inclined to take a pessimistic view, believing that the urban situation led to some decline in standards;

'The proximity of the great city, the benefactions that came from it, the importunity of the lower classes of the citizens to maintain access to the ground and the desire of the city notabilities to benefit in life and death, led to close contacts and a certain infringement of solitude. We read of visits even to cells; of hospitality, of sojourns and of burials within the walls'. (1)

Knowles'comment is certainly justified with regard to burials; but on the question of hospitality and 'sojourns' the register says nothing that could promote such a view, and the evidence relating to cell visiting is of a sparse nature. One passage bearing on the question is that relating to a monk called John Homersley, received in 1393;

'Not lightly, but almost under compulsion did he receive gifts, and if sometimes through too much importunity of an offerer he had received a penny or some such thing, he forthwith went to the prior's cell and entrusted it to him, and if he did not find the prior, he laid the money on the ground beside the prior's cell, having put a tile on it, taking no further care about it, whether it was found'. (2)

The passage certainly implies that Homersley had opportunities of meeting outsiders quite independently of the prior, and further implies, rather disturbingly, that his lack of concern for material goods was in some way unusual, whereas, of course, it was no more than that required by the rule. This is however the only passage from which such an interpretation may be derived, and it can, after all, hardly be described as very specific. It may also be noted that the barren wife of the earl of Warwick is supposed to have borne a son because of the intercessory prayers of Guy de Burgh, monk,⁽³⁾ and yet it is clear that the earl never came into contact with the monk, but only approached the prior.⁽⁴⁾ Finally

1. R.O. ii, 132.

2. Hope, p.61.

3. The son, noted the chronicler, was called Richard, therefore the earl must have been Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick from 1369; the wife was Margaret, and the son Richard de Beauchamp, born in 1381-2 (C.P. xii, part ii, 375-382). Thomas later endowed a cell at Coventry Charterhouse: see below, p.83.

4. Hope, pp.59-60.

little value can be placed on the statement;

'I have seen also in a certain writing that the aforesaid lord of Mawny was wont to see a golden pillar descending from Heaven upon Guy's cell, and that the said lord of Mawny was wont, four times a year, to go to the Charterhouse which he had founded, and his grave cover being removed, to weep bitterly with a flood of tears.' (1)

a passage that moved even the generally uncritical author of the Register to protest that Manny died long before the first cell was built, and to comment that Manny must have made his four annual visits to the chapel of the graveyard which stood there before the construction of the house.

'The importunity of the lower classes to have access to it [the house]' which Knowles described, was certainly the subject of some complaint by the chronicler. He portrayed the early community dwelling in constant fear of riotous action by the townsfolk. He depicted the riots of 1371, quelled by, among others, Sir William Walworth; (2) mentioned the latter's role in the Peasants' Revolt; (3) described the mob's burning of part of the nunnery of Clerkenwell; (4) and related with horror an occasion when 'many followers of the damnable sect of Lollards' caused some of the old walls and buildings to be removed and threatened to destroy the house. (5) The Carthusians instinctively shared with the propertied classes the absence of any sympathy with or understanding of the 'mad and witless men' whose 'hostile attempts' and 'terrors' were performed 'at the instigation of the devil and his ministers', (6) and thus seem to have followed a policy of appeasement towards 'the undisciplined people of the commonalty of London'. (7) For fear of inciting violent action, they allowed women into the church, and permitted the playing of games on their land. The astringent comments of the two visitors in 1405, and the ensuing construction of a wall round the house (8) impelled them into making a stand against such invasions of their privacy, and thereafter no trouble on that account is recorded by the chronicler. Although the Carthusians blamed their problems on the intransigence of the Londoners,

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1. Hope, p.60.
 2. Hope, pp.39-40.
 3. Hope, p.39.
 4. Hope, p.42.
 5. Hope, p.43.
 6. Hope, p.39.
 7. Hope, p.42.
 8. Hope, p.43.

the character and associations of the land they were attempting to enclose was equally a cause. The ground upon which the Charterhouse was built had previously been land for common uses, and the chapel a place of prayer for all who had friends and relatives buried by it. That the Londoners were loath to give it up is therefore entirely understandable. However there is no evidence that the Carthusians' tribulations extended beyond 1405, and the only lasting result was the decision to forego permanently the 'spatiamentum' or weekly walk outside the walls. (1)

The subsequent history of the London Charterhouse was as distinctive as its foundation. It never relinquished its claim to be the premier Charterhouse in the country, and the courage displayed by most of its monks and lay-brothers at the Reformation has ensured it a lasting place in the annals of English history. Of the prestigious men it recruited, more will be said in Chapter III. Of the lavish endowments it attracted, an account is given in Chapter VI. Of the attention it commanded in aristocratic and high-ranking society in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, some mention is made in Chapter VII. And in the final chapter, an analysis is offered of the role it fulfilled during the tumultuous years of the Reformation. Northburgh's prophecy that it would advance 'the spiritual building-up of many' is amply vindicated by the priory's later history, and Chauncy's comment that it was commonly said that if a man wished to hear the divine service performed with fitting devotion, he should visit the London Charterhouse (2) provides some indication of the high regard in which, despite earlier hostile altercations, the Londoners ultimately came to hold the priory.

This is of necessity a somewhat cursory account of the beginnings of the London Charterhouse, but it is intended only to indicate the impact the priory made on an urban consciousness, and the effects proximity to the city had on the community. For both, the foundation of the house proved to be something of a landmark, and, for better or for worse, the history of the Carthusian order in England entered a new and more dynamic phase.

1. G.S.Davies, Charterhouse in London, p.61.

2. Chauncy, Historia, p.69.

ii. Kingston-upon-Hull Charterhouse

In 1377, only six years after the foundation of the London Charterhouse, another Carthusian priory was established. Once again the site chosen was an urban one, at the wealthy Yorkshire port of Kingston-upon-Hull; and the founder was a man who, as Chancellor, was at one stage second only in importance to the king himself, Michael de la Pole, first earl of Suffolk.

The de la Pole family is of course unique in the respect that it was the only one in fourteenth-century England to rise from the comparative obscurity of a trading background to the exalted status of an earl's family. Its meteoric rise was paralleled by that of the borough of Kingston-upon-Hull itself; and for the first half of the fourteenth century at least, the fortunes of the town and the Pole family were inextricably linked. Hull had originally been held by the monks of Meaux, and known as Wyke. In 1293 Edward I acquired the property, together with the neighbouring manor of Myton, and renamed it Kingston-upon-Hull. ⁽¹⁾ In 1299 it became a free borough, ⁽²⁾ and rapidly grew into one of the principal ports in the country. ⁽³⁾ Among the merchants attracted there were three brothers, Richard, William and John de la Pole, whose first appearance in the records of Hull was in 1316, but whose previous ancestry is unknown. ⁽⁴⁾ Richard was a parliamentary representative for Hull in 1322 and 1327, and held the office of King's Butler in 1327-31 and 1333-8. ⁽⁵⁾ William became the first mayor of the city in 1331, and was created knight banneret and a baron of the Exchequer in 1339, ⁽⁶⁾ largely as a result of his considerable financial services to the crown. The two brothers were granted the reversion

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1. Chronica Monasterii de Melsa, ed. E.A. Bond (R.S. 43, 1866), i, 186-7, 192.
 2. J. Tickell, The History of the Town and County of Kingston-upon-Hull (London, 1796), pp. 11-2.
 3. See V.C.H. Yorkshire; East Riding, i, 11-89; M. Beresford, New Towns of the Middle Ages (London, 1967), passim, especially pp. 511-12.
 4. A.S. Harvey, The De La Pole Family of Kingston-upon-Hull (East Riding Local History Society, 1957), pp. 4-5. Harvey suggests, not altogether convincingly, that they were orphans of the Powys line of princes, introduced by Edward I into Hull deliberately to foster the growth of the town.
 5. Ibid, pp. 9, 16.
 6. Ibid, p. 20, 43.

of the custody of Hull and the manor of Myton in 1330. ⁽¹⁾ Richard died in 1345, and William in 1366, when the two manors passed to William's eldest son, Michael, the founder of the Charterhouse.

It is probably no exaggeration to say that the mercantile origins of the family exercised a decisive and long-lasting influence over its subsequent history. The holders of the earldom of Suffolk seem in retrospect to have been marked out for political misfortune, to which their lowly origins undoubtedly contributed. The author of the Chronicon Angliae, commenting on Michael de la Pole's succession to the earldom in 1385, called him 'a man better suited to monetary than military things' who 'had grown old with money-changers in peace, instead of with soldiers in war', ⁽²⁾ a judgement which is belied by earlier accounts of his martial exploits in France. Michael de la Pole, born in 1330, became in 1383 Chancellor to Richard II, and his most trusted personal advisor. Such a position rendered him subject to the jealousy of the nobility, and in 1388 he was one of those accused by the Lords Appellant of having withdrawn the king from the society of his own barons, and having controlled him for his own purposes. He was condemned to be hanged, but escaped to Paris and died there a year later. ⁽³⁾ Contemporary chroniclers are unanimous in their disapproval of him. Perhaps the most vindictive is Walsingham, whose obituary of the exiled earl is as follows; 'the promulgator of perfidy, the cess-pit of covetousness, the propounder of treason, the vessel of betrayal, the sower of hate, the fabricator of lies, the most worthless tale-bearer, the most outstanding deceiver, the most accomplished disparager and denouncer of his country'. ⁽⁴⁾ Modern opinion is however kinder, and de la Pole is now seen as perhaps the only member of the 'court party' who behaved with integrity and responsibility, qualities which did not prevent his becoming the scapegoat for its unpopular policies. ⁽⁵⁾

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1. C.P.R. 1324-7, p. 249; 1327-30, p. 518; V.C.H. Yorkshire: East Riding, i, 85.
 2. Chronicon Angliae, ed. E.M. Thompson (R.S. 64, 1874), p. 367.
 3. E. Foss, The Judges of London, (London, 1851) iv, 70-6; D.N.B. xvi, 29-33; C.P. xii, part i, 437-40.
 4. T. Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, ed. H.R. Riley (R.S. 28, 1863-4), i, part ii, 187.
 5. D.N.B. xvi, 32; M. McKisack, The Fourteenth Century: 1307-1399 (Oxford, 1959), pp. 426-7.

In 1377, however, when he founded the Hull Charterhouse, de la Pole's star was very much in the ascendant. As at London, it was not originally intended that the Kingston-upon-Hull foundation should be a Charterhouse. Sir William de la Pole, Michael's father, was in 1354 granted licence to found a hospital for a chaplain and poor persons, which he endowed with twenty acres of land, £20 in rents and 200 marks, an endowment to which Richard le Scrope, Sir Michael's brother-in-law, added the advowson of the church of Medburn. ⁽¹⁾ In 1364, however, the year before he died, Sir William decided to transform the hospital into a house for the minor-esses of St. Clare, although still with its original complement of poor persons, ⁽²⁾ and to add to the original endowment the manor of Frisby, four messuages in Hull and the advowsons of the churches in Frisby, Northcave and Foston by Holderness, in return for Medburn which the king had meanwhile recovered against Scrope. ⁽³⁾ However in 1377 Michael de la Pole, stating that the nuns had never been installed, received a licence to establish there thirteen Carthusians, one of them to be the prior; he also, as originally envisaged, made provision for thirteen poor men and thirteen poor women. The exact relationship between the monks and the paupers he reserved to himself the right to determine. ⁽⁴⁾

This is the sequence of events as far as it may be established from the royal patent rolls and from Michael de la Pole's own account in his foundation charter; other sources, however, attribute even greater tergiversation to William de la Pole. Tickell, the eighteenth-century Hull antiquary, commented that before Sir William's time;

'There was a small religious house here, which appears to have been erected by Edward the First and given by him, along with other lands in Myton lordship, to Sir William de la Pole.... This house, at first, was a college of six priests, but they disagreeing among themselves were turned out, and the Friars [sic] minor succeeded, who, behaving no better than their predecessors, soon shared the same fate.' ⁽⁵⁾

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1. C.P.R.1354-8, p.158.
 2. C.P.L.1362-1404, p.91; C.P.R.1364-7, p.153.
 3. C.P.R.1364-7, p.176.
 4. C.P.R.1374-7, pp.470-1; M.A. vi, part i, 20.
 5. J.Tickell, The History of the Town and County of Kingston-upon-Hull (London, 1796), p.196.

Tickell's account appears to be a rationalisation of that in the Meaux chronicle, and an attempt to adapt it to known evidence. That chronicle's version of events is even more convoluted. It relates how William de la Pole, circa 1330, instituted a monastery on the territory of Myton conceded to him by the King. Outside the gates of the monastery he established one house for thirteen men and another for thirteen women, and within the gates he proposed to found a house to be settled by Cistercians from Meaux. As he did not provide adequate support for the latter, the Meaux chronicler alleges that a college of priests was instituted instead. These suffered from so many dissensions between themselves that they were required to leave and were replaced by Franciscan friars who were also, for reasons not given, disbanded. Finally Sir Michael de la Pole founded the Charterhouse, which flourished largely because it was well-endowed. The Cistercian chronicler seems to be implying that the endowments given to the Carthusians were rather more substantial than those offered to the monks from his own house. ⁽¹⁾ The Meaux account is not irreconcilable with the certain evidence, if one assumes, firstly, that Sir William's approach to Meaux to transfer monks from that house to Kingston-upon-Hull was informal and private; and secondly, that the author made the mistake of supposing that Franciscan friars were introduced there instead of Franciscan nuns.

Whatever the exact sequence of events, the vacillation displayed by the de la Poles is most revealing about their motives. One must of course bear in mind the origins of the family and its consequent self-consciousness of its status. As Rosenthal remarks; 'That the de la Poles were involved in the creation of a Charterhouse and no fewer than four hospitals is perhaps as much evidence of the way in which they sought to buy their way into the front rank of the peerage as it is of their wealth,

1. Chronica Monasterii de Melsa, ed. E.A. Bond (R.S.43, 1866), i, 170. The chronicle was written circa 1399-1407 by the 19th abbot of Meaux, Thomas de Burton (i,xliv). He apparently built up his narrative from a number of earlier sources, and has the reputation of being an accurate and conscientious writer. In this instance he was in a good position geographically to be well-informed.

import and piety'. (1) They certainly desired to found, as Sir Michael asserted in his foundation charter, (2) 'a house to endure for all time', a perpetual memorial to the beneficence of the family. He also explained that his father had decided to replace the original hospital for priests and paupers by a house of Clares 'for greater devotion', and that he in his turn resolved to substitute for the latter a priory of Carthusians because 'it is believed that God will be served with more vigilance and devotion there by them than by women'. Ignoring his questionable assumption that women are less devout than men, it is to be noticed that the progressive substitution of nuns for chaplains and of Carthusians for nuns were made avowedly because the order which was newly proposed was, in both cases, considered to manifest more devotion than that which it supplanted. This is the first explicit occurrence of a notion which was to be reiterated in the succeeding foundations, namely that Carthusians were the strictest and most fervent order, and that therefore the person who founded a Charterhouse was the most devout of founders. It is hardly necessary to comment what fallacious reasoning this is, but it must have been especially persuasive to a family who, because of their comparatively mean origins, felt a continuous desire to prove their eligibility in the higher social circles to which they were aspiring, and in which they did not perhaps feel altogether secure.

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1. J.T.Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise (London, 1972), p.58. Although Rosenthal's argument here is convincing, his arithmetic is less satisfactory. In order to substantiate a claim of de la Pole involvement in the foundation of four hospitals, one would have to include, firstly, William's original Maison-Dieu at Kingston-upon-Hull; secondly, Michael's refounded hospital there; thirdly, the almshouse at Ewelme, Oxfordshire, founded in 1437 by William de la Pole, fourth earl of Suffolk and Michael de la Pole's grandson; and fourthly, the hospital at Donnington, Berkshire, which is described as being founded by the same William. That it was a de la Pole foundation is now generally discredited. It seems to have been founded by Sir Richard Abberbury in 1393 (see V.C.H.Berkshire, iv, 96): earlier patent roll entries long thought to refer to it are now assumed to refer to the hospital of St.John the Evangelist at Castle Donnington, Leicestershire. (There remains however the Valor Ecclesiasticus entry for Donnington which describes it as being 'ex fundatione Ducis Suffolciae'; V.E. ii, 157). In conclusion, therefore, the Poles can really only be proved to have founded two hospitals.
 2. C.Cl.R.1377-81, pp.228-9; M.A. vi, part i, 20-21.

In support of this hypothesis, it may also be noted that the attempt to found simultaneously a monastery of strict observance and a hospital arose from a confusion of motives. In an earlier explanation of the reasons for the non-expansion of the Carthusian order in the twelfth century, ⁽¹⁾ reference was made to the practical benefits a founder might expect to receive from his endeavour, and how he might judge an order by its prospective utility to society and to himself. By these criteria the Carthusian order could not be considered the most desirable one to patronise. But by this stage in the fourteenth century, another criterion had come into play: the order's reputation for devotion, if only for the kudos which attached to the founder of a house of that order. The two criteria can be seen, in a very general sense, to be opposed to each other. If one assumes that an order's reputation for holiness was maintained by the absence of contaminating contact with the world, and by its absorption with matters otherworldly, then obviously an order which was concerned with society's well-being could not, in these terms, be so devout. This is of course a statement of the centuries-old conflict between the active and the contemplative life, and it is clear that at this stage the merits of the contemplative life were, to some extent, reasserting themselves. This is particularly noticeable in the Kingston-upon-Hull foundation, because it represents an attempt by the de la Poles to recognise simultaneously the claims of both Martha and Mary. On the one hand the Poles founded a Carthusian house because of its accepted claim to exceptional sanctity; on the other they also founded a hospital, presumably because of its social usefulness. And here, of course, the attempt to reconcile the two conflicting ideals was, as ever, unsatisfactory. The history of the succeeding foundations at Kingston-upon-Hull demonstrates that the de la Poles had to abandon the attempt to found one integrated establishment, to forsake the idea of two closely related houses, and finally to settle for two quite distinct foundations.

Michael de la Pole's foundation charter, ⁽²⁾ to which some reference has already been made, is prefaced by a lengthy preamble concerning the history of the foundations, reiterating, for the most part, what was

1. See above, pp. 30-1.

2. C.Cl.R.1377-81, pp. 228-9; N.A. vi, part i, 20-21.

contained in the foundation licence. The house was dedicated to the Virgin, St. Michael and St. Thomas à Becket, but was to be called the house of St. Michael. Walter de Kele was appointed prior by the consent of La Grande Chartreuse. The house was given all the land which was lately parcel of the manor of Myton and had been called 'La Maisondieu'. In return the monks were to remember in their prayers the king, de la Pole himself and his various relations, Alexander Neville, archbishop of York, John de Neville, baron of Raby, and Richard le Scrope. The latter was then Chancellor of England, and had married William's daughter Blanche. (1) Archbishop Neville, the brother of John de Neville, was heartily disliked in his diocese and was one of those accused of treason with de la Pole by the appellants. (2) The three families were very close-knit, in their unpopularity as much as anything, and also, more significantly, in their support of Richard II. Witnesses to the lease included four knights (Sir Thomas de Sutton, Sir Gerard de Usflete, Sir Walter Fauconberg and Sir Robert de Hilton) as well as the mayor of Hull, Richard de Feriby, and two citizens, Robert de Selby and Walter Frost.

Once founded, the Charterhouse began to attract additional endowments. On 8 November 1378 Michael de la Pole received licence to alienate to Alexander, archbishop of York, a rent of 13s. 4d. issuing from the manor of Sculcoates, situated north of Hull, which he had given to the Charterhouse. (3) On 3 February 1379 he also received licence to alienate to the Charterhouse and hospital various lands in satisfaction of the original licence issued in 1377. (4) In 1382 the priory was also assigned a tun of Gascon wine annually by Richard II. (5) In 1384 half an acre of land in Hogsthorpe, in Lincolnshire, as well as the advowson of its church, were alienated to the house by a group headed by John Buckingham, bishop of Lincoln, who had founded a cell at the London Charterhouse. The endowment was to pay for a chaplain who would celebrate divine service daily at

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1. D.N.B. xvii, 1080-2.
 2. D.N.B. xiv, 243-4, 262-5; see also R.G. Davies, 'Alexander Neville, Archbishop of York', Y.A.J. xlvii (1975), pp.87-101.
 3. C.P.R.1377-81, p.289.
 4. C.P.R.1377-81, p.318.
 5. C.P.R.1381-5, p.110.

the priory for the souls of the bishop and his friends. (1) Finally in 1385 Richard II granted that the house should have all the liberties which had been conferred on Beauvale. (2)

The 'Maisondieu' almshouse had meanwhile been somewhat neglected, but in 1383 Michael de la Pole received licence to alienate to it the two messuages of land in Myton called 'Le Maisondieu', as well as various properties in Kingston-upon-Hull and Cottingham, in satisfaction of the licence obtained from Edward III. (3) In 1384 the foundation charter was accordingly drawn up, establishing a house for thirteen poor men and the same number of poor women, under the direction of a priest, Richard Killam, who was to be paid £10 annually. The wording is ambiguous, but suggests that no paupers had previously been maintained on the site, certainly for some time, if ever. (4)

Thus matters stood with the monastery and hospital when Michael de la Pole fell from grace, an event which placed their as yet incomplete endowment in jeopardy, and from which they perhaps never entirely recovered. Some attempt was made at compensating the house for this misfortune. The prior in 1388 won a case against John de Thoren who had been presented to the church of North Cave by claiming that it was in the king's gift when in fact it had been appropriated by the Charterhouse. (5) In 1391 the house was allowed to take various possessions which had been confiscated from Michael de la Pole - vestments, a missal, a small psalter and a French book. (6) In 1393 they were permitted to acquire lands to the value of £12, after complaining that of the grant of twenty acres of land, £20 rent and 200 marks of temporal tenements and spiritual benefices, 'so much as relates to twelve acres land and £59 14s. 4d. of rent is still unexecuted'. (7)

1. C.P.R.1381-5, p.454.

2. C.Ch.R.1341-1417, p.296; M.A.vi, part i, 21-2.

3. C.P.R.1381-5, p.305.

4. Printed by J.Tickell, The History of the Town and County of Kingston-upon-Hull, pp.197-200. Tickell states that it was given in the 17th year of Richard II. This seems to be an error for the seventh year, as many of the signatories, including de la Pole himself, were dead by 1394.

5. C.P.R.1385-9, p.458.

6. C.P.R.1388-92, p.407.

7. C.P.R.1391-6, p.368.

In the light of this fact, a grant of £12 a year was not over generous. In 1394 the Charterhouse was released from the taxes of a tenth and a fifteenth granted to the king by the clergy. ⁽¹⁾ In 1399 Michael de la Pole, son of the founder, newly restored to the dignity of the earldom of Suffolk, gave lands to the value of 38s. 4d. per annum, ⁽²⁾ and in the same year the house was allowed to acquire lands to the value of £12 a year. ⁽³⁾ Both these payments were in accordance with the original licence. In 1406 the priory was allowed to alienate the church of Hogsthorpe, according to the letters patent of 1384, ⁽⁴⁾ and as late as 1441 lands and rents in satisfaction of the original endowment were still being granted to the priory. ⁽⁵⁾

The Hull Charterhouse does not appear to have suffered from a glut of wealthy donors wishing to endow it with possessions. Compared with the London Charterhouse, records of burials and chantries are apparently few in the first twenty years. There is evidence for only one cell being individually endowed at Hull. In 1402 rents of £20 annual value were given by Sir Richard le Scrope, Sir Edmund de la Pole (younger brother of Michael, the founder), Robert de Bolton, clerk, John Janne, parson, and John Leef, late master of the chantry at Wingfield, in order to maintain a cell for one monk, who should say mass daily for the soul of John Colthorpe, mayor of Hull 1389-90, and for his widow Alice, now married to Thomas Graa of York. ⁽⁶⁾ It is impossible to determine whether the cell was in addition to the original thirteen, or whether it made up that number, since the priory's financial position renders it quite possible that the building had not been completed by 1402.

The Poles quickly established their right to be interred in the priory. William de la Pole is said to have been buried in Trinity Chapel, which

1. C.Cl.R.1392-6, p.405.

2. C.P.R.1396-9, p.464.

3. C.P.R.1399-1401, pp.221-2.

4. C.P.R.1405-8, pp.178-9, 209. Also C.P.L.1404-15, pp.81, 162.

5. C.P.R.1436-41, p.498.

6. C.P.R.1401-5, p.111.

has led to the assumption that he was buried in the church of the Holy Trinity, Hull. Since, however, the chapel of the Maison-Dieu was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, it seems more likely that this was what was meant by 'Trinity Chapel'. Certainly there was a Holy Trinity chapel at the Charterhouse, as is attested by the will of Robert Goldyng in 1453. (1) It has therefore been conjectured that he was buried in the chapel of the first Maison-Dieu hospital, which was later incorporated into the monastery. (2) This supposition finds support in the notes of the Wriothesleys who stated that Sir William was buried in the choir of the Carthusian church. (3) His wife Katherine survived him long enough to see the priory built, and she too was buried there in 1381, for which she gave 'optimum meum animale'. (4) Tickell noted that two effigies in the south wall of Holy Trinity Church depicted Sir William and Katherine, 'as appears from antient manuscripts', and speculated that they had been transferred there from the Charterhouse. (5) The effigies survive today, although the sources identifying them do not; it is however clear that the sculptures are not in situ. That the body of the founder Michael de la Pole was brought back from Paris, where he died, and interred in the Charterhouse, together with that of his wife Katherine, is confirmed both by the Wriothesleys, (6) and by the will of the founder's son Michael. The latter, the second earl of Suffolk (1397-1415), directed that he was to be buried at the Charterhouse between the tomb of his father and mother and the altar, if he died in England. (7) Since however he died at Harfleur in 1415, he was buried at Wingfield in accordance with

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1. York Prob. Reg. ii, ff.285v-286r.
 2. A.S.Harvey, The De La Pole Family of Kingston-upon-Hull, p.66.
 3. J. and T.Wriothesley, 'Notices Concerning Religious Houses in Yorkshire, with the Names of their Founders and of People Buried Therein', Collectanea Topographica and Genealogica, ed. J.G.Nichols (London, 1834-43), iv, 131.
 4. Test. Ebor. i, 119.
 5. J.Tickell, The History of the Town and County of Kingston-upon-Hull, pp.793-5.
 6. J. and T.Wriothesley, op.cit. iv, 131.
 7. Reg.Chichele, ii, 57-60. This will belongs to Michael de la Pole, second earl of Suffolk, and not to his son Michael, third earl, as stated by Thompson, p.204.

this will. It is thought that his son Michael de la Pole, third earl of Suffolk, who, dying at Agincourt, succeeded his father by little more than a month, was buried at Ewelme. ⁽¹⁾ But his brother William, the fourth earl, and later first Duke and Marquis of Suffolk, directed that he should be buried in the Charterhouse, with his wife, if she so desired. ⁽²⁾ The latter, Alice Chaucer, great-granddaughter of the poet, decided to ignore this husbandly guidance and was buried at Ewelme in 1475, but William himself, although in 1450 interred at Wingfield where his tomb still survives, ⁽³⁾ was eight years later brought to Hull and buried in the Charterhouse, before and beneath the high altar, ⁽⁴⁾ the expenses of which were borne by the corporation. ⁽⁵⁾ No other members of the family seem to have been buried there.

The de la Poles continued to take an interest in the affairs of the house. In 1441, for example, William de la Pole, the fourth earl, alienated the manor of Rymeswell in Holderness to the monks. ⁽⁶⁾ However the interest of the Pole family in the priory appears to have had the unfortunate effect of precluding that of the Hull citizenry. At London and Coventry, the other two urban Charterhouses, the cells were individually endowed by prosperous citizens and others. This does not seem to have occurred at Hull (with the exception of the cell built in 1402 for John Colthorpe), probably because there was no need for it: the Poles no doubt considered themselves sufficiently wealthy to meet the total cost. Thus the citizens had no initial stake in the priory, and it remained very much a Pole foundation, exactly at the period when the interests of the Pole family were rapidly becoming divergent from those of the Hull citizenry.

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1. C.P. xii, part i, 443.
 2. North Country Wills at Somerset House and Lambeth Palace 1383-1558, ed. J.W.Clay (S.S. cxvi, 1908), p.51.
 3. H.A.Napier, Historical Notices of the Parishes of Swyncombe and Ewelme in the County of Oxford. (Oxford, 1858), p.82.
 4. J. and T. Wriothsesley, op.cit. iv, 131.
 5. Hull Corporation, Chamberlains Roll 1458.
 6. C.P.R.1436-41, p.498.

Moreover the Charterhouse was built about a quarter of a mile to the north of the city, 200 yards from the river Hull. The town was notably lacking in suburbs, and remained so throughout the middle ages, so that the Charterhouse was considered to be a quite separate physical entity.

The citizens had however a more specific cause of grievance against the Charterhouse. Most of the land outside the town walls lay in the manor of Myton, belonging to the de la Poles, who had endowed the Charterhouse with some of the manor. The inhabitants of the expanding city appear to have resented the Pole enclave; and the fifteenth century was punctuated by a series of disputes over land in Myton, in particular over an area which was later known as the Trippett, as well as over the manor of Sculcoates, north of the town. In 1433 John Caunsfeld, prior of the Charterhouse, took action in the court of Common Pleas against Adam Belfyn and others for intimidating his tenants until they fled, so that the prior lost their rent and services. ⁽¹⁾ On 28 October 1450 arbitors were called in to settle the dispute over the Trippett. The town wished to use as common highways Pole Street, which ran from the moat of the town to the Maison-Dieu, and North Pole Street, which lay between Hull Street and the river Hull; to acquire a piece of waste ground between Hull Street and the river; and to ascertain whether the prior owed rent for several other tenements; and whether the inhabitants of Sculcoates should pay tax to the city. ⁽²⁾ On 19 January 1451, John Caunsfeld made over Pole Street, North Pole Street and the waste land to the Corporation. ⁽³⁾ This cannot have been sufficient to end the dispute, for on 18 November 1514, the Charterhouse leased the whole of the Trippett to the Corporation. ⁽⁴⁾ Even this did not prevent one of the parties appealing, and on 24 March 1518 Cardinal Wolsey ruled that the Corporation was to keep the Trippett, paying an annual rent of £4, but to relinquish any claim to jurisdiction in Sculcoates. ⁽⁵⁾ This dispute must have generated considerable ill-feeling between the town and the priory, for it is noticeable how few of

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1. W.P.Baildon, Notes on the Religious and Secular Houses of Yorkshire (Y.A.S.R.S. xvii, 1894), i, 100.
 2. Hull Corporation D385.
 3. Hull Corporation D393.
 4. Hull Corporation D502A.
 5. Hull Corporation D507A.

the townsfolk bequeathed money to the monks. (1) Similarly, the Wriothesleys do not mention any burials of individuals other than the de la Poles at the Charterhouse; and although four instances can be cited from testamentary sources, the Wriothesleys' silence suggest that there were few elaborate funerary monuments in the church of Hull Charterhouse.

Taken together, the continual litigation, the vicissitudes in the fortunes of the Pole family, and the comparative absence of local support offer a good explanation for the poverty of the Charterhouse. That it spent much of its existence struggling to pay its way is confirmed by the fact that in 1400 it was released from the burden of finding horses, armour and archers 'upon petition of the Charterhouse and of the king's compassion for their poverty'; (2) by the priory's low Valor Ecclesiasticus value of £174 18s. 4d; (3) and by a visitation report of 1440 in which the prior was gently urged to devote less of his time to worrying about the priory's financial position, and more of it to seeking the kingdom of God. (4)

iii. Coventry Charterhouse

The next Charterhouse to be built had again an urban situation. St. Anne's Charterhouse, founded in 1381, lay half a mile to the south-east of the city of Coventry on the road to London. The history of Coventry, until the middle of the fourteenth century, is celebrated for its constitutional complexity. Since about 1100, the city had effectively been divided into two between the jurisdiction of the prior of Coventry and the earl of Chester, who held respectively the northern and southern halves. The breach was only healed in 1337 when the Council in Parliament

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1. See below, pp. 344-6.
 2. C.Cl.R. 1399-1402, p. 147.
 3. V.E. v, 126.
 4. A. Gray, 'A Carthusian Carta Visitationis', B.I.H.R. xl (1967), pp. 91-101. This document was used as binding leaves in B.M. Sloane Ms. 2515, a mid-fifteenth century Carthusian miscellany of devotional material. It is of considerable significance, since it is the only surviving original English Carthusian visitation report.

confirmed the Queen as Lord of the manor of Cheylesmore with the prior's service, and in 1345 Edward III granted that the citizens of Coventry, as part of Cheylesmore, should elect a mayor and bailiffs and form a commonalty. The uniting of the city no doubt accelerated a growth in status and prosperity among the citizens, so that by 1377 Coventry had become the fourth most populous town in England, after London, Bristol and York. The century after the granting of the city's charter saw a spate of building activity with the construction of the city walls, the re-building of the two main parish churches and the paving of the streets, as well as other manifestations of civic pride, like the creation of the Corpus Christi play cycle. Although the impetus for the foundation of the Charterhouse had its origins outside the city, it seems clear that its survival was largely due to the willingness of the townsfolk to incorporate it in their plans for the beautification of the emergent city. (1)

At Coventry Charterhouse the historian is more fortunate than at Kingston-upon-Hull, since evidence of a less formal nature survives to supplement the official sources. Used in conjunction, these provide a quite detailed picture of the origins of the house, despite some inconsistencies. One piece of evidence is a manuscript from the Charterhouse of Brussels, the other fragments of a document which seems to have been a register similar to that of the London Charterhouse.

The Brussels manuscript, upon which Le Couteulx based his account, contains a piece of Carthusian apochrypha which touches upon the known facts at enough points to make it worth consideration. It relates how a simple pastor called Robert went, during the reign of the emperor Wenceslas (1378-1400), on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and was instructed in a vision to become a Carthusian. After his return to England he was directed in another revelation to build a Carthusian monastery in a local field - the deity even supplying him with the exact measurements of the priory. The owners of the field where he proceeded to dig were naturally somewhat incensed and brought him before Richard II; but the latter was so impressed by his integrity that he bought him the field in question. The legend concludes with the comment that Robert was subse-

1. J.Lancaster, 'Coventry' in The Atlas of Historic Towns, ii. Bristol, Cambridge, Coventry, Norwich, ed.M.D.Lobel and W.H.Johns (London, 1975) pp.1-6; V.C.H.Warwickshire, viii, 2-3.

quently known as 'The Palmer' (a reference to his pilgrimage), and that he eventually became prior. ⁽¹⁾ It has not proved possible to ascertain whether the manuscript to which Le Couteulx refers is still extant. The earliest version of the legend which I have traced is in a fifteenth-century Carthusian manuscript in the library of Bâle. ⁽²⁾ This has some variations on the tale as recounted by Le Couteulx. It maintains, for example, that Robert entered Witham Charterhouse on his return from the Holy Land. On the whole, the account in the Bâle manuscript is very extravagant, and credits Robert with the performance of many unlikely miracles, including the ultimate feat of resurrecting himself from death. ⁽³⁾

The fragments of the Coventry Register constitute a more reliable source. ⁽⁴⁾ They relate how, in 1381, at the request of Lord William de la Zouche, Richard II authorised the foundation of a house dedicated to St. Anne, and accepted the title of principal founder. Lord Zouche having made himself responsible for endowing the priory, John Luscope, prior of the London Charterhouse, then gave permission for three of his monks to go to Coventry. These included his procurator, none other than Robert Palmer 'qui fuit primus motor, et causa ejusdem foundationis', and also John Netherbury, his vicar, and Edmund Dallyng. These arrived on the vigil of the feast of St. Andrew (29 November) and lived in a building called the hermitage of St. Anne. They were joined by four newly professed monks as well as three others from Beauvale, and all lived in the hermitage for seven years. Then, again at the instance of Lord Zouche, Sir Baldwin Freyville was induced to give the king a fourteen-acre site from his property at Shortley for the building. The following Lent Lord Zouche died and was thus unable to pursue the work; but Richard II, at

1. Le Couteulx, vi, 286-8.

2. Bâle Library Ms. B.x.30. I am grateful to Dr. A. I. Doyle of Durham University Library for drawing my attention to this manuscript.

3. G. Morin, 'A Travers Les Manuscrits de Bale: Notices et extraits des plus Anciens Manuscrits Latins', Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde, xxvi, (1926), pp. 203-4.

4. These are no longer extant, but were printed by Dugdale (M.A. vi, part i, 16-7), who described them as 'Annals ex veteri pergamina in bibl. Hattoniana. a. 1640'. They were apparently pieces from two leaves of parchment which had been used in the binding of a school-boy's book.

the special instance of his wife, accepted full responsibility for the house and gave the monks their fourteen acres.

This account of the foundation is substantiated by all the official evidence. There is admittedly no record of the authorisation by the king in 1381 (indeed there is no foundation charter as such), but on 18 March 1382 'Shorteleyfeld' was granted to Prior John de Netherbury by the king who had obtained it from Sir Baldwin de Freyville. ⁽¹⁾ The problem in attempting to reconcile this evidence with the legend of the Brussels manuscript is largely one of unravelling the ambiguous chronology of the annals. The problem can be summarised as follows; 1) Richard II gave permission for the house to be founded in 1381; 2) thereafter ('deinde') the monks moved to Coventry and lived in the hermitage for seven years; 3) thereafter ('deinde' again) Sir Baldwin endowed the Charterhouse with Shortley field; 4) Lord Zouche died. One might on first reading assume that events 3) and 4) occurred seven years after events 1) and 2) in 1381, but it is clear that they occurred only a year later, since Lord Zouche died on 23 April 1382. ⁽²⁾ Therefore either the seven year period spent by the Carthusians was from 1381 onwards or it had ended by 1382. E.M. Thompson assumed the latter, ⁽³⁾ which entailed that the monks first came to Coventry circa 1375. The consequence is to render the Brussels legend suspect, since Wenceslas was neither emperor, nor Richard II king at that date. Moreover since by 1375 Robert Palmer is supposed to have been procurator of the London Charterhouse, a position which he must have taken some time to attain, this pushes the date of the legend even further back. One may add two further objections. To assume the Carthusians first came to Coventry in 1375 implies that the London Charterhouse was so well stabilised and ordered by 1375 (only four years after its inception) as to be in a position to release three monks, two of them important officers: a fairly doubtful proposition. It implies also that either the Carthusians went to Coventry of their own accord, and looked round for a patron (again extremely unlikely, and contrary to the evidence of the Annals), or that Lord Zouche was a most tardy benefactor and allowed them to languish

1. C.P.R.1381-5, p.107; C.Cl.R.1381-5, pp.65-6.

2. C.P. xii, part ii, 942.

3. Thompson, p.210.

in the hermitage for seven years whilst doing little or nothing towards the building of the house.

If one assumes, however, that the monks did not settle in Coventry until 1381, which is, after all, the more natural reading of the ambiguous text, all these obstacles vanish. Robert Palmer is thus allowed just enough time to have journeyed to the Holy Land in the reign of Wenceslas, to be interviewed by Richard II, to take orders and to rise to the office of procurator by 1381. This does not of course prove the veracity of the legend, but does at least accord with it, and has the merit of explaining another puzzling fact. If the Carthusians came to Coventry in 1381 confident that Lord Zouche would promote the construction of the house, the delay caused by their patron's death very shortly afterwards would certainly account for their protracted stay in the hermitage. It may be noted in this context that in both documents referring to the grant of Shortleyfield in 1382, the Charterhouse is referred to as 'to be founded'.⁽¹⁾ Finally, in further support of the legend, it is clear that Robert Palmer was prior of the house by 1404,⁽²⁾ and seems to have held that position since 1381.⁽³⁾

Lord Zouche, who left no bequest to the house,⁽⁴⁾ is said by the author of the annals to have requested on his deathbed that 100 marks a year be given to the monks until such time as his heirs should make proper provision for them. His confessor and advisors were very anxious to dissuade him, saying that he was squandering his money, but his executors did eventually allow £60 or 90 marks to the house.⁽⁵⁾ William la Zouche, second lord of Haryngworth, is a shadowy figure, about whom little is known and less is certain, not least because there were at least five prominent men all with the same name flourishing during the middle of the century. This Lord Zouche was, it appears, born sometime about 1321, served in various military campaigns, including the Calais siege in 1347, and was several times summoned to Parliament.⁽⁶⁾ Of his

1. C.P.R.1381-5, p.107; C.Cl.R.1381-5, pp.65-6.

2. C.P.R.1401-5, p.476.

3. Obit List, p.22.

4. A.W.Gibbons, Early Lincoln Wills (Lincoln, 1888), pp.92-3.

5. It is not clear whether this is an annual payment or a single figure: the latter is the more likely reading of the text.

6. C.P. xii, part i, 941-2.

religious leanings little is known, save that in 1362 he was at least intending to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, ⁽¹⁾ and that he was a benefactor to the church of Kirby Bellars in Leicestershire. ⁽²⁾ His uncle was the William le Zouche, archbishop of York, who had been involved in the foundation of Beauvale. ⁽³⁾ His son was the William la Zouche who was accused in the Parliament of 1384 of fabricating an accusation against the Duke of Lancaster, an offence for which he was eventually banished from court. ⁽⁴⁾ It is perhaps curious that the son did not complete his father's intentions towards the Charterhouse, for he was far from being a minor at the time. The fact remains, however, that the Charterhouse was left apparently patronless in 1382. Richard II, on 18 November in the same year, granted a licence for the monks 'who have no possessions besides the plot of land which they inhabit' to appropriate advowsons of churches to the clear yearly value of £100, ⁽⁵⁾ but it was left to local citizens to come forward and build the house. Thus at Coventry, as at London, the cells were endowed individually, the only two English Charterhouses where it is certain that this was the case. Knowles, commenting on this arrangement, remarked that it was 'customary' to parcel out the endowments in this fashion, ⁽⁶⁾ and it is indeed possible that the practice at London and Coventry Charterhouses was typical since these are the only two priories where internal Carthusian evidence survives in sufficient detail to provide this kind of information. On the other hand, at both London and Coventry the founders died within a year of the foundation, and therefore the piecemeal endowment may well have been an unusual measure to compensate for the sudden loss of the original benefactor. The evidence is insufficient to allow any firm conclusion to be drawn.

The surviving list of cell donors at Coventry displays the same variety of social position as at London, and also describes the relative position of the cells: the latter is illustrated, as far as possible, in the diagram on the following page. The first three cells 'proximiores domui capitulari,

1. C.P.R.1361-4, pp.249-50.

2. C.P.R.1361-4, p.351.

3. See above, p.39.

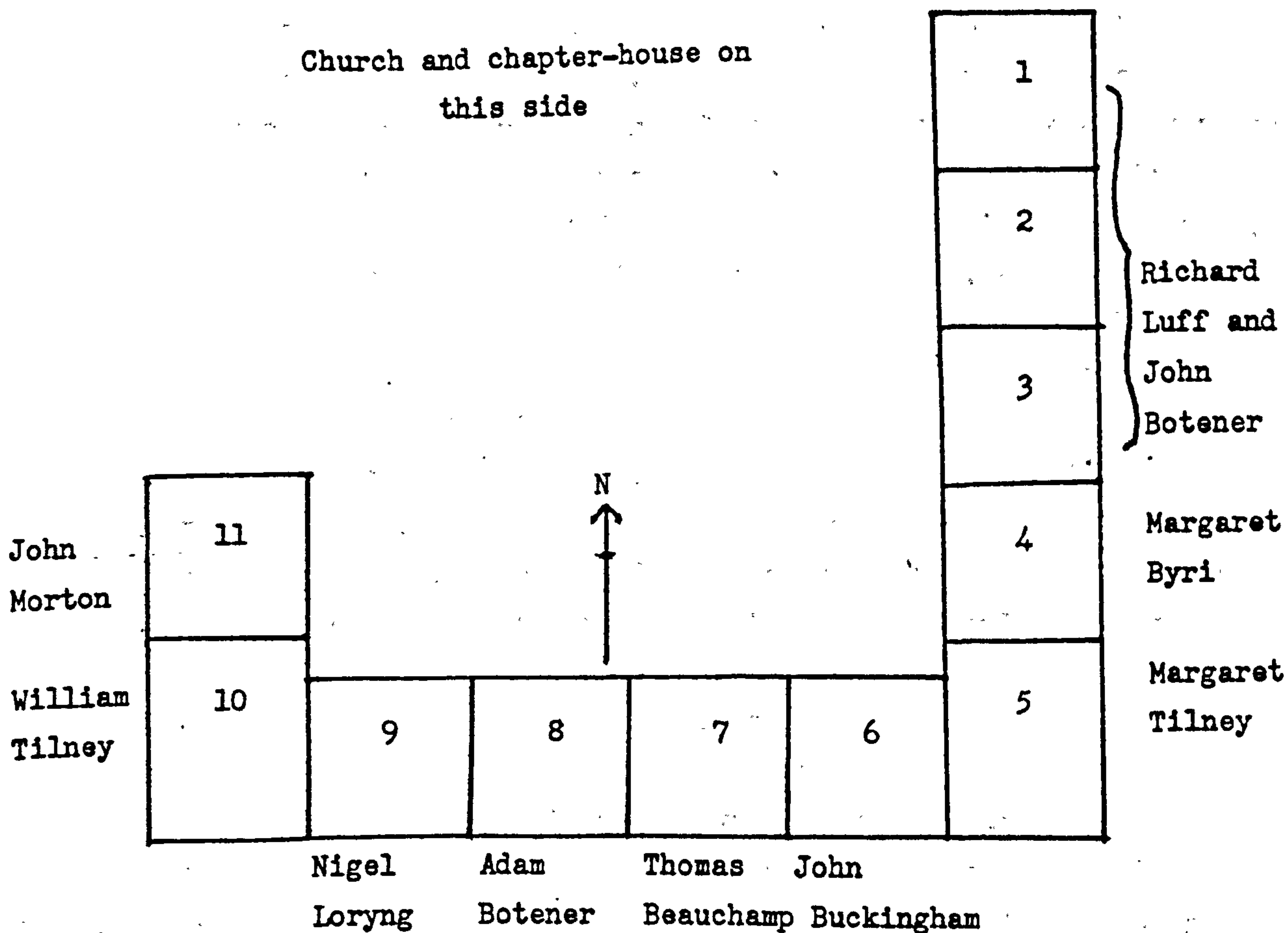
4. T.Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, ed.H.T.Riley (R.S.28, 1863-4), i, part ii, 114, 173.

5. C.P.R.1381-5, p.193.

6. R.O. ii, 130.

Plan of Coventry Charterhouse

demonstrating the arrangement of cells, and the donors thereof.



Notes on the Diagram

1. The chronicler refers throughout to directions which could either be true or ecclesiastical east. It is quite possible that he was referring to true east, since the Charterhouse at Hinton also has the church on the north side: see M.D.Knowles and J.K.S.St.Joseph, Monastic sites from the Air (Cambridge, 1962), pp.240-1.

2. The wording does not make clear which cell was in the south-eastern corner of the cloister, that donated by Margaret Tilney or by John Buckingham. In the diagram, Margaret Tilney's cell is placed in the corner, partly because to do so produces a more symmetrical arrangement, partly because it parallels the arrangement at Beauvale, where there were five cells on the two side cloisters and six on the one opposite the church, although two of these opened on to the side cloisters.

a parte claustris orientali' were endowed by Richard Luff and John Botener, who spent an estimated 400 marks on the cells, on digging fishponds and on constructing the choir of the church, the cloister and other houses. The cell 'quarta ab ecclesia in parte orientali' was built at the cost of £20 given by Dame Margaret Byri of Newark, who also gave 'a book with Isiah and Jeremiah glossed'. The cell 'quintam, scilicet ultimam in illa parte orientali' was paid for by Dame Margaret Tilney of Rotston, who also donated £10 towards the window at the end of the choir. The sixth cell 'prima in parte claustris australi' was donated by John Buckingham, bishop of Lincoln, and the seventh, 'proximam sequentem' by Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. The last three cells each cost £20. These seven cells were built before the church, of which the first stone was laid in 1385. It is interesting that seven cells were built initially for this is of course the number of monks who originally came to Coventry. Later the eighth cell 'tercia in parte australi' was endowed by Adam Botener; the ninth 'proxima sequens' was paid for out of the goods of Sir Nigel Loryng, acquired for the house by the bishop of London, Robert Braybrooke; the tenth 'angularis prima in parte occidentali claustris' was financed from the goods of William Tilney, whose executor, John Holmeton of Sleaford, procured the money and also contributed £180 of his own towards building the choir; and the eleventh, 'proximam sequentem in parte occidentali' was endowed by Sir John Morton, canon of Lichfield, who also gave a book containing part of the bible. These four cells each cost £20. The annals quoted by Dugdale come to an abrupt end at this point, ⁽¹⁾ but had they continued, they would presumably have provided the names of the donors of the twelfth and thirteenth cells.

The list as it stands therefore furnishes evidence of involvement by almost exactly the same social groups as at the London Charterhouse. There are three representatives of prosperous local citizens. Richard Luff, a merchant, was mayor of Coventry in 1379 and thereby master of the two most prominent guilds, the Trinity and Corpus Christi. He was appointed to the Warwickshire and Coventry Sessions of the Peace in 1380, and was one of the Twenty-four, the jury of the Coventry Court Leet, in 1384. ⁽²⁾ The Boteners were a leading Coventry family, also merchants. Adam was mayor in 1374, 1378 and 1384 (and therefore, like Luff, master

1. Fretton, p.29.

2. Rolls of the Warwickshire and Coventry Sessions of the Peace, 1377-97, ed. E.C. Kimball, Dugdale Society Publications, xvi (1939), p. xxxvii; Register of the Trinity Guild, Coventry, ed. M.D. Harris, Dugdale Society Publications, xiii (1935) p. 58; Coventry Leet Book, ed. M.D. Harris (E.E.T.S.o.s. 134, 135, 138, 146, 1907-13), i, 5.

of the two guilds). Also, like Luff, he was a Leet juror in 1384, and was named to the peace commissions of 1377 and 1380, being custos rotulorum on the latter. He was a tax-collector and associated with the local justices. With his brother William, he was responsible for building the tower of St. Michael's church in Coventry.⁽¹⁾ The Register of the Trinity Guild records two John Boteners,⁽²⁾ one of whom was Adam's brother and was dead by 1397,⁽³⁾ and the other of whom became mayor in 1406-7. It is not known which of the two men donated the cell, but chronologically the former is more likely.

As at London, a high-ranking ecclesiastical interest is again evident comprising John Buckingham, Robert Braybrooke and John Morton. Also present is one member of the aristocracy, Thomas Beauchamp, and one of the knightly classes, Nigel Loryng. Two of the donors, John Morton and John Buckingham, had Lincoln connections, a factor which also seemed to be in evidence at London. Buckingham of course was also the founder of a cell at London, and Margaret Tilney of Rotston could be the same woman as the founder of cell O at that house,⁽⁴⁾ or, more probably, be related to William Tilney whose money enabled the tenth cell at Coventry to be built.

Despite the number of individuals willing to come forward and succour the nascent house, the person to whose support it ultimately owed most was Richard II himself. Whether or not Robert Palmer had been instrumental in gaining the King's patronage, it is certainly true that Richard was assiduous in promoting what he considered to be the interests of the house. According to the annals, after the death of Lord Zouche, he took the full foundation upon himself at the special instance of Anne of Bohemia, his queen (whose interest was perhaps stimulated by the house being dedicated to the saint of the same name) and by his own charter he gave the 14 acres to the monks in perpetuity, a grant which is recorded on both the patent and close Rolls on 18 March 1382.⁽⁵⁾ On 18 November in the same year he gave the monks licence to acquire advowsons of churches worth £100 since they had 'no possessions besides the plot of land which they inhabit',⁽⁶⁾ and two years later on 24 November 1384 they were allowed to acquire the

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1. Rolls of the Warwickshire and Coventry Sessions of the Peace, 1377-97, p. xxxvi; Register of the Trinity Guild, Coventry, p. 1; Coventry Leet Book, i, 5; M. D. Harris, The Story of Coventry (London, 1911), pp. 256-7, 311.
 2. The Register of the Trinity Guild, Coventry, pp. 15, 19.
 3. The Statute Merchant Roll of Coventry 1392-1416, ed. A. Beardwood, Dugdale Society Publications, xvii (1939), p. xxi.
 4. Hope, p. 80.
 5. C. Cl. R. 1381-5, p. 65-6; C. P. R. 1381-5, p. 107
 6. C. P. R. 1381-5, p. 193; M. A. vi, part i, 17.

advowson of the church of Walton-on-Trent. (1) The quickening of the king's interest, however, was marked by a visit he apparently paid to the monastery in 1385, as recorded by the annalist. Returning from a visit to Scotland, he came to Coventry on 16 September and rode to the Charterhouse. With his own hands he laid the foundation stone of the church at the east end of the choir, 'proclaiming publicly before the lords and magnates there present, and also the mayor and citizens of the town of Coventry, that he was the founder of the Charterhouse and that he would ensure the completion of the same house'. (2)

Although Richard II did indeed display a generous concern for the house during the rest of his life, and was certainly responsible for its completion and survival, the methods he employed could not be considered as altogether beneficial in the long term, for two reasons: the form of the endowments, and the obligations they entailed. In the first place, the king's grants were composed almost entirely of alien priories. As Le Couteulx observed, he could afford to be generous, since he was not dispensing property which was really his own. (3) There is no contemporary hint that the English Carthusians considered this to be a practice of dubious morality (although Le Couteulx implies that they did) but they certainly found it inconvenient. There was, after all, little security to be derived from properties granted durante guerre, which in time of peace might revert to their original owners, and which, in the words of M.M.Morgan, 'brought a burden of litigation to all who touched them'. (4) A survey of the subsequent history of the priories thus granted to Coventry Charterhouse provides ample justification for both these observations and also explains why, despite the seeming generosity of the initial endowment, the house at the Dissolution was rated at only £131 6s. 4d., (5) less than any other Charterhouse in England.

On 5 November 1385, Richard II reiterated his licence of 1382, allowing the house to acquire advowsons of churches to the value of £100, adding (what had been unspecified before) that the possessions thus appropriated

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1. C.P.R.1381-5, p.484; M.A. vi, part i, 17, no.vi.
 2. M.A. vi, part i, 17. Richard's visit to the Charterhouse is not confirmed by any other source.
 3. Le Couteulx, vi, 288.
 4. M.M.Morgan, 'The Suppression of the Alien Priories', History, xxvi (1942) p.208.
 5. V.E. iii, 54.

should belong to alien priories. (1) Four days later, the house was given its first church - Ecclesfield in Yorkshire, (2) originally dependent upon the Benedictine abbey of St. Wandrille in Normandy, but now in the hands of the king, and housing only a prior and one monk. Nothing is known of the subsequent history of this house, save that as late as August and September 1477 the abbot of St. Wandrille was still issuing letters appointing James Pseaulme prior of Ecclesfield in succession to the last prior, Robert William, now dead. (3) Even more curious is the fact that the prior in 1356 was one Robert William. (4) Ecclesfield was however firmly in the hands of the Charterhouse at the Dissolution, rendering £40 13s. 4d. rent. (5)

Ecclesfield was granted in full satisfaction of the original £100 licence, but was found insufficient to support the necessities of the house, and on 8 March 1387, licence was given to appropriate a further £50 in alien property. (6) £25 of this was satisfied by the purchase in 1390 of the priory of Edith Weston in Rutlandshire, from the Benedictine abbey of St. Georges de Boscherville in Normandy. (7) The mother house required St. Anne's to pay 1,000 gold florins and a pension of £4 tournois but it seems unlikely that their expectation were ever fulfilled. (8) Before the Carthusian appropriation there was only one monk at Edith Weston, whose behaviour was of the kind that provided ample moral justification for the dissolution of alien cells. It is related that he kept women in the priory, supported the resulting offspring from its revenues, and assaulted his tenants, among other crimes. (9) The Charterhouse was required to pay the crown 24 marks per annum for Edith Weston, but this was remitted during the war, (10) and at the Dissolution the Charterhouse still held the priory which was then rated at £27 6s. 8d.

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1. C.P.R.1385-9, p.58.
 2. C.P.R.1385-9, p.112.
 3. J.Eastwood, History of the Parish of Ecclesfield (London, 1862), pp.513-4; D.Matthew, The Norman Monasteries and Their English Possessions (Oxford, 1962), p.140.
 4. Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1347-56, p.152; 1356-69, pp.2-3, 12.
 5. V.E. iii, 53.
 6. C.P.R.1385-9, p.290.
 7. C.P.R.1388-92; p.317.
 8. D.Matthew, op.cit. p.118.
 9. See V.C.H.Rutlandshire, i, 163.
 10. C.P.R.1388-92, p.361.

In 1392 the grant of the advowson of Walton-on-Trent church, made in 1384, ⁽¹⁾ was surrendered, when the Charterhouse was given licence to purchase the alien priory of Great Limber in Lincolnshire from the Cistercian abbey of Aunay-sur-Odon in Normandy, together with the parcels of Kirtlington and Ashby Mears, and the advowsons of the vicarages of Great Limber, Ashby Mears and Kirtlington. ⁽²⁾ A payment of £100 tournois was supposed to be rendered to Aunay when peace had been concluded, but again the fulfilment of the bargain by the Carthusians is in doubt. ⁽³⁾ Great Limber and all its attendant properties remained profitably in Carthusian hands until the Reformation however.

On 19 November 1393 St. Anne's was permitted to acquire the priory of Swavesey with its manor and that of Dry Drayton, from the Benedictine house of St. Sergius and Bacchus in Angers, providing a payment of 65 marks annually was made to King's Hall, Cambridge. ⁽⁴⁾ This farm was not required to be paid until 1399, and it will be seen that its remission was made the occasion for imposing an even more onerous obligation upon the house. ⁽⁵⁾ The subsequent history of Swavesey provides a good example of the way in which the acquisition of alien priories led to contention from rival claimants. In 1401 a John Knightley and others, claiming to have inherited the advowson from Sir Hugh de la Zouche, presented Dr. John Judde to Swavesey. ⁽⁶⁾ The latter made a forced entry to the priory and held its goods, but was eventually ousted. ⁽⁷⁾ Six years later William Penreth held the church, this time claiming to be a presentee of St. Anne's, which the priory denied. The presentation was not annulled until 1411, when Swavesey was appropriated to the Charterhouse, ⁽⁸⁾ but it did not, apparently, take

1. C.P.R. 1381-5, p.484.

2. C.P.R. 1391-6, p.242.

3. D. Matthew, op.cit. p.118.

4. C.P.R. 1391-6, p.352.

5. See below, p.90.

6. Sir Hugh de la Zouche does not appear to have been a relation of the founder.

7. C.P.R. 1401-5, p.476; C.Cl.R. 1399-1402, p.144; Rot.Parl.iii, 551; W.M.Palmer, 'Swavesey Priory', Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society Transactions, i (1904), p.40.

8. W.M.Palmer, op.cit. p.40.

possession of the alien priory until 1421; at that time Henry V explained that the original licence had not been fulfilled 'on account of their poverty' and that Swavesey had been returned to its French owners, but had come into his hands 'by virtue of an ordinance in the late Parliament at Leicester'.⁽¹⁾ After these vicissitudes the monks were apparently secure in the possession of Swavesey, for at the Dissolution it comprised £30 of their annual income.

The next alien priory to find its way into the hands of Coventry Charterhouse was that of Wolston, in Warwickshire, together with its attendant advowsons of Wolston and Lawford in Warwickshire, Potterspury in Northamptonshire and 'Homton Ozehell' in Leicestershire. It was a small priory, with only a prior dependent upon the house of St. Pierre-sur-Dive in Seez. In the covenant between the French priory and the Charterhouse, St. Pierre demanded 2,400 francs in French gold, and commented that it was necessary to make the sale as the house had received nothing from Wolston for fifty years because of hostilities, and the expense of maintaining it from a distance was greater than any profit derived thereby,⁽²⁾ conclusions which must have been shared by the mother-houses of all alien priories in England. Wolston was still in St. Anne's hands at the Dissolution, bringing it £30 annually. Royal permission to alienate this priory, together with that of Haugham, was not granted until two years later on 5 July 1396,⁽³⁾ an oversight for which the Charterhouse subsequently received the royal pardon.⁽⁴⁾ Haugham in Lincolnshire, dependent on the Benedictine abbey of St. Sever in Normandy, had been neglected, so much so that in 1387, when its value was estimated at £27 lls. 4d., it was calculated that the decay amounted to £73 6s. 8d.⁽⁵⁾ At the Dissolution it was bringing the house a yearly revenue of £17.

Finally on 21 May 1399, St. Anne's received a block grant of four alien priories, its lordship over which proved to be singularly short-lived: Loders, Wootten Wawen, Long Bennington and Hough.⁽⁶⁾ Loders, in

1. C.P.R. 1416-22, p. 380.

2. W. Dugdale, The Antiquities of Warwickshire (London, 1656, re-ed. 1730), ii, 132-3.

3. C.P.R. 1396-9, p. 5.

4. C.P.R. 1396-9, p. 352.

5. B.M. Add. Ms. 6164, p. 480.

6. C.P.R. 1396-9, p. 579.

Dorsetshire, belonged to the Benedictine abbey of Montebourg in Normandy, and was rendering the crown the profitable sum of £80 a year. Although granted to Coventry in May 1399, six months later it was restored to the prior, Sampson Trigal, by Henry IV. ⁽¹⁾ It was eventually granted to Syon in 1424. ⁽²⁾ Wootton Wawen, in Warwickshire, was dependent on the Benedictine abbey of Conches in Normandy, and worth £33 6s. 8d. a year to the king. Like Loders, it was restored to its original owners before the Carthusians had had time to enjoy it, ⁽³⁾ but fell victim to the spate of alien priory redistribution in the 1440's, as in 1443 it was annexed to King's College, Cambridge. ⁽⁴⁾ Long Bennington, in Lincolnshire, worth £50 annually to the crown, was also apparently returned to its mother house, the Cistercian abbey of Savigny in Normandy, since in 1401 it was being farmed for the king by its prior Michael Rogers and an individual called Michael Montayn. ⁽⁵⁾ It eventually found its way into the hands of Mount Grace. ⁽⁶⁾ Of Field Dalling, granted to Coventry as parcel of Long Bennington, the exact status is not clear. It is sometimes (as here) referred to as an adjunct of Long Bennington, sometimes as a cell in its own right. It was granted with Long Bennington to Mount Grace. ⁽⁷⁾ The fate of Hough in Lincolnshire was roughly similar to that of Long Bennington. It was restored to the mother house, St. Mary de Voto, a house of Austin canons in Cherbourg, in 1399, ⁽⁸⁾ and granted to Mount Grace in 1432. ⁽⁹⁾

1. C.P.R.1399-1401, p.70.

2. C.P.R.1422-9, p.205-7.

3. C.P.R.1399-1401, p.364.

4. C.P.R.1441-6, p. 269.

5. C.P.R.1399-1401, p.503. The order of Savigny had of course by then been absorbed into the Cistercian order.

6. C.P.R.1416-22, p.395. Confirmed in C.P.R.1461-7, p.161.

7. The statement in V.C.H. Norfolk, ii, 463 is inaccurate on several counts; 'Upon the dissolution of the alien priories Field Dalling priory was first granted by the crown to Epworth Priory; then to Spittle-in-the-Street, Lincolnshire; then to the Carthusians of Coventry; and lastly, in 1462, to the Carthusian priory of Mount-grace, Yorkshire.' There is no evidence that it was ever granted to Spittle-on-the-Street or to Epworth; while the grant to Coventry was made in 1399, and to Mount Grace in 1421, confirmed in 1462.

8. C.P.R.1399-1401, p.71.

9. C.P.R.1416-22, p.395; C.P.R.1461-7, p.161.

This survey of the alien priories granted to Coventry Charterhouse reinforces the view that there were undoubtedly easier and more secure ways of deriving an income. Of the ten priories granted to the house, only six were still in its possession a hundred and fifty years later, and even those six may well have been subject to the dangers of peace-time repossession. Almost certainly all had a history of dilapidation caused by severe royal exaction, which must have required some effort to reverse, and some were embroiled in the meshes of litigation by rival claimants. The royal generosity did not therefore bring the monks unalloyed profit; and its double-edged nature was further compounded by the services it demanded in return. The grant of Loders, Wootton Wawen, Long Bennington and Hough was made to facilitate 'the better and more seemly augmentation of divine service therein, and because the king has determined that the house shall be enlarged to a convent of monk chaplains in addition to the monks at present there'.⁽¹⁾ The latter were, in other words, to relieve the monks of the heavy burden of spiritual obligations which they had incurred. Of their exact status in the house we have no further information: nor may it be inferred, since the arrangement is unparalleled in English Charterhouses. Equally without precedent was the maintenance within the house of twelve poor clerks, aged seven to seventeen, 'to pray for the good estate of the king and queen for their souls after death, and for the souls of the late queen Anne, the king's parents and all the faithful departed' which was the condition upon which the house was excused from paying the 65 marks per year to King's Hall, Cambridge, which was owing from Swavesey.⁽²⁾ The scholars were quite possibly not introduced until after the final appropriation of Swavesey in 1421,⁽³⁾ but were still flourishing at the Dissolution, when they were costing the house £30 a year.⁽⁴⁾ This was exactly the same amount as the income derived from Swavesey, the figures cancelling each other out. Otherwise nothing else is known about the scholars and how they fitted into the daily life of the monastery. Presumably the monks actually had little or no contact with the boys.

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1. C.P.R.1396-9, p.579.
 2. C.P.R.1396-9, p.580.
 3. C.P.R.1416-22, p.380.
 4. V.E. iii, 54.

A.F. Leach comments that they 'probably went, as at York, to the city grammar school for their education'.⁽¹⁾

On 21 May 1399, the same day as the institution of the monk chaplains and the poor scholars, William Dalby of Exton, merchant of the staple of Calais, was given permission to found a hospital at Oakham in Rutland for two chaplains and twelve paupers, and to grant its advowson to Coventry Charterhouse, provided £40 was alienated yearly to the hospital for its maintenance.⁽²⁾ The subsequent history of the hospital was very convoluted. On 21 October 1404 an indenture was made between the priory and Roger Flore, who had married Catherine, daughter and heiress of William Dalby, that a recognisance for £560 made by the Charterhouse was to be rendered null and void, provided the monks paid Roger or the executors £480 in installments of £20.⁽³⁾ On 13 December, the original charter was confirmed, together with an indenture stating that in return for 572 marks paid by Dalby, the monks had granted to Simon Thorpe, warden of the hospital, a yearly rent of £20.⁽⁴⁾ In 1406 the prior and convent stated that they had never received the advowson, since it had been granted to Roger Flore, and that for a payment of 550 marks made to them by Flore, they had granted Simon Thorpe £20 a year, with power of distraint on the manor of Edith Weston.⁽⁵⁾

The three documents quoted form a sequence that presents some inconsistencies, and it is difficult to determine exactly how much the Charterhouse received, and how much it was required to give to the hospital. E.M. Thompson, for example,⁽⁶⁾ assumes that the 1406 indenture⁽⁷⁾ was

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1. A.F. Leach, The Schools of Medieval England (London, 1915), p.222.
 2. C.P.R. 1396-9, p.580.
 3. C.Cl.R. 1402-5, pp.472-3.
 4. C.P.R. 1401-5, p.476.
 5. C.P.R. 1405-8, p.265.
 6. Thompson, p.215.
 7. C.P.R. 1405-8, p.265.

merely a renewal of the 1404 agreement, ⁽¹⁾ and that the Charterhouse was therefore contributing only 20 a year to the hospital. However it is clear that the priory was in fact paying 40 a year (as specified in the original licence for the hospital's foundation ⁽²⁾) from an indenture made in 1438, which permitted a 20 mark decrease in the amount annually due to the hospital, reserving 40 marks out of the original 40. ⁽³⁾ And indeed at the Dissolution the priory was still paying 26 13s. 4d. ⁽⁴⁾ By that time the value of the hospital had shrunken to 12 12s. 11d. ⁽⁵⁾

It is fairly clear that the interest taken by the Charterhouse in the hospital was minimal. The effective patronage remained with the Flores, and in 1421, exercising the right reserved to him of altering the statutes, Roger Flore decreed that should he or his successors prove negligent in admitting paupers to the house, that power should fall to the vicar of Oakham. ⁽⁶⁾ For St. Anne's, it seems, the maintenance of the hospital proved irksome, since the reason given for the diminution of its income in 1438 was 'in consideration of daily increasing trouble and hurt to the Carthusian house'. ⁽⁷⁾

Many features of the foundation of Coventry Charterhouse are unparalleled in other Carthusian houses in England, particularly the involvement with the monk-chaplains, the poor scholars and the hospital. One could add that this trend persisted throughout the history of the house, since by 1536 the priory had added to its list of obligations the dispensing of alms in Potterspury, Wolston and Coventry, a contribution to the Carmelite Friars, a distribution of bread, beer and herrings to the poor on Maundy Thursday, and an annual 14 10s. worth of bread and ale given out daily to beggars at the door. The outgoing on charities of this nature totalled 77 6s. 9d., ⁽⁸⁾ obviously a major factor in the Charterhouse's

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1. C.P.R.1401-5, p.476.
 2. C.P.R.1396-9, p.580.
 3. C.Cl.R.1435-41, p.231.
 4. V.E. iii, 54.
 5. V.E. iv, 343.
 6. J.Wright, The History and Antiquities of the County of Rutland (London, 1684-1714, reprinted Wakefield, 1973), p.103.
 7. C.Cl.R.1435-41, p.231.
 8. V.E. iii, 53.

low valuation of £131 6s. 4d. The house presents at first sight an excellent example of exactly the sort of pitfalls the organisation of the order was designed to avoid. However, it is to its credit that despite its overburdening with secular interests, no slackening of the rule was ever reported there, even by Henry VIII's watchful commissioners who concluded that the monks were 'all prestes in vertue & contemplation & Religion excellent'. (1)

The nature of the relationship between the city and the Charterhouse is not easily definable. References to the priory in the civic records are few and trivial, which presumably means that the relationship was amicable, with no running sore like the quarrel over the Trippett at Hull. The only substantial reference to the Charterhouse in the records of the Leet Court is an edict of 1518 stipulating that 'no Bowlyng be vused at seynt Annys by the Charterhouse before vj of the Clok in the Mornyng nor after vj of the Clok in the Evenyng, but if they be honest persones that will make litell noyse'. 'Hym that kepeth the place' was also required to 'suffre not pore Craftes-men to vse bowlyng ther dayly and wekely, levying ther besynes at home that they shuld lyve by'. (2) The role played by the Benedictine priory in fostering the division of the city appears never to have been entirely forgotten, so that on the eve of the Reformation the citizens still harboured a degree of resentment against 'religiouse men....specialle of blake monkes'. (3) However, the Charterhouse does not appear to have provided a target for similar attacks. The involvement of prestigious citizens in the foundation seems to have created the impression that the Charterhouse was to some extent a civic concern, again in contrast to Hull. And, as will be demonstrated later, (4) members of the mercantile and landowning elite who governed the city continued to make bequests to the Charterhouse until the Dissolution. Here, more than anywhere, the paucity of the surviving records is lamentable, since Coventry presents some of the most intriguing and unanswerable questions about the relationship of a Charterhouse with a lay-community.

1. P.R.O. E.36/154, ff.142v-143r.

2. Coventry Leet Book, p.656.

3. C.Pythian-Adams, Desolation of a City; Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages (Cambridge,1979), p.259.

4. See below, pp.346-7.

iv. Axholme Charterhouse

The foundation of Axholme in 1396 marked a return, consciously or otherwise, to the tradition of establishing Charterhouses in remote and isolated situation. The ruins of the priory have long since vanished, and antiquarians are not even in agreement over the exact site; ⁽¹⁾ but it was built near Epworth in Lincolnshire, ten miles to the east of Doncaster. It was apparently called Axholme Charterhouse because it lay in the Isle of Axholme, which was then a tract of fenland approximately six miles by ten bounded by the rivers Idle, Dun and Trent, and Bycarsdyke.

The founder was Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham and duke of Norfolk: a figure of some notoriety. He was, of course, one of the five Appellants who, in the so-called Merciless Parliament of 1388, arranged for the removal of the king's closest advisors, including Michael de la Pole. Subsequently, however, Richard was careful to conciliate him, and in 1397 he was made Earl-Marshal. In 1398 the duke of Hereford, the future Henry IV, accused him of having spoken treasonably against the king, and it was agreed that the matter should be settled by a duel at Coventry, the scene which occupies the opening pages of Shakespeare's Richard II. The king banished both protagonists, Hereford for ten years and Mowbray for life, and the latter died in Venice some nineteen months later, heavily in debt, having borrowed from Venetian money-lenders for a supposed pilgrimage to the Holy Land. In addition rumours circulated accusing Mowbray of various crimes, the worst and most likely being the murder of the duke of Gloucester whilst in his charge in 1397. ⁽²⁾

1. See Appendix III, pp.449-53.

2. For accounts of Mowbray's career, see Chronicon Adae de Usk, ed. E.M.Thompson (London,1904), pp.145-171; T.Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, ed.H.Riley (R.S.28, 1863), i, part ii, 170-242; Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart deux Roy Dengleterre, ed.B.S.Williams (English Historical Society, 1846), passim; Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quinti, Regum Angliae, ed.H.T.Riley (R.S.28, 1866), iii, passim. The latter states that Mowbray died on his return from Palestine (iii, 321), but other sources agree that he never embarked on the journey.

Few would venture to describe Mowbray as a pious character, although it should be mentioned that in addition to founding Axholme, he was also a generous benefactor to the Black Canons of Newenham near Bedford.⁽¹⁾ Nevertheless it could be plausibly argued that his Carthusian foundation was at least partly governed by political expediency, the mainspring of most of his actions. For much of his career he was treading a delicate political tightrope. Although in 1388 he was one of the five Appellants, he was later involved in the arrest of three of the others, and accused of treason by the fourth; and yet it seems that he never completely gained the confidence of the king, since Richard once commented that he was not so zealous in the pursuit of his fellow Appellants as those who had remained loyal.⁽²⁾ It is possible that if after 1388 Richard was anxious to conciliate Mowbray, the latter was equally anxious to prove his loyalty, and perhaps one of the ways in which he could do this was to found a house of the order which Richard had taken under his special protection. It is not without interest that on the day of his duel with Hereford, Mowbray went first to the Charterhouse of Coventry to hear three masses there.⁽³⁾ It may however be equally revealing that he does not seem to have promoted the welfare of the nascent community with the zeal which should have characterised a zealous founder.

The chronology of the foundation may in part be reconstructed from the few badly damaged surviving folios of the Axholme cartulary.⁽⁴⁾ The first document,⁽⁵⁾ much of which is illegible, is a letter from Urban VI dated December 1386 to John Buckingham, bishop of Lincoln, empowering him to convert the priory of Monks Kirby, or Kirby Monachorum, in Warwickshire from a Benedictine cell into a Charterhouse. This was apparently because he had been informed by Thomas Mowbray that the priory, founded by his ancestors and subjected to St. Nicholas, Angers, was no longer performing its prescribed rites, that only two out of the intended seven monks lived

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1. M.A. vi, part i, 374.
 2. Rot.Parl. iii, p.383.
 3. Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre, p.149.
 4. P.R.O. R.135. 2/24. Only one quire remains of what was once evidently a handsome manuscript: space has been left for coloured initials, never filled in, even in the opening pages. Fortunately several of the documents in the cartulary have also been recorded in the Register of Richard Scrope, archbishop of York, thus enabling the gaps in the cartulary to be filled.
 5. P.R.O. E.135. 2/24, ff.1r-2v; Reg.Scrope, f.116r.

there, that their lives were corrupt and their servants riotous, and that the monastic buildings were decaying through neglect.

The priory was apparently left undisturbed in its parlous state, for no record occurs of any further action being taken until October 1396, when Boniface IX, Urban's successor, in reply to another petition by Mowbray, required the archbishop of York to allow a Carthusian house to be founded at Epworth in the Isle of Axholme, to transfer Kirby Monachorum and appropriate the churches of Belton and Epworth to it. ⁽¹⁾ There were to be a prior and twelve monks at the new house.

Mowbray had meanwhile obtained two foundation licences for the Charterhouse. The first, dated 7 July 1395, ⁽²⁾ gave him permission to found the house, to dedicate it to God and the Blessed Virgin, St. John the Baptist and St. Edmund the Confessor, to alienate one hundred acres of land there to John Moreby, the prior-elect, and to alienate Kirby Monachorum and its attached properties to the monks. The second, dated 26 June 1396 ⁽³⁾ repeated these provisions, but added that the house was to be known as the 'Visitation of the Mother of God', and went into much greater detail about the possessions of Kirby, which comprised the manors of Newbold-on-Avon, Copston and Walton, all in Warwickshire, and the advowsons of the churches of Kirby and Newbold, and also of Withybrook, Wappenbury and Sharnford: all of these the abbey of St. Nicholas was empowered to relinquish to the Charterhouse. If the priory of Kirby was returned to the crown because of war or schism, the monks would be released from the obligation of paying the £40 annual farm to the king and from any other financial burden attached. The Charterhouse was spoken of as not yet 'fundata', the implication apparently being that the building had not then commenced. The number of monks proposed for the new priory was not specified, the phrase used being 'certis monachis'. This is unusual in a licence for a Carthusian foundation, and interesting in view of what is stated in Mowbray's own foundation charter. ⁽⁴⁾

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1. P.R.O. E.135, 2/24, ff.2r-3v; C.P.L.1362-1404, p.537; Reg.Scrope, f.116r-v.
 2. P.R.O. E.135, 2/24, ff.5v-6r; C.P.R.1391-6, p.607; Reg.Scrope, f.117r.
 3. P.R.O. E.135, 2/24, ff.3v-5v; C.P.R.1396-9, p.77; M.A. vi, part i, 25-6.
 4. See below, p.98.

At about this time, according to the Carthusian annalist Le Couteulx, Mowbray approached the priors of Coventry and Kingston-upon-Hull Charterhouses, who were then the visitors of the English province; and the prior of Hull responded by pouring a large amount of money into the new foundation. In 1397 he wrote to the General Chapter (then sitting at Seitz because of the Great Schism) that he felt the earl was completely engrossed in his political difficulties and correspondingly displaying an enthusiasm which he could only describe as tepid. He therefore requested the return of his money. The prior of Coventry however assured the chapter that he was certain of Mowbray's ultimate support, and the prior of Hull was told to wait and hope. The prior of Coventry's enthusiasm was fortunately soon vindicated as the work began shortly afterwards, and the earl of Nottingham was duly entered into Carthusian records as a worthy founder. (1) The prior of Hull's expenditure suggests that monks had been living at Epworth despite the lack of support from Mowbray. This is quite possible since the site had originally supported some canons, long since departed, serving a chapel dedicated to the Virgin and called 'the Priory in the Wood', by which appellation the Carthusian house was subsequently known. (2) The decaying buildings could easily have supported the monks in their early days. Moreover, although in June 1396 the king had said that the house was yet to be founded, by November of that year it was recorded as having been founded in a close roll entry: the latter instructed the sheriff of Warwickshire to ensure that the rents and farms from the manor of Kirby Monachorum together with the arrears due, should be collected from tenants who were apparently withholding them. (3)

Mowbray's charter to the monks is the seventh document in the cartulary. (4) Since its conclusion is missing, its exact date is unknown; but it can be dated to within a year, as Mowbray is described as the duke of Norfolk and it includes a reference to Edward, duke of Aumale. (5) These titles were

1. Le Couteulx, vii, 37-8.

2. M.A. vi, part i, 26-7; see also Thompson, p.219.

3. C.C.I.R. 1396-9, p.27.

4. P.R.O. E.135. 2/24, ff.6v-8v.

5. Ibid. f.8r.

both bestowed on their respective recipients on 29 September 1397, ⁽¹⁾ thus giving a terminus a quo for the charter: a terminus ad quem is provided by Mowbray's banishment on 16 September 1398. Such a date supports Le Couteulx's estimate of the likely date of building. In the charter, which seems to be substantially complete, the earl made over to the monks his manor of Epworth, presumably comprising or including the 100 acres of land mentioned by the foundation licences: he added a rent of 20 marks yearly and a tenth of all free rents, and also appropriated to them Kirby Monachorum and the advowsons of the churches of Epworth and Belton.

There are two other points of interest in the charter. The first is that the house was described as being for the habitation of a prior and thirty monks, ⁽²⁾ and was therefore envisaged as being on a larger scale than even the London Charterhouse. The original papal mandates had only allowed for twelve monks; and that the foundation licences had ignored the question of size altogether is possibly indicative of some controversy or at least uncertainty on the question. The priory buildings do not remain to settle the issue of how many cells were ultimately built; however Rose Graham suggested that subsequent financial pressures probably reduced the number to the more usual and more manageable twelve, ⁽³⁾ a hypothesis which receives some support from the fact that at the Dissolution there were only eight monks. ⁽⁴⁾ Equally intriguing is the fact that whereas at the beginning of the charter Mowbray declared that he was founding the house for the good of the king and himself both now and after his death, for his father and mother, his ancestors and all faithful departed, all conventional sentiments; towards the end of the charter, he added that he wanted the monks to intercede for himself, the king and Edward, Lord Aumale. ⁽⁵⁾ The inclusion of the duke of Aumale is puzzling, the more so as it only occurs in the latter part of this charter. Indeed any explanation for this new insertion can only be highly speculative. Mowbray received his dukedom of Norfolk, and the earl of Rutland that of Aumale as a direct result of the arrest and attainder of the Appellants, especially the Duke of Gloucester,

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1. C.Ch.R.1341-1417, p.369.
 2. P.R.O. E.135. 2/24, ff.7v, 8v. The reference occurs twice in the charter, which would seem to preclude the possibility of error.
 3. V.C.H. Lincolnshire, ii, 158.
 4. L&P, xiv, p.597.
 5. P.R.O. E.135. 2/24, ff.7r-8v.

whose death in suspicious circumstances was popularly attributed to the two. (1) Shortly after these events Mowbray finally decided to build the religious foundation which he had been neglecting for twelve years, and included as joint recipient of the monks' orisons the other man who was implicated in Gloucester's death - the other man, indeed, if one remembers that the king himself was also suspected. It is just conceivable therefore that a sense of guilt was among the motives behind Mowbray's generosity to the Carthusians.

This generosity left the Carthusians in a position of some security, which was further enhanced in June 1398 by Boniface IX's grant to the monks of the indulgence of St. Mary of the angels of Assisi, (2) whereby all those making pilgrimage to the house on the feast of the Visitation (2 July) and contributing towards the construction work received a plenary indulgence and post-baptismal remission of sins. This was regarded by the Carthusians as a somewhat mixed blessing, since it hardly contributed to their peace and quiet; but it was an honour, and a lucrative one. (3)

On 20 March 1399 both the London Charterhouse and Mount Grace received Richard II's charter of immunity from the various types of feudal exaction, including aids, tallages, contributions and customs. (4) It was probably this which spurred Coventry and Axholme into sending a joint petition requesting a similar exemption (5) which they received on 21 May of that year. (6) Also in May Axholme acquired from the abbey of Sulby, Northamptonshire, four messuages, 100 acres of land, 30 acres meadow and 18 marks of rent in Ouston, Haxay, Epworth and Belton; (7) they also appropriated the church of Withybrook in Warwickshire, (8) and in exchange

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1. Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti Regum Angliae, ed. H.T. Riley (R.S. 28, 1866), iii, 309.
 2. M.A. vi, part i, 26-8.
 3. Maisons, iv, 37.
 4. C.Ch.R. 1341-1417, pp. 381-2.
 5. P.R.O. S.C. 8/196/9776.
 6. C.Ch.R. 1341-1417, pp. 381-2.
 7. C.P.R. 1396-9, pp. 399-400.
 8. C.P.R. 1396-9, p. 583.

granted to the abbey of Sulby the advowson of the church of Wappenbury. (1)

Unfortunately the priory of Kirby Monachorum, supposedly the Charterhouse's main source of income, proved to be little but a burden to it. From 1393 it had been leased for 24 years to Sir John Robessart, son and heir of Sir Cannon Robessart. (2) An indenture made on 19 March 1399 (3) witnessed a grant from Prior Moreby to Sir John of all owed to him by the priory, as well as of all the cattle and stock there and any crops sown by him up to the following Easter. The prior also undertook to pay him 65 marks in instalments, and to pay the king his £40 farm. In return Sir John agreed to make over to the Charterhouse everything pertaining to the priory, as indeed he did, in an acknowledgement which forms the fifth document in the cartulary. (4) The sixth document, although undated, evidently elaborated upon that grant, explaining that since Sir John Robessart had given up his rights in the priory, he was therefore quit also of the farm due to the king from it, and that the Charterhouse was also absolved from paying any of the farm. (5)

Axholme Charterhouse did not therefore effectively take charge of the priory until Easter 1399, and possessed it only for a short period of some four months, since the accession of Henry IV brought with it the restoration of alien priories, and Kirby was returned to its prior, John Godimer. (6) There then ensued a long period of acrimonious litigation, the legacy of all who meddled in the affairs of alien priories. (7) The Carthusians fought the battle with a series of petitions addressed to the king. The first complained that they had been unlawfully dispossessed by John Godimer, (8) and seems to have resulted in John Moreby being briefly put into possession of the alien priory until Michaelmas 1400; then the case was heard by the king, to whom Godimer averred that he had been lawfully instituted. (9)

1. C.P.R. 1396-9, p. 581.

2. C.P.R. 1396-9, p. 77; V.C.H. Lincs. ii, 158.

3. C.Cl.R. 1399-1402, p. 509.

4. P.R.O. E.135. 2/24, f. 6r-v; also C.Cl.R. 1399-1402, p. 506.

5. P.R.O. E.135. 2/24, ff. 6v-7r.

6. C.P.R. 1399-1401, p. 71.

7. M.M. Morgan, 'The Suppression of the Alien Priories', History, xxvi (1942), p. 208.

8. P.R.O. S.C. 8/178/8870.

9. C.Cl.R. 1402-5, p. 39.

In about 1400 Moreby also lodged a petition complaining that on 12 August 1399 a group of men, including William Colman, William Bosenytt and Robert Fox, had entered the priory, taken £25 12s. 1d. in money and were still occupying it. ⁽¹⁾ He also wrote on the same theme, but with more elaboration, to Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, asking for his help in retrieving the property. ⁽²⁾ And apparently on 6 July 1402 he produced a third petition ⁽³⁾ claiming that Richard II had granted the priory to him, but that he had been forcibly dispossessed by Robert Fox: Henry IV had therefore made the grant to Godimer without being informed that the priory was in Carthusian hands. Both parties were ordered to be in court at Michaelmas 1402, but on Godimer's production of the letters patent proving his right to the priory, the court was adjourned. ⁽⁴⁾ When it was reconstituted Godimer withdrew from the case, saying that since the last Michaelmas, the king had taken to himself all alien priories, and that Kirby was no longer in his hands but in those of Robert Threske, William Walshale and John Rous. ⁽⁵⁾ The judgement was deferred; ⁽⁶⁾ and the result, if there was one, is unknown. John de Moreby issued at least one more petition, pleading for a re-examination of Axholme's claim to Kirby: it is undated, and so vague that it could have been penned at any stage of the proceedings. ⁽⁷⁾ Apparently, however, the monks were still prevented from re-entering the forsaken priory, although an entry on the Patent Rolls two years later suggests that they were nonetheless taking a keen interest in its affairs. On 22 May 1405 Moreby complained about wastage in Walton-on-le-Street, parcel of the priory of Kirby Monachorum. We are informed that the land had been granted to one John Marshall by William Grawelers, described as 'the late prior'. ⁽⁸⁾ Shortly afterwards the prior of Kirby Monachorum fled from the monastery, taking all his goods with him. The Carthusians failed to profit however, since Kirby was

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1. P.R.O. S.C.8/116/5770.
 2. B.M.Cotton Charter iv. 22.
 3. This does not survive, but its existence and contents may be inferred from the judgement it provoked.
 4. C.Cl.R.1402-5, pp.38-9.
 5. C.Cl.R.1402-5, pp.83-4.
 6. C.Cl.R.1402-5, pp.204-5.
 7. P.R.O. S.C.8/128/6364.
 8. C.P.R.1405-8, p.60.

granted back to John Robessart. (1) Moreby decided on a personal approach to the abbot of St. Nicholas, Angers, and in the course of an apparently lengthy correspondence proposed that the abbey should receive eight or ten marks out of Kirby's income even when their two countries were engaged in hostilities; but, as he confided to the prior of Le Parc Chartreuse in 1413, the more he pleaded with the abbot, the more intractable he became. (2)

Henry V was to prove more amenable to Moreby's flood of petitions. When the prior once again presented his suit, armed with Richard II's foundation licence, the king summoned Robessart to court, and on his non-appearance revoked the letters granting Kirby to him. (3) Moreby plied Henry V with two further petitions, the first requesting confirmation of the grant of Kirby, and a licence for John the earl marshal (Thomas Mowbray's second son) to give the monks some land in Ouston, an annual rent of 20 marks from the manor of Epworth, and a tun of Gascon wine; (4) the second reiterated these requests at even greater length and also sought confirmation of the grant of Newbold-on-Avon, Copston and Walton manors. (5) All these Henry obligingly conceded. (6)

Moreby's fifteen-year labours in penning such petitions reflected his desperation. Monks Kirby was one of the richest alien priories: it had been valued in 1387 at £165 12s. 12½d. per year. (7) Clearly it was worth all the trouble it caused the Carthusians. Without it, as Moreby repeatedly argued, they were left with Mowbray's original hundred acre endowment as their sole support. The building programme had long since lapsed, and not until this was completed in 1432 was the house formally incorporated into the order. (8) Even then however the poor workmanship apparently

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1. C.P.R.1405-8, p.33.
 2. Le Couteulx, vii, p.333.
 3. C.P.R.1413-6, p.108.
 4. P.R.O. S.C.8/250/12475.
 5. P.R.O. S.C.8/250/12478.
 6. C.P.R.1413-6, p.355.
 7. V.C.H. Warwickshire, ii, 131.
 8. Bodleian Ms. Rawlinson D.318, f.122v.

necessitated major repairs being undertaken in 1441. (1) But the initial period of extreme hardship was at least compensated for by a period of relative financial stability, so that by 1536 Axholme was worth £237 15s. 2d. (2) a considerable improvement on the sum of £11 13s. 4d. which Moreby reported as his annual income during the early years. (3)

The Mowbray family continued to support the Charterhouse. The founder was eventually buried there, as his son John reported in his own will; 'les oses du corps nostre dit seignour et pier qe unqore reposent a Venys pur son dette et mesmes les oses enterrerre en nostre priour de Charterhouse deins nostre isle Darholme'. (4) John, the second duke of Norfolk, also requested burial there; and Leland eventually saw one of the tombs, 'By Milwood Park side stood the right fair monasterie of the Carthusianes, wher one of the Mulbrais, dukes of Northfolk was buried in a tumbe of alabaster'. (5) John was obviously instrumental in helping the monks finally to achieve possession of Kirby Monachorum, and he gave them land in Ouston, 20 marks rents annually and a tun of wine in 1415. (6) His son Thomas, the third duke of Norfolk, gave them the advowson of the church of Sileby in Leicestershire in 1447. (7) In 1483 the Mowbray line became extinct and the dukedom of Norfolk passed to the Howard family. Several Carthusian authors maintain that the patronage of Axholme devolved onto the Howards, and that Catherine Howard was awarded the title of second founder for her generosity to the house. (8) Le Couteulx for example quoted an entry in the records of the general chapter for 1489; 'Obiit illustrissima domina Catharina ducissa Norfolchiae, fundatrix Domus Visitationis, etc', and commented 'Domus ad absolutem deducta est largitate quorumdam benefactorum, maxime ex munificentia Catherinae ducissae Norfolciae quae etiam fundatricis nomen habet in Charta'. But he added 'Quae vero illa sita non potui reperire'. The

1. Maisons, iv, 38.

2. V.E. iv, 136.

3. Thompson, p.225.

4. Reg. Chichele, ii, 473.

5. J.Leland, Itineraries, ed.L.T.Smith (London, 1964), i, 37.

6. C.P.R.1413-6, p.355.

7. C.P.R.1446-52, p.114.

8. Le Couteulx, vii, 44; Maisons, iv, 38; B.Tromby, Storia Critico-Cronologica Diplomatica del Patriarcha S.Brunone e del suo Ordine Cartusiano (Naples, 1773-9), ix, 176.

entry is certainly puzzling. John Howard, sixth duke of Norfolk, was married to a Catherine, the daughter of Sir William de Moleyns, but she died in 1465. (1) There seems to be no other evidence that the Howard family advanced the fortunes of the house.

v. Mount Grace Charterhouse

The eighth English Charterhouse, Mount Grace, founded in Yorkshire in 1397-8, is perhaps the best-known English Charterhouse besides London. This fame is largely owing to the fact that extensive and attractive ruins of the priory survive to this day. The modern visitor may find other monastic ruins more splendid, but the peculiar fascination of Mount Grace lies in the wealth of intimate detail these buildings alone provide about the Carthusians' day-to-day existence. As A. Hamilton Thompson noted, the ruins of Mount Grace provide 'of all English Monasteries the one in which the permanent attraction of the religious life to the pious soul can be best understood'. (2) Like its predecessor Axholme, Mount Grace was built in an isolated situation, two miles from the ancient village of East Harsey, and now close to the busy A19 between Thirsk and Northallerton. It lies below the western escarpment of the Cleveland hills on a site that must have been artificially levelled for it. It was also one of the biggest Charterhouses, ultimately affording accommodation for twenty-four monks and a prior, although whether it was originally designed to house so large a number is unknown.

The founder was Thomas de Holland, third earl of Kent, duke of Surrey, and nephew to Richard II through his paternal grandmother, Joan Wake, 'the fair maid of Kent'. He was born in 1374, and was, like Mowbray, among those who arrested the Appellants in 1397. In 1398 he was made Lord Marshal and shortly afterwards distinguished himself in Richard's second Irish campaign. On his accession, Henry IV was magnanimous towards him, merely subjecting him to the deprivation of his dukedom, nine weeks' imprisonment and the removal of some of his more superfluous estates; but in 1400 he rose in an unsuccessful conspiracy against the king, which ended in his being beheaded

1. C.P. ix, 612.

2. A.H. Thompson, The English Clergy and their Organisation in the Later Middle Ages (Oxford, 1947), p.182.

by the irate citizens of Cirencester. (1)

The foundation of the Charterhouse can therefore be best interpreted as a product of the interest of the king and his immediate court circle. For all his faults, Holland impressed even the Lancastrian chroniclers as being touchingly loyal to Richard II, (2) and possibly he wanted to benefit the order his uncle held in such esteem. But even if his motivation was, like that of Mowbray, secular in origin, he proved to be rather more assiduous in promoting the interests of the house. On 18 February 1398 he received licence from the king to found the priory in his manor of Bordelby in Yorkshire, and to alienate the manor to the monks. (3) The foundation charter, (4) preserved and displayed at Ripley Castle near Harrogate, is undated, but was probably given early in 1398. In it, Mowbray explained at inordinate length, 'How from his earliest years he had in mind and desired, by God's inspiration, to increase divine worship; and because he believed and knew truly that all states and orders of the Holy Church were good and devout, yet, by God's inspiration, he held a special affection and peculiar devotion to the very holy Carthusian Order, whose holy and special observances, and the persons living in that order he greatly admired, and whose number, with divine co-operation, he wanted very much to increase.' Though gratifying to the Carthusian apologist, this laudable statement of intent by Holland is perhaps more an example of self-glorification than praise of the order. It is an expression of sentiments which had, by that time, become conventional. This was seen in the foundation of Kingston-upon-Hull Charterhouse, where it was suggested that to found a house of this ascetic order had become something of a status symbol precisely because it was regarded as the most devout. (5) Now Holland had the additional excellent incentive that the order was under royal patronage.

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1. For references to the earl's life see T. Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, ed. H. T. Riley (R.S. 28, 1863-4), i, part ii, 225-244; Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richard deux Roy Dengleterre, ed. B. S. Williams (English Historical Society, 1846), pp. 127-247; J. Froissart, Chronicles, translated T. Johnes (London, 1839), ii, 706-7.
 2. T. Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, ii, 243-4; 'Translation of a French Metrical History of the Deposition of King Richard the Second', ed. J. Webb, Archaeologia, xx (1823), pp. 82-3.
 3. C.P.R. 1396-9, p. 280.
 4. M.A. vi, part i, 23.
 5. See above, pp. 67-9.

The house was founded, according to the charter, in honour of the Virgin and St. Nicholas, (although the latter dedication was later neglected) and was called Mount Grace of Ingleby. The charter does not record how many monks were to be in the house, but it names the first prior, Robert Tredewy. Finally there followed a long list of all the individuals for whom the monks were expected to pray. This included the king and his late wife, and various other relatives of Holland. Also mentioned were members of the local family of Ingleby, John de Ingleby and his wife Eleanor, and the souls of his father and mother, Thomas and Katherine de Ingleby. The Ingleby family were the Lords of Ripley, ⁽¹⁾ as indeed they still are, and their inclusion as spiritual beneficiaries in the charter was probably due to their interest in the manor of Bordelby which had been given to the Carthusians. ⁽²⁾ But the presence in the charter of a host of other more obscure names is rather more difficult to explain. These are William and Margaret de Aldeburgh; William, Eleanor, Agnes and Margaret Authorp (or Anthorp); Richard, Alice, Walter, Gilbert, Thomas, Margaret, Alice, Richard, Margaret, John and Walter Walksted; Walter, Joan and Joan Wrigge, and John, Joan and Richard Wakhurst. The wording of the charter suggests that all these were deceased and that their souls were to be prayed for. Certainly William and Margaret de Aldeburgh were dead: William's will was proved on 6 September 1391, ⁽³⁾ and Margaret's on 19 October 1391. ⁽⁴⁾ William's father, William de Aldeburgh, and Elizabeth his wife had been benefactors to Beauvale, giving lands at Willey Haye for the soul of their kinsman Edward Balliol, King of Scotland. ⁽⁵⁾ Moreover in 1393 Elizabeth, lately the wife of Sir Brian Stapleton, with Sir William de Ryther and his wife Elizabeth, alienated land to Beauvale to pay for two monks to celebrate divine service for the souls of William de Aldeburgh and Elizabeth his wife, mother of Elizabeth de Stapleton and Elizabeth de Ryther, and for the souls of William de Aldeburgh, their brother and his wife Elizabeth. ⁽⁶⁾

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1. R.Glover, The Visitation of Yorkshire, made in the Years 1584/5, ed.J.Foster (London, 1875), pp.282-3.
 2. See below, p.114.
 3. Test. Ebor. i, 138. 138.
 4. Test. Ebor. i, 152.
 5. C.P.R.1361-4, pp.262, 266, 342-3.
 6. C.P.R.1391-6, pp.308, 338.

The other names are more difficult to trace save possibly William de Authorp. A William de Authorp, rector of the church of Deighton, with John de Ingleby, granted half the manor of Harewood to Richard de Redmayne and his wife Elizabeth on 24 April 1402; ⁽¹⁾ and, in his will, proved on 20 February 1433, William de Authorp, rector of Deighton, expressed a desire to be buried in the church of Mount Grace. ⁽²⁾ He was not necessarily the William Authorp of the charter, but was likely to have been a close relative at least. William Brown suggests that all the people in the charter, except the Hollands and Inglebys, 'were people of little importance, who had interests in the manor and were pacified in this way'; ⁽³⁾ this would be an excellent theory save for the probability that they were all dead by that time.

The subsequent history of Mount Grace parallels that of Coventry and Axholme, in that substantial endowments of alien priories were rapidly made, only to be returned to their original owners after the accession of Henry IV. During the last two years of his life, Richard II was extremely generous towards his nephew's foundation. The house received the general charter of liberties and immunities which was also to be granted to London, Coventry and Axholme, ⁽⁴⁾ and was in addition given the alien priories of Ware in Hertfordshire, and later of Hinckley in Leicestershire, Wareham in Dorset and Carisbrooke in Hampshire. ⁽⁵⁾

Ware was a dependency of the Benedictine priory of St. Evroul in Normandy, and was an extremely desirable acquisition, being one of the largest and wealthiest of alien priories. In 1343 it supported at least ten monks and a prior, ⁽⁶⁾ and in 1377 Richard II granted its custody to its prior William Herbert for £245, ⁽⁷⁾ so its value must have been even greater than this figure. In March 1398 Holland was granted the priory free of rent, ⁽⁸⁾ and at his instigation it was handed over to the Carthusians

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1. W. Brown, 'Mount Grace Priory', Y.A.J. xviii (1905), p.266.
 2. York Prob.Reg. iii, f.351r-v.
 3. W. Brown, 'Mount Grace Priory', p.259.
 4. C.Ch.R.1341-1417, pp.381-2.
 5. The article on Mount Grace in the V.C.H. Yorkshire, ii, 192, confuses Ware and Wareham.
 6. C.P.R.1343-5, p.35.
 7. C.P.R.1381-5, p.13.
 8. C.P.R.1396-9, p.332.

on 20 April of that year. ⁽¹⁾ The possession of Ware was to prove even more frustrating to Mount Grace than the pursuit of Monks Kirby had been to Axholme. Holland paid £1,000 to ensure its safe keeping in Mount Grace's hands, and Richard II promised that it shall not be removed from them, but even these precautions were not completely effective. Exactly what happened to Ware on the accession of Henry IV is not clear. There is no record of its being returned to its prior, although the latter was in residence by 13 May 1400. ⁽²⁾ In December 1399 Philip Repington, abbot of St. Mary's Leicester, was granted some of its yearly income for the support of his abbey; ⁽³⁾ and in February 1400 the abbot of St. Evroul had licence to alienate the priory and its possessions to Repington. ⁽⁴⁾ This evidently did not occur as in several subsequent patent roll entries land belonging to the priory was referred to as being 'in the king's gift'. ⁽⁵⁾

Sometime in 1400 or 1401 the prior of Mount Grace issued a petition complaining that Henry IV had given Ware to William Herbert (the prior in 1377), and that he had come to an agreement with the latter, but that Herbert had taken the case to the king's court and the Carthusians had been expelled, despite the £1,000 Holland had paid to safe-guard their rights, and despite it being their only source of livelihood. ⁽⁶⁾ The petition was partially successful, resulting in a grant of £100 annually from the Exchequer until lands were given to that value, and a tun of 'the better red wine of Gascony' every year. ⁽⁷⁾ Nevertheless, this was a considerable loss since Ware was worth £250 a year. William Herbert, the prior, was still farming Ware for the king in 1405, ⁽⁸⁾ and later in that year custody was granted to Queen Joan. ⁽⁹⁾ In 1410 Nicholas Champene was prior

1. C.P.R.1396-9, p.348.

2. C.P.R.1399-1401, p.276-7.

3. C.P.R.1399-1401, pp.138, 206. Both entries were for the same date, but the first entitled Repington to 250 marks from the farm of Ware, whereas the second allowed him £245.

4. C.P.R.1399-1401, p.221.

5. For example, C.P.R.1399-1401, p.243.

6. P.R.O. S.C.8/128/6368.

7. C.P.R.1399-1401, p.532.

8. C.Cl.R.1402-5, p.449.

9. C.P.R.1405-8, p.48.

as he had licence to bring a monk and servant from St. Evroul to live in the priory in order to maintain divine service there. (1)

On Henry V's accession the Charterhouse addressed a petition to him restating their position, (2) but it only resulted in a confirmation of Henry IV's grant of £100. (3) However, on 1 April 1415 Ware was granted to Sheen, provided that the monks there paid £100 annually to Mount Grace as long as it remained in their hands. (4) In 1421 the king kept his promise to supply Mount Grace with lands equivalent to £100 annually, on condition that the previous grants were surrendered, and the monks were given Long Bennington in Lincolnshire with Field Dalling in Norfolk, and Hough and Minting in Lincolnshire. (5) Long Bennington, Field Dalling and Hough had all previously been properties of Coventry Charterhouse, and Minting was a dependency of St. Benoit-sur-Loire. The monks were still unsatisfied, since, as they pointed out in a petition to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, protector during Henry IV's minority, Hough and Minting formed part of the endowment of Queen Joan. They also claimed that the Augustinian house of St. Mary de Voto, Cherbourg, upon which Hough was dependent, had presented a canon called John Burdett to the priory, and they complained 'in this case & many other cases of priories aliens grauntyd by the kyng to other divers persons'. (6) They also apparently appealed to the Carthusian general chapter, which applied to John Widrington the prior of Sheen: upon receiving assurances that his house was more than adequately endowed, the chapter ordained in 1424 that he should at least give a pension of £100 to Mount Grace while Joan was alive, and that Mount Grace should recover all the properties granted to it after her death. (7) This apparently happened, since Hough and Minting figure among the possessions of Mount Grace at the Dissolution. (8)

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1. C.P.R.1408-13, p.157. This is an entry of some interest, since it was extremely unusual at this period for alien monks to be allowed to enter the country.
 2. P.R.O. S.C.8/186/9299.
 3. C.P.R.1413-6, p.151; C.Cl.R.1413-49, p.49.
 4. C.Ch.R.1341-1417, pp.479-80.
 5. C.P.R.1416-22, p.395.
 6. P.R.O. S.C.8/295/14704.
 7. Le Couteulx, vi, 75.
 8. V.E. v, 85.

Carisbrooke, Hinckley and Wareham, the other three alien priories granted to Mount Grace, form a distinct group as they were all dependent upon the Benedictine abbey of Lire. Carisbrooke was the most valuable, worth 100 marks a year to the crown; Hinckley rendered £50, but Wareham, which must have been very small, was worth only £4. Carisbrooke was certainly conventual, although there is some doubt as to whether the other two were; but all had been founded as administrative centres for the far-flung property of Lire rather than as priories proper. ⁽¹⁾ Mount Grace was granted in addition all the other English property of Lire, worth 200 marks annually. For all these grants the monks had to pay £54 a year to the crown. Originally, on 20 March 1399, Hinckley had been granted to Mount Grace in perpetuity, and Lire given permission to alienate it, ⁽²⁾ but this licence was annulled two months later by the grant of Hinckley, Carisbrooke and Wareham for the duration of the war alone. ⁽³⁾

At the accession of Henry IV, Carisbrooke was returned to its prior, Thomas de Walle Osoul, and Hinckley to Michael Aufri. ⁽⁴⁾ Wareham does not figure in the list, but was presumably returned. Like Ware, and indeed like most alien priories, income from Hinckley and Wareham was granted to Queen Joan in 1409. ⁽⁵⁾ Although in 1414 Henry V raised the amounts paid to Joan, ⁽⁶⁾ a year later he allowed his uncle Thomas de Beaufort, earl of Dorset, to alienate Hinckley to Nicholas Love, the prior of Mount Grace, for the support of five monks who would pray for the king, the earl and

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1. D. Matthew, The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions (Oxford, 1962), p.52.
 2. C.P.R.1396-9, p.497.
 3. C.P.R.1396-9, p.570. The prior of Mount Grace to whom all these properties were granted was named Edmund, so Robert Tredewy must have been prior for rather less than a year.
 4. C.P.R.1399-1401, p.71.
 5. C.P.R.1408-13, pp.86-7.
 6. C.P.R.1413-6, pp.165-6; C.Cl.R.1413-9, p.154.

their various relatives. (1) Henry's decision was presumably occasioned by the fact that two months earlier he had granted Ware to Sheen. (2) Nevertheless Joan was still being paid 242 13s. 4d. from Hinckley in 1423. (3) Thomas de Beaufort, now created duke of Exeter, stipulated in his will, dated 29 December 1426, that £40 should be given to Mount Grace as long as Joan received her pension from Hinckley. (4) All the other possessions of Lire were granted to Sheen on 1 April 1415. (5)

Mount Grace had therefore as much cause as Coventry and Axholme to bewail the fact that its endowment consisted almost exclusively of alien priories. That it had not even more cause for anxiety was due to the generosity of Thomas de Beaufort. Beaufort was the third illegitimate son of John of Gaunt by Katherine Swynford, and therefore half-brother of Henry IV and uncle of Henry V. The three brothers were legitimised in 1397, (6) the second brother being of course the celebrated Chancellor Henry de Beaufort, bishop of Winchester. Thomas himself was also Chancellor from 1410 until 1412, and in addition he was a close friend and advisor of

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1. C.P.R.1413-6, p.355; C.Cl.R.1413-9, p.225. It is often stated that the five cells he endowed were for monk-chaplains, primarily because this is the wording of the abstract in the C.P.R.1413-6, p.355. This appears to be a misunderstanding, as it seems that the five new entrants at Mount Grace were ordinary monks, not monk-chaplains of the type imposed by Richard II upon Coventry. The relevant entry for Mount Grace on the Patent Roll itself reads, 'In plenum dotacionem et sustentacionem quinque monachorum capellanorum ejusdem domus infra domus predictam', (Pat. 3 Henry V, part ii, m.39.) whereas the entry for Coventry reads 'Eandem domum de uno conventu monachorum capellanorum ultra monachos qui ad praesens sunt ibidem', (M.A, vi, part i, 18). In the first quotation 'capellanorum ejusdem domus' is a subordinate clause describing the five monks who were to be part of the house, while in the second the 'conventu monachorum capellanorum' was contrasted with and in addition to the monks who comprised the priory proper. The five Mount Grace monks were, inso facto, chaplains of Mount Grace, whereas the convent of monk-chaplains at Coventry was a body set apart from the original monks.
 2. C.Ch.R.1341-1417, pp.479-80.
 3. C.Cl.R.1422-9, p.20.
 4. Reg. Chichele, ii, 356.
 5. C.Ch.R.1341-1417, pp.479-80.
 6. Rot.Parl. iii, 343; S.Armitage-Smith, John of Gaunt (London, 1964), p.392.

Henry V, and one of the executors of his will. He was not the patron of Mount Grace (that honour had devolved upon Thomas de Holland's younger brother, Edmund, earl of Kent, despite the attainder of the founder) but he seems to have considered himself bound to reverse the trend of the priory's ailing fortunes, and certainly manifested more concern than the true patron. Why he assumed this role is not altogether clear. He was related to Thomas de Holland, since Holland's sister Margaret had married Beaufort's eldest brother John, earl of Kent, but it was rather too tenuous a kinship for Beaufort to have considered himself the natural heir of Holland's interest in the priory. It could have been that he was inspired by Henry V's patronage of the order, since the two men were close, but it would probably be more correct to say that the interest was one they both shared. Beaufort's will, proved 28 January 1427, was a document of considerable length and minute detail, and reveals him as a man whose religious aspirations were precisely defined, and whose interest in the Carthusian order was very much in keeping with these aspirations. While directing that at his funeral 'non sint nimis sumptuose seu pompose expense', he yet made elaborate provision for 1,000 masses to be said; there were to be as many torches as there were years of his age when he died, every torch carried by a poor man and woman who were each to receive as many pence as there were years of his age when he died.

Besides the £40 pension to Mount Grace, he also bequeathed a cross of silver and gold with a beryl in its base, and to every house except Mount Grace he gave five marks.⁽¹⁾ Indeed his support of the order was not confined to the English houses, for he also sent money to the general chapter.⁽²⁾ The other recipients of his charity in his will (besides the personal legatees and the abbey of Bury St. Edmund's where he was buried) were four recluses, five hospitals, the prisoners at five jails, the Franciscan, Carmelite and Augustinian Friars and the secular college of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. All these bequests can be seen to be guided by principles rather than by personal interest in particular institutions. They fall into two groups; those to hermits and ascetics (the Carthusians and anchorites), and those to institutions which cared for the unfortunate and deprived (the hospitals, friars and prisoners). It is a pattern that is repeated in many

1. Reg. Chichele, ii, 355-8.

2. Lambeth Palace Ms. 413, f. 65r.

wills of the period, and the motivation involved is a theme explored more deeply in the chapter on patronage. (1)

In addition to assigning £40 a year to Mount Grace while Queen Joan was in possession of Hinckley, Beaufort also specified in his will (after asserting incorrectly that other English property of Lire had been assigned to Syon) that 500 marks should be made over to Lire in recompense for the loss of Hinckley. He even directed that if the value of Hinckley was later found to be in excess of 500 marks, the balance should be supplied to Lire from the residue of his estate. He thus ensured that no party involved in the transfer of Hinckley to Mount Grace should be any the poorer for it, being presumably shrewd enough to realise that this was the only way in which Mount Grace could secure permanent possession of Hinckley, a realisation which does credit both to his intelligence and his sense of justice.

It appears that Beaufort originally obtained permission to be interred in Mount Grace, for in the records of the general chapter of 1417, the Charterhouse was granted 'sepulturam illustrissimi principis Exoniensis. qui in eadem quinque cellas....fundavit'. (2) In the event, he was buried elsewhere, but after his death, on 31 December 1426, a trental of masses was said for him by the order in gratitude for all his services. (3) He was actually buried at Bury St. Edmund's in accordance with the provisions of his will. His body was apparently disinterred on 20 February 1772 and found to be in perfect condition. (4)

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1. See below, pp. 363-5.
 2. Bodleian Ms. Rawlinson D.318, f.108v.
 3. Lambeth Palace Ms. 413, f.65r. E.M.Thompson's account is a little confused here. She states (p.232) that the Duke of Exeter was buried at Mount Grace, and it was his son for whom the trental of masses was said. Since the duke died without issue, both references must be to the same person.
 4. The Paston Letters, ed.J.Gairdner (London, 1904), ii, 236.

However the founder, Thomas de Holland, was ultimately interred at Mount Grace. His body had been buried in Cirencester, and his head exhibited on London Bridge; but in 1412 his widow Joan, through the offices of her kinswoman Lucy, was allowed to exhume his remains and lay them in Mount Grace. ⁽¹⁾ The Lucy of this document was Lucia Visconti, the wife of Edmund, earl of Kent, younger brother of Thomas de Holland. It was to this couple that the patronage of the priory descended, for in 1411 Lucy was granted livery of the advowson of Mount Grace at 40s., ⁽²⁾ and at her death in 1424 she was seized of the priory. ⁽³⁾ There is no evidence that either of the couple advanced the fortunes of Mount Grace, although Lucy in her will bequeathed 1,000 crowns to the London Charterhouse. ⁽⁴⁾ Thereafter the patronage devolved onto the Ingleby family, who were described earlier as having an interest in the manor of Bordelby. ⁽⁵⁾ This was something of an understatement, for it seems very probable that the manor belonged to them. Quite how Thomas de Holland was able to claim the possession of it is rather a mystery. In 1373 Bordelby was obtained by the Thomas and Katherine de Ingleby mentioned in the foundation charter from Ralph de Ripplingham and his wife Alice. ⁽⁶⁾ In 1397-8 the John de Ingleby of the charter had leave to hear mass in a chapel in his manor of Bordelby. ⁽⁷⁾ And both in 1438 when his grandson William de Ingleby died, and in 1456 when his great-grandson John de Ingleby died, the inquisitions revealed that the family now held the patronage of Mount Grace. ⁽⁸⁾

The Ingelbys were then a family of recent origin: indeed they can be traced back no further than the Sir Thomas de Ingleby of the charter, who was a judge and knight of the shire for Yorkshire in 1348. ⁽⁹⁾ They were

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1. C.P.R.1408-13, p.416.
 2. C.Cl.R.1409-13, p.147.
 3. W.Brown, 'Mount Grace Priory', p.258.
 4. Reg. Chichele, ii, p.279.
 5. See above, p.106.
 6. C.Cl.R.1369-74, p.588.
 7. W.Brown, 'Mount Grace Priory', p.259.
 8. Ibid. p.259. The great-grandson was named John, not William as Brown claims.
 9. W.T.Lancaster, The Early History of Ripley and the Ingelby Family With Some Account of the Roos Family of Ingmanthorpe (Leeds and London, 1918), p.14.

related to the Howbrays, since Thomas de Ingleby, the son of John de Ingleby, ⁽¹⁾ married Eleanor, daughter of William Howbray and grand-daughter of Sir John Howbray, who were descended from a younger son of the family which was to found Axholme Charterhouse. ⁽²⁾ They also form one of a group of Yorkshire families, close-knit by marriage and other ties, which manifested a great deal of interest in the Charterhouse throughout its existence, other members of the group including the Strangeways, Roos, Stapleton and Lascelles families. ⁽³⁾

The Inglebys were, as far as is known, in possession of the manor of Bordelby from 1373 onwards, and there is no record of any transaction whereby Thomas de Holland might have obtained it. Moreover John de Ingleby was frequently described as first founder of the house, both by secular and Carthusian sources. ⁽⁴⁾ Holland must therefore have been only some kind of feoffee; as is suggested by the presence of the Inglebys among those deserving the orisons of the monks. A further piece of evidence is that shortly after the death of Sir William de Ingleby in 1438 when he was found to hold the manor of Bordelby, the monks petitioned Parliament asking for a confirmation of their title. ⁽⁵⁾ They stated that Thomas de Holland had endowed them with the manor in question, but that on his death they had been forced to stop building, and had not dared to proceed because of the 'malignitate et indispositione temporis, praesertim ipsorum qui fingere titulos'. They requested that all claimants for the manor should

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1. R.Glover, The Visitation of Yorkshire, made in the Years 1584/5, ed. J.Foster (London, 1875), pp.282-3, suggests that John was Thomas' brother, not his son. Other evidence does not support this, and Glover's account of the Inglebys contains other inaccuracies.
 2. W.T.Lancaster, op.cit. pp.19-20.
 3. See below, pp.320-4.
 4. For example, in R.Glover, The Visitation of Yorkshire, made in the Years 1584/5 (London, 1875), p.282 (although here the wrong John is attributed with the foundation); in L&P, ix, 1173; and in the Carthusian general chapter of 1409 (Le Couteulx, vi, 73).
 5. Rot. Parl. v, 22; M.A. vi, part i, 23-4.

put their case to the king before Martinmas. As the king confirmed their title on 19 November 1440, presumably no rival claimant had appeared. It is extremely significant that this petition should have been penned immediately after Sir William de Ingleby's death, when his son John was only a minor, as it suggests that there had been some dispute over the title to the manor, possibly instigated by Sir William himself.

Because so much of the ruins of Mount Grace survive, it is possible to supplement the documentary history of the priory by architectural and archaeological evidence. (1) The fact that the ruins are so extensive and attractive is indeed the main reason why Mount Grace is relatively well-known today. Another reason is because of its literary activities. At least three of its monks, Nicholas Love, Richard Methley and John Norton were writers of repute. In particular Love's Myrrour of the Blessed Lvf of Jesu Christ was a work of considerable general popularity in the fifteenth century, and is the object of much scholarly interest today. One of Methley's treatises is the subject of chapter IV, and other literary evidence from Mount Grace is there discussed more fully. The manuscript which is the subject of chapter V, Bodleian E Museo 160, might also have come from Mount Grace, although as will be seen, Kingston-upon-Hull and Axholme are perhaps more likely candidates for provenance. Because the literary evidence is comparatively prolific, Mount Grace has acquired a unique reputation for spirituality among English Charterhouses. It cannot be doubted that in Mount Grace's case this reputation is justified, although whether it was unique is an assumption which could perhaps be queried.

Unusually detailed evidence of the internal life of the priory on the eve of the Dissolution is also provided by a later series of letters between the priors and their patrons the Clifford family. (2) The revelation in these letters that as late as the 1520's, Mount Grace had a queue of would-be entrants waiting for admission by contrast with falling recruitment in houses of other orders, speaks well for the spiritual standing of the priory. Indeed later history of Mount Grace, in sharp contrast to that of other English Charterhouses except perhaps London, is distinguished primarily by the evidence surviving of the more intimate side

1. See below, Appendix III, pp.353-6.

2. Clifford Letters: see below, pp.171-2, 296-8.

of life in the priory - the ruins, the spiritual writings and the correspondence with patrons. The preceding account of the foundation itself has perhaps presented little new information about the status of the order in England, although it confirms much of what has already been suggested. Above all, it lends weight to the idea that the interest taken by the court circle was crucial to the order's development at this point. If further proof were needed, the complete absence of such interest during the reign of Henry IV should supply it. Not only was there no new foundation, but a marked lack of concern was displayed at court towards the plight of the existing houses, as demonstrated by the frustrated attempts of Coventry, Axholme and Mount Grace to retrieve the substance of their initial endowments. The fifteen years of Henry IV's reign formed a hiatus in the development of the English Carthusians, from which they were redeemed by another royal patron, Henry V.

vi. Sheen Charterhouse

The last Charterhouse to be built in pre-Reformation England was founded by Henry V in his royal park at Sheen, later re-named Richmond by Henry VII. The park had long housed a royal mansion, but the latter had been demolished by the grief-stricken Richard II after his first wife Anne of Bohemia had died there. ⁽¹⁾ In 1414 however Henry V was planning to rebuild the palace, and perhaps felt that the neighbourhood would be improved by the injection of a little moral fervour. It has been alleged that in 1408, when making his peace with Pope Gregory XII, Henry IV was required to found three religious houses of strict observance in expiation for the martyrdom of Archbishop Scrope. ⁽²⁾ He did little or nothing about it and the responsibility devolved onto his son. ⁽³⁾ Henry V decided to build a Carthusian house (the foundation of Charterhouses to expiate the murders of archbishops being, by this time, almost a convention with the English monarchy), together with a Bridgettine house at Syon and

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1. M.A. vi, part i, 31; T.F.Tout, Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England (Manchester, 1920-33), iv, 222.
 2. J.H.Wylie, History of England under Henry IV (London, 1884-98), ii, 352. Some sources, particularly Carthusian ones, claim that the three monasteries were in expiation for the deposition of Richard II: see, for example, Le Couteulx, vii, 343.
 3. The Brut, ed.F.W.D.Brie (E.E.T.S. o.s.136, 1908), ii, 494-5.

a Celestine monastery; the latter two to the north of the Thames at Sheen, and the Carthusian house on the south. The Celestine monastery was apparently suppressed, owing to the monks' refusal to pray for the king while he insisted upon attacking their country; ⁽¹⁾ but the association between Syon and Sheen, tolling their bells at one another across the river, ⁽²⁾ was to prove long and fruitful.

Henry V's solicitude for the spiritual welfare of English monasteries in general is well documented. ⁽³⁾ Not content with merely founding houses of strict observance, he also embarked upon the reform of the Benedictines and Cluniacs apparently at the instigation of Robert Layton, the prior of Mount Grace, who had previously been a Black monk himself. ⁽⁴⁾ The king spared no expense on the endowment of Sheen, so that, unlike its fellow Charterhouses, it never had to suffer financial stringency. The house boasted no less than three foundation charters, the first dated 25 September 1414, ⁽⁵⁾ and the second ⁽⁶⁾ and third, ⁽⁷⁾ 1 April 1415. All three were prefaced by the same lengthy statement of self-justification, in which Henry explained that, just as Christ came on earth and cast out the Babylonian heretics and saved men by baptism, so now Jesus was still working through his, the king's, agency to expel heretics, serve true believers and subjugate demons. Therefore he had determined to found a Carthusian house, because of the special and sincere affection he bore for many reasons towards the order. Thereafter the first charter granted to the monks a piece of land 1,725 feet by 1,305²/₃ feet, running from Hakelot by Diversbusshe on the south, to Armetteslote on the north. The house was to be

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1. J.H.Wylie, and A.T.Waugh, The Reign of Henry the Fifth (Cambridge, 1914-29), i, 230-1.
 2. The Brut, ii, 496. (This contrasts with Rievaulx and Old Byland, where the campanological contest between the two led the latter to emigrate upriver to Stocking in 1147: see M.A. v, 351.)
 3. R.O. ii, 175-84.
 4. The Brut, ii, 495; T.Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, ed.H.T.Riley (R.S.28, 1863-4), ii, 337-8; R.O. ii, 182; Documents illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks 1215-1417, ed.W.A.Pantin (Camden Society, 3rd series, xlvii, 1933), p.107.
 5. C.Ch.R.1341-1417, pp.469-70.
 6. C.Ch.R.1341-1417, pp.479-80.
 7. M.A. vi, part i, 31-3.

called Jesus of Bethlehen, and the land was made over to John Widrington, an alumnus of the London Charterhouse, ⁽¹⁾ shortly to be appointed first prior. The monks were to be free of all secular exactions, in order that they might the more successfully perform their primary function of praying unceasingly for the king's health, for his soul and the souls of his ancestors and all the faithful departed. The charter also granted the house the alien priory of Lewisham together with Greenwich in Kent, dependent on the Benedictine house of St. Peter in Ghent, and all the English possessions of the abbey of Fécamp in Normandy. Finally the Charterhouse was allowed all the liberties and immunities which had been granted to the other Carthusian houses. ⁽²⁾

By the second charter, ⁽³⁾ dated some six months later, the plot of land given to the monks was almost doubled in size. It was still 1,305 feet in width, and the southern boundary was the same, but it was now 3,125 feet in length and extended to Crossashe on the north. In addition to being granted Lewisham and Greenwich, the house also received the alien priories of Ware in Hertfordshire, and Noyon with Neufmarché in Normandy, all belonging to St. Evroul; Hayling, dependent on St. Peter of Jumièges; and all the English possessions of Lire, provided that it paid £100 annually to Mount Grace in compensation for the loss of Ware. Two further clauses indicated Henry V's awareness of the unsatisfactory nature of an endowment composed largely of alien priories. The first allowed the Charterhouse to ignore any previous interest in, or title to, the lands they were given, even if such claims derived from a grant made by the king. The second specified that if the Charterhouse lost the alien property, it could claim £400 a year from the hanaper until it was provided with alternative property to that value. The charter further granted to the monastery a sewer in the Thames called 'Petirsamwere' with half an acre of land adjoining it, as well as a tun of red Gascon wine annually.

The third charter, which was enrolled twice on the Charter Rolls, ⁽⁴⁾ repeated all the provisions of the second, except that the quantity of wine given to the house was now doubled, and that the priory of Carisbrooke

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1. Le Couteulx, v, 344.
 2. C.Ch.R. 1341-1417, pp. 381-2.
 3. C.Ch.R. 1341-1417, pp. 479-80.
 4. C.Ch.R. 1341-1417, pp. 480, 482.

was specifically mentioned among the possessions of Lire to be appropriated to the house. The additional clauses of the charter all related to the manor of East Hendred in Berkshire. This was formerly a property of the priory of Noyon in Normandy, made over to the Charterhouse in the second foundation charter. The prior was granted all privileges and freedoms within this manor, and was also given permission to hold a market there every Tuesday, and two other yearly fairs. This charter was confirmed by Henry VI in 1423. (1)

Not only were the endowments of the house lavish, so also were the actual buildings themselves. The three religious foundations and the palace were all being built simultaneously under the direction of John Strange, clerk of the King's works, and John Hartshorne, his comptroller, (2) but the actual supervisors for the construction of the Charterhouse appear to have been William Walton, freemason, Edmund Byce, ironmonger of London, and Thomas Kellowe, who in 1417 had licence to employ stone-cutters, carpenters, tilers and labourers for the work, and to use a boat to transport heavy materials. (3) The tiles were laid under the direction of two Dutchmen, Arnald Porter, mason and Henry Bryker, tiler, (4) and stone for the building was imported from the quarries of Caen. (5) By 1419 £367 4s. 11³/₄d. had been expended on the construction of the house, (6) and the work was still in progress in 1422, when Thomas Kellowe, William Synond and William Chamberlayn had licence to employ stone-cutters, carpenters, tilers and labourers, and to hire a boat as before. (6)

Henry V's original plan had been to house forty monks at Sheen, as he instructed in his will of 1415 when he bequeathed a thousand marks to be spent on the completion of the 'greater house'. (7) This plan was

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1. C.P.R. 1422-29, p.222.
 2. H.M.Colvin, The History of the King's Works (London, 1963), i, 265.
 3. C.P.R. 1416-22, p.87.
 4. C.P.R. 1416-22, p.141.
 5. C.P.R. 1416-22, p.397; J.H.Wylie and W.T.Waugh, The Reign of Henry the Fifth, i, 216. The Commonwealth survey of Sheen (P.R.O. E.317/53) reveals that the house was in fact primarily constructed of brick, which places in perspective the extravagant spending on stone.
 6. P.R.O. E.364/58, rot.G.
 7. C.P.R. 1416-22, p.445.

apparently modified however, for William of Worcester, writing in the reign of Edward IV, noted that there were only thirty cells. ⁽¹⁾ Nothing now remains of the apparently sumptuous buildings, a fact which has long been regarded as a source for profound regret since Sheen was one of the most important English Charterhouses and certainly the largest and most splendid. Happily there does exist in the P.R.O. a Commonwealth survey meticulously describing the not inconsiderable remains of the priory in 1649. ⁽²⁾ Because of the lack of other evidence the survey merits attention, and it has been transcribed and discussed in Appendix IV.

Seven of the new monks at the house were from Flanders and had apparently been specially requested by Henry V. Knowles and other commentators deduce from this that the king was a supporter of the new Pietistic movement, the 'Devotio Moderna', which had taken root in that area, thus adducing further evidence of Henry's concern with matters devotional. ⁽³⁾ The Carthusian version of the tale, which certainly has the ring of authenticity, is somewhat more prosaic. It is that Henry V, having lavished so much money and attention on his new foundation, wished to have conventual status conferred upon it immediately. But it was Carthusian custom not to incorporate a house fully into the order until it had the minimum number of monks necessary to ensure its efficient working: for this reason Axholme had not received conventual status until thirty-five years after its foundation. ⁽⁴⁾ Even after the other English Charterhouses had sent all the monks they could spare, Sheen still had too few to merit conventual status, and so Henry requested La Grande Chartreuse to send monks over to England. The diffinitors of the General Chapter, after consideration, found themselves somewhat reluctant to entrust French monks to the English king's care, as 'cui Gallos minus gratos fore sciebant' and decided instead to transfer Carthusians from Brabant and Gelders. These were selected by the priors of the houses of St. Catherine near Antwerp, and the Blessed Virgin at Monichusen near Arnheim. The latter house was one at which Gerard Groote, the originator of the 'Devotio Moderna' had become a novice, and to which he later donated his farm. ⁽⁵⁾ Of the monks who came over to

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1. W. Worcestre, Itineraries, ed. J.H. Harvey (Oxford, 1969), pp. 270-1.
 2. P.R.O. E.317/53.
 3. R.O. ii, 175; J.H. Wylie and W.T. Maugh, The Reign of Henry the Fifth, i, 215.
 4. Bodleian Ms. Rawlinson D.318, f.122v.
 5. E.F. Jacob, Essays in the Conciliar Epoch (Manchester, 1963), pp. 123, 143, 147.

England, the names of two are known. One, John Jolis, transferred to the Charterhouse at Liège in 1425. The other, Henry Teutonicus, alias Vanharius, made a second profession at Witham in 1427, and died there in 1451. (1) That the circulation of the ideas of the 'Devotio Moderna' in England received a stimulus from the import of seven Flemish monks may well be true, but that this was Henry's intention in sending for them is rather more doubtful. They did however fulfil the numerical requirements of the Charterhouse, and it was duly incorporated into the order in 1417. (2)

Despite Henry's concern for the house, and despite the fact that after the Parliament of Leicester in 1414, peaceful and profitable possession of alien priories was a more viable proposition, even Sheen was not exempt from experiencing some of the problems which had beset the other Charterhouses. Indeed, the monastery was entangled in litigation at least until 1451, and even incurred excommunication for refusing to relinquish control of Lewisham priory. (3)

Of Carisbrooke, Wareham and the other possessions of Lire, the history has already been related. (4) These were granted to Sheen by the first two foundation charters, and in 1415 the prior had licence to sue in the Exchequer for all rents, services, farms etc. in arrears from them, and indeed from any of his alien possessions. (5) In 1416 the King's saddler,

1. Le Couteulx, vii, 348.

2. Ibid. vii, 349.

3. B.M. Cotton Ms. Otho Bxiv, ff.1-145v, contains a cartulary entitled Registrum Privilegiorum et Terrarum Monasterii de Sheen summarising over 1500 documents relating to the alien possessions of Sheen, nearly all of which date from the period before the properties came into Carthusian hands. It includes charters relating to Wareham, Carisbrooke and the other ex-possessiones of Lire (ff.3r-52v); to Hayling (ff.33v-67v); to Greenwich and Lewisham (ff.68r-87r); to miscellaneous possessions of Sheen (ff.87v-99v) and 'scripturae et munimenta quae olim pertinebant ad abbatem Sancti Ebrulphi, et priorem de Ware ejus procuratorem generalem in Anglia, et nunc pertinentes ad domum de Jhesu de Bethleem de Shene' (ff.100r-145v). The remaining 108 folios of the manuscript are not concerned with the Carthusian Order.

4. See above, pp.110-11.

5. C.P.R.1413-6, p.367; C.Cl.R.1413-9, p.245.

William Tristour, was granted 357 lbs. 4d. annually from the alien priory of Lodors in Dorset, ⁽¹⁾ in compensation for losing a previous grant of 103 marks yearly from Carisbrooke now that it belonged to Sheen; ⁽²⁾ and in 1417 Henry V ordered that no archbishop, bishop, duke, earl, baron or anyone else should be lodged either at Carisbrooke or at Hayling priory against the will of the monks. ⁽³⁾ Since both were situated on islands in the English Channel, demands upon their hospitality must have been fairly frequent. In 1419 Walter Eston, an ex-monk of Wareham, made a quit-claim of the priory and all its appurtenances to John Widrington. ⁽⁴⁾ The transfer of the property of Lire to Sheen therefore presented few problems. Possession of the priory of Hayling in Hampshire, dependent on the abbey of St. Peter of Jumièges, was not very troublesome either, although that priory had previously had a turbulent history. Its assets had been gradually decreasing owing to the inroads made by the sea upon the property, which had destroyed at least 206 acres of arable land, and submerged the convent. ⁽⁵⁾ In 1337 the prior had fled to Normandy after refusing to pay the clerical tenth, ⁽⁶⁾ and in 1369 the prior and two companions were arrested on suspicion of being traitors, ⁽⁷⁾ a charge to which the priory's position rendered it extremely vulnerable. Possibly the abbey of Jumièges was glad to dispose of the house, although the author of the not altogether reliable 'Histoire de Jumièges' claims that a monk of the mother-house was presented as prior of Hayling in 1462, 1470 and 1475. Whether he was accepted is another matter, as it seems likely that the presentations, if they ever existed at all, were machinations by the exiled and vengeful Margaret of Anjou. ⁽⁸⁾

1. Once, briefly, the property of Coventry; see above, pp.88-9.

2. C.P.R.1413-6, pp.256, 397.

3. C.P.R.1416-22, p.88.

4. C.Cl.R.1419-22, p.54.

5. V.C.H.Hampshire, ii, 218.

6. Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale de Saint-Pierre de Jumièges par un Religieux Bénédictin de la Congregation de Saint-Aur (Rouen, 1882-5), ed.J.Loith, ii, 81.

7. C.Cl.R.1369-74, p.63.

8. Histoire de Jumièges, ii, 215-6; D.Matthew, The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions (Oxford, 1962), p.140.

The priories of Lewisham (with Greenwich), Ware and Noyon (with Neufmarché) were the three which gave Sheen the most cause for concern. The priory of Lewisham with Greenwich was dependent on St. Peter's Ghent which wrote in 1433 to the general chapter complaining that the Carthusians had 'intruded' themselves into the property, and referred the case to the council of Basle. James Clant, canon of St. Severinus, Cologne, to whom the case was committed, ordered the Carthusians to restore the priory and to pay back the appropriated fruits accumulated over the years, as well as costs of 200 gold florins. Sheen, secure in the approval of Henry VI, disregarded these instructions. From Nicholas V, elected pope in 1447, St. Peter's secured letters threatening Sheen with excommunication and other censures if the monks did not fulfil Clant's mandate. As they still held out, St. Peter's publicly proclaimed the excommunication and 'molested them in other ways'. Finally in 1450 Sheen petitioned the pope, maintaining that Lewisham had been legally bestowed upon the monks by Henry V, and that they had held it in peace for several years. Nicholas declared his own letters null and void, as they had been 'impetrated or rather extorted' from him by St. Peter's and had 'emanated against the pope's knowledge'.⁽¹⁾ Lewisham was therefore restored to the Carthusians, but at the cost of some embarrassing publicity.

Henry V's gift of the highly profitable priory of Ware to Sheen had caused a certain lack of warmth in the relations between that Charterhouse and Mount Grace to which Ware had formerly been granted.⁽²⁾ Ware, in Hertfordshire, and Noyon and Neufmarché in Normandy, had belonged to the abbey of St. Evroul in Normandy, which like St. Peter's, was not prepared to lose its property without a struggle. The abbot lost no time in launching the attack, and wrote to the prior and monks of Sheen in 1416, sarcastically congratulating them on the success of the new house, but uttering dire threats as to the fate of those who laid their foundation on injustice done to others, and who offered to God a sacrifice besmirched by sin. His own monastery, he commented, had been endowed by English royalty and nobility and had drawn £2,000 from its possessions in England. But the exactions of war had caused them to lose this income, and now, to add

1. C.P.L. 1447-1455, p. 237.

2. See above, pp. 107-9.

insult to injury, they were informed that their lands and rents had been permanently alienated to Sheen. The king could not give to Sheen what his ancestors had already given to St. Evroul, nor could the pope permit it since his power was conferred on him to build, not to destroy. (1) In 1427 the abbot of St. Evroul took the case to Rome, where he enlisted the support of Cardinal Albergati, himself a Carthusian. He too wrote a letter to Sheen, using arguments very similar to those employed by the abbot, but with the added rebuke that men of such perfection as they purported to be should not be found guilty of such an injustice. (2) Even this admonition could not move the Sheen brethren to repentance, and St. Evroul was forced to take the case to the Council of Basle, where it seems to have languished. (3)

Sheen's success in retaining its alien possessions seems to have been largely owing to the support of the monarchy. It continued to be a prestigious royal foundation, which Henry V's successors took a pride in maintaining. Henry VI in 1442 granted the monks 64 acres of land lying between the priory and his palace, (4) and in 1479 Edward IV's queen Elizabeth gave them 48 acres of land to the east of the priory. (5) With property in twenty-five English counties, and a Dissolution value of £777 12s. 0½p., (6) Sheen was possibly the only English Charterhouse which never knew the meaning of the word poverty, thanks to the generosity of its royal patrons. Nevertheless one may be justified in posing the same question as at Coventry Charterhouse: whether the financial security provided by a royal founder was adequate recompense for the spiritual services exacted in return. According to the author of The Brut Sheen spent at least half its time interceding with God on its founder's behalf, and incurred yet another more onerous obligation;

1. Le Couteulx, vii, 415-8.

2. Ibid. vii, 559-60.

3. Ibid. vii, 559.

4. C.P.R. 1441-6, p. 56.

5. C.P.R. 1476-85, p. 156.

6. V.E. ii, 51-4.

'pe noble King Henry pe Fyft founded ii houses of Religion: one called Syon, beside Braynford of pe ordre of Seynt Brigitt, both of men & women; And on pat oper side of pe ryver of Tamyse, an house of monkes of Chartrehouse: In which ij places he is continually prayed for night and day: for euer, when they of Syon rest, pei of pe Chartrehouse done pe seruice; And in like wise, whan pei of pe Chartrehouse rest, pe oper gon to. And bi pe ryngyng of pe belles of eyther place, ayther knoweth when pai haue ended per seruice, which be nobly endowed & done dayly per great Almesse dedes; As in pe Charetrehouse certeyn childre be found to schole; & at Sion, certeyn Almesse gyven dayly'. (1)

Like Coventry, therefore, Sheen maintained a school, and again as at Coventry, very little is known about it. The Sheen establishment is not even mentioned in the Valor, but that it was still in existence in the sixteenth century is certain, since Cardinal Pole spent five of his adolescent years there. (2) It can hardly be a coincidence that only at the two later royal foundations was there so serious a breach of Carthusian solitude as the running of a school.

Another novelty of Henry's was to establish an anchorage within the precincts of the house. In 1417 he made the Carthusians grant a rent of 20 marks annually from the priory of Lewisham and Greenwich to an anchorite to support him and his two servants that he might be 'more free for orisons and divine praises and holy contemplation'. Clearly, it was not intended that the occupant should be a Carthusian. John Kyngeslowe, chaplain, was the first appointee. (3) The gesture is interesting. Perhaps Henry did not consider the Carthusians sufficiently eremitical and wanted to patronise an anchorite proper; or perhaps he felt that the recluse could devote himself more exclusively to praying for the king than could the Carthusians. At all events, the institution of anchorages became popular. Mount Grace

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1. The Brut, ed. F.W.D. Brie, ii, 496.
 2. L. Beccatelli, Vita Reginaldi Poli Sanctae Ecclesiae Cardinalis, trans. A. Dudith in Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli S.R.E. Cardinalis et Aliorum ad Ipsum Collectio, ed. A.M. Quirini (Brescia, 1744-57), i, 5, 7-8.
 3. C.P.R. 1416-22, p. 114.

evidently had a hermitage by 1523; ⁽¹⁾ and there was also one attached to Coventry Charterhouse, although it seems likely that this was built before the priory, and used to house the seven monks who pioneered the establishment. ⁽²⁾ Whether it subsequently housed a hermit is unknown.

It is likely that Henry was a frequent visitor to Sheen, since he apparently kept there a manuscript which he wished to consult. In his will, Archbishop Arundel had left a book containing all the works of St. Gregory the Great to Canterbury Cathedral. Henry had expressed a desire to look at it, and had deposited it at Sheen Charterhouse. After Henry's death, John, the prior of Canterbury, requested its return and the king's executors ordered Sheen to comply. The monks were apparently none too willing to relinquish it since the request had later to be backed by a warrant. ⁽³⁾ In addition to being able to consult the book himself, Henry probably also wished the monks to use it. He certainly put some effort into ensuring that Sheen had a reasonable library, although one of his means of doing so was to commandeer the books from Mount Grace, ⁽⁴⁾ which can hardly have improved the already strained relations between the two houses. For the king, the house obviously proved to be a good investment. The Gesta Henrici Quinti relates that when in 1416 the Duke of Bedford set off to meet the French fleet at the mouth of the Seine, Henry sent messages to the hermit at Westminster and to London and Sheen Charterhouses, who joined their prayers to his with such good effect that 'Deo imperante victoria cessit Anglia'. ⁽⁵⁾

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1. Clifford Letters, pp.71-2.
 2. M.A. vi, part 1, 16.
 3. Rymer, Foedera, x, 317-8. The incident compared (rather unfavourably) with an episode related in the Magna Vita (i, 85-6) when Henry II gave to Witham a particularly sumptuous bible which had just been completed by the monks of Winchester for their own use. When St. Hugh discovered that the Benedictines had been deprived of it, he ordered its immediate return.
 4. J.H.Wylie and A.T.Waugh, The Reign of Henry the Fifth, i, 216.
 5. Gesta Henrici Quinti, ed.F.Taylor and J.S.Roskell (Oxford, 1975), pp.146-8.

Curiously, considering it was the most prestigious Charterhouse in England, Sheen apparently attracted little public attention in the fifteenth century. It is not until after 1500 that it is possible to be more definite about its status; evidence is then available to show that it was associated with a literary circle which also included Lady Margaret Beaufort, Fisher, More and the Bridgettines; that it attracted a number of high-ranking visitors and residents, and that a royal burial took place there.⁽¹⁾ Sheen was not only the last Charterhouse to be founded in pre-Reformation England, but one of the last religious houses of any order, the only exceptions being the later and rather less extensive Observatine houses established by the Tudors. The age of large-scale religious foundations had long since been over, a rule to which the Carthusians provide the main exception; and it is therefore less necessary to enquire why no more English Charterhouses were built after 1414, than to ask why the order continued to attract founders as long as it did. The conclusion of this chapter attempts to provide some answers to this question.

vii. Conclusion

It can hardly be denied that there was an upsurge of interest in the Carthusian order during the period 1371-1414, which led to the foundation of six Charterhouses in quick succession. However any assessment of the reasons for this interest would have to examine the pietistical and idealistic ethos of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries to discover in what way it had become conducive to the aspirations of the Carthusians, aspirations which had been found less attractive in an earlier epoch. This chapter has supplied some evidence for such an assessment, for example, in its ideas that the lay desire to be buried in the London Charterhouse arose in part from its being built upon a plague graveyard;⁽²⁾ that the austerity of the order exercised an emotional influence over men of a chivalric disposition;⁽³⁾ and that the merits of the contemplative life were at this stage re-asserting themselves over the claims of their age-old rival, the active life.⁽⁴⁾ Clearly, however, an examination of Carthusian

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1. See below, pp. 368-9, 397-402.
 2. See above, p. 60.
 3. See above, p. 49.
 4. See above, p. 69.

foundations in England presents the historian with only a chronologically limited range of evidence about the nature of the order's appeal. A proper assessment of its popularity in the later middle ages requires that more wide-ranging evidence from a longer period also be included. Much of the remainder of this thesis is devoted to assembling that evidence, and the seventh chapter is concerned principally with assessing the extent and nature of the order's popularity. Nevertheless the history of the later foundations is unique among the religious orders in England, and it is obviously necessary at this stage to extract and examine some of the themes which have been prominent in this chapter. This conclusion therefore does not discuss the spiritual aspects of the Carthusians' impact upon English society in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, but merely summarises the more practical and tangible reasons why the last six Carthusian foundations were made.

One reason was perhaps simply a matter of geography: the decision by the Carthusians to lay less insistence upon remote situations led to the order's attracting rather more popular attention. If a Charterhouse had not been built in a prominent situation by the city of London in 1371, it is possible that the succeeding foundations might not have occurred either, because potential founders would have been less aware of the order's merits. It is unwise to draw too many inferences when the whole sample only consists of nine houses, but some trends may perhaps be indicated. The first three Charterhouses, Witham, Hinton and Beauvale, were all founded in remote places, with the result, as Northburgh commented, that 'among any thousand men of the kingdom scarcely one knew that such an order existed in these parts'.⁽¹⁾ After coming to the conclusion that 'the ancient solitude of your order [advanced] little for the example of others',⁽²⁾ the Carthusians were prepared to contemplate that the next three houses, London, Kingston-upon-Hull and Coventry, should all be built in towns. However, the next two, Axholme and Mount Grace, marked a return to isolated sites, and the last one, Sheen, represented something of a compromise. Might one infer that the urban experiment was tried and found wanting, or was it merely a matter of an individual patron's inclination, and the availability of a site and property?

1. Hope, p.11.

2. Hope, p.11.

Was it also merely a matter of chance that the two Charterhouses where there is evidence of individual cell endowment were also situated in towns? It has already been noted that this practice may well have been an unusual measure to compensate for the sudden deprivation of the primary benefactor. ⁽¹⁾ However Thomas Mowbray, the founder of Axholme, also died within a year of making provision for the monks, and yet there is no evidence of individual cell endowment at Axholme (although that is hardly conclusive) and rather less likelihood of its being possible, owing to the priory's isolated situation. This may perhaps be related to a contemporary phenomenon which has received much recent attention, ⁽²⁾ the large-scale transference of bequests from older religious institutions to chantries. Such a diversion of lay patronage may have been partly a result of declining standards in the monasteries; it may have been simply that the older institutions were by this time adequately provided for and new expressions of piety were required; but it was certainly because chantries were smaller units, infinitely more adaptable to the needs of the founder. A Charterhouse with its unique constitution of individually endowable cells provided a similar kind of opportunity. This is particularly noticeable when the Charterhouse was situated near a town, for prosperous citizens who could hardly have afforded to found a whole house were sufficiently wealthy to endow a single cell. Clearly, paying for the construction of a Carthusian cell was not the same as establishing a chantry, but it was in some ways analogous, and the prospect might well have attracted donors who would otherwise have paid for a chantry.

Another theme which emerges as prominent throughout the history of the later foundations is that of endowment by means of alien priories. It would be foolish to assert that the availability of alien property was a reason for the foundation of the Charterhouses, but clearly it greatly facilitated their endowment. The extent of land available for religious foundations in the fourteenth century can only be a matter of conjecture, but a donor might well have found it hard to amass sufficient property to endow a new foundation and accordingly turned in relief to the alien priories. Here was a new, cheap and accessible source of land which could

1. See above, p. 81.

2. Notably in K.L. Wood-Legh, Perpetual Chantries in Britain (Cambridge, 1965).

with minimal alteration be turned to the use of Charterhouses. The most interesting example is Axholme where the founder, Thomas Mowbray, initially intended to convert the alien priory of Kirby Monachorum into a Charterhouse. Later he decided instead to give the monks a piece of land which had previously been inhabited by some canons; and it is clear from the cartulary that some of the canons' buildings were adapted to the use of the Carthusians. (1)

It is cynical to suggest that Mowbray was searching for ways to lower the cost of his new foundation, but it would not be inconsistent with his general attitude towards the priory. However if the founders hoped that the acquisition of alien property was an easy solution to the problem of endowing new foundations, the evidence of the preceding sections abundantly demonstrates that the hope was illusory - for the hapless Carthusians at least.

The most obvious reason for the development of the order at this period was the interest taken by the king and his court circle. It is a motif which is in evidence throughout the earlier history of the Carthusians in England: Henry II introduced the order into the country at Witham, his son founded another house at Hinton, and Edward III had 'a special affection for the said order'. (2) But it was the sustained patronage of Richard II throughout his reign which ensured an unflagging interest by the nobility in the fortunes of the order, and it was an enthusiasm which was maintained by Henry V and Henry VI. Despite the recent proliferation of studies of Richard II, his monastic patronage is a subject which has been neglected. The Carthusians, at least, had cause to be hugely grateful to him. Le Couteulx commented that 'although ill is spoken of him by many authors, yet his zeal towards the orthodox faith was frequently commended by Knighton. As long as he reigned, that is, for twenty-two years, every year prayers were poured out for him throughout the whole order'. Indeed Le Couteulx claims that before his final imprisonment Richard was planning to found another Charterhouse. For evidence he cites an entry by the general chapter, now burnt, for the year 1402, the third anniversary of the king's death;

'Serenissimus et unam Domus Ordinis aedificare disposuerat, obiit; habens tricenarium, etc.' (3)

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1. P.R.O. E.135/2/24, f.7v.
 2. B.M.Add.Ms.6060, f.11r-v.
 3. Le Couteulx, vi, 289.

This reference must be regarded with some suspicion, since it dates from the period after Richard's death, when the cult of the murdered king was causing him to be posthumously endowed with virtues which he did not necessarily display during his life. However, that the reference should occur on the third anniversary of his death is a standard Carthusian practice; and even were it not strictly true, it forms a significant index of Carthusian feeling that there was a special relationship between their order and the king. Henry V may no doubt be credited with sufficient discrimination to discern the virtues of the Carthusian order for himself, but his partiality for the order would have received an extra stimulus from the memory of Richard II's attachment to it: there is much evidence that Henry was very close to Richard when he was young, and one of his first actions on ascending the throne was to re-inter Richard with proper dignity. ⁽¹⁾ Sheen could therefore be plausibly described as the Charterhouse which Richard never founded. ⁽²⁾

In accounting for the royal interest in the order, Knowles attributed it to a reaction against anti-monastic propaganda. ⁽³⁾ Certainly, this is likely to be true, since to promote the expansion of an order of manifestly irreproachable behaviour would combat generalisations about universal monastic corruption. But it is probably only part of a larger explanation, which is that by the late fourteenth century, the Carthusians had acquired an enviable reputation for incorruptibility, and that this reputation was in itself an asset. They were no longer regarded as unproven: they had demonstrated that they could adhere rigidly to their principles, so much so that it was commonly asserted that they displayed more devotion than any other order. For this reason, it seems to have become something of a status symbol to found a Carthusian house, ⁽⁴⁾ and as such it would certainly attract royal interest. A king wishing to institute a religious house would want his foundation to be, spiritually, the most superior one available, and

1. The Brut, ed. F.W.D. Brie, ii, 495.

2. Royal interest in the Carthusian order grew not only in England, but also in Europe where the fourteenth century witnessed a number of princely foundations. In 1314, Duke Frederick the Fair of Austria founded Mauerbach Charterhouse. Florence Charterhouse was established by Nicholo Acciaiuoli in 1342; Champmol near Dijon by Philip the Bold of Burgundy in 1385; and Pavia by the Visconti in 1390. See A.P.F. Lafebvre, Saint Bruno et l'Ordre des Chartreux (Paris, 1883), ii, 273, 299, 318, 325; W. Braunsfels, Monasteries of Western Europe: The Architecture of the Orders (London, 1980), p.117.

3. R.O. ii, 134.

4. See above, pp. 68-9, 105.

if one order was continually singled out for praise above the others, he would naturally be drawn towards that order. It was noted above that a Charterhouse could be regarded as similar to a collection of chantries, and yet in the final analysis every religious institution was in one sense a chantry foundation, since any form of pious benefaction entailed intercessory obligations upon the beneficiary. Ultimately therefore Shakespeare was probably correct in describing Sheen and Syon as;

'Two chantries where the sad and solemn priests
Sing still for Richard's soul.' (1)

It appears that later Carthusian founders did indeed regard their houses as chantry foundations, hence no doubt their desire to be buried within them. The primary purpose of founding a religious house was no longer so much 'ad majorem Dei gloriam', as to ensure the founder's painless transition into the happiness of eternal life. Consequently it became of more personal importance to the founder that his monks were the most devout. A king, or anyone else who was attempting to purchase Paradise with a religious foundation, would want to procure the most efficacious intercessory power available. It has been seen how Richard II burdened the house of Coventry with poor scholars and monk-chaplains whose whole raison d'être was to perform orisons for his salvation, (2) and how Henry V on the eve of a battle ordered the houses of London and Sheen to plead with the Almighty on his behalf. The author of the Gesta Henrici Quinti certainly believed that Henry's military successes were in direct proportion to the quantity and quality of the men praying for them; 'And in order that, by increasing the number of those making intercession, he might the better obtain from God's bountifulness a favourable outcome to his prayer, he sent word on the following morning to the.....saintly monks of the London Charterhouse and his own house at Sheen, that....they should pray with all possible tenderness and devotion, and that they should send word to other saintly men who, because of their merits, they believed would be heard by God more favourably, so that they, too, might make supplication in like manner continuously and untiringly'. (3) It is not the intention here to denigrate the motivation of Richard II or Henry V in particular, for

1. W. Shakespeare, Henry V, IV, 1, 306-7.

2. C.P.R. 1396-9, pp. 579-80.

3. Gesta Henrici Quinti, trans. F. Taylor and J.S. Roskell (Oxford, 1975), p. 147.

they were representative of a widespread tendency. Certainly, other royal founders of European Charterhouses were similarly concerned to ensure that the prayers of the Carthusians were directed towards the founders' own objectives. In 1385 Philip the Bold of Burgundy declared in his foundation charter that he had decided to found Champmol Charterhouse because 'the Carthusians pray tirelessly night and day for the salvation of the souls and the prosperity of the Commonwealth and princes....There is nothing more efficacious for the soul's salvation than the prayers of pious monks who, out of the love of God, have voluntarily embraced poverty and renounced the vanities and pleasures of the world'. ⁽¹⁾ Thus both Philip the Bold and the author of the Gesta Henrici Quinti demonstrate to perfection how sanctity could be regarded as a commodity: a commodity which, in the climate of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and in the context of religious orders especially, was increasingly valuable.

1. W.Braunfels, Monasteries of Western Europe: The Architecture of the Orders (London, 1980), p.118.

Chapter Three

The Carthusian Monks: Their Recruitment, Mobility and Post-Dissolution Fortunes

This chapter is devoted to the individuals who became Carthusian monks and lay-brothers in late medieval England. It should be read in conjunction with Appendix VI which provides in alphabetical order the name of every known Carthusian and either what information is available about him, or, in the case of the less obscure members of the order, references to the most important secondary literature. As could have been foreseen, for the majority little or nothing can be ascertained other than a name and perhaps a date of death. However the list represents some advance upon existing knowledge and has been appended to this thesis partly because it is of interest per se, and partly because it may prove valuable for future research, particularly in the field of manuscript ascription. This chapter attempts to draw some conclusions from the findings listed in the appendix about the origins, background, status, age, mobility, education and, where relevant, the previous and subsequent careers of the men who entered the order. ⁽¹⁾ Inevitably much of the evidence upon which this chapter relies derives from the sixteenth century, partly because of the improved documentation of that period, partly because the interruption of the Carthusian way of life caused by the Dissolution enables us in some cases to glimpse what that way of life had been. The following discussion therefore includes a consideration of the fate of the dispossessed Carthusians, not least because their activities after the Dissolution provide some retrospective insights into the nature of their lives before that event.

1. Since all sources have been listed in the Appendix, it seemed unnecessary to duplicate the references in this chapter. Footnotes here are therefore somewhat sparse, and for full reference the reader must consult the appendix under the name of the monk concerned. References are only supplied in this chapter if the information does not appear in the appendix, or where an important case is being illustrated.

The appendix has been compiled from scattered references in many diverse sources, two of which are pre-eminent and require detailed description. The fullest evidence is provided by a document at Parkminster which is hereafter referred to as the 'Obit List'. Each Charterhouse was required to notify the annual general chapter at La Grande Chartreuse of the names of monks who had died during the previous twelve months, and these were recorded in documents known as cartae together with other proceedings of the chapter. The survival of these cartae is fitful, owing to the vicissitudes of fortune experienced by La Grande Chartreuse. Those documents which survived the fires of 1320, 1371, 1562, and 1676 and the expulsion of 1792 appear to have been lost at the ~~expulsion~~ of 1903. Before their final disappearance however, a nineteenth-century monk, Dom. Palemon Bastin, copied the obits of English monks into what is now Parkminster Ms. B.77. Unfortunately, this manuscript is at present missing, but a typescript summary was made by the late Dom. Andrew Gray, to which he also apparently added some new information. The monks at Parkminster were good enough to allow me to photograph Dom. Gray's typescript, and it is this document which is here referred to as the Obit List.

The list must be treated with extreme caution for several reasons. It is a copy several times removed from the originals, and errors and misreadings must have crept into it on this account. ⁽¹⁾ Much of it derives from continental sources, and ingenious new spellings of names have been introduced. It is not a comprehensive document by any means, merely a compilation, and accordingly cannot be used as an indication of the total number of Carthusian monks. The dating may also be questionable. The Carthusian chapters were generally held at the end of April or the beginning of May, and the deaths named were those which had occurred since the last chapter, and may therefore belong either to that year, or, far more probably, to the previous year. ⁽²⁾ Since moreover the English

1. For example, William Scraynham, monk of Hull, whose name is clear in Reg. Bowet, f.400v, and Lambeth Palace Ms.413, f.242r, is referred to on p.20 of the Obit List as William Fraynham.

2. In the appendix, the abbreviation 'ob.' has been employed to show that the date of death is taken from an Obit-list, and that allowance must be made for the fact that it is likely to be a year late. The abbreviation 'd.' is used where the correct date of death is known.

Carthusians did not need to attend the chapters except in leap-years, (1)
one may also wonder whether their obits were recorded as accurately as
those of their continental counterparts. (2)

Two of the other sources upon which the compiler of the Obit List depended do however survive and may be checked against it. The first is B.M. Additional Manuscript 17092, a copy of Obit Lists for the years 1467-1488 and 1560-61, made by Georg Schwengel, Prior of Danzig Charterhouse from 1750 until 1756. The second is Lambeth Palace Manuscript 413, containing the acts of the General Chapter between 1418 and 1482, also of German, or possibly Dutch or Flemish origin and of contemporary date. The latter has at least the merit of being a primary source, but both manuscripts are subject to all the other disadvantages mentioned above, not least to the one of exotic spelling.

More remains to be said about the cartae however. If a historian were attempting to trace the members of monasteries of most orders, an important primary source would be episcopal visitation records, an obligatory component of which was the listing of all professed monks at a house. Unhappily in this respect, the Carthusians were exempt from episcopal visitation, which renders the task peculiarly difficult in their case. However they did of course conduct their own internal visitations and produced reports of their findings, one copy of which was sent to the priory in question, and one sent to La Grande Chartreuse. (3)
Of the copies retained in England only two fragments remain. One is part of the 1405 visitation of the London Charterhouse which was copied into the register. (4) The other is a fragment of the 1440 visitation of Hull which survives because it was used in the binding of B.M. Sloane Ms.2515, f.lv, 2r-v. (5) None of the visitation reports sent to La

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1. Statuta Antiqua (P.L.153), col.1135.
 2. John Fist, monk of Beauvale, for example, is reported as having died at the Chapter of both 1454 and 1457 (Lambeth Palace Ms. 413, ff.224r, 227r).
 3. Thompson, p.256.
 4. Hope, p.50.
 5. See A.Gray, 'A Carthusian Carta Visitationis of the Fifteenth Century', B.I.H.R. xl, 1967, pp.91-101.

Grande Chartreuse survive, but their contents, if they warranted serious attention, were discussed at the general chapter, and recorded, like the obit-lists, in the cartae of that body. However the general chapter was only concerned with the rectification of shameful disciplinary abuses and the picture presented by the cartae is both unrepresentative and highly selective. Contemporary cartae reports relating to the English province have survived in two manuscripts, Lambeth Palace Ms. 413, mentioned above, and Bodleian Rawlinson Ms. D.318. The latter covers a larger timespan than the former (circa 1350 until 1503), but is not as detailed. It does not, for example, include obits. The evidence provided by these cartae has been most efficiently examined by E.M.Thompson, ⁽¹⁾ and is not reiterated here, except for a few illustrative examples.

The second major source used in this chapter are the ordination lists in episcopal registers, especially those of London and York. These proved to be an excellent source, although so voluminous that the use made of them here is by no means comprehensive. Further work on the registers would undoubtedly elicit more helpful material. The different English dioceses, and indeed different clerks within an administration, had their own various methods of recording ordinations. Most, fortunately, noted both the order and the particular house to which a monk belonged, but some did not always bother to do so, and some indeed did not even record which ordinans were religious and which secular. It is accordingly difficult to be certain that every Carthusian in the registers consulted has been identified. It seemed in this instance wiser not to speculate, and those ordinations listed here and in the appendix are only those who were positively identified as Carthusian in the registers.

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1. Thompson, pp.276-312.
 2. No distinction is made in the ordination lists between monk and lay-brother, all being described as 'monachus'. Monastic status has indeed been assumed in Appendix VI, unless it can be proved from an obit list or another source that a man described in the ordination lists was in fact a lay-brother. Lay-brothers were not of course usually ordained as priests, but they could advance as far as the order of deacons. However the general lack of evidence suggests that they were not normally ordained to any of the orders.

Unless, of course, he came already ordained, a prospective applicant would have been professed in the order before undergoing the cursus of ordination as exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon and priest. Unfortunately there is little evidence to show how long the process of ordination was delayed after profession. In the case of John Homersley, for example, a monk of the London Charterhouse, there was a gap of a year. He was apparently professed in 1393, ⁽¹⁾ and was ordained acolyte in December 1394, and subdeacon and deacon in March the following year. However Nicholas Dugmore, originally a monk of Hull who joined the refounded Sheen community, was ordained in 1532/3 and died at Bruges in December 1575, thus giving a span of 43 years in the order. But the Obit List ⁽²⁾ claims that '50 annis laudabiliter vixit in ordine'. ⁽³⁾ This, if accurate, suggests that he had been professed for some years before being ordained. Similarly John Michel, prior of Witham for three years before the dissolution, was ordained priest at Sheen in 1515. When he died at Bruges in 1570, he was described as having lived 67 years 'laudabiliter' in the order. ⁽⁴⁾ The discrepancy here is very great, although a possible explanation is that he attended the school run by the monks at Sheen. However Michel's career, as will be seen later, was in other respects untypical of the order as a whole. ⁽⁵⁾

One cannot be certain therefore how long a time elapsed between profession and ordination, but at least the dates of ordination provide a reasonable terminus a quo of entry into the order. Combining the evidence of the Obit List and the Ordination lists, it is therefore possible in many cases to calculate how long monks lived in the order. The following table gives the results.

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1. Hope, pp.60-62.
 2. Obit List, p.39.
 3. According to the Carthusians of Parkminster, this phrase, which recurs occasionally in the obit-lists, is not simply a statement of fact, but an accolade used to distinguish individuals whose years in the order were celebrated not only by longevity but also by exceptional piety. Interestingly, Chauncy was never awarded the 'laudabiliter'.
 4. Obit List, pp.2, 37.
 5. See below, p.151.

Table I: Years spent by Carthusian Monks in the Order

(Abbreviations for houses used in this and subsequent tables: A = Axholme, B = Beauvale, C = Coventry, Hi = Hinton, Hu = Hull, L = London, MG = Mount Grace, S = Sheen, and W = Witham. Also P = Perth.)

	<u>House</u>	<u>Date of Ordination or Profession</u>	<u>Obit</u>	<u>No. of years in order</u>
Thomas Atkynson	MG	1460	1499	39
John Batmanson	L	1510	1531	21
William Bell	Hu	1522	1532	10
Robert Bennet	S		1518	50 laudabiliter
Hugh Boscawen	W	1446	1475	29
John Brighan	L	1511	1528	17
John Brown	L	1506	1524	18
John Buckingham	L & S	1417	1457	40
Bartholomew Burgoyne	L & S	1532	1551	19
Robert de Bury	L	1431	1484	53
Robert Canon	S	1428	1448	20
John Caunsfeld	Hu	1419	1460	41
Maurice Chauncy	L & S	1534	1581	47
Robert Chilton	W	1453	1501	48
William Church	S	1443	1480	37
Thomas Clogger	L		1574	60
Thomas Clough	L	1416	1432	16
Henry Corslegh	W	1497	1524	27
William Denham	MG	1464	1506	42
Robert Deyn	A & B	1493	1509	16
Richard Ditton	A	1407	1432	25
Stephen Dodesham	S	1437	1482	45
Mathias Dogood	W			70 laudabiliter
Nicholas Dugmore	B & S	1532	1575	43 (50 laudabiliter)
Henry Eccleston	MG	1491	1509	18
Thomas Elmham	L & A	1407	1432	25
William Everton	Hu	1436	1479	at least 43 at least
John Feriby	S	1427	1444	17
John Flete	L	1429	1479	50
Thomas Gardyner	W	1455	1498	43
Thomas Gorwey	L	1440	1496	56
Robert Gryffythe	L	1521	1524	3
John Hartwel	S	1511	1525	14
Thomas Hawkins	L	1513	1524	11
Thomas Helperby	Hu	1413	1455	42
Nicholas Hereford	C	1417	1419	2
John Homersley	L	1393	1450	57
Adam Horsley	B	1386	1424	38
John Ivres	S	1444	1492	48
Richard Lamborn	L	1512	1528	16
Oliver Lee	Hu	1515	1518	3
John Lenewood	Hu	1486	1526	40
Thomas Lockington	MG	1409	1447	38
Thomas Mamby	L	1511	1526	15
John Maplestead	L	1394	1440	46
Richard March	Hu	1436	1479	43
William Mason	Hu	1423	1473	50
William Mede	S	1417	1475	58
Thomas Merton	P			52 laudabiliter

	<u>House</u>	<u>Date of Ordination or Profession</u>	<u>Obit</u>	<u>No. of years in order</u>
John Michel	S & W	1515	1570	55 (67 laudabiliter)
Thomas Mollinex	L	1520	1524	4
John Nevyll	L	1440	1496	56
John Newman	L	1428	1457	29
Thomas North	S	1501	1518	17
John Nutbrowne	Hu	1411	1454	43
Sampson Palshede	L	1514	1518	4
John Pereson	A	1465	1501	36
Hugh Polson	MG	1475	1500	25
John Porchester	L	1394	1435	41
John Raymond	S	1492	1529	37
William Richardson	Hu	1509	1510	1
Robert Riley	Hu	1509	1528	19
John Ript	B	1499	1527	28
John Romondby	MG	1456	1500	44
Gabriel Rutland	L	1525	1528	3
William Salysbery	L	1524	1528	4
William Scrayngham	Hu	1418	1456	38
Thomas Sherman	L	1428	1469	41
John Spalding	L	1490	1528	38
Thomas Spenser	L	1521	1529	8
John Stanfield	L	1400	1422	22
John Thomson	Hu, L & S	1532	1560	28
Richard Trumpington	L & S	1412	1454	42
William Tynbegh	L			60 laudabiliter
Philip Underwood	L	1489	1518	29
James Walweyn	L	1431	1449	18
Thomas Warter	Hu	1434	1453	19
John Watson	Hu	1486	1505	19
John Well	B	1420	1479	59
Thomas Welley	S	1511	1526	15
John Wells	L	1419	1455	36
John West	L	1519	1524	5
John Wisbeche	L	1386	1445	59

As in the case of the other late medieval religious orders there is not much evidence about the age at which these men entered the order, and what there is comes mostly from a suppression paper of 1536 relating to Hull Charterhouse which supplies the ages of the monks. ⁽¹⁾ Robert Brewett was 60, and had been ordained priest in 1498 when he was 22, which was canonically the minimum age for ordination. Robert Hall was also 60, and had been ordained deacon in 1502 when he was 28. James Stoles was 54, and had been ordained deacon, subdeacon and priest in 1507 when he was 25. Also in the suppression paper is listed Nicholas Swifte, a

1. P.R.O. S.P.5/1, vol. ii, f.199r.

priest but not professed, aged 27, and a novice named Helizeus Furnes aged 30. To these cases may be added that of Henry Eccleston, the prior of Mount Grace who had been admitted to Eton College, Cambridge in 1474 at the age of 12, and who made his profession in the order, presumably already ordained, at the age of 29 in 1491; of John Houghton, who, as Chauncy informs us, joined the order at the age of 28; of John Hartwel, who was admitted to King's College Cambridge in 1505 aged 18, and ordained priest at Sheen in 1511 aged 24; of Henry Man, the last prior of Sheen, who was 23 when ordained subdeacon in 1524, and of Chauncy himself who was born in 1509 and ordained subdeacon in 1534 at the age of 26. These examples hardly provide us with sufficient data to make generalisations about the average age of recruits to the order, but from the fact that the majority of them were in their late twenties, we may perhaps deduce that the Carthusians were not in the habit of encouraging very youthful professions. (1)

The evidence of the Ordination lists only refers to men who were ordained after their profession. On the evidence of the London and York registers, comparatively few of the monks recorded in the Obit List occur in the ordination lists of Carthusians, which implies that a high proportion of them were ordained before entering the order. If so, two consequences would seem to follow. The first is that a profession made by a man who was already ordained would be likely to be at a later age than one made by a man not in orders. The second is that some of the monks came to the Carthusian vocation late in life, after they had spent some period engaged in other activities.

That the latter was indeed the case may be illustrated by many examples. Firstly a number of monks are known to have transferred from other orders. The name of Adam of Dryburgh, the Premonstratensian prior who transferred to Witham in 1188 is especially well-known, as is that of the Prior of the Benedictine Cathedral of St. Swithin's, Winchester, Robert Fitzhenry, who entered Witham in 1202, and later became prior.

1. Andrew Boorde was allowed to leave the London Charterhouse on account of his extreme youth when professed. Presumably this was not a frequent occurrence, or other malcontents would have taken advantage of it. See below; p.175.

It was he for whom Richard of Devizes wrote his Chronicon de Tempore Regis Richardi Primi with its puzzled and sarcastic prologue. ⁽¹⁾ The Witham Chronicle also mentions a secular priest, Theodore, who entered Witham at about this time. ⁽²⁾ Other entrants did not manage to persevere in their new vocation however. From the Magna Vita we learn of the two monks, Andrew, a sacrist at the Benedictine monastery of Muchelney, and Alexander of Lewes, a secular canon, who came to Witham, but created such disturbances that St. Hugh felt obliged to expel them; ⁽³⁾ and Richard of Devizes related with glee how Walter, another Winchester Benedictine, and formerly Prior of Bath, found scrubbing cabbages at Witham a less than edifying occupation, and returned to his previous occupation. ⁽⁴⁾ John of Chetham, the prior of Christ Church, Canterbury was apparently removed to the Carthusian order in 1238 for his involvement in forging a charter of privilege; ⁽⁵⁾ and Matthew Paris claimed that in 1241 some of the monks of Canterbury became Carthusians 'ut perpetuam poenitentiam agerent' for their sin in electing Boniface of Savoy to the Archbishopric. ⁽⁶⁾ But Paris's virulent dislike of Boniface is sufficient to cast considerable doubt upon this claim, and in any case, he seems to have forgotten that Boniface himself was a Carthusian.

Examples from the later period include three ex-Benedictines, Robert Layton, the prior of Mount Grace who assisted Henry V with his planned reform of the Black Monks in 1421, ⁽⁷⁾ John Walsingham, prior of the London Charterhouse from 1477 to 1488, ⁽⁸⁾ and Christopher Braystones, a monk of Beauvale, who was at St. Mary's, York, and had been chaplain to Thomas Spofforth, Bishop of Hereford. ⁽⁹⁾ Richard Fowne, a monk of Durham, received a licence to enter Hull in 1435. ⁽¹⁰⁾ Laurence Hutton,

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1. Chronicon Richardi Divisensis de Tempore Regis Richardi Primi, ed. J.T. Appleby (London, 1963), pp.1-2.
 2. Witham Chronicle, p.506.
 3. Magna Vita, pp.80-84.
 4. Annales de Wintonia, in Annales Monastici, ii, ed. H.R. Luard (R.S. 36, 1865), p.68.
 5. Gervase of Canterbury, Gesta Regum Continuata, ed. W. Stubbs (R.S. 73, 1880), ii, 133-4; M. Paris, Vita Sancti Edmondi, in C.H. Lawrence, St. Edmund of Abingdon (Oxford, 1960), p.255.
 6. M. Paris, Chronica Majora, ed. H.R. Luard (R.S. 57, 1877), iv, 105.
 7. W.A. Pantin, Chapters of the Black Monks (Camden Society, xlvii, 1933), ii, 98, 107.
 8. Thompson, p.310.
 9. Sargent, pp.232-3.
 10. R.B. Dobson, Durham Priory 1400-1450 (Cambridge, 1976), p.76.

the prior of Perth who was elected in 1442, but deposed the following year, had apparently been a Cistercian; ⁽¹⁾ and Robert Bellenden, a monk of the same house who died in 1502, was the quondam abbot of the Augustinian house of Holyrood. ⁽²⁾ John Fayrfax, another Augustinian, this time of Guisborough Priory in Yorkshire, was granted a papal indult to join Mount Grace in 1454. ⁽³⁾

Secondly, a number of Carthusians had previously held secular positions. The most famous, or rather infamous, convert was Nicholas of Hereford, the former Wycliffite, who in 1417 renounced his preferments in Hereford Cathedral, including the post of Treasurer there, to spend the last years of his life at Coventry Charterhouse. ⁽⁴⁾ John Blakman, the author of the Life of Henry the Sixth, was Warden of King's Hall Oxford, rector of Sapperton, Gloucestershire and dean of Westbury on Trim, Gloucestershire before retiring to the cloisters of London and Witham; ⁽⁵⁾ and Adam Horsley, to whom Walter Hilton addressed his Epistola Aurea, was baron of the Exchequer until he entered Beauvale in 1386. ⁽⁶⁾

Indeed, examples of secular priests joining the order are not too infrequent. In 1273 John de Trubruge had licence to resign from the mastership of the hospital of St. Mark of Billeswyk near Bristol in order to join Hinton. ⁽⁷⁾ Richard Abet left the church of Donnington to enter Hinton in about 1390. ⁽⁸⁾ William Wylley, who entered Witham in 1403, had been the rector of the church of Weston. ⁽⁹⁾ Thomas Turke,

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1. Obit List, p.55.
 2. Le Vasseur, iii, 330.
 3. C.P.L.1447-55, p.672.
 4. D.N.B.xiv, 418-20; Emden, Oxford, ii, 913-5.
 5. J.Blakman, Life of Henry the Sixth, ed.M.R.James (Cambridge,1919), p.xv.
 6. H.L.Gardner, 'Walter Hilton and the Mystical Tradition in England', Essays and Studies, xxi (1936), p.111.
 7. The Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard 1268-1302 ed. J.W.Willis Bund (Worcestershire Historical Society, 1899), part ii, p.59.
 8. C.P.L.1362-1404, pp.421-2.
 9. The Register of Walter Giffard, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1265-6, and of Henry Bowett, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1401-7, ed.T.S.Holmes (S.R.S. xiii, 1899), p.44.

who had joined Hinton by 1418, had been the vicar of Bere Regis, ⁽¹⁾ and Richard Ditton gave up his post as chantry priest in Chichester Cathedral to make his profession at Axholme in 1407. ⁽²⁾ John Houghton, the martyred prior of the London Charterhouse, had previously been a secular priest for four years, ⁽³⁾ and Edmund Horde, his vicar, was canon of Bridgenorth, Shropshire, rector of Oddington and vicar of Noke, both in Oxfordshire. ⁽⁴⁾ The procurator of Axholme in 1535 was John Bourg who had previously been a parish priest, in which capacity he had christened the children of St. Thomas More. ⁽⁵⁾ Ralph Malevory, the last prior of Hull, had been commissary and official to John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, a position which he is known to have been holding in 1523. ⁽⁶⁾

The careers of two supposed fifteenth-century Carthusians, Thomas Westawe and John Pynchebek, present some confusion; the former was rector of All Hallows the Great, London from 1448 until 1459, and the latter was a chantry priest in St. Mary's Aldermary from 1453 until 1457; then, after a very brief period as rector of St. Leonard's Colchester, he became rector at St. Mary Abchurch, London until 1459. In that year, it has been argued, they both entered Charterhouses, Pynchebek at London and Westhawe at Sheen. ⁽⁷⁾ This may be doubted in view of their subsequent history. Pynchebek was at Syon by January 1463, when he obtained a papal indult to join a mendicant order, ⁽⁸⁾ and Westhawe also entered Syon, and had risen to be confessor-general by 1472. Emden's authority for his statement that they both became Carthusians is one of the Paston letters, from Fr. Brackley to John Falstaff in 1459; 'Doctor Pynchebek and Doctor Westhawe, grete prechowrys and parsonys at London, bene now

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1. Inscription in Cambridge University Library Add. Ms. 5943.
 2. Register of Robert Rede, Bishop of Chichester 1397-1415, ed. C. Deedes (Sussex Record Society, xi, part ii, 1910), pp. 294-5.
 3. R.O.iii, 225.
 4. Emden, Oxford, ii, 961-2.
 5. Emden, Cambridge, p. 85.
 6. Clifford Letters, pp. 67-9.
 7. Emden, Cambridge, pp. 446, 630-1.
 8. C.P.L. 1455-64, pp. 638-9.

late made monkys of chaterows at Schene, one at on place and an other at the other place &c'. (1) There is no mention of the London Charterhouse here - if they entered any Charterhouse, it was that of Sheen. In fact, it seems clear that this ambiguous sentence is illustrative of the popular confusion between Sheen and Syon, and that one of the 'prechowrys' entered the Bridgettines, and the other the Carthusians, only to join his friend at Syon shortly afterwards. Which of them went initially to Sheen cannot be discovered, but quite probably it was Pynchebek, who was clearly the more unstable character of the two.

There is only one recorded example of a Carthusian who is known to have been previously married. This was Richard Trumpington who was a clerk-redditus at the London Charterhouse for fourteen years until 1425 when he received a papal indult to become a priest despite having been previously married. (2) Numerous admonitory references to Trumpington in the chapters of succeeding years suggest that the Carthusians may well have had cause to regret their decision. Le Vasseur also reports the story of a young man whose name is unknown, who was unable to decide whether to marry or enter a religious order. He asked the advice of Brother Hugh Taylor (the converse of the London Charterhouse who assisted Maurice Chauncy in refounding Sheen), and was told to marry since it was God's will that he should be both a husband and a monk. Accordingly he married, and then asked his wife if she would let him enter a monastery. Not unnaturally, she regarded the proposition with some disfavour and the couple settled down to raising a family. Years later, the wife suddenly decided that she herself wished to enter the religious life, and reminded her husband that he had once harboured similar designs. They separated, and she entered Syon and he Sheen. Upon the veracity of this story it is impossible to comment. (3) Doubtless it need not be regarded with great seriousness.

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1. The Paston Letters, ed. J. Gardner (London, 1900), i, 497.
 2. C.P.L. 1417-31, p. 410.
 3. Le Vasseur, iii, 448-9.

The attitude of the religious orders towards university education varied considerably. The Benedictines, of course, placed great emphasis upon such learning and eventually maintained three colleges at Oxford and one at Cambridge. The Cistercians, friars and canons also appeared in considerable numbers at the two universities, although in the case of the Cistercians at least, the general chapter evinced rather more enthusiasm for monastic education than did most monks themselves. (1) The Carthusians, by contrast, have hitherto been noted rather for their absence from medieval universities. T.H.Aston found only six men who became Carthusians at Oxford and none at Cambridge. (2) But the assumption that the Carthusians spurned the idea of university education is one which may be questioned; moreover Aston's figures derive from the years up to 1500, whereas most evidence concerning Carthusian graduates occurs in the sixteenth century. Of the Carthusians known to have received a university education, some have already been mentioned; Nicholas of Hereford obtained an M.A. and D.Th. when at Queen's College, Oxford during the years 1369 to 1382, (3) John Blakman received the degrees of M.A. and B.Th. when at Merton College, Oxford; and he later became a fellow and then precentor of Eton College. (4) Thomas Westhawe and John Pynchebek were both at Cambridge.

Otherwise almost all the known examples of graduates entering Charterhouses come from the sixteenth century. Several of the London monks held degrees: John Houghton apparently acquired the qualifications of B.A., Ll.B. and B.D. from Cambridge, (5) and Maurice Chauncy seems to have been at Oxford. (6) William Exmewe was at Christ's College, Cambridge; (7) and although Andrew Boorde wrote that he was brought up at Oxford, he seems to have acquired his D.M. from a foreign university,

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1. S.F.Hockey, Quarr Abbey and its Lands 1132-1631 (Leicester, 1970), p.245.
 2. T.H.Aston, 'Oxford's Medieval Alumni', Past and Present, lxxiv (1977), p.16; T.H.Aston, G.D.Duncan, T.A.R.Evans, 'The Medieval Alumni of the University of Cambridge', Past and Present, lxxxvi (1980), p.55.
 3. Emden, Oxford, ii, 913-5.
 4. Ibid, i, 194-5; Emden, Cambridge, pp.670-1.
 5. J. and J.A.Venn, Alumni Cantabrigiensis, ii, 413.
 6. Emden, Oxford 1501-40, pp. 112-3.
 7. J. and J.A.Venn, Alumni Cantabrigiensis, ii, 113.

probably after he had been dispensed from his Carthusian vows. (1)
 Also at Oxford was Thomas Spenser, professed at London, although he
 later went on to be vicar of Hinton where he died in 1529. (2) It
 had long been thought that John Barmanson, the prior of the London
 Charterhouse who wrote treatises arguing against the opinions of Luther
 and Erasmus, was at Oxford, but this identification has now been shown
 to be based upon a confusion with an aged lawyer of the same name who
 was possibly his father. (3)

At Sheen, John Hartwel was a fellow of King's College Cambridge in
 1505, but left without a degree to enter the order. (4) Similarly,
 Henry Corslegh, prior of Hinton in 1521, entered Merton College Oxford
 in 1497, but left during his probationary year to profess at Witham. (5)
 At Axholme, John Bourg the procurator had been to Cambridge, (6) and the
 last prior of Hinton, Edmund Horde, held a B.Cn.L. and was a fellow of
 All Souls College, Oxford. (7) Ralph Malevory, the last prior of Hull,
 was apparently at Cambridge for a while; (8) and Henry Man, the last
 prior of Sheen, had been at Oxford. (9) Henry Eccleston, prior of Mount
 Grace in 1506, was a D.Th. from King's College, Cambridge; (10) John
 Michel, the last prior of Witham, had gained a B.Can.L., (11) and August-
 ine Webster, the martyred prior of Axholme, held a B.A., both from Cam-
 bridge. (12) In 1535-6, therefore, five of the nine Carthusian priors
 held university degrees, and, in all, a surprisingly high proportion

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1. Emden, Oxford 1501-40, p.59.
 2. Ibid, p.531.
 3. R.O. iii, 469.
 4. J. and J.A.Venn, Alumni Cantabrigiensis, ii, 322.
 5. Emden, Oxford, i, 493.
 6. Emden, Cambridge, pp.84-5.
 7. Emden, Oxford, ii, 961-2.
 8. Clifford Letters, pp.67-9.
 9. Emden, Oxford 1501-40, p.375.
 10. Emden, Cambridge, p.204.
 11. J. and J.A.Venn, Alumni Cantabrigiensis, iii, 182.
 12. Ibid, iv, 354.

of the sixteenth-century priors were graduates. It is perhaps a natural assumption that the more highly educated monks should rise to the highest offices, although there is only one known example of a graduate prior before the sixteenth century. This was Thomas Pollard, who was prior of Witham from 1442 for a year and went on to become bishop of Down. He had acquired a B.Can.L., although it is unknown from which university. (1)

Conceivably the proportion of graduate Carthusians was higher than the examples just mentioned would suggest, but the problem, of course, is one of evidence. Most surnames tended to be extremely common, and one cannot assume that a name which occurs on a university register refers to the same person as a monk on an obit-list thirty years later. But it is at least possible to make some guesses, provided it is emphasised that they must be regarded as unproven. In making these surmises two guidelines have been followed. The first is obviously that of date, for the hypotheses must at least be plausible chronologically; and the second is that of distinctiveness of name: only for those monks with relatively unusual names have tentative identifications with graduates been ventured.

Table II: List of Carthusian Monks who had Possibly Attended a University

(all references in brackets are to the biographical registers compiled by Emden)

<u>Name</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Tentative Identification</u>
William Allerton	W.	Ob. 1506	Admitted to King's College, Cambridge in 1449 (<u>Cambridge</u> , p.10).
Thomas Bernard	Prior of Hi.	occurs 1430	Merton College, Oxford, scholar 1399-1400 (<u>Oxford</u> , i, 179).
William Braye	W.	Ord. 1460	Of Bridgewater, Somerset. At King's Hall, Cambridge, 1454 (<u>Cambridge</u> , p.89).
Robert Canon	S.	Ord. 1428 Ob. 1448	Undergraduate member of Hall in Oxford in 1428 (<u>Oxford</u> , i, 347).
Adam Cantwell	Hi.	Ob. 1419	Chaplain at New College, Oxford, 1386-91 (<u>Oxford</u> , i, 351).
John Clyffe	W.	occurs 1539	Adm. to Winchester College, Oxford, 1524 aged 13. 1531 vacated New College, Oxford, 'quia non habuit animum amplius studendi' (<u>Oxford</u> , 1501-40, p.124).

1. Emden, Oxford, iii, 2206.

<u>Name</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Tentative Identification</u>
Thomas Colchester	W.	Ob.1530	B.A. at Cambridge, 1494-5 (<u>Cambridge</u> , p.148).
Robert Cowper	A.	Ob.1501	Entered in Canon Law 1470 at Cambridge (<u>Cambridge</u> , p.164).
William Darker	S.	Ob.1505	At Oxford where ord.subdeacon 1468 (<u>Oxford</u> , i, 573).
Thomas Fletcher	Hi.	occurs 1521	Admitted at Cambridge 1504 (<u>Cambridge</u> , p.234).
William Hatherlee	Prior of Hi.	1456-61	At Exeter College, Oxford, 1447-8 (<u>Oxford</u> , ii, 885).
William Hopton	W. or S.	Ob.1519	Admitted to B.A. at Oxford, 1450 (<u>Oxford</u> , ii, 961).
John Seman	Prior of L.	1449-68	Fellow at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, 1439 (<u>Cambridge</u> , p.518).
Ralph Smith	Prior of Hu.	1521-9	Admitted to Cambridge 1500 (<u>Cambridge</u> , p.535).
Richard Woodnet	W.	1539	Admitted to B.A. at Oxford 1511 (<u>Oxford</u> , 1501-40, p.634).

It may be noted that four of these possible graduates are priors, which certainly goes some way towards advancing the argument that men of learning tended to be promoted within the Carthusian order, and in this respect the Carthusians were no different from other orders. T.H.Aston noted that Oxford and Cambridge 'made a very substantial contribution indeed to the leadership of the major religious orders during the medieval period'. (1)

That the Carthusians both recruited and promoted monks who were already graduates is not surprising. Of much greater significance is the discovery that the Charterhouses appear occasionally to have sent certain monks to study at university. According to Anthony Wood, Maurice Chauncy was already a monk before he began his university education, and Wood speculated that he was at London College (Burnell's Inn), Oxford, as it was customary for members of his order to reside there. (2) This statement has been ridiculed by later writers (3) on the grounds that it was not Carthusian practice to send monks to study at university. Certainly it cannot have been habitual as it was with the Benedictines, but it does

1. T.H.Aston, 'Oxford's Medieval Alumni', Past and Present, lxxiv (1974), p.29; see also E.H.Pearce, 'Monks of Westminster' (Cambridge, 1916), p.27; R.B.Dobson, 'Durham Priory, 1400-1450', pp.54-7.

2. A.Wood, 'Athenae Oxoniensis', ed. P.Bliss (London, 1813-20), i, 459.

3. For example by Emden, 'Oxford 1501-40', p.113.

not seem to have been entirely unknown. Henry Man, the last prior of Sheen was admitted to Corpus College Oxford in 1520, and was professed at Sheen by 1524 when he was ordained subdeacon. In 1534 he was appointed prior of Witham, and after a few months transferred to Sheen. At this time he was apparently studying in addition to holding his offices. In 1533 he supplicated for the degree of B.Th. and in 1538 for that of D.Th. (1) The last prior of Witham, John Michel, was professed at Sheen by 1515 when he was ordained priest, but he received the degree of B.Can.L. from Cambridge in 1531-2. (2) Henry Eccleston, prior of Mount Grace, was admitted to Eton College in 1474 and to King's College School, Cambridge, in 1477. From 1481 he was a fellow there until 1491 when he entered Mount Grace, but he was nevertheless admitted as a B.Th. in 1504 and incepted as a D.Th. in 1505-6. (3) It is therefore undeniable that at least some Carthusian monks were permitted to study at university after profession. Interestingly, the three men mentioned above all became priors, thus prompting the thought that it was only monks of exceptional character or ability who were allowed to follow this course, men who were considered by their superiors to be potential priors of the future.

In conclusion, it is clear that while the Carthusians did not place the same high value upon formal university education as did some of the other orders, they did not entirely dismiss it. It is significant that nearly all the known examples of graduate monks come from the sixteenth century. Although this may be partially a result of the improved documentation of the period, it seems more likely that it reflects a relatively new phenomenon. The evidence suggests that the Carthusians were, or at least were considered to be, more willing to encourage intellectual pursuits, and that as a result, graduates were more willing to enter the order. Although the number of monks who had degrees before profession seems to have been very few, the proportion is nevertheless higher than has previously been supposed, and the realisation that at least a select small number were permitted to begin or to continue studying at university after becoming monks must inevitably alter our views about the educational outlook of the order.

1. Emden, Oxford, 1501-40, p.375.

2. J. and J.A.Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, iii, 182.

3. Emden, Cambridge, p.204.

If, in general, the indications about the educational background of the majority of the Carthusians are sparse enough, the evidence for their social and geographical origins are even sparser. Knowles noted that most recruits to all the monastic orders were either sons of burgesses, or from the middle and lower ranks of rural landowners and freemen. ⁽¹⁾ Lack of evidence from the Carthusian order precludes one from questioning this assertion. As with university education, what little information can be extracted about the family backgrounds of the monks derives mainly from the immediate pre-Reformation period. Chauncy mentioned that a number of the community at the London Charterhouse came from wealthy and distinguished families, and that many not only of the monks but also of the lay-brothers had relinquished their property and birthrights in order to enter the priory. ⁽²⁾ Certainly a number of monks at the London Charterhouse at this time can be shown to have come from good country gentry stock at least, if not from even higher up the social scale. Maurice Chauncy was the son of John Chauncy esquire of Ardley, Hertfordshire, and his first wife Elizabeth, widow of Robert Manfield. ⁽³⁾ John Rochester, who was executed at York in 1536, was brother of Sir Robert Rochester, controller of the Queen's Household, the man who in 1555 made possible the refoundation of Sheen. ⁽⁴⁾ Philip Underwood, procurator of the house from 1493 until 1501, a monk who was distinguished by his collector's passion for grants of fraternity, ⁽⁵⁾ was the son of a wealthy London ironsmith, William Underwood, a connection he apparently exploited to the full in his zeal to pay off the debts of the priory. ⁽⁶⁾ About John Houghton, prior from 1531 until 1535, all we know is that he came from Essex and was of gentle birth. ⁽⁷⁾ William Exmewe the procurator seems to have been the son of Sir Thomas Exmewe, alderman of London, who died in 1529, and Humphrey Middlemore the vicar probably belonged to the prestigious Middlemore family of Edgbaston. ⁽⁸⁾

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1. R.O. ii, 230.
 2. Chauncy, Historia, p.67.
 3. D.N.B. iv, 172.
 4. Chauncy, Historia, p.137.
 5. See below, pp.173, 377.
 6. See Thompson, pp.194-7.
 7. See R.O. iii, 225.
 8. D. and G.Mathew, The Reformation and the Contemplative Life (London, 1934), p.294.

The monk about whose origins most information is available is Sebastian Nudigate. ⁽¹⁾ His father was John Nudigate of Harefield in Middlesex, and his mother Amphillis came of the Westmorland Nevilles. His sister Jane married Sir Robert Dormer in 1512, and her daughter Jane became the duchess of Feria. Sebastian rose so far as to become a member of the royal privy council before entering the Carthusian order, apparently as a result of his disgust with the royal divorce. On 25 May 1535 he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea for refusal to assent to the King's supremacy, where, according to Clifford, he had a visit from a disguised Henry VIII, anxious to save his former favourite from incurring the death penalty. Clifford gives every impression of being a reliable informant, so there is no reason to doubt his story; we may therefore conclude that, in order to become a Carthusian, Nudigate abandoned a career which might have led him to the highest offices in the land. Nudigate was not the only court official for whom the Charterhouse held attractions. The vice-chamberlain, Sir John Gage, joined the priory in 1534 intending to become a monk, although in the event this ambition must have been thwarted. ⁽²⁾

Monks at other houses about whose social origins something may be said include Ralph Malevory, the last prior of Hull, who was the son of James Malevory of Seamer, and cousin to Sir William Malevory of Woodsome; ⁽³⁾ John Norton, prior of Mount Grace c.1509-22, came of the Norton family of Bilburgh; ⁽⁴⁾ and Thomas Pollard, prior of Witham 1442-3, was apparently 'of noble race'. ⁽⁵⁾ Apart from these pitifully few examples, it is extremely difficult to discover anything about the family background of the monks, even of those who went to university. Some interesting surnames occur among them (Neville, Knolles, Lawson, Fairfax, for example), but it seems to be impossible to trace these or any other monks in heraldic visitations, no doubt because, as they died without issue, they were uninteresting from a genealogical viewpoint. About one monk, however, a little speculation is worthwhile: John Ingleby was elected prior of Hinton in 1476, and the next year became prior of Sheen, where he seems to have remained until he was appointed bishop of Landaff in 1496. He died three

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1. H. Clifford, The Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria, ed. J. Stevenson (London, 1887), pp. 19-37.
 2. L&P, vii, 14.
 3. Clifford Letters, pp. 67-9.
 4. Clifford Letters, pp. 62-3, 76.
 5. C.P.L. 1431-47, 267.

years later. The discovery that he was originally professed at Mount Grace, where he was ordained subdeacon and deacon in 1457, ⁽¹⁾ makes it very probable that he was a scion of the Ingleby family of Ripley, who assumed the role of patrons to Mount Grace. However, no trace of him is discernible in the Ingleby genealogies.

Similarly it is almost impossible to make any generalisations about the geographical origins of the monks. Apart from the cases of Chauncy, Nudigate and Malevory mentioned above, the only other monks whose place of birth is known are Andrew Boorde, who hailed from Boord's Hill in Holmesdale near Cuckfield, Sussex, ⁽²⁾ and Henry Eccleston, who came from Prescott in Lancashire. ⁽³⁾ However it is possible that the surnames of some of the monks provide some indication of their place of origin. To make such an assumption is highly dubious methodologically for many reasons. If a monk's surname is also the name of a town, the most one could assume is that possibly his distant ancestors lived in that town. The case of Henry Eccleston, already mentioned, illustrates the dangers perfectly. One might be tempted to infer that he came from Eccleston in Lancashire, or from Eggleston in Yorkshire, but in fact he came from Prescott. Nevertheless, the other monk mentioned above, Andrew Boorde, did come from a village of the same name, or, more probably, adopted the name of his place of birth when he entered the order. Some other similar examples enable one to suggest that this was a fairly common practice among the Carthusians. The first example is Richard Methley, who signed his translations of the Mirror of Simple Souls and the Cloud of Unknowing as 'per dominum Richardum Furth alias de Methley'. ⁽⁴⁾ This strongly implies that his real name was Furth, but that he was also known by the name of the village from which he came. However, James Hogg's reservation that his English work, the epistle to Hugh Hermit, was not written in a northern accent must be borne in mind before concluding that he came from the Yorkshire village of Methley. ⁽⁵⁾ A second example, perhaps more tenuous,

1. Reg. Booth, ff.428r, 429r.

2. D.N.B. ii, 833-5.

3. Emden, Cambridge, p.204.

4. Pembroke College Cambridge Ms.221, f.99r: see below, p.202.

5. J.Hogg, 'Richard Methley: To Hew Heremyte A Pystyl of Solytary Lyfe Nowadayes', Miscellanea Cartusiensia, 1 (A.C. xxxi, 1977), pp.97-8.

concerns Robert Palmer, the 'primus motor' and second prior of Coventry, who was apparently given his surname because he had been on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. ⁽¹⁾ At the time of the Coventry foundation in 1381 Robert was procurator of the London Charterhouse, which suggests that he had been a monk there for some years. Yet in the Poll tax returns of 1379 for the London Charterhouse there is no mention of a monk called Robert Palmer, but there is one called Robert Coventre. ⁽²⁾ It seems extremely likely that this was the same man who, upon his arrival at the London Charterhouse was given the name of Coventry because he came from that town, but who, upon his return to Coventry, became known by a different name or perhaps reverted to his previous name. In Coventry itself it would hardly have been unusual to be called Robert of Coventry, whereas to use this surname would have made rather more sense at London, where he was the only monk who came from Coventry, and it was a convenient and distinctive appellation. Similarly, we know that John Rochester and James Walworth, two of the recalcitrant monks at the London Charterhouse, were sent to Hull in 1536. When the royal commissioners took down the names of the Hull monks in the same year, they recorded Rochester, but not James Walworth. Instead is written 'James de London', ⁽³⁾ who must be the same man, since he does not appear at Hull on any preceding or succeeding occasion, and since Walworth should have figured on the commissioners' lists.

Of course, the habit of using place-names as surnames, well-nigh ubiquitous in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was increasingly being superseded by the acquisition of family or occupational surnames, from 1350 in the south and 1400 in the north. Nonetheless, there were certain classes of people among whom the place-name tradition persisted far longer than among the population as a whole, and the clergy were one such class. ⁽⁴⁾ Knowles estimates that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was still almost universal for a monk to be known by his place of origin, ⁽⁵⁾ and the evidence mentioned above certainly suggests

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1. Le Couteulx, vi, 286-8.
 2. A.K. McHardy, The Church in London 1375-92 (London Record Society, xiii, 1977), p.3.
 3. P.R.O. S.P.5/1, vol ii, f.199r.
 4. P. McClure, 'Patterns of Migration in the Late Middle Ages: The Evidence of English Place-Name Surnames', Economic History Review, xxi (1979), p.168.
 5. R.O.ii, 229. Professor Dobson however is more doubtful; R.B. Dobson, Durham Priory, 1400-1450 (Cambridge, 1973), pp.56-7.

that some Carthusians adopted the practice. Therefore one is at least more justified in treating the surnames of Carthusian monks as indications of their geographical origins than one would be in applying this method to many other sectors of the population.

The following table is of monks whose surnames most nearly correspond to place-names. One must remember however that many place-names are not unique, and therefore a monk whose toponymic could derive from a number of places has not been considered: names such as Grimston, Hatfield, Burton, Kirkby, Sutton and Swinton are excluded. There are also monks who presumably came from abroad - Hugh of Avalon, William Ghent, Robert Holland and Peter Utrecht for example - but these too are not included. The table is arranged by houses for purposes of comparison.

Table III: Suggested Carthusian Toponymics

Axholme, Lincolnshire

Richard Boston	Boston, Lincolnshire (but the place name is common)
Robert Cawode	Cawood, Yorkshire.
Robert Pinchbeck	Pinchbeck, Lincolnshire.
Gabriel Rutland	Rutland.

Beauvale, Nottinghamshire

Christopher Braystones	Braystones, Cumberland.
Alexander Lowthe	Lowth, Lincolnshire.
Thomas Methley	Methley, West Yorkshire.
Richard Nottingham (also at C)	Nottingham.
Richard Wakefield	Wakefield, West Yorkshire.
Nicholas Wartre	Warter, East Yorkshire.
Thomas Wartre	Warter, East Yorkshire.
John Woodhouse	Woodhouse, West Yorkshire.

Coventry, Warwickshire.

Thomas Bigbury	Bigbury, Devon.
Richard Gresley	Gresley, Nottinghamshire.
Nicholas of Hereford	Hereford.
Ralph Kirkstede	Kirkstead, Lincolnshire.
Nicholas Kirthlington	Kirklington, Nottinghamshire.
William Lichfield	Lichfield, Staffordshire.
Thomas Lincolne	Lincoln.
William Milford	Milford, Derbyshire.

Hinton, Somerset

Robert Axelbrugge (also at L)	Axbridge, Somerset+
Henry Corslegh	Corsley Heath, Somerset+
John Glastinberi	Glastonbury, Somerset+
William Hatherlee (also at L)	Hatherleigh, Devon
John Langport	Langport, Somerset
Nicholas Lychefeld	Lichfield, Staffordshire
Robert Scamendon	Scamonden, West Yorkshire
John Spalden	Spalding, Lincolnshire
John de Troubridge	Trowbridge, Somerset+
John de Trubruge	Trowbridge, Somerset+
William Whitby	Whitby, Yorkshire
John Yevel	Yeovil, Somerset

Kingston-upon-Hull, East Yorkshire

William Barnslay	Barnsley, West Yorkshire
Henry Beverley	Beverley, East Yorkshire+
Thomas Beverley	Beverley, East Yorkshire+
William Cawood	Cawood, East Yorkshire
John Conniston	Coniston, East Yorkshire+(but the place-name is common)
John Craven	Craven, West Yorkshire
Helizeus Furnes	Furness, Lancashire
Thomas Helperby	Helperby, East Yorkshire
Walter de Kele	Keele, Staffordshire
John Lenewood or Linwood	Linwood, Lincolnshire
Richard Marche	March, Cambridge
Roger Rillynton	Rillington, East Yorkshire
Thomas Waplynton	Waplinton, East Yorkshire
John Widrington	Widdrington, Northumberland

London

John Buckingham (also at S)	Buckingham
Robert de Bury	Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk
Walter Cnoll	Knole, Kent
Robert Coventre	Coventry (Robert Palmer?)
John Flete	Fleet, Surrey
Hugh Glowcester	Gloucester
Robert Hevenyngton	Heveningham, Suffolk
Thurstan Hickmans (also at S, Hu and W)	Hickman's Hill, Hertfordshire
Robert Hull	Hull, East Yorkshire
Robert Iklyngham	Icklingham, Suffolk
Richard Lamborn	Lamborn, Berkshire
John Maplestead	Maplestead, Essex
Robert Odyham (also at C)	Odiham, Surrey
John Porchester	Portchester, Hampshire
Thomas Redyng	Reading, Buckinghamshire
John Rochester	Rochester, Kent
William Salysbery	Salisbury, Wiltshire
Thomas Scryven	Scriven, West Yorkshire
John Spalding (also at Hu)	Spalding, Lincolnshire
John Stanfield	Stanfield, Norfolk

+ = a place-name within approximately fifteen miles of the Charterhouse

London cont.

William Tregooz	Tregoose, Cornwall
Richard Trumpington (also at S)	Trumpington, Cambridgeshire
John Walsingham	Walsingham, Norfolk
John Wisbeche	Wisbech, Cambridgeshire

Mount Grace, North Yorkshire

Thomas Allenwick	Alnwick, Northumberland
Thomas Brotherton	Brotherton, West Yorkshire
John Collville	Coalville, Nottinghamshire
William Denham	Denholme, West Yorkshire
John Dunnington	Dunnington, East Yorkshire
Christopher Huddeswell	Hudswell, North Yorkshire+
John Ingleby	Ingleby, North Yorkshire+
Thomas Lincolne	Lincoln
Thomas Lockington (also at L)	Lockington, East Yorkshire
John Medillym	Middleham, North Yorkshire+
Richard Methley	Methley, West Yorkshire
John Romonby	Romanby, North Yorkshire+
Robert Shypley	Shipley, West Yorkshire (but the place-name is common)
William Tildesley	Tyldesley, Lancashire
Nicholas Witherle	Witherley, Leicestershire

Perth, Perthshire

Maurice Barry	Barry, Angusshire
Simon Fairlie	Fairlie, Ayrshire
Simon Galloway	Galloway, Wigtonshire
Adam de Hongalaside or Earnside	Earnside, Perthshire
James Hutton	Hutton, Berwickshire
Laurence Hutton	Hutton, Berwickshire

Sheen, Surrey

William Applegarth	Applegarth, Yorkshire
John Bromleigh	Bromley, Kent +
Richard Bury	Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk
Nicholas Eynsham	Eynsham, Oxfordshire
Edmund Fleetwood	Fleetwood, Lancashire
James Greenhaugh	Grenehalgh, Lancashire
Robert Kendale	Kendal, Westmoreland
John of London	London+
Thomas Manfelde	Mansfield, Nottinghamshire
John Oxlynwood	Oxford
Henry de Richmond	Richmond, Surrey+ (but the place-name is not unique)
Thomas Tarleton	Tarleton, Lancashire
Richard Tildesley	Tyldesley, Lancashire
Walter Tillisworth	Tilsworth, Bedfordshire

Witham, Somerset

Hugh Boscaven	Boscombe, Wiltshire
John of Canterbury	Canterbury
Robert de Caveford	Caveford, Somerset+
Robert Chiltern	Chiltern Hills, Oxfordshire
William de Cokkyng	Cocking, Sussex
Thomas Colchester	Colchester, Essex
John Corsham	Corsham, Berkshire
Adam of Dryburgh	Dryburgh, Berwickshire
John de Evercriche	Evercreech, Somerset+
Nicholas Exeter	Exeter
Thomas Exeter	Exeter
William Hull	Hull, East Yorkshire
John Langrugge	Langridge, Somerset+
Alexander of Lewes	Lewes, Sussex
John Lewys	Lewes, Sussex
Thomas of London	London
Nicholas Lychefeld	Lichfield, Staffordshire
John de Netherbury (also at L & C)	Netherbury, Dorset.
John de Pevensey	Pevensey, Sussex
Thomas Secheford	Sedgeford, Norfolk
William de Standich	Standish, Gloucestershire
John Taunton	Taunton, Somerset
Walter de Voole	Vole, Somerset

Of Unknown House

(both these monks belonged to one of the northern Charterhouses)

John Blaktoft	Blacktoft, East Yorkshire
John Rilynton	Rillington, East Yorkshire

Any inferences derived from these lists must be made with extreme caution, but in the absence of other more positive evidence they may possibly serve in building up a picture of the areas from which each Charterhouse drew its recruits. In any case it is little enough which may be inferred. It is only possible to suggest that the majority of monks in each house tended to come from the hinterland of that house. This is, of course, a conclusion which is true of most religious houses, (1) but one might conceivably have expected a different pattern to emerge with the Carthusian order, since there were so few houses, and since the mode of life was different from that of other orders. But the place-name evidence seems to suggest that if there was no Charterhouse in an area, no Carthusians came from that area. We find no Welsh Carthusians, for example, and few from any county which did not either contain a Charterhouse or was near one. The vast majority of monks indeed, seem to have come from Somerset or Yorkshire, the counties which each housed more than one Charterhouse, even although the monks in question did not necessarily make their profession at those particular houses. We may perhaps conclude, therefore,

1. See R.O. 11, p.229; R.B.Dobson, Durham Priory, 1400-1450, p.58.

that even in its heyday, the Carthusian order was not sufficiently well-known to attract recruits on the strength of its national reputation alone. Rather it seems to have been the case that, as with most other religious houses, individual priories recruited novices locally. It is possible to argue that this was less true of London and Sheen, which is again a conclusion that one might expect, these two houses presumably being the most celebrated nationally.

Even if one were safe in assuming that a monk's surname was a reliable indication of his provenance, the list above would still not comprise a reliable guide to the recruitment patterns of individual Charterhouses, since the monks enjoyed considerable mobility within the order. Table IV provides a list of all the monks and lay-brothers who are known to have resided at more than one priory. Little detail is provided in the list, since further reference may be made to the appendix, but some explanation of the abbreviations used is necessary. Since most of the information derives from chance references to a monk at one house at one date, and at another house at another date, it is often impossible to be certain of the status of the monk at his second house; whether he made full profession there, or was merely a visitor passing through, a long-term guest or a prisoner; nor usually does one know the reason for the transfer. It has been assumed here that the monks were fully professed members of their community unless information is available to the contrary; and it is certain that the holders of monastic office were professed again in the houses to which they were appointed. ⁽¹⁾ Promotion to office appears to be the most frequent reason for transfer from one house to another. Retirement from office was another linked reason. If a prior was allowed to retire - and the general chapter needed a great deal of persuasion before they would permit this - then he was given a year in which to choose whether to remain at the house to which he had been appointed prior, or to return to the priory where he had made his original profession. ⁽²⁾ One can see that the career of John de Moreby follows this pattern.

1. See Thompson, pp.112-3. A second or subsequent profession was not a full monastic profession. A new prior made a profession of obedience to the general chapter on behalf of the priory which had elected him. A monk professing at another house promised obedience to his new prior.
2. See Thompson, p.113.

Originally he was professed at Beauvale, then appointed prior to the newly created Axholme in 1395 and obviously retired to Beauvale where he died in 1432. (1) Similarly, although there is no record of where William Yreby made his first profession, one could speculate that it was at Mount Grace, since this was the house to which he retired after his resignation from the priorate of Axholme. (2)

Another reason for migration was the need to staff new foundations. To make up the numbers at the London Charterhouse Thomas Shirley and Guy de Burgh were sent from Beauvale; John Bovehulke, John Grysley and John de Netherbury from Witham; and Robert Axelbrugge, John Luscope and Brother Benedict from Hinton. (3) John Netherbury, Robert Palmer and Edmund Dallyng (or Ballyng) of London were sent out to the new foundation at Coventry. (4)

Table IV does not include the movements of the monks after the 1539 dissolution, since this is hardly indicative of normal Carthusian patterns of mobility. Indeed it could be argued that a number of migrations made by monks immediately preceding that event would not have occurred but for the secular authority's concern to break down intransigent communities. John Rochester and James Walworth's fatal visit to Hull, and Maurice Chauncy and John Foxe's enforced sojourn at Beauvale are obvious examples of Cromwellian manoeuvring, as also were several of the appointments made to office at that time. John Michel was certainly promoted to the priorate of Witham because of his malleability; and both Henry Man, prior of first Witham and then Sheen, and Edmund Horde, appointed to Hinton, gained their offices because of their willingness to promote the royal supremacy. It has therefore been noted in this list (by the word 'reformation') where moves by monks from one house to another are likely to be the result of official intervention.

Another two words used in the list are 'transgression' and 'discontent'. The former means that a monk was moved from one house to another as a punishment for some crime which he had committed. The latter implies that

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1. Obit List, p.9; Lambeth Palace Ms. 413, f.94r.
 2. Lambeth Palace Ms. 431, f.47lv.
 3. Hope, p.35.
 4. M.A. vi, 16.

a monk was transferred because he was at odds with the other members of his community, because he was unhappy himself, or because the other monks found him a disturbing influence - usually for both reasons.

The table also serves to shed some light upon the relations between the English Charterhouses and the Scottish priory of Perth. For only four years, from 1456 until 1460, Perth belonged to the English province. Before that date, it was a part of the province of Picardy, and after it, that of Geneva. ⁽¹⁾ This table clearly demonstrates how alien Perth was considered to be by the English Carthusians. Only three monks, Alan Dawson, Robert Dawson and Bernard Garne were transferred between Perth and English Charterhouses. Otherwise Perth made all its exchanges of personnel with continental priories.

Table IV: Migration of Carthusians between Priories

<u>Name</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Reason for Migration (if known)</u>
Thomas Albon	1.L, 2. MG	
Hugh of Avalon	1. La Grande Chartreuse, (procurator), 2. W. (prior)	Promotion.
Robert Axelbrugge	1.Hi, 2.L.	New Foundation.
Thomas Baker	L. guest at B.	
John Bardeyn	1.C, 2.L.	Reformation.
William/Thomas Barker	1.MG, 2.L.	Transgression.
Maurice Barry	P. guest at Bruges, Mont-dieu and Abbeville.	
John Batmanson	1.Hi (prior), 2.L. (prior).	Promotion.
William Baxter	L, guest at W.	Transgression.
Robert Bennet	1.B. (prior), 2.S. (procurator)	Retirement?
John Blakman	1.L, 2.W.	
John Bochart	C. (prior), guest at B.	
Edward Bog	P. guest at MG	
John Boie	Livet, guest at P.	
John Bourg	A, guest at Hu.	Probably discontent.
John Bovehulke	1.W, 2.L.	New Foundation.
Robert Brewett	1.B, 2.Hu.	
John Brown	1.Bouvantes, 2.P.	
William Brown	1.C. (prior), 2.B. (prior).	Promotion.
John Buckingham	1.L. 2.S. (prior).	Promotion.
Guy de Burgh	1.B, 2.L.	New Foundation.
Richard Burton	1.B. (prior), 2.Hi. (prior) 3.A. (prior).	Promotion.
Robert Canon	1.L, 2.S. (procurator).	Promotion.
John Chamberlayn	1.A, 2.Hi.	Reformation.
Maurice Chauncy	L, guest at B.	Reformation.
Thomas Coates	1.MG, guest at Hi. 2.L.	

1. See Thompson, p.248.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Reason for Migration</u>
Oswald de Corda	1.Nordlingen, 2.La Grande Chartreuse. (procurator), 3.P.(prior).	Promotion.
Henry Corslegh	1.W, 2.Hi.(prior).	Promotion.
John Cotton	Apparently at both MG and C.	
Edmund Dallyng (or Ballyng)	1.L, 2.C.	New Foundation.
Alan Dawson	1.P.(prior), 2.A, guest at Hu.	Transgression.
Robert Dawson	1.MG, 2.P,(procurator).	Promotion.
Robert Deyn	1.A, 2.B.	
Richard Dixton	1.Hi, 2.A, guest at Mont-dieu and Naples.	Probably Transgression.
Stephen Dodesham	1.S, 2.W. 3.S.	Transgression.
Thomas Elmham	1.L, 2.A, (rector).	Promotion.
William Everton	1.Hu, 2.A, guest at Hi, MG, S, B and Florence.	Transgression
John Fenel	1.L, 2.Hi.	
Peter Ferasis	1.Selignac, 2.P.	
Alan Forman	1.Breune, 2.P.(prior), 3.La Pert-dieu, Pommiers, Buxheim and Bon-pas (prior).	Promotion
John Foxe	L, guest at B.	Reformation.
Robert Fynster	1, Hu.(vicar), 2.MG.	Reformation.
Bernard Garne	1.P, 2.A.	
William Ghent	P, guest at Utrecht.	
Thomas Goldynge	L, guest at MG.	
James Grenehalgh	S, guest at C and Hu.	Transgression.
Richard Gresley	C, guest at S.	
Martin Groether	1.Gand, 2.P.(prior).	Promotion.
John Grysley	1.W, 2.L.	New Foundation.
Henry von Harn	1.W, 2.B, 3.Hi.	
John Hartwel	S, guest at Hi and L.	
William Harrison	MG, guest at A.	
William Hatherlee	Hi.(prior), 2.L.	Retirement?
Alnett Hayes	1.L, 2.MG, 3.C, 4.W.	Discontent.
William Heet	1.S, 2.Hu.	
Thurstan Hickmans	1.L, 2.S, 3.Hu. (vicar), 4.W.(procurator).	Promotion.
Adam de Hongalaside	1.Valbonne, 2.P.(prior).	
Nicholas Hopkins	1.C, 2.Hi,(vicar).	Promotion.
William Hopton	Apparently at both S and W.(procurator).	
Edmund Horde	1.L.(procurator), 2.Hi. (prior).	Reformation.
John Hotot.	1.L, 2.W.	
John Houghton	1.L,(sacrist), 2.B.(prior), 3.L.(prior).	Promotion.
William Howe	1.S, 2.W.	Reformation.
Christopher Huddeswell	MG, guest at B and Hi.	Transgression.
John Ingleby	1.MG, 2.Hi.(prior), 3.S.(prior).	Promotion.
John Ivres	1.S.(prior), 2.Hi.(prior).	Promotion.
John Jollis	1.B, guest at Diest and L, 2.St.Esprit, Gosney.	
Peter Justman	1.L, 2.a Lombard house.	Discontent.
Robert Kendale	S, guest at Hi.	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Reason for Migration</u>
Robert Laurence	1.L, 2.B.(prior).	Promotion.
Thomas Leighton	1.MG, 2.B.	Reformation?
Thomas Lockington	1.L, 2.MG.(prior).	Promotion.
John Luscote	1.Hi.(prior), 2.L.(prior).	New Foundation.
Nicholas Lychefeld	1.Hi, 2.W.	Reformation?
Henry Man	1.S.(procurator), 2.W. (prior), 3.S.(prior).	Reformation.
William Marshall	1.S, 2.Hi.(prior), 3.S.	Promotion and Transgression.
John Michel	1.S.(procurator), 2.W. (prior).	Reformation.
William Middleton	1.L, 2.B.(prior)	Promotion.
Bruce Montgomery	1.Bouvantes, 2.P.(prior).	Promotion.
Roger Montgomery	L. guest at C.	
John de Moreby	1.B, 2.A.(prior), 3.B.	New Foundation, and subsequent retirement.
Hugh Morin	1.Montreuil, 2.P.(prior).	Promotion.
Robert Mote	1.A.(prior), 2.L.	Retirement.
John de Netherbury	1.W, 2.L. 3.C.(prior).	New Foundation and Promotion.
Richard Nottingham	1.B, 2.C.	
Robert Palmer	1.L, 2.C.(prior).	New Foundation.
Robert Petz	1.Villeneuve, 2.P.	
John Playne	L, guest at Hi.	
Thomas Pollard	1.L, 2.Hi. (Procurator), 3.W.(prior), 4.Hi.	Promotion, and subsequent transgression.
Robert Pynchebeck	1.L, 2.A.	Reformation.
Robert Raby	1.C, 2.L.	Exchange.
John Ramsey	1.MG, 2.L.	
John Revell	1.B, 2.L.	Reformation?
John Rochester	L, guest at Hu.	Reformation.
George Rogers	1.L, 2.C.	Exchange.
John Rolff	A, guest at B.	
John Romondby	1.MG, 2.C.	
William Rowst	1.L, 2.W.	
Thomas Selby	1.W, 2.A.(rector).	Discontent.
Thomas Shirley	1.B, 2.L.	New Foundation.
Thomas Smyth	1.A. 2.S.	Reformation?
William Sowlyland	1.L, 2.C.(prior).	Promotion.
John Spalding	1.L, 2.Hu. (vicar).	Promotion.
Thomas Spenser	1.L, 2.Hi. (procurator and vicar).	Promotion.
Henry Spesor	1.S, 2.Hi.	
William Sporle	1.Hu.(prior), 2.S.	Retirement?
John Starkey	B, guest at C.	
Edmund Stollis	1.B, 2.L.	
Edmund Storer	1.L.(prior), 2.Hi.(prior).	Retirement.
Thomas Tarleton	1.S, 2.C.(prior).	Promotion.
John Thomson	1.Hu, 2.L.	Reformation?
William Trafford	1.MG, 2.B.(procurator), 3.L.(prior).	Promotion.
William Trombil	P.(prior), guest at Nantes.	
Richard Trumpington	1.L, 2.S, guest at B.	Transgression.
John Tuppins	Hu, guest at Hi.	
Thomas Turke	1.Hi, 2.S.	
Peter of Utrecht	1.a Belgian house.2.P.	
John Vessey	S, guest at MG.	
Thomas Vingle	1.S, 2.Hi. (prior).	Promotion.
John Verypt	1.Brabant, 2.B.	

<u>Name</u>	<u>Houses</u>	<u>Reason for Migration</u>
Michael Virey	1.Valbonne(prior), 2.Villeneuve (prior), 3.Bourg-Fontaine (prior), 4.P. (prior).	Promotion.
John Walweyn	1.L, 2.C.(prior), 3.L. (prior).	Promotion.
James Walworth	L, guest at Hu.	Reformation.
William Ware	Hu, guest at A.	
Tristram Watson	1.MG.(vicar), 2.Hu.	
Augustine Webster	1.S, 2.A.(prior).	Promotion.
Thomas Welley	S, guest at B.	
John Wells	L, prisoner at Hu and guest at MG.	Transgression
Robert Welpede	1.L, 2.B.	
John Whetham	L, guest at Hi.	
John Widrington	1.L.(procurator), 2.S. (prior), 3.Hu.(prior), 4.either L or W.	Promotion
John Wisbeche	1.L, 2.Hi.	
William Yreby	1.A.(prior), 2.MG.	Retirement.

Considering how little information is available about most of the monks, the fact that so lengthy a list may be compiled from such scanty sources suggests that the number who were transferred from one house to another greatly exceeds those who are named here: the table probably only represents a small proportion of the total. Migration was therefore extremely common in the Carthusian order, far more so than in the other monastic orders, and more analogous to the practice of the friars in this respect. That it was possible was owing to the highly centralised Carthusian organisation: the general chapter and the provincial visitors maintained a general view of the situation, and if a monk was creating a disturbance in one house, they would decide to which other house he might be sent where he might feel more at ease. The order's ethos was a communal one, and individual ends were subordinated to the good of the whole. Some attempt was made to alleviate the complaints of discontented monks, but it was less, one suspects, out of concern for their individual welfare, than out of a desire to maintain the tranquility of the communities. That each house should be a peaceful and contented haven in order to facilitate the pursuit of uninterrupted devotion and meditation seems to have been the paramount object. St.Hugh had certainly held strong feelings upon the subject, and was adamant both in his expulsion of disrupters and his refusal to readmit them subsequently; 'The peace of his flock was in every way as important to him as his own salvation. He considered each soul committed to his care as the beloved bride of the Lord, and to be

trained as such in the pursuit of heavenly beauty'. (1) The late medieval priors appear to have entertained an acute sensitivity to the atmosphere of their houses, and to have attempted to remedy any imbalance or lack of harmony by a change of personnel.

The reasons why particular monks were transferred can only be gleaned from the cartae of the general chapter, and from isolated letters, of which E.M.Thompson provides a detailed survey. (2) In view of her thoroughness, it is only necessary here to cite a few especially revealing examples. The most widely travelled Carthusian was undoubtedly William Everton, originally professed at Hull in about 1436. By 1444 he was at Hinton, where he was informed that his 'carnales affectiones' were a scandal to the order. He was evidently sent to Mount Grace, since in 1455, when he was temporarily sojourning at Sheen, the prior of Mount Grace pleaded that he should be spared the pleasure of his company again. Beauvale was his next haven, until in 1464 the prior was instructed to send him to any other house and to prevent him from being molested. He was professed at Axholme by the next year, although the prior managed to persuade him to visit the Charterhouse at Florence. In 1470 he was back at his original home, Hull, deprived of any standing in their chapter for some unspecified offence. His complaints that his punishment was unjustified must have been heard, since in 1479 he was re-admitted to all offices there. (3) Everton's case is an extreme one, but despite the profusion of derogatory references to him in the cartae, it is hard to be certain how serious his crimes really were. He was accused of disobedience to his prior, of entertaining carnal affections, and of displaying perverse manners. However the pains the order took to find him a refuge 'ubi consolabilius poterit saluterii suam operari' (4) suggests that he possessed at least some redeeming qualities.

Another well-travelled monk was Alnett Hays, about whose case we are informed because of the chance survival of five letters in the P.R.O. (5)

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1. Magna Vita, p.84; see also pp.80-4.
 2. Thompson, pp.276-312.
 3. Lambeth Palace Ms.413, ff.160r, 237v, 335v, 348v, 393v, 500v.
 4. Lambeth Palace Ms.413, f.335r.
 5. L&P, iv, 5191; viii, 611.

He was ordained at London in 1518/9, and at some stage transferred to Mount Grace; there, in 1529, the prior decided to discharge him to Axholme, with such rapidity indeed that he left his clothing behind. So little did the prior and convent of Axholme relish his presence that they begged John Joburne, prior of Sheen and the then provincial visitor, to send him, appropriately enough, to Coventry. Finally he found his way to Witham, where he signed the deed of surrender and was granted a pension. Alnett was not a wrong-doer, but simply a social misfit. The prior of Axholme wrote despairingly of him, 'Your brother is a wayke man nott abyll to beyr the burdyn of our religion, nother in fastyng redyng nor syngyng....He continually cryith of me to send hym home to yowe and greatly we be vnquytyd by hym, for he hath syche temptacions yf any brother or seculer do spytt or host in hys presence he sayth they do it in dirision of hyme'. ⁽¹⁾ That Alnett Hayes suffered from a persecution complex, and was given to querulous complaining is fully confirmed in a letter he wrote from Axholme to the prior of London; 'I may so il avey with cold and aparty northern mennys condicions....youe sett alle the monkis in the howce in my necke to envy at me and to diffame me and to vexe me....I praye youe alle to be my frendis for your labour hathe caused me to have many foos and enemys in the north'. ⁽²⁾ The prior of Sheen, in his visitatorial capacity, urged the prior of London to allow Alnett to be sent to Coventry; 'we pray your fatherhedde to graunt his petycion for the saluacion of his sowle and solace to his body. His mynde is seo determynd and desyrouse to b[e a]t another house that if he be not removed he standeth in great Jeopardy'. ⁽³⁾

Similarly the prior of Coventry proclaimed himself content to allow his monk Robert Raby to be sent to London in exchange for George Rogers 'trystyng in oure Lord hyt schalbe mooste for bothe theyre qwyetnes and helthe of body and sowle'. ⁽⁴⁾ All these letters illustrate the concern of the priors over the spiritual well-being of their charges, both those who were discontented, and those who suffered their disturbing influence. They

1. Thompson, p.295.

2. Ibid, p.293-4.

3. Ibid, p.296.

4. Ibid, p.297.

reveal not only the way in which transfer was seen as the best method to deal with such malcontents, but also the visitatorial supervision which led to such migrations.

Wrong-doers and malcontents were not the only monks to be sent from house to house. Another reason for mobility was the need to fill the various offices. It was frequently the case that a new prior came from a different monastery, and it appears that occasionally even the more minor offices were filled by outsiders. This would be understandable were the officers appointed from above, but in fact the statutes are clear that the prior, at least, was to be elected only by the monks of the appropriate house, under the supervision of the provincial visitors.⁽¹⁾ Admittedly the general chapter had the power to quash an election, but it rarely seems to have exercised that right.⁽²⁾ That under these circumstances outsiders were so frequently elected priors is a fact of some significance. Some hint is found in the cartae when in 1427, after the resignation of the prior of Witham, John Corsham, the priors of Beauvale and Coventry, then provincial visitors, were told to hasten to Witham to confirm whoever should be elected as prior, or if the Witham brethren could not agree, to provide them with a prior by the authority of the general chapter.⁽³⁾ In fact, the choice fell upon Thomas Exeter, who seems to have been procurator at Witham. The role of the visitors at elections may well have been, if not actually decisive, at least strongly influential. Nevertheless, the frequency with which outsiders were elected demonstrates the coherence of the order in England. The priories were not as insular in their orientation as the houses of most other orders, and the monks at one priory appear to have been well informed about conditions and personnel at the other houses. If a need at one priory could be met by supplying a monk from another, or conversely if a highly-charged atmosphere at one house could be relieved by despatching a monk to another, the transfer could be easily performed. Transference, for whatever reason, certainly appears to have been a principal method by which the emotional climate of the houses was regulated; and this emphasis

1. See Thompson, pp.111-12.

2. One example of when it did exercise that right was when, in around 1477, John Ingleby was elected prior of Hinton. The general chapter refused to confirm his appointment and he remained rector 'ad ordine voluntate' (Lambeth Palace Ms.413, f.486v). Why this decision was taken is unexplained, but it was possibly because he had been simultaneously elected prior of Sheen and was more urgently needed there.

3. Lambeth Palace Ms.413, f.68r.

upon, and close monitoring of their communal mental health should perhaps be emphasised as an important factor in the maintenance of the high Carthusian standards of devotion.

Despite this emphasis upon the stability of the priories, the Carthusians rejected the use of their ultimate weapon of expulsion at an early stage. As far as we know, the number of monks who quit their cloister was very few. Some very obvious exceptions may be noted. Special dispensation to leave in order to take up bishoprics could be obtained, and this was by no means as infrequent an occurrence among the English Carthusians as is commonly supposed. St. Hugh of Lincoln is the often cited example, but in fact there were three others. (1) One was John Ingleby, the prior of Sheen from around 1477, who became bishop of Landaff in 1496 and died three years later. This promotion was evidently duly authorised by the order, for it created no disturbance. The same cannot be said for the appointments of the other two Carthusian bishops, Thomas Pollard and Richard Viell, both of whom incurred the wrath of their monastic superiors by their actions.

Pollard 'of noble race' and with a degree in canon law, is first encountered at Sheen in 1417 when he was ordained subdeacon and deacon. (2) He subsequently became procurator at Hinton, and in 1441 he was granted a papal indult to choose his own confessor, and a year later a dispensation to receive any benefice and retain it for life. (3) Despite the fact that such privileges could not normally be held by any Carthusian, he was made prior of Witham in 1442, but the fact that he retired to Hinton only a year later suggests that he had not received Carthusian permission for his papal grants and was being demoted as a punishment. (4) This is confirmed by the events of 1447, when he was provided by Nicholas V to the bishopric of Down, having told the pope that his order had given him licence to hold it. (5) His Carthusian superiors, who had done no such thing, were furious, and ordered that he should be captured, if necessary

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1. One must not forget that a Carthusian from La Grande Chartreuse, Boniface of Savoy, was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1207 until 1270. See L.E. Wilshire, 'Boniface of Savoy, Carthusian and Archbishop of Canterbury 1207-1270', Miscellanea Cartusiana, I (A.C. xxi, 1977), pp. 1-90.
 2. Reg. Chichele, iv, 323; Reg. Clifford, f. 79v.
 3. C.P.L. 1431-47, pp. 230, 267.
 4. Lambeth Palace Ms. 413, ff. 150r, 155v.
 5. C.P.L. 1447-55, p. 298.

by enlisting the aid of the secular authorities, lose all his benefices, and be imprisoned in a Charterhouse. ⁽¹⁾ Of his subsequent history there is no trace.

His successor at Witham, Richard Viell, was made prior in 1443, but four years later an enquiry into his rule was ordered. In 1450 he was superseded by John Pector, and apparently left the priory without permission. On Pector's application, the royal sheriffs were instructed to arrest him, and in 1451 he was told by the general chapter to be content, and not to chide at his relegation to the status of an ordinary monk. ⁽²⁾ Two years later he was included in a general pardon by Henry VI for some unnamed offence. ⁽³⁾ In 1459 he was provided by the pope to the bishopric of Killala in Ireland, although whether he had Carthusian approval for this is unknown. ⁽⁴⁾ He was still nominally bishop in 1464, when he received papal dispensation to hold any benefice to support his state while he remained a bishop, since he was still in England and could not go to his church. ⁽⁵⁾

Those monks elected or appointed bishops were obviously a special case. Towards the rest, the policy of the order underwent a complete reversal over the years. Initially the policy for any serious crime was expulsion, and those who could not rest content with the Carthusians were allowed to join a less austere order. The two monks who caused St. Hugh such unhappiness - Alexander of Lewes and the ex-sacrist at Muchelney, Andrew - were eventually given permission to join other.

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1. Lambeth Palace Ms. 413, f. 175v.
 2. Ibid, f. 206r; and Thompson, p. 306.
 3. C.P.R. 1452-61, p. 116.
 4. C.P.L. 1458-71, p. 92.
 5. C.P.L. 1458-71, pp. 210-11.

orders. (1) Evidently, however, the presence of such escape clauses was not ultimately conducive to the stability of the order, possibly because it encouraged less than whole hearted postulants. The order became far more anxious to retrieve fugitives than to expel wrongdoers, and its attitude towards apostasy moved into line with that of other orders. (2) In 1261 it was decreed that every house should contain a prison, (3) and by 1368 it was finally established that no monks should be expelled, however heinous his crime. (4) This regulation was accompanied by provisions for a far more rigid examination of novices, who were allowed, and indeed forced to leave if there was any doubt of their suitability.

The development of Carthusian policy towards both novices and apostates is well-illustrated by a letter Prior John Wilson of Mount Grace wrote to Henry Clifford, tenth baron Clifford in 1523. Clifford's chaplain wished to enter the order, and Wilson told him; 'os to your chaplane, I lyk hym well & trustes his calle be of God....wee in our ordre shuld receyve none without perfiet knowledge at thei have long tyme contynued in desire therto. Wherin if they fynd them selfe fyrme & stable, that is a speciall tokyn at they be called of tholie Gost; & for lake of due probacion in the premisses haith grete inconveniences fallen in our religion, os your Lordship knowith; & besides this, our religion is strait, wherfor it is vere necessarye that he wich thinkith hymselfe called of God therto shuld exersice hym a yere or two in the straitnes theroff, os in fasting, weering, waking and in solitarie liffing, wich is hard for wordlie men'. (5) The inferences are clear - firstly, that there had been notable cases, known to Lord Clifford, of monks failing in

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1. The Carthusians were originally extremely reluctant to readmit those who had once left the order. Guigo devoted a chapter of his Consuetudines to the subject, in which he stated that readmission would be allowed provided the fugitive displayed a fitting remorse and intention to reform, and all the other monks agreed (P.L.153. col.749-50). St. Hugh of Lincoln could not tolerate the disruptive influence such backsliders had on Witham, with some justification considering the abusive behaviour of Alexander of Lewes; 'He declared that the levity and instability of such chaff must be most carefully guarded against in his order. Such was his term for those who when faced with the slightest temptation deserted the society of the good, and were winnowed from the threshing-floor of monastic life' (Magna Vita, 1, 80-3).
 2. For the policy of other orders towards apostates, see C. Harper-Bill, 'Monastic Apostasy in Late Medieval England', J.E.H. xxxii (1981), pp.1-18.
 3. Statuta Capitalis Generalis (P.L.153), col.1135.
 4. See Thompson, pp.127-9.
 5. Clifford Letters, pp.68-9.

their vows, and, secondly, that Prior Wilson, at least, advocated a special preparation for the Carthusian life, in addition to the normal noviciate.

However Wilson was unable to accept Clifford's chaplain as a novice, owing to the fact that the two vacant cells were already bespoken by no less than six people. One was a cousin of Sir William Malevory, and the commissary and official to John Fisher, the bishop of Rochester. This cousin was in fact Ralph Malevory, who became the last prior of Hull Charterhouse. Another applicant was Mr. William Stapleton, although the prior commented that he had heard rumours of his recent death. ⁽¹⁾ The third candidate was the subprior of Monk Bretton, and the fourth the parson of St. Saviour's church in York. The fifth was 'a yong prest wich was shaven with husse v yere sence, & wold not tare, & soo departed, who had mervelousse grete troble affter, os he saith, bot onely by miracle of Our Blissed Lady he had loost his witte: & thus he is grannted, if he tarre to thos be served wich wee promised be ffore'. In view of what has already been said about the attitudes of the sixteenth-century Carthusians towards university education, it is interesting to note that this last applicant was a graduate of Cambridge, to whom Wilson's predecessor John Norton had granted permission to enter Mount Grace. It may be noted also that despite earlier Carthusian strictures about re-admitting fugitives, John Wilson was prepared to accept this absconder, presumably because of the supposed intervention of the Virgin. Finally the fact that Mount Grace had a waiting list of six for admission to the vacant cells, at a time when other orders were experiencing a decline in recruitment, is a testimony to the spiritual reputation of the priory.

From 1368 onwards the order refused to expel even dangerous criminals. Ralph Godwin, the Sheen monk who is supposed to have murdered his prior in 1502, was merely subjected to the deprivation of all spiritual benefits for his great crime. ⁽²⁾ Similarly Thomas Pollard and Richard Viell were pursued with all the might of the secular authorities when they took to wandering around the countryside. There are other examples: in 1391 the King's serjeants-at-arms were commissioned to seize John Parlebien and Richard Barbour, two 'vagabond' monks who had deserted Hinton after six

1. See below, pp. 321-2.

2. Obit List, p. 31.

years there. (1) Michael Guerton, a monk of Hull, was rehabilitated to the order and absolved from excommunication in 1477 for leaving Hull and going to Rome. (2) Clearly this was only achieved through mediation by the pope. Similarly John Leche, who left either Witham or Hinton in his probationary year because of his infirmities, was absolved from possible excommunication by the pope in 1399. (3)

For the greater part of the order's existence in England therefore, it appears that expulsion was forbidden and fugitives recaptured. There are no recorded exceptions to this rule before the sixteenth century (although naturally it is possible that the monks preferred to draw a blanket of silence over their failures). One or both of the two 'grete prechowrys', Thomas Westhawe and John Pynchebek, was briefly at Sheen, but could well have withdrawn while still in the novitiate. E.M. Thompson claims that Philip Underwood, the procurator of the London Charterhouse from 1493 to 1501, was given licence to join the house of St. John of Jerusalem in 1514, after twenty-five years with the Carthusians. (4) Her source for this statement is L. Hendriks, who quotes a document from 'Mr. E. Waterton's Ms. collection'. (5) In fact it seems clear that Hendriks misread the document in question, and that Philip Underwood was being admitted to fraternity only at St. John's. Certainly he was still at the London Charterhouse when he was admitted to the fraternities of Westminster and Durham Abbeys in 1515 and 1516 respectively, and when he died in 1518.

However in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries all the religious orders, and especially the canons, were facing a growing demand for 'capacities' - applications from the monks for dispensations from their vows in order to hold benefices. (6) This was a privilege which could only be obtained by application to the curia, and one which Knowles and others have identified as being profoundly destructive of the basic principles of monastic discipline. (7) But in the case of the Carthusians,

1. C.P.R. 1388-92, p.441.

2. C.P.L. 1471-84, p.55.

3. C.P.L. 1396-1404, p.277.

4. Thompson, p.198.

5. Hendriks, p.73.

6. R.O. ii, 171-3; S.F. Hockey, Quarr Abbey and its Lands 1132-1631 (Leicester, 1970), p.201.

7. R.O. ii, 171.

it is not until the last ten years of the order's life in England that there exists evidence of a number of monks leaving or being expelled. How far this was a reflection of the general monastic trend, and how far it was due to the changing circumstances of the times is a matter for debate, but there are two cases, those of George Norton and Peter Wattes, where the expulsions appear to have been unconnected with the tumultuous events of the immediate pre-Dissolution years. Norton was a monk of the London Charterhouse, of whom Thomas Salter wrote; 'by reason of solitude and beinge alone in his celle bothe day and nyghte with oute comferte, he fell in to suche vttyr despayre yat he wulde a destroyede and a kyllyd hymselfe, yf there had not a ben sure watche up on hym bothe day and nyghte. Wherefore Dan John Batemanson that then was priour of oure place (feerynge gretly the perellous clamour and voyce that wulde a com of it yf ye seid muncke had so a myssecaryed) he releasyd and dyschargyd ye seyd muncke frome the order and gaue hym lycence peasyblye to departe with alle gentylnes and goode manere, and the seyd muncke is now a chanon in ye weste countrye and dothe very wele and prospyrythe'. (1)

Another monk, Peter Wattes, appears to have left Hinton in about 1533, again for reasons unconnected with the king's assumption of ecclesiastical supremacy. But in his case one may doubt whether he actually obtained the order's licence to depart, since in a letter to Cromwell in 1534 he wrote 'Yff the men of my ordre myght get me thei wold make me to agree vn to ther spryres or elles to enprison me so that I shold neuer see sone'. (2) But all the other monks who were able to discard their habits in the 1530's did so only because of secular intervention. All these, or at least all the known examples, came from London, for if that priory produced more than its fair share of martyrs, it also housed the most notable backsliders. This is hardly surprising, since it was the object of intense Cromwellian scrutiny, and any minor grievances of the monks were seized upon and exploited to the full in order to create the maximum amount of unrest in the community. Five monks provided Cromwell with such an opportunity; John Darley, Thomas Salter, Henry Hawte, Nicholas Rawlins and Andrew Boorde. The last named is the best known, since he subsequently became an author of some distinction. A fairly full, if somewhat confused

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1. Thompson, p.389; L&P, vii, 1046. The reference to Batmanson's priorate dates Norton's expulsion to 1529-31.
 2. Thompson, p.385, L&P, vii, 577.

biography of him may be found in F.J.Furnivall's edition of his Introduction of Knowledge and Dyetary of Helth,⁽¹⁾ and it is not therefore necessary to provide much detail here. He was ordained priest at the London Charterhouse in 1512, and presumably professed shortly before this. But his profession was made while he was under age, and he found he was 'nott able to byd þe rugorosyte of yor relygyon'.⁽²⁾ Consequently he obtained a dispensation from his religion during Batmanson's priorate (1529-31), and spent some time abroad. It was presumably during this period that he acquired his doctorate in medicine.⁽³⁾ The dispensation was not apparently a complete one, for he was back at the London Charterhouse in 1534 to swear the oath of succession, and was also imprisoned, although for what offence is unknown. His final discharge from the order was procured by Thomas Cromwell, and he travelled abroad as an emissary of the latter, sending him information on the continental reactions to his political machinations. One of his ports of call in 1535 was La Grande Chartreuse, where he satisfied himself as to the legitimacy and finality of his dispensation, and contrived to wheedle out of the prior general, John Galliard, fraternities in the order for both Cromwell and Archbishop Lee.⁽⁴⁾ On his return to England, he seems to have settled at Winchester, writing his books on physics, medicine and astronomy, and apparently scandalising Bishop Ponet by his dealings with loose women.⁽⁵⁾ It may have been this lack of chastity which led him to the Flete prison, where in 1549 he died. His will is extant, but gives no hint of his Carthusian origins.⁽⁶⁾

Boorde was not apparently such a miscreant as this scant biography implies. He seems to have maintained some sort of respect for his order which led him to endeavour to mediate between it and the secular authorities, although the London Charterhouse must have considered such intervention misplaced. But he certainly misled John Galliard about the true

1. A.Boorde, Introduction of Knowledge and Dyetary of Helth, ed.F.J. Furnivall (E.E.T.S. e.s.10,1870).

2. Ibid, p.47.

3. Ibid, p.48.

4. L&P, ix, 11.

5. A.Boorde, op.cit. pp.65-70.

6. P.C.C. F29 Populwell.

nature of the situation in England, so that the prior general was moved to rebuke the London monks for their 'wilful or sturdy opynyons',⁽¹⁾ and the lack of sympathy among the continental Carthusians for the English monks' plight must largely have been due to Boorde's misrepresentations, well-meaning although conceivably he was.

John Darley was another picturesque character, whom Chauncy remembered as commenting that he would sooner eat toads than the fish that was served in Charterhouses.⁽²⁾ Darley was the recipient of two visitations from one of his deceased brethren, Robert Raby, who enquired why he did not imitate the conduct of John Houghton, since the martyred prior and John Fisher were seated next to the angels in Heaven, a fact which allegedly induced Raby to regret that he had not earned a place with them.⁽³⁾ Despite this celestial recommendation, Darley evidently considered that the gift of life was more desirable than the martyr's crown, for in May 1536 he received a dispensation to hold any benefice, and presumably he went to Salisbury where a chaplaincy was provided for him.⁽⁴⁾

About Henry Hawte little is known. He went through the various stages of ordination in 1526/7 and took the oath of succession in 1534, but a year later he, like Darley, received licence to hold any benefice. This is presumably the Fr. Henry whom Chauncy mentions as being forced by bodily convulsions to flee out of church.⁽⁵⁾ Nicholas Rawlins also managed to persuade Cromwell that he should be dispensed from his vows, on the grounds that he had been professed after a novitiate of only six months. In fact it is clear, on his own admission, that he had joined the order only because he had been disappointed in his expectation of a benefice from the bishop of London. Chauncy relates that he was once on his way to vespers when he was struck by blindness as he put one foot over the church threshold. When he returned to his cell, his sight came back. Off he went to church again, but was forced to flee a second time because of uncontrollable trembling.⁽⁶⁾ His report to Cromwell about the Charterhouse was; 'I do insure you the Religion is so harde, what with fastyng

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1. A.Boorde, op.cit. p.57.
 2. Chauncy, Historia, p.83.
 3. Ibid, pp.123-4; L&P, viii, 932.
 4. See Thompson, p.428.
 5. Chauncy, Historia, p.83.
 6. Ibid, p.83.

and wythe the great watche and solitude, that ther is not vi hole monkes within this cloyster', ⁽¹⁾ which statement, together with Boorde's comments about the 'rugorosyte' of the rule, are testament to the fact that the standards of austerity at the priory had not declined.

But the Carthusian who inveighed most bitterly against his order was Thomas Salter. He had been a monk since at least 1516, but had caused much discontent at the London Charterhouse. According to Chauncy he was subject to visits from demons and had the alarming experience of seeing the figure on a crucifix turn its back upon him. ⁽²⁾ He remained recalcitrant, however, and was more than anxious to provide Cromwell with as much anti-Carthusian propaganda as the latter could have wished for. That Salter was guilty of exaggeration may be easily credited, but according to his tales to Cromwell, the rate of desertions from the order in recent years had been very great; 'myn oncharytable prioure with hys brethren they be vttyrly myndyd and appoyntyd to brynge me to some myserable ende (as dyuerse men of oure order here wythe yn the realme hathe ben of late yerys)....it ys no meruaille yat so gret a nowmber of oure order be departyd and fled fled [sic] from thyr placys by yonde ye see wythe oute any lycence or auctoryte of the poope. For it ys to presuppose yat they were delyd with and orderyd as I am, yat is to wete contrary to the rulys of my religyon, and therefore thyr owne lernynge constranyd them so to departe and flee wythe oute any grudge of conscyence for dyuerse of them yat be so departyd and fled from thyr placys, they were the best clarckis and grett-este lernyd men that were in oure order thorowe oute alle crystendome'. ⁽³⁾

Thomas Salter was imprisoned by the Carthusians, presumably for his tale-bearing, and John Whalley, whom Cromwell had set over the London Charterhouse, attempted to gain his release for the sole purpose of advancing the royal cause among the monks. ⁽⁴⁾ Salter continued to press for a discharge from the order, ⁽⁵⁾ but although nothing more is heard of him among the Carthusians, he does not appear to have lost all connection with the order since he received a pension for many years.

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1. Thompson, p.426.
 2. Chauncy, Historia, pp.81-2.
 3. Thompson, pp.388-9; L&P, vii, 1046.
 4. L&P, viii, 601.
 5. L&P, ix, 284.

Ultimately, of course, all the Carthusians were forced to forsake their cloisters. In 1538/9 approximately 135 monks had to find new homes. Of the numbers of lay-brothers we cannot be certain, since they were not always listed in the various suppression documents, but the names of 31 are known, and one may suspect, from fifteenth-century complaints about the difficulty of recruiting lay-brothers, that the actual number was not much greater. (1) The task of tracing the dispossessed Carthusians has proved arduous and unrewarding. Certainly too little information is available for one to be able to generalise about trends, or to speculate about whether the behaviour of the Carthusians differed from that of the other religious orders. One respect in which they are marked out, however, is by their determined effort to refound the order in England. The renovation of Sheen itself was, of course, masterminded by Chauncy.

Chauncy's movements after his expulsion from the London Charterhouse are unclear, but Carthusian tradition has it that he stayed in London for some years, haunting the precincts of the priory. (2) Certainly he did not leave England until 1546 or 1547 when, accompanied by the lay-brother Hugh Taylor, he went to the Charterhouse of Val du Grace, Bruges. (3) Other English Carthusians had similarly fled abroad. Richard Croftes of Coventry had risen to the position of vicar at Utrecht; (4) and John Foxe, Chauncy's fellow renegade at London, and Thurstan Hickmans, the procurator of Witham, had both been received at Louvain. (5) The latter two had had a chequered history. Foxe became parson at the church of St. Mary Mounthawe, London, but fled abroad in April 1547, having arranged with Hickmans and a parson called Thomas Moundaie to forward to him the dismembered arm of John Houghton. The plot was discovered, and Moundaie and Hickmans condemned to death for treason. (6) Quite how Hickmans contrived to circumvent this fate is unknown.

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1. In 1459, John Pestor, prior of Witham, explained that he was compelled to employ secular people, since 'whereas formerly lay persons, out of devotion to the priory, used to take on themselves the habit and profession of the said order and as lay-brethren cultivate the lands of the priory...now of late the devotion of the people waxes cold and there are no lay brethren there to do the said works', The Register of Thomas Bekynton, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1443-1465, ed. H.C. Maxwell-Lyte and M.C.B. Dawes (S.R.S. xlix, xi, 1934-5), p.312.
 2. Obit List, p.33.
 3. Chauncy, Passionis, p.133.
 4. Ibid., p.141.
 5. Obit List, p.33.
 6. C. Wriothesley, A Chronicle of England During the Reign of the Tudors (Camden Society, n.s. xi, 1875), i, 184.

Chauncy, Taylor and Foxe returned to England on 29 June 1555. With the support of Cardinal Pole and Sir Robert Rochester, Controller of the Queen's Household and brother of the martyred Carthusian John Rochester, they were housed in the Savoy Hospital. Unhappily Foxe died shortly afterwards, and a distraught Chauncy sent for Richard Croftes, who also died within two weeks of arrival. (1) Chauncy was on the point of abandoning his mission in England when he was fortified by the arrival of fifteen other Carthusians. One of these was Hickmans who had been with Foxe at Louvain, but how the others had been passing their time since 1539 is unknown. Two were ex-priors - John Michel of Witham and John Wilson of Mount Grace. From the old community at Sheen came Thomas Lowe, Robert Marshall, and Robert Thurlby; from Mount Grace, the monk Leonard Hall or Stops and the two lay-brothers, Robert Shypley and John Saunderson; from Hinton, Thomas Fletcher and Nicholas Balam; from Witham, John Cliffe; from Beauvale, Nicholas Dugmore, and from Hull, Thomas Synderton. Also with them was Robert Abel, who is probably to be identified with the William Abell who figures on the Coventry pension lists. (2) Two later arrivals were apparently John Thomson and Everard Digby, both ex-London monks. (3) Thurlby, Marshall, Wilson, Shypley, Abel, Fletcher and Thomson died during the community's brief stay at Sheen. Elizabeth's accession to the throne finally extinguished all Chauncy's hopes of maintaining a Charterhouse in England. The remaining monks were expelled on 1 July 1559 and moved on to Val du Grace, Bruges, where most of them died save Chauncy, Balam and Dugmore, who survived another move, this time to Louvain in 1578. With the deaths of all the original contingent, it is not necessary to trace the history of Sheen Anglorum any further. But the obit-lists bear witness to the fact that, despite the expulsion of the order from England, a small but steady stream of Englishmen continued to join the community of Sheen Anglorum, and the English Carthusians still existed as an entity, if an

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1. Carthusian sources (Obit List, p.34; Hendriks, pp.279-80; Le Vasseur, ii, 529) claim that Foxe and Croftes died on 24 July and 27 August 1556 respectively. However Chauncy in his Passionis (p.146) says that the monks returned to Sheen on 25 December 1555, and that Foxe and Chauncy died before this, i.e. in July and August 1555. But Croftes did receive a pension from Cardinal Pole on 24 February 1556.
 2. Chauncy, Passionis, pp.134-42.
 3. Parkminster Ms. 003, p.64.

exiled one, until their final suppression at Nieuport, Flanders in 1783. (1)

Although the number of monks who attempted to reconvene the order in England was very small, they do not by any means represent the only Carthusians who were determined to continue in their original vocation. Others fled to Charterhouses abroad, and presumably settled in too comfortably to wish to venture a return expedition to England. A few examples may be cited with relative certainty: John Bardeyn (2) and Bartholomew Burgoyne of the London Charterhouse both went to Bruges. Burgoyne died in 1551; (3) otherwise he would probably have returned to Sheen with Chauncy, since Bruges was the Charterhouse to which the latter fled in 1546/7. John Calert, a donate of Hinton, died at Liers Charterhouse, Belgium in 1556, (4) and Thomas Clogger, a London conversus, died in 1576 at Mont. St. Gertrude Charterhouse in Holland. (5) William Reynolds, an ex-Hinton monk, died at Brussels in 1555, (6) and William Remington from Hull died at Perth in 1560. (7) According to the Obit List, John Bennet, an ex-Hull monk, died in 1580 at Rœrmond Charterhouse, (8) but there is no record of this name among the Hull dissolution papers. Similarly there is no trace of John Carr, claimed by the same source to be a former monk of Sheen, who died at Bruges Charterhouse in 1562, (9) or of John Hoerdrien, a supposedly ex-Coventry monk who also died at Bruges in 1560. (10)

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1. Accounts of the community's post suppression history may be found in Thompson, pp.500-515, and Hendriks, pp.285-348. The Parkminster Obit List continues on to the present day. Unprinted sources include Notitia Cartusianorum Anglorum, written in 1754 by Fr. James Long, prior of the English community at Nieuport, now Parkminster Ms.003 (this is the source upon which Hendriks relies); and The History of the English Carthusians known as the Mapledurham Ms.: see F.A.Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, (London, 1893), ii, 486; Obit List p.36. This was compiled either by or in the time of Peter Bilcliffe, prior of Sheen Anglorum 1668-92.
 2. Obit List, p.18.
 3. Obit List, p.16.
 4. Obit List, p.7.
 5. Le Vasseur, i, 229.
 6. Obit List, p.7.
 7. B.M.Add.Ms. 17092, f.11r.
 8. Obit List, p.21.
 9. Obit List, p.35.
 10. B.M.Add.Ms. 17092, f.7v.

These were not the only English Carthusians to seek refuge in foreign Charterhouses after the suppression, although they are the only ones who may be positively identified. But an obit-list from Antwerp records the death of a Henry 'Anglus' in 1541, and another from Delft has a second Henry 'Anglus' dying three years later. ⁽¹⁾ Here again, apparently, is proof of the Carthusian habit of identifying men by their place of origin. If one considers the metamorphoses which English surnames often underwent in foreign obit-lists, it is certainly possible that other English Carthusians whom we cannot now identify joined priories abroad.

For the rest, the vast majority, the evidence is slight. The most informative source is pension lists in which it is possible to trace certain Carthusians from the dissolution to Cardinal Pole's list of 1556, but this source presents certain problems. The first is that the lists are far from being comprehensive. To begin with, the Henrician commissioners do not seem to have been entirely clear whether they were supposed to assign pensions to all the inmates of a Charterhouse, or only to the monks. They appear to have been somewhat baffled, quite understandably, by the variety and nomenclature of the different grades of the Charterhouse hierarchy, and the policy adopted seems to have varied regionally. At Axholme, Coventry, Hull and London pensions were awarded only to the monks. At Beauvale and Sheen the conversi contrived to be included. At Mount Grace a solitary donatus and a couple of novices found their way onto the list, and only at Witham and Hinton were lay-brothers included. The distinction, once enrolled, remained: some of the lay-brothers (presumably those still alive) who were initially included in the list also received pensions from Cardinal Pole, but none of those who were initially excluded reappeared later. A partial exception to this rule was Thomas Salter, the most embittered of the recalcitrant London monks. Presumably he contrived to obtain his discharge from the order before the Dissolution, since he does not figure in any of the documents of that period, nor did he receive a pension in 1538 and 1539 when all his fellows were paid. Yet from 1542 onwards he reappears in the pension lists, even in that of Cardinal Pole. Perhaps this was a gratuity for his useful work in causing dissent among the London brethren.

1. Obit List, p.39a.

Secondly the late Henrican and the Edwardian lists have not survived in their entirety, but it is odd that so few of the Carthusians appear in the lists between 1540 and 1556. The regular payment of the ex-Sheen brethren contrasts strongly with the treatment of monks from other Charterhouses, where only isolated individuals received pensions annually. It is also curious that William Bee of Mount Grace was supposedly given a pension in 1553 despite the fact that his will was proved in 1551. Cardinal Pole obviously made some effort to find all the monks still alive, for quite a number appear on his list that cannot be traced during Edward's reign. Nonetheless, his catalogue contains several anomalies. One is that a pension is awarded to a Sheen monk called 'John Crabtre alias Bromleigh'. Although the appearance of these two names is oddly spasmodic in the previous pension lists, both occur together sufficiently frequently to convince the historian that there were in fact two different monks, one called John Crabtre and the other John Bromleigh: both were certainly given pensions in 1540, and 1547-51. Interesting also is the fact that all the monks of Sheen refounded were awarded pensions, save Thurstan Hickmans and, most important of all, Chauncy himself. Why these two were omitted is unknown. Possibly it is connected with the fact that they had spent most of the intervening period abroad, although since they had returned on 29 June 1555 and the pension list was not compiled until 24 February 1556, this should not have affected the issue. Chauncy's devoted disciple Hugh Taylor does not figure on the pension list either, but this is presumably because he was a lay-brother and was not included on the original list. However, the ex-Coventry monk Richard Croftes did receive a pension in 1556, despite the fact that since the Dissolution he had been living at Utrecht Charterhouse.

One must remember also that two other criteria existed for the awarding of pensions. One was that any monk who received a pension was in theory an apostate who had renounced his monastic vows. So any Carthusian who professed at another house should not have been receiving a pension. The other was that pensions were only awarded to monks who had not managed to find alternative employment, so gaps in the lists could be explained by the fact that the monks in question had been provided with benefices. It seems unlikely that this was the case, since the gaps in the lists are too numerous and too consistent. Even these two criteria therefore fail to explain completely the apparently arbitrary nature of pension receipt, and one is left to fall back upon what is probably the true explanation:

that the crown made very little effort to ensure that the dispossessed religious received their entitlement. Certainly we know of the case of one unnamed Mount Grace monks who 'axed it several tymes' and was told 'the Kinge must make other pamentes, that he could not pay them'. (1)

The surviving Henrician lists are all printed in The Letters and Papers of Henry VIII (exact references are provided in the appendix, under the names of the individual monks). References to the Edwardian pensions are more dispersed. Lists including some of the monks at Sheen, London, Hinton and Axholme from 1547 through to 1553, the first year of Mary's reign, are contained in Miscellaneous Books No.256 to 262 of the Augmentation Court (P.R.O. E.315). There are other odd survivals among the account books of the Exchequer (P.R.O. E.101/76). No.18 includes Axholme, and No.19 Beauvale, both for the year 1552. Nos.23, 24 and 26, all from 1553, contain pensions for Hull, Mount Grace and Axholme respectively. The miscellaneous books are foliated, save for No.256, but the account books are not. These are the only pension lists which survive, but they can be supplemented by individual pension receipts, also to be found among the miscellaneous books of the Augmentation Court, such as P.R.O. E.314/30, which contains a number of receipts for pensions paid to the Coventry monks. Cardinal Pole's pension list is among the miscellaneous books of the Exchequer (P.R.O. E.164/31). It does not appear to have been printed, which is surprising in view of its importance for the history of the dispossessed religious, and considering the clarity and fine state of preservation of the document.

Table V is designed to display at a glance which monks received a pension in which year (fuller references are provided in the appendix). The list is arranged by house since the issuing of pensions, or at least the record of issuing, varied so much regionally. The frequent lacunae in the records means that the absence of a monk's name from the table does not prove that he was dead, but its presence is at least fair evidence that he was alive and in England. Cardinal Pole's list is far more comprehensive than the others, but can still not be relied upon entirely, for the reasons given above. Exceptions to this rule are the rare occasions when a list records that one of its pensioners had died, in which case 'm'(mortuus) is inserted in the table. The status of the recipients is also noted, since this appears, in some instances, to have affected their eligibility for pensions.

1. A.G.Dickens, 'The Edwardian Arrears in Augmentation Payments and the Problem of the Ex-Religious', English Historical Review, lv (1940), p.403.

(M = monk, C = conversus, N = novice, L = laybrother, and D = donatus.)

Table V: Payment of Pensions to the Dispossessed Carthusians, 1538-56

	1538	39	40	41	42	43	44	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	56
i. Axholme															
Thomas Alred M		+													
Bryan Bee M		+													
Thomas Broke M		+	+		+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
Richard Cracknell M		+													
Thomas Dobson M		+	+						+						
Michael Mekenas M		+													
John Popill M		+											+	+	+
Henry Wilson M		+													
ii. Beauvale															
Richard Byrde C		+	+											+	+
Nicholas Dugmore M		+	+											+	+
Edmund Garnett M		+	+											+	+
Robert Gowton M		+	+												
John Langford M		+	+											+	+
Thomas Leighton M		+	+											+	+
Alexander Lowthe M		+	+											+	+
Richard Wakefield C		+	+											+	+
Thomas Walsh M		+	+											+	+
William Wellys M		+	+												
Thomas Woodcocke M		+	+											+	+
iii. Coventry															
William Abell M		+													+
Richard Appulby M		+													+
John Bochard M		+													
Robert Bulde M		+													
Thomas Corbyn M		+							+						
Richard Croftes M		+													+
Thomas Letherbarow M		+													+
Richard Slater M		+													
John Tod M		+													+
John Tod M		+													

	1538	39	40	41	42	43	44	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	56
iv. <u>Hinton</u>															
John Bachecrofte M			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Nicholas Balam M			+												+
Henry Bowman M			+												+
William Burforde M			+												
John Calert D			+												
John Chamberlayn M			+												
William Coke M			+												
Thomas Fletcher M			+												+
Robert Frie M			+												+
Henry Gorney M			+												
Thomas Helyer M			+												+
William Howe L			+												+
Hugh Laycock M			+												
Roger Legge L			+												
Robert Lightfoote L			+												
Janes Marble M			+												
Robert Nelyng M			+												+
William Reynolds M			+												
William Robynson L			+												
Robert Savage M			+												+
Robert Scanedon M			+												
v. <u>Hull</u>															
Robert Brewett M		+	+												
William Browne M		+	+										+		+
Robert Hall M		+	+												
Ralph Malevory M		+	+										M		
Adam Redd M		+	+												
William Remyngton M		+	+										+		+
Thomas Synderton M		+	+										+		+
vi. <u>London</u>															
Thomas Baker M	+	+													
John Bardeyn M	+	+													
Thomas Barnyngham M	+	+													
Oliver Batmanson M	+	+													
John Boleyn M	+	+													
William Brooke M	+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Bartholomew Burgoyne M	+	+							+						

	1538	39	40	41	42	43	44	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	56	
Maurice Chauncy M	+	+														
Everard Digby M	+	+													+	
John Enys M	+	+													+	
John Foxe M	+	+														
John Nicholson Professus	+	+														
Thomas Salter M					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Edmund Sterne M	+	+														
John Thomson M	+	+													+	
William Trafford M	+	+														
Richard Tragos M	+	+														
William Wayt M	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
vii. <u>Mount Grace</u>																
Henry Ayraye M		+	+						+						+	+
William Bee M		+	+												+	
Richard Chypping M		+	+												+	+
Thomas Dykenson M		+	+												+	+
Austin Fell M		+	+													
Robert Fletcher M		+	+													
John Foster N		+	+													
Thomas Gelley C		+	+													
John Grise M		+	+													
Leonard Hall M		+	+												+	+
Robert Hargrave M		+	+													
Geoffrey Hodgson M		+	+													
Robert Marshall M		+	+												+	+
James Nelley C		+	+													
William Preste M		+	+												+	+
John Saunderson C		+	+												+	+
Robert Shypley C		+	+												+	+
Robert Stelle M		+	+													
Roger Thomson N		+	+												+	+
John Thorpe M		+	+													
John Tong D		+	+													
Peter Tutbagge C		+	+													
Richard Walker C		+	+													
John Wells N		+	+												+	+
John Wilson M		+	+												+	+

	1538	39	40	41	42	43	44	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	56
viii. <u>Sheen</u>															
Henry Ball			+	+	+	+			+						
John Bromleigh M			+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+			(+)
Robert Chaffre M			+	+	+										
John Clement M			+	+	+	M									
John Crabtre M	+		+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)
Edmund Fletewood M			+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
George Hornby M			+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Robert Horseley M			+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Thomas Hyne M			+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Thomas Lowe M			+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Henry Man M			+	+	+	+									
Thomas Manfelde M			+	+	+	+		+							
William Marshall M			+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
John Pysaunte M			+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+
William Rilbery M			+	+		M									
Thomas Smyth C			+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Robert Thirbie M			+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Richard Tildesley M			+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
William Wode M			+	+	+	+									
ix. <u>Witham</u>															
Hugh Bytt L			+	+											
John Clyffe M			+	+											+
Alnett Hayes M			+	+											
Thurstan Hickmans M			+	+											
John Lawson M			+	+											
Nicholas Lychefeld M			+	+											
John Michel M			+	+											
John Mitchelson M			+	+											+
John Mylott M			+	+											
Robert Russell L				+											
Thomas Secheford M			+	+											
John Smyth M			+	+											
John Swymestowe L			+	+											+
John Wele M			+	+											
Richard Wodnet M			+	+											

Apart from the evidence of the pension lists, concrete information about the fate of the ex-Carthusians can be gleaned only in a few isolated instances. The notorious career of Andrew Boorde has already been mentioned.

The only other ex-Carthusian who achieved any post-Reformation celebrity was Henry Man, prior of Witham from 1534-5, and then the last prior of Sheen. Presumably it was his compliancy with the royal supremacy that secured him high-ranking appointments. He was made dean of Chester in 1541, and promoted to the bishopric of Sodor and Man in 1546, a position he retained until his death ten years later. ⁽¹⁾ In his will, he bequeathed 6s. 8d. to his servant Thomas Dobson, who could conceivably be the same man as the Axholme monk of that name. More significantly, and rather touchingly, he left all his books remaining in Manne and Sybesdon to the house of Sheen 'yf it shalbe hereafter erected ageyne'. ⁽²⁾

Some of the monks were provided with benefices, although tracing them is not the easiest of tasks. Baskerville, in his researches into the fate of the ex-religious in Surrey, provides the names of three other former Sheen monks who received benefices. George Horne became rector of Chignal, Essex, in 1544, resigning six years later. Edmund Fletewood, the procurator, became rector of Woolpit, Suffolk, in 1554, a position he held until his death in 1556. John Pysaunt held a string of appointments between 1542 and his death in 1565; vicar of Bexley, Kent, 1542-54; vicar of Thaxted, Essex, 1546-65; vicar of Stansted Montfichet, Essex, 1551-63; rector of Lachingdon, Essex, 1562-5; and dean of Bocking, 1564-5. ⁽³⁾ John Fox of London held the church of St. Mary Mounthawe, as has already been mentioned. Richard Davy, a monk of Mount Grace, became curate of 'Whyzt' church (Little Stanmore in Middlesex), but his addiction to images and lack of enthusiasm for the new rites rendered him unpopular with his parishioners. ⁽⁴⁾ However their complaint against him was issued in 1538, which means that he had left Mount Grace before its ultimate dissolution, and was able to obtain a benefice before the swell of ex-religious flooded the market a year later. What little testamentary evidence there is suggests that the Carthusians experienced considerable difficulty in finding religious employment.

1. Emden, Oxford 1501-40, p.375.

2. P.C.C. 4 Wrastley.

3. G.Baskerville, 'The Dispossessed Religious in Surrey' Surrey Archaeological Collections, xlvii (1941), pp.19-20.

4. L&P, xiii, ii, 361.

With Henry Man, whose subsequent career is well-documented, one may be certain that his will is that of an ex-Carthusian, although it contains little indication of the fact. But since few of the monks had uniquely distinguishing names, it is not usually possible to identify their wills positively unless they actually state that their author had previously been a monk, or provide other evidence, such as bequests to fellow ex-Carthusians. Is it, for example, possible that the Bryan Bee, priest, of the parish of Sculcoates near Hull who made his will in 1540 ⁽¹⁾ was the same Bryan Bee who was vicar of Axholme at the Dissolution? Or that William Brown, clerk, who was buried at Worsborough near Barnsley in 1557 ⁽²⁾ was the monk of that name from Hull? These speculations can only be very tentative. One is perhaps rather more justified in suggesting that the Michael Mekenes, clerk of the parish of Misterton in Nottinghamshire, who died in 1549 was the ex-prior of Axholme, since the name is an uncommon one, and since one of his executors was a John Dove, and he left a bequest of 20s. to his servant Henry Clerke: ⁽³⁾ a monk called John Dove was vicar of Witham at the Dissolution, and a Henry Clerke was a servant or close associate of some kind of the London Charterhouse, close enough to sign the oath of succession there in 1534, ⁽⁴⁾ and to figure in the will of Robert Billingsley, a conversus of the priory. ⁽⁵⁾ Similarly, it seems even more likely that the Robert Stell, priest, whose will of 1541 is preserved at York, ⁽⁶⁾ was the same as Robert Stelle, latterly of Mount Grace, since one of his executors was Robert Preste, the name of another quondam Mount Grace monk. If this is indeed the will of a Carthusian, one could not have guessed it from the contents, apart from Preste's name, for the tone is Protestant. It was dated the 32nd year of Henry's reign,

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1. York Prob. Reg. xi, f.479v.
 2. Ibid, xv, part iii, f.151r-v.
 3. Ibid, xiii, ff.524v-525r.
 4. L&P, vii, 728.
 5. C.C.L. xi, f.553r.
 6. York Prob. Reg. xi, f.553r.

'by the gracie of god kinge of Englande and of Francie defender of the
faith lorde of Ireland and in earthe supreme hede of the churche of
Englande'.

Fortunately, a few ex-Carthusians left wills which can be identified with complete certainty. The earliest is that of Richard Billingsley, a conversus of the London Charterhouse, whose will was written on 24 February 1541, and proved on 22 June. ⁽¹⁾ This was apparently that same Richard Billingsley who in 1538, together with Jerome Haydon, was appointed bailiff and collector of the Charterhouse lands. ⁽²⁾ He had not moved far, for he was buried in the church of St. Sepulchre without Newgate, and left money to the poor folk in Charterhouse Lane. He had some relatives living, to whom he made bequests; his cousins William, John and Thomas Billingsley and his sister Jane. He made the usual provisions for the health of his soul, including a trental of masses, and 'to Mr Trafforde prest the vii^{li} vi^d I lent him Apon a byll of hys lands to praye and synge for my soule one hoole yeare next Immeadyatelye after my deathe'. This Mr. Trafford was presumably none other than his late prior, but the form and tone of the bequest implies no great intimacy between the two: he is addressed as Mr. where all the other legatees are referred to by their full names. Billingsley was obviously trying to recoup his loan in the best way possible. Other members of the priory, however, were warmly remembered; 'item to everyone of the late bretherne of charterhouse of London to the numbere of xxiiipersones v^s a pere v^{li} xv^s'. ⁽³⁾ Henry Clerke, probably a servant at the house, ⁽⁴⁾ received Billingsley's best dagger, and two lay-brothers, Robert Howell and Thomas Owen, were given 10s. and a silver spoon respectively. That Owen should be in close contact with the testator is not surprising, since he also was retained at the Charterhouse after the Dissolution to maintain the orchards, gardens and cells. Billingsley's deepest gratitude was reserved for his fellow conversus Hugh Taylor, the lay-brother who later accompanied Chauncy into exile.

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1. C.C.L. xi, f.55r.
 2. L&P, xiii, ii, 903.
 3. Seventeen monks received pensions in 1538 and 1539. In addition five lay-brothers signed the act of supremacy in 1537. This gives a total of twenty-two. The twenty-third must have been Hugh Taylor, who although he joined the London Charterhouse in 1518 apparently somehow managed to evade signing any of the documents relating to the persecution and surrender.
 4. L&P, vii, 728.

Billingsley named him his sole executor, and bequeathed him the residue of his goods. In addition he wrote, 'to my brother Hugh Taylor for his paynes taken with me of my charyte I bequethe my beste gowme and a dublet sleueyd with fine tanoney woorstede and in mony 1s'. Quite what 'paynes' Taylor took are unknown, but it is a phrase which recurs later in 'to whyte and his wyffe for takyng paynes in watching with me day and nyght iii^s iiii^d'. Perhaps it refers merely to Billingsley's last illness. The bequest to Trafford was only the writing off of a debt, and of Clerke's exact status we cannot be certain, save that he was most definitely not a choir monk. Apart from these two, we may note that all Billingsley's most personal Carthusian bequests were to his fellow lay-brothers, not to monks. This implies that at the priory there was still much separatism between the two groups; that each formed a distinct community.

This feature is also evident in the will of another lay-brother at the house, Robert Cardyn or Cavarden. It was written only two years after Billingsley's, on 24 February 1543. ⁽¹⁾ Only one sentence in it refers to Cardyn's Carthusian brethren; 'I bequethe to Thomas Owen, my brother, to my brother, Hugh, and to Thomas Cloggar, to every of them 5s'. Assuming that the second person mentioned is Hugh Taylor, again all the Carthusian legatees were lay-brothers. That the Robert Cavarden who wrote this will was indeed the same man as the converse Robert Cardyn can be in no doubt, since in 1534 he gave to the Charterhouse money owed him by a number of men, ⁽²⁾ including Richard Maddoke and David Playner, both of whom figure in his will, the former as a witness and overseer, and the latter as an executor. Both also received substantial bequests. The most interesting aspect of this will is its revelation that in the four years since the Dissolution Cardyn had become a 'citizein and payntour staynour of London'. He is the only known ex-Carthusian to have entered a profession which was not ecclesiastical, but his choice is not very surprising; since he was not a priest, he was unfitted to hold a benefice, and his trade was one which had close ecclesiastical links, and one for which he could conceivably have received some kind of apprenticeship in the order. Cardyn at any rate seems to have suffered no economic hardship after the Dissolution,

1. London Consistory Court Wills, ed. I Darlington (London Record Society, iii, 1967), pp.85-6.

2. L&P, vii, 729.

judging by the 'fetherbed' he bequeathed to his cousin William, and the various furred gowns, buckskin doublets and other items which he left to his friends.

William Bee, who helpfully describes himself as 'sumeteme a professet brodere of the monastery of montgrace' had settled down in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where he made his will in 1551. (1) He makes no mention of how he had been employing himself in the interim, but he, like Cardyn, had evidently not starved, to judge from the list of silver spoons, pewter pieces, velvet capes and other personal effects which he bequeathed to his friends. The friends included three quondam Mount Grace monks; Robert Marshall, to whom he left 'on tepet of blak pewke lynet with werset & on wyrset heod and iij yeardes and iij quarters of tavy werset to the vse as I ded show hym be fore teym'; Leonard Hall, whom he appointed an executor and to whom he left 'my cloke my lantyrn on sad tawny tepette lynynde with worsset with all my bokes both here and at walkfeld wych I left with Sir edward wood in wrytten and my forrede pylche with my secunde wyolet bonet and my secon'd welwet bonet with on wyrset typet'; and 'the father of the mount grace', presumably the last prior, John Wilson, who received 'two pare of spektacles of syluer'. Finally, and as an afterthought, Bee added 'Item to euery on off my professed bretheryn off mouantt grace xij^d'. (2)

The will was written twelve years after the dissolution of Mount Grace, but William Bee had kept in close contact with at least three of his former associates, possibly with more, if the last sentence is not merely wishful thinking. It is perhaps fanciful to assume that they had all moved together to Newcastle, but it is interesting that the three other monks mentioned all later joined Sheen refounded, which again suggests that they had kept in close contact, possibly even kept up some semblance of community life together.

1. Wills and Inventories, ed. J. Raine (S.S. ii, 1835), i, 134-6.

2. He also left 'to master Robert aske on sylwer spon wyth on wryten bokes', a bequest which calls from the editor of Wills and Inventories (i, 135) the comment, 'We have here an affectionate bequest to... the chief promotor of the northern rebellion... by one who was grateful to him for his exertions, although they had been unsuccessful'. The chief promotor of the northern rebellion had of course been executed fifteen years earlier.

This chapter has provided a tentative analysis of the information available about the individuals who became Carthusians, and, despite the paucity of evidence, some conclusions of considerable interest do seem to have emerged. It has been shown how the order attracted some high ranking novices; that in general Carthusians tended to be professed slightly later in life than in other orders; and that a number had been in other occupations before finally entering the religious life. It has been surmised that although recruitment tended to be mainly on a local basis, the order offered some 'opportunity for travel'. Most importantly, it has been demonstrated that a small but increasing group of monks were graduates, that these were the most likely to be promoted to office, and that a few monks were allowed to study at university after they had made their vows. Finally, the fate of the dispossessed religious has been considered, and it has been shown that a high proportion compared with other orders strove to continue in their original vocation; and of those who did not join priories abroad, some at least kept in close contact with each other.

In dealing with all types of medieval record, one obvious caveat must be continually borne in mind: it is that the exception is far more likely to be recorded than the rule. It was usually only when something extraordinary occurred that it was written down. On a small scale, this means that for every monk like William Everton, who was often chastised in the cartae of the general chapter, there were probably scores of monks who lived peacefully and harmoniously. On a large scale, it means that it was only when the whole edifice of the monastic ideal began to collapse that we begin to be given more information about the men who embodied that ideal. This consideration has plagued the writing of this chapter. For example, simply because we know of a few monks who came from country gentry families, does this mean that they can be taken as representative, or that these were the exceptions about whom information is available precisely because of their enhanced status? The very nature of the subject precludes its accomplishment. The Carthusians were men who had deliberately chosen to relinquish the vainglory of the world in order to live in obscurity and isolation. Unfortunately for the historian, most of them succeeded in doing precisely that.

Fifteenth-Century Carthusian Spirituality: Richard Methley and the
'Scola Amoris Languidi'

No examination of the relationship between the Carthusians and lay society in the later middle ages would be complete without a discussion of the writings produced by the monks. The emphasis on book production as a means to reach a wider audience outside the monastic walls was present from the inception of the order: 'Libros quippe tanquam sempiternam animarum nostrarum cibum cautissime custodiri, et studiosissime volumus fieri, ut, quia ore non possumus, Dei verbum manibus praedicemus'. (1) It has long been assumed that the role played by the order in the production and dissemination of mystical, ascetical and devotional literature was large and influential. This is an assumption which is rarely queried, although only recently has systematic research been initiated into the mechanisms by which such dissemination was accomplished. (2) Since this research is still in progress, it would be fruitless to duplicate it here; and it is in any case already safe to conclude that the Carthusians were not only familiar with prevailing modes of lay piety but also played a part in their formulation. But if one is attempting, as in this thesis, to provide some kind of impression of the way in which the order interacted with the outside world, it is obviously very important to look at the works its members were producing. Accordingly this chapter and the next are devoted to an examination of two texts written by English Carthusians in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, thus providing specific and not entirely unrepresentative examples of the sort of writing being undertaken by the monks.

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1. Guigo, Consuetudines (P.L.153), cols.693-4.
 2. M.G.Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians of Some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings', J.E.H. xxvii, (1976), pp.225-40. Mr. Sargent is preparing a doctoral thesis on the subject. R.Lovatt, 'The Imitation of Christ in Late Medieval England' Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series, xviii, (1968), pp.97-121; P.J.A.Large, 'The Libraries of the Carthusian Order in Medieval England' Library History, iii, no.6 (1975), pp.191-203; A.I.Doyle, A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries, with Special Reference to the Part of the Clergy Therein (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Cambridge, 1953).

The subject of this chapter is the Scola Amoris Languidi of Richard Methley, a monk of Mount Grace, and it has been chosen because it can be regarded as typical of the writings the order was producing in the fifteenth century. It may perhaps be described as a quasi-mystical text, for although its intentions are mystical, few readers would assert that it succeeds fully in its ambitions. Despite its failings, or indeed largely because of them, it is a work of great interest, since it provides an especially vivid impression of the spiritual atmosphere at Mount Grace, and of the sorts of pietistical attitudes which the order was diffusing to lay society. Methley has been selected as a representative Carthusian author for two reasons. Firstly, his writing strongly reflects the influences to which he was exposed at Mount Grace, influences of both a personal and an academic nature. Secondly there exists a reasonable amount of information about Methley himself, and the biographical information and the treatises he wrote combine to produce a relatively detailed portrait of the monk. But if it is to be claimed that Methley is representative, and that he reflects the spiritual influences upon him in the Carthusian order, at least a little should be said about what those influences were. Therefore in order to put Methley in context and to indicate briefly the nature of his place in the English mystical tradition, the following discussion of his work is introduced by a few preliminary comments about the vexed issue of the relationship between the Carthusians and the late medieval English mystics, and in particular about the authorship of the Cloud of Unknowing.

In the first place works of mystical theology certainly figure significantly often among the few books that remain to us from Carthusian libraries and in surviving inventories. Those books which are still extant include a manuscript of the works of Rolle from Beauvale; from London The Revelations of Saint Matilda, The Mirror of Simple Souls, The Chastising of God's Children, two copies of The Cloud of Unknowing and three of The Scale of Perfection (the whereabouts of one is presently unknown); from Mount Grace, the Book of Margery Kempe, The Cloud of Unknowing and Speculum Spirituale; and from Sheen The Chastising of God's Children, three manuscripts of the works of Rolle and three of the Scale of Perfection.⁽¹⁾ From library

1. N.R.Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain (London, 1967), pp.9, 122, 132, 178.

catalogues and from lists of books sent from one house to another, it also appears that Witham had an Incendium Amoris, and a book of the revelations of Saints Matilda, Elizabeth of Schönau and Katherine of Siena; that the London Charterhouse owned two manuscripts of the works of Rolle, and the writings of Saint Bridget of Sweden; while Coventry possessed treatises by Hugh of St. Victor. (1)

It is also of some significance that many great mystical works have at various times been ascribed to Carthusians, either incorrectly, or without sufficient authority. It will be seen in the next chapter that the Carthusian author of the chronicle in Bodleian Ms. E Museo 160 described John Ruysbroeck as a member of his order; (2) and among the English mystics, it has frequently been claimed that Walter Hilton and the author of The Cloud of Unknowing were Carthusians. In Hilton's case the debate has subsided, since it is now accepted that he was an Augustinian canon of Thurgarton in Nottinghamshire. His writings include the Epistola Aurea, (3) addressed to Adam Horslay, a monk at Beauvale, a letter which extols the Carthusian way of life in the highest terms. Horslay was an official of the royal Exchequer, who was in 1375 made controller of the Great Roll, (4) and who subsequently decided to join the order, at which stage Hilton wrote him a letter of encouragement. The main reason for the tradition that Hilton was a Carthusian is because John Bale, in his Catalogus of 1557, stated that he was a monk at Sheen. (5) This is certainly an error since there is considerable manuscript evidence that Hilton died in 1395/6, and Sheen was not of course founded until 1414. Moreover James Greenhalgh, who was at Sheen, wrote in his colophon to the Trinity College 354 manuscript of the Scale that Hilton died on 14 August 1395, and that he was a canon at Thurgarton. (6) Nevertheless that Bale should have thought Hilton to be a Carthusian is probably a reflection of his popularity within the order.

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1. Thompson, pp.319-330.
 2. Bodleian Ms. E Museo 160, f.91v.
 3. B.M.Mss. Royal E III; Royal 8A VII; and Harley 3852; Bodleian Ms. Digby 33.
 4. H.L.Gardner, 'Walter Hilton and the Mystical Tradition in England', Essays and Studies, xxii (1936), p.111.
 5. J.Bale, Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytannie, Quam Nunc Angliam & Scotiam Vocant: Catalogus (Basle, 1557, Facsimile edition, Farnborough, 1971), 1,569.
 6. H.L.Gardner, 'Walter Hilton and the Authorship of the Cloud of Unknowing' Review of English Studies, ix (1933), p.134.

That this was so is reinforced by the number of Carthusian manuscripts of the Scale, and by Nicholas Love's commendation of the work in The Myrroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ, where he advises his readers to study a treatise;

'that the worthy clerke and holy lyuere Walter hyltoun the chanoun of thurgarton wrote in englishe by grace and hiȝe descrecioun^s and he schal fynde there as I leue a sufficient scole and a trewe of alle thise'. (1)

It is reasonably certain therefore that Hilton was never a Carthusian, but that he had close links with members of the order, and that his writings were popular with them. About the author of The Cloud of Unknowing it is not possible to be so definite. In the first place, it cannot be proved that Hilton was not the author. H.L.Gardner and P.Hodgson argue against this identification, on the grounds of the different styles of the two authors and the difficulties of constructing a chronology whereby Hilton could conceivably have composed the Cloud and its associated treatises in addition to his known corpus of works. (2) On the other hand, James Grenehalgh, who annotated the version of the Cloud in Bodleian Ms. Douce 262, obviously believed that Hilton wrote the work. (3) Grenehalgh is of course an authority to be reckoned with, even if the Carthusians' own attributions of mystical works of doubtful authorship are understandably a little suspect occasionally.

The suggestion that the Cloud was written by a Carthusian arose originally from the late sixteenth-century colophon to the Cloud in Parkminster Ms. D.176, which reads; 'Liber domus salutacionis beatissime virginis Marie iuxta London ordinis Chartusiensis per M. Chawncy quem exarauit sanctus Willelmus Exmewe'. (4) That Chauncy wrote the Cloud is obviously a ludicrous suggestion, and that any of his Carthusian contemporaries supposed him to have done so is nearly as implausible. P.Hodgson described the colophon

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1. N.Love, The Myrroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ, ed.L.F.Powell (Oxford and London, 1908), p.165.
 2. P.Hodgson, 'Walter Hilton and 'The Cloud of Unknowing': A Problem of Authorship reconsidered', Modern Language Review, 1 (1955), pp.395-406; H.L.Gardner, 'Walter Hilton and the authorship of the Cloud of Unknowing' Review of English Studies, ix (1933), pp.129-147.
 3. H.L.Gardner, op.cit. p.131-3; and see also her review of The Cloud of Unknowing and the Book of Privy Counselling, in Medium Aevum, xvi (1947), p.41.
 4. Parkminster Ms. D.176, f.95v.

as simply 'a wrong ascription of authority',⁽¹⁾ but the obvious explanation is that 'per M. Chauncy' meant that Chauncy gave the manuscript to the house, not that he wrote it.⁽²⁾

It is worth noting that the Carthusians of Parkminster believe strongly that the Cloud did not emanate from one of their order. They base their opinion on a work by an anonymous French Carthusian,⁽³⁾ who gives five reasons for supposing that the author of the Cloud was not a Carthusian, some of which are less convincing than others. The first reason is that Latin was, and remains to this day, the official language of the order. The writer felt that the medieval Carthusians developed what he termed 'a Latin mentality', and that they had no interest in the vernacular until after the end of the sixteenth century. There is some truth in this argument, but Nicholas Love's Myrroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ constitutes an obvious exception to the rule. The Myrroure was written in the vernacular to enable the devout lay reader to understand it 'not onliche to clerkes in Latyn but also in englishe to lewed men and women and hem that ben of symple understondynge',⁽⁴⁾ but it was also intended for circulation among the contemplative religious, with whom, judging by the provenance of the surviving manuscripts, it was extremely popular.⁽⁵⁾ Carthusians did not entirely eschew vernacular material, therefore, and whether a Carthusian wrote in Latin or English depended not upon his own inclination, but upon his likely audience. About the intended audience of the Cloud we know very little. It appears to have been written for a specific person (not an imagined one) who lived in solitude. Methley, who translated the Cloud into Latin in 1491, assumed that the person addressed was a Carthusian: 'quia non solent moderni de approbata religione exire ad heremum vt antiquitus sed ad cartusienses',⁽⁶⁾ but this presumably reflects only his feeling of loyalty towards his own order.

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1. The Cloud of Unknowing and the Book of Privy Counselling, ed. P. Hodgson (E.E.T.S.o.s. 218, 1944), p. xviii.
 2. N.R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain (London, 1964), p. 277.
 3. Le Manuscrit Autographe du Guillaume Exmewe (Ms. D. 176) avec un appendice sur le manuscrit du British Museum Cotton Julius A. ix (Parkminster Ms. ff9, written in 1923), passim.
 4. N. Love, The Myrroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ, p. 8.
 5. E. Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ (A.C.X, 1974), p. 16.
 6. H.L. Gardner, Review of 'The Cloud of Unknowing and The Book of Privy Counselling', Medium Aevum, xvi (1947), p. 39.

The French Carthusian writer's second reason for believing that The Cloud of Unknowing was not written by a Carthusian is that there was no need for the order to produce books of spiritual guidance in English. They would only have done so if they were writing for the edification of lay-brothers, and this could not have been the case since lay-brothers are forbidden all books by the rule. (1) The first part of the statement has already been shown to be untrue: Carthusians did produce books of spiritual guidance in the vernacular if they were writing for laymen. The second judgement is open to doubt. Certainly, the original conception of a Carthusian lay-brother, as of a Cistercian, was that he be 'illiteratus'. Nevertheless, in both orders, it became something of a trend for men of education to become lay-brothers rather than monks as an exercise in humility. Petrarch's brother, Gerard, for example, was a lay-brother at the Charterhouse of Montrieux. (2) There is every indication that the appellation 'illiteratus' became obsolete in practice very soon after the inception of the order.

The third argument against Carthusian authorship of the Cloud is the scarcity of direct spiritual quotation in it, a scarcity which the French writer believes to be uncharacteristic of the order's writings. But, as will be demonstrated, Methley employed spiritual quotations relatively rarely. A fourth argument is that the Carthusians were in the habit of translating vernacular mystical treatises into Latin (for example, the works of Tauler, Suso and Ruysbroeck); and it is natural to suppose that they would have begun with the Cloud if it had been their own. There were two Latin translations made, a mid-fifteenth-century version from an interpolated text, called Nubes Ignorandi, which is far from being an exact translation, (3) and Caligo Ignorancie, Methley's conscientious translation. (4) This compares badly with The Scale of Perfection, which was first translated into Latin in about 1400. (5) If we discount Nubes Ignorandi as being more

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1. Statuta Antiqua, part iii, ch.xxviii. This rule was replaced in the sixteenth-century book of lay-brothers Statutes from Sheen, by an admonition against having heretical books, the implication presumably being that other books were allowable (B.M. Ms.Add.11303, f.74v).
 2. C.M.Boutrais, The History of the Great Chartreuse, translated E.Hassid (London, 1934), p.39.
 3. Bodleian Ms.856. For a description, see The Cloud of Unknowing and the Book of Privy Counselling, ed.P.Hodgson (E.E.T.S.o.s.218. 1944), pp.xvi-xvii.
 4. Pembroke College Cambridge Ms.221: see The Cloud of Unknowing, pp.xiv-xv.
 5. H.L.Gardner, Review of 'The Cloud of Unknowing and the Book of Privy Counselling', in Medium Aevum, xvi (1947), p.38.

of a paraphrase than a translation, the fact remains that it was a Carthusian who composed the most accurate Latin translation of the Cloud, even although it was more than a hundred years after the first appearance of the treatise. (1)

The last and most compelling reason for believing that the author of the Cloud was not a Carthusian is that the thinking underlying the treatise is very different from the traditional doctrines of the order, as represented most clearly by Denis the Carthusian in his De Contemplatione. Carthusians have sometimes identified two schools of mystical teaching; the first transcendent, esoteric and spiritually dangerous in the hands of the uninitiated; the second simpler, more direct and suited to a greater number of people. The Cloud has been seen as an example of the first stream, whereas most Carthusian writers belonged to the second. However the number of Carthusian manuscripts of the Cloud bears witness to its popularity within the order, as does Methley's translation, which suggests that, whatever the traditional doctrine of the order, its members were still attracted towards the more transcendent stream of thought. The arguments of the French Carthusian are not, per se entirely convincing, (2) although the intuitive conviction of the Parkminster Carthusians that the tone and feeling of the treatise do not reflect a Carthusian mentality is one which must be taken seriously. However, the question of authorship is still completely open, and must remain so unless new evidence comes to light.

That The Cloud of Unknowing and The Scale of Perfection should have been ascribed to Carthusians does demonstrate the feeling of many authors that there was an intimate connection between the Carthusian order and the promulgation of English mysticism. Even if Hilton and the Cloud author were not Carthusians, many of the manuscripts of their works were copied and circulated by the order. Indeed, it is to a Carthusian manuscript that we owe our only complete text of The Book of Margery Kempe. And it is against this background that Richard Methley must be viewed. Of all the English Charterhouses, it is Mount Grace which furnishes the fullest literary

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1. The date of composition of The Cloud of Unknowing is still a matter of fierce debate, but there is a general concensus of opinion that it is earlier than the Scale: see H.L.Gardner, 'Walter Hilton and the Authorship of the Cloud of Unknowing', Review of English Studies, ix (1933), pp.145-6.
 2. The arguments of the French Carthusian are discussed by D.Jones in Minor Works of Walter Hilton (London, 1929), pp.xliii-xlviii, but are accepted very uncritically.

evidence of the order's production of devotional literature. Mount Grace's best known author is Nicholas Love, rector of the house from 1409 until 1411, and then its first prior from 1412 until 1421, who wrote The Myrroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ. This work was a free translation of the Meditationes Vitae Christi, then ascribed to Bonaventure. In 1410, shortly after its composition, it was approved by Archbishop Arundel for reading by devout layfolk, and it was evidently partially intended to combat Lollard teaching. (1) A later prior of Mount Grace, John Norton (1509-22), composed three semi-mystical treatises which still survive, Musica Monachorum, Thesaurus Cordium Amantium and Devota Lamentacio Iohannis Norton Prioris. (2) He joined the order in 1482-3, some six or seven years after Methley's profession, so the two were together at the house for many years, and much that could be said about Methley's characteristics as an author would also be true of Norton. (3) The two monks are also mentioned together as men of outstanding piety in the annotations to The Book of Margery Kempe. (4)

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1. E. Salter, Nicholas Love's Myrroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ (A.C.x, 1974), pp.1, 47.
 2. Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library Ms.57 (A.6.8). For a description, see R.M. Woolley, Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter (Oxford, 1927), p.27; also the article on Norton in the D.N.B. xiv, 658-9.
 3. For assessments of Norton's works, see R.O. ii, p.239; A.G. Dickens, 'The Writers of Tudor Yorkshire', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series, xiii (1963), p.55; A.G. Dickens, The English Reformation (London, 1964), pp.17-8.
 4. See below, pp.206-8.

Unusually for a Carthusian writer, Methley provides a great deal of autobiographical information in his treatises. (1) His Refectorium Salutis is particularly interesting because it resembles a diary in form, covering the period between 6 October and 15 December 1487, and describing what reflections occurred to Methley on which saints' days. It may be inferred that he was born in 1451-52 and made his profession in 1476; 'Anno eiusdem millesimo quadringentesimo octogesimo quinto etatis mee vt arbitror tricesimo quarto ingressioni in ordinem cartusiensem nono'. (2) His real name was apparently Furth, although he later took the name Methley; 'per dominum Richardum Furth alias de Methley'. (3) It seems extremely likely therefore that he came from the village of Methley in Yorkshire, although J.Hogg does not think that his only English work, the epistle to Hugh the hermit, is written in a northern dialect. (4) Methley did not go to a university, as he informs us in the prologue to his translation of The Cloud of Unknowing; 'Sophistria.logical.ethica.phisica.note sunt pluribus melius quam mihi.' qui numquam penitus aliquam vniuersitatem vidi.' (5) It appears therefore that he acquired his knowledge of Latin and theology at Mount Grace

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1. Methley's life and works are discussed in the following books, of which the first two mentioned are the most informative; R.O. ii, 224-6; J.Hogg, 'Richard Methley: To Hew Heremyte a Pystyl of Solytary Lyfe Nowadayes', Miscellanea Cartusiensia, 1 (A.C.xxxi, 1977), pp.91-119; A.G.Dickens, The English Reformation (London, 1964) pp.17, 57; A.G.Dickens, 'The Writers of Tudor Yorkshire', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series, xiii (1963), pp.54-5; Clifford Letters, pp.34-5, 74; M.E.Allen, Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole and Materials for his Biography (New York, 1927), pp.416-7; The Cloud of Unknowing and the Book of Privy Counselling, ed.P.Hodgson (E.E.T.S.o.s. 218, 1944), pp.xiv-xv, 177; The Book of Margery Kempe, ed.S.B.Meech and H.E.Allen (E.E.T.S.o.s.212, 1940), pp.xxxvi-xxxvii; E.M.Nugent, The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance (Cambridge, 1956), ii, 387.
 2. Trinity College Cambridge Ms.1160, f.30r. For the remainder of this chapter all folio references in the footnotes will be to this manuscript unless otherwise stated.
 3. Pembroke College Cambridge Ms.221, f.99r.
 4. James Hogg, 'Richard Methley: To Hew Heremyte A Pystyl of Solytary Lyfe Nowadayes', Miscellanea Cartusiensia, 1 (A.C.xxxi, 1977), pp.97-8.
 5. Pembroke College Cambridge Ms.221, f.lv.

itself, which speaks well for the standard of learning within the Charterhouse. His vocation, which came when he was twenty-five, was characteristic of his impressionable nature. He believed that he was called to the Carthusians because he once visited and gave alms to an ancient recluse whose hands were paralysed. She singled him out for special attention from the friends who had accompanied him. Her alleged selection of him followed by her death a few days later made such an impact on Methley that 'infra tres menses insolitariam cellam ego ipse permansurus'.⁽¹⁾ Methley provides this reminiscence in Refectorium Salutis on 6 November because the recluse had been devoted to St. Leonard whose feast day it was. Every year on that day, he prayed for her. He never regretted his decision to join the order, despite the hastiness of his resolve; 'quia carthusiensis sum. te inuito ad eundem propositum'.⁽²⁾

Between 1476 and 1484 Methley wrote three devotional treatises, of whose existence we are aware only because they are mentioned in Refectorium Salutis. The first was De Marie Nomine et Sacramento Altaris, allegedly inspired by messages from the Holy Spirit,⁽³⁾ and the second Trivium Excellencie, devoted to the Virgin Mary. The latter work was divided into three parts, and Methley seems to imply that he had only finished the first, on the Virgin's compassion.⁽⁴⁾ The other missing treatise was entitled Cellarium and was apparently compiled in 1484, the year before Dormitorium Dilecti.⁽⁵⁾ In 1484 he also wrote Scola Amoris Languidi.⁽⁶⁾ This was

1. ff.59v-60r.

2. f.11r.

3. f.65v. 'Ac nichil se videns proficisse inimisit bonas cogitationes. Vt secundum eius inimissiones scripsissem eas quasi reuelationes in quodam opusculo quod de marie nomine et sacramento altaris composui'.

4. ff.66v-67r. 'In vigilia conceptionis beate dei genetricis & virginis incepti quoddam opusculum cui nomine triuim excellencie et tribus contentum libris. primum iam habet completum de virginis compassione. Secundum excellenciam doloris et amoris'. J.Hogg ('Richard Methley: To Hew Heremyte A Pystyl of Solytary Lyfe Nowadayes', p.97) thinks that Methley refers to yet another missing treatise on f.67r-v; 'Aliud opusculum composui de quo supra dictum est de nomine marie & sumpcione eucharistie'. It seems more likely however that he is referring back to his 'de marie nomine et sacramento altaris'.

5. f.42r. 'anno preterito quomodo scilicet finito libro qui vocatur cellarium'.

6. f.11r.

followed in 1485 by Dormitorium Dilecti (1) and in 1487 by Refectorium Salutis. (2) These three treatises are all contained in Trinity College Cambridge Ms. 1160. His next works were the translations into Latin of The Cloud of Unknowing and The Mirror of Simple Souls, (3) which he had completed by 1491;

Anno domini. m^o. cccc^o. xc^o. primo. translatus fuit liber iste de anglico in latinum. a festo sancti Laurentij: usque in crastinum conceptionis gloriose virginis marie quo die finitus fuit'. (4)

Apart from these only two other works are extant, both very short. One is the second half of a treatise entitled Experimentum Veritatis, (5) which deals with supernatural visitations in 'modern times', and the tests which should be applied to such experiences to determine their veracity. The work was originally twenty-seven chapters long, but now only the last thirteen and a half remain. In it Methley makes reference to yet another lost treatise, the Defensorium Solitarie siue Contemplative Vite. (6) The other work in the same collection is A Pystyl of Solytary Lyfe now a dayes - To Hew heremyte. (7) This letter has been printed by E. Nugent, (8) with an introduction by W. E. Campbell, and by J. Hogg in a more recent and more satisfactory edition. (9) Campbell thought that the letter was addressed to a novice in the Charterhouse, (10) but, as J. Hogg points out, the Pystyl makes it clear that Hew heremyte did not live the circumscribed life of a Carthusian. (11) Possibly he inhabited the Lady Chapel above Mount Grace.

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1. f.30r.
 2. f.61v.
 3. Pembroke College Cambridge Ms.221. For a description see M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1905), p.197.
 4. Pembroke College Cambridge Ms.221, f.99r.
 5. P.R.O. S.P.1/239, ff.262r-265v. For a description, see L&P, Addenda (London, 1932), i, part i, 363.
 6. Ibid. f.264v.
 7. Ibid. ff.226r-227v.
 8. E. Nugent, The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance (Cambridge, 1956), ii, 387-93.
 9. J. Hogg, 'Richard Methley: To Hew Heremyte A Pystyl of Solytary Lyfe Nowadayes', Miscellanea Cartusiana, i, (A.C. xxxi, 1977) pp.91-119.
 10. E. Nugent, The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance, ii, 387.
 11. J. Hogg, 'Richard Methley: To Hew Heremyte A Pystyl of Solytary Lyfe Nowadayes', p.95.

A brief letter written by Methley to Lord Henry Clifford also survives, and has been printed by Professor A.G. Dickens. It bears no date, but Professor Dickens considers it likely that it was written between 1510 and 1515. It is short enough to be quoted in its entirety;

'My lorde in Cryste, most singuler beluffyd, after al dew salutacion & hertely thankes for many thynges paste: please it the same to know that I thowgth to have send your Lordshyppe on byll with a veray treasty man, bot his mater do brake off, & now I send you the same inclosyde, to looke how you lyek it. Bot the date I cutte of. From Mownt Grace, the thirde day of October.

By your beedman,
Richard Methley,
monke of the same. (1)

As Professor Dickens has pointed out, the letter seems to refer to a deed of gift from Clifford to Mount Grace, and it shows Methley involved in the administration of the house. It has been supposed that Methley was vicar of Mount Grace, and that he died in 1528, (2) but this rests upon the assumption that an entry in the Parkminster Obit List describing one Richard Mathew (3) in fact refers to Methley. It is an assumption which could perhaps be queried, since Methley left no evidence of his activity after 1510.

Little can be deduced from the writing of the various manuscripts. The Trinity College manuscript is written in two separate but similar hands, with correction of spelling and abbreviations in a third, and elucidatory notes in yet a fourth. None of the four hands bears the slightest resemblance to the writing of the Clifford letter, which is most likely to be Methley's autograph. Dickens argued that the treatises were copied by Methley's followers among the Yorkshire monks. (4) Such a suggestion seems very likely, since Methley seems to have acquired a reputation for

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1. B.M. Add. Ms. 48965, No. 10. Printed in Clifford Letters, p. 74.
 2. E.M. Nugent, The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance, ii, 387.
 3. Obit List, p. 27. J. Hogg, quoting the late Dom. Andrew Stoelen, says that the entry in Parkminster Ms. B. 77 (upon which the Obit List is largely based), reads, 'Dominus Richardus Methlei' (J. Hogg, 'Richard Methley: To Hew Heremyte A Pystyl of Solytary Life Nowadays', p. 100). As Parkminster Ms. B. 77 is at present missing, it is not possible to verify this suggestion.
 4. Clifford Letters, p. 35.

sanctity both within Mount Grace itself and in Yorkshire generally. The evidence for this reputation lies in the bequests made to him, as well as comments about him inserted into the solitary copy of The Book of Margery Kempe. He was bequeathed legacies in at least two, and probably three York wills. The first was that of Dame Jane Stangeways, made on 28 October 1500, in which she bequeathed 'To dane Thurstan at mowntgrace xs. Item to dane Richard Methely xs.' (1) Dane Thurstan was presumably Thurstan or Tristram Watson, who was professed at Mount Grace and died at Hull in 1505. (2) He too held the office of vicar at Mount Grace, and it was for him that Methley prepared his translation of The Cloud of Unknowing. (3) On 20 February 1508, Methley received another bequest, from Robert Lascelles of Brakenburgh, esquire, 'To ye mownt grace to be delyvered to dan Rychard medley vis viiid and he to dispose it to ye prior & his bredern for ye helth of my saule', (4) and on 5 July 1509, the following legacy was made in the will of Alison Clark of York; 'I wit to fr Richard mownk of mownt grace oon of the best of the iij alter clothes'. (5) It is quite possible that this refers to Methley since there is no evidence that there was any other monk named Richard at Mount Grace in 1509.

As will become evident in chapter six, it was unusual for individual monks to receive bequests, and it is therefore of some significance that Methley received three legacies. It suggests that his fame had spread outside his monastery. That it was certainly established within the priory itself is demonstrated by the annotations in the Mount Grace manuscript of The Book of Margery Kempe. This manuscript, owned by Colonel Butler-Bowden, is the sole surviving complete text of the work. The scribe of the manuscript was a man called Salthows, who was not, it seems, the priest to whom Margery originally dictated her reminiscences, and his hand is mid-fifteenth century, before rather than after. (6) The ascription of ownership to Mount Grace is in a slightly later hand. (7) The marginal

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1. York Prob. Reg. vi, f.16v.
 2. Obit List, p.20.
 3. Pembroke College, Cambridge Ms.221, f.39v. The Cloud of Unknowing and The Book of Privy Counselling, ed. P.Hodgson (E.E.T.S.o.s.218, 1944), p.xiv.
 4. York Prob. Reg. vii, f.32r.
 5. York Dean and Chapter Wills, ii, f.82r.
 6. M.Kempe, The Book of Margery Kempe ed.S.B.Meech and H.E.Allen (E.E.T.S.o.s.212, 1940), pp.xxxiii, 254.
 7. Ibid., p. xxvii.

notes referring to Methley, among others, are in red ink, and written by one of four hands commenting upon or annotating the text. S.B.Meech believes that these particular notes are in a late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century hand, and comments that two of the references to Methley and another note about Norton, ⁽¹⁾ are in the past tense, thus suggesting that the men were dead at the time of writing. ⁽²⁾ That Methley died as late as 1528 has been doubted by some writers, ⁽³⁾ but that Norton resigned as prior in 1522 and died in 1524, is not only asserted by the Obit List, but finds support in all other evidence relating to him. Since it is implied that both these men were dead, it seems that the annotations should be dated to the late 1520's, or after, and that S.B.Meech's suggested dating is a little early.

The marginal comments in Margery Kempe's book referring to Methley are of great interest since, brief though they are, the information they impart is quite consistent with what is revealed about Methley's character in the Scola Amoris Languidi. The first comment is adjacent to the following passage;

'sche was in gret rest of sowle a gret whyle & had hy contemplacyon day be day & many holy spech & dalyawns of owyr Lord Ihesu Cryst bope a-for-noon & aftyr-noon, wyth many swet terys of hy deuocyon so plentyvowsly & contynually pat it was meruayle pat hir eyne enduryd er how hir hert mygth lestyn pat it was not consumyd wyth ardour of lofe'. (4)

and the anonymous annotator has written,

'R. Medlay. v. was wont so to say'.

Although Methley does not actually employ the phrase 'consumed with the ardour of love', it certainly would not sound incongruous in the Scola Amoris Languidi, and in the last chapter of that work he writes that his soul and body are in such conflict that it is marvellous how he survives the struggle, ⁽⁵⁾ an idea which closely resembles the sense of the passage quoted above.

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1. 'So dyd prior Nort in hys excesse': The Book of Margery Kempe, p.105.
 2. Ibid. p.xxxvi.
 3. For example, by A.G.Dickens, Clifford Letters, p.34; The English Reformation (London, 1964), pp.17, 342-3.
 4. The Book of Margery Kempe, p.29.
 5. f.21v.

The second annotation; 'so fa RM & f Norton & of Wakenes of þe passyon'
is a gloss upon the following passage;

'þe cryeng was so lowde & so wondrousful þat it made þe pepyl
astoynd les þan þei had hert it be-forn & er elly þat þei
knew þe cause of þe crying. & sche had hem so aftyn-tymes
þat þei madyn hir ryth weyke in hir bodyly myghtys, & namely
yf sche herd of owyr Lordys Passyon'. (1)

That Methley should be particularly affected by hearing about Christ's
passion seems most plausible, since one of his reasons for Christ's longing
for love is that Christ offers His passion unceasingly for penance, and
man by his ingratitude is continually recrucifying Him. (2)

The third comment refers to a passage describing how Margery saw a
vision of Christ kissing Our Lady, the apostles and Mary Magdalene;

'Whan sche beheld þis sygth in his sowle, sche fel down
in þe feld a-mong þe pepil. Sche cryid, sche roryd, sche
wept, as þow sche xulde a brostyn þer-with.' (3)

The annotation is simply 'father M. was wont so to doo', and, like the
two previous glosses, appears to be a general commentary on Methley's
tendency to weep whilst contemplating mysteries unknown to others to the
consequent astonishment of the bystanders.

The last annotation is the most interesting of all, though also the
most ambiguous. It is extremely short, 'd. R. fow dyd', and is adjacent
to the following sentence;

'&, whan sche cam in-to þe hows, as sone as þe seke woman
þat was alienyd of hir witte saw hir, sche spak to hir sadly
& goodly & seyde sche was ryth wolcome to hir.' (4)

This passage suggests that when Margery went to visit a sick, delirious
woman, the latter immediately became coherent, and seemed to recover.
The annotation is therefore presumably implying that Methley had also
some kind of gift of healing. Methley's claim in the Scola Amoris Languidi,

1. The Book of Margery Kempe, pp.68-9.

2. ff.9v-10r.

3. The Book of Margery Kempe, p.174.

4. Ibid. p.178.

'super egros manus impono. & bene habent', (1) may not simply be meant in the metaphorical sense of his inspiring, by word and by example, those whose faith is half-hearted, (2) but may indeed imply genuine faith-healing powers.

These annotations certainly prove that Methley was held to be a very devout man by his fellow monks, although it could well be that accounts of his behaviour were subjected to a certain amount of exaggeration. Nevertheless, the comments must have been written soon after Methley's death, if not during his life time, and therefore the annotator was probably a monk who knew him well. Furthermore, the descriptions of his behaviour find ample support in his own writings. For these reasons, the annotations may probably be accepted at their face value. They suggest that Methley's reputation both within and outside the order was based less upon the esteem in which his writings were held, than upon the obvious sincerity and holiness of his life.

The Scola Amoris Languidi itself is contained in Trinity College Cambridge Ms.1160 (also numbered Ms.0.2.56). The date and the hands of the manuscript have already been discussed. The manuscript comprises 76 folios measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The Scola Amoris Languidi occupies ff.1-22v, Dormitorium Dilecti ff.25r-48r, and Refectorium Salutis ff.49r-70v. The only identifying feature is the name Le: Fludd written on the flyleaf, in what appears to be a post-medieval hand. (3)

The central concept of the Scola Amoris Languidi is that of 'Languor'. Methley's treatment of this concept is unusual and complex, complexities which seem to justify the following detailed summary of the Scola Amoris Languidi. Although the treatise is loosely based upon the twelve reasons for 'languor', (4) the homogeneity of this theme is more apparent than real.

1. f.13v.

2. f.14r.

3. For a full description of the manuscript, see M.R.James, The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1902), iii, 176-8. J.Hogg has recently produced a facsimile edition: J.Hogg, Mount Grace Charterhouse and Late Medieval English Spirituality, ii, 'The Trinity College Cambridge Ms.0.2.56' (A.C.lxiv, 1978).

4. In this summary of Scola Amoris Languidi, the word 'Languor' has been translated throughout as 'Longing'. The rationale behind this rendering is explained below, pp.221-2.

Methley appears to be forcing, for the sake of continuity, a schema upon material which is really rather too diverse to sustain it, and the result is confusing for the reader. This confusion is further exacerbated by three additional factors; firstly, the twelve reasons for love-longing are interspersed with and illustrated by reminiscences, advice to the reader, prayers to God and passages of high-flown emotional writing; secondly, the first five reasons are those which influence God and Christ, and the other seven those which relate to man; and thirdly, Methley does not observe the logical distinction between the reason why a person performs an action, and the reason why others are aware of his motive in performing the action - the distinction between cause and effect. An example of this is that the first reason why God longs for love is because He is good, but the fourth reason why God longs for love is because He forgives those men who reject Him. God's goodness is certainly a cause of his longing for love, but his reception of those who spurn Him is in fact a result of his longing.

In the prologue, ⁽¹⁾ Methley states that the aim of his work is to encourage everyone to love God, since no one can love anything properly unless he does so. This is his premise, the love which is the cause of the whole world, by contrast with 'amor alterius'. The love which is divine is the cure to that which is not. This love loves because it is determined to love, and it encompasses even those who do not reciprocate it. An 'ingratus', a person who does not return love, causes a lover more pain than an enemy would do, by refusing to requite his love. God's love is staunch and steadfast, and if man learns to love in this way, he becomes Godlike. Worldly men are incapable of this immutable love, because their love is conditioned by their circumstances. God, however, will always love man, despite the pain man's ingratitude causes Him. Therefore God, more than anyone else, is entitled to say 'Amore languedo', and Methley calls his work Scola Amoris Languidi because its object is to teach man to love in the same steadfast way as God.

The book proper begins with an examination of the apparent contradiction in the phrase 'Amore languedo', ⁽²⁾ since 'in amore sit delectacio. In languore vero econtrario sit exacerbacio'. However, true love can only

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1. ff.1r-2r.
 2. ff.2r-3r.

be obtained through longing, because it cannot attain the perfection of pure love until it has been through a period of doubt and frustrated desire. Therefore although longing is in itself painful, through its association with loving it assumes the attributes of loving and becomes pleasurable. The man who longs is in a strong position, firstly, because no one, man or demon, can harm him; secondly, because through longing, he makes his love stronger, and achieves its objects, and lastly, because as a result he desires death and is not afraid of God's judgement.

Methley's second chapter lists the twelve ways in which longing may be understood, ⁽¹⁾ ways which are to form the contents of the succeeding chapters. But before Methley embarks upon this, he includes a short digression about the importance of faith. ⁽²⁾ He instructs his readers 'fidem tenere de fidelitate dilecti' because if a man holds faith with God, God will, in His turn, hold faith with him. Having advanced this argument as a justification for faith, Methley then seems to contradict himself by stipulating that one must offer God His own kind of love, without the worldly taint of loving an object for what one will attain from it. If a man loves God in this selfish way, he is not keeping faith, because if he could have the pleasurable results of loving God without having to go through the arduous apprenticeship of longing for God, he would do so, whereas God loves man despite the pain it causes Him. If a man is in inner turmoil and does not have 'amor sensibilem', it is only because he has not had faith in God. Methley then provides an example of the sort of prayer by which man must commit himself to God. He goes on to argue that if a man decides to dedicate himself thus and yet does not completely succeed, God will fulfil his desire for him. But if he does not achieve this longing for love, it will be because God deems he is not yet fully prepared. He must be patient and persevere, perhaps seeking advice from his superiors, until he is ready to devote himself to the Beloved, saying 'Amore languedo'.

According to Methley, the first reason why God longs for love is because He is good, and He has created man so that he also is capable of longing for love. ⁽³⁾ God is willing to give man every encouragement and every

1. f.3r-v.

2. ff.3v-5r.

3. ff.5r-6r.

chance to turn to Him. Because God longs for love, He is tormented by man's refusal to love Him, but if man repents, God will always be ready to welcome him into Heaven. The second reason why Christ longs for love is because He loves men who do not return His feeling, which is the worst pain that a lover can experience. (1) A man whose love is reciprocated will suffer anything, sometimes even death, for the sake of his faithful lover. God must therefore love greatly indeed, if He is prepared to suffer so much for the sake of one who is indifferent to Him. (2) This indifference is the principal barrier to love.

Methley then digresses somewhat and describes one of his own experiences in order to prove that the state of rapt ardour for love does exist, and is attainable. On 1 August 1484 'in monte grace corporaliter fui in ecclesia', when 'valde visitavit me deus'. His longing for love became so intense that he almost died. His spirit ascended to Heaven, although his flesh remained on Earth, and his state progressed until he felt neither pain nor fear, nor even formulated any thought of God. Here Methley uses the analogy of a man whose house has caught fire, and is too panic-stricken to tell his neighbours what has happened. He cannot say, 'ignis inuasit domum meam. venite & adiuuate me'. He can only cry, 'ignis ignis ignis' or simply 'A.A.A.' Thus Methley, in the height of his longing, could only cry, 'In manus tuas', and then, 'Amor. amor. amor', and finally, 'A. A. A.' (3)

The third reason why Christ longs for love is because, when He is ready, He wants to reward everyone who loves Him. (4) He gives signs of His love, by causing rapture in men who belong to Him. This rapture is the union of love, an experience from which men may take hope, since God would not cause them to experience this state unless He longed for love Himself. Fourthly, God longs for love because He will wait patiently and reclaim the souls that have turned against Him, and because He sent His

1. ff.6r-v.

2. Methley seems to refer indifferently to the first and second person of the Trinity.

3. f.7r-v. The late Dom. David Knowles printed a translation of this section in R.O. ii, 225.

4. ff.7v-8r.

dearly-beloved son on Earth to help achieve this end. (1) God will always forgive man, because He loves him. His only motive is love, for there is nothing else that God can gain from man. Even if He punishes a person, it is to inspire repentance in him, and thus save him sooner.

The fifth reason why Christ longs for love is because He offered His passion on the cross for penance, and still does so continually. (2) His sorrow as He hung there far surpassed that experienced by any man. Here Methley introduces an elaborate allegory concerning a king who built a castle and consulted many wise men about its construction. Similarly, Christ builds the castle of religion with all the resources of Heaven behind Him, and consults His wise men, the doctors of the church, about it. 'In hac fabrica offert quasi sine cessacione pro penitentibus passionem suam'. Methley ends this section of his argument with a diatribe against man's ingratitude: as long as man rejects Christ's love, he is continually re-crucifying Him. He blasphemes by his very life, and Methley reminds him that he will have to face judgement, even from so compassionate a judge. This theme is developed by a second allegory: Christ is sick and man is His doctor. He cannot be cured except by man's love, and as a man who recovers from an illness praises his physician's skill, so Christ will boast even more of man's love. Since love has the power to take Jesus down from the cross and heal His wounds, man may be certain that he also stands in need of it. Finally, Christ pleads for pity from the ungrateful lovers who crucify Him day and night.

Sixthly, man longs for love because he is prey to a condition which Methley calls 'tedium'. (3) Methley thanks God that he has never been overcome by this state but instead vanquished it with God-given grace and obtained his desire. He promises his readers that they can do the same if they listen to him. He describes how, on 4 August 1484, the joints of his body were loosened until he could hardly stand, '& quasi destitutus & desolatus in heremo clamaui amore languo'. Then he realised that God had been with him all the time, but had waited for him to make the effort to overcome this 'tedium' before He gave His support. Methley stresses that

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1. ff.8r-9r.
 2. ff.9r-10v.
 3. ff.11r-13r.

his ability to overcome this 'tedium' was dependent upon God's freely-given aid, not upon his own deserving. As a result, he now asks God only that he may die and be with Him in the next world. He feels that he acts in union with Christ, and he has an ideal vision of a harmonious universe in which every man is in the same union with Christ. The importance of faith is reiterated, for without it man cannot entertain the longing of love. If it seems impossible that there could be a relationship of any kind between two such opposites as creator and created, man may be assured that God will reach down to overcome the gulf. Methley ends with adulatory addresses to Faith and Perseverance as the means to triumph over 'tedium'.

Here Methley digresses again to insert a list of the wonders that are performed through the name of Jesus. ⁽¹⁾ In a passage closely following St. Mark, ⁽²⁾ Methley claims that, 'In nomine iesu: demonia cicio. linguis loquor nouis. serpentes tollo. & si mortiferum quid bibeo. michi non nocet. super egros manus impono & bene habent'. His meaning is allegorical, although he comments that the demons are real enough, since they sometimes appear to him in his cell. The new languages represent the new life of Jesus Christ, about which, through the grace of God, he is able to enlighten other people by speaking to them or by writing his books. The serpents stand for demons and evil people, and the poison for the malicious lies Methley hears, but by which he is uncorrupted. The sick people are those whose devotion to God is half-hearted, but whom Methley is able to inspire. The name of Jesus, he concludes, upholds him to face both life and death, and to overcome all temptation and all enmity.

The seventh reason why men long for love and do not achieve it is either because they do not perfectly desire it or because the time is not yet ripe. ⁽³⁾ If their love was faultless, God could not send them away, but even though He longs for love Himself, He will not receive an imperfect love. He controls His love for us for our own good. Man errs, Methley concludes, from two causes; 'vel quia perfecte non intendit dilecto. vel quia non dum tempus optimum aduenit'. Until he rectifies these two

1. ff.13r-14r.

2. Mark, xvi, 17-8.

3. ff.14r-15r.

deficiencies, God must refuse to accept him. Man must recognise whether he is guilty of either, for they are the primary obstacles that delay him in his passage to God, and he must continue to long for love.

Man longs for love, in the eighth place, because he has a loving disposition which is frustrated because it cannot see the object of its love. (1) It appears to the downcast man that he has given up the whole world and become poor in order to long for love, and yet he has not achieved his desire. Methley reassures him that, on the contrary, he is rich, because '*ille pro quo cuncta dedisti. potest centuplicare tibi*'. Methley offers to show man the way to God which he himself has trodden, and he describes the manner in which he should contemplate, sitting on his own, away from distraction. He should direct his soul upwards five times a day and offer to God the prayer Methley suggests, if he can think of none better. He must entreat the Beloved that he may be permitted to see Him; but he must recognise that if he does not succeed, it is God's decision that he should fail in order that the delay may increase his longing. He should accordingly resign himself until God judges that the time has come for man to be admitted to His sight. The would-be mystic must refuse to be distracted by his surroundings. Like a sick man on the point of death, he must be entirely oblivious to everything except that on which his heart is set. He will find that the reality of contemplation is different to its superficial aspects in three ways; firstly, although he will suffer agonies of longing, and will seem like an ill man, in fact he cannot experience any sickness, '*et omnium que sunt circa languentes....obliviscere per vim amoris*'; secondly, he will in the same way be incapable of feeling fear; and thirdly, he will have forgotten the very aim of his contemplation, the glory of Heaven, because it is precisely in his obliviousness of everything except God, that this glory consists. Man may protest, observes Methley, that '*hec videntur esse contra rationem....& impossibile est michi hoc implere*'. With this he entirely agrees, since, firstly, God cannot be approached by reason, for he is above it, but can only be reached by faith; and secondly, it is indeed not possible for man to attain to God by his own unaided effort, or every man would be able to achieve it. The ascent to contemplation is 'ignote' because it is only after a man has been meditating that

1. ff.15r-17r.

he knows he has been in the presence of God. He cannot know it at the time, because he is so absorbed in the experience itself.

Here Methley intersperses a personal reminiscence, and describes one of his conflicts with the devil. ⁽¹⁾ On 6 August 1484, he was sitting contemplating, when 'subito improuise assuit michi diabolus temptans me'. But after the initial shock Methley was unafraid, because of God-given strength, and he sat without flinching during the time the devil was present. He therefore extols the fortitude that contemplation instils in the soul, and the protection against Lucifer which it constitutes.

Ninthly, man longs for love because he voluntarily unites himself with the will of the Beloved. ⁽²⁾ This is perhaps the most puzzling passage in the treatise, and any interpretation of it must therefore be tentative. Methley suggests that only the man who has experienced longing can understand how, in one state, two diverse attitudes can be welded; the condition of extreme and tearful susceptibility, and the desire to be free from the body and at one with Christ. The reader may object that these two attitudes are only possible at different times; and Methley indeed concedes that this is usually the case, because the faculty of reason is such that it is impossible to concentrate on more than one at once. However he believes that they can be achieved together, in feeling, at the same moment, through the grace of God. Man longs for love, therefore, because he is a martyr to it. If he dies for love, he becomes a martyr in the obvious sense, but also if he longs too acutely it is martyrdom to him to be forced to live without seeing God.

Tenthly man longs for love because it is tedious to him to live without the Beloved. ⁽³⁾ Methley claims that he has four wonders within himself, all achieved through grace; the desires to die, to live, to be presented to God, and, most important, his preference to be under the thralldom of

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1. f.17r-v.
 2. ff.17v-18r.
 3. f.18v-19r.

Lucifer in Hell rather than to be separated from God after his death. He praises 'tedium', saying that it is inscrutable to those who do not know it and quite different to that boredom suffered by lovers of the world whenever the name of Jesus is mentioned. As long as a man loves the world, he warns, so will he dread death for fear of the judgement to come.

The eleventh reason why man longs for love is because he does not want God to cast him out after death. ⁽¹⁾ Methley protests that his longing for love is so vehement that he does not believe it could ever be satisfied. This reasoning leads Methley into comparatively standard mystical imagery representing man as the bride of Christ, and into a description of the three parts of Purgatory. God is likened to a bridegroom who adorns himself in spotless wedding garments lest any impurity should offend the soul of his bride, or who, if he is ill, waits until he is recovered before celebrating his nuptials. Man's death is like his espousal: he is ill with guilt and must undergo a period of cleansing before his marriage to Christ. The masses said and alms given for him on earth are medicines to assist his recovery. The latter occurs in the first place of Purgatory, and Methley prays that he may be excused from dwelling there. The second part of Purgatory is, in some ways, like Paradise because the soul 'efficacissimis deliciis nutritur'. Here, to continue the bridal allegory, the soul is convalescent, regaining its strength after illness until it is prepared for the marriage. There is a limited communion between this place and Heaven so that many things previously mysterious are made plain to the aspiring soul. Methley reminds his readers that he is not just addressing those who are involved in the world, but also 'dei viri religiosi. heremi incole. seu cenobite'. For every day mis-spent in the world when a man can do penance voluntarily, a year must be spent in Purgatory with enforced penance. Delightful though the delay may be, it is too long for Methley and he asks to be spared it. In the last place of Purgatory the soul lies in solitude, awaiting the fulfilment of the marriage. Methley wants to avoid this at all costs, for it is like 'iugiter stans ad ostium & pulsans. querens que ingressum'. His desire is running through him like a sword, but he accepts that it is necessary to wait because there must be no trace of impurity in the bride of Christ.

1. f.19r-21r.

Finally, man longs for love because his soul and body are continually at war. (1) The soul wishes to leave the flesh, but cannot do so until God wills it; and Methley does not know how he manages to survive this division within himself. He asks that he be united with God immediately after death because the pain of desire he is suffering now is his Purgatory. He ends with a plea to 'Fratres mei orthodoxi & Catholicici' to correct his work if it should require it and to pray with him to God. A prayer to the name of Jesus and the five wounds follows. (2) It is in verse, in trochaic tetrameters, one of the commonest meters of the period. It is technically quite adroit, and if it is Methley's own work, he must be accorded some degree of respect as a poet. It begins;

Iesu bone rector <u>moru</u> m	}	Iubilus merenciu <u>m</u>
& saluator <u>seculoru</u> m		
Manus dextre vulnus <u>sanctu</u> m	}	More diligenciu <u>m</u>
cordis <u>no</u> stri fugat <u>planctu</u> m		

At the end of the prayer is drawn in a different hand a device of two intertwined hearts across which are the words 'Jesus est amor meus'. The last item is an incomplete index, in the same hand as the drawing, obviously intending to list all the chapter headings, but only reaching the second before the text finishes.

This summary account of the Scola Amoris Languidi has demonstrated that it is a work which would well repay detailed study. (3) This dissertation is obviously not the place for a full scale analysis of a complex work, but there follows a short examination of a few of the most important and striking themes of the treatise. In particular, it seems important to discover some of the more immediate influences to which Methley, as a Carthusian, had been exposed. Such an approach is unlikely to reveal the author as an original thinker, but it seems justified in this particular instance, because it helps to explain some of the puzzling features of the

1. f.21r-v.

2. f.21v-22r.

3. J.Hogg has promised a critical edition of the text soon: J.Hogg, Richard Methley: To Hew Heremyte A Pystyl of Solytary Lyfe Nowadays, p.94.

text, and because it appears that Methley, at this stage of his spiritual pilgrimage at least, ⁽¹⁾ was an impressionable character who was subjected to a number of varying influences and who tried to blend them into a coherent whole.

This statement may best be illustrated by examining Methley's handling of the concept central to this text, that of 'languor'. As will shortly be seen, this is a word which had many facets, not all of which are now properly appreciated. Most dictionaries associate it with sickness and frailty or with ennui. ⁽²⁾ However for Methley it evidently had far more complex connotations. As he clearly indicates, it is something of a contradiction in terms;

'....Experiencia docet. quid sit quod dicitur amore languere. contrarium quippe videtur vt amor habeat languorem cum in amore sit delectacio. In languore vero econtrario sit exacerbacio....
.... Amor est res delectabilissima quia omnes in celo facit eternaliter gaudere. languor est res odiosissima huius mundi amatoribus quia rapit ab eis delectationem suam & aliquando eciam vitam. Verum in presenti opusculo amor & languor inseperabiles comites sunt. quia amor est causa languoris & languor causa amoris. (3)

Since therefore longing cannot be divorced from love, it assumes the pleasurable attributes of love whilst still retaining its own mortifying characteristics. In this interchange of attributes between longing and love, love remains unaltered for it cannot be anything other than delectable and rapturous. It is only longing that assumes the dual aspect of suffering

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1. J.Hogg believes that as Methley grew older, he developed 'an increasing spiritual maturity', and thinks that the edition of Pembroke College Cambridge Ms. 221, presently being prepared by J.Walsh and E.College, will confirm this opinion. J.Hogg, *op.cit*, p.92.
 2. Du Cange gives no instance of the use of 'languor' but equates it with 'aegrimonium', 'morbus', and 'infirmitas'; D.Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae Et Infimae Latinitatis* (Niort and London, 1887), v, 25; i, 115. Blatt translates it as 'faiblesse', 'maladie', 'infirmité', or 'péché'; F.Blatt, *Novum Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis* (Hafnir, 1957), Fasciculus L, p.30. The use of the word in middle English also reflected sickness, misery, inertia or grief; S.M.Kuhn, *Middle English Dictionary* (Michigan, 1968), part L.2, pp.644-5.
 3. f.2r.

and joy united;

'....et quia amat
& languet. penam patitur sed & deliciis dulcore
plenissimis repletur & ait amore langueo.' (1)

These are not however the only extremes to meet in 'languor'. There is also the suggestion of a condition of decay or inertia, in fact of the attributes commonly associated with 'languishing': the sense of pining away in the absence of the Beloved, of being unable to go on living without being united to God;

'Languor amoris....intelligitur de illo
qui sensibilem quidem sentit amorem, sed super omnia eum
punit quia delectum non videt.' (2)

But whilst 'languor' undoubtedly possesses this negative aspect, it also has more positive features, since it constitutes a progression towards the Beloved, a tuition in love, and a means of purging oneself of sinful tendencies;

'....nemo aptus ad purissimam
contemplacionem: nisi prius langueat amore per
devocionem.' (3)

Consequently there is reflected the idea that 'languor', despite its hardships, is in itself a very desirable state to attain;

'....Beatus
qui languet quia plane eum omnes homines in mundo
eum omnes demones in inferno terrere non possunt.
Languor enim amoris non sinit languentem lugere.
sed cogit amantem canere.' (4)

Methley seems to suggest that longing reaches such a pitch of intensity that it transcends all pain and suffering;

'....Sic & tu nota quod in
aliquibus econverso facies. nam infirmitatem languens
sentire non potes (effugat enim omne dolorosum) Sed &
omnium que sunt circa languentes aliquo modo: siue
in te siue in aliquo. obliuiscere per vim amoris.' (5)

To feel 'languor' is therefore an achievement, a goal at which to aim; and yet at the same time it is incomplete, and a painful state from which

1. f.3r.

2. f.15r.

3. f.16r. 'languerit' is written above 'langueat' as an alternative reading.

4. f.2v.

5. f.16v.

the soul wishes to escape. It is both an end in itself and a means to another end, both static and progressive, both delightful and hateful.

If one examines how earlier mystical writers used the term 'languor', it becomes possible to understand how Methley arrives at his complex use of the concept. It was a word frequently employed by Rolle: Quia amore Languet is a leit-motif that runs through much of his work, since, like Methley, he was strongly attracted by the Song of Songs, and wrote, for example, a treatise on the lines Ego dormio, et cor meum vigilat. (1)
He is very explicit about how 'amore languet' should be translated;

'Amore Languet. þis twa wordes er wryten in þe boke of lufe, þat es kalled þe sang of lufe, or þe sang of sanges. For he þat mykel lufes, hym lyst oft syng of his luf, for Ioy þat he or scho hase when þae thynk on þat þat þai lufe, namely if a þair loue be trew & lufand. And þis es þe Englisch of thies twa wordes: 'I languysch for lufe'.' (2)

However Rolle does not use the word 'languor' in as wide a sense as Methley does: other passages seem to suggest that for him 'languor' is simply pining away in the absence of the Beloved;

'Languet enim amans si non habeat iuxta se per speciem quod amat. Ideo dicitur 'Nunciate dilecto quia amore languet' quasi diceret 'quia non cerno quod amo: pro amore eciam in corpore tabesco'. (3)

In Rolle's use of the word therefore, the sense of pining for love is uppermost, and his employment of 'languish' as the equivalent English term is not so apt when applied to Methley's concept. Indeed, when Richard Misyn came to produce his translation of the Incendium Amoris in 1435, he rendered the quotation above as;

'þe lufar treuly longis if he by hym ha not þe liknes þat he lufis. þerfor it is sayd: Nunciate dilecto quia amore languet, that is to say: 'schew to my lufe for lufe I longe', Als who say: [for] þat I lufe. I se it not for lufe also in body I wax slaw' (4)

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1. Edited by H.E.Allen, English Writings of Richard Rolle (Oxford, 1931), pp.61-72.
 2. R.Rolle, The Form of Perfect Living, ed. C.Horstman in Yorkshire Writers (London, 1895-6), i, 29.
 3. R.Rolle, Incendium Amoris, ed. M.Deanesly (Manchester, 1915), p.194.
 4. R.Rolle, The Fire of Love and the Mending of Life or the Rule of Living, Translated R.Misyn, ed.R.Harvey (E.E.T.S. o.s. 106, 1896), p.40.

'Longing' as Misyn employs it is a rather more appropriate translation for Methley's wider use of the term 'Languor'. 'I long for love' is still not an ideal translation of 'amore languo', because it does not express the intensity of pain and desire, but it does bring out the more active and positive elements of the expression, the way in which the lover is yearning towards the object of his love, rather than simply pining away in its absence. (1) This is certainly the sense in which the author of The Cloud of Unknowing uses the word 'longing'.

The mystical schema of The Cloud of Unknowing is based upon the Mystical Theology of Pseudo-Dionysius. One cannot comprehend God through the faculties of the intellect, but one may eventually understand him through the power of love. Love is not merely an emotion, but more essentially an act of will. The understanding of God is a condition to which the devotee aspires, and when it is achieved he will know the answer to all the mysteries which puzzled him on Earth, simply by virtue of having achieved it. This state is communion with God, and the tool for acquiring it, initially at least, is meditation. In his progress the aspirant has to pass through the cloud of forgetting, which is the process of purification by which he rids himself of any desire for worldly objects. He has to reach the stage where all he desires is God. However God is surrounded by the 'cloud of unknowing' and this has to be pierced before the devotee can finally attain union with the Beloved. The Cloud of Unknowing teaches him how to persevere in the darkness of mind separating him from every thing else on earth, while yet attempting to break through that cloud of unknowing to reach the light of God.

The interest of this schema, by comparison with that employed by Methley, lies in the limbo between the cloud of forgetting and the cloud of unknowing, where the instrument which must be used to attack the cloud of unknowing is longing love;

1. The use of 'long' in middle English to mean 'yearn', 'desire' and 'languish or pine in either erotic or spiritual surroundings' occurs reasonably often. Kuhn cites many other examples; S.Kuhn, Middle English Dictionary (Michigan, 1968), part L.6, p.1197.

'Smyte apon pat picke cloude of vnknowyng wip a scharp darte of longyng loue, & go not pens for þing pat befaller.' (1)

'& þerfore, 3if þou wilt stonde & not falle, seese neuer in þin entent, bot bete euermore on þis cloude of vnknowyng pat is bitwix þee & þi God wip a scharpe darte of longyng loue'. (2)

Here the instrumentality of 'longing' is clearly brought out: the way in which it enables man to penetrate the mystery of God and draw near to him. Methley never distinguishes terms such as forgetting and unknowing; nevertheless 'longing love' plays a very similar role in his treatise, since the basic message of the Scola Amoris Languidi is the reasons why man longs for love, and how this longing brings him to his desire. The message of both mystics is that it is only by earnest and long-suffering longing for love that one may reach God, and the Cloud author's 'longing' is therefore very much closer to Methley's 'languor' than is Rolle's 'languishing'.

Julian of Norwich is another writer who uses the word 'longing' in a similar sense, and moreover she is the only one of the five best known English mystics who ascribes longing not only to man but also to Christ, as Methley himself does. Julian writes;

'for this is the gostly thrist of Criste: the luflongyng that lestith and ever shal, til we se that syte on domysday....Therefore this is his thrist: a love longyng to have us al togeder hole in him to his blis'. (3)

Methley, in his analysis of the longing of God and Christ, runs counter to the orthodox Christian teaching that God himself never suffers or is in any way affected by man's actions. Methley puts forward the proposition that God is capable of experiencing pain;

'....si [ingratus] rem quam diligit habere posset (deo ignorante) de dei dilectione nichil curare vellet Et hec pena maxima est deo. quia diligit ingratum'

However, to be just to Methley, he does at this point betray some consciousness of the fact that he is treading upon uncertain ground;

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1. The Cloud of Unknowing and the Book of Privy Counselling, ed.P.Hodgson (E.E.T.S.o.s.218, 1944), p.26.
 2. Ibid. p.38.
 3. Julian of Norwich, A Revelation of Love, ed.M.Glasscoe (Exeter, 1976), p.32.

'hic autem ad modum hominis loquor
& in sequentibus similiter. Cum humana
passio attribuitur deo & accidit figura
antropaspathos.' (1)

Julian, by contrast, is careful not to fall into the trap of anthropomorphism. Whereas in Methley God longs for love to satisfy his own desires and relieve his own pain, Julian is emphatic that God's longing is merely a product of man's need;

'for the same desire and threst that he had upon the cross, which desire, longyng and thrist, as to my syte, was in him fro withoute begynnyng, the same hath he yet, and shal into the tyme that the last soule that shal be savid is cum up to his bliss; for as verily as there is a properte in God of ruth and pity, as veryly there is a property in God of threst and longyng. And of the vertue of this longyng in Criste we have to longen ageyn to him, withoute which no soule comyth to hevyn. And this propertye of longyng and threst comyth of the endles goodnes of God....and in this stondyth the poynt of the gostly thrist, which is lestyng in hym as long as we be in nede, us drawing up to his blis.' (2)

If none of Methley's immediate mystical predecessors attached the same degree of meaning to the word 'languor' as he does, closer parallels may yet be found in the works of Bernard of Clairvaux and Gregory of Nyssa. Both these writers bring out the paradoxical aspects of 'languor', the way in which it fuses apparent opposites. St. Bernard, in his Sermons on the Song of Songs writes;

'Cum praesto est quod amatur viget amor; languet, cum abest. Quod non est aliud, quae taedium quoddam impatientis desiderii, quo necesse est affici mentem vehement amantis absente quem amat'. (3)

It is interesting to note that St. Bernard uses the word 'taedium' in this context, since this is another expression that Methley frequently employs in the Scola Amoris Languidi, and one which he endows with the same kind of duality as 'languor'. When 'tedium' is first encountered in the Scola Amoris Languidi, it is as a temptation to be resisted;

'....Ego quondam sui tedio temptatus.
sed si bene memini nunquam victus ex quo primum intraui
hunc heremum....tedium vici.' (4)

1. f.4r.

2. Julian of Norwich, op.cit. p.32.

3. Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermones in Cantica Canticorum (P.L. 183), col.1026.

4. f.11r.

and yet later Methley is adulatory about the experience of 'tedium';

'....O tedium

O tedium quam inscrutabile es nescientibus te O tedium
O tedium quam dissimile es tu illi tedio quod sit in
multis. in officio diuino aut aliquo modo. de bono
quocumque Illi ipsi amatores mundi licet contradicant.
constantissime tedium paciuntur (bone iesu) cum de
amore tuo legunt vel canunt. operantur vel scribunt'. (1)

'Tedium' in the Scola Amoris Languidi has all the unpleasant aspects of boredom and weariness, but by enduring the tedium of an existence separated from God, the soul proves its steadfastness and progresses nearer to the Beloved. (2)

However, the writer who uses 'languor' in the sense closest to that of Methley, is St. Gregory of Nyssa. Gregory, (c.335-c.395), appointed Bishop of Nyssa in A.D.372, was called 'The father of the Fathers' by the second Nicene council of 787. His brother was St. Basil the Great, one of the founders of Eastern monasticism. In his Commentary on the Song of Songs, Gregory writes, glossing the line 'Quia Amore Languo';

'As the soul is raised up by these divine elevations, she sees within herself the sweet dart of love that has wounded her, and she glories in the wound. I am wounded with love. Indeed it is a good wound and a sweet pain by which life penetrates the soul.' (3)

In this passage Gregory talks of a 'good wound' and a 'sweet pain', thus juxtaposing apparent opposites in a similar way to Methley. The latter's idea that 'languor' is at once a desirable state to aim for, and merely the beginning of an arduous ascent the soul must make, is also a reflection of St. Gregory's doctrine of infinite growth;

1. ff.18v-19r.

2. In Classical Latin, 'taedium' had its modern connotations of weariness and disgust; C.T.Lewis and C.Short, A Latin Dictionary (Oxford, 1879), p.1834. However in the medieval period it was often used for 'chagrin' 'doleur' and 'aegritudo'; J.F.Niermeyer, Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus (Leiden, 1976), p.1015; D.Du Cange, Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis (Niort and London, 1887), viii, 12.

3. From Glory to Glory: Texts from St. Gregory of Nyssa's Mystical Writings, selected by J.Daniélou, translated H.Musurillo (London, 1962), pp.178-9.

'Though the new grace we may obtain is greater than that we had before, it does not put a limit on our final goal; rather for those who are rising in perfection, the limit of the good that is attained becomes the beginning of the discovery of higher goods. Thus they never stop rising, moving from one new beginning to the next, and the beginning of even greater graces is never limited of itself.' (1)

These examples have demonstrated the very distinguished precedents which Methley was able to draw upon in his treatment of the concept of 'languor'. It is a concept which encompasses some aspect of each of these author's ideas: Rolle's 'languishing', The Cloud author's 'dart of longing love', Julian's 'ghostly thirst', St. Bernard's 'taedium impatientis desiderii' and St. Gregory's 'good wound' and 'sweet pain'. Undoubtedly Methley's concept has, by the inclusion of these diverse elements, been rendered so complex and contradictory that it presents enormous problems in his handling of the material; in particular, his ascription of the same quality of 'languor' to both God and man has perhaps laid him open to the charge of anthropomorphism.

One of the striking features of the Scola Amoris Languidi, something which cannot properly be conveyed in any précis of the text, but is most apparent on reading the original, is Methley's tendency to ascribe his own thoughts to God. (2) On several occasions he writes passages which purport to be the direct words of God, as in this example;

'Amore languero dicit dominus deus. & in charitate perpetua dilexi te. O homo noli ingratus esse deo tuo.
O homo amore languero
 propter te. quia ingratitude tua nimis cruciat me.
Quid in me
 displicuit tibi. quia non diligis me. qui ad amandum me creavi te: si velles me vere diligere non laborares....
 O homo omnia que passus sum propter te. parva sunt respectu ingratitude tue. hec me cruciat. hec me torquet. hec me flagellat. quia amore languero.' (3)

This passage has some precedents in the works of Margery Kempe and Julian of Norwich, but the latter are merely repeating messages they claim to have received from God, whereas Methley is actually putting words into the mouth of the Divinity. As for the content of the speeches, Methley's source is reasonably easy to discern. He has relied partially upon the Improperia. part of the liturgy for Good Friday;

1. From Glory to Glory, pp.212-13.

2. It will be seen in the next chapter that the anonymous Carthusian author of the chronicle in Bodleian Ms.E Museo 160 has the same tendency.

3. ff.5r-6r.

'Popule meus quid feci tibi aut in quo contristavi te
responde michi quia eduxi te de terra egypti parasti
cruce saluatori tuo.

Quid ultra debui facere tibi et non feci ego quidem
plantaui te vinea mea fructu de cora et tu facta es
michi satis amara aceto namque mixto cum felle sitim
meam potasti et lancea perforasti latus satus saluat-
ori tuo.' (1)

If the exact nature of the reproaches is not the same in the Scola Amoris Languidi as in the Improperia, Methley has caught their tone. The supposition that he derived this section from the reproaches of Christ finds support in a body of fourteenth-century religious poems, which have as their central image the figure of Christ on the cross bidding men stop and reflect on their sins that caused him to be hung there;

'A Byde, gud man, & hald yhour pays
And here what god him-seluen says
Hyngand on þe rode.
Man & woman þat bi me gase,
Luke vp to me & stynt þi pase,
For þe I sched my blode.' (2)

The verse 'O Vos Omnes', which is one of Methley's relatively few biblical quotations, (3) and is also part of the Good Friday service, was very closely associated with the Improperia and the two fused, in these poems, into a single vision of divine reproach. It would appear that Methley derived his reproaches from this popular vernacular tradition and not from a mystical one, since, like the authors of the lyrics, he draws both on the Improperia and the O Vos Omnes to express God's mortification. If this is the case, it explains another puzzling feature of the Scola Amoris Languidi: Methley's belief, contrary to Christian teaching, that God himself feels pain because of man's ingratitude. For it is only within this popular tradition that God is represented as suffering, and it arises out of the blurring of the distinction between God's divine reproaches and Christ's human suffering.

It is well established that Methley was aware of at least some of the works of his immediate English mystical predecessors; Rolle he specifically

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1. The Sarum Missal, ed. J. Wickham Legg (Oxford, 1916), pp. 112-3.
 2. Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century, ed. C. Brown (Oxford, 1934), p. 59. See also Medieval English Lyrics, ed. T. Silverstern (London, 1971), pp. 64, 78-9.
 3. f. 9r.

mentions in Refectorium Salutis;

'....nam vita mea consistit in amore languore dulcore feruore canore: rarius tamen in sensibili feruore quia delectus michi promisit quod frequentius in languore sicut et ille alius Ricardus dictus de hampol frequencius in calore de quo non legi quod tam frequens fuerit in languore.' (1)

H.E.Allen interprets this passage, a little strangely, as meaning that 'languor' 'was not a special characteristic of Rolle'. (2) It seems more likely to refer to the fact that Methley felt that he, like Rolle, had been able, as he grew to greater spiritual maturity, to transcend the pain of longing.

Undoubtedly the repute in which Rolle was and is still held has as much to do with the poetic quality of his writing as with its content. It is always difficult to analyse the distinctive appeal of an author's particular style; but it is certainly true that the main element of this quality in Rolle's Latin writing is his attractive use of alliteration and of rhetorical devices such as rhymed prose. There is a particular type of mystical phraseology that has come to be uniquely associated with Rolle, characterised especially by his use of the words 'canore', 'calore' (or 'fervore'), and 'dulcore'. (3) As has already been revealed in the passage quoted above, Methley has borrowed these terms from Rolle. Nor is it difficult to find other occasions when he indulges in similar phraseology, as in this example;

'Languor enim amoris non sinit languentem lugere. sed cogit amantem canere. Languor amoris fletum facit feruere & vbi est feruor. factoris. ibi interdum est sensibilis ignis amores....quia amat & languet. penam patitur sed & deliciis dulcore plenissimis repletur & ait amore languet.' (4)

These words compare closely with a passage from Incendium Amoris;

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1. f.56r.
 2. H.E.Allen, Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for his Biography (New York, 1927), p.292.
 3. Rolle's own commentary on these terms is contained in the Incendium Amoris, ed.M.Deanesly (Manchester, 1915), pp.184-5.
 4. ff.2v-3r.

'immo uerius annunciem et dicam oracionem, meditacionemque tanti amatoris in canticum conuersam, atque in melos suauitatis celice liquescentem, ut potius angelicum sonum personat quam humanum, in quo cum feruore millifluo delinitus: non ad lugendum, sed ad iubilandum assumitur; ut quasi abstractis lacrimis, in ipso fonte ueri et eterni gaudii iugiter iocundetur.' (1)

Other examples in the Scola Amoris Languidi are not hard to find;

'quia languet amore qui me videt in tanto dolore vt fere moriar pro feruore. duplicauit hoc modo sua dona cum dulcore lacrimas mutauit in melodiam iam nunc enim cano cum angelis. quia mens mea unita manente naturali substancia. musicam multiplicat & merorem funditus fugauit a philomena. que filium & fratrem fulcitur floribus dulcissimum dilectum amplexatur in brachiis benedictionis.' (2)

'....disce ergo per signa. quomodo deus languet amore. vt coronet gloria & honore. quem diligit in multo & mirifico dulcore immo, aliquando angelico canore. Que sunt signa: amoris signa. Frequens raptus viri dei. raptus (inquam) vnitivus. & raptus extaticus. Et quid sit in raptus incendio. nisi amplexus ac amoris unio.' (3)

And these too have a close affinity with passages by Rolle;

'Unde et in ipso ardore amoris suauissimi assumuntur ad aspectum amati, et per flammam in felicissimam florentes sunt in uirtute et fruuntur factore, migratque meus in melodiam mutata iam manente, et cogitationes exinde fiunt canore, ac emissa mesticia aula anime musica mirabili abundat, ut priorem penitus perdat punicionem et sana in sublimitate sonora semper subsistat modulans premirifice in melliphona meditacione'. (4)

'Cogitauit me uelle assimilari auricule, que pre amore languet amati sui, sed languendo exiam letatur adueniente sibi quod amat et letando canit, canendo eciam languet, sed in dulcedine et ardore. Fertur enim philomena tota nocte cantui et melo indulgere, ut ei placeat, cui copulatur'. (5)

1. Incendium Amoris, p.270.

2. f.11v.

3. ff.7v-8r.

4. Incendium Amoris, p.159.

5. Ibid. p.277.

The same ideas recur in both: of the fire of love driving away tears, of the divine sweetness changing meditation into song, of the lover aspiring to sing with the angels, of heavenly music being the instrument to dispel sorrow from the mind, and of the lover being likened to the nightingale. The nightingale is a favourite Rolle image, but Methley's use of it is a little puzzling. Unless there has been a scribal error, Methley is definitely fleeing from the nightingale ('fugavit a philomena'), an expression which would not be found in Rolle since, as the quotation above illustrates, to him the nightingale stands for all that is pleasurable in his love. It is also significant that the passage from the Scola Amoris Languidi which contains the nightingale image is, by Methley's standards, heavily alliterative. It is therefore redolent of Rolle not only in the imagery it uses but also in literary style. The close similarity between the excerpts quoted above renders the question of Rolle's influence on Methley indisputable. However the point which must be emphasised is that whereas the passages cited from Rolle are fairly characteristic of his writing as a whole, the passages cited from Methley are not. There are only a few examples of this genre of highly charged spiritual writing in the Scola Amoris Languidi. A possible reason for this will be discussed later.

It is easy to detect the influence of Rolle on the Scola Amoris Languidi, but the influence of Hilton and the Cloud author is more difficult to discern. Since Methley later translated the Cloud into Latin, he obviously felt great respect for the work, and it is perhaps a little surprising that this is not more evident in the Scola Amoris Languidi. There is only one point in the treatise where an image used by the Cloud author is repeated by Methley, and in such a similar fashion as to leave no doubt of its origin. The Cloud author refers to a man who is frightened by fire and cannot inform everyone precisely of his fear, but can only gasp 'fiir' or 'oute'. However, this short cry suffices to alert his neighbours and inform them of the agitation to which he is a victim. ⁽¹⁾ Methley's version is essentially the same, although considerably more protracted. ⁽²⁾ But whereas the wording

1. The Cloud of Unknowing and the Book of Privy Counselling, ed. P. Hodgson (E.E.T.S. o.s. 218, 1944), p. 74.

2. f. 7r-v. This section is translated in R.O. ii, 225.

may be very similar, the purpose of the two is different. The author of The Cloud of Unknowing uses the image to demonstrate that as the word 'fire' is heard and understood by one's neighbours, so a short word of prayer is heard by God, and the whole meaning of that prayer instantly comprehended by Him. There is something of this idea in Methley, but his primary motive is to demonstrate his affliction of spirit: that as the man threatened by fire could not summon up words to express his inner turmoil, so Methley could not do so when he was consumed by the longing for love. The Cloud author therefore uses this image for a didactic purpose, to illustrate the efficacy of ejaculatory prayer; whereas Methley uses it for an emotional reason, to describe his own experience. There are other passages in the Scola Amoris Languidi which might be searched for echoes of the Cloud. For example the seventeenth chapter has as its subject 'Forme Ascencionis Ignote in Contemplatione', ⁽¹⁾ and it seems quite likely that Methley's use of the word 'ignotus' here to describe ascent in contemplation is connected with his reading of the Cloud: it is presumably because God is surrounded by a cloud of unknowing that, as Methley argues, one is unable to know anything else when one is before Him - neither pain or fear, nor even consciousness of the fact that one is in His presence.

If the evidence in the Scola Amoris Languidi for Methley's having read The Cloud of Unknowing is somewhat intangible, that for his being familiar with The Scale of Perfection is even more so. The mystical schema of the Scale has a structure paralleled by that of the Cloud, but the ways in which the doctrine of the former work is presented are far more methodical. Corresponding to the stages of the soul's spiritual progress through the cloud of forgetting and the cloud of unknowing, Hilton's major distinction is between reformation in faith and reformation in feeling. Man's soul was made in God's image, but has been disfigured by original sin. ⁽²⁾ Its aim is to return to the likeness of God, by passing through these two reformations. The instrument through which the reformation in faith is accomplished is penance: if a man is truly contrite and resolves to live in a holy way, his sins will be forgiven and he cannot be damned, although he still experiences temptation. ⁽³⁾

1. ff.16r-17v.

2. W.Hilton, The Scale of Perfection, ed.E.Underhill (London, 1923), pp.225-7. No critical edition of The Scale of Perfection is available, and it has been necessary to use a modernised version.

3. Ibid. pp.245-9.

However he who has been enlightened by a reformation in feeling is above any sinful impulse. Reformation in feeling is a recognition and completion of the reformation in faith - a special devotion towards and higher understanding of God. (1)

There is some evidence that Methley also employs this distinction, though without making it explicit. It is reflected in his insistence upon the importance of faith as a preliminary to cultivating within oneself the longing of love, and in his use of the intriguing phrase 'amor sensibilis';

'....Et quia
amor est causa totius viuuersitatis. nichil melius
quam amorem ponere potest propter remedium. vt ad
amorem sensibilem tandem attingere valeat omnis
qui diligere cupit.' (2)

'....& ideo non credis. quia amorem sensibilem non habes.
Ideo que amorem sensibilem non habes. quia in rebus transitoriis
superuacue occuparis.' (3)

If this surmise is correct and 'amor sensibilis' does refer to the love engendered by reformation in feeling, (4) Methley has certainly misunderstood Hilton. 'Sensibilis' is not the word Hilton would have used to translate 'feeling', because of its earthy connotations - that which is experienced by the physical senses. Perhaps Methley took Hilton's phraseology too literally and imagined that reformation in faith was simply holding faith with God, and reformation in feeling was coming to feel love for God as if it was an earthly passion. He does not consider Hilton's following explanation, a seeming paradox, that reformation in feeling is produced not by an emotional conversion, but by a rational one. Sensibility is a faculty that debases man to the level of animals but reason exalts him above this primitivism. There are, for Hilton, two kinds of reason: the lower faculty which enables a man to cope with mundane, everyday matters, and the higher which has a more idealistic vision. Reformation in faith may be performed by the first of the two, but reformation in feeling only by the second. (5) Again in another passage Hilton argues that the knowledge

1. The Scale of Perfection, pp.272-4.

2. f.lr-v.

3. f.4v.

4. For further discussion of this point, see R.O. ii, 224, n.7.

5. The Scale of Perfection, pp.272-4.

imparted to souls in the early stages of their spiritual progress depends largely upon the imagination, whereas true knowledge comes only through reason illuminated by the Holy Spirit. It is not, of course, the case that man may understand the mystery of God through the exercise of the rational faculty, but rather that reason forms the basis of his decision to transcend the baser part of his nature and achieve a more exalted spiritual place.

By contrast, all Methley's comments about reason are derogatory. Whereas Hilton and the Cloud author emphasise the constructive role of reason - its determining quality in enabling man to seek, recognise, choose and follow good - Methley is concerned only with its limitations. It cannot, for example, concentrate on more than one object at once; 'Nec ratio potest discernere duo in vno scilicet instanti'; ⁽¹⁾ and in the passage where Methley describes how the realities of contemplation differ from its appearance, he anticipates the objection of a listener that 'hec videntur esse contra rationem' by replying;

'....Concedo vtrisque quod dixisti. Si
essent cum ratione. forte pagani possent hec implere.
....Sed neutrum verum
est. Supra rationem est.' (2)

Hilton and the Cloud author would certainly have agreed with him that the glory of contemplation was 'supra rationem', but they would never have allowed that it was 'contra rationem', or was not 'cum ratione', and it is somewhat unorthodox to suggest, as Methley does, that reason errs when it attempts to treat the glory of contemplation, since 'nothing that agrees with reason is out of harmony with God's plan'. ⁽³⁾

It is difficult, on this evidence alone, to assert that Methley knew The Scale of Perfection well. Nevertheless, the influence of the Scale and the Cloud may perhaps be detected in a far more subtle and pervasive way, simply as a corrective to the influence of Rolle. It is evident that Methley was very attracted by Rolle's sensory description of mystical experiences, but the passages in the Scola Amoris Languidi which make direct use of high-flown Rolle-type imagery are really very few. Perhaps at the back of his

1. f.18r.

2. f.16v.

3. John of Salisbury, The Metalogicon, translated D.D.McGarry (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962), p.228.

mind, Methley retained the warnings issued by Hilton and the Cloud author that visions and sweet physical sensations do not constitute true contemplation;

'& þus me þinkeþ þat it nedip greetly to haue moche warnes in vnderstanding of wordes þat ben spokyn to goostly entent, so þat þou conceyue hem not bodily, bot goostly, as þat ben mente'. (1)

There could be no mistaking the writer to whom the Cloud author was alluding when he attacked men who;

'reuerse hem azens þe cours of kynde, & wip þis coriouste þei trauayle þeire ymaginacion so vndiscreetly, þat at þe laste þei turne here brayne in here hedes. & þan as fast þe deuil hap power for to feyne sum fals liȝt or sounes, swete smelles in þeire noses, wonderful taastes in þeire mowþes, many queynte hetes & brennynges in þeire bodily brestes or in þeire bowelles, in þeire backes & in þeire reynes, & in þeire pryue membres'. (2)

It seems very likely, therefore, that although Methley was by nature far more akin to Rolle in his spiritual outlook than to Hilton or the Cloud author, he was careful to restrain himself from indulging in too many outbursts of 'canore, calore et dulcore' lest he be charged with superficiality.

This argument receives some support from the fact that there is in the Scola Amoris Languidi a lack of spiritual allusion, in marked contrast to Rolle, who scatters biblical quotations liberally. Apart from the ubiquitous 'Quia amore langueo' which recurs in every chapter, Methley only has a handful of passages either quoting from or directly based upon the bible. It is certain that a man of Methley's background would have had an extensive knowledge of the scriptures, and therefore this omission must be deliberate. It is possible that the explanation for this is also to be found in The Cloud of Unknowing;

'For somtyme men þouȝt it meeknes to sey nouȝt of þeire owne hedes, bot if þei afermid it by Scripture & doctours wordes; & now it is turnid into coriouste & schewyng of kunnyng. To þee it nedip not, & þerfore I do it nouȝt'. (3)

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1. The Cloud of Unknowing and the Book of Privy Counselling, p.95.
 2. Ibid. pp.96-7. See also pp.85-7, and The Scale of Perfection, pp.19-20, 25-6, 59.
 3. The Cloud of Unknowing and the Book of Privy Counselling, p.125.

It may plausibly be argued therefore that the influence of the Cloud and the Scale is the reason why the Scola Amoris Languidi does not bear even more resemblance to the works of Rolle than it does already.

It must accordingly be concluded that the Scola Amoris Languidi is in many ways unexceptional, displaying little or no originality and depth of insight. Methley can only lose by any comparison with the great spiritual writers of his age. Nevertheless the study of his work is rewarding, precisely because of the way in which he provides a barometer of the spiritual atmosphere of the fifteenth century. The impression one receives from the Scola Amoris Languidi is often one of confusion, of a puzzled man who had encountered a number of varying influences. To all of these he was attracted to a greater or lesser extent, but he could neither choose which authority to follow and which to reject; nor could he weld the disparate elements into a coherent philosophy of his own. This weakness is reflected by the way in which his central concept of languor attempts to embody, consciously or otherwise, all the ideas of previous writers on the subject; the way that God is endowed with the attribute of longing as well as man; and the way in which Methley's natural inclination towards Rolle's brand of experiential mysticism is tempered by his respect for the more transcendental school of contemplation as exemplified by The Cloud of Unknowing.

Impressionable and at times confused Methley may have been, but there is no doubt that he was earnest, devout and well loved by those with whom he came into contact. Knowles said of him. 'He opens for a moment for us the door of his cell', ⁽¹⁾ and perhaps this is where the true value of the treatises lies. For his very lack of the austere objectivity maintained by the authors of the Cloud and the Scale, his sincerity and his enthusiasm, infuse a personal warmth into his writing. Whatever reservations one might entertain about the treatises themselves, one receives a favourable and endearing impression of their author, and, through him, of the order which fostered him, and kept alive the mystical tradition initiated by the great writers of the previous century.

1. R.O. ii, 225.

Chapter Five

A Carthusian World View: Bodleian Ms. E. Museo 160

In this chapter the theme of Carthusian writing is continued with an examination of a work contained in Bodleian Ms. E. Museo 160, most conveniently referred to as a verse chronicle, although, as will become apparent, it is both more and less than that. The subject of the last chapter, the Scola Amoris Lanquidi, merited examination because it has some claim to be regarded as typical of the sort of works being produced by the order. The verse chronicle which forms the subject of this chapter is analysed for quite the opposite reason, because it has some claim to be regarded as unique since it represents the nearest approach made to a piece of general historical writing by an English Carthusian.

The record of the monastic orders as historians and chroniclers of medieval England is an impressive one. (1) In vain, however, would one search among their writings for works similar to the E. Museo verse chronicle. (2) It was relatively simple to place Methley's work in the English mystical tradition, but it is impossible to relate the verse chronicle to the English historical tradition. This is because it is not simply a piece of historical writing, but forms an attempt to subordinate historical writing to a devotional end - to justify the ways of God to man. To some extent of course this is true of all medieval chronicles, but in none is the aim pursued so systematically or single-mindedly as in the E. Museo chronicle. In the context of its devotional perspective, the work may be seen as typically Carthusian.

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1. See A. Gransden, Historical Writing in England c.550 to c.1307, (London, 1974).
 2. The Polychronicon of Ranulf Higden is the most obvious parallel, but closer examination reveals that it is quite different in type and intention. One of the extant manuscripts of the Polychronicon comes from Sheen Charterhouse. Bodleian Hatton Ms.14, a fourteenth-century manuscript, was given to William Mede, vicar of Sheen (ordained 1417, ob.1475), and he donated it to the house: A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Oxford, 1937), ii, part ii, 842.

It should be stressed from the outset that the chronicle is of little or no intrinsic historical merit, since it cannot be said to add to our knowledge of the people or events which it describes. It must also be admitted that it is not of a high literary standard. The verse is crude in the extreme, with sense and spelling ruthlessly sacrificed to the exigencies of the rhyme scheme. Nevertheless it is a work which well repays study because of its vividness, vigour and immediacy. It is analysed in this thesis for various reasons. The work is obviously of value simply because it does represent the nearest approach to a chronicle written by an English Carthusian. Moreover, it has been unfairly neglected: those authors who have mentioned it in passing have never properly analysed its purpose and context. But there are more important reasons for discussing the work. Much of this thesis aims at building up a picture of the ways in which contemporary society in England regarded the Carthusian order. Here an attempt is made to redress the balance, and to discuss how the Order viewed the world outside the monastic walls. It is a difficult task because the monks as a body were so naturally introspective. The vast majority of writings they produced were of a devotional nature, and events and feelings outside the cloister rarely intruded into their pages. Therefore a work which intentionally focuses upon these events, for whatever end, is bound to be of greater use than one which does not. Furthermore, the chronicle was compiled at a time which proved to be a turning-point in monastic history: 1518, the year after Luther nailed his ninety-five theses to the door of Wittenberg church. It was a date at which the whole premise upon which the religious orders were based was soon to be the subject of violent challenge. As will become apparent, the author had much to say about the condition of the church at that period which may be analysed for hints of impending disaster. And so, if the chronicle adds little to our knowledge of the events it describes, it is yet a document of extrinsic historical merit, since from it we may infer much about the ways in which at least some Carthusians viewed contemporary society at a crucial epoch in their history.

This chapter is entitled A Carthusian World View, an appellation which perhaps requires some vindication. Since this chronicle is the only known document of its kind produced by the

English Carthusians, can one really be justified in assuming that it is a typically Carthusian viewpoint, rather than a highly idiosyncratic one? Ultimately the answer cannot be certain, precisely because of the lack of other evidence, but there are reasons for supposing that the author's opinions were indeed representative. Firstly his primary source was a book by another Carthusian, a German, whose works are known to have been widely circulated both within the order and elsewhere. ⁽¹⁾ The chronicle is heavily dependent upon a work which may with far more certainty be claimed as representative of Carthusian opinion. Secondly it is clear that the E. Museo 160 text is a copy, with an indeterminate number of copies between it and the original. ⁽²⁾ The work was sufficiently popular to be copied, probably more than once. Finally, the circumscription of the Carthusian way of life may be a relevant factor. The amount of personal contact with the outside world was very limited. Since this is true of the majority of monastic chroniclers, one would expect it to be even more true of Carthusian writers. The Carthusians derived much of their information either from books or from approved modes of communication through the General Chapter, the priors and the visitatorial procedures, and therefore they had a corporate and traditional body of historical knowledge. It is certainly true of post-Reformation historians that they drew on material traditional within the order. They were admittedly only writing about specifically Carthusian history, but in the places where the author of the E. Museo 160 chronicle describes the order's past, it is the same fund of common knowledge that he uses. And since such a reserve of Carthusian history existed, and still exists, then one may probably assume that there was also a wider historical tradition, something approaching a specifically Carthusian interpretation of the past and contemporary society.

Bodleian Ms. E. Museo 160 ⁽³⁾ has 176 folios, measuring 8½ by 5¾ inches, but this was obviously not the original size. At

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1. See below, p. 252
 2. See below, p. 266
 3. The description of Ms. E. Museo 160 in the Bodleian summary catalogue is not entirely satisfactory, since it omits one of the texts in the manuscript entirely, the 'Fifteen Articles of the Passion': A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Oxford, 1937), ii, part ii, 732. However better descriptions have been supplied by D.C. Baker and J.L. Murphy, The Digby Plays (Leeds Texts and Monographs, 1976), pp. xiv-xv; 'The Bodleian Ms. E. Museo 160, Burial and Resurrection and the Digby Plays', Review of English Studies, n.s. xix (1968), pp. 290-3.

some stage after the compilation of the book, it was cut down, and some of the marginal comments have been thereby partially or wholly removed. The verse chronicle begins on f.1r. and ends on f.108r. Although it has a decisive conclusion, there appears to be a continuation on f.108v in the same style dealing with the events of 1520, such as the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Thereafter the folios are disarranged, as a gathering evidently fell out and was replaced in an incorrect order by the binder. The verses about the events of 1520 are continued on f.114r, and apparently come to an end there. The contents of these two pages were partially printed by Wright and Halliwell. ⁽¹⁾ In the same disorganised gathering is a short romance about Sir John Mandeville and Marco Polo. Some of this was again printed by Wright and Halliwell, ⁽²⁾ and more recently, by M.C. Seymour. Mr. Seymour was able to establish the correct order of the disarranged folios, which is 113v, 109r-v, 110r-v, 111r-v, 112r-v and 115r, but he felt that the romance did not originally form part of the manuscript. ⁽³⁾ However Baker and Murphy are of the opinion that it did, ⁽⁴⁾ firstly because although

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1. J.O. Wright and T. Halliwell, Reliquae Antiquae (London, 1841), pp.117-8. The top of both pages have been nibbled by mice, and are only partly legible. Wright and Halliwell's transcription contains several mistakes the most serious being the last line on f.108v, where describing a flood, the authors write, 'In ser places out of com se did flowe'. The line should read '[In se]r placis out of course did flowe'.
 2. Ibid., pp.113-5. Again the transcription is not altogether reliable. For example, lines 27-8 of f.112r should read 'Depyst in hell in paynes grise/Salbee our set in payn endlese'. Instead of 'Salbee', the authors give 'Hawee'. They have not realised, although it is clearly marked and the rhyme scheme makes it obvious, that the line at the bottom of the page, 'That when passit is a thousand 3ere' should be inserted two lines earlier. Finally the last line on f.112v states that Mohammed was buried 'With a whit mere to gyf hym mylke', not, as Wright and Halliwell state, 'to gyf hym in ylke'.
 3. M.C. Seymour, 'Mandeville and Marco Polo: A Stanzaic Fragment', Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association, xxi (1964), pp.39-52. Even the transcription provided here, although a great improvement on that of Wright and Halliwell, is not altogether perfect. For example, line 28 on p.43 (f.113v) should read 'the chesyng of the pope of Rome', not 'at Rome', and line 247 on p.48 (f.112r) should read 'Now it semys lowsit is sathanesse', not 'in Sathanesse'. For line 260 on p.49 (f.112v) Mr. Seymour has 'most py in paradise salle wyn'. 'py' should obviously be amended to 'Ioy'.
 4. D.G. Baker and J.L. Murphy, The Digby Plays, Introduction, p.xv.

the handwriting appears slightly different, it is essentially the same as in the chronicle (the difference is only what one would expect from the same scribe writing at a later date with a different pen); and secondly because the damage wrought by mice to the first pages of the romance is the same as that present in the last pages of the chronicle. Baker and Murphy state that ff.106-115 have been nibbled by mice, but in fact it is ff.103-8, 113 and 114 which display this damage, i.e. the last five folios of the chronicle, the two pages of its continuation and the first page of the romance. The damage obviously took place before the gathering fell out of the book. Not only does the romance belong to the manuscript, but it seems very likely that it was actually composed by the same man who wrote the chronicle and its continuation. Comparison of the way in which the author uses his basic sources and of the general style of the verse certainly give this impression. There are some interesting differences of scribal practice however. The chronicle, the continuation and the romance have a simple ABABCDCD verse structure, and the words which rhyme have been marked by the scribe with brackets in the outer margins in both the chronicle and the romance, but not in the two page continuation of the chronicle. However the continuation and the romance both have a \surd mark at the start of every eight lines in the inner margin, which is not present in the chronicle.

These three items seem to be written by the same man, but the other texts in the manuscript appear to be the work of another or other authors. The first is in the same hand and is a collection of a hundred meditations (ff.116r-136r). It is an English translation of the meditations which often accompany the Horologium Sapientiae of Henry Suso. ⁽¹⁾ The next item is entitled The Fifteen Articles of the Passion, (ff.136v-139r), and is the only part of the manuscript which is manifestly in a different hand from all the rest. Finally occur the works for which this manuscript is best known, the two plays, Christ's Burial (ff.140r-156v) and Christ's Resurrection (ff.156v-172r) which are in the same hand as the chronicle. These were first edited by F.J. Furnivall with the plays of Bodleian Ms.

1. For example in Bodleian Ms.88, ff.79v-86r: see D.G. Baker and J.L. Murphy, op.cit.p.xv.

Digby 133. (1) Furnivall stated that the plays once belonged to the Digby Ms., (2) an assertion which Baker and Murphy rightly repudiated in their article and their facsimile edition of the Digby and E. Museo plays, (3) where they argue that the E. Museo manuscript is clearly a homogenous book. (4)

This manuscript is therefore doubly unusual. Not only does it contain the nearest Carthusian approach to an English chronicle, but it also provides the only known example of plays being contained in a Carthusian manuscript, English or European. Moreover these plays are of considerable merit in their own right, and may have significant implications for the study of the literary interests of the order. It is therefore worth devoting a few pages to a discussion of the plays and why they should appear in a Carthusian manuscript. The plays were very obviously not composed by the man who wrote the chronicle and the romance. The style is completely different, and the authors who have commented upon the plays (5) agree that they are, in their context, of a high literary quality, which cannot be said for the chronicle or the romance. The same authors also give it as their opinion that the plays were probably written many years before the compilation of the manuscript. However, more recent linguistic research has tended to suggest that although the style is old-fashioned, the plays were not actually composed until the early sixteenth century at a date not very different to that of the manuscript as a whole. (6) In correspondence, Professor A. McIntosh

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1. F.J. Furnivall, The Digby Plays (E.E.T.S. e.s. 70, 1896), pp.169-228.
 2. Ibid., p.vii.
 3. D.C. Baker and J.L. Murphy, The Digby Plays, p.xvi, and 'The Bodleian Ms. E. Museo 160 Burial and Resurrection and the Digby Plays', pp.290-3.
 4. D.C. Baker and J.L. Murphy, The Digby Plays, p.xiv.
 5. D. Pearsall, Old English and Middle English Poetry (London, 1977), p.257; H. Craig, English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1955), p.319.
 6. I am most grateful to Dr. Peter Meredith of Leeds University for the considerable trouble he took in examining these plays for me. He notes that the words 'tender', 'suspuration' and 'tediose' used in these plays do not occur elsewhere until the early sixteenth century, and that certain of the rhyme words (shee and hee, f.143v; see and meklee, f.144v; hevylee, free and bitterlee, f.146r; see, tree, straytlee and me, f.152v) would only rhyme in a pronunciation which was not current until the same date.

of the University of Edinburgh, commented that in his opinion the dialect of the plays associated the texts with north-east Nottinghamshire or north-west Lincolnshire, which implies that they emanated from Axholme Charterhouse. (1)

The presence of these two plays in the manuscript cannot necessarily be taken as evidence of Carthusian interest in drama, because such is their structure and tone that they could very easily have been used for the purposes of meditation; and it is indeed not altogether easy to decide whether they were originally intended as plays or meditations. They are prefaced by the heading 'The prologe of this treyte or meditation off the buryall of Criste & mowrnyng perat', and at the foot of f.140v is written, 'This is a play to be played on part on gud fri[day] afternone & pe other part upon Esterday aft[er] the resurrection In the morowe but [at the] begynnynge ar certen lynes whic[h must] not be said if it be plaid which' The rest of the statement has been lost to us through the over-zealousness of the trimmer of the manuscript. The prologue begins;

'A Soule that list to singe of loue
Of crist that com till vs so lawe
Rede this treyte, it may hymm moue
And may hym teche lightly with awe' (2)

This implies initially that the prime object of the work is a meditative one, but it ends;

'Fyrst lay vs mynde how gud Iosephe
On this wise wepite Cristis dethe'

thus providing a natural introduction to a speech by Joseph of Arimathea, which is the point at which the play starts. After the opening speech is written; 'Off the wepinge of the iij maries', and then a couplet;

'Man harkyn how maudleyn with pe maris ij
Wepis & wringes thair handis os thay goo'

followed by a stage direction; 'thre mariye sais all togider in a voce'. (3) The middle couplet which would be appropriate to a

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1. I am very grateful to Professor McIntosh for examining the text.
 2. Bodleian Ms. E. Museo 160, f.140r. All folio references in this chapter are to this manuscript, unless otherwise stated.
 3. ff.140v-141r.

meditation, but not to a play, has been crossed out. Two lines later the words 'saide mawdleyne' have been struck through, as has 'This hard holy Iosephe standinge ryght gayn/Saide ...' and the two lines;

'The maries in that statione
Then saide on this fascione' (1)

Near the bottom of the page the words 'said Ioseph' have been left unaltered in the text. On f.142r the line 'The secund Mary began to saye' has been crossed out, as has 'The thrid mary saide' on f.142v, and 'Than saide Iosephe right peteoslee' and 'Mawdleyne saide' on f.143v. The obvious explanation is that lines appropriate to the meditation but not to the play have been written down, but struck through at a later stage. Examples of this occur several times in the next few pages, until f.147v is reached, when two changes occur simultaneously. Firstly these crossed-out narrative phrases cease altogether. There are no more examples in either of the two plays. Secondly the rubrics naming the speakers are moved from the margin to above each speech. These two changes mean that the plays lose their optional narrative style. Another change occurs later. Stage directions were initially given in English, and the last example is on f.158r; 'Secund marye commys in & sais'. Subsequently they are always given in Latin, beginning on f.162r; 'Tunc exeunt hee tres marie/ Petrus intrat flens amare'.

In summary therefore, the text begins as a piece which could be used equally effectively as play or as meditation. But those lines which would be needed if it was adapted to narrative use are at first crossed out and subsequently omitted altogether. The majority of the text as it stands is clearly designed solely for dramatic use. It would be useful to ascertain whether this was the intention of the original author, and we therefore need to know whether the lines adapting the play to narrative form are integral to the original text, or whether they are superfluous. The evidence strongly suggests that the latter is the case, since in the second and larger part of the text no line omissions can be readily detected, but in the first part several of the narrative lines can be seen to be additions.

1. f.141r.

This is demonstrated by the following three examples which all occur on ff.145v-146r. In the first two examples the first line is the narrative addition, and in the last example it is the second line;

'To that word mawdlen awnswert thus
Who saw euer a spektacle mor pitevs
A more lamentable sight & dolorus'

'Holy Iosephe awnswertit to this same
What meyn 3e women in goddis name
Moder to mych sorow 3e mak ye be to blame'

'I pray yow compleyn not thus hevylee
Than said mawdleyne a Iosephe free
Nedis must I compleyn & that most bitterlee'

These quotations are all taken from a section of the play where the rhyme scheme is a standard AABCCB form, with not more than two lines rhyming with each other, and yet each of the excerpts above consists of three lines all rhyming with each other. The removal of the additional narrative lines would bring these quotations into accord with the rest of the rhyme scheme, and the narrative lines can here be seen to be superfluous. Similarly, on all the fourteen occasions where one line or more have been inserted, their removal would make no difference or would actually improve the flow of the verse. Clearly, therefore, the texts were originally intended primarily as plays, and the narrative passages were additions, but it is not possible to decide whether the superfluous lines were part of the original author's work, or a later insertion. One plausible explanation is that the additions were made by a copyist who then found that the process of inserting extra lines into the play was rather more difficult than he had imagined and gave up doing so.

Despite the fact that the texts are primarily plays, their inclusion in a Carthusian manuscript is easily explicable. They could have been copied into the manuscript simply because the Carthusians found the verse so moving, as indeed do most modern readers. Professor Pearsall describes the verse as 'touched with grace from the start', ⁽¹⁾ and Hardin Craig comments, 'In its own reverent piety, it is very fine'. ⁽²⁾

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1. D. Pearsall, Old English and Middle English Poetry (London, 1977), p.257.
 2. H. Craig, English Religious Drama in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1955), p.319.

The structure of the two plays is very simple. In the first, Christ's Burial, Joseph of Arimathaea and the three Marys mourn at the foot of the cross. Nicodemus enters, and he and Joseph take down the body of Christ. After a long lamentation by the Virgin Mary, the body is laid in the sepulchre. In Christ's Resurrection the three Marys decide to visit the sepulchre, but when they arrive, they are informed by an angel that Christ has risen. They leave, hoping to catch a glimpse of him. Peter enters, mourning his betrayal of Christ, and is comforted by Andrew and John the Evangelist. John prophesies Christ's resurrection. St. Mary Magdalene enters, still searching vainly for Christ, and he appears to her and tells her to comfort the others with the news of the resurrection. Magdalene does this, and they all sing hymns of praise, beginning with Victime Paschali Laudes. Then they go to the tomb, and see that Christ has risen indeed. The play ends with the hymn Scimus Christum.

The complicated evolution of religious drama cannot be examined here. All that need be noted is that the two plays in E. Museo 160 have a long and distinguished liturgical ancestry; that elaborations on the Quem Quaeritis trope, from which two plays are derived, dated back to the eighth century; and that these plays, with their Hortulanus (the encounter of Mary Magdalen with Christ in the garden), Planctus Mariae (the lamentations of Mary) and with the inclusion of such hymns as Victimiae Paschali Laudes, are composed of material well within an approved ecclesiastical tradition. We need therefore see nothing incongruous in the idea that the plays might have been recited more or less dramatically in a Carthusian church. R. Woolf notes that; 'The plays are ... supremely liturgical in the sense that the devotion of the pious and the solemnity of the liturgical occasion are essential to their capacity to move ... only an audience which brought to them an alert devotional receptiveness could find them moving and unwearisome ... the supposition that these plays belong to a convent ... alone seems to make sense of the actual performance of the plays'. (1) Yet although the plays arise from a liturgical dramatic tradition, they possess certain features which distinguish

1. R. Woolf, The English Mystery Plays (London, 1972), p.335.

them from contemporary English liturgical drama. Firstly they are in the vernacular, a feature they share only with the Shrewsbury Fragments. Secondly they contain episodes which do not occur in any other liturgical plays. Thirdly, as R. Woolf observes; 'the two plays are a curious hybrid in that whilst the action is liturgically determined, the leisurely speeches are reflective and meditative in style, having their origins in some of the famous Latin meditations of the Middle Ages'. (1) In fact, one is justified in asking how it was that these plays were so dissimilar to other contemporary drama, why they were still, in 1518, so close to their liturgical and meditational origins, so old-fashioned, so unadulterated by any hint of secularity. And to answer that they had been composed within the confines of the Carthusian Order provides a very plausible reply.

In conclusion therefore, the inclusion of these plays in a Carthusian manuscript is unique but not unorthodox. It has been shown that the narrative structure seems to be an imposition upon the dramatic structure: the texts are, first and foremost, plays. However, although they are plays, they might still have been used by the Carthusians solely for meditative purposes. But they are plays of such deeply-felt piety, and products of such an exemplary liturgical tradition, that the Carthusians could, without any infringement of ecclesiastical propriety, have put them to a dramatic use. (2) Finally the supposition that they might actually have been composed by a member of the order would help to explain many of the unique features of the plays.

This conclusion provides a key to the possible common purpose of the diverse elements in this unusual manuscript. It appears to be a private compilation of devotional material. Although the inclusion of the chronicle, the romance and the plays may initially cause surprise, there is nothing in this manuscript that could not have been used as an aid to meditation, as will shortly become apparent. Other Carthusian examples of such compilations survive, apparently the products of individuals for their own use. The

1. R. Woolf, The English Mystery Plays, p.332.

2. The Very Reverend Guy Thackrath, prior of Parkminster Charterhouse, saw nothing implausible, or contrary to the rules, in the idea that these plays might actually have been performed in a Charterhouse.

most famous example is B.M. Ms. Add. 37049, which also, incidentally, includes part of a romance of Sir John Mandeville. (1)

The chronicle is an ambitious work, spanning the whole of human history from the creation to the author's own time, 1518. The writer gives no information about himself, although the fact that he is a Carthusian may be easily deduced. The prologue on f.1r states the nature and purpose of the work. From f.1v to f.26r are brief descriptions of and prayers to the various prophets of the Old Testament, beginning with Adam and Eve, working through Cain and Abel, Enoch, Noah, Melchisedek, Abraham and many others, and ending with Zachary, Elizabeth, Simeon and Anna. Each page is self-contained, with a heading at the top, simply naming the person or persons described beneath, then a frame drawn for a picture, and below a few verses. The verse is all in a simple ABAB form, which is maintained throughout the chronicle. Only five of the picture-frames have been filled in with pen and ink drawings. On f.1v is a depiction of Adam and Eve in the garden with an angel guarding the gate, and on f.2r Cain is clubbing Abel to death. Later on there are illustrations of Daniel on f.19v, Use and Amos on f.20r and Habucuck and Sophomas on f.21v. On some of the blank picture-frames, drawings have been made at a later date, mostly depicting Tudor gentlemen in elaborate costumes. (2) They appear to have been drawn by a child. On f.25r is a design very similar to the type found on embroidery samplers. At the top is a date, 'Anno domini 1568', below this the alphabet, and at the bottom of the drawing, in three lines, the mysterious letters, 'AMEN IMET / FAVETD / SOPR'. Other scribbling, probably by the same person, and certainly dating from the same period, may be found throughout the manuscript, usually in imitation of the style of the Carthusian. On a small piece of paper protruding out between folios 60 and 61, the name 'William Benson Dewlly' has been entered, and on f.171v is written 'written by me W....ns'. The folio has been torn, but the name is probably the same as that entered earlier. The most interesting aspect of the post-Reformation ownership of the manuscript is the fact that somebody has attempted to erase every occurrence of the

1. B.M. Ms. Add. 37049, ff.3v-9r.

2. ff.2v, 3r, 9r, 22r, 24v, 25v, 26r.

word 'pope' from the text. The word occurs very frequently, and the despoiler has not always noticed it, but there is no doubt that a systematic attempt was made to obliterate the offensive word.

The prayers to the prophets are succeeded on f.26v by a short prayer to John the Baptist. A much longer prayer to the Virgin Mary follows, which ends on f.28r and is succeeded by one to Christ. This finishes on f.30r and is followed by a prayer to all the saints who lived during the first hundred years after the birth of Christ, including, for example, St. Joseph, the shepherds and the three wise men. All this is in verse, but on f.31v begins, in prose, a catalogue of saints who lived in the century, including those who were mentioned in the preceding prayer. It takes the form of a succession of names of popes, martyrs and bishops, some of whom are briefly described. Each is requested 'For the loue of Ihesu & of his moder mary pray for vs specially' (or 'hertely') and where the whole of this phrase cannot be fitted onto the line, the rest is simply left out. Often there is only room for the scribe to write 'For the l. o.' On 33v is a prayer, in verse, 'to Ihesu for his grace gifen to holy kirke in the first c 3ere' which constitutes a more general survey of the events of the period. On 34r begins 'A prayer to the hoply popes yat wer in the secund hundreth 3er of our lord & to all saintis in yer days', another prose prayer with occasional brief descriptions. On f.36r this turns abruptly into a verse catalogue. On 37r the account of the third century begins with a prose catalogue, which becomes a verse commentary on f.37v and returns to the catalogue a page later. A verse prayer starts on f.40r. On f.41r begins the fourth century with a prose catalogue, followed by a verse prayer on f.41v, another catalogue on f.43r and another prayer on 44v. This ends on 45r and the fifth century starts. Up to this point the work is relatively unstructured with verse prayers and prose catalogues interspersed with one another, but after f.45r. it becomes far more standardised. The work is clearly divided into centuries, each of which has first a prayer in verse which meditates on the major events and personalities of the age, followed by a prose catalogue addressed to the popes and saints of the hundred years. The catalogues read almost like litanies, and the author describes them as prayers, since he is addressing each Pope or saint in turn and asking for his or her intercession. The list of contents on the following page displays how the work is laid out. After f.45r it achieves a greater degree of uniformity, only

Each item listed continues until the start of the next item. Blank folios or half-folios are listed, and bracketed if they occur in the middle of an item.

ff. Old Testament

- 1r Prologue - prose
1v Prayers to the prophets - verse
26v Prayer to John the Baptist-verse
Prayer to the Virgin - verse
28v Prayer to Jesus - verse

1st Century

- 30r Prayer to the saints - verse
31v Prayer to the saints - prose
33v Prayer to Jesus - verse

2nd Century

- 34v Prayer to the saints - prose
36r Prayer to Jesus - verse

3rd Century

- 36v Prayer to the saints - prose
37v Prayer to Jesus - verse
38r Prayer to the saints - prose
40r Prayer to Jesus - verse

4th Century

- 41r Prayer to the saints - prose
41v Prayer to Jesus - verse
43r Prayer to the saints - prose
44v Prayer to Jesus - verse

5th Century

- 45r Prayer to Jesus - verse
46v Prayer to the saints - prose
The lower half of f.48 has been cut away. The verso is blank.

6th Century

- 49r Prayer to Jesus - verse
51r Prayer to the saints - prose

7th Century

- 53r Prayer to Jesus - verse
57v Prayer to the saints - prose
Prayer to English saints-prose
(f.59v is blank)
61v Prayer to the saints - prose
(Top half of f.62v is blank)
63r Lower half blank
63v Blank

8th Century

- 64r Prayer to Jesus - verse
(Top half of f.65v is blank)
67v Prayer to the saints - prose
69r Lower half blank

9th Century

- 69v Prayer to Jesus - verse
72r Prayer to the saints - prose
72v Lower half blank

10th Century

- 73r Prayer to Jesus - verse
74v Prayer to the saints - prose

11th Century

- Top half of f.75v is blank
75v Prayer to Jesus - verse
79r Prayer to the saints - prose

12th Century

- 80v Prayer to Jesus - verse
83r Prayer to the saints - prose

13th Century

- 84v Prayer to Jesus - verse
87v Prayer to the saints - prose

14th Century

- 88v Prayer to Jesus - verse
91r Prayer to the saints - prose

15th Century

- 92r Prayer to Jesus - verse
99v Prayer to the saints - prose
100r Lower half blank

16th Century

- 100v Prayer to Jesus - verse
102r List of Priors - verse
105r Conclusion
108r End of work

interrupted, on ff.57v-51v, by a prayer to specifically English saints. The chronicle ends with a prayer to Jesus about the events of the early sixteenth century, but no litany of saints, since there were none (a fact that the author does not fail to notice). He provides instead a list of priors of the Grande Chartreuse, from Bruno onwards, and ends with a verse summary of some of the themes he had discussed earlier in the work.

These themes will be examined more fully later, but for the moment it is only necessary to provide some indication of the contents of the text. The verse prayers to Jesus are, as stated above, surveys of contemporary events and personalities, and the material that is included can be divided into distinct categories. Papal and imperial history are the two most thoroughly explored themes. The history of other countries, including England, is touched upon, but not consistently. The foundations of the larger religious orders are usually mentioned, and there are a number of references to the Carthusian order. Prominent heresies and famous writers are discussed. A great deal of space is devoted to miracles, marvellous happenings and natural disasters, and finally, the activities of the Turks are the subject of considerable comment.

As must by now be obvious, the work, although it contains much historical material, cannot really be described as a chronicle, but is more like a long prayer. By centering the prayer on the events of human history, the work serves a dual purpose of meditation and of study, as the author explains very clearly in his prologue, which is worth quoting in full;

'The gret gloriuse saynte & holy doctore Saint Ierome In the secund part of his explanacions writis a lityll buke off the dignytes & nobyll dedes of sum of ye most nobill & holyeste faders of the old testament Vnto this intent yat al yf thay be well enoghe knowen to tham that red the hoole bibill yit thay may be mor shortly broughte to mynd when thay ar son rede & comprehendit in a shorte sermond Now in this present treyte ar made in to ynglishe meter a prayer to ychon of thes said holy faders patriarkis and prophetis. (with a pictor of ye sam) contenyng a parte of theire nobill dedis & holy lyves. accordinge with the sayingis of the said Gloriose saynt Ierome in his forsaid lityll book For thes holy faders ar thay bye

which holy churche hase it ground
& foundment & dowllese ar gret saintis
in hevyn Therfor this trete is mad
in maner of prayer that the reder lese
no tym for yf he dispose hym yer to In the
redinge he shall pray devowtly: & lern
gud vertues: & have a knowlege of
the cowrse of holy scripture which god
graunt at his plesure Amen'. (1)

This constitutes an introduction only to the first part of the work, the prayers to the patriarchs, and although he does not say so, the author must have decided that the formula was so successful that he would apply it to the rest of human history, and continue to his own day.

The Explanations of St. Jerome, the work upon which the prayers to the patriarchs are supposedly based, is not one which figures in the known corpus of Jerome's writings, and one may doubt whether the saint ever composed such a book. It is likely that the attribution is apochryphal, especially as Jerome tended to be the favourite authority to whom writings of doubtful parentage might be ascribed. (2)
Most of the rest of the chronicle, from the birth of Christ up to 1474, is based upon a work called Fasciculus Temporum, as the author plainly informs us on two occasions. The first is when he interrupts his prayer to the saints of the seventh century to insert a list of English saints;

'A prayer to all the saintis of yngland wherof many was about this tym. & because they ar not all in the bok. fasciculus temporum. wherof I take this copy. yerfore I set tham sam here'. (3)

The second reference is when the author reaches the fifteenth century, and Fasciculus Temporum ends;

'it is to be knowene that this last hundreth 3ere which I call the xv.hundrethe is not complete after the boke callit fasciculus temporum for that endis in the 3ere of our lord m^occcc^o threscor & fourteyne'. (4)

These excerpts, and the prologue quoted above demonstrate that the author is fastidious in acknowledging his sources, and that he

1. f.1r.

2. F. Wormald and C.E. Wright, ed. The English Library Before 1700 (London, 1958), p.88.

3. ff.57v-58r.

4. f.92r.

is careful to ensure that the reader understands exactly the ends towards which his work is tending, and the mechanism by which those ends are being achieved.

Fasciculus Temporum was indeed written in 1474 by a Carthusian named Werner Rolewynk. He was born in 1425 at Laer in Westphalia, and entered the Charterhouse at Cologne, where he remained until his death in 1502. While at Cologne, he produced a vast collection of works of a miscellaneous character, theology, philosophy, exegesis, ascetism, devotion and sermon material. The best known are the Vita Sancti Servatii (1472), Paradisus Conscientiae (1475), a tract on the Eucharist and the mass, commentaries on the epistles of St. Paul, a martyrology, De Origine Nobilitatis, De Regimine Rusticorum, Scriptores de Pistorius (1483), De Laude Westphalia, Sive de Moribus et Situ Antiquorum Saxonum and, of course, Fasciculus Temporum which was first printed at Cologne in 1474, and was subsequently reproduced many times both at Cologne and elsewhere in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. (1)

The printed editions of Fasciculus Temporum are tabulated in form. (2) Each page covers twenty or thirty years, and is divided by two lines into rough thirds. Above the top line are columns containing

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1. Encyclopedia Universal Illustrada (Madrid, 1958), li, 1436; C. Bohic, Chronica Ordinis Carthusiensis anno 1084 ad annum 1510 (Tournai, 1911), iii, 374.
 2. The British Library contains no less than 39 copies of Fasciculum Temporum, most of them different editions. It was difficult to decide which to work from, a difficulty compounded by the fact that all the early editions are unpaginated (except one, cat. no. I.B.3805, in which the pagination is very irregular). However, since the manuscript appears to emanate from a northern Charterhouse, I also paid particular attention to early printed editions in Yorkshire since it was conceivable that one might prove to be the text from which the Carthusian worked. At York Minster Library there are three editions; one, printed in 1524, is too late, but the other two are a Cologne edition of 1479 printed by H. Quentil, and a Strassburg edition circa 1490 printed by Johan Petit. Both unfortunately have early folios missing, on which an ascption to a particular house might have been made. The Cologne book might possibly be the one used by the author of the chronicle, since it is fuller and contains references copied by the Carthusian which do not appear in the Strassburg edition. This edition is also possessed by the British Library (cat. no. I.C.4371) but its copy is unpaginated. Therefore references in this chapter are to the 1479 Cologne edition, with pagination supplied from the York Minster Library copy.

information about each emperor and imperial history generally, and below the lower line each pope is described. The space in the centre is devoted to events in other countries, to miracles, natural disasters, saints, writers and religious orders. As this description makes evident, the author of the E. Museo 160 chronicle derived the bulk of his information from Fasciculus Temporum; and the basic themes covered are the same in both works. The author's dependence upon his source also explains why an English Carthusian writer should write comparatively little about either England or the Carthusians, and yet should include so much imperial history.

If the author derived his basic factual information almost solely from Fasciculus Temporum, the resulting work is nevertheless very different from its source. The E. Museo 160 chronicle is far shorter than Fasciculus Temporum, and in some respects attempts to provide a summary of it. Where this may most clearly be seen is on the occasions where the author presents a list of the emperors of the century as an addition to the text, which he does usually at the bottom of two facing pages in each hundred years. The list for the eleventh century reads 'henricus.j.sanctus Conradus.j.bonus Henricus.ij. valde bonus Henricus.iiij.peruersus', ⁽¹⁾ and for the twelfth century, 'Henricus.iiij.first a shrew bot after good Lotharius.ij. ful gud Conradus.ij.gud & nob Fridericus.j.best bot king Charles Henricus.v.gud Philippus.gude'. ⁽²⁾ In the thirteenth century Otto IV is 'yl', Frederick II 'warse', Alphonse a 'gud astronomer' and all the rest are 'gude'. ⁽³⁾ Here the author has simply read what Rolewynk has to relate about each emperor, and come to his own succinct conclusions about their moral characters. In the course of the verse he also generally informs the reader how many popes reigned each century, how many were 'gude', how many bad and how many were saints. These terse summaries about the characters of popes and emperors may well strike the modern reader as similar to verdicts pronounced by proponents of what is now called the 'Whig Interpretation' of history. ⁽⁴⁾ The resemblance is not merely superficial.

1. f.78v.

2. ff.82v-83r.

3. f.85r.

4. See H. Butterfield, The Whig Interpretation of History (London, 1931), especially the final chapter 'Moral Judgements in History'.

The author of the chronicle judged his protagonists by whether they promoted or hindered certain ends. The criterion for establishing whether an emperor or monarch was 'gude' was how well he fostered the well-being of the church, and in particular, whether he attempted to stem the advances of heretics and infidels. The Emperour Sigismund, for example, received his highest approbation;

'This pope he wrought so worthelye
By help of Sigismunde certayn
Most cristen Empoure & souereyn
He was so meke deuout & gud
That he had beyn worthy os sum men seyn
To be cononised a sainte so well he stude
He fellit be frekis thy kirk ouer³Jude
And by his wisdom accordans made
Meyne batelles agayn the turkis wude
He faught & ay the victory hade'. (1)

Sigismund, according to the author, was worthy on four counts; he helped the pope; he led a devout life; he quelled heretics (in fact leading three military expeditions against the Hussites); and he beat the Turks.

The author's criterion for 'gude' popes was their moral fibre rather than their personal suitability for the office of the papacy, since he assumed somewhat naively that holiness was the only necessary prerequisite for success. Like Rolewynk, he was inclined to give them the benefit of the doubt. He categorised them as good unless to do so would blatantly contradict the known facts. Some amusement may be derived from his description of Alexander VI, the Borgia pope who had at least six children, and whose main papal concern was securing lucrative ecclesiastical posts for his relations;

'Pope Alixandere of grete prays
He had beyn a weddit man sum sais
But full graciously he gouernet all'. (2)

Obviously since the author of the chronicle acquired his factual information from Fasciculus Temporum, he also adopted a similar moral standpoint. But although his opinions never ran counter to those of Rolewynk, they often went beyond anything the German Carthusian wrote.

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1. f.92v.
 2. f.96r. Since Alexander reigned from 1492 until 1503, this represents the author's own opinion, not one derived from Rolewynk.

This is the major difference between the two authors: the English Carthusian was not simply producing a summary of Fasciculus Temporum, he was also writing an interpretation. Rolewynk, whatever his bias, was at least attempting to give an accurate and objective account of world history: the English Carthusian most assuredly was not. Rolewynk intruded his personal opinions very rarely into his text, whereas the author of the chronicle supplied not only his own commentary on the morality of the issues involved, but also what he imagined to be the opinion of God on the subject. Rolewynk occasionally made a brief general comment on the state of the times, as, for example, in the ninth century;

'Caritas refriguit valde circa ista tempora in omni statu. et iniquitas plus solito cepit abundare. Iam enim gladius et hereses ex magna parte cessarunt. sed ambitio et avaricia et cetera vitia. frena laxantes amplius quia ille heresum persecuciones cristianam fidem persequebant' (1)

a comment which was taken up and amplified by the English Carthusian;

'O Ihesu wher is charitee done
About this tym in euery state
It began to keyll & cursitnese son
Fast did abound & made debate
Pride lust & couatis mor did raite
Thy holy kirk than did afore
Fals heresis or swordes late
O this was a tym of sebille store
Popes & prelatis sumwhat did shore
Few saintis reygnyt in the land
O wardly folk suld dred tham sore
When that the clergy is fayland'. (2)

Even here we may see that the author of the verse chronicle has considerably enlarged on Rolewynk's comment, although this constitutes an example where he has remained fairly close to his source. The English Carthusian continually reflects upon the state of the times, decides whether a particular period was godly or not by such criteria as how many saints lived then, whether the Turks were encroaching on Christian territory, how many miracles were performed and how many natural disasters occurred. He usually concludes that the people who lived then brought their disasters upon themselves by their wickedness,

1. Fasciculus Temporum, f.49r.

2. f.71v.

by, for example, their disinclination to attack the Turks, or by the clergy's failure to educate their flocks.

In the passage above may clearly be seen the way in which the entire chronicle is addressed to Christ. The author never loses sight of the fact that he is primarily writing a prayer. His motives are therefore considerably different from those of Rolewynk, and this difference is always evident. Another characteristic of the English Carthusian well illustrated by the passage above is his lack of absolute lucidity. The lines;

'Pride lust & couat^{is} mor did raite
Thy holy kirk than did afore
Fals heresis or swordes late'

are not immediately intelligible, a difficulty compounded by the lack of punctuation. The meaning becomes obvious once one glances at the source; but the English Carthusian has rendered Rolewynk's admirably lucid latin into three lines so contracted that they become difficult to understand. Another example occurs where the author writes about the eleventh century;

'A gret cicle began this tym which
salbe endit in the yere of our lord in m d ii^{xij}^x
& xv. who so levis than (os it is said)
sall se gret lawber & sorow & teyn' (1)

This sentence as it stand is lucidly enough expressed, but the reference to circles of time is so brief that it demands further explanation, explanation which Rolewynk supplies;

'Siclus magnus annorum finitur hoc tempore. scilicet. anno domini 1063 continens annos 532 quod ad racionem omnem paschalis computi vtilis est et ab euo in euum in semetipsum sine errore reuoluitur et sequenti anno siclus magnus annorum 532 a natiuitate domini exactus incepit. In cuius fine erit labor et dolor vt quidam dicunt. Terminabitur 1595' (2)

Here the difference between the two authors is plainly evident. Rolewynk explains how long the circles last, and how they are calculated, and adds incidentally that some say the end of the circle will bring 'labor et dolor'. The English Carthusian is far more interested in the prophecy of hardship, and does not both to provide an account of the cyclical view of history. Of course the English Carthusian wanted to provide a shorter work than Fasciculus

1. f.80r.

2. Fasciculus Temporum, f.53v.

Temporum, but he is nevertheless capable of being far more detailed about events in which he is really interested.

The E. Museo 160 chronicle is considerably shorter than Fasciculus Temporum, and it is interesting to see what the author omits. Fasciculus Temporum is divided into approximate thirds, one third dealing with papal history, another with imperial history and the last with all other matters. The E. Museo chronicle is roughly divided into half. The verse prayers to Christ cover all the events of human history, incorporating the themes mentioned, including the lives of some of the great saints. The prose prayers are directly addressed to the saints and provide additional information about the latter. The saints therefore occupy proportionately a much greater amount of space in the chronicle than in Fasciculus Temporum. None which Rolewynk mentions are excluded, whilst many others are added. As one might also expect, the miracles, marvellous happenings and mysterious phenomena in Fasciculus Temporum are all retold by the chronicler. Rolewynk devotes a column to each pope and emperor, while the author of the E. Museo 160 chronicle only singles out a few of the more famous for individual comment, although he lists most of them and characterises them as good or bad. It is easy enough to guess that the author of the chronicle is English and a Carthusian, since he includes in his text every reference to England which occurs in his source, and adds new material. Similarly with the Carthusians, Rolewynk impartially says very little more about the order than about some of the other important religious orders. The English author includes all the Carthusian material, with additions of his own, whilst omitting some of what is said about the others; however, to do him justice, he does at least mention each one, and he devotes considerable attention to St. Bernard of Clairvaux. In general, therefore, simply by his choice of material from Fasciculus Temporum, the author is greatly altering the emphasis placed upon people or events in his chronicle.

Equally significant is the material added by the English Carthusian that he did not derive from Fasciculus Temporum. Although Rolewynk's work begins at the creation, the first thirty pages of the chronicle, describing the patriarchs, is not derived from it but presumably from

the apochryphal Explanations mentioned in the prologue. The author also acknowledges another source. On the page devoted to Joseph the son of Jacob, a marginal note explains; 'Vincentius in liber ii^o speculi historialis dicit quod extant testamenta xii patri ...' (1) Unfortunately the rest of the comment is lost to us through ruthless trimming of the manuscript. Where the author is describing how Simeon foretold the birth of Christ, he adds in the margin; 'vt dicit vt supra Vincentius in speculo'. (2) He is referring to the Dominican Vincent of Beauvais c.1190-1264, whose encyclopaedic work, Speculum Maius, comprised three parts, Speculum Naturale, Speculum Doctrinale and Speculum Historiale. (3)

From f.30r until about f.94v, that is from the incarnation until 1474, the chronicle is largely dependent upon Fasciculus Temporum, the only major exception to this rule being the prayer to the English saints on ff.58r-61r. Although the author is free with his comments, he provides very little factual information that he does not derive from Rolewynk. He does mention one other source when he describes the number of writers in the fifth century,

'Writers of grete autoritee
Fife & forty os funden is
In a buke at names all writers worthee' (4)

In the margin is added, 'In libro de scriptoribus ecclisiasticis'. About this work more information is forthcoming later, when the author is reflecting on the fifteenth century;

'... of wurshipfull clerkis for owten dout
Within thy kirk yer was no wante
That has written bokis worthy to avant
For in a bok at callit is
Which an abbot made 3it now regnant
De Scriptoribus ecclisiasticis
He writ at in this xv hundreth 3er I wyse
Wer cc writers & four score
Whilk for thy kirke wrate fair werkis' (5)

This work cannot be identified. Presumably it was written in the first few years of the sixteenth century, and not by a Carthusian, since the heads of Charterhouses were always called priors, not abbots.

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1. f.6r.
 2. f.7v.
 3. The reference to book II of Speculum Historiale should more properly be to Book I, where, in chapter 124, an account is given of the life of Joseph, and in chapter 125 of Simeon.
 4. f.45r.
 5. f.98v.

The pieces of information which the Carthusian author supplies from his own knowledge are few and minor, but they are of very great interest. At the end of the fourteenth century he prays to, 'Iohn Rusbroch deuowt illuminat & well lernyt', and above Ruysbroeck's name the word 'chartermonke' has been inserted. (1) It is presumably an indication of the respect in which the sixteenth century author held the writings of the mystic that he wished to assume that he belonged to the order. Ruysbroeck's reputation in the later middle ages had suffered considerably as a result of the criticisms made of him by John Gerson. That he continued to be held in any regard was owing primarily to the efforts of the Carthusians to promote his texts, under the leadership of Denis of Ryckel (Denis the Carthusian) who fully affirmed his belief in Ruysbroeck's divine inspiration. (2) Gerard de Groote, Ruysbroeck's friend and the real originator of the movement known as the 'Devotio Moderna', had at one stage, at Ruysbroeck's suggestion, been a novice in the Carthusian priory of Monnikhausen. (3) For these reasons, inter alia, the Carthusians took a certain proprietorial pride in the writings of the Flemish mystics. Rolewynk mentions Ruysbroeck's name, but does not make the mistake of supposing him to have been a Carthusian. (4)

The author also provides some interesting statistics concerning the spread of the Benedictine order;

'Sancte Benedicte Abbot & confessor thou had many holy monkis & gaf tham a rewl. that is callet Saint Benetis rewle. xx orders of Religion for the most parte kepis thy holy rewle. And vv. thowsande saintis canonuset of holy kirke has beyn of thy order & vij hundreth. Also of yer order has beyn. xvij popes. cc cardinallis A thowsand & sex hundreth archbishops & fastly iiij thowsand byshops. with xv thowsand abbotis & sex hundreth'. (5)

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1. f.91v.
 2. K. Emery, 'The Carthusians, Intermediaries for the Teaching of John Ruysbroeck During the Period of Early Reform and in the Counter-Reformation', Miscellanea Cartusiensia, IV (A.C. xliii, 1979), pp.100-13.
 3. E.F. Jacob, Essays in the Conciliar Epoch (Manchester, 1943), p.148.
 4. Fasciculus Temporum, f.62r.
 5. ff.51v-52r.

It may probably be assumed that the author of the chronicle would not have hazarded these figures unless he had been reasonably certain of them. The source from which he derived them is mysterious: it was not Fasciculus Temporum.

The sixteenth-century Carthusian author displays some familiarity with the corpus of romance literature. Under the thirteenth century occur the lines,

'Iohn Mandrell knyght was in thes dayse
That ouer all the world went pilgrimage' (1)

a comment which is almost a direct translation of what Rolewynk wrote. (2) But his poem about Mandeville displays his independent familiarity with the romance, a familiarity which is known to have been shared by other Carthusians. (3)

The author also seems to have been familiar with the legend of Roland. (4) Rolewynk knew the legend of the battle of Roncevalles (5) but does not mention Roland. More interesting to English readers however are the following lines in the chronicle;

'Inglant flowret gretly agayn
Vnder the myghty kinge Arthur
xxx ti kingdoms he wan tham playn
and had knightis in chevalry most scoore' (6)

Rolewynk mentions Arthur's good government, but says nothing about knights or chivalry. (7) The English Carthusian remedied the deficiency from his own knowledge. His familiarity with the Arthurian romances is further demonstrated in the following passage, taken from his prayer to the saints of the fifth century;

'O merline begeten apon a woman by a fend
3it thou was of holy life & had spirit of prophe
cy & stirrit Wortigonus king of Briton & Vter pendragon &
Arthur to ma
ny gud warkis & incresinge of the cristen faith
yf thou be a saint in hevyn. for the l. o. Ihesu ...' (8)

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1. f.88v.
 2. Fasciculus Temporum, f.60r.
 3. As is demonstrated by B.M. Add. Ms. 37049.
 4. See below, p. 264.
 5. Fasciculus Temporum, f.47r.
 6. f.45v.
 7. Fasciculus Temporum, f.37r.
 8. f.47r.

The ascription of sainthood to Merlin, tentative although it may be, is very curious. Geoffrey of Monmouth seems to have first propounded the idea that Merlin's father was an incubus. (1) A poem entitled Merlin by Robert de Boron, written in the last fifteen years of the twelfth century, gave this legend a new dimension by imparting a religious character to it. According to Boron's poem some devils decided that the work of Christ could only be counteracted by another man who was also born of a virgin. One of the devils achieved this feat, but the innocence of his victim was such that the resulting child, Merlin, inherited the devil's magical powers, but not his evil disposition. This new version of the legend gained some currency, and was incorporated into a number of the later prose romances. (2) The notion of Merlin's 'immaculate conception' could have persuaded the Carthusian author that the necromancer had some claims to sanctity.

After 1474, when Fasciculus Temporum ends, the author continues his chronicle to 1518, and seems also to have written an additional two pages (or possibly more) in 1520. Since this section represents original work, it is of the greatest interest. It is reasonably easy to discern where the Carthusian started relying upon his own inspiration because the work becomes far more diffuse. The summary technique adopted in the earlier centuries is abandoned, and each pope and emperor is described in some detail, with exact dates for his pontificate or reign. The themes covered are roughly the same as previously, but the author allows himself free rein in his reflections on the evils of the day, to the extent that he leads into a long passage, purportedly spoken by Christ himself, explaining why he allows the world to continue in its mortifying ways. (3) The Virgin is allotted a speech also, and then the author spends two more folios meditating upon the sins of the human race. (4) A short

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1. Geoffrey of Monmouth, The History of the Kings of Britain, translated L. Thorpe (London, 1966), pp.167-8.
 2. J.D.Bruce, The Evolution of Arthurian Romance From the Beginning Down to the year 1300 (Baltimore, 1923), i, 144-7.
 3. f.97r.
 4. ff.97v-99v.

prayer to the saints follows, short because there were very few, and it ends with a plea to 'O all the other saintis at were this tym if it pleasid god to kep 3ow hid fro the world 3it I trow many sall be fon in the hevynly cety'. (1) On f.100v the author writes 'The xvi hundreth 3ere begynys here. god gif it grace to end well', and the next two folios describe the events of the early sixteenth century, the pontificates of Julius II and Leo X, and the reign of the emperor Maximilian. Nearly a page is devoted to the treachery of King James IV of Scotland, but no mention is made of James being buried in Sheen Charterhouse. (2) On f.102r begins 'The catalog of the reuerend Faders priores of Carthusia hedhowse of the order'. (3) It is reasonably accurate, although the names of three priors are omitted. At one point the sanctity of Prior James moves the author to exclaim;

'Loid be you Ihesu for this store
 It semys thou lufis Carthusia more
 Than certen othere placis hee
 That so gud prelatis ordeyns yerfore' (4)

Like most Carthusian writers, he was extremely proud of the reputation of his order.

On f.105r the author begins his conclusion with a preface which, like the prologue, states very explicitly the nature and purpose of his undertaking;

'The conclusion of this longe prayere [from the] begynninge of the world to this day whic[h is the] viiith day, afor cristinmesse in ye 3ere of our lord I[hesu] m d & xvijth which prayer contenys many of the most notabill principall thingis which our lord shewet to the world in maner of prayer di rekkit to Ihesu also to all the gloriose saintis in order os they leuit in his world praying to yam by name. This conclusion ys a compleynt to Ihesu of the miserabill estate of the world at this daye specially anent ye infideles'.

The last sentence describes the conclusion very aptly. It is indeed a complaint. Starting from the premise 'That on faith on

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1. f.100r.
 2. See below, pp.368-9.
 3. The 'catalog' is transcribed in Appendix V.
 4. f.103v.

baptime only is', (1) the author describes eight sects of infidels, which he names 'Greki, Siriani, Marrochiani, Jacobiti, Nestoriani, Armeni, Georgiani, Indiani, and Maroniti', all of whom he condemns for their errors, although he has some qualms about the Indians, since he believes them to be otherwise virtuous. This does not however excuse them;

'Indiani the sekt of pride
The viith is they ar pepill kinde
It is gret ruth to se tham slide
Havinge so faire landis in ynd...
That so many gudly folke dose erre
& has diuerse vertuse kind
But on pervey syn makis all to marre.
That is hedy prid nothings is warre' (2)

The names and habits of these sects the author derived from a book, whose title has been erased, apart from the first four letters. All that remains is the phrase 'octo sectes etc leguntur in libro Born....' (3)

On f.108r the text finishes with the words;

'This endit the viijth day afor cristinem[es in ye]
3er of our lord Ihesu m. d. & viij. wher the...
matere failes I besek the reder to amend,
& haue pite one my lewt raclenes & pray f[or me]'

The two page continuation of the chronicle is devoted largely to events in England, or concerning Englishmen, which makes it rather different in content from that which precedes it. (4) It opens with the death of the emperor Maximilian, and describes the visit of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon to the Field of the Cloth of Gold, with its joustings and games. Then the author describes the terrible floods and storms in England that year, and how many people were killed. Finally there is an interesting passage which seems to relate to the death of John Colet;

'The deyn of powls left in gud gold
xvth thowsand poward to tell
With as miche money as a bushell myght hold
For all this fro he was laid in mold
He had neuer a messe don for hym thay said
The king & cardinall gat ye gold'. (5)

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1. f.105v.
 2. f.107r.
 3. f.107r.
 4. ff.108v, 114r.
 5. f.114r.

That Colet possessed so much wealth, and that it was confiscated by Henry VIII and Wolsey, is not confirmed by any other source. But that Colet left no money to have masses said for his soul is true, and it is interesting to see that his neglect was apparently a subject of contemporary comment. No mention is here made of Colet's association with Sheen Charterhouse, ⁽¹⁾ and indeed the tone of the passage is not one of unalloyed approval.

Despite the fact that the main body of the chronicle finishes with such a specific allusion, it is clear that the E. Museo text is actually a copy. There are several copyist's errors, such as lines being missed out and inserted at the foot of the page, and there are also places where the original appears to have been misread, for example;

'On kinge was smorid in his blud
Two with stinkinge wormes did springe
The emperour with a levynyngge rud
Was slain lo was their endinge' (2)

It seems likely that the original author wrote 'so was their endinge', and the copyist mistook his long 's' for an 'l'. Two more examples occur in a passage about Charles the Great and the battle of Roncevalles;

'At Rowncivall os many wot
Charls his chese kny3tis did tyn
Many kingis & xv lordis of state
Rolland with many other syn
A gret mirakill myghty & fyn
Thon did Ihesu at Charles desire
The son stud still thre dayes to shyn
Lo was not this a holy syre' (3)

It may be seen that the last word of line four would make more sense if it was 'fyn', as indeed occurs in the succeeding line, and that the last word of line eight should probably be 'fyre'. (4)

The copyist however was obviously an enterprising man, not averse to improving upon his source, for example in this passage about the emperors of the sixth century;

1. See below, pp. 397-8.

2. f.46r.

3. f.67r.

4. 'f' and long 's' in this manuscript are quite distinct. 'f' has a hook at the top and a bar across (thus 'f') whilst 's' lacks either of these attributes ('/'). Presumably the distinction was not quite so clear in the manuscript which was being copied.

'V emperours worthy to lowte
Regnyt in this vj th hundrethe 3ere
Tiberius on of tham withowtyn dowe
Is now a saint in hevyn full clere' (1)

After the first line, another line has been erased;

'Thyberius the secund withowtyn dowte'

Perhaps it was erased because it was in the wrong place. It should have been the third line of the verse, not the second. But when the scribe came to the third line, he wrote something a little different, 'Tiberius on of tham' instead of 'Thyberius the secund'. The difference does represent an improvement to the sense of the passage. In its context the line 'Thyberius the secund' is ambiguous: does it mean Tiberius was the second emperor of that name, or that he was the second worthy emperor to reign in the sixth century? Historically, of course the second alternative is the correct one, it looks as though the writer changed the phrase to 'Tiberius on of tham' to avoid this ambiguity. It is also interesting to note how widely the spelling of the two lines varies.

Another example occurs in the following passage, when the thirteen popes of the sixth century are described;

'iiij of tham holy saintes bee
There festis seruite in holy kirke
The ix othere were all worthe
And for our faith full well did wirke' (2)

Originally the last line read;

'& wrought well Ihesu for thy kirke'

This line was presumably considered to be unsatisfactory because it ended in the same word as the line it was supposed to be rhyming with, and therefore a line meaning more or less the same but ending in 'wirke' was substituted.

That this text is a copy, indeed probably one of a series of copies, is re-inforced by the comments of Mrs. Margaret Laing of the University of Edinburgh. (3) She attempted to analyse the chronicle linguistically, but found that the manuscript was too late

1. f.50r.

2. f.50v.

3. I am most grateful to Margaret Laing for analysing the text of the chronicle.

for precise geographical location. She concluded that the language probably came from north Lincolnshire or South Yorkshire, but warned, 'the text is clearly a copy with an indeterminate number of copies between it and the original, and whose language has obviously become diluted with forms from the standard language. The language of the text as it stands therefore is a great mixture of relicts from the original and possibly other intervening copies, dialectal forms from the present scribe's own area and standard forms ... the location of a text does not mean that was where it was actually written'.

The provenance of the manuscript cannot be accurately decided. On the one hand, there is Professor McIntosh's verdict that the plays probably came from Axholme, and Margaret Laing's tentative conclusion that the language of the chronicle came from the same area. On the other hand, there is very clear internal evidence that the chronicle was actually composed in Yorkshire, probably at Mount Grace or Kingston-upon-Hull. That this was so is indicated primarily by the inclusion of a number of Yorkshire saints in the list of English saints on ff.57v-61r. The names in this list are written in alphabetical order, which suggests that the author was copying from some standard source, such as his convent's martyrology. The saints mentioned lived for the most part in the period preceding the Norman Conquest, and are ones who might expected to be venerated nationally. The significance of this list lies in the fact that out of all the saints mentioned, only in ten cases does the author name the English place where they lived, or with which they were associated. All but one of these (John of Beverley being the exception) are post-Conquest saints. The saints whose place names are included are as follows;

'Sancte Hewe of lincoln a child marterit of the Iewes', 'Sancte Hewe byshop of lincoln confessor charter monke', 'Sancte Iohannes of Beverley archbyshop confessor', 'Sancte Iohannes of bredlington confessore', 'Sancte Roberte prior of knaresburgh', 'Sancte Ricarde hermite of hampull', 'Sancte Thoma Archbishop of canterbery martir', 'Sancte Thoma of loncaster', 'Sancte Willelme Archbishop of 3ork & confessor' and 'Holy prior of loncastere'.

The inclusion of Hugh, bishop of Lincoln is only to be expected in a Carthusian manuscript, whilst Hugh the child martyr may well owe his place in the list to the author's anti-Jewish prejudices. (1) This is confirmed by the fact that he later mentions St. William of Norwich, 'swete child of ingland crucyfied of the Iewes on good fridaye'. (2) The inclusion of Thomas Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford, and Thomas à Becket is not surprising since they achieved a national reputation, and for the insertion of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, there is also a good reason, as will be seen below. But the six remaining saints are all of northern fame, and of these, five came from Yorkshire, namely John of Beverley, John of Bridlington, Robert of Knaresborough, Richard Rolle (not of course canonised, but with an established local cult) and William of York. The inclusion of these names points clearly to a Yorkshire origin for the chronicle. The sixth saint, the holy prior of Lancaster (whose name incidentally is only added to the list as an afterthought), is also mentioned elsewhere;

'Holy prior of loncaster of ye order of saint domynyk in yis tym yow shewet fair myracles' (3)

There was certainly a Dominican house at Lancaster, but there seems to be no record of its producing a saintly prior in the fifteenth century.

Other English saints are mentioned in the course of the work. In the fourteenth century, the author prays to;

'Gude Taylerande cardinall deuowt frend & pro motore of religiose men. specially of charter monkis' (4)

Cardinal Elias Talleyrand de Périgord held the office of dean of York from 1342 until 1365. (5) His papal provision to this

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1. See below, pp.282-3.
 2. f.84r.
 3. f.100r.
 4. f.91v.
 5. Fasti, vi, 6-7.

dignity had been hotly disputed. There is no evidence that he was a benefactor to any of the English Charterhouses then in existence: indeed there is no evidence that he visited York at all. His only known association with the Carthusian order is that it was he who superintended the papal election of 1352, after the death of Clement VI. Initially John Birelle, prior-general of the Carthusians was chosen, but he persuaded Talleyrand to look elsewhere, and Innocent VI was eventually elected. (1) This alone would hardly qualify Talleyrand for the title of 'promotore ... of charter monkis', but the author could well have had better evidence for his assertion.

Three fifteenth-century saints mentioned by the author are;

'The holy vicare of Brantingham & sir Iohn schorn
With ye vicare sister ye damsell well doand' (2)

About the holy vicar and his sister nothing is known, (3) but there is only one place in England called Brantingham, and it is eight miles from Kingston-upon-Hull. John Schorn was the rector of North Marston, Buckinghamshire, who died in 1308. It was believed that his knees had become horny through frequent kneeling, and that during a draught he had struck the ground with his staff and a spring had come forth. His greatest claim to fame is that he was supposed to

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1. C.M. Boutrais, The History of the Great Chartreuse, translated E. Hassid (London, 1934), p.39. This is the Carthusian version of the event. Other histories note that while John Birelle was undoubtedly respected for his holiness, it was felt that he was not the man to lead the church during a critical epoch in its history, and it was for this reason that Talleyrand persuaded the cardinals to look elsewhere: G. Mollat, Les Papes d'Avignon (1305-1378) (Paris, 1949), p.266.
 2. f.96v. See also f.99v.
 3. The church of Brantingham remained a rectory until 4 August 1458 when it was appropriated to Durham Priory to help support six monks and six secular scholars at Durham College, Oxford. Whether any of the rectors before 1458 maintained vicars is unknown, but the names of the vicars presented by Durham Priory are known. They are; 6 September 1459, William Benson; 28 October 1479, Hugo Wren; 12 January 1485, John Curwen; 19 July 1486, Geoffrey Wren; 20 August 1496, Robert Claxton and 12 November 1521, John West (York Minster Library Ms. L.I. (10), J. Torre, 'Churches Peculiar Within the Diocese of York', 1691, pp.1241-2). The only familiar name in the list is that of William Benson, which is the same name as that scrawled into the manuscript between ff.60 and 61. As the latter appears to be in a post-Reformation hand, the similarity must unfortunately be ruled out as coincidental.

have conjured the devil into a boot. (1) John Schorn was not a northern, much less a Yorkshire man, nor was he alive in the fifteenth century. However it has been noted that the author was extremely perturbed by the lack of saints in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and he was probably attempting to remedy the deficiency by supplying whatever saints he could think of, even if their credentials were not altogether reputable. John Schorn enjoyed a fairly widespread cult, although it is surprising to find him in a northern manuscript.

Finally, in the entire chronicle, there are only three English place-names mentioned, apart from places associated with saints. None of these names is used in such a way that the manuscript can be associated firmly with the place, but they are suggestive. The first is London, when, after describing the death of Colet, the author mentions a rich man of London who had a thousand pounds in gold, but who hung himself, 'By temptacion of a hellis hownd'. (2) The second is Beverley, when the author describes how the church tower fell in the storms of 1520;

'At beverley a sudden chaunce did fall
The parish chirch stepill it fell
At evynsonge tyme the chaunce was thrall
Fourscore folke yer was slayn thay tell' (3)

This reference is far more significant than the first, since a north country man might have a reasonable knowledge of events in the capital city, but it is less likely that a Londoner would have been aware of the collapse of the church tower in so comparatively remote a place as Beverley. The author's inclusion of this episode suggests again that he lived at Kingston-upon-Hull, since the town is only some six miles from Beverley. The third place name mentioned is that of Mount Grace itself;

'Holy Duk Thomas of loncaster thou was mar
tyrit ii hundreth 3er afor but os yow lay in a
tumbe of alabaster in powmfrethe about xlti
3er sens the tomb brast & red blud sprank

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1. F. Bond, Dedications and Patron Saints of English Churches (Oxford, 1914), pp.196-8. Mr. Bond suggests that the fact that the spring water John Schorn caused to emerge was reputed to be especially therapeutic for gout, may explain the legend about the devil in the boot.
 2. f.114r.
 3. f.114r. The tower of St. Mary's church, Beverley, indeed fell on 31 April 1520, but it is not known how many people were killed: G. Oliver, The History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster of Beverley (Beverley, 1829), p.178.

owte ye vicar of mownt grace 3it on lif
se the same blude. miracles was rongen
& gret sekinge. When yow was led out of the
castell to be hedid the kingis son stud on
ye wall with a hawke on his hand & said to ye
go traytur to thy deth. O holy marter thou il
luminat with grace said agayn to hym thou may
forton be nar yi deth than I. the word scantly
passit yi mouth when ye hauke flakkeret &
ye kingis son folowed with his hand & fell ouer
the wall & so died.' (1)

The vicar of Mount Grace mentioned in this fascinating passage may have been none other than Richard Methley, who held the office of vicar and was still alive in 1518, according to the Parkminster Obit List. (2) Certainly blood was reputed to spring from the earl's tomb, (3) but the latter part of this extract defies verification since Edward II had no sons other than the future Edward III and John of Elthan, who died in 1336 at Perth, fourteen years after the execution of Thomas of Lancaster.

It seems likely that the author of the chronicle came from Mount Grace or Kingston-upon-Hull. The latter is perhaps the more probable, because of the references to Brantingham and Beverley, and because the reference to Mount Grace is a little unspecific. One might perhaps have expected the author to say rather more about the vicar of the house witnessing a miracle if he actually came from Mount Grace himself.

The conflicting evidence on the provenance of the manuscript could easily be reconciled by assuming that the original author of the chronicle lived at Mount Grace or Hull, but that the scribe of the E. Museo manuscript was at Axholme Charterhouse. Any such speculation must be very tentative, and in the end the results only confirm a conclusion

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1. ff.99v-100r.
 2. Obit List, p.27.
 3. E. Baines, The History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster (London, 1868), i, 34. On the cult of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster (not duke, as the Carthusian ennobles him) see J.R. Maddicott, Thomas Earl of Lancaster 1307-1322 (Oxford, 1970), pp.329-30. The earl's cult was still very much alive in the sixteenth century, and right up to the Reformation his hat and belt were exhibited at Pontefract as miraculous remedies for headache and childbirth afflictions respectively.

reached above: that the Carthusian order enjoyed a high degree of mobility. (1) Both monks and manuscripts were well-travelled.

The preceding pages have demonstrated that this chronicle contains a wealth of varied and interesting material. However it is not possible here to examine it fully; but in order to show how the author develops his subject, it seems appropriate to select one theme, and trace it through the centuries. At first sight it would seem especially interesting to discuss the author's treatment of miracles and marvellous events, for it is in this area that the most picturesque and unusual details may be found, such as the story of how Antioch was destroyed by an angel in the fifth century, (2) or how in the thirteenth century a pilgrim was slain, and wherever his murderer wandered, his knife continued to drop blood, (3) to say nothing of the mis-shapen children that seem to have been born perennially or of the monsters which ravaged various lands, or the wells of blood which sprang mysteriously in the ground. One miracle is particularly interesting, for it involves a Carthusian. It apparently occurred in the fourteenth century;

'A dredfull vision to vnderstande
To on holy heremet was shewet nowe
He saide I se to hell sinkande
Sowles ranker then ony snowe
To purgatory I se others flowe
Os the snow when it snowes fayrlyeee
But to paradise I se non gowe
Of all the sorte saue only three
A bishop & a priore free
Of the Charterhouse with a wido of Rome
Affore pop Inocentius this did he see' (4)

However these miracles and visions are only presented in an incidental and anecdotal way, and are, for the most part, near-translations of Rolewynk's work. The most satisfactory way to

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1. See above, p.165.
 2. f.49v.
 3. f.87r.
 4. f.89r. This incident is also related by Rolewynk, who provides the additional information that the pope mentioned was Innocent VI (1352-62) and he comments 'Et maximam devocionem ad sacrum ordinem cartusiensium de inceptis habuit' (Fasciculus Temporum, f.60r).

assess the English Carthusian's approach is to examine his general analysis of the prevailing morality of each epoch, since, firstly, it provides to some extent a summary of his other themes; secondly, it is where he displays most originality, and is least dependent upon Rolewynk; and lastly, it places in perspective his attitude to his own times.

The first occasion on which the author indulges in any comment on the state of the church is when, in the fourth century, he embarks upon a long and interesting argument about whether poverty is an essential pre-requisite for holiness, the only time when he allows himself to be drawn into such an abstract and contentious area. Despite a comment some pages earlier that Christ's coming to Earth to poverty;

'In a token that we shuld all
Forsak soft beddis & shetis brade' (1)

he eventually concludes that;

'warldly gud ar not ill
Yf they be orderet vertuoslye' (2)

The arguments that are advanced in support of this conclusion are not altogether convincing, to state it mildly. The author relates how St. Bridget, in one of her visions, was told by the Virgin that the organised church needs money to support itself and those in need. He argues that many great saints were possessed of honours and wealth, and that if the church were in error over this matter, it would hardly have survived so long, or withstood the assaults it had received. Finally he asserts that sixteen emperors tried to remove money from the church, but they were all tyrants and are now suffering in Hell, while the church grows in strength. Rolewynk at the same point has a similar debate, but his arguments are rather more soundly based, examining the relationship between temporal and spiritual power. (3)

The fifth century, decides the author, was a period of grace for the church, although he laments the fact that 'no open myracle wer seyn'. The sixth century was similarly a time of blessing;

1. f.29v.

2. f.42r.

3. Fasciculus Temporum, f.33v.

'Holy kirkis state latly begon
Thrughe many trowbilles has it now
Yit this day it is all hole to see
For all the tyrantis persecution
Without seym or fret is funden free...
Fals heretikis hase off farne about
To rent thy cote holy kirke free
But os lollers now ar thay stokyn owt' (1)

Here the author is comparing the church to the seamless coat of Christ, which had just been found at that epoch. It seems that he is in fact discussing the state of the church in the early sixteenth century, and that his comment is a very favourable one.

For the author of the chronicle the seventh century marked a period of decline. The empire was split into two and the western half decimated by barbarians. But worst of all was the existence of Mohammed;

'decyrere of the wardly men
The devillis messenger & prophet fals
The forgoere of Antecriste
The fulend of fals heresy' (2)

The author confesses himself puzzled that after all the graces and miracles shown to men, they should leave Christ to follow this 'most fulsom creatur', and even more mystified that Christ allowed the Turks not only to exist, but seemingly to prosper. Finally he concludes that Christ will allow the Turks to flourish as long as Christian men sin, and that the number of contemporary saints proves that the seventh century was not wholly a time of evil. (3)
He singles out St. Gregory for special praise because, in addition to his other merits, he was responsible for the conversion of England. (4)

If one turns to the Romance of Mandeville also copied into the manuscript, it becomes evident that the reason for its inclusion is because it is intimately linked with the argument the author has been advancing here and elsewhere. The most relevant passage is where the sultan enquires of Mandeville;

'Tell me your Cristyn state
And how they kep theyr levyng tho'

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1. f.50r.
 2. f.55r.
 3. f.57r-v.
 4. f.53r-v.

Mandeville replies, 'Right well I trust by goddis grace', but the sultan answers;

'It is not soo
For your prestis that suld tech vertus trace
They ryn rakyll out of gud race
Gyffis yll ensampill & lyese in syn
Off god seruices of his holy place
They gyf no forse but gud to wyn
In dronkynhed & licherose syn
Yll counsell to princese they geve
They by & sell by craft & gyn
Theyr mysorder causes all myscheve
The common pepill of god yay greve
On holy festis when they suld pray
They seke sportis & playse & tavernis chefe
In sloth & glotone all yat daye
In lichey like bestis ar they'

More reproaches of a similar nature follow, and the sultan concludes;

'We know they lost for sich synynge
The holy land yat is best to proue
We fer not but to hald it to our behoue
Als lang as they lefe on this wyse' (1)

The argument is the same as that advanced in the chronicle: that the prosperity of the Turks is due solely to the sins of the Christians. To conclude that the author wrote a verse text of part of Mandeville's travels because he was, like most of his contemporaries, fascinated by the mysterious Orient, cannot be more than partly true. His ultimate purpose was clearly a moral one, to induce reformation of life in his contemporaries: a purpose which accords exactly with the intentions of the chronicle.

In the eighth century, the author decides, the state of the church was far healthier than in the seventh, but the ninth century 'was a tym of sebille store' when there were few saints and the clergy were not of inspiring character. (2) The tenth century also was a 'slanderose trowbluse tym'. The world was 'distevabill', the emperors 'vnsound', the popes governed by covetousness, lust and pride and

'Men os doggis went on the grovnd
Bakbitinge withowten hed' (3)

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1. ff.111v-112r.
 2. f.71v.
 3. ff.73r-74v.

The eleventh century was little better, although the popes were rather more worthy of their office, and the emperor Henry I was very saintly. The author reserves his worst censure for the covetousness of the clergy;

'To gidder benefices men wex keyn
They wald not be content with on' (1)

Nevertheless the period was one which saw the beginning of many great religious orders, including the author's own. His account of the rise of the Carthusians (2) covers the same events as those mentioned by Rolewynk, although he gathers Rolewynk's more scattered references into one passage. The author takes comfort from the number of great saints who lived at that time, despite the fact that 'This world gos vnstabilly abowte'. (3) The situation had greatly improved by the twelfth century however;

'O Ihesu this twelt hundreth yere
Vnto the world com blessitlye
For holy saintes many & sere
Was this tyn with orders holye
Ierusalem was won vtterlye' (4)

The foundation of more religious orders, and the renown and influence of St. Bernard of Clairvaux were also reasons for rejoicing. (5)

In the thirteenth century the improvement was maintained, since four of the popes were saints and six of the emperors were 'good'. But once again the tendency of some clergy to collect superfluous benefices is berated, and, as usual, the author complains that the majority of men refused to take any notice of the plentiful evidence of God's graces about them. He also refers to;

'A fals prophecy afor vp rase
It said at cristen law suld cesse
In this xiij th hundreth 3ere. that case
Is now attayntid for a lesse'

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1. f.77r.
 2. This account is transcribed in Appendix V. There is also a Carthusian poem on the origins of the order in B.M. Add. Ms. 37049, f.22r-v. Comparison of the two is interesting; both authors have the same delight in the marvellous; both are largely concerned to demonstrate that the Carthusian order is holier than any other; and both are something less than accomplished poets.
 3. f.79r.
 4. f.80v.
 5. f.81v.

This, presumably a reference to the apocalyptic writings of Joachim of Fiore and the Spiritual Franciscans, calls forth from the author the comment;

'Now is passit hundreth yeres fifteyn
And thy fayth flowres & dos increase
O full many sich fals lyes hase beyn' (1)

This explicit reference to the author's own time is again one which is entirely favourable.

The fourteenth century, despite its contingent of wise popes and worthy emperors, and the foundation of the Bridgettine order, was not a period when Christ's graces abounded: 'Tym was vnstabill & pepell light'. (2) Examples of mens' levity are supplied, such as the flagellant movement, the existence of those who refused to believe in the Immaculate Conception, and of those who propounded apocalyptic teachings. On one 'lewt prophete' who foretold the battle of the two anti-Christis, the author comments aptly, 'And he set a date & myssit all'. (3) He considers the Black Death to be a sign of God's displeasure;

'So grete a pestilence fell by chaunce
That to the whik it was full hard
To bery the dede so fell it farde
That in many townes was non wonnynge' (4)

However the author places no more emphasis upon this plague than upon others which had occurred earlier, from which may be concluded the fact that he did not regard it as an unmitigated or indeed unprecedented disaster. It does not occupy the central role in his history of the period that it occupies in some present-day accounts. Instead, he identifies the Great Schism as the most calamitous evil of the century;

'Now in thy kirk a brak right yll
Aros that many hart gart grill
Of all the errors at were before
It was most ill & warst to knawe' (5)

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1. f.86v.
 2. f.90r.
 3. f.90v.
 4. f.89v.
 5. f.90v.

This he appears to believe was the cause of all the other contemporary problems;

'O mekill-mishefe this tym it fell
Hereses did rise & range ther bell
In praga & in the land of Beyme
With Iohn Wayklefe in yngland snell
For lak of lerit tham to teym
So the secte of dawnseres dide reyn
With dark & deth & weres strange' (1)

The fifteenth century opened unhappily with the schism still prevailing, but by Christ's grace, the church was united at the Council of Constance. The author felt that the end of the Great Schism, and the fact that the Turks were being kept at bay signified that the church was entering a better period. It is not that he believed that the Christians were making considerable headway against the Turks, but that God's blessing on the Christians was confirmed by his provision of opportune miracles. Although he describes the fall of Constantinople and other Turkish victories, he devotes more attention to minor victories of the Christians. He claims the Turks were defeated in Hungary with the help of a miracle, although what form this took he does not describe. (2) He also believes that in 1480 the siege of Rhodes was lifted because the Turks were dismayed by the appearance of the Virgin and St. John the Baptist. (3) He asks Jesus why the Turks continue to threaten Christendom, and concludes that it is a direct result of the 'greate hereses & errore lange' of the previous century. (4)

The author definitely considers that the fifteenth century was holier than the preceding one, but he is puzzled by the lack of saints;

'This tym was blessit but 3it full blind
For lak of light of saintes holy'
and this alarms him for the following reason;

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1. f.90v.
 2. ff.93v-94r. Presumably he is referring to the campaigns of John Hunyadi in 1442-4.
 3. f.95r. In fact, the seige took place in 1482.
 4. f.95r.

'O Ihesu now it commys to mynd
That saint Bernard said full sorelye
At in his tym charite was so drye
& dirke for lak of saintis lighte
That he dred Antecriste cruellye
Were commyn or suld com son to sighte' (1)

As has been seen he enumerates all the saints he can think of, such as the vicar of Brantingham, Sir John Schorn and also Henry VI;

'3it not canoniset ne set vp in shryn
With ii^o deuowt prestis os I vnderstand' (2)

and rightly comes to the conclusion that the list is not impressive. So he prays to Christ to prevent the advent of Anti-Christ, because he considers that apart from the absence of saints, the church is in a healthy state;

'Religione this tym had gret name
Well reformynge that ar want
Who can say or mak distant
But many confessors ar of thoo
Wherfor 3it we will not say ar scant
For the kirk now gouernys all in roo
Ihesu os lange os it is soo
That popes & bishops & prelatis hee
With all the clergy furward do goo
All in thy lawd & honour free
The emperour kingis & temporaltee
Ar obedient to holy kirke' (3)

This constitutes a clear statement of the author's opinion about the contemporary church, and, like his brief comments earlier, it is a very favourable one. The author appears to consider that the church was in a healthier state at the end of the fifteenth century than it had been at any previous epoch in its history. This does not prevent his being puzzled by the lack of saints, until he happily realises that possibly it is precisely because the church is thriving that it does not need the inspiration of saints;

'But thou may say then was mor nede
And in rift 3e may mee better please' (4)

This realisation is not therefore advanced as his own idea, but as a supposed statement by Christ, which is perhaps significant as implying that it is an important truth. The author continues to

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1. f.96r.
 2. f.96v.
 3. f.96v.
 4. f.97r.

report what he supposes to be the actual words of Christ for another page, in which the deity advances the following argument. Man has been taught his holy law since the creation, first by the patriarchs, then by Christ himself in shape of man, then by the apostles and disciples and finally by all the holy martyrs, confessors and doctors. What more can man ask? He has plenty of books wherein the truth is taught, but he does not read them. Christ no longer considers it necessary to demonstrate his power by the performance of miracles: men have been shown enough. They could all be saints if they were 'mek, devout & trewe', but if they persist in seeking only worldly pleasures, Christ will come again when they least expect it. Here Christ's speech ends, and the author appeals to the Virgin, commenting that although the church is good, men are still full of wickedness. Mary replies that the day of doom would have come ere now, but that she and the saints have interceded on man's behalf. She rebukes the author for requiring the existing of saints in such a naive fashion, when he or any other man might be a saint. The author then asks the Virgin why the Turks are allowed to make such headway, since it is over a hundred years since the 'gret errour' ended; the implication, of course, being that the victories of the Turks were a divine punishment for the papal schism. To this Mary replies that it is men's current wickedness which 'Gyffes the turkis auctoritee still To wyn 3our landis', ⁽¹⁾ an argument which has been put forward often in the chronicle. The author then meditates on the words of Mary and Christ, and comments that if saints were not forthcoming, at least there were many great writers in the period - 280, to be exact, of which he singles out Gerson and Peter D'Ailly for especial mention;

'The chauncellere of parise well did wirke
 John Gerson ye doctore had non yrke
 With worde & writinge profecte to do
 At begynnyng when the tym was myrke
 This xiiii hundreth 3er he lightid loo
 A grete devyn was his master too
 Callite petere gud & devowte
 For thy kirke both worthely gonn doo
 Their werkis knawn in the world about' (2)

1. f.98r.

2. f.98v.

The author ends his meditation on the fifteenth century with a description of the heavenly city of Jerusalem, which is composed entirely of earthly men;

'Thyn aposteles & marters many fold
Are the tynber warke most stif & sownd
Thy confessors & virgins bright os gold
Ar the thak gudly to beholde' (1)

The outward part of the city is finished now; it is the mansions within which need to be filled with men's souls. It is because the outward work is finished that we no longer see outward miracles.

The Carthusian begins his commentary upon the sixteenth century with a description which is, once again, unequivocally favourable;

'O Ihesu blessit ay thou bee
This xv hundrethe 3ere in pease
Is passit now full glorioslee
The xvi th is enterite with ease
Holy kirke profettis & hase gret prease
The Empire standis in gret astate
Maximiliane 3it has incese
& lange has had without debate
Kingis & bishops was seldom so great
All degrees with the commontee
Standis strange in faithe & gud astate'

His only reservation, as one might expect, is the fact that the Turks are penetrating so far into Christian land, and that no Christian monarch seems unduly perturbed about the heathen advance;

'Few great marvalles in this tym we see
Or gret trowble saue the turkis were
Whych wastis cristendom vcessandlee
And our princis slepis & will not here
Ylkon thinkis hys awn honour so dere
That Ihesu thay dar not leff yer landis
Opon thyn Enmyse to go to were' (2)

He deprecates the treachery of James IV of Scotland towards Henry VIII, and of 'That Crepill franch kinge' who 'rebellyt agayn the holy kirke', a somewhat partisan description of the relations between Louis XII and Pope Julius II. But the author's complaint is less that the two kings 'rebellyt' against those to whom they were bound than that their martial energy was deflected from its proper target - the Turks. (3)

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1. f.99r.
 2. f.100v.
 3. f.101r-v.

The author again wonders why there were so few contemporary saints, but consoles himself with the reflection that St. Bruno at last received canonisation, and he ends his meditation upon the century with a proud description of the virtuous condition of the Carthusian order;

'O lovit be thou Ihesu dere
For this holy order vnto this daye
Haves prosperete & encreasit aye
& spred in many landis wide
And neuer on howse 3it did decaye
This fyf hundreth 3er fastly this tid' (1)

The list of the priors of the Grande Chartreuse, and the conclusion complete the work. The conclusion 'ys a compleynt to Ihesu of the miserabill estate of the world at this daye specially anent ye infideles'. (2) Taken in isolation, this title would give the reader a misleading impression of the author's opinions about sixteenth-century society. But the conclusion itself and all that has preceded it render it obvious that the author did not really consider that the whole world was in a 'miserabill estate' in 1518. His words apply solely to the threat posed by the Turks. With him it was an anxiety that amounted to an obsession. That the Turks were normal human beings does not seem to have occurred to him: they were simply ravaging monsters, to whom no mercy could be accorded. His attitude towards them was one of what would now be considered a most unchristian bloodthirstiness, as exemplified in the following passage, an appeal to the kings of his day to unite in a Crusade;

'O faire kingis cast away couatis bandis
And proper luf out off 3our handis
And for cristis sake go charitabillye
To fell the turkis by water & landis' (3)

But although the idea of going charitably to kill someone might strike the modern reader as amusing, there was of course no inconsistency in it by medieval standards. The Carthusian's view on the subject was that of the church, as espoused later by no less an authority than Thomas More. When Tyndale commented that it behoved good Christians to love and convert the Turks rather than

1. f.102r.

2. f.105r.

3. f.100v.

to fight them, More responded with sentiments which echo exactly the import of the passage above; 'I dowte not therfore but how holyly so euer it pleaseth father Tindale here preche in fauere of ye Turkes a prince may assemble hys hoost, and of good zele with grete thanke of god, go agaynst them and kyll them as well and better to, then Moyses kyllled the Eglypcian that foughte wyth the Hebrew'. (1)

The Jews aroused a similar kind of prejudice in the author, although he was tolerant enough to admit that converted Jews might make model Christian citizens; he therefore merely required their total conversion rather than their complete extinction. He reiterates Christendom's familiar argument against the Jews, that they were responsible for Christ's death, when he relates how Zabulon prophesied the crucifixion;

'And how the Iewes malicioslee
Schuld greve that gude & do hym payn
Wherfor all the Iewes certayn
Suld be made thralles euery land
And of god be cast out os vayn
Vnto the last tym to vnderstand' (2)

He mentions some of the atrocities supposedly committed by the Jews, such as the ritual murder of William of Norwich; (3) and he relates with some glee stories illustrative of their misguided nature, such as the legend of how the fiend appeared to some Jews claiming to be Moses, and said he would lead them to the promised land through the Red Sea. They followed him trustingly and were all drowned. (4) However he also recounts several incidents which led to Jews being converted, such as the well-known miracle of the Jew of Bourges, the little Jewish boy whose father was so angry at his going to Mass with some Christian children that he locked him in an oven, whereupon the Blessed Mary appeared and beat out the flames. (5) Another example is when;

1. T. More, The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer, ed. L.A. Schuster, R.C. Marius, J.P. Lusardi and R.J. Schoeck (New Haven and London, 1973), p.124.

2. f.8v.

3. f.84r. See also C. Roth, A History of the Jews in England (Oxford, 1941), p.9.

4. f.45v.

5. f.49v.

'Iewes woundit a crucifix for myt
to thy liknese & fresh blud ran yerfro
Wharby thay wer conuertid' (1)

The author's hatred of the Jews was less virulent than the feelings he harboured against the Turks. In examining his survey of the prevailing moral climate of the period, this is an obsession which must be borne in mind. His comments about the threat posed by the Turks must not be allowed to obscure the fact that he felt the contemporary church was in a very healthy condition. He believed the church was threatened certainly, but that the danger issued from outside, not from within. As we have seen, he considered that 'Religione this tym had gret name' and was 'well reformynge', that the popes, bishops and clergy were working for the honour and glory of God, and that the emperors and monarchs were all devoutly pursuing the ends of the church. (2) He was very far from identifying the causes which were to lead to the disintegration of the Catholic church so soon after he was writing. This in itself can hardly surprise the reader, for few people in 1518 could have had the imagination to foresee the events of the next two decades. But that the Carthusian author, so far from having any qualms about the future, should have considered the church to be flourishing is certainly a conclusion of great significance. We cannot, of course, place any objective reliance upon the author's verdict, but his opinions are important because they help to explain the reaction of his order to the events of the next twenty years. The attitudes of the Carthusians during this period have been closely examined by D. and G. Matthew, and the general conclusions these authors reach are reinforced by the specific example of this manuscript: the Carthusian, indeed the general monastic belief in the inevitable preservation of the universal church, the reliance on the secular arm for political support, the dependence upon the papacy in spiritual matters and the general tendency of the Carthusians to be twenty years behind the times in their worldly knowledge. (3)

1. f.68v.

2. f.96v.

3. D. & G. Matthew; The Reformation and the Contemplative Life; A Study of the Conflict Between the Carthusians and the State (London, 1934), p.26.

All these assumptions are echoed in E. Museo 160, and they help to explain why the English Carthusians adopted the stance they did towards the reforming government. For if most of them shared, however subconsciously, the teleological attitude of this author, the belief that the progress of history had as its end the establishment of a righteous kingdom upon Earth; and if they further believed, as did this author, that mankind was eventually beginning to achieve this ideal: then it is no wonder that they viewed the beliefs of the reformers as one more heresy which had to be exterminated; that they saw their own government's assaults upon them as one more storm to be weathered; and that they were incapable of appreciating that it was possible for the whole fabric of religious society to undergo the transformation it did,

'O Ihesu non ar tru cristyn
But ar obedient to the pop of Rome ...
Yerto holy scripture accordis pleyn
That on faith on baptime only is'. (1)

1. f.105v.

The Patrons and Benefactors of the English Carthusians

This chapter examines an important subject: the patrons of the Carthusian monks in England; who they were, what they gave to the order and what they demanded in return. The subject in many ways forms a continuation of the themes of the first two chapters, but once the relatively profuse material concerning the foundations has been left behind, the evidence becomes rather more sparse and scattered. The major source drawn upon here is testamentary material, supplemented by the calendars of the royal chancery rolls in the Public Records Office, and records of benefactors kept by the general chapter of La Grande Chartreuse.

The use of wills in this context presents some problems. Generally, testamentary researches start with a group of people and find out to whom they made bequests, rather than starting with a group of monasteries and finding out by whom they were left bequests. If an enquiry of this nature approaches from the viewpoint of the legatees rather than the testators, the results cannot possibly be comprehensive, and may not even be representative. Initially, at least, one is reliant upon the printed sources - transcripts, calendars, abstracts and indices of wills - for some indication of likely donors. The printed sources, however, tend to be highly selective, both geographically and socially. The Yorkshire, Somerset and London Charterhouses are relatively well served by the printed material, but there is, for example, no calendar of wills made by Coventry citizens. Such geographical variations are inevitably reflected in the chapter. The printed sources also tend to focus upon testators of wealth and importance; but it was precisely such people who tended to be most generous towards the Carthusians. If one relied solely upon the printed material therefore, one could easily be misled into assuming that the order attracted considerable attention at all social levels, whereas more systematic searching through the relevant probate registers demonstrates that bequests to the Carthusians were in reality comparatively infrequent among the less wealthy sections.

Because the evidence is not comprehensive, it has not been possible to analyse the wills systematically. The object here is rather to provide some indication of the nature and extent of the

patronage of

illustrative

material is presented, even that selection is immensely rewarding. Indeed, any study of testamentary evidence is of considerable significance, since one may assume that a testator's dying wishes are likely to reflect his most deep-seated religious impulses as well as the conventional aspirations of the day. Despite their legal and formal nature, wills do provide a uniquely personal glimpse into the convictions and way of life of ordinary, and extraordinary, men and women in the past. The wills cited here enable one to build up a picture, albeit fragmentary in places, of the developing relationship between the English Charterhouses and the society which surrounded them in the later middle ages.

There is a wealth of information in this chapter, which required careful organisation to prevent it being too indigestible. Geographical organisation proved impracticable, partly because of the unequal regional distribution of the sources, partly because the Carthusians (like to a lesser extent the friars) often attracted support as an order rather than as individual houses. The schema adopted here is to categorise the material according to the class or status of the donors. This produces interesting results, because it demonstrates that the Carthusians were favoured by certain social classes, and less so by others. Within the social groups, the evidence has been arranged chronologically, which in some cases reveals that the relationship between the monks and their patrons developed in a distinctive way during the later medieval period. No serious attempt has been made to provide a statistical analysis of the bequests: as is well known, even the late J.K. Jordan received considerable criticism for his venture into that minefield. (1)

This chapter accordingly commences at the point where the second chapter ended: on the subject of royal patronage. Henry

1. See J.K. Jordan, The Charities of London 1480-1660 (London, 1960); J.A.F. Thompson, 'Piety and Charity in Late Medieval London', J.E.H. xvi (1965), p.178.

V's foundation of Sheen may have marked the zenith of royal interest in the Carthusians but succeeding monarchs maintained a steady concern for its fortunes. In particular, the name of Henry VI has been linked with the order, above all because his confessor John Blakman became a Carthusian and wrote a biography of the king which has not altogether succeeded in commending the over-zealous virtues of that monarch to modern readers. (1) Not a great deal is known about Blakman's career, save that he was admitted as a fellow of Merton College Oxford in 1436, and of Eton in 1447, and was appointed warden of King's Hall, Cambridge in 1452. He resigned from this post in 1457 and became a novice at Witham, entering the London Charterhouse later. Here, sometime after 1469, he compiled his life of Henry VI, probably with a view to promoting the canonisation of the king. (2) Blakman gave Witham twenty-four books, (3) as well as a number of vestments; it was also recorded that 'Item circa diuersas reparaciones factas in uita sancti Hugonis in ecclesia de laffery sumptus fert non exiguos'. (4) At what stage of his career Blakman was confessor to Henry VI is unknown, but it was presumably before he entered the Carthusian order. (5) Coventry Charterhouse granted letters of fraternity to Henry in 1459, (6) although he had not displayed undue generosity to that priory, nor indeed towards any other Charterhouse. In 1428 he confirmed to Witham the manors of Warmington in Warwickshire, Spettisbury in Dorset and Aston in

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1. J. Blakman, Henry the Sixth, ed. M.R. James (Cambridge, 1919).
 2. J. Blakman, op. cit. p.xv; Emden, Cambridge, pp.670-1.
 3. Listed in Bodleian Ms. Laud Misc. 154, on the flyleaf: see N.R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain (London, 1967), p.317.
 4. J. Blakman, op. cit. p.60.
 5. It was permissible for Carthusians to serve as confessors; thus the infamous Nicholas Hopkins, vicar of Hinton, whose indiscretions largely contributed to the execution in 1521 of Edmund Stafford, duke of Buckingham, was the duke's confessor: see P. Vergil, Anglica Historia, ed. D. Hay (Camden Society, 3rd Series, lxxiv, 1950) pp.278-80. However that Blakman was Henry VI's confessor whilst being a Carthusian seems unlikely on chronological grounds.
 6. Rev. Prebendary Clark-Maxwell, 'Some Further Letters of Confraternity', Archaeologia, lxxix (1929), p.208.

Berkshire. (1) These manors were parcel of the priory of Toftes in Normandy, a dependency of the abbey of Préaux, which had originally been granted to Witham by John Heylles, clerk, and Thomas Erpingham, during the lifetime of the latter. The grant was confirmed by Henry V in 1413, when he specified that after Erpingham's decease, Witham could continue to hold the three manors for the duration of the war without rendering anything to the king, despite the manors' combined yearly value of £64 7s. 9½d. This he did 'for God, because they are poor'. (2) The priory itself was eventually granted to King's College, Cambridge by Edward IV in 1462. (3) The Charterhouse was also given permission to acquire the manors from Préaux, which it apparently could not afford to do, since it was paying an 'excessive' farm to Thomas Erpingham, and because of its general poverty. After 1414 when all alien monastic property reverted to the king, the implementation of this licence became impossible. So in 1428 Henry VI made a grant of these manors to Witham, reserving his right to withdraw them to his own use, and in 1440 he made them over to the Charterhouse in frankalmoin. (4) The original grant comments that one of the crown's reasons for endowing Witham with the three manors was 'the fact that the said priory is the motherhouse of the whole order in England'. It is significant that this fact should still have been remembered two and a half centuries after Witham's foundation.

Besides this grant, Henry's patronage of the order apparently consisted solely in giving Hull Charterhouse a tun of Gascon wine yearly in 1448; (5) in granting Sheen 64 acres of land in 1442; (6) and in permitting Axholme in 1445 to acquire land worth £50 annually,

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1. C.P.R. 1422-9, p.529.
 2. C.P.R. 1413-6, p.91.
 3. C.P.R. 1461-7, p.74.
 4. C.P.R. 1436-41, p.490.
 5. C.P.R. 1446-52, p.233.
 6. C.P.R. 1441-6, p.56.

after that house had apparently presented a petition claiming that it was under-endowed. (1) Henry granted the latter licence on condition that the monks prayed for the good estate of his wife and himself, and for their souls after death. The king was not, after all, giving the house anything except permission to acquire land despite the statute of mortmain; but to specify in return that he should receive the benefit of their prayers was something that none of his predecessors had explicitly stated. However this trend was to continue with Edward IV. Almost every grant that King made to the Carthusians was conditional upon their intercession to God for him: for example his gifts of a tun of red wine to Axholme and Hinton in 1461, (2) and his confirmation of lands and rents to Axholme in 1469. (3) His confirmation to Sheen in 1461 of their foundation charter, and of the 64 acres of land granted to them by Henry VI was made to facilitate their prayers for the good estate of the king and Cecily, his mother, and for their souls after death and the souls of his ancestors. (4) Edward IV's grant of the alien priory of Begar in Yorkshire to Mount Grace in 1471 (5) was accompanied by a recommendation that

1. C.P.R. 1441-6, p.359.
2. C.P.R. 1461-7, pp.155, 157.
3. C.P.R. 1467-77, pp.157-8. This concerned 2 messuages, 2 cottages, 234 acres of land, 63 acres of meadow, 12 acres of wood, 6 acres of marsh and 71s. rent in Netherburneham, Upperburneham, Westwode, Owston, Epworth, Eastland and Haxay in Lincolnshire, and Misterton in Nottinghamshire. The Charterhouse was enfeoffed of these by one John Ouston, clerk, who had recovered them for this purpose against Nicholas Gaynesford, an usher of the chamber. Ouston had failed to gain royal permission for these transactions, but Henry VI pardoned these offences and confirmed the properties.
4. C.P.R. 1461-7, pp.160-1.
5. This priory had probably just been a grange dependent on the Cistercian abbey of Bégard in Brittany. It seems to have consisted only of some mills, since in 1537 John Wilson granted to Cuthbert Pressyke an annuity of £10 'de Beggare alias vocat' Richmond mylnes': see V.C.H. Yorkshire, iii, 391; M.D. Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses; England and Wales (London, 1971), p.130.

they remember himself and his family in their prayers. Here, presumably because the grant was a generous one, the Carthusians undertook to celebrate three masses daily for him. Finally, in 1480, John Ingleby, the prior of Sheen, was one of the co-founders of the guild of St. Mary Bagshote in Surrey. Edward IV allowed the founders to acquire land to the annual value of £10 to find a chaplain to pray in St. Mary's for themselves, for him and for his relatives. (1) The other purposes of this guild or fraternity, if it had any, remain obscure. It is perhaps less well known that Edward IV's queen, Elizabeth Woodville, named John Ingleby, the prior of Sheen, as one of her executors in 1492. (2) Moreover, the general chapter of the Carthusian order recorded that Edward's parents, Richard Duke of York and Cecily Neville, were generous benefactors to Hinton. (3) This is not confirmed elsewhere, but it is a credible statement, since Cecily, at least, was renowned for her deep piety and regard for the writings of the great mystics. (4)

The stipulation of prayers as a precise condition of grants, often very minor ones, seems to have been an increasing trend among the later medieval monarchs. Precisely what this trend indicates is more difficult to determine, but it could perhaps be taken as evidence of the way in which the monarchs came to look upon their gifts more specifically as chantry endowments. There is no doubt that it had always been taken for granted that the recipients of such charity would intercede with God on the donor's behalf, but this had not always been so explicitly stated. Previously it had been enough simply to make the gift: such an action automatically merited divine approval. But now in addition the spiritual services of the recipients had to be guaranteed. Despite the mercenary side of such transactions, at least they seem to be indicative of an even higher value placed on the efficacy of prayer. The process reached its culmination in the reign of Henry VII. Under him, this haphazard arrangement was regularised into a series of bonds, occupying many membranes in the Close Rolls, whereby religious houses of many orders pledged themselves

1. C.P.R. 1467-77, p.304.

2. A Collection of All the Wills Now Known to be Extant of the Kings and Queens of England, ed. J. Nichols (London, 1780), p.332.

3. Le Couteulx, iii, 498.

4. C. Ross, Edward IV (London, 1964), p.9.

to perform mass and other spiritual services. In 1486 Nicholas Wartre, prior of Beauvale Charterhouse, admitted the king into the fraternity of the house and promised that at his death the monks would perform those services for him which were normally reserved for one of the order. (1) In 1493 Thomas, prior of Coventry, similarly admitted the king into the fraternity of that house, granting also yearly obits for his soul and that of his father, in return for various unspecified benefits. (2) The highest token of the order's esteem came in 1496 when Peter Leroux, prior of La Grande Chartreuse, granted Henry VII participation in all the Carthusian spiritual benefits, and conferred upon him the greatest privilege the order could bestow, an anniversary obit for himself, his wife and his mother, whereby thirty successive masses were celebrated in all Carthusian houses. Every priest was to say six masses, those not ordained were to offer two psalters, and illiterate lay-brothers were to recite three hundred times the Lord's Prayer and the 'angelic salutation'. (3) This was an honour normally reserved to founders or outstanding benefactors of the order, and it is not known what Henry VII had done to merit it. Although the grants made by the Carthusians express the highest respect for the king, they cannot be taken as indicative of an especial regard on Henry's part, since he entered into similar bonds with many other orders, and since such bonds were part of what had become a system. However, that Henry VII was deeply concerned about religious observance is attested by his support of the only other order which could be said to rival the Carthusians in late fifteenth-century England for popularity and pious reputation: the Observant Franciscans. The first English house of this austere order had been founded at Greenwich in 1482 by Edward IV. Henry VII transferred the revenues of earlier Franciscan houses at Southampton, Canterbury and Newcastle-upon-Tyne to the Observants and founded two new houses at Richmond in 1500 and at Newark in 1507. (4) In his will he also left £200 to the prior

1. C.Cl.R. 1500-9, p.71.

2. C.Cl.R. 1500-9, p.69.

3. C.Cl.R. 1500-9, p.69.

4. A.G. Little, 'Introduction of the Observant Friars into England', Proceedings of the British Academy, x (1923), pp.460-4.

of Sheen Charterhouse in trust for the Greenwich Observants, in order to prevent their decline through sheer lack of funds. (1)

As to their popularity, A.G. Little observed that their appeal was very limited, being confined almost exclusively to their immediate patrons, the monarchy and not extending to the laity in general. (2)

However, Dr. J.A.F. Thompson, in his study of London wills, noted that the order advanced steadily in popularity among Londoners, reaching a peak in the 1520's. (3) His statement may be the more readily trusted, since it is based directly upon the evidence of wills. Nevertheless he concluded by the admission that the advance in popularity achieved by the Observants was 'less striking than that of the Carthusians'.

During the reign of Richard II, the Carthusians had owed much to the patronage of the nobility. But the interest of that class as a whole was not sustained later. Rosenthal's book has recently surveyed this field in its entirety: he observed that only the Mowbrays and de la Poles were buried in Charterhouses, and commented, 'This highlights the way in which the statistically impressive popularity of the order hung on a mere handful of patrons, for no one else was attracted to burial in a Charterhouse out of the whole range of some eighty-five noble families'. (4) Certainly, once the founding families are set aside, the list of noble benefactors to the order diminishes very considerably. Although he does not advance it as a reason himself, another of Rosenthal's suggestions may help to explain the comparative lack of interest in the Carthusians by the nobility: the latter's innate conservatism and profound religious conformity. (5) Exact statistics cannot be

1. V.C.H. Kent, ii, 195.

2. A.G. Little, op. cit. p.465.

3. J.A.F. Thompson, 'Piety and Charity in Late Medieval London', J.E.H. xvi (1965), p.190.

4. J.T. Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise (London, 1972), p.84. Rosenthal omitted to mention that Philippa de Veer, countess of Oxford and Thomas Holland, the founder of Mount Grace, were also buried in Charterhouses, but his generalisation is none the less a valid one.

5. Ibid., p.130.

produced to prove the point, but it seems likely that in the period under review proportionally more bequests were made to the older orders by the nobility than by the rest of the population. Two reasons may be suggested: firstly the nobility's interest in maintaining the status quo in the face of assaults which assumed a combined social and religious character; secondly their inherited obligations towards particular houses which their ancestors had endowed or for which they had assumed responsibility. The Carthusians being, for all practical purposes, in the ranks of the newer orders, they could not form a traditional focus for the attention of the nobility.

Accordingly, because they were also the founders, most of the noble patrons of the English Carthusians have already been discussed earlier in this thesis, families like the de la Poles, Hollands and Mowbrays. The patronage of the Zouche family was not discussed at length however, since the family seemed to relinquish all responsibility for the Coventry priory to the king. Nevertheless they did not entirely lose interest in the order as a whole. A younger son of Sir William, the founder of Coventry, was Sir John de la Zouche, who married Margaret daughter and co-heiress of John de Burgh of Kirklington in Nottinghamshire. ⁽¹⁾ Her will, written in 1449 and proved in 1451, contained a bequest to the prior and convent of Beauvale of 6s. 8d. 'for an obbet in ... the seid priorie immediately after my deth and for the saule of my lord' with similar provisions for obits at other houses. ⁽²⁾ The Sir William de la Zouche of Totnes, who in 1444 was instrumental in granting Hinton Charterhouse £9 a year from the farm of the hundre of Calne in Wiltshire and from a water mill there, ⁽³⁾ may well have been the man who later became the sixth Lord Zouche. ⁽⁴⁾

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1. Test. Ebor. ii, 155.
 2. Reg. John Kempe, ff.156r-157r.
 3. C.P.R. 1441-6, p.327.
 4. C.P. xii, part ii, 946. At the time Sir William de la Zouche could still have been only a knight, since his father did not die until 1462, when he became the sixth Lord Zouche. The possibility remains however that it was a different man, especially in view of the commonness of the name.

Finally, John, seventh Lord Zouche and Lord of Seyne Maure and Lovel, ⁽¹⁾ gave 20s. to Witham in his will proved in 1525. ⁽²⁾

He also designated the Witham Carthusians to act as overseers of his will, and to keep in a coffer all money that remained after the provisions of the will had been fulfilled, until enough was laid by for a perpetual chantry. He was in fact buried within the Augustinian priory of Stavordale, and instructed the monks there to perform various tasks for him; if they proved negligent, the latter were to be carried out by the Witham or Bruton communities.

Sir Walter Manny, the founder of the London Charterhouse, left an only daughter, Anne, who married John de Hastings, earl of Pembroke (1348-75). ⁽³⁾ Close contact between Hastings and the Charterhouse is evidenced by instructions in his will (composed on 5 May 1372 and proved on 16 November 1376) that £600 should be reserved for the institution of two chantries in St. Paul's Cathedral, 'et qe le demerant du dite Somme soit fait a la eglise de Chartehous en Loundres hors de Newgate, pour les almes avantdites ensemblement en alouance de deniers qe nous avons pitea grante a dite meson en accompliment del avowe par nous autre foitz fait en Gyen'. ⁽⁴⁾ No further indication is given of the precise nature of the vow. Hastings went on to provide that if the whole of the sum specified was swallowed up in providing for the chantries, a further £100 was to be given to the London Charterhouse and 'des autres poures meisons de religion', and later that yet another £100 should be bequeathed 'a la mesons de Chartehous & autres porres measons' for masses and arms. The money to pay St. Paul's to observe his anniversary every year and to keep twelve candles burning by his tomb was to come from the amortisation of his manor of Tottenham; but in a schedule of 5 May 1372 he added the qualification that if the manor could not be

1. C.P. xii, part ii, 946-7.

2. P.C.C.5 Porch.

3. See above, p.56.

4. Royal Wills, pp.92-4.

amortised, it was to be sold, and the money given to both St. Paul's and the Charterhouse. ⁽¹⁾ It is also likely that another relation of Sir Walter Manny was interested in the Charterhouse. According to Wriothesley's list of burials in the priory, a Sir William Manny was interred there. ⁽²⁾ Walter Manny had only one child, Anne, and no brother called William, so the identity of this knight is unknown, nor does Wriothesley provide the date of his burial.

Those members of the nobility who endowed separate cells within the Charterhouses have also some claim to be described as founding patrons of the houses. As has been seen above, ⁽³⁾ they included Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who endowed a cell at Coventry, and who requested the London monk Guy de Burgh to pray that he might have a son; ⁽⁴⁾ Thomas Beaufort, earl of Dorset and Duke of Exeter, who built the small cloister at Mount Grace; ⁽⁵⁾ and Mary de Valence, countess of Pembroke, and William Ufford, earl of Suffolk, each of whom paid for cells at London. ⁽⁶⁾ However, except for the founders and their descendants, patrons of the order among the nobility were both few and isolated. Later members of the families rarely displayed an interest in the Carthusians. An exception to this rule was the Clifford family of Skipton. Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Lord Ros, and widow of Thomas, sixth Lord Clifford of Skipton, died in 1424. Although her will has not been discovered, an inventory of her effects reveals that she intended £38 to be paid to Mount Grace. ⁽⁷⁾ Her daughter Maud or Matilda was the second wife of Richard Plantagenet, earl of Cambridge, who was executed by Henry V for conspiracy in 1415. Matilda's will, dated 1446, contains a bequest to Mount Grace of five marks, a larger sum than that left to the several other religious houses mentioned in her will, except to Roche Abbey where she was

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1. C.Cl.R. 1374-7, p.287.
 2. Hope, p.100.
 3. See above, pp. 55-6, 61, 83, 110-13.
 4. M.A. vi, part i, 17; Hope, pp.59-60.
 5. C.P.R. 1413-6, p.355.
 6. Hope, p.80.
 7. Test. Ebor. iii, 86.

buried. (1) Richard Clifford, bishop of London, who made a grant to Sheen, seems also to have been a member of this house. (2) But the member of the family about whose relations with Mount Grace we know most, owing to the survival of the Clifford Letters, is Henry, tenth Lord Clifford of Skipton. Known as the 'Shepherd Lord', because of a period of concealment as a shepherd following his father's death at Towton in 1461, he was claimed by the Carthusians as a major benefactor of Mount Grace and he was awarded the honour of 'un monachat avec psaultiers' throughout the order for rebuilding five cells at the priory. (3) The Clifford Letters give details of the building activity, and provide ample evidence of Clifford's outstanding generosity to the house. One, from Prior Wilson in 1523, mentions a gift of no less than 1,000 marks bestowed by Clifford upon the house. (4) Another, a year earlier, records the purchase of two pieces of land which the baron was financing on behalf of the priory; £100 worth of land in Beswick, an outright gift to the house; and £21 worth of land in Teesdale, procured by Prior John Norton, Wilson's predecessor, to pay for an anchorage for the Shepherd Lord. (5) There are other references to this anchorage. In a later letter Prior Wilson wrote 'I am counseld to write the licence for thankar my selffe, of your Lordshipes desire', (6) and in his last surviving letter before the baron's death in 1523, he described some problems relating to the purchase of the Teesdale land intended to support the anchorage; he added, 'I can gitt noo carriage for the stone for no money, be cawsse the waye is full and upe a grete hille, & poore men[s] catell is so waike, thei dar nott ventor'. (7) As A.G. Dicknes comments, 'The juxtaposition of these remarks suggests that the anchorage was in fact that of the chapel on the hill above Mountgrace itself'. (8) It has been asserted, without any specified authority, that this chapel

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1. Test. Ebor. ii, 118-24.
 2. C.P.R. 1416-22, p.382.
 3. Maisons, iv, 42.
 4. Clifford Letters, p.72.
 5. Ibid., pp.64-5.
 6. Ibid., p.69.
 7. Ibid., p.72.
 8. Ibid., p.71.

was built in 1515; (1) Richard Methley's only extant English work, the epistle to Hugh hermit, which must have been written by 1519, is assumed to be addressed to the recluse there; (2) and the will of Sir Thomas Strangways, dated 1522, referred to the priest singing in the Lady Chapel. (3) All of these references make it clear that the chapel was in existence before Wilson's letter to Clifford. However, the structure of the chapel displays signs that it was extensively rebuilt at some stage, (4) and possibly the prior's letter refers to this rebuilding. The only problem about identifying the anchorage with the chapel is that Strangways had obviously already commissioned the priest who sang there to pray for him. But Strangways was also mentioned in the next Clifford letter, written by Prior Wilson to Henry, the son of the tenth baron, in 1523, in which the prior commented; 'I have spokyn with Sir Thomas Strangwais concernyng the matter your Lordship did commande me, and I cannot perceave that he intendith noo such matteres'. (5) This reference combined with Strangways' request in his will that 'the priest that synges at our lady chapell of moute grace shall syng there still for them that he synges for' (6) may mean that possibly the Cliffords and Sir Thomas came to some agreement whereby both were commemorated at the Lady chapel.

The Clifford correspondence also provides confirmation of the Shepherd Lord's own fraternity in the order, with Prior Wilson's undertaking that 'I intend to send xl^s at the leste to our reverend father for your monachate, and shall promisse them your reward when it shall plesse Our Lord take yow to his mercy, wherin I desire your plesor'. (7) Wilson also provided 'a true aged man to goo pilgrimage' for the baron after his death. (8) Clifford's generosity apparently

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1. W. Brown, 'History of Mountgrace Priory', Y.A.J. xviii (1905), p.268.
 2. Clifford Letters, p.71.
 3. York Prob. Reg. ix, ff.343v-344r.
 4. W.H.St.John Hope, 'Architectural History of Mount Grace Charterhouse', Y.A.J., xviii (1905), pp.308-9.
 5. Clifford Letters, p.73.
 6. York Prob. Reg. ix, ff.343v-344r.
 7. Clifford Letters, p.69.
 8. Ibid., p.73.

extended not only to the house, but to relatives of its inmates, as Wilson testified, 'Dan John Mylde mother recommend hir to your Lordship & thankith the same for your reward, & saith she haith noo succor, bot onelie your Lordship'. (1) Clifford's son, Henry, later first Clifford earl of Cumberland (1525-42), did not maintain such a close relationship with the monks, but he did fulfil his father's intentions towards the house, as is made apparent in Prior Wilson's letter to him soon after his father's death. (2)

The Clifford Letters in addition to illustrating the nature of the relationship between that family and the priory, provide valuable information about the condition of the monastery. Financially, it appears, Mount Grace was still in a parlous state. To take but one example, Prior Wilson had to apologise to Lord Clifford for writing 'thus ofte and bowldly', and he excused himself, 'necessite compellith me; wee have soo many matteres lefft nowe & portte soo grette charges, ... & I have noo soccor but onely you'. (3) Spiritually, however, the priory's reputation stood so high that in 1523 there was a waiting-list for admission to the available cells, as has already been demonstrated. (4)

The Cliffords are really the only recorded noble family of which several members manifested an interest in the Carthusians. For the rest, once their initial enthusiasm, occasioned by the royal patronage of the order, had died down, few displayed any distinctive benevolence. The influence of Richard II's court circle on patronage to the Carthusians may be further reflected in the will of John of Gaunt, dated 1398, where a bequest of £20 was made to every Charterhouse in England, again displaying more generosity towards the order than to any other. (5) Also revealing is the will of Edward Plantagenet, duke of York, who died in 1415. He had held successively the titles of earl of Rutland and duke of Aumale, and under the latter name, he had been included by Mowbray in his foundation charter of Axholme as a special

1. Clifford Letters, p.69.

2. Ibid., p.73.

3. Ibid., p.66.

4. See above, p. 172.

5. Royal Wills, p.154.

recipient of the monks' prayers. (1) It was presumably for this reason that Axholme Charterhouse did not figure in his will; 'je veuille qe le prior et convent de Wytham en Selwode soient paieez pour cent messes pour chescun messe ijd, et semblablement le priour et convent de Beauvale en Shirwode pour l messes chescun des orderes des mendinantz en Londres et en ma vyle de Stamford' pour l messes en mesme la manere come dessus, et le surplus de mille messes susditz es poures religieux come desuis et en special as convents de Charthous de Londres Coventre et Heenton joust Bathe'. (2) Almost contemporary is the will of John Neville, third lord of Raby (1367-88). He was a friend of Michael de la Pole, and was included in the Kingston-upon-Hull foundation charter as one deserving of the monks' prayers. (3) His brother, Alexander Neville, archbishop of York, was also remembered in the charter. His will, composed in 1386 and proved in 1389, displays exceptional affection and generosity towards the order, and its revelation that Neville already had two monks praying for him at Hull demonstrates that he had maintained his interest in that house ever since its foundation; 'Item volo quod de bonis meis tres Capellani inventiantur apud Hull in le Charthous ibidem, praeter ij Capellanos, qui nunc sunt ibi, de residuo bonorum meorum post decessum meum, si hoc non impleatur in vita mea, ad celebrandum pro anima mea, animabus Patris mei, Matris meae, Matildae consortis meae, et omnium Fidelium defunctorum imperpetuum'. (4) His generosity was not, however, confined to Hull, 'Item lego D marcas argenti ad emptionem et amortizamentum Advocacionis j Ecclesiae vel duarum Ecclesiarum, pro sustentacione v capellanorum divina celebrancium in Conventu Domus de la Charthous apud Coventre'. (5) Another friend of Michael de la Pole for whom the Hull monks were bound to pray was Richard Scrope, First Baron Scrope of Bolton, best known for his part in the Scrope versus Grosvenor controversy. He was married to Blanche, sister of Michael de la Pole, (6) and had granted the advowson of the church of Medburn

1. See above, p.98.

2. Reg. Chichele, ii, 64.

3. M.A. vi, part i, 20-1.

4. Wills and Inventories, ed. J. Raine (S.S. ii, 1835), i, 40.

5. Ibid., i, 41-2.

6. See above, p.70.

to the Charterhouse at Hull. (1) In his will of 1400 he left ten marks to the house. (2) The identity of the Richard le Scrope, chivalier, who helped endow a cell at Hull in 1402 (3) is uncertain. It might possibly have been the fourth son of this peer, (4) or his grandson, who became third baron Scrope in 1403. Another contemporary member of a distinguished northern family who displayed an interest in the Carthusians was Isabella Fauconberg, daughter of Sir Roger Bigod, (5) and second wife of Walter, fourth Lord Fauconberg, (6) who bequeathed her best fur mantle to the prior to Mount Grace in 1401. (7)

But as time passed by the number of benefactions by the nobility to the order seems to have diminished steadily, by contrast with the general trends displayed by other sectors of the population. Philippa de Vere, countess of Oxford, was however buried in the London Charterhouse. (8) She was the recipient of much contemporary sympathy when her husband Robert de Vere divorced her to marry an extremely ugly Bohemian serving woman of the queen, reputedly called 'La Lancerona'. (9) The divorce was annulled by papal bull in 1389, and after Robert was killed, rather appropriately, by a boar in 1393, the duchess survived until 1412. (10) A donor who displayed more generosity to the Carthusian order than to any other - although his bequests to religious houses were many and widespread - was Sir Walter

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1. See above, p. 66.
 2. Reg. Scrope, ff.142r-143r.
 3. C.P.R. 1401-5, p.111.
 4. Often confused with Richard Scrope, archbishop of York. See B. Burke, The Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited and Extinct Peerages (London, 1883), pp.480-3, where, on successive pages, both Richard, first baron Scrope of Bolton, and Henry, first baron Scrope of Masham, are credited with having fathered the archbishop. It is now believed that he came of the Masham branch: see D.N.B. xvii, 1076, 1082. The confusion arose from Richard, first baron Scrope of Bolton describing the archbishop in his will as 'carissimo patri et filio meo' (Reg. Scrope, ff.142r-143r).
 5. Not John Bigod, as in Test.Ebor. i, 282.
 6. C.P. v, 274.
 7. York Prob. Reg. iii, f.61r-v.
 8. Hope, p.100.
 9. J. Froissart, Chronicles, ed. T. Johnes (London, 1839), ii, 27.
 10. D.N.B. xx, 243-7.

Hungerford, after 1426 Lord Hungerford. He was several times parliamentary knight of the Shire for Wiltshire and Somerset, and also Steward of the King's Household (1417-21, 1424-6), Speaker for the House of Commons in 1414 and Treasurer of England 1426-32. (1) In 1414 the king granted to Hinton Charterhouse 'for their poverty' 50 marks annually during the lifetime of Sir Walter, of which the £9, and later £15 paid by Sir William de la Zouche of Totnes was one part, and the rest was made up by £9. 6s. 8d. from the prioress of Amesbury and £14 from the subsidy and ulnage of cloths for sale in Wiltshire. (2) After Sir Walter's death the revenue was to come entirely from the subsidy and ulnage. The role played by Sir Walter in the transaction is not altogether clear, but appears to have been something more than nominal since presumably both the prioress and Zouche were his feoffees. In his will, written in 1449, Lord Hungerford left £10 to Hinton so that the prior and monks might insert a special collect for his soul in every mass that they celebrated during the year after his death. He also gave 10 marks each to Witham and Sheen on the same understanding, and 3s. 4d. to each lay-brother at the three houses to pray for him. (3) His interest in these three priories is easily understood. His manor of Farleigh Montford (later Farleigh Hungerford) where he built a church and endowed a chantry, stood very close to the two Somerset Charterhouses. He was also a trusted companion of Henry V, accompanying the king at Agincourt, (4) and an executor of his will, which possibly explains his bequest to Sheen. His son, Lord Robert Hugerford, who died in 1459, left five marks each to Witham and Hinton. (5) It was to a descendant of this family, Lord Walter Hungerford of Haytesbury, that the site of Hinton was granted at the Dissolution. (6) In 1455

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1. D.N.B. x, 258-9; C.P. vi, 613-6.
 2. C.P.R. 1441-6, pp.237, 397; 1461-7, p.127; C.Cl.R. 1441-7, pp.249, 339.
 3. Reg. Stafford, f.115r. I am grateful to Dr. C. Kightley for drawing my attention to this reference. The abstract of Hungerford's will in Testamenta Vetusta, ed. N.H.Nicholas (London, 1826), p.256, omits the Carthusian bequest.
 4. It was Lord Hungerford who wished that Henry had ten thousand more good English archers, which earned for him the famous rebuke; 'I trust more in the power of God than in archers'; Geste Henrici Quinti, ed. F. Taylor and J.S. Roskell (Oxford, 1975), p.78.
 5. P.C.C. 17 Stokton. The abstract in Testamenta Vetusta, p.294 again omits the Carthusian bequest.
 6. L & P. xv, 1032.

Ralph, last lord Cromwell of Tattershall, who was treasurer of England from 1433 until 1443, bequeathed to the priory of Beauvale 'unum vestimentum albi coloris precii quadraginta librarum monetae Angliae'. (1) He left gifts to a considerable number of religious houses and nearly all were vestments. He also founded a college, built the church and rebuilt the castle at Tattershall. (2)

One of the most interesting wills from the later period is that of Jane, Viscountess Lisle, drawn up in 1500. Born Jane Norton, she married Robert Drope, a London draper, who became mayor in 1474 and Edward Grey, Viscount Lisle, and may have contracted an earlier marriage, since she refers to 'the soule of the said Robert Drope and the soules of myn other husbands'. The tone of the will is unusually pious, especially considering its date, and is rather more typical of the sort of document being produced a hundred years earlier. The Viscountess' strictures on the observance known as 'a month's mind' provide a good example of the nature of her views; 'I will and charge myn executours that they shall in nowise doo hold or kepe for me any solempne moneth mynde in maner or forme as it is accustomed to be donn in makyng of grete dyners drynkyng, giving of lyvery and such other thinges as sounde and daily be doon oonly to the pompe and vaynglory of the world ... all such costes charges and expenses as shuld vaynly be spent in this behalf to be applyed ... in deedes and werkes of pitie almesse deedes and charitie'. The Viscountess desired that 3000 masses should be said as soon as possible after her death at Sheen, Syon, the London Charterhouse, St. Paul's, the four London friaries and other specified churches, and anywhere that her executours chose, with the proviso that they be 'devout places'. To Syon 'towards the reparations and new biolding' she left £3, and to Sheen and London Charterhouses £2. The same was left to various London nunneries and 13s. 4d. to each of the mendicant orders. The Observants at Greenwich were the object of her most lavish religious bequests, receiving in all £8 6s. 8d. The other recipients of her generosity were the conventional ones of prisoners, hospitals, paupers, and, more unusually, the 'marriage of poure maydens and poure widowes well disposed'. The anchor and anchoress of London Wall were also remembered. (3)

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1. Test. Ebor. ii, 198.
 2. C.P. iii, 552-3.
 3. P.C.C. 10 Moone.

The bequests made in 1537 by George Talbot, fourth earl of Shrewsbury, of vestments to the prior and convent of Worksop, and 'To the charterhouses of Beveall, Sheen and London euery of them .xls. and to the houses of freres in Nottyngham and Debye euery of them xxs to say a solempne Dirige and masse for my soule', (1) accord rather oddly with the known facts of his life. He was a staunch supporter of Henry VIII's divorce, being a witness at Catherine's trial; he raised forces without orders from the crown to quell the Lincolnshire rising, his action being a major factor in its failure; (2) and he reaped considerable financial benefit from the dissolution of the monasteries as he received Wilton, Shrewsbury, Bildwas, Welbeck and Combermere abbeys, as well as Tutbury and Wenlock priories. (3) It is possible that he was sincere in his appreciation of the monastic ideal, and felt justified in his disapproval of those who betrayed it. (4) He had in any case the reputation of being a devout man, (5) who was put to some pains to reconcile his political loyalty with his religious conservatism, a conflict doubtless suffered by many. His will was proved on 13 January 1539, and the monasteries he patronised therefore enjoyed his gifts for a short space of time only.

If, by and large, the patronage of the Carthusian order by the nobility disappoints one's expectations, that by the episcopacy exceeds it. Rosenthal, in his study of the patterns of gift-giving by the bishops found that their loyalties did not usually range outside their sees or their earlier attachments: (6) their bequests to the

1. P.C.C. 13 Crumwell.
2. J.A. Froude, History of England (London, 1870), iii, 109.
3. D.N.B. xix, 313-4; C.P. xi, 706-9.
4. Although the Augustinian Canons of Worksop could by no means be described as enjoying an unsullied reputation; L & P. x, 364.
5. M.H. and R. Dodds, The Pilgrimage of Grace 1536-7 and the Exeter Conspiracy (London, 1915), p.116.
6. J.T. Rosenthal, 'The Fifteenth-century Episcopate: Careers and Bequests' in Sanctity and Secularity: The Church and the World, ed. D. Baker (Studies in Church History, x, Oxford, 1973), p.124.

Carthusians may therefore be regarded as significant. Knowles also noted that more episcopal interest was evinced in the Carthusians than in any other order. (1) An especially early example is that of William de Edington, bishop of Winchester 1345-66, and Chancellor of England 1356-63, (2) who, in his will of 1366, left Witham and Hinton ten marks each to pray for him and perform exequies on the day of his death. (3) Those bishops who were involved in the foundations have already been discussed: Michael de Northburgh, of course, and his successor as bishop of London, Simon de Sudbury, who removed many obstacles in the way of the London foundation. (4) Another bishop of London, Robert Braybrooke, was instrumental in building a cell at Coventry, by using the goods of Nigel Loryng. (5) Thomas Hatfield, bishop of Durham, founded a cell at the London Charterhouse. (6) However the bishop who manifested most interest in the order was John Buckingham, bishop of Lincoln. He endowed cells at both London and Coventry Charterhouses, and, with Bishop Sudbury, held land in trust for the London Charterhouse. (7) In his will, composed 9 February 1399, he left to Hull Charterhouse 'unum vestimentum album cum crosilettes et calicem meum minorum et duo parvos cruettes argenteos deaurator'. (8) His wide-ranging bequests suggest that it was the order as a whole which he held in esteem, rather than particular houses. The only other religious who received bequests in his will were the friars, and Christchurch priory, Canterbury, where the monks had received him into their fraternity after his enforced resignation from the see of Lincoln in February 1398. (9)

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1. R.O. ii, 132.
 2. Emden, Oxford, i, 629-30.
 3. Registrum Simon Langham, ed. A.C. Wood (C.&Y.S., liii, 1956), pp.320-1.
 4. See above p.52.
 5. M.A. vi, part i, 17.
 6. Hope, p.58.
 7. Hope, p.58; M.A. vi, part i, 17; C.P.R. 1374-7, pp.380-1.
 8. Sede Vacante Wills, ed. C.E. Woodruff (Kent Archaeological Society Records Branch, iii, 1914), p.104.
 9. T. Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, ed. H.T. Riley (R.S. 28, 1863-4), ii, 228.

In 1381 Bishop Sudbury's successor at London, William Courtenay, acquired for the Charterhouse two acres of land and the advowsons of the churches of Great Stockton, Huntington; Shipden, Norfolk; and Morthmynes. (1) Later, in 1392, after he had become archbishop of Canterbury, Courtenay alienated a messuage, a garden and two shops in Clerkenwell Street, London, to the priory. (2) His will is extant, but, although lengthy, does not contain any bequest to the Carthusians. (3) William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester from 1366-1404 was, in 1397, instrumental in obtaining eight shops for the Charterhouse which had been bequeathed to it by Sir William Walworth. (4) Richard Clifford, bishop of London from 1407 to 1421, and a member of the great northern family, (5) granted to Sheen Charterhouse in 1421 an acre of land in Fulham, and the advowsons of the church and vicarage there, with the proviso that money from the fruits of the church should be distributed among the parishioners. (6) Thomas Polton, bishop of Worcester from 1426-33, left 60s. each to the houses of Witham, Hinton and London in 1432, that they might pray for his soul and the souls of his various relatives. (7) Cardinal Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester 1404-47, and the elder brother of Thomas Beaufort who endowed five cells at Mount Grace, was also a considerable benefactor to the order. The general chapter of 1448 noted that he had twice given money towards the rebuilding of La Grande Chartreuse itself. He had a Carthusian confessor at Sheen, for which he had gained papal approval, and three letters written by this monk, 'W. Cartusiensis minimus', survive. (8) His will, written in 1446, was witnessed by Richard Veel, prior of

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1. C.P.R. 1381-5, p.37.
 2. C.P.R. 1391-6, p.160.
 3. L.L. Duncan, 'The Will of William Courtenay, archbishop of Canterbury, 1396' Archaeologia Cantiana, xxiii (1898), pp.55-67.
 4. C.P.R. 1396-9, p.318. In this licence the Charterhouse is described, rather strangely, as being 'of the King's foundation'.
 5. Probably the great-grandson of Richard de Clifford, third baron of Westmorland: see D.N.B. iv, 525-6.
 6. C.P.R. 1416-22, p.382. Clifford's will is extant, but there is nothing in it to the Carthusians (Req. Chichele, ii, 224-6).
 7. Req. Chichele, ii, 491.
 8. Bodleian Ms. 117, ff.14v seq. See Thompson, pp.340-1, for further details.

Witham. (1) Later in the century John Bekynton, bishop of Bath and Wells 1443-65, is reputed to have been a generous benefactor to Witham. He was commended as such in the Carthusian general chapter of 1465; (2) and William of Worcester reported that 'fecit fieri apud ecclesiam de Wyttham de la Charterhous vnam domum dormitorij'. (3)

One bishop even requested burial within a Carthusian house. In 1435 Philip Morgan, who had been bishop of Ely since 1426, stipulated in his will that he should be interred in the London Charterhouse, although he left no bequest to the house. (4) Rather surprisingly perhaps, in view of his importance as a figure in national affairs, Wriothesley does not mention his tomb. However, Wriothesley does not record the burial of any ecclesiastic at the London Charterhouse. Another bishop who has been believed to be buried in the London Charterhouse is Marmaduke Lumley, bishop of Carlisle 1429-50 and Lord Treasurer of England 1447-50. (5) However Wriothesley's list of interments (although not Stow's) (6) specifies that the Marmaduke Lumley whose tomb was in the priory was a knight; and Bishop Lumley was buried in Lincoln. (7)

Three further bishops gave assistance to the order in one form or another. John Russell, bishop of Lincoln from 1480-94, was the English protector of the order; and in 1490 he was granted permission by the general chapter to build himself a house within the boundaries of the London Charterhouse. (8) Both he and John Alcock, bishop of Ely from 1496-1500, were apparently supporters of the London

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1. Royal Wills, p.331.
 2. Le Couteulx, ii, 459.
 3. W. Worcestre, Itineraries, ed. J.H. Harvey (Oxford, 1969), p.296.
 4. Reg. Chichele, ii, 530-2.
 5. Test. Ebor. iv, 2-3. He was left much land by his 'cousin' Sir Richard Scrope, third lord of Bolton. He was also a grandson of John Neville, Lord of Raby.
 6. Hope, p.102. It seems likely that Stow's list was copied from Wriothesley's, although it has one more name, that of Sir Bartholomew Reed.
 7. R.L. Storey, 'Marmaduke Lumley, bishop of Carlisle 1430-1450', Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, lv (1956), pp.112-131.
 8. Bodleian Ms. Rawlinson D.318, f.157v.

Charterhouse in its efforts to maintain the manor of Little Okebourne, Wiltshire, against King's College, Cambridge. (1) Finally, the accounts of the executors of Thomas Savage, archbishop of York 1501-7, include a sum of 10s. to be paid to the prior of Beauvale for the church of Frenham, and 5s. to be paid to Coventry for the rector of Ecclesfield as well as 2s. for the vicar. (2)

The high-ranking clergy appear to have followed their bishops in maintaining an unusual interest in the Carthusians. Their wills are distinguished by containing most of the known examples of books being bequeathed to Charterhouses. An early example of this group is John de Godeley, dean of Wells Cathedral up to his death in 1333. He is mentioned by the general chapter of 1335 as a benefactor to Witham, (3) although since no will survives, this claim cannot be substantiated. Two of this group paid for cells to be built: Robert Manfield, provost of Beverley from 1381 to 1421 endowed one at the Lonfon Charterhouse, (4) and John de Morton, prebendary of Lichfield from 1377 to 1398, built one at Coventry, and also gave the monks a book containing part of the bible. (5) Geoffrey le Scrope, canon of Lincoln from 1335 to 1383 and of York from 1340 to 1383, was the fifth son of Sir Geoffrey le Scrope of the Masham branch of the family. In his will, made in 1382, he gave to Beauvale 40s. and his best chalice with great silver cruets, so that they might commemorate his soul. He also gave 40s. each to Hinton, Witham, London and Kingston-upon-Hull, which were, at the time of writing, the only other Charterhouses in existence. In addition money was dispensed to various anchorites, including the recluse at Hampole. (6)

1. Hope, pp.58-9.
2. Test. Ebor. iv, 327-330.
3. Le Couteulx, ii, 459.
4. P.C.C. 45 Marche.
5. M.A. vi, part i, 17.
6. Lincoln Wills, ed. C.W. Foster (Lincoln Record Society, v, 1912), i, 11-15.

John Chelsey, canon of Wells church, bequeathed £1 to Hinton in 1400. (1) William Loryng, canon of Bangor from 1363 to 1415, of Lincoln from 1383 and of Salisbury from 1363 to 1416, was the brother of Sir Nigel Loryng, whose goods were used to endow a cell at Coventry. (2) He was educated at Oxford, and also held secular office including the post of Constable of Bordeaux for two years from 1379. (3) He bequeathed many books, mostly to Merton College, Oxford, or to Cambridge University, but three he left to Witham in return for their prayers. These were De Meditacionibus Anselmi, De Meditacionibus Passionis Christi and De Meditacionibus Beati Bernardi, (4) a bequest which demonstrates some consideration of the sort of works which the monks were likely to appreciate. He also gave to Witham, apparently during his lifetime, a Latin bible, now Durham Cathedral Ms.A.iv.30. (5) John Shirford, canon of Wells Cathedral from 1414 until 1417, gave some books to the London Charterhouse in his will of 1419, although unfortunately he did not name them but only specified that his books at Barnwell be delivered to the priory under the same condition as he gave other books shortly before he left England. (6) John de la Pole, a prebendary at York, was the youngest son of Michael de la Pole, second duke of Suffolk, and Catherine de Stafford. (7) In his will of 1414 he left £10 to Kingston-upon-Hull for a trental, to commemorate his own and his parents' souls. He also gave five marks to the Hull Maison Dieu. (8)

There also appears to have been a distinctive tradition that dignitaries of Wells cathedral should be benefactors of the Carthusian order. In 1430 Reginald Brita, or Bryte, prebendary of Wells (1413-34) left 6s. 8d. to Thomas Exeter, the prior of Witham and the same amount

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1. P.C.C. 1 Marche.
 2. M.A. vi, part 1, 17.
 3. Emden, Oxford, ii, 1163.
 4. Reg. Chichele, ii, 79-82.
 5. Emden, Oxford, ii, 1163; N.R. Ker, Medieval Libraries (London, 1964), p.205.
 6. P.C.C. 46 Marche.
 7. Not Catherine Wingfield, as in Test. Ebor. i, 372; she was the wife of the founder.
 8. P.C.C. 31 Marche.

to Thomas Bernard, prior of Hinton, and to both their convents. (1)
 John Sperhauke, another prebendary of Wells (1445-74), left 26s. 8d.
 to the London Charterhouse in 1472, to be distributed among the
 brethren with a double portion to the prior. (2) Andrew Holes,
 archdeacon of Wells from 1450 to 1470, who was also Keeper of the
 Privy Seal (1450-2) and a Papal Chamberlain by 1433, (3) specified
 in his will of 1467 that his ecclesiastical property should be divided
 between the monasteries of Witham, Bruton, Stavordale, Woodspring,
 Amesbury and Shaftesbury. (4) He died in 1470 and was recorded in
 the general chapter of 1475 as a benefactor to Witham. (5) It is
 known that what is now Magdalen College, Oxford Ms. 191, containing
 Batholomei de S. Concordie's Summa de Casibus Conscientiae, was given
 to Witham from his goods in 1477 by one of his executors, John
 Middleton. (6) John Gunthorpe, dean of Wells (1472-98), another
 Keeper of the Privy Seal appointed in 1483, (7) is remembered by the
 Carthusians as a generous benefactor to both Witham and La Grande
 Chartreuse; he was accordingly awarded a monachate in 1499. (8) But
 there is no other record of his services to the Carthusians and they
 are not mentioned in his will. (9) Similarly, there is no English
 record of Robert Widow, prebendary of Wells 1497-1500, giving anything
 to the order; (10) but the general chapter of 1504 noted that he was
 a benefactor to Hinton, and ordered that at his death requiem masses
 should be said throughout the order for him. (11)

Richard Lessy, Chamberlain to the pope, (12) desired to be
 buried in the cloister of the London Charterhouse if he died within
 five or seven miles of it. (13) The will was proved in 1498, but

1. Req. Chichele, ii, 502. The will was proved in 1434.

2. P.C.C. 19 Wattys.

3. Emden, Oxford, ii, 949-50.

4. P.C.C. 30 Godyn.

5. Le Couteulx, ii, 460.

6. Thompson, p.322.

7. Emden, Oxford, ii, 837; D.N.B. viii, 794-5.

8. Le Couteulx, ii, 460.

9. P.C.C. 22 Horne.

10. Emden, Oxford, iii, 2106-7; P.C.C. 38 Holgrave.

11. Le Couteulx, iii, 497.

12. Emden, Cambridge, p.364.

13. P.C.C. 25 Horne.

whether Lessy died within the requisite distance is unknown. He is not mentioned in Wriothesley's list of burials, although that fact signifies very little, since the list is far from comprehensive. Similarly, Wriothesley did not mention Geoffrey Simeon who also requested burial at the priory in his will of 1508. ⁽¹⁾ Simeon, who was prebendary of St. George's Windsor 1502-8, prebendary of York 1506-8, and dean of Lincoln 1506-8, ⁽²⁾ left £20 to the Charterhouse for prayers and for a marble stone to be placed over his tomb.

A more informative bequest is that of Martyn Colyns, precentor of York 1496-1509 and treasurer there from 1503 until 1509. ⁽³⁾ In his will of 1508, he left ten marks to Mount Grace 'ad opera siue aedificaciones suas'. ⁽⁴⁾ Although Hope found no architectural evidence that building operations were in progress at the time, ⁽⁵⁾ other testamentary evidence confirms that some kind of construction work was being carried out. ⁽⁶⁾ William Fell, archdeacon of Nottingham (1516-28) ⁽⁷⁾ and a 'sacre theologie professor' expressed a desire to be buried in the London Charterhouse in his will of 1528, and he left five marks to the monks to pray for his soul. ⁽⁸⁾ William Cleybrooke or Claiburgh also desired to be buried in the London Charterhouse, and left 20s. for masses and a dirige. ⁽⁹⁾ He was a doctor of law, a prebendary at Lincoln from 1528, at Chichester from 1527 and at Bangor from 1534, and also archdeacon of Worcester from 1531, holding all these benefices until his death in 1534. ⁽¹⁰⁾ A contemporary was John Sheffield, prebendary of York and vicar-general of Archbishop Rotherham. ⁽¹¹⁾ He also died in 1534, leaving 6s. 8d. each to Mount Grace, Kingston-upon-Hull and Axholme Charterhouses for obits. He exhorted his executors to be punctilious as 'they will answer before God at the dredefull day of dome'. ⁽¹²⁾

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1. P.C.C. 4 Bennett.
 2. Emden, Oxford, iii, 1702.
 3. Emden, Cambridge, p.152.
 4. Reg. Bainbridge, ff.135r-136r.
 5. W.H.St. John Hope, 'Architectural History of Mountgrace Charterhouse', Y.A.J. xviii (1905), pp.270-309.
 6. See below, p.344.
 7. Emden, Oxford, ii, 674-5.
 8. P.C.C. 38 Porch.
 9. P.C.C. 14 Hogen.
 10. Fasti, i, 83, 91; iv, 63; vii, 17; xi, 16.
 11. Emden, Oxford, 1501-40, p.513.
 12. York Dean and Chapter Willie, ii, ff.170v-172r.

Even more minor and obscure representatives of the clergy appear to have been unusually generous in their support of the Carthusians, several of them even requesting to be interred within Charterhouses. Such donors include John Bury and Robert Kayner, the parsons of the Somerset churches of Whatley and Lullington respectively, who granted the advowson of the church of Norton St. Philip to Hinton in 1377; ⁽¹⁾ Walter de Kele, vicar of Sculcotes and Thomas de Hynton, parson of Thetelthorpe, who were among those who gave the advowson of the church of Hoggesthorpe and half an acre of land to Kingston-upon-Hull priory in 1384, in order to finance the saying of daily mass for their souls; ⁽²⁾ and John Janne, the parson of Glemsford, and John Leef, the master of Wingfield chantry, ⁽³⁾ who contributed towards the additional cell at Kingston-upon-Hull in 1402. ⁽⁴⁾

At least five members of the parish clergy are known to have been buried, or at least requested burial, within Charterhouses. William de Authorp, rector of Kirk Deighton, and possibly the man mentioned in Thomas de Holland's foundation charter, ⁽⁵⁾ directed in 1432 that he should be interred at Mount Grace, and bequeathed to the priory a silver cup gilt, twelve silver spoons and a book called Pupilla Oculi. ⁽⁶⁾ He left other books also, notably to the church of Deighton, and to Lady Alienora Roos, herself buried at Mount Grace. ⁽⁷⁾ Andrew Baker, rector of Titchwell in Norfolk requested burial in the cemetery of the London Charterhouse in 1486. ⁽⁸⁾ Richard Skipton, Robert Wiseman and John Sharp also hoped to be interred somewhere within the priory. Skipton, who held several distinguished rectories and who was from 1488 both a master of

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1. C.P.R. 1374-7, p.31.
 2. C.P.R. 1381-5, p.454.
 3. The chantry was endowed by the de la Poles, hence Leef's connection with Kingston-upon-Hull.
 4. C.P.R. 1401-5, p.111.
 5. See above, p.107.
 6. York Prob. Reg. iii, f.351r.
 7. York Prob. Reg. iii, f.529r.
 8. P.C.C. 23 Logge.

chancery and a canon of St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster, (1) left five marks for a perpetual chantry for himself and his kin when he died in 1492. (2) Wiseman, who was a graduate of Avignon university, had also held some prestigious rectories, the last known being that of Guemps in Calais which he vacated in 1493. (3) In his will of 1501, he bequeathed 13s. 4d. to the Charterhouse for his burial and 6s. 8d. for prayers, and he also left the monks four of his funeral torches. (4) Sharp, who died in 1524, required 'at the day of my burying 24 children with 24 tapers of a pounce a pece in their surplesse before the cors' and to have ij^d a peece. I will that the awter clothes which be of diverse colors of satyn should be newe lyned with bokeram and browered with the flowres that I have all redy with pyctours of alhalowes in the mydds and pictours of my fader and moder and my self and with moo flowres as shalbe thought necessary', and he left 40s. to be prayed for. (5) Other benefactors of the house included Richard Ronhale, whose executors paid £40 for a chantry; (6) John Hertylpole, rector of the church of Brigham in Cambridgeshire and Sandy in Bedfordshire, who, in 1431, left £10 for prayers and obsequies; (7) and John Graunte, priest, who left £1 to the priory in 1517. (8)

Robert Batteley, rector of Gamston in Nottinghamshire, left 13s. 4d. to Beauvale in 1474, to pray for his soul. (9) More

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1. Emden, Oxford, iii, 1708.
 2. P.C.C. 9 Horne.
 3. Emden, Cambridge, p.663.
 4. P.C.C. 7 Blamyr.
 5. P.C.C. 30 Bodfelde.
 6. Hope, p.85. Possibly the Richard Ronhale who was a clerk of Chancery from 1382, canon of York from 1379 and canon of Southwell from 1397: see Emden, Cambridge, pp.497-8. His will, written on 27 February 1401, is extant (York Dean and Chapter Wills, i, ff.130r-131r), but contains no mention of the order. The chantry list in the London Charterhouse register was compiled in 1431 (Hope, p.84) which narrows down the time-scale a little.
 7. P.C.C. 17 Luffenam.
 8. London Consistory Court Wills, ed. I. Darlington (London Record Society, iii, 1967), pp.23-4.
 9. York Prob. Reg. iv, f.4r.

generous were Robert Saundre, rector of the parish church of Merston, who in 1490 gave £5 to Witham, and the residue of all his goods to the prior, whom he constituted supervisor of his will, and to William Powton, his executor; ⁽¹⁾ and William Fewaren, priest, who bequeathed £20 to Sheen in 1514, ⁽²⁾ his only bequest to any religious house. Northern clergy who bequeathed money to the order include John Bulmer, rector of Bulmer, and scion of the gentry family of Bulmer of Wilton, who gave 6s. 8d. to Mount Grace in 1441; ⁽³⁾ and William Lambert, vicar of Gainford in Durham, and master of the college of Staindrop, who gave 40s. to Mount Grace in 1485, which by his standards was very generous. ⁽⁴⁾ Two donors associated with each other in the founding of a chantry to St. Cuthbert at Hornby were Robert Pynkney, the chantry priest at Hornby, and Christopher Conyers, the rector of Rudby. Conyers, who was the younger son of Christopher Conyers, esquire, gave 20s. to Mount Grace in 1483. ⁽⁵⁾ Pynkney, who gave 6s. 8d. to the prior of Mount Grace and the same amount for an obit in 1489, refers in his will to Sir John Conyers of Hornby as his master, presumably the patron of the chantry he served. ⁽⁶⁾ Thomas Day, vicar of Hough on the Hill, Lincolnshire, gave 40s. to Mount Grace in 1530. ⁽⁷⁾ Two more interesting wills are those of two York chantry priests, William Coca, ⁽⁸⁾ and Robert Est. ⁽⁹⁾ Coca, who died in 1536, served the chantry of Thomas Nelson, alderman of York, in the church of Holy Trinity, and Est, who died in 1475, seems to have been attached to the altar of St. Christopher in the minster. Both specified that

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1. P.C.C. 27 Milles.
 2. London Consistory Court Wills, pp.3-4.
 3. York Prob. Reg. ii, f.30r-v.
 4. York Prob. Reg. v, ff.252v-253v.
 5. York Prob. Reg. v, ff.86v-87v.
 6. York Dean and Chapter Wills, i, ff.373r-374r.
 7. Lincoln Wills, 1530-1532, ed. C.W. Foster (Lincoln Record Society, xxiv, 1930), pp.33-4.
 8. York Prob. Reg. xi, f.225r.
 9. York Prob. Reg. iv, f.100v.

their letters of fraternity should be given to the Charterhouses of Hull and Mount Grace. Grants of fraternity will be discussed more fully in the next chapter, but for the present it may be noted that although both men bequeathed very small amounts to the Charterhouses concerned - Coca gave only 20d. to each, and Est 6s. 8d. - the possession of these letters suggests that they were generous donors to the priories during their lives. The two men, incidentally, appear to have been in the habit of collecting letters of fraternity, Est had one from each house of friars in York, to which he also bequeathed 6s. 8d. Coca had a letter from the house of St. Robert, to which he gave 12d. in his will. Est's will is fascinating in its own right. To his nephew Robert Bewmond he left 'libros M. Hilton' and he also bequeathed a psalter supposedly glossed by Richard of Hampole. A lengthy preamble movingly expresses his awareness of the transience of earthly life.

Circumspection must be exercised in dealing with wills where the testator described himself as a clerk. The term was one which could apply equally to humble men in minor orders or to high-ranking governmental or ecclesiastical officials. An example is John Clyderhow, clerk, who founded a cell at the London Charterhouse. Hope believed that he was a clerk in chancery between 1399 and 1414. (1) It is not possible to be certain about the details of his career, since there is a danger of confusion with a man of the same name who became bishop of Bangor (1423-35). It was not Bishop John Clyderhowe who endowed the cell, for his will of 1435 does not mention the Charterhouse. (2) But almost certainly the cell was endowed by the John Clyderhowe whose will of 1433 was proved at the Commissary Court London in 1434. (3) In his will he asked to be buried at the Charterhouse 'ubi mater mea sue tradito sepultur', with a memorial stone engraved with a biblical tract set up above him. He left 100s. to the monks, requesting humbly that they might remember to include his soul among all their other objects of prayer, and he gave 20s. for prayers to all the other Charterhouses 'supplicans deuote religiosis

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1. Hope, p.72.
 2. Req. Chichele, ii, 532-4.
 3. C.C.L. iii, f.371r-v.

personis'. In addition he left £100 with the prior of Mount Grace for the maintenance of a chantry-priest in the church of Clitheroe (presumably Clitheroe near Preston in Lancashire), and he also specified that a cell at Mount Grace which was apparently exposed should be roofed with lead out of his goods. Thomas (Lockington), the prior of Mount Grace, was one of his witnesses.

By the fifteenth century it was increasingly common for some individuals designated as clerks to be married, like Richard Osborn, clerk of the chamber of the city of London; in his will of 1437 he asked to be buried with his wife Joanna. To the London Charterhouse he left various rents in the parish of St. Mary de Abbechirch provided that the monks observed the obit of Joanna Blounde on 14 September. (1) Another married clerk was Thomas Rose, whose wife Cecelia, dying in 1382, left the reversion of various rents to the London Charterhouse for keeping obits at chantries for herself, her husband and her son Edmund. She also left bequests to every anchorite in and around London. (2)

Obviously it was possible for a comparatively obscure clerk to be a quite wealthy man, like Walter Hert, who may have been a 'broker' and was party to three land transactions involving the Carthusians. In July 1392 he was one of a group of six men, three of them clerks, who alienated over 124 acres of land to Witham; (3) and in September of the same year, with two other men, he alienated the reversion of a shop and messuage in Bristol to the same house. (4) In 1413 he alone alienated over fifty acres of land in Westwood, Wiltshire, to Hinton, and, with another clerk, John atte Water, over eleven acres in Freshford. (5) Other clerks who gave land to the order were John Heylles who, with Thomas Erpingham, granted the property of the alien priory of Toftes to Witham in 1413, (6) and Robert de Bolton, one of the group who endowed the additional cell at Kingston-upon-Hull in 1402. (7)

1. Sharpe, Wills, ii, 484-5.

2. Sharpe, Wills, ii, 228.

3. C.P.R. 1391-6, p.124.

4. C.P.R. 1391-6, p.158.

5. C.P.R. 1413-6, p.126.

6. C.P.R. 1413-6, p.91 and 1422-9, p.529.

7. C.P.R. 1401-5, p.111.

Of the large number of clerks who alienated land to the London Charterhouse, Martin Elys may be singled out. (1) With Ralph Kesteven, (2) and John Chirchman, (3) he alienated two shops and two messuages in the parish of St. Margaret, Lothbury to the priory in 1392. (4) Two years later, in his detailed and interesting will, in which he is described as a minor canon of St. Paul's, he left money to every house of the order in England. (5)

William Freeman, clerk of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, (6) founded the chapel of St. Agnes at the London Charterhouse in 1475. It is certainly worth noticing when a man belonging to one religious order should decide to found a chantry at the house of another. Two clerks were also buried at the priory; one was John Payn, who died in 1466, bequeathing the Charterhouse £4 and expressing his desire to be interred 'in claustro ... ante ostium chori', (7) the other was Master John Curteys, doctor of medicine, who died in 1471, leaving very exact specifications for the funeral. He wished it to be performed decorously with seven poor men in black gowns to carry seven torches, and four tapers with candelabra. He requested a gravestone of marble with his image sculptured on it in brass, (8) and he left £100 for one monk to say mass daily for a year in aid of the souls of himself and his parents. (9) Simon Bristowe, son of a cordwainer, made a bequest to the London Charterhouse, but to no

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1. Others worthy of mention are Nicholas de Thorneton and Thomas Bedewyn (C.P.R. 1377-81, pp.242-4), Henry Berde (C.Cl.R. 1385-9, p.252), John Wytteney and Roger Farendon (C.P.R. 1391-6, p.160), and Richard de Warmynton (C.P.R. 1381-5, p.37; 1391-6, p.160).
 2. Named as rector of the church of St. Botolph without Aldersgate in the will of John Bathe (Sharpe, Wills, ii, 284).
 3. A substantial pepperer who was alderman for Bishopsgate and Bridge wards and sheriff in 1385-6: see S.L. Thrupp, The Merchant Class of Medieval London (Michigan, 1962), p.332; A.B. Beaven, The Aldermen of the City of London (London, 1908-13), i, 396.
 4. C.P.R. 1391-6, p.160.
 5. Sharpe, Wills, ii, 305.
 6. Hope, p.74.
 7. P.C.C. 17 Godyn.
 8. Which Wriothesley apparently failed to notice.
 9. P.C.C. 1 Wattys.

other order in 1374. (1) Robert Pemberton, fellow of New College, Wells, gave 6s. 8d. to Witham in 1505, but left nothing to any other religious house. (2) 'Sir' Richard Estyngton left 13s. 4d. to Hinton in 1512. (3) It is clear that Estyngton was a clerk, not a knight, because he was named as the confessor of Richard Fluett of Bath in the latter's will of 1497, in which 6s 8d. was bequeathed to the fabric of Hinton. (4) Finally Thomas Everade, possibly the quondam vicar of St. Mary's, Ealing, left £1 to Sheen in 1518. (5)

The Carthusians received rather more support from the clergy in general, and the episcopacy in particular, than most monastic orders could expect. But the social grouping from which they derived perhaps their most significant patronage was the country gentry, although here the same could equally be said of other religious orders. The term 'country gentry' is convenient, but often ambiguous. As Denholm-Young notes, it is usually held to refer to men who held office and bore arms, (6) but it is not always easy to ascertain whether all substantial county families fulfilled those criteria. Included here are knights, and also men who in their wills describe themselves as gentlemen, even if the description does not necessarily constitute proof of the fact.

In late fourteenth-century Yorkshire, no less than four knights were signatories of the Kingston-upon-Hull foundation charter: Sir Thomas de Sutton, Sir Walter Fauconberg, Sir Robert de Hilton and Sir Gerald de Usflete. (7) Fauconberg, one assumes, was a

1. Sharpe, Wills, ii, 164.

2. P.C.C. 38 Holgrave.

3. P.C.C. 9 Fetiplace.

4. P.C.C. 17 Horne.

5. London Consistory Court Wills, pp.47-8.

6. N. Denholm-Young, The Country Gentry in the Fourteenth Century, (Oxford, 1969), passim.

7. M.A. vi, part i, 20-1.

younger son of the northern family which also included Isabella Fauconberg. (1) Usflete was a parliamentary knight of the shire for Yorkshire in 1400/1. (2) His wife, Elizabeth Fitzalan, daughter of Richard, earl of Arundel, was the widow of Thomas Mowbray, who founded Axholme Charterhouse. (3) Robert de Hilton was lord of Swine in Holderness. (4) Dwelling in the same house as Hilton was William Haghfield, who composed his will in 1403 in Kingston-upon-Hull Charterhouse, directing that he should be buried there and leaving £5 to the priory. (5) Both Usflete and Hilton left wills, but neither mentioned the house. (6)

Some of the burials in the London Charterhouse mentioned by Wriothesley seem to date from this early period. Joan Borough may well have been the wife of Stephen de Burgh, keeper of Rochester castle in 1377. (7) Sir Laurence Bremley was very probably the Sir Laurence de Brenle, constable of the hundred of Boughton in 1381, (8) who was named with his wife Joan in a licence of mortmain to the Charterhouse in 1377. The licence specified that certain property, including rents from Broughton, should be given to the priory. (9) Sir Edmund Hederset held the manor of Westfield

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1. See above, p.300.
 2. Return of the Name of Every Member of the Lower House of the Parliaments of England, Scotland and Ireland, 1213-1874 (Parliamentary Papers, lxvii, 1878), hereafter cited as Members of Parliament, i, 261.
 3. G. Beltz, Memorials of the Order of the Garter (London, 1841). Whether Usflete was her third or fourth husband is uncertain. Beltz described him as her third on pp.298 and 307, and her fourth on p.249. Chronologically the former is more likely.
 4. K.B. McFarlane commented on the possibility that Sir Robert de Hilton was the Sir Reynold de Hilton stigmatised by Knighton for his Lollard beliefs, but dismissed it as unlikely: see Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights (Oxford, 1972), pp.150-1.
 5. York Prob. Reg. iii, f.94v.
 6. York Prob. Reg. iii, f.248r-v (Usflete); ii, 659r (Hilton).
 7. C.P.R. 1374-7, pp.395, 456: see also Hope, p.100.
 8. W.E. Flaherty, 'The Great Rebellion in Kent of 1381 illustrated from the Public Records', Archaeologia Cantiana, iii (1860), p.88.
 9. C.P.R. 1374-7, p.434.

in Norfolk in 1378, ⁽¹⁾ and was Knight of the shire for Suffolk in 1380. ⁽²⁾

Sir John de la Mare of Nony, one of those who granted the advowson of the church of Norton St. Philip to Hinton Charterhouse in 1377, ⁽³⁾ was almost certainly the Knight of the Shire for Wiltshire in 1375, and for Somerset in 1372, 1376 and 1382. ⁽⁴⁾ Originally it had been Sir Walter de Rodeneye and his wife Pernell who were given permission to grant the advowson, but the licence did not apparently take effect. ⁽⁵⁾ Sir William Beauchamp, who granted three acres in the parish of St. Sepulchre to the London Charterhouse in 1392, ⁽⁶⁾ was the knight who in the same year became Lord Beauchamp of Abergavenny, and who was married to Joan, another daughter and co-heir of Thomas Fitzalan, earl of Arundel. ⁽⁷⁾ His will is extant, but does not mention the Carthusians; ⁽⁸⁾ his wife's will is said to display some of the features of Lollardy. ⁽⁹⁾ Sir Nigel Loryng, whose money paid for a cell at Coventry, ⁽¹⁰⁾ was the brother of William Loryng, the canon of Salisbury who bequeathed several books to Witham. ⁽¹¹⁾ The details of his career prove him to have been in close contact with several other Carthusian donors. In 1342 he served under Sir Walter de Manny, and was, like him, one of the original knights of the Garter. In 1345 he went with Bishop Northburgh to the papal court to procure dispensation for the marriage of the Black Prince with the daughter of the Duke of Brabant. In 1369 he served under Sir Robert Knolles, and in 1370 under John Hastings, the earl of Pembroke, and Manny's son-in-law. ⁽¹²⁾ Sir Marmaduke Lumley, buried, according to

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1. Hope, p.100.
 2. Members of Parliament, i, 207.
 3. C.P.R. 1374-7, p.436.
 4. Members of Parliament, i, 192, 194, 196, 213.
 5. C.P.R. 1361-4, p.223; 1374-7, p.31
 6. C.P.R. 1391-6, p.160.
 7. C.P. i, 24-6.
 8. Testamenta Vetusta, ed. N.H. Nicholas (London, 1826), p.171.
 9. K.B. McFarlane, Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights, pp.214-5.
 10. M.A. vi, part i, 17.
 11. See above, p.308.
 12. D.N.B. xii, 142-3.

Wriothesley, in the London Charterhouse, was most probably of the same family as his distinguished namesake, the bishop of Carlisle. A knight of this name is mentioned in the inquisition post mortem of Roger de Clifford (in 1390) as holding a manor in Stanton. (1) Also buried in the London Charterhouse was Sir John Derwentwater, Knight of the shire for Westmorland in 1386, and for Cumberland in 1379 and 1387/8. (2)

Two knights with very familiar names were involved in the financing of the additional cell at Kingston-upon-Hull. (3) One was Sir Edmund de la Pole, younger brother of the founder, and the other was Sir Richard le Scrope who seems to have been a member of the Bolton branch of the family. (4) Sir John Scrope, this time a member of the Masham branch, gave £20 to Hull in 1405 'pro emendacione unius finis elevati', (5) an exceptionally generous bequest, and the only one he made to a religious house. He was the fifth son of Sir Henry Scrope, first baron Scrope of Masham, (6) and married Elizabeth, widow of Sir Thomas Percy.

Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, an inter-related cluster of Yorkshire families displayed a consistent interest in the affairs of the northern Charterhouses. In 1402 Sir John Dependen left ten marks to Mount Grace, an additional ten marks for the repair of a cell 'non dum finit' and a 'tabulam cum crucifixo pictam' to the prior. (7) His wife Elizabeth had been the widow of Sir William Neville, another Lollard knight, brother of John Neville, first Lord of Raby who was a generous benefactor

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1. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, xv, 7-15 Richard II no.834.
 2. Members of Parliament, i, 202, 230-1.
 3. C.P.R. 1401-5, p.111.
 4. See above, p.300.
 5. Test. Ebor. i, 339.
 6. D.N.B. xvii, 1076; B. Burke, The Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited and Extinct Peerages (London, 1883), p.482. In Test. Ebor. i, 338, he is said to be the son of Richard, first baron Scrope of Bolton.
 7. York Prob. Reg. iv, f.89r.

to both Kingston-upon-Hull and Coventry Charterhouses. (1)
 Elizabeth's stepfather was Sir Brian Stapleton whose 'non-conformist'
 will proved in 1394 (2) furnishes some justification for McFarlane's
 claim that he was a Lollard sympathiser. (3) His son, also called
 Brian Stapleton, who died in 1391 before his father, married
 Elizabeth de Aldeburgh. According to Chetwynd-Stapylton, Elizabeth
 herself was not exempt from the suspicion of Lollardy, (4) but
 his evidence for this - her possession of a ring inscribed 'Jesu
 be my help', a French book called 'Sydrak' and a saints' Legends -
 is completely inadequate to prove his case.

Three other members of the Stapleton family had Carthusian
 connections. A grandchild of the union between Brian Stapleton
 and Elizabeth de Aldeburgh was Joan Stapleton, who married Sir
 William Ingleby, of the family which had become the major patrons
 of Mount Grace. Dying in 1478, she requested that she be buried
 in the priory of 'Mountgrace vulgariter dictae', and that the prior
 and convent should have five marks to recommend her in their
 prayers. (5) A great-great-great-grand-daughter was Elizabeth,
 who married Richard Sutton and was mother of Thomas Sutton, the
 founder of Charterhouse school. (6) From Sir Miles, the younger
 brother of Sir Brian Stapleton, was descended the family of
 Stapleton of Wighill. The William Stapleton who, according to
 the Clifford Letters, desired to enter the Carthusian order (7)

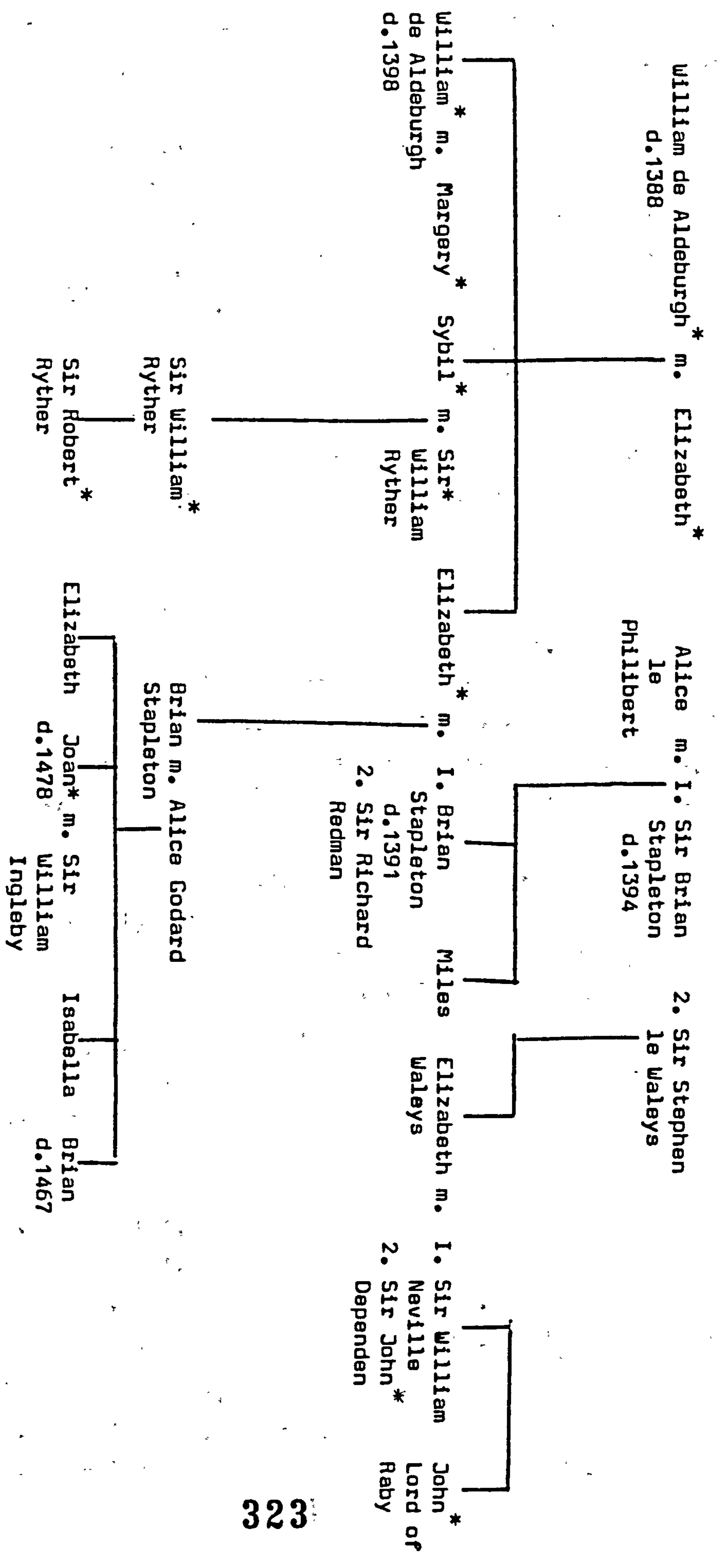
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1. The notes in Test. Ebor. i, 294-5, are extremely confused about
 Dependen's relatives. Here it is stated that Dependen was
 Elizabeth's first husband, and Neville her second. This is
 impossible since Neville died in 1393 and Dependen in 1402.
 It also states that Elizabeth's mother was Avora, daughter of
 Robert de Umfreville. In fact her mother was Alice, daughter
 and co-heir of Sir John le Philibert: see H.E. Chetwynd-
 Stapleton, 'The Stapletons of Yorkshire', Y.A.J. viii (1884),
 pp.240-7.
 2. York Prob. Reg. i, f.69v.
 3. K.B. McFarlane, Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights, pp.176,
 215.
 4. H.E. Chetwynd-Stapylton, The Stapletons of Yorkshire, p.249.
 5. York Prob. Reg. v, f.133v.
 6. H.E. Chetwynd-Stapylton, The Stapletons of Yorkshire, p.257.
 7. Clifford Letters, p.69: see above, p. 172.

was mentioned in the will of his father, Sir Brian, in 1518, (1) and was presumably the great-great-grandson of Sir Miles Stapleton. However, this William, far from being recently deceased in 1523, as suggested by the Prior of Mount Grace, was probably the man who was involved in the Pilgrimage of Grace. A.G. Dickens claims it was his nephew, (2) but references in his deposition to his brother Sir Christopher and his brother-in-law Sir Henry Wharton suggest it was the same man. (3)

Elizabeth Stapleton herself was the daughter of Sir William de Aldeburgh of Harewood and his wife Elizabeth, who in 1362 gave Willey Haye to Beauvale, in order that they and the dead lord Edward de Balliol king of Scotland might be numbered among the founders and spiritual benefactors, and enjoy all the spiritual advantages accruing thereto. (4) Their son William de Aldeburgh and Margery his wife were mentioned in the foundation charter of Mount Grace as spiritual beneficiaries. (5) The two daughters Elizabeth Stapleton and Sybil (or Isabella) with her husband Sir William de Ryther were also extremely generous to Beauvale. In 1392 they set up two perpetual chantries at Beauvale where daily masses were to be sung for their brother and his wife, their father and mother, and Edward de Balliol. (6) The licence granted by Richard II in 1393 for these chantries allowed the donors to grant 40s. annually out of their respective moieties of the manors of Kirby Overblow and Kereby to Beauvale. (7) According to Dugdale, in 1395 William and Sybil de Ryther levied a fine for the money, and after an interval it was restored to Thomas Methley, the prior

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1. York Prob. Reg. ix, ff.70v-71r.
 2. Clifford Letters, p.69.
 3. H.E. Chetwynd-Stapylton, The Stapletons of Yorkshire, pp.406-7; J.A. Froude, History of England (London, 1870), iii, 124-6; J.C. Cox, 'William Stapleton and the Pilgrimage of Grace', Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society, x (1902), p.81.
 4. C.P.R. 1361-4, pp.262,266, 342-3; M.A. vi, part i, 12.
 5. M.A. vi, part i, 23.
 6. M.A. vi, part i, 14.
 7. M.A. vi, part i, 14; C.P.R. 1391-6, p.308.

The Stapleton and Aldeburgh Families



* = a donor to the Carthusian Order.

of Beauvale, by the son of William and Sybil, Sir William de Ryther and by his son Robert. (1) Methley was prior between 1453 and 1470 (2) and therefore it was some considerable time before the money was made up to the priory. Some explanation can perhaps be offered for this delay. After the death of Brian Stapleton, Elizabeth married Sir Robert Redman; and in 1407 they made a settlement of her share of the Harewood estate, including Kirby Overblow and Kereby, on her two sons by Redman, thus disinheriting Brian Stapleton, the son of her first husband, for whom the land had been originally intended. (3) However, in 1424 Sir Richard Redman left Kereby and Kirkby Owlbowers to Elizabeth's grandson, Brian Stapleton, when he came of age. Possibly Elizabeth Stapleton's action in disinheriting her first son of the two manors contributed to the Rythers' failure to maintain their payments to Beauvale, a failure which was rectified when her grandson came of age and inherited the manors.

One of the most interesting and significant wills to contain a Carthusian bequest is that of William Stourton. He was a lawyer and a parliamentary knight of the shire for Somerset, Dorset and Wiltshire six times in all. In 1413 he was elected as speaker for the House of Commons, but was too ill to take his place, and died shortly afterwards. (4) He manifested an interest in the Carthusians during his lifetime, as he was twice involved in the alienation of land to Witham, the first time of a considerable amount of property totalling over 124 acres in Fonthill Gifford, and of a messuage and shop in Bristol in 1392. (5) His significance lies in the facts that he was buried at Witham and that his will, written in 1410, contains sufficient non-conformist phraseology to justify amply McFarlane's suspicions that he harboured Lollard sympathies. (6) The will deserves to be

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1. M.A. vi, part 1, 12.
 2. See Appendix VI.
 3. G. Duckett, 'Harwood Evidences', Y.A.J. iv (1876), p.91.
 4. J.S. Roskell, 'William Stourton of Stourton' Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society, lxxxii (1960), pp.155-166.
 5. C.P.R. 1391-6, pp.124, 158.
 6. K.B. McFarlane, Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights, p.215.

described in some detail. Stourton directed that 'Corpus que meum putridum nudum sicut de me proiecit in mundum ita nudum sepeliend' panno lineo tantummodo illud cooperiend except' infra septen' claustru de Whicham', although this was to happen only if the prior and convent wished it. Over this part of the will has been stuck a piece of linen cloth, presumably as a sample of what Stourton required, a gesture which is, to the best of my knowledge, unparalleled elsewhere. Stourton went on to specify that on the day of his burial five candles were to be placed on his hearse, black clothes were to be given to his family and servants, and a distribution was to be made to the poor. A red cloth of gold was to be offered at the first mass, and a cloth of damask at the second. His bequest to Witham - the only one to a religious house - was 'una pelne' rotund' de laton continen' quatuor lagenas' which the monks were to use for washing their feet, with the proviso that if the visitor of the order refused to accept the basin in any way, it was to be sold, and the money converted to the pious uses of the prior and convent. Stourton is therefore one of the few donors whose will betrays a close acquaintance with the rules of the Carthusian order. (1)

Stourton was an acquaintance of two other Carthusian benefactors. He served as Knight of the shire for Somerset in 1401 with Sir Thomas Beauchamp, (2) and for Wiltshire in 1407 with Sir Walter Hungerford. (3) His other associates included some notorious Lollard Knights. In 1400, for example, he was enfeoffed of the manor of Sutton Valence, Kent, in company with Sir Thomas Latimer and Sir John Cheyne. (4) Naturally the Carthusian order was appalled by the excesses of Lollardism, as the comments of the London chronicler demonstrate. (5) Nicholas Love, prior of Mount Grace, also had much to say on similar lines. Although recent

1. P.C.C. 27 Marche. I am grateful to Dr. Charles Kightly for drawing my attention to this will.

2. C.Cl.R. 1399-1402, p.330.

3. C.Cl.R. 1405-9, p.399.

4. C.P.R. 1399-1401, p.207; C.Cl.R. 1399-1402, p.117.

5. Hope, p.50.

studies have suggested that individual Carthusian writers could display markedly unorthodox traits, (1) there can be no impugning of the orthodoxy of the order as a whole, nor of its social conservatism. It may seem at first therefore something of a paradox that the Carthusians attracted much attention not only from the English knights, a class from which the early Lollards also derived some support, but also indeed from families of which other members are known to have held Lollard-type opinions. But it is not actually very surprising, and McFarlane, in explaining why the Lollard knights were accorded tolerance for so long, goes far towards enabling us to understand why the Carthusian order and Lollardy could have an attraction for the same sort of person; 'The chief characteristic of English religious life in the fourteenth century is the growth of moral fervour among the laity ... there was widespread sympathy with at least the moral content of the Lollard teaching ... Theirs [the knights'] was a moral revolt by the laity against the visible church, a rejection of sacerdotalism in favour of the personal, immediate contact between the believer and his Creator'. (2)

The Carthusians were not anti-sacerdotal, but they were renowned for their moral fervour, and they certainly professed encouragement of the personal, immediate contact between the believer and his creator. If they did not possess all, they at least manifested some, and those the most positive, of the new ideals of the era. This would be enough to endear them to many who were disenchanted with current ecclesiastical practices. One may add that conformity and non-conformity were not at opposite ends of the spectrum, but rather that a person of deep and sincere piety could slide easily from exemplary orthodoxy into non-conformity: at what point may one begin to label such a person as a Lollard? One may further note that McFarlane's three criteria for establishing Lollard tendencies in wills - the renunciation of pomp, the extravagant emphasis on the testator's unworthiness, and the employment of contemptuous language towards the body (3) - are characteristics which occur

1. Sargent, p.239.

2. K.B. McFarlane, Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights, p.225.

3. K.B. McFarlane, Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights, p.211.

frequently in Carthusian writing. In conclusion, therefore, a layman who was dissatisfied with the corruption of the contemporary church, could, if he was of a conformist disposition, patronise a branch of the church which was exempt from current criticism. It seems possible that William Stourton was such an individual.

Yorkshire gentry figure prominently in the list of benefactors to the Carthusian order. Certainly this is partly a result of the fact that Yorkshire testamentary material is well served by printed sources of various kinds, but it may also be a reflection of an especial respect for the Carthusians in that region. Certainly Dr. Vale has demonstrated that the Yorkshire gentry were not notable monastic patrons in general, ⁽¹⁾ and the frequency of their bequests to the Carthusians is therefore significant. Further examples of Yorkshire gentry interested in the Carthusians include Sir Henry Vavasour of Hazelwood, and his wife Margaret, the daughter of Sir William Skipwith of Lincolnshire, who both left money to Mount Grace. Sir Henry, who died in 1413, bequeathed 20 marks; ⁽²⁾ and Margaret, who died a year later, gave 10 marks to the prior, ⁽³⁾ who was then Nicholas Love. Henry added to his will the somewhat idiosyncratic request that 'volo quod nullus sit invitatus ad funeralia mea in die sepulturæ meæ'. He also left a bequest to the rector of Deighton, the William de Authorpe who was to be buried at Mount Grace. ⁽⁴⁾ Blanche Waterton may have been buried in the London Charterhouse at about this time. ⁽⁵⁾ She was the daughter of Hugh Waterton, perhaps the knight who was constable of Windsor castle and who died in 1409. ⁽⁶⁾

Roger Flore of Oakham has already been encountered in his capacity as patron of Oakham hospital, and the man to whom Coventry Charterhouse relinquished almost all their interest in the hospital. ⁽⁷⁾ He married Katherine, the daughter of William Dalby of Exton, the Calais Stapler who had founded the hospital and endowed the

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1. M.G.A. Vale, Piety, Charity and Literacy Among the Yorkshire Gentry, 1370-1480 (Borthwick Paper no. 50, York, 1976), pp.21-2.
 2. Reg. Bowet, f.26v.
 3. Reg. Bowet, f.358v-359r.
 4. York Prob. Reg. iii, f.351r.
 5. Hope, p.101.
 6. C.P.R. 1408-13, pp.90, 167.
 7. See above, pp.91-2.

Charterhouse with it. He was parliamentary knight of the shire for Rutland twelve times between 1397 and 1422, and Speaker for the Commons four times. He was also one of Henry V's trustees for the estate of Syon. Coventry Charterhouse was only one of the nine religious houses to which he gave money for the celebration of masses on his death in 1425. (1)

In 1429 John Gregory of Bruton bequeathed to the prior of Witham a book called Syding' de Gallic'. He also left to a certain John Symondesburgh a horse which he had received from the prior of Witham. (2) Elizabeth, Lady Tryvet, was the widow of Sir Thomas Tryvet, a member of Richard II's court circle and the adviser of Robert de Vere, the earl of Oxford. (3) She was distinguished as one of the few ladies of the Garter in her own right. (4) In her will, drawn up in 1421 but not proved until her death in 1433, she left ten marks to Hull. (5) In 1437 John Palman, alias Cole, bequeathed to Mount Grace a 'trowel de werk'. His bequests to other religious houses were of a similarly practical nature. (6)

Two burials at Mount Grace occurred within a couple of years of each other. The first was that of Thomas Lokwod of East Harksey grange, who in 1436 gave 20s. to the priory. (7) The second was that of Alienora or Eleanor Roos, the daughter of Sir Robert Roos of Ingmanthorpe who died in 1393. She lived until 1438 when she bequeathed the house 'unum pecium argenti coopertam'. She also left 'de summa predicta septem domibus Ordinis Carthusiani in Anglia septem nobilia equis porcionibus'. (8) It is possible that she was ignorant of the existence of the two Somerset houses.

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1. J.S. Roskell, 'Roger Flore of Oakham, Speaker for the Commons in 1416, 1417, 1419 and 1422', Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society Transactions, xxxiii (1957), pp.36-44. His will was written, at great length, partly in Latin and partly in English. The English portion of the codicil is printed in F.J. Furnivall, The Fifty Earliest English Wills (E.E.T.S. o.s.78, 1882), pp.55-64, but this does not include the Carthusian bequest.
 2. P.C.C. 12 Luffenam.
 3. J. Froissart, Chronicles, ed. T. Johnes (London, 1839), ii, 70.
 4. G.F. Beltz, Memorials of the Order of the Garter (London, 1841), p.252.
 5. Req. Chichele, ii, 496.
 6. Wills and Inventories, ed. J. Raine (S.S. ii, 1835), pp.86-7.
 7. York Prob. Reg. iii, f.458v.
 8. York Prob. Reg. iii, f.529r.

John Feriby, esquire, knight of the shire for Surrey in 1434, and also several times Justice of the Peace, ⁽¹⁾ left £10 to John Feriby, a monk of Sheen and his kinsman in 1441. ⁽²⁾ Feriby, with his wife Margery, the daughter of Richard de Berners, was also a benefactor of the London Charterhouse. In 1430 they granted to the priory a spring in their meadow 'Overmede' in Islington as well as a narrow strip of land 12 feet by 53 perches so that the monks could carry water from the spring to the priory. ⁽³⁾ Margery later married John Bouchier, Lord Berners, and in 1457 the couple confirmed the original grant to the house, with the additional provision that since the spring they had first given had become almost inactive, the monks could draw upon a number of other springs in the same meadow. ⁽⁴⁾ In 1441 William Cheyne esquire of Shurland in Sheppey bequeathed ten marks for masses in the London Charterhouse. ⁽⁵⁾ He was a judge on the King's Bench, and was knighted in 1425-6, in company with Sir William Babington. ⁽⁶⁾ Sir Giles Daubeney, knight of the shire for Somerset in 1425 and 1429, ⁽⁷⁾ died in 1444 and left 'to the Charterhouse yn Selwode wher ynne y am a brother y yere xxs'. ⁽⁸⁾ In 1450 the Lincolnshire knight Sir Thomas Cumberworth, in a long and complex will, bequeathed to Hull Charterhouse 'my best chalis gilte'. ⁽⁹⁾ He left 100s. each to Witham, Hull, London and Axholme requesting the latter three 'to do Alsmany messys as A monk may syng in A 3er' for his own and his wife's souls, while Witham was to perform the same for the souls of William Fitzwilliam and his brother. However he tactfully added

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1. Reg. Chichele, ii, 652.
 2. Ibid., p.577.
 3. Hope, pp.133-6.
 4. Hope, pp.142-3.
 5. Reg. Chichele, ii, 584.
 6. D.N.B. iv, 222.
 7. Members of Parliament, i, 309, 317.
 8. Somerset Medieval Wills, 1501-30, ed. F.W. Weaver (S.R.S. xix, 1903), p.340.
 9. Lincoln Diocese Documents, 1450-1544, ed. A. Clark (E.E.T.S. O.S. 149, 1914), p.46.

that this was to be done only 'if it like yam' and 'for charite bot not charyng yam'. (1)

The Willoughby family of Nottinghamshire, whose cadaver effigies still adorn Wollaton church, provided several benefactors to the Carthusian order. Sir Hugh Willoughby married, firstly Isabel Foljambe, and secondly, Margaret the daughter and co-heir of Sir Baldwin de Freyville, the knight who had made over the original site to Coventry Charterhouse. (2) Sir Hugh is one of the relatively few testators who certainly wrote his will himself. It is in English, written in 1443 and proved five years later. He held letters of fraternity from Beauvale, Witham and London Charterhouses, and at his death he gave the letters to their respective monasteries, and left them 20s. each. He also gave 6s. 8d. to the anchorites of Nottingham and made bequests to the friars, but his greatest generosity was reserved for the Carthusians. (3) His son by his first wife was Richard Willoughby who bequeathed 40s. to Beauvale in his will of 1469. (4) He died without issue and the steadily increasing Willoughby estates passed to the children of Sir Hugh's second wife. By the time they reached Sir Henry Willoughby, great-grandson of Sir Hugh, they had accumulated to the extent that Sir Henry, although still only a knight, was one of the wealthiest men in the country, and certainly the most powerful in Nottinghamshire. (5) He made no less than five wills between 1489 and 1513, each a refinement on the one before. (6) He left one mark to each Charterhouse to pray for a brother of their religion - himself. In addition he set up a chantry at Wollaton, and left 10s. to each house of Observant friars. (7) His son and heir John married Anne, the daughter of Jane, Viscountess Lisle, whose exceptionally pious will has been noticed above. (8) In addition

1. Lincoln Diocese Documents, 1450-1544, p.53.

2. C.P.R. 1381-5, p.107.

3. York Prob. Reg. ii, ff.186r-188v.

4. York Prob. Reg. iv, f.173v.

5. A. Cameron, 'Sir Henry Willoughby of Wollaton', Transactions of the Thoroton Society, lxxiv (1970), p.10.

6. Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, lxxix (1911), pp.121-130.

7. A. Cameron, op.cit., p.19.

8. See above, p. 302.

to being a brother of the Carthusian order, Sir Henry received grants of fraternity from Cîteaux, ⁽¹⁾ and from the Prior Provincial of the Carmelites in England. ⁽²⁾ In view of these precedents and of the wording of his will, it seems likely that he had been awarded a letter of fraternity from la Grande Chartreuse itself.

In 1453 Dame Joan Brenchley, the donor of cell Z at the London Charterhouse, died. She is described as widow of Sir William Brenchley in the priory's register, and her husband died in 1406, so the cell cannot have been built before then. There is no mention of the order in her will, but of course their spiritual services had presumably already been purchased. ⁽³⁾ William Banks, self-styled 'gentilman' of York, died in 1458, leaving Mount Grace 20s. for prayers, but with the proviso that 'nihil habeant de predictis xxs si aliquid clameum faciant pro libro vocato Florarium Bartholomei' ⁽⁴⁾ One is left to speculate at the nature of the relationship between Mount Grace and this gentleman.

The Strangways family, holders of West Harlsey, a manor bordering on Mount Grace's property, were consistent benefactors to the priory. Sir James Strangways, speaker of the Commons in 1451, married Elizabeth Darcy, ⁽⁵⁾ and together in 1456 they endowed Mount Grace with the advowson of the church at Beighton in Derbyshire. ⁽⁶⁾ He died intestate in 1480. His son Sir Richard, who died in 1488, ⁽⁷⁾ was buried at Mount Grace, as appears from the will of his second wife Jane, who died in 1502, 'I wytt vnto the mount grace x marc. for to praye for my saule & the saule of my husbonde Strangweis their beyng buryed and the prior, with hys Bretherne to doo on

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1. Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, lxix (1911), p.124.
 2. Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, lxix (1911), pp.127-8.
 3. Hope, pp.72, 80.
 4. York Dean and Chapter Wills, i, f.288r-v.
 5. J.S. Roskell, 'Sir James Strangways of West Harlsey and Whorlton, Speaker in the Parliament of 1461' Y.A.J. xxxix (1958), p.457; J.C. Wedgewood and A.D. Holt, History of Parliament (London, 1936), pp.820-1.
 6. C.P.R. 1452-61, p.277.
 7. W. Brown, 'History of Mountgrace Priory' Y.A.J. xviii (1905), p.267.

obbett for my saule my husbond saule and all Crysten saules in theyre quere, within x dayes after they be desseyed to doo it & on other to be downe be theime at my twelmonth day then next foloyng'. (1) She gave 10s. each to two individual monks, Fathers Richard Methley and Thurstan. Her husband's grandson Sir Thomas Strangways, (2) who married a daughter of Lord Dacre, left a will of great interest. In 1522 he desired to be buried at Mount Grace wherever the prior thought best: 'Also I gif to the Montegrace, if it please God that I be beried there an other horse also I gif to the said house of Mountegrace, and to the brether of the same for to pray for my saule lxs ... Also I will that the Prior of the Mountegrace haue for the pray for my saull and all Christen saules that God would haue praid for xxs'. The final bequest was the most significant: the first explicit mention of the Lady Chapel, or Chapel of the Mount, some half a mile away from the convent. 'Also I will that the prest that synges at our lady chapell of mounte grace shall syng there still for them that he synges for the space iij yeres be commyn and gone. And he for to haue vnto his wages as he haith had before that is for to say iij^{li} in his yere'. (3) Presumably James Strangways esquire of the parish of Westleigh in Whorlton, was his younger brother, whom he mentions in his will. James, writing in 1532, expressed his desire 'to bee tumulate in the monasterie of the montgrace and therfore I yeve theme xxs in money'. (4) He also left some money to various orders of friars. Some visitations claim that there was also a sister, Joan, who married, firstly, Sir John Bigod of Settringham, and, secondly Sir William Maulever. (5) It seems to

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1. York Prob. Reg. vi, f.16v.
 2. Whether by her, or by Sir Richard's first wife is unknown. The latter seems more likely, as Jane does not mention any son by Strangways in her will, although she mentions a son by her first marriage.
 3. York Prob. Reg. ix, f.343r.
 4. York Prob. Reg. xi, f.183r.
 5. W. Brown, 'History of Mountgrace', Y.A.J. vii (1882), p.479; R. Glover, The Visitation of Yorkshire in 1584/5 (London, 1875), p.595.

have been this Joan, who, together with Sir John Bigod, was granted letters of fraternity by Mount Grace in 1520. ⁽¹⁾ Sir James Strangways, son of Sir Thomas, was an agent of Cromwell, ⁽²⁾ and it was he who administered the oath of supremacy to the Mount Grace monks in 1534, and reported two monks for their refusal to accept it. ⁽³⁾ He is on record as stating that he feared the prior's opposition to the surrender of the house; ⁽⁴⁾ and when the priory was finally dissolved, it was he who paid £722 13s. 4d. for the site. ⁽⁵⁾

In or around the 1460's three more burials of interest were requested at the London Charterhouses. Katherine, daughter of Sir William Babington, figures in Wriothesley's list of burials there. It seems likely that her father was the Sir William Babington, judge, who died in 1455, after being appointed chief baron of the Exchequer in 1419, and chief justice of the common bench in 1423. ⁽⁶⁾ Robert Nanseglos, 'gentilman', desired in 1465 to be interred at the priory 'juxta sepulturam ubi corpus domine Alicie Clynton nuper Anachorite London requiescit humatum', ⁽⁷⁾ thus providing further evidence of the connection popularly drawn between anchorites and the Carthusian order. That Sir John Popham was buried in the London Charterhouse, we may learn not only from Wriothesley, but also from Leland, and from the will of John Bedham, a London fishmonger. The latter charged the priory with the maintenance of lamps to burn continuously over the tombs of Richard Clyderhowe and John Popham, knight. ⁽⁸⁾ Leland ⁽⁹⁾ confirms that this was the famous military

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1. J. Bain, 'Notes on a Collection of Eight Early documents Relating to Yorkshire', Archaeological Journal, xxxvi (1876), pp.275-6.
 2. L.&P. ii, appendix 16.
 3. L.&P. vii, 932.
 4. L.&P. xv, 125.
 5. L.&P. xv, 733.
 6. D.N.B. i, 787; E. Foss, The Judges of England, (London, 1851), iv, 283-5.
 7. P.C.C. 11 Godyn.
 8. Sharpe, Wills, ii, 573.
 9. The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543, ed. L.T. Smith (London, 1964), iv, 100.

commander Sir John Popham who was made constable of Southampton castle in 1415, treasurer of the Household in 1437 and knight of the shire for Hampshire, being asked in 1449 to stand as Speaker for the Commons but refusing to do so. (1) It was he who founded the chapels of St. Michael and St. Jerome at the Charterhouse. (2) He died around 1463. In 1478 Richard Clarell, esquire, 'having the vncertain hour of deth euir suspect which no mortall creature may fle' requested to be buried at the London Charterhouse if he died in that city, but it is not known where he was in fact interred. He left the priory £5 to pray for the souls of his master Richard Bokelane and his wife. (3)

In 1466 John Trollop esquire of Thornley in Durham left 6s. 8d. to Mount Grace, (4) less than he bequeathed to other religious houses. His son, who bore the same name, was slightly more generous, leaving 10s. to the same community in 1522, (5) which represented in his case the highest amount he paid to any religious house. The survival of a fraternity grant from La Grande Chartreuse in 1478 to Robert Olney esquire of Weston Underwood, (6) allows us to identify with near certainty the Robert Olney esquire whom Wriothsesley claimed was buried in the London Charterhouse, with the knight who represented Buckinghamshire in 1442 and 1449. (7) His daughter Margaret Throckmorton was included with him in the grant. Wriothsesley also mentions a Sir Thomas Thawng, whom Hope (8) tentatively identifies as the Sir Thomas Thwyng named in the Inquisition Post Mortem of Humphrey, Lord Dacre in 1485. (9) The Thwyng or Thweng family of Cornburgh, near Sheriff Hutton, was well established, although visitations record no Sir Thomas. Another member of the family, Agnes, daughter of William Thweng of Cornburgh, married Thomas Witham, a friend of the Duke of Gloucester, later Richard III, and executor of the will of Warwick the Kingmaker. (10)

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1. D.N.B. xvi, 146-7; J.C. Wedgwood and A.D. Holt, History of Parliament, pp.692-3.
 2. Hope, p.73.
 3. P.C.C. 37 Wattys.
 4. Wills and Inventories, i, 97-9.
 5. Wills and Inventories, i, 105-7.
 6. B.M. Add.Ms. 5827, f.218v; and see below p. 375.
 7. History of Parliament, pp.649-50.
 8. Hope, p.101.
 9. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, i, 10.
 10. Test. Ebor. iii, 364-5. **334**

After his death in about 1480, Agnes apparently took the veil, and dying in 1495, left two marks to Mount Grace, rather more than she bequeathed to any other religious house. (1) In 1484 John Sampson bequeathed £10 to Edmund Storer, the prior of Hinton, and 20s. to each house of the order in England. He also appointed Storer as supervisor of his will. (2) Richard Danvers of Prescote in Oxfordshire was a lawyer, and Parliamentary representative for Shaftesbury in 1449, and Horsham in 1449/50. (3) In his will of 1480 he left £10 to Sheen, with a further £10, at the discretion of Henry Tracy, monk there, for the repair of the house. (4)

Robert Kirton, esquire, of Crathorne asked to be buried at Mount Grace in 1484. He left 20s. for the prior, Thomas Atkynson, to sing for him for three months, and he requested that St. Gregory's trental be performed. (5) Dame Joan Boynton of Yarm came originally from the Strangways family, although whether she was the daughter of Robert or James Strangways, the various visitations do not agree. (6) In her will, written in 1486 and proved a couple of years later, she stipulated 'Also I put in to the keping of the Prior and convent of Mountegrace c marc of money in my lyffe, to the fynding of a preste xii yere and a half after my decease, to say Messe in the Freres of Yarum yerely, viii marc to be payde of the Prior and Convent of the Mounte grace at iiij quarters of the yere whilk preste shalbe chosyn by the advyce of myn executors and the Prior of Mountegrace'. (7) Thomas Boynton, who was the son of Henry Boynton esquire and who married Cecily Strangways, left several bequests to religious houses in 1523, including 6s. 8d. to Mount Grace and 'a fat ox' to the Observant

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1. York Prob. Reg. v, f.468v.
 2. P.C.C. 45 Milles.
 3. History of Parliament, p.256.
 4. P.C.C. 32 Milles.
 5. York Prob. Reg. v, f.226v.
 6. Test. Ebor. iv, p.13; Visitations of the North, ed. C.H. Hunter-Blair (S.S. cxliv, 1930), iii, 114.
 7. York Prob. Reg. v, ff.351v-352r.

friars of Newcastle. (1)

The will of Edmund Talbot esquire, written in 1496, has important implications. Among the many bequests to churches and religious houses is the following: 'I will that the priour of the Charterhous of Hull have my letter of broderhode of the said house and vjs.viiij. in money, and every broder within the same house iiis.iiij., on condicion that the priour will suffer theme to dispose hit to theire plesure, and I pray theme to say for my soule, the soule of Margarete, my wiffe, and all Christen soules placebo and dirige and masse of requiem by note. Also I will that the priour of Mounte Grace, the priour within the Ile of Axholme and the Bevalle, every priour have xijd. and every broder within the same places viij. and every novice iiij.' (2) Hull Charterhouse certainly received more from him than did any other religious institution, and his bequests to the other three Carthusian priories were also generous. The most intriguing part of the will is that providing 3s. 4d. to every brother at Hull 'on condicion that the priour will suffer theme to dispose hit to theire plesure'. Talbot left money to a number of religious houses in this form, that is, a certain amount to the prior, and the individual brothers and novices, but he did not trouble to make this proviso about the dispersal of the money in the case of any house except Hull. It seems clear that Talbot was familiar enough with the Carthusian rule to know that the monks were not supposed to keep money for themselves, but that he nevertheless wished this requirement to be waived. The implications of this provision are far ranging, and add fuel to the argument that late medieval donors were themselves contributing to the decline in monastic standards which they were simultaneously deprecating. Another contemporary will provides further evidence of a similar kind. In 1502 Elizabeth Swinburne gave 'domui et conv. de Monte Gracie unum par preularum, quinquaginta earum de auro et c de la corall cum omnibus le gaudyes de auro ac etiam unum monile aureum dictis preculis pendens sub hac condicione quod Elizabeth Swynburn, mater mea et Elizabeth filia sua

1. York Prob. Reg. ix, f.251r-v.

2. North Country Wills 1383-1558, ed. J.W. Clay (S.S. cxvi, 1908), 1, 66-7.

sint factae sorores ejusdem domus imperpetuum'. (1) By this provision, Elizabeth was, in effect, purchasing fraternities in the community. What could the prior and convent have done when confronted by such a bequest? To refuse to accept the beads and to withhold the fraternities would have been a churlish way to treat a dying woman's last request, so one assumes that they received the gift.

Other wills from the same period throw more light upon the relations of Mount Grace with the neighbouring gentry. In 1500 Edmund Thwaites esquire of Lund left ten marks to the priory, more than he gave to any other religious house. (2) Thomas Darell esquire of Sessay also desired to be buried there, and bequeathed to the monks his lands and tenements in East Harlsey. (3) The supervisor of his will was Sir Thomas Strangways, whom he referred to as his uncle, so it seems very likely that his wife Margery was a Strangways. Jane Hastings, the daughter of Sir Richard Welles, Lord Willoughby, who married firstly a lawyer, Richard Pigot, and secondly Richard Hastings, left 40s. to Sheen, £3 6s. 8d. to London and £6 13s. 4d. to Mount Grace. She paid for six priests to remember her in their prayers, including 'oon preest, a monck of the charterhous at Mount grace, to syng for evermore in the monastery of Mount grace'. She also made bequests to all the friars of London and York, and to the anchoresses of Bishopsgate and Westminster, and the anchorite of London. (4)

In 1504, Margaret, the wife of John Norton esquire of Bilbrough left the residue of her estate to her son William Norton, and to Dan John Norton, who were to be her executors. (5) Norton was the monk who later, in about 1510, became prior of Mount Grace. Margaret Norton does not state what kind of a kinship she had with him, but that he came from the Norton family of Bilbrough is confirmed by a passage in the Clifford letters. In his last letter of 1523 to Henry, tenth Lord Clifford, Prior Wilson wrote of a dispute over lands in Westmorland, about which the monks had consulted two

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1. York Prob. Reg. vi, f.45r.
 2. York Prob. Reg. iii, ff.319v-320r.
 3. York Prob. Reg. vi, f.39r-v.
 4. North Country Wills, i, 73-4.
 5. Test. Ebor. iv, 92.n.

distinguished judges, Sir Anthony Fitzherbert and Sir John Port; 'Both the juges haith sene our dedes, & they like them nott, for the warand collateralle, wich was our most strengh, thei say it is nothing worgh, for Sir Robert Norton wich made itt was my predecessor brother & came of the Nortons of Bilburgh; & if he had any land it shuld have gone to them & nottother. Also both Mr John Norton & his son denieth ther relesse & saith thei never knewe of itt, & will make itt good before any judge'. (1) Of Robert Norton nothing is known, although it may be supposed that the prefix 'sir' implies that he was in orders, and that he may be the Robert Norton, chantry priest, mentioned in the wills of John Norton, Margaret's husband, of Sir Ranulph Pigot, and of Dame Jane Stapleton of Wighill. (2) No John Norton of Bilbrough is known except for Margaret's deceased husband.

Robert Lascelles esquire of Blakenburgh, dying in 1508, left 'to ye mownt grace to be delyvered to dan Rychard Medley, vis viijd and he to dispose it to ye prior and his bredern for ye helth of my saule'. (3) This may have been in the nature of a personal bequest; but as it is likely that Methley held a position of some importance at Mount Grace, possibly that of procurator, (4) Lascelles might simply have been leaving the money to the monk who dealt with practical affairs for the house. In 1515 James Roos esquire of Ingmanthorpe (a great-great-great-nephew of the Eleanor Roos who displayed some generosity towards Mount Grace in 1438 (4)) bequeathed to Thomas Sander, the parish priest of South Deighton, 'a par bedes off threede with a ryng off golde at theym the which was yeven to me by the priour off the Mountgrace than beyng.' (6) There is little enough evidence of gifts being presented to laymen by Carthusians, so that the examples which are recorded merit some attention. Here unfortunately no further material survives to illustrate the relationship between Roos and the priory. One may,

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1. Clifford Letters, p.71.
 2. Test. Ebor. iv, 93, 215, 274.
 3. York Prob. Reg. vii, ff.32r-35v.
 4. Clifford Letters, p.35.
 5. See above, p. 328.
 6. York Prob. Reg. ix, f.28r-v.

however, speculate that the 'par bedes off threede with a ryng off golde at theym' was none other than the gift which Elizabeth Swynburne had left to the house, in return for her fraternities, the 'par preclarum, quinquaginta earum de auro, et c de la corall, cum omnibus le gaudyes de auro, ac etiam unum monile aureum dictis preculis pendens'. (1) Elizabeth's beads sound far more expensive than those which the prior gave to Roos, but the basic description of the two seems identical. If this were the case, we could conclude that the prior of Mount Grace had accept Elizabeth's gift, only to dispose of it later.

In 1503, John Fox, senior, requested to be buried at Witham. He gave the monks 40s. 'cum vna cratora argentea' and added 'lego sermentibus domus predict' de Whitam xiiis.' (2) Other bequests at about the same time included £10 each to Witham and Hinton from John Compton in 1503; (3) 13s. 4d. to Axholme from Henry Skerne of Waltham in Lincolnshire, whose will was proved in 1506; (4) and 6s. 8d. to Mount Grace in 1521 from John Tong the bailiff of Burnholme. (5) In 1520 Sir Edward Belknappe, a Warwickshire knight, asked to be buried in Coventry Charterhouse if he died in Warwickshire, (6) but it is not known where he was interred. Seven years later, Richard Vernay esquire, of Compton Vernay in Warwickshire, left 20s. to the same house. (7)

The London Charterhouse continued to attract burials. In 1517 Edmund Stephyns, gentleman of London, requested 'to be buried in the religiose place of charterhouse as nygh the place there where the bodye of Margaret my daughter lyeth buried as it may be best done withoute pompiousnes'. (8) The last specification, the absence of pomp, was also a feature of the will of Sir Robert Reede who desired a year later that 'My body somewhat honestly accordinge to myn havyour to be buried without any great pompe of the worlde in the

1. York Prob. Reg. vi, f.45r-v, and see above, pp.336-7.

2. P.C.C. 29 Blamyr.

3. P.C.C. 39 Holgrave. The will was proved in 1505.

4. P.C.C. 10 Adeane.

5. York Prob. Reg. ix, f.195r.

6. P.C.C. 17 Maynwaryng.

7. P.C.C. 27 Porch.

8. P.C.C. 31 Holder.

Charterhouse beside London that is to wit in the Chapel of sainte katernyn there where I have caused a chauntry for evermore to be endowed for me and also ordeyned a place for my body to rest in'. (1)

Reede, knighted in 1495, was a justice of the King's Bench from 1495 and chief justice of Common Pleas in 1506. (2) The agreement of July 1506, in which he paid £256 for his chantry priest, still survives, (3) and provides the additional information that he had lately caused the chapel of St. Katherine to be redecorated. In 1508 Richard Chawry, an alderman of London and parliamentary representative for the city in 1497, (4) left a tenement in the parish of St. Sepulchre without Newgate to Sir Robert, and the remainder to the Charterhouse in order that Reede and his wife Margaret might have their names entered in the Martyrology. (5)

The chantry is also mentioned later, in connection with the salary and appointment of the chantry priests, (6) as are lands which he gave to the house, and which were later alienated in exchange for more profitable ones. (7) John Norborough, a gentleman of London, and one evidently conscious of his status, asked in 1525 to be buried in the Charterhouse for which he left 20s. and directed, 'I will that a stone be leyd over me in the saide churche of the charterhouse with a scripture on it. ... I will that v yards of blak cloth be bought and laid over me the day of my buriall with vj scochyns upon it wherin shelbe myn armes conteyned'. He had apparently already arranged for a yearly obit, 'according to the purporte and effect of a dede of feoffement indented and a will indented made theruppon to Thomas fairefax sergeant at the lawe and other feoffees with him'. (8)

The Carthusians were still consistently receiving bequests from the country gentry in the very last years of their corporate existence, just as they were also receiving requests for burials within their precincts. In 1529, John Swift junior asked to be

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1. P.C.C. 13 Aylofffe.
 2. D.N.B. xvi, 816-7; Emden, Cambridge, p.475.
 3. Hope, p.98.
 4. History of Parliament, pp.176-7; S.L. Thrupp, The Merchant Class of Medieval London (Michigan, 1962), p.330; A.B. Beaven, The Aldermen of the City of London (London, 1908 and 1913), ii, 16.
 5. Sharpe, Wills, ii, 615.
 6. L.& P. iii, 1730; ix, 279.
 7. L.& P. iv, 4221.
 8. P.C.C. 35 Bodfelde.

interred at Hull Charterhouse, 'And I will that maister priour haue for my beriall there xxs And to by a ston to leye opon me with scripture in latine xxxs And I yeve to the monkes of the forsaid charterhouse, to haue a trentall done for my sall xxs.'. He had evidently deposited a sum of money with the prior, for he directed that it should be lent to two of his uncles for three years, and then returned to the prior, 'and he to fynde an honest preist to sing within the parishe church of Esington soo longe as the hole money will extend to payment of his wages ... the residue of all my goodes not yeven and bequest, I yeue to my trustie and well-beloved vncler Rauf Smyth, prior of the Charterhouse Whom I make and orden executour of this my testament and last will'. (1)

In his will of 1529, proved in 1531, James Myssenden, gentleman, of Lincolnshire, left to Bernard Myssenden 'all the yeres that I haue in the churche and parsonage of Gret Lymber of the prior and the convent of the Charterhouse besyde Couentry ... I will that the abbot of Thornton for the tyme beyng shall haue the custody of the indentur and leyse mayd by the prior and convente besyde Coventry to the perfformance of this my wyll'. (2) Despite Myssenden's painstaking precautions, the 'yeres' that were left were few enough. Presumably he referred to the fact that he had a lease from the priory of either the tithes or the glebe of the church: it would be natural for the Carthusians to employ lay farmers to draw revenues from their far-flung estates.

In 1528 Sir William Compton left money to Hinton and Coventry for yearly obits for the souls of his family and the king and also for the souls of both the queen and 'Lady Anne'. (3) In 1530 William Nalson of Methley left 3s. 4d. to Mount Grace. (4) William Bulmer, knight, the elder, gave 2s. to every brother at Mount Grace in 1531, in a long and intricate will that also included bequests

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1. York Prob. Reg. ix, f.440r-v.
 2. Lincoln Wills 1505-1530, ed. C.W. Foster (Lincoln Record Society, x, 1918), p.129.
 3. L.&P. iv, no. 4442 (1); P.C.C. 27 Jankyn.
 4. The History of Methley, ed. H.S. Darbyshire and G.D. Lumb (Thoresby Society, xxxv, 1934), p.100.

to the Observant friars. (1) His son Sir John and the latter's wife, Margaret, were among those executed for their role in the Pilgrimage of Grace. Henry Babthorpe of Drax left 3s. 4d. to Mount Grace in 1535, (2) and finally in his will of 1538 Richard Bellocys or Belasyse of Henknowle in Durham left a pound to Mount Grace for prayers. (3) As the will was not proved until July 1540, the money never reached its destination. Nor did the 10s. and 'vj puderde salmon' bequeathed to the same house by Raufe Surties of Middleton St. George. The date of the will is unknown, but it was not proved until 1549. (4)

The last social group to be considered as conspicuous providers to the Carthusian order were the prosperous citizens of English towns. The qualification 'prosperous' is important, for all the evidence suggests that it was only the aldermanic and mercantile élite who consistently took an interest in the fortunes of the order. (5) That this should be true of somewhere like York and Bath is perhaps to be expected, for their local Charterhouses were some distance away; but it also appears to be true of London, Coventry and Hull where Carthusian priories were situated in or beside the towns. As one would also expect, it was usually only in

1. York Prob. Reg. x, ff.105v-111v.
2. York Prob. Reg. xi, ff.162v-163r.
3. P.C.C. 9 Alengar.
4. Wills and Inventories, i, 133.
5. Bequests to the Carthusians by citizens tend to be relatively frequent in printed sources because of the latter's emphasis upon testators of wealth and rank. Examination of the probate registers themselves demonstrates that there were far fewer bequests to the order by less wealthy and prestigious citizens. For example, Mrs. Heather Swanson, studying the 700 wills left by members of the craft guilds in York between 1380 and 1530, found that out of all these testators only two left bequests to Carthusian houses. These were Ellen Couper, a pinner's wife, who left 3s. 4d. to Mount Grace in 1469 (York Prob. Reg. iv, f.135v) and William Wylson, goldsmith, who gave 13s. 4d. to the convent of Mount Grace and 6s. 8d. to the prior in 1517 (York Prob. Reg. ix, f.52r). Since Wylson was one of the few non-merchants who reached aldermanic status, this example only serves to confirm the rule.

cities which had a Charterhouse situated relatively near them, that the inhabitants gave money to the order. However there were some exceptions to this rule, like Roger Thornton, a merchant of Newcastle, parliamentary representative for the city three times and mayor on four occasions. Dying in 1430, he bequeathed a noble to every monk of Mount Grace to pray for his soul. ⁽¹⁾ Another example is Thomas Thurland, a merchant-stapler of Nottingham whose will was written in 1470 and proved in 1474. His numerous legacies to religious houses included five marks to Beauvale (the highest amount he gave to any monastery), 20s. to Axholme, and also 40s. to Syon. ⁽²⁾ Thurland was mayor six times and parliamentary representative of Nottingham on five occasions. He was also connected with two other high-ranking Carthusian donors. In 1447 he founded the guild of St. Mary's at Nottingham with Ralph, last Lord Cromwell of Tattersall, and his son Thomas married Jane, the sister of Sir Henry Willoughby. ⁽³⁾

Certainly the only citizens of York who seem to have left money to Carthusian houses were members of the merchant class, men who were usually also the aldermen of the city in the fifteenth century. In 1429 for example John Northby, merchant and mayor of York in 1416, left five marks to Mount Grace, to pray for the souls of himself and his relatives. He also bequeathed 5s. to every anchorite in York. ⁽⁴⁾ Three years later Richard Russell, merchant and mayor in 1421 and 1430, as well as parliamentary representative in 1422 and 1424, gave five marks each to the 'monarchis reclusis' of Hull and Mount Grace. ⁽⁵⁾ Robert Kirketon, merchant, in his will of 1445 forgave Hull Charterhouse a debt of unspecified amount which was owed to him. ⁽⁶⁾ In 1487 John Carre, merchant, mayor in 1448 and 1456, and parliamentary representative in 1448, bequeathed 40s. to Mount Grace for 'iii trentalles of Requiem with note' and

1. Wills and Inventories, i, 79.

2. York Prob. Reg. iv, f.6r-v.

3. History of Parliament, pp.853-4.

4. York Prob. Reg. ii, ff.619r-620v. The will was proved in 1432.

5. York Prob. Reg. iii, ff.439r-441r.

6. York Prob. Reg. ii, f.104r.

7d. to each monk there. (1) On his death in 1510, Sir John Gilliot, Parliamentary representative for York, Calais Stapler, master of the merchants' company, and twice mayor, (2) gave £1 to both Hull and Mount Grace so that each might sing thirty masses. (3) In 1509 the only bequest to a monastic house made by Alison, widow of William Clark, was 10s. to Mount Grace, 'to the beilding of a glasse window'. (4) This evidence supports that provided by the will of Martin Colyns that building was in progress at Mount Grace during this period. (5) In his will of 1527, proved in 1531, John Chapman, describing himself as 'notarius publicus, civis et mercator' and quondam 'registrarius cancellarie' of the archbishop of York, left 30s. each to the Charterhouse of Beauvale, Coventry, Mount Grace and Kingston-upon-Hull 'pro obsequiis, missis et suffragiis'. (6) He also made a bequest to his nephew William Claiburgh, the archdeacon of Worcester who requested burial in the London Charterhouse. (7)

At Hull it was also the case that nearly all recorded bequests to Carthusians were made by merchants or aldermen. John Aldwyk, parliamentary representative for the city in 1425-6, (8) had his will witnessed by the prior of the Charterhouse there in 1444. (9) In the same year Thomas Seggefild, burgess, gave 3s. 4d. for prayers for his soul, (10) and in 1445, Richard Russell gave the same sum. (11) Three years later Robert Holme, Calais Stapler, twice mayor and six times parliamentary representative for the city, gave the generous sum of £20 for an obit. (12) In 1453 Robert Goldyng asked to be buried at the Charterhouse, in a will which proves what might otherwise be uncertain: that English Carthusian houses had

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1. York Prob. Reg. v, ff.327v-329r.
 2. History of Parliament, p.376.
 3. York Prob. Reg. viii, ff.32v-34v.
 4. York Dean and Chapter Wills, ii, f.82r.
 5. See above, p. 310.
 6. York Prob. Reg. x, ff.52v-54v.
 7. See above, p. 310.
 8. Members of Parliament, p.312.
 9. Test. Ebor. ii, 105.
 10. York Prob. Reg. ii, f.85v.
 11. York Prob. Reg. ii, f.107v-108r.
 12. York Prob. Reg. ii, ff.211v-212v.

windows of stained glass, not simply of grisaille but depicting full-length images of the kind disavowed by St. Bernard of Clairvaux. Goldyng requested burial 'in ecclesia Sancte Michaelis Archangli domus ordinis Cartus' juxta kyngeston', and he bequeathed 'Priori et Conuentui dictae domus Cartus' ad fabricam unius honeste fenestre de frestone et vitro in capella inter capellam Sancte Trinitate ibidem et Capellam Sancti hugonis quatuor libras Et volo quod fenestra predicta fiat decenter ad minus cum tribus luminibus in quorum medio fiat ymago Beate Marie Virginis et in alio a dextris eiusdem virginis ymago Sancti Johannis Baptistae & in alio a sinistris ymago Sancti Thome Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Et si contigat me ex hac infirmitate conualescere volo tamen quod xls ad minus cedant et dentur ad vsum predictae fenestre Et in medio sub pedibus ymaginis Beate Marie Virginis ob memoriam mei et deuocionem fiat ymago mea genuflectendo'. (1) In 1479 John Whitfield left 10s. to the house, (2) and in 1513 Elizabeth Garner, wife of the alderman Robert Garner, made the prior the supervisor of her will. (3) In 1521 John Fynwell left 'my almous beddes with a knop of imperereill' to the monks, (4) and in the same year a goldsmith, John Wardall, bequeathed 'a hoggished good wyn or els xxvis. viiid. ... vnto the charter hous in the ysll', presumably meaning Axholme. (5) Geoffrey Threscrosse, sheriff of Hull in 1517, died in 1522, binding his executors in £300 to the prior of the Charterhouse, to see that a chantry priest sang for him perpetually in the church of St. Mary, 'and I will that he shall haue my best whit standyng pece parcell gilte with the couer and oon which the cover is a coke to hym and his successours'. (6) His wife, Dame Joan, who died a year later bequeathed to the house 'a standing pece of silver', (7) quite possibly the same article as that mentioned by her husband. Finally in 1528 John Cokett requested burial in the Charterhouse, and left £3 for prayers and the burial, and 20s. to each of the overseers of his will, one of whom was the prior, Ralph Smith. He also gave

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1. York Prob. Reg. ii, ff.285v-286r.
 2. York Prob. Reg. v, ff.148v-149r.
 3. York Prob. Reg. viii, f.105r-v.
 4. York Prob. Reg. ix, f.191r.
 5. York Prob. Reg. ix, ff.144v-145v.
 6. York Prob. Reg. ix, f.240v.
 7. York Prob. Reg. ix, f.272r.

money to Holy Trinity church to compensate the latter for not being buried there. (1)

Thanks to the researches of Dr. Claire Cross and Mr. Peter Heath it is possible to be certain that, after 1476 at least, the testators mentioned above were the only Hull citizens who bequeathed money or goods to the Charterhouse. (2) And the list is not impressive. As Mr. Heath noted, out of 174 Hull wills made between 1478 and the Reformation, only seven mention the Charterhouse (and one, Wardall's, makes a bequest to Axholme). It is also noticeable that most of the bequests occur after the year 1519 in which the dispute between the city and Charterhouse over jurisdiction in the Trippett was finally settled by Wolsey. (3) It would seem that the Charterhouse was not popular among the townsfolk as a whole, probably because of the Trippett quarrel and rivalry between the Pole family and the city. However as these disputes receded into the past, the citizens began to show more interest in the priory during the last years before the Reformation.

Benefactors to Coventry Charterhouse similarly tended to emanate from the most influential families in the city. John Wyldgrys for example was mayor in 1460 and parliamentary representative in 1472-5 and 1479. (4) In his will, written in 1493, he bequeathed 6s. 8d. to the Charterhouse for mass. (5) Thomas Byckelely of Coventry directed in 1505 that 'my body to be buried in the charterhouse beside Coventre and there to be paid to the said church to my buryall vjs. viijd.'. (6) Thomas Bonde, a draper of the city and its mayor in 1498, (7) left the house £20 in 1507 for the building of a wall. (8) Nicholas Fyharbar' (presumably Fitzherbert) also requested burial at the priory in 1508, beside the bodies of his

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1. York Prob. Reg. ix, f.391r.
 2. I am grateful to Dr. Claire Cross and Mr. Peter Heath for furnishing me with many of these Hull references.
 3. See above, pp.75-6.
 4. History of Parliament, p.950; The Records of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, ed. G. Templeton (Dugdale Society, xix, 1944), p.67.
 5. Fretton, p.36.
 6. P.C.C. 4 Adeane.
 7. Coventry Leet Book, ed. M.D. Harris (E.E.T.S.o.s.134, 135, 138, 146, 1904-13), p.588.
 8. P.C.C. 22 Adeane.

father and mother. For this he left 6s. 8d. with a further half mark for a stone to be laid upon himself and his parents. He seems to have held a letter of fraternity; 'Also I bequeth to the same place for my brotherhod vjs. viijd.'. (1) The Pysfords were one of the most powerful families in Coventry in the early sixteenth century. William Pysford, mayor in 1501, (2) bequeathed £3 6s. 8d. to the Charterhouse in his will of 1517. (3) Henry Pysford, one of the few members of the family to evade civic office, (4) gave his house at St. Albans to the Charterhouse in return for an annual mass of requiem and a gift of 3s. 4d. in alms to the poor on the anniversary of his death. (5) His will was proved in 1525; but Fretton commented that it is doubtful whether the house ever reached St. Anne's, since no property at St. Albans figures in its effects at the dissolution. (6) John Haddon, a draper and mayor in 1500, (7) a scion of an equally influential Coventry family, gave £10 to the priory for prayers in 1508. (8) Finally, Thomas Hill, another draper, and a city chamberlain in 1508 and 1516, (9) requested to be buried in the Charterhouse in 1521, for which he bequeathed 20s. (10) Although this list of benefactors to Coventry Charterhouse cannot claim to be complete, it is curious that all the wills cited date from the last few decades of the priory's existence: even a random search should have elicited a few earlier examples had they been especially numerous or noteworthy. It seems that, as at Hull, the priory's reputation within the city grew in the sixteenth century, although, unlike Hull, there is no obvious reason why this should have been the case.

As Witham and Hinton were a considerable distance away from

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1. P.C.C. 10 Bennett.
 2. Coventry Leet Book, p.600; The Records of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, p.64.
 3. P.C.C. 9 Aylofffe.
 4. C. Phythian-Adams, Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1979), p.131.
 5. P.C.C. 37 Bodfelde.
 6. Fretton, p.36.
 7. The Records of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, p.167.
 8. P.C.C. 17 Aylofffe.
 9. Coventry Leet Book, pp.619, 647.
 10. P.C.C. 13 Maynwaryng. **347**

Bath, there are fewer examples of the townsfolk there being moved to take an interest in the affairs of the Carthusians. Once again, such examples as there are tend to be of wealthy and prestigious men. One was Ralph Hunt, a fuller, but obviously well-to-do, since he was buried in Bath cathedral. In his will of 1432, he bequeathed 'priori et conventui cartusiensibus de Domo Dei de Henton' xxs. ita quod ego et Isabella uxor mea simus admissi tamquam fratres et sorores ibidem et ut ipsi [prior et] conventus dicant Placebo et Dirige in die obitus mei et missam in crastino pro anima mea et omnium fidelium defunctorum. Item lego eisdem priori et conventui xxs. pro consimili officio in die anniversarii mei perficiendo ut supradictum est'. (1) This will provides another and earlier example of a practice which has already received some comment above, à propos the will of Elizabeth Swinburne: (2) the making of a bequest conditional upon the granting of fraternities. Nor can £1 really be said to provide an adequate remuneration for the services that were being required of the priory. In 1496 Thomas Chauncellor, alderman and parliamentary representative for Bath in 1478, (3) left 40s. to Hinton to pray for his soul, (4) and his daughter, Joanne who married William Champneys, gave the same to the prior of Witham in 1527 that he might supervise her will. (5) In 1497 Richard Fluett gave 6s. 8d. to the fabric of Hinton, (6) and in 1510 John Jeffreys, alias Cockys, another alderman, also gave 6s. 8d. to Hinton. (7)

More generous were bequests from inhabitants of smaller towns nearer these west-country Charterhouses. In 1477 Walter Mayow, a clothier of Corscombe, gave all his goods and chattels to Witham, (8)

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1. Req. Chichele, ii, 463.
 2. See above, pp.336-7.
 3. History of Parliament, pp.172-3.
 4. P.C.C. 9 Horne.
 5. P.C.C. 25 Porch.
 6. P.C.C. 17 Morne.
 7. P.C.C. 38 Bennett. The will was proved in 1511.
 8. C.Cl.R. 1476-85, p.73.

and in 1508, William Champyon, merchant of the same place, left 40s. each to Witham and Hinton. (1) Both he and his wife, Joanna, were recorded by the general chapter of the same year as benefactors to the two Charterhouses. (2) John Joyce, another clothier of Corscombe, gave 6s. 8d. to each of the two houses in 1519. (3) Simon Grene, a merchant of Bruton, gave 20s. to Witham in 1509 for obsequies and mass on the eve of his burial; (4) and in about 1528 Thomas Strete, a clothier of Mells, gave 10s. to the same houses, the only religious institutions to which he left any money at all. (5)

Even in London, where one could certainly argue that the Charterhouse must have impinged more directly upon the consciousness of the citizens, bequests to the priory still tended to come primarily from the mercantile and aldermanic elements. In London, of course, as distinct from most other towns, there never was a merchant guild as such, because several trading fraternities were numerous and prosperous enough to become merchant companies. (6) Consequently a London grocer or draper could well be a man of considerable importance, which would not be the case anywhere else. Stephan Broun, for example, who left a small sum of money to the Charterhouse in 1466, (7) although he merely gave himself the title of grocer in his will, was actually a master grocer, alderman for both Aldgate and Billingsgate wards at various times, was appointed sheriff once, mayor twice and parliamentary representative for London twice. He was wealthy enough to be owed £400 by Henry V. (8)

The number of London citizens who left money to Charterhouses was very considerable, but as the bequests were, by and large, less

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1. P.C.C. 32 Adeane.
 2. Le Couteulx, *ii*, 497.
 3. P.C.C. 21 Aylofffe.
 4. P.C.C. 21 Bennett.
 5. P.C.C. F.29 Porch.
 6. S. Thrupp, The Merchant Class of Medieval London (Michigan, 1962), p.6.
 7. Sharpe, Wills, *ii*, 554.
 8. History of Parliament, p.123; S. Thrupp, op. cit. p.327; A.B. Beaven, The Aldermen of the City of London (London, 1908-13), *ii*, 7.

substantial, it is not worth enumerating every example. Attention will therefore be concentrated upon bequests which were generous, unusual or indicative of especial regard for the order, and upon donors who were of high status. Some of the wills were in fact copied into the register of the Charterhouse. These are not necessarily the ones which contained the most generous bequests, but they do all concern land bequeathed to the priory, and the monks may well have been anxious to keep copies of the wills as precautions in the eventuality of legal disputes arising over such property. That this was the reason for their inclusion is quite clear from the entry in the register of the wills of Robert and his wife Alice Hardebene. Robert, a merchant of the Calais Staple, whose will was written in 1498 left almost everything to Alice, ⁽¹⁾ and Alice, whose will dates from 1504, was largely concerned to find a suitable priest to celebrate St. Gregory's trental for her. ⁽²⁾ Neither of them even mentioned the Charterhouse, but the priory's interest in their wills is explained when one turns to the will of Sir Bartholomew Rede, because he granted to the house various specified messuages, lands, tenements and appurtenances in Gracechurch St. and Coleman St., most of which he had purchased from John Lodar, the executor of Alice Hardebene's will. Rede, variously described in the register as knight, alderman, citizen and goldsmith, made his will in 1505. ⁽³⁾ He was mayor of the city in 1502-3, was knighted the same year and made prime warden of the goldsmiths in 1492-3. ⁽⁴⁾ The grant of the properties to the Charterhouse was dependent upon the monks fulfilling eight conditions. They were to maintain the lands and tenements in a state of good repair. One monk was to pray for Sir Bartholomew and Elizabeth his wife, and the priory had to 'yerely for evermore gyve or send conveyent notices unto the wardeyns for the tyme beyng of the felaship of goldsmyths to come with theres felashipp in there maner accustomed in there lyverey to the said obits'. Coal was to be distributed

1. P.R.O. L.R. 2/61, f.83r-v.

2. P.R.O. L.R. 2/61, ff.83v-84r.

3. P.R.O. L.R. 2/61, ff.86v-87v. This entry is the latest one in the register than can be precisely dated.

4. A.B. Beaven, op. cit. ii, 19; S. Thrupp, op. cit. p.363.

annually to the monks at the beginning of the winter, and on the day of the obit, 13s. 4d. was to be spent on giving each monk fire and a 'pitaunce or a recreation of bred, wyne and spices, or elles vitalles suchs as shall please theynd'. Every year, before the obits, 6s. 8d. was to be given to the vicar of Cromer in Norfolk to pray for the souls of the couple. The convent had to provide and maintain a priest at Cromer to sing for Rede, to keep there a free grammar school which he had founded, and provide free accommodation at the parsonage. Finally Rede desired to be buried in the cloister of the priory. If the convent defaulted in any of their obligations, the bequests would be void and revert to the fellowship of goldsmiths. Rede was buried in the priory as he had requested. Stow mentions his tomb, although surprisingly Wriothesley does not: it is the only instance where the two lists differ. (1)

John Blakeneye, a fishmonger, also asked to be buried in the Charterhouse. His will, dated 1393, was included in the register, presumably because he left to the priory all his lands and tenements in the parishes of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey and St. Mary Somerset. He also bequeathed to the monks a chalice and £30 for the masonry of their new chapter-house, and required that they recite a de profundis and other prayers weekly for the good of his soul. (2)

In 1479 Sir John Laynham, alias Plommer, who was also buried in the priory, left various tenements in the parish of Our Lady Fanchurch to the prior, John Walsingham, in order to maintain his obit and for other pious and charitable uses. (3) His wife, Margaret, who died three years later, was buried beside him, but her will is not entered in the register, presumably because she left no land to the house. She wanted to be interred at the priory only if she died within seven miles of London (as apparently she did, since she figures on Wriothesley's list): if this was the case, the priory was to receive 40s. for her burial. She gave 20s. each to the late prior, Edmund Storer, (4) and to two monks, Fathers Gorwey (5)

1. Hope, pp.100-2.

2. P.R.O. L.R. 2/61, f.57r.

3. P.R.O. L.R. 2/61, f.98r.

4. He resigned as prior of the London Charterhouse in 1477, and became prior of Hinton (Hope, p.149).

5. Thomas Gorwey, who told the author of the register stories about Father Homersley (Hope, pp.60-3).

and William Witherlee. (1) She also bequeathed 10s. to every monk, and 3s. 4d. to every lay-brother, adding the significant proviso 'prouided alweie that if it be contrarie to their religion eny monke to haue or take eny money proper to his owne vse thanne I wolle that all the money be me biquathed to all the saide monkes be delivered bi myn executores to the priour of the same place bi him to be applied towards the sustentation ... of his said brethern.' She was evidently of the opinion that the monks would benefit from a gentle reminder that their prayers were required for her. Her will suggests that the Charterhouse church was cluttered with funerary tablets; 'I will and tenderly desire that att euery aulter withinne the conuent church of the same place their may be set vp a little table with my name and the names of my seide late husbonde and of my feder and my moder to be sett percinne and that the tables may stande stille vpon the saide aulteres by the space of vij yeres after my decesse to thentent that the conuent of the saide place may the moor tenderly remember tho soules by names and also tho soules that my saide frendes and I were bounde to praie fore ... Item I bequeth to the said Chartrehous my grete carpett to be spred a fore the high aulter'. (2)

As one might expect, the will of Sir William Walworth was copied into the Charterhouse register. He had, of course, endowed five cells at the house; and, in its early days, he had been instrumental in granting to the priory a number of pieces of land. (3) In his will, written on 20 December 1385, he left to the Charterhouse the remainder of various tenements in the parish of St. Peter, Cornhill and rents in the parish of St. Andrew, if the church of St. Michael, Crooked Lane defaulted in maintaining his chantry; he also granted the reversion of tenements in the parish of St. Christopher, Bradstreet, in return for their prayers. (4) In 1397 William Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, and William Rikham had licence to alienate the last named tenements to the Charterhouse in frankalmoin. (5)

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1. Probably William Hatherley, ex-prior of Hinton (Hope, p.60).
 2. P.C.C. 6 Logge.
 3. C.P.R. 1374-7, p.380-1; 386; 1377-81, pp.242-4; C.Cl.R. 1381-5, pp.158-9.
 4. P.R.O. L.R. 2/61, f.55r-v.
 5. C.P.R. 1396-9, p.318.

Also included in the Charterhouse register is the will of John de Northampton or Comberton who died in 1398. Northampton was a famous draper who became parliamentary representative for London in 1377 and mayor in 1381 and 1382. He achieved much contemporary notoriety by being a prominent supporter of Wyclif, and the head of a faction among the Londoners supporting John of Gaunt. (1) To that Charterhouse he left the remainder of those tenements and lands in Pentecost lane which he had bequeathed to his son, James. The priory was to observe his obit yearly; and on that day, half a mark of silver was to be spent on a pittance and half a pound of ginger for each monk. At Lent, every monk was to be given a pound of dates, another of figs and a third of raisins beyond the normal allowance. (2) These bequests provide another, and very early, example of an attempt by a well-meaning benefactor to mitigate the severity of the rule. John de Northampton is also named in the list of chantries at the priory provided by the register. Here the author states that an altar in the church was assigned to Northampton and his relatives. Their names were all inscribed on a 'tabula' placed on the altar where two priests celebrated daily. On repeating the provisions of the will the author commented, 'Et omnia ista onera nobis tantum supplicando imposuit', (3) an ambiguous remark which suggests that the monks felt that Northampton had been somewhat demanding.

In 1460 William Aston, citizen and freeman, left all his lands and tenements in the parish of St. Martin near Ludgate, to the church of St. Martin in return for an obit and the supervision of his will; but if the church defaulted, the Charterhouse was to take up the obligation. The lands were bequeathed subject to an annual rent of £10 6s. 8d. which was to go to Thomas Methley, the prior of Beauvale; he in his turn was to pay out seven marks a year to a chantry in Nottinghamshire where Aston's daughter was buried, or to another chantry in Derbyshire which Aston had set up for the souls of himself, his parents and his wife. (4) John Bedham, fishmonger, died in 1472 and left to one William Baron a shop in the parish of St. Nicholas

1. A.B. Beaven, op. cit.i, 391; ii, 162; S. Thrupp, op. cit. pp.357-8; D.N.B. xiv, 630-1.

2. P.R.O. L.R. 2/61, f.67r-v.

3. Hope, p.87.

4. P.R.O. L.R. 2/61, f.103r-v.

at the Shambles. The remainder of the shop was to go to the Charterhouse, which was in return to maintain lamps burning continuously over the tombs of Richard Clyderhowe and Sir John Popham to observe an obit for the soul of the said William Baron. (1) Both Stow and Wriothesley list the tombs of two men both called William Baron esquire, the repetition of which may well be a scribal error. It seems likely that it was the William Baron mentioned in Bedham's will who was buried in the priory, but it is difficult to discover any further information about him: he certainly was not a prominent London citizen. Walter Patsyll, mercer, made an extremely short will in 1479. Its sole provision was to leave to the Charterhouse a tenement or hostel called 'le Faucon super le hoop' in Gracechurch Street. (2)

The list of those whose wills merited inclusion in the register is completed by the following names. Walter Bachiler, a draper, whose son was a friar, left the remainder of lands, tenements and rents in Watling Street to the house in 1372. (3) Adam Rous, surgeon, gave the remainder of a tenement in Cornhill in 1379. (4) John de Coggeshale, a corder, left lands to three parish churches, subject to payments to the priory in 1384; (5) and in 1432 William Cambrugge, alias Warbilton, an ironmonger, later a grocer, and an alderman, (6) left to the Charterhouse the remainder of tenements in Mincing Lane, as well as an ale-house called 'le Mayden on the hoop' in Tour Street. This was on the condition that the monks prayed for himself, his parents and his wives. He also left money to every anchorite in London. (7) In 1493, John Porter, a vintner, left the remainder of a bequest of 30s. to the Charterhouse, provided that the monks kept an obit for him and distributed alms to paupers at the hospital of Elsing Spital. (8)

Besides those whose wills were directly copied into the

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1. P.R.O. L.R. 2/61, ff.71v-72r.
 2. P.R.O. L.R. 2/61, f.80v.
 3. P.R.O. L.R. 2/61, f.57r-v.
 4. P.R.O. L.R. 2/61, f.55v.
 5. P.R.O. L.R. 2/61, f.60r.
 6. S. Thrupp, op. cit. pp.327-8; A.B. Beaven, op. cit. ii, 5.
 7. P.R.O. L.R. 2/61, ff.95v-96r.
 8. P.R.O. L.R. 2/61, ff.92r-93v.

Charterhouse register, the names of other London benefactors were mentioned in those sections devoted to chantries. One was Adam Fraunceys, a mercer who was mayor twice in 1352 and 1353 and parliamentary representative seven times for the city. (1) He gave 1,000 marks for the building of five cells, in return for which the monks felt themselves bound to pray for him. (2) Thomas Aubrey, a pepperer, and Felicia his wife, who endowed another cell, had entered into an agreement with the house whereby they were the beneficiaries of a perpetual chantry. (3) Thomas Aubrey was an executor of the will of his 'kinsman' Andrew Aubrey, who died in 1358. (4) Andrew Aubrey's son, John, a grocer, was an alderman and parliamentary representative for London in 1368-9. (5) He died in 1381, requesting burial in the Charterhouse. (6) His wife, Maud, or Matilda, was the daughter of Adam Fraunceys, and subsequently married Alan Buxhall, constable of the Tower, and the Lollard knight, Sir John Montacute, who became the third earl of Salisbury in 1397. (7)

Another chantry was devoted to the souls of William Stowe and his wife Alice, who had given the house their tenements on Charterhouse property near Smithfield and generally aided the priory during the trying period of its foundation. From these rents each monk was to receive annually a pound of ginger and a pound of sugar. (8) This was in all probability the same William Stowe who, dying in 1390, requested burial 'infra magnam portam ecclesie Cartusiensis prope London'. (9) John de Guldeford, paneter, who died in 1383, left the remainder of various rents to St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, charged with an annual payment of ten marks to the Charterhouse for a chantry priest. (10) Guldeford also made many bequests to various

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1. A.B. Beaven, op. cit., i, .387; S. Thrupp, op. cit. pp.341-2.
 2. Hope, p.87.
 3. Hope, p.86.
 4. Sharpe, Wills, ii, 1-2.
 5. S. Thrupp, op. cit., p.322; A.B. Beaven, op. cit., i, 389.
 6. Sharpe, Wills, ii, 222.
 7. G.F. Beltz, Memorials of the Order of the Garter (London, 1841), pp.188-90; K.B. McFarlane, Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights, p.175.
 8. Hope, p.86.
 9. Hope, p.95.
 10. Hope, p.66.

nuns, friars, hermits and anchorites of London and Stamford. (1) William Symmes, grocer, was a major benefactor to the house, for which he was granted a fraternity in 1418. His generosity extended to paying 300 marks for the endowment of a cell, part of the cloister and the repair of the walls of the church. He spent 220 marks on the maintenance of the conduit and another 220 marks on miscellaneous expenses, besides the gift of various books and ornaments; 'Et pro hoc beneficio nomen ejus de numero sanctorum. non deleatur. sed in libro vite inter sanctos et electos conscribatur'. (2) Symmes' alterations to the water supply were later to be the subject of a suit in chancery. Three brewers, John Chateryché, John Joy and Richard Hill, claimed that Symmes had provided for the waste water coming from the priory to be put to the use of the common people, but that the prior often withdrew this water for the use of the house. The executors of Symmes' will, John Walden, grocer, and William Stafford, had to be summoned to elucidate Symmes' original intentions. They agreed that he had intended the prior to make whatever use of the water he chose, and on 25 March 1451, Henry VI gave judgement in favour of the house. (3) In his will of 1439, Symmes left each monk at the Charterhouse 3s. 4d. to pray for him, but he was buried at the Carmelite church. (4) John Peke, esquire, goldsmith, requested to be buried in the Charterhouse church, 'as nygh unto the place ther where the bodies of my late two wiff's lyth buried as it may goodly be done'. He left 100s. for prayers and torches in his will of 1506, proved by his third wife. (5) The register notes that his chantry was in the chapel of St. Agnes. (6) Robert Botelm or Boteler who built the chapel of St. John in 1437 also appears to have been a goldsmith. (7)

Such are the benefactors who were thought worthy enough to have their names recorded in the register of the Charterhouse. But other

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1. Sharpe, Wills, ii, 235.
 2. Hope, pp.87-8.
 3. Hope, pp.129-32.
 4. P.C.C. 25 Luffenam.
 5. P.C.C. 5 Adeane.
 6. Hope, pp.75-6.
 7. Hope, p.73.

Londoners appear to have been equally generous, many of these giving lands or rents, so that the reason for their omission from the register is not clear. In 1377, for example, Henry Frowyk, senior, the son of a goldsmith, ⁽¹⁾ left the priory tenements in the parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate. ⁽²⁾ In 1381 Felicia, widow of John Peutry, asked to be buried in the Charterhouse near the tomb of her husband. She bequeathed to the monks various rents issuing from her tenement called 'le holceler' in the parish of St. Margaret, Bridge Street, on condition that they observed the obits of her husband and herself by celebrating a requiem, placebo and dirige with music on the feast of St. Boniface (5 June). ⁽³⁾ In 1383 Sir Robert atte Launde, a goldsmith and alderman, ⁽⁴⁾ desired that 'mon indigne corps destre sepelre devaunt lestall en le quer notre dame seint marie de Chartrehous de Loundres la devaunt ove la priour estat a matyns Et devyse davoit desur moy un pere ove lescription en honor de dit quer pris v marcz. Item jeo doune a mesme Covent xx li pour achater une table pour estorer devaunt le haut auter overe del meliour peintour qest en Londres pourtreie en mesme le table un ymage fait genulant ou mon noum'. In addition he bequeathed to the house a further £10 and the reversion of a shop in Chepe with solars in the parish of St. Vedast. ⁽⁵⁾

Margaret, the widow of Benedict Cornewall, draper, left lands and tenements in the parish of St. Benedict in Langbourne to the monks in 1425, so that they would observe her obit. ⁽⁶⁾ John Hatherley, an ironmonger, mayor of the city in 1442-3 and its parliamentary representative in 1433, died in 1466, ⁽⁷⁾ leaving to the priory various tenements and a wharf in Debillane in the parish of St. Michael for the maintenance of a chantry in the church of St. Michael and another one at the Charterhouse, also for obits and

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1. S. Thrupp, op. cit., p.342. He was not, strictly speaking, a Londoner, since he was knight of the shire for Middlesex.
 2. Sharpe, Wills, ii, 201.
 3. Sharpe, Wills, ii, 233.
 4. S. Thrupp, op. cit., pp.352-3; A.B. Beaven, op. cit., i, 391.
 5. Hope, p.95; Sharpe, Wills, ii, 236. See also Testamenta Vetusta, i, 72, where what appears to be an earlier will dating from 1367 is printed. In this version of the will Launde still requests burial in the Charterhouse.
 6. Sharpe, Wills, ii, 441.
 7. S. Thrupp, op. cit., p.348. **357**

gifts to the poor, as was stated in an agreement made between himself and the priory. He also bequeathed to the monks the remainder of a hostel where he lived and a brewery called 'le Cok on the Hoop' in Trinity Lane, for other pious uses. (1) In 1467 William Gregory senior, skinner and mayor in 1451, (2) left to the house a rent of 13s. 4d. charged on tenements in the parish of Sts. Anne and Agnes. (3) Gregory has another claim to fame as the alleged author of a well-known chronicle of London. (4) In 1509 Richard Chawry, salter, mayor of London in 1494 and parliamentary representative in 1497, (5) left to the house the remainder of a tenement in the parish of St. Sepulchre in order that the monks would enter the names of Sir Robert Rede and his wife Margaret in their Martyrology. (6) Finally Thomas Thwaites, mercer of London and burgess of Calais, asked to be buried in the chapel of St. Jerome at the priory, which place he had already prepared. For use in this chapel he bequeathed all the jewels and stuffs of his own personal chapel. To every monk he bequeathed 12s. and to the prior the reversion of lands and tenements in the parish of our Lady of Aldermary. (7) His will was written in 1503 but not proved until 1515; and in the interim a lease was drawn up stating that prayers would in fact be offered for the souls of himself and his wife at the altar of St. Michael, despite the fact that the memorial tablet bearing their names was placed on the altar of St. Jerome. (8)

Three other wills leave property to the Charterhouse only in case of default on the part of the original recipients. In 1457, William Farneham, spurrier, left his brewery called 'Le Whitehert super le hoop' to the priory if the fraternity of St. Sitha failed to maintain the obit of John Courtenay, the late principal of

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1. Sharpe, Wills, ii, 553.
 2. S. Thrupp, op. cit. p.347; D.N.B. viii, 546-7.
 3. Sharpe, Wills, ii, 557.
 4. The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Society, n.s. xvii, 1876).
 5. History of Parliament, pp.176-7; A.B. Beaven, op. cit., ii, 16; S. Thrupp, op. cit., p.330.
 6. Sharpe, Wills, ii, 615; and see above, p. 340.
 7. Sharpe, Wills, ii, 621-2.
 8. Hope, p.94.

Furnivall Inn in Holborn. (1) In 1508 James Fynche, sherman, directed that if the fraternity of Shermen failed to observe his obit and maintain a reader of divinity in Richard Whittington's college, the priory was to receive 36 messuages and a wharf in Heywharfe Lane. (2) A year later John Hert, brewer, left the remainder of tenements in the parish of St. James of Garlickhithe, to the Charterhouse if the hospital of St. Thomas of Acon failed to keep his obit. (3)

Other interesting London benefactors of the house may possibly include its architect, Henry Yevele. (4) In 1392, a man of that name (which was not a common one, in London at least) and described simply as 'citizen', alienated a garden and a messuage in the parishes of St. Margaret Lothbury and St. Olave, and two messuages and twelve shops to the Charterhouse in frankalmoin. (5) The celebrated mayor of London, Richard Whittington, gave 100s. to the house in 1422 to pray for his and other souls. (6) The prior of the Charterhouse was also partly responsible for governing a trust administered by the Mercers' Company for various charitable purposes, and paid for by Whittington's bequest. (7) One of his executors, John Coventry, a master mercer and mayor in 1425-6, (8) left five marks to the London Charterhouse and four to every other in England in 1429. (9) In 1448 Sir William Estfield, another master mercer, mayor in 1429 and 1437, and parliamentary representative in 1431, 1439 and 1442, left a cask of red wine to the house, describing himself as a capitular brother therein. (10) Sir Bartholomew James,

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1. Sharpe, Wills, i, 531.
 2. Sharpe, Wills, ii, 614.
 3. Sharpe, Wills, ii, 616.
 4. J. Harvey, Henry Yevele (London, 1944), p.31.
 5. C.P.R. 1391-6, p.160.
 6. Req. Chichele, ii, 243.
 7. J. Imray, The Charity of Richard Whittington (London, 1968), pp. 36, 42-3.
 8. S. Thrupp, op. cit., p.335; A.B. Beaven, op. cit. ii, 6.
 9. Req. Chichele, ii, 402.
 10. Sharpe, Wills, ii, 510. He was also a capitular brother of four other religious institutions.

draper and mayor in 1479, (1) left bequests to both London and Sheen in 1481, although the will was not proved until 1498. (2)

Numerous other Londoners asked to be buried at the Charterhouse, including in 1381 Walter Mayn, moneyer at the Tower of London, (3) and, in 1387, Katherine, widow of John atte Pole of London. She left to the prior, 'xx libr. argenti et unum vestimentum de serico strangulatum brodei coloris et centum solidos pro una chalice'. (4) Both John Wetyng, citizen, in 1429, (5) and Thomas Slegge in 1450 (6) desired to be buried 'infra claustrum' of the priory. A haberdasher, Hugh Davill, wanted to be interred at the house in 1442. (7) In 1476, William Laurence, citizen and grocer, asked to be buried in the church. His will contained complex but explicit instructions for the burial. Twelve poor men had to carry twelve torches beside his bier as it was conveyed first to St. Botolph's in Billingsgate and then to the Charterhouse. He bequeathed the house £66 13s. 4d., 'to this extent that forasmoch as I am a broper among tham of the chapitre hous and that I have grete confidens in their devoute for the wele and comfort of my soule'. He ordained also that £3 be paid to the priory annually out of his lands and tenements, and that a good pipe of red wine be distributed among the monks so that his own and his parents' souls might be 'the more tenderly remembred and recommended to almighty god among their devoute praires'. (8) In 1479, Thomas Tetisworth left 20 marks to the priory for his burial there, and £20 to be distributed among the old and sick. He willed that each monk should receive 3s. 4d. for his own use 'ut specialiter orent pro anima mea'. (9) Henry Penhargard asked to be buried in the cloister in 1499, and gave the priory 'a standing pese pounsed and gilt'. (10) In 1516 Elizabeth Skipwith

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1. S. Thrupp, op. cit., pp.350-1; A.B. Beaven, op. cit., ii, 13.
 2. Sharpe, Wills, ii, 598.
 3. Hope, p.95.
 4. Hope, p.95.
 5. C.C.L. iii, f.228v.
 6. C.C.L. v, f.6r.
 7. C.C.L. iv, f.102r.
 8. P.C.C. 27 Wattys.
 9. C.C.L. vi, f.189v.
 10. C.C.L. viii, f.198r.

requested burial in the 'precincte' of the Charterhouse, but only if she died near London. She left £10 to the Charterhouse, and asked that the prior William Tynbergh have keeping of her will and other goods, money and plate, as they had already agreed in 'a paire of bulles'. (1) Finally Richard Chaffe, a merchant of the Calais Staple, wanted to be buried in the priory, 'as nygh vnto the Cross Ile there as may be conuenient ... My executor shall prouide and ordeyn a stone of marbill with a pycture and scripture of remembrans of me as apperteyneth for to lye vpon my grave of the value of fyve mercs sterlinge'. (2)

It is once again necessary to stress that this list of London benefactors is by no means complete. Nevertheless a sufficiently large number of examples survive to place Londoners' bequests to the Charterhouse in the general context of their so-called 'charitable' bequests. Professor Jordan, in his massive study of gift-giving by Londoners, noted that 80% of monastic benefactions in the city were made by the crown and clergy; and he concluded that 'the claims of monasticism on the conscience and loyalty of men had as early as 1480 become confined to very narrow social limits, and, more importantly, that they had been almost totally repudiated by the burgher class'. (3) By contrast this study has shown that the Carthusians in London, and indeed in other cities where Charterhouses were situated, derived considerable support from the mercantile and aldermanic classes, and that this support was if anything greater after 1480 than it had been before that date. This suspicion that the pattern of gift-giving to the Carthusians was of a different kind to that received by other orders is confirmed by J.A.F. Thompson. Subjecting the wills of Londoners proved at Canterbury to comprehensive analysis, Thompson was able to come to some interesting conclusions about the popularity of the religious orders in general, and the Carthusians in particular. He noted that the mendicant orders were in much greater favour than the possessioners, and that the disparity

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1. P.C.C. 25 Holder.
 2. P.C.C. 15 Jankyn.
 3. W.K. Jordan, The Charities of London 1480-1660 (London, 1960), p.280.

increased towards the Reformation. From this rule he excepted the Carthusians, whose popularity, alone among the monastic orders, increased as time went by; 'It is worth noting the progress of the Carthusians, who received gifts from only six out of 22 monastic benefactors in Marche, from 12 out of 25 in Luffenham, 14 out of 20 in Logge, and in Bodfelde and Jankyn 14 out of 18 and 5 out of 7 respectively' and he commented in conclusion, 'the increasing favour shown to the Carthusians among the monks and to the Observants among the friars suggests that the Londoners were not uncritical in their bestowal of favours and had a preference for the more austere orders'. (1) Certainly the evidence presented in this chapter serves to substantiate Thompson's conclusion more fully.

More generally, and at all social levels, it is in the nature of the subject matter of this chapter that the evidence can only be gathered in a random fashion, thus precluding the kind of statistical analysis which Thompson was able to present. Nevertheless, the evidence does permit several important conclusions to be reached, albeit of a general and impressionistic nature. The most crucial of these conclusions is that for many donors the Carthusians were regarded as an especially worthy group of monks and quite distinct from other religious orders. This belief is expressed in two ways. In the first place many donors manifested considerable faith in the Carthusians' holiness, and consequently, in the power of their intercession: in the words of William Laurence, grocer of London, 'I have grete confidens in their devoute for the wele and comfort of my soule'. (2) Secondly, the fact that donors often left money and goods not only to the Carthusians but also to local anchorites suggests that the distinctive eremitical nature of the Carthusian calling was both understood and appreciated. Donors apparently realised precisely where the significant difference between the Carthusians and other monastic orders lay, and fully approved of the

1. J.A.F. Thompson, 'Piety and Charity in Late Medieval London', J.E.H. xvi (1965), pp.189-90.
2. P.C.C. 27 Wattys.

Carthusian way of life. Moreover there are quite a few instances where a patron left money or objects to more than one Charterhouse, occasionally even to every community in England. It would seem that these bequests were made less out of affection for a particular house, as was normally the case with other orders, than out of respect for the Carthusians as such. No other religious order attracted this kind of collective bequest on a national scale, although the friars often received it locally. It also often happened that the Charterhouses were the only religious institutions (excepting parish churches) to benefit from a testator's generosity; and an even greater number of testaments survive to show that although Charterhouses were not the only religious institution mentioned, they received significantly more than the others.

The fact that so many of the wills used in this chapter also include bequests to the mendicant orders deserves some emphasis. To the student of late fourteenth and fifteenth-century ecclesiastical history, contemporary views of the friars present notoriously paradoxical aspects. On the one hand they receive far greater abuse in surviving literary texts than did any other branch of the institutional church. (1) On the other hand, all available testamentary evidence, from every part of the country, confirms that from early in the fourteenth century the mendicants supplanted the older established orders in popularity and continued to increase their ascendancy until the Reformation. The resolution of this apparent contradiction lies partly in the fact that, whatever reproaches may have been directed at the mendicants, they could not be accused of being moribund. They continued to participate actively in the life of the lay community, thus exciting both ardent admiration and extreme abuse.

That the Carthusians and the friars should be so frequently mentioned together in the same wills is perhaps curious, considering the very different nature of their vocations and functions. But the explanation may lie precisely in the fact that the two groups of religious did offer such dissimilar views of the religious calling,

1. See R.O. ii, 90-114.

such opposite ends of the spiritual spectrum: the Carthusians represented the highest contemporary expression of the contemplative ideal, while the friars manifested the aims of the active ideal. That this might have been the case is confirmed by a similar pattern of bequests which emerges from a number of wills containing bequests to Carthusians, and especially from those of Londoners. (1)

The testators tended to leave their money to one or more Charterhouses, the four orders of friars, the local hospitals, leper houses, prisons and paupers. To this list may be added two or three anchorites, in many cases, and, with the later wills, the Observant friars. It is a pattern which recurs often enough to be significant, and in it one may discern the same division between respect for the active and contemplative ideas as in those wills making bequests only to the Carthusians and friars. Bequests to anchorites, Carthusians and Observants presumably represent an appreciation of the austere, solitary, meditative ideal: gifts to friars, hospitals, leper-houses and paupers relate more obviously to the pastoral element of the religious life. At present some controversy rages over the extent to which gifts to hospitals, leper-houses and the deprived in general were a manifestation of a primarily religious impulse or a means of exercising social control. (2)

However the argument may be quelled by Dr. Malcolm Vale's trenchant comment that, 'There were better means of exercising 'social control': of what material value to the gentry was the gratitude of the bed-ridden?'. (3)

Therefore bequests to prisons, hospitals, leper-houses and paupers may be categorised under the same general heading of socially useful religious bequests. Gifts to the friars partly fall into the same category because the important criterion is that the motivation behind such charity was primarily religious. It could therefore be argued that both

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1. Thomas de Beaufort's will, examined in some detail in the second chapter (pp.112-13) is a typical example. Other examples of wills (all of Londoners) which follow this pattern are; Walter Bachiler (Sharpe, Wills, ii, 158), Edelenatta Legh (Ibid. ii, 178), John de Guldeford (Ibid. ii, 235), John de Heylesdon (Ibid. ii, 243), Thomas Renham (Ibid. ii, 269), John Wodecok (Ibid. ii, 398), Stephen Broun (Ibid. ii, 554), John Leynham (P.R.O. L.R. 2/61, f.98r) and Thomas Padyngton (Sharpe, Wills, ii, 588).
 2. J.T. Rosenthal, The Pursuit of Paradise (London, 1972), pp.130-1.
 3. M.G.A. Vale, Piety, Charity and Literacy among the Yorkshire Gentry 1370-1480 (Borthwick Paper no. 50, York, 1976), p.28.

testators who left money to the Carthusians and friars only, and also those who displayed a more complicated pattern of bequests, were sponsoring organisations or individuals that were thought to represent most nearly the two purest ideals of the religious life, and ignoring those which fell between the two extremes.

Clearly, on the basis of the information presented in this chapter, further conclusions could be reached about the relationship between the order and its patrons. Moreover there are issues raised by some of the wills in this chapter which demand further consideration: in particular, the issues of fraternities and lay-burials in the Charterhouses. The next chapter examines these aspects, and looks at the less tangible literary evidence relating to the Carthusians, before reaching final conclusions on the subject.

However it is already apparent that the late medieval decline in benefactions to the monastic orders did not necessarily represent a decline in religious sentiment on the part of the lay population. On the contrary, the donors displayed a more intelligent and discerning attitude towards the objects of their charity, selecting those religious institutions which they felt, rightly or wrongly, were most deserving of their approval. Among these they certainly numbered the Carthusian order.

Chapter Seven

Late Medieval Attitudes Towards the Carthusians

This chapter examines the attitudes of English society towards the Carthusian order from 1370 until the Reformation. The subject is complex and sometimes intangible, and it is often necessary to advance arguments of a rather general nature. Many of the themes mentioned in earlier chapters are here developed, and in particular the theme of patronage and of the benefits which patrons demanded from the Carthusians in return for their generosity. It was also noted in the last chapter that were one only to peruse contemporary literature, one would assume that the friars were the subject of universal opprobrium: documentary evidence however demonstrates clearly that this was not the case. With the Carthusians the testamentary evidence is happily less at variance with the literary sources, and it is to an examination of the latter that the second part of this chapter is devoted. (1) The evidence of the literary material is used to assess the changing nature of public attitudes towards the Carthusians in the period under review. The reception encountered by the Carthusians on their initial arrival in England has already been discussed, (2) and it is here contrasted with their reception in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the period which saw the foundation of most English Charterhouses. Finally, the literary evidence of the early sixteenth century is examined, with a view to discovering in what way lay attitudes towards the order had changed. The change was a subtle one, but it was sufficient to ensure that the English Carthusians followed all their other monastic counterparts into extinction.

The first part of this chapter is therefore devoted to discovering what benefits patrons demanded from the Carthusians in return for their benefactions, and what effect these had upon the spirituality and reputation of the order. It is a truism that a religious house

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1. The material here is drawn largely from English sources. A.P.F. Lefebvre, Saint Bruno et l'Ordre des Chartreux (Paris, 1883), ii, 567-616, supplies extracts from many European works commenting upon the Carthusian order.
 2. See above, pp. 24-32.

whose local popularity arose from its reputation for austerity and sanctity might attract many endowments from patrons, thereby causing it to become luxurious and impious, and consequently unpopular. Certainly the reputed luxury of the Black Monks and cupidity of their White counterparts caused their decline in public esteem, (1) and it is easy enough to attribute these faults to corruption consequent upon the wealth they had accumulated. Despite their constant pleas of straitened circumstances, the Carthusian houses were by no means poor, as a glance at the comparative figures of the Valor Ecclesiasticus will confirm. And they did, as has been shown, attract a continuous stream of large benefactions. There is no easy way of measuring the effects that these had upon them; but it is possible to identify certain common concessions that were made to their lay-patrons. Clearly the good reputation of the order was such that many patrons wished to ensure that their names in particular were commemorated by the monks. These patrons demanded especial favours from the Carthusians: letters of fraternity, and the rights both to dwell within the precincts of English Charterhouses and to be buried there. Original Carthusian statutes had specified that such favours were not to be granted to outsiders, but it appears that external pressure was so insistent that the monks were forced to grant these concessions.

Lay burial either within the priory itself or in the cemetery had originally been forbidden by Guigo's statutes. Other than the Carthusians, the only persons who could in theory be buried in Charterhouses were those religious who had died there and could not be transported back to their own monastery or institution. (2) It seems, however, to have been the case that with the expansion of the order this statute was increasingly disregarded. Indeed, one finds the order constructing graveyards especially for the purpose of lay burial. In 1459, at the request of Prior John Pester of Witham, Thomas Bekynton, bishop of Bath and Wells, allowed two

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1. See, for example, Giraldus Cambrensis, Speculum Ecclesiae, ed. J.S. Brewer (R.S. 21. 1873), iv, passim.
 2. Guigo, Consuetudines (P.L.153), cols.721-2.

pieces of land, one surrounded by a hedge and the other walled in and roofed, to be blessed and dedicated as a graveyard. The land adjoined the chapel of 'La Friary'; and the Charterhouse was given permission to build a baptismal font in the chapel itself, and to appoint a chaplain to celebrate masses. (1) The friary was a short distance away from the house, and therefore the dedication of the graveyard could not be said to have contravened Guigo's regulations. Possibly it represented an attempt to make it easier to obey the statutes, since laymen who expressed a desire to be buried at the house could be interred in the new graveyard.

A list follows of all the individuals who are known to have been buried, or to have requested burial within an English Charterhouse. Even so, it must be doubted whether the list is comprehensive, since it is dependent upon evidence, largely testamentary, the accessibility of which varies from region to region, as was noted in the previous chapter. Thus the list for London is reasonably full, primarily owing to the survival of Wriothesley's catalogue of burials in the house, whilst there is at present no evidence about burials at Beauvale or Hinton, and very little for Axholme, Witham and Sheen. The burial at Sheen requires further explanation. Several sixteenth-century chroniclers comment on the fact that after the battle of Flodden in 1513, the earl of Surrey is supposed to have brought the corpse of King James IV of Scotland, first to London, and then to the Charterhouse at Sheen. What then happened is unclear. Polydore Vergil states that the body was kept unburied for a long time because by violating his treaty with Henry VIII, James had incurred excommunication. (2) Stow believed that after the Dissolution, the corpse was found 'lapped in Lead, thrown into an old wast roome, amongst old Timber, Stone, Lead, and other rubble'. (3) According to Ulpian Fulwell, the body was carried to Sheen in 1517 'and there the perjured carcas lies to this

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1. The Register of Thomas Bekynton, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1443-65, ed. H.C. Maxwell-Lyte and M.C.B. Dawes (S.R.S.xlix-1, 1934-5), pp.315-16, 318-19.
 2. P. Vergil, Anglica Historia 1485-1537, ed. D. Hay (Camden Society, 3rd Series, lxxiv, 1950), p.220.
 3. J. Stow, Annales, or, a Generall Chronicle of England, ed. and continued by E. Howes (London, 1631), p.494.

day unburied'. Against this however is a poem of uncertain date;

'King James's body was embalmed
Sweet like a King and then was sent
To Shene in Surrey, where intombed,
Some say there is now a monument'

Other authorities, namely Speed and Rapin, observe that the corpse taken to Sheen was not that of James: they allege that Henry VIII, believing it to belong to the dead king, applied to the pope for dispensation to inter it in St. Paul's since James had died in a state of excommunication. (1)

Table VI : Burials in the Charterhouses

This is a list of those individuals who at least requested burial in one of the English Charterhouses. A name with an asterisk after it signifies a person who was certainly buried in a Charterhouse. A name with a question mark after it means that the person only wished to be buried there under certain conditions, for example, if he or she died in one place rather than another. The date given is generally that of the testament specifying burial in a Charterhouse.

I. Burials at Witham

John Foxe, 1503.	P.C.C. 29 Blamyr.
Sir William Stourton, 1413.	P.C.C. 27 Marche.

II. Burials in the London Charterhouse

John Aubrey, grocer, 1381.	Sharpe, <u>Wills</u> , ii, 222.
... Ardelston,* wife of William Ardelston.	Wriothesley. (2)
Katherine Babington,* daughter of Sir William.	Wriothesley.
Andrew Baker, Rector of Titchfield, 1486.	P.C.C. 23 Logge.
William Baron,* esq. before 1472.	Wriothesley.
William Baron,* esq. (a scribal error?)	Wriothesley.
Margaret Batmanson, 1518.	<u>R.D.</u> iii, 469.
John Berston, priest, 1474.	C.C.L. vi, f.160v.
John Blakeneye, fishmonger, 1393.	P.R.O. L.R. 2/61, f.57r.

1. All this evidence is printed and discussed in O. Manning and W. Bray, The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey (Surrey, 1804-14), i, 420.

2. Wriothesley's list is printed in Hope, pp.100-2.

Dame Jane Borough*	Wriothesley.
Sir Laurence Bremley*	Wriothesley.
Richard Chaffer, merchant, 1529.	P.C.C. 15 Jankyn.
Richard Clarell,? esq. 1478.	P.C.C. 37 Wattys.
William Claybrooke, Archdeacon of Worcester, 1534.	P.C.C. 14 Hogan.
... Clyderhow,* mother of John, before 1433.	C.C.L. iii, f.371r-v.
John Clyderhow, 1433.	C.C.L. iii, f.371r-v.
Richard Clyderhowe,* esq. 1419.	P.C.C. 50 Marche.
Alice Clyderhowe,* before 1419.	P.C.C. 50 Marche.
Alice Clynton,* anchorite, before 1464.	P.C.C. 11 Godyn.
Margaret Crofton,* before 1495 & 1505.	P.R.O. L.R. 2/61, f.93r.
John Curteys, doctor, 1471.	P.C.C. 1 Wattys.
Hugh Davill, haberdasher, 1442.	C.C.L. iv, f.102r.
Sir John Derwentwater,* after 1392.	Wriothesley.
William Donyngton,? 1485.	P.C.C. 17 Logge.
William Fell, Archdeacon of Nottingham, 1528.	P.C.C. 38 Porch.
Sir Edmund Hederset*	Wriothesley.
Robert Langton,? Prebendary of Salisbury, 1524.	P.C.C. 21 Bodfelde.
Sir Robert atte Launde, 1382.	Hope, p.95.
William Laurence, grocer, 1476.	P.C.C. 27 Wattys.
Richard Lessy,? Chamberlain to Pope, 1498.	P.C.C. 25 Horne.
Sir John Leynham,* 1478.	P.R.O. L.R. 2/61, f.98r.
Dame Margaret Leynham,* 1482.	P.C.C. 6 Logge.
Katherine Love*.	Wriothesley.
Sir Marmaduke Lumley,* (1399?).	Wriothesley.
Dame Margaret Mauny,* 1398/9.	Wriothesley.
Sir Walter Mauny,* 1371.	Wriothesley.
Sir William Mauny.	Wriothesley.
Walter Mayn, moneyer, 1380/1.	Hope, p.95.
Philip Morgan, Bishop of Ely, 1435.	<u>Req. Chichele</u> , ii, 530-1.
Robert Nanseglos, 1465.	P.C.C. 11 Godyn.
John Norborough, gentleman, 1525.	P.C.C. 35 Bodfelde.
Robert Olney,* esq. after 1478.	Wriothesley.

John Payn, clerk, 1466.	P.C.C. 17 Godyn.
Joan Peke,* wife of John, before 1506.	P.C.C. 5 Adeane.
John Peke,* 1506.	P.C.C. 5 Adeane.
... Peke,* wife of John, before 1506.	P.C.C. 5 Adeane.
Henry Penhargard, 1500.	C.C.L. viii, f.198r.
John Peutry,* husband of Felicia, before 1381.	Sharpe, <u>Wills</u> , ii, 233.
Felicia Peutry, 1381.	Sharpe, <u>Wills</u> , ii, 233.
Katherine atte Pole,* 1387.	Hope, p.95.
Sir John Popham,* 1463.	Sharpe, <u>Wills</u> , ii, 572.
William Raulyn*.	Wriothesley.
Sir Bartholomew Rede,* 1505.	P.R.O. L.R. 2/61, ff.86v-87v.
Sir Robert Rede, 1518.	P.C.C. 13 Aylofffe.
John Sharpe, priest, 1524.	P.C.C. 30 Bodfelde.
Geoffrey Simeon, dean of Lincoln, 1508,	P.C.C. 4 Bennett.
Richard Skipton, priest, 1497.	P.C.C. 9 Horne.
Elizabeth Skipwith,? 1516.	P.C.C. 25 Holder.
Thomas Slegge, 1450.	C.C.L. v, f.6r.
Edmund Stephyns, 1517.	P.C.C. 31 Holder.
Margaret Stephyns,* before 1517.	P.C.C. 31 Holder.
William Stowe, 1389/90.	Hope, p.95.
Thomas Tetisworth, 1479.	C.C.L. vi, f.189v.
Sir Thomas Thwang.*	Wriothesley.
Thomas Thwaytes, 1503.	Sharpe, <u>Wills</u> , ii, 621.
Phillippa de Veer,* Countess of Oxford, 1411/2.	Wriothesley.
Blanche Waterton.*	Wriothesley.
John Wetyng, citizen, 1429.	C.C.L. iii, f.228v.
Robert Wiseman, clerk, 1501.	P.C.C. 7 Blamyre.

III. Burials at Kingston-upon-Hull

John Cokett, 1528.	York Prob. Reg. ix, f.391r.
Robert Goldyng, 1453.	York Prob.Reg. ii, ff.285v-286r.
William Hekhfield, 1403.	York Prob. Reg. iii, f.94v.
Katherine de la Pole,* before 1386.	<u>Req. Chichele</u> , ii, 57-60.
Katherine de la Pole,* 1381.	<u>Test. Ebor.</u> i, 119.

Michael de la Pole,* 1st Earl of
Suffolk, 1389.

William de la Pole,* 4th Earl of
Suffolk, 1458.

Sir William de la Pole,* 1366.

John Swift, 1529.

Req. Chichele, ii, 57-60.

Hull Chamberlain's Roll, 1458.

Wriothesley.

York Prob. Reg. ix, f.440r-v.

IV. Burials at Coventry

Sir Edward Belknappe,? 1520.

Thomas Byckeley, 1506.

Nicholas Fyharbar, 1509.

... Fyharbar, parents of Nicholas, before
... Fyharbar, 1509.

Thomas Hill, draper, 1521.

P.C.C. 17 Maynwaring.

P.C.C. 4 Adeane.

P.C.C. 10 Bennett.

P.C.C. 10 Bennett.

P.C.C. 13 Maynwaring.

V. Burials at Axholme

John Mowbray, 2nd Duke of Norfolk, 1432.

Thomas Mowbray, 1st Duke of Norfolk,
after 1429.

Req. Chichele, ii, 472-6.

Req. Chichele, ii, 472-6.

VI. Burials at Mount Grace

William de Authorp, rector of Deighton,
1433.

Thomas Darell, esq. 1500.

Thomas de Holland, Duke of Surrey, 1408.

Joan Ingleby, 1478.

Robert Kirton, 1484.

Thomas Lokwod, 1436.

Alienora Roos, 1438.

James Strangways, esq. 1534.

Sir Richard Strangways,* 1488.

Sir Thomas Strangways, 1522.

York Prob. Reg. iii, f.351r-v.

York Prob. Reg. vi, f.39r-v.

C.P.R. 1408-13, p.416.

York Prob. Reg. v, ff.133v-134r.

York Prob. Reg. v, f.226v.

York Prob. Reg. iii, f.458v.

York Prob. Reg. iii, f.529r-v.

York Prob. Reg. xi, f.183r.

York Prob. Reg. vi, f.16v.

York Prob. Reg. ix, ff.343v-
344r.

VII. Burials at Sheen

King James IV of Scotland, 1513.

Clearly, for an order which had originally determined not to permit the burial of outsiders within its precinct, the list of the preceding few pages is quite lengthy, especially since it is unlikely to represent the total number of secular burials within Charterhouses. The presence of a number of clerks and religious of higher status is interesting, since one might perhaps expect that such men would have chosen to be interred within religious institutions which had a greater claim upon their loyalty. It is noticeable that the social status of those listed is comparatively wide, and that there is no evidence that they were all outstanding benefactors to the order. It appears therefore that the Carthusians were happy to accept such burials, since, had they been disposed to limit the number, they would probably have accepted only individuals who were either high-ranking or exceptionally generous patrons.

Originally, just as lay burial was not permitted within the houses, the granting to outsiders of any participation in benefits was also forbidden, even to those religious who had been buried in the priories; *'Nomen vero cujusquam in suo non scribent Martyrologio, nec cujusquam anniversarium ex more facient. Audivimus enim, quod non probamus, plerosque toties splendide convivari, missasque facere paratos, quoties aliqui pro suis eis voluerunt exhibere defunctis. Quae consuetudo et abstinentiam tollit et venales facit orationes, dum quotus pastuum numerus totus est et missarum; nec ullum ibi vel jejunandi certum, vel obsecrandi constat propositum, ubi non devotione facientis, sed de pascentis potius pendet arbitrio'*. (1) However, even by the time that the Ancient Statutes were drawn up in 1259, this ruling had been altered, apparently because of representations made to the general chapter by several individual priors. What was then allowed to seculars was a privilege known as a 'monachate', such as was granted to Lord Clifford in 1523. (2) This consisted of the saying of two psalters, one in church and one privately in the cells, and the singing of penitential psalms. (3)

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1. Guigo, Consuetudines (P.L.153), cols.721-2.
 2. Clifford Letters, p.69.
 3. Guigo, Consuetudines, cols.657-8.

The system of granting letters of fraternities was one extremely common in late medieval England, so common that it could harbour manifest abuse, as the Rev. Prebendary Clark-Maxwell demonstrated in his two articles on the subject. (1) Hospitals and guilds were primarily guilty, vying with each other as to how attractive the letters could be made, and how many indulgences and other benefits could be offered. Officials were despatched to hawk such letters, and the amount of money needed to acquire them diminished as time went by. The letters were mass-produced so that only the names of the recipients and the dates were left to be inserted: sometimes the same document was even re-used. The worst of such malpractices were largely confined to the hospitals and guilds. It does not appear that the religious orders, except the Grey friars, descended to quite such a commercial level. There seems to be no evidence that fraternities were actually purchased in the religious orders. (2) They were awarded in consideration of the services which a donor had rendered to a house, and the letters were careful to state that the recipient was being admitted because of the devotion he displayed. However it has been observed how pressure could be brought to bear on a priory when a donor made a bequest conditional upon being granted a fraternity, as in the cases of Elizabeth Swinburne in 1502 and Ralph Hunt in 1432. (3) Doubtless there were others who offered gifts on the same condition. Clark-Maxwell gave it as his opinion that none of the Carthusian letters of fraternity had been mass-produced. The extant ones all contain textual variations from each other, and in none has the name of the donor been inserted at a different time.

There follows a list of all the letters of fraternity known to have been issued by the Carthusians. The first section concerns extant letters, and is a reproduction of the list in Clark-Maxwell's article, (4) with four further additions, one to Robert

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1. Rev. Prebendary Clark-Maxwell, 'Some Letters of Confraternity' Archæologia, lxxv (1926), pp.19-60; 'Some Further Letters of Confraternity', Archæologia, lxxix (1929), pp.179-216.
 2. Clark-Maxwell, 'Some Further Letters of Confraternity', p.200.
 3. See above, pp. 336-7, 348.
 4. Clark-Maxwell, 'Some Further Letters of Confraternity', p.208.

Olney from La Grande Chartreuse in 1478, and three to Henry VII from Beauvale in 1486, from Coventry in 1493 and from La Grande Chartreuse in 1496. The second section concerns letters which are known to have been issued, from testamentary or other evidence, but which do not survive. In this section the dates are approximate, and are in most cases the date of composition of the will in which the letter is mentioned. The three exceptions where the evidence comes from sources other than wills and allows a more precise date to be given, are those of Bishop Lee, Thomas Cromwell and William Symmes. As will be seen, fraternities were granted both by La Grande Chartreuse and by individual houses: in this the Carthusians followed the Benedictine practice, for the Cistercians did not grant fraternities within particular priories, but only within the whole order.

Table VII. Letters of Fraternity issued by the Carthusian Order

I. Extant Letters

1390 To the monks of Christ Church Canterbury by La Grande Chartreuse	Lambeth Palace Ms.20, f.5v.
1397 To Thomas Isle, monk of Durham, from Beauvale	Durham Treasury, Loc.1, No.44.
1430 To the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem by the London Charterhouse	Hope, pp.134-5, 138-9.
1437 To Henry de Kerspe and Margaret his wife from La Grande Chartreuse	B.M. Add.ch. 39025.
1459 To Henry VI from Coventry	Westminster Abbey Muniments 650.
1462 To Thomas Langley and Anne his wife from the London Charterhouse	P.R.O. Chanc.Misc. Bundle 15, file 6, no. 10.
1478 To Robert Olney esq. and Margaret Throckmorton from la Grande Chartreuse	B.M. Add. Ms. 5827, f.218v.
1486 To Henry VII from Beauvale	<u>C.Cl.R. 1500-9</u> , p.71.
1493 To Henry VII from Coventry	<u>C.Cl.R. 1500-9</u> , p.69.
1496 To Henry VII from La Grande Chartreuse	<u>C.Cl.R. 1500-9</u> , p.69.
1493 To Thomas Philborough and others from La Grande Chartreuse	P.R.O. E.135/6/63.
1515 To the prior and convent of Durham from Mount Grace	<u>The Obituary Roll of William Ebchester and John Burnby, priors of Durham</u> , ed. J. Raine (S.S. xxxi, 1856), p.118.

- 1520 To Joanna and John Bigod from
Mount Grace
- J. Bain, 'Notes on a
Collection of Eight Early
Documents Relating to Yorkshire'
Archaeological Journal, xxvi
(1876), pp.275-6.
Bodleian Ms. Linc. ch. 580.
- 1532 To Robert Huse from La Grande
Chartreuse
- II. Other Letters
- 1418 To William Symmes from the London
Charterhouse (probably)
- Hope, p.67.
- 1432 To Ralph Hunt and Isabella his wife
from Hinton (dependent on bequest)
- Reg. Chichele, ii, 463.
- 1443 To Sir Hugh Willoughby from Beauvale,
Coventry and London
- York Prob. Reg. ii,
ff.186r-188v.
- 1444 To Sir Giles Daubeney from Witham
- Somerset Medieval Wills, ii,
340.
- 1445 To Sir William Estfield from the
London Charterhouse
- Sharpe, Wills, ii, 510.
- 1474/5 To Robert Est from Mount Grace and
Hull
- York Prob. Reg. iv, f.100v.
- 1476 To William Laurence from London
- P.C.C. 27 Wattys
- 1496 To Edmund Talbot esq. from Hull
- North Country Wills, i, 66-7.
- 1502 To Elizabeth Swinburne and her
daughter Elizabeth from Mount Grace
(dependent upon bequest)
- York Prob. Reg. vi, f.45r-v.
- 1508 To Sir Henry Willoughby from La Grande
Chartreuse (probably)
- See above, p.331.
- 1508 To Nicholas Fyharbar from Coventry
- P.C.C. 10 Bennett.
- 1535 To Rowland Lee, bishop of Lichfield
from La Grande Chartreuse
- L.&P. ix, 8, 11.
- 1535 To Thomas Cromwell from La Grande
Chartreuse
- L.&P. ix, 8, 11.
- 1536 To William Coca from Mount Grace
and Hull
- York Prob. Reg. xi, f.225r.

The earliest known letter of fraternity issued by the Carthusians in England is, therefore, that given by the Grande Chartreuse to the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury in 1390, and the earliest to an

individual is that from Beauvale to Thomas Isle, monk of Durham in 1397. The first to a layman is that received by William Symmes in 1418. The granting of confraternity from one religious institution to another seems to have been very common, and often took the form of two communities admitting each other to mutual fraternity as a gesture of good will accompanying the completion of some transaction between them. In 1430 the London Charterhouse and the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem admitted each other to fraternity as a result of the hospital allowing the priory to lay an aqueduct over its property. ⁽¹⁾ In 1515 Mount Grace and Durham priory made reciprocal fraternity awards, ⁽²⁾ although whether this was accompanied by an agreement of a more practical nature is unknown. The only examples of a Carthusian monk seeking fraternity in another order refer to the same man. In 1515 Philip Underwood, a monk at the London Charterhouse, was granted fraternity by the monks of Westminster Abbey, ⁽³⁾ and a year later by Durham. ⁽⁴⁾ It seems likely that he was also made a brother at the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. ⁽⁵⁾

The last examples of Carthusian fraternities are of William Coca, who died in 1536 possessing letters from both Mount Grace and Hull, ⁽⁶⁾ and of Rowland Lee and Thomas Cromwell who were granted fraternity by La Grande Chartreuse in 1535, ⁽⁷⁾ a gesture which was to prove singularly fruitless. Englishmen granted fraternities by the mother-house had normally to be recommended by one of the English priors. In this case, of course, the formality was omitted, and it was the errant Andrew Boorde, released circa 1530 from his vows on account of his over-young profession and inability to endure the

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1. Hope, pp. 134-5, 138-9.
 2. The Obituary Roll of William Ebchester and John Burnby, priors of Durham, ed. J. Raine (S.S. xxxi, 1856), p.118.
 3. Clark-Maxwell, Some Letters of Confraternity, p.33.
 4. The Obituary Roll of William Ebchester and John Burnby, priors of Durham, p.118.
 5. See above, p.173.
 6. York Prob. Reg. xi, f.225r.
 7. L.&P. ix, 8, 11.

solitary life, whose recommendation secured these favours for Lee and Cromwell. (1)

The surviving Carthusian letters of fraternity, despite their differences of wording, have roughly the same form. (2) Each opens with a greeting to the donor, either from the prior of the Grande Chartreuse with all the diffinitors of the chapter, or from the prior and convent of the particular Charterhouse. Sentiments about the necessity to pray for all men, and the special obligations to pray for one's founders and benefactors may also be expressed. The merits of the donor are then enumerated, for example his sanctity, fervour and pious intentions, and perhaps a mention of the favours he had done for the order, or the houses which are most indebted to him. For these reasons and (if it is a letter from the Grande Chartreuse) because of the recommendation from a certain prior, the donor is made a participant in various benefits. The description of these benefits takes the form of a list, which may include any or all of the following; masses, prayers, hours, psalms, vigils, fasts, abstinences, alms, disciplines and other spiritual exercises. Sometimes additional benefits are specified. To the prior of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, for example, the London Charterhouse granted that every prior of the order in England for ever would have his name inscribed in their chapter, and be the recipient of a placebo, dirige and requiem mass. Sometimes it is hoped that the order's prayers will assist the donor to attain eternal bliss. The letters end with the promise that when the requisite house is notified of the donor's death, all the prayers and benefits will be initiated.

Letters of fraternity were normally issued to the donor during his life, and then returned to the monastery on his death so that the monks knew when to perform the requisite services. This explains firstly, why the letters were often bequeathed in wills, and secondly, why so few survive: their value was to the recipient rather than to the monastery, which could dispose of them once the

1. See above, p.175.

2. There are two printed examples: one from La Grande Chartreuse to Henry de Kerspe in Some Further Letters of Confraternity, p.185; and the other from the London Charterhouse to the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Hope, pp.134-5, 138-9.

names had been entered into the Martyrology. The rate of survival of letters of fraternity, and even of references to them is likely to be low, and therefore the list of fraternities, as of burials, probably represents only a small proportion of the total. Nevertheless the surviving letters seem to have been quite widely dispersed and appear to have been considered especially desirable by the country gentry. There are no known examples of donors who held letters of fraternity from the Carthusians and were buried in Charterhouses. Presumably this was because burial in a Charterhouse ensured the donor's inclusion in the prayers of the monks, and the possession of a letter of fraternity was therefore unnecessary.

Discussion of the third contentious topic mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the acceptance of outsiders as long-term residents within the Charterhouses, will be postponed for the moment. This is because the evidence for this practice derives entirely from the early sixteenth century; it is therefore more appropriate to examine it in conjunction with the literary evidence of the sixteenth century, particularly since much of the latter evidence concerns precisely those same long-term residents. It is in any case clear that the practices of granting fraternities and burials within the priories to outsiders were precisely the kind of area where the original idealism of a religious order might seem under threat. The Carthusian order was as dependent upon its patrons as any other, and, like the others, found it necessary to relax its original strictures in order to make concessions to its benefactors. A system of firm regulation would have been required to prevent such concessions from being abused; presumably in this area, as in all others, visitatorial supervision ensured strict supervision, for the Carthusians managed to preserve their reputation for ascetic zeal despite being forced to grant the sort of concessions which had earned other orders a reputation for greed.

It is the nature of this reputation which must now be examined in an attempt to discover what distinguished the Carthusians from the other religious orders in the period under review and ensured their consistent popularity. Unhappily the attention that Witham

commanded from writers in the twelfth century was not similarly bestowed upon later medieval Charterhouses. There is little direct comment about the order, and much has to be inferred. The following arguments must therefore inevitably be largely a matter of hazardous inference, but it is to be hoped that the evidence produced both here and in the previous chapter will be sufficient to provide them with a solid foundation in fact. Equally inevitable, since one is attempting to survey the religious atmosphere of 170 years in a few pages, will be a degree of over-simplification. However, it is clearly impossible here to discuss the nature of later medieval lay piety in detail and the intention is merely to provide a broad perspective into which attitudes to the Carthusians may be placed.

Some attention has already been paid to the writings of contemporary chroniclers in an attempt to explain why the order attracted considerable attention but little positive support on its arrival in England. ⁽¹⁾ The comment was there ventured that the whole concept of a semi-eremitical, contemplative order was regarded as comparatively alien to English traditions, but that by the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, public opinion had developed to the point where it was far more receptive to the aspirations of the order. That comment must now be justified.

The period 1370-1414 which witnessed the expansion of the order in England was one which had a unique but not easily definable ethos. Despite the lack of complete agreement among historians over the nature of that ethos, the late fourteenth century undoubtedly saw some novel characteristics. England itself was peopled by survivors of the bubonic plagues who were, in the wake of recurrent epidemics, confronted by economic and demographic recession. The period was marked by eruptions of discontent, but it also saw an immense creativity in the arts, especially architecture and literature. In the religious sphere, the Papacy was embroiled in the meshes of the Great Schism, and Conciliar theorists gradually came to consider how to give laymen a greater role in church government. There were large scale attacks on the hierarchy of the church and on various areas of traditional Catholic theology, crystallising in the

1. See above, pp. 24-32.

attitudes of the Lollards. There was a growing tendency for lay support to be withdrawn from the older established institutions of the church and channelled into different manifestations such as chantries. Similarly there appears to have been a rapid extension of lay literacy and a corresponding demand for vernacular works of scripture and devotion. There was a tendency for lay-people, such as Margery Kempe in 1413, to enter voluntarily into lives of particular devotion, and hermitages flourished. In the Low Countries the 'Devotio Moderna' arose, a movement which set new standards in lay devotion, and which had some influence in England. Finally, a corpus of sensitive mystical works was produced, which, because it is without parallel at any other period, has led writers to talk about the flowering of the English mystical tradition. (1)

It is a simplification, of course, but one central idea can be seen to underlie many of these divergent movements, and it is this: that the road to salvation no longer wound its way as previously through the cumbersome mediation of the institutionalised practices and hierarchy of the church or the learning of the schools. Now the emphasis was increasingly upon the individual role of the layman, upon uniquely personal modes of devotion, upon the ways in which even the simple and unlettered could aspire to immediate and intimate communion with God. Since exceptionally personal communion with God was precisely the ideal to which the Carthusians had aspired, and in some cases attained, ever since their inception in the eleventh century, it is hardly surprising that they should now come into their own: they embodied qualities of which other sections of society had only recently become aware, and towards which they were perhaps increasingly striving. The central point to emphasise therefore is that although the Carthusians were never anything but a part of the established church hierarchy, they formed the section of the established church whose *raison d'être* was far closer than any other to the ideas underpinning contemporary lay piety.

1. This general view is one distilled from a number of works, including the following; F.R.H. Du Boulay, An Age of Ambition: English Society in the Late Middle Ages (London and New York, 1970); R.O. ii; E.F. Jacob, Essays in the Conciliar Epoch (Manchester, 1943); E.F. Jacob, Essays in Later Medieval History (Manchester, 1968); M. Mckisack, The Fourteenth Century: 1307-1399 (London, 1959); M. Aston, The Fifteenth Century: The Prospect of Europe (London, 1968).

This supposition can be further supported by observing that the Carthusians were closely related to many of these movements or trends by which historians attempt to characterise the period. Clearly the rise in the number and popularity of hermits at this time ⁽¹⁾ demonstrates a growing sympathy with the aims of the eremitical life, an appreciation which was less evident in the twelfth century. It has already been noted that testators often associated anchorites and Carthusians together in their wills, ⁽²⁾ and it will be seen shortly that this association was also present in popular literature. Several of the Charterhouses even had hermitages attached to them, certainly at Mount Grace, Sheen and Coventry. ⁽³⁾ Clearly for some patrons even the Carthusian mode of life was not sufficiently eremitical, and they wished to have hermits pursuing their orisons under the supervision of a religious house. It has also been seen that the transference of bequests from older religious institutions to chantries could be paradoxically beneficial to the Carthusian priories because of their unique arrangement of individual cells. ⁽⁴⁾

Carthusian association with mysticism has also been the subject of some discussion, ⁽⁵⁾ and proof of their important role in transmitting spiritual texts is not wanting. ⁽⁶⁾ Moreover their labours in copying and disseminating such literature were not confined to English works. That the ideas of the 'Devotio Moderna' had any circulation in England seems to have been owing in no small measure to the efforts of the Carthusians to translate the Flemish texts and circulate them. Gerard Groote, who may be considered the originator of the movement, had indeed been a novice in the Carthusian priory of Monnikhuizen, and it seems to have been the prior there, Henry Eger van Calcar, who initially effected his conversion to ascetic

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1. See R.M. Clay, The Hermits and Anchorites of England (London, 1914), p.77 and passim.
 2. See above, p.364.
 3. See above pp.78, 126-7, 296-7. The hermitage at Coventry was, of course, the place where the monks spent their first seven years of corporate existence, although there is no evidence that it was in use subsequently. It was not uncommon for hermitages to be attached to conventual houses. See R.M. Clay, The Hermits and Anchorites of England (London, 1914), pp.77-8; R.O. ii, 219-22.
 4. See above, pp.130, 133.
 5. See above, pp.195-200.
 6. See especially M. Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians of some late Medieval Spiritual Writings', J.E.H. xxvii (1976), pp.225-240; R. Lovatt, 'The Imitation of Christ in Late Medieval England', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th Series, xviii (1968), pp.97-121.

ideals. (1) The seven monks from the Low Countries whom Henry V commissioned to make up his new priory at Sheen (2) may well have played some part in introducing the ideas of the 'Devotio Moderna' into England. Certainly the only two extant Middle English translations of works by Ruysbroeck, The Treatise of Perfection of the Sons of God and The Chastising of God's Children, both seem to be Carthusian products. (3)

Finally, it is possible to draw some interesting parallels between the appeal to lay society of Carthusianism and of Lollardy. The Carthusians would have no dealings with such heresy: they vehemently opposed its anti-clericalism, as is evidenced by the London Charterhouse Register, (4) and they would certainly not countenance any of its doctrines: Nicholas Love appears to have produced his Myrroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ principally to refute these. (5) But it is of somewhat ironic significance that both Lollardy and Carthusianism made a potent appeal to the same class, the knights. The particular case of Sir William Stourton has already been discussed, (6) where it was concluded that men of piety, disenchanted by the established church, might well, if they did not wish to be branded as heretics, patronise that branch of the church which most nearly conformed to their unorthodox ideals. Interestingly, the Lollards did not manifest towards the Carthusians the hostility which the latter unvaryingly afforded them. In 1410 a petition for ecclesiastical disendowment was presented to the king by the knights of the shire. This petition, in fact a scheme drawn up by John Purvey in 1395, informed the king that if he requisitioned the temporalities currently held by bishops and

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1. E.F. Jacob, 'Gerard Groote and the New Devotion' in Essays in the Conciliar Epoch (Manchester, 1963), p.146.
 2. J.H. Wylie and A.T. Waugh, The Reign of Henry V (Cambridge, 1914-29), i, 215.
 3. Sargent, p.227.
 4. Hope, p.43.
 5. E. Salter, Nicholas Love's 'Myrroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ' (A.C. x, 1974), p.47.
 6. See above, pp.324-7.

monasteries, he could afford an extra 15 earls, 1500 knights, 6,200 squires and 100 almshouses. At the end of the document is a list of religious institutions which were to be left untouched; 'collegiis, cantoriis, albis canonicis ecclesiarum cathedralium cum suis temporalibus et ecclesiis illis appropriatis nec de monachis Cartusie nec de Gallicis monachis nec de glebis aut domibus leprosororum scilicet spiteles nec de heremitoriis nec de fratribus crucesignatis'. (1) The document therefore provides a Lollard definition of which religious orders could be trusted not to squander their money.

In 1458 the Carthusians' austerity received a somewhat oblique commendation from John Chiellod, priest of Exeter diocese. Chiellod knew himself to be prone to 'a certain sin [unspecified] and his quick and rather hasty tongue'. The latter vice led him to make a rash vow that he would join the Carthusian order if he indulged in the 'certain sin' again. Unfortunately 'when giving benediction at a sermon, moved by strong feeling and especially by fear, he pronounced the words indistinctly, wherefore he fears that he is bound by the said vows'. The understanding pope absolved him from his oath, and commuted his penance to works of piety. (2) Although an amusing anecdote, it does serve to illustrate the fact that a Carthusian's life was regarded as harsh and penitential.

The Carthusians, unlike the friars, were not sufficiently in the forefront of public attention to excite much notice in popular secular writings; however one example can be cited. If the friars had earned the ridicule of Chaucer and Langland, the Carthusians found an unexpected apologist in John Lydgate. His Danse Macabre (3) written in about 1425, portrays Death approaching men and women from all walks of life and bidding them accompany him. A number of his victims are ecclesiastics, and their response to Death's invitation is uniformly unflattering. The cardinal, for example, bemoans the

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1. The St. Albans Chronicle 1406-1420, ed. V.H. Galbraith (Oxford, 1937), p.55.
 2. C.P.L. 1455-64, p.366.
 3. Printed in English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey, ed. E.P. Hammond (Durham, North Carolina, 1927), pp.131-42; and as The Dance of Death, ed. F. Warren and B. White (E.E.T.S. o.s. 181, 1931). All quotations here are taken from the former text.

fact;

'That I shal neuere her aftir clothed be
In grys ne ermyn like to my degre'.

The archbishop takes his final farewell of those objects most
precious to him;

'A dewe my tresour my pompe and pride also
My peintid chaumbres my port & my freshnesse'.

The black monk is forced to confess;

'But I haue spent my life in many vice
Liche as a fool dissolut and nyce'.

Of only two people is a flattering portrait painted. One is
the hermit;

'Deeth to be Hermyte
3e pat haue lived longe in wilderness
And pere contynued longe in abstinence
At pe laste 3et 3e mote 3ow dresse
Of my daunce to haue experience
For pere a3ein is no recistence
Take nowe leue of pin Ermytage
Wherfore eche man aduerte this sentence
That pis life here is no sure heritage

The Hermite answerib
Life in desert callid solitarie
May a3ein depe haue no respite ne space
At vnset our his comyng doth not tarie
And for my part welcome be goddes grace
Thonkyng hym with humble chere and face
Of al his 3iftes and greet habondaunce
Fynally affermyng in this place
No man is riche pat lackith suffisaunce'

And the other is the Carthusian;

'Deeth to be Chartereux
3eue me 3oure hond wip chekis dede & pale
Causid of wacche and longe abstinence
Sir chartereux and 3oure silfe avale
Vn to this daunce with humble pacience
To stryve a3ein may be no resistance
Lenger to lyve set not 3oure memorie
Thou3 I be lothsom as in apparence
Adoue alle men deth hath pe victorie

The Chartereux aunswerith
Unto pe worlde I was dede longe agone
By my ordre and my professioun
Thou3 euery men be he neuere so stronge
Dredith to die by kindly mocioun
Aftir his fleshly Inclinioun
But plese it to god my soule for to borowe
From fendis my3t and from dampnacioun
Some bene to day pat shulle not be to morwe'

The fact that of all the characters only these two are not terrified by Death's approach testifies strongly to their reputation for piety and is further evidence of the popular association between Carthusians and hermits. It must be admitted that the response of the hermit to Death is rather more morally satisfying than that of the Carthusian. The Carthusian merely accepts him, whereas the hermit welcomes him, causing Death to rejoin;

'That is wel seide and þus shulde euery wi3t
Thanke his god'

Nevertheless for Lydgate the Carthusian is the only ecclesiastic who does not shudder at Death's approach.

The poem was not an entirely original work, but a translation of verses which originally accompanied a mural representation of the Dance of Death at the celebrated Cemetery of the Innocents in Paris. (1) Lydgate was requested to provide an English text of the verses, apparently as a commentary for a similar series of paintings in Pardon churchyard, near St. Paul's. As Stow informs us;

'There was also one great Cloyster on the north side of this church inuironing a plot of ground, of old time called Pardon church yard, wherof Thomas More, deane of Pauls, was either the first builder, or a most especiall benefactor, and was buried there. About this Cloyster, was artificially and richly painted the dance of Machabray, or dance of death, commonly called the dance of Pauls: the like whereof was painted about S. Innocents cloyster at Paris in France: the meters or poesie of this dance were translated out of French into English by Iohn Lidgate, Monke of Bury, the picture of death leading all estates, at the dispence of Ienkin Carpenter, in the raigne of Henry the sixt.' (2)

The pictures were still to be seen in Sir Thomas More's day, as he informs us in The Four Last Things; 'we wer never so gretly moved by the beholding of the Daunce of Death pictured in Poules, as we shal fele ourself stered and altered by the feling of that

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1. See L.P. Kurtz, The Dance of Death and the Macabre Spirit in European Literature (New York, 1934), pp.73-7.
 2. J. Stow, A Survey of London, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1908), i, 327-8.

imaginacion in our hertes'.⁽¹⁾ A Carthusian figured therefore not only in Lydgate's poem, but also in the original French verses, and in the paintings at Pardon churchyard and the cemetery of the Innocents. The section relating to the Carthusian in the original French poem is as follows;

(Death)

'Chartreux prenez en patience De plus viure n'ayez memoire
Faites vous valoir a la danse Sur tout homme mort a victoire

(Chart.)

Je suis au monde piecha mort Pourquoi de viure ay moins enuye
Ja soit que tout homme craint more Puis que la char est assouye
Plaise a dieu que lame rauye Soit es cieulx apres mon trespas
Cest tout neant de ceste vye Tel est huy qui demain nest pas'

(2)

Lydgate follows the French very closely, although his first two lines, concerning the Carthusian's 'chekis dede & pale Causid of wacche and longe abstinence', are an addition, probably only inserted for dramatic effect but certainly contributing to an unforgettable portrait. The fact that the poem was originally French means that it cannot automatically be assumed to be indicative of English attitudes, but since there exist eleven manuscripts (plus a twelfth, now lost) of the text,⁽³⁾ and since also it was specially commissioned from Lydgate, and given pictorial expression at Pardon churchyard, there was presumably a certain amount of English agreement with the sentiments expressed therein.

The subject of death is one which notoriously appears to have exercised a fascination over the post plague generation. Although few would now endorse Huizinga's verdict that 'an everlasting call of momento mori resounds through life',⁽⁴⁾ most would at least agree that images of death and decay held a morbid attraction in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Certainly there

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1. The Dance of Death, ed. F. Warren and B. White (E.E.T.S. o.s. 181, 1931), p.xxiv.
 2. English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey, ed. E.P. Hammond (Durham, North Carolina, 1927), p.431.
 3. Ibid. pp.124-5.
 4. J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages (London, 1924), p.124.

is considerable evidence that the Carthusians were not immune from this appeal. Indeed it is a Carthusian writer whom Huizinga quoted in particular support of his argument: Denis of Ryckel's exhortation to a noble that 'when going to bed at night he should consider how, just as he lies down himself, soon strange hands will lay his body in the grave'. (1) Carthusian libraries had copies of the Ars Moriendi; (2) and the fact that two of these figure in lists of works sent to other houses imply that they were popular and well read within the order. The monks' devotional writings abound in meditations upon the nature of death, (3) and in their art a similar fascination is evident. B.M. Add.Ms. 37049, possibly the best known Carthusian manuscript, is a good example. This is the mid-fifteenth century product of a northern Charterhouse, (4) out of whose tattered and gaudy pages a profusion of skeletons grimace. (5) The texts include a debate of the body and the soul, a dialogue over a dead soul, a double tomb epitaph, a debate between the body and worms and a meditation on the Danse Macabre. (6) Of the last mentioned item, the following stanza may serve to provide a representative flavour;

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1. J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, p.124.
 2. For example B.M. Sloane Ms. 2515, belonging to the London Charterhouse. There are also two books of Ars Moriendi mentioned in catalogues of London books sent to other houses: see Thompson, pp.325, 328. Indeed, such was the popularity of the Ars Moriendi among the Carthusians that it has been speculated that it was written by one of the order. It seems more likely however to have been written by a Dominican. Nonetheless, a prayer for a dying man attributed to a 'certain Carthusian' accompanies the Ars Moriendi in several manuscripts, and two Carthusians, Jacobus of Clusa (1385?-1465?) and Denis of Ryckel (d.1471) both made versions of the text, entitled respectively De Arte Moriendi and Quattuor Novissima: see M.C. O'Connor, The Art of Dying Well (New York, 1942, reprinted 1966), pp.49-50, 55, 174.
 3. Lefebvre lists seventeen European Carthusians who wrote treatises specifically upon the nature of death and the art of dying: A.P.F. Lefebvre, Saint Bruno et l'Ordre des Chartreux (Paris, 1883), ii, 526-7.
 4. H.E. Allen, Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole (London and New York, 1927), pp.306-7.
 5. On ff.19r, 13v, 32v-35v, 38v, 39v, 40v, 42r, 43v, 82r.
 6. Ff. 82r, 19r, 33r, 33r-35v, 31v-32r.

'Man remembyr of þe dawnce of makabre
 How lordes spiritual & also temporall
 3owthe nor age þer has none lyberte
 Bot must passe be dethes dedes marcyall
 Wherefore lat it be oft in þi memoriall
 For þe tyme sal aproche hence for to wende
 And to a lyke semblande de broght to ende' (1)

And yet such images are more typical of the popular thinking about death than of the Carthusian viewpoint; and the two differed profoundly. As Huizinga points out, 'Ascetic meditation had, in all ages, dwelt on dust and worms. The treatises on the contempt of the world had, long since, evoked all the horrors of decomposition, but it is only towards the end of the fourteenth century that pictorial art, in its turn, seizes upon this motif ... At the same time, the motif spread from ecclesiastical to popular literature'. (2) The popular emphasis was upon the transitory nature of earthly glory and disgust at the corruptibility of the flesh, whereas the Carthusians died to the world that they might live in Christ, viewing death as a welcome release from the fetters of the flesh and entry into everlasting communion with the beloved. This is exemplified by a Carthusian Danse Macabre engraved on the keys to the cells at the now burnt Grande Chartreuse, which depicted skeletons unmercifully and inexorably dragging away protesting victims of all conditions and ages, save only the Carthusian who followed him willingly and gladly. (3)

For the Carthusians, therefore, as for all ascetics, death had long been a theme of their inmost thoughts. In the popular imagination it is possible that the order could be seen to have a distinctive cult of death, even if its emphasis was different. Or perhaps popular opinion was more sophisticated still: perhaps the Carthusians were admired as having transcended the fear of dying by their orientation towards eternal life, like Lydgate's Carthusian:

'Unto þe worlde I was dede longe agone
 By my ordre and my profession'.

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1. B.M. Add.Ms. 37049, f.32r.
 2. J. Huizinga, Op. cit., p.126.
 3. C.M. Boutrais, The History of the Great Chartreuse, trans. E. Hassid (London, 1934), p.179.

In this connection another interesting piece of evidence is the fact that in the Très Riches Heures of Jean, duke of Berri, may be found five illuminations of the legend of Diocrès. (1) This legend suggested that St. Bruno was morbidly inspired towards founding the order by the sight of one of his own teachers rising out of his coffin to announce to the spectators that he had been damned. That the legend should merit a place in so luxurious and prestigious a production is perhaps indicative of the wide currency of the legend, and of the order's resultant association with Death. Certainly St. Bruno is often depicted holding a skull, as in the statue on the entrance facade of Padula Charterhouse. (2)

Similar legends surrounding the London Charterhouse may be cited. It was, after all, built on plague burial ground, and the victims of the pestilence were reputed to perambulate nightly around the cemetery, (3) and the priory must therefore have had obvious and immediate associations with mortality. For all these reasons it is possible that the more morbid popular imagination of the post plague era found the Carthusian attitude to death worthy of especial interest.

Besides the vision of death Huizinga isolated another theme which he felt to be characteristic of later medieval mentality, the ideal of the sublime life. (4) He sensed that the pessimism which pervaded modes of perception of the world gave rise to a vision of a sublime life which haunted and entranced a sordid existence. Some - the aristocratic - sought escape from barren realities by the creation of a colourful code of chivalry. Others sought it by the refuge of forsaking the world. This is not to assert that those who entered the Carthusian order were motivated by a fashionable world-weariness, but that such a vision could have influenced the way in which outsiders regarded the order: the image of the Carthusian monk in his solitary cell, meditating and walking in his garden away from all the turmoil and distractions of the world, was an attractive one. It has frequently been remarked that

1. Les Belles Heures de Jean, Duc de Berry (Facsimile ed, London, 1974), ff.95v-97v.

2. J. Hogg, The Charterhouse of Padula (A.C. liv, 1978), plate 17.

3. Hope, p.60.

4. J. Huizinga, op. cit. pp.22-8.

there was a strong knightly tradition of benefaction to the order. Sir Walter Manny, the founder of the London Charterhouse who is represented in the pages of Froissart as the embodiment of all that is chivalric and honourable, is the most outstanding example of the type of man to whom the austere piety of the Charterhouses could have made this kind of 'romantic' appeal. Huizinga also felt that such an impulse towards the sublime life could co-exist with a depraved enjoyment of present realities. He saw the period as one of extreme contradictions, and wrote, 'the men of that time always oscillate between the fear of Hell and the most naive joy, between cruelty and compassion, between harsh asceticism and insane attachments to the delights of the world, between hatred and goodness, always running to extremes'. (1) This duality of motivation, although no doubt overstated by Huizinga, was such that a man like Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, could on the one hand indulge in ferocious savagery, as in his reputed suffocation of the Duke of Gloucester, and on the other display exceptional piety by founding Axholme Charterhouse. (2)

But the writer who dares make generalisations about 'medieval mentality' is treading in an academic minefield, and for this reason, it is perhaps wiser not to develop further these arguments about the emotional appeal of the Carthusians. But they may serve to reinforce the idea that the pietistical, emotional and idealistic ethos of many sections of late fourteenth and early fifteenth century society was one which was especially receptive to the aspirations of the Carthusians, and that the growing interest in the order is a theme that is as characteristic of the period as the rise of Lollardy or the flowering of English mysticism.

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1. J. Huizinga, op.cit., p.18.
 2. Similarly Pavia Charterhouse was founded in 1390 by the Visconti family, and subsequently patronised by the Sforzas. The contrast between the cruelty of the patrons and the piety of their foundation provoked Braunfels to comment; 'It leads to the impression that on the one hand they [the patrons] were setting up great powerhouses of prayer to outweigh their guilt, and on the other hand wanted to make an extravagant artistic display of their desire for atonement - easily paid for by fresh exactions from their subjects': W. Braunfels, Monasteries of Western Europe: The Architecture of the Orders (London, 1980), p.118.

After 1414 the spate of new Carthusian foundations ended, but interest in the order seems to have remained consistently high, as has been shown by the testamentary evidence. There was no slackening of bequests before the Reformation: otherwise one might have concluded from the dearth of literary evidence during the rest of the fifteenth century that the order had ceased to command any great respect. But in the years from 1500 onwards there is happily plentiful evidence of the order's connections with the new humanist and reforming currents of the time.

To illustrate this statement, it is necessary to return to the issue of long term residence by outsiders in Charterhouses, since those residents included the two greatest English humanists and the leading prelate of the period. By and large, hospitality within Charterhouses was a matter left to the discretion of the individual priors, Guigo's instructions being imprecise despite their considerable length. He regarded the provision of hospitality as unfortunately necessary, but liable to expose the monks to corrupting influences; 'Sed et ipsis hospitibus non parum hoc experire putamus, qui nostris spiritualibus seu corporalibus ita debent bonis communicare, ut nos ad mala non cognet declinare. Ad mala autem declinare tunc faciunt, si suis non expensis ad vagandum quaerendumque compellunt'.⁽¹⁾ Therefore the monks did not encourage visitors, which had led, at an earlier date, to the sarcasm of Richard of Devizes for what he construed as their miserliness.⁽²⁾ The regulations, in brief, were that women were never to enter a Charterhouse;⁽³⁾ men in secular positions were to

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1. Guigo, Consuetudines, cols.673-4.
 2. Chronicon Richardi Divisensis de Tempore Regis Richardi Primi, ed. J.T. Appleby (London, 1963), pp.1-2.
 3. Guigo, Consuetudines, cols. 681-2. In 1483 Queen Isabella of Spain was refused admission to the Charterhouse of Miraflores, even though her father, who had founded the priory, lay buried there. The coffin was brought out into the square for her and opened. In 1417 the prior of Portes, near Lyons, was deposed because he had allowed Queen Isabella of France to have a meal in the priory. See G.S. Davies, Charterhouse in London (London, 1921), p.47.

be tolerated, but only ecclesiastics were really welcome, bishops and abbots being treated with great reverence. (1) No one could expect to have his horse stabled, and the guest quarters contained only the same comforts as the cells of the monks. (2) There was originally no stated limit to the length of time a guest might remain, although later ten days was allowed as a maximum. (3)

However the concern here is not with the question of hospitality as such, but of men outside the order dwelling for long periods within the Charterhouse precincts: not just visiting, but actually residing there. There is considerable evidence, all from the very late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries, that six men made their homes in London or Sheen Charterhouses. The first was John Russell, bishop of Lincoln from 1480 to 1494, and the English protector of the order. In 1490 he obtained permission from the general chapter to build himself a house within the boundaries of the London Charterhouse, and to put it to whatever use he chose, provided that he did not permit any women or married men to reside there. The cartae added that this prohibition was to continue after his death, and any prior or monk who permitted a woman or married man to live there would be severely punished. (4) This is significant, since it implies that the authorities envisaged the continued use of the house for laymen after Russell's death, and it may explain the mysterious status of Sir Thomas More, who is said to have spent four years in the London Charterhouse when a student of law. There are several sixteenth or seventeenth-century lives of More, of which probably the most reliable is that by his son-in-law, William Roper. Roper died in 1578, but his book was not printed until 1626, although it may have circulated in manuscript before then. Roper states, 'Then was he made reader of Fvrnivalls Inne, so remayninge by the space of three yeares and more. After which tyme he gaue himselfe to devotion & prayer in the Charter house of London, lyvinge there,

1. Guido, Consuetudines, cols.711-12.

2. Ibid., cols.671-2.

3. G.S. Davies, op. cit., p.76.

4. Bodleian Ms. Rawlinson D.318, f.157v. 'Domus edificationem ... infra terminos domus dicti ordinis prope london' eiusdemque domus eidem ad terminum vite sue concessionem laudamus approbamus'.

without vowe, about iiiij^{er} yeares'. (1) Roper goes on to explain that More gave up any idea of entering the religious life permanently because he felt that he would be unable to keep a vow of chastity, and considered it better to be a good husband than a bad monk. Erasmus, a contemporary of More, also agreed with this account of More's motives. (2)

The other lives of More are probably, to a greater or lesser extent, dependent upon Roper's account. On this matter of More's residence in the Charterhouse, Harpsfield, who was probably writing during the reign of Queen Mary, was in full agreement with Roper. Writing about the time when More was a reader at Furnivall's Inn, he observed, 'he was sometime somewhat propense and inclined either to be a priest, or to take some monasticall and solitary life; for he continued after his foresaide reading foure yeres and more full vertuously and religiously in great deuotion and prayer with the monkes of the Charterhouse of London, without any maner of profession or vowe, eyther to see and proue whether he could frame himselfe to that kinde of life, or at least [for a time] to sequester himselfe from all temporall and worldly exercises'. (3)

Thomas Stapleton, in his Tres Thomae, published in 1588, did not even mention the Carthusian episode, but commented that More had an ardent desire for the religious life, and thought for a time of becoming a Franciscan. Like Roper, Stapleton attributed More's failure to become a religious to his doubts about his ability to observe the requirement of chastity. (4) Finally Cresacre More's account of the life of his great-grandfather, published in 1630, combined elements from the other three authors, and added a new twist to the story. In speaking of the saint's early piety, he commented, 'For this cause he liued foure yeares amongst the Carthusians,

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1. W. Roper, The Lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore, Knighte, ed. C.V. Hitchcock (E.E.T.S. o.s. 197, 1935), p.6.
 2. Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterdami, ed. P.S. and H.M. Allen (Oxford, 1928), iv, 18.
 3. W. Harpsfield, The Life and Death of Sir Thomas Moore, Knight, Sometymes Lord High Chancellor of England, ed. E.V. Hitchcock (E.E.T.S. o.s. 186, 1932), p.17.
 4. T. Stapleton, Vita Thomae Mori (Frankfurt, 1689, facsimile ed. Frankfurt 1964), p.7.

dwelling neare the Charterhouse, frequenting daily their spirituall exercises, but without anie vowe. He had an earnest mind also to be a Franciscan Fryer, that he might serue God in a state of perfection, but finding that at the time Religious men in England had somewhat degenerated from their ancient strictnesse, and fervour of spiritt, he altered his minde'. (1) This charge may be refuted in as far as it refers to the Carthusians, since, firstly, all the other authors agree that More failed to become a monk because of what he perceived as his own shortcomings; and secondly, although More is well known to have entertained this opinion about the degeneracy of religious orders in England, there is every reason to believe that he exempted the Carthusians from his strictures. Proof of this lies in his rejoinder when Tyndale implied that the Carthusians were more concerned with abstinence from flesh than 'the sobernes and chastysynge of the members'. More retorted, 'As for the munkes of the charter house, wolde god we were no farther from very vertuose deuocyon, then those good men be from vnlawfull superstycyon amonge whom god be thanked we se many lyue to very greate age, and neuer herde I yet that any dyed for lacke of eatynge flesshe & yet herde I neuer that any of them haue eaten any'. (2) And further evidence may be found in the famous statement he made to his daughter when, from his window in the Tower, he saw the three Carthusian priors being led out for execution: 'doest thou not see, Megge, that thes blessed fathers be nowe as chearefully goinge to their deathes as bridegromes to their Mariage? Wherefore thereby maiste thou see ... what a greate difference there is betweene such as haue in effecte spent all their dayes in a straight, hard, penitentiall and paynefull life religiously, and such as haue in the world ... consumed all theyr tyme in pleasure and ease licentiouslye'. (3)

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1. C. More, The Life and Death of Sir Thomas More (1630, facsimile ed. Scolar Press, 1971), p.29. It has been stated by J.K. McConica in The Collected Works of Erasmus (Toronto, 1976) iii, 146, that William Lily, a friend of More and later a famous grammarian, was a companion of More in the Charterhouse. This is obviously based upon a misreading of Cresacre More's biography, which, immediately after the sentence quoted above, adds; 'He had also after that together with his faythfull Companion Lillie a purpose to be a priest'.
 2. T. More, The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer, ed. L.A. Schuster, R.C. Marius, J.P. Lusardi and R.J. Schoeck (New Haven and London, 1973), i, 126.
 3. W. Roper, The Lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore, Knighte, pp.80-1.

More's family observed a similar respect for the order. His adopted daughter Margaret Clement later fed and washed the ten Carthusians in Newgate. She died in 1570 in exile at Mechlin;

'calling her husband, she told him that the time of her departing was now come, for that there were standing about her bed the Reverend Fathers, monks of the Charterhouse, whom she had relieved in prison in England, and did call upon her to come away with them, and that therefore she could stay no longer because they did expect her.' (1)

Three authors therefore agree that More spent four years with the Carthusians, although Cresacre More said that he lived near the Charterhouse, whereas Roper maintained that he actually stayed in the priory, and Harpsfield does not mention where he resided. Roper and Harpsfield concurred that he was reader at Furnivall Inn whilst making his devotions with the monks. From a practical point of view, the requirements of his legal studies could easily have been fitted in with the regimen demanded from a Carthusian, although emotionally it must have been difficult to exist in the sharply contrasting atmospheres of an enclosed monastery and an inn of court. To suppose that More actually dwelt in the house built by Bishop Russell goes a long way towards reconciling the differences between the accounts of Cresacre More and Roper, and towards explaining how Thomas More could successfully have pursued a religious and a secular career simultaneously.

The existence of Russell's house also explains the puzzling will of Robert Langton, the nephew of Thomas Langton, bishop of Winchester, who was treasurer at York (1509-14), and held prebends at Lincoln (1483-1518), Salisbury (1458-8), York (1514-24) and Southwell (1514-17). (2) In his will, proved on 9 July 1524, he left £5 to Sheen and 40s. to all the other houses except London, and he added; 'My body to be buried yf that I dye here in London in the body of the church afore the ymage of Saint Mighell in the charterhouse And for that I bequeth to the convent thereof x^{li} and all the

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1. R.W. Chambers, Thomas More (London, 1938), p.331. Recorded by Sister Shirley of the Bruges Community in the 'Life of Mother Margaret Clement': see R.O. iii, 236.
 2. Emden, Oxford, ii, 1100-1.

householde stufte as potts pannys and hangings disshes with tables formis and tubbies that is in my house here in Charterhouse to their vse to Remayn to that house'. (1) The passage strongly suggests that Langton also had quarters, which he had furnished himself, within the precincts of the priory.

At another Charterhouse, Sheen, there is indisputable evidence that John Colet, dean of St. Paul's, stayed for a time with the monks, having built himself lodgings at the priory. (2) In 1514 he wrote to Erasmus, 'I think daily of retiring and taking refuge among the Carthusians. My nest is nearly finished. When you return to us ... you will find me there dead to worldly things'. (3) Although planning his retirement in 1514, Colet did not completely withdraw to the monastery before his death in 1519. Between 1517 and 1519 he had three attacks of sweating sickness, from at least one of which it is said that he recovered at the Charterhouse. (4) And he must certainly have spent some time in his lodging there, for in his will he bequeathed to John Banbrughe 'my bed at Charterhous that I ley upon my self with matresse and blanketts to the said bed belonging'. Most of his other furnishings were left to the house, however; 'Item, as touching my lodging at the charter House, I will that all my bordwork made of waynskett, as tables, tresshills, greate coffers, cupboards, and all paynted images upon the walls, remain to that lodging in perpetuity, all other stuffs there beside afore rehearsed, I will be disposed by the discretion of mine executors'. (5)

That Colet chose to retire to Sheen was paying the community a great compliment, considering his well-aired views on the general state of monastic observance in the country. In 1521 Erasmus wrote

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1. P.C.C. 21 Bodfelde.
 2. On the site of Colet's lodging at Sheen, see Appendix IV.
 3. Collected Works of Erasmus, Trans. R.A.B. Mynors and D.F.S. Thomson, ed. J.K. McConica (Toronto, 1976), iii, 48.
 4. O. Manning and W. Bray, The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey (Surrey, 1804-14), i, 420.
 5. P.C.C. 22 Aylofffe.

of him, 'Cum nemo magis faueret Christianae pietati, tamen erga monasteria, quae nunc falso nomine pleraque sic vocantur, minimum habebat affectus ... Non quod inuisos habebat ordines, sed quod homines suae professioni non responderent. Nam ipsi in votis erat se prorsus ab hoc mundo extricare, sicubi reperisset sodalitium vere coniuratum in vitam Euangelicam'. (1) In this, as in much else, Colet and More apparently shared the same opinions. The two men were certainly very close, More having been drawn to Colet after listening to the latter's celebrated sermons during the period when he was a student - probably indeed while he lived at the London Charterhouse. (2)

Colet's will is interesting for reasons other than his bequests of his Sheen furnishings. In it there is no mention of the Virgin Mary, or of any saints, and no money left to pay for masses, an omission which was considered strange by the Carthusian author of the Bodleian Ms. E. Museo 160 chronicle. (3) His instincts were very puritanical, and the omissions of the customary provisions from his will no doubt reflect this strain. After his death he was buried in St. Paul's under a monument which supported his picture and an image of a skeleton. The epitaph he chose for himself, 'Istuc recidit gloria carnis, Morere mundo ut vivas deo, Love and lyve' (4) might indeed be a text from a Carthusian book of meditation.

Colet's lodging at Sheen did not long remain empty, and its next two occupants were, if anything, even more distinguished. The first was Reginald Pole, who had of course previously been a pupil at the Charterhouse school. (5) He completed his education by spending six years abroad, and when he returned in 1527, he immediately retired to Sheen for further study. His biographer Beccatelli makes it plain that he lived in Colet's house;

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1. Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterdami, ed. P.S. and H.M. Allen (Oxford, 1906-58), iv, 521.
 2. T. Stapleton, Vita Thomae Mori, p.7.
 3. Bodleian Ms. E. Museo 160, f.114r.
 4. J.H. Lupton, A Life of John Colet (London, 1887), p.238.
 5. L. Beccatelli, Vita Reginaldi Poli Sanctae Ecclesiae Cardinalis, translated A. Dudith, in Epistolarum Reginaldi Poli S.R.E. Cardinalis et Aliorum ad Ipsum Collectio, ed. A.M. Quirini (Brescia, 1744-57), i, 5.

'Ac veteram habitationem memoria repetens, quae sibi puero ad Cartusianorum Collegium contigerat, dedit operam, ut regis permissu ea domus sibi concederetur, quam insigni vir pietate & doctrina Joannes Coletus exaedificaverat. Obtinuit, ac duos inibi annos jucunde consumpsit'. (1)

In August 1527 he was elected dean of Exeter, but appears to have been an absentee incumbent, preferring to remain at Sheen, as Beccatelli suggests above. In 1529 he went to the University of Paris, where he was ordered to ask the theological faculty for their opinion of the validity of the king's first marriage. In his absence, the house at Sheen was occupied by another cardinal, as will be seen below. Pole returned to England in July 1530, and again retired to Sheen where, according to Beccatelli, (2) he spent the next two years, while Henry attempted to persuade him to accept office. He left England in January 1532, a departure which was well-timed. Later he was to provide Chauncy and his fellows with considerable assistance, and he was present at the ceremony when the Carthusians entered into repossession of the Charterhouse of Sheen. (3)

The other occupant of Colet's lodging was Cardinal Wolsey, in an uncharacteristic fit of repentance, as his biographer, George Cavendish related, 'My lord than in the begynnyng of lent removed out of the loge in to the charterhowsse of Richemond where he lay in a lodgyng (w^{che} Doctor Collett. (sometyme dean of powlles) hade made for hyme self) vntill he removed northeward w^{che} was in the passion weke after And he had to the same howsse a secrett gallery w^{che} went out of his chamber in to the Charterhowsse chirche whether he resortyd every day to ther seruyce And at after nones he wold sytt in contemplacion w^t oon or other of the most auntyent ffathers of that howsse in his sell who among theme & by ther councell perswadyd frome the vaynglory of thys world And gave hyme dyuers shirtes of heare the w^{che} he often ware after ward (wherof I ame

1. L. Beccatelli, op.cit., i, 7.

2. Ibid., i, 8.

3. Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, ed. R. Brown (London, 1881), vi, part i, 704.

certayn) And thus he perceuered for the tyme of his abode there in godly contemplacion'. (1) Wolsey stayed at Sheen for about five weeks, from about March 2, Ash Wednesday, until Passion week (3-9 April) in 1530. His residence is well corroborated by other evidence. Cromwell visited him there and they met in the gallery. (2) William Poulet also saw him and agreed to lend him £100. (3) Interestingly, there is some support for the idea that this was not his first visit to Sheen. Hennage wrote to him two years earlier, on 5 April 1528, concerning the Charterhouse ' and also of your Grace's house there, wherein no flesh may be eaten'. (4) It is too slight a reference to rely upon, but it does suggest that Wolsey was a frequent visitor to Sheen, although it occurs during the period when Pole is reputed to have occupied Colet's lodging. Pollard thought that the Carthusians effected only a temporary conversion in the prelate, (5) but it is worth remarking that at his death he was allegedly found to be wearing his hair-shirt, although none of his servants save his chaplain were aware of this private mortification. (6)

It is indisputable that Bishop Russell built a house at the London Charterhouse and Colet built one at Sheen, both of which seem to have been occupied subsequently by other tenants; Colet's by Pole and Wolsey, and Russell's perhaps by More and Langton. These may not have been the only cases, for there could have been other such lodgings built within the Charterhouse property although not within the structure of the priory itself. In the face of this evidence, it is clear that the Carthusians did permit indecisive aspirants like More or retired ecclesiastics who were sufficiently enthusiastic to lodge in the perimeters of their houses and join discreetly in their devotions. This was a concession that Guigo would not have countenanced, but that two of these residents should have been More and Colet, England's greatest humanist writers, suggests that it was not a

1. G. Cavendish, The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey, ed. R.S. Sylvester (E.E.T.S. o.s. 243, 1959), p.130.

2. L.&P., iv, 6530.

3. L.&P., iv, 6544.

4. L.&P., iv, 4144.

5. A.F. Pollard, Wolsey (London, 1929), p.273.

6. G. Cavendish, op. cit., p.182.

privilege granted lightly but accorded only to men who were deserving of it, and perhaps to men who were attached to the court circle. Furthermore since the views of More and Colet on the deficiency of English monasticism were well-known, their residency in Carthusian priories furnishes ample proof that even at this period the Carthusians were regarded as providing the best practical example of the monastic life.

The connection between the Carthusians and the humanists went further than the residence of Colet and More in Charterhouses, however. Carthusian association with humanist currents of thought is not a subject to which much research has been devoted, largely because no surviving Carthusian manuscript or list of manuscripts contains any work which could be reasonably identified as humanist. It seems to have been assumed that although the order might have played a pioneer role in introducing new mystical texts from abroad a century earlier, their literary tastes were by the sixteenth century old-fashioned and introspective. But the English humanists were by no means as progressive a group as is often supposed. Lovatt observes that More had 'a deeply conservative cast of mind' ⁽¹⁾ and adduces as evidence for this More's recommendation that the 'people vnlearned' should occupy themselves 'in prayour, good medytacyon, and redyng of suche englysshe bookes as moste may norysshe and encrease deuocyon. Of whyche kynde is Bonauenture of lyfe of Cryste, Gerson of the folowyng of Cryst, and the deuoute contemplatyue booke of Scala perfectionis wyth suche other lyke'. ⁽²⁾ The first of these is, of course, Nicholas Love's Myroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ. The third, The Scale of Perfection, owed its dissemination largely to Carthusian efforts. ⁽³⁾ The second is the Imitation of Christ, wrongly attributed to Gerson; Lovatt has shown that the text was introduced into England by the Carthusians, and almost certainly translated into English at Sheen. The earliest surviving English

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1. R. Lovatt, 'The Imitation of Christ in Late Medieval England', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series, xviii (1968), p.97.
 2. T. More, The Confutation of Tyndall's Answer, ed. L. Schuster, R.C. Marius, J.P. Lusardi & R.J. Schoeck (New Haven and London, 1973), i, 37.
 3. Sargent, pp.236-7.

text is undoubtedly a Carthusian one. Lovatt also points out that the work appears to have been unknown among the Benedictines, Cistercians and mendicants, so bearing 'eloquent witness to the isolationism and devotional torpor of these orders', although he notes that even among the small circle within which the text was read, it does not appear to have received the appreciation it deserved. ⁽¹⁾ In conclusion, therefore, it is apparent that the Carthusians represented a spiritual tradition which although old-fashioned was nonetheless highly valued among the humanists.

That the order produced and copied spiritual writings throughout its lifetime in England is self-evident from their many manuscripts. But it is in the sixteenth century that one gains the most concrete evidence of their important role in transmitting these works. Only during this last period does it become possible to identify the circle within which their manuscripts were disseminated, a circle described by Sargent and Lovatt as 'an exclusive and tightly knit spiritual aristocracy, which included some of the Carthusians, some of the Bridgettines, and the circle, religious and literary, which grouped itself around Lady Margaret Beaufort, bishop John Fisher and later Sir Thomas More'. ⁽²⁾ The evidence for this assertion is examined by Lovatt and Sargent, and need not be reiterated. One figure who could also probably be added to their list is Katherine of Aragon, who was certainly a frequent visitor to Syon ⁽³⁾ and who was evidently also well regarded at Sheen. B.M. Add. Ms. 11,303, a collection of lay-brothers' statutes produced at Sheen Anglorum, also contains 'Prayers or meditations where in ye mind is stired upaciently to suffer al afflictions her. To set at naught the vaine yipcriti of ye world & alway to long for ye everlasting felyciti; collected out of certaine holy works by the virtuous & gracious Princess Katherine Queen of England France & Ireland'. ⁽⁴⁾

There can certainly be no doubt that the Carthusians, together with the Bridgettines, were exempt from the aspersions cast upon

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1. R. Lovatt, op. cit., p.116-7.
 2. Ibid., p.100; Sargent, pp.239-240.
 3. G. Mattingley, Katherine of Aragon (London, 1961), p.171.
 4. B.M. Add. Ms. 11,303, f.95v.

the religious orders by the English humanists; but then the latter were, by comparison with their European counterparts, conservative and orthodox. The greatest humanist of all, Erasmus, had a number of remarks to make about the order, by no means all of which can be described as complimentary, but which, like the caustic observations of Richard of Devizes three centuries earlier, enable one to gain a wider insight into the true estimation in which the order was held.

Erasmus numbered among his Carthusian associates some close friends and some bitter enemies. The former group is represented especially by Gregor Reisch, prior of Freiburg Charterhouse, and author of Margarita Philosophica. When Erasmus's translation of the New Testament provoked a furious debate, he was extremely gratified to discover that Reisch was publicly praising it, because he thought that Reisch's opinion carries the weight of an oracle in Germany'. (1) Other Carthusian allies included a young monk of Scheut called Gabriel Ofhuys, to whom Erasmus wrote in 1521, (2) and two brothers Johannes and Levinus Ammonius who wrote to him expressing praise and friendship. (3) His Carthusian opponents included the prior of London from 1529 to 1531, John Batmanson, whose Contra Annotationes Erasmi Rotterdami drew from the outraged humanist the response that his denigrator was 'iuuenem, vt e scriptis apparet, prorsus indoctum sed ad insaniam vsque gloriosum'. (4)

It is usually assumed (5) that, like Colet and More, Erasmus exempted the Carthusians from his less favourable observations about

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1. Collected Works of Erasmus, Trans. R.A.B. Mynors and D.F.S. Thomson, ed. J.K. McClellan (Toronto, 1977), iv, 50.
 2. Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Rotterdami, ed. P.S. and H.M. Allen (Oxford, 1906-58), iv, 594-5.
 3. Ibid., ii, 537-8; v, 488-91.
 4. Ibid., iv, 258-9. See also D.N.B. ii, 1334-5; R.O. iii, 469. In the latter, Knowles destroys the myth that the prior may be identified with the lawyer of the same name who was sent to Scotland in 1509 to negotiate with James IV. He argues that the prior was probably a son of the lawyer, and also notes that Margaret, the second wife of the lawyer, left instructions in 1518 to be buried in the London Charterhouse.
 5. For example by P.S. and H.M. Allen in Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Rotterdami, iv, 473n.

the state of current monastic observance, and so to some extent he does. His best known compliment to the order occurs in In Praise of Folly, and it is very charmingly expressed;

'The Clergie of theyr goodnesse and singular modestee, remitte all care of holinesse to the laie people, and laie folke charge suche therwith as their call Ecclesiasticall or churchemen, as who saieth all maner Christians had not to dooe with the churche, or as if thei professed no suche thyng by theyr fyrst vowe of Baptisme. Than againe priestes that are named Seculers, as dedicate to the worlde and not to Christ, dooe laie all this burden on regular priestes, who likewyse tourne it ouer to Religious men, and religious men of an easier rule commende the same to those of a straighter rule. But all with one assent dooe cast theyr charge on Friers neckes, who natheles finde a meanes yet to conueigh the same to monkæs of the charterhouse, in which onely order, holinesse as in hir graue lyeth hydden, yea and so hydden as scant at any tyme she can be seen'. (1)

And yet his praise for the order must be balanced against a certain contempt. Erasmus may often refer to the Carthusians as 'vere mundo mortui' and 'religionis artissimæ sanctissimæque professores', (2) but one cannot be certain that this is always a whole-hearted compliment. In his Colloquy The Old Man's Chat he described a man who had spent some time at Perth;

Pampirus: There among the Carthusians I changed from linen to leather.

Eusebius: Men wholly dead to the world!

Pampirus: So I thought when I used to hear them singing.

Glycion: What? The dead even sing? - How many months did you pass with the Scots?

Pampirus: Nearly six.

Glycion: What perseverance!

Eusebius: What fault did you find there?

Pampirus: I thought the life too lazy and luxurious. (3)

It could be added that Pampirus had sampled the religious life with several different orders, and had not a good word to say for any of them.

Similarly, in his Colloquy The Soldier and the Carthusian, Erasmus contrasts the ordered, cultured, virtuous life of a Carthusian with the wastrel, corrupting and harsh existence of a mercenary. (4)

1. The Praise of Folie, translated by Thomas Chaloner, ed. C.H. Miller (E.E.T.S. o.s. 257, 1965), p.102.

2. Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterdami, iv, 473n.

3. D. Erasmus, Colloquies, translated C.R. Thompson (London, 1965), p.198.

4. Ibid., pp.128-133.

C.R. Thompson comments, 'In this, his most favorable picture of monastic life Erasmus presents a Carthusian who is sincere, intelligent and virtuous. That some monks bring discredit to their order is no excuse for our overlooking the better kind'. (1) But what Erasmus was really doing he tells us very clearly in his own notes to the reader; 'In the colloquy The Soldier and the Carthusian, I depict at one stroke both the folly of young fellows who run off to war and the life of a holy Carthusian: a life inevitably gloomy and dismal unless accompanied by devotion to studies'. (2)

Erasmus's portrait of this Carthusian monk is in many ways attractive. He is a mature intelligent individual who is content with the company of his books and his fellow Carthusians, and who regards ritual as merely a convenient superstition. This of course misses the point of the Carthusian way of life, and indeed, as Knowles points out, Erasmus always seems to ignore the metaphysical element of the religious existence. (3) Carthusians were not supposed to enter the order merely to have leisure and facilities for study, and it is a viewpoint which Erasmus, in all seriousness, reiterated a year later when he wrote to a young Carthusian (possibly Ofhuys) intent on dissuading him from abandoning his vocation. (4)

Erasmus had few complaints about the austerity or virtue of the order. In a colloquy called The Shipwreck he oddly echoed the sentiments of John Chiellod nearly a century earlier. When the ship was in danger of sinking the passengers panicked and made various rash vows about what sacrifices they would perform if they escaped the storm, including pledging themselves to become Carthusians. (5) It indicates that the Carthusian rule was still certainly regarded as austere, but its point is to display Erasmus's contempt for vows lightly or mistakenly entered into.

1. Colloquies, p.127.

2. Ibid., p.629.

3. R.O. iii, 141-156.

4. Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterdami, vii, 199-201.

5. Colloquies, p.141.

However Erasmus did have one concrete criticism to make of the order, with which those who have read Chauncy can only concur, that the austere regime was not altogether conducive to a healthy and well-balanced outlook on life. In the colloquy A Fish Diet, the fishmonger reflects, 'Scarcely ever has it been my lot to visit a Carthusian monastery without running into one or two who were either plain silly or raving mad'. (1) Pampirus gives the same reason for leaving Perth, 'I found many there who weren't altogether in their right minds - on account of the solitude, as I suppose. I had little enough mind; I feared I might lose it all'. (2) But here again, of course, one returns to Knowles's point about Erasmus's lack of appreciation of spiritual qualities. Erasmus called such monks lunatics: Chauncy might have called them saints.

Colet and More admired the Carthusians because of their holiness. Erasmus admitted their holiness, but questioned their function. He could not see the point of grown men shutting themselves up in solitude to commune with their maker, when they could be performing useful works and directing men's souls in society. His comment that 'a truly devout and dutiful village priest is more estimable than many Carthusians or Bridgettines' (3) is only a restatement of the age-old debate between Martha and Mary, and finds expression several times in his writing, for example in his colloquies, The Godly Feast;

'In Italy I saw a certain Carthusian monastery, not far from Pavia. In it is a church built of white marble within and without, from top to bottom; and almost everything inside - altars, columns, tombs - is marble. What was the good of pouring out so much money to enable a few lone monks to sing in a marble church which even to them is a burden, not a benefit, because it's constantly overrun with visitors who collect there merely to see that marble church?

There I learned of something still more foolish: that they have a legacy of three thousand ducats a year to spend on building. And some people think it a crime to divert that money, contrary to the testator's intentions, to good works'. (4)

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1. Colloquies, p.353.
 2. Ibid., pp.198-9.
 3. Quoted in Ibid., p.204.
 4. Ibid., p.70.

and A Fish Diet;

Butcher : What if a Carthusian monk were faced with the necessity of eating meat or dying: which should he choose?

Fishmonger: Physicians teach that no meat is so efficacious but that aurum potabile and jewels might produce the same result.

Butcher: Which is more useful, then: to rescue with gold and jewels a man in danger or by the value of these things to save many who are in peril of their lives and to give a sick man a chicken?

Fishmonger: I hesitate to say.

Butcher: Yet the eating of fish or meat is not among those things they call 'essentials'.

Fishmonger: Let's leave the Carthusians to their own judge. (1)

The extent to which 'Erasmus laid the egg which Luther hatched' is a question which occupies the mind of all his apologists, and their verdicts display tremendous disparity. Leaving aside discussion of such intangibles as his contribution towards the rationalisation of religion, perhaps his single most influential and destructive idea, the one which most obviously affected the course the Reformation followed, was that he questioned the monastic ideal, and, moreover, questioned it in an intelligent, humane and persuasive fashion. Even the Lollards had not penetrated so far. To the age-old denunciation of monastic abuse, he added a new and fatal ingredient. For him, religious orders at their worst were corrupt and sapping of a society's vitality, but even at their best, which he admitted the Carthusians to be, they were self-indulgent and unnecessary. And from that premise it was but a short step to the conclusion that funds allocated to monasteries could more usefully be diverted elsewhere, as indeed the Lollards had suggested. Once so cultured, forceful and, in many ways, orthodox a propagandist as Erasmus had espoused this point of view, it required little imagination or justification for Cromwell to put it into effect.

1. Colloquies, p.331-2.

Conclusion : The Deflowering and Devouring of the Carthusian Order

It is for the heroic conduct of eighteen of their number at the Reformation that the Carthusians are primarily remembered today. Throughout the entire course of their history in England, they had managed to evade being in the forefront of the public eye, although what attention they did attract had been almost entirely favourable. In the 1530's, however, they were unwillingly precipitated onto the centre of the national stage, a position which, in subsequent histories of the Reformation, they maintain to this day.

The paucity both of contemporary information and of later commentary about the order in England during the middle ages is transformed, during the Reformation, into a superabundance. Besides those works which deal in most detail with the Carthusians at this time, ⁽¹⁾ almost every book devoted to the events of the Reformation has its statutory section extolling the heroism of the martyrs, even if the authors consider it misplaced. For this reason, it has not been thought necessary to relate here once again the history of the order's oppression and suppression. Nevertheless, the subject is of crucial importance, and to deny any discussion of it would be to distort the history of the order in England, since it forms in some ways the logical culmination of that history, and can really only be understood in terms of that history. Had the Carthusians faded into obscurity - departed not with a bang, but with a whimper - their subsequent status in the annals of English history would probably have been minimal. But it has quite naturally been assumed that nothing became their life so well as the ending of it, and their glorious demise has cast a retrospective aura over the rest of

1. Thompson, pp.379-486; R.O. iii, 222-240; Hendriks, passim; F.A. Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries (London, 1893), i, 202-243; D. & G. Mathew, The Reformation and the Contemplative Life (London, 1934), especially pp.83-93, 167-end; D.B. Christie, While the World Revolves: the Life and Martyrdom of Blessed John Houghton (London, 1932); M.J. Finneran, The Breaking of the Storm: the Martyred Priors of Beauvale (London, 1954); V.M. Doreau, Henri VIII et les Martyrs de la Chartreuse de Londres (Paris, 1890). Among the primary sources, Chauncy obviously occupies pride of place, but a not inconsiderable space in the L&P is devoted to the Carthusians. Useful primary material is also to be found in T. Wright, Three Chapters of Letters Relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries (Camden Society, O.S. xxvi, 1843) and G.H. Cook, Letters to Cromwell and Others on the Suppression of the Monasteries (London, 1965).

their career in England. However it is the conduct of only eighteen individual monks which has promoted this view. It seems likely that as many as thirty-one Observant Friars perished for their faith - no-one is sure of their names, or even of the exact number (1) - but they attracted neither the contemporary nor the subsequent extolment which attended the Carthusians. Ultimately therefore it was not the mere fact of martyrdom which counted, but the question of who was being martyred, how, and for what reasons.

In discussing the course of the suppression of the monasteries, indeed of the whole of the Henrician Reformation, one is usually forced to argue from effect rather than from motive. Considering that during the 1530's a major political and religious revolution occurred, and considering also the welter of documentation that surrounds that revolution, the one area about which we have almost no information is that of central policy-making. Cromwell, the arch-Machiavellian, kept his thoughts to himself. Thus historians have argued for decades, and are indeed still arguing over whether the bid for royal supremacy was envisaged when Henry first mooted his divorce; over whether the complete dissolution of the monasteries was foreseen when the smaller priories were suppressed; in crude terms, to what extent the revolution was master-minded and to what extent it evolved. (2) It does not strain the limits of credulity to view the Henrician Reformation as a measure imposed by central dictate upon a population the majority of whom were, if not by any means entirely opposed, at least rather too stunned by the rapidity of change to be able to appreciate its fundamental nature and implications. The Reformation, and in particular the suppression of the monasteries, were changes whose import was so far reaching, and whose success was so complete, that it is tempting to imagine that a consistent and centrally directed formula was behind them, although clearly it was a policy which was only made possible by the snowballing political situation of the 1530's, and which proceeded circumspectly after taking careful note of public reaction. In any event the sagacity of Cromwell in drafting out the scheme and putting it into effect

1. R.D. iii, 210-11.

2. For the latest substantial contribution to a long debate, see G.R. Elton, Reform and Reformation (London, 1977), pp.136-7, 235-8.

should not be underestimated. Such a view implies, in the context of the Carthusian order, that one should not confine oneself merely to examining the monks' reaction to the succession, supremacy and suppression, but should also investigate the nature of their political role, and how they were manipulated in order that their opposition should not endanger the success of a rapidly evolving religious and political programme.

That the persecution and martyrdom of the Carthusians assumed the significance it did was due to the reputation for sanctity which they had been gaining during the preceding two centuries. It has been one of the purposes of this thesis to examine the foundations of this reputation; and it has been one of its conclusions that the reputation was not undeserved. Because of it, their attitude to the royal bid for supremacy in the English Church became important in the same way as More's was important. The fact that the order - or at least the London Charterhouse - was considered important enough to warrant excessive state intervention, is as much of a tribute to the integrity of the order as is the fact that eighteen monks suffered the supreme penalty for their faith. The initial policy towards the Carthusians, as towards More, was that it was extremely necessary for the success of the royal bid for supremacy that men of such proven integrity should conform publicly, and thereby endow the new regime with legitimacy. It was equally necessary that if they refused to conform, examples should be made of them to prove that sanctity was no barrier to the jurisdiction of the state.

During the 1530's a great deal of discussion centred on the Carthusians in general and the London Charterhouse in particular; but obviously, in such a partisan era, little of it can be described as objective. How one viewed the order depended largely upon what side one took in the great debate. It is no surprise that John Whalley, one of the men appointed by Cromwell to oversee the London Charterhouse in 1535, should describe his charges as 'exceedingly superstitious, ceremonious & pharisaical, & wonderfully addict to their old mumpsimus', ⁽¹⁾ or that Thomas Darby, clerk of the

1. L.&P. viii, 600.

council, should call them 'wool-clothed wolves, who attributed more to their cowl and habit than to the precious blood of Christ'. (1) It is equally no surprise that in certain other quarters, notably abroad, they were regarded as paragons of virtue. The task therefore is to search for references to the order which come from sources with some claim to objectivity, or which betray a more sophisticated understanding of the situation.

Thomas Bedyll, archdeacon of Cornwall, to whose lot it fell to attempt to extort oaths of Supremacy from the London monks in 1534, knew exactly what he was up against; 'I am right sory to se the folyssnes and obstinacy of diuerse religious men so addict to the Bishop of Rome and his vsurped power, that they contemne all counsell, and likewise the ieopardie of thaire bodies and soules and the suppression of thaire houses, as careles men and willing to die. If it were not for the opinion whiche men had and some yet haue, in thair apparent holinesse, whiche is and was for the moost part, couert hypocrysy, it made no greate mater what became of thaim so thaire soules were saved'. (2) Anxious although he was to deprecate it therefore, even Bedyll had to admit that the Carthusians were held in especial veneration for their 'apparent holinesse', and that accordingly special pains had to be taken to bring them around to Cromwell's point of view. Such observation may be accorded greater status when it is clear that the observer was far from being a wholehearted admirer of the order. Bedyll certainly nourished no such view; 'albeit they pretend holines in this behalf, suerly the ground of thaire said opinion is hypocrisy, vaine glory, confederacy, obstinacy, to thintent they may be seen to the world or specially to suche as haue confidence in thaim more feythful and more constant than any other'. (3) Similarly, Thomas Starkey, another writer who could hardly be described as a Carthusian apologist, felt obliged to write to Cardinal Pole in 1535 explaining why the 'monkys of the charturhouse, men notyd of grete sanctyte' had been put to death; 'In thys blyndnes theyr superstyous myndys were stablyd, lakkyng iugement to

1. L.&P. xiv, 402.

2. Thompson, p.384.

3. Thompson, p.405.

dyscerne the dyuersyte betwyx the vnyte spiritual & the vnyte polytycal'. (1)

Of the genuinely popular reaction to the Carthusian martyrdoms we have little trustworthy evidence. Gasquet quotes a manuscript written in June 1535 stating that people noted how it had rained ever since the execution of the monks, and drew the inference that it was a sign of divine disapproval. (2) Chapuys said that the resultant famine was popularly imputed to the bad life and tyranny of the king. (3) In 1536 the Bishop of Faenza reported that Exmewe, Newdigate and Middlemore were imprisoned and awaiting sentence of death, but were unlikely to be executed as publicly as the three priors, for fear of reviving the displeasure of the people which had been demonstrated at the earlier executions. (4) The bishop's impartiality may naturally be called into dispute, but as he was correct in predicting the lack of publicity which attended the execution of the three monks, he could also be correct about the reason for it; and, of course, the last eight London martyrs (apart from the miraculously surviving William Horne) were even denied the comparative benefits of execution but left to languish anonymously in jail. Faenza also stated that the king himself had confessed that he had gone disguised to the London Charterhouse to try to persuade the monks to accept him as supreme head. (5) It may be recalled that Henry Clifford related how the king had visited Newdigate in prison to attempt to make him recant. (6) Whether the two stories refer to the same incident cannot be established, and, in the perhaps unlikely event of their being true, it cannot be decided whether Henry's visit was a product of his determination to prevent the execution of his favourite Newdigate or of his appreciation of the importance of a public submission by the Carthusians

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1. 'T. Starkey's Life and Letters', part i of England in the Reign of Henry VIII, ed. S.J. Heritage (E.E.T.S. e.s. 32, 1927), p.xx.
 2. F.A. Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries (London, 1893), i, 245, quoting Bib. Nat. Mss. Dupuy, vol. 547.
 3. L.&P. ix, 594.
 4. L.&P. viii, 726, 846.
 5. L.&P. viii, 837, 846.
 6. H. Clifford, Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria, ed. J. Stevenson (London, 1887), p.28.

It is obviously necessary to make a distinction between the London Charterhouse and the others because, apart from Augustine Webster and Robert Lawrence, who had indeed professed at London, all the Carthusian martyrs were inmates of the London house. Inspired by Chauncy's regret that he had not suffered the extreme penalty, and by the consideration that had there been more religious in England willing to die for their faith, that faith might not have been so rudely extinguished, most writers have lamented the fact that the other Carthusians were not apparently prepared to follow their London brethren to imprisonment and the stake. (1) Such authors have assumed that the compliance of the religious with the king's demands meant that the suppression of the monasteries was inevitable. However it is easy to imagine that any monk surveying the harassment of the London Charterhouse in 1536 would have espoused precisely the opposite point of view: that compliance with the king was the only way to prevent a full scale monastic dispersal. We must remember the traditional reliance of the religious upon the protection of the secular arm, as effectively evoked for us by the author of the chronicle in Bodleian Ms. E. Museo 160; and we must remember also that Jean Galliard, prior-general of the Grande Chartreuse, had rebuked the monks of the London Charterhouse for their 'wylful or sturdy opynyons': (2) the latter took their stand in isolation from both their secular and ecclesiastical superiors.

One possibility, therefore, is that the body of English Carthusians behaved differently from their London peers. An alternative - or supplementary - theory is that they were treated differently. It is immediately apparent that none of the other Charterhouses were subjected to the degree of intimidation that London was forced to endure. But intimidation can of course be counter-productive, since it can stiffen resistance and convince its victims that their cause is righteous. This was certainly the effect that it had upon the London Charterhouse, and also, according to the Bishop of Faenza, upon close observers of the scene. As a result Cromwell may well have decided to change tack in the case of the other Charterhouses,

1. For example, Knowles in R.O. iii, 237.

2. L.&P. ix, 11. See also L.&P. ix, 8.

achieving their compliance by the simple device of making it as easy as he could for them to comply. The evidence for this assertion will be discussed later; but it should be recalled now that a feature of the Dissolution was that the policy underlying the course of events underwent a sharp change of direction in 1536/7. After that date there were few public executions of opponents to the royal supremacy. There are a number of recorded incidents where people spoke out publicly against the crown but where no action appears to have been taken; and those who were executed were dealt with as discreetly as possible. Secondly there were comparatively few suppressions of monasteries as such: instead the monks were induced to surrender, in a manner which Cromwell chose to designate as voluntary. The same ends were achieved, but by methods of greater subtlety. There appears to have been a similar change in the treatment of the Carthusians; and if so, it would be a microcosm of the more general change in tactics adopted by Cromwell.

If it was important that all the Carthusians should submit, it was obviously most vital that the London house should lead the way, because it was the best known Carthusian priory in England, it was sited in the capital, it had links with More and other prominent court figures and it contained a large proportion of monks with wealthy or aristocratic origins. Papal sympathisers could be tolerated, up to a point, in far-away Yorkshire, but they could hardly be permitted to form centres of disaffection in the capital city. Politically Cromwell could afford to allow a certain amount of leeway to the more remote and rural Charterhouses, so that if they did not acquit themselves with the fortitude displayed by their London brethren, it could be that this was because they were not required to do so. From this rule of thumb, Sheen may be exempted: it was near London, it was also well known, and it too had important connections with the literary circle of Lady Margaret Beaufort. ⁽¹⁾ Doubtless had this priory chosen to resist, it too would have merited harsh treatment, but Cromwell had already engineered it into a position of submission before 1535.

1. Sargent, pp.239-40; R. Lovatt, 'The Imitation of Christ in Late Medieval England', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series, xviii (1968), p.100.

Since willingness to be martyred for one's faith is certainly an index of sanctity, it is perhaps the case that the martyrdoms have conferred retrospectively upon the London house a reputation which, by implication, the others did not deserve. But such a view is perhaps simplistic, since it does not take into account the relative strategic importance of the priories. The amount of evidence available to the historian of the twentieth century is limited, but there is nothing to suggest that the other houses were deficient in holiness. Chapuys, the Imperial Ambassador, who, despite his papal sympathies, stands out as being one of the most perceptive and dispassionate analysts of the complicated Cromwellian manoeuvrings, wrote in May 1535 that the king, in addition to imprisoning three London monks, had taken into his custody all the goods of all the Charterhouses. He explained, cynically, that it was thought that the king would suppress them since firstly they were rich, and secondly there was no hope of making them change their opinions. (1) Besides demonstrating that as early as 1535 at least one contemporary observer had grasped the fact that the suppression of the monasteries was primarily a financial matter, the quotation also serves to show that Chapuys did not believe that any of the Charterhouses would submit to the Act of Supremacy. In passing, it may be noted that the order appears to have had a reputation for wealth; and that there is no other corroboration for Chapuys' interesting statement that Henry had at that stage acquired control over the monks' goods.

It is now recognised that the royal visitors who compiled the Compendium Compertorum in 1535-6, with its notorious catalogue of sodomy and incontinence, had at least a vested interest in portraying the monasteries as havens of iniquity and waste. By contrast, the commissioners for the Suppression in 1536 approached their task in a rather more objective light and were willing to bestow praise where they felt it was due. (2) Comparing the surviving reports of both groups of commissioners on the Carthusians, one finds that the former had nothing serious of which to accuse the Charterhouse, and that the latter were actually very complimentary. Only three

1. L.&P. viii, 751.

2. R.D. iii, 291-303.

houses, Beauvale, Hull and Coventry, were in danger of suppression in 1536, and reports have only survived for the last two of these. The Coventry commissioners commented that the Carthusians were 'all prestes in vertue & contemplacon and Religion excellent desyryng all yf the kynghis pleasure bee that the howse shalbe dyssolued to be sent to other howses of ther Religion'. (1) Sir Ralph Ellerker told Cromwell that the Hull monks 'are right well favored and commended by the honest men of Hulle, and other neighbours there aboutes for their good lyvyng and great hospitalite by theym dayly kepte, which men of Hulle and other their neighbours made great request unto us to desyer your maistership to be good maister unto the said priour and bretherne'. (2) The commendation by the Hull townfolk is perhaps a little surprising when one remembers how tardy they had been in leaving bequests to the Charterhouse. (3) Presumably, however, it is genuine, since Ellerker would certainly have been quick to seize upon any complaint about the monastery. To take a cynical view, the townfolks' attitude was perhaps the product of their innate conservatism springing to the defence of a threatened 'civic' institution: if they had once disliked a Pole enclave in the city, they would equally not take kindly to royal interference. (4)

At any event, the three Charterhouses threatened with suppression in 1536 were all temporarily spared. This cannot be credited entirely to the worthy life of the inhabitants, but perhaps rather to the difficulty of assimilating their monks into any other Charterhouse. The peculiar nature of the cell-orientated Carthusian way of life meant that it was impracticable to accommodate a large influx of new monks at another house, and certainly all the Coventry and Hull brethren had opted for continuance in the religious life. So their stay of execution solved the accommodation problem, and also of

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1. P.R.O. E.36/154, ff.142v-143r.
 2. Yorkshire Monasteries, Suppression Papers, ed. J.W. Clay (Y.A.S.R.S. xlviii, 1912), p.28.
 3. See above, pp.344-6.
 4. However the citizens of Hull in general welcomed the advent of Protestantism rather more rapidly than did their other northern neighbours: see M.C. Cross, 'Parochial Structure and the Dissemination of Protestantism in Sixteenth-Century England: A Tale of Two Cities', in the Church in Town and Countryside, ed. D. Baker (Studies in Church History, xvi, 1979), pp.269-278. They were not conservative in religious matters at least, and this renders their praise of the Charterhouse more surprising, but also more likely to be genuine.

Table VIII : Relative Values of the Charterhouses in 1535

The figures are derived from the Valor Ecclesiasticus Tempore Henrici VIII Auctoritate Regis Institutus ed J. Carey and J. Hunter (Record Commission, 1810-34), 6 vols. The Hull figure only survives in the summary Liber Valorum, although a return made by the commissioners for that house is extant and printed in 'A Selection of Monastic Rentals and Dissolution Papers' in Miscellanea, iii (Y.A.S.R.S. lxxx, 1931), pp.131-41. The fines paid for exemption by the three Charterhouses valued under £200 are to be found in the account roll of Thomas Pope, treasurer of the Court of Augmentations, from April 1536 to Michaelmas 1538, printed in J. Youings, The Dissolution of the Monasteries (London, 1971), p.220.

	<u>House</u>	<u>Value</u>	<u>Reference</u>	<u>Fine</u>
1.	Sheen	£777 12s. 0½d.	<u>V.E.</u> ii, 54.	
2.	London	£642 0s. 4½d.	<u>V.E.</u> i, 431.	
3.	Mount Grace	£323 2s. 10½d.	<u>V.E.</u> v, 85.	
4.	Hinton	£248 19s. 2d.	<u>V.E.</u> i, 157.	
5.	Axholme	£237 15s. 2¾d.	<u>V.E.</u> iv, 136.	
6.	Witham	£215 15s.	<u>V.E.</u> i, 158.	
7.	Beauvale	£196 6s.	<u>V.E.</u> v, 156.	£166 13s. 4d.
8.	Hull	£174 18s. 4d.	<u>V.E.</u> v, 126.	£233 6s. 8d.
9.	Coventry	£131 6s. 4d.	<u>V.E.</u> iii, 54.	£20.

Table IX : Dates of Surrender of English Charterhouses

<u>House</u>	<u>Date of Surrender</u>	<u>Reference</u>
1. London	10 June 1537 (1)	<u>L.&P.</u> xii, ii, 64.
2. Sheen	March 1538 (2)	
3. Axholme	18 June 1538	<u>L.&P.</u> xiii, i, 1207.
4. Coventry	16 January 1539	<u>L.&P.</u> xiv, i, 73.
5. Witham	15 March 1539	<u>L.&P.</u> xiv, i, 524.
6. Hinton	31 March 1539	<u>L.&P.</u> xiv, i, 637.
7. Beauvale	18 July 1539	<u>L.&P.</u> xiv, i, 1281.
8. Hull	9 November 1539	<u>L.&P.</u> xiv, ii, 489.
9. Mount Grace	18 December 1539	<u>L.&P.</u> xiv, ii, 700.

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1. Although the London Charterhouse surrendered on 10 June 1537, it was not actually suppressed until 15 November 1538 (Chauncy, Historia, p.119).
 2. Oddly, there exists no document of surrender for Sheen, but a letter from Prior Man dated 5 March 1538 suggests that it was then in the process of dissolution (L.&P. xiii, i, 422).

course provided Cromwell with another source of revenue in the form of fines for letters patent of exemption. (1) The three Charterhouses paid handsomely for the licence to continue, although they were required to furnish oddly disproportionate sums as fines. (2) Hull paid more than Beauvale, although its annual value was lower, whilst Coventry apparently managed to escape with the trifling sum of £20. This may perhaps have represented merely a part payment, with dissolution cancelling the outstanding portion.

The letters of exemption ultimately proved to be worthless. Between June 1537 and December 1539 all the Carthusians were encouraged, cajoled, persuaded or intimidated into surrendering their priories. The process by which this was accomplished has often been described, and is a testament to the ingenuity of the commissioners if not to their integrity. One of the tactics they employed was isolation; they did not waste their time and blandishments on stubborn priors, but moved swiftly on, leaving the survivors to capitulate of their own accord as they panicked in increasing loneliness. (3) In the case of the Charterhouses, therefore, the date of surrender is a rough but reasonable guide to the degree of opposition they displayed, with the exception of London where the early surrender was the culmination of three years of Cromwellian siege tactics. It is also interesting that, with the exception of Axholme, the sequence of dates of surrender is in direct relationship with the distance of the Charterhouse from the capital city.

Sheen, the second Charterhouse dissolved, had already aroused Cromwell's antagonism by its sponsorship of the Maid of Kent in 1534, when Prior John Michel and Procurator Henry Man had deemed it prudent to make an unequivocal submission to the Act of Succession. As a result the priory was from the beginning very much under the Secretary's overlordship. In 1535 he appointed Man prior, and the latter was assiduous in promoting the royal interest. After the Dissolution he was awarded a huge pension, more than double that of

1. See G.W.O. Woodward, 'The Exemption from Suppression of Certain Yorkshire Priories', English Historical Review, lxxvi (1961), pp.398-9.

2. See Table VIII.

3. J. Youings, The Dissolution of the Monasteries (London, 1971), p.78.

any other prior, ⁽¹⁾ and he was the only Carthusian to receive high ranking ecclesiastical office later. This could have been not merely a reward for his general compliancy, but also a recognition of the fact that his services were particularly crucial: Sheen, like London, was in the public eye, and Cromwell must have been relieved that he did not have to cope with two obstreperous Charterhouses in the vicinity of the capital. Admittedly Henry Ball the vicar was less compliant, and one Sheen monk, Robert Marshall, had occasion to report him to Cromwell for being 'steyff necked agaynste our most soueran prynce'. ⁽²⁾ Although Marshall said that 'all our poor seruantes be greatlie offendid with our vicar and proctor', a letter by another monk, John Pysaunt, reveals that the monks were deeply troubled by 'scrypulosyte off conscyence', and that there were 'sum whyche wyll I thynk verly rather dey'. ⁽³⁾ Pysaunt hoped, naively, that they might be excused the oath of Supremacy, but Sheen seems to have submitted meekly enough.

Axholme, the third Charterhouse to be dissolved, had in 1535 been deprived of a prior of great saintliness and steely resolve, Augustine Webster. The monks begged Cromwell to appoint as prior the procurator, Thomas Barnyngham 'vn to whom bothe they and the cuntry geve a good name, seyyng that he is a sad dyscrete relygious man'. ⁽⁴⁾ However in 1536 Cromwell promoted 'a man of no lernyng and very symple', the vicar Michael Mekenes, who absconded two years later with all the money he could raise as well as the convent seal. ⁽⁵⁾ The monks were clearly demoralised by their lack of a leader and by Mekenes's neglect of their property, and there is no indication in any of the letters of complaint they wrote to Cromwell that they were disposed to resist his authority.

Coventry, the next Charterhouse to surrender, was in a somewhat insecure position owing to its extreme poverty, to the fact that it had been threatened with extinction in 1536, and to its connection with the Lincolnshire rising. In 1537 the monks received a visit

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1. He received £133 6s. 8d. (L.&P. xv, p.545).
 2. Thompson, p.443.
 3. Thompson, p.441.
 4. Thompson, p.451.
 5. L.&P. xii, i, 693.

from a priest called Thomas Kendall, one of the rebels, but their explanation that they had no idea who he was appears to have satisfied Cromwell. (1) The prior, John Bochart, had consulted with Archbishop Lee in 1536, and had not apparently entertained any objections to the supremacy, (2) but Dr. London reported two years later that he had received 'unwise letters' from the monks. (3)

That Witham survived as long as it did was not due, it seems, to any obstinacy on the part of the monks or the prior, John Michel, late of Sheen, but to the fact that Hinton was showing some opposition to the new religious developments and the Commissioners feared that the Witham brethren might follow their example. (4) At Hinton the prior was Edmund Horde, who was, according to the prior of Mount Grace, well respected in the order for his virtue and learning. (5) Although he is on record as stating that Katherine of Aragon's divorce was 'unjuste & unlawfull', (6) he was not unduly troubled by the Act of Succession. (7) His initial reaction to the royal supremacy is unknown, except that he was later to apologise to Cromwell for 'mine untowardnes in certaine thinges whiche ye willed me to do concerning the kynges maiestie'. (8) However he must eventually have conformed, since in 1535 both Archbishop Lee and John Whalley recommended that he be sent to other houses to persuade the more recalcitrant monks to change their opinions. (9) He refused to surrender his house in 1539 however, and in a letter to his brother commented that the priory was not his to surrender, and that he had been given no reason why it should be suppressed, since he was certain that its observance was not at fault. (10) He had to bow to the inevitable, but three of the monks still objected, and one, Nicholas Balam, went so far as to challenge the king's supremacy, a lapse

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1. L.&P. xii, i, 19.
 2. L.&P. x, 99.
 3. L.&P. xiii, ii, 1153.
 4. L.&P. xiv, i, 145.
 5. L.&P. viii, 1011.
 6. L.&P. vi, 510; Thompson, p.447.
 7. L.&P. vii, 1127.
 8. L.&P. viii, 402; Thompson, p.448.
 9. L.&P. viii, 778, 1011.
 10. L.&P. xiv, i, 269.

which Horde excused on the grounds that he was a lunatic. (1)

Beauvale, like Axholme, had already sacrificed its prior, Robert Laurence. In 1535 the procurator, William Trafford, declared that he would refuse the oath of supremacy 'usque ad mortem', (2) but he was sent up to London for re-education, and proved so tractable that he was appointed prior of London Charterhouse. (3) Indeed, Bedyll gave him credit for effecting the surrender of that house. (4) In 1535 the monks of Beauvale apparently paid £20 to Dr. Legh to secure the election of Thomas Woodcock as prior. (5) About Woodcock's opinions little is known. On the one hand Henry Man and John Michel, visiting Beauvale in 1537, did not feel that the atmosphere was conducive to promoting the royal claims; they consequently removed Chauncy and Fox, temporarily residing there, and resolved to put considerable effort into discussion with some of the monks. (6) On the other hand, when Sir John London received the surrender of the house two years later he reported 'We founde the prior of the Charterhouse in hys shortt gowen and velvytt cappe, redy befor our commyng, and the proctor of that howse in lyke apparell the next day following'. (7) London, certainly, would have been pleased to suppose that he was performing a service for the monks by expelling them. The sacristan at Beauvale, Nicholas Dugmer, who was later to prove a staunch supporter of Chauncy, apparently managed to evade taking the oath of supremacy. When asked by the royal commissioners how he took the king, he is supposed to have answered, 'I take him as God and the Holy Church take him: and I am sure he taketh himself none otherwise'. (8)

The last two Charterhouses to be suppressed were Hull and Mount Grace. The priors of both had earlier declared their intentions of

1. L.&P. xiv, i, 145.

2. L.&P. viii, 560.

3. L.&P. viii, 585. This letter is dated 1535 in the Calendar. Clearly this is a year early.

4. T. Wright, Three Chapters of Letters Relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries (Camden Society, o.s. xxvi, 1843), p.162.

5. Thompson, p.459.

6. Thompson, p.459.

7. T. Wright, Three Chapters of Letters, p.215.

8. Hendriks, pp.304-5. Presumably this occurred in 1534: Hendriks does not supply a date.

dying sooner than yielding to the royal supremacy; (1) but it seems that by July 1535 Ralph Malevory, the prior of Hull, was 'conformable to the king's pleasure'. (2) Even had he not been so, the near suppression of the monastery in 1536, and the execution of his two London visitors, Walworth and Rochester, in 1537, would have contributed to a change of heart. Mount Grace proved a more formidable opponent. In 1534 two of the monks, Thomas Leighton and Geoffrey Hodgson, refused to swear to the succession, (3) and were imprisoned by the prior, John Wilson. (4) In 1535 a monk and a lay-brother, Richard Marshall and James Neweye respectively, attempted to flee to Scotland: they too were imprisoned by the prior on their return. (5) Wilson also imprisoned a monk called Robert Foster, who seems to have belonged to Hull Charterhouse. (6) All were apparently sufficiently chastened by the experience to prove tractable thereafter. If his actions have placed Wilson in an unfavourable light, it may be remembered that a considerable amount of pressure was brought to bear on him. It took the combined artillery of Bishop Tunstall and Archbishop Lee to persuade him to abandon his opposition to the royal supremacy, and his reputation was certainly that of a potential trouble-maker. (7) In 1535 he was required to explain to Sir Francis Bigod the connection of Mount Grace with the Jervaulx monk George Lazenby, who was put to death for defending the 'idol & blood sucker of Rome'. Bigod commented 'I see from the Prior that most of his brethren are traitors'. (8) As late as 1540 Wilson had to make a similarly formal deposition explaining his unwillingness to surrender the house; in particular, he was asked whether he had been swayed by the advice of Dr. Richard Hillyard, late disgraced secretary to Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham. (9)

1. L.&P. x, 93, 99.

2. L.&P. viii, 968.

3. L.&P. vi, 932.

4. L.&P. xv, 125.

5. L.&P. viii, 1038.

6. L.&P. xv, 125.

7. L.&P. xv, 125; xiv, ii, 750.

8. L.&P. viii, 1069; R.O. iii, 368-9.

9. L.&P. xv, 125. On Hillyard's career, see F.A. Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries (London, 1893), ii, 313-5.

At this stage one returns to the question of the Carthusians' apparent unwillingness to stand out as a body against the supremacy, an issue upon which Dugmer's supposed reply to the Beauvale commissioners casts an interesting light. His answer, 'I take him [the king] as God and the Holy Church take him: and I am sure he taketh himself none otherwise', seems to have been conformist enough to satisfy the royal officials, but had it been ventured by any of the London monks, it would have ensured his speedy imprisonment. It may therefore have been the case, as Knowles suggests, ⁽¹⁾ that having made scapegoats of the London monks, Cromwell was unwilling to create any more martyrs and thus provoke further domestic discord and foreign disaffectation. The evidence is suggestive of this conclusion on two counts. Firstly, there exist no records of any Charterhouse other than London actually being required to take the oath of Supremacy: the Commissioners seemed to be satisfied with the assurance that they were 'conformable to the king's pleasure', which might merely have meant that they were not disposed to create trouble just for the sake of it. ⁽²⁾ Secondly, the cavilling of the various priors seems, as this brief resumé has suggested, to have centred upon the act of succession and the suppression, rather than the act of supremacy. Several priors and monks initially declared their resolve of refusing to take the oath of supremacy, and yet there is no subsequent record of those same men either accepting or refusing the oath or in deed of the oath being proffered to them at all. The silence of the records on the subject may imply a governmental decision to soft-pedal the issue, and suggests that the oath of supremacy might have been presented to the Carthusians in an ameliorated form which permitted the variance of individual consciences.

Knowles is not prepared to excuse any such face-saving formula; 'by this action of compliance ... the monks did in fact admit a lay ruler to supreme power in spiritual matters', ⁽³⁾ but he is perhaps

1. R.O. iii, 475.

2. There exist records of only about a hundred religious houses taking the oath of supremacy (Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, vii (London, 1846), Appendix 2, pp.279-306). Knowles claimed initially that 'there can be little doubt that the absence of the remainder is purely accidental' (R.O. iii, 178), but admitted later that 'It may be, however, that after their experience at London, the government decided not to force the Carthusians up to the brink, but to get some sort of acknowledgement out of them. In fact no Carthusian house, other than London under Prior Trafford, appears in the list of those who took the oath' (Ibid. p.475). On this issue, see also G.R. Elton, Reform and Reformation (London, 1977), pp.187-8.

3. R.O. iii, 179.

a little harsh. Even Bishop Fisher could apparently comment, two days after the execution of the three Carthusian priors, that he saw no great peril in the act of supremacy, and that he could not understand why the priors were put to death, since they had done nothing maliciously or obstinately. ⁽¹⁾ It may be doubted whether the immediate issue confronting the Carthusians was that of admitting 'a lay ruler to supreme power in spiritual matters', rather than renouncing the pope, which is a slightly different question. If after the martyrdoms the remaining Carthusians were presented with an oath of supremacy which did not explicitly renounce the pope's authority, it was arguably not discreditable for them to take it. They would undoubtedly have avoided martyrdom had they in conscience been able to. Thomas More himself would cheerfully have done the same, but he was not offered the choice. It is possible, therefore, that Cromwell decided that he was prepared to tolerate discreet Carthusians, rather than dead ones, and that his tolerance increased in inverse ratio to the proximity of a Charterhouse to the capital city.

Finally it is not easy to assess whether the Charterhouses were particularly regretted after their untimely demise. In practical terms, they had never been renowned for hospitality or alms-giving, and it does not appear that their departure left much of a gap in local social provision. Hull had in 1536 been commended for its hospitality; ⁽²⁾ but since the detailed account made for the Valor Ecclesiasticus does not survive, it is impossible to know how much the priory spent on charity. For the rest it was little or nothing, according to the Valor. Coventry stands out as by far the most generous with a total of £76 6s. 9d. spent on its scholars, on the hospital of Oakham, and on various categories of pauper. ⁽³⁾ Sheen spent a total of £18 6s. 8d. on alms to paupers within its scattered holdings, ⁽⁴⁾ and Axholme distributed 23s. annually to

1. L.&P. viii, 856.

2. Yorkshire Monasteries, Suppression Papers, ed. J.W. Clay (Y.A.S.R.S. xlvii, 1912), p.28.

3. V.E. iii, 54. See also A. Savine, 'English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution' in Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History, ed. P. Vinogradoff (Oxford, 1909), i, 231-3.

4. V.E. ii, 53-4.

paupers. (1) Mount Grace gave 5s. of alms to paupers at Easter. (2) However, as G.W.O. Woodward has noted, it is dangerous to make any generalisations about the extent of monastic charity on the basis of the Valor, since the commissioners only entered expenses which the monks were legally obliged to undertake, usually as a condition of endowment or inheritance. (3) In any case, the Carthusians had never seen it as their function to provide social relief.

In spiritual terms, there is a little more evidence that the Carthusians' contribution had been appreciated, most of it centring on Mount Grace. In 1539 a man called Cray was required to give evidence about Dr. Hillyard's connection with the priory, and provided an account of a conversation he had had with Christopher Chaitour, a servant of the Bishop of Durham. Chaitour commented that the prior was a 'great learned man, and so be all his brethren, and they be like minded all to him'. When Cray asked how the country favoured him, Chaitour answered 'wondrous well, and they lament and bewail his cause very sore in their hearts'. (4) In the context of the accusations of treachery that each party was levelling at the other at that point, such a statement is not perhaps very reliable. However that Mount Grace was still remembered as a place of sanctity as late as 1614 is shown by a Commission for Pilgrims issued at that date, which begins;

'Whereas it is enformed that diverse and sundrie superstitious and popishlie affected persons have frequented and still doe frequent (in manner of Pilramage) to repare unto a Certaine Chappell or Hermytage, nere unto the late dissolved Monasterie of Mount Grace ... especiallie upon the Ladies, and other Saints eves, and certaine other sett, and appointed tymes ... the saide persons flockinge together, doe observe and practise diverse superstitious and popishe ceremonies, And have certaine unlawfull Conventicles for the actinge and performinge of sundrie suche popishe, idle, and superstitious pilgramages and like vanyties ... those persons that doe repare thither, come secretlie and closelie and for the moste parte in the nighte tyme ... some of theme are thought to come from farr'. (5)

1. V.E. iv, 135.

2. V.E. v, 85.

3. G.W.O. Woodward, Dissolution of the Monasteries (London, 1966), pp.21-3. See also A. Savine, 'English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution', pp.227-250.

4. L.&P. xiv, ii, 750.

5. W. Brown, 'Mount Grace Priory', Y.A.J. vii (1882), pp.482-3.

The revelation that some of the pilgrims had travelled a great distance adds force to the supposition that the reputation of Mount Grace was widespread and lasting. Moreover, Laurence Keen, in charge of the recent excavations at Mount Grace, adds the interesting archaeological evidence that the cells there show all the signs of having been systematically burnt. ⁽¹⁾ The usual practice, of course, was to let off buildings which could be inhabited, and to strip the lead from conventual buildings and then leave them for the processes of decay and quarrying to obliterate them finally. That Mount Grace was burnt rather than merely neglected suggests that the authorities considered it wise to take precautions against it being reinhabited.

Whether any of the other Charterhouse ruins attracted a similar kind of attention is a matter for conjecture. At London the chronicler Wriothesley wrote that on 3 May 1539 'the images at the Mounthe besyde the Charterhouse were taken downe by my Lorde Privie Seales commaundemert because the people should use noe more idolatrye', ⁽²⁾ but the reference is a little too oblique to bear the inference that the London Charterhouse, like Mount Grace, had become a centre for pilgrimage. About Axholme the diarist Abraham de la Pryme noted in 1698 that 'upon the reformation ... the monastery [was] pulled down to the bare ground, to the great shame and skandall of the christian religion', ⁽³⁾ which certainly suggests that it too was a victim of systematic destruction. However, it is possible that Pryme's evidence about Axholme is confused, ⁽⁴⁾ and in any case he was writing over 150 years after the events he described.

There is little other evidence to suggest that the Charterhouses were missed, although the Mount Grace evidence is highly significant. However, historians of the Suppression have always lamented the lack of sources upon which to base a positive assessment of the pre-Reformation role of the monasteries, and correspondingly of the post-Reformation void. It was, of course, hardly politic in the mid-sixteenth

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1. I am grateful to Mr. Keen for this information.
 2. C. Wriothesley, A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors from A.D. 1485 to 1559 (Camden Society, n.s. xi, 1875), i, 95.
 3. The Diary of Abraham de la Pryme, ed. C. Jackson (S.S. lv, 1870), p.173.
 4. See Appendix III, pp.449-52.

century to express openly any opinion mourning the disappearance of the monasteries. Ultimately, therefore, the historian has to rely upon impressions and upon his or her vision of a society's outlook at a particular epoch. It has been the purpose of this thesis to assess the place of the Carthusians in English society in the later Middle Ages; and despite the difficulties it is possible to suggest a simple and perhaps not too facile conclusion.

The Carthusians represent the most successful and lasting example of monastic adherence to the contemplative ideal. Such an ideal has always existed, and has always provided a source of inspiration for certain individuals. This is true today, and there is no reason to suppose that a time will ever come when there will cease to be a place for the ascetic impulse. But that appeal is, of necessity, limited, as the Carthusians would themselves be the first to acknowledge. Between 1370 and 1539 England housed a society which was peculiarly receptive to that ideal, and so the order flourished. At a time of increasing dissatisfaction with the established church, the Carthusians provided a much needed example of unassailable piety. But in the end that was not enough to save them. That the Carthusians both were and deserved to be exempted from sixteenth-century accusations of monastic corruption cannot be doubted. But then the suppression of the monasteries was not primarily motivated by a desire to weed out corruption: it was motivated by a desire to destroy a section of society which was perceived as having outgrown its usefulness. The upper *échelons* of society no longer wished to support men whose sole raison d'être, from their point of view, was solitary intercession with the Almighty on their behalf. To be ascetic and incorruptible was no longer sufficient; it was necessary to be outgoing, to be crusading and to be actively concerned with the cure of souls. The emphasis, in the Protestant order of things, is less upon the mystical than the practical.

However, the Carthusians' pursuit of what they identify as the truth is unaffected by fluctuations in society as is exemplified by their motto, 'stat crux dum volvitur orbis'. The monks still follow the directions of St. Bruno and Guigo the Venerable; they

still provide an example of genuine spirituality. The ambitions of the twentieth century lie, for the most part, in quite different directions; but in late medieval England, that example was respected. At a time when men and women were losing faith in the ability of the church to show them the way to God, they still maintained great confidence in the Carthusians' prayers for the 'wele and comfort' of their souls.

Appendix I

Carthusian Source Material

Like any religious order, indeed like any ancient and enclosed institution, the Carthusian Order has its own jealously preserved body of history: a mixture of fact, invention, myth, self-apology and self-deprecation. This history varies very little from account to account, its central elements forming a tradition that every monk and lay-brother inherits on his profession. The visitor to Parkminster today will discover that the monks are fully imbued with this tradition, but it has perhaps been unduly neglected outside the order. That Carthusian sources should be evaluated critically is of course a scholarly necessity, but there is no reason why they should not be assessed on their merits. A reappraisal of the Carthusian historical tradition - as is indeed occurring now under the guidance of scholars like James Hogg - would establish that it can offer much to supplement official documentary sources.

Perhaps the best example is the Obit List at Parkminster. This document must be treated with a considerable degree of caution, but is none the less a source of the utmost importance. One purpose to which it could usefully be put (to which indeed M. Sargent has put it) is that of manuscript attribution. Had E.M. Thompson had access to it, she would not have written so tentatively, 'If W. Mede was a monk of Sheen, as is most probable, Cotton Ms. Vespasian D.ix., or a part thereof, may have belonged to that charterhouse', ⁽¹⁾ for she could have discovered that William Mede was in fact vicar of Sheen. Similarly, Le Couteulx's explanation that the Grande Chartreuse was extremely unwilling to send any French monks to the newly founded Sheen, because of the traditional enmity between France and England, and therefore sent him Flemish monks instead, throws a new light upon the view that Henry V was a supporter of the 'Devotio Moderna'. ⁽²⁾ Tromby's account of the role played by St. Edmund Rich in the foundation of Hinton is one which seems plausible in itself but does not appear to have been noted by any of the subsequent

1. Thompson, p.333.

2. Le Couteulx, vii, 348.

chroniclers of that priory. (1)

It is however easier to recommend a course of action than to follow it. In practice the inaccessibility of much Carthusian evidence renders it difficult for the indigent research student to pay it the attention it deserves. This dissertation does not make as much use of Carthusian sources as would ideally be desirable, but it does identify the areas in which such evidence can be most profitably employed. It is the purpose of this appendix to indicate which of the sources used in the thesis are Carthusian and to comment on the degree of their reliability and usefulness. It is not concerned with the discussion of contemporary Carthusian sources, such as Chauncy's works, or the Magna Vita. These are already accepted as reputable and authentic primary sources, and need no further vindication. Instead the appendix seeks to outline the internal Carthusian historical tradition: the order's own retrospective view of its history.

Printed Sources

I. P. Dorlandus, Chronicon Cartusiense (Cologne, 1608). Also available in a French translation by A. Driscart as Chronicon au histoire générale de l'ordre des Chartreux (Tournai, 1644).

Dorlandus was the prior of Diest Charterhouse who died in 1507, and his book concerns illustrious men and miraculous happenings in the order. The work is of intrinsic interest because of its early date, but is otherwise perhaps a little disappointing because of its lack of attention to detail (it rarely supplies dates), and because it has little to offer the English province. St. Hugh is the only English Carthusian treated at length (pp.33-65), but the account of him is culled almost entirely from the Magna Vita.

II. B. Tromby, Storia Critico-Cronologica Diplomatica del Patriarch S. Brunone e del suo Ordine Cartusiano (Naples, 1773-9), 10 vols.

This work is arranged chronologically in annual sections and relates the history of the order until 1600. It relies mainly upon the cartae of the general chapter, but supplements these with

1. B. Tromby, Storia Critico-Cronologica Diplomatica del Patriarch S. Brunone e del suo Ordine Cartusiano (Naples, 1773-9), v, 155-7, 163, 175, 178-9.

official documentary sources. It was the first history of the order to apply so systematic a formula, one which was copied by most later Carthusian annalists. It describes the foundations of all the English houses, and the events of the Reformation. It is a careful work which deserves consideration, although in practice most of its data on the English province is available in later more scholarly sources, notably in Le Couteulx's work. What is unique to it is a long account of the foundation of Hinton, which stresses the role played by St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury (v, 155-7, 163, 175, 178-9). It also covers the events of the English Reformation, where many later annalists such as Le Couteulx and Bohic stop short.

III. A.P.F. Lefebvre, Saint Bruno et l'Ordre des Chartreux (Paris, 1883), 2 vols.

Lefebvre was not a Carthusian, but he is included in this list because he relied primarily upon Carthusian sources, and because his work is very much within the Carthusian tradition. The book is a most useful one, containing sections on the life of St. Bruno, the constitutions and observances of the order, its organisations, its achievements and ordeals, and brief notices of all its prior-generals and monasteries. Lefebvre prints a number of early charters, papal bulls and tributes to Saint Bruno not found elsewhere. His chief virtue is that he was a compulsive list maker and compiled copious appendices on various aspects of Carthusian history. There is a particularly impressive appendix on the writers of the order, sub-divided by subject, the length of which is eloquent testimony to the order's literary achievements. It includes two lists of Carthusians who produced chronicles of the order and other works on Carthusian history (i, 542-3); unfortunately it has not proved possible to trace many of these. The information contained in the work is occasionally suspect: one is somewhat surprised to learn, for example (ii, 329), that in 1398 the Archbishop of York founded a Charterhouse at Hexham in Northumberland, which was not suppressed until 1539, presumably a confusion with Axholme. Despite such lapses, the systematic arrangement of this book renders it a helpful work of reference on the European Carthusians in general, and their early history in particular.

IV. C. Le Couteulx, Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis Ab Anno 1408 Ad Annum 1429 (Montreuil-sur-Mer, 1888-90), 8 vols.

Consultation of the work renders obsolete the necessity to examine most of the others, since it collects and summarises the essential factual data of the Carthusian historical tradition. Like Tromby's book, it is arranged chronologically in yearly sections. Le Couteulx obviously took considerable pains to reconcile Carthusian tradition with official documentary evidence, and the result is scholarly and generally reliable. The work does not unfortunately cover the years of the Reformation, but concentrates upon the foundations and also contains a list of the main benefactors to each house.

V. L. Le Vasseur, Ephemerides Ordinis Cartusiensis (Montreuil-sur-Mer, 1890), 4 vols.

This is a collection of biographies of famous and exceptionally holy Carthusians. In dealing with the English Charterhouses, Le Vasseur relies, for the most part, upon the standard authorities, Magna Vita, Monasticon Anglicanum and Chauncy, as he admits. Most of the entries concern monks who figure in these pages; the first pioneers at Witham, Robert Palmer, the London Charterhouse monks, etc. But he also includes some dramatic accounts of legends and miracles associated with various monks. About Chauncy, for example, Le Vasseur notes that after his death it was discovered that he had been wearing an iron corset around his loins, which had grown into his flesh (ii, 482). The author also relates how John Wilson, the last prior of Mount Grace, had a vision of Christ, who bemoaned the way men had deserted their ancient religion to follow a new impious doctrine, and inquired whether Wilson was going to abandon him also. Wilson said that he intended to flee, and begged for mercy. Christ answered that he had given men free will to choose Him, but instead they were rejecting Him. Wilson pleaded that he should at least be merciful to the Carthusians. To this Christ assented, and promised that for every Charterhouse then in England, the time would come when there would be three (iii, 264). Another interesting section of the Ephemerides is a long account of a conversation which the Hinton visionary Stephen of Flanders allegedly had with St. Mary Magdalene (ii, 512-5). If therefore Le Vasseur does not add to our factual knowledge of the English Carthusians, he at least provides some fascinating, if no doubt over-imaginative, glimpses of their spiritual life.

VI. V.M. Doreau, Henri VIII et les Martyrs de la Chartreuse de Londres (Paris, 1890).

This book is, as its author admits (p. vi), closely based upon Hendrik's work and represents an attempt to make the history of the English Carthusians during the Reformation accessible to French readers. It is a very partisan and pietistic work.

VII. C. Bohic, Chronica Ordinis Carthusiensis anno 1084 ad annum 1510 (Tournai, 1911), 4 vols.

This work is arranged chronologically. As far as the English province is concerned, it has little to add to what Le Couteulx relates. There is however a section devoted to Werner Rolevink, the author of Fasciculus Temporum (iii, 374).

VIII. A Carthusian, Maisons de l'Ordre des Chartreux: Vues et Notices Montreuil-sur-Mer, 1913; Parkminster, 1919), 4 vols. (The English houses are discussed in iv, 9-50).

This is a highly idiosyncratic and unreliable work, but it does include information not found elsewhere, for example on the Carthusian involvement in Totnes priory. ⁽¹⁾ It briefly discusses the history, chief benefactors and most auspicious luminaries of each house. Its more unusual conclusions have been mentioned in this thesis, but treated with considerable caution.

Manuscript Sources

Parkminster has several important medieval manuscripts, but they are not relevant here, since they are all literary or liturgical, or relate to foreign Charterhouses. The historical manuscripts which concern the English province are all post-medieval. Some comprise notes apparently made by individual monks, and do not therefore contain anything that is not more readily accessible in the printed sources. The three best examples are:

Parkminster Ms. jj 20. Origo et Situs Domorum Ordinis Cartusiensis

Parkminster Ms. mm 1. Notes et Documents sur les Differentes Maisons

Parkminster Ms. nn 7. Miscellanea Historia Cartusiana

1. See Appendix II.

I. Parkminster Ms.B77, Extracts from the Cartae of the Grande Chartreuse referring to the English Province, compiled by Dom. Palemon Bastin.

This is historically the most important manuscript at Parkminster, but as it is at present missing, no description of it can be furnished. However, the Obit List, to which constant reference has been made in this thesis, draws very heavily upon it, and includes other sources in addition. (1) The Obit List was compiled by the late Dom. Andrew Gray, who also wrote several articles relating to the history of the order. (2)

II. Ms. Parkminster oo3, Cartusianorum Anglorum Noticia A Primo Eorum in Angliam Ingressu Usque in Presentem Annum 1754, written in 1754 by Fr. James Long, prior of the exiled English community at Nieuport.

This is another invaluable source. It is rarely referred to in this thesis as its usefulness lies primarily in its post-Reformation section, but it does provide one or two insights into the earlier history of the order in England. For example, it is the only source which specifies a completion date for Witham. (3)

III. Parkminster Ms. ff9, Le Manuscrit Autographe du Guillaume Exmewe avec un Appendice sur le ms. du B.M. Cotton Julius A ix, written in 1923 by an anonymous French Carthusian.

This discusses both The Cloud of Unknowing in general, and one specific manuscript of it in particular: Parkminster Ms. D.176. The author's speculations about the likelihood of the Cloud being a Carthusian work are summarised above. (4)

IV. Parkminster Ms. oo5, Catalogue Analytique des Manuscrits Cartusien du B.M., written in 1904 by M. Sydenham.

This is a useful bibliography.

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1. See above, pp. 135-7.
 2. For example, 'A Carthusian Carta Visitationis of the Fifteenth Century', B.I.H.R. xl (1967), pp.91-101; 'Kinaleghin: A Forgotten Irish Charterhouse of the Thirteenth Century', Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, lxxxix (1959), pp.35-58.
 3. See above, p. 23.
 4. See above, pp. 198-200.

V. B.M. Add. Mss. 17085-91, Collections for a History of the Carthusian Order, written in 1750-6 by Georgius Schwengel, prior of Dantzig Charterhouse. (1)

This is an eight volume work, although the first part is missing. The second part, B.M. Add. Ms. 17085, contains, inter alia, 'item de Provinciis Teutoniae et Angliae'. What evidence it contains was assimilated by Le Couteulx.

VI. B.M. Add. Ms. 17092, Apparatus ad Annales S.O. Cartusienis, written by Schwengel in 1760.

Schwengel obviously had in his possession the cartae of the general chapters of 1466-88 and 1560-1, for he included in this manuscript a list of obits of monks and benefactors for those years. He also compiled lists of provincial visitors, of houses of the order, of the deaths of the priors-general and of papal privileges received by the Carthusians.

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1. There is a description of all Schwengel's Mss. in the Catalogue of Additions to the Mss. in the B.M. 1846-7 (London, 1864, reprinted 1964), pp.365-7.

Appendix II

The Apocryphal Charterhouse of Totnes

The way in which the Carthusians' vision of their own past occasionally diverges radically from mainstream academic history, a topic discussed in the previous appendix, is well exemplified by the order's reiterated belief that a Charterhouse existed at Totnes in Devon. Several Carthusian writers, including Le Couteulx, Schwengel, Lefebvre and the author of Maisons de l'Ordre des Chartreux, assert that between 1383 and 1386 the Benedictine monks were expelled from the small priory there, dependent on St. Serge and Bacchus in Angers, and that Carthusians were substituted in their place. The writers all acknowledge the seventeenth-century historian Harpsfield as their source, the extent of whose reliability on the subject may possibly be evaluated from the fact that he also raised Oakham hospital to the status of a separate Carthusian house. (1) He stated that when the alien monks were expelled from Totnes, Lord William Zouche, the patron, wishing to salvage the monastery for ecclesiastical use, applied to Urban VI for permission to install Carthusians there. The Pope approved, and the bishop of Exeter also pronounced himself satisfied with the arrangement. (2) However no trace of what must presumably have been an official correspondence survives, although the various registers for the period are extant. Furthermore, a considerable amount of material concerning Totnes itself survives. (3) Not only is there no mention of any Carthusian interest among it, but there is every indication that during the three years in question affairs in Totnes Priory proceeded as normal. On 18 March 1383 Brother Thomas Swynforde, lately a monk of St. Andrew's priory, Northants., was created prior after a vacancy of some six months. (4) On 22 April 1384 Bishop

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1. N. Harpsfield, Historia Anglia Ecclesiastica (Douai, 1622), p.769.
 2. Ibid., p.558.
 3. H.R. Watkin, ed. The History of Totnes Priory and Medieval Town (Torquay, 1914). See also M.A. iv, 628-32; M.D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses. England and Wales (London, 1971), pp.57, 78.
 4. H.R. Watkin, op. cit., i, 292.

Brantingham was informed that chalices, books, vestments and other properties of the priory had been illegally removed by Father William Ambrose, chaplain, and John Raufe, whereupon he ordered immediate restoration of the purloined property. (1) Also in 1384 Archbishop Courtenay performed a visitation of his archdiocese, and on 3 August he was entertained and spent the night at Totnes. (2) Since Carthusians were exempt from episcopal visitation, had Totnes indeed been a Charterhouse, Archbishop Courtenay would have had no cause to linger there.

What of the Zouche involvement in the house? The family were indeed nominal lords of Totnes, although since 1286 they had spent little time there. (3) Le Couteulx's account is here extremely muddled. (4) He begins by asserting that the same Lord Zouche who had left the foundation at Coventry half completed gave the priory at Totnes to the Carthusians, thus implying that the donation of Totnes was in some way compensation for the under-endowment of Coventry. Zouche, however, was immersed in difficulties at court, and three years later was banished because of the animosity of a fellow-noble, dying a year later on St. George's Day 1387. Thus, according to Le Couteulx, either he did not manage to introduce Carthusians to Totnes, or if he did originally do so, the monks retired immediately after the death of their patron.

It is assumed by most writers on the subject that the Lord William Zouche who introduced the Carthusians to Totnes was the same William Zouche who began the foundation at Coventry; this identification would indeed be logical, were it not for the fact that Totnes was supposedly granted to the order in 1383 whereas Zouche died on 23 April 1382. His son was another William Zouche, whose career in some, but by no means all, particulars accords with the description of Le Couteulx. He was certainly immersed in difficulties at court during the period 1383-6. In 1384 he was implicated by a Carmelite friar called John Latimer in a supposed plot by John of Gaunt to

1. H.R. Watkin, op.cit., i, 294.

2. Ibid., i, 292-3.

3. Ibid., ii, 724.

4. Le Couteulx, vi, 330.

murder the king; (1) and on the last day of December 1387, or shortly afterwards, he was made to abjure the court as a result of the activity of the Appellants. (2) He did not, however, die until 13 May 1396. (3) In connection with the date of death fixed upon by Le Couteulx, it may be noted firstly, that this date was before his expulsion from court; secondly, that the day of death, 23 April, was in fact the day upon which his father died. The supposition that Le Couteulx mistook the year of the elder Lord Zouche's death to be 1387 instead of 1382 provides an explanation of how the confusion arose in his mind. Although Le Couteulx advances very plausible reasons for William la Zouche the younger's involvement in introducing Carthusians at Totnes, there is no record of Zouche being otherwise remotely interested in Carthusian affairs. (4)

The Carthusian chronicler Schwengel records that the tale of the Carthusians at Totnes comes from an ancient Carthusian manuscript, and speculates that since he can find no other mention of its belonging to the order, it must have been restored to its Cluniac owners. (5) Another Carthusian author states that there exist documents relative to Totnes bearing a Carthusian seal, and explains it by saying that the order had the usufruct of all or part of its revenues. He adds that this was probably done while the Coventry monks were spending their seven years at the hermitage of St. Anne waiting for their house to be built. (6)

The weight of evidence leads to the conclusion that Carthusian monks never lived at Totnes. The more reasonable theory that the priory's revenues were wholly or partly assigned to the order is unsupported by any external evidence but is so persistent within the order that it cannot be entirely discounted. The onus of proof lies upon the Carthusians to produce the documents mentioned by the author of Maisons de l'Ordre des Chartreux.

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1. R. Higden, Polychronicon, ed. J.R. Lumby (R.S.41.1886), ix, 34.
 2. Ibid., p.116.
 3. C.P. xii, part ii, 943.
 4. See above, p.78.
 5. B.M. Add. Ms.17085, f.132r. That Totnes Priory was Cluniac instead of Benedictine is asserted not only by Schwengel, but also by Harpsfield and Le Couteulx.
 6. Maisons, iv, 33-4.

The Ruins of English Charterhouses: A Brief Survey of Archaeological, Architectural and Antiquarian Evidence

This appendix provides brief accounts of the buildings of the priories. It discusses each of the Carthusian sites in turn, and attempts to provide information in four broad categories: firstly, a bibliography of works relating to the fabric, with an indication of which are the most useful sources; secondly, a brief description of the buildings or ruins which still survive; thirdly, additional information about buildings which have now disappeared; and, finally, some indication of what significance - if any - architectural and archaeological investigation of each Charterhouse may have for a historical understanding of the order. At some priories, the buildings have long since been demolished, and perhaps attracted little attention even when standing; at others considerable vestiges remain, and in some cases contemporary descriptions are extant. This appendix accordingly displays some inequality in its treatment of the sites.

I. Witham Charterhouse

J. Hogg, 'Excavations at Witham Priory', Miscellanea Cartusiensia, ii (A.C. xxxvi, 1977), pp.118-133, is by far the best guide to the buildings at Witham, since in addition to describing the excavations of 1865-9, it summarises all previous work on the site, principally that of E.M. Thompson, ⁽¹⁾ and also a brief note by M.R. James. ⁽²⁾

Surviving today at Witham Friary is a small, austere, aisleless twelfth-century chapel. This was long assumed to be the priory church, until M.R. James pointed out that it was for the use of the lay-brothers, and that the term 'Friary' was probably derived from 'Frery'. Originally the lay-brothers had lived about a quarter of a mile from the monastery, although by 1458 they had been afforded quarters at or beside the Charterhouse proper. ⁽³⁾ Of the latter,

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1. Thompson, pp.146-7; E.M. Thompson, A History of the Somerset Carthusians (London, 1895), pp.198-200.
 2. M.R. James, Abbeys (London, 1925), p.128. There is an aerial view in J. Hogg, Surviving English Carthusian Remains (A.C. xxxvi, 1976), plate I.
 3. J. Hogg, Excavations at Witham Priory, p.119.

nothing now stands, the ruins apparently having been demolished in 1764. (1) However, the excavations which Hogg describes did serve to establish the site of the church and cloister garth, as well as of a building which seems to have been the chapter-house; also discovered were a coin of 1329, thirteenth to fifteenth-century glazed tiles and fragments of thirteenth to sixteenth-century pottery and of stained glass. The cloister evidently measured 161 feet from east to west, and 312 feet from north to south. The church, which lay on the north side of the cloister, seems to have been very wide, with a central nave about 20 feet across and 81 feet long, and two aisles 11 feet wide. Hogg is doubtful about the existence of aisles in Carthusian churches, although he can suggest no alternative interpretation of the archaeological evidence. (2) That the church was built with aisles may receive some support from The Metrical Life of St. Hugh which describes bases and columns as part of the new fabric;

'Fabrica consurgit, multo sudata labore
Artificum; solidasque bases, stabilesque columnas
Machina sortitus, nullum lapsura per aevum'. (3)

Unusually, there appear to have been buildings within the cloister-garth, although it is impossible to tell what function they served. (4)

II. Hinton Charterhouse

Study of the existing ruins and of the excavations at Hinton has been rather more rewarding than at Witham. Again J. Hogg has written the most recent and comprehensive survey, The Architecture of Hinton Charterhouse (A.C. xxv, 1975), largely replacing three earlier

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1. J. Collinson, The History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset (London, 1791), ii, 234.
 2. J. Hogg, Excavations at Witham Priory, p.128.
 3. Magna Vita, ed. J.F. Dimock (R.S. 37, 1864), p.xxiii.
 4. D.M. Wilson and D.G. Hurst, 'Medieval Britain in 1966', Medieval Archaeology, xi (1967), pp.275-6.

articles. (1) The only parts of the original priory left standing are the chapter-house and refectory, and also an Elizabethan manor house which is evidently an extension of a three-storied guest house. In addition excavations from 1950 to 1959 revealed the foundations of the church, the great cloister and fifteen cells. The site of the lay-brothers' church has been identified about half a mile away, close to the banks of the river Frome.

The chapter-house seems to have been constructed at the time of the monastery's foundation. It has three bays, and a second storey which was possibly used as a library. It is an attractive building, for although it could not be condemned as over-ornate, its severity is mitigated by moulded capitals and foliated corbels. The west door and piscina are unobtrusively decorated, although the other doors and windows are plain. The refectory block, near the north west corner of the cloister, is two-storied also. The cloister was a square of $226\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and the remains of a tiled floor can be discerned in the cloister alley. Leading from this the remains of fifteen cells have been identified, two of which - one squeezed into the south west corner, and another opening into a passageway from the north west corner - are obviously later additions. Originally the priory only possessed the usual number of thirteen cells. The church, of early thirteenth century date, was on the north side of the cloister. It measured 96 by 26 feet, and was plain and aisleless.

III. Beauvale Charterhouse

The fullest account of the site at Beauvale is provided by Rev. A. Du Boulay Hill and H. Gill, 'Beauvale Charterhouse, Nottinghamshire' Transactions of the Thoroton Society, xii (1908), pp.69-94. (2)
Little of the priory remains above ground: only parts of the north

1. E.D. Foxcroft, 'Notes on Hinton Charterhouse', Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, xli (1895), pp.92-8; F. Fletcher, 'Recent Excavations at Hinton Priory, Somerset', Ibid., xcvi (1951), pp.160-5; P.C. Fletcher, 'Further Excavations at Hinton Priory, Somerset', Ibid., ciii (1958-9), pp.76-80. The buildings are also discussed in E.M. Thompson, The Somerset Carthusians, pp.343-350, and in M.D. Knowles, and J.K.S. St. Joseph, Monastic Sites from the Air (Cambridge, 1962), pp.240-1. J. Hogg, Surviving English Carthusian Remains, contains some photographs of the ruins (Plates 128-135). Leland briefly mentions the priory; J. Leland, Itineraries, ed. L.T. Smith (London, 1964), i, 139. See also a note by D.M. Wilson and J.G. Hurst, 'Medieval Britain in 1957', Medieval Archaeology, ii, (1958), pp.191-2; and J. Collinson, The History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset (London, 1791), iii, 369.

and south walls of the church, a three-storied building attached to it, some of the gatehouse and the east precinct wall. Enough has however been excavated to provide a reasonable idea of the layout.

The cloister measures 190 feet east to west and 186 feet north to south. On the north, west and south sides it lies exactly 43 feet within the precinct wall. Within that space of 43 feet stood the cells. Five have been excavated on the north side, and it is estimated that there were four more on the west and five on the south. On the east was the church which measured 27 feet by at least 112 feet; but the location of the east wall remains uncertain. To the south of the church was a small cloister measuring 60 by 120 feet. Various buildings led off this cloister, but they defy precise identification. To the west of the church was a small court and a still standing three-storied building dating from the fifteenth century. It has been called the Prior's House, although this title may be disputed. (1) On the upper two stories are two large rooms, each with fireplaces. On the ground floor were three rooms, the outer two being cellars and the middle one forming a passage from the church to the cloister. The east wall and upper storey of the gatehouse have disappeared but on the ground floor three rooms survive. The gatehouse itself is in the centre, with what was possibly a porter's lodge to the east and a guesthouse to the west. The rest of the guesthouse and office range lies under farm buildings, and has not been excavated.

Other finds from the site include fragments of stained glass (in the church) and an impressive array of fourteenth-century decorated tiles. The latter deserve further comment. The predominating motif, naturally, is that of the arms of the founder. Of fairly frequent occurrence are tiles depicting the Zouche arms, probably a memorial to the interest of William de la Zouche in the foundation. (2) The most interesting feature is the absence of the armorial bearings

2. There is an aerial photograph in M.D. Knowles and J.K.S. St. Joseph, Monastic Sites from the Air, pp.236-7, and photographs of the ruins in J. Hogg, Surviving English Carthusian Remains, plates 2-19.

1. A. du Boulay Hill and H. Gill, 'Beauvale Charterhouse, Nottinghamshire', pp.84-6.

2. See above, p.39.

of Edward III, and the corresponding presence of the white hart of Richard II. This supports the hypothesis, reinforced by the stylistic evidence, that not only were the buildings unfinished at the time of the foundation charter, but that they were not properly completed until over thirty years later. (1)

No accommodation for the lay-brothers has been found within the monastery precinct, although of course it has not been excavated in its entirety. This suggests that their quarters were situated some distance away, possibly at what is now the neighbouring Manor Farm. Beauvale's plan was therefore presumably closer to those of its predecessors at Witham and Hinton than to those of later Charterhouses.

IV. The London Charterhouse

The student of the architectural and archaeological history of the London Charterhouse is especially fortunate, since the priory has been well excavated and the results well documented: M.D. Knowles and W.F. Grimes, Charterhouse (London, 1954), is the definitive and indispensable source. (2) Moreover this is the only medieval English Charterhouse for which a contemporary plan survives. (3) It is a fifteenth-century drawing of the watercourse, showing how water was conveyed to the priory, and how distributed within it. It constitutes 'a reliable authority of the first importance'. (4)

The post-Reformation Charterhouse buildings were badly damaged by an incendiary bomb on 11 May 1941, and in the subsequent excavations of 1948-9, it was discovered that long held assumptions about the monastic plan were completely unjustified. In particular, it had always been believed that the school chapel stood on the site of the monastic church. The watercourse plan portrayed it as being to the south-west of the chapel, which had led to academic distrust of

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1. Hill and Gill, 'Beauvale Charterhouse, Nottinghamshire', pp.87-91.
 2. A. Oswald, The London Charterhouse Restored (London, 1959) is also helpful. Hope, Hendriks and G.S. Davies, Charterhouse in London (London, 1921), provide, inter alia, much documentary evidence that is of assistance in compiling an impression of the actual buildings.
 3. See Charterhouse, p.35, and Hope, p.107. There are two other contemporary sources, a report made by William Dale in 1537 (printed in Hope, pp.178-84), and a survey made in 1545 by William Hamton (printed in Charterhouse, pp.84-5).
 4. M.D. Knowles and W.F. Grimes, Charterhouse, p.34.

the plan as a reliable source. But excavations completely vindicated the work of the anonymous cartographer, not only in the crucial matter of the site of the church, but also in every other area where it was possible to excavate. It was, however, only possible to excavate thoroughly a small part of the site, the area containing the church, chapter-house, frater, guesthouse and lay-brothers' quarters. Most of the great cloister is hidden under later development, so the fact that the medieval map may be regarded as a 'reliable authority' has been of considerable importance in determining the site of the cloister.

The cloister itself measured about 340 feet east to west by 300 feet north to south, and on the west, north and east sides the cells added another forty-five feet in width. Along the length of each of these sides were seven cells, with three more on the southern side. Also on this side, to the west of the cells, stood the chapter-house and church. The latter was a five-bayed building measuring 97 by 38 feet, and leading off it can be seen the foundations of some of the numerous chapels which are mentioned in the Register of the priory. (1) Before the high altar was found the tomb of Sir Walter Manny, positively identifiable by the presence of a leaden bull of Pope Clement VI accompanying an indulgence granted to him in 1351. (2) To the west of the church was the little cloister, measuring 41 feet west to east and 35½ feet north to south, and to the west of this was the guesthouse. To the west again stood the lay-brothers' quarters and the gatehouse.

Little of the original buildings remain. The tower of the church still stands, with a first floor squint enabling the occupant to see the high altar. Many of the original walls were adapted by subsequent structures: the present chapel was originally the chapter-house, the wash-house court was the lay-brothers' quarters, the library was the frater, and other odd pieces of monastic masonry can be found scattered through the post-Reformation buildings. The south-west corner of the cloister survives, and one original cell door, with its serving hatch, can still be identified.

1. Hope, pp.55-104, 159, 165.

2. Knowles and Grimes, Charterhouse, p.49.

IV. Kingston-upon-Hull Charterhouse

There are no original remains of the priory or Maison-Dieu, although a building called the 'Charterhouse' still occupies the site. (1) Almost all that is known of the original building derives from John Leland's comments: 'The charter house of the De la Pole's foundation, and an hospitale of their fundation standing by it, is without the north gate. The hospitale standith. Certein of the De la Poles wher buried yn this Carthusian monastery: and at the late suppressing of it were founde dyverse trowehes of leade with bones in a volte under the high altare ther. Most part of this monastery was buildid with brike, as the residew of the buildinges of Hull for the most part be.' (2)

The hospital was permitted to continue after the Dissolution, but both it and the ruins of the priory were destroyed in 1642 by Sir John Hotham, the town's governor, to prevent it being occupied by royalist forces. This was in furtherance of the town's celebrated dispute with Charles I, when Hotham, in obedience to Parliament, refused to surrender the royal magazine to the king. (3) The hospital was rebuilt shortly afterwards, and the 'Charterhouse' still standing dates from a subsequent rebuilding in 1780. (4) It originally incorporated the last surviving remnant of the priory, the east gateway (depicted on an engraving of 1793); (5) but this too was demolished circa 1805, and the site sold for building. (6)

The Charterhouse is also shown on a famous old view of the town, a document is of somewhat doubtful authenticity. It is perhaps a sixteenth-century copy of an older drawing. (7) This depicts the south gate of the Charterhouse facing the north gate of the town. There appears to be a large gatehouse structure, to the north of which is the church tower, and to the west possibly three cells.

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1. See V.C.H. Yorkshire, East Riding, i, 333-4, 341-2.
 2. J. Leland, Itineraries, ed. L.T. Smith (London, 1964), i, 50.
 3. J. Tickell, The History of the Town and County of Kingston-upon-Hull (London, 1796), p.424.
 4. Ibid., pp.741, 745-6.
 5. Ibid., facing p.746.
 6. J. Cook, The History of God's House of Hull, Commonly Called the Charterhouse (Hull, 1882), p.19.
 7. V.C.H. Yorkshire, East Riding, i, 54.

V. Coventry Charterhouse

The best description of the site is provided by the V.C.H. Warwickshire, viii, 129-30; and it is also discussed by Fretton and B. Poole. (1) The unique feature of Coventry Charterhouse is that it has surviving medieval wall-paintings, described in P. Turpin's, 'Ancient Wall-paintings in the Charterhouse', Burlington Magazine, xxxv (1919), pp.249-52; xxxvi (1920), pp.84-7.

The site of the priory has not been excavated, but it is bounded on the west by the river, and to the north and part of the east still stands the original curtain wall. The only remains, probably of the guesthouse, are incorporated into a private house, which lies about 100 yards east of the river, near to the north wall. To the west of the house, between it and the river, there used to exist foundations of walls enclosing a court, which led Fretton to believe that this was the site of the cloister. (2) In fact, it is more likely that this was the outer court, and that the cloister lay to the east of the house, as attested by the antiquarian Thomas Sharpe, writing circa 1830; 'No traces of the church, cloisters, or cells remain, but that they stood eastward of the present residence there are good reasons for concluding. A level grassplat behind the house, formerly a bowling green, appears, from the number of human bones that were dug up in laying it out, to have been the cemetery of the monastery; and about 30 years ago the evident remains of one of the cells not far distant, and to the south of the bowling green was taken down'. (3) It is however a little strange that Sharpe should claim circa 1830 that no traces of the cells remained; for Poole, writing in 1870, commented that 'in the garden, within the (outer) wall, some marks of the small doors which opened to the cells of the former austere inhabitants may yet be seen'. (4) The fragment of the Coventry register printed by Dugdale (5) makes it clear

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1. Fretton, pp.41-3; B. Poole, Coventry: Its History and Antiquities (London, 1870). J. Hogg, Surviving English Carthusian Remains, has photographs, plates 20-45.
 2. Fretton, p.42.
 3. Fretton, p.43.
 4. B. Poole, op. cit., p.28.
 5. M.A. vi, i, 16-7.

that the church and chapter-house were on the north side of the cloister, as at most of the other priories, and that there were at least 11 cells, probably five on the east, four on the south and two on the west. (1) Sharpe also mentions 'two alabaster images of good workmanship, which were dug up in the garden behind the house about fifty years ago. They are representations of St. Lawrence and St. Dionysius'. (2)

The building that stands today, called, misleadingly, the 'Prior's Lodging', has been subjected to such extensive alterations that it is impossible to be precise about its original structure and function. It is 60 by 28 feet, and divided by a cross wall into two lengths of 40 and 20 feet. The latter, to the south, was evidently two-storied, although the larger northern section may only have been single-storied. Both retain a number of medieval features: windows, doorways, tiling, fireplaces, a spiral staircase in the southern half and stone corbels and carved tie-beams supporting a more recent roof. The wallpainting is on the southern half of the dividing wall. It must once have been huge and magnificent, but the insertion of an upper floor and the cutting of other openings has left only parts of the lower half of the painting visible. Beneath it is an inscription, the legible part of which reads 'Fuit domus hec completa laus sit Christo assueta sic faventi homini ... rior solonde nam sudar.t thomas lambard procuravit post ponens fallacias post quem lic...' Other sources confirm that William Sowyland was prior of Coventry between the years 1411 and 1436 at least, and that Thomas Lambert was procurator there, dying in 1440. (3)

Turpin agrees that the style of the paintings suggests that they were indeed executed in the early years of the fifteenth century. He also comments very favourably upon the method of execution. Although the paint has been applied directly to the stone, the appearance has the delicacy and bright colouring of fresco; and where later alterations have not interfered the painting is extremely

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1. See above, p.82.
 2. Fretton, p.43.
 3. See Appendix VI.

well-preserved. (1) The subject is the crucifixion, although only the base of the cross and Christ's legs are now visible. Beside the foot of the cross are small representations of the Virgin, St. John, two angels and two Roman soldiers. On either side of the crucifix are two large seated female figures. On the right of the cross the woman holds an open book, as if displaying the contents. This painting is almost certainly of St. Anne, to whom the priory was dedicated, teaching the Virgin to read. The saint on the left, whose outline can only be faintly detected, defies identification.

The site of Coventry Charterhouse is known, and has not been subjected to development. Were the grounds to be excavated, the results would undoubtedly be very rewarding.

VI. Axholme Charterhouse

Nothing remains of this priory. That it was once very impressive can be inferred only from Leland, who wrote that 'By Milwood Park side stoode the right fair monasterie of the Carthusianes, wher one of the Mulbrais dukes of Northfolk was buried in a tumber of alabaster'. He adds, 'Mr. Candisch hath now turnid the monasterie to a goodly manor place'. (2)

Hogg identifies the site as being at a place called Low Melwood, about a mile north of Owston Ferry, and 2½ miles south-east of Epworth. (3) D.M. Owen agrees with him, (4) as also does Sir Nicholas Pevsner, who comments that in the cellar of the seventeenth-century house standing at Low Melwood is a stone column; he deduces, not altogether convincingly, that the house was built on the site of the priory. (5) Hogg's aerial photograph reveals an outline that could very plausibly be that of a Charterhouse: the shape is that of a square, with a moat on the west, south and east sides and a row of

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1. P. Turpin, 'Ancient Wall-paintings in the Charterhouse', pp.251-2.
 2. J. Leland, Itineraries, ed. L.T. Smith (London, 1964), i, 37-8.
 3. J. Hogg, Surviving English Carthusian Remains, plate 46.
 4. D.M. Owen, Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire (Lincoln, 1971), p.146.
 5. N. Pevsner and J. Harris, Lincolnshire (London, 1964), p.334.

trees on the north. To the west is an area, including the seventeenth-century house, which could easily have housed the gatehouse, guesthouse and offices. The only problem presented by such an identification is that it is hard to reconcile with the best surviving antiquarian description of the monastery, that of the diarist Abraham de la Pryme, written in 1698. His account presents so many insoluble enigmas that it merits extensive quotation here;

'There is a pretty excellent Church at Epworth, but no monument, coats of arms, nor inscriptions are therein, that I could observe. In the north porch of the church I observed these two coats.

3 serpent heads with A lion or lioness, which is
pricked up ears. the arms of the Mowbrays.

The chancel of the church was formerly a most stately building, almost as bigg as the whole church, and all arched and dubbled rooft, but falling to decay, they made it be taken down and a less built out of the ruins thereof, which was about twenty five years ago.

All on the east end of the Church, and over against the south thereof, stood a famous and magnificent monastery of Carthusian monks, which, upon the reformation, were all expelled, and the monastery pulled down to the bare ground, to the great shame and skandall of the christian religion; in which ground, where it stood, they tell me that there has oft been found several old pieces of English coin, and several gold rings, but they could not shew me any

..... Low Melwood, in the Isle of Axholme, was (I have lately heard) in antient time a most fine and stately priory, belonging first of all to the Knight Templars, then afterwards to the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, and was dedicated, as I imagine, to Saint Leonard, because there is land in the Isle called Saint Leonard's land, which holds of the sayd Melwood.

I have several times been at it, but I was so young I cannot very well remember the same.

However, I can remember very well that [it] was a great and most stately building of many stores high, all of huge squared stone, all wholly built so upon vaults and arches that I have gone under the same a great way. All was huge stone starecases, huge pillars, long entrys, with the doores of both sides opening into opposite rooms. I remember the dining room also, which was at the end of one of those entrys, had huge long oak tables in it, great church windows, with a great deal of painted glass. The outside of the house was all butify'd with semi-arches jetting of the walls upon channeld pillars, and the top was all covered with lead. The doors were huge and strong, and ascended up unto by a great many steps, and places made through the opposite turrets to defend the same, and the whole was encompass'd with a huge ditch or moat.

There was the finest gardens, orchards, and flowers there that ever I saw; but now there is, I believe, none of these things to be seen, for, about ten years ago, all or most part being ruinous was pulled down, and a lesser house built out of the same.' (1)

The problems are obvious. Pryme says that the Charterhouse was at Epworth, but that the priory at Low Melwood belonged initially to the Templars and later to the Hospitallers. His description of the buildings adds some support to this view. The 'great and most stately building of many stores high' at Low Melwood does not sound as if it could ever have been converted from the ruins of a Charterhouse. However the church at Epworth sounds a far more promising candidate, since its chancel was 'almost as bigg as the whole church' and this was, of course, a characteristic feature of Carthusian churches. Nor does it sound as if Pryme had inadvertently confused it with the parish church of Epworth, St. Andrews, since this displays no signs of having been rebuilt circa 1673. (2)

The most intriguing feature of Pryme's description is the assertion that the Low Melwood site had belonged to the Templars and then to the Hospitallers. There is no reliable record of any Hospitaller association within this immediate area. The nearest site was the preceptory at Willoughton, some ten miles to the south-east, which was an ex-Templar property. (3) However, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem held a considerable number of manors or camerae, many of which have not been charted. One such holding, and one of the most important, was at a place in Lincolnshire called Belwood. (4) This too had previously belonged to the Templars. There is a tiny place in Lincolnshire called Belwood: part of Belton, a town two miles north of Epworth. All that stands there today is a ruined early Georgian house. (5) Local residents affirm that

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1. The Diary of Abraham de la Pryme, ed. C. Jackson (S.S. liv, 1870), pp.173-4.
 2. N. Pevsner and J. Harris, Lincolnshire (London, 1964), p.233.
 3. V.C.H. Lincolnshire, ii, 210-11.
 4. L.B. Larking, The Knights Hospitallers in England (Camden Society, o.s. lxxv, 1857), p.153.
 5. N. Pevsner and J. Harris, Lincolnshire, p.188.

this was a Templar holding - indeed they call it Temple Belwood - but historians are more reticent. Perhaps this was the place to which Pryme refers, and one can easily comprehend how scribal confusion could have converted Belwood into Melwood. But Pryme's description of the Low Melwood site has certain convincing features: he mentions the moat encompassing the building, which still exists today, and also comments that a smaller house was built there circa 1688, which is certainly a plausible construction date for the house on the site now.

The reason why Pryme's assertions have gone unnoticed by modern historians is probably because his views were somewhat misrepresented by the antiquarian William Stonehouse, whose book on the Isle of Axholme is regarded as the standard text. Stonewood quoted Pryme's description of the Low Melwood site in detail, without mentioning the salient fact that Pryme did not believe it to be the Charterhouse. Stonehouse also supplied a description of the house as it was in 1837;

'The original building was of brick, coyned with great ashlar stones, many of which are still to be seen in the farming buildings which have been erected in late years; and part of the great window sills, and other huge carved stones, may be found in many of the chesse presses, horsing blocks and door stones in the parish. The cellars of the present house, the kitchen doorway, the pantry and dairy, are part of the original building. There is a stone pillar of immense thickness in one of the cellars, which probably supported some of those lofty arches which Pryme has mentioned'. (1)

He commented that until recently the steeple of the church was standing and used as a dove cote, and that the foundations had been excavated. He supplied a map of these, but it is too vague and incomplete to be helpful.

Pryme's evidence flies in the face of all the accepted ideas about the site of Axholme, but he is an authority to be reckoned with. The medieval sources consistently refer to the priory as being at Epworth, but the grant of the priory to John Candish in 1540 described it as being at Owston. (2) Only excavation of the Low Melwood site

1. W.B. Stonehouse, The History and Topography of the Isle of Axholme (London, 1839), p.254.

2. L.&P. xv, 733 (p.345).

can settle the point at issue.

One final point remains to be made - probably of total irrelevance, but certainly of great interest. On 4 May 1844, Mr. Fox of the King's Head Inn, Epworth, was digging a hole in his stackyard to bury a pig, when he found the head and body of a stone image. 'On a further search being made, upwards of 50 stone figures of angels, saints, martyrs, bishops etc. were brought to light. None of them are perfect, but the stone of which they are made is in an excellent state of preservation.' (1) One would need to establish the fact that the Charterhouse was in or near Epworth, before one could even begin to speculate whether it might have been ornamented with stone sculptures. But somewhere around that town may lie buried the remains of a 'pretty excellent Church', the foundations of a 'magnificent monastery of Carthusian monks', and even conceivably '50 stone figures of angels, saints, martyrs, bishops etc.'. It would be irreligious to wish swine fever upon the pigs of Epworth, but in lieu of archaeological inquiry, perhaps further stackyard burials would bring important evidence to light.

VIII. Mount Grace Charterhouse

Mount Grace is the only English Charterhouse where extensive building work remains above ground, and the only one where the characteristic plan may be fully discerned - which is perhaps unfortunate since there are reasons for supposing that the layout was in some respects untypical.

The most comprehensive description of the site is W. St. John Hope, 'Architectural History of Mount Grace Charterhouse', Y.A.J. xviii (1905), pp.270-309. (2) Since this article supplies a full description of the ruins, only a few measurements will be provided here for the purposes of comparison with the other houses. The great cloister is somewhat irregular in shape. The south, east and north sides measure 231 feet, and the west 272: this itself is one

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1. English Topography, ed. G.L. Gomme (Gentleman's Library Magazine, 1895), vii, 121-2.
 2. See also V.C.H. Yorkshire, North Riding, ii, 24-7; J. Hogg, Surviving English Carthusian Remains, plates 47-126; M.D. Knowles and J.K.S. St. Joseph, Monastic Sites from the Air, pp.234-5.

notable difference between Mount Grace and the other surviving sites, where the cloisters are regular in shape. There are five cells on the west, north and east sides. The church, chapter-house, and possibly three more cells lie on the south; and to the south and east of the church is a smaller cloister of six cells. Stretching down to the south of the great cloister is the outer court, curtained by buildings on the south and west. One of these was converted into a manor house in the sixteenth century.

At Mount Grace it is possible to correlate the architectural and documentary evidence of building activity. Hope, in his plan, isolated three main periods of construction, circa 1400, circa 1420 and after 1450. If he is correct in his assignment of dates to the various phases of the building, then despite the Carthusians' complaints that the construction had been delayed by lack of certainty over their claim to Bordesley, ⁽¹⁾ the house was substantially complete by the death of the founder. The great cloister with its fifteen cells, the church, chapter-house, outbuildings and curtain wall were all constructed around 1400. The second phase of building work was presumably that paid for by Thomas de Beaufort, ⁽²⁾ consisting of the small cloister to the south of the church, and a stable or barn attached to the outside of the original precinct wall to the south. Very little was added subsequently: another building was attached to the wall, a chapel was thrown out of the south of the choir, an inner wall was built at the west of the church, forming a small court, and an oriel window added to the cell to the west of the church. According to the documentary evidence, this last spate of building activity may be dated to the early sixteenth century. Martin Colyns, the treasurer of York Minster, left ten marks to Mount Grace in 1508 'ad opera sive aedificaciones suas', ⁽³⁾ and a year later, Alison Clark bequeathed ten shillings 'to the beilding of a glasse window'. ⁽⁴⁾ Perhaps the latter was the oriel window in what is usually supposed to have been the prior's cell.

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1. M.Lvi, part 1, pp.23-4.
 2. C.P.R., 1413-6, p.355.
 3. Reg. Bainbridge, ff.135r-136r.
 4. York Dean and Chapter Wills, ii, ff.82r-83v.

The Clifford Letters provide evidence of some building activity in 1522-3, but the only specific references are to the construction of the anchorage on the hill overlooking the priory, ⁽¹⁾ and to repair work, 'I thynke to have iij sellis thekyt with lede a fore wynter. Also I muste pay for ccxxx wanscottes', ⁽²⁾ 'stones hewen as will fynnych the houses' and 'the walle that shall goo aboute the gardyn'. ⁽³⁾ The latter wall may be that which enclosed an area to the west of the church, but otherwise the Cliffords do not seem to have contributed any additions to the fundamental structure of the house. However in 1522 John Wilson wrote from Mount Grace, 'Mi Lorde, wee have a propre lodgyng at our place, wich a marchand of London did bulde, & he is now departed frome hus & made knyght at the Roddes'. ⁽⁴⁾ The reference to the merchant suggests that he was still alive at the time of writing, and that therefore the 'lodgyng' had been constructed fairly recently. The only building which would seem to accord with this description is the structure added to the south wall - a two-storied building 68 by 21 feet - but it is now too ruinous for a positive identification. ⁽⁵⁾

The most notable omission from Hope's plan of Mount Grace is the lack of quarters for the lay-brothers. However, the westernmost range of the outer court contains two large buildings flanking the gatehouse, both of which Hope has tentatively labelled 'guesthouse'. But the fact that in 1522 John Wilson could write with pride, 'wee have a propre lodgyng at our place' suggests that until the early sixteenth century Mount Grace did not have a 'propre lodgyng' - that its guest quarters were not considered sufficiently spacious to accommodate a visitor of Clifford's status. It seems likely therefore that at least one of the two buildings in the west range constituted the lay-brothers' dwelling, not the guesthouse. The southernmost of these two structures is the most probable candidate. The ground floor contained at least four, and possibly as many as ten separate appartments, whilst the upper storey appears to have been one long room approached by a step-ladder. It certainly does not sound as

1. Clifford Letters, pp.63-6, 71-2.

2. Ibid., p.63.

3. Ibid., p.66.

4. Ibid., p.66.

5. W. St. John Hope, 'The Architecture of Mount Grace Charterhouse', p.273.

though it would have been a suitable building for the reception of guests.

It was suggested earlier that perhaps Mount Grace does not provide the most typical of English Charterhouse plans. It was, of course, larger than all save London and Sheen, but that in itself should not have required too much adjustment. One must be wary of drawing parallels from the structures of continental Charterhouses or from Parkminster, but comparing Mount Grace both with these and with what is known about other English Charterhouses, one is struck by its unsystematic plan. The irregularity of the cloisters and the outer court can be perhaps accounted for by the facts that the ground was marshy, and that the site had to be artificially levelled, but one would none the less have expected a more symmetrical arrangement of courts. It is also more usual to find a small enclosure between the gatehouse and the church containing the essential monastic offices, rather than a large field containing agricultural buildings as well.

Sheen Charterhouse

Nothing is left of Sheen, but a survey made in 1649 is still extant, and this forms the subject of the next appendix.

Appendix IV

The Monastic Precincts at Sheen Charterhouse: the Evidence of a Parliamentary Survey of 1649 (P.R.O.E. 317/53)

I. The Document

P.R.O.E. 317/53 is a survey of the site of Sheen Charterhouse written in 1649. It consists of six loose leaves of paper, measuring $12\frac{1}{2}$ by $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and written only on the recto side. The condition of the document is excellent, and the handwriting clear and legible. It is written in one hand throughout, save for section no. 45, which is an addition in another hand, and no. 46, which contains the various autographs of the surveyor and his assistants. The main text is written in a central column flanked by two wide margins, in the left hand of which is given the name of the under-tenant and/or the name of the building or area being described; and in the right hand is given the area and the annual value. In the following transcript the sections are numbered, for the purpose of easy reference. The information in the left hand margin is arranged as a heading at the top of each paragraph; and the area and value are noted at the end. Apart from these slight rearrangements, the transcript is exact.

Historians have been aware of the existence of this survey for some time. It is mentioned by Lysons in 1796,⁽¹⁾ in the 1846 edition of Monasticon Anglicanum,⁽²⁾ by Brayley in 1850,⁽³⁾ and in the Victoria County History.⁽⁴⁾ None of these paid it the attention it deserves, and it is clear that only Lysons bothered to examine the manuscript, later authors merely reproducing his comments. Even Lysons can hardly have cast more than a cursory glance at it, for he devotes only two sentences to a description of the contents, and on an earlier page,⁽⁵⁾ he wrote, 'A hermitage was founded within this monastery for a recluse in the year 1416 ...

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1. D. Lysons, The Environs of London (London, 1796), i, 450-1.
 2. M.A. vi, i, 30.
 3. E.W. Brayley, A Topographical History of Surrey (London, 1850), iii, 79.
 4. V.C.H. Surrey, iii, 538.
 5. Lysons, op. cit., i, 448.

In the Survey, taken in 1649, this is called the Anchorite's cell'. Closer examination of the survey reveals that it refers to no fewer than five anchorites' cells (nos. 11-15), and must therefore be describing the surviving monks' cells, rather than a separate hermit's dwelling. Recently however J. Cloake has remedied the neglect in his excellent article, 'Sheen Charterhouse'. (1)

[f.1] 1. Sheen alias West Sheen cum terris domiⁿⁱcalibus et appurtenantiis^{en}

A Survey of the scite of the house Priorie or late dissolved Monastery of Sheene alias West Sheene with the houses lands & hereditaments therevnto of Right belonging scituat lying and being within the parish of Richmond alias Richmond in the Countie of Surry late parcell of the possessions of Charles Stuart late King of England made and taken by vs whose names are herevnto subscribed in the month of January: 1649: by virtue of a Commission grounded vpon an act of the Commons assembled in parliament for sale of the Honour Manor & lands heretofore belonging to the late King Queen & Prince under the hands & seales of five or more of the Trustees in the sayd Actuaries and appoyntes

All that house Priory or late dissolved Monasterie of Sheene alias west Sheene with the scite therof & the houses lands hereditaments appurtenances therevnto belonging set lying & being within the parish of Richmond alias Richmond in the Countie of Surry consisting of severall Messuages or tenements barnes stables outhouses lands & hereditaments herein hereafter particularly mentioned yat is to say

2. Mr Humphry Clarke vnder tenant

One fayer and large structure of brickbuilding called the priors lodgings containing a kitchen paved with free stone a hall a passage

1. This appendix was written before the publication of J. Cloake's article, 'Sheen Charterhouse', Surrey Archaeological Collections, lxxi (1977), pp.145-198. This article, which compares and analyses all the documentary evidence on the site of Sheen, made considerable use of the parliamentary survey. It was decided however to retain this appendix, but to abridge it considerably in order not to duplicate Mr. Cloake's conclusions. A full transcript of the survey is included here since Mr. Cloake only appended a summary of it to his article.

roome a litle parler waynscotted, a greate parler waynscoted, and a buttery all floored with boards one paystrie roome two larders one ground chamber a porters lodge & two cellars one dyning roome two bed chambers one with drawing roome, & one closet all of them waynscoted & flord with boards, & eight other chambers or roomes fine large garrets all of them flored with boards, one greate shed standing on the Northwest side of the Crowne Court here, one dovecoate & one litle shed for a table one great garden inclosed within a large brickwall lying one the backside of the said buildings well-fitted and ordered for the growth of fruits herbes & flowers and planted with one hundred fortie and eight wall fruit trees, three hundred & seventeen trees of cherries & other fruits & one cypress tree, bordered with Currant trees goose berrie trees litle thorne hedges & some box borders one litle Court before the doore & one large Court called the Crowne Court - conteyning in the whole by estimate five acres of land more or less worth in the whole per annum £20-0 - 0 (5 acres)

[f.2] 3. Mr. Humphry Clerck vdertenant

One other smale tenement lying between the last mentioned tenement the southwall of the ould church there consisting of two ground roomes serving for a kitchen & a washouse one gallery belowe stayres and two roomes aboue stayres & one litle garden lying between the said last mentioned tenement & the said church wall containing in the whole about tenn perches of land worth per annum £6-0 - 0 (10 perches)

4. Sir John Dingly vdertenant

One other tenement parte of stone and parte of brick formerly two tenements the one formerly in the possession of John Hewson the other of Mr. Knollys consisting of six roomis belowe staires and seaven roomes aboue staires well ordered and fitt for vse worth per annum £10-0 - 0

5. Captain Jacques Vdertenant

One other tenement of brick building containing three roomes below stayres and fower roomes aboue stayres heretofore in the possession of one Palmer late surveyour of the princes stables well ordered & fitted for vse worth per annum £4-0 - 0.

6. George Pigot vdertenant

One other brick tenement with its appurtenances consisting of fower roomes below staires & fower roomes aboue staires very commodious for a tenement and one litle garden lying at the South west end of the greate barne there containing by estimation tenn perches of land worth per annum £5-0 - 0 (10 perches)

7. George Pigot and Thomas Barnes vdertenant

One other building of stone containing two large cellars below stayres & one large roome aboue stayres formerlie called the Monkes hall worth per annum £0-10 - 0.

8. Gillum Aynsway vdertenant

One other little tenement of brickbuilding containing three roomes below two roomes aboue stayres worth per annum £4-0 - 0

9. George Cooke vdertenant

One other tenement parte stone part brick consisting of one roome below and fower roomes aboue formerly called the lady St Johns Lodgings & one litle garden plot lying to the North wall of the said ould church worth per annum £2-0 - 0 .

10. Widowe Murray vdertenant

One parcell of building called the gallery adioyning to the tenement last before mentioned on the south parte thereof waynscoted & flored with bords & now divided into three roomes worth per annum £1-0 - 0

11. Henry Heath vdertenant

One other brick tenement formerly an Anchorits cell containing two roms below & two roomes aboue staires a long shed & a litle garden worth per annum £4-0 - 0 .

12. Anthony Tilman vdertenant

One other brick tenement formerly allsoe vused for an Anchorits cell containing fower roomes below & fower aboue & two litle gardens & one other garden being parte of the ould church yard there all well planted & ordered containing in the whole by estimate two acres & two roods of ground worth per annum £8-10 - 0 (2 acres 2 roods)

13. voyd of a tenant

One other bricktenement formerly allsoe vused for an Anchorits cell containing two roomes below stayres & two roomes aboue stayres a long shed & a litle garden worth per annum £4-0 - 0

[f.3] 14. William Wood vndertenant

One other bricktenement or Anchorits cell containing two roomes below and two aboue two long sheds a litle outhouse vused for a stable or Cowe house and one rood of ground parte of the foresaid ould churchyard lying to the east side of the greate barne their worth in the whole per annum £5-0-0 (1 rood)

15. Giles Hill vndertenant Sir Thomas Jervoise tenant of this long garden as parte of Richmond Parke

One other bricktenement or Anchorits cell containing two roomes below and one roome aboue staires three litle sheds & one acre & a halfe of land parte of the ould church yard aforesaid lying between the said last mentioned parcell of land & one other parcell of the said churchyard now vused for a Nursery and one parcell of land adioyning to the south wall of the said late monastery extending it selfe from the gate called the Crowne gate : 35 : foot in breath to the end of the said wall vused for a garden and allsoe one other litle peece of ground thirtie foote broad adioyning to the Northwall of the said Church yard & the litle frayles worth in the whole per annum £10-0-0 (1 acre 2 rood)

16. John Fruen vndertenant

One other little tenement of brick containing two roomes below & one shed & one greate yard therevnto adioyning lying between the said Crowne Court & the litle frayles or stable yard containing one acre of land more or less & all yat passage over the river of Thames called Sheene Ferry being onely a passage for people on foote worth per annum £5-10-0 (1 acre)

17. Edward Watson vndertenant

One parcell of land lying in the ould church yard of Sheene being parcell thereof now vused & planted for a Nursery worth per annum £1-10-0

18. Noe tenant

One other litle tenement called the bark or watergate containing two litle roomes worth per annum £1-0-0

19. the greate barne

All that greate barne containing eleven bayes of building tyled overhead and boarded on one side & two ends thereof worth per annum £3-10-0

20. the riding house

One other barne heretofore vused for the riding of the kings greate horse containing : 5 : bayes of building well tyled & ordered worth by the yeare £2-0-0

21. stable for greate horses

One other range of brickbuilding containing one large stable paved with free stone posted planked and well ordered & fitted for sixteen greate horses to stand abreast well seeled and tyled overhead worth per annum £1-10-0

22. Hunting stable Coachhorse stable

One other range of brickbuilding containing one double stable for six horses to stand abreast called the hunting stable well paved planked ordered having a roome over it for laying of hay & one other roome in the south end thereof containing one other double stable ordered as aforsaid for six horses to stand abreast called the coach horse stable worth per annum £1-0-0

23. Sadlers office

One other little building adioyning to the South end of the said Coach horse stable containing one roome below & three roomes above called the sadlers office worth per annum £1-0-0

[f.4] 24. the greate stable

One other faire range of brickbuilding called the greate stable containing one large double stable well paved planked posted & fitted for twelve horses to stand abrest & one other stable ordered for six horses to stand abrest over which two stables are two greate and large granary roomes fitted for keeping of corne well seeled & tyled worth in the whole per annum £2-10-0

25. Coach house

One other parcell or range of building parte brick & parte wood adioyning to the North end of the greate stable containing a large coach house belowe staires & one granary roome & three chambers or lodgings above staires well seeled & tyled worth per annum £1-10-0

26. Smiths forge

One other brickbuilding adioyning to the South end of the said greate stable building called the Smiths forge containing a roome ordered for a smiths forge one other ground roome & one other roome over head worth per annum £1-0-0

27. The litle frayles

All that parcell of land called the litle Frayles or stable yard vpon parte whereof the said barnes & stables before mentioned doe stand containing by estimate foure acres of land worth per annum £4-0-0 (4 acres)

28. The greate frayles William Wood vndertenant

All that other parcell of land or meadowe ground inclosed round with a large brickwall commonly called the great frayles lying betweene the tenements before mentioned & Richmond litle parke containing by estimation ten acres of land worth per annum £15-0-0 (10 acres)

29. Dovecoate William Wood vndertenant

All that one dovecoate standing in & vpon the said close or parcell of meadowe called the greate frayle worth per annum 5s-0

30. The greate meadowe George Pigot vndertenant

All that other parcell of land or meadowe ground with its appurtenances belonging vnto the said late monastery at Sheene commonly called the great meadowe lying betweene the said litle parke of Richmond & the river of Thames & extending it selfe from the Southwall of the said late monastery vnto the Crane at Richmond palace containing vpon admeasurement twenty seven acres one rood & three perches worth per annum £54-0-0 (27 acres 1 rood 3 perches)

31. The lower meadow George Pigot and Thomas Barnes vndertenant

All that other parcell of meadow ground with its appurtences belonging allsoe vnto the said late monastery of Sheene commonly called the lower meadowe lying betweene the said litle parke & the

said river of Thames and adioyning to the Northwall of the said late monastery of Sheene containing vpon admeasurement fifteen acres twoe roods & twentie perches worth per annum £30-0-0
(15 acres 2 roods 20 perches)

32. And all wayes passages liberties easements profits commodities advantages and appurtences whatsoever to the said severall messuages or tenements lands & premises belonging or with them or any of them occupied or inioyed as parte parcell or member of them or any of them

33. Memorandum that all the said messuages or tenements lands & premises before mentioned except the said two meadowes called the greate meadowe & the lower meadowe are inclosed within a brickwall of twelve foote high severing the same from the said litle parke of Richmond the premises inclosed within the said brickwall doe conteyne vpon admeadurement thertie two acres twoe roods & two perches of land the yearly valewes of all which are herein before particularly mentioned (32 acres 2 roods 2 perches)

[f.5] 34. Memorandum the tenements before mentioned are very well accommodated with water which is brought & conueyed vnto them through severall small pipes of lead branched from one greate pipe of lead extending it selfe from the stopcock or conduit head on Richmond greene vnto a greate cesterne of stone placed within the said walls of Sheen

35. The sayd severall tenements barnes stables dovecoates & other buildings before mentioned are in good tenantable repayre & not fit to be demolished yet wee haue taken a full view of the same together with the materialls thereof and wee doe estimate the same to bee worth in tymber lead tyles bricke stone glass Iron and lead in pipes & otherwise vpon the place beesides the chardges of taking downe the same the summ of £1149-17-4

36. There is a parte of the ould church of Sheene yet standing but very ruinous & fitt for nothing but to bee demolished & taken downe the materialls whereof aboue the chardges of taking downe the same wee valew to be worth the sum of £10-0-0

37. The brickwalls in and about the said late Monastery of Sheene are very large and spacious and are a great ornament & of special use to the tenants before mentioned the materials whereof about the charges of taking downe the same wee estimate to bee worth the sum of £150-0-0

38. And then the scite of the said late priory or Monastery of Sheene containing thertie twoo acres etc as aforesaid when the said materials of the said tenements & premises are cleared of will be worth per annum [Value erased, but £32 written in column usually reserved for acreage. This figure has not been included in the final total, and is probably a confusion with the number of acres.]

39. There are three hundred twentie and two pollard trees standing & growing in & vpon the premises which being good for litle save the fier we estimate to bee worth vpon the place (the tyme of converting them into many considered) the sum of £64-8-0

40. All the premises below herein particularly mentioned weare as wee are informed by Charles Stuart late king of England by his lettres patents bearing date at Westminster the second day of may 1638 demised vnto James duke of Lenox for the terme of his naturall life yeelding & paying therefore yearely at the feasts of the annuciation & Michaell the archangell : 3 ^{li} : 6 ^s : 8 ^d per annum but they are worth vpon Improvement the said rent the sum of £205-18-4

[In the margin; Redditus £3 : 6s : 8d This warrant to be produced within the tyme limited]

41. But in regard the said duke of Lenox hath not though oftentimes sent to by vs produced his patent therof vnto vs wee cannot precisely set downe the certeynty of the date of his patents or other particular contents of his terme or estate in Sheene or what covenants or condicions are to bee performed on the parte of the said duke ouer and aboute the yearely payment of the said reserves containing of three pounds six shillings & eight pence But wee find vpon our inquirie yat the stable called the [blank]

[f.6] the stable for the great horse the stables called the hunting stable and the Coach horse stable with the sadlers office in the southend thereof the said greate stables with the two granaries ouer

the same the said Coachhouse roome & the granary roome & the three Chambers ouer yat Coachhouse the said Smiths forge & the two roomes aforemencioned belonging therevnto the sayd greate barn the said other barne vused for riding of the greate horse the foremencioned tenements containing : 6 : roomes in the possession of George Pigot & the said parcell of land called the litle frayles or stable yard whereon all the premises last mencioned doe stand weare reserved for the vse of the said late king as his stables & outhouses belonging vnto the pallace of Richmond & wee are informed that the said duke of Lenox did never intermeddle herein or lett or set or dispose of the same as hee did of other the premises herein mentioned which wee leave to bee further cleared when the said duke shall make forth his title in the premises unto the Surveyour generall appoynted for this service

Nether can wee expressly set downe in regard wee have not seene the said dukes patents what necessary bootes or whether any or none the said duke was to take vpon the pollards aforesaid

Nether can wee precisely set downe of what age the said duke of Lenox now is but wee are informed that he is in full life & of the age of fortie yeares or thereabouts

42. But wee are informed yat all the lands belonging vnto the late dissolved Monastery of Sheene are tithe free as having never beene chardged with the payment of any tithes

43. The sayd late dissolved house priory or Monastery of West Sheene & all the premises aforesaid are parte of the Manour of Richmont alias Richmond in the County of Sury & situate within the same

44. Wee are also informed that the said duke is to yeild to the Chiefe keeper of Richmond litle parke fifteene cartloades of Hay forth of the said Sheene meadowes per annum

45. summe totall of the whole yearelie valewes of the premises belonging to Westsheene £212-11-8

summe totall of the valewes of the materials of the houses and what belongs therevnto in Sheene £1309-17-4

The valewe of the pollardes belonging to Westsheene is £64-8-0

46. Examinatus per Willielmum Webb

Supervisor general

1649

466

Henry Hindley

John Inwood

John Wale

John Webb

II. History of the Priory Site 1539-1649

The vicissitudes of fortune and ownership which the priory underwent between the dissolution and Charles I's execution are fully chronicled in several accounts, ⁽¹⁾ and there is no need to provide more than the briefest of surveys here. In 1540 the site was granted to Edward Seymour, later Duke of Somerset, but returned to the crown seven years later. In 1551 it was granted to Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, father of Lady Jane Grey, but resumed by the crown after Suffolk's attainder three years later. It was returned to the Carthusians in 1557, but their occupancy came to an abrupt end with the accession of Elizabeth to the throne. In 1584 Elizabeth granted it for life to Sir Thomas Gorges. Later it evidently came into the possession of Viscount Belhaven, who surrendered it in 1638, ⁽²⁾ when it was granted to James, Duke of Lennox, who was still the tenant when the survey was completed.

Lennox, created Duke of Richmond in 1641, was the cousin and close friend of the king, but although he was an ardent and active royalist, his personal integrity appears to have protected him from incurring a fatal amount of parliamentary disapproval. He was, for example, one of the four peers who offered themselves to the Commons to be punished for Charles's misdeeds, claiming that since the king could do no wrong, they, his ministers, must be at fault for giving him misguided advice. ⁽³⁾ It is perhaps not fanciful to suggest that a note of sarcasm attends the references to Lennox in this survey, for example in the Commissioners' comment that although he had been paying £3 6s. 8d. a year for the premises, they were worth upon improvement the sum of £205 18s. 4d. annually (no. 40); and in their bemoaning of the fact that although they had dutifully requested Lennox to furnish them with particulars of his letters patent, he had for some reason neglected to do so (no.41). In fact,

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1. See especially V.C.H. Surrey, iii, 538; Lysons, op. cit, i, 449-452; J. Cloake, Sheen Charterhouse, pp.152-8.
 2. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series: Charles I 1637-8 (London, 1869), p.274.
 3. For details of Lennox's career, see D.N.B. xix, 85-6; C.P. xii, 609-10.

it is possible to ascertain Lennox's whereabouts at the time of the survey: he was in attendance upon the imprisoned king. He was certainly in London during Charles's trial towards the end of January 1649, and was the chief mourner at his funeral on 9 February.⁽¹⁾ He was presumably rather too preoccupied to be concerned about searching out old letters patent as requested by the Commissioners. Lennox's age is also known: he was 36 in January 1649, so the surveyors' information (no.41) is more or less correct. The identity of Colonel William Webb, who supervised the survey of Sheen (no.46), is known. Cromwell appointed him as Surveyor general for land sales.⁽²⁾

III. The Buildings

The survey enables the position of Sheen Charterhouse to be located more or less exactly. The main reason why this site was chosen was of course because of its proximity to Henry V's rebuilt Sheen Palace, which stood between Richmond Green and the river, facing out over the water. The street names Old Palace Lane and Old Palace Yard survive to commemorate that palace, but now only a few of the wardrobe buildings remain. The Observant Franciscan Friary adjoined the palace on the south-east, as again the modern street name Friars Lane bears witness. At the time of the Commonwealth survey part of the friary buildings were still extant and were in use as a chandler's shop.⁽³⁾

To the north of the palace and attached to it stood two parks, the Great Park and the Little Park. Sometime between 1617 and 1649 these were laid together to form a tract of over 349 acres, and thereafter referred to as Richmond Little Park, to distinguish it from the larger Richmond Park. Part of it is now the Old Deer Park, and the rest the Royal Botanic Gardens.⁽⁴⁾ Sheen priory stood in what is now the Old Deer Park, which at present extends to the river; but it is clear that originally the area of land belonging

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1. M.G. Higham, Charles I. A Study (London, 1932), pp.283, 297, 304.
 2. G.E. Aylmer, The State's Servants. The Civil Service of the English Republic 1649-60 (London and Boston, 1973), p.399.
 3. Lysons, op.cit, i, 445.
 4. V.C.H. Surrey, iii, 535.

to Sheen lay between the park and the river. That this was the case may be discerned both from the survey of the priory itself (nos. 30, 31, 33), and from the survey of Richmond Palace made at the same date, in which Richmond Little Park is described as being bounded by the Palace and the Green on the south, by the Town-Field of Richmond on the east, by the Thames on the north, and on the west by 'The walls of the late Monastery of West Shene, and two Meadows thereunto adjoyning, called the Great and Little Meadow'. (1)

The area owned by Sheen priory was divided into three. To the north was the lower meadow, (no.31) bounded on its south by the actual priory site, on the west and north by the river and on the east by Richmond Little Park, and measuring 15 acres, 3 roods and 15 perches. In the middle was the priory itself, (no.33) enclosed by a brick wall 12 feet high, and bounded on the west by the river, on the east by Richmond Little Park and on the south by the great meadow. This area measured 32 acres, 2 roods and 2 perches, but within it were further subdivisions. The great Frayles, a tract of meadow land also marked off by a brick wall, occupied the easternmost 10 acres, separating the monastery buildings from the park. South of the priory stood the great meadow, (no.30) of 27 acres, 1 rood, 3 perches, bounded, like the rest, by the river on its west and the park on its east, but extending down 'vnto the Crane at Richmond Palace'. The entire monastic property therefore occupied 75 acres, one rood and 25 perches.

Further evidence is provided by Lysons, (2) who wrote that 'about a quarter of a mile to the north west of the Palace stood the hamlet of West Sheen. Here Henry V in the year 1414 founded a convent of Carthusians'. Manning and Bray recorded a tradition that the last remaining fragments of the great gate-house were demolished by George III in 1767 to make way for Kew Observatory, (3) and Lysons added that 'An ancient gateway, the last remain of the

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1. The survey is printed in E.B. Chancellor, Historical Richmond (London, 1885), pp.87-116. The park is described on p.111.
 2. Lysons, op.cit, i, 447.
 3. O. Manning and W. Bray, The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey (London, 1804-14), i, 422.

priory, was taken down about twenty-three years ago; the whole hamlet of West Sheen, consisting of eighteen houses, was at the same time totally annihilated, and the site, which was made into a lawn, added to the King's inclosures'. (1)

The monastic plan itself has been reconstructed by Cloake, using the P.R.O. survey and other documents. (2) He believes that the churchyard mentioned in the survey was the cloister; and, in a particularly ingenious piece of deduction, he identifies the dovecote standing on the great frayles (no. 29) as the reclusory endowed by Henry V in 1416. (3) He has also identified the site of the smaller cloister which Chauncy rebuilt during the brief refoundation of the priory. Of the appearance of Sheen priory, Cloake's reconstruction must command considerable respect, but it is possible to advance one or two alternative interpretations of some of the evidence. The following comments do not disturb Cloake's putative plan of the Charterhouse substantially, but merely suggest that some of the buildings could have been put to uses other than those he assigns to them.

The largest building mentioned in the survey was the so-called 'prior's lodging' (no.2) with its extensive garden and two courts. North of this was a tenement (no.3) containing a kitchen and wash-house, and north of this the church. North again of this was the gallery (no.10) and north of the gallery the Lady St. John's Lodgings (no.9). Cloake believes that the 'prior's lodging' was an enlargement of the house Colet built, that the 'Monkes Hall' (no.7) was the frater, that the Lady St. John's Lodgings was the chapter-house, and that the gallery was part of the cloister. (4)

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1. Lysons, op.cit., i, 453.
 2. Cloake also prints all the maps and drawings which depict the Charterhouse: Moses Glover's map of 1635, Antonius van den Wyngaerde's drawing of 1562 and a water colour by Hieronymous Grimm depicting the gateway shortly before its demolition.
 3. C.P.R. 1416-22, p.114.
 4. J. Cloake, 'Sheen Charterhouse'; pp.168-71.

Charterhouses did not of course possess 'prior's lodgings' as such. A more likely supposition is that it was originally the guesthouse, made more commodious by its subsequent tenants. At other English Charterhouses, it was usually the guesthouse which was converted into the subsequent manor house. This is certainly the case at Mount Grace. There is no reason, however, why the garden should not have been laid out during the Carthusian tenancy of the property, for the order was celebrated for its interest in gardening in general, and the cultivation of herbs in particular. Sir William Temple, the tenant of the house from about 1666 until 1689 wrote that he 'never saw anything pleasanter than my garden', and that he was 'contriving this summer [1667] how a succession of cherries may be compassed from May till Michaelmas, and how the riches of Sheen vines may be improved by half a dozen sorts of which are not known there'. (1)

North of the 'prior's lodgings' was a building containing a kitchen and wash-house, separated by a small garden from the church. There is no reason why the kitchen and wash-house should not also have been original, in which case the gallery mentioned could have been the frater. Such an arrangement is again paralleled by the ruins at Mount Grace where the present day manor house is separated from the church by a range which still contains the original brewery, bakehouse and frater. (2) If this is the frater, then 'The large roome aboue stayres formerlie called the Monkes Hall' of tenement no. 7 may perhaps be identified as the chapter-house.

The gallery is of especial interest because of the section in Cavendish's biography describing Wolsey's lodging at Sheen, 'And he had to the same howsse a secrett gallery w^{che} went out of his chamber in to the Charterhowsse churche'. (3) This gallery might well be

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1. Lysons, op.cit., i, 451-3.
 2. W. St. John Hope, 'The Architectural History of Mount Grace Charterhouse', Y.A.J. xviii (1905), pp.275-81.
 3. G. Cavendish, The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey, ed. R.S. Sylvester (E.E.T.S. o.s. 243, 1959), p.130.

identified with the one surviving at Sheen in 1649, which in turn implies that the 'lady St. John's Lodgings' could have been the house which Colet built and Wolsey later occupied. It would certainly explain why the tenement had a distinctive name, and it is interesting that both Colet and Wolsey referred to their house as a 'Lodging', implying that the house was customarily known by this name, rather than the latter being merely a factual description of the tenancy. In the survey, the Lady St. John's Lodgings are described as 'lying to the North wall of the said ould church', and the gallery as 'adioyning to the tenement last before mentioned on the south parte thereof'. This makes it clear that the gallery linked the lodging and the church, in the manner described by Cavendish, ⁽¹⁾ whereas Cloake's interpretation requires that the gallery be placed to the north of the Lady St. John's Lodging instead of the south.

According to the survey, all the barns, stables, the coachhouse, forge etc. (nos. 19-26) stood upon a separate piece of land called the Little Frayles or stable yard, containing four acres in area, and that all these, together with the tenement of six rooms leased by George Pigot, ⁽²⁾ were in effect the stables attached to Richmond Palace, reserved for the use of the king (no. 41). This perhaps goes some way towards explaining the low rent paid by Lennox

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1. It has been doubted whether Colet's lodgings were within the Charterhouse itself. Cf. E.B. Chancellor, Historical Richmond (London, 1885), pp.132-3: 'Near the site of the Priory, in the Old Deer Park, was a house built by Dean Colet, afterwards known as The Lodge. It was here that Wolsey retired after having been ejected from Richmond Palace'. He relates how in Queen Anne's reign it was granted to James Duke of Ormond, then sold to George II. However, this Lodge must be the building referred to in the survey of the Palace (Ibid., pp.111-4), described as being a 'Messuage, dwelling-house or Lodge' situated in the middle of the park. Colet's lodging, on the other hand, was clearly within the Charterhouse precinct, since it had a gallery leading to the church. Cavendish makes it clear that shortly after 2 February 1530 Wolsey went to Richmond and 'lodged w^hin the great parke there' (p.127), and then 'in the begynnyng of lent removed out of the loge in to the Charterhawsse of Richemond' (p.130).
 2. Presumably this refers to tenement no. 6, since it lay at the south west end of the great barn. However, originally this building was described as having eight rooms, not six.

for the property: the tenant of Sheen was required to perform certain favours for the king. Although it is possible that all the buildings standing upon the Little Frayles were constructed after the Dissolution, there is no reason why they should not have been conversions of the original Carthusian structures. The priory would certainly have had barns, granaries and offices concerned with land administration, and might also have had a limited amount of stabling. These would have been situated in an outer precinct, as at Mount Grace, and self-enclosed, so that it would have been possible for the king to take over the use of the area en bloc without intruding upon the rest.

The survey also describes the conduit in some detail (no. 34) and comments approvingly upon the way in which the tenements were 'very well accomodated with water'. It relates how the water was conveyed through a great conduit from the stopcock upon Richmond Green to a stone cistern within the monastery, and then relayed through pipes to the individual houses. Such an arrangement is paralleled by the surviving system at Mount Grace, and that described by the medieval plan of the London Charterhouse. Clearly the plumbing enjoyed by English Charterhouses was most sophisticated by contemporary standards.

The survey is rather disappointing in its revelations about the original cloister, and it is sad to learn that the church was 'ruinous & fitt for nothing but to bee demolished & taken downe' (no. 36). Indeed the only information on the cloister and church is supplied by William of Worcester, writing in the reign of Edward IV, who noted,

'Memorandum that the cloister of the monks of the Charterhouse at King's Sheen, which has about 30 houses of the religious on the east, south, west and north sides, is 200 paces long, and so in all 800 paces; and it is - wide. The height of the walls of the said cloister all round is 3 yards or 9 feet. The nave of the church, apart from the choir, is about 60 paces long.

Memorandum that on the walls on each side of the nave of the church hang many devotions and good reminders to devotion and the arousing of all Christian souls to God, both smaller and larger tables written in a good text hand and in bastard letters to the number of about 34, nor have I seen in any other monastic church even the twentieth part of these tables so fully written'. (1)

1. W. Worcestre, Itineraries, ed. J.H. Harvey (Oxford, 1969), pp.270-1.

There is no evidence that Worcester visited any other Carthusian priories, for he might have found parallels there. In her will of 1482, Margaret Leynham requested the London Charterhouse to set up at every altar small tables bearing the names of those of her relatives for whom she wanted the monks to pray. (1) The evidence is slight, but the Sheen 'tables' could have been commemorative plaques of the type Margaret Leynham described, and it is curious that there should have been more of these in a Carthusian church than in any other monastic church.

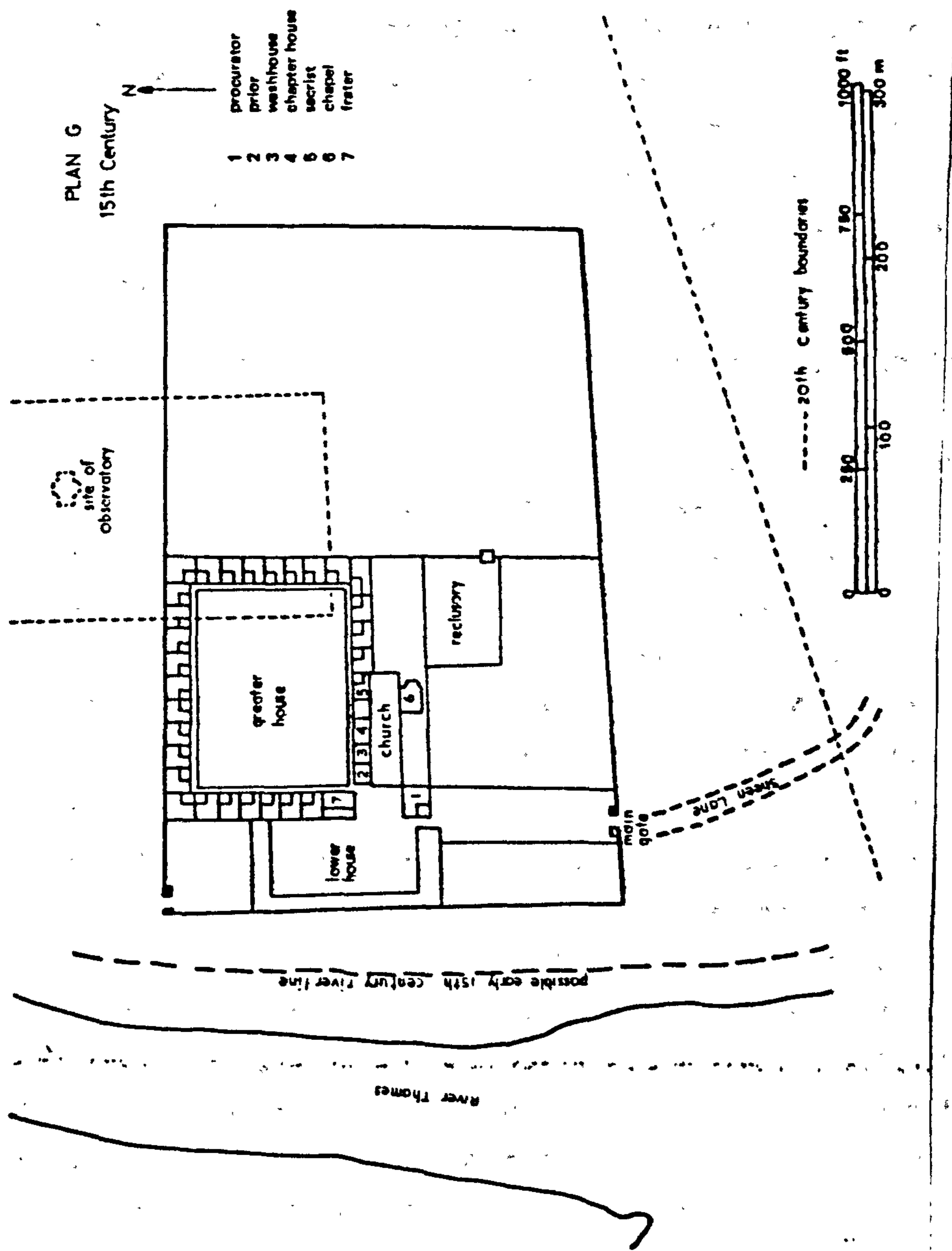
The survey reveals that the monastic site occupied 32 acres, 2 roods and 2 perches, of which the meadow called the Great Frayles accounted for ten acres. Assuming that the Little Frayles or stableyard had been a part of the original priory, this means that the actual site occupied some twenty-two and a half acres. Sheen Charterhouse must indeed have been built on a monumental scale. Of this magnificent edifice only a few fragments of masonry survive. (2) Some of these were presented to Parkminster, but most lie scattered around the Royal Mid Surrey Golf Course. In the 1890's some traces of tiled floors and foundation walls were discovered during building operations at Kew Observatory, (3) but the area is such that excavation is unlikely to be permitted in the foreseeable future. The history of the site of Sheen Charterhouse provides an instructive and ironic commentary on the changing nature of man's aspirations, encompassing the medieval worship of God, the eighteenth-century obsession with astronomy and the twentieth-century religion of golf.

1. P.C.C. 6 Logge.

2. W.E. St. Lawrence Finny, 'Fragments of Fifteenth-century Masonry from Richmond', Surrey Archaeological Collections, xxxviii (1926), p.105.

3. J. Cloake, 'Sheen Charterhouse', p.198.

Reconstructed Plan of Sheen Charterhouse



Taken from J. Cloake, 'Sheen Charterhouse', Surrey Archaeological Collections, lxxi (1977), p.182.

Carthusian History in Bodleian Ms. E. Museo 160

This appendix contains transcriptions of two extended passages from the Carthusian verse chronicle in Bodleian Ms. E. Museo 160, the subject of chapter five. Both extracts have been selected because they relate to the history of the Carthusians. The first passage describes the founding of the order, and the second lists the prior-generals of the order and briefly notes their main achievements.

The guiding principle followed in transcription, both in these passages and in the examples given in the text of chapter five, has been to provide as close a reading to the manuscript as possible. Thus 'u' and 'v' have not been regularised, and there is no distinction made between 'I' and 'J' in the transcript, as in the manuscript. Punctuation, word-division and capital letters are reproduced unaltered. Abbreviations have been expanded, and the additional letters underlined. The abbreviation 'f' at the end of a word, which usually represents either 'es' or 'is' has been consistently expanded to 'is', since this is the form traditionally associated with more northern dialects. It is sometimes difficult to be sure whether certain flourishes are otiose or not; for example double 'l' at the end of a word is always barred, and one is uncertain whether an 'e' should be added. In these cases the word has been left unextended, on the grounds that by 1518 the practice of adding 'e' to the end of a word was less common than formerly. However where the author ends a word with the letter 'r' combined with a downstroke and a flourish, thus 'r̄', instead of the more normal two stroke 'r', thus 'r̄', it seems more likely than an expansion was intended, and the letter 'e' has been supplied. Spaced dots indicate missing words, and where it is possible to make conjectural reconstructions, these have been placed within square brackets. The scribe's own corrections have been incorporated into the text without note.

The Foundation of the Carthusian Order

from Bodleian Ms. E. Museo. 160, ff. 78r-v

f.78r.

In thys tym began orders stabill
First Grandmontenses to wete
Sainte Austens order was reformete
And chartermonkis began this tide
Saint Bernard saies of all orders swete
It is most chefe is not to hide
First by reson of it long tid
And allso by it sharp straytnese
Ne 3it dekeyd on no side
Ne fell fro yt first stabillnese
All by the holy gost gudnesse
It faylet neuer bot florish still
Saint Brone of full gret holynese
With sex other devowt of will
Began this ordere in carthuse hill
Saint hewe Gracianopolitane
Bishop was gret helper her till
And tuk the habite os they sayne
Pop Victor at then did reyne
Saw this vision in his slepe
In carthuse hill our lord of hevyn
Bildinge hymself a howse with kepe
Vrbane the secund after to wete
To the charter order had grete loue

f.78v.

Saint Brone was his scole master swete
Wherfor his counsell did he proue
Oftyn for thy kyrke behoue
Saint Brone a bishop might haue beyn
But he forsuk it for thy loue
In the thowsand fyve hundreth yer & fifteyn
He was canonyset I will ye weyn
For a holy sainte os is worthe
The said Vrbane chast pop & cleyn
The dayly matence of our ladye
With evynsonge howres compleyn holye

Commandit first all clerkis to saye
For it was told at our ladye
To the charter monkis of carthusia
Apperit & bad it suld be sa
A ferfull mervall in parise
Happit this tide: a master gaye
That was holden of gret name & wise
Sat vp on bere wher at he laye
And at he was dampnyt said he thrise
Wherfor many nobill clerkis & gaye
Forsuk the world & was mor wise
And began diuerse orders of prise
Saint Bron was on loo thus began
The charter order most discrete & wise
Now kep it Ihesu os thou well can

The catalog of the reuerend Faders priores of
Carthusia hedhowse of the ordere

from Bodleian Ms. E. Museo 160, ff.102r-105r

f.102r. In the world it is knawen wide
How Saint Brone with his felows sex (1)
In carthusia beldit to bide
O Ihesu so this order wexe
That in this present day there is
Neyn score charterhouses gudlee
In xvij landis or provinces
Ihesu thus has it sprede by the
And all obedient dose bee
Vnto the hedhowse Carthusia
Wherof were Reuerende faders free
And ay has beyn vnto this daye
Lawdninus devowt allwaye (2)

A list of all the prior-generals of the order may be found in C.M. Boutrais, The History of the Great Chartreuse, translated E. Hassid (London, 1934), pp.285-8, and a longer account of each prior's rule in A.P.F. Lefebvre, Saint Bruno et l'Ordre des Chartreux, ii, 3-78. The footnotes here are derived primarily from these two sources. N.B. 'r' in these footnotes stands for 'resigned'.

1. Bruno.1084-89(r), d.1101.

2. Landuin of Tuscanv. 1090-1100.

Was next prior after sainte Brone
 One of his sex felows to saye
 At first com to Carthusia to wone
 f.102v. A devyne & gret clerke was he fon
 After hym was chosen peter of france (1)
 But alon for he had list to won
 Son he gave vp the gouernance
 For contemplation was his plesance
 After hym dan Iohn Chosen was (2)
 Then com ye vth prior full of grace
 Gwigo well lernyt and devowt (3)
 The first old statutis in that place
 He wrat & kepit all thrugheowt
 After hym hugo mek & devowt (4)
 Was made priore at ij^o 3ere end
 To lefe solitarye out of dowl
 He left his office in gud intend
 Than was made at mich did mend
 Ancelinus of a noble kyn (5)
 In devyn & seculare connynge kend
 He wrought faire myracles with wyn
 The spirite of prophecy had he cleyn
 And he was compellit to take
 A Bishoprik at was hym geyn
 Basilius then did they make (6)
Priore: And he the statutis wrate
 Mor large then Guygo did afore
 Sainte Hewe to the order did he take
 Which at Lincoln was bishop there
 After Basilius was made priore
 Hew he held the office but ij 3ere (7)

-
1. Peter I of Bethune, 1101-2(r), d.1108.
 2. John I of Tuscany, 1102-10.
 3. Guigo I 'The Venerable', 1110-37. He compiled the Consuetudines.
 4. Hugh I, 1137-9(r), d.1146.
 5. Anthelm of Chignon, 1139-52(r), d.1178. He later became the bishop of Bellay, and was eventually canonised.
 6. Basil, 1152-73. It was he who received Hugh of Avalon into the order but he did not revise the statutes. The author possibly has in mind the fact that it was he who made the general chapter a permanent institution.
 7. The next prior was not called Hugh, nor was he general for only two years. He was Guigo II 'The Angelic', 1173-80(r), d.1188.

f.103r.

For to solitary life he langit so sore
 That the priore honour did hym but dere
 In this tym a holy priore were
 Of this order barnard he heght
 Many miraclese did he fair & sere
 Dede men he raysit vp right
 Many halte men he mad go streght
 The fowle leporose clensit hee
 He was mad a bishop of gret myghte
 And os a sainte endit glorioslee
 After hew the solitaree
 Gud Iacelinus folowet sone (1)
 A man of gret merite & holee
 He commaundit a monk anone
 Of Carthusia ded awhile agone
 To cesse of myracles shewinge
 The ded monke obeide hym right sone
 All for lif contemplatife lettinge
 Dane Martinus was made priore after hyme (2)
 A man of gret connyng & vertue
 Then com Barnerd after Martyn (3)
 After Barnard dane Rifferene (4)
 A man of all connyng & witt
 Our customes & oure statutis clene
 He mad of newe & mor did write
 Correcte & dewly did indite
 In the same form at they ar nowe
 The old statutis 3it they be callite
 The generall chapter tham dos alowe

-
1. Jancelin, 1180-1233.
 2. Martin, 1233-6(r), d.1236.
 3. Bernard I de La Tour, 1247-9(r). The author has omitted two priors, Peter II, 1236-42(r) and Hugh II, 1242-7(r). Bernard resigned in 1249 and was succeeded by Hugh II in a second period of office. Hugh resigned for the second time in 1253, when Bernard was again made general, until 1258 when he too resigned.
 4. Riffier of Valence, 1258-67(r), d.1258. He revised the statutes, producing the edition known as the Statuta Antiqua.

f.103v.

After Rifferen Girardus nowe (1)
 For the reverend fader did succede
 Both in connynge & gude name also
 And right vertuose in his dede
 Then com William of mekill mede (2)
 In all his warkis right religiose
 After hym come holy dane Bosoo (3)
 Os men myght se right vertuose
 For a ded man he raysit thoo
 After hym was chosen gud Aymoo (4)
 Of hy connynge and gud discretion
 [The solytar]ye life he luffit so
 [That he gave v]p his priors possession
 [Then]dan Iames had ye fre election (5)
 [He]was a man contemplatife
 [To th]e office hade non affection
 And to lefe sole gaf it vp belife
 Then a man of perrogatife
 Namyd clarus clere in his ded (6)
 In his tym a monk contemplatife
 Callit Iohn did miracles of mede
 After Clarus Iames did procede (7)
 Which was priore awhill before
 After his deth his miracles did sprede
 Lovid be yow Ihesu for this store
 It semys thou lufis Carthusia more
 Than certen othere placis hee
 That so gud prelatis ordeyns yerfore

-
1. Gerard, 1267-73.
 2. William I Fabri, 1273-6.
 3. Boso, 1278-1313. The author has omitted Peter III de Montignac, 1276-7.
 4. Aymon d'Aost, 1313-29(r), d.1330.
 5. James of Vevey, 1330(r).
 6. Clair de Fontenay, 1330-6(r), d.1339.
 7. James of Vevey for a second time 1336-41(r).

And so in ylk howse of this order free
 After Iames at saintid miracleslee
 Dan Herre then of polenti (1)
 Governyd Carthusia right gudlee
 And left it to lefe solitarie
 After hym com dan Iohn Berelli (2)
 He for suke a cardinall dignitye
 In autoryte fame & rightwisnes
 His secunde in holy kirke scantlye
 Was fonden for his worthenese
 After hym Elisiarius did successe (3)
 A man of right grete abstinence
 & of prayere in devowtness
 Than William Raynalde of reuerence (4)
 Kepit Carthusia with diligence
 In connyngge gud maners & vertue
 So he forsuke withowt offence
 A cardinall dignite of vewe
 And when the pop was chosen newe
 xi voces was graunte hym too
 He left all for thy sake Ihesu
 In Carthusia well wrought he loo
 The new statutis he mad yerto
 In thre parties ps is the old
 vii score 3ere & ten sens was this doo
 After decesse of gud raynold

f.104r.

-
1. Henry Pollet, 1341-6(r).
 2. John II Birelle, 1346-60. He was nearly elected pope in 1352 after Clement VI died, but Talleyrand prevented it, at his entreaty. See above, p. 268.
 3. Elzéar de Grimoard de Grisac, 1360-7. He was indeed renowned for his austerity.
 4. William II Raynaldi, 1367-1402. He revised the statutes in 1368 (the author's arithmetic is quite accurate), producing the edition known as the Nova Statuta. He was nearly elected pope in 1389, but refused even a cardinal's hat, commenting 'At my age not a crimson cloth, but a shroud should be my lot'.

Bonifacius farrarii cold (1)
 A solene doctor of degrees
 He gouernyde Carthusias howshold
 Brother of Saint Vincent was hee
 In his tym a gret errour did bee
 Both in holy kirke & this ordere
 ij^o Popes & ij^o hede priores suthlee
 Reynet same yf vnsemynge were
 This Boniface to mak all clere
 The reuerend faderhed did reseyn
 So did Stephen yat the other hed were
 And on for both was chosen cleyn
 That was Iohn Griffemont to weyn (2)
 Mek in menars with wordis swete
 To do grete Almus he was full keyn
 Then com Gwillermus ay full meke (3)
 A grete lovere of this order eke
 And mekill gefen almus to doo
After his deth men did hym seke
 So faire miracles was shewet loo
 Then in his stede they chase herto
 For prior & fader reuerend
Franciscus that mich cowth doo (4)
 In connynge & eloquens nobill kend
 To do grete almus he had intend
 Grete Zele to the order had hee
 Off so gret reputation kend
 That in the counsell of Basilee
 f.104v. he pope chosene did bee
 voces pop to haue beyn
 [After hi]m come dane Iohn so holee (5)

-
1. Boniface Ferrer, 1402-10(r), d.1417.
 2. John III de Griffenburg 1410-20.
 3. William III de La Motte, 1420-37.
 4. Francis I Maresme, 1457-65. Dorlandus says ten of the cardinals wished to elect him as pope. See A.P.F. Lefebvre, Saint Bruno et L'Ordre des Chartreux (Paris, 1883), ii, 66.
 5. John IV Van Roesendael, 1463-72.

[That] he was cald of angell cleyn
[Dan]e Antone was chosen then bedeyn (1)

After hym com another Antonee (2)

And he haskit licens to reseyn

To lef in cell solitarilee

After this lattere Antonee

A grete clerke peter did succede (3)

For all these we thank the Ihesu free

That to our hede house thus takis hede

And now reynes on vs in dede

The reuerend fader Franciscus (4)

De puteo his pitt dos spred

And springis to the ordere gratius

A gret devyn os told is vs

And doctor of both the lawes also

By gret lawber right studeoose

Thrid campilation mad he loo

Right necessary the order too

Then by thre chapters generall

It was confermyt stranger to doo

Off francise vertues in speciall

We will not spek for man mortall

He is 3it in lif god kep hym longe

O Ihesu one abbot generall

Louyd be thou vs euer emenge

That this order thou kepis so longe

In hy vertu without gret worldly prayes

But so yow dos we vnderstand

Our mede in hevyn higher to rayse

Now Ihesu gif vs of thy grace

f.105r.

And to all ye world both far & nere

We to follow our faders trace

And the world to cesse of synnes sere

-
1. Anthony I Dellieus, 1472-81. He was made a cardinal in 1481.
 2. Anthony II du Charne, 1481-94(r), d.1511.
 3. Peter IV Roux des Bettons, 1494-1503.
 4. Francis II Dupuy, 1503-21.

Biographical Dictionary of the English Carthusians

This appendix provides biographical information about all the recorded individual monks. In the cases of the more fully documented members of the order, references are given to secondary sources. Appendix VII is a list of priors of the Charterhouses. In the case of the latter therefore the two lists should be used in conjunction, since Appendix VI supplies information about the priors as individuals, whereas Appendix VII provides a catalogue of the priors' dates of office at each house.

Abbreviations

The abbreviations are as in the rest of this thesis, with the following additions. The same abbreviations are also employed in Appendix VII.

Ordinations

Ord. = Ordained. A = Acolyte. D = Deacon. E = Exorcist.
P = Priest. S = Subdeacon.

Other Abbreviations

<u>Ancient Deeds</u>	<u>Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the P.R.O.</u> (London, 1890-1915), 6 vols.
Collinson, <u>Somerset</u>	J. Collinson, <u>The History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset</u> (London, 1791), 2 vols.
<u>D.K.R.B</u>	<u>Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records</u> , vol. viii (London, 1847).
F.O.R.	Lambeth Palace Ms. F1/Vv (Faculty Office Register).
Gasquet	F.A. Gasquet, <u>Henry VIII and the English Monasteries</u> (London, 1893), 2 vols.
Lamb. Pal. Ms.413	Lambeth Palace Ms. 413.
O.L.	Parkminster Obit List.
Poll-tax returns.	<u>The Church in London 1375-92</u> (London Record Society, xiii, 1977), p.3. This is a list of the monks at the London Charterhouse in 1379, taken from the poll-tax returns.
<u>Req. Bekynton</u>	<u>The Register of Thomas Bekynton, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1443-1465</u> , ed. H.C. Maxwell Lyte and M.C.B. Dawes (S.R.S., xlix, 1, 1934-5), 2 vols.
S.V.	Sede Vacante.

Venn, Alumni Cantab.

J. and J.A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigiensis
(Cambridge, 1922-7), 4 vols.

Willis, Mitred Abbeys

Browne Willis, An History of the Mitred
Parliamentary Abbies and Conventual Cathedral
Churches (London, 1718-9), 2 vols.

Note In this appendix, as in chapter three, the abbreviation 'ob.' has been employed to show that a date of death is taken from an obit list, and that allowance must be made for the fact that it is likely to be a year late. The abbreviation 'd.' is used where the correct date of death is known.

- ABEL Robert Monk of Sheen refounded. d. 24 September 1558
(See Thompson p.503; Le Vasseur, iii, 350;
B.M. Add.Ms.17092, f.19v; Chauncy, Passionis,
p.140).
Possibly to be identified with William ABELL q.v.
- ABELL William Vicar of Coventry. Letter to Cromwell, 1537 (L&P,
xii, i, 19).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.258v).
Surrender, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 73).
Pension, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 161; p.603) and 1556
(P.R.O. E.164/31 f.46v).
- ABET Richard Monk of Hinton. Left church of Donnington to
enter Hinton, c.1390 (C.P.L. 1362-1404, pp.421-2).
- ACHIREWICK Thomas Monk of London. Ob.1430 (O.L. p.12).
Possibly to be identified with Thomas ALLENWICK q.v.
- ALBERT Thomas Monk of London. Ob.1432 (Lamb.Ms.413, f.94r).
- ALBON Thomas Monk of 1. London, 2. Mount Grace.
Told to return to London, 1440 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413,
f.139v).
Ob. 1462 at Mount Grace (O.L. p.26).
- ALLENWICK Thomas Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1430 (Lamb.Ms.413, f.82r)
- ALLERTON William Monk of Witham. Ob.1506 (O.L. p.3).
Possibly the William Allerton admitted to Eton
College King's School in 1446 aged 14 (Emden,
Cambridge, p.10).
- ALLINSON John Monk of Perth. Ob.1528 (O.L. p.56).
- ALRED Thomas Monk of Axholme. Ord.P. 1515 (Reg. Wolsey, f.170r).
Letters to Cromwell, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 489, 693).
Letter to prior of Sheen, 1538 (L&P, xiii, i, 1025).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.202v).
Surrender, 1538 (L&P, xiii, i, 1207).
Pension, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, p.597).
- ANGUE John also ALNE. Clerk-redditus and priest of London.
Ob.1474 (O.L. p.13; Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.433r).
- APPLEGARTH William Monk of Sheen. Ob.1497 (O.L. p.31).
- APPULBY Richard Procurator of Coventry. Letter to Cromwell, 1537
(L&P, xii, i, 19).
Dispensation to hold benefices, 1538 (F.O.R. f.258v).
Surrender, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 73).
Pension 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 161 and p.603) and 1556
(P.R.O. E.164/31, f.46v).
- ARNOLD John also ARNHILL. Monk of Sheen. Ord.E.1509 and
S.1513 (Reg. Fox, ii, f.26r; iii, f.54r).

- ATKYNSON Thomas Prior of Mount Grace. Ord.A.S. and D.1460 (Reg. Booth, ff.442v, 444v, 445r) Ord.P.1464 (York Reg.S.V.1464-5, f.460r).
Prior 1474-99, co-visitor and then visitor 1496-9. d.22 January 1499 (O.L. p.26).
- AVALON Hugh of also of LINCOLN. Prior of Witham c.1180-6. Bishop of Lincoln 1186-1200. d.1200. Sources numerous, but see especially the Magna Vita.
- AXELBRUGGE Robert Monk of 1. Hinton, 2. London. Sent to London for foundation (Hope, p.35). Ob.1412 (O.L. p.12).
- AYRAY(?) Roger Monk of Axholme. Ord.P.1518 (Reg. Wolsey, f.181r).
- AYRAYE Henry Monk of Mount Grace. Pension 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555) 1548 (P.R.O. E.315/257, f.10r) 1553 (P.R.O. E.101/76/24) and 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31 f.52v).
- AYRES James Conversus of Mount Grace. Ob.1522 (O.L. p.27).
- BACHECROFTE John also BAGECROSS. Monk of Hinton. Surrender (L&P xiv, i, 637).
Pension, 1540-44 (L&P, xv, p.543; xvi, 745; xvii, 258; xviii, i, 436; xviii, ii, 231; xix, i, 368) 1547-1553 (P.R.O. E.315/256; 257, f.19v; 258, f.16r; 259, f.24v; 260, f.15v; 261, f.14v; 262, f.14v) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.30r).
- BAKER Thomas Monk of London. In 1533 guest at Beauvale, told to settle down (O.L. p.11).
Acknowledged Supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1232).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.231v).
Pension, 1538-9 (L&P, xiii, ii, 1024; xiv, 235).
- BALAM Nicholas Monk of Hinton. Denied Supremacy, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 145).
Surrender, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 637).
As an ex-monk, still denied supremacy, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 1154).
Committed to gaol, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 1258).
Pension, 1540 (L&P, xv, p.543) and 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.30r).
Returned to Sheen refounded, 1556 (Chauncy, Passionis, p.140).
d. at Louvain, 5 December 1578 (Gasquet, ii, 486).
Lived 50 years 'laudabiliter' in the order (O.L. p.7).
- BALFOUR Patrick Monk of Axholme. Ob.1503 (O.L. p.24).
- BALL Henry Vicar of Sheen. Letter to Elizabeth Barton, 1533 (L&P, vi, 1468, 8).
Letter to Sir William Paulet, 1535 (L&P, vii, 610).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1539 (F.O.R. f.290v).
Pension, 1540-3 (L&P, xv, p.545; xvi, 745; xvii, 258; xviii, 436).

- BALLYNG Edmund See DALLYNG.
- BARBOUR Richard Monk of Hinton. Fled from Hinton with John PARLEBIEN after six years there in 1392 (C.P.R. 1388-92, p.441).
- BARDEYN John also BERDON. Monk of 1. Coventry, 2. London. Letter to Cromwell 1537 from Coventry (L&P, xii, i, 19). Dispensation to hold benefice 1538 at London (F.O.R. f.231v). Pension from London, 1538-9 (L&P, xiii, ii, 1024; xiv, 235). At Bruges Charterhouse, 1547 (O.L. p.18).
- BARKER William Monk of 1. Mount Grace, 2. London. Broke vows at Mount Grace and was sent to London as punishment, c.1528 (L&P, viii, 611; Thompson, p.289). Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728). In a letter to the prior of London, printed Thompson, p.295, a D. Thomas BARKER is mentioned, probably the same man. Possibly he can even be identified with Thomas BAKER q.v.
- BARNHAM William Monk of London. Ord.A.1428 (Reg. Gray, f.7v). Name on Paris Bib.Nat.Latin Ms.10434, a London Charterhouse Ms. dated 1426.
- BARNSLAY William also BERNESLAY. Monk of Hull. Ord.D.1480 and P.1481 (Reg. Rotherham, ff.373r, 374r).
- BARNYNGHAM Thomas Procurator of Axholme in 1536. Subsequently at London. Letter to Cromwell, 1536 (L&P, x, 104). Acknowledged Supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1232). Elected prior of Axholme but not permitted to take the office, 1536 (L&P, x, 50; xii, i, 489, 693). Dispensation to hold benefice at London, 1538 (F.O.R. f.231v). Pension at London, 1538-9 (L&P, xiii, ii, 1024; xiv, 235).
- BARRY Maurice Prior of Perth, 1446-51. Resigned and became guest at Bruges 1453, Mont-dieu 1454-5 and Abbeville 1456. Sent to Perth, 1457. d.c.1459. (O.L. p.54).
- BARTHER William (BARKER?) Conversus of Hull. Ob.1481 (B.M. Add.Ms.17092, f.11r).
- BARTLET Richard Monk of Hinton. Ob.1526 (O.L. p.7).
- BASSU(?) John Monk of Hinton. Ob.1380 (O.L. p.5).
- BATMANSON John Prior of Hinton, 1523-9 and of London, 1529-31. Ord. D.1510 (Reg. Fitzjames, f.170r). See D.N.B. ii, 334-5; Emden, Oxford, i, 131-2; V.C.H. Somerset, ii, 120; Thompson, pp.342-3; Le Vasseur, iv, 137; R.O. iii, Appendix I.

- BATMANSON Oliver Monk of London. Ord.E.A. and S.1532 (Reg. Stokesley, f.128r-v).
Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Acknowledged supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1232).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.231v).
Pension, 1538-9 (L&P, xiii, ii, 1024; xiv, 235).
- BAXTER William also BAKSTER. Monk of London.
Sent to Witham for transgression, c.1507 (L&P, viii, 611; Thompson, pp.288-9).
- BAYLY Robert Procurator of Sheen. Ord.P.1511 (Reg. Fitzjames, f.173r).
Procurator in 1512 until at least 1520 (Reg. Fitzjames, ff.175r-192r).
Mentioned (no date) (L&P, vii, 1047).
- BAYLY Robert Prior of Hinton. d. at Witham 18 February 1533 (O.L. p.3).
Probably to be identified with Robert BAYLY the procurator of Sheen, but one cannot be certain since there was another contemporary monk with the same name, viz.
- BAYLY Robert Monk of Coventry. Ob.1525 (O.L. p.22).
- BAYNE James Prior of Perth, 1455-6 (O.L. p.55).
- BEDON Thomas Monk of Hull. Ob.1533 (O.L. p.21).
- BEE Bryan Vicar of Axholme. Letters to Cromwell, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 489, 693).
Letter to prior of Sheen, 1538 (L&P, xiii, i, 1025).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.202v).
Surrender, 1538 (L&P, xiii, i, 1207).
Pension, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, p.597).
Possibly to be identified with Bryan Bee, priest of Sculcoates who made his will 1540 (York Prob.Reg. xi, f.479v).
- BEE William Monk of Mount Grace. Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555) and 1553 (P.R.O. E.101/76/24).
d.1551 in Newcastle. Left will (Wills and Inventories, i, 134-6) with bequests to Leonard HALL q.v. and Robert MARSHALL q.v.
- BEKEREY George Monk at London. Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
- BELL William Monk at Hull. Ord.S.D. and P.1522 (Reg. Wolsey, ff.193r, 194r, 196r).
Ob.1532 (O.L. p.21).
- BELLENDEN Robert Monk of Perth. Formerly abbot of Hollyrood (Augustinian). d. 21 September 1502 (Le Vasseur, iii, 330).
- BENGARIS(?) Thomas Procurator of Beauvale. Ob.1496 (O.L. p.10).

- BENET Robert 1. Monk of Sheen, 2. Prior of Beauvale. Ob.1518, having lived 50 years 'laudabiliter' in order (Le Vasseur, ii, 310).
Scribe of Trinity College Cambridge Ms.354 (Sargent, p.235).
- BENNETT John Monk of Hull. Ob.1580 as guest at Ruremonde (O.L. p.21).
- BENTON Thomas Monk of Hull. Ord.S.1447 (Reg. Kempe, f.287r).
- BERE Richard Monk of London. Ord. E.S.D. and P. 1523-4 (Reg. Tunstall, ff.153v, 154r-v, 155r).
Denied Supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1233).
Imprisoned, 1537 (L&P, xii, ii, 91).
d. in Newgate, 1537 (Chauncy, Historia, p.116).
- BERNARD Thomas Prior of Hinton in 1430 (Reg. Chichele, ii, 502).
Possibly at Oxford, c.1399 (Emden, Oxford, i, 179).
- BETTE John Monk of Sheen. Ord. D. and P.1439 (Reg. Gilbert, ff.159r, 161r).
- BEVERLEY Henry Monk of Hull. Ob.1503 (O.L. p.20).
- BEVERLEY Thomas Prior of Hull in 1498 (C.P.R.1494-1509, p.142).
Ord. A.S.D. and P. in 1467 (Reg. Neville, ff.185r-v, 186r, 187r).
Ob.1500 (O.L. p.20).
- BICKERTON John Conversus of London. Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
- BIGBURY Thomas Monk of Coventry. Ob.1419 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.27r).
- BILLINGESLEY Richard Conversus of London. Oath of Succession 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Acknowledged Supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1232).
Retained as bailiff of London, 1538 (L&P, xiii, ii, 903).
Pension, 1539 (L&P, xiv, 233).
Made will 24 February 1541 (C.C.L. xi, f.55r) with bequests to William TRAFFORD, Thomas OWEN, Robert HOWELL, and Hugh TAYLOR q.v.
- BIRD Henry Monk of London. Ob.1518 (O.L. p.14).
- BISWORT John Monk of London. Ob.1490 (O.L. p.13).
- BITLOP Thomas Monk of Sheen. Ob.1521 (O.L. p.31).
- BLAKMAN John Monk of 1. London, 2. Witham.
Confessor to Henry VI. Author of Henry the Sixth, ed. M.R.James (Cambridge, 1919).
See Emden, Cambridge, pp.670-1; D.N.B. xxii, 215-6; Thompson, pp.316-22.
- BLAKTOFT John Monk. House unknown, save that it was a northern one.
Ord.P.1397 (Reg. Waldby, f.16r).
- BLOME William Monk of Coventry. Ob.1516 (O.L. p.22).

- BLYTHMAN Andrew Monk of Perth in 1558. He appears to have apostasized and become an official of the church of Scotland before 1570. Still alive in 1583 (O.L. p.57).
- BOCHARD John Prior of Coventry, 1535-9. Guest at Beauvale in 1532 (O.L. p.11). House exempted from suppression, 1537 (L&P, xii, ii, 411). Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.258v). Surrender, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 73). Pension, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 161, p.603).
- BOCHELADE John Monk at Hinton. Ob.1380 (O.L. p.5).
- BOCHER Richard Monk of Witham. Ob.1526 (O.L. p.3).
- BOG Edward Monk of Perth. Guest at Mount Grace in 1530: they could not maintain him there as they had no room, and were attempting to find another English house to which he could be sent (O.L. p.28).
- BOIE John Monk of 1. Livet, 2. Perth. Ob.1487 (O.L. p.55).
- BOLEYN John also BULLEN. Monk of London. Ord.E.A. and S.1532 (Reg. Stokesley, f.128r-v). Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728). Acknowledged Supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1232). Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.231v). Pension, 1538-9 (L&P, xiii, ii, 1024; xiv, 235).
- BOLLEYN(?) William Lay-brother of Mount Grace. Ob.1433 (O.L. p.26).
- BOLLINGTON William Monk of London. Ob.1509. (O.L. p.14).
- BOLSORE William Monk of Hull. Ob.1420 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.27r).
- BOLT Thomas Conversus of Hinton. Ob.1445 (O.L. p.5).
- BOLTHROP John Conversus of London c.1501 (Thompson, p.197).
- BOORDE Andrew Monk of London. Author of Introduction of Knowledge and Dyetary of Helth, ed. F.J. Furnivall (E.E.T.S. e.s. 10, 1870). See D.N.B. ii, 833-5; Emden, Oxford 1501-40, 59. To which add the information Ord.S.D. and P.1511-2. (Reg. Fitzjames, ff.173r-v, 174r).
- BOREWELL Ralph Monk at Coventry in 1395 (Fretton, p.34).
- BORNBY John Vicar of Beauvale. Ob.1462 (O.L. p.9).
- BOSCAWEN Hugh Monk of Witham. Ord.A.1449 and P.1447 (Reg. Bekynton, 1670, 1673). Ob.1475 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.446v).
- BOSTON Richard Vicar of Mount Grace. Ob.1465 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.342r).

- BOSTON Richard Prior of Axholme from 1461 to 1487 at least. He was reprimanded for neglect of the house, 1479 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.500v). Ob.1491 (O.L. p.24).
- BOTWAITH Richard Monk of Witham. Ob.1447 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.172r).
- BOUAT John Monk of Witham. Ob.1486 (O.L. p.3).
- BOURG John also BOWNGE and BURG. Monk of Axholme. In 1526 sent to Hull as guest. Still there in 1529 (O.L. p.25).
See Emden, Cambridge, pp.84-5; L&P, Addenda I, i, 357-8; E.M. Nugent, The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance (Cambridge, 1956), ii, 547-9.
- BOURNE John Monk of Hinton. Ob.1375 (O.L. p.5).
- BOVEHULKE John Monk of 1. Witham, 2. London. Came to London for foundation (Hope, p.35).
- BOWER Alexander Monk of Perth. Ob.1473 (O.L. p.55).
- BOWER William Procurator of London. Ob.1510 (O.L. p.14).
- BOWMAN Henry Monk of Hinton. Surrender, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 637). Pension, 1540 (L&P, xv, p.543) and 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.30r).
- BRACEBRIDGE Thomas Prior of Hull. d. at Sheen 11 September 1511 (O.L. p.20).
- BRADFALL Thomas Monk of Beauvale. Ob.1468 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.379v).
- BRASBY John Monk of Coventry. Ob.1435 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.109r).
- BRASEBRYGE Richard Monk of Sheen. Ord.S.D. and P.1490 (Reg. Hill, ff.20v, 21r-v).
- BRAYE William Monk of Witham. Ord.S.D. and P.1460 (Reg. Bekynton, 1760, 1762 and 1763).
Possibly at Cambridge 1454 (Emden, Cambridge, p.89).
- BRAYSTONES
Christopher Monk of Beauvale. Formerly Benedictine of St. Mary's York, and chaplain to Thomas Spofforth, bishop of Hereford.
Gave Ms. of Incendium Amoris to Beauvale, now Cambridge Ms.V.37 (Sargent, pp.232-3).
Ob.1475 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.462v).
- BREWETT Robert also BRUET. Monk of 1. Beauvale, 2. Hull. Ord.P.1498 at Beauvale (Reg. Rotherham, f.458v). At Hull in 1536, aged 60 (P.R.O. S.P.5/1 vol. ii, f.199r). Pension from Hull, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 662; xv, p.544).
- BRIGGE John Monk of Sheen. Ob.1427 (O.L. p.30).
- BRIGHAM John Monk of London. Ord.S.1511, D. and P.1512 (Reg. Fitzjames, ff.173r-v, 174r).
Ob.1528 (O.L. p.14).

- BROKE Thomas Monk of Axholme. Signed letters to Cromwell, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 489, 693).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.202v).
Surrender, 1538 (L&P, xiii, i, 1207).
Pension, 1539, 1540, 1542 and 1544 (L&P, xiv, i, p.597; xvi, 745; xvii, 258; xix, 368) 1547, 1548, 1550-3 (P.R.O. E.315/256; 257, f.16v; 259, f.23v; 260, f.15v; 261, f.14r; 262, f.13v) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.16v).
- BROMLEIGH John Monk of Sheen. Ord.S.1512 and P.1513 (Reg. Fitzjames, ff.175r, 177v).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1539 (F.O.R. f.290v).
Pension 1540, 1542, 1543 (L&P, xv, 1032; xvii, 258; xviii, 436) 1547-9, 1551 (P.R.O. E.315/256; 257, f.11r; 258, f.11v; 260, f.11v) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.10r).
Name on f.1v of B.M. Ms. Royal D.XVII, a Sheen Ms.
- BROOK Robert Sacrist of London. Ob.1424 (O.L. p.14).
- BROOKE William Monk of London. Ord.P.1532 (Reg. Stokesley, f.128r).
Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Letter to Copynger, 1534 (L&P, vii, 1092).
Acknowledged Supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1232).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.231v).
Pension, 1538-9 (L&P, xiii, ii, 1024; xiv, i, 235; ii, 236) 1547-53 (P.R.O. E.315/256; 257, f.17v; 258, f.16r; 259, f.24v; 260, f.15v; 261, f.14v; 262, f.14v) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.6r).
- BROTHERTON Thomas Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1534 (O.L. p.27).
- BROWN John Monk of 1. Bouvantes, 2. Perth. d. shortly after 1429 (O.L. p.55).
- BROWN John Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1508 (O.L. p.27).
- BROWN John Procurator of London. Ord.S.1506 (Reg. Barons, f.93r).
Procurator by 1512 until 1521 at least (Reg. Fitzjames, ff.175r-195r).
Ob.1524 (O.L. p.14).
- BROWN Roland Deacon of Perth. Ob.1525 (O.L. p.56).
- BROWNE Thomas Monk of Hull. Ord.D. and P.1521 (Reg. Wolsey, ff.189v, 190v).
- BROWN William Monk of 1. Beauvale, 2. Coventry, 3. Beauvale.
Prior of Coventry 1467-70, Prior of Beauvale 1470-5 (O.L. p.10).
Ob.1475 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.462v).
- BROWNE William Monk of Hull. Ord.S.1532 and P.1533 (Reg. Lee, ff.184v, 185v).
Pension, 1539-1540 (L&P, xiv, ii, 662; xv, p.544); 1552 (P.R.O. E.101/76/18) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.54r).
Possibly his will is in York Prob.Reg. xv, iii, f.151r-v.

- BUCKINGHAM John 1. Monk of London, 2. Prior of Sheen 1423-41 at least.
Ord.S.D.1417 (Reg. Chichele, pp.324, 326) and P.1417 (Reg. Clifford, f.79v).
Ob.1457 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.257v).
- BUKE Nicholas Monk of Witham. Ob.1484 (B.M. Add.Ms.17092, f.23r).
- BULDE Robert also BOLDE. Monk of Coventry.
Signed letter to Cromwell, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 19).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.58v).
Surrender, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 73).
Pension, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 161, p.603).
- BURFORDE William Monk of Hinton. Surrender, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 637).
Pension, 1540 (L&P, xv, p.543).
- BURGH Guy de Monk of 1. Beauvale, 2. London. Ord. at Beauvale 1354 and came to London for the foundation (Hope, p.81).
Still at London in 1379 (Poll-tax returns).
His prayers caused the barren wife of the Earl of Warwick to have a son, Richard (Hope, pp.59-60).
- BURGOYNE Bartholomew Monk of London. Ord.D. and P.1532 (Reg. Stokesley, f.128r-v).
Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Letter to Copynger, 1534 (L&P, vii, 1093).
Acknowledged Supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1232).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.231v).
Pension, 1538-9, (L&P, xiii, ii, 1024; xiv, 235) and 1548 (P.R.O. E.315/257, f.17v).
d. at Bruges, 1551 (O.L. p.16).
- BURK John Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1484 (B.M. Add.Ms.17092, f.14v).
- BURNETT John also BENNET. Monk of Perth. Ob.1560. Lived 55 years 'laudabiliter' in order (O.L. p.56).
- BURTON Nicholas Monk of Coventry. Ob.1457 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.257v).
- BURTON Richard 1. Prior of Beauvale, 1422-37 at least, 2. Prior of Hinton, 1439-41, 3. Prior of Axholme, 1441-4.
Co-visitor 1425-33, Visitor 1434-41 (O.L. p.9).
He was sent to Axholme in 1441 to perform the same repairs there as he had done at Hinton (Lamb.Pal. Ms.413, f.143v).
Ob.1444, as prior of Axholme (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.157r).
- BURTON Robert Monk of Beauvale. Ord.P.1408 (Reg. Bowet, f.389r).
Possibly, he may be identified with Richard BURTON, above.
- BURTON Thomas Sacrist of Hull. Ord.P.1475 (Reg. Neville, f.236v).
Ob.1497 (O.L. p.20).

- BURTON William Monk of Witham d.20 July 1507 (O.L. p.3).
Letter from prior to visitor concerning his death
in Thompson, p.289.
- BURY Richard Monk of Sheen. Ob.1455 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.233r).
- BURY Robert de Monk of London. Ord.D.1431 and P.1432 (Reg.
Fitzhugh, ff.217r, 220r).
Ob.1484 (B.M. Add.Ms.17092, f.12r).
- BUSGAWEN Benedict Monk of London. Ord.E.A.1512, D. and P.1513 (Reg.
Fitzjames, ff.175r, 176r-v).
- BUTT John Conversus of Perth. Ob.1443 (O.L. p.55).
- BYRDE Richard Conversus of Beauvale. Surrender, 1539 (D.K.R.8, p.9).
Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, i, 1313; xv, p.546)
1552 (P.R.O. E.101/76/19) and in 1556 (P.R.O.
E.164/31, f.62r).
- BYTT Hugh Lay-brother at Witham. Pension, 1539-40 (L&P,
xiv, ii, 524; xv, 1032).
- CALANE John Monk of Perth. Ob.1568 (O.L. p.57).
- CALANT Alexander also CALLARD. Monk of Perth. Ob.1569 as guest at
Bruges (O.L. p.35).
- CALERT John also COLLART. Donatè of Hinton. Pension, 1540
(L&P, xv, p.543).
Ob.1556, guest at Liers, Belgium (O.L. p.7).
- CAMELE William Monk of Axholme. Ob.1484 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.4r).
- CANDIDE CASE Monk of Perth. Ob.1459 (O.L. Appendix p.8).
Thomas
- CANNES(?) John Monk of Hinton. Ob.1415 (O.L. p.5).
- CANON Robert Procurator of Sheen. Ord.S. at London and P. at
Sheen 1428 (Reg. Gray, ff.5r, 8r).
Ob.1448 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.178r).
Possibly at Oxford, 1424 (Emden, Oxford, i, 347).
- CANTERBURY John de Prior of Witham mentioned as 'late' 1280
(Somerset Pleas IV, i (S.R.S. xliv, 1929), pp.367-70).
- CANTWELL Adam Monk of Hinton. Ob.1420 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.27r).
Possibly at Oxford 1386-c.1391 (Emden, Oxford, i, 351).
- CARDYN Robert also CAVARDEN. Conversus of London.
Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Gift to London of money, 1534 (L&P, vii, 729).
Acknowledged Supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1232).
Grant of 20s. 1539 (P.R.O. E.117/12/22).
Made will 27 February 1543 (London Consistory Court
Wills 1492-1547, ed. I. Darlington (London Record
Society, iii, 1967) p.85-6) in which he left money
to Thomas OWEN q.v. and Thomas CLOGGER q.v.

- CARISWOLF Thomas Monk of Coventry. Ob.1516 (O.L. p.22).
- CARR John Monk of Sheen. Ob.1562 as guest at Bruges (O.L. p.35).
A doubtful entry, since there is no trace of him at Sheen.
- CARR Richard Sacrist of Hull. Ord.D.P.1527 (Reg. Wolsey, ff.213r, 214v).
Ob.1531 (O.L. p.21).
- CATON Henry Monk of Sheen. Ob.1529 (O.L. p.32).
- CAUNSFIELD John also KAUNSFELD. Prior of Hull, 1431-9 at least. Ord.P.1419 (Reg. Bowet, f.404r).
Co-visitor 1444-54, Visitor 1454-6 (O.L. p.20).
d.15 September 1460 (O.L. p.20).
- CAVERFORD Robert de Prior of Witham c.1210 (Witham Chronicle, p.504).
Ob.c.1212-3 (O.L. p.1).
- CAWODE Robert Prior of Axholme in 1438 (Ancient Deeds, i, B.268; iii, D.1284).
- CAWOOD William Monk of Hull. Ord.S.1451 (Reg. Kempe, f.297v).
- CHAFFRE Robert also SHAFER. Monk of Sheen. Professed 1507 (O.L. Appendix, p.8).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.290v).
Pension, 1540-2 (L&P, xv, 1032; xvi, 745; xvii, 258). In 1543 he received 'nil quia mortuus' (L&P, xviii, 436).
He made notes in St. John's College Oxford Ms. 6.3.22.
- CHAMBERLAYNE John Monk of 1. Hinton, 2. Axholme, 3. Hinton. Ord.S. at Hinton, 1494 (The Register of Richard Fox, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1492-4, ed. E.C. Batten (London, 1889), p.157).
Signed letters to Cromwell from Axholme, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 489, 693).
Surrender at Axholme, 1538 (L&P, xiii, i, 1207).
Surrender at Hinton, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 637).
Pension from Hinton, 1540 (L&P, xv, p.543).
- CHAUNCY Maurice Monk at London. Celebrated chronicler of the Carthusian misfortunes at the Reformation. Masterminded the refoundation of Sheen, 1555. d. 12 July 1581.
See D.N.B. iv, 172-3; Emden, Oxford 1501-40, pp.112-3; R.O. iii, 222; Thompson, pp.343-53, 375-8; and Chauncy's own Historia Aliquot Martyrum, of which he wrote four versions.
To this information add Ord.S.P.1534 (Reg. Stokesley, f.130r).
- CHAVELOCK John also CHIVELOCK. Monk of Sheen. Ob.1518 (O.L. p.31).
- CHERET Thomas Monk of Perth. Ob.1487 (O.L. p.55).

- CHETHAM John of Prior of Christ Church Canterbury. Removed to Carthusian order in 1238 for involvement in forging charter of privilege (Gervase of Canterbury, Gesta Regum Continuata, ed. W. Stubbs (R.S. 73, 1880), ii, 133-4; M. Paris, Vita Sancti Edmondi, in C.H. Lawrence, St. Edmund of Abingdon (Oxford, 1960), p.255).
- CHILTERN Robert Monk of Witham. Ord.S.D.1453 and P.1454 (Reg. Bekynton, 1707, 1708, 1711). Ob.1501 (O.L. p.3).
- CHURCH William Procurator of Sheen. Ord.A.1443, S. and D.1444 (Reg Gilbert, ff.170v, 171r-v). Ob.1480 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.507r).
- CHYPPYNG Richard also SHIPPING. Monk of Munt Grace. Pension 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555) 1553 (P.R.O. E.101/76/24) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.52v). Also received pension in 1573 (T.M. Fallow, 'Names of Yorkshire Ex-Religious, 1573; Their Pensions and Subsidies to the Queen Thereon', Y.A.J., xix (1907), p.101).
- CLAPEN William Monk of Perth. Ob.1590 at Val-profundis, France (O.L. p.57).
- CLEATHER(?) John Monk of London. Ob.1510 (O.L. p.14).
- CLEMENT John Monk of Hull. Ord.D.P.1515 (Reg. Wolsey, ff.167r, 169r).
- CLEMENT John Monk of Sheen. Dispensation to hold benefice, 1539 (F.O.R. f.290v). Pension, 1540-2 (L&P, xv, 1032; xvi, 745, xvii, 258) In 1543 he received 'nihil quia mortuus' (L&P, xviii, 436). It seems reasonably likely that John Clement of Sheen may be identified with the Hull monk of the same name.
- CLERK John Prior of Beauvale in 1501 (Thompson, p.197). Co-visitor 1496-9, Visitor 1499-1503 (O.L. p.10). Ob.1503 (O.L. p.10).
- CLERKE John Lay-brother of Hinton. Ob.1472 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.11r).
- CLOGGER Thomas also CLOGHER. Conversus of London. Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728). Acknowledged Supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1232). Grant of 20s. 1539 (P.R.O. E.117/12/22). d. 28 February 1574 at Utrecht, having been in the order for 60 years (Le Vasseur, i, 229).
- CLOUGH Thomas Monk of London. Ord.D.1416 (Reg. Clifford, f.78r). Ob.1432 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.94r). Appeared in a vision to John HOMERSLEY q.v. (Hope, pp.60-2.)

- CLYFFE John
Monk of Witham. Surrender, 1539 (D.K.R.8, p.50).
Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, 524; xv, 1032) and
1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.30r).
Returned to Sheen refounded, 1556 (Chauncy,
Passionis, p.140).
d. 29 January, 1560 at Bruges (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.19v).
Possibly at Oxford 1524-31 (Emden, Oxford, 1501-40,
p.124).
- CLYFTON Edward
Monk of London. Ord.D.1410 and P.1413 (Reg.
Clifford, ff.50v, 65r).
- CNOLL Walter
Monk of London. Ord.P.1371 (Registrum Simonis de
Sudbiria, ed. R.C. Fowler (C.&Y.S. xxxviii, 1938),
ii, 111).
- COATES(?) Thomas
Monk of Mount Grace. In 1516, he was a guest at
Hinton (O.L. p.7).
Ob.1533 at London (O.L. p.15).
- COIGNMET William
Monk of Beauvale. Ob.1496 (O.L. p.10).
- COKE William
also COOKE. Monk of Hinton.
Surrender, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 637).
Pension, 1540 (L&P, xv, p.543).
- COKKYNG William de
Prior of Witham in 1356, in which year he was one
of the diffinitors of the General Chapter (Bodleian
Ms.Rawl.D.318, f.78r).
- COLBY John
also COLLEBY. Monk of Coventry in 1395 (Fretton,
p.34).
Ob.1419 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.27r).
- COLCHESTER Thomas
Monk of Witham. Ob.1530 (O.L. p.3).
Possibly at Cambridge, 1494-5 (Emden, Cambridge,
p.148).
- COLLE William le
Monk of Hinton. Copied Ms. of Stimulus Amoris
before 1343 (Thompson, p.323).
- COLLVILLS John
Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1481 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.14v).
- COLYS Thomas
Monk of London. Ord.P.1489 (Reg. Kempe, f.227r).
- COMPESTOR Thomas
Alias QUIPLEY and WIXLAY.
Prior of Beauvale, 1414-5; Co-visitor 1414 (O.L. p.9;
P.R.O. E.101/81/9, 10).
Ob.1423 (O.L. p.9).
- CONNISTON John
Monk of Hull. Ob.1503 (O.L. p.20).
- COOTES John
Vicar and procurator of London. Was procurator in
1492 (Thompson, p.193).
Ob.1524 (O.L. p.14).
- CORBYN Thomas
Monk of Coventry.
Signed letter to Cromwell, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 19).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.258v).
Pension, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 161, p.603) and 1547
(P.R.O. E.314/30).

- CORDA Oswald de First prior of Perth 1429-34. Originally professed at Nordlingen, then vicar of the Grande Chartreuse. (Le Vasseur, iii, 281).
Wrote Opus Pacis in 1417. Was a close friend of Gerson (Sargent, p.226).
d. 15 September 1434 (Le Vasseur, iii, 281).
- CORSHAM John also COBHAM. Prior of Witham, 1421-7.
Ob.1460 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.293v).
- CORSLEGH Henry also CORSLEY. Prior of Hinton, 1521-3 (V.C.H. Somerset, ii, 123).
Letter to Henry VIII, 1521 (L&P, iii, i, 1276).
Ob.1524 (O.L. p.3).
Was at Merton College Oxford in 1497, but left during his year of probation to enter Witham (Emden, Oxford, i, 493).
- COTTON John Monk of Mount Grace and/or Coventry. Ob.1489 (O.L. p.22, 26. O.L. enters his name under both houses).
- COVENTRY Robert Monk of London in 1379 (Poll-tax Returns).
Probably to be identified with Robert PALMER q.v.
- COWPER Robert Monk of Axholme. Ob.1501 (O.L. p.24).
Possibly at Cambridge, 1470 (Emden, Cambridge, p.164).
- CRABTRE John Monk of Sheen. Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.290v).
Pension 1538, 1540 (L&P, xiii, ii, 1196; xv, 1032).
1547-9, 1551-3 (P.R.O. E.315/256; 257, f.11r; 258, f.12r; 260, f.12r; 261, f.10v; 262, f.10v).
- CRACK Robert Novice of Perth. Ob.1488 (O.L. p.55).
- CRACKNELL Richard also CRAKELLE and CRAKKYLL. Monk of Axholme.
Signed letters to Cromwell, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 489, 693).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.202v).
Surrender, 1538 (L&P, xiii, i, 1207).
Pension, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, p.597).
- CRAVEN John Prior of Hull, c.1410 (M.A. vi, i, 19).
- CROFTES Richard also CRAFTYS. Monk of Coventry.
Signed letter to Cromwell, 1537 (L&P, i, 19).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.258v).
Pension, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 161, p.603) and 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.46v).
After dissolution became vicar of Utrecht, but returned to England at Chauncy's request. Died two weeks after arrival, 27 August 1555 or 1556 (Chauncy, Passionis, p.140).
Chauncy relates how, after the martyrdom of his fellow Carthusians, Croftes fell into despair, and was going to throw himself into the convent fishpond, but was prevented by a vision of the dead fathers (Chauncy, Historia, pp.121-3).
- CROSEI(?) Thomas Monk of Witham. Ob.1490 (O.L. p.3).

- CRUIKSHANK
Alexander Monk of Perth. Ob.1473 (O.L. p.55).
- CUERTON Michael Monk of Hull. Rehabilitated to order and absolved from excommunication in 1477 for leaving Hull and going to Rome (C.P.L. 1471-84, p.55).
- DALLYNG Edmund Monk of Coventry 1382 (M.A. vi, i, 16).
Must certainly be identified with Edmund BALLYNG, monk of London in 1379 (Poll-tax Returns).
- DANCASTER William Monk of Coventry in 1395 (Fretton, p.34).
- DARELL John Monk of London. Ord.A.D.1431 and P.1432 (Reg. Gray, f.13r; Reg. Fitzhugh, ff.217r, 220r).
- DARKER William Monk of Sheen. Copied B.M.Add.Ms.22121 (Thompson, p.333).
Ob.1515 (O.L. p.31).
Possibly at Oxford, 1468 (Emden, Oxford, i, 573).
- DARLEY John Monk of London. Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Had a vision of the dead Fr. Raby, 1535 (L&P, viii, 932; Chauncy, Historia, pp.123-4).
Letter expressing desire to leave Charterhouse, 1535 (L&P, ix, 284).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1536 (F.O.R. f.28v).
Apparently preferred eating toads to the stable Carthusian diet (Chauncy, Historia, pp.83-4).
- DAVIDSON John also DAWSON. Prior of Perth, 1476-86 (O.L. p.54).
Ob.1487 (O.L. p.55).
- DAVY John Conversus at London. Ord.E.A. and S.1534 (Reg. Stokesley, f.130r).
Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Denied Supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1233).
Died in prison 8 June 1537 (L&P, xii, ii, 91).
- DAVY Richard Monk of Mount Grace. He had become curate of Little Stanmore church in Middlesex by 1538, when his parishioners objected to his hostility towards the new doctrines (L&P, xii, ii, 361).
- DAWSON(?) Alan Prior of Perth, 1501-6. He was deposed and sent to Axholme in 1508. He was at Hull in 1526 (O.L. pp.54, 56).
- DAWSON Robert 1. Monk of Mount Grace, 2. Procurator of Perth.
Ob.1518 (O.L. p.27).
- DAWSON Thomas Monk of Coventry. Ob.1508 (O.L. p.22).
- DAYSHAM Matthew also DEYSOLM. Monk of Beauvale. Ord.S.1434, D.1435 and P.1437 (Reg. Kempe, ff.247v, 248v, 253v).
- DEERY Roger Monk of Axholme. Ob.1507 (O.L. p.24).
- DELUYS John Monk of Witham. Ob.1529 (O.L. p.3).

- DENHAM William also DONHAM. Monk of Mount Grace. Ord.D.P.1464 (Reg. Booth, f.460r; York Reg. S.V.1464-5, f.460v). Ob.1506 (O.L. p.27).
- DERHAM Thomas Monk of Beauvale. Ob.1509 (O.L. p.10).
- DERSTANS Richard Monk of Beauvale. Ob.1477 (O.L. p.10).
- DEVESON John Monk of Axholme. Ord.S.1464 (York Reg.S.V.1464-5, f.459r).
- DEY John Procurator of Witham. Ob.1519 (O.L. p.3).
- DEYN Robert Monk of Axholme. Ord.S.D.1493 and P.1494 (Reg. Rotherham, ff.438r, 439r, 441r). Ob.1509 at Beauvale (O.L. p.10).
- DIGBY Everard Monk of London. Ord.E.A.S.D. and P.1528 (Reg. Tunstall, ff.160v, 161r-v).
Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Acknowledged Supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1232).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.231v).
Pension, 1538-9, (L&P, xiii, ii, 1024; xiv, 235) and 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.6r).
Probably a late arrival at Sheen refounded (O.L. p.34).
d.1568 at Bruges (O.L. p.35).
- DILINSON William Monk of Hull. Ob.1527 (O.L. p.20).
- DIOMEDE(?) Peter Lay-brother at London in 1379 (Poll-tax Returns).
- DITTON Richard Monk of Axholme. Formerly chantry priest in chapel of the Blessed Mary in Chichester Cathedral. Resigned by 1407 to profess in order (Register of Robert Rede, Bishop of Chichester, 1397-1415, ed. C. Deedes (Sussex Record Society, xi, 1910), pt. ii, pp.294-5).
Ob.1432 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.94r).
- DIXTON Richard Monk of 1. Hinton, 2. Axholme.
Ord.S.1451, D. and P.1452 at Hinton (Reg. Bekynton, 1692, 1696, 1697).
At Mont-dieu Charterhouse, France, in 1470. In 1471 prior of Mont-dieu asked for compensation for damages done by him (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.406r). Here described as being of Axholme.
Prior of Axholme was told to pay prior of Witham money to give to the French prior for his keep, 1472 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.417v).
d. 16 August 1473 at Charterhouse of St. Martin near Naples.
Here described as being of Hinton (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.433r).
Hinton still owed Italian prior money for his keep in 1475 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.455r).
- DOBBELSTEN Wenemar also DUBBELSTEN. Monk of Beauvale. Ord.S.D. and P.1399 (Reg. Scrope, ff.153v, 154r-v).

- DOBSON Thomas
 Monk of Axholme. Signed letter to Cromwell, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 489).
 Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.202v).
 Surrender, 1538 (L&P, xiii, i, 1207).
 Pension, 1539-1540 (L&P, xiv, i, p.597; xvi, 745; xvii, 258; xviii, i, 436; xix, 368) and in 1548 (P.R.O. E.315/257, f.16v).
 Possibly the Thomas Dobson, servant, to whom Henry MAN q.v. bequeathed 6s. 8d. in 1556 (P.C.C. 4 Wrastley).
- DODESHAM Stephen
 Monk of Sheen. Ord.D. and P.1437 (Reg. Gilbert, ff.153r, 154r).
 At Witham in 1469, when the General chapter refused to answer a letter from him, because of its irreverence (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.393r).
 Returned to Sheen in 1471, where perpetual silence was imposed upon him, because of his writing against the prior of Witham (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.416r).
 Owned Hunterian Ms. T.3.5. of the Myrroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ (Sargent, pp.230-1).
- DOGGOOD Mathias
 Monk of Witham. Ob.1529, having lived 70 years 'laudabiliter' in the order (O.L. p.3).
- DORRELLIS John
 Vicar of Axholme. Formerly procurator. Ob.1484 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.4r).
- DOVE John
 Vicar of Witham. Surrender, 1539 (D.K.R.8, p.50).
 Pension 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, 254; xv, 1032, p.544).
- DRAYTON William
 Monk of Coventry. Ob.1529 (O.L. p.23).
- DRIBY William
 Prior of Witham. Ob.1504 (O.L. p.3).
- DRYBURGH Adam of
 also known as Adam of BRABANT and Adam SCOTUS.
 Monk of Witham. Ex-Premonstratensian abbot.
 Professed c.1188. d. 12 March 1212.
 See Witham Chronicle; Thompson, pp.336-8; Le Vasseur, i, 224-5; Magna Vita, ii, 52-4.
- DUGMER Nicholas
 also DOOCKENAR and DUGMORE. Monk of Beauvale.
 Ord.S. and D.1532, P.1533 (Reg.Lee, ff.184r, 185r-v).
 Surrender, 1539 (D.K.R.8, p.9).
 Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, i, 1313; xv, p.546) 1552 (P.R.O. E.101/76/19) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.62r).
 Returned to Sheen refounded (Chauncy, Passionis, p.140) and became sacrist there. d.10 September 1575 at Bruges, having lived 50 years 'laudabiliter' in the order.
 See Gasquet, ii, 486; Le Vasseur, iii, 265; R.O. iii, 475.
- DUNNINGTON John
 Vicar of Mount Grace. Ob.1440 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.136v).
- DYALL Walter
 see LYALL Walter.

- DYKENSON Thomas Monk of Mount Grace. Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555) 1553 (P.R.O. E.101/76/24) and 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.52v).
- ECCLESTON Henry Prior of Mount Grace in 1501 and 1506. b.1462. Was at Eton College and King's College, Cambridge. Entered Mount Grace in 1491 (Emden, Cambridge, p.204). Co-visitor. d. 22 January 1509 (O.L. p.27).
- EDMUNDSON Robert Procurator of Axholme. Ob.1524 (O.L. Appendix p.6).
- EDWARDS Roger Conversus of London. Ob.1534 (O.L. p.15).
- ELICHE John (?ELLIS) Monk of Sheen. Ob.1515 (O.L. p.31).
- ELMHAM Richard Monk of London. Ord.S.1410, D.1411, P.1413 (Reg. Clifford, ff.50v, 55r, 65r).
- ELMHAM Thomas Monk of 1. London, 2. Axholme. Ord.D.1407 at London (Reg. Arundel, f.341v). Ob.1432 at Axholme, formerly rector there (Lamb. Pal.Ms.413, f.94r).
- ENGLISH Anthony also YNGLYCH. Monk of Hinton. Signed letter to Henry VIII, 1521 (L&P, iii, i, 1276). Ob. 1524 (O.L. p.7).
- ENGLISH Theobald House unknown. Flourished 1340. Author of De Progressu Sanctorum Patrum and De Vita Contemplativa (Thompson, p.339).
- ENNY(?) William Monk of Witham. Ob.1417 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.7v).
- ENYS John Monk of London. Ord.S.D.1519, P.1520 (Reg. Fitzjames, ff.189r-v, 190r). Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728). Acknowledged Supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1232). Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.231v). Pension, 1538-9 (L&P, xiii, ii, 1024; xiv, 235) and 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.6r).
- ENYSHAM Nicholas Monk of Sheen. Ob.1454 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.224r).
- ESTRANT William Monk of Hinton. Ob.1512 (O.L. p.7).
- EVERCRICHE John de Monk of Witham. Occurs 1387 (Collinson, Somerset, ii, 234).
- EVERSTINIS Richard Monk of Sheen. Ob.1483 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.19v).
- EVERTON William Monk of Hull, Hinton, Mount Grace, Sheen, Beauvale and Axholme. Ord.D. and P.1436 at Hull (Reg. Kempe, ff.250v, 251v). At Hinton in 1444, where he was told his 'carnal affectiones' were a scandal to the order (Lamb.Pal. Ms.413, f.160r). At Sheen in 1455. Mount Grace, with whom he had been staying, pleaded not to have him back (Lamb. Pal.Ms.413, f.237v). At Beauvale in 1464. The prior of Beauvale was told to send him to any other house, and to prevent him

- from being molested (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.335v).
At Florence in 1465. The prior of Axholme, where he was now professed, was told to send money to the Italian Charterhouse for his keep (Lamb.Pal. Ms.413, f.348v).
At Hull in 1470. He was deprived of voice and place in their chapter (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.393v). Still at Hull in 1479, when he was rehabilitated to all offices (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.500v).
- FITZGERALD
- EXETER Nicholas Monk of Witham. Ord.A. and S.1462, D.1463 and P.1464 (Reg. Bekynton, 1776, 1777, 1782, 1788).
- EXETER Thomas Prior of Witham, 1427-1442 (O.L. p.2).
Ob.1464 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.329r).
- EXHAM William Monk of Beauvale. Ob.1447 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.172r).
- EXMEWE William Procurator of London. Ord.P.1529 (Reg. Tunstall, f.163r).
Martyred 19 June 1535.
See Thompson, pp.376-7; R.O. iii, 226-7; D.N.B. vi, 961; Venn, Alumni Cant. ii, 113; Chauncy, Historia, pp.77-8; D. and G. Mathew, The Reformation and the Contemplative Life (London, 1934), p.294.
- FAIRLIE Simon Procurator of Perth, 1456-8 and Prior, 1458-62 (O.L. p.55).
- FAYRFAX John Monk of Mount Grace. He was originally a canon of Guisborough who was granted a papal indult to enter Mount Grace in 1454 (C.P.L. 1447-55, p.672).
- FELDE Nicholas de la Prior of Witham in 1402 (Collinson, Somerset, ii, 234).
- FELL Austin Monk of Mount Grace. Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, i, 700; xv, p.555).
- FENEL John Clerk-redditus and priest of 1. London, 2. Hinton. Ob.1452 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.210v).
- FERASIS Peter Monk of 1. Salignac, 2. Perth. Ob.1476 (O.L. p.55).
- FERIBY John Monk of Sheen. Ord.S.1447, D. and P.1428 (Reg. Gray, ff.4r, 5v, 8v).
He was bequeathed £10 by his kinsman John Feriby in 1441 (Reg. Chichele, ii, 652).
He owned Bodleian Lat.Theol.Ms.e.26. of the Scale of Perfection (Sargent, p.236).
Ob.1444 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.163v).
- FIFFORD John Monk of Hinton. Ob.1512 (O.L. p.7).
- FISHE John Monk of Sheen. Ord.A.1447 (Reg. Gilbert, f.181v).
- FIST John Monk of Beauvale. Ob.1454 or 1457 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, ff.224r, 257r).
Could possibly be identified with John FISHE q.v.

- FITZHENRY Robert Monk of Witham. Professed 1202. d.c.1206. Formerly prior of St. Swithin's Winchester. See Thompson, p.77; Magna Vita, i, 88-9; Chronicon Richardi Divisensis de Tempore Regis Richardi Primi, ed. J.T. Appleby (London, 1963), pp.1-2.
- FITZWILLIAM William Prior of Witham 1408-15 at least. Ob.1422 (O.L. p.2).
- FLANDERS Stephen of Monk of Hinton. Visionary, of some contemporary fame. See V.C.H. Somerset, ii, 119; Thompson, p.279; Le Vasseur, iv, 512-5; E.M. Thompson, A History of the Somerset Carthusians (London, 1895), pp.270-4.
- FLEM(?) John Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1516 (O.L. p.27).
- FLETCHER Robert Monk of Mount Grace. Ord.S.D. and P.1506 (Reg. Savage, ff.132v, 133v, 135r). He was apparently subject to visions, 1534 (L&P, vii, 1047). Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555).
- FLETCHER Thomas Monk of Hinton. Signed letter to Henry VIII, 1521 (L&P, iii, i, 1276). Surrender, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, p.637). Pension, 1540 (L&P, xv, p.543) and 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.30r). Returned to Sheen refounded, 1556 (Chauncy, Passionis, p.140). d. at Sheen 2 May 1559 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.19v; Le Vasseur, i, 557-8). Possibly at Cambridge, 1504 (Emden, Cambridge, p.234).
- FLETE John Monk of London. Ord.A.S. and D.1429 (Reg. Gray, ff.8v, 10r, 11r). Ob.1479 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.493v).
- FLETEWOOD Edmund Monk of Sheen. Dispensation to hold benefice, 1539 (F.O.R. f.290v). Pension, 1540-3 (L&P, xv, 1032; xvi, 745; xvii, 258; xviii, 436) 1547-53 (P.R.O. E.315/256; 257, f.10v; 258, f.11r; 259, f.19r; 260, f.11r; 261, f.10r; 262, f.10r) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.10r). Rector of Woolpit, Suffolk, 1554. d.1556 (G. Baskerville, 'The Dispossessed Religious in Surrey', Surrey Archaeological Collections, xlvii (1941), p.20.
- FOLE(?) John Conversus of Coventry. Ob.1434 (O.L. p.22).
- FOLK Robert also FELL. Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1513 (O.L. p.27).
- FORMAN Alan Last prior of Perth. Professed at Breune. Prior of Perth in 1552-4, 1558 and 1565-6. In 1561 prior of Breune. In 1568 prior of La Pert-dieu, Pommiers, Buxheim and Bon-pas. In 1571 visitor of the French province (Le Vasseur, i, 579-80).

- FORTINGER James Monk of Beauvale. Ob.1518 (O.L. p.10).
- FOSTER John Novice of Mount Grace. Pension 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555).
- FOSTER Thomas also FRESTOR. Monk of Coventry. Ob.1521 (O.L. p.22).
- FOWNE Richard Monk of Hull. Originally a monk of Durham who received a licence to enter Hull in 1435 (R.B. Dobson, Durham Priory (Cambridge, 1973), p.76).
- FOX John Monk of London. Sent to Beauvale, and to Syon, 1534 (L&P, vii, 1105).
Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Subject of exhortation by Bedyll, 1535 (L&P, ix, 523).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.231v).
Pension, 1538-9 (L&P, xiii, ii, 1024; xiv, 235).
Became rector of St. Mary Mounthawe, London, and fled abroad, 1547 (G. Baskerville, English Monks and the Suppression of the Monasteries (London, 1937), p.260).
Went to Louvain, and was implicated in plot to smuggle Houghton's arm out of England (C. Wriothsesley, A Chronicle of England During the Reign of the Tudors (Camden Society, n.s. ii, 1875), i, 184).
Returned with Chauncy to England, but died 24 July 1555 or 1556 and was buried in the chapel of the Savoy (Chauncy, Passionis, pp.134-140).
- FRANT(?) Robert Monk of Hull. Ob.1500 (O.L. p.20).
- FRENCH William Monk of London. In 1473 the visitors were told to examine him (O.L. Appendix p.3).
- FRIE Robert also FREY and FRYE. Monk of Hinton.
Signed letter to Henry VIII, 1521 (L&P, iii, i, 1276).
Surrender, 1537 (L&P, xiv, i, 637).
Pension, 1540 (L&P, xv, p.543) and 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.30r).
- FROSTELL Thomas Monk of Beauvale. Ob.1450 (O.L. p.9).
- FULBECK John Monk of Axholme. Ob.1420 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.27r).
- FURNES Helizeus Novice at Hull. Aged 30 in 1536 (P.R.O. S.P.5/1, vol. ii, f.199r).
- FYNSTER Robert also FOSTER and FUYSTER. Monk of 1. Hull, 2. Mount Grace.
Vicar of Hull in 1536 aged 60 (P.R.O. S.P.5/1, vol. ii, f.199r).
At Mount Grace shortly afterwards, where he was imprisoned by prior John WILSON for his opinions (L&P, xv, 125).
Pension from Mount Grace, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555).
- GAD William Monk of London. Ob.1459 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.294v).
- GALLOWAY Simon Prior of Perth in 1544. Retired after a few months (O.L. p.54, 56).

- GARCON William Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1477 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.14v).
- GARDYNER Thomas also GARNESEY. Monk of Witham. Ord.A.1455, S.D. and P.1456 (Reg. Bekynton, 1720, 1722, 1729, 1731). Ob.1498 (O.L. p.3).
- GARNE Bernard Monk of 1. Perth, 2. Axholme. Ob.1489 (O.L. p.24).
- GARNETT Edmund also GARNER. Vicar of Beauvale. Surrender, 1539 (D.K.R.8, p.9). Pension 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, i, 1281, 1313; xv, p.546) 1552 (P.R.O. E.101/76/19) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.62r).
- GARTAN Thomas de Monk of Hinton. Ob.1483 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.11r).
- GAUSESID Thomas Monk of Hull. Ob.1474 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.446v).
- GEDDIS John Sacrist of Mount Grace. Ob.1520 (O.L. p.27).
- GEL John Monk of Witham. Ob.1393 (O.L. p.1).
- GELLEY Thomas Conversus of Mount Grace. Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555).
- GENTIL William Conversus of Hull. Aged 34 in 1536 (P.R.O. S.P.5/1, vol. ii, f.199r).
- GERCENLEY Henry also GREYLEY. Prior of Hull. Ob.1474 (Lamb.Pal.Ms. 413, f.446v; B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.11r).
- GHENT William Monk of Perth. Guest at Utrecht before 1453 (O.L. p.57).
- GIBBIS William Conversus of Coventry. Mentioned in 1426 (Lamb.Pal. Ms.413, f.64v). Ob.1455 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.233r).
- GILES Thomas Monk of Sheen. Ob.1493 (O.L. p.31).
- GILIBRONDE Edmund also GELYBRAND. Vicar of London. Ord.E.A. and S.1512, and D. and P.1513 (Reg. Fitzjames, ff.175r-v, 176r-v). Mentioned 1528 (L&P, iv, 4221).
- GLASTINBERI John Monk of Hinton. Ob.1513 (O.L. p.7).
- GLOWCESTER Hugh Monk of London in 1379 (Poll-tax Returns).
- GODWIN Ralph Monk of Sheen. Ord.P.1489 (Reg. Hill, f.20r). In 1504 he was deprived of spiritual benefits for his great crimes (O.L. p.31). He is therefore probably the Godwin who is supposed to have murdered his prior in 1502. See O. Manning and W. Bray, The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey (Surrey, 1804-14,) i, 420.
- GOLDYNGE Thomas Monk of London. Visited Mount Grace in 1519, taking with him books and other items (L&P, iii, 606; Thompson, pp.327-8). Ob.1521 (O.L. p.14).

- GORNEY Henry also GURNEY. Monk of Hinton.
Surrender, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 637).
Pension, 1540 (L&P, xv, p.543).
- GORWAY Thomas Monk of London. Ord.A.1440, S.D.1441 and P.1442
(Reg. Gilbert, ff.163r-v, 165r, 166r).
Mentioned in Charterhouse Register (Hope, p.60).
Bequeathed 20s. by Margaret Leynham in 1482 (P.C.C.
6 Logge).
Ob.1496 (O.L. p.13).
- GOWTON Robert Procurator of Beauvale. Surrender, 1539 (D.K.R.8, p.9).
Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, i, 1281, 1313; xv, p. 546).
- GREGGE John Procurator of Coventry in 1395 (Fretton, p.34).
Ob.1402 (O.L. p.22).
- GRENE Thomas Monk of London. Denied supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii,
i, 1232).
Dead in prison, 1537 (L&P, xii, ii, 91).
- GRENEHAUGH James Monk of 1. Sheen, 2. Coventry. Celebrated for his
editorial work.
Ord.P. in Wells 1493. Professed at Sheen by 1499.
Sent to Coventry by 1508 for misconduct.
Ob.1530 at Hull (O.L. p.21).
See Sargent, pp.229-30, 237.
- GRENEWOOD William Conversus of London. Oath of Succession, 1534
(L&P, vii, 728).
Denied Supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1233).
Dead in prison, 1537 (L&P, xii, ii, 91).
- GRESLEY Richard Monk of Coventry. Guest at Sheen. Ob.1509 (O.L. p.22).
- GREYSE John also GRISE. Monk of Mount Grace. Pension, 1539-40
(L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555).
- GROETHER Martin Professed at Gand. Prior of Perth, 1452-5.
d.1455 (Le Vasseur, ii, 500).
- GROVE William Monk of Sheen. Ob.1528 (O.L. p.32).
- GRYFFYTHE Robert Monk of London. Ord. A.S.D.1521 (Reg. Fitzjames,
ff.193v, 194r, 195r).
- GRYMSTON Thomas Monk of Axholme. Ord.S.D.1485 and P.1486 (Reg.
Rotherham, ff.397v, 398v, 400r).
- GRYMSTONE Edmund Clerk-redditus of London. Ob.1452 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413,
f.210v).
- GRYSLEY John Clerk-redditus of Witham. Sent to London in 1371,
where he became a priest (Hope, p.35).
Monk of London in 1379 (Poll-tax Returns).
- GUILBERTI William Monk of Perth. Told in 1467 to settle himself
(O.L. Appendix, p.8).
- GYLE Richard Monk of Sheen. Ob.1527 (O.L. p.32).

- GYLYNGHAM William He wrote to Edmund HORDE, procurator of London in 1523, saying he wished to be received into the order (L&P, iii, 2831).
- HAERPETOT Richard Procurator of Coventry. Ob.1470 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.398v).
- HALET Richard Monk of London in 1379 (Poll-tax Returns).
- HALL John Monk of Axholme. Ord. D.1464 (York Reg.S.V.1464-5, f.459v).
- HALL Leonard also STOPS. Monk of Mount Grace. Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555) 1553 (P.R.O. E.101/76/24) and 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.52v). Bequeathed clothing and books by William BEE q.v. Joined Sheen refounded, 1556 (Chauncy, Passionis, p.140). d. at Bruges, 10 October 1575 (Gasquet, ii, 486).
- HALL Robert Monk of Hull. Ord.D.1502 and P.1503 (Reg. Savage, ff.115v, 119v). Aged 60 in 1536 (P.R.O. S.P.5/1, vol. ii, f.199r). Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 662; xv, p.544).
- HALUSTON John Monk of London. Ord.P.1371 (Registrum Simonis de Sudberia, ed. R.C. Fowler (C. & Y.S. xxxviii, 1938), ii, 111).
- HAMMOND William or OSMUND. Monk of Coventry. Ob.1480 (O.L. p.22).
- HARDING Roger Monk of London. Ob.1432 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.94r).
- HARGRAVE Thomas Monk of Mount Grace. Pension 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555).
- HARN Henry von also TEUTONICUS. Monk of 1. Witham, 2. Beauvale, 3. Hinton. Transferred to Beauvale, 1427 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.68v). At Bruges in 1443, described as professed of Hinton (O.L. Appendix, p.1). Ob.1451 (O.L. p.2).
- HARRIS Gilbert Monk of Coventry. Ob.1516 (O.L. p.22).
- HARRISON William Monk of Mount Grace. Guest at Axholme. Ob.1504 (O.L. p.27).
- HARTWEL John also HAREWELL. Monk of Sheen. Admitted to King's College, Cambridge, in 1505 at the age of 18, but left without a degree to enter the order (Venn, Alumni Cant. ii, 322). Ord.P.1511 (Reg. Fitzjames, f.173r). At Hinton in 1521 as guest, but told to go elsewhere (O.L. Appendix, p.2). Signed letter to Henry VIII from Hinton, 1521 (L&P, iii, i, 1276). Later a guest at London (O.L. p.14). Ob.1525 (O.L. p.14).

- HARWOOD Henry Vicar of Coventry in 1395 (Fretton, p.34).
- HASKET Richard Monk of Sheen. Was ill, but his order refused to allow him to eat meat (L&P, vii, 1047). Probably the D. Richard who d. at Sheen, 1532 (O.L. p.32).
- HATFIELD Edward Vicar of Coventry in 1539, who received a pension in 1553/4 (O.L. p.23, quoting an unspecified article in the transactions of the Birmingham Institute. He is not, however mentioned in any of the other documents relating to the dissolution, and William ABELL was vicar of the priory for the last few years of its life).
- HATHERLEE William 1. Prior of Hinton, 1456-76, 2. Monk of London. He was told to go to La Grande Chartreuse in 1477, but in 1479 he was rebuked for asking for licence to go (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, ff.486v, 500v). He was transferred to London after 1479 (Thompson, p.308). He was bequeathed 20s. by Margaret Leynham in 1482. (P.C.C. 6 Logge). Possibly at Oxford in 1447 (Emden, Oxford, ii, 885). Ob.1482 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.12r). See also Hope, p.60.
- HATTON John Monk of London. Ord.P.1413 (Reg. Clifford, f.63v). Ob.1466 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.352r).
- HAUK Richard Monk of Axholme. Ob.1463 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.329r).
- HAWK(?) Thomas Conversus of Coventry. Ob.1454 (O.L. p.22).
- HAWKINS Thomas Monk of London. Ord.E.A.S.D.P.1513 (Reg. Fitzjames, ff.175v, 176r-v, 177v). Ob.1524 (O.L. p.14).
- HAWTE Henry also HAWK. Monk of London. Ord.E.A.S.D.1526 and P.1527 (Reg. Tunstall, ff.158v, 159r). Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728). Received dispensation to leave order and hold benefice, 1535 (F.O.R. f.28v). According to Chauncy, he was forced by bodily convulsions to flee from church (Chauncy, Passionis, p.83).
- HAYES Alnett also HALYS and HAYLIS. Monk of London, Mount Grace, Axholme, Coventry and Witham. Ord.S.1518, D. and P.1519 (Reg. Fitzjames, ff.187v, 188r-v). Series of letters concerning his migrations from house to house, c.1528-9 (L&P, iv, 5191; viii, 611; Thompson, pp.289-296). Pension at Witham under name of C. de Nyes 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 524; xv, 1032).
- HAYS Louis Conversus of London. Ob.1492 (O.L. p.13).

- HAYS Richard Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1534 (O.L. p.27).
- HEET William Monk of 1. Sheen, 2. Hull. Ob.1510 (O.L. p.21).
- HELPERBY Thomas Monk of Hull. Ord.S.1413 and P.1414 (Reg. Bowet, ff.39Fr, 39GV).
Ob.1455 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.233r).
- HELYER Thomas also HELLIER. Monk of Hinton. Surrender, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 627).
Pension, 1540 (L&P, xv, p.543) and 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.30r).
- HEREFORD Nicholas de Monk of Coventry. Celebrated former Wycliffite who renounced his preferments in Hereford Cathedral. He entered Coventry in 1417 and d.1419 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.27r).
See D.N.B. xiv, 418-20; Emden, Oxford, ii, 913-5; K.B. Macfarlane, John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Non-conformity (London, 1952), passim; H.B. Workman, John Wyclif (Oxford, 1926) passim, especially ii, 131-6.
- HERT Richard Conversus of Mount Grace. Ob.1471 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.14v).
- HEVENYNGTON Robert Monk of London in 1379 (Poll-tax Returns).
- HEYWARD John Monk of London. Ob.1464 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.339v).
- HICKMANS Thurstan Monk of 1. London, 2. Sheen, 3. Vicar of Hull in 1532, 4. Procurator of Witham in 1539 (O.L. p.3, 37).
Surrender at Witham, 1539 (D.K.R.8, p.9).
Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 524; xv, 1032, p.559).
He was tried for treason on 1 July 1547 for attempting to smuggle John Houghton's arm out of the kingdom. Although sentenced to death, he evidently managed to evade it: see. C. Wriothesley, A Chronicle of England During the Reign of the Tudors (Camden Society, n.s. ii, 1875), i, 184.
Returned to Sheen refounded, 1556 (Chauncy, Passionis, p.140).
d. at Bruges, 6 December 1575 (Gasquet, ii, 486).
- HINTON John Monk of Perth. Ob.1476 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.471v).
- HODGHSON Geoffrey Monk of Mount Grace. Refused to swear oath of succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 932).
Imprisoned for his opinions by John WILSON prior of Mount Grace, c.1538 (L&P, xv, 125).
Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555).
- HOERDRIEN John Monk of Coventry. Ob. at Bruges, 1560 (B.M. Add.Ms. 17092, f.7v).
This entry must be open to some doubt as there is no record of a monk with this name at Coventry at the dissolution.
- HOLLAND Robert Monk of Coventry in 1395 (Fretton, p.34).
- HOLLIS Edmund See STOLLIS.

- HOMERSLEY John Monk of London. Professed in 1393. Was subject to visions of demons, and had a reputation for great holiness (Hope, pp.60-2).
Ord.A.1394, S. and D.1395 (Reg. Braybroke, ff.37v, 38v, 39v).
Ob.1450 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.192r).
- HONGALASIDE Adam de also HANNANSIDE and EARNSIDE. Scottish by birth, but professed at Valbonne. Prior of Perth, 1434-41. d. 5 May 1441. Reputed to be of very holy life (Le Vasseur, i, 580).
- HOOPE William Monk, probably of London. An unstable postulant, who was refused permission by William TYNBEGH, prior of London 1500-1529, to re-enter this order unless he showed himself capable of more virtuous living (Hendriks, pp.72, 363; Thompson, p.288).
- HOPKINS John Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1524 (O.L. p.27).
- HOPKINS Nicholas 1. Monk of Coventry, 2. Vicar of Hinton. He was confessor to Edward 3rd Duke of Buckingham, and his unwise prophecies about the death of Henry VIII and Buckingham's succession to the throne led to the latter's untimely execution.
See L&P, iii, i, 1285, 1277, 1204, 1276; Thompson, pp.373-4; Polydore Vergil, Anglica Historia, ed. D. Hay (Camden Society, n.s. lxxiv, 1950), pp.278-80; J. Hogg, The Architecture of Hinton Charterhouse (A.C. xxv, 1975), pp. li-liv; Shakespeare, Henry VIII, Act i, sc. 2; act ii, sc.1.
Ob.1522 (O.L. p.7).
- HOPTON William Procurator of Witham. Ob.1519 (O.L. p.3). He is also entered under Sheen (O.L. p.31).
Was possibly at Oxford, 1450-6 (Emden, Oxford, ii, 961).
- HORDE Edmund Professed 1520. Procurator of London by 1523. Prior of Hinton, 1529-39 (O.L. p.7). Ob.1556.
See Emden, Oxford, ii, 961-2; J. Hogg, op.cit. p.lxv.
- HORNBY George Monk of Sheen. Ord.D. and P.1532 (Reg. Stokesley, f.128r-v).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.290v).
Pension 1540-3 (L&P, xv, 1032; xvi, 745; xvii, 258; xviii, 436) 1547-53 (P.R.O. E.315/256; 257, f.10v; 258, f.11v; 259, f.19v; 260, f.11v; 261, f.10v; 262, f.10r) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.10r).
Rector of Chignal, Essex, 1544-50 (G. Baskerville, 'The Dispossessed Religious in Surrey', Surrey Archaeological Collections, xlvii (1941), p.19).
- HORNE John Clerk-redditus at Witham. Ob.1431 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.90r).
- HORNE William Conversus of London. Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Denied Supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1233).
Imprisoned, 1537 (L&P, xii, ii, 91).

- Executed 4 August 1540 (Chauncy, Historia, p.117).
- HORSELEY Robert
 Monk of Sheen. Pension, 1540-3 (L&P, xv, 1032, p.545; xvi, 745; xvii, 258; xviii, 436) 1547-53 (P.R.O. E.315/256; 257, f.10v; 258, f.11r; 259, f.19v; 260, f.11r; 261, f.10r; 262, f.10r) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.10r).
- HORSLEY Adam
 Monk of Beauvale. Professed in 1386 (Le Couteulx, vi, 378).
 Previously an official of the King's Exchequer. See H.L. Gardner, 'Walter Hilton and the Mystical Tradition in England', Essays and Studies, xxii (1936), p.111.
 Recipient of the Epistola Aurea, a letter of encouragement to join the order, from Walter Hilton (B.M.Mss.Royal 8A VII, Royal E III and Harley 2852; Bodleian Ms. Digby 33).
 Ob.1424 (Le Couteulx, xi, 378).
- HOTOT John
 Monk of 1. London, 2. Witham, 3. London.
 Ord.D. and P.1416 (Reg. Clifford, ff.76v, 77v).
 At Witham in 1430. The prior was told to send him back to London (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.87r).
 At London in 1440. He applied for a licence for the anticipation of novices (Bodleian Ms.Rawl. D.318, f.127v).
- HOUGHTON John
 1. Prior of Beauvale, 1531, 2. Prior of London, 1531-5.
 Martyred 4 May 1535.
 See D.N.B. ix, 1315-6; Chauncy, Historia, pp.38-63; R.O. iii, 224-6.
- HOWE William
 Lay-brother of 1. Sheen, 2. Hinton.
 Elizabeth Barton described her revelations to him, 1533 (L&P, vi, 1468).
 Probably he was the Br. William who wrote to Lord Lisle about her, 1533 (L&P, vi, 589).
 Surrender at Hinton, 1539 (Foedera, xiv, 614).
 Pension, 1540 (L&P, xiv, p.543) and 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.30r).
 Possibly he was the William Holmes of Hinton who died at Louvain in 1573 (Gasquet, ii, 486).
- HOWELL Robert
 Lay-brother of London. Acknowledged supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1232).
 Grant of 20s. 1539 (P.R.O. E.117/12/22).
 He was bequeathed 10s. by Richard BILLINGSLEY q.v. in 1541.
- HRON Robert
 Conversus of London. Ob.1518 (O.L. p.14).
- HUDESWELL
 Christopher
 Monk of Mount Grace. At Beauvale in 1522, and was to be sent to another house. At Hinton, c.1526 (O.L. pp.7, 28).
 He ended his days at Mount Grace, where he was apparently buried in a dunghill 'for brekeng of a poor seremony' (L&P, vii, 1046-7).
- HULL Robert
 Monk of London. Ob.1496 (O.L. p.13).

- HULL William also PARIS. Monk of Witham. Ob.1434 (Lamb.Pal. Ms.413, f.104v).
- HUSBAND Robert Monk of London. Ob.1506 (O.L. p.14).
- HUSE John Monk of 1. London, 2. Witham, 3. London. Ord.S.D. and P. and London 1515 (Reg. Fitzjames, ff.179v, 180v).
Prior of Witham in 1532 (L&P, v, 920).
Acknowledged supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1232).
- HUTON James Deacon of Perth. Ob.1459 (O.L. p.55).
- HUTTON Lawrence Prior of Perth, 1442-3. Ex-Cistercian. Deposed as prior in 1443. d.1473 (O.L. p.55).
- HYNE Thomas Monk of Sheen.
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.290v).
Pension, 1540-3. (L&P, xv, 1032; xvi, 745; xvii, 258; xviii, 436) 1547-53 (P.R.O. E.315/256; 257, f.10r; 258, f.11r; 259; f.19r; 260, f.11r; 261, f.10r; 262, f.9v) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.10r).
- HYWIS Robert of Monk of Witham. Shot at the king's deer. Probably 13th century (Thompson, p.139).
- IKLYNGHAM Robert Monk of London. Ord.S.1382, D. and P.1383 (Reg. Braybroke, ff.5v, 7r, 9r).
- INGLEBY John 1. Monk of Mount Grace, 2. Prior of Hinton, 3. Prior of Sheen, 1477-96.
Ord. S. and D. at Mount Grace 1457 (Reg. Booth, ff.428r, 429r).
He was elected prior of Hinton, c.1476, but the appointment was not confirmed and he remained merely rector (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.486v).
Bishop of Landaff, 1496-9.
d. 7 September 1499 (Le Vasseur, iii, 232).
- INGLIS Alexander Prior of Perth in 1537. Apostasized in 1543 (O.L. p.54).
- IVES John also YVES and IVER. Prior of Sheen, 1461-5 at least. Prior of Hinton, in 1478-9.
Ord. A. and S. 1444, D. and P.1445 at Sheen (Reg. Gilbert, ff.172r, 173r-v, 175v).
Ob.1492 (O.L. p.31).
- JACKSON Gregory Novice and priest of Witham. Ob.1530 (O.L. p.3).
- JOBURNE John Prior of Sheen, 1503-35. Ob.1536 (O.L. p.32).
- JOHNSON Thomas Monk of London. Denied Supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1233).
Imprisoned, 1537 (L&P, xii, ii, 91).
Died in prison, 20 September 1537 (Chauncy, Historia, p.116).

JOLLIS John Monk of Beauvale. At Diest in 1428, and told to go to London (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.70r). In 1429 the prior of Beauvale was told to send him to Gosnay, where he made his last profession (Lamb. Pal.Ms.413, f.80r).

JURIS(?) Walter Monk of Hull. Ob.1496 (O.L. p.20).

JUSTMAN Peter also JUSTINIANI. Monk of London. Ord.A.1421 (Reg. Chichele, iv, 347) D. and P.1422 (Reg. Kempe, ff.192r, 193r). In 1422 he was told to return to Lombardy where he was born (Thompson, p.285). In 1440 he was still at London and again told to go to Lombardy (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.139r).

KAUNSFELD John see CAUNSFIELD.

KELE Walter de 1st prior of Hull, 1378 (M.A., vi, i, 20-1). Ob.1378 (O.L. p.20).

KENDALE Robert Monk of Sheen. In 1426 he was a guest at Hinton and was sent home (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.64r).

KENNEDY Robert Monk of Beauvale. Ob.1490 (O.L. p.10.)

KEYER Richard Procurator of London. Ob.1473 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.433r)

KIEZE ... Monk of Hinton. Ob.1484 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.11r).

KILLINGHAM John Monk of London. Ob.1469 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.12r).

KIRBY Peter Monk of Sheen. Ob.1496 (O.L. p.31).

KIRKSTEDE Ralph Monk of Coventry in 1395 (Fretton, p.34).

KIRTHLINGTON
Nicholas also KYETLINGTON. Vicar of Coventry, formerly prior. Ob.1467 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.372r).

KNOLLYS Walter Monk of London in 1379 (Poll-tax returns).

KNYGH T John Monk of London. Ob.1445 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.163r).

KOTERIN Henry Monk of London. Ob.1482 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.12r).

KRENTZHOEN(?)
Henry Monk of Perth. Ob.1487 (O.L. p.55).

KYRKEBY John Monk of Beauvale. Ord.A.1409, D.1410 and P.1411 (Reg. Bowet, ff.391v, 398r, 39Cr).

KYRKEBY William de Monk of Hull. Ord. S. and D.1397 (Reg. Waldby, f.14v, 15v).

LACKSTREET John Monk of Sheen. Ob.1494 (O.L. p.31).

LALFORD Richard Monk of Hinton. Ob.1448 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.178r).

LAMB John Monk of Hull. Ob.1505 (O.L. p.20).

- LAMBERT Thomas also LAMBARD. Procurator of Coventry. Ob.1440 (O.L. p.22).
Name on wall-paintings at Coventry. See P. Turpin, 'Ancient Wall Paintings in the Charterhouse, Coventry,' Burlington Magazine, xxxv (1919), p.251.
- LAMBORN Richard Monk of London. Ord. E.A.1512, S.D. and P.1513 (Reg. Fitzjames, ff.175v, 176r-v).
Ob.1528 (O.L. p.14).
- LAMPE Robert Monk of Axholme. Ob.1497 (O.L. p.24).
- LANGE Robert Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1479 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.14v).
- LANGFORD John also LANGFELD. Monk of Beauvale. Ord.S.1509 and P.1510 (Reg. Bainbridge, ff.103v, 106r).
Surrender, 1539 (D.K.R.B., p.9).
Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, i, 1281, 1313; xv, p.546) 1552 (P.R.O. E.101/76/19) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.62r).
- LANGK William Monk of Sheen. Reputedly the monk killed by Ralph GODWIN together with the prior (Le Vasseur, i, 355).
- LANGPORT John Monk of Hinton. Ord.P.1450 (Req. Bekynton, 1684).
- LANGRUGGE John Prior of Witham in 1390 (C.C1.R.1392-6, p.528).
d. 7 April 1413 (O.L. p.2).
- LAUD Alan Monk of Perth. Ob.1487 (O.L. p.55).
- LAURENCE Robert Prior of Beauvale in 1535. Originally professed at London (O.L. p.15).
Executed 4 May, 1535 (L&P, xii, ii, 181; viii, 565, 609, 661, 895; Chauncy, Historia, pp.99-106; R.O., iii, 231-2).
- LAWSON John Monk of Witham. Surrender, 1539 (D.K.R.B., p.50).
Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 524; xv, 1032, p.544).
- LAWSON Richard Monk of Hull. Ob.1536 (O.L. p.21).
- LAWSON Thomas Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1525 (O.L. p.27).
- LAYCOCKE Hugh also LAKOQ. Monk of Hinton. Signed letter to Henry VIII, 1521 (L&P, iii, i, 1276).
Surrender, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 637).
Pension, 1540 (L&P, xv, p.543).
Perhaps to be identified with Hugh PECOCKE ordained at Sheen, 1519.
- LAYTON Robert Prior of Mount Grace, c.1421. An ex-Benedictine himself, it was apparently at his instigation that Henry V attempted to carry out a reform of the Black monks in 1421: see W.A. Pantin Chapters of the Black Monks (Camden Society, 3rd series, xlvi, 1933) ii, 98, 107.
- LAYTON William also LEIGHTON. Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1410 (O.L. p.25)

- LECHE John Novice at Witham or Hinton. In 1399 he was absolved from possible excommunication, having left his house within his probationary year, because of his infirmities (C.P.L.1396-1404, p.277).
- LEE Oliver Clerk-redditus of Hull. Ord.D.1515 (Reg. Wolsey, f.167r).
Ob.1518 (O.L. p.21).
- LEEK John Monk of Mount Grace. In 1422 voice and place in the convent chapter were restored to him (Lamb.Pal.Ms. 413, f.43r).
Ob.1432 (LambPal.Ms.413, f.94r).
- LEEK Robert Prior of Mount Grace, 1448-73 at least.
d. 5 May 1474 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.462r).
- LEGGE Roger Lay-brother of Hinton. Surrender, 1539 (Foedera, xiv, p.614).
Pension, 1540 (L&P, xv, p.543).
- LEGRESTREN John Monk of London. Ob.1482 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.12r).
- LEIGHTON Thomas also LEYGHTON and LYGHTON. Monk of 1. Mount Grace, 2. Beauvale.
Refused Oath of Succession 1534 at Mount Grace (L&P, vii, 932).
Imprisoned by prior of Mount Grace, John WILSON, for his opinions c.1538 (L&P, xv, 125).
Surrender at Beauvale, 1539 (D.K.R.8, p.9).
Pension at Beauvale, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, i, 1281, 1313; xv, p.546) 1552 (P.R.O. E.101/76/19) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.62r).
- LENEWODE John also LENDWODE and LINWOOD. Monk of Hull.
Ord.S.D.1486, and P.1487 (Reg. Rotherham, ff.403r, 404r, 405v).
d. 9 February 1526 (O.L. p.21).
- LEATHERBAROW Thomas also LEKBAROWE. Monk of Coventry.
Signed letter to Cromwell, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 19).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.258v).
Surrender, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 73).
Pension, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 161, p.603) and 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.46v).
- LEVET Thomas Monk of Hinton. Ob.1422 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.39r).
- LEWES Alexander of Monk of Witham. A secular canon who professed at Witham but who created such disturbance that St. Hugh of AVALON expelled him. Alexander later repented, and begged ineffectually to be readmitted. He finally joined the Cluniac house at Reading (Magna Vita, i, 80-4).
- LEWYS John Monk of Witham. Ord.S.1494 (The Register of Richard Fox, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1492-4, ed. E.C. Batten (London, 1889), p.152).
- LIDORTE William Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1519 (O.L. p.27).

- LIGHTFOOTE Robert Lay-brother of Hinton. Surrender, 1539 (Foedera, xiv, p.614). Pension, 1540 (L&P, xv, p.543).
- LINCOLNE Thomas Monk of Coventry. Ob.1427 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.66r).
- LINCOLNE Thomas Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1457 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.257v).
- LOCKINGTON Thomas 1. Monk of London, 2. Prior of Mount Grace, 1421-47. Ord. S.D.1409 and P. at London, 1410 (Reg. Clifford, ff.43r, 44v, 48v). Ob.1447 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.172r).
- LONDON John Probably a monk of Sheen, c.14th century. On f.277v of B.M.Ms.Royal 7 D XVII is written 'iste liber est domus Ihesu de Bethleem Ordinis Carthusiensis per Johannem London',
- LONDON Thomas of Monk of Witham. Ob.1482 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.23r).
- LOVE Nicholas Prior of Mount Grace, 1412-21. Author of the Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ. See E. Salter, 'Nicholas Love's Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ' (A.C. x, 1974).
- LOWE Thomas also LAWE. Monk of Sheen. Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.290v). Pension, 1540-3 (L&P xv, 1032, p.545; xvi, 745; xvii, 258; xviii, 436) 1547-53 (P.R.O. E.315/256; 257, f.11r; 258, f.12r; 259, f.20r; 260, f.11v; 261, f.10v; 262, f.10v) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.10r). Returned to Sheen refounded, 1556 (Chauncy, Passionis, p.140). d.1568 at Bruges (O.L. p.35).
- LOWTHE Alexander also LDOUTH. Monk of Beauvale. Surrender, 1539 (D.K.R.8, p.9). Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, i, 1281, 1313; xv, p.546) 1552 (P.R.O. E.101/76/19) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.62r).
- LOYRE Nicholas Monk of Sheen. Ob.1530 (O.L. p.32).
- LUBERTON William Conversus of Mount Grace. Ob.1471 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.14v).
- LUNIRE William Monk of Beauvale. Ob.1496 (O.L. p.10).
- LUPPE John Monk of Hinton. Ob.1511 (O.L. p.6).
- LUSCOTE John Prior of Hinton, 1467-9. Prior of London, 1371-98. Co-visitor 1370-96. Visitor 1396-9. d. 15 June 1398, and buried at the feet of D. Guy de BURGH q.v. (Le Vasseur, ii, 334; Hope, p.147).
- LUSELD Lawrence Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1502 (O.L. p.27).
- LYALL Walter also DYALL. 1. Monk of Dijon, 2. Prior of Perth, 1492-5. Ob.1496 (O.L. p.56).

- LYCHEFELD Nicholas Monk of 1. Hinton, 2. Witham. Signed letter to Henry VIII, 1521 (L&P, iii, i, 1276).
Surrender 1539 at Witham (D.K.R.8, p.50).
Pension 1539-40 at Witham (L&P, xiv, ii, 524; xv, 1032, p.559).
- LYCHEFELD William Monk of Coventry. Ob.1457 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.257v).
- LYPPYET Thomas also LYERAT. Monk of Sheen. Ord.A.S.D. and P.1443 (Reg. Gilbert, ff.168v, 169r-v, 170r).
Ob.1483 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.19v).
- LYTTON Robert Monk of Beauvale. Ob.1528 (O.L. p.10).
- MADISTON John Monk of Beauvale. Ob.1457 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.257v).
- MALEVORY Ralph Prior of Hull by 1536.
Aged 47 in 1536 (P.R.O. S.P.5/1, vol. ii, f.199r).
Son of James Mallevery of Seamer. At Cambridge in 1517.
Before entering the order was commissary and official to John Fisher in 1523 (Clifford Letters, pp.67-9).
Mentioned as prior, 1536 (L&P, xi, 385).
Surrender, 1539 (L&P, xiv, ii, 489).
Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 662; xv, p.544).
d. 10 May 1552 (V.C.H. Yorkshire, iii, 191).
'mortuus est' in 1552 (P.R.O. E.101/76/23).
- MALLORY Richard Monk of London. Ob.1518 (O.L. p.14).
- MALSON Percival Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1512 (O.L. p.27).
- MAMBY Thomas Monk of London. Ord. S.1511, D. and P.1512 (Reg. Fitzjames, ff.173r-v, 174r).
Ob.1526 (O.L. p.14).
- MAN Henry 1. Monk of London, 2. Procurator of Sheen by 1533, 3. Prior of Witham, 1534-5, 4. Prior of Sheen, 1535-40.
Ord. S. and P.1524 (Reg. Tunstall, ff.154r, 155r).
After the dissolution, he became dean of Chester and d. October 1556. Will, P.C.C. 4 Wrastley.
See Emden, Oxford 1501-40, p.375; G. Baskerville, 'The Dispossessed Religious in Surrey', Surrey Archaeological Collections, xlvii (1941), p.19.
- MANFELDE Thomas Monk of Sheen.
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.290v).
Pension 1540-3 (L&P, xv, 1032, p.545; xvi, 745; xvii, 258; xviii, 436).
- MANNING Peter Clerk-redditus and priest of London in 1379 (Poll-tax Returns).
Ob.1415 (O.L. p.12).
- MANSFORTH William also MANSFORD. Monk of Hull.
Ord.S.1424 and D.1427 (York Reg.S.V.1423-6, f.359v; Reg. Kempe, f.230r).

- MAPLESTEAD John Prior of London, c.1412-1440 (Hope, p.147).
Ord. D.1394 (Reg. Braybrooke, f.37r).
Visitor from 1425 (O.L. p.12).
d. 28 September 1440 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.141r).
Thanks to a vision of John HOMERSLEY q.v. one is in the unusual position of being able to add even more subsequent detail to this account of Maplestead. He was not, apparently, able to enter Heaven immediately after his death, for although his life had been holy, his handling of the office of prior had not been without fault (Hope, p.63).
- MARBLE James Monk of Hinton. Surrender, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 637).
Pension, 1540 (L&P, xv, p.543).
- MARCHE Richard Procurator of Hull. Ord. D. and P.1436 (Reg. Kempe, ff.250v, 251v).
Ob.1479 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.493v).
- MARSHALL Richard Monk of Mount Grace. Fled to Scotland in protest at religious changes, 1534 (L&P, viii, 1034).
Imprisoned by Prior John WILSON for his opinions, c.1538 (L&P, xv, 125).
Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555).
- MARSHALL Robert Monk of Mount Grace. Pension 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555) 1553 (P.R.O. E.101/76/24) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.52v).
Bequeathed some clothes by William BEE q.v. in 1551.
Returned to Sheen refounded, 1556 (Chauncy, Passions, p.140).
d. 10 September 1557 at Sheen (Le Vasseur, iii, 264-5).
- MARSHALL William 1. Vicar of Sheen, 2. Prior of Hinton, 1441-56, 3. Monk of Sheen.
In 1456 the General chapter was sent a fraudulent letter accusing Marshall of various evils, and held an enquiry (Thompson, pp.307-8).
In 1457 the Chapter confirmed the new prior of Hinton and told Marshall, relegated to the status of monk, to stop pestering him (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.264r).
d. October 1472 at Sheen (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.433r; B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.19v).
- MARSHALL William Monk of Sheen. Dispensation to hold benefice, 1539 (F.O.R. f.290v).
Pension 1540-2 (L&P, xv, 1032, p.545; xvi, 745; xvii, 258).
In 1543 he received 'nihil' (L&P, xviii, 436) but later received a pension 1547-53 (P.R.O. E.315/256; 257, f.11r; 258, f.11v; 259, f.19v; 260, f.11v; 261, f.10v; 262, f.10v) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.10r).
In 1535 a Robert Marshall, monk of Sheen, wrote to Cromwell informing on his vicar. He is presumably to be identified with this man (L&P, viii, 959).

It seems unlikely to have been Robert Marshall of Mount Grace since he was at the wrong house, and since he returned to Sheen refounded, which argues an enthusiasm for the order certainly not displayed in the letter.

- MARTINI William Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1477 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.14v).
- MASCHALL Thomas Monk of London. Ord.P.1413 (Reg. Clifford, f.65r).
- MASON Henry Monk of Witham. Ob.1511 (O.L. p.3).
- MASON William also MASSON. Monk of Hull. Ord.D.1423 and P.1424 (York Reg.S.V.1423-6, ff.382v, 334r). Ob.1473 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.433r).
- MATTHEW Richard Vicar of Mount Grace. Ob.1528 (O.L. p.27). This is the entry which has been identified as that of Richard METHLEY. This is possible, but not wholly convincing.
- MAYLE Robert Monk of Witham. Ob.1468 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.23r).
- MEDE William also MEED. Vicar of Sheen. Ord.A.1417 (Reg. Chichele, iv, 321) S. and P.1417 and 1419 (Reg. Clifford, ff.79v, 90r). Copied Ms.Bodley 117 and some of B.M. Ms. Cotton Vespasian D. ix (Thompson, pp.332-3). Ob.1475 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.446v).
- MEDILLYM John Monk of Mount Grace. Ord.D.1438 (Reg. Kempe, f.257r).
- MEKENES Michael Prior of Axholme, 1536-8. Appointed prior by Cromwell in 1536, but absconded with convent goods in 1537 (L&P, x, 50; xii, i, 693). Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.202v). Surrender, 1538 (L&P, xiii, i, 1207). Pension, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, p.597). Mentioned 1540 (L&P, xv, 733(44)). Quite probably his will is in York Prob.Reg.xiii, ff.524v-525r, dated 1548.
- MELK James Vicar of Perth in 1558 (O.L. p.57).
- MERCER Robert Procurator of Perth in 1527/8 (O.L. p.57).
- MERSTON William Prior of Witham. Ob.1489 (O.L. p.3; Parkminster Ms. oo3, p.11).
- MERTON Thomas Monk of Perth. Ob.1519, having lived 52 years 'laudabiliter' in the order (O.L. p.56).
- MERTON William Monk of Perth. Ob.1467 (O.L. p.55).
- MERWIN John Monk of Coventry. Ob.1427 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.66r).
- METHLEY Richard Monk of Mount Grace, and author of some quasi-mystical tracts. See Chapter IV.

- METHLEY Thomas Prior of Beauvale, 1453-70. Co-visitor 1454-6, Visitor 1456-7 (O.L. p.10).
In 1473, as an ordinary monk, he made a query to the general chapter (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.428v).
d. 30 December 1480 (O.L. p.10).
- MICHEL John also MYCHELL. 1. Procurator of Sheen, 2. Prior of Witham, 1536-9.
Ord.P.1515 at Sheen (Reg. Fitzjames, f.181v).
Gained B.Can.L. from Cambridge, 1531-2 (Venn, Alumni Cant. iii, 182).
Letter to Dr. Bedyll, 1532 (L&P, v, 1749).
Supporter of Elizabeth Barton, 1533 (L&P, vi, 1468).
Visitor at Beauvale for Copynger, 1537 (L&P, vi, 1105).
Surrender, 1539 (D.K.R.8, p.50).
Pension 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 524; xv, 1034) and 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.30r).
Returned to Sheen refounded, 1556 (Chauncy, Passionis, p.140).
d. at Bruges 15 October 1570, having lived 67 years 'laudabiliter' in the order (O.L. pp.3, 37).
- MICOW Richard Monk of Sheen. Ob.1487 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.19v).
- MIDDLEMORE Humphrey Vicar of London. Ord.S.D. and P.1520 (Reg. Fitzjames ff.191r-v, 192r).
Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Trial, 1535 (L&P, viii, 886).
Executed 19 June 1535 (L&P, viii, 895).
See R.O. iii, 232-3; Chauncy, Historia, pp.107-111; D. and G. Matthew, The Reformation and the Contemplative Life, (London, 1934), p.294.
- MIDDLETON Henry Monk of London. Ob.1463 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.329r).
- MIDDLETON Thomas Rector of Mount Grace in 1412 (P.R.O. E.101/81/7).
- MIDDLETON William 1. Monk of London, 2. Prior of Beauvale.
d. 14 October 1512 (O.L. p.10).
- MILAN John Monk of London. Ob.1422 (O.L. p.12).
- MILFORD William Monk of Coventry. Ob.1433 (O.L. p.22).
- MITCHELSON John also MYCHHYLLSON. Monk of Witham. Surrender, 1539 (D.K.R.8, p.50).
Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 524; xv, 1032, p.544).
- MOLLINEX Thomas Clerk-redditus of London. Ord.A.1520, S.D. and P. 1521 (Reg. Fitzjames, ff.191v, 192v, 193r-v).
Ob.1524 (O.L. p.14).
- MONTGOMERY Brice 1. Monk of Bouvantes, 2. Prior of Perth, 1444-5.
Professed at Perth, 1429. Released from office 1447.
Ordered to Dijon 1448. d.1470 (O.L. p.53).
- MONTGOMERY Roger Monk of London. Visited Coventry in 1500, taking with him a number of books (Thompson, p.326).
Ob.1520 (O.L. p.14).

- MOREBY John de 1. Monk of Beauvale, 2. 1st prior of Axholme, 1395-1413 at least (O.L. p.9).
Ob.1432 at Beauvale (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.94r).
- MORIN Hugh Prior of Perth, 1517-28. Believed to have been professed originally at Montreuil (O.L. p.56).
- MORRIS William Procurator of Sheen. Ob.1531 (O.L. p.3).
- MOTE Robert 1. Prior of Axholme, 2. Monk of London.
d. 12 March 1477 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.12r).
- MUGLAM William 3rd rector of Mount Grace. Ob.1410 (O.L. p.26).
- MYDELTON William Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1473 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.14v).
- MYLDE John Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1518 (O.L. p.27). Mentioned in Clifford Letters, p.69.
- MYLOTT John also MYLETT. Monk of Witham. Surrender, 1539 (D.K.R.8, p.50).
Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 524; xv, 1032, p.544).
- NELLEY James also NEWEYE. Conversus of Mount Grace. Ran away to Scotland to avoid swearing oaths, 1535 (L&P, vii, 1038).
Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555).
- NELYNG Robert Monk of Hinton. Surrender, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 637).
Pension, 1539 (L&P, xv, p.543) and 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.30r).
- NETHERBURY John Monk of 1. Witham, 2. London, 3. 1st prior of Coventry.
Came to London for foundation (Hope, p.35).
Still at London in 1379 (Poll-tax Returns).
1st prior of Coventry, 1382 (M.A. vi, i, 16).
- NEVYLL John Monk of London. Ord.D.1440 and P.1441 (Reg. Gilbert, ff.163r, 164r).
Mentioned in register (Hope, p.60).
Ob.1496 (O.L. p.13).
- NEULEY Richard Conversus of London. Ob.1488 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.12r).
- NEWDIGATE Sebastian also NUDIGATE and NIUDIGAT. Monk of London.
Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Laughed at Bedell's books, 1535 (L&P, vii, 675).
Trial, 1535 (L&P, viii, 886).
Execution, 19 June 1535 (L&P, viii, 895).
See H. Clifford, The Life of Jane Dormer, duchess of Feria, ed. J. Stevenson (London, 1887), pp.19-37; R.O. iii, 227-8.
- NEWMAN John Monk of London. Ord.S.D.1428 and P.1429 (Reg. Gray, ff.7r-v, 9r).
Ob.1457 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.257v).

- NICCA John de Vicar of Hinton. Ob.1482 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092; f.11r).
- NICHOLL John Monk of Sheen. Ob.1460 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.293v).
- NICHOLSON John Professus at London. Ord.E.A. and S.1534 (Reg. Stokesley, ff.129v, 130r).
Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Acknowledged Supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1232).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.231v).
Pension, 1538-9 (L&P, xiii, ii, 1024; xiv, i, 235, p.599).
- NIDOCK John Monk of London. Ob.1495 (O.L. p.13).
- NOBLE William Sacrist of Sheen. Ob.1509 (O.L. p.31).
- NORRIS William Procurator of Sheen. Ob.1507 (O.L. p.31).
- NORTH Thomas Monk of Sheen. Ord.S. and D.1501 (Reg. Savage, ff.66v, 67r).
Ob.1518 (O.L. p.31).
- NORTHBURGH William Monk of London. Ord.A.1496 (Reg. Braybroke, f.45r).
- NORTON George Monk of London. Suicidally minded, and discharged from the order by prior John BATMANSON 1529-31. He subsequently became a canon in the west country (L&P, vii, 1046).
He saw the figure on a crucifix turn its back upon him (Chauncy, Historia, p. 82).
- NORTON John Prior of Mount Grace, 1509-22. Ob.1522 (O.L. p.27).
Came from Norton family of Bilburgh. Wrote some mystical treatises.
See Clifford Letters, pp.62-3, 76; Hendriks, p.292, D.N.B. xiv, 658.
- NOTTINGHAM Richard Monk of 1. Beauvale, 2. Coventry. Ob.1506 (O.L. p.10).
- NUTBROWNE John Monk of Hull. Ord.S. and D.1411 (Reg. Bowet, ff.394r, 39Cr).
- ODYHAM Robert 1. Sacristan of London, 2. Prior of Coventry, 1457-67, 3. Monk of London.
Owed money 1448 at London (C.Cl.R.1447-54, pp.58-9).
Made prior, 1457 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.264v).
Gave B.M.Ms. Royal 5AV to Coventry (Thompson, p.330).
Ob.1480 at London (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.507r).
- OKENDON John also OBREDON. Prior of London, c.1398-1412 (Hope, p.147).
d. 14 February 1418. (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.7r; Hope, p.147).
- OLNEY John of Monk of Witham. Flourished 1350. He wrote five books of miracles of the Virgin, and one of solitary meditations (Thompson, p.339).
- ORDLAY Richard also URDLEY. Monk of Hull. Ord.S.D. and P.1508 (York-Reg.S.V.1507-8, ff.597v, 602v; Reg. Bainbridge, f.100r).

- OSBORN John Monk of Sheen. Ord.E.D. and P.1512 (Reg. Fitzjames, ff.173r, 174v, 175r).
- OSMUND William See HAMMOND.
- OWEN Thomas Conversus of London. Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Acknowledged Supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1232).
He kept the orchards, gardens and cells of the priory after the suppression, 1538 (L&P, xiii, ii, 905).
He was given money by the Augmentation court to pay off the priory's debts, 1539 (L&P, xiv, ii, 236).
Grant of 20s, 1539 (P.R.O. E.17/12/22).
He was bequeathed a silver spoon by Richard BILLINGSLEY q.v. in 1541, and 5s. by Robert CARDYN q.v. in 1543.
- OXFYNWORDE John Monk of Sheen. Ob.1460. (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.293v. N.B. Ms. has name MEFORD erased).
- PAGE Robert Procurator of London. Ob.1492 (O.L. p.13).
- PAISI John Sacrist of Hinton. Ob.1500 (O.L. p.6).
- PALMER Henry Monk of Hinton. Ob.1422 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.39r).
- PALMER Robert See also Robert COVENTRY. Prior and 'Primus motor' of Coventry. - First professed at London. Prior of Coventry, c.1382-1406.
Co-visitor 1396-1400. Ob.1409 (Le Vasseur, ii, 336-8).
See Le Vasseur, ii, 336-8; M.A. vi, i, 16; Thompson, pp.207-8; Le Couteulx, vi, 286-8.
- PALSHEDE Sampson Monk of London. Ord.E.A.S.D.1514 and P.1515 (Reg. Fitzjames, ff.179r-v, 180r).
Ob.1518 (O.L. p.14).
- PARIS William See HULL.
- PARLEBIEN John Monk of Hinton. Fled from Hinton after six years there with Richard BARBOUR, 1392 (C.P.R.1388-92, p.441).
- PARSELL Robert also PATEFF or PASTEL. Monk of Coventry, formerly prior.
Ob.1505 (O.L. p.22).
- PATE William Monk of Coventry. Ob.1460 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.293v).
- PATERSON Alexander Conversus of Perth. Ob.1523 (O.L. p.56).
- PECOCKE Hugh Monk of Sheen. Ord.D.1519 and P.1520 (Reg. Fitzjames, ff.189v, 192r).
Possibly to be identified with Hugh LACOCKE at Hinton at the dissolution.
- PEERS Richard Prior of Witham, c.1501-31. Ob.c.1531 (O.L. p.3; L&P, vii, 1269).
- PEMBRAS John Monk of Hinton. Ob.1424 (O.L. p.5).

- PERESON John also PERSON. Monk of Axholme. Ord.D.1465 (Reg. Neville, f.179v).
Ob.1501 (O.L. p.24).
- PERKYN Thomas Monk of Beauvale. Ord.S.1499, D. and P.1500 (Reg. Rotherham, ff.165v, 467r-v).
- PESTOR John also PORTER or PERTER. Prior of Witham, 1450-85. Co-visitor 1463-70. Visitor 1470-4.
d. 20 December 1485 (O.L. p.3).
- PETZ Robert also PELZ. Monk of 1. Villeneuve, 2. Perth.
Ob.1435 (O.L. p.55).
- PEVENSEYE John de Prior of Witham, c.1280 (Somerset Pleas IV, part i, ed. L. Landon (S.R.S. xliv, 1929), pp.367-70).
- PHARYNTON Walter also FURMAN. Monk of Sheen. Ob.1480 (Lamb.Pal.Ms. 413, f.507r; B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.19v).
- PIERSON Walter Conversus of London. Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Denied Supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1233).
d. in prison, 10 June 1537 (L&P, xii, ii, 91; Chauncy, Historia, p.116).
- PINCHBEK John Possibly a monk of Sheen. Brother of Syon by January 1463, when he obtained licence to transfer himself to a mendicant house. See also Thomas WESTHAWE.
See The Paston Letters, ed. J. Gairdner (London, 1900), i, 497; Emden, Cambridge, p.466.
- PINKESTON John Clerk-redditus and deacon of Beauvale. Ob.1441 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.142r).
- PLAYNE John Monk of London. Told to go to Hinton as guest in 1474 (O.L. p.6).
- POLE John Conversus of Coventry. Ob.1434 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.105r)
- POLLARD Thomas 1. Monk of Sheen, 2. Procurator of Hinton, 3. Prior of Witham, 1442-3, 4. Monk of Hinton.
Made bishop of Down, 1447.
See Emden, Oxford, iii, 2206; Thompson, pp.304-5.
To which information add Ord.S. at London, and D. at Sheen 1417 (Reg.Chichele, iv, 323; Reg. Clifford, f.79v).
- POLSON Hugh also POLLSON. Procurator of Mount Grace.
Ord. S.D.1475 and P.1476 (Reg. Neville, ff.234v, 235v, 238v).
Ob.1500 (O.L. p.27).
- PONESTON William de Monk of Witham. Accused of seizing bishop of Bath and Wells' chattels, c.1280 (Somerset Pleas, IV, part i, ed.L. Landon (S.R.S. xliv, 1929), p.368).

- POPILL John also POPLE. Monk of Axholme. Ord.S.1509, D.1511 and P.1512 (Reg. Bainbridge, ff.103v, 115r, 120v). Signed letters to Cromwell, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 489, 693). Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.202v). Surrender, 1538 (L&P, xiii, i, 1207). Pension, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, p.597) 1552-3 (P.R.O. E.101/76/18, 26) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.16v).
- PORCHESTER John Clerk-redditus and priest of London. Ord.A.1394, S. and D.1395 (Reg. Braybroke, ff.37v, 38v, 39v).
- PORTES Albert de Prior of Witham in 1191 (Witham Chronicle, p.506; M.D. Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke and V.C.M. London, The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales 940-1216 (Cambridge, 1972), p.149).
- PRESTE William also PREYSTE. Monk of Mount Grace. Ord.D. and P.1535. (Reg. Lee, ff.190r, 191v). Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555) 1553 (P.R.O. E.101/76/24) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.52v). One of executors of will of Robert STELLE q.v. 1540-1.
- PURPOINT Thomas Monk of Hull. Restored to all offices in 1425 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.58r).
- PUTERSAY(?) Robert Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1501 (O.L. p.27).
- PYNCHBECK Robert also PYNSEBYKE. Conversus of 1. London, 2. Axholme. Oath of Succession at London, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728). Signed letter to Cromwell at Axholme, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 693).
- PYSAUNTE John Monk of Sheen. Ord.D. and P.1533 (Reg. Stokesley, f.129r). Letter to Sir John Alayn, 1534 (L&P, vii, 1091). Dispensation to hold benefice, 1539 (F.O.R. f.290v). Pension, 1540-3 (L&P, xv, 1032, p.545; xvi, 745; xvii, 258; xviii, 436) 1547-8, 1550-3 (P.R.O. E.315/256; 257, f.10r; 259, f.19r; 260, f.11r; 261, f.10r; 262, f.10r) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.10r). Vicar of Bexley, Kent, 1542-54; Vicar of Thaxted, Essex, 1546-65; Rector of Lachingdon, Essex, 1562-5; Dean of Bocking, 1564-5; Vicar of Stansted Montfichet, Essex, 1551-63. d.1565 (G. Baskerville, 'The Dispossessed Religious in Surrey', Surrey Archaeological Collections, xlvii (1941), p.20).
- QUIPLEY Thomas See COMPESTOR.
- RABY Robert Monk of 1. Coventry, 2. London. Sent to London in exchange for George ROGERS q.v. (Thompson, p.297). Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728). d. 12 February 1535 (O.L. p.15). Subsequently he allegedly made a couple of appearances to John DARLEY q.v. commenting on the

- fate of the martyred priors (L&P, viii, 932; Chauncy, Historia, pp.123-4).
- RAMSEY John Monk of 1. Mount Grace, 2. London.
Mentioned at Mount Grace, 1435 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.112r).
Ob.1459 at London (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.284v).
- RAMSEY John Procurator and then prior of Perth, 1498-1500.
Ob.1502 (O.L. p.56).
- RANINGHAM Nicholas Monk of Coventry. Ob.1477 (LambPal.Ms.413, f.48r).
- RATMONES William Monk of Witham. Ob.1393 (O.L. p.1).
- RAWLINS Nicholas Monk of London. Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Wanted to be released from his vows, 1535 (L&P, viii, 1150; ix, 283, 284).
See R.O. iii, 228; Thompson, pp.425-7; Chauncy, Historia, p.83.
- RAYMONDE John Monk of Sheen. Ord.D. and P.1492 (Reg. Hill, ff.25v, 26r).
Ob.1529 (O.L. p.32).
- RAYMUND William Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1481 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.14v).
- REDBORN John also ROEDBORN. Monk of London.
Sent a query to the general chapter in 1425 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.58r).
- REDD Adam also REDE. Sacrist of Hull. Aged 32 in 1536 (P.R.O. S.P.5/1, vol. ii, f.199r).
Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 662; xv, p.544).
- REDE William Monk of Perth. Ob.1509 (O.L. p.56).
- REDYNG Thomas Conversus of London. Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Denied supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1233).
Died in prison, 16 June 1537 (L&P, xii, ii, 91; Chauncy, Historia, p.116).
- REMYNGTON William Procurator of Hull. Aged 42 in 1536 (P.R.O. S.P.5/1, vol. ii, f.199r).
Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 662; xv, p.544)
1552 (P.R.O. E.101/76/23) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.54r).
Ob.1560 at Perth (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.11r).
- REVELL John Monk of 1. Beauvale, 2. London. Ord.S.D. and P.
1495 at Beauvale (Reg. Rotherham, ff.444v, 445v, 447r).
Acknowledged supremacy at London, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1232).
- REYNOLDES William Monk of Hinton. Surrender, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 637).
Pension, 1540 (L&P, xv, p.543).
d. 19 May 1555 at Brussels (O.L. p.7).

- RHODES William also RODEZ. Monk of London. Ob.1415 (O.L.p.12).
- RICHARD(S) Thomas Prior of Coventry. Ob.1515 (O.L. p.22).
- RICHARDSON William Monk of Hull. Ord. S. and D.1509 (Reg. Rotherham, ff.102r, 103r).
Ob.1510, still a deacon (O.L. p.20).
- RICHMOND Henry de Procurator of Sheen. Ob.1435 (O.L. p.30).
- RILBERY William also RYLBURY. Monk of Sheen.
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1539 (F.O.R. f.290v).
Pension, 1540-1 (L&P, xv, 1032, p.545; xvi, 745).
In 1543 he received 'nihil quia mortuus' (L&P, xviii, 436).
- RILLYNGTON Roger Prior of Hull in 1414 (P.R.O. E.101/81/10).
- RILYNGTON John Monk. House unknown, save that it was northern.
Ord.A. and S.1403 (Reg. Scrope, ff.164v, 165r).
- RILEY Robert also RYLAY. Monk of Hull.
Ord. S.D. and P.1509 (Reg. Bainbridge, ff.102r, 103r, 105r).
Ob.1526 (O.L. p.21).
- RIPLEY John Monk of Coventry. Ob.1480 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.507r).
- RIPT John also RIPP. Monk of Beauvale. Ord.A.1499, S. and D.1500 (Reg. Bainbridge, ff.465v, 466v, 467v).
Ob.1527 (O.L. p.10).
- RISTEY Aymo Monk of Coventry. Ob.1529 (O.L. p.23).
- ROBERT John Monk of Perth. Ob.1530 (O.L. p.56).
- ROBERT William Monk of Perth. Ob.1509 (O.L. p.56).
- ROBINSON John Prior of Axholme. 'Late' in 1543 (L&P, xviii, ii, 327(17)).
- ROBYNSON William Lay-brother of Hinton. Surrender, 1539 (Foedera, xiv, p.614).
Pension, 1540 (L&P, xv, p.543).
- ROCHE Richard Prior of London, 1488-1500. Resigned in 1500, but remained vicar until his death in 1515 (Hope, pp.149-50). Probably wrote some dialogues, latin epigrams, letters and poems, and was a graduate of the university of Paris under the name of Father ROCK (Thompson, p.341; Hendriks, pp.62-3).
- ROCHESTER John Monk of London. Ord.A.E.1529, and S.1530 (Reg. Tunstall, f.163v).
Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Aged 32 in 1536 (P.R.O. S.P.5/1, vol. ii, f.199r).
Was sent to Hull in 1536 and continued to protest against the royal supremacy (L&P, viii, 609; ix, 283, 523; xii, 777, 1156, 1172).

- Executed at York with James WALWORTH q.v.
11 May 1537 (L&P, viii, 895; xii, i, 1192; Chauncy, Historia, p.118; R.O. iii, 238-9).
- RODRIGHE(?) John Monk of London. Ob.1503 (O.L. p.14).
- ROGERS George Monk of 1. London, 2. Coventry. Transferred to Coventry in exchange for Robert RABY q.v. (Thompson, p.297).
- ROGUE John Monk of Sheen. Ob.1487 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.19v).
- ROLFF John also VOLFF or ROFF. Monk of Axholme. Guest at Beauvale, 1517 (O.L. Appendix p.6). Ob.1524 at Axholme (O.L. p.24).
- ROMONDBY John Monk of Mount Grace. Ord.A. and S.1456, D.1457 and P.1460 (Reg. Booth, f.425v, 426r, 428v, 444v). Ob.1500 at Coventry (O.L. p.22).
- ROSE Richard Novice of Coventry. Ob.1480 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.507r).
- ROTREWELL John Monk of London in 1379 (Poll-tax Returns).
- ROTHWELL John Prior of Axholme. Ob.1459 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.284v). It is possible that these two John Rothwells are the same person, but the chronology makes this seem unlikely.
- ROUS Thomas Conversus of London in 1379 (Poll-tax Returns). Ob.1419 (O.L. p.12).
- ROUSE John Novice and priest of London. Ob.1528 (O.L. p.14).
- ROWST William also ROLBST. Monk of London. Sent to Witham when William TYNBEGH was prior, 1500-29 (O.L. Appendix, p.4).
- RUSH John Conversus and novice at London. Ob.1518 (O.L. p.14).
- RUSSELL John Lay-brother of Witham. An apostate who wanted to be reconciled in 1340 (C.P.L.1305-42, p.549).
- RUSSELL Patrick Vicar of Perth and then prior for a few months in 1443 and again in 1472-4. Ob.1488 (O.L. p.53-5).
- RUSSELL Robert Lay-brother of Hinton. Surrender, 1539 (Foedera, xiv, p.614). Pension, 1540 (L&P, xv, p.543).
- RUSTEN Robert Monk of Axholme. Ob.1477 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.4r).
- RUTLAND Gabriel also RUTTELONDE. Monk of London. Ord.S.D. and P.1525 (Reg. Tunstall, f.155v, 156r-v). ob.1528 (O.L. p.14).
- SALT Thomas also SAULL. Monk of London. Ob.1524 (O.L. p.14).

- SALTE Robert Conversus of London. Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Denied supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1233).
Died in prison, 9 June 1537 (L&P, xii, ii, 91; Chauncy, Historia, p.116).
- SALTER Thomas Monk of London. Ord.E.A.S.1517, D. and P.1518 (Reg. Fitzjames, ff.185v, 186r-v).
Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Was anxious to leave order, and wrote to Cromwell complaining about the austerity of the monks, 1534-5 (L&P, vii, 1046; viii, 601; ix, 284).
Was subject to visions of demons (Chauncy, Historia, pp.81-3).
Pension 1542-4 (L&P, xvii, 1258; xviii, 436; xix, 368) 1547-53 (P.R.O. E.315/256; 257, f.17v; 258, f.16r; 259, f.24v; 260, f.15v; 262, f.14r) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.6r).
- SALYSBERY William Monk of London. Ord. D. and P.1524-5 (Reg. Tunstall, ff.155v, 156r).
Ob.1528 (O.L. p.14).
- SAMSON Thomas Monk of Coventry. Ob.1499 (O.L. p.22).
- SAUNDERSON John Monk of Mount Grace. Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555) 1553 (P.R.O. E.101/76/24) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.52v).
Returned to Sheen refounded, 1556 (Chauncy, Passionis, p.140).
d. at Bruges, 13 June 1560 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.14v).
- SAVAGE Robert Monk of Hinton. Surrender 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 637).
Pension, 1540 (L&P, xv, p.543) and 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.30r).
- SCALES John Monk of Axholme. Ord. S.D.1485 and P.1486 (Reg. Rotherham, ff.397v, 398v, 400r).
- SCAMENDON Robert also SKAMEDEN. Monk of Hinton. Surrender, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 637).
Pension, 1540 (L&P, xv, p.543).
- SCHLEY John Monk of Sheen. Ob.1484 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.19v).
- SCOFFYN John also SCHOFIELD. Conversus of London. Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Grant of 20s. 1539 (P.R.O. E.117/12/22).
- SCRAYNGHAM William Monk of Hull. Ord.S.D.1418 and P.1421 (Reg. Bowet, ff.400v, 401r, 409v).
Ob.1456 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.242r).
- SCRYVEN Thomas Conversus of London. Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Denied supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1233).
Dead in prison, 15 June 1537 (L&P, xii, ii, 91; Chauncy, Historia, p.116).
- SECHEFORD Thomas also SEGEFORD. Monk of Witham. Surrender, 1539 (D.K.R.8, p.50).
Pension 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, 524; xv, 1032, p.544).

- SELBY Thomas Monk of 1. Witham, 2. Axholme, 3. Coventry, 4. Witham. At Axholme in 1425, when he was told to remain silent about his absolution from the office of rector there (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.57v). In 1426 he was told to go to Coventry and to keep perpetual silence (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.64r). Ob. at Witham, 1432 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.94r).
- SEMAN John Prior of London, 1449-1468(?). Visitor 1456. He is said to have resigned as prior in 1462, and spent the rest of his life as an ordinary Monk. The evidence is conflicting over whether he resigned in 1462 or 1468. d. 29 December 1472. See Hope, p.149; Le Vasseur, iv, 597. Possibly at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, in 1439 (Emden, Cambridge, p.519).
- SHERMAN Thomas Clerk-redditus and priest of London. Ord.S.D.1428 and P.1429 (Reg. Gray, ff, 5r, 7r, 9r). Ob.1469 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.12r).
- SHIN Matthew Vicar of Beauvale. Ob.1489 (O.L. p.10).
- SHIPPING Richard See CHYPPYNG.
- SHIRLEY Thomas Monk of 1. Beauvale, 2. London. Sent to London in 1371 (Hope, p.35).
- SHYPLEY Robert Conversus of Mount Grace. Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555) 1553 (P.R.O. E.101/76/24) and 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.52v). Returned to Sheen refounded, 1556 (Chauncy, Passionis, p.140). d. 25 September 1557 at Sheen (Le Vasseur, iii, 356).
- SILVESTER Thomas Monk of Sheen. Ob.1507 (O.L. p.31).
- SIMPSON Richard Monk of Beauvale. Ob.1448 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.178r).
- SIMSON David Prior of Perth, 1487-91. Ob.1496 (O.L. p.56).
- SIMSTON Thomas Monk of Axholme. Ob.1512. (O.L. p.24).
- SIXT William also SINT. Monk of Hull. Ob.1510 (O.L. p.20).
- SLATER Richard also SLADER or SCLATER. Monk of Coventry. Signed letter to Cromwell, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 19). Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.258v). Surrender, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 73). Pension, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 161, p.603).
- SMITH Thomas Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1512 (O.L. p.27).
- SMYTH John Monk of Witham. Surrender, 1539 (D.K.R.8, p.50). Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 524; xv, 1032, p.544).
- SMYTH Ralph Prior of Hull, 1514-1529 at least. Ordinary monk aged 60 in 1536 (P.R.O. S.P.5/1, vol. ii, f.199r). Possibly at Cambridge, 1500 (Emden, Cambridge, p.353).

- SMYTH Simon Monk of London. Ob.1531 (O.L. p.15).
- SMYTH Thomas Conversus of 1. Axholme, 2. Sheen.
Signed letter to Cromwell at Axholme, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 693).
Signed letter to prior of Sheen at Axholme, 1538 (L&P, xv, 1025).
Pension, 1540-3 at Sheen (L&P, xv, 1032, p.545; xvi, 745; xvii, 258; xviii, 436) 1547-53 (P.R.O. E.315/256; 257, f.10v; 258, f.11v; 259, f.19v; 260, f.11v; 261, f.10v; 262, f.10v) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.10r).
- SNEL Walter Monk of Witham. Accused of seizing the bishop of Bath and Wells' chattels in 1280 (Somerset Pleas, IV, part i, ed. L. Landon (S.R.S. xlv, 1929), p.368).
- SNELL William Monk of Perth. Ob.1530 (O.L. p.56).
- SNODNON Casper Monk of London. Ob.1510 (O.L. p.14).
- SOWDEN Robert Monk of Beauvale. Ob.1509 (O.L. p.10).
- SOWYLAND William 1. Monk of London, 2. Prior of Coventry, 1411-36 at least.
Ord.D.at London, 1398 (Reg. Braybroke, f.49r).
Name on wall paintings at Coventry.
See P. Turpin, 'Ancient Wall Paintings in the Charterhouse, Coventry', Burlington Magazine, xxxv (1919), p.251.
- SPALDEN John Vicar of Hinton. Ob.1480 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.507r).
- SPALDING John Monk of 1. London, 2. Hull. Ord.A.S.D. and P.1490 at London (Reg. Hill, ff.20v, 21r-v).
Sent to Hull and took with him a number of books (Thompson, p.324-6).
Ob.1528 (O.L. p.21).
- SPAYNE John Monk of London. Ord.A.1418, S.D.1419 and P.1420. (Reg. Clifford, ff.83r, 85r, 87v, 93r).
- SPENSER Thomas 1. Monk of London, 2. Procurator and vicar of Hinton. Ord.S. and D.1521 (Reg. Fitzjames, ff.194r, 195r).
d. 31 July 1529 (Le Vasseur, ii, 575).
Was a graduate of Oxford and wrote some theological works.
See Le Vasseur, ii, 575; Emden, Oxford 1501-40, p.531; Thompson, p.342.
- SPESTOR Henry Monk of 1. Sheen, 2. Hinton. Ob.1489 (O.L. p.6).
- SPORLE William also SPORTE. 1. Prior of Hull, 1500/1, 2. Monk of Sheen.
Ob.1503 (O.L. p.20, 31).
- STABROCH(?) William Monk of Hull, formerly vicar, procurator and sacrist.
Ob.1504 (O.L. p.20).

- STAG William Monk of Hull. Ord.S.1433 and P.1434 (Reg.Kempe, ff.242r, 245v).
Possibly to be identified with William STABROCH above.
- STALLIS John also HOLLIS. Monk of Axholme. Ob.1515 (O.L. p.24).
- STANDICH William de Monk of Witham. Went to the pope without permission, and had to be reconciled to the order, 1341 (C.P.L. 1305-42, p.552).
- STANFIELD John Monk of London. Ord.A.1400, S.D.1401 and P.1402 (Reg. Braybroke, ff.55r, 56r, 58r, 59r).
- STANWARDEN John Conversus of London. Ob.1528 (O.L. p.14).
- STARKEY John Monk of Beauvale. Guest at Coventry. Ob.1518 (O.L. p.10).
- STELLE Robert Monk of Mount Grace. Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555).
It seems extremely likely that this is the same man as Robert Stell, priest, who made his will on 7 February 1541, since one of the executors was William PRESTE, the name of another monk of Mount Grace (York Prob.Reg. xi, f.553r).
- STERNE Edmund Vicar of London. Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Acknowledged supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1232).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.231v).
Pension, 1538-9 (L&P, xiii, ii, 1024; xiv, 235, p.599).
- STEVENS Philip Monk of Sheen. Ob.1443 (O.L. p.30).
- STIMPE Thomas Monk of Witham. Ob.1528 (O.L. p.3).
- STIS Peter or SCIS. Monk of Hinton. Ob.1479 (Lamb.Pal.Ms. 413, f.493v).
- STOKES William Monk of Hinton. Signed letter to Henry VIII, 1521 (L&P, iii, i, 1276).
- STOLES James also SCOOLES. Monk of Hull.
Ord.S.D. and P.1507 (Reg. Savage, ff.137v, 138v, 140r).
Aged 54 in 1536 (P.R.O. S.P.5/1, vol. ii, f.199r).
- STOLLIS Edmund also HOLLIS. Monk of 1. London, 2. Beauvale. Ob.1504 (O.L. p.10).
- STONE John Monk of Sheen. Ord. D. and P.1421 (Reg. Clifford, f.95v; Reg. Chichele, iv, 349. N.B. His ordination as priest is described as being at London).
Ob.1435 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.109v).
- STOPS Leonard See HALL.

- STORER Edmund 1. Prior of London, 1468-77, 2. Prior of Hinton in 1484.
d.1503 (Hope, p.149).
In 1470 he asked permission to eat with guests.
In 1473 he was granted it. In 1474 he was reprimanded for his insolence. In 1476 he was told not to ask questions, and in 1477 he was absolved from his office as prior (Thompson, p.310).
In 1482 he received a bequest from Margaret Leynham (P.C.C. 6 Logge).
He copied Bodley Ms.505, The Mirror of Simple Souls (Sargent, p.238).
- STYLE John Monk of Sheen. Ob.1500 (O.L. p.31).
- SUTTON Lawrence Monk of Hull. Ob.1498 (O.L. p.20).
- SWYMESTOWE John also SWANSTO. Lay-brother of Witham.
Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 524; xv, 1032, p.559) and 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.30r).
- SWIFT John Prior of Beauvale, 1478 (Willis, Mitred Abbeys, ii, 167).
- SWINTON John Prior of Perth in 1528 (O.L. p.56).
- SWYFTE Nicholas Priest, not professed of Hull.
Aged 27 in 1536 (P.R.O. S.P.5/1, vol. ii, f.199r).
- SYM James also SIME. Monk of Perth in 1558. He appears to have apostasized and become an official of the church of Scotland before 1570. Still alive in 1583 (O.L. p.57).
- SYM John also SIME. Monk of Perth, formerly procurator. (O.L. p.57).
- SYNDERTON Thomas Monk of Hull. Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 662; xv, p.544) 1552 (P.R.O. E.101/76/23) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.54r).
Returned to Sheen refounded, 1556 (Chauncy, Passionis, p.140).
d. at Bruges September 1570, having lived 50 years 'laudabiliter' in the order (Le Vasseur, iii, 290).
- TARLETON Thomas 1. Monk of Sheen, 2. Prior of Coventry in 1521.
Ob.1530 (O.L. p.23; Fretton, p.40).
- TAUNTON John Monk of Witham. Ord.P.1451 (Req. Bekynton, 1692).
- TAYLOR Hugh Conversus of London. Pension, 1539 (P.R.O. E.117/12/22).
Received bequest from Richard BILLINGSLEY q.v. 1541.
Returned to Sheen refounded, 1556 (Chauncy, Passionis, p.140).
d. at Bruges 30 September 1575 (Le Vasseur, iii, 448-50).
See Le Vasseur, iii, 448-50; L. Hendriks, Dom. Maurice Chauncy and Brother Hugh Taylor, Carthusian Monks (London, 1895).

- TAYLOR John alias CHAMBERLAYN. Prior of Hinton, 1513-21 (V.C.H. Somerset, ii, 123).
- TELFER Andrew Prior of Perth, 1462-71. Ob.1472 (O.L. p.55).
- THEDDER John Clerk-redditus and priest of Hinton. Ob.1424 (O.L. p.5).
- THIRBIE Robert also THURLBY. Monk of Sheen. Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.290v). Pension, 1540-3 (L&P, xv, 1032, p.545; xvi, 745; xvii, 258; xviii, 436) 1547-53 (P.R.O. E.315/256; 257, f.10v; 258, f.11v; 259, f.19v; 260, f.11v; 261, f.10v; 262, f.10r) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.10r). Returned to Sheen refounded, where he was vicar, 1556 (Chauncy, Passionis, p.140). d. 24 September 1557 (Le Vasseur, iii, 350).
- THOMSON John Monk of 1. Hull, 2. London. Ord.S.1532 and P.1533 at Hull (Reg. Lee, ff.184v, 185v). Acknowledged supremacy at London, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1232). Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.231v). Pension, 1538-9 (L&P, xiii, ii, 1024; xiv, 235, p.599) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.6r). Was a late arrival at Sheen refounded and probably d.1560 (O.L. p.34).
- THOMSON Robert Monk of Axholme. Ord.S.D.1495 and P.1486 (Reg. Rotherham, ff.397v, 398v, 400r).
- THOMSON Roger Novice of Mount Grace; Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555) 1553 (P.R.O. E.101/76/24) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.52v). Was vicar, and in 1581-2 prior of Sheen Anglorum, and d. 20 October 1582 (Gasquet, ii, 486).
- THORNBURGH Thomas also TORBURIGENACI. Prior of Hinton. Ob.1482 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.11r).
- THORNE John Prior of London, c.1440-1448 (Hope, p.149). After resignation as prior, became vicar, and ob.1454 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.224r).
- THORPE John Monk of Mount Grace. Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555).
- THORUNBURGH James Monk of London. Ob.1483 (B.M.Add.Ms.413, f.12r).
- TILDESLEY Richard also TILSLEY. Monk of Sheen. Ord.A.1513, D. and P.1514 (Reg. Fitzjames, ff.177r, 179r-v). Dispensation to hold benefice, 1539 (F.O.R. f.290v). Pension, 1540-3 (L&P, xv, 1032, p.545; xvi, 745; xvii, 258; xviii, 436) 1547-53 (P.R.O. E.315/256; 257, f.10v; 258, f.11v; 259, f.19v; 260, f.11v; 261, f.10v; 262, f.10r) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.10r).
- TILDESLEY William Conversus of Mount Grace. Ob.1528 (O.L. p.27).

- TILLISWORTH Walter Sacrist of Sheen. Ob.1480 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.507r).
- TOD Alexander Monk of Perth in 1509 (O.L. p.56).
- TOD John (Senior) Monk of Coventry. Signed letter to Cromwell, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 19).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.258v).
Surrender, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 73).
Pension, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 161, p.603).
- TOD John (Junior) Monk of Coventry. Signed letter to Cromwell, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 19).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.258v).
Surrender, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 73).
Pension, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 161, p.603)
Only one of the two John Tods received a pension in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.46v).
- TOFTE John Monk of Sheen. Ord.A.S.D.1443 and P.1445 (Reg. Gilbert, ff.168v, 169r, 170r, 175v).
- TOLBRIDGE Walter Monk of Perth. Ob.1569 at Sheen Anglorum (O.L. p.35).
- TONG John also TONGES. Donatus of Mount Grace.
Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555).
- TONORS Walter Sacrist of Perth in 1558 (O.L. p.57). This could conceivably be the same man as Walter TOLBRIDGE q.v.
- TRABININI Robert Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1484 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.14v).
- TRACY Henry Monk of Sheen. In 1445 Sheen was left £10 at his discretion by Richard Danvers (P.C.C. 32 Milles).
- TRACY Ralph 1. Prior of Hinton, 2. Prior of Sheen, 1496-1503. He was apparently the prior who was killed by Ralph GODWIN q.v. on 21 March 1503 (Le Vasseur, i, 355). He must also have been the prior who sheltered Perkin Warbeck in 1499 (Polydore Vergil, Anglica Historia, ed. D. Hay (Camden Society, 3rd series, lxxiv, 1950), p.114).
- TRAFFORD William 1. Monk of Mount Grace, 2. Procurator of Beauvale, 3. Prior of London, 1536-8.
Ord.P.1521 at Mount Grace (Reg. Wolsey, f.193r).
Procurator of Beauvale by 1534 (O.L. p.17).
Appointed prior of London, 1536 (L&P, viii, 585).
Acknowledged supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1232).
Surrender, 1537 (L&P, xii, ii, 64).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.231v).
Pension, 1538-9 (L&P, xii, ii, 1024; xiv, 235, p.599).
Forgiven a debt by Richard BILLINGSLEY q.v. in 1541.
- TRAGOS Richard Monk of London. Ord.S.D.1522 and P.1523 (Reg. Tunstall, f.152r-v).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.231v).
Pension, 1539-9 (L&P, xiii, ii, 1024; xiv, 235, p.599).
- TREGOOZ William Monk of London. Copied The Cloud of Unknowing (Bodleian Ms.Douce 262, f.118v).
Ob.1514 (O.L. p.14).

- TRENT John Monk of Perth. Ob.1459 (O.L. Appendix,p.8).
- TRETHEWY Robert also TREDEWY. 1st rector of Mount Grace, 1398
(C.P.R.1396-9, p.348)
Ob.1398 (O.L. p.26).
- TRETHEWY Robert Monk of Witham. Ob.1420 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.32v).
Conceivably this could be the same man as the first
rector of Mount Grace, despite the difference in
dates of death.
- TROMBIL William also TURMIL and TURNBULL. Prior of Perth, 1513-6.
Guest at Nantes (O.L. p.56).
- TROUBRIDGE John de Monk of Hinton. Ob.1479 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.493v).
- TRUBRUGE John de Monk of Hinton. Resigned from mastership of
hospital of St. Mark of Billeswyk next Bristol,
in order to enter Hinton, 30 November 1273
(Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard 1268-1302,
ed. J. Willis Bund (Worcestershire Historical
Society, 1899), ii, 59).
- TRUMPYNGTON Richard Monk of 1. London, 2. Sheen, 3. London. Was a
clerk-redditus for 14 years at London until 1425,
when he received a papal indult to become a priest,
despite having previously co-habited with a woman
(C.P.L. 1417-31, p.410).
Ord.D. at London 1426 (Reg. Gray, f.2r).
In 1426 he was reprimanded for insolence by the
general chapter (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.64v).
Mentioned at Sheen in 1434 (C.Cl.R.1429-35, p.370).
At Beauvale in 1434, and told to remain there (Lamb.
Pal.Ms.413, f.106v).
At Sheen in 1436, and told to remain there (Lamb.Pal.
Ms.413, f.116r).
In 1440 he was sacrist at Sheen and told that he
could return to London. (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.139v).
Ob. at London, 1454 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.224r).
- TUPPINS John Conversus of Hull. Guest at Hinton. Ob.1536 (O.L. p.7).
- TURKE Thomas Monk of Hinton in 1418. Formerly vicar of Bere Regis
(Inscription in Cambridge University Library Add.Ms.
5947).
Ob. at Sheen 1435 (O.L. p.30).
- TURNQUE William de Monk of Hull. Ob.1420 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.27r).
- TUTBAGGE Peter Conversus of Mount Grace. Pension, 1539-40
(L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555).
- TYNBEGH William Prior of London, 1500-29. Entered c.1470, and was
sacrist and vicar before becoming prior. He
resigned in 1529 and d.1531 (Hope, p.150).
He lived 60 years 'laudabiliter' in the order
(Le Vasseur, i, 389).
He was the subject of various miraculous happenings
(Chauncy, Historia, pp.74-6).
See R.O. iii, 224.

- UNDERWOOD Philip Procurator of London, 1493-1501. Son of a wealthy London smith (Thompson, p.194). Ord. D. and P.1489 (Reg. Kempe, ff.226v, 227r). Was granted fraternity by St. John of Jerusalem 1514 (Hendriks, p.73), Westminster Abbey 1515 (Rev. Prebendary Clark-Maxwell, 'Some Letters of Confraternity', Archaeologia, lxxv (1926), p.33) and Durham Priory (The Obituary Roll of William Ebchester and John Burnby, priors of Durham (S.S. xxxi, 1856), p.118). d. 7 September 1518 (O.L. p.14).
- URDON George Monk of Beauvale. Ob.1493 (O.L. p.10).
- URDLEY Richard See ORDLAY.
- UTRECHT Peter Monk of Perth who arrived from Belgium in 1429 (O.L. p.55).
- VALONE John or NABIMAN(?) Prior of Beauvale. Ob. at Witham, 1494 (O.L. p.3).
- VALEROP John Conversus of London. Ob.1514 (O.L. p.14).
- VANHARII Henry Monk of Witham. Ob.1451 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.200r).
- VARDE William Monk of Sheen. Ob.1489 (O.L. p.31).
- VAXTER William Monk of London. Ob.1515 (O.L. p.14).
- VERYPT John Monk of Beauvale, c.1495-1517. Originally from Brabant (O.L. Appendix, p.6).
- VESSEY John Conversus of Sheen. Guest at Mount Grace, 1450 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.196r). Ob.1467 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.19v).
- VETSIGIUS Richard Monk of Coventry. Ob.1506 (O.L. p.22).
- VIELL Richard also VYALL. Prior of Witham, 1443-50. Executor of Cardinal Beaufort, 1446 (Royal Wills, i, 252). General Chapter ordered enquiry into his rule, 1447 (Thompson, p.306). Stripped of his office in 1451. He fled from Witham and the new prior John Pestor, applied for a warrant for his arrest (Thompson, p.306). After being caught, he was disciplined by the general chapter, 1451 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.206r). Given pardon by Henry VI, 1453 (C.P.R.1452-61, p.116). Papal provision to bishopric of Killala, 1459 (C.P.L.1458-71, p.92). Still bishop in 1464. Dispensation to hold any benefice (C.P.L.1458-71, pp.210-11).
- VINGLE Thomas or WINGLE. 1. Monk of Sheen, 2. Prior of Hinton. Ob.1503 (O.L. p.6).

- VIREY Michael Prior of Perth. Prior of Valbonne, Villeneuve and Bourg-Fontaine. He was appointed prior of Perth but d. 26 January 1445 before he could take it up (O.L. p.55).
- VOOLE Walter de Monk of Hinton. Ob.1424 (O.L. p.5).
- WORFORDE(?) Adam Conversus of Hinton. Ob.1424 (O.L. p.5).
- WAKE John Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1511 (O.L. p.27).
- WAKEFIELD Richard Conversus of Beauvale. Surrender, 1539 (Foedera, xiv, p.660). Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, i, 1313; xv, p.546) 1552 (P.R.O. E.101/76/19) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.62r).
- WALKER Richard Conversus of Mount Grace. Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555).
- WALL Richard Monk of Coventry. Signed letter to Cromwell, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 19). Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.D.R. f.258v). Wrote 'dangerous letters', 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, 161, 183; J. Hogg, The Architecture of Hinton Charterhouse (A.C. xxv, 1975), pp.lx-lxi).
- WALLIS Thomas Monk of Sheen. Ob.1502 (O.L. p.31).
- WALSH Thomas Monk of Beauvale. Ord.D. and P.1535 (Reg. Lee, ff.190r, 191v). Surrender, 1539 (D.K.R.8, p.9). Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, i, 1281, 1313; xv, p.546) 1552 (P.R.O. E.101/76/19) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.62r).
- WALSINGHAM John Prior of London, 1477-88. An ex-Benedictine, he was given dispensation to hold Carthusian office only a year before becoming prior. See Hope, p.149; Hendriks, p.63; Thompson, p.310. Ob.1488 (B.M.Add.Ms.413, f.12r).
- WALWEYN John 1. Monk of London, 2. Prior of Coventry, 3. Prior of London, 1448-9 (Hope, p.149). Ord.D.1431 and P.1432 at London (Reg. Fitzhugh, ff.217r, 220r). d. 6 October 1449 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.192r; Hope, p.149).
- WALWORTH John Monk of London. Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 729). Aged 40 in 1536 (P.R.O. S.P.5/1, vol. ii, f.199r). Was sent to Hull in 1536 with James ROCHESTER q.v. and the two were executed at York, 11 May 1537 (L&P, viii, 609, 895; xii, i, 1172, 1192; Chauncy, Historia, p.118; R.O. iii, 239).
- WAPLYNGTON Thomas Monk of Hull. Ord.S.D.1397 and P.1400 (Reg. Waldby, ff.14v, 15v; Reg. Scrope, f.157v).

- WARD Symon Monk of Perth. Ob.1459 (O.L. Appendix, p.8).
- WARDON William Monk of Coventry in 1395 (Fretton, p.34).
- WARE George also WARREN. Monk of Sheen. Ob.1530 (O.L. p.32).
- WARE William Monk of Hull. Ob.1510, guest at Axholme (O.L. p.20).
- WARTRE Nicholas Prior of Beauvale, 1486-1490 at least.
Compiler of the Beauvale cartulary, B.M.Add.Ms.6060.
Ob.1497 (O.L. p.10).
- WARTRE Thomas Prior of Beauvale, 1439-53.
Ord.S.1434, D. and P.1435 (Reg. Kempe, ff.247v,
248r-v).
Co-visitor 1440-4. Visitor 1444-53.
d. 15 October 1453 (O.L. p.9).
- WATSON John Monk of Hull. Ord.S.D.1486 and P.1487 (Reg.
Rotherham, ff.403r, 404r, 405v).
in 1503 his arrest was ordered by royal letter, and
he was surrendered to the mayor of Hull, who sent
him before the King's justices.
See E. Gillett and K.A. MacMahon, A History of Hull
(Oxford, 1980), p.94.
Ob.1505 (O.L. p.20).
- WATSON John also WATCHUSON. Monk of London. Ob.1525 (O.L. p14).
- WATSON Tristram 1. Vicar of Mount Grace, 2. Monk of Hull.
Ob.1505 (O.L. p.20).
See J. Hogg, 'Richard Methley, To Hew Heremyte A
Pystyl of Solytary Lyfe Nowadayes', Miscellanea
Cartusiansia, 1 (A.C. xxxi, 1977), p.101.
- WATTS Peter also WATTES. Monk of Witham.
Testimony against the prior of Hinton, 1533 (L&P,
vi, 510).
Letter to Cromwell about his release from the order,
1534 (L&P, vii, 577).
- WAYT William Procurator of London. Ord.E.A.S.D. and P.1525 (Reg.
Tunstall, ff.155v, 156r-v, 157r).
Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).
Acknowledged supremacy, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 1232).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.231v).
Pension 1538-9, 1541-2, 1544 (L&P, xiii, ii, 1024;
xiv, 235, p.599; xvi, 745; xvii, 1258; xix, 368)
1547-53 (P.R.O. E.315/256; 257, f.17v; 258, f.16r;
259, f.24v; 260, f.15v; 261, f.14v; 262, f.14v) and
in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.6r).
- WEBSTER Augustine 1. Monk of Sheen, 2. Prior of Axholme in 1535.
Had an M.A. from Cambridge (Venn, Alumni Cant. iv, 356).
Executed 4 May 1535 (L&P, viii, 565, 609, 661, 895;
xii, ii, 181; Chauncy, Historia, pp.99-106; R.O.,
iii, 231-2).

- WELDE John Monk of Witham. Ob.1482 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.23r).
- WELE John Monk of Witham. Surrender, 1539 (D.K.R.8, p.50).
Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 524; xv, 1032, p.544).
- WELL John also WELLS. Monk of Beauvale. Ord.A.S.1420,
D.1421 and P.1423 (Reg. Bowet, ff.406r, 407v, 409r,
416r).
Ob.1479 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.493r).
- WELLEY Thomas Monk of Sheen. Ord.A.1511, S.1512 and P.1513
(Reg. Fitzjames, ff.173r, 175r, 177v).
Guest of Beauvale. d. 9 April 1526 at Sheen (O.L. p.10).
- WELLIS John Monk of Hinton. Ob.1445 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.163r).
- WELLS John Novice of Mount Grace. Pension, 1539-40 (L&P,
xiv, ii, 700; xv, p.555) 1553 (P.R.O. E.101/76/24)
and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.52v).
- WELLS John Monk of London. Ord.S.1419, D. and P.1420 (Reg.
Clifford, ff.89v, 90v, 93r).
Was sent as prisoner to any other house, 1425
(Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.58r).
London told to pay 8 nobles to Hull for his keep,
1427 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.68v).
Guest at Mount Grace. It was left to the discretion
of his superiors whether he should be sent home to
London, 1439 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.132v).
Ob.1455 at London (O.L. p.13).
N.B. Since two contemporary monks bore similar
names, it is possible that some of the entries above
refer to John WELLIS of Hinton, but it is more
likely that they refer to John Wells of London.
- WELLS Thomas Vicar of Hinton. Signed letter to Henry VIII, 1521
(L&P, iii, i, 1276).
Ob.1524 (O.L. p.7).
- WELLYS William also WELLE. Monk of Beauvale. Surrender, 1539
(D.K.R.8, p.9).
Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, i, 1281, 1313; xv, p.546).
- WELPLEDE Robert Monk of 1. London, 2. Beauvale.
d. 13 November 1518 (O.L. pp.10, 14).
- WEST John Monk of London. Ord.S.D.1519 and P.1520 (Reg.
Fitzjames, ff.189r-v, 190r).
Ob.1524 (O.L. p.14).
- WESTHAWE Thomas Possibly a monk of Sheen with John PINCHBEK. Later
became confessor-general of Syon.
See The Paston Letters, ed. J. Gairdner (London,
1900), i, 497; Emden, Cambridge, pp.630-1.
- WHETHAM John Monk of London. Visited Hinton in 1533, taking a
number of books with him (Thompson, p.329).
Oath of Succession, 1534 (L&P, vii, 728).

- WHITBY William Prior of Hinton in 1421. Ob.1428 (O.L. p.5).
- WIDRINGTON John There was obviously two contemporary monks of this name, and it is difficult to distinguish the exploits of the one from those of the other. All occurrences of the name are therefore given below, that the reader may make his own judgement.
Prior of Sheen in 1414.
Prior of Hull, 1426-30 at least.
Monk of London. Ob.1431 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.90r).
At Witham in 1441. Told to remain there unless he stopped inordinately transferring himself (Lamb.Pal. Ms.413, f.143v).
- WILBROGUES William or possibly WILCOCKS. Procurator of Mount Grace. Ob.1530 (O.L. p.27).
- WILSON Adam Monk of Axholme. Ob.1531 (O.L. p.24).
- WILSON Henry Monk of Coventry, formerly prior. Ob.1524 (O.L. p.22).
- WILSON Henry Monk of Axholme. Signed letter to Cromwell, 1537 (L&P, xii, i, 489).
Dispensation to hold benefice, 1538 (F.O.R. f.202v).
Surrender, 1538 (L&P, xii, i, 1207).
Pension, 1539 (L&P, xiv, i, p.597).
- WILSON John Prior of Mount Grace, 1522-39 (O.L. p.27).
He appears to have held out against the surrender for some time, and was imprisoned for a while (L&P, xi, 75; xiv, ii, 723, 750; xv, 15, 25, 125, 747, 32).
Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 700; xv, 553, 555) 1553 (P.R.O. E.101/76/24) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.52v).
Bequeathed two pairs of spectacles by William BEE q.v. in 1551.
Joined Sheen refounded 1556 (Chauncy, Passionis, p.140).
d. 10 September 1557 (Hendriks, p.282).
See R.O. iii, 239-40; Clifford Letters, pp.28, 63-74, for his letters to the heads of the Clifford family; Le Vasseur, iii, 264, for descriptions of his visions.
- WILSON Thomas Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1502 (O.L. p.27).
- WINTER Robert Monk of Witham. Ob.1524 (O.L. p.3).
- WINTERFRET John Monk of Witham. Ob.1405 (O.L. p.2).
- WIRDYN Richard Monk of London. Reconciled to London after flight in 1441. Told to be content or imprisoned (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.143v).
- WISBECHE John Monk of 1. London, 2. Hinton.
Ord.P.1386 at London (Reg. Braybroke, f.16v).
Ob.1445 at Hinton (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.163r).

- WISITRI(?) John Vicar of Sheen. Ob.1490 (O.L. p.31).
- WITHERLE Nicholas also WITHELLE. Monk of Mount Grace. Ob.1504 (O.L. p.27).
- WIXLAY Thomas See COMPESTOR.
- WODE William Vicar of Sheen. Ob.1488 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.19v).
- WODE William also WOODDE. Monk of Sheen. Dispensation to hold benefice, 1539 (F.O.R. f.290v). Pension, 1540-3 (L&P, xv, 1032, p.545; xvi, 745; xvii, 258; xviii, 436).
- WOOD William Monk of Beauvale. Ob.1479 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.493v).
- WOODCOCKE Thomas Prior of Beauvale, 1535-9. Ord.P.1519 (Reg. Wolsey, f.182v). Surrender, 1539 (D.K.R.8, p.9). Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, i, 1281, 1313; xv, p.546), 1552 (P.R.O. E.101/76/19) and in 1556 (P.R.O. E.164/31, f.62r).
- WOODHOUSE John Clerk-redditus and priest at Witham. Ob.1433 (O.L. p.2).
- WOODNET Richard also WODNET. Monk of Witham. Surrender, 1539 (D.K.R.8, p.50). Pension, 1539-40 (L&P, xiv, ii, 524; xv, 1032, p.559). Possibly at Oxford, 1511 (Emden, Oxford 1501-40, p.634).
- WYCH Brice 1. Monk of Mount Grace, 2. Prior of Perth, 1445. Usurped priorate, and was deposed by general chapter. Ob.1459 (O.L. p.55).
- WYDDER Thomas Prior of Beauvale in 1482 (Willis, Mitred Abbeys, ii, 167).
- WYLDY William Prior of Sheen, 1474-7 at least. Ob.1483 (B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.19v).
- WYLLEY Walter Monk of Hinton. Professed in 1403, after being rector of the church of Weston (The Registers of Walter Giffard, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1265-6, and of Henry Bowett, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1401-7, ed.T.S. Holmes (S.R.S. xiii, 1899), p.44).
- WYNE Thomas Prior of Hinton in 1403 (Ibid., p.44). Ob.1411 (O.L. p.5).
- YAKESLEY John Monk of Axholme. Ob.1418 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.20v).
- YEVEL John Clerk-redditus and priest of Hinton. Ob.1447 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.172r).
- YRON(?) Thomas or possibly YVES. Conversus of London. Ob.1528 (O.L. p.14).

YOUNG David Monk of Witham. Ob.1468 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.379v).

YOUNG Maurice Monk of Perth. Ob.1473 (O.L. p.55).

YREBY William 1. Prior of Axholme, 2. Monk of Mount Grace.
Ob.1476 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.471v).

ZYPING Nicholas Monk of Witham. Ob.1417 (Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.7v).

Appendix VII

The Priors of English Charterhouses

This appendix notes in chronological order every known occurrence of the names of English Carthusian priors (except in the case of the well-documented priors immediately preceding the Dissolution). Since many references do not include the prior's surname, it is not always possible to identify particular priors precisely. However references are bracketed together when it seems likely that they refer to the same man, and bracketed together with a dotted line when the identification is more tentative.

The evidence of the Parkminster Obit List is most useful here, but must be treated with some caution. The list often notes the date of death of a prior, which is included here since it provides a terminus ad quem for the duration of the priorate. The List also sometimes provides specific dates for a priorate. These also have been noted here, but they are in some cases inadequate if not inaccurate. For example, the Obit List claims that Robert Palmer was prior of Coventry Charterhouse from 1381 to 1403. Yet more reliable sources show that John de Netherbury was prior in 1382, while Robert Palmer was still prior in 1406.

I. Priors of Witham

c.1178-9 c.1180	Narbert Hamo	<u>Magna Vita</u> , i, 47; <u>Le Couteulx</u> , ii, 456. <u>Two Cartularies of the Augustinian Priory of Bruton and the Cluniac Priory of Montacute in the County of Somerset</u> , ed. H.C. Maxwell Lyte (S.R.S. viii, 1894), p.32; M.D. Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke and V.C.M. London, <u>The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales 940-1216</u> (Cambridge, 1972), p.149. <u>Magna Vita</u> , passim.
c.1180-6	Hugh of Avalon (d.1200)	
1191	Albert de Portes	<u>Witham Chronicle</u> , p.506; M.D. Knowles, etc., <u>op.cit.</u> p.149.
c.1200	Bovo (d.1201)	<u>Magna Vita</u> , i, 54; <u>Le Couteulx</u> , ii, 280.
c.1205	Robert (d.c.1206)	<u>Magna Vita</u> , i, 1; <u>Witham Chronicle</u> , p.502.
c.1210	Robert de Caveford (ob.c.1212)	<u>Witham Chronicle</u> , p.504.
1226	Giles Philip (ob.c.1233)	<u>C.P.R.1225-32</u> , pp.79,292. D.L. p.1.
1233	R....	Thompson, p.135.
1242	[John John de Canterbury (late in 1280)	<u>C.P.R.1232-47</u> , p.326. <u>Somerset Pleas, IV, part i</u> , ed. L. Landon (S.R.S. xlv, 1929), p.368.

1280	John de Pevensey	<u>Somerset Pleas, IV, part i, p.367.</u>
1318	Walter	<u>V.C.H. Somerset, ii, 128.</u>
1356	William de Cokkyng	<u>Bodleian Ms. Rawlinson D.318, f.78r.</u>
1363	William	<u>O.L. p.1.</u>
1377	Thomas	<u>C.Cl.R.1377-81, p.92-3.</u>
1387	John de Everchriche	<u>Collinson, Somerset, ii, 234.</u>
1390	John Langrugge (d.1413)	<u>C.Cl.R.1392-6, p.528.</u>
1402	Nicholas de la Felde	<u>Collinson, Somerset, ii, 234.</u>
1408	William Fitzwilliam (ob.1422)	<u>P.R.O. E.101/81/6.</u>
1409	William Fitzwilliam	<u>P.R.O. E.101/81/7.</u>
1410	William Fitzwilliam	<u>C.Cl.R.1409-13, p.448.</u>
1415	William Fitzwilliam	<u>P.R.O. E.101/81/10.</u>
1421-7	John Corsham (ob.1460)	<u>O.L. p.2.</u>
1421	John Cobham	<u>P.R.O. E.101/81/10.</u>
1423	John Cosham	<u>P.R.O. E.101/81/11.</u>
1428	John	<u>P.R.O. E.101/81/13.</u>
1427-42	Thomas Exeter (ob.1464)	<u>O.L. p.10.</u>
1430	Thomas Exeter	<u>Req. Chichele, ii, 502.</u>
1442-3	Thomas Pollard	<u>Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, ff.150r, 155v.</u>
1443	Richard Viell	<u>Thompson, p.306.</u>
1445	Richard Viell	<u>Req. Bekynton, 175-6.</u>
1446	Richard Viell	<u>Royal Wills, i, 252.</u>
1449	Richard Vyell	<u>P.R.O. E.101/81/20.</u>
1451	Richard Viell (dismissed)	<u>Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.206r.</u>
1450-85	John Pestor	<u>O.L. p.3.</u>
1451	John Pestor (appointed)	<u>Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.206r.</u>
1459	John Pestor	<u>Req. Bekynton, 1182.</u>
1461	John	<u>P.R.O. E.101/82/6.</u>
1465	John	<u>P.R.O. E.101/82/10.</u>
1467	John	<u>P.R.O. E.101/82/6.</u>
1476	John	<u>P.R.O. E.101/82/15.</u>
1479	John	<u>P.R.O. E.101/82/18.</u>
	William Merston(ob.1489)	<u>Parkminster Ms.003, p.11.</u>
1500	William	<u>The Registers of Oliver King, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1496-1503, and Hadrian de Castello, bishop of Bath and Wells, 1503-1518, ed. H.C. Maxwell Lyte (S.R.S. liv, 1939), 342, 343, 362.</u>
	William Driby (ob.1504)	<u>O.L. p.3.</u>
1501-31	Richard Peers	<u>O.L. p.3.</u>
1510	Richard	<u>B.M. Harley Ms.1032, f.191v,</u>
	Richard Peers (late prior for 30 years in 1534)	<u>L&P, vii, 1269.</u>
1532	John Huse	<u>L&P, v, 920.</u>
1534	Henry Man	<u>L&P, vi, 835.</u>
1536-9	John Michel	<u>L&P, vii, 1105; xiv, ii, 524, etc.</u>

II. Priors of Hinton

1247	Robert	<u>Pedes Finium, commonly called Feet of Fines, for the County of Somerset A.D.1196 to A.D.1307, ed. E. Green, (S.R.S. vi, 1892), p.130.</u>
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1272-5	Peter	<u>Pedes Finium</u> (S.R.S. vi, 1892), p.130.
1304	Edberg	O.L. p.5.
1367-71	John Luscope	Hope, pp.11-12.
1377-91	Adam	O.L. p.5; Thompson, p.338.
1377	Adam	<u>C.Cl.R.1377-81</u> , pp.92-3.
1391	Adam	<u>C.P.R.1388-92</u> , p.441.
1403	Thomas Wyne (ob.1411)	<u>The Registers of Walter Giffard, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1265-6, and of Henry Bowet, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1401-2</u> , ed. T.S. Holmes (S.R.S. xiii, 1899), p.44.
1408	William	P.R.O. E.101/81/6.
1409	William	P.R.O. E.101/81/7.
1421	William Whitby (ob.1428)	P.R.O. E.101/81/10.
1423	William	P.R.O. E.101/81/11.
1428	William	P.R.O. E.101/81/13.
1430	Thomas Bernard	<u>Req. Chichele</u> , ii, 502.
1431	Thomas	P.R.O. E.101/81/13.
1432	Thomas	P.R.O. E.101/81/13.
1439-41	Richard Burton	O.L. p.9.
1442	Richard - late prior	<u>C.P.R.1441-6</u> , p.170.
1441-56	William Marshall (d.1472)	O.L. p.6.
1446	William Marshall	<u>C.P.R.1441-6</u> , p.397.
1449	William Marshall	P.R.O. E.101/81/20.
1456	William Marshall (demoted)	Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.264r.
1456-61	William Hatherlee (ob.1482)	O.L. p.6.
1461	William Hatherlee	<u>C.P.R.1461-7</u> , p.127-8.
1464	William Hatherlee	P.R.P. E.101/82/10.
1465	William Hatherlee	P.R.O. E.101/82/10.
1466	William	P.R.O. E.101/82/10.
1467	William Hatterlee	P.R.O. E.101/82/6.
1475	William Hatherlee	P.R.O. E.101/82/15.
1476	John Ingleby (election unconfirmed)	Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.486v.
	Thomas Thornburgh (ob.1482)	B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.11r.
1478	John	P.R.O. E.101/82/18.
1479	John Iver (ob.1492)	P.R.O. E.101/82/18.
1484	Edmund Storer (d.1503)	P.C.C.45 Milles; Hope, p.149.
	Ralph Tracy (before 1496)	Le Vasseur, i, 355.
	Thomas Vingle (ob.1503)	O.L. p.6.
	Robert Bayly (d.1533)	O.L. p.3.
1513-21	John Taylor or Chamberlayn	<u>V.C.H. Somerset</u> , ii, 123.
1513	John	<u>The Registers of Oliver King, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1496-1503, and Hadrian de Castello, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1503-1518</u> , ed. H.C. Maxwell Lyte (S.R.S. liv, 1939), 1025.
1521-3	Henry Corsley	<u>V.C.H. Somerset</u> , ii, 123.
1521	Henry	<u>L&P</u> , iii, i, 1276.
1523-9	John Batmanson	Thompson, pp.342-3.
1529	John	<u>L&P</u> , iv, 5664
1529-39	Edmund Horde	<u>L&P</u> , viii, 778; xv, 1032, p.543.

III. Priors of Beauvale

1404	William	<u>C.P.R.1413-6</u> , pp.302-3; <u>Ancient Deeds</u> , i, B.480.
1412	B.....	<u>Ancient Deeds</u> , i, B.219.
1414	Thomas Compestor or Quipley (ob.1423)	O.L. p.9.
1414	Thomas	P.R.O. E.101/81/9.
1415	Thomas Wixley	P.R.O. E.101/81/10.
1422	Richard Burton (ob.1444)	P.R.O. E.135/6/47.
1423	Richard	P.R.O. E.101/81/11.
1426	Richard	<u>Ancient Deeds</u> , i, B.355.
1428	Richard	P.R.O. E.101/81/13.
1430	Richard	P.R.O. E.101/81/13.
1431	Richard	P.R.O. E.101/81/13.
1436	Richard	P.R.O. E.101/81/14.
1437	Richard	P.R.O. E.101/81/14.
1439-53	Thomas Wartre (d.1453)	O.L. p.9.
1453-70	Thomas Methley (d.1480)	O.L. p.10.
1456	Thomas Methley	Sharpe, <u>Wills</u> , ii, 542.
1459	Thomas	B.M.Add.Ms.5828, f.79v.
1461	Thomas	P.R.O. E.101/82/6.
1463	Thomas Methley	B.M.Add.Ms.6060.
1468	Thomas Methley	B.M. Wollley Ch.vii.15.
1470-5	William Brown(ob.1475)	O.L. p.10.
1475	William Brown	B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.4v.
1478	John Swift	Willis, <u>Mitred Abbeys</u> , ii, 167.
1482	Thomas Wydder	Willis, <u>Mitred Abbeys</u> , ii, 167.
1486	Nicholas Wartre (ob.1497)	<u>C.Cl.R.1500-09</u> , p.71; <u>Ancient Deeds</u> , ii, B.2165.
1490	Nicholas Wartyr	<u>Ancient Deeds</u> , i, B.81.
	John Valone (ob.1494)	O.L. p.3.
1501	John Clerk (ob.1503)	Thompson, p.197.
	William Middleton(ob.1512)	O.L. p.10.
	Robert Benet (ob.1518)	Le Vasseur, ii, 310.
1531	John Houghton (d.1535)	O.L. p.15.
1535	Robert Laurence (d.1535)	Chauncy, <u>Historia</u> , pp.99-106.
1539	Thomas Woodcocke	<u>D.K.R.8</u> , p.9.

IV. Priors of London

It is possible to provide a complete list of priors of the London Charterhouse, since the register supplies the names until 1488, and the researches of W.St. John Hope have completed the catalogue (Hope, pp.147-50).

1370-98	John Luscote
1398-1412	John Okendon
1412-40	John Maplestead
1440-8	John Thorne
1448-9	John Walweyn
1449-68	John Seman
1468-77	Edmund Storer
1477-88	John Walsingham
1488-1500	Richard Roche
1500-29	William Tynbegh
1529-31	John Batmanson
1531-5	John Houghton
1536-8	William Trafford

V. Priors of Kingston-upon-Hull

1378	Walter de Kele (ob.1378)	<u>M.A. vi, i, 20-1.</u>
	John (ob.1404)	<u>O.L. p.20.</u>
1410	John Craven	<u>M.A. vi, i, 19.</u>
1412	Roger	<u>P.R.O. E.101/81/7.</u>
1414	Roger Rillyngton	<u>P.R.O. E.101/81/10.</u>
1415	Roger	<u>P.R.O. E.101/81/10.</u>
1423	Richard	<u>P.R.O. E.101/81/11.</u>
1426	John Wydryngton	<u>C.Cl.R.1422-9, p.314.</u>
1428	John	<u>P.R.O. E.101/81/13.</u>
1430	John Widrington	<u>P.R.O. E.101/81/13.</u>
1431	John Kaunsfeld (ob.1460)	<u>P.R.O. E.101/81/13.</u>
1433	John Caunsfield	<u>Notes on the Religious and Secular Houses of Yorkshire, ed. W.P. Baildon (Y.A.S.R.S. xvii, 1894), p.100.</u>
1436	John	<u>P.R.O. E.101/81/14.</u>
1439	John Caunsfield	<u>W.P. Baildon, op.cit, p.100.</u>
1449	John	<u>P.R.O. E.101/81/20.</u>
1461	Henry	<u>P.R.O. E.101/82/6.</u>
1464	Henry	<u>P.R.O. E.101/82/10.</u>
1465	Henry	<u>P.R.O. E.101/82/10.</u>
	Henry Gercenley (ob.1474)	<u>Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.446v.</u>
1475	Thomas	<u>P.R.O. E.101/82/15.</u>
1479	Thomas	<u>P.R.O. E.101/82/18.</u>
1490	Ralph	<u>A.S. Harvey, 'A Calendar of Documents relating to the Carthusian Priory and the Maison-Dieu Almshouse of Kingston-upon-Hull', Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society, xxx (1953), p.98.</u>
1498	Thomas Beverley (ob.1500)	<u>C.P.R.1494-1509, p.142.</u>
1500	William	<u>A.S. Harvey, op.cit. p.98.</u>
1500/1	William Sporle (ob.1503)	<u>O.L. p.20.</u>
	Thomas Bracebridge (d.1511)	<u>O.L. p.20.</u>
1514	Ralph	<u>J. Tickell, The History of the Town and County of Kingston-upon-Hull (London, 1796), p.143.</u>
1517	Ralph	<u>A.S. Harvey, op.cit. p.98.</u>
1529	Ralph Smyth	<u>York Prob.Reg. ix, f.440v.</u>
1536-40	Ralph Malevory	<u>L&P, xi, 385; xv, 544.</u>

Note: V.C.H. Yorkshire, iii, 192, claims that the Peter Burton alias Johnson who made his will on 24 February 1460 (York Prob. Reg. ii, f.429r) was the prior of Kingston-upon-Hull Charterhouse. In fact it is clear that he was the master of the Maison-Dieu Almshouse.

VI. Priors of Coventry

1382	John de Netherbury	<u>C.P.R.1381-5, p.107.</u>
1381-1403	Robert Palmer (ob.1409)	<u>O.L. p.22.</u>
1390	Robert	<u>C.P.R.1408-13, p.168-9.</u>
1392	Robert	<u>B.M.Add.Ms.5828, f.94v.</u>
1395	Robert	<u>Fretton, p.34.</u>
1399	Robert	<u>C.P.R.1396-9, p.579.</u>
1404	Robert Palmer	<u>C.P.R.1401-5, p.476.</u>
1406	Robert Palmer	<u>C.P.R.1405-8, p.265.</u>
1411	William Sowlyland	<u>Fretton, p.40.</u>
1413	William	<u>P.R.O. E.101/81/9.</u>
1417	William Sowlyland	<u>Fretton, p.40.</u>
1419	William	<u>B.M.Add.Ms.5828, f.94v.</u>
1421	William	<u>P.R.O. E.101/81/10.</u>

1423	William	P.R.O. E.101/81/11.
1430	William	P.R.O. E.101/81/13.
1431	William	P.R.O. E.101/81/13.
1436	William	P.R.O. E.101/81/14; B.M.Add.Ch.7385.
	John Walweyn (ob.1449)	Hope, p.149.
	Nicholas Kirthlington (ob.1467)	Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.372r.
1457-67	Robert Odyham (ob.1480)	D.L. p.13.
1459	Robert	B.M.Add.Ms.5828, f.94v.
1464	Robert	P.R.O. E.101/82/10.
1465	Robert	P.R.O. E.101/82/10.
1466	Robert	P.R.O. E.101/82/10.
1467-70	William Brown	D.L. p.10.
1475	John	P.R.O. E.101/82/15.
1479	Robert	P.R.O. E.101/82/18.
	Robert Parsell (ob.1505)	D.L. p.22.
1493	Thomas	<u>C.Cl.R.1500-9</u> , p.69.
1496	Thomas	E.M. Nugent, <u>The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance</u> (Cambridge, 1956), <i>ii</i> , 333.
		B.M.Add.Ms.5828, f.94v.
1503/4	Thomas	D.L. p.22.
	Thomas Richard(s) (ob.1515)	
1518	Henry	Fretton, p.40.
	Henry Wilson (ob.1524)	D.L. p.24.
1521	Thomas Tarleton (ob.1530)	Fretton, p.40.
1530	John	<u>L&P</u> , <i>iv</i> , 6542.
1530-5	Edmund	D.L. p.22.
1535-9	John Bochard	<u>V.E.</u> <i>iii</i> , 53; <u>L&P</u> , <i>xii</i> , <i>ii</i> , 411; <i>xiv</i> , <i>i</i> , 73.

VII. Priors of Axholme

1395	John de Moreby (ob.1432)	<u>C.P.R.1391-6</u> , p.607.
1413	John	<u>C.P.R.1413-6</u> , p.108.
1416	Thomas	P.R.O. E.101/81/10.
1421	John	P.R.O. E.101/81/10.
1423	John	P.R.O. E.101/81/11.
1429	Thomas	P.R.O. E.101/81/13.
1431	Thomas	P.R.O. E.101/81/13.
1432	Thomas	P.R.O. E.101/81/13.
1437	Robert	P.R.O. E.101/81/14.
1438	Robert Cawode	<u>Ancient Deeds</u> , <i>iii</i> , D.1284; <i>i</i> , B.268.
1441	Richard Burton (ob.1444)	Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.143v.
1444	Richard Burton	Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.157r.
1449	Henry	P.R.O. E.101/81/20.
1450	Henry	B.M. Add.Ch.20612.
	John Rothwell (ob.1459)	Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.284v.
	William Yreby (ob.1476)	Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.471v.
	Robert Mote (ob.1477)	B.M.Add.Ms.17092, f.12r.
1461	Richard	P.R.O. E.101/82/6.
1464	Richard	P.R.O. E.101/82/10.
1465	Richard	P.R.O. E.101/82/10.
1469	Richard	<u>C.P.R.1467-77</u> , p.157-8.
1472	Richard Boston (ob.1491)	<u>Formulare Anglicanum</u> , ed.F. Madox (London, 1702), pp.106-7.
1476	Richard	<u>Ancient Deeds</u> , <i>iii</i> , B.3951.
1478	Richard	P.R.O. E.101/82/18.

1479	Richard	P.R.O. E.101/82/18.
1479	Richard Boston	Lamb.Pal.Ms.413, f.500v.
1484	Richard Boston	<u>Ancient Deeds</u> , ii, B.3562.
1485	Richard Boston	<u>Ancient Deeds</u> , ii, B.1801.
1486	Richard Boston	<u>C.Cl.R.1485-1500</u> , p.45.
1487	Richard Boston	<u>Ancient Deeds</u> , iii, D.480.
	John (ob.1506)	O.L. p.24.
	(possibly John Robinson- late prior in 1543)	<u>L&P</u> , xviii, ii, 327(17).
1531	Robert	<u>L&P</u> , v, 226.
1535	Augustine Webster	Chauncy, <u>Historia</u> , pp.99-106.
1536-8	Michael Mekenas	<u>L&P</u> , x, 50; xiii, i, 1007.

VIII. Priors of Mount Grace

1398	Robert Thethawy (ob.1398)	<u>C.P.R.1396-9</u> , p.348.
1399	Edmund (ob.1410)	<u>C.P.R.1396-9</u> , p.497.
	(Osmund ex-prior in 1416 - possibly the same man)	<u>Monastic Chancery Proceedings (Yorkshire)</u> , ed. J.S. Purvis (Y.A.S.R.S. lxxxviii, 1934), p.92.
	William Muglam (ob.1410)	O.L. p.26.
1412	Thomas Middleton	P.R.O. E.101/81/7.
1412-21	Nicholas Love (ob.1424)	O.L. p.26.
1414	Nicholas Lufe	P.R.O. E.101/81/10.
1415	Nicholas	<u>C.P.R.1413-6</u> , p.355.
1416	Nicholas Love	<u>Notes on the Religious and Secular Houses of Yorkshire</u> , ed. W.P. Baildon (Y.A.S.R.S. xvii, 1894), p.144.
1422	Nicholas	P.R.O. E.101/81/11.
1421	Robert Layton	W.A. Pantin, ed. <u>Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540</u> (Camden Society, 3rd series, xlvi, 1933), pp.98, 107.
1421-47	Thomas Lockington (ob.1447)	O.L. p.12.
1425	Thomas Lockington	B.M.Add.Ms.5828, f.104v.
1428	Thomas	P.R.O. E.101/81/13.
1430	Thomas	P.R.O. E.101/81/13.
1431	Thomas	P.R.O. E.101/81/13.
1436	Thomas	<u>Cartularium Abbathiae de Rievalle Ordinis Cisterciensis</u> , ed. J.C. Atkinson (S.S. lxxxiii, 1889), p.351.
1437	Thomas Lockington	W.P. Baildon, <u>op.cit</u> , p.144.
1439	Thomas Lockington	<u>Ibid.</u> , p.144.
1448	Robert Leek (ob.1474)	<u>C.P.R.1446-52</u> , p.263.
1454	Robert Leek	W.P. Baildon, <u>op.cit</u> , p.144.
1458	Robert Leek	P.R.O. E.101/81/20.
1462	Robert	<u>C.P.R.1461-7</u> , p.161.
1464	Robert	P.R.O. E.101/82/10.
1465	Robert	P.R.O. E.101/82/10.
1469	Robert Leek	W.P. Baildon, <u>op.cit</u> , p.144.
1471	Robert	<u>C.P.R.1467-77</u> , p.304.
1473	Robert Leke	<u>Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York</u> , ed. R.H. Scaife (S.S. lvii, 1872), p.88.
1474-99	Thomas Atkynson (d.1499)	O.L. p.26.
1475	Thomas	P.R.O. E.101/82/15.

1476	Thomas	C.J.D. Ingledeu, <u>The History and Antiquities of Northallerton</u> (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1858), pp.264, 266.
1479	Thomas	P.R.O. E.101/82/18.
1484	Thomas Atkynson	York Prob.Reg. v, f.226v.
1497	Thomas	<u>English Miscellanies</u> , ed. J. Raine (S.S. lxxxv, 1890), p.50.
1500	Thomas	<u>C.P.R.1494-1509</u> , p.184.
1501	Henry Eccleston (d.1509)	W. Brown, 'Mount Grace Priory', <u>Y.A.J.</u> xviii (1905), p.264.
1506	Henry Eccleston	<u>Cartularium Abbatiae de Rievallae</u> , p.357.
1509-22	John Norton (ob.1522)	D.L. p.27.
1520	John	W. Brown, 'Mount Grace Priory: History of the Priory', <u>Y.A.J.</u> vii (1882), p.487.
1522-39	John Wilson (described as prior for the last 20 years in 1540).	D.L. p.27. <u>L&P</u> , xv, 125.
1522	John	<u>Clifford Letters</u> , p.63.
1523	John	<u>Ibid.</u> p67.
1523	John	P.R.O. E.303/24/542
1532	John	P.R.O. E.303/24/519
1536	John Wilson	<u>L&P</u> , xi, 75.

IX. Priors of Sheen

1414	John Widrington	<u>M.A.</u> vi, i, 31.
1423	John Buckingham (appointed)(ob.1457)	D.L. p.30
1424	John Buckingham	P.R.O. E.101/81/11.
1428	John Bokyngham	P.R.O. E.101/81/13.
1430	John Bokyngham	P.R.O. E.101/81/13; <u>C.P.R.1429-36</u> , p.87.
1431	John Bokyngham	P.R.O. E.101/81/13; B.M.Add.Ms.5828, f.93v.
1436	John Bokyngham	P.R.O. E.101/81/14.
1439	John Bokyngham	P.R.O. E.101/81/15.
1442	John Buckingham	B.M.Add.Ms.5828, f.93v.
1461	John Ives (ob.1492)	<u>C.P.R.1461-17</u> , p.160-1.
1465	John Ives	P.R.O. E.101/82/10.
1474	William Wyldy (ob.1483)	<u>C.P.R.1467-77</u> , pp.434, 436, 467.
1476	William Wyldy	B.M.Add.Ms.5828, f.92v.
1477	William Wyldy	<u>C.P.R.1467-77</u> , p.582.
1477-96	John Ingleby	<u>Le Vasseur</u> , iii, 232.
1478	John Ingleby	P.R.O. E.101/82/18.
1479	John Ingilby	P.R.O. E.101/82/18; <u>C.P.R.1476-85</u> , p.156.
1480	John Ingilby	<u>C.P.R.1476-85</u> , p.204.
1483	John Ingilby	<u>Ancient Deeds</u> , iii, A.4756.
1496-1503	Ralph Tracy (killed)	<u>Le Vasseur</u> , i, 355.
1503-35	John Joburne (ob.1536)	D.L. p.31.
1504	John Joburne	B.M.Add.Ms.5828, f.93v.
1512	John Joburne	<u>L&P</u> , i, 3045.
1530	John Joburne	<u>L&P</u> , iv, 6264.
1532	John Joburn	<u>Ancient Deeds</u> , iii, A.4758.
1533	John Joburne	B.M.Add.Ms.5828, f.93v.

- 1534 Brian V.C.H. Surrey, ii, 93 (Unreferenced and highly suspect).
 1535-9 Henry Man L&P, x, 22; viii, 585; xv, 545 etc.

X. Priors of Perth

This list is included for the sake of comprehensiveness, and because it is nowhere in print. It is taken from the Parkminster Obit List pp.53-4.

- | | | |
|-----------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 1429-34 | Oswald de Corda (d.1434) | |
| 1434-41 | Adam de Hongalaside (d.1441) | |
| 1442-3 | Laurence Hutton (d.1473) | deposed. |
| 1443 | Patrick Russell | |
| 1445 | Michael Virey | d. before he could take up office. |
| 1444-5 | Brice Montgomery (d.1476) | |
| 1445 | Brice Wych | deposed. |
| 1446-51 | Maurice Barry (d.1459) | |
| 1452-5 | Martin Groether (d.1456) | |
| 1455-6 | James Bayne | Self-elected, and deposed by the general chapter. |
| 1456-8 | Simon Fairlie | |
| 1462-71 | Andrew Telfer (d.1472) | |
| 1472-4 | Patrick Russell (d.1488) | the same man as in 1443. |
| 1476-86 | John Davidson (d.1487) | |
| 1487-91 | David Simson | |
| 1492-5 | Walter Lyall (d.1496) | |
| 1498-1500 | John Ramsay (d.1502) | |
| 1501-6 | Alan (?Dawson) | |
| 1513-6 | William Trombil (d.1517) | |
| 1517-28 | Hugh Morin | |
| 1528 | John Swinton | |
| 1537 | Alexander Inglis | |
| 1544 | Simon Galloway | |
| 1552-4 | Adam Forman | |
| 1558 | Hugh | |
| 1558 | Adam Forman | |
| 1565-6 | Adam Forman | |

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Add. Ms. 6164. Notes on alien priories.

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