

University of Leeds

The Monastic Grange : a survey of the
historical and archaeological evidence.

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by

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

1966

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Mr. Bishop's study, while remaining a classic, has recently been followed up in a succession of unpublished (or only partly published) theses, largely the work of historical

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1. Bishop, 'Monastic Granges in Yorkshire'. (Short titles only will be given in the footnotes; for a full reference, see the bibliography).

Chapter I. Introduction.

The systematic study of the monastic grange in England began with the publication in 1936 of Mr. T.A.M. Bishop's work on the estates of the Yorkshire religious houses.⁽¹⁾ Mr. Bishop, remarking that an invariable characteristic of the early grange was the cultivation of the estate by the monastic house, restricted his study primarily to the centuries that preceded the leasing of the granges to lay tenants, a process which he attributed mainly to the 14th century and later. Within the two centuries before 1300, Mr. Bishop examined the creation and consolidation of the grange by processes of gift, purchase and exchange. He demonstrated differences in grange organisation between the religious houses of the 12th century, Gilbertines and Augustin~~ians~~^{ians} on the one hand, Cistercians on the other. In dealing with the Cistercians, he stressed the isolationism of the order. He mentioned the depopulation of villages before the expansion of Cistercian estates, and noted the association of many Cistercian holdings with land previously uncultivated or waste.

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geographers. Of these, Dr. R.A. Donkin's, presented in 1953, was the most complete. Dr. Donkin, who has since published a number of specialised studies on related themes, examined what he termed the 'geographical significance' of Cistercian foundations in England. He placed a major emphasis, as Mr. Bishop had done, on the agricultural techniques of the religious houses of north-east England. He emphasised, once again, the apparent correlation of Cistercian estates with lands lying devastated and waste. He discussed the Cistercian contribution to wool production in medieval England, and went on to make the point that the Cistercians ran cattle at their granges on at the least a comparable scale. In further chapters he considered the problems of arable cultivation at the granges, of the relation of the granges to the royal forests, of the distribution of estates, and of assarting and consolidation at the holdings once acquired. As Mr. Bishop had done, he saw widespread depopulation of existing peasant settlements to have been a necessary consequence of the expansion of the Cistercian estates. In a series of lengthy appendices, Dr. Donkin listed the known granges of the English Cistercian houses, the incidence of cattle-lodges, of tanneries, of fulling-mills, and of markets on Cistercian estates, and the evidence for depopulation in

Yorkshire.⁽²⁾ Very similar ground was covered by the exactly contemporary thesis of Miss P.B. Atkinson, who wrote on the 'Cistercian grange system of Yorkshire'.⁽³⁾ In 1958 Mr. B. Waites, while restricting his treatment still further to that region of north-east Yorkshire bounded by the Tees on the north, the Vale of York on the west and the Wolds on the south, included a strong plea for the recognition of some of the older houses, in particular the Benedictines of Whitby, in the category of grange-owners. He stressed the importance of the monastic contribution to the re-settlement and economic growth of the north-east.⁽⁴⁾

The great extent, and ample documentation, of the monastic estates in Yorkshire has encouraged the concentration of research

2. Donkin, The Geographical Significance of Cistercian Foundations in England, (Durham Ph.D., 1953). For the same author's published work, see 'Bercaria and Lanaria'; 'The Disposal of Cistercian Wool in England and Wales'; 'The Site Changes of Medieval Cistercian Monasteries'; 'Settlement and Depopulation on Cistercian Estates'; 'Cattle on the Estates of Medieval Cistercian Monasteries'; and 'The Cistercian Grange in England in the 12th and 13th centuries'.
3. Atkinson, The Cistercian Grange System of Yorkshire, (London MA., 1953).
4. Waites, The Monasteries and the Medieval Development of N.E. Yorkshire, (London M.A., 1958). See also the same author's 'The Monastic Settlement of North-East Yorkshire' and 'The Monastic Grange as a Factor in the Settlement of North-East Yorkshire'.

in the region. Yet there have been other studies, in general restricted to the estates of a single religious house, which have carried those same interests outside the county. An early example of these is the Rev. W. Baxter's short article, published in 1914, on the granges of the Cumberland house at Holm Cultram.⁽⁵⁾ More recently, Mr. E.G. Bowen drew a distinction between the upland and lowland grange in a brief study of the economy of Strata Florida, in Cardiganshire.⁽⁶⁾ A larger work on the history of the abbey of Aberconway and its estates has emphasised the vast extent of the pasture concessions controlled by the abbey through its granges.⁽⁷⁾ And the contribution of the granges to the economic organisation of the owning house again attracted the attention of Mr. E.S. Lindley in his useful topographical and historical study of the granges of Kingswood Abbey, in Gloucestershire.⁽⁸⁾ Recent editions of the records of the Cistercian houses at Stoneleigh and at Sibton have been accompanied by valuable introductions, in each of which the siting and economic significance of the granges has been discussed.⁽⁹⁾

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5. Baxter, 'The Granges of Holm Cultram'.
 6. Bowen, 'The Monastic Economy of the Cistercians at Strata Florida'.
 7. Hays, History of the Abbey of Aberconway.
 8. Lindley, 'Kingswood Abbey, its lands and mills'; for a useful selection of documents relating to the Kingswood estates, see Perkins, 'Documents Relating to Kingswood'.
 9. Stoneleigh Leger Book (ed. R.H. Hilton), and Sibton Estates (ed. A.H. Denney).

In more general terms, Mr. C.V. Graves and Mr. J.S. Donnelly have shared between them the analysis of the Cistercian economy in medieval England. Mr. Graves stressed the wide range of economic activity in which the Cistercians took their part. He quoted instances of markets held at the granges of individual houses, and emphasised the extent of contemporary criticism of the depopulations attributed to the order.⁽¹⁰⁾ Mr. Donnelly, taking the centuries after 1300 as his field, adopted as his principal theme the leasing and partition of the granges.⁽¹¹⁾ In an earlier study, published in 1949, he had already discussed the decline of the Cistercian laybrotherhood in Western Europe, a process which he saw as beginning as early as the last quarter of the 12th century, and to which he attributed at least some of the readiness of the religious houses to lease their granges to lay tenants.⁽¹²⁾

Continental scholars have long interested themselves in the problems treated by Mr. Graves and Mr. Donnelly. Some of the conclusions of the first German agricultural historians were employed by Mr. J.W. Thompson in a brief account of Cistercian colonization and enclosure in medieval Germany. Mr. Thompson stressed the variety of economic enterprise undertaken by the

10. Graves, 'The Economic Activities of the Cistercians'.

11. Donnelly, 'Changes in the Grange Economy'.

12. Donnelly, The Decline of the Medieval Cistercian Laybrotherhood.

Cistercians at their granges, and treated the question of staffing at the greater establishments of the order.⁽¹³⁾ In two modern studies, the Cistercian houses of Lower Saxony have been placed in their economic setting.⁽¹⁴⁾ There have been recent useful accounts of the industrial and agricultural economies of religious houses in Piedmont, Tuscany and Portugal.⁽¹⁵⁾ And the work of French and Belgian scholars, pioneered by Dr. E. de Moreau's excellent study of the economy of the Cistercian community at Villers in Brabant,⁽¹⁶⁾ has led, in the last year, to the publication of the first full-length topographical and historical account of a single grange establishment, the grange of Vaulerent, formerly a possession of Chaalis.⁽¹⁷⁾

Both in England and on the Continent the economic significance of the grange is already well understood. As an early example of the planned exploitation of agricultural resources, the grange features in all economic, and most general,

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13. Thompson, 'The Cistercian Order and Colonization in Medieval Germany'.
 14. Wiswe, 'Grangien niedersächsischer Zisterzienserklöster', and Schnath, 'Vom Wesen und Wirken der Zisterzienser in Niedersachsen'.
 15. Gosso, Vita economica delle Abbazie Piemontesi; Jones, 'A Tuscan Monastic Lordship'; Cocheril, 'L'Ordre de Cîteaux au Portugal'.
 16. Moreau, L'Abbaye de Villers-en-Brabant.
 17. Higounet, La Grange de Vaulerent.

18. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, p.216.

histories of the period. Specialised studies have shown the importance of monastic investment in individual regions. Wider summaries have attempted to relate the grange to the national economy as a whole. Yet, with the exception of Professor Charles Higounet's monograph on the Chaalis grange at Vaulerent, no detailed study has yet been made of the grange in its archaeological and topographical setting. And even Professor Higounet, although he publishes plans of the great surviving barn at Vaulerent and of the fields that comprised the estate, attempts nothing in the way of a further interpretation of its buildings. To the modern monastic historian, the buildings at the grange have failed to rate any particular attention. They have been dismissed, for example, as 'merely a collection of farm buildings with a small oratory and common dining and sleeping accommodation'.⁽¹⁸⁾ But although this may have been, in substance, precisely what those buildings comprised, such summary treatment could convey little of the scale of monastic investment on the estates, still less of the nature of the community recruited to handle each establishment.

There has remained, then, a wide disparity of treatment between the detailed examination of the economy of the grange and the ready dismissal of its buildings. It has not fallen within the province of the historian, the economist, or the geographer to consider the one problem which to the archaeologist, of course,

18. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, p.216.

is central. Strictly, it is the archaeology of the grange that demands study, and it is to this, in consequence, that the greater part of the following enquiry will be turned. Inevitably, the examination of the archaeological remains will raise questions of a wider concern. It might be said, for example, that the nature of the buildings at the grange had an obvious relation to the staffing. But the implications of recruitment and its problems are plainly of more than merely architectural interest. They might be claimed to have a bearing, indeed, on our understanding of the characteristics of the 12th-century monastic settlement as a whole.

The treatment of the grange as a physical presence in the medieval landscape has required the use of evidence from a wide variety of sources. An initial list of architectural remains, the majority of which have since been checked on the ground, was compiled by reference to the archaeological journals and to the index cards and folders of the National Buildings Record and the Archaeological Division of the Ordnance Survey. Published tax records and cartularies were employed in the assembly of a wide sample of earthwork sites, for the most part located in Yorkshire. Visits to over three hundred potential sites yielded a total of just over fifty promising earthworks, and it is from these, principally, that the material will be drawn for a first classification of grange earthworks, and for a general discussion of their form. Each site showing an archaeological potential

will be listed and described in a preliminary gazetteer of grange sites, attached to this study as an appendix. In addition, it was early felt that the tentative conclusions of field survey should be put to the test by excavation. A trial excavation, reported in a separate appendix, was organised at Cowton Grange, near Northallerton in the North Riding. The excavation report will be designed to make the most of a combination of the historical and the archaeological evidence in the analysis of a single earthwork site, one of the best-preserved in the county.

The limits agreed in the fieldwork have also, in large measure, determined the nature of the documentary search. References to grange buildings were sought over a wide front, but the greater part of the material to be used in the following study has been drawn from the detailed examination of the historical background of sites already selected for their archaeological interest. The documentary sources employed have ranged from the chronicles and cartularies of the 13th and 14th centuries to the accounts and inventories of the royal officials at the final suppression of the religious houses. To these have been added such earlier surveys and extents as have thrown further light on the nature or employment of the buildings at the grange. An important class of records, of which I have found no evidence of use by grange historians in the past, has proved to be the great series of tithe apportionments preserved at the offices of the

Tithe Commissioners, Finsbury Square, London. The grave limitations of the apportionments must, of course, be acknowledged. Nevertheless, they will be shown to contribute much to the general assessment of the nature of the grange estate, its situation, disposition and extent.

In sum, it is proposed to employ the archaeological, the topographical and the historical evidence equally to demonstrate whatever may be known of the physical characteristics of the medieval monastic grange. In identifying these characteristics, in particular as they concern the buildings, something will have to be said of the use and the extent of the lands that made up the estate. It will be necessary, furthermore, to treat the problems of staffing and of recruitment on the grange, and to consider how the labour force was housed. Changes in the economy of the grange may be expected to have had their effect on the buildings. Certainly, while restricting the number of the estates still held in demesne, such changes appear to have widened the range of grange-owners to include the older orders as well. The date and the nature of these changes will be examined, and their likely consequences will be assessed. Finally, the eventual suppression of the religious houses will be treated not for its acknowledged importance in the promotion and endowment of the Tudor landowning class, but for its purely local significance in the preservation, or destruction, of such grange buildings as had survived the

economic reversals of earlier generations. In no sense should this study be counted as a re-examination of the social and economic significance of the grange. Where it touches upon those fields, it will do so only because the conjunction of the historical and the archaeological evidence has seemed to require, in a number of instances, a reinterpretation of earlier beliefs.

At the same period it might equally have been said to comprehend every material aspect within a reasonable estimate. It is the 15th century, that is, the work would carry several messages; by the 16th century its use had widened to include a wider area; currently a 'grange' may signify any former manorial house or farm. It can be shown that contemporaries of the institution during its active life frequently used terms to imply that they took to be the correct terminology. Indeed, where necessary, or jurisdictional, interests were at stake, they would afford to do no less. We know, for example, that the distinction was important in 14th-century Ireland. In 1367 Brother Richard Chirton, prior of Buisson, plausibly - and successfully - argued that Buisson, the Irish estate-centre of the Glengower-shire jurisdiction of Blanthony Bannock, was neither a priory nor a priory-hall. Chirton described it, rather, as a stone-house or house of Blanthony, at which he, as prior, held his religious charge.¹ In the same way, corrections and comments, reinforcing

1. Blanthony Cart., pp.291-2.

Chapter II. The Grange Buildings : Architectural Remains.

Few medieval institutions, whatever their origin or purpose, admit of concise definition. The grange, it might be said, defies it. Throughout the Middle Ages the term 'grange' might have been employed, for example, to denote no more than a rectorial tithe barn. At the same period it might equally have been used to comprehend every material asset within a considerable estate. Even in the 12th century, that is, the word could carry several meanings; by the 16th century its use had widened to include a number more; currently a 'grange' may signify any former monastic manor-house or farm. Yet it can be shown that contemporaries of the institution during its active life frequently took pains to employ what they took to be the correct terminology. Indeed, where monetary, or jurisdictional, interests were at stake, they could afford to do no less. We know, for example, that the distinction was important in 14th-century Ireland. In 1387 Brother Richard Chiriton, proctor of Duleek, plausibly - and successfully - argued that Duleek, the Irish estate-centre of the Gloucestershire Augustinians of Llanthony Secunda, was neither a priory nor a priory-cell. Chiriton described it, rather, as a store-house or grange of Llanthony, at which he, as proctor, held no religious charge.⁽¹⁾ In the same way, corrections and amendments, reinforcing

1. Llanthony Cart., pp.281-2.

the distinction between manor-house and grange, were by no means uncommon in documents of a somewhat later date. A 15th-century Peterborough scribe, having mistakenly listed the manor at Sutton as a 'grange', might erase the word, entering the correct description above.⁽²⁾ Again, the royal officials almost a century later would show a like precision in amending the Whalley accounts to read 'grange' alone, where 'manor or grange' had previously been used to describe that abbey's estate at Stanlaw.⁽³⁾

The certainty that contemporaries were prepared, on occasion, to display, may be less easy to match today. It may be reasonable, that is, to think of the grange as a fair-sized demesne farm, organised and worked by lay brethren under the general supervision of the cellarer at the abbey. It may also be true that the Cistercians, usually accepted as the initiators of the system of demesne farming on this scale, were also the most powerful and consistent exponents of the grange economy throughout the 12th and 13th centuries. But the Cistercians were not, of course, alone in the foundation and working of granges. In due course, we shall be noticing an apparent anticipation of the Cistercian model in the Cluniac grange at Swanborough (Sussex).

2. Peterborough, Book of William Morton, p.40.

3. P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/300, f.32.

Further, contemporary religious orders, in particular the orders of regular canons, devised similar systems of their own. They may, as was certainly the case with the Gilbertines, have modelled their practice directly upon that of the Cistercians.

The mere fact that other religious orders were prepared to take over the grange as an economic unit has itself a twofold importance. In the first place, it should be obvious that not only would the other orders adopt the grange as a method of organisation, they would proceed to adapt it as well. In the second place, the conditions that permitted the foundation of a grange clearly applied, in the 12th century, equally to every aspiring founder. It substantially widens the scope of this present enquiry if we are to consider that the practice of orders other than the Cistercian, if it differed in matters of detail from the accepted Cistercian model, in general was the product of an environment substantially the same. In short, if the problems were virtually identical, the answers were not likely to have varied in many important respects.

The decision to establish a grange clearly carried with it the recognition of a preliminary responsibility - the provision of adequate accommodation to house labourers, equipment and stock. Whether the grange were established in isolation, or whether it

were sited - as was frequently the case with the granges of the regular canons - next door to a parish church, the immediate urgency would have been to provide a principal dwelling for the deputies of the monastic house itself. From such a centre, the further organisation of a labour force, and the progressive rationalisation of lands, might then be expected to proceed. It is plain that few monastic houses in their early years were lavishly supplied with ready capital. In consequence, it is certain that the majority of grange buildings were constructed initially along very simple lines. A small hall might have served as a refectory for the lay brethren on the estate; it might, further, have doubled as a dormitory as well. A single chamber should have met the needs of the master, or granger, charged with the supervision of the community. In due course, mounting prosperity at the centre might have led to more lavish provision on the outlying granges of each house. A chamber, or a chapel, might have been added; there is good reason to believe that many of the barns were rebuilt. But are we, strictly, entitled to expect more elaborate arrangements than these? In the past, it seems often to have been taken for granted that we were.

On the assumption, surely unjustified, that the observance of a modified monastic rule at the grange necessitated the supply of buildings on a modified monastic plan, Miss Graham concluded

that each Gilbertine grange might be thought of as a 'small religious house, with its oratory, frater, dorter, common-room, and guest hostel'. Similarly, at the so-called 'granges' of Cluny, Miss Evans envisaged the provision of each with a 'refectory and dormitory, and generally with a chapel, cloister, and guest-room also'.⁽⁴⁾ As for the Cistercian grange, M. Moreau not merely equipped the establishment with an oratory, a warming-house, a dorter, a refectory, and a chapter-house, but also intimated that these would have been planned on precisely the scheme already adopted at the monastery itself.⁽⁵⁾ Further, M. Aubert, the archaeologist and architectural historian, concluded much the same. The grange, he said, besides the essential buildings of the farm, must have included a dormitory, a refectory, a warming-house, and a chapel. At the more important establishments, an infirmary and a guest house might usually have been expected as well. In effect, the grange would have seemed 'une sorte de reduction de l'abbaye voisine'.⁽⁶⁾ M. Aubert published his justly

4. Graham, St. Gilbert of Sempringham, p.65, and Evans, Monastic Life at Cluny, p.68.

5. Moreau, L'Abbaye de Villers, p.171.

6. Aubert, L'Architecture Cistercienne, ii.159-60.

celebrated study of Cistercian architecture in 1943. Since that date, little advance has been made on the conclusions that he reached. In general, as we have seen, modern students of the grange have turned their attention not to the buildings at the heart of the estate, but to the grange economy and to the relation of that economy both to the abbey and to the world outside. Where something has been said of the grange buildings, it has been usual to treat them in such general terms as to render the result wholly unexceptionable. Alternatively, the old interpretations have been repeated uncritically, or merely implicitly assumed. Dr. Donkin's latest study of the Cistercian grange in England, published in 1964, may be taken as a case in point. Discussing the buildings of the Yorkshire grange at Croo, of which a short description survives in the Meaux chronicle, he noted the listing of a domus principalis, or dwelling-house, on the estate. This, he remarked, would probably incorporate a 'dormitory, refectory and calefactory for the use of the conversi',⁽⁷⁾

The interpretation repeated by Dr. Donkin must not, of course, be rejected out of hand. In its support, it remains possible to quote the well-used 14th-century account of Pipewell's grange at Cawston, not the less frequently cited for being, to all appearances, unique. At Cawston, we are told, a great fire in

7.. Donkin, 'The Cistercian Grange in England in the 12th and 13th centuries', p.99.

1307 destroyed the greater part of the domestic buildings of the grange. These included the cloister, both dormitories, the reredorter, the frater, the chapel, and the kitchen, as well as several other chambers, among them the chamber of the abbot.⁽⁸⁾ Yet 1307 is already too late a date for the description to have much value, and the grange, sited some twenty-five miles to the south-west of the abbey, might have been expected to be better equipped, if only by reason of its remoteness, than its equivalents nearer at hand. Further, the nature of the accommodation provided at the grange clearly suggests that the estate was used as a resort, or rest-house, of the abbot and convent at Pipewell. In this, again, it can hardly have been less than exceptional, for the majority of the granges were designed not as alternative quarters for a full-scale community of choir monks, but as the permanent home of a small group of lay brethren and their servants, sent out to manage the estate.

For a different reason, the wide relevance of another frequently-quoted descriptive passage is equally open to doubt. A 13th-century observer at Clairvaux, setting down his impressions of the monastery and its environs in terms of lyrical praise, has often been cited in the argument for an identity of planning in grange and monastic house. To be sure, it was his contention that the two home granges of the abbey might truly have been likened to

8. B.M., Cotton Otho B.xiv, f.154v.

monastic houses in their own right. Were it not, he declared, for the yokes, the ploughs, and the other farm equipment visible beside them, it would have been difficult to identify such palatial buildings as the dwellings of lay brethren. Indeed, to his mind, such buildings would have seemed, both for their size and for their beauty, to have been better suited to house a community of monks.⁽⁹⁾ Yet the description could hardly be said to be unprejudiced; nor could it truly imply more than that the farm buildings at an exceptionally important religious house could sometimes have been constructed to impressive proportions. A contemporary observer, we know, saw and was amazed at the scale of the great barns and wagon-sheds at the home farms of Clairvaux. But did he say that these farms were actually identical with the monastic houses he uses as a comparison? Or does he do no more than imply that they looked as if they might have been from afar?

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A repetition on the grange of a barely-modified version of the monastic plan may be argued to be unlikely. But we are no nearer, as yet, to the suggestion of an acceptable alternative. In some measure, we may expect to arrive at the answer through the study of existing buildings. But the accidents of survival have

9. Patrologia Latina, clxxxv.571.

been unkind to the Cistercian grange, and we shall have to look for the bulk of our evidence elsewhere. Here again, then, we may start with the question as to what sort of accommodation is most likely to have been provided. The simple pattern already suggested will be found consistently repeated in such buildings as have survived to this day.

For the 12th century, there are no buildings, domestic or agricultural, remaining at a Cistercian grange. Yet the century was widely characterised by a notable monastic expansion, and the building activity of the other orders must frequently have paralleled that of the Cistercians. Towards the end of the century, the Cluniacs of Lewes constructed their manor-house at Swanborough. Almost a century before, the Benedictines of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, had rebuilt the manor of Minster (Kent), formerly a house of nuns. Now, it is clear that we have yet to establish the relevance of parallels such as these. But we know that fashions in buildings are not the most subject to change, and we shall have reason, in due course, to argue that the nature of the Cistercian expansion had less of individuality to distinguish it than we have often been led to suppose. In the circumstances, and in the absence of anything better, both Swanborough and Minster may have their value as a beginning to the discussion.

Of the two sets of buildings, those at Minster are undoubtedly the more important. The manor of Minster in Thanet, acquired early in the 11th century by gift of Cnut, rapidly became the most valuable single possession of the already wealthy community at St. Augustine's. Some part of the original buildings of the former nunnery, sacked and set alight by the Danes, may conceivably have survived the disaster. But it is certain that considerable rebuilding was undertaken at the manor late in the 11th century, or early in the 12th. Significantly, despite the obvious importance of the establishment, both at this time and later, the accommodation provided at the manor-house remained of the very simplest. It was set about three sides of a small interior court, and it included in the north range a hall, in the west range a set of chambers, and on the south a chapel (plate 1 and fig. 1). Excavations, conducted on the site in 1930, recovered the plan of the chapel. It was supplied at its west end with a massive square tower, the north wall of which - now the south external wall of the existing west range - survives to this day. The east end of the chapel terminated in an apse $9\frac{1}{2}'$ in radius; the chancel measured $20' \times 19'$, the nave $47' \times 23'6''$, and the western tower $25' \times 23'$. On the opposite (or northern) side of the court, the hall originally measured $63' \times 26'$, occupying the greater part of the north range. It was lit by small, round-headed

windows, set high on the north and south walls. Of the two windows on the south wall, one survives intact over the remodelled screens-passage door. The finely-moulded eastern gable window, and the four blocked Norman windows of the north wall are shown in Blore's early 19th-century drawing of the manor-house (plate 2). The present interior arrangements of the buildings are largely the result of the extensive modifications undertaken early in the 15th century by Abbot Thomas Hunden (1405 - 20). Abbot Hunden's monogram may still be seen over the north door of the mansion. Under his direction, the hall was shortened at its western end, and a floor was introduced to divide the building into two storeys. Further drastic rebuilding would seem to have been undertaken late in the 17th century.⁽¹⁰⁾

The simplicity of the domestic accommodation supplied at the Benedictine manor-house at Minster was matched, a century later, at the Cluniac grange at Swanborough, near Lewes. Today, the only surviving medieval building at Swanborough is the north range of the mansion, incorporating at its west end a small interior gate-house of 13th - 14th-century date (figure 1). The interior

10. Kipps, 'Minster Court, Thanet', pp.213-23 (with plan). For the engraved elevation of Minster Court, and for Edward Blore's drawing of the north front of the Court, see B.M., Add. 32,368, f.151, and Add. 42,017, f.2.

11. Country Life, 3 November 1934; also Ordnance Survey Ref. Card, Sussex 67879.

arrangements of the building, and the slender lancet window still visible towards the east end of the north wall, make it clear that a hall, measuring some 37' x 15'6", extended originally to the full height of the building. In its west wall, two doorways, now blocked, gave access to a screens passage; in the east wall, a door and a quatrefoil peep-hole opened into a small chapel, occupying the whole of the east end of the range. It is likely that a single private chamber was sited over the chapel to the east of the hall, and that the kitchen was originally a detached, or lean-to, building beyond the screens passage to the west. As at Minster, considerable works of modernisation and improvement were undertaken at Swanborough at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries. A floor was inserted to divide the hall into an upper and a lower chamber. At the same time, the outer walls of the entire building were raised, the original lancet windows were blocked, and three two-light windows with trefoiled heads were inserted to serve the new chambers. The two good fireplaces and much of the surviving timber-work, including the fine timber roofs of both apartments and some extensively restored panelling, are usually dated to this period.⁽¹¹⁾ Some part of this later work, which may have included the addition of an east wing, may be seen

11. Country Life, 3 November 1934; also Ordnance Survey Ref. Card, Sussex 67NW9.

in James Lambert's late 18th-century water-colour sketches of the mansion (plates 3 and 4). At the time, much of the medieval work was in ruinous condition. It has since been carefully restored.

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The domestic planning at both Swanborough and Minster clearly conformed to an entirely conventional scheme. At the two mansions, the private accommodation centred on a hall, to which a single chamber (or set of chambers) was attached. In each case, a chapel was added for the convenience of the inmates, although - as we shall see - the supply of a chapel to buildings even on monastic estates was to prove the exception rather than the rule. Quite obviously, neither building was designed to repeat in any particular the accepted monastic plan - this despite the fact that, unlike the majority of Cistercian granges, the buildings at both Swanborough and Minster were called upon to house choir monks for at least some portion of their pre-dissolution existence. Over the years, although substantial modernisations were undertaken at both buildings early in the 15th century, it is worth comment that at neither was the original accommodation very markedly enlarged. A lease of Minster, dated 21 June 1536, reveals that the abbot and convent of St. Augustine's chose still to reserve to their own use no more than the standard apartments of their mansion - the hall, certain chambers, the kitchen, the

parlour, and a stable.⁽¹²⁾ At Swanborough, although the buildings had remained in the hands of the prior until the suppression of his house, and although the estate itself had continued to be held essential to the economy of the priory, the mansion, following the dispersal of the community, was yet considered 'too little' to house Mr. Gregory, Cromwell's son, and his company.⁽¹³⁾

Plainly, the provision of exceptional accommodation, even on an important manor or demesne grange, was not considered essential by either the Benedictine or the Cluniac community. It is not easy to see why one should expect anything more elaborate from the Cistercians. Indeed, in so far as the Cistercians would have been expecting only to provide for lay brethren on their estates, there must be less, rather than more, reason to anticipate extravagant expenditure. In the following chapter, an examination of what little exists of the documentary evidence will suggest some possibility of early variations in the Cistercian plan. But as for surviving buildings, no work earlier than the 13th century may be identified on a Cistercian estate in England, and the only domestic range to remain in any sense intact is the 15th-century structure probably incorporated in the later buildings at Dymock (Gloucestershire). Leigh Grange

12. P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/1755, m.5.

13. L. & P., Hen.VIII, XIII.i.389.

in Churchstow (Devonshire), arguably not a monastic grange at all, cannot, in any case, date much more than a century before the final suppression of the Cistercian community at Buckfast.

On the estates of the other religious orders, it may be noted that the essentials of the plan adopted in the 12th century at Minster and at Swanborough continued to find expression in new buildings throughout the centuries that followed. Of this, there are fine 14th-century examples at Ashleworth (Gloucestershire) and at Broadway (Worcestershire). Cumnor Place (Berkshire), though demolished early in the 19th century, was described and illustrated in such detail as to make its planning clear. Salmstone (Kent), Charney Bassett (Berkshire) and Sutton Courtenay (Berkshire), all of a similar date, repeat, or suggest, the plan. In the 15th century, its use was standard again. A good set of buildings, constructed to similar specifications, survives virtually intact at Tisbury (Wiltshire). There are fragmentary buildings, datable to the same century, at Ingarsby (Leicestershire) and, once again, at Ince (Cheshire). To select a few examples from these, Broadway and Cumnor may be employed to illustrate the domestic range built as a piece; Salmstone, the incidence of free-standing units. Tisbury, a group of buildings of quite exceptional interest, will demonstrate the extraordinary longevity of a plan already in use at Minster as much as four centuries before.

At Broadway, the fine pencil drawings of Edward Blore complement and extend our knowledge of a building even now only partially obscured by extensive modern additions (Plates 5, 6 and 7). Within these latter, the 14th-century hall, chamber and oratory remain, in all essentials, intact. The hall - although at 19' x 25' exceptionally broad for its length - incorporates all the traditional features of such an apartment. Opposing doors still mark the position of a former screens passage; in the north wall, two doors give access to what must originally have been a buttery and pantry; in the south wall, at the south-east corner of the hall, another door opens onto a small staircase leading to the private apartments of the abbot, or of his representative on the estate. Off a little landing on the stair, there is a diminutive private oratory, measuring only 7' x 13'. It is lit by windows on every wall, one of them a small trefoil opening into the hall below. Beyond it, the chamber, by contrast, is a very substantial apartment. It stretches the full width of the building, and measures 13' x 26'. Amongst its fittings are a squint, allowing a view of the hall, and a good side-wall fireplace. The open timber roof, like that

13. *Drawings of Broadway, by Charles Long*, and also in the *British Museum collection*. Like the Blore drawings, they date the modern additions (B.M., nos. 37,526, 37,529, 360).

14. *P.R.S., Wis. Accts., 20.4/Bea/VIII/4077*, 213.

15. *P.R.S., Bea/VIII, XIII.1.585*, and *ibid.*, vol. 714.

of the hall, has remained largely original.⁽¹⁴⁾ It is likely that Broadway continued in use as a place of resort for the abbot and convent of Pershore until the dissolution. Certainly, chambers and parlours within the mansion were reserved to the monks on the leasing of the Broadway estate on 14 October 1535.⁽¹⁵⁾

The parallels between the extant buildings at Broadway and the demolished mansion at Cumnor are close. Cumnor remained, like Broadway, a demesne manor of a Benedictine community, the members of which may at any time have visited, and stayed at, the mansion. On the suppression in 1538 of the house at Abingdon, Cumnor Place was granted for life to Thomas Rowland, alias Pentecost, the last abbot of Abingdon. It remained in his possession and occupation for at least another two years.⁽¹⁶⁾ Considerable extensions were undertaken at Cumnor in the 15th and 16th centuries, enclosing a court to the east of the 14th-century domestic range. The latter, however, remained substantially

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14. Robertson, 'The Church and Abbot's Grange, Broadway', pp.437-9; see also Country Life, 14 January 1911. The Blore drawings are currently housed in the British Museum (B.M., Add. 42,018, fos.15, 16). They suggest that the kitchen was originally a free-standing building to the north of the hall, possibly linked to it by a short timber gallery. A good plan and elevations of Broadway, by Charles Long, may also be seen in the Museum collections. Like the Blore drawings, they antedate the modern additions (B.M., Add. 37,626, fos.359, 360).
15. P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4057, m.5.
16. L. & P., Hen.VIII, XIII.i.583, and ibid., xvi.714.

unaltered, and, with minor modifications, was preserved so until early in the 19th century (plate 8). The principal apartment within the 14th-century range was the hall. It was supplied with two chambers of contemporary build at its south end. Attached to the main building on the north was a further large chamber, set over a pantry or buttery, and approached by a circular stone stair that was later to serve the first-floor gallery in the north wing. The kitchen, of which no traces remained at the date of demolition of the mansion, would seem to have been a free-standing, or lean-to, building, sited behind the hall to the west. The hall itself measured 44' x 22'. It was equipped in its south wall with a fine stone fireplace, the chimney-piece of which bore the arms of the abbot of Abingdon. Next to the fireplace, a door communicated with the ground-floor room to the south, traditionally known as the 'butler's pantry'. At the far, or north, end of the hall, doors led out to the courtyard on the east, the kitchen on the west, and the buttery on the north. A timber screen no doubt separated the bulk of the apartment from these entrances. Nothing remained of the screen, but the timber-work of the roof was still in tolerably good repair on the demolition of Cumnor Place. It rested on corbels sculptured in the manner of angels and heraldic figures,

These include representations of the tracery in the hall windows and a good drawing of the chimney-piece in the hall. A rough sketch-plan of the grange, included with the drawings, is also probably the work of Lysons (S.W., 184, 1840, pp. 77-8). A further plan, said to be of the former grange, is preserved at the parish church at Cumnor.

See *English Churches*, pp. 412-3, and *P.S.O.*, Ang. 1840, pp. 100-101, 101/2.

and elaborate carved bosses are said to have concealed the intersections of the beams.⁽¹⁷⁾

At Cumnor, a chapel, measuring 22' x 15', had been sited away from the hall at the east end of the south wing. At Salmstone, likewise, the chapel formed a unit independent of the hall (plates 9 and 10, and fig. 1). In company with the other Benedictine manor-houses already discussed, the buildings at Salmstone were designed to house choir monks, as well as the servants and lay representatives of the community. In 1318, for example, there were two monks 'and others' dwelling at Salmstone, and it is likely that St. Augustine's continued long to maintain a priest, if not a monk, in residence at Salmstone, for the estate was still to be described as a 'rectory and grange' on its lease to Simon Webb on 26 July 1531.⁽¹⁸⁾ It may be that such a dual capacity would explain the exceptional elaboration of the chapel, certainly among the most impressive of the manorial chapels to survive. The building, comparatively recently, has been restored to ecclesiastical use, and now, in company with the hall, is

17. For a lengthy description of the buildings at Cumnor, see The Gentleman's Magazine, xci (1821), ii.201-5. The engraving of the east front of the 14th-century range at Cumnor is by Whittock, published in The Microcosm of Oxford, p.4. Samuel Lysons, antiquary and keeper of the records, made a few sketches of architectural details at Cumnor Place before its demolition. These include representations of the tracery in the hall windows and a good drawing of the chimney-piece in the hall. A rough sketch-plan of the grange, included with the drawings, is also probably the work of Lysons (B.M., Add. 9460, fos.77v-8). A further plan, said to be of the former grange, is preserved at the parish church at Cumnor.

18. Thorne's Chron., pp.432-3, and P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/215, f.30.

maintained in excellent condition. Its features include much of the original window tracery, a good piscina, and a fine king-post roof. It would seem, originally, to have been entirely free-standing, but it was linked (probably in the 15th century) by way of a rough passage, or cloister, to the neighbouring building, itself likely to have been the hall. The late medieval cloister was subsequently demolished; it has now been replaced by a modern lean-to structure of similar design. The hall, on a markedly different alignment, was set higher than the chapel over a cellar, or undercroft, of its own. It is to be presumed that the kitchen was sited to the east, or south-east, of the hall, and that the chambers, said in a 16th-century inventory to be two in number, were incorporated in the east wing of the mansion, linked to the hall at its north-east corner.⁽¹⁹⁾

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The discussion of the extant buildings at Tisbury will

bring us into the 15th century. It will also introduce a treatment, hitherto postponed, of the relationship of the domestic buildings at the grange to the gate-houses, barns, and out-buildings of the court. It is on this latter point that the surviving Cistercian evidence will be found to have most value.

19. The drawings of the grange, undated, are the work of Edward Blore (1787 - 1879). They are now kept in the British Museum (B.M., Add. 42,043, f.2, and Add. 42,017, f.81).

At Tisbury, there is little to establish that the nuns of Shaftesbury ever resided at their grange at Place Farm. Nevertheless, it would seem that the grange, right up to the suppression of the abbey, was run as a demesne property of the community, returning a rent not in cash, but in kind. It is certainly true that at the dissolution, as well as shortly after it, the grange at Tisbury was counted distinct from the manor and rectory in the vill, both of which were also the possessions of Shaftesbury. Further, in monetary equivalents, the return from the grange was rated at almost twice that to be expected from the manor and its demesnes.⁽²⁰⁾ The scale of the surviving buildings at Tisbury is considerable. The domestic and farm buildings of the grange are disposed about two courts, each of which is still supplied with its own two-storeyed gate-house (plates 11 and 12, and fig. 2). The most notable feature of the outer court is the great thirteen-bay tithe barn, measuring 188' x 32' overall. The barn remains equipped with its opposing central porches, but it would seem, early in the 19th century, to have been furnished still with an additional, smaller porch, over which a chamber provided quarters for the guardian, or barnward, of the building.⁽²¹⁾ With the exception of the gate-

20. P.R.O., Aug. Off., Part. for Grants, E.318/44.

21. The porch was still standing when John Buckler drew the barn at Tisbury in August 1812 (B.M., Add. 36,392, f.201).

house, the remaining buildings of the court have either been extensively re-modelled, or demolished altogether. A drawing, dated 5 August 1812, shows the south gable end of a lesser building between the gate-house and the barn (plate 13); and it is probable that the modern cattle-byres re-use the line of the old structure. Certainly, nothing of importance now remains of the fine set of 15th-century stables noted in the middle of the last century by John Parker within the outer court at Tisbury. Parker described them as 'remarkably perfect, with a row of doorways of the usual Perpendicular style, and small windows of single lights, quite original and very uncommon'.⁽²²⁾ In the north-west corner of the great court, a small gate-house leads into what was formerly the private court, or garden, of the grange. The domestic range, widely re-modelled but retaining still many of its late medieval features, occupies the east side of the inner court. A westward extension at its north end, recorded in a drawing of 1812, has since been demolished (plates 14 and 15). Within the building, the main characteristics of the medieval plan may yet be recognised. It is evident, that is, that the whole of the central part of the original rectangular building was taken up by the hall, now shortened to not much more than a third of its length. At its north end, a fine fireplace, 13'4"

22. Parker, Domestic Architecture in England, iii.331.

wide, has been preserved intact in the end wall; it retains its original late medieval chimney stack. To the north of the hall, beyond the chimney, there was a small upper and a lower chamber. Each of these might have extended into a similar apartment, possibly including an oratory or small chapel, in the demolished north-west wing. At the far end of the building, beyond the opposing entrances of the screens passage, were sited the serving-rooms and kitchen, next to the internal gate-house.⁽²³⁾

Considerations of date and of order might suggest caution in quoting Tisbury as a model grange plan. Nevertheless, the point might still usefully be made that Tisbury, within the compass of a single group, incorporates many of the features that, on the basis of entirely random evidence, could be collected as characteristic of the earlier Cistercian sites. It is not ^{that is,} unlikely, that the existing mansion at Dymock incorporates a late medieval rectangular dwelling-house on precisely the plan exemplified at Tisbury. A portion of the medieval sand-stone walling, possibly a chimney-breast, survives in the east wall of the grange (plate 16), and it is reasonable to suppose that the original building was supplied with the hall, the chambers, and

23. For a brief description of the grange, accompanied by a good plan and several photographs, see Dufty, 'Place Farm, Tisbury', pp.168-9. The drawings of the grange may reasonably be presumed to be the work of John Buckler the elder (1770-1851). Both are dated 5 August 1812 (B.M., Add. 36,392, fos.202, 203).

the kitchens of the conventional medieval plan.⁽²⁴⁾ But the parallels between Tisbury and Dymock need not rest at that. At both, the farm-house is accompanied by a large barn. At both, again, the deliberate separation of domestic and agricultural buildings, each of which might have been expected to centre on a court of its own, is perhaps the most striking characteristic of the general arrangement of the site.

It is along such broad lines as these that we must arrange what little is to be learnt of the average Cistercian structure. Dymock may be unique in the survival of an identifiable domestic range. It is not, however, exceptional either in the possession of an important barn, or in the siting of that barn at a good remove from the living-quarters of the grange. The Cistercians, broadly speaking, were not tithe collectors. Yet such was the scale of their arable farming, that large grain barns remain visibly a consistent feature of their more important estates, especially where those estates might have served as a regional centre as well. Indeed, it is precisely the barn that has most usually had cause to survive, for the barn retained its usefulness long after the remaining buildings had fallen into

24. The medieval stonework at Dymock survives to a height of about 14', and to a width of 7'6". The nature of the moulded string-courses would suggest a 15th-century date. For a valuable short account of the buildings at Dymock, see Bryan Little, 'Dymock Grange', Gloucestershire Countryside, IX.ix (1957), p.235.

neglect and decay. Of a mere handful of Cistercian sites, a great barn, then, is the most important surviving building at the granges at Haseley (Isle of Wight) and at St. Leonard's (Hampshire); it is the only building to remain at Calcot (Gloucestershire) and, again, at Coxwell (Berkshire).

The barn at Great Coxwell, serving originally the grange at the centre of Beaulieu's Faringdon estates, is already well known. The date of construction has long been disputed, but has been determined, in the most recent discussion, to be as early as the middle years of the 13th century.⁽²⁵⁾ The barn is a triple-aisled stone structure of seven bays, supplied with magnificent opposing transeptal porches and steep, high gables. Its internal measurements are 150' x 40'. In recent years, Great Coxwell has become National Trust property, and it is now maintained in excellent condition. Regrettably, the same cannot be said either for the great barn at Haseley, currently obscured by modern additions on every side (fig. 2), or for the mutilated structures at Calcot and St. Leonard's, the first of which was burnt-out and rebuilt early in the 18th century, the second now roofless altogether.

Of these last, St. Leonard's is undoubtedly the most interesting - not merely because the barn is the largest to

25. Fletcher & Spokes, 'The origin and development of crown-post roofs', pp.164, 166.

survive, but also because it may be seen associated both with a good late-13th-century chapel and with the remains of the original circuit wall (fig. 2, and plate 17). The barns at St. Leonard's and at Coxwell have been attributed to a similar date, but in over-all dimensions the former, at 216' x 61', exceeds the latter by almost half as much again. At a good remove to the north-west, the chapel, measuring some 60' x 25', echoes the exceptional dimensions of the barn. It lies itself to the south of the gardens that cover the site of the original domestic range. It would seem likely that the chapel, with the other domestic buildings, was situated within a small private enclosure of its own. The surviving medieval precinct wall, to the east, probably served as the roadside boundary of a great outer court, flanked on the south by the barn.

A similar plan is likely to have been employed originally at Kingswood's grange at Calcot. Here the barn, reconstructed in the 18th century (plate 18) and since modified again, is sited away and to the west of the modern farm-house. At 140' x 37'4", it compares closely in size with the Beaulieu barn at Coxwell. Late in the 18th century, some fragments of a chapel survived at Calcot. They are recorded in two ink-drawings, dated July 1790, the work of the water-colourist Samuel Hieronymus Grim (plate 19). It is probable that the modern domestic buildings at the grange

the last allowed it, is likely to have been planned in such a way

re-occupy the site of their medieval equivalents. If this were the case, they would have comprised, with the chapel, a separate and distinct unit of their own. It is a separation we have noticed already at St. Leonard's. It was repeated again in the planning of Haseley, the Quarr grange on the Isle of Wight. At Haseley, the barn, accompanied by an additional store, or granary, to its south, is sited away to the east of the original domestic range (fig. 2).

The Cistercian evidence, it must be said, is both scanty and incomplete. It can lend itself, in consequence, only to the most limited conclusions. The sole set of buildings to survive intact is the range at the Buckfast property at Leigh, in Churchstow, and here the identification of the 15th-century farm-house as a grange remains very much open to question. The chapels, often no more than fragmentary, at Tetbury (Gloucestershire) and at the four Yorkshire granges at Beverley, **Brimham**, Dale and Thrintoft, add nothing to our knowledge of the architectural scheme as a whole. If there are any conclusions to be drawn from the sum of the architectural evidence, they must be limited to the isolation of three primary characteristics, each of which may be seen to be repeated at the establishments of the other monastic orders.

Of these, the first is that the grange, where the lie of the land allowed it, is likely to have been planned in such a way

as to ensure the separation of domestic and agricultural quarters. There are good examples of this separation at Haseley, at St. Leonard's and at Dymock, and the same characteristic may be noticed again at the Benedictine establishments at Tisbury and at Minster, and at the Augustinian rectorial manor at Ashleworth, in Gloucestershire (figs. 1 and 2). There might, perhaps, seem little worth remarking in this. Yet what it does suggest is that the scale of the grange buildings approximated to that of the manor. Except in the case of very minor holdings, that is, the grange is not to be equated with the lesser farm-house. It would exceed on every count the tenement of the prosperous peasant.

A second characteristic relates directly to the domestic range. We have seen that chapels were not uncommon on the grange. The great, free-standing chapel at St. Leonard's, in Hampshire, compares closely with the Kentish chapels at the Benedictine manor-houses at Minster and at Salmstone. Likewise, the oratory noted at Tetbury is matched by similar provision at the Benedictine establishments at Broadway and at Charney Bassett, as well as at the Cluniac grange at Swanborough. At Minster, the chapel may date back to the last years of the 11th century; at Swanborough, it can scarcely be more than a century later. But it might be emphasised that at none of the Cistercian granges could the chapels be dated earlier than the 13th century, and it would be

difficult to place them before the second half of the century at that.

For a third characteristic, we might cite the great barns noted already at Calcot, at Dymock, at Great Coxwell, at Haseley and at St. Leonard's. As the exponents of intensive demesne cultivation, the Cistercians required such storage for the crops off their own estates. But for other demesne cultivators, and in particular for the owners of tithes, the possession of a barn was quite as essential. There are great barns still in existence on the Benedictine estates we have quoted at Tisbury and at Minster, as at the Augustinian manor at Ashleworth. To these might be added further specimens at Bradford (Wiltshire), at Enstone (Oxfordshire), at Pilton (Somerset), at Doultling (Somerset) and at Frocester (Gloucestershire). To take another instance, the remarkable Evesham barn to the north of the parish church at Middle Littleton (Worcestershire) matches in many points of detail the great building at Beaulieu's grange at Coxwell (plates 20 and 21).

Clearly, there is little to be seen in the remaining architectural evidence to isolate, or distinguish, the Cistercian grange. Of the three characteristics it has been possible to put forward, each finds its parallel in the granges and manor-houses of the other religious orders. For the domestic planning of the

principal dwelling-house on the Cistercian grange, there is no certain evidence at all. We can say merely that Benedictine and Cluniac establishments, the direct contemporaries of the first Cistercian granges, followed a conventional plan in which provision was made for a hall, a chamber, and a kitchen. Instances of this have been quoted at ^{the} St. Augustine's manor at Minster, and at the Lewes home farm at Swanborough. Whether or not such comparisons are valid will remain a subject for discussion. In subsequent chapters the case for accepting their validity will be expanded.

Chapter III. The Grange Buildings : Record Evidence.

The architectural evidence for the nature of the original 12th-century grange has already been shown to be incomplete. It is unfortunate, although perhaps inevitable, that scarcely more could be claimed for the bulk of its written equivalent. There are no relevant early parallels to the detailed surveys of the 15th and 16th centuries. The leasing of the grange, rarely undertaken before the last years of the 13th century, has yielded no inventories comparable to those compiled in the previous century for the manor-houses of the canons of St. Paul's.⁽¹⁾ Plainly, in the absence of unequivocal evidence for the first two centuries, at the least, of the grange's existence, much will depend on whatever may reasonably be deduced from the later sources. In the following chapter such evidence as has remained to us will be examined. It will be seen that there are no certainties to be expressed in the discussion of the first grange buildings. But once that limitation is admitted, it will be possible to suggest a sequence for the architectural development of the grange - a sequence which, if it remains restricted in its scope, may yet be said to be of the greatest importance in the assessment of the nature of the grange buildings at any one time, and in the suggestion of a plan.

1. St. Paul's Domesday, passim.

It has been shown above that earlier discussions of the architecture of the grange, where they have been attempted at all, have tended to stress the conventual character of the buildings. Evidence for this has been sought in the 1307 account of the fire at Cawston Grange, and in an earlier eye-witness description of the demesne granges of Clairvaux (above, pp.17-19). Further, scattered references to dormitories, to refectories and to warming-houses at the grange have been assembled to support the repetition at each separate grange establishment of the main essentials of the standard monastic plan. Yet, while it is perfectly true that such references are not wholly unknown, it is less obvious what, in contemporary usage, they would commonly have been intended to mean. Indeed, were we to return for the moment to the description of the Clairvaux granges, it could quite reasonably be argued that what the writer actually implied at the time, and what we have subsequently been asked to assume from his words, are two very different things. A contemporary witness might be expected to have known something of the nature and proportions

of the average grange establishment. But in the home farms of Clairvaux he was admiring no average range of buildings, for Clairvaux, as he says himself, was renowned for the magnificence of its setting, for its massive recruitment of monks and lay brethren, and for its exceptional wealth. The splendour of the Clairvaux granges provoked the comment of their admirer precisely because these granges failed to conform to the modest standards he had come to expect elsewhere. What he imagined he saw was another monastic house, set within the precincts of the abbey. What he might have expected to see would have been a range of buildings matching in its poverty and simplicity the needs of the lay brethren who dwelt there.

Clearly, no monastic community, whatever its ideals, is likely to have invested large sums in the provision of buildings at the granges solely for the use of lay brethren. A lay brother was expected to spend his time in the fields. He had no need of a cloister, little of a chapel, still less of an extravagant multiplication of amenities on a quasi-monastic plan. We have seen that the other religious orders, although they may have had more reason to allow for the residence of choir-monks at their manor-houses, remained content with a plan no more elaborate than that usually adopted on lay establishments of comparable size.

In the previous century, 'refectories for guests' had

For the Cistercians, the motives for heavy expenditure must have been still harder to find. It would be reasonable, certainly, to have expected from each house the provision of a common-room of some kind for the use of the lay brethren at the grange. We can please ourselves whether we call this a 'hall', a 'refectory' or a 'warming-house'. A common sleeping-chamber, or 'dormitory', might further have been provided, and there would seem a strong likelihood that an additional chamber, for the private use of the master, might also have been supplied. Yet, short of excavation of a securely early site, we can say little as to how these apartments were disposed. On balance, however, and the later evidence goes far to confirm it, the most probable arrangement was precisely that already in familiar use elsewhere. Only one reservation remains to be made. We know that lay brethren, under monastic discipline, and peasants, under no such restriction, shared the daily labour of the farm. It seems less likely that they should together have taken their places in a single convivial hall. Plainly, so long as a small community of lay brethren continued in being at the grange, some effort must usually have been made to ensure its separation from the servants and labourers at the establishment. A separate hall for grange servants remained in use at Sibton's home farm at South Grange as late as 1325.⁽²⁾ In the previous century, 'refectories for guests' had

2. Sibton Estates, p.58.

been among the chambers supplied at the granges while Richard of Dunham was abbot of the Lincolnshire house of Louth Park.⁽³⁾

No evidence of greater significance than this prompts an interpretation of the design, or planning, of the 12th and 13th-century grange. Nevertheless, there would be good reason to believe that it was in the 13th century - and not before - that the grange was first equipped with a chapel. We have seen that, of the existing chapels, the remains at St. Leonard's and at Tetbury could neither of them be earlier than the 13th century in date; at Thrintoft, the building might be as much as a century later; at Brimham and at Bewerley, the supply of a chapel to the granges need not long have antedated the suppression of Fountains itself. It could be said, to be sure, that architectural evidence alone scarcely constitutes a reliable guide. Earlier chapels may have existed at each site, only to be destroyed in later years. But the testimony of existing buildings is not unique in assigning the chapel to the grange of the 13th century. It was, as we shall see, a departure to be dated firmly within the second half of the century, and to be attributed equally to every religious order of sufficient wealth to make use of the privilege so to equip its properties.

3. Louth Park Chron., p.14.

In making such a claim, it need hardly be said, the distinction between an oratory and a chapel, properly so-called, remains nothing less than fundamental. The grange, as the residence of a religious community (however diminutive), cannot at any stage have done without a place of private, informal worship of its own. It was required, for example, of Premonstratensian lay brethren dwelling at the granges that they should gather daily at a 'predetermined place' for prayer.⁽⁴⁾ But no mention was made in the Premonstratensian statutes of anything as elaborate as a chapel, and the Cistercian general chapter, far from encouraging the supply of chapels to the granges, remained throughout the 12th century open, and active, in their condemnation.⁽⁵⁾ For one thing, it was made clear from the beginning, the grange was not to be permitted to replace the monastic house as a focus of loyalty

4. Premonstratensian Statutes, p.111.

5. As late as 1180, the general chapter halted by decree the consecration of new altars, or chapels, on the granges (Stat. Ord. Cist., 1180:6). In 1204, again, the assembled abbots commanded that even those altars already established should, on the instant, be destroyed (ibid., 1204:11). Associated rights, in particular the right of burial, had equally to be discontinued. The abbot of Dallon, in defiance of the practice of his order, had permitted a cemetery to be established at one of the granges of his house. In 1190 he was reprimanded and punished for his offence. No further burials were permitted at the grange (ibid., 1190:25).

or allegiance. Indeed, it was specifically to maintain the original dependance, to preserve the sense of community, and to ensure a full attendance at the principal celebrations of the mass, that a Cistercian statute of 1152 insisted on the siting of of every grange no further than a day's journey from the monastery.⁽⁶⁾ For another, existing vested interests in parochial revenues were not lightly to be flouted, and no new monastic foundation wished to add gratuitously to the local opposition to its expansion. An oratory, reserved for private worship, infringed no interests and attracted to itself no dues. A chapel, in so far as it set out to solicit public interest and support, threatened to draw to itself an increasing proportion of the financial returns of the parish.⁽⁷⁾

It was the formal abjuring of any such rights in the parishes that opened the way to a reversal of earlier policies in the 13th century. Two pressures worked towards concessions.

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6. Arbois de Jubainville, Études sur l'état intérieur des abbayes Cisterciennes, p.306. The early Cistercian regulation might be compared with later Carthusian practice. In 1393, for example, the visitors of the Carthusian house of Val de Ste. Aldegonde (Artois) - presumably moved by the same instinct - declared a circuit of ten leagues to be the outermost limit for any future acquisitions of estates (Val de Ste. Aldegonde Cart., p.73).
7. The distinction between an oratory and a chapel could be applied to practical effect. In 1362, for example, it was to mean to the nuns of Notre-Dame de l'Eau the destruction of the belfry which previously had adorned the chapel of their town establishment at Chartres. Unwittingly, the nuns had contravened a privilege of the dean and chapter of Chartres, for they had built the chapel without first seeking a licence to do so. They were forced to admit their error, undertaking to reduce their chapel to the status of an oratory, and no more (Notre-Dame de l'Eau Cart., pp.180-1).

In the first place, it was becoming increasingly common for the monks and canons themselves to take up residence at the granges. What had seemed perfectly adequate for the lay brethren, was no longer sufficient for them. In the second place, the monastic houses had seldom been successful in restricting their interests to a limited region alone. The acquisition of distant estates, and the frequent remoteness of those same estates from even so much as a parish church, underlined the inconveniences of worship, inducing the religious to press for further rights. Full papal support for a change was secured by the middle of the century. In the meantime, the religious houses did what they could to regularise their position with the bishops. The terms of such private agreements are often very revealing. In 1235/6, for example, the Cistercians of Thame negotiated successfully with Robert Grosseteste, newly elected bishop of Lincoln, the right to maintain a chapel for the use of both monks and lay brethren at their grange near Oddington, in Oxfordshire. The bishop's agreement was conditional. All regular parishioners of Oddington, it was provided, were to be excluded from the chapel. Further, on Sundays and other sacred festivals the servants at the grange, though not the religious themselves, were to attend mass at the parish church; they were not, on any account, to hear mass at the chapel of the grange, nor were they at any time to receive the sacraments there. Whatever alms and oblations

might be collected at the chapel were to be restored without fail to the parish church.⁽⁸⁾ It was important, in the interests of the parish, that no suggestion of public participation or ostentatious display should be tolerated. Fifteen years later, when the monks of Waverley sought the right to celebrate mass at their grange at Neatham, they agreed to permit neither the ringing of bells nor the administration of the sacraments at the grange.⁽⁹⁾

The negotiation of rights at individual granges was, clearly, a possible solution. But it was expensive in terms of reciprocal concessions; it could also be wasteful in time. The case for a blanket concession was a good one, and the religious orders, through their representatives at Rome, used every persuasion to secure it. In 1246 the Premonstratensians won the support of Innocent IV.⁽¹⁰⁾ Within nine years, the Cistercians had done the same with Alexander, Innocent's successor.⁽¹¹⁾

8. Thame Cart., i.24-5.

9. Annales Monastici, ii.342.

10. Dryburgh Liber, p.187.

11. The concession is frequently quoted in Cistercian records; see, for example, the Fountains cartulary (Bodleian MS, Univ. Coll. 167, fos. 42, 69v-70), also the records of Newbattle and Bonport (Newbattle Register, p.209, and Delisle, Études sur la Condition de la Classe Agricole, p.395). The general pronouncements of the Holy See would usually have required repetition and re-issue at diocesan level. Such a repetition of Alexander's concession to the Cistercians survives in the Newenham cartulary. Here a record was kept of the bishop of Exeter's acknowledgement, dated 1259, of the right of the Cistercian houses within his diocese to celebrate mass on those granges inconveniently far from the local parish church (Bodleian MS, Top. Devon d.5, f.7).

Pioneering the concession, the Premonstratensians had reasoned with care. They held that the supply of chapels, or even oratories, at the granges would obviate unnecessary and dangerous contacts with laymen. Some of the grange servants, they were prepared to agree, might own property in the area, owing duties to the parish in their own right. But for the rest, and for the community of regulars at the grange, it would surely be better to make confession, to take communion, and to accept burial in the security and isolation of their home. Convenience, again, lay at the root of the Cistercian case. It was only right, the Cistercians claimed, that they should be able to celebrate mass at their own chapels, or oratories, if their granges lay at an inconvenient distance from the parish church.

Plainly, the fact that a chapel was permitted was not alone the condition for its supply. Few religious houses had either the resources or the inclination to furnish chapels to any but the more important of their estates. If neither abbot nor convent formed the habit of residing at a grange, there could be no reason for a chapel to be built there. Moreover, increasingly as the century advanced, the granges were let out to farm and the communities which had run them were recalled. If there had been little reason to indulge a group of lay brethren with a chapel,

12. P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, B.113/115, pp.27-8.

13. B.N., Cotton Vit. G.vi. pp.239-40.

14. *Dugdale, Monasticon*, v.361.

there was none at all to provide the same for a farmer selected from the tenantry. We know that of the granges of the Yorkshire Cistercian house at Meaux, there was certainly a substantial chapel in the 16th century at Moor. There was also lavish accommodation for the visiting abbot, for whose use the chapel had undoubtedly been provided.⁽¹²⁾ But at the four granges maintained in demesne by that house in 1396 - at North Grange, at Salthaugh, at Skerne and at Wharram - there is no mention in the records of a chapel, despite the fact that lists of the accommodation at these granges have been preserved exceptionally complete.⁽¹³⁾ Significantly, the accounts of the Shropshire Cistercians of Buildwas recorded, shortly before the suppression of the community, the payment of pensions to the rectors of Cound, Idsall, Albrighton and Wentnor. In each case, the pension was granted as payment for the administration of the sacraments to the inhabitants of the abbey's granges at 'Harnege', Hatton, Gofford and Kinnerton respectively.⁽¹⁴⁾ Whether or not it could be established that chapels had ever existed on these granges, it is certain that by this stage they had long since ceased to be served by the monks.

12. P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/215, fos.21v-3.

13. B.M., Cotton Vit. C.vi, fos.239-40v.

14. Dugdale, Monasticon, v.361.

We have reason to believe that a chapel, at the more important granges, was added to the domestic range at some period within the 13th century. Further than this, however, nothing more is known of those same domestic buildings for the best part of a century to follow. Yet by 1400, on the other hand, there will be much to say of the nature of the accommodation at the grange. It will rest with us to determine to what earlier date we may be prepared to admit its relevance.

Manorial inventories and surveys begin in the 14th century to take an increasing part in the bulk of surviving records. Amongst these, the Cistercian grange is not well represented before the last years of the century; its contemporaries attached to other orders are fortunately better served. The most interesting of the 14th-century inventories is that compiled on 26 June 1381 at Llanthony Secunda's alien grange at Duleek. On that date Brother Richard Chiriton - six years later successfully to argue the status of his establishment - undertook a survey of the entire Irish possessions of the Gloucestershire Augustinians of Llanthony. Himself proctor of the estate-centre at Duleek, Brother Chiriton made an especially exact inventory of the buildings in his charge. Together, as he began, they constituted a grange which had been held by Llanthony from time out of mind.

The grange was known as the house of St. Michael of Duleek, and the chapel on the establishment was so privileged that, even were the whole of Ireland to be placed under interdict, mass might still be celebrated on that spot.

Turning to the buildings, Brother Chiriton recorded that they lay about a single great court, flanked by gardens and a stream. On the east, and towards the stream, the domestic quarters of the grange occupied the whole of one side. They included the chapel of St. Michael, sited next to the great hall, the latter an ancient and ruinous structure. Adjoining the hall on the north there was a kitchen, and a dairy thatched with straw; also a small tiled stable. A long chamber equipped with a garderobe completed the range on the south; it was adjoined by another chamber known as the 'knight's chamber'; the whole was roofed with tiles. Both chambers stood on under-crofts of their own. Under the long chamber, the cellar was used as a pantry for the storage of bread and ale. A small chamber at the end of the cellar was reserved for the proctor's horses. A larder was sited under the knight's chamber.

A variety of agricultural buildings and two substantial gate-houses occupied the remaining three sides of the court. On the south, there was a bakery and a brew-house, with a loft to store the malt. Both buildings were tiled, and together they

held two furnaces - one a kiln, the other an oven with a capacity of $2\frac{1}{2}$ crannocks. Next to these was sited a small threshing-barn, a trough for preparing the malt, and another bake-house, with a thatched pigsty at one end. In the south-west corner of the court, a stone gate-house, with a thatched chamber over the entrance, began the western range. It was adjoined by a tiled granary over a small pigsty. Next to the granary was a long, thatched ox-house, used for both bullocks and cows. Completing the court on the north, a sheep-house and a long, thatched stable adjoined the stone gate-house known as 'the high gate'. Next to the upper chamber over the gate was another, lower chamber, used as a guest-chamber. This was itself set over the quarters of the janitor. A stone wall linked the gate-house with the kitchen at the north end of the hall.

A number of additional buildings and gardens were sited outside the court. To the north-east, a garden lay to the north of the courtyard wall, between it and a cob wall extending from the gate-house along the highway to a bridge over the stream. Another larger garden was sited to the east of the domestic range. It was enclosed by a cob wall and was delimited by the highway on the north and by the stream on the east. A dovecot was placed in the meadow on the far side of the stream, and a water-mill worked off the flow down-stream to the south. On the other side of the

court, to the west, stood a further group of buildings, set apart from the rest. Of these, the most important was a shed, designed to store wheat and hay where these would not be liable to easements. A thatched house at the end of the shed was called 'the Kilnehous'. There had also been a dovecot in the group, but it had been out of use for the four years preceding the survey.⁽¹⁵⁾

So complete is the Duleek inventory that it might, on first appearances, suggest that the buildings themselves were exceptional. Yet this, in truth, was far from being the case. With the possible exception of a great barn (for which the building to the west of the court would seem but a poor substitute), the design of Duleek repeats in many particulars those characteristics already observed at the existing grange and manorial buildings, both of an earlier and of a later date. The domestic buildings, that is, were sited in a concentrated group - at Duleek, to the east of the Courtyard. Behind them, a private garden ran down the slope to the stream. Because of its situation by the highway, the main gate at Duleek lay on the north of the court, not on the west, where a more orthodox plan might have placed it. An

15. Llanthony Cart., pp.289-91.

additional entrance on the south-west was required for access to the group of buildings sited outside the court to the west. Within the court, a variety of buildings met the needs of a mixed-farming economy. A bake-house and a brew-house supplied the kitchen and the hall; there was a threshing-barn and a granary to prepare and store the harvested crops; the animals were housed in long buildings of their own, the one reserved for cattle, the other for sheep; there were two pigsties and two stables, the smaller stable being sited below the proctor's chamber, where it was maintained as a private stabling for his horses. Water-supplies and drainage were provided by the stream, and it was on the flow of this stream also that the working of a water-mill depended.

There was, it might be noted, nothing characteristically monastic about the buildings at Duleek. Nor was there anything more specifically religious to be observed at other contemporary Irish granges. At Lougher, a fortified manor-house not far from Duleek, Llanthony possessed another like establishment, more modest in conception, but strikingly similar in plan. A small hall with an attached chamber, both reserved to the use of the lord, occupied one side of a single court. On the far side, an impressive gate-house was adjoined by the lodgings of the then tenant farmer. Within the court, space was allotted to a barn,

two pigsties, a dovecot, and a house used both for baking and for brewing.⁽¹⁶⁾ Some forty years before, the details later to be recorded at Duleek and at Lougher were anticipated in the accounts of Grangegorman, a grange of the Augustinian priory of the Holy Trinity, Dublin. In 1343 repairs were undertaken on the cob buildings of the grange. These were said at the time to include a hall, with a private chamber and some lesser apartments, a barn, with a house adjoining it, a gate-house, a kiln-house, an ox-house, a workshop, and a well.⁽¹⁷⁾

Where the theme remains simply the nature of the domestic accommodation provided at the grange, no great distance need be expected to separate the granges of the Augustinians in Ireland from their Cistercian equivalents in the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire. In point of fact, little does. Late in the 14th century, a lease of the Fountains grange at Aldburgh, near Masham, listed the buildings of the court. There was a dwelling-house for the farmer, a fulling-mill, a messuage called the 'kynhouse', another messuage called 'smythshous', with a close of its own called 'smythsholm', some stables, a cottage called the 'colhouse', a house called the 'kylnhous', and another known as 'waynmanhouse';

16. ibid., p.299.

17. Dublin, Holy Trinity, Account Roll, pp.36-40.

next to the gate, a cottage was called 'couhowplace'.⁽¹⁸⁾ The lack of detail in the description of the dwelling-house at Aldburgh may be made up from the inventories of the Meaux demesne granges, taken at a survey of the entire abbey possessions conducted in 1396. A chamber and its contents were noted at North Grange, the immediate home farm of the abbey. At Salthaugh Grange and at Skerne, there were halls, each accompanied by its chamber and a kitchen. At the distant Wolds grange at Wharram, the abbot's chamber was adjoined by a hall and by a cellar. In each case, the furnishings would seem to have been as conventional as the planning. There were beds, chests and chairs in the chambers; cupboards, trestle-tables, benches and forms in the halls; pots, pans, spits and andirons in the kitchens. To add to this, there was all the 'stuff of husbandry' - the essential equipment of the courts: wagons and light carts, ploughs and harrows, horse-collars and yokes, traces, halters, ropes, manure-forks, threshing-sledges, wheelbarrows, winnowing-fans, sacks and tubs.⁽¹⁹⁾

In the ordinary course of events, there would be little reason for us to expect from the documents any further enlightenment as to the scale of the accommodation provided. Fortunately, however, there survives a fragmentary memorandum, recording in

18. B.M., Add.40,010, f.12v.

19. B.M., Cotton Vit. C.vi, fos.239-40v.

unique detail the dimensions of the principal apartments at a number of the manors of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, an Augustinian house. The memorandum is bound with a 14th-century register of SouthwarK Priory, and probably dates to that century. It records that the hall at Addington measured 35' x 28', and that there were two chambers at the manor, the one measuring 32' x 18', the other 32' x 11'. The dimensions of the hall at Mitcham are given as 34' x 32'. At Banstead, the hall measured 34' x 28', the chamber 40' x 16'. The chambers at two further manor-houses at Reigate and at Stokes measured 28' x 15' and 31' x 17' respectively.⁽²⁰⁾

The importance of the 14th-century record at the Southwark manors might have been less had the dimensions it quoted not been comparable with those already known for buildings both of an earlier and of a later date. At least two centuries before the compilation of the Southwark memorandum - and at precisely the period to which the foundation of the majority of the English granges may be attributed - the hall at Kensworth, a manor of the canons of St. Paul's, is said to have measured 35' x 30', paralleling almost exactly the dimensions of the equivalent

20. B.M., Cotton Faust. A.viii, f.174. The dimensions of the great barn at Wendover are given as 140' x 36'.

21. P.S.O., Ang. Off., Misc. Books, K.312/420, f.74. Compare also Mr. Penile's table of measurements taken from the halls of surviving medieval rectories and priests' houses (British 'Medieval priests' houses in south-west England', appendix, p.146).

apartments at the Southwark manors of Addington, Mitcham and Banstead.⁽²¹⁾ Existing buildings of contemporary construction may serve to strengthen the comparison. At Charney Bassett, for example, the surviving chamber measures 30' x 16'; at Sutton Courtenay, the hall is 40' x 24'. The Glastonbury manors of the early 16th century were widely noted for their magnificence. Yet, once again, the dimensions of the principal apartments at the important demesne manor at Meare were not strikingly different from those of their Southwark equivalents, well over a century before. At Meare, the hall measured 45' x 28'; there was a chamber at the upper end of the hall of precisely the same dimensions; at the lower end of the hall, another chamber, set over the kitchen, buttery and pantry, extended to 47' x 25'.⁽²²⁾

The Glastonbury inventories belong to a period at which an abundance of evidence becomes available in the comprehensive inventories and surveys taken at the dissolution of the monastic houses in England, in Wales, and in Ireland. Not only, that is,

21. St. Paul's Domesday, pp.128-9. The Kensworth inventory is dated 1152. It records, further, that the hall was 22' high - 11' under the tie-beam, and another 11' from the tie-beam to the ridge of the roof. Of the other apartments at the manor, the 'thalamus' measured 22' x 16' x 18', a connecting 'house', or chamber, measuring 12' x 17' x 17'. As for the agricultural buildings, the ox-house was given as 33' x 12' x 13', the sheep-house as 39' x 12' x 22', and the lamb-house as 24' x 12' x 12'.

22. P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/420, f.74. Compare also Mr. Pantin's table of measurements taken from the halls of surviving medieval rectories and priests' houses (Pantin, 'Medieval priests' houses in south-west England', appendix, p.146).

may we begin to list in their entirety the apartments and the furnishings at the grange; we may also estimate with some certainty what was considered at the time to be suitable accommodation for the religious, their agents, tenants and servants. In the opinion of the royal surveyors, for example, Glastonbury's manor at Meare was itself held to be 'fit for a man of worship'.⁽²³⁾ It had been enlarged shortly before this verdict on the instructions of Abbot Richard Beere, the work being completed at some time before 1516.⁽²⁴⁾ On the suppression of Glastonbury, it remained a handsome structure, fully equipped to hold the abbot, his assistants and his guests. As we have seen, the hall at Meare was adjoined by two main chambers, one at the upper end, another at the lower. We are told further that each of these chambers was accompanied by additional lesser apartments - the first by three upper chambers and a chapel, approached by a stone stairway from the hall; the second by yet another chamber, all to be judged very 'proper' apartments. Below the four chambers and the chapel at the upper end of the hall, another door in the end wall gave access to four chambers on the ground floor, the whole reserved for servants. About the mansion was a

23. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i.11. The same surveyors judged the manor of Newton 'able and meet for a knight to lie in' (*ibid.*, i.16).

24. B.M., Egerton 3034, f.71.

good stone wall, 'new and very strong', and beyond this a 'pretty' stone house, equipped with its own little hall, a parlour and a chamber.⁽²⁵⁾

At Glastonbury the inventories are unusually complete, but they are not any longer unique. The leasing of granges, now become commonplace, led frequently to the compilation of elaborate inventories, many of which were repeated word for word in the records of the Court of Augmentations. Such an inventory, for example, survives for the important Meaux grange at Moor. It was compiled originally on the leasing of the grange in 1535 to William Barker and to Agnes, his wife. Eight years later, the lease was renewed at the Augmentation Office for a further term of twenty-one years, the conditions of the original contract being recited in the later grant. We learn that in 1535 there had been a chapel at the grange, supplied with a wooden table for an altar; before the altar, a cloth hanging was painted with an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The abbot had had his own chamber at the grange, furnished with a great bed for himself and with another smaller bed for a page, or servant of the body.

25. P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/420, fos. 41, 74. For a 15th-century opinion as to what constituted a suitable dwelling for a clerk, compare the views of the abbot and convent of Chertsey. To their minds, the 'necessary' buildings of a house at Egham were judged to be a hall, supplied with chambers 'high and low', a kitchen, and a good barn; only so might the dwelling be considered 'well and fitly' built (Chertsey Cart., II.i.49).

A wooden form was set before the bed, and there was a table with two trestles, a wooden stool, a chair with arms, and a chest or cupboard of some sort, panelled and supplied with two curtains. Other fittings included a large glazed window and an adjoining garde~~r~~robe, or latrine, equipped with a container of lead. The abbot's servants had a chamber of their own, furnished with two board beds. Another great bed was stored in a cellar of the building. The groom slept over the abbot's stable, in which stalls were reserved for two horses. The hall, an additional chamber, and the kitchen were set aside for the use of the farmer. To him also were assigned a large grain-barn and a hay-barn, a stable for horses and oxen, and a separate cow-house.⁽²⁶⁾

Clearly, at the Cistercian grange at Moor, as much as at the Benedictine manor-house at Meare, the accommodation may be shown to have centred basically on a hall, to which a number of ancillary chambers were attached. At Moor, it is true, frequent visits by the abbot, or his deputies, led to an exceptional elaboration of the chambers at the grange. Elsewhere, however, whereas the hall continued stable as the basic unit at every considerable establishment, the quantity of chambers might have risen or fallen - as might also, indeed, their quality - in direct ratio to the intention, or lack of it, on the part of the convent

26. P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/215, fos.21-3.

to put some special purpose on its property. The hall, with a cross-chamber at one end and a kitchen at the other, comprised the elements of a plan seen in use at its simplest at Jervaulx's grange at Lazenby.⁽²⁷⁾ At more favoured estates, any further developments or expansion tended towards what was, in essence, nothing more than an elaboration on this scheme. Upton, a Beaulieu grange rebuilt shortly before the dissolution, was supplied with the hall, chamber and kitchen of the traditional plan.⁽²⁸⁾ But at Coxwell, a more important establishment of the same house, also substantially rebuilt at a similar date, the new hall was set over a wine-cellar, the principal chamber rested on a vaulted undercroft, there was a chapel, and several other chambers had been added to adjoin the hall.⁽²⁹⁾ Similar lists of accommodation may be compiled for the principal messuages at a number of Cistercian estates. The Lancashire house at Whalley, for one, kept an important grange at Stanlaw, until 1296 the site of the abbey itself. Shortly after the suppression of the community, an inventory of the apartments and their contents at Stanlaw noted a substantial chapel, elaborately equipped, a hall, a private chamber for an official known as the 'warden', a chamber for the warden's servants, a kitchen, and a buttery.

27. P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., SC.12/19/20, f.12.

28. P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/3340, m.4.

29. L. & P., Hen.VIII, xv.561.

Outside in the farm-yard, there was a brew-house, a barn, a garner, a wagon-shed, and a cow-house.⁽³⁰⁾ At the Louth Park grange at Tetney, a pre-dissolution inventory, taken on the occasion of the leasing of the grange, listed a hall, a kitchen, a pantry and a dairy house, with the numerous barns, stables and out-houses of the court.⁽³¹⁾ There was a hall, a chamber and a pantry, a buttery, kitchen and stables at Hoo, a Kentish grange of Boxley.⁽³²⁾ And we are told that at Ilford, an Essex grange, or manor, of the Cistercians of Stratford Langthorn, whereas the hall, the kitchen and the stables occupied one end of the site, the other end was closed off by the great gate and an orchard.⁽³³⁾

The mass of the later evidence, from wherever it may be drawn, points clearly to an identity in planning between the manor-house and the grange. How far we may be entitled to extend that identity backwards will depend, in large measure, on our interpretation of the role of the early grange - an interpretation that will follow from a closer study of the grange sites as they exist on the ground. There remains, however, one problem warranting particular treatment. That is, the problem of fortifications on the grange.

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30. P.R.O., Exchequer K.R., Church Goods, E.117/10/29. The furnishings of the chapel included several sets of vestments, a silver chalice, images of Our Lady, St. Michael and John the Baptist, hangings and altar-cloths, a brass pyx with its canopy, candlesticks, cruets, sacring bells, an alms-chest, and an old mass-book in parchment.
31. P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/2006, m.48d-9.
32. *ibid.*, SC.6/Hen.VIII/1762, m.6.
33. *ibid.*, SC.6/Hen.VIII/962, m.24.

It will be noted in the following chapter that a great number of the surviving earthwork sites are still encircled by banks and ditches, some of considerable size. Early references to such elementary defences are not uncommon. A bank and a ditch, for example, are said to have enclosed the court of the Fountains grange at Kirby Wiske in the North Riding.⁽³⁴⁾ In Lincolnshire, the nuns of Catley ^{obtained permission to} surrounded a grange with a ditch twenty-four feet wide, 'to guard against losses and dangers'.⁽³⁵⁾ But fortifications - even earthworks - are expensive to construct and to maintain. They assume, moreover, both a readiness to defend, and also a reasonably constant, or predictable, exposure to attack. At the early grange, such conditions were rarely likely to have been met.

In general, indeed, the provision of a moat or earthwork barrier - even where that were deemed necessary - would seem not to have been accompanied by the construction of defences more formidable. It must have been arguable from the beginning that the adequate protection of a poor and isolated farm-house would have required a heavier investment than the severest calamity

34. B.M., Add.18,276, f.104.

35. Gilbertine Charters, pp.73 - 4.

might merit. But there were, in any case, certain built-in safeguards, for the most part exclusive to monastic property, on which many religious would have preferred to place their trust. To take the case of the Cistercian house at Cadouin, not far from Bergerac in the Dordogne, it is clear that the convent long enjoyed the interest and protection of a succession of powerful notabilities in the area. Of these, Ademar de Beynac, concerned for the better security of the religious at Cadouin, published in 1147 a tariff of punishments - these to be inflicted on all those caught molesting the monks or their servants, or maliciously plundering their estates. If, so he declared, attacks on the monks, their servants, or their goods, were to be perpetrated by servants, dependants or their followers, those same aggressors would be exposed to the absolute penalty of immediate death by hanging. If, on the other hand, the assault were to be launched by a knight, the offender might be required to restore to the abbey a fine worth double the value of the property stolen from the house; in addition, a further sum of sixty shillings would be payable to Ademar himself. Should the

son of a knight be guilty of the same misdemeanour, he would find himself liable to an identical fine; failing to pay it,

17. *Public Records Office, London*, pp. 20-1. The paper listed were Gregory IX, Celestine IV, and Innocent IV.

he would suffer the loss of an ear.⁽³⁶⁾

Formal promises of protection, however explicitly phrased, could not long have guaranteed security. Nobody could have supposed that they would. Nevertheless, in the case of many of the English granges the danger of attack continued to be slight, and if minor earthwork barriers were commonly provided, they served rather to fence stock in than to keep the intruder out. In border territories, or in regions exposed to chronic warfare, the position was naturally different. The Cistercians at Holm Cultram, for example, had sited their house in the north of Cumberland, within miles of the Scottish border. They were compelled to take every precaution to protect it. In common with many of their fellows better situated than themselves, they placed some faith, in the first instance, in the deterrent of papal anathema. In their register, they noted:

'Popes Gregory, Celestine and Innocent have stated that within the precincts of the monks' houses or granges no molestation plundering or theft may be made; no arson, bloodshed, arrest, robbery from the person; no beating, slaying nor any form of assault. These places, like the cemeteries or churches, are all by apostolic authority to be free and undisturbed by any invasion, terror or violence.'⁽³⁷⁾

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36. Cadouin Cart., p.25. Powerful local patronage might even be enlisted in the protection of a single grange. In the same region of France, the great house of Bonneval secured the patronage, in 1400, of the count of Rodez. Wishing to render unmistakable his interest in the community, the count outlined certain measures by which he hoped such interest might better be published abroad. For the grange at Seveyrac, special provision was to be made. The count's coat of arms was to be set over the entry of the grange, and three stakes, bearing his personal escutcheon, were to be planted on the grange boundaries, two of which ran along public roads (Bonneval Cart., p.400).
37. Holm Cultram Register, pp.98-9. The popes listed were Gregory IX, Celestine IV, and Innocent IV.

Yet even while pleading their right to remain unmolested, the abbot and convent soon saw the necessity to take practical measures of their own. On 19 August 1235, that is, arguing the great damage already inflicted on their granges by armed malefactors, the religious at Holm Cultram obtained royal permission to arm their servants with bows and arrows, and to set them to guard the property of their house.⁽³⁸⁾ More substantial defences were later to be raised in a castle, set close to the grange at Raby. Described at the dissolution as a 'little castle moated about', we know that, on demolition in 1652-3, the accommodation at the castle comprised a hall with a tower at the end of it, a long gallery, a chamber, a chapel with another chamber adjoining it, a building reputed to be a prison, a tower over the prison, a great barn, a larder-house, a cattle-shed, and a stable.⁽³⁹⁾

Whether or not other threatened abbeys built castles of their own, it was not uncommon, from late in the 13th century onwards, for individual granges to be furnished with fortifications of some sort. In Brabant the political situation could rarely have been considered to be settled. In consequence, it is not

38. ibid., p.129

39. P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/382, f.1d, and Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/7348, m.11d. For the details of the castle as recorded on demolition, see Holm Cultram Register, p.166. The castle was known as Wolsty Castle.

surprising - nor could it have been unusual - that Arnulf of Ghistelles, abbot of Villers (1270-6), should have supplied ramparts to his granges at Sart-Risbart, Mellefont, Chenoit and Chassart.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Fifty years later, in 1323, the monks of Walkenried in Lower Saxony, another Cistercian house, obtained a licence to supply 'walls, ditches, and ramparts' to the granges of their abbey.⁽⁴¹⁾ Within another half century, their fellows at Bonneval, sited in a region of south-west France much afflicted by the raids and excursions of the Hundred Years War, had begun a long process of fortification at the granges, culminating in the provision of a formidable keep, or tower, at the grange at Masse, constructed to the order of Abbot Pierre Rigald as late as 1453.⁽⁴²⁾ Across the Channel, like precautions had occasionally to be taken. The monks at Newminster in Northumberland, oppressed by the assaults of the Scots, found it to be necessary to supply towers to their estates at West Ritton, at Greenleighton, and at Nunnikirk.⁽⁴³⁾ In Ireland, the grange at Carickebrenan, a property of the Cistercians of St. Mary's, Dublin, had been among the estates of that house plundered in an early 14th-century rebellion. To prevent a repetition of their losses, the

40. Moreau, L'Abbaye de Villers, p.78.

41. Wiswe, 'Grangien niedersächsischer Zisterzienserklöster', p.79.

42. Bonneval Cart., pp.xlvii, 385-6, 388, 462-3.

43. P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/7346, m.1, 1d; see also Newminster Cart., pp.311-2. A fragmentary post-dissolution survey of the Newminster estates describes Nunnikirk as a 'tenement or a Graunge called Nunekirke with a towre and other convenient howses mete for a farmor' (P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/382, f.16).

religious furnished their grange with three towers and a stone curtain-wall. Two centuries later, on the suppression of the abbey, the fortified grange was still found to be very necessary for the defence of the inhabitants of the region against the anticipated assaults of the rebels.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Fortification, usually begun only at a late date, may be taken, then, to be among those occasional additions to the grange for which allowance must be made by the excavator. With the supply of a chapel, and with exceptional expenditure on domestic accommodation generally, it followed the movement of the grange away from its original austerity, owing nothing to any characteristic or function peculiar to the grange estate. Of the early, primitive establishments, the written record adds little to the conclusions already drawn from whatever has been left above ground. It can be said only that the 12th-century grange was likely to have been humble and diminutive in form, unostentatious and unaffected in design. It was devoid of fortifications, and can rarely have been supplied with a chapel. No suggestion of any repetition on the grange of the traditional monastic plan has been discovered. In its absence, it remains more probable that the religious houses should have made use at their granges of a plan already familiar

44. Dublin, St. Mary's, Cart., i.275, ii.62-3; see also Irish Extents, p.10. For further evidence of castles and defences on the estates of the Irish religious houses, see Irish Extents, pp.39-40, 89, 96, 100, 108, 111, 129, 145, 183, 220.

on equivalent lay establishments elsewhere. The grange, it is certain, was not founded to encourage a community of regulars in the elaboration of the ritual of the choir. It was designed, rather, to house a group of labourers and their supervisors, charged with the farming of the estate. For such as these, the provision of costly buildings could never have been in question. A religious community, recently founded and as yet inadequately endowed, could not have risen to the expense. In better times it would still seem doubtful that it should ever have felt itself called upon to do so.

In due course, it has been argued, the more important of the granges were to lose their original simplicity. A progressive relaxation of certain particulars of the rule, as well as a noticeable decline in the numbers and the quality of the lay brethren, led to the employment of choir monks on the granges. Where they were not so employed, they might have visited the estates on business, frequently also on holiday. The austere lodgings of the lay brethren were enlarged, or rebuilt altogether, to provide fitting accommodation for their betters. A new set of chambers, for example, might have been added to an existing hall. Likewise, the improved building, become more attractive to marauders, merited greater expenditure on defence. As the home of a monastic community - more truly so than it had ever been in

the past - it demanded the provision of a chapel. Such improvements, very naturally, were always restricted in their application. It was more usual, that is, for a grange to be leased than for it to be rebuilt. Indeed, the multiplication of apartments at the more favoured establishments found no equivalent, whether in the 13th century or at any other time, on the average grange estate. By the 15th century, the hall, the chamber and the kitchen had become manifestly the standard accommodation at the grange. It would be difficult to maintain, on such evidence as we possess, that they had ever been anything else.

Wright, for example, speaks first of the legislative demands of the day, then goes on to suggest, by implication, for the grange. He admits, however, that he has not found any examples of the actual enforcement of individual principles of the day. 'Monastic Granges in Yorkshire', pp. 213-14. For a general statement to the same effect, see Kewley, *The Religious Orders in England*, I, 104.

Chapter IV. Earthwork Sites : their Origin and Form.

The discussion, up to this point, has been limited to an assessment of the nature of the buildings at the grange. It has been demonstrated that neither the architectural nor the record evidence need suggest a wide separation in the planning and disposition of those buildings between the grange for the one part, the manor for the other. Among the explanations put forward for such an identity has been the proposition that for all but the wealthiest of the religious houses, extravagant expenditure on the granges remained out of reach of the resources of the new foundations. Another explanation might be sought in similarities in estate policy between the religious orders far closer than it is usual to allow. Isolationism, particularly where it concerned Cistercian houses, has been advanced as an important determinant of the settlement pattern of the 12th-century religious orders.⁽¹⁾ But if isolation, in truth, might frequently have been sought in the siting of an abbey itself, it could seldom have been anticipated at its granges. A quota of marginal lands - moorlands or uncultivable waste - would naturally have attached to the majority of the religious foundations. Yet to

1. Bishop, for example, speaks first of the isolation demanded at the abbey, then goes on to suggest as much, by implication, for the granges. He admits, however, that he has not found any examples of the actual enforcement of isolationist principles (Bishop, 'Monastic Granges in Yorkshire', pp.210-11). For a general statement to the same effect, see Knowles, The Religious Orders in England, i.64.

most, once again, the continued prosperity of the community depended upon the possession of more fertile estates - estates which could only be sited where settlement was already intensive. To the historian of the grange, the distinction is fundamental. That is, the organisation of a remote upland estate, cut off from ready contacts and supplies, continued to reflect the original impulse towards the creation of a self-contained economy. By contrast, the rich lowland grange, on whatever principle its foundation may initially have been undertaken, came quickly to identify with the manor.

A group of existing buildings has been assembled in an earlier chapter to provide the basic material for the discussion of the architectural development of the grange. In the following chapter attention will be turned to a selection of the earthwork sites, the majority in Yorkshire, from which something may be gathered of the nature of Cistercian settlement in the county and, to a lesser degree, outside it. The characteristics of the upland granges will be the first to be discussed, for it is in the uplands that the design and the intention of the founders may be expected to have experienced least change. The lowland granges will be considered for what they may reveal of the processes of foundation and consolidation on the 12th-century

monastic estates. The discussion will conclude with a tentative classification of the earthworks.

For the most part, the sites to be treated will include earthworks recorded here for the first time. In each case, further details - among these location and a brief description of the earthworks - will be given in the concluding gazetteer of sites. For the purposes of the general discussion, a selection will be made from amongst the following sites - the Fountains granges at Arnford, Bouthwaite, Brimham, Cayton, Cowton, Kilnsey, Kirby Wiske, Morker, Sutton and Warsill; the Rievaulx granges at Angram, Broughton, Griff, Morton, Newlass, Newton and Skiplam; the Meaux granges at Croo, Hayholme, Moor, North Grange, Octon and Wawne; the Jervaulx granges at Akebar, Braithwaite, Dale, Kilgram, Melsonby, Newstead and Thrintoft; the Byland granges at Balk, Cams Head, Murton, Old Byland, Scackleton and Tile House; and the Kirkstall grange at Barnoldswick. Within Yorkshire, although not of Cistercian ownership, the sample may include the Malton (Gilbertine) granges at Linton, Rillington, Sutton and Wintringham; the Bridlington (Augustinian) rectory-manor at Willerby; and the Whitby (Benedictine) demesne manor at Whitby Laithes. A further important group of sites outside the county may be called upon to illustrate some points. Among these,

the most valuable is an upland site in northern Staffordshire, formerly Croxden's grange at Musden. Other sites will include the Leicestershire granges at Burton Lazars, Burton on the Wolds and Knossington, the property of Vaudey, Garendon and Owston respectively; also the Lincolnshire grange at Gayton-le-Wold, an important property formerly of Kirkstead.

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A monastic house, it need hardly be said, might have held properties of several different kinds. It might, on its own account, have farmed a group of neighbouring estates, describing them, without distinction, as 'home farms', 'demesne manors' or 'granges'. Equally, it might have held properties at a distance, entrusting them to the care of a bailiff or a steward, or letting them out at a fixed farm over a limited period of years. It might, further, have secured the appropriation of a parish church or chapelry, or it might, holding no more than the advowson of a church, have decided to build up its estates in the area in anticipation of successful appropriation at a later date. It might, finally, besides the possession of various workshops, stores and warehouses at neighbouring market centres, have held miscellaneous tenements and rents in a great many different parishes, generally within reach of the house.

But it is equally clear that not all monastic houses possessed, or wished to possess, such a full range of properties.

Bermondsey, a Cluniac house, held manors and rectories as far removed as Kent, Hertfordshire, Berkshire, Essex, Gloucestershire, Leicestershire, Somerset and Dorset.⁽²⁾ But it was rare for a Cistercian house to hold property beyond a limited distance (above, p.48), and unusual for such property to be sited in a county other than its own. For one thing, the Cistercians, although in time to become appropriators of churches themselves, had little initial interest in the acquisition of rectories or their revenues; nor would they have been able to serve them if they had. For another, an original insistence on the merits of full-scale demesne farming, highly centralised at the monastic house itself, led the majority of Cistercian houses to reject the offer of property at a great remove from themselves. In the early years, buttressed by a good supply of skilled labour and by the predictable benevolence of local landowners, they could fully afford to do so.

2. Annales Monastici, iii.427-9. Likewise, the fifty-seven manors of Christ Church, Canterbury, as recorded early in the 14th century, were scattered over nine or more counties (B.M., Cotton Galba E.iv, fos.32v-33).

The rigidity of Cistercian practice, and the contrasting flexibility of the estate policies of the other monastic orders, may best be illustrated on a distribution map (fig. 3). The map is designed to show the siting of the principal estates - not necessarily the granges - of three monastic houses: Fountains (Cistercian), Malton (Gilbertine) and Guisborough (Augustinian). It will also be of use in the discussion of the contrasting development of lowland and upland estates.

The first thing to notice is that in each case a major concentration of estates - at whatever date it was finally effected - lay close about the monastery itself. The greater part of the Fountains estates, while allowing for the difficulties of the terrain, lay within an easy distance to the west; of the Guisborough manors, the majority were sited narrowly to the north, north-east and west; with the sole exception of an estate at Watton, the rectorial-manors and granges of the Gilbertines at Malton were scattered easily about their house. It need hardly be said that these were the demesne properties - the 'granges' - of the monasteries. In so far as any properties were to be kept in demesne as late as the dissolution, these were the ones so kept. In structure, organisation and finance, there might be little to choose between the equivalent properties of each of the religious

houses. The Cistercians, the Gilbertines and the Augustinians, all, in the early years, maintained a force of lay brethren. The needs of the monastery, in each case, were the same. Why should their practice have varied?

It is inevitable that the distribution map, because it is confined to Yorkshire, should prove in some measure deceptive. On the face of it, it would appear that the Fountains estates were quite as scattered as any - indeed, more so. But what the map does not show is that the Fountains properties, with the exception only of a mill and a close at Boston in Lincolnshire and a small estate centred west and south of Keswick in Cumberland, were confined within the boundaries of the county to the west of county, at that. By contrast, the estates of Malton and Guisborough, already less extensive than those of Fountains, were very much wider dispersed. The Gilbertines, for one, listed among their properties the rectory of Winterton in northern Lincolnshire; the manor of Willoughby, east of Ancaster, with the rectory of Ancaster itself - both in the south of the county; the northern Leicestershire rectory of South Croxton, some eight miles north-east of Leicester; and the rich, if distant, rectory of King's Walden, Hertfordshire, due east of Luton and some thirty miles north of London. The

estates of the canons of Guisborough were scattered almost as far. Besides the manor at Aylesby in Lincolnshire, already shown on the map, they included properties in Trimdon and Hartlepool, co. Durham, with the manor of Castle Eden; the manor and rectory at Bridekirk and the rectory at Dearham, Cumberland, with rents in Great and Little Broughton; and, finally, rents and the perquisites of courts at Seaton and Woodhorn, both by Newbiggin by the Sea, Northumberland.

The diverging estate practices of the orders would be plain on this evidence alone. Discounting the estate at Keswick, the Fountains properties extended to the north only as far as Cowton and Greenberry, Busby and Dromonby, some twenty miles north and north-east of the house. To the south, at about twice the distance, they stopped short of Huddersfield at the granges at Ainley, Kirkheaton and Bradley. Further, much the same pattern imposed itself on the estates of a sister house at Meaux, south of Malton and due east of the ancient borough of Beverley. In this case a major concentration lay, as might be expected, about the monastery itself. To the north and south, bounds were set by Wharram Grange, some twenty-two miles north of the abbey, and the manor of Weelsby in Lincolnshire, about the same distance to the south (fig. 4).

Yet to contemporaries of other orders the same rules could scarcely have been expected to apply. No doctrinaire

scruple, or economic calculation, forbade either Gilbertine or Augustinian to widen the circle of estates. The profits of a rectory, or the revenues of a manor already let out to farm, were as easy to handle at a distance as they might have been closer to home. In consequence, the Gilbertines at Malton, while maintaining their home granges in hand, saw no difficulty in the acceptance of a rectory as remote as King's Walden in Hertfordshire. Likewise, at Guisborough the manors and rectories spread down through the North and East Ridings, up into Cumberland, Northumberland and Durham. It was not that, on its home ground, the practice of one order need have varied so markedly from that of another. Rather should it be said that the Cistercians, having no need of rectories and determined to exploit their own demesnes, rarely extended their interests beyond the immediate areas of their abbeys, seeking to diversify their economy only at a later date.

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Nevertheless, within such limits, the estates of a single Cistercian house might differ widely in their nature. It has been said already that a distinction of fundamental importance divided the remote upland grange, established on marginal land, from the rich mixed farms founded on the plains below. Of the former, the Nidderdale granges of Fountains are by way of being classic examples. Of the latter, the best-documented sites will be found to be those of the East Riding granges of Meaux.

The abbey at Fountains, founded in 1132, was sited some three miles to the south-west of Ripon on the northern border of the West Riding, and on the edge of the poor but extensive pasture-lands which comprise the approaches to the Pennines. It will be seen from the distribution map (fig. 3) that the majority of the estates west of the abbey were sited on land over four hundred feet above sea level. These were the pastoral granges of which much has already been written.⁽³⁾ Concentrated particularly up the east flank of the steep, narrow valley of the Nidd, they extended back towards Fountains over the 7000 acres of moorlands and pasture controlled by the abbey on Fountains Earth.⁽⁴⁾ The details of individual foundations are not recorded, but we know that the abbey early acquired, by gift of its great benefactor, Roger de Mowbray, the whole of Upper Nidderdale, north of Pateley Bridge and east of the channel of the Nidd.⁽⁵⁾ Not so many years later, by 1198, the abbot and

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3. See, in particular, Donkin, 'Cattle on the Estates of Medieval Cistercian Monasteries'.
 4. The acreage is taken from the tithe apportionment of 1838, giving the exempt acreage on Fountains Earth as 6833 acres (Tithe Comm., Township of Fountains Earth, Yorks., 1838).
 5. Dugdale, Monasticon, v.309. Much of the west flank of Upper Nidderdale belonged, by gift of the same donor, to Byland (B.M., Egerton 2823, f.76v). Roger was the second baron de Mowbray. He died c.1188.

6. Fountains Earth, 11-14.

7. Dugdale, Monasticon, v.311.

convent had established there a chain of granges and cattle-lodges, both in the valley and on the moors, named in Richard's confirmation as Bewerley, Bouthwaite, Sigsworth, Dallow, Lofthouse, Thorp and Coldstones.⁽⁶⁾ Shortly before the dissolution, Sigsworth, Lofthouse and Bouthwaite, together with a whole system of like establishments over the moors, were still kept in hand by the abbey.⁽⁷⁾

In establishing the precise nature of these cattle-lodges, the results of fieldwork in the dales both have been, and are likely to continue, disappointing. Besides Abbot Huby's extant chapel at Bewerley, a careful survey of the Fountains estates in Nidderdale - almost all of which are still represented by farmsteads of the same, or a corrupted, name - revealed some slight earthworks only at Bouthwaite, some four miles north of Pateley Bridge. It is possible that the foundations of the present grange at Bouthwaite are medieval. If so, the monastic building was a simple rectangular structure of no more than diminutive size. But there are traces of another, larger building in the meadow south of Lul Beck and north of the modern farm-house. Short of excavation, there is nothing more to be said of it at present. Regrettably, scarcely more can be deduced

6. Fountains Memorials, ii.14.

7. Dugdale, Monasticon, v.311.

from the other earthworks associated with the upland granges of the Yorkshire abbeys. With the exception of Brimham, where current excavations may eventually reveal something of the plan, no remains of any significance have been recorded on the upper, moorland granges. On the valley floors, at Dale in Wensleydale (Jervaulx) and Kilnsey in Wharfedale (Fountains), traces of individual buildings themselves do little more than confirm the site of the grange; they do nothing to suggest its plan.

Indeed, of the Yorkshire earthworks in this category, undoubtedly the most important individual site is that of the former grange and sheep-farm of Rievaulx at Newlass, on Rievaulx Moor less than two miles north-east of the abbey. Newlass occupies a promontory, originally created by the upper reaches of Etton Gill, over six hundred feet above sea level. Currently, the site is more or less equally divided by the modern hedge-line, running from the present farm-buildings on the west to the edge of the scarp on the east. North of the hedge-line, a square earthwork may mark the site of the domestic buildings. Still further to the north, and plainly visible on the air photograph, a long rectangular building lay towards the north-west corner of the site. To the south of the hedge, the surveyed earthworks (fig. 5) include what would appear to have been a single great rectangular building, 130' x 40'. A number of

smaller sheds and outhouses linked it to the domestic range on the north. But the earthworks at Newlass would have been more valuable had the grange been more typical of its kind. As it is, the estate would seem long to have remained the principal demesne sheep-farm of the abbey. At the dissolution, by which time it had come to be known as a 'grange', its most noteworthy building continued to be the great sheep-house, the symbol of its highly specialised function among the rest of the abbey estates.⁽⁸⁾ Still more to the point, the court at Newlass was unusually large; it had few of the characteristics of the site of the average upland grange, being neither cramped nor restricted, nor, for that matter, difficult of access.

It is, of course, precisely these characteristics of restriction at the upland grange which both account for its physical nature and may be explained already by its purpose. The grange, or cattle-lodge, might be wedged at the foot of a dale or tucked into the flank of a hillside. In such conditions, not only was the site too narrow to house great buildings, it was also likely to be re-used over the centuries with such consistency that not a trace of the original medieval structures would remain.

8. P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/401, p.335; see also Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4553, m.1d.

On the highest moorland granges, though the sites were no longer restricted, there was less reason than ever for lavish expenditure on the buildings. On the high pastures west of Fountains, cattle from the grange at Cayton, some four hundred feet above sea level, were sent up to summer at the grange and hunting-lodge at Brimham, another three hundred feet higher.⁽⁹⁾ But although the buildings at Brimham, a favoured resort of the abbot and convent of Fountains, eventually acquired some elaboration of their own, there was little reason to enlarge them for agriculture. In the winter, the herds were driven back down to Cayton again; the rye, oats and hay of the fields and closes about the grange were carted direct to the abbey.

What little we know of the buildings at the upland grange reinforces the suggestion of its poverty. Fountains, disputing in 1308 its Nidderdale rights with John, the eighth baron de Mowbray, agreed to keep at its lodges in Nidderdale only the shepherds it needed to mind the sheep in the winter and the hay-makers it hired in the summer.⁽¹⁰⁾ Where a lay brother was employed as lodge-keeper, the provision for his needs might be

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9. As much is suggested by the right of free transit granted by Richard of Ripley 'for our men and beasts of Caytoun as far as the pastures of our grange of Brimham' (B.M., Add.18,276, f.34).
10. Quoted in an inspeximus of 5 March 1386 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1385-9, pp.119-20).

small. On Buckfast Moor in Devonshire, in conditions not unlike those on the dales, the Cistercians of Buckfast kept a lay brother alone at their lodge there, with a single shepherd, or cattle-man, to help him. It was his task to mind the cattle in the daytime; to bring the herd back to the hundred-acre enclosure for the night.⁽¹¹⁾ There were sheep-houses, or stables, and a barn at St. Ouen's forest lodge at Colemont. But a single chamber served as the lodging of the monk, or lay brother, who ran it.⁽¹²⁾

A distinction, however, may usefully be made between the cattle grange at the base of the valley and its lodges on the hills above. It is brought out, for example, in the grange at Kilnsey, which would appear to have acted as a centre for the Fountains pastures on Langstrothdale. We know that by 1241 the abbot and convent already had seven lodges in the area, each enclosed by its ditch and hedge. In that year a settlement of disputed rights in Langstrothdale entitled the monks to maintain eighty mares and eight stallions in the forest; they were to

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11. Register of John de Grandisson, iii.1608. Quoted by Donnelly, 'Changes in the Grange Economy', pp.414-5. By way of comparison, Rievaulx's staff of **Shepherds** on its extensive moorland pastures was supervised by a single lay brother, assisted by two servants (Rievaulx Cart., p.158).
12. Delisle, Études sur la condition de la Classe Agricole, p.396.

13. History of the County of York, 1871.

14. History of the County of York, 1871.

keep their lodges, and might add to them as many more as they either needed or wished.⁽¹³⁾ Other pastoral centres were maintained to serve the remaining dales. Bewerley, at Pateley Bridge, was well sited to cater for Nidderdale. By the dissolution, and undoubtedly for many years before, it was equipped with a valuable sheep-lodge at Moorhouse, on the waste to the west of the grange.⁽¹⁴⁾ On the northern slopes of Wensleydale the community at Jervaulx had enjoyed rich pasture rights since the date of its foundation. From the grange at Dale, a former site of the abbey, its lodges and sheep-enclosures stretched far to the north over the waste of Abbotside Common.⁽¹⁵⁾

Admittedly, the earthwork remains at the great estate-centres are too fragmentary to permit of any certain interpretation, although it might, perhaps, be assumed that the principal buildings at Kilnsey, Bewerley and Dale were the cattle-sheds and sheep-houses which would have featured on any large pastoral estate. Such, indeed was the sheep-house at Newlass; and such, again, would have been the case at the Meaux grange at Wharram, where the sheep-house is said to have measured 160' in length.⁽¹⁶⁾ But

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13. Bodleian MS, Univ. Coll. 170, fos.70-1.
 14. Fountains Memorials, i.344; see also P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4452, m.1.
 15. For details, see the inclosure awards quoted in the tithe apportionment of 1839 (Tithe Comm., Township of Low Abbotside, Yorks., 1839).
 16. Meaux Chron., iii.243.

if details of the buildings at the estate-centres must await systematic excavation of their sites, something more can be said of the setting and scale of the lesser lodges and cattle-granges of the upland moors, distinguished rather for their abundance than for their size. We know, for example, that in negotiating the establishment of a new cattle-lodge in Cleveland, the canons of Guisborough in 1197 had to agree not to exceed an area of four acres for their buildings, with another four acres of enclosures for their stock.⁽¹⁷⁾ Still smaller were the moorland huts from which the servants of Rievaulx managed the pasture concessions of the abbey on the wastes of Westerdale and Teesdale to the north. To each of these there attached a garden, and each enjoyed extensive timber-cutting rights on the moor. But at Middleton, so it was said, the hut, or lodge, of the shepherds measured no more than 15' square.⁽¹⁸⁾ Recent excavations on Dartmoor have uncovered an establishment very similar to this. Lady Fox, digging what she took to be a cattle-lodge of Buckfast, found two small buildings, linked by a walled yard. The smaller of these, measuring 27' x 12', she identified as a house; the larger, at 49' x 14', she interpreted as the byre. Both buildings and circuit walls were of a poor, rough-stone

17. Guisborough Cart., i.234.

18. Rievaulx Cart., pp.68, 158.

construction, typical of moorland dwellings whatever their date.⁽¹⁹⁾

Representative of an establishment standing somewhere between the valley estate-centre on the one hand and the moorland lodge on the other, the site of Croxden's grange at Musden in Dovedale (Staffordshire) parallels in many particulars those of the Fountains dale-side granges. The estate at Musden, a part of the original endowment of the abbey, remained a demesne of Croxden until shortly before the dissolution.⁽²⁰⁾ Its buildings were sited on a group of artificial terraces, dug deeply into a north-facing hillside in Dovedale, and still visible to this day. By reason of its situation, the area occupied by the grange buildings must always have been markedly restricted. It consisted principally of a single great artificial platform, the northern end built out on a terrace, the southern excavated from the hillside. Downhill, immediately to the north

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19. Fox, 'A Monastic Homestead on Dean Moor', pp.141-57.
20. For the endowment, see Dugdale, Monasticon, v.662. The grange was still in hand in 1533 when the abbot refused a request to lease it to Francis Meverell, 13 January 1533. He remarked that the grange had not been leased over the last forty years (L. & P., Hen.VIII, vi.16). Though recorded as demesne in the general valor of monastic possessions (Valor Ecclesiasticus, iii.125), Musden was leased almost immediately afterwards, on 13 February 1535, to George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury (P.R.O., Land Revenue, Misc. Books, LR.2/183, f.161v).

of the platform, there survive the remains of what would appear to have been at least three smaller buildings. Another building was sited a little way up the hill to the south-west. Like its Nidderdale equivalents, the Dovedale grange was built largely, or entirely, of stone. The foundations remain visible through the pasture at a number of points round the site.

The restrictions and the poverty of the uplands set limits to the growth of the average cattle-grange and lodge. On the lowlands, although land might be harder to come by, the rewards could often be great. In terms of buildings alone, there would seem little reason why the upland granges should have borne any resemblance whatever to the great mixed farms of the arable lands below. And if this were the case with the buildings, it is just as true of the details of foundation and organisation as well. It is clear, for example, that in the uplands large foundation grants, unobstructed by previous claims, might be accepted with ease and security. There was little either in theory or in practice to prevent the successful establishment of the average upland grange. Yet on the plains, by contrast, the position remained very different. The richer farming lands of the valleys had been settled centuries before. An indigenous

population - sometimes thinly spread, but always keenly alive to its rights and interests - had long occupied precisely those regions in which any youthful monastic foundation had either to find a foothold or expire. The attribution of the success of the Cistercian settlement of northern Yorkshire to the Conqueror's earlier ravages of the county can contain only part of the truth. And yet, failing this, how are we to explain the concentration of Cistercian granges in just those areas least likely to have had land to spare?

The expedient of deliberate depopulation has frequently been suggested as an answer.⁽²¹⁾ And, indeed, with plentiful, if random, evidence to support it, such an explanation would have all the obvious attractions of a ready-made final solution. Certainly, contemporary critics of the Cistercians - of which, by the end of the 12th century, there were many - delighted in the repetition of malicious and damaging stories, redounding to the discredit of the order.⁽²²⁾ Occasionally, such hostile witnesses

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21. The case for widespread depopulation is made at length by Donkin, 'Settlement and Depopulation on Cistercian Estates', pp.141-65. But see also Bishop, 'Monastic Granges in Yorkshire', pp.212-3; Knowles, The Religious Orders in England, i.64; Donnelly, 'Changes in the Grange Economy', p.409; and Slicher van Bath, The Agrarian History of Western Europe, p.154.
22. For example, the story of Byland's attempt fraudently to enclose some land of a neighbour at Coxwold in the North Riding (Map, De Nugis Curialium, p.55, and Giraldus Cambrensis, Opera, iv.225-31). Against this, it might be said that the religious were sometimes imposed upon themselves. In 1341, for example, the monks of Boscaudun won a case against certain offenders who had fraudently removed a number of the abbey's boundary stones, in an attempt to evade the payment of tithes (Chalais Chartes, iii.41). Richard I's celebrated comment on the cupidity of the Cistercians is recorded by Hoveden, Chronica, iv.77.

might particularise a general dislike of the order in an onslaught on its territorial policies, with reference, in particular, to the local upheaval that attended the foundation of an abbey.⁽²³⁾ Yet depopulation, on the whole, was rare. Outside the immediate area of the monastic house itself, it was usually exceptional indeed.

On the Fountains estates, two well-known stories record the depopulation of the former villas at Morker and at Cayton, both early to become granges of the abbey. It is said of the villa of Herleshow (later Morker), for example, that originally it formed part of the dowry, or inheritance, of Ragenilda on the occasion of her marriage to Robert de Sarz. Together divinely inspired, Robert and his wife gave the villa with its three carucates of land to the monks recently settled at Fountains.⁽²⁴⁾ Likewise, less than three years after its foundation, the abbey acquired another villa at Cayton. Cayton had been the property

23. Map, De Nugis Curialium, pp.49-50. Almost a century later, John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to the king (14 June 1284) to make the same point. Fearing the consequences of a possible re-settlement of the monks of Aberconway, he stressed the horror with which the approach of the Cistercians was commonly viewed; for, despite their many good qualities, they were the 'hardest neighbours that priest or layman could have' (Peckham, Registrum epistolarum, ii.726-7). For the full story of the re-siting of Aberconway, see Hays, History of Aberconway, chapter IV.

24. Fountains Memorials, i.54-5; also Dugdale, Monasticon, v.299, and Fountains Cart., ii.563. A confirmation by Henry Murdac of Robert de Sarz's gift lists the extent of territories as three carucates (Fountains Cart., ii.564).

of Serlo of Pembroke, a young man attached to the household of Henry I. Serlo, falling desperately ill, summoned the abbot of Fountains to his bedside and gave him the vill and lands at Cayton. Shortly afterwards the vill was reduced to a grange.⁽²⁵⁾ It is not hard to see why the monks took the action that they did. Morker lies immediately to the south of the buildings at Fountains itself, scarcely more than a quarter of a mile separating the two. Considerations of privacy alone might have required it to become a grange. Cayton, three miles to the south, was again within such easy reach of the abbey that its early acquisition must at once have prompted the suggestion of reduction, as at Morker, to a grange. In due course the abbey acquired much of the property between the two, holding great areas of land north of Ripley and west of the highway from there to the north and to Ripon.

Another Fountains depopulation, although it has nothing to do with the site of the abbey, may as easily be explained. The abbot and convent, on acquiring the vill of Thorpe Underwood, deported its inhabitants and reduced it to a 'fruitful' grange.⁽²⁶⁾ The word 'fruitful' in itself is significant. Thorpe Underwood is situated on the rich, flat river plain, some ten miles north-west of York. Not only might it have proved a useful staging-post

25. Fountains Memorials, i.55-6; also Dugdale, Monasticon, v.299.

26. Fountains Memorials, i.124.

on the road from Ripon to York, it was also an admirable balance for the abbey to the pasture-lands held on the west. Fountains, burdened with a great and sudden recruitment within a few years of foundation, could not have survived on pasture concessions alone. It was essential to find some other means to ensure the continuance of the house. On such arable lands as it possessed, whether at Thorpe Underwood or at other earlier acquisitions, the abbey was compelled to make the best use of its assets. At the time of its donation, Thorpe Underwood must already have supported a sufficient population of its own. The village was near the markets at York, Wetherby, Knaresborough and Ripon, and the land was exceptionally fertile. Even on the borders of the settlement the abbey could have expected to make no successful foothold for a grange, for the surrounding territories were just as rich and quite as heavily populated. In the circumstances, little alternative remained. Once the lordship of the village itself had been acquired, nothing short of depopulation on an unusually extensive scale could have made up the necessary acreage for a grange.

The experience of Fountains at Thorpe Underwood was certainly not wholly exceptional, but other recorded depopulations seem usually to have occurred near the sites (or former sites) of the abbeys. The monks of Byland had originally attempted to settle on the Rye, near the village from which they derived their name. The village and its lands had come to them as a foundation grant.

They moved the inhabitants to a new site, and reduced the old to a grange.⁽²⁷⁾ At Meaux the village and manor of that name seemed so suitable for the site of the new abbey that the former lord of the manor, John of Meaux, was persuaded to abandon his patrimonial lands in favour of another manor, twice the size, at Bewick, near Aldburgh. The abbey was sited in the south of the manor; the manor-house and village, less than half a mile to the north-east, were reduced to the status of a grange.⁽²⁸⁾

Outside Yorkshire, the same pattern (true of the abbey site alone) repeated itself time and again. Another group of Cistercian monks, acquiring the vill of Pipewell in Northamptonshire, resolved to found their abbey in its place. Pipewell was depopulated, the new monastery was sited in its fields, and a grange, subsequently known as West Grange, was established where the village had once been.⁽²⁹⁾ At Stoneleigh, in Warwickshire, and Rufford, in Northamptonshire, similar expedients would seem to have been forced upon the monks. The community of Stoneleigh, searching over a long period for a suitable site for their house, determined at an early stage to settle at what was later to become their grange at Crulefeld, or Cryfield. They removed such villagers as were there at the time to another site at Hurst.⁽³⁰⁾

27. Dugdale, Monasticon, v.351.

28. Meaux Chron., i.81.

29. B.M., Stowe 937, f.66v; also Cotton Calig. A.xii, fos.16, 17v.

30. Stoneleigh Leger Book, pp.15, 219 - 20, 250.

At Rufford, the former village once again was replaced by an abbey. In this case, by good fortune, the terms of the settlement have survived. Generous compensation was given to the dispossessed. Money payments ranged from 20d. to 10s. In two cases, the compensation took the form of the grant of an acre of land elsewhere. In addition, certain undertakings were made. It was agreed that:

' . . . the monks will seek for them liberty from Gilbert de Gant and his heirs and as far as they are able will support them against everyone by word and prayer; and if any of them, moved by the desire to serve God or impelled by infirmity, wishes to join the monks, they will support him as far as it seems to them expedient.' (31)

Nothing of what we have seen suggests a more than average

insensibility on the part of the monks to the wishes of the existing peasant communities. There are stories, of course, of less tender transactions, and for some depopulations the case may have been small indeed. (32) But it might be said that, for all the evidence of

31. Barley, 'Cistercian Land Clearances in Nottinghamshire', p.80.

32. The depopulation of Eilfingen, for example, would seem to have depended on nothing much more than the will of the bishop of Spier. Telling his own story, Gunther, a 12th-century bishop of Spier, claimed to have bought the village outright, with its freehold and its tithes. On the church falling vacant, the bishop had further acquired the advowson from the existing proprietor. At his own expense, he had bought out the rights claimed by the peasants and by a number of noblemen, transferring them as a whole to the Cistercians of Maulbronn. With the freehold and every right in hand, the abbot and convent of Maulbronn were left to convert the village to a grange. The decay of the existing parish church followed as a further consequence of the change. It was plain that the lay brethren, required by their rule to take the sacrament only from a priest of their own

individual depopulations at selected sites, in general large-scale depopulation was not a method likely to have been preferred by the Cistercians in the creation of sites for their granges.⁽³³⁾ For one thing, they needed the labour an existing peasant settlement might provide. They neither wished, nor could afford, to alienate their neighbours from the start. For another, compensation might often be impossibly expensive. For, if it could involve, as at Rufford, an actual cash outlay, only the exceptional abbey at the start of its life could have found the resources to meet it.

Besides, there were easier ways to achieve the same desired ends - ways which could be relied upon neither to place sudden strains on the monastic finances, nor to antagonise, or disrupt, an existing community of villagers. On occasion, the monks might be fortunate enough to secure an immediate grant within a village of property sufficiently concentrated to form a

32. (continued)

order, no longer needed the services of the parish priest. In consequence, the sacred relics were moved from the church to a more frequented place. And, as nothing of importance remained there, the church was closed thereafter to the common use (Duby, L'Économie Rurale, ii.649). It would not be so easy, either, to explain the action of some of the Scottish houses. We know that in 1222 Honorius III asked the bishop of Whithorn and the abbot of Glenluce to investigate the bishop of Glasgow's complaint that the monks had usurped parish churches within his diocese. It had been alleged, further, that both tenantry and resident clergy had subsequently been expelled (Holm Cultram Register, pp.53-4).

33. But for the more orthodox view, authoritatively expressed, of the relative importance of depopulation as a characteristic of the Cistercian settlement, see Donkin, 'Settlement and Depopulation on Cistercian Estates', pp.141-57, and Beresford, The Lost Villages of England, pp.151-4.

nucleus for a grange. If that were so, no theory of isolationism could prevent them taking advantage of such a plainly desirable setting. Indeed, just such an opportunity, coming the way of the Cistercians at Fountains, must explain the unusual, if significant, siting of their grange at Kirby Wiske, within yards of the parish church. More commonly, large-scale grants of land could only have been negotiated on the fringes of an existing community, wherever waste remained to be exploited by those with the capital, or the patience, or the labour, to set about enclosure. It was not isolationism but expediency which made the Cistercians settle where they did. The other religious orders, centering their ambitions on the outright acquisition of either a parish church or the demesne of a manor, might find themselves, if successful, supplied with a base for expansion. The Cistercians, rejecting these alternatives, had less opportunity for manoeuvre. Where they were fortunate in securing an initial block grant of land of sufficient size, they frequently went on to establish a grange. But the land, often set on the edge of existing cultivation, was usually scarcely better than marginal; it would take years to enclose and to improve. If a stake were to be secured in the richer lands of the parish, it might be obtained only at the cost of prolonged and meticulous bargaining - a labour which might take centuries to perfect.

The process is well illustrated in the development of the estates of the Cistercians at Meaux (fig. 4). A study of this will show the painful build-up of the grange. It will explain, moreover, - and this, for our purposes, may be considered its greatest value - an unusual siting of each establishment that had nothing to do with the eccentricities of its buildings or their owners, except in so far as the latter chose to farm a demesne of their own. Indeed, if we are to make any sort of separation between the estate policies of the contemporary religious orders, it is on this point that we might make it. The Cistercians, in their early reformist zeal, had come to distrust the materialism they saw in the church around them. They had no wish to be involved in the ownership of parish churches; nor were they prepared to sink their scruples in landlordship after the old manorial pattern. They applauded the austerities of manual labour and they were determined to farm their own demesne. But this is not to say that they required for those demesnes the same qualities as they needed at the monastic house itself. It has been suggested already that the Cistercians had, in essence, to take what they could get. For the lowland granges of Fountains, Cowton, considered in an appendix, will demonstrate over a long period the processes of foundation and consolidation on the grange. In treating the earlier years alone, the Meaux estates at Moor, Croo and Octon will make the point as adequately.

The house at Meaux was founded in 1151 : for a Cistercian house, relatively late. It was sited on the flat, marshy lands of the East Riding, some three miles due east of Beverley. The land was already intensively settled, but proper drainage, undertaken over a long period, might have been expected to find room, and a living, for more. Unlike Fountains, Meaux had little reserve of empty pasture-lands, except what it could acquire in the north. Of its successful attempt to secure this, the Wolds grange of Octon, near Thwing, is a fair example. But other opportunities, nevertheless, were there for the taking. The marsh itself was the marginal land; in a grange like Salthaugh it might originally have made up the better part of the estate. Yet the riches still lay in the villages. In Moor Grange, and still more so at Croo, an original siting on marginal lands, outside the cultivated fields of the villages, promised future opportunities not only through drainage, but also in the piecemeal acquisition of better lands. Very often, by the time the process was completed, there might be little to choose between the Cistercian lowland grange and the Benedictine, or Cluniac, manor. For, of course, while the Cistercians were active both in the consolidation of their existing demesne and in the acquisition of further territories in the vill, their contemporaries in the other religious orders were not neglecting their opportunities elsewhere.

The marsh and seaboard granges, as the more typical of the Meaux estates, will provide the most useful introduction to the discussion. Of these, the site of the former buildings at Moor remains well-marked; it is still - and this is indicative of the nature of the country - surrounded by a wide, water-filled moat. The lands of the present estate are flat and intensively drained; they lie about two miles south-east of the church and village of Beeford, some three miles west of the coast-line, and eight miles north-east of Meaux. Moor was to become predominantly an arable grange; in 1396 its acreage totalled 408 acres, 1 rood and 3 perches; in 1842 between seven and eight-tenths of the same area was cultivated as arable.⁽³⁴⁾ The foundation of the grange dates to the abbacy of Philip, second abbot of Meaux (1160 - 82). Its first processes must have been completed by 1172, for, as a note in the chronicle itself points out, the property is already listed as a grange in the confirmation of Alexander III of that year.

The abbey's original acquisitions in the area seem to have been at Dunnington, immediately to the north-east of the site of its future grange. Although the property was reputedly

34. The figures are taken from the Meaux cartulary in the British Museum, and from the tithe appanionment of Beeford, 1842 (B.M., Cotton Vit. C.vi, f.223v, and Tithe Comm., Township of Beeford, Yorks., 1842).

large, it was apparently not sufficient as yet to constitute the nucleus of a grange. For the moment, the abbey retained its Dunnington lands and awaited a better opportunity. In due course, the opportunity arrived. Between the villages, or hamlets, of Dunnington and Beeford there was a tract of pasture or waste-land, known as the 'Moor'. Some of it was under cultivation, and part belonged to Osbert of Frismersh, who was persuaded to donate half a carucate to the abbey. To this, Osbert added pasture for three hundred sheep to the north of Beeford vill, his son contributing a few more acres of arable in the parish. The monks themselves made a purchase on the Moor. They bought half a carucate of miscellaneous lands in Beeford, including land on the Moor, from Roger of Greensby, Emily his wife, and Thomas, their son. Significantly, this was specifically stated to be 'outside the ditches of the town'.⁽³⁵⁾

The necessary preparations for the foundation of a new grange were at last complete, and Abbot Philip seems to have lost no time in setting about it. Beginning the essential processes of enclosure, he put up the first buildings on the site. Perhaps his haste is a measure of the strength of local opposition to the project; for, although the new grange was sited on marginal land at a good remove from the surrounding

35. B.M., Cotton Vit. C.vi, f.21v.

settlements at Beeford, Dunnington, Bewholme, Brandesburton and North Frodingham, there was yet intense, and apparently concerted, resistance to its foundation from the start. Most of the difficulties would seem to have been raised, understandably enough, by those who already enjoyed rights of common on the Moor itself. Through their agency, the lay brethren at Moor were exposed for many years to injury and insult; they had even to endure the blatant assertion of lapsed pasture rights up to the very gate of the grange. The troubles continued, they seem even to have intensified, during the successive abbacies of Thomas (1182 - 97) and Alexander (1197 - 1210), third and fourth abbots of Meaux.⁽³⁶⁾

Despite the obvious reluctance of many in the area to support, or even to tolerate, the grange, the consolidation of the abbey's lands at Moor would appear to have continued steadily through the abbacies of both Thomas and Alexander. In the time of Abbot Thomas, Peter of Seton conferred on the house the important gift of all that strip of land, held by right of his wife, which extended through the middle of the monk's court at

36. Meaux Chron., i.163-4. But the lay brethren of Meaux could sometimes be expected to return hostility in kind. In the next century, the grandson of a former porter of the abbey was compelled, by reason of the rudeness and incivility of the lay brethren dwelling at Wawne Grange, to abandon his inheritance in the parish (ibid., ii.4).

Moor; it measured forty-nine perches in length and a single perch in width. On Peter's death, his widow Amicia added another strip of land - one perch by thirty-four - below the court to the north. One of the villagers of Beeford, by the name of Acer, had yielded at a similar date either to the persuasions of the monks, or to the promptings of his own unquiet conscience. He made several contributions to the abbey properties at Moor. They included two selions in Beeford close to the grange at Moor, five perches within the court of the grange, a strip - two perches by forty-four - outside the court to the west, and another - two by twenty - beyond it to the east; 'that is to say, on every side of the grange, that land which he has nearest to it'.⁽³⁷⁾

By the final years of the abbacy of Thomas, we may assume the court and immediate area of Moor Grange to have been already firmly in monastic hands. It now remained for successors of the pioneering abbots to build on the base they had inherited. Towards the end of the century the monks had rented certain lands at Moor to supplement the territories they already held. Before 1210 they had persuaded their landlord to present them the land outright.⁽³⁸⁾ Throughout the new century, the process was to

37. ibid., i.224-6. For a succession of gifts at Moor, many either within or beside the court, or next to other properties of the monks, see the cartulary (B.M., Cotton Vit. C.vi, fos.21v-23).

38. Meaux Chron., i.309-10.

continue unchecked. Typical of many was an exchange negotiated in the time of William of Drifffield, ninth abbot (1249-69). A certain John of Skerne possessed lands at Moor which he had probably acquired by right of his wife Mabel, daughter of Peter of Dunnington, a neighbour of the monks. The religious themselves, through the earlier pious donations of their benefactors, owned numerous properties in Skerne, where they ran an important grange. It was the most natural arrangement possible to exchange all John's lands at Moor for an equivalent acreage in Skerne, both parties benefiting by the transaction.⁽³⁹⁾

Indeed, it was to be this same rare blend of opportunism and foresight, only very occasionally frustrated, that was to continue to characterise the property transactions of the community at Meaux.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Such qualities, displaying nothing of idealism, were admirably illustrated once again in the negotiations that preceded the foundation of the neighbouring grange at Croo. The estate at Croo, although certainly late of foundation,

39. ibid., ii.106.

40. An outstanding example of a failure in Meaux policy was the unlucky attempt to secure the appropriation of the parish church at Wawne (ibid., i.83-4, 218, 296-8, 407-9). Towards the end of the 14th century, the convent would appear to have swallowed its pride, bidding successfully for the farm of the rectory (ibid., iii.177, 273).

in almost every way modelled the conditions that made grange organisation a possibility in the 12th century, and for many years of the 13th century as well. The necessary prerequisite for its foundation was the acquisition of a sufficiently large and consolidated property to serve in the first instance as demesne. As at Moor, the monks already possessed property to the east of the future grange site, but the establishment of a grange had to await the acquisition of another property, long patiently schemed-for, adjoining the first to the west.

An essential feature of the site at Croo was that it lay astride the boundary separating the township of Beeford and the lordship of Dringhoe. While conveniently placed less than a mile from Beeford, it could expect to enjoy rights in Dringhoe as well - rights that attached to a close of land on the western border of the lordship, which already belonged to the monks. In the final event, pasture rights in both Beeford and Dringhoe were to be secured by the simple device of allotting four bovates of the demesne to Beeford, the other six to Dringhoe. If the negotiation of such an arrangement called for patience, it would certainly prove worth it in the end. Moreover, although the land at Croo, as that at Moor, was low-lying and costly to drain, there were further advantages to be had from its possession -

not necessarily advantages of so much benefit to the grange itself. The abbot and convent already had considerable interests in the area. Whether or not they maintained Croo as a grange, they would retain their more important establishments at Moor, two miles to the south, and at Dringhoe, less than a mile to the east. In due course they might - and did - succeed in the appropriation of the rich rectory of Skipsea, another mile beyond Dringhoe to the east.

The Beeford property required to complete the grange at Croo had formerly been part of the two-carucate estate of Geoffrey Bryto, the father of the Emily who, with her husband Roger of Greensby, had sold lands to the monks to swell their property at Moor. When Emily inherited the estate, she sold all but two mills and a close at the eastern end of Beeford, known as the 'Barony', to the community at Meaux; but it was precisely this close that was required to form the demesne lands of the grange, for it lay up against the lands the monks already held in Dringhoe. For some years the Greensby family appear to have resisted all pressures to sell. But eventually Peter, the grandson of Roger and Emily, sold the remaining Beeford lands to William, count of ~~Aumale~~, a benefactor and patron of the abbey. Predictably, the count in due course, on the occasion of his

departure for Jerusalem, presented the coveted Barony to the abbey.

The establishment of the grange, now a practical possibility, would seem to have been left to Abbot Michael (1235 - 49) to achieve. He sited the new farm buildings on the Beeford-Dringhoe boundary, equipping the grange with the necessary 'principal house', stable, cattle-sheds, barn, sheep-house and outbuildings. The demesne he divided between the townships.⁽⁴¹⁾ By 1396 the grange, known for the moment as a 'manor', had come to be leased jointly with Moor. Of its lands, the principal items were 202½ acres of arable in the field of Dringhoe, and another 68 acres of the same in Beeford.⁽⁴²⁾

At Moor and at Croo, the religious at Meaux may be seen building up their properties in the flat, marshy lands of the Beeford-Skipsea-Hornsea triangle. It could have proved, clearly, no very easy task. The land, though low-lying, could be made cultivable without heavy expenditure either of labour or of cash. Hence it had been relatively thickly settled from the beginning. And yet there is no talk of depopulations at either grange. A grange took its chance with other properties, and if

41. *ibid.*, i.164-7, ii.47-8.

42. B.M., Cotton Vit. C.vi, fos.206v, 230.

the monks were more successful than many, it was only partly due to their greater astuteness as negotiators, for it owed as much to the patience that a corporation, as opposed to an individual, was uniquely equipped to display.

In settling the more obviously marginal lands, the labour of the monks, paradoxically, could be less. The Yorkshire Wolds, remote yet cultivable, were a perfect setting for their enterprises. At Wharram Grange, for example, Meaux by 1396 had achieved the exceptional arable acreage of 1128 acres, 1½ roods and 7 perches, out of a total acreage, not including common rights, of 1327½ acres, ½ rood and 9 perches.⁽⁴³⁾ At Octon, though the acreage (at somewhat over 434 acres) was markedly less, the opportunities in the early years must have seemed very nearly as great. The proposed site of the grange lay at just over two hundred feet; immediately to the south-west the land rose easily to five hundred feet or more. It would provide room for virtually unlimited pasture; it might, on its lower slopes, reward enclosure and cultivation as well. Moreover, the situation was not so remote as to demand any special provisions

43. *ibid.*, f.229v. For size, Wharram compared only with Skerne Grange, in the flat country two miles south-east of Driffild and seven miles north-west of Moor. At Skerne, in the same year, the abbey farmed 976 acres of arable and 440 acres of pasture (*ibid.*, f.227).

for labour. Octon village lay within three miles to the south; Foxholes about two to the north. As for the arable at the grange, it was available precisely because it lay between the lands of the two vills, outside the cultivated fields of both.

Originally, the estate had been part of the demesne of Robert of Octon, towards the end of his life a member of the community at Meaux. The lands, totalling two and a half carucates, had devolved on Robert's sons, William and Henry, though they would seem, in particular, to have constituted the portion of the latter. Henry, on leaving for the Holy Land, was glad to accept sixty marks from the religious for the carucates he held. But the monks still owed services on the land - to Godfrey of Harpham on two carucates, to William, lord of Octon in succession to his father, on the remaining four bovates. Soon afterwards, Godfrey himself became a novice at Meaux. He confirmed the two carucates on which the monks still owed him service, added another carucate for good measure, and quitclaimed the land on which the grange itself was built, including all the land as far as the outer wall of the grange court, and the sheep-enclosures outside the main gate by the road. In the meantime, Mabel, the sister of William and Henry, had sold the monks another two bovates to add to their grange, and William himself had been persuaded to take a share in the foundation. In his capacity as

lord of Octon, he confirmed all previous gifts to the abbey, adding to them rights of pasture on the Octon commons for no fewer than five hundred sheep. More than that, he effected an exchange with the monks at Octon - acre for acre - of all those lands scattered through the fields of Octon which his father, Robert, had earlier given to the Hospitallers. The entire process of foundation and early consolidation was completed within the abbacy of ~~Adam~~^{Adam}, first abbot of Meaux (1150 - 60).⁽⁴⁴⁾

There was, clearly, no lack of system behind the expansion of the Meaux estates. But if we were to seek in that system anything but material interest, we should surely be expecting too much. Rather than attempt it, we might content ourselves with an objective both simpler and more rewarding - the study of what the monks, for the most part in less than a century, had already successfully attained. Of this, much can be said from the record evidence alone - indeed, much has already been said by previous historians of the grange. But if the detail is to be revealed in a form which may be related directly to the fields and boundaries of the present day, a medieval record, however comprehensive, is seldom of very much value. Fortunately, a

44. Meaux Chron., i.102-3. The text of Godfrey de Harpham's quitclaim mentions the ditch and wall which the monks had constructed on the west of their court. Presumably the process of enclosure had already begun (B.M., Lansdowne 424, f.144).

modern source, usually ignored by the medievalist, is frequently available for study. Although providing something less than a comprehensive cover, the mid-19th-century tithe apportionments and maps, compiled for the Tithe Commissioners on the occasion of the first large-scale redemptions of tithes, may yet provide information of the very greatest interest and importance.

Exemption from the payment of tithes was a privilege much valued by religious houses of every order. As the rectors themselves of numerous parish churches, such exemption mattered less either to the regular canons or to the wealthier Benedictine houses. But to the Cistercians, and to all those who held the bulk of their property in a form unprotected by tithe ownership, there were few single factors of greater importance in the guarantee of the economic solvency of their houses. There is little reason here to enter into the details of tithe exemptions, compromise payments, or disputes; for these, too, have been studied exhaustively elsewhere.⁽⁴⁵⁾ To summarise, tithe exemption had already become an occasional privilege for select Cistercian houses in the very first years of the 12th century; for other orders, it had been granted even earlier than that. Early poverty, an inevitable characteristic of many

45. Constable, Monastic Tithes, in particular pp.220-306.

of the new foundations, had inspired tithe-owners - clerk and layman alike - to take the initiative in the conferment of a privileged exemption from tithes on a number of specially favoured houses. In due course, the papacy was to add its own authority to these. In 1132, Innocent II included the whole Cistercian order in a privilege addressed to the founding house at Cîteaux. Seven years later, he extended the same exemptions to the Premonstratensians. But tithe payments constituted an important source of revenue for many of the members of the church. Hence, from the beginning there were those who opposed the proliferation of exemptions. Reviving some earlier restrictions, a Benedictine pope, Adrian IV, in 1156 narrowed the application of exemption to those lands recently brought into cultivation. It was to hold, furthermore, only if the land continued to be farmed in demesne. It is true that Alexander III, a powerful patron of the Cistercians, was to restore the order to its full privileges scarcely four years later.⁽⁴⁶⁾ But opposition to exemptions continued to mount, in particular as the prosperity of the religious orders increased. The rebuke addressed to the Cistercians by Richard of Dover, archbishop of Canterbury, is typical of a widely-felt reproach. The order, it was alleged had come to abuse its privilege. It

46. The monks of Furness, among others, kept a record of Alexander's support. They show him to have stressed and re-defined the privileges of the Cistercians, whilst deprecating perverse interpretations put to the bulls of his predecessors on the same theme (Furness Coucher, I.iii. 539-41).

had earned its rights in poverty; there could be no reason to maintain the same in affluence.⁽⁴⁷⁾ In 1215, a limitation of tithe privilege was included among the rulings published at the Fourth Lateran Council. For the future, the Cistercians were to pay tithes in full on all further acquisitions of land. Yet they were still to retain their exemptions on all those lands acquired before the Council, in addition to all lands cultivated for the first time, whether brought into cultivation before or after 1215.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Now, the apportionments, schedules and maps prepared for the Tithe Commissioners in the last century list, in great detail, the fields and tenements liable to tithe in every parish, chapelry and township in the country. Lands not subject to tithe, whether by reason of previous redemption or some other cause, were often as meticulously recorded. But monastic tithe exemptions, though they might have been expected to do so, did not expire with the houses that enjoyed them. In the dissolution statutes of 1536 and 1540 specific provision was made to preserve such exemptions in perpetuity.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Hence, in

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47. The archbishop addressed his admonitions to the Cistercians in a pastoral letter, dated 1179. Avarice, he declared, lay at the root of all evil. The order should feel itself bound to pay its share of the tithes due to the secular clergy (B.M., Egerton 2679, fos.1-2). The letter was probably the work of Peter of Blois, the archbishop's chancellor.
48. For short discussions of the Cistercian tithe exemptions, see Mahn, L'Ordre Cistercian, chapter III, and Donnelly, The Decline of the Medieval Cistercian Laybrotherhood, pp. 44-51. For a more authoritative account, see Constable, op. et loc. cit.
49. Statutes of the Realm, iii.576,734.

the case of many monastic estates, whether Benedictine, Cluniac, Augustinian or Cistercian, both boundaries and acreages may be precisely identified and measured on the schedules and maps of today. Admittedly, the extent and detail of the material available are irregular. Much depended on the accuracy of the 19th-century surveyor; much also on the generosity of the land-owners upon whom the charge for the preparation of survey and apportionment was bound, in the end, to fall. But the limited value of the surveys is due as much to a medieval as to a modern cause. The restriction of exemption in 1215 was only very intermittently observed. Moreover, in the interest of peace and good-neighbourship, private arrangements were frequently negotiated between the original tithe-owner and the religious house proclaiming its exemptions.⁽⁵⁰⁾ A tithe apportionment may,

50. The provisions of 1215 might be annulled, for example, in the interest of a single house. In 1244 the Cistercians of Furness were in receipt of just such a favour. By special grace, Innocent IV conceded to the community an exemption on land acquired after the Lateran Council as complete as that enjoyed on properties established well before (Furness Coucher, I.iii.597-8). As for private compositions, an excellent example survives in the Stoneleigh leger book, recording in detail the nature of the abbey's tithe obligations to the Augustinians of Kenilworth Priory (Stoneleigh Leger Book, pp.254-6). For memoranda distinguishing between tithe-paying and tithe-free lands at Pipewell's East and West Granges, Meaux's Skerne Grange and Fountains's Greenberry Grange, see the entries in the following cartularies of those houses - B.M., Cotton Otho B.xiv, fos.198-200 (Pipewell); B.M., Lansdowne 424, f.137, and a lengthy discussion of the same abbey's general liability to tithes - B.M., Cotton Vit. C.vi, fos.103-20 (Meaux); and B.M., Add. 40,010, fos.265v-6 (Fountains).

and often does, give some indication of the nature of earlier compromise; it cannot explain it all.⁽⁵¹⁾

Reservations, naturally, must be made. But the evidence of the tithe apportionments may be used here, nevertheless, to meet two purposes, each of considerable importance. The first of these is to demonstrate, on the Meaux granges we have already discussed, the value of this particular type of record. The second is to show, in a way and to an extent which it has never been possible to show before, the virtual identity in character and situation of a Cluniac and a Cistercian estate - an identity that extends, moreover, to include many like Benedictine establishments.

We have followed above some of the details of foundation and consolidation at the Meaux granges at Moor, Croo and Octon. It was suggested that the principal objective in the original foundation of each grange was the assembly of sufficient lands to constitute an adequate demesne for the grange. Following the

51. An agreed customary payment to the rector of the parish within which a grange lay was not uncommon. For example, an extent (dated 1325) of Sibton's grange at Cookley records the annual payment of four shillings to the rector of Cookley in lieu of tithes of animal feed at the grange (Sibton Estates, p.50). At Rievaulx's Angram, or Ingram, Grange, an identical payment was still owed in 1841 to the rector of Welbury. The apportionment notes - 'A Modus or prescriptive or Customary payment of four shillings is payable to the Rector of the said Parish in lieu of the Tithes of Hay of certain lands in the said Parish called Ingram Grange.' (Tithe Comm., Parish of Welbury, Yorks., 1841).

original grant, or grants, a long process of painstaking negotiation, purchase and exchange, contributed to the ultimate consolidation of lands in a single, considerable estate. Consolidation, of course, could not be - and was probably not intended to be - complete. The monks retained properties and interests in the parish, attached to the grange but not farmed as a part of the united demesne. These properties may often be located on the complete tithe map for the township or parish. They feature, for example, on the maps for North Cowton and Saughton, but are rarely given where the tithe map includes a separate plan of the area held exempt.

The arrangement of the exempt lands at Moor, Croo, Octon and Salthaugh demonstrates very clearly that, although the monks made little attempt to site their buildings at the precise centre of their estates, they proved uniformly successful in grouping their miscellaneous properties into formed, consolidated units. Yet of these four granges of Meaux, perhaps only the estate at Moor would seem to exemplify fully all that is customarily expected of a grange. In marked contrast to the others, the buildings at Moor were sited almost exactly centrally on the estate (fig. 6). Enjoying a suitable isolation, they served with equal efficiency every portion of the farm. Everything

would seem to have contributed to the creation of a model establishment. Sited on the fringes of both Dunnington and Beeford, the grange drew lands from each towards the formation of a compact estate, roughly rectangular in outline. The size, too, was obviously convenient. In 1396 there had been approximately 408 acres at Moor and its dependencies; in 1842 there were still just a little over 420. An arable grange for the monks, Moor continued to perform the same function for its owners and tenants in later years. And although the plantations of the 19th-century estate were certainly a modern development, in other respects the grange, both in its outline and in the nature of its tillage, clearly repeated the pattern first set at the earliest enclosures, very nearly seven centuries before. It was a pattern that owed much to the force of a single, unswerving ideal - the assembly of a workable demesne. But if chance and the lie of the land had made that pattern neat enough at Moor, no great design, be it every so strongly promoted, could either have anticipated or have altered the disposition of properties elsewhere. There might be little, in other words, to guarantee granges as pure.

Indeed, had the granges been as pure, they might not have proved as interesting as they are. For, leaving aside consolidation as a characteristic common to them all, it must be said that the

next most striking feature of each plan is the siting of the buildings of the grange. It is not to be expected that the monks should have built away from water; nor would it be rational to suppose that they might quite deliberately have neglected the most suitable site within lands already their own. But if the preservation of isolation and privacy were indeed of great importance to the monks, how is it that they should have done no more - whether at the foundation of the grange or in later years - to ensure the separation of their buildings from the world? At Croo, not only are the buildings placed near the north-east corner of the estate, they are also sited close to the busy road linking Beeford with Dringhoe and Skipsea (fig. 7). At Octon, once again, the buildings are on the northern boundary of the estate. (fig. 7 inset). They are separated by little more than a small close, or garden, from the tithe-paying lands to the north - lands which presumably formed a southern extension of the fields of the villagers of Foxholes. At Salthaugh, although the estate may itself be a model of near isolation, the buildings - re-sited on higher ground in the middle of the 13th century - have been placed for farming convenience, not for insulation from the world outside (fig. 8).⁽⁵²⁾

52. Meaux Chron., ii.91. The maps and apportionments relating to the granges at Moor and at Croo are included with the apportionment for the township of Beeford (1842), that of Octon with the hamlet of Octon in the parish of Thwing (1843) and that of Salthaugh with the parish of Keyingham (1842). For an irregular siting of the grange buildings, compare also the siting of the grange at Cowton - on the northernmost boundary of the township of Moulton and the southern border of Croft parish (fig. 9).

It would be absurd, of course, to assume too much on as little evidence as this. But what the tithe maps do underline most clearly is the essential interrelation of the grange and its neighbouring arable fields, pastures, waste and common. To consider the grange as no more than a group of fields, however skilfully consolidated, is to bring it at last down to size. In the exceptional case - for example, at Jervaulx's grange at Melsonby, north of Richmond - the monks would seem to have ensured their isolation with some measure of success. But are we, after all, to consider the exception more deliberate than the rule? It is easy to see that a few fields by themselves can do little to separate a set of buildings from the world. But if the monks really wanted the good land, they had to accept others as their neighbours. Moreover, if they wished to work that land successfully, there was no room for isolationist scruples in the selection of a site for their dwelling-house, cattle-sheds and barns. It is natural, of course, that the problem should have been more acute on the lowlands; on the hills there was room and to spare. But was it really a problem in any true sense of the word? The evidence hardly suggests as much. The examples of Octon, of Croo and of Salthaugh are not by any means unique. Of the other lowland granges, we have noticed already that the

buildings at Kirby Wiske were sited within yards of the parish church. At Balk, a Byland grange, the earthworks lie close to the road, immediately to the east of the hamlet from which they derived their name. On the Rievaulx granges at Broughton, at Angram and at Morton, the buildings were placed immediately to the south, the south-west and the south again, of the villages at Broughton, Appleton Wiske and East Harlsey respectively.

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If the tithe maps may bring some reality to the discussion of isolationism on the lowland grange, they may also restore to its proper proportions the activity of the monks in the enclosure and reclamation of land. Octon may be taken as our example of enclosures; Saltaugh will serve a similar purpose for reclamation of the marsh. Unsatisfactory though the sketch plan of Octon (fig. 7 inset) may certainly be, it nevertheless demonstrates one point very clearly. That is, that over half of the larger fields of the estate - and those the more regular in outline - lay to the west and south-west of the buildings of the grange. The fine surviving earthworks of the medieval grange (fig. 5) are sited immediately to the west of the present farmhouse. They appear to represent the outer and inner courts of the original establishment. We know that enclosure began within

13. Disputes as to these enclosures were resolved in 1374 (R.S., *Leetings* 274, (vol. 11/37-8)).

14. R.S., *Octon* VII, 2, 12, f. 228v.

15. P.S.O., *Map*, 2074, 2074/100, VIII/4612, vol. 8, 104.

the first generation to the west of the court at Octon⁽⁵³⁾ - the slopes of the Wolds were ideal material for such expansion. In due course, it reached the Foxholes - Langtoft road on the west, and half-way to Octon village on the south. But the total area was not, in the final event, so large; nor need the processes of enclosure have been completed so quickly, or even within the period of demesne farming at all. A difference of a hundred acres between the totals recorded in 1396 and in 1843 may signify something of this. For, in the first, the acreage of the grange was given as 434 acres, of which only 24 were kept as pasture (presumably the home pasture attached to the sheep-house).⁽⁵⁴⁾ Whereas by 1843 the total of exempt lands had risen to 537 acres in all - a rise that could only have occurred before the dissolution, and on newly cultivated lands at that. In 1540 the value of Octon Grange, as demised to John Watford, was not high. At an annual farm of £5. 6. 8d, it compared unfavourably with the £10 each demanded for the farms of Salthaugh Grange and Moor.⁽⁵⁵⁾

At Octon, although the original conditions at foundation would have seemed in every way to encourage it, there is little suggestion of the overwhelming enclosing zeal which has often

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53. Disputes as to these enclosures were resolved in 1194 (B.M., Lansdowne 424, fos.143v-4).
54. B.M., Cotton Vit. C.vi, f.228v.
55. P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4612, m.6, 8, 10d.

been held to characterise the Cistercian settlement. Enclosures there certainly were; in time the estate reached respectable proportions very largely as a result of taking fresh land continually into cultivation. But the ambitions of the monks seem never to have been more than modest. It was not they who depopulated Octon village, and if they sought to expand their estate at all, they did it either by exchange or purchase in the existing open fields, or by a further expenditure of capital in enclosures restricted to the marginal lands to the west.

By contrast, reclamation of the marsh at Salthaugh, although requiring a heavier outlay, doubtless promised more reward in the end. The farm buildings at Salthaugh (fig. 8) are sited just over a mile from the northern shore of the Humber as it exists today. None of the lands of the grange are more than a few feet above sea level, and the whole is extensively drained. Kirncroft Drain and Marsh Drain serve the east and west branches of the estate respectively, both feeding into the great Sands Drain to the south. There is no doubt whatever that much of the more systematic medieval drainage of the north shore of the Humber was the work of the monks of Meaux; they had already had opportunity enough to perfect their techniques in the region of the abbey itself. And although the modern drainage pattern may

reflect this only imperfectly, the original reclamation of Salthaugh Grange was an enterprise such as only a wealthy corporation like the abbey could ever successfully have undertaken. With granges to the east and south-east at Ottringham and Tharlesthorpe, and with another grange three-quarters of a mile to the north-west at Keyingham, the monks had every reason to attempt it.

There would seem little doubt that the present-day field plan at Salthaugh, in almost every particular identical with that of 1842, reflects with unusual fidelity the pattern first laid down by the monks. The curves of the field boundaries reveal their purpose as water-filled ditches, linking eventually with the main channels to drain into the Humber on the south. On the west, and about Keyingham Grange itself, is Keyingham Marsh; on the east, the expanse of Ottringham Marsh separates Salthaugh from its neighbouring grange at Ottringham. The whole area is chequered with drainage channels and early protective banks - the product of persistent effort from the 12th century to the present day to keep the water-table down, and to fence the Humber out.

Although the monks continued to maintain an important establishment at Salthaugh, they were not always too fortunate in its management. Regular floods in the middle years of the

13th century compelled them to demolish the existing buildings at Salthaugh, and to reconstruct them once again on higher land elsewhere. In 1393 another disastrous flood consumed many acres at Salthaugh and much of the grange at Tharlesthorpe.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Shortly afterwards, at the general survey of 1396, the greater part of the lost lands remained as yet unreclaimed. Salthaugh was still a considerable estate, but of its 498 acres - more or less equally divided between arable and pasture - some 176 acres were flooded at the time. At Tharlesthorpe the damage had been more permanent. The buildings of the grange were dismantled, and by 1396 it had come to be recognised that no fewer than 276 acres, out of a total of 416, were to be counted as lost for ever.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Even at Salthaugh, considerably further removed from the shore, it would seem that the old acreage known before the floods was never to be fully recovered. Four and a half centuries later, in 1842, the exempt lands at the grange totalled 472 acres in all; of these, 231 acres were farmed as arable, another 241 acres as meadow-land and pasture.

In seeking to isolate a single characteristic common to every Cistercian lowland grange, the tithe maps might be employed

56. Meaux Chron., ii.91, iii.183.

57. B.M., Cotton Vit. C.vi, f.224.

to demonstrate the successful consolidation of the demesne. They might further be used to distinguish between the grange without interests outside the demesne, and the estate-centre supplied with every kind of property, whether in the village or its fields.⁽⁵⁸⁾ But having said as much, might we not go on to ask ourselves whether this characteristic, or even these distinctions, may be held valid for the Cistercian grange alone? The answer, of course, is that they may not. While it is true that the lack of uniformity in tithe exemption outside the Cistercian estates hinders exact comparisons, it might, nevertheless, be worth remark that, on the evidence of the tithe apportionments alone, both the Benedictine manor of Saughton (Chester) and the Cluniac grange at Swanborough (Lewes) offer startling parallels to their Cistercian contemporaries and equivalents. At both, consolidation of the demesne appears to have been effected with considerable completeness and success. And if Saughton may be taken to illustrate the close physical resemblance of Benedictine estate-centre and major Cistercian grange, the lesser establishment at Swanborough parallels with equal precision a Cistercian demesne of the most compact and self-contained kind.

58. For an example of the latter, still to be counted very much a grange, see Cowton Grange, appendix I.

The manor of Saughton, an important demesne property of the Benedictines of St. Werburgh, Chester, was sited some three miles south-east of the abbey. It was attached to the abbey endowment from before the arrival of the Benedictine monks in 1093, and is mentioned in Domesday, with Sutton and Ince, as one of the three most important possessions of the then religious house.⁽⁵⁹⁾ In a confirmation of Clement III (1187 - 91), the manor at Saughton was included with the other properties of Chester, to all of which was extended an exemption from tithes on 'novales', or newly-cultivated lands.⁽⁶⁰⁾ In August 1541 Saughton, Sutton, Ince, and a number of other important manors of the former abbey, were conceded to the dean and chapter of Chester as a part of the endowment of the new cathedral in the city.⁽⁶¹⁾ There was nothing unusual about any of the circumstances that had contributed to the build-up of the abbey estates at Saughton. As a property that long antedated the late arrival of the Benedictines from the Norman house of Bec-Hellouin, it clearly possessed all the characteristics of a pre-Conquest manor. Hence any resemblance it may have acquired to the classic Cistercian grange had nothing to do in the first instance with the new ideas already stirring at Molesme in eastern France (Champagne). But it would have been surprising, nevertheless,

59. Chester Cart., i, p.xix.

60. ibid., i.110.

61. L. & P., Hen.VIII, xvi.535.

if the Cistercian example - widely known and extensively imitated in the 12th century - had been totally ignored by the Benedictines; and something of the character of the later estate at Saighton may be owed to a Cistercian model.

The tithe apportionment of the township of Saighton in the parish of St. Oswald, Chester, was confirmed by the Commissioners on 21 March 1840. The total lands of the township extended to 1717 acres, 2 roods and 27 perches, of which 884 acres and 2 perches were exempt from the payment of all tithes, although remaining subject to an annual contribution of two pounds to the dean and chapter of the cathedral church at Chester. The exempt lands were those of Saighton Hall. The two-pound contribution no doubt reflected an original composition in lieu of tithes negotiated with the rectory of St. Oswald, Chester.

The hall, or grange, at Saighton still stands, a little detached, at the west end of the village street. Of the tithe-free lands, coloured green on the map, the bulk lay on the west and south of the township in a single consolidated mass, away from the village and to the west of the hall. In effect, the whole south-west portion of the township, right up to its boundaries, was a part of the exempt demesne of the manor. But that was not all. To the east of the village, there were two further blocks of exempt lands. The larger of these was sited in the north-east corner of

the township, and included a total of seven fields. The smaller, five fields in all, was placed about half-way down the eastern boundary. Of these last fields, one was still known in 1840 as 'Big Monks Hay', another as 'Little Monks Hay'. In addition, a group of cottages on the north of the village street - presumably the cottage properties attached to the manor - were also exempt by prescription. On the 1840 map they continued to show the toft and croft pattern known to be characteristic of the medieval village.⁽⁶²⁾

The implications of the Saughton exemptions are plain. We shall see precisely the same exemptions repeating themselves at a Cistercian grange at Cowton. Either the Cistercians were following the Benedictines, or the Benedictines were allowing themselves to be influenced by the Cistercians. And if the final mixture were a genuine compound of both, we are still left in a position to doubt the uniqueness of the developed Cistercian estate. It is, moreover, a doubt that is likely to grow, not to diminish. For at Swanborough, a Cluniac establishment, those characteristics suggested as common to the Cistercian granges, are repeated with a remarkable precision.

Swanborough, soon after the foundation of the important Cluniac house of St. Pancras, Lewes, became a part of the priory lands.⁽⁶³⁾ In due course it came to be known as a manor, although it seems, unlike Saughton, not to have enjoyed manorial status as of

62. Tithe Comm., Township of Saughton, Cheshire, 1840.

63. Lewes Cart., i.4.

ancient right. The estate, originally of some seven to eight hides, lay sited conveniently within a mile and a half of the priory, towards the south-west. Its buildings were established at a little distance to the north-west of the village of Iford, on the far side of the road that linked Lewes with the coast. They served an estate that, towards the end of the 13th century (c.1291), was valued at £15. 10s. 6d.⁽⁶⁴⁾ At the dissolution, and shortly before, the farm of the demesne at Swanborough was given as £14. 13s. 4d.; of which the sum of £10 was due on an arable acreage of 200 acres, £4 was payable on pasture on Swanborough Down for 400 sheep, and 13s. 4d. derived from an area of marsh, known as 'Le Brokes', under water for the best part of the year. Attached to the manor, although not in any way considered with the demesne, were rents in Iford, Kingston and Newick, worth, in all, £32. 11s.⁽⁶⁵⁾ We know that the estate at Swanborough long remained a part of the priory demesne. It was leased, under strong pressure, only in 1536, a year before the suppression of the house.⁽⁶⁶⁾ On 16 February 1538 the manor was granted, together with the Lewes estates in many counties, to Thomas Cromwell and his heirs.⁽⁶⁷⁾ On 30 May 1541, following the attainder of Thomas, late earl of Essex, Swanborough

64. Taxatio Ecclesiastica, p.140.

65. Valor Ecclesiasticus, i.329, and P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., SC.11/662.

66. L. & P., Hen.VIII, xi.94,149,181,237.

67. ibid., XIII.i.138.

and further properties in Sussex and Surrey were granted to William Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, in exchange for other estates of more present value to the Crown.⁽⁶⁸⁾

It should be clear, on the evidence of the tithe apportionment of 1842, both how the Cluniacs of Lewes secured their grant at Swanborough, and how they then proceeded to employ it. William de Warenne's original gift, together with any lands that the monks in later years succeeded in grafting on to that gift, lay along the north-west boundary of the parish of Iford. Like so many of its Cistercian successors, the new estate at Swanborough was carved out of land already on the edge of ^{the} open fields of an existing village. The buildings, in consequence, were sited away from the village, where they could be of most value to the property. Their siting was entirely practical; it had nothing to do with an isolationism of which the Cluniacs had never acknowledged the need. Again, after the later Cistercian fashion, the circumstances of foundation virtually guaranteed that Swanborough should be placed on the fringes of marginal land. We have no means of knowing how much land the monks were instrumental in enclosing for arable, but nearly half of the 1842 farm was downland, suitable only for sheep.

In 1842 there were just over 1,593 acres of tithable lands in Iford parish. Of exempt lands, a single estate, known as

68. ibid., xvi.429.

'Swanborough Farm', extended to 542 acres, 2 roods and 29 perches in all. Of these, some 240 acres were arable; there were 22 acres of meadows, 2 acres and more of woodland, roads and waste, and a great belt of 'sheep down', approximately 263 acres in area. The farm lay across the north-south road in a long, wide band, occupying the whole of the north-west quarter of the parish. It was exempt from payment of all manner of tithes, both great and small:

' . . . the said farm and lands having formerly been parcel of the possessions of the abbot and monks of Lewes, and having been held by them free from tithes at the time of the dissolution of Monasteries.'

On the west, a large pasture extended up onto the east flank of the South Downs, due south of the village of Kingston near Lewes. In 1541 it had been called 'Swanborough Down', and it was here that the 400 sheep of the manor were pastured. Towards the south-east, the village of Iford, at some remove from the manor, lay on the far side of the main Lewes - Newhaven road. On the tithe map, the plan of the village and its adjoining fields would suggest that the original open fields of the village lay due east and due west of the settlement. They would seem to have extended northwards scarcely at all.⁽⁶⁹⁾

69. Tithe Comm., Parish of Iford, Sussex, 1842. For further examples of exempt lands other than Cistercian, see the apportionments for the Shaftesbury and Canterbury manors at Tisbury and Minster, both Benedictine; also the Augustinian grange, or manor, of Stoughton, formerly the property of Leicester Abbey (Tithe Comm., Parish of Tisbury, Wilts., 1838; Parish of Minster, Kent, 1842; Township of Stoughton, Leics., 1845).

As was the case at Saughton, the lessons of Swanborough need no underlining. It is plain that the Cluniac demesne manor at Swanborough anticipated in every material way the principal characteristics of the Cistercian lowland grange. Swanborough was apparently self-contained; it was well removed from the village at Iford; it was set on the fringes of marginal land and waste. No doubt the estate owed some of its special character to its proximity to the priory. Consistent use as a home farm might have brought it closer to Cistercian practice than might usually be expected on a Benedictine, or Cluniac, estate. But this is scarcely the point. What matters is that the Cluniacs, already in the late 11th century, had begun the organisation of an estate along lines usually attributed only to the Cistercians. Now, the Cluniacs had no particular ideals to move them. They were not prompted by an overwhelming impulse to reform. But for them, as for the Cistercians a generation or so later, it was the condition of the land market itself that determined the nature of their settlement at Swanborough. It was not that the Cistercians, any more than the Cluniacs, would find themselves in the position to be able to design a new form of property of their own. Rather was it that, to the extent that both orders wished to farm at least a part of their estates, both were compelled to make the best of the conditions that they found. Moreover, to strip the Cistercian

settlement of its idealism is to pose another question just as great. The Cluniacs, although capable of organising an estate identical with its Cistercian counterparts, would appear to have equipped it (and we know this much from the existing remains at Swanborough) with a building of wholly conventional plan. How much real likelihood is there, then, that the Cistercians themselves should have embarked on an exceptionally heavy investment, whether in the setting or the planning of their buildings; its sole purpose, the recapture, for lay brethren alone, of both the letter and the spirit of the rule?

The problem of isolationism and idealistic planning on the Cistercian estates are of fundamental importance to our discussion of existing earthwork remains. It is clear that we should no longer seek on the Cistercian lowland grange characteristics uniquely restricted to the order and its possessions. What the Cistercians achieved on a large scale, other orders, on a lesser, might manage quite as well. Furthermore, if this were more than mere imitation, it would establish - as, indeed, it would seem to do - that the nature of the Cistercian settlement itself was determined by factors greater than the will and idealism of a group of reformers alone. What we are left with is the possibility of a broad classification of earthworks on purely regional lines.

What we cannot reasonably encourage is any suggestion that these earthworks owed their form, either entirely or even in part, to the alleged eccentricities of the Cistercians.

A first category in such a classification has already been suggested in the upland grange. It was noted that there might be three possible manifestations of the genus - the valley estate-centre, the lesser hillside grange, and the moorland cattle-lodge or sheep-enclosure. Of these, the first may be supposed to have shown close parallels with the conventional lowland grange - there would seem to be no earthworks of importance either to confirm or to disprove the analogy. For the second, an example was found in Croxden's Musden Grange, terraced into a hillside in Dovedale, Staffordshire. For the third, a type site was suggested in a small medieval homestead on Dartmoor, allegedly monastic property, and certainly a cattle-lodge such as any monastic house might be expected to have run. Turning now to the lowland grange, two further categories may be added to the above. Both have been discussed in some form already; for if the Wolds grange at O_cton is an example of the first, the seaboard grange at Moor just as convincingly illustrates the second. In other words, the two categories of lowland granges may be differentiated by the existence, or non-existence, or problems of drainage. We shall see this reflected in the sites themselves.

Drainage might distinguish between the two forms of lowland grange, but it was available space, above all, that separated the lowland site, in both its manifestations, from the majority of its upland equivalents. Where there was nothing to restrict the area of the court, the buildings might be ordered to a standard pattern, the enclosures laid out with geometrical precision. This was particularly true of the dry, or well-drained, site, and there are many surviving earthworks to demonstrate it. On a small scale, for example, the arrangement is perfectly illustrated at Balk (fig. 5). The most obvious feature of the site is a great rectangular enclosure, lying in a north-south direction, and presumably marking the limits of the outer court of the former grange. The earthworks are noticeably more complete on the eastern flank - the side, that is, unprotected by the stream that ran southwards, parallel with the site, to link eventually with the Swale. To the north, the proximity of the Bagby - Kilburn road explains the complications of the earthworks in the north-east corner of the site, originally the entrance to the court. In the north-west corner of the great court, a lesser enclosure, although rather small for the purpose, may mark the position of the domestic buildings of the grange. Alternatively, the domestic range may have been sited at the far end of the main court, outside

it to the south-west. This would have ensured at least some measure of privacy, while placing the domestic offices where the stream could supply water and drainage.

Balk may be taken to model in miniature a scheme that was often repeated elsewhere. At Octon, for example, the greater part of the surveyed earthworks (fig. 5) comprise the remains of the inner enclosure alone. They include traces of a large building, approximately 120' x 40', which may formerly have been a barn. With it, there are signs of smaller buildings on the inner side of the west enclosing bank. Beyond the inner, or private, enclosure are the earthworks of a great outer court. They may be seen here running to the south and west of the site but they also extended some little distance to the north, returning towards the east to form a northern boundary to the court. On the east, the present farm-house and farm-buildings have covered all traces of the medieval work. At Cayton, likewise, the well-marked earthworks of what would seem to have been a similar private enclosure are all that could be shown on the survey (fig. 5). The outer banks extend both to the east and to the west. They also continue to the south, where they merge finally with the earthworks of a former medieval peasant settlement, conceivably the dwellings of the labourers employed to work the grange.

The earthworks of a lowland grange, unchecked by any difficulties of siting, could often extend to cover a very considerable area. Melsonby, a Jervaulx grange, is a good example of geometric planning where there was nothing to prevent its execution in full. The principal surviving earthwork at Melsonby is a rectangular moated site, measuring some 200' x 120'. The moat is dry, and is scarcely more than a large ditch supplied with an inner bank. Almost certainly it surrounded the major domestic buildings of the grange, for the vertical air-photograph of the area shows the earthworks to be a small part only of a very much larger complex. To the south and to the west, enclosing banks, showing on the photograph as crop marks, included the earthwork in another rectangular enclosure many times its size. Towards what would have been its north-east corner, the outer enclosure seems never to have been squared-off, for the modern hedge-line follows a bank that curves back from the north-west corner of the enclosure to join the moated earthwork, itself situated near the south-east angle of the site.

In its essentials, the plan of Melsonby - only an enlarged (and reversed) version of Balk - is repeated again at the Gilbertine grange at Rillington. In this case, however, the inner enclosure, quite as well-marked as at Melsonby, is somewhat larger in proportion to the remainder of the site. It is placed about

are recorded on the Ordnance survey map for Kirkstall and the District. Pathway marks and fragments of wall-work may still be recovered from the field, known as Great Marsh, immediately to the west of the church.

centrally on the northern side of the great enclosure, and occupies about a third of its total area. The inner court would seem to have been approximately square; the outer, square to rectangular. To the north, a small close separated the site from Rillington Beck; the village lay immediately to the south; and the open fields of the settlement must have lain both to the east and to the west.

What the granges at Balk, Octon, Cayton, Melsonby and Rillington successively have shown is that a double court, although varying in size, frequently characterised the grange site on the open lowland plains. On such sites, both courts might be rectangular or square. The smaller, domestic court, usually enclosed within the larger, might occupy a corner or the middle of one side. Examples of similar arrangements are still visible in the earthworks at the Yorkshire Cistercian granges at Morcker, at Sutton (near Fountains) and at Skiplam. At Willerby, near Scarborough, the same basic plan may be seen in use at an Augustinian rectory-manor. Outside the county, there are further Cistercian examples at Gayton, in Lincolnshire, and at Burton on the Wolds, Leicestershire. The grange at Kirby Wiske, recently ploughed-out, would appear to have been an exceptionally fine example of the plan.⁽⁷⁰⁾

70. The earthworks of the inner - and part of the outer - court are recorded on the ordnance survey maps for Kirby Wiske and its district. Pottery sherds and fragments of medieval roof-tile may still be recovered from the field, known as 'Grange Garth', immediately to the west of the church.

To the extent that the inner earthworks seldom needed to be as clearly marked as the outer, it is not surprising that the inner enclosure, even if it always existed, has not invariably survived. On the great site at Kilgram, near Jervaulx, although it seems probable that the grange buildings lay in the north-west corner of the surviving enclosure, there are no signs now of an inner bank. Likewise, the eighteen-acre court of Angram Grange, by Appleton Wiske, has been ploughed on several occasions in the past. If an inner bank surrounded the private court, it has long since disappeared. As for the domestic buildings, some few traces, very ill-marked, may be observed at the east end of the large, almost oval court, next to the footbridge over the Wiske to Appleton. Other sites have suffered quite as much. Indeed, at many, the earthworks of isolated buildings alone may survive. There remains, for example, a lightly-moated rectangular platform at Broughton, some 60' x 30' in area (fig. 5). Another small ditched enclosure, again rectangular in outline, lies immediately to the north of the surviving chapel at Jervaulx's grange at Thrintoft.

Whereas ditches and banks, rather than moats, have been seen to characterise the granges sited on well-drained lands, a different technique of construction would clearly have had to be employed on marshlands barely reclaimed. There was, as we

have seen, little question in the early years, and scarcely more in the later, of heavy defences on the grange. Hence the relatively small moated sites which are noticeably a feature of the low-lying, seaboard granges of Meaux need have had little to do with a defensive scheme in the region. Indeed, precisely when other abbeys, less fortunately placed, were undertaking heavy expenditure on the fortification of their granges, Abbot William of Meaux (1372 - 96) was moved to order the destruction of the buildings within the moated area at Hayholme, to be reconstructed in a more convenient situation outside it.⁽⁷¹⁾

The action may not have been untypical, and no doubt owed much already to the labours of the abbot's predecessors. The abbey's estate at Hayholme was sited on the flat flood-plain of the Hull, just over a mile from the river. Almost certainly, it was the monks themselves who were the first to drain the region. They would have had, in the first instance, to dig a moat and to consolidate the platform within it. Only then could they have established the buildings of their grange. In due course, as drainage elsewhere successfully progressed, the original moated site must have become too small for its functions. The Hayholme estate, with an area of just over 200 acres, became an important cattle-grange of the abbey.⁽⁷²⁾ By the end of the 14th century

71. Meaux Chron., iii.226 (note).

72. B.M., Cotton Vit. C.vi, fos.206v, 222, 240.

there would have been abundant dry land beyond the moats of the earlier establishment. The reasonable course, here as elsewhere, would have been to abandon a site which had long since ceased to serve the purpose for which it had been originally designed.

A similar process may well have worked itself out on a number of the Meaux estates. Besides the moat at Hayholme, good moats survive still at North Grange, at Wawne, and at Moor, and there are further traces of a moat at Croo. At North Grange - perhaps on the completion of Monk Dyke immediately to the east - the purpose of the original moats would seem quickly to have been lost. No further earthworks survive in the immediate area, which has long been regularly ploughed, but recent excavations within the moated enclosure have shown that it had been turned to a fresh purpose at a relatively early date. North Grange, by the middle of the 13th century, had in any case become something of an industrial centre for the abbey. And although Michael Brun, abbot at the time, had undertaken some rationalisation of the abbey resources in the transfer of some of these activities elsewhere,⁽⁷³⁾ a tile-kiln continued in operation within the original moats of the grange for some part of that century at

73. The buildings of the smiths and tanners of the abbey, formerly at North Grange, were transferred within this abbacy (1235-49) to Wawne and to the abbey itself (Meaux Chron., ii.63).

least.⁽⁷⁴⁾ At Wawne and at Moor, by contrast, the larger moats of these granges may well have continued longer in use than those either at North Grange or at Hayholme. The moated site at Moor measures approximately 200' x 100'; yet even here it remains improbable that the site could, throughout its effective life, have housed all the buildings of the farm.

There is little cause to doubt that the small moated enclosures on the Meaux granges, by reason of their size alone, must usually have been designed to hold only the domestic buildings of the grange. And certainly, if this were not true of the earlier establishments, it must surely have become a feature of the later. In any case, whatever the final product of excavation on such sites might be, it remains worth remark that any one abbey should have been able so to adapt its technique as to produce sites as widely different both in size and quality as the extensive Wolds grange at Octon for the one part, and the narrowly restricted marshland establishment at Hayholme for another. Nor, indeed, was Meaux to be alone in the supply of moats, where necessary, to its granges. In marshy territory south of Burton Lazars, in Leicestershire, a deeply-moated enclosure, some 150' x 120' in area, has been identified as a grange of the Lincolnshire Cistercians

74. Eames, 'A Thirteenth-Century Tile Kiln', Tile-making was not the only craft to persist at North Grange. In 1396 Walter Cokk was working a small tannery and cobbler's workshop at the grange. Part of his rent took the form of the supply of boots and shoes to the abbot and convent of Meaux (B.M., Cotton Vit. C.vi, f.216).

of Vaudey.⁽⁷⁵⁾ A few miles further to the south, on the borders of the same county and Rutland, another large moated site has been attributed to the Augustinians of Owston. The attribution must be treated with caution, but it is certainly true that the canons maintained a manor, or grange, to the east of their abbey at Knossington, some part of the lands of which remained exempt from tithes at the apportionment of 1847. The fields in question were described in the apportionment as 'ancient Abbey Lands'.⁽⁷⁶⁾

The identification of a class of moated sites, both in the East Riding and in Leicestershire, has brought our preliminary classification of grange earthworks to an end. It has been shown that, on the evidence of the identified sites, three basic categories of grange sites might be distinguished. Of these, the first is the upland grange, restricted in site area and in purpose; the second is the great mixed farm of the lowlands, a multi-acre enclosure of a broadly standard rectangular plan; the third is the marshland grange, closely moated and heavily drained.

A rough classification of the earthworks could have been arrived at readily enough. But a closer examination of the

-
75. Much of my information on the Leicestershire sites I owe to Mr. G.H. Green, of Loughborough, who very kindly led me on a conducted tour of the remaining earthworks.
76. Bott, 'Oliver Cromwell's Castle', pp.133-9 (with plan); also Tithe Comm., Parish of Knossington, Leics., 1847. For an equivalent Benedictine establishment, also moated, compare the earthworks at Whitby Laithes, often spoken of as a 'grange', of the Benedictines of Whitby, Yorkshire.

topography and the historical background of individual sites has been found to suggest conclusions of a wider implication than this. Depopulation of existing peasant communities has seemed to feature little in the Cistercian settlement of Yorkshire. If isolation were indeed a characteristic requirement in the siting of the abbey itself, it does not appear to have been sought with any consistency on the granges. There is nothing, that is, in the remoteness of the upland grange to suggest more than the poverty of the country. As for the lowlands, it was seldom more than the timely availability of land that determined the nature of the eventual Cistercian solution. The Cistercians, for all their agricultural zeal and developing method, were still not equipped to make an instant living out of the lands rejected and left uncultivated by their contemporaries. To be sure, they took their part in the widespread enclosures of waste; they were even to enjoy special privileges on the land they were the first to cultivate. But neither skill nor unusually lavish endowment could have made a success of wholesale enclosure without some stake in the better lands as well. Indeed, it was precisely the extent of that stake, early acquired and built-upon by the Cistercians, that would account for much of the order's later prosperity.

Two further points remain to be made. In the first place, the variety of the estates held by the Yorkshire Cistercian houses,

and of the earthworks associated with those estates, would seem to militate against any theory of a standardisation of planning at the granges. The routine observed at the monastic house itself required a widespread consistency of plan among the houses of the order. The material evidence, such as it is, gives no indication of any like consistency on the granges. It was not even the case that one religious house built its own kind of grange, and that another followed a method as distinct. The earthworks at Octon and at Hayholme, both of Meaux, clearly demonstrate the variety of great arable farm and marshland cattle-lodge, or dairy. Likewise, on the estates of Fountains, the upland estate-centre and hunting-box at Brimham had little or nothing in common with the distant arable grange at Cowton. It was considerations of geographical situation and of purpose that determined the planning of the grange. There was little room for ideology in this.

For the second point, the pronounced similarities between the Cistercians and their contemporaries, in agricultural practice as much as in building, deserves re-emphasis. The outline, the form, and possibly even the organisation of Cluniac and Benedictine properties at Swanborough and at Saighton, in Sussex and in Cheshire respectively, have been shown to find close parallels in the East Riding estates of the Cistercian community at Meaux. It is no longer possible, that is, to draw a firm distinction

Chapter V. The Staffing of the Grange, and its Association with Peasant Settlement Sites.

Deliberate isolationism in the placing of the granges has been shown to feature little in the estate policies of the Yorkshire Cistercian houses we have treated. At the same time, similarities in structure between the grange and the manor have been emphasised, and it has been suggested tentatively that such similarities might reasonably have extended to some details of internal organisation as well. Now, it is clear that the nature of the staffing at the grange will have had a major influence on the character of the accommodation provided there. It is proposed at this point to turn to the problems of recruitment at the granges; in particular to consider whether or not the Cistercians may be expected to have evolved a novel staffing policy of their own. Certainly, in the employment of lay brethren to work their granges, the Cistercians and their imitators drew upon a supply of labour barely tapped by their predecessors. Lay brethren managed the granges from the beginning. They remained very widely in command for at least the first two centuries of the grange's active existence in this country. But it would be wrong to imply that the new monastic orders could have met their labour requirements wholly, or even principally, from this source.⁽¹⁾ Indeed, it might

1. For the baldest expression of this view, see Bishop, 'Monastic Granges in Yorkshire', p.211.

be said that the recruitment of lay brethren was never designed to yield a squad of inexpensive labourers. What it did in fact engender was a corps of exceptional supervisors - experienced, loyal and devout.

If the limited role of the lay brethren were to be established, we should have to make allowance for the housing of a mixed community at the grange - an allowance all the more necessary for the fact that the grange was not always conveniently sited, as the manor might usually have been, next to an existing settlement. The nature of that community, and the provision made to lodge it, will constitute the theme of the following chapter. It will be necessary first to consider the scale of the average grange establishment. Acreage totals will tell us something of this. They will be compared with the totals known for comparable Benedictine establishments, and the nature of the staff required to work such estates will be assessed. We have seen already that the grange, even at an early stage of its existence, could constitute a very considerable estate. We may expect, therefore, the employment of a large permanent staff, swelled regularly by the recruitment of seasonal labour. As the scale of such commitments becomes more apparent, it may reasonably be asked whether any Cistercian house, however wide its contemporary appeal, could have recruited a force of lay

brethren sufficient to meet all its needs. Further, if supplies of lay brethren were to prove inadequate, some additional provision must have had to be made. The new monastic orders of the 12th century could rarely site their granges where they pleased. Consequently, if the grange could not be placed to make use of the resources of an existing peasant community, such a community would have had to be attracted to the grange. Evidence of such a movement could not be expected to feature largely in the earliest documents. As we shall see, it is better recorded on the ground.

The acreage totals of the Meaux granges, some of which have been noted already in the previous chapter, have been preserved exceptionally complete in the survey of 1396. Taken in conjunction with similar information drawn from the Glastonbury extents, they may be employed to demonstrate both the likely area of the average grange, and its degree of comparability with the typical Benedictine manor.

In the case of the Meaux granges, the acreages recorded in 1396 for the most part represented arable. Certainly, where separate totals of arable and pasture were listed, such was almost invariably the case. Common rights, to be judged more by head of cattle than by acreage, were not included in the

totals, although it may be assumed that the Cistercians, rarely holding the lordship of the manor, usually took their share of the common on the same terms as other land-holders in the region. With this proviso, the acreages of the two largest granges, at Skerne and at Wharram, were recorded as 1,417 and 1,327 acres respectively. In descending order, there were 498 acres at Salthaugh, 434 at Octon, 416 at Tharlesthorpe, 408 at Moor, 377 at Dringhoe, 302 at Dalton, 292 at Cranswick, 201 at Hayholme, 186 at Rowton, 123 at Blanchemarle, and 85 at Sutton. The range of acreages on the Meaux estates is impressive, but it does not seem to have been exceptional. It was matched, if on a somewhat smaller scale, by the estates of another Cistercian house at Sibton in Suffolk. In 1325, acreages of 963 and 818 acres were recorded at the Sibton home farms at North and South Grange. There were 562 acres at Jurdyz Grange, 256 at Cookley, 205 at Rendham, and 78 at Linstead.⁽²⁾

The effective acreage of a Benedictine manor is not always as easy to determine. The Benedictine abbot, as lord

2. B.M., Cotton Vit. C.vi, fos.221-229v, and Sibton Estates, p.148. Compare also the 346 acres at East Grange, Pipewell, listed at the dissolution (Dugdale, Monasticon, v.440); and the approximate figure of 600 acres - 300 arable and 300 pasture - estimated in 1275/6 for Rievaulx's Kekmarish Grange (Rotuli Hundredorum, i.107).

of the manor, might have held the available common as of right, to be shared out between his demesne and his tenants elsewhere in the vill. In consequence, the listing of the common land with the demesne may frequently inflate the acreage of a Benedictine estate. At the Glastonbury manor at Meare (Somerset), for example, no fewer than 3,300 acres of pasture and heath were deemed to be attached to the manor.⁽³⁾ Likewise, at Uplyme (Devonshire), 710 acres of pasture were put at the disposal of all the tenants of the manor; there were another 260 acres of woods.⁽⁴⁾ Yet wherever a distinction is drawn between the acreages of demesne and of common, the former will be found to compare closely both in detail and in range with the acreage of an equivalent Cistercian estate. On the Glastonbury manors the parallels are clear. At Winterbourne (Wiltshire), for example, the demesne lands totalled 550 acres; in addition, the abbot held a further 235 acres of hillside pasture, open to all his

3. B.M., Egerton 3034, f.72v. Still greater pasture acreages are said to have attached to the granges of the Cistercian house at Aberconway. Nanhwynain, the abbey's largest grange, is alleged to have covered a total of 12,000 acres in all, the bulk of it presumably rough mountain pasture. But the arable granges at Gelliniog and Bodedwydd, on Anglesey, are themselves given totals of as much as 2,200 and 1,500 acres respectively. In the same source, the acreages of Strata Florida's granges at Mevenydd, Blaenaeron and Cwmystwyth, are quoted as 5,631 acres, 3,492 acres and 2,959 acres (Hays, History of Aberconway, pp.14, 17-19).

4. B.M., Egerton 3134, f.217.

tenants on the manor.⁽⁵⁾ At Doulting (Somerset), the lands of the manor divided into 357 acres of arable, 30 acres of meadow, and 118 acres of pasture - a total of 505 acres in all.⁽⁶⁾ At Street (Somerset), the demesne measured 421½ acres; there was a wood of 40 acres, and a two-acre quarry of stones.⁽⁷⁾ And at Kington (Wiltshire), although the demesne lands themselves totalled no more than 211½ acres, there were a further 400 acres of woodland and scrub, and 310 acres of heath.⁽⁸⁾

To take it no further than this, it would seem not unreasonable to suppose that a lowland grange in Yorkshire might extend to as much as between three and five hundred acres; in Suffolk, the totals would appear to have been very much the same.⁽⁹⁾ But still more to the point, if this were an average acreage for a Cistercian grange, it might be just as typical of a Benedictine manor. We have long known something of the staff required on the Benedictine manor; it is unlikely to have changed much over the

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5. B.M., Harley 3961, fos.87v-88. Of the demesne lands, one acre was occupied by the site, 32 acres were meadow and pasture, and 517 acres were arable.
 6. B.M., Egerton 3321, p.175.
 7. B.M., Egerton 3134, f.5. The demesne was divided into a site of 2 acres, 98 acres of demesne arable in the east field, another 120 acres of arable in the west field, demesne pasture of 121 acres, and demesne meadow of 80½ acres.
 8. B.M., Harley 3961, f.41. The site of the manor extended to 9½ acres; the tenant also held 20 acres of meadow, 31 acres of pasture, another 25 acres of pasture and scrub, and 126 acres of arable in two fields.
 9. Compare Bishop's estimates of 200 acres for an Augustinian or Gilbertine grange, and between 300 and 400 acres for a Cistercian (Bishop, 'Monastic Granges in Yorkshire', pp.203, 209).

years. But it has never been suggested that the Benedictines ran their manors on the labour of lay brethren alone. Nor has the dependence of the Benedictine manor on purely local resources ever been open to doubt. In due course, we may begin to say the same for the Cistercians.

To take only two examples of known Benedictine establishments, complete staff lists have been preserved for the manors of Hollingbourne and Wellingborough. Hollingbourne was a Kentish manor of the Benedictines of Christ Church, Canterbury. In 1290 the labouring staff on the manor consisted of eight ploughmen, a shepherd, a swineherd, an oxherd, a cowherd, a goatherd, and a dairymaid.⁽¹⁰⁾ At Wellingborough, a Northamptonshire manor of Crowland, much the same list was repeated. There were eight ploughmen employed on the manor, two carters, a cowherd, a swineherd, three shepherds, a maltster, and a maid.⁽¹¹⁾ In neither case should we suppose that the servants employed on each manor in the 13th and 14th centuries need have differed substantially, either in numbers or in kind, from those that were hired in the 12th.

Now, the virtual identity of the staffs employed on Benedictine manors and Cistercian granges of this late date is

10. Smith, Canterbury Cathedral Priory, p.124.

11. Wellingborough Accounts, p.xxxii.

easy to establish. It is, of course, an identity that the similarity in acreages should already have led us to suspect. For a good part of the 14th century, the permanent staff at Beaulieu's important grange at Great Coxwell, Berkshire, included, once again, eight ploughmen, two carters, a hayward, a forester, a baker, a cheese-maker, a porter, and a swineherd. In the summer, a further recruitment would add to these a cook and his boy, a tithe-collector, a cowherd, and three shepherds.⁽¹²⁾ If the late foundation and quasi-manorial function of the grange at Great Coxwell be held against this evidence, there are still the wage accounts of the Kingswood granges, antedating the Coxwell record by almost a century. From these, we know that at Haselden Grange wages were paid out in 1255 to seven ploughmen, five ox-drivers, three horse-drivers, two carters, two harvestmen, a horseman, a cook and his boy, at least two barn-boys, a cowherd, and a swineherd. In the same year, the staff at Upper Grange consisted of three ploughmen, four drivers, a carter, a harvest-man, a horseman, a cook, and a cowherd. At Lower Grange there were fourteen servants in all; at Tetbury, eight; at Calcot, nine; at Osleworth, ten; at Egge, ten; at Chartshull,

12. B.M., Cotton Nero A.xii, fos.135v-6.

five; and at Bagston, five again.⁽¹³⁾

On such evidence it could well be argued that the permanent establishment on a lowland grange is unlikely to have fallen much below ten; it might have risen, in the exceptional case, to something over twenty. There is nothing in the 13th-century Kingswood accounts to suggest that the grange servants were lay brethren. Are we to suppose that lay brethren actually filled their places in the century before? A simple calculation will show it to be unlikely. To take our example from the Furness estates, the community of choir monks at this important Lancashire house can seldom have risen above thirty or forty religious. Yet to man fully the eighteen Furness granges recorded in 1247, the community would have had to recruit something in the region of two or three hundred lay brethren, in addition to whatever number it might have required to staff the conventual buildings

13. Perkins, 'Documents relating to Kingswood', pp.209-13. The following year, the addition of a new plough to the establishment at Upper Grange brought an extra ploughman and driver on to the staff; Haselden, in 1256, acquired a new carter. For Continental parallels, see Thompson, 'The Cistercian Order and Colonization in Mediaeval Germany', p.90, and Wiswe, 'Grangien niedersächsischer Zisterzienserklöster', p.102. Thompson quotes the case of Buch's grange at Amelgostewitz where, in 1352, a monk and two lay brethren supervised a cook, a bailiff, a shepherd, and the numerous servants and dependants of the establishment. Nine servants are said to have assisted the four lay brethren at Himmerod's grange at Wintirbach, in Lorraine. Two centuries later (1576/7), according to Wiswe, the staff at Mariental's grange at Siegensleben had reached a total of twenty-four. It included a priest, a clerk, a steward a smith, a hay-cutter, a mill-servant, a female cook, and two maidservants, in addition to the ploughmen, the swineherds, the cattleherds, and the boys, who must always have been a familiar part of the establishment on the grange. In 1589,

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themselves.⁽¹⁴⁾ A similar heavy recruitment would have been needed on the estates of the other religious houses of the order. Communities of religious, no more than twenty to forty strong, established themselves at the important houses at Newminster (Northumberland), Stanlaw (Cheshire) and Kirkstead (Lincolnshire). In the 12th and 13th centuries, each maintained eight granges, in addition to numerous lesser holdings and estates.⁽¹⁵⁾ At the comparatively minor house at Stoneleigh, in Warwickshire, there were still eight granges late in the 14th century.⁽¹⁶⁾ At Sibton, in 1325, there were six.⁽¹⁷⁾

Indeed, a disproportionately heavy recruitment of lay brethren, far from resolving the problems of a growing community, could have threatened only to increase them. It was cheaper and easier, as the monks were later openly to acknowledge, to find the bulk of the necessary labour force locally. As much may

13. (continued)

we are told, the staff at Winningen, a grange of Michaelstein, consisted of a steward and an under-steward, assisted by swineherds, cattleherds, four shearers, a porter, a gardener, a master-cook and his boys, and a number of house and farm servants, including several farm-girls.

14. Furness Coucher, I.iii.603-4.

15. Newminster Cart., pp.299-301; Whalley Coucher, i.335-6; B.M., Cotton Vesp. E.xviii, f.217. For the number of monks at each house, see Knowles & Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, pp.112, 115, 111.

16. Stoneleigh Leger Book, p.xlvi.

17. Sibton Estates, p.148. For comparable German houses, see Schnath, 'Vom Wesen und Wirken der Zisterzienser in Niedersachsen', p.14. Schnath says of the Lower Saxon house of Walkenried that it possessed eleven granges, of Michaelstein that it had four, and of Amelungsborn that it ran four in Lower Saxony, another two in Mecklenburg.

have been suspected from the beginning. Yet it remains true that no local resources could have guaranteed the supply of skilled and devoted supervisors, essential to replace the religious themselves in the conduct of their estates. The Cistercian choir monk, restricted within the walls of his community, could not himself assume the active role of a working landowner. The lay brother, deliberately free of such restriction, and generally recruited from a class which already understood the land, might have been expected to do just that.

In consequence, although it would be presuming much to suggest that the Cistercians manned their granges wholly with lay brethren, it would be equally inaccurate to suppose that, in the early years, they could have managed without lay brethren at all. The most rational explanation of what actually occurred might be that each house pioneered its granges through the medium of a small group of lay brethren, headed by a granger (or grange master) selected from amongst its number. Under the general supervision of the cellarer of the abbey, the granger would be left to recruit and supervise the local labour, the harvesters, and the servants of the court. On the successful establishment of the grange, he would be expected to keep some rudimentary accounts, as well as to conduct, or give aid in, such business affairs as might fall within the province of his grange. To the three or four brothers in his charge, the granger would represent

the authority and the discipline of the mother-house; he might lead them in the daily routine of prayer.⁽¹⁸⁾ To assist the granger in the completion of his numerous duties, or to represent him in his absence, early Cistercian practice allowed the appointment of a deputy.⁽¹⁹⁾ The deputy, himself a lay brother, might also have held the office of hostiller at the grange.⁽²⁰⁾ Such other lay brethren as the mother-house could spare, might be employed to head the specialised departments of the grange - the dairy, the forge, the bakery, brewery or sheep-house. On the Sibton granges, in 1325, these officials were given their names. Even as late as this, lay brethren would seem to have filled the offices of 'ploughbrother', carpenter, and barnward on the demesne lands at North Grange, next to the abbey. At

18. On the Gilbertine granges, it was the granger who was designated to accompany another 'faithful' brother in the supervision of the threshing of the harvested crops. Together, they kept a careful tally of the number of quarters of grain that were stored away in the barn, or garner. Unlike his Cistercian equivalent, the Gilbertine granger was required to keep a separate account of the tithes of corn received as rectorial dues on the church held by the canons in the parish. He was to do so in order that the nuns and canons at the mother-house might be in a position to calculate the product of his labour (Graham, St. Gilbert of Sempringham, p.66). For further brief discussions of the activities of grangers, see Moreau, L'Abbaye de Villers, pp.192-3, and Arbois de Jubainville, Études sur l'état intérieur des abbayes Cisterciennes, pp.306-7; compare also the function of the 'castaldi' on the estates of Camaldoli (Jones, 'A Tuscan Monastic Lordship', p.171).

19. Guignard, Monuments Primitifs, p.282.

20. It was, for example, to either granger or hostiller at the Fountains estate at Kilnsey that Sawley, in 1198/9, agreed to make payment for rights of pasture in Bowland (Early Yorks. Charters, xi.52-3).

South Grange, in the same year, the granger was assisted by a ploughbrother and a barnward.⁽²¹⁾

It is enough, for our purposes, to acknowledge the existence of a small team of lay brethren on the 12th-century Cistercian grange. Its presence in some form has never, in any case, been very much in doubt. But just as soon as we allow that the team by itself was not fully equipped to undertake every agricultural and domestic task on the grange, we must begin to ask ourselves where the other resources in labour might have been found. The answer is not as straightforward as it might seem. For, although the Cistercians undoubtedly owned manors of their own, the majority of their estates lay outside the manorial system; outside, that is, any automatic entitlement to labour services such as an equivalent Benedictine estate might usually have enjoyed.

It is for this reason that the Cistercians, far from rejecting any form of local assistance, made every effort from the first either to negotiate the gift of peasant cultivators and their families, or to secure their purchase or exchange. The surviving cartularies of the Cistercian houses are rich in the

21. Sibton Estates, pp.51, 57. For some speculations as to the nature of the tasks of lay brethren on the granges, see Duvivier, 'Hospites. Défrichements en Europe', pp.143-4.

record of transactions such as these. Meaux and Sibton, Kirkstall and Furness, each in its turn made the most of its opportunities.⁽²²⁾ And although, as we have seen (above, p.96), there were several good reasons for the 12th-century depopulation of Thorpe Underwood, near York, it must be understood that an essential preliminary both to the depopulation of the existing vill, and to the foundation of Fountains's grange in its place, was the gift of the seven peasant families on the land, formerly the bondmen of Oliver de Buscy.⁽²³⁾ It need not be supposed that the abbey accepted the bondmen, only to drive them away.

Indeed, although the monks of Fountains might have found it necessary to reorganise their labour at Thorpe Underwood, it is highly unlikely that they should ever have been persuaded to dismiss it. For, whether or not they needed the extra assistance in the ordinary routine of the grange, they would certainly have required it for the harvest. We know that the opportunity, or the right, to recruit harvest labour locally commanded a high price of its own. It was among the causes of

22. There are individual grants in the Meaux and Sibton cartularies, collected series of grants in those of Kirkstall and Furness. The Gilbertines of Malton no doubt faced a similar problem on their granges. A group of forty-one grants and confirmations was assembled by them in their cartulary (B.M., Lansdowne 424, fos.13lv-2 (Meaux); B.M., Arundel 221, fos.49v-50 (Sibton); P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster, Misc. Books, DL.42/7, fos.60-1 (Kirkstall); Furness Coucher, II.iii.70⁴-7; and B.M., Cotton Claud. D.xi, fos.239v-24lv (Malton)).

23. B.M., Egerton 3053, f.10v.

a late-12th-century dispute between the Oxfordshire Cistercians of Thame and their Bedfordshire brethren at Woburn. The community at Woburn, in establishing a grange at Wiche, had encroached, perhaps unwittingly, on the interests of Thame in the region. Thame, as the aggrieved party, was in a strong position to dictate its terms. Woburn was allowed to maintain its grange at Wiche, but only on conditions that were framed in such a way as to admit the prior claims of Thame. Amongst these, it was agreed that to Thame should be reserved the first right to collect a harvest team sufficient for its needs. Until such were done, the local recruitment undertaken by Woburn would have to be restricted to ten.⁽²⁴⁾

Both the harvesting and the ploughing on the considerable arable acreages common to many lowland granges required seasonal resources in labour that the permanent establishment, however large, could scarcely be expected to meet. The 14th-century wage accounts of the granges and manors attached to Beaulieu's Faringdon estates have already been quoted in the case of the grange at Great Coxwell. But it may be noted that at Shelton, at Little Faringdon, at Inglesham, and at Wick, the salaried staff employed throughout the year was joined in each case by a

24. Thame Cart., i.81-2.

25. Carta, Carta de Wiche, nos. 917, 102, 103, 111-4.

26. Carta, de Wiche, nos. 917, 102, 103, 111-4.

summer supplement which included a cook and a barn-keeper; at all but Little Faringdon, there was a tithe-collector as well.⁽²⁵⁾ Yet these, of course, were not employed to provide the additional labour themselves. They joined the manorial staff simply to cater to its needs. It was the cook's task to feed a much enlarged establishment; the granger, or barn-keeper, kept the tally of harvested crops received into his barn; the tithe-collector, where tithes were due, supervised the collection of the correct percentages on the yields of the other parishioners. The extent of the seasonal labour, because it depended as much on works due as on temporary hired assistance, is usually more difficult to estimate. However, in terms of wages alone, it might have exceeded in cost by many times the sum set aside for the stipends of the permanent staff. Certainly this was so in the 14th century at the great arable grange of Burton Fleming, a possession of the Augustinian canons of Bridlington, sited just over six miles to the north-west of their house. In 1356 the regular stipends at the grange totalled £4.1s.5d.; the cost of harvest labour, recruited locally, reached £9.19s.6d. - nearly two and half times as much.⁽²⁶⁾

The high price of temporary assistance, as well as its uncertain availability, no doubt explains the precautions that

25. B.M., Cotton Nero A.xii, fos.91v, 102, 109, 123v-4.

26. Atkinson, The Cistercian Grange System of Yorkshire, appendix III.

the Cistercians took to acquire lands outside their granges, almost as much as within them. Where the lordship of the manor was not available, or where the monks failed to secure even as much as a moiety of the lordship, the rights on neighbouring properties, or a neighbouring manorial entitlement, might be used to equal effect. Late in the 14th century, the commutation to money rents of boon works and services on the rectories and granges of Meaux, was still to be regarded as a disastrous waste of the financial resources of the house.⁽²⁷⁾ A century later, the lease of a plot of land at Yoxford, just over a mile to the east of Sibton, carried with it the obligation to provide two autumn works on the abbot's fodder at his demesne at North Grange, next to the abbey itself.⁽²⁸⁾ If the grange were conveniently situated, and if the abbey had been fortunate in its acquisitions, the best part of the harvest needs of the establishment might be met at very small expense. Furness held the manor of Pennington, some five miles to the north-east of the abbey, but it never converted its property into a grange. The reason for this is plain. Less than a mile to the south of Pennington, the ~~monks~~ at Furness ran an important grange at Lindal, and it was to this that they diverted the services due to them on the manor. An agreement, negotiated in 1318 between the abbot of Furness and

27. Meaux Chron., iii.228.

28. Sibton Estates, p.107.

William, his tenant at Pennington, makes the position clear. William, lord of Pennington by delegation, agreed to find a day's labour every autumn from his tenants at Pennington to help with the reaping at Lindal. Further, he allowed that from each household large enough to possess a plough, the monks might demand annually the ploughing of half an acre of the abbot's lands in the fields of Lindal Grange. In return, the abbot and convent bound themselves to hold by the old tradition of providing a meal at the grange for such reapers and ploughmen as appeared for their day of work.⁽²⁹⁾

Tied, or hired, labour on the grange would seem a necessary condition of its working. Certainly, we may assume the employment of domestic servants from the beginning, and references to grange servants, presumably both indoor and outdoor, are not uncommon even in the earlier records of the Cistercians.⁽³⁰⁾ But beyond ~~this~~ some allowance at least must be made for the existence of a very much larger force of agricultural labourers, of skilled craftsmen, ploughmen, herdsman, store-keepers, and even dairymaids.⁽³¹⁾ It

29. Furness Coucher, I.ii.490-2.

30. For example, the servants at a grange of Fontenay, whose part in a mutiny led to their dismissal for ever from the service of any house of the order (Stat. Ord. Cist., 1233:67).

31. As a 13th-century agricultural treatise sagely remarks about the manor not already equipped with a dairy, 'It is always good to have a woman there, at a much less cost than a man, to keep the small animals there and what is within the court, and answer for all the produce there as a dairywoman would.' (Walter of Henley's Husbandry, pp.75, 77; the passage occurs
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may be that some of these, with the certain exception of the last, could have been accommodated within the grange court itself. We know, for example, of a refectory, reserved for the servants, at Sibton's demesne property at South Grange.⁽³²⁾ There was even a special house for the servants at Pattishall, a Northamptonshire manor of the Augustinians of Dunstable.⁽³³⁾ Room was found within the court at Fountains's grange at Aldburgh for houses for a smith and a carter (above, p.58). But although allowance might frequently have been made for the accommodation of a few specialised employees next to their own departments on the grange, it must yet have been out of the question to do the same for the majority even of the permanent staff, much less for any seasonal additions.

The grange, as we have shown, was not by any means invariably remote. Where a grange and a village were not far distant, and where tenements were held already in the latter, there can have been few problems of housing.⁽³⁴⁾ Yet, should the

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31. (continued)
in an anonymous work on 'Hosebonderie'). The Premonstratensians insisted that women employed on their granges should only be such as of whom no suspicion could possibly be entertained (Premonstratensian Statutes, p.115). 'Young and pretty' women, by the Gilbertine regulations, were to be excluded absolutely from the courts of their granges (Dugdale, Monasticon, VI.ii, p.xli).
32. Sibton Estates, p.58.
33. Annales Monastici, iii.179.
34. For evidence of tenements held in the neighbouring vills, see the tithe apportionments for Cowton and Angram (Tithe Comm., Township of North Cowton, Yorks., 1838; and Parish of Welbury, Yorks., 1841). At Ainderby Quernhow, Fountains held the whole township with its grange (Tithe Comm., Township of Ainderby Quernhow, Yorks., 1840).

lordship of the manor have been in other hands, it is not to be supposed that even close proximity could have guaranteed either the labour or its lodgings. Because of the circumstances of its foundation, the grange was often compelled to remain, if only in a specialised sense, a self-contained community. Its labour requirements would undoubtedly have been at least as large as those of the average Benedictine demesne, yet it was seldom as well placed to complete them. If, that is, it required to attract, and keep, a labouring community, it would have had to adopt a well-known expedient, at all times and at all places the resource of colonist and pioneer. In short, failing a village, a like community would have had to be made.

The scale of such a settlement should not be over-stated. It could have been designed only to house the servants and the skilled men of the permanent staff. It was, in fact, no more than a diminutive kraal of peasant families, enjoying no corporate or administrative life of its own. It need not, in consequence, be expected to feature largely in the records, nor does it appear to have done so. Of the few scattered references which survive, we know that the lodgings of the serfs employed at Roolers, a grange of the Cistercians of Perseigne (Maine), were disposed upon a plot of land next to the grange itself.⁽³⁵⁾ The Austrian

35. Perseigne Cart., p.29.

Cistercians of Zwettl were maintaining vills in the 13th century next to their granges at Hadersdorf and Raffings,⁽³⁶⁾ and it is recorded that their brethren at Goldenkron, on the sale of their grange at Weichseln in 1371, sold also the 'court' of the serfs who had worked it.⁽³⁷⁾ Further, a survey of 1381 records the existence of a small vill, attached to the manorial demesne, very close ('bene prope') to the castellated buildings at Lougher, an Irish estate of the Gloucestershire Augustinians of Llanthony Secunda.⁽³⁸⁾

Were such evidence alone, it would be difficult to place much value on it. It is, then, of a very real importance that the archaeological evidence in precisely this particular would appear to promise so much. Even on a first search, the number of Yorkshire grange sites found to be complicated by apparent village earthworks has proved to be extraordinarily high. There are well-known examples of such sites at the Fountains granges at Morker and at Cayton; at Sutton, another demesne grange of the same house, there are earthworks quite as outstanding. Further, like associations of the earthworks of granges and peasant settlements may be observed at the Rievaulx granges at Griff, Newlass and Newton; at the Jervaulx sites at Akebar, Braithwaite, Kilgram and Low Newstead; at Byland's Scackleton and Old Byland; at

36. Zwettl Foundation Book, pp.557, 566.

37. Goldenkron Register, p.140.

38. Llanthony Cart., p.299.

Kirkstall's Barnoldswick; at Meaux's Croo and Dringhoe; and at the Gilbertine grange at Sutton by Norton, near the priory at Malton itself.

Of these, the most important sites are at Cayton and Sutton (Fountains), Griff (Rievaulx), Braithwaite (Jervaulx), Dringhoe (Meaux) and Sutton (Malton). There are good earthworks at Morker (Fountains), Newton (Rievaulx), Low Newstead (Jervaulx), Scackleton (Byland), Barnoldswick (Kirkstall) and Croo (Meaux). At both Newlass (Rievaulx) and Kilgram (Jervaulx), the complications of the earthworks are such as to suggest more than the plain outline of the grange. Whereas at Akebar (Jervaulx) and at Old Byland (Byland) the association of the grange earthworks with a village is clear enough, although it would be difficult to attribute the life of the village to the existence of the grange alone. If it had not been for the exceptional quality of the earthworks at both Dringhoe and Sutton (Malton), it might have been preferable to group these with the last sites at Akebar and Old Byland.

At Cayton, to the south of the abbey at Fountains, the association of grange and village earthworks is at its most complete. The surveyed earthworks (fig. 5), it has already been remarked, represent a portion only of the enclosures of the grange. They lie, not at the present Cayton Grange, but in a pasture

immediately to the east of the modern farm-buildings at High Cayton, just over half a mile to the north-west of the grange. A modern hedge-line separates the grange earthworks from a large field above Cayton Gill. Still visible in the field is the hollow of the village street, running in a southerly direction from the grange. On the west of the street, the earthworks suggest the siting of several peasant houses; on the east, the banks and ditches are less well defined.

Sutton, like Cayton itself, is by way of being a classic grange site. The present farm-house occupies the east side of an exceptionally well-preserved rectangular earthwork, rounded on its north-west and south-west corners, and now known as the 'Roman gutter'. There are signs of a smaller enclosure within the larger earthwork. To the south of the present pond, and outside the grange enclosure immediately to the east, there are clear indications of further enclosures and buildings. It is possible that these represent no more than additional farm-buildings for the grange, but the grange court within the banks was already a large one. An alternative explanation could be that they constitute the remains of the peasant settlement from which the grange originally drew its labour. Significantly, the township (in which no village survives) is still known as Sutton Grange. It lies south of North Stainley, east of Azerley

(another Fountains grange), and north of Studley Roger. But, although not more than two and a half miles north-west of Ripon, the grange is still removed from any settlement. There was, that is, no neighbouring community from which labour might conveniently have been recruited.

There is good reason to believe that the foundation of the Rievaulx demesne grange at Griff followed another 12th-century depopulation, something on the lines of those which occurred at its Fountains equivalents at Cayton and at Morker.⁽³⁹⁾ Griff lies about a mile to the south-east of Rievaulx. It is sited above the Rye and immediately to its north, and its lands extended north-westwards towards the abbey. There is an enclosure bank, with two short northward extensions, a few yards to the south of the modern farm, but the more important earthworks lie some three hundred yards further south, just above Whinny Bank. They constitute, again, what would seem to be the remains of a small peasant settlement. There are indications of an outer enclosure bank, a village street, and the rectangular outline of one peasant house, probably of more. The earthworks are not

39. The original four carucates of the grange seem to have been acquired at the foundation of the abbey, or shortly afterwards (Rievaulx Cart., p.22). A later confirmation of the demesne lands of the abbey included a reference to the old road used by the men of the vill at Griff to reach the mill at Sproxton to the south-east (ibid., p.23).

far from the grange. The village street runs towards the grange on the one side, and down to the river, by way of what must have been a steep path, on the other. As a settlement of peasant cultivators, it may formerly have attached to the grange.

The earthworks at Griff are not to be thought of, as Cayton and Sutton might have been, as particularly clearly illustrative of both kinds of remains - grange and village alike. In the same way, whereas the grange enclosures at Jervaulx's Braithwaite, at Meaux's Dringhoe and at Malton's Sutton, have largely, or entirely disappeared, the associated peasant settlements have left earthworks of a rare perfection. At Braithwaite, three miles due west of the abbey, the fine post-dissolution farm-house occupies what was presumably the site of the former grange. It lies, still remotely, at the foot of Braithwaite Banks, leading steeply up some six hundred feet onto Braithwaite Moor. To the north, the river Cover cuts the site off effectively from Middleham. Two hundred yards to the east of the farm-house, between it and Red Beck Gill, are the enclosing banks of two well-marked peasant crofts, in the further (or more easterly) of which the long-house is clearly identifiable (fig. 23).^{pl.} The street of the settlement ran immediately to the north of the two crofts, and there are indications of at least one further building on its northern side. Towards the west, the street led

off in the direction of the grange; towards the east, it ran down towards the East Witton road at just about the point that it crossed Red Beck Gill.

At Dringhoe, a series of remarkable village earthworks lie immediately to the south of the manor-house and just to the east of the grange. In effect, the grange occupies the south end of the village street, the manor-house the north. Now, we already know that Meaux possessed considerable interests in the area - to the east, at Skipsea; to the west, at Beeford and Croo; and to the south, at Moor, by Dunnington. We have also shown the community to have been none too particular as to where it might site its granges. At Dringhoe, as at the Fountains grange at Kirby Wiske, the offer of land actually within a village would seem to have been accepted without demur. Outside it, the monks took their share of the surrounding arable, no doubt drawing on their neighbours in the village for any assistance they might need in its cultivation.

Sutton, a Gilbertine grange, was almost as conveniently placed as Dringhoe to make use of local labour. It was sited a mile and a half from the priory at Malton, and less than half a mile from the outskirts of Norton. But the priory's commitments at Sutton were heavy. A mill and a fishery attached to the grange, and each would have demanded its specialised staff. We might expect this staff to have been housed at, or near, the grange,

perhaps no more than a field away to the south-east. Indeed, a part of such a settlement still survives, the remainder having disappeared on the widening of the Birdsall road. It includes a short street of peasant houses, on the west side of which several of the former buildings remain well-marked. Towards the north, the street ran back in the direction of the grange; towards the south, it doubtless joined the original Birdsall road. Of the grange itself, there is nothing to be seen. Immediately to the west of it, however, the beck has been widened into two large fish-ponds. A little to the north, on the same beck before it joins the Derwent, is a modern mill, almost certainly replacing an original medieval equivalent.

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At Cayton and at Griff, at Braithwaite, at Dringhoe, and at the two Suttons, the evidence of former peasant settlements, whatever their date, is scarcely to be doubted. At the other sites, although the remains may be less clear on the ground, the association of grange and village is hardly more in question. Indeed, many of these earthworks have come to be known locally as deserted villages. Nor, it must be said, do they lack in several of the chief characteristics normally to be associated with these.

Briefly, there are the remains of what seem to be peasant houses to the south of the beck at Morker, associated with the

grange enclosure, although not actually sited within it. At Newton, a Rievaulx grange some two and a half miles due south of Helmsley, the earthworks of an L-shaped building lie immediately to the north of the Helmsley to Hovingham road. To the west of the present farm-house, there are further ill-marked earthworks, and beyond these to the north are additional enclosures, possibly the earthworks of a peasant settlement. To the north of Helmsley, the remains at the Rievaulx sheep-farm at Newlass are so extensive as to suggest the former presence of at least some peasant dwellings sited within the court (above, p.86).

As for the Jervaulx granges, the great enclosure at Kilgram, cut by a number of ditches and tracks, might have held much the same as its equivalent at Newlass. More certainly, at Low Newstead, a mile to the south-west of the abbey, there are traces of numerous buildings on both sides of the beck which runs down from the existing farm-house eastwards towards the road. These, with the buildings in the pasture to the south, might represent ^a peasant settlement coeval with the grange; they might even be the earthworks of a village that replaced it. To the west of the farm-house, a large L-shaped building is accompanied by extensive terracing in the banks behind it. The whole might be identified as the site of the grange buildings themselves. Again, at Akebar, another Jervaulx grange, a surviving medieval

chapel lies to the south of the stream by which the grange was sited. Extensive earthworks in the neighbourhood of the chapel are said to have been ploughed-out comparatively recently. To the north of the stream, and to the south-east of the modern farm-house, there are clear traces of a number of rooms, or small buildings, set into the rise by the road. These may constitute the remains of the original grange, but there were houses here in 1627, and it would be hard to say to which period the earthworks in actual fact related.⁽⁴⁰⁾

The Byland sites at Old Byland and Scackleton present a contrast between the grange which might already have had a settlement on its doorstep, and a sister establishment at which the peasant community had almost certainly to be imported. Of Old Byland we know that some initial depopulations were undertaken in the region, but the monks kept the rectory in their hands, and are unlikely to have squandered all its assets in wholesale depopulation of the vill.⁽⁴¹⁾ There are no visible earthworks at the present Old Byland Grange, which lies about three hundred yards to the south-east of the village. Yet on the other side of the road, to the north, and immediately opposite the fields of the grange, there are clear indications of a series of

40. Beresford, 'The Lost Villages of Yorkshire', part iv, p.294.

41. Dugdale, Monasticon, v.350-1; for the rectory, see L. & P., Hen.VIII, XIX.ii.76.

medieval buildings and enclosures, perhaps a part of the medieval settlement which remained. Scackleton, three miles to the south-west of Hovingham, has all the makings of another classic grange site. It is set on a ridge between two deep valleys, at a good remove from the village at Scackleton itself. The earthworks of a large, regular enclosure are sited to the east of the modern farm-house, and to the south of a small beck, or drain. To the north of the beck, and slightly to the west, there are further disturbances within a hundred yards of the first. It was here, in the field known today as 'Grange Houses', that the settlement of the labourers and servants working the grange is likely to have been established.

At Kirkstall's grange at Barnoldswick, and at Meaux's grange at Croo, we are left with two sites at which, once again, the earthworks of the village are very much more distinct than those of the former grange. The grange at Barnoldswick, originally chosen by the monks of Kirkstall for the site of the monastery itself, has long been suspected to lie immediately to the west of the present, largely 19th-century industrial town. Although the earthworks of the grange are not positively identifiable, the remains of a village street on the southern slopes of Monkroyd Hill are still plainly visible. They may, of course, represent an extension of the former village at

Barnoldswick, but they lie at a fair remove to the west of the parish church, and could be interpreted, as at the Gilbertine grange at Sutton, as a part of the grange establishment alone. Much the same caution should be applied to the interpretation of the earthworks in the pasture to the west of Croo Grange. The grange site, already identified on the tithe map, is marked by a series of three ponds about the farm-house which may constitute the remains of a moat. If it does so, it would certainly not be uncharacteristic of the Meaux granges of the region. To the west, south of Breeze House, a field is still known as 'Old Garths'. As at Barnoldswick, the earthworks in the field - a street and several houses - may be no more than a part of the shrunken medieval village they adjoined. Yet they lie scarcely three hundred yards to the west of Meaux's grange, and almost half a mile to the east of the church at Old Beeford.

The archaeological evidence remains to be tested by excavation. In the meantime, it can do little more than offer the prospect of a solution to a problem of major concern to the student of the grange. It has been suggested first that lay brethren could never have constituted the sole source of supply for labour at the grange. On the evidence, principally, of the difficulties, by a process of gift, purchase and exchange, with

Meaux estates, the likely area of the grange has been calculated. In this, and in the details of its staffing, it has been compared with what we know of the Benedictine manor. Plainly, the recruitment of lay brethren on such a scale is unlikely, even at the peak of enthusiasm for the reformist monastic movements of the 12th century. And if that were the case, how else could labour have been attracted to the grange?

The organisation of a labour force at the grange had, of course, its peculiar problems. We have seen that the Cistercian houses, after the fashion of their contemporaries and predecessors, set great store by the acquisition of tied labour. Hired servants, as such, could not have been easy to obtain, and even the recruitment of harvest labour was a matter for negotiation and compromise. Short of such negotiation, the grange, unlike the more conventional manor, would seldom have had much of a reserve to draw upon; and yet it depended, as much as the manor did itself, on the seasonal enlistment of labour. The decision to found a grange no doubt depended very largely on the prospects for local recruitment. Few granges were established at once on single block grants of land; most carried with them rights, and additional properties, in a neighbouring village as well. Where the grange was sited next to an existing settlement, the labour difficulties, by a process of gift, purchase and exchange, might

be expected to resolve themselves in due course. But where sufficient land could be obtained only at a considerable remove from a village, some further action would have had to be taken to ensure that the land could be worked. Bringing a labour force to a remote grange constituted a problem on the same level as those of enclosure, clearance, and the provision of roads and bridges. Unlike many of these latter, however, it involved no special negotiations with outside parties, for the land on which the labour force would be settled would already have been the property of the monastery. There can be, in consequence, little expectation of a documentary record of such transactions. We know that the religious houses were perfectly ready to acquire peasant families; often to purchase them outright. But we can do no more than speculate as to how they disposed of them thereafter. The assumption is reasonable, perhaps even indisputable, that these peasants were employed at the granges. Many, no doubt, remained settled in their villages of origin. But for others there could have been little alternative but to re-establish them by the granges. It is in this context that the archaeological evidence should be viewed. No site has yet been excavated, but the promise is there to be exploited.

Chapter VI. The Late Medieval Transformation of the Grange.

The origin and growth of the grange, in particular as these affected its buildings, have received the first treatment in the preceding discussion. But to the archaeologist - as also, in some measure, to the historian - the sequence of decay at the grange may assume as much significance as the details of its expansion. Plainly, in archaeological practice the recognition of a datable succession will continue to be all-important. And, if it is obvious that a change in the functions of the grange must have found some reflection in its buildings, it is equally clear that such an archaeological sequence may most reasonably be expected in the successive phases of leasing, partition, sale and eventual demolition, the common fate of most of the grange establishments. In the following chapter, the nature of these processes will be examined. It will be shown, to begin with, that leasing was familiar already by the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries. At the majority of the religious houses, economic set-backs and uncertainties led to the adoption of widely varying expedients in an urgent reorganisation of assets. Amongst these, the status and the functions of the grange underwent continuous change. But it was not, as we shall see, a unidirectional change. On the Cistercian estates, in particular, it remained common for extensive properties to be kept for long years in demesne policy were already widely recognizable in the last years of the

management. Nor would it have been exceptional for a grange, once leased, to have been received back into demesne by the monastery. The importance of these distinctions should not be underrated. By themselves, they may go far to explain the degree of survival or destruction awaiting interpretation at any given site.

But vital though an understanding of these distinctions and sequences may be, it is still not the only product to be expected from a treatment of the later evidence. It will have been noticed that the word 'grange' has occasionally been applied to establishments of Benedictine ownership, as well as to those of orders more directly the contemporaries of the Cistercians. On turning our attention to the 15th and 16th centuries, the meaning of this usage will become clear. It will be seen to possess a special significance where the usage may be properly authenticated. It will, further, promise much in the interpretation of the site to which such a title is applied. Clearly, the dangers of a loose, or misunderstood, terminology are vastly increased where expensive excavations are involved. It is to remove such problems, or to resolve them, that the following discussion has been planned.

At the granges, the intimations of a change in estate policy were already widely recognisable in the last years of the

13th century. A small team of lay brethren could hitherto have been relied upon to manage each grange, but, for a number of reasons, the recruitment of lay brethren was falling-off in the 13th century. It was a process which accelerated in the century that followed.⁽¹⁾ A shortage of lay brethren might, in itself, have proved motive enough for a change. But other economic reasonings would seem to have been at least as pressing. In the 13th century, the Benedictines themselves had taken up demesne farming on a considerable scale. Yet although they, as the owners of manors, had less cause to feel concern at a shrinkage of recruitment, they too came to abandon their demesnes at much the same period, and for similar reasons, as the Cistercians.

The process may be charted through the centuries. Albeit on stringent conditions, designed to preserve both property and rights, the Cistercian general chapter, as early as 1224, had already conceded its blessing to such member abbots as might find themselves compelled to lease possessions, even granges, to laymen.⁽²⁾ It was not an empty formula. For, late in the same century, the Yorkshire houses might be seen taking advantage of

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1. Donnelly, The Decline of the Medieval Cistercian Laybrotherhood, passim, and Knowles, The Religious Orders in England, ii.125-7.
 2. Stat. Ord. Cist., 1224:10. Before leasing, the consent of the convent, and of the mother-house or visitor, would have to be sought by the abbot. Further provision was made to secure in such cases due payment of all tithes owing to the bishop.

3. Stat. Ord. Cist., 1224:10.

4. Mirrabell Cistercian Book, p.316.

what had proved an important liberty. The community at Meaux, oppressed by heavy debts, had to employ every conceivable device to repay them. In about 1280, Abbot Richard leased out the important manor, or grange, at Skerne; he did the same for the granges at Tharlesthorpe, Salthaugh and Wassand.⁽³⁾ In due course, both Skerne and Salthaugh were to be received back more or less permanently into the demesne;⁽⁴⁾ as for the others, leasing was continued, was modified, or was abandoned, entirely as it suited the purpose of the house.⁽⁵⁾ With less circumstantial detail, the same processes may be seen at work elsewhere. At another Meaux grange, a lifetime tenancy had been conceded at a similar early date. The capital messuage and thirty bovates of land at Octon Grange had been demised by the end of the century to John Ughtred and Isabel, his wife. On John's death in 1298, the grange was recorded among his possessions.⁽⁶⁾ Likewise, Peter of Chester, a wealthy provost of Beverley (died c. 1298), would seem to have held for the term of his life the Kirkstall grange at Barnoldswick.⁽⁷⁾

3. Meaux Chron., ii.175.

4. They appear as such in the 1396 survey (B.M., Cotton Vit. C.vi, f.218).

5. Early in the 14th century Tharlesthorpe, once again, was leased for the lifetime of the lessee; on this occasion, to meet an outstanding debt to Cîteaux. Abbot Adam, betrayed by a monk of his community, is said to have allowed the lease to go at 200 marks, although the original asking-price had been half as much again (Meaux Chron., ii.311-2).

6. Cal. Inq. Post Mort., iii.356.

7. Kirkstall Coucher Book, p.330.

Over a wide range of religious houses, the abandonment of demesne farming, already becoming a reality in the last years of the 13th century, had proved virtually complete by the end of the century which followed. In Flanders the communities at Dunes and Ter Doest, alarmed by the armed rebellion of their lay brethren, preferred early in the 14th century to farm out their granges to lay tenants, disbanding the brethren altogether.⁽⁸⁾ To the south, in Brabant, financial difficulties, aggravated by the Flemish wars, both compelled the Cistercians of Villers to lease their granges, and persuaded the Benedictines of Tournai to abandon their demesnes.⁽⁹⁾ Almost half a century before, similar economic pressures had forced a policy of leasing on their brethren of Southern Europe. Both in Piedmont and in Tuscany there is evidence of widespread leasing of monastic estates some years before 1300; in the 14th century what was already a common practice developed into a general rule.⁽¹⁰⁾ As for Spain, although the Cistercians, as diligent colonizers, drew to themselves consistent royal support and encouragement, a decline both in numbers and in revenues began, once again, soon after 1300.⁽¹¹⁾

8. Heins & Fris, 'Les Granges Monuementales', pp.78-9, 83.

9. Moreau, L'Abbaye de Villers, p.169; and D'Haenens, L'Abbaye Saint-Martin de Tournai, pp.148-51, 251-3.

10. Gosso, Vita Economica delle Abbazie Piemontesi, pp.81-2, 121; and Jones, 'A Tuscan Monastic Lordship', p.173.

11. Perez de Urbel, Los Monjes Españoles, ii.545.

A movement as widespread as this could not have failed to find some reflection in England. Yet for some years the English houses absorbed something of the shock of the transition in a compromise solution which continued to make use of the services of monks and lay brethren, whether as bailiffs or as tenants in their own right. It is not hard to find examples of such a system in action on the Benedictine estates of the 13th century.⁽¹²⁾ In the 14th century, something of the same would seem to have been attempted on some Cistercian estates as well. Extensive demesne farming, organised from the abbey, had clearly ceased to be economic, at least on the more distant granges. But the communities, as yet, were reluctant to entrust their richest properties to lay tenants, over whom they might have had little control. They were to find an answer, accordingly, in the elevation of the best of the lay brethren, already in short supply, to the status of full tenants of the abbey, holding the grange in precisely the fashion that a layman might have done.⁽¹³⁾

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12. For example, Brother John of Belham, warden of Minster, and an enthusiastic supporter of the baronial party against the king's friends (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1258-66, p.349, and Cal. Inq. Misc. (Chancery), i.312). See also Smith, Canterbury Cathedral Priory, passim, and Finberg, Tavistock Abbey, p.242.
13. Already in 1262 the practice had been known on many Cistercian estates. Warnings against the misappropriation of funds by the monks, or lay brethren, farming the granges were published at the general chapter of that year (Stat. Ord. Cist., 1262:10).

At Cowton, a Fountains grange, the compromise may be seen in action. The first recorded lease of the grange is dated 1310. Ignoring the precedent of the Meaux leases, already some decades old, the community at Fountains appointed a lay brother of its house to the farm of this important, if remote, grange. The name of the new lessee was Brother Robert of Morton, and he took up office only a few years before a succession of Scottish raids was to devastate a large part of the best agricultural land in the North Riding. In return for an agreed annual payment, Brother Robert took charge of the Fountains assets at Cowton. While farming the demesne on his own account, he no doubt acted also in the further capacity of bailiff and rent-collector for the abbot on the manor. We know that on 11 November 1310, besides Brother Robert himself, there were six free tenants at North Cowton, the sisters Petronilla and Amicia being counted as one. In addition, there were some thirteen bond tenants in all.⁽¹⁴⁾

There can be no doubt that famine, pestilence, and the Scottish wars of the early 14th century soon brought the experiment at Cowton to a rough and costly end. Indeed, it would seem that both Jervaulx and Fountains, the two Cistercian

14. B.M., Add. 40,010, fos.79, 261-4.

houses holding really extensive estates in the worst-affected regions of the North Riding, each suffered losses sufficient to encourage a far-reaching reorganisation of its assets. It was a reorganisation that carried with it both the leasing of existing estates to laymen and the deliberate foundation of new villis in place of the original granges.

Of course, it had not been unusual, even in the preceding century, for an individual continental house to abandon one or more of its granges in favour of a more profitable method of exploiting the lands it had at its disposal. Frequently, the redeployment of resources had led to the replacement of a grange by a new village, or even by a market-town. On occasion, both the grange and the newly settled community might have been allowed to coexist, each taking for itself no more than a portion of the original estate.⁽¹⁵⁾ But these, on the whole, had been optimistic, speculative ventures. By contrast, the adoption of a like policy by the communities at Jervaulx and at Fountains

15. The Burgundian house of Bugey, for example, abandoned the cultivation of its two unprofitable granges at Premillieu and Hotias as early as 1245. In their place, the community settled groups of abbey liegemen in two new villis (Bugey Cart., p.87). See also Higounet's discussion of the frequent 13th-century foundations of 'bastides', or new towns, on the sites of former granges of the Cistercian houses of south-west France (Higounet, 'Cisterciens et Bastides', pp.69-84). Pesez and Ladurie quote an agreement, dated 1220, between the countess of Champagne and the Premonstratensians of Septfontaines to construct two new villages on the sites of the granges at Bugn mont and Roidon. It would appear, however, that the agreement was never implemented (Pesez & Ladurie, 'Les villages d sert s en France', pp.265-6).

would seem, by the 14th century, to have been the product not of hope any longer, but of despair. By 1363 a combination of natural disaster and war had persuaded the abbot and convent of Fountains that they might no longer expect to recover their losses, although there remained some chance of cutting them. Many of their granges, as they were to explain, were now 'lost, burnt, and reduced almost to nothing'. It was, they judged, impossible at this point to bring them back once again into repair. A petition, seeking sanction for the only possible remedy, was addressed to the general chapter of the order at Cîteaux. As was customary in such cases, it was referred back to two local investigators, the abbots of Byland and of Rievaulx. On 17 November 1363 the two abbots reported that the plea of their brethren at Fountains should be allowed on both its counts; namely, that new villis should be founded to replace the ruined granges at Aldburgh, Sle/ningford, Sutton, Cowton, Cayton, Bramley, Bradley, Kilnsey and Thorpe, and that the demesne lands previously maintained by the abbey at these places should henceforth be let out to laymen at an annual farm.⁽¹⁶⁾

At Jervaulx, a succession of like disasters no doubt explains the decision of the community to adopt a similar expedient. We know that by the middle years of the 14th century,

16. Fountains Memorials, i.203-4.

the abbot had already made villis of his four great granges at Newstead, Rookwith, Akebar and Didderston. At Newstead, thirty lay tenants returned a rent of £10 the year; at Rookwith, there were forty separate messuages 'demised to divers tenants'; Akebar, likewise divided, rendered ten marks yearly; and Didderston, with twenty-four messuages, yielded the annual sum of £10. Further, the grange at Horton in Ribblesdale, rendering twenty marks yearly, was divided into sixteen messuages - a treatment that a number of the other estates and granges of the abbey undoubtedly shared at the time.⁽¹⁷⁾

Yet too much permanent significance should not, after all, be attributed to what would seem to have been in the final event no more than a temporary redeployment of resources. In a number of instances, perhaps in all, both abbeys would have

17. Cal. Inq. Misc., ii.445-6. The date usually given for the inquisition is 16 Edward III (1342), and this is the date entered, in a later hand, on the margin of the original document. (P.R.O., Chancery, Misc. Inq., C.145/147, f.21). Complaints of losses in the Scottish wars are a recurrent theme in surviving documents of the northern and border abbeys. An extent of the lands and tenements of the Knights Hospitaller, taken in 1338, noted the complete destruction of, and total loss of revenue from, the Scottish estates of the order, 'combusta per fortem guerram ibidem per multos annos continuatam' (Hospitallers' Extents, pp.129, 201). The greatest of the troubles of Sawley, recorded in the Whalley register, was the cruel and inhuman depredation of the goods of the monastery, and the burning of its 'places' by the Scottish army (B.M., Add.10,374, fos.93v-4). In 1318 the canons of Bolton had temporarily to abandon their priory, suffering, in addition, the destruction of their granges at Emsay, Carlton, Halton and Stede at the hands of a Scottish army (Thompson, Priory of St. Mary, Bolton, p.90). The Lanercost chronicle likewise records the devastations of the Scots in 1318 and 1322 (Lanercost Chron., pp.221, 230).

possessed a nucleus for each new settlement in the peasant community already attached to the grange. For the time being, these communities, if labour allowed, might have been extended to make the best use of the available land. Yet, as the fields of the original demesne were brought back into condition again, it must have proved more profitable to let them anew to a single, wealthy tenant; certainly such a move might have promised an administrative convenience of no small importance to the officials at the abbey itself. In point of fact, much of what we know of the later estates would suggest that this, in the majority of cases, actually occurred. In consequence, the 14th-century developments on the estates of the Yorkshire houses are not to be seen as a deliberate move towards de-granging; nor yet as the attempted foundation of a number of substitute villis. What they may, in essence, be taken to represent is the adoption of a temporary expedient, the permanent effect of which was nothing less than the conversion of the monks to the recognition of laymen as adequate tenants. It was a recognition that was to last them for the remainder of the monastic era.

On the Jervaulx estates, the information collected in the dissolution surveys points to the nature of the compromises reached. The grange buildings at Akebar, at Rookwith and at Didderston, had devolved once again to the occupation of a single tenant. Indeed, at Didderston, William Gateherd, at a

rent of £11 the year, was the sole tenant of the grange estate; there being no record of other tenants, whether by indenture or at will. At Akebar and at Rookwith, although a large part of each grange was still reserved to an individual tenant, the remainder had been let out severally to others. Only at Newstead and at Horton was there no mention of any grange buildings as such.⁽¹⁸⁾

There is nothing to suggest that the majority of the Fountains granges underwent changes any more drastic than these. The finances of the house were resilient. Where land had a particular use or convenience, it was quickly restored to the demesne. Sutton Grange, among those properties waste in 1363, was counted immediately before the dissolution as one of the most important demesne granges of the house.⁽¹⁹⁾ Nor could Thorpe Underwood long have remained in ruins. For members of the community, perhaps on their way to York, were in the habit of

18. P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., SC.12/19/20, fos.6, 8v; also Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4441, m.2, 4d, 6d, 12. It is possible that this might constitute the other explanation, suggested above (p.178), for the complication of the earthworks at Low Newstead. It might be noted, however, that Henry Asquith, the farmer of Newstead Grange at the dissolution, held a single property at the grange worth £14. 13s. 4d. The sum of £7. 6s. 8d. was all that was to be expected from the remaining tenants, all of them holding at will (ibid., m.4d).

19. L. & P., Hen.VIII, XIII, i.102.

resting at the grange. They were also fond of the hunting.⁽²⁰⁾

The leasing history of the more remote grange at Cowton is probably typical of many. There was no further attempt after the devastations to farm the grange direct to a lay brother of the abbey. In the later years of the century, William Gray was the tenant of the site and demesne lands at North Cowton. There remained still the original six free tenancies of 1310, but some further demesne lands would seem to have been released, for there were now twenty tenancies at will. For a short period the neighbouring property at Greenberry Grange, usually included with Cowton, was reserved to the purposes of the hostiller at the abbey, in its revenues if not in its management.⁽²¹⁾ In 1530, shortly before the suppression of the abbey, Greenberry Grange and some pastures in South Cowton known as 'Whinholme' were once again to be counted as parcel of the greater estate of Cowton Grange, valued at £11. 2s. annually. The 'manor or grange' at North Cowton, although a part of the same lease, would then be rated separately at £4. 6s. 9½d.⁽²²⁾

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The experience of the communities at Jervaulx and at Fountains implies that once a religious house had accepted the

20. Fountains Memorials, i.244-5.

21. B.M., Add.40,010, fos.198v-9, 240v.

22. Leeds, Yorks. Arch. Soc., MS 284, f.75.

principle of leasing on its estates, it was not invariably committed thereby to continue the same practice in subsequent years. It would not be accurate, in consequence, to speak without qualification of an era of leasing replacing on the monastic estates of the 14th century the demesne farming of the centuries which had preceded it. In general terms, this might indeed have been true. But at the individual manor, or grange, the process might well have been reversed at any time and conceivably on several occasions. The Meaux estates, already employed to illustrate a precociously early adoption of leasing, may be used once again to show the variety of leasing practice widely accepted in the last years of the 14th century.

In 1396 the community at Meaux kept four granges and two rectories in hand. The rectories were at Nafferton and Skipsea - two parishes, separated by Foston and Beeford, to the north of the abbey at a distance of twelve miles and ten miles respectively. Nafferton was just to the north of the important grange at Skerne. Skipsea, which had only lately been acquired, lay immediately to the east of Dringhoe Grange, to the north-east of Dunnington and Moor. As for the granges, the abbey continued to farm its two largest granges at Skerne and at Wharram. Skerne no doubt served as an estate-centre for the community's interests in the Driffield, Brandesburton, Skipsea triangle. Wharram almost certainly did the same for the abbey lands in the northern reaches of the East Riding, to the south of Malton

and to the south-west of Scarborough. The functions performed by Skerne and Wharram to the north of the abbey would seem to have been reserved to Salthaugh in the south. Salthaugh was well-placed for the purpose. The surviving lands of Tharlesthorpe Grange were sited close to the south-east; immediately to the west, there was Keyingham Grange; slightly further to the north-east, Ottringham Grange was held for the abbey by a keeper. The remaining demesne lands were concentrated next to the abbey at North Grange, there constituting an extension of the abbey site itself. It was at North Grange that Walter Cokk worked a tannery and a cobbler's shop, with six acres of cultivable land and pasture for his animals. As a part of his rent, he had agreed to keep the monastery in shoes.

Walter Cokk's shoe service was not the only special provision to be made for the needs of the religious at the abbey. Two important granges, although not kept actually in hand by the community, were farmed out to lay keepers in return for a rent in kind. There would, clearly, have been little point in demanding rents in kind from the more distant granges. Transport might have been expensive; it would certainly have been difficult to arrange. Consequently, the two granges to be maintained in this way would have had to be chosen with care. Of the two, Ottringham Grange was sited next to the demesne grange and

estate-centre at Salthaugh. It was kept by Thomas Benn, who rendered for it annually thirty quarters of grain and twelve capons. Presumably the grain would have been carted to the abbey with the produce from the neighbouring demesne at Salthaugh. Wawne, at just over a mile to the south of the abbey, was still more conveniently sited. Indeed, the convenience of its situation was reflected in the nature of the produce it rendered, for it seems to have acted - as North Grange must have done on the far side of the monastery - as a home farm for the community. John Painter and three others shared the twelve-year lease between them. They paid their rent in the form of grain and other cereals, of pigs, capons, and hens.⁽²³⁾

It was quite as important to maintain the supply of dairy produce to the house. Hayholme Grange, four miles to the north of the abbey, had become by this stage an important cattle-grange of Meaux. After the fashion ^{of} dairies organised elsewhere, the Hayholme dairy was not run directly by the monks, although they doubtless kept a close control over its finances. The farmer

23. Compare the practice of the monks of Fountains on their Nidderdale estates to the west of the abbey. Besides a money rent, the 15th and 16th-century lessees of these granges and lodges kept the cattle of the community on the lands they had leased, returning fixed quantities of cheese and butter to the abbey stores, 'according to the custom of the other tenants in the valley' (Fountains Memorials, i.276-80, iii.244). For examples of like payments in kind, compare the twenty quarters of grain owed by the tenant of Kirkstead's grange at Gayton, in Lincolnshire (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/2062, m.8d); also the twenty cartloads of hay owed with the rent of Bridlington's rectory-grange at Willerby, and the ten quarters of grain and twenty quarters of barley due at Malton's equivalent establishment at Wintringham, both in the East Riding (ibid., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4430, m.14; and SC.6/Hen.VIII/4618, m.5d).

at Hayholme in 1396 was Brother Robert of Wansford, himself a member of the community. But he paid an annual rent of £14 for the two hundred acres of the grange, and it is certain that he conducted the entire enterprise as a commercial venture, subject to whatever further limitations the convent had imposed upon his lease. We have no means of knowing how exacting these additional demands might have proved to have been. But there is no doubt that the convent continued to think of Hayholme at least in some sense as demesne. For, in the 1396 inventory some details of the dairy equipment at Hayholme were included with the very much fuller lists of contents at the demesne granges of the house. Four trestles were noted in the dairy, with a long table-top for preparing the cheese.⁽²⁴⁾

With these - demesne granges, rectories, produce rents, and dairy - the immediate needs of the monastery would seem to have been satisfied. But the bulk of the abbey estates still remained to be accounted for. There was, clearly, no question

24. Compare the independent dairy organised early in the 16th century at North Grange, Sibton. Its care was entrusted solely to women (Sibton Estates, pp.37-9, 141-2). A more detailed list of the contents of a grange dairy was included with an inventory of the furnishings and equipment at Tetney Grange (Louth Park), leased shortly before the dissolution. Among these were six vessels for milk, a 'milkesole', three cheese-vats, a 'soltynge clothe', a cheese-tub, a pair of grinders, two trivets, three iron cupboards, and a dressing-knife (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/2006, m.48d-9). At the suppression of the Augustinian abbey at Waltham in 1540, the contents of the dairy included a cauldron of brass bound with iron, three brass pots, a kettle, a trivet, some sort of iron vessel with two pot-hangers, a little cauldron with a furnace (or oven), a gridiron, and two spits (P.R.O., Exchequer K.R., Church Goods, E.117/11/24, m.17).

of maintaining them all in demesne. But if leasing were the only practicable alternative, it must have been quite as obvious that there could be no reason to lease every estate on identical, or even on similar, terms. Friends of the community may have had to be rewarded. Equally, if no suitable lessee were to present himself, the abbey might have preferred to negotiate a less permanent arrangement which, if it yielded for the moment a barely satisfactory return, might at least have left room for action in the future. In practice, the leases negotiated demonstrate very clearly this thoroughly empirical approach. At the top end of the scale, Richard of Stopes and Elena, his wife, were favoured with a lifetime lease of the important properties at Moor and at Croo. At the bottom, William Paslewe held Octon Grange at the will of the abbot, paying no more than 45s. for the thirty bovates of the estate. Between the extremes, Peter of Sutton, and his sons John and William, found £6.13s.4d. for the eighty-five acres of the convent's grange at Sutton. It was a high rent, and can be explained only as a consequence of the situation of the grange immediately to the north of the expanding borough of Kingston upon Hull.⁽²⁵⁾

25. For the details and figures quoted above in relation to the Meaux estates, see the Meaux cartulary (B.M., Cotton Vit. C.vi, fos.201-30).

Two conclusions follow from the evidence of the 1396 rental and inventories of Meaux. Of these, the first is that the abbey, late in the 14th century, continued to attach a great importance to the maintenance of an adequate demesne. We shall shortly have the opportunity to discuss why it was that certain demesne lands were valued so highly. The second conclusion is the contrary of the first. If the abbey considered itself to be cultivating a sufficiency of land, it appeared to care little as to what method it might employ to dispose of the remainder of its estates. It is this indifference to the fate of the less favoured granges, whether on the Meaux estates or elsewhere, that must have important implications to the archaeologist.

To take first the case of Meaux's neighbouring grange at Wawne, a grange apparently so situated as to command its preservation as demesne. We know already that the estate at Wawne had been partitioned between four tenants by 1396. They were probably men of the village, with lands and tenements of their own. There were no lay brethren to house at Wawne, and the buildings of the old grange were not so far from the abbey, nor so different from it in environment, ^{as} to constitute an attractive setting for a retreat, or rest-house, for the community. In consequence, there would seem little doubt

that the site was abandoned by the monastery at a relatively early date - quite possibly earlier than 1396, for the lease was contracted by the previous abbot, William of Scarborough (1372-96), and it entailed the removal of all but a few cattle and some miscellaneous equipment from the grange.⁽²⁶⁾ But whatever the date of final abandonment, it certainly occurred many years before the suppression of the abbey. For, by September 1540, although there was still a cattle-lodge in Wawne (known, confusingly, as a 'ffyshhouse', or 'ffysshynghowse'), the grange itself had been forgotten altogether. Only the name survived in the description of a field listed with a number of plots and tenements then in the occupation of Katherine Squire. The field was identified as 'a close called Waghen Graunge'. The modern farm known as 'Grange Croft' is sited only a matter of yards to the south-west of the surviving earthworks of the medieval grange.⁽²⁷⁾

The Fountains grange at Kirby Wiske, situated actually within a village, paid, as Wawne had done, for the convenience of its setting. With many of the Fountains granges, Kirby suffered in the Scottish raids of the early 14th century. It was not among those granges for which the abbey sought permission

26. Meaux Chron., iii.228.

27. P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4612, m.2d, 3; also, for the cattle-lodge at Wawne, see Court of Augmentations, ^{Proceedings,} E.321/13/71.

to substitute a vill. But, then, a vill was already sited on its doorstep. We know, however, that the abbey's tenants at Kirby were forgiven their taxation in 1319, by reason of the losses they had sustained. The Scottish raids here, as elsewhere, may have been one reason for a change of policy. Certainly the change, when it came, was dramatic, and it long antedated the dissolution. On 7 May 1538 there was a close of arable and pasture in Kirby known as 'Grange Garths'; it was included with the lands of the manor, and former grange, at Baldersby, four miles to the south down the Swale. There was no mention of the buildings of a grange, either in this case or at the subsequent regrant of the same close to Sir Christopher Lascelles, by way of the new lord of Baldersby, Sir Richard Gresham, the purchaser of many of the more important of the former Fountains estates. The recorded partition of the grange lands must go far to explain the lack. There were nine separate portions of the original estate recorded in the account of September 1541. Of these, the largest was the Lascelles share, valued at £4. 6s. 8d. In all, £9. 13s. 6d. was given as the total revenue of the estate.⁽²⁸⁾

It would not be difficult to reconstruct, plausibly enough, the story of the transformation of the grange. It is likely that

28. P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4452, m.7d; also Fountains Memorials, i.143, 357-9, 392, and L. & P., Hen.VIII, xvi.418.

famine, pestilence and war early in the 14th century had the same effect at Kirby Wiske as they were to have at Cowton. That is, the grange lands would have been leased to lay tenants from some date in the 14th century onwards. The convenient siting of the grange next to the fields of the village ensured a ready supply of tenants from the beginning. No particular benefit might have ensued from keeping the grange entire in the expectation of a single, wealthy tenant, and we know that in due course the estate was partitioned amongst its neighbours. The abbey already possessed an important grange not far to the south at Baldersby, and it seems to have decided that the Kirby Wiske properties might best be administered from there. There was now no purpose for the original grange buildings at Kirby. The new tenants were local men; they had no need for an establishment as grandiose as this. Besides, the land on which the buildings stood was itself valuable enough to be worth the labour of their destruction; in 1540 we know that Grange Garth alone, described as arable and pasture, was worth the annual rent of 10s. 8d. As at Wawne, the memory of the original grange remained recorded only in the name of the field which replaced the former site. To this day, a field west of the church at Kirby Wiske is known as 'Grange Garth'. Moreover, it was within this field that the earthworks of a medieval building, recently ploughed-out, were sited.

11. *Antiquary*, vol. 3, p. 124.

12. *V.L.A.S.*, vol. 1, p. 124.

The experience of Meaux and of Fountains at the granges of Wawne and Kirby Wiske was not unique. And why, indeed, should it have been? Elsewhere, it was not the rarity of partition which distinguished it, but its frequency. On the Fountains granges alone, we know that the estates at Brimham and at Cayton were each held by two tenants at the date of the suppression of the house.⁽²⁹⁾ As early as 1361, there were three tenants, by the names of Thomas, William and Richard, farming the grange of the same house at Malham.⁽³⁰⁾ Another grange, at Ainley, near Huddersfield, was partitioned in 1474. On 31 May in that year John Saville, Thomas his son, and William Wilkinson agreed that Ainley should be 'egally devidede & departede be iiij'. The parts were to be granted to different men, elected and named by the said John Saville. The west part of the grange was to be held on a forty-year lease by John Saville himself; the east part, on the same terms, was to be allotted to William Wilkinson.⁽³¹⁾

Of the Byland granges, Balk at least was certainly divided by the dissolution. One part, worth £6. 13s. 4d., was demised to John Collyer; the other, at £4, to John Gibson; the whole went as a portion of the Byland estates granted by letters patent to Sir William Pickering on 20 July 1539.⁽³²⁾ Still more complete

29. Fountains Memorials, i.313-4, 318-9. But at Brimham, of course, the continued use of the grange buildings by the abbot ensured the preservation of the fabric.

30. B.M., Add.40,010, f.191.

31. Bodleian MS, Rawl. B.449, f.124.

32. P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4550, m.6d.

was the partition, by the same date, of the Rievaulx grange at Skiplam, to the west of Kirkby Moorside. In a survey of the Rievaulx estates, dated 3 December 1538, the principal lands of the grange were said to be divided into four tenements, each worth £3 per annum, and held by William Edon, Thomas Hooton, William Barker and John Hooton by demission. The abbot had kept in his own hands a sheep enclosure known as 'Wethercote Close', still to be identified in the name of a farm a mile and a quarter due north of Skiplam Grange. The mansion of the grange, sited next to John Hooton's tenement, had also been reserved by the abbot to his own use. But he had kept little land with it, and the value of buildings and site together totalled no more than 12d.⁽³³⁾

In general terms, the significance of partition in the decay of the grange establishment is obvious. The buildings of the grange, if there were no special purpose to preserve them, emerged from the process totally unsuited to the purpose of the reorganised estate. A tenant farmer might, for some years, have

33. P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/401, p.346. For examples outside the county, see the immediately pre-dissolution partition of Croxden's grange at Musden, in Staffordshire (P.R.O., Land Revenue, Misc. Books, LR.2/183, fos.161v-2; also Min Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/3353, m.44d); also the partition of the demesne lands on the Benedictine manor at Ince, 1439/40 (P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., SC.11/892); and the partition of the demesne lands at Glastonbury's Somerset manor at Walton, March 1515 (B.M., Egerton 3134, fos.21v-3). Lahde, a grange of the Cistercians of Loccum, in Lower Saxony, was divided into four separate farms as early as 1417 (Schnath, 'Vom Wesen und Wirken der Zisterzienser in Niedersachsen', p.17).

taken up residence in a part of the former establishment. The remaining buildings could, conceivably, have been used by the tenants together as a store. But, clearly, the monastery itself could have felt no further obligation to maintain the disused buildings in adequate repair; and if this were true of the monastery, it was still more true of its successors. In the circumstances, there could have been nothing out of the way in the total destruction of many grange buildings even before the dissolution of the monasteries; after it, the sequence of abandonment and demolition was rarely less than complete.

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If partition led, often enough, to the decay and destruction of the less favoured grange, there is nothing in this to suggest either a deterioration of management or a failure of husbandry on the part of the monks. An awareness of the ultimate fate of the monasteries may lead us to view the whole process not as a rationalisation of estates, but as a continuous decline. With the occasional well-known exception, it was nothing of the kind. For, while it is perfectly true that the grange had frequently outlived its usefulness as a unit in a concerted scheme of large-scale demesne farming, at many of the religious houses there were yet powerful inducements, even in the 16th century, to maintain an important part of their estates

in hand. There were several different ways of doing this, and strong moral pressures reinforced an existing inclination to see that one or other of these methods should be adopted. As late as 1526, for example, it might still be argued, not without cause, that the abbot of Thame had yielded to the basest motives in leasing out the granges of his house at derisory rents. What sort of steward was he, demanded John Longland, bishop of Lincoln (1521 - 47), who could let out his granges heedlessly, while being compelled, in the meantime, to borrow even the necessities of living from others more adept than himself?⁽³⁴⁾

In practice, although an estate might remain, as it were, 'officially' in demesne, it was more usual to let it out to keepers, or to lease it to tenant farmers on leases of no more than a year's duration. There were, for example, three estates of Quarr of which it was said, shortly before the dissolution, that they 'of olde tyme usid to be demaynes' of the house. One of these was the grange at Haseley, not far from Arreton. The profits of the grange we know to have been reserved to meet the expenses of the hostiller at the abbey. The grange itself was declared still to be in the hands and occupation of the abbot and convent, although in actual fact it had been let out on an

34. Perry, 'The Visitation of the Monastery of Thame, 1526', pp.705, 718, 720.

annual basis to one Richard Lee, who returned a rent of £13. 6s. 8d. to the abbey.⁽³⁵⁾

On the Yorkshire estates of the Cistercians, the repeated surveys taken at the dissolution demonstrate both the extent of the properties remaining in hand, and, in some measure, the methods of their management. The demesnes of the North Riding house at Jervaulx, for one, included the rich granges at Akebar, Rookwith, Kilgram and Lazebny, with a lesser property, also described as a grange, at Newhouse, or Heyney. In September 1537, shortly after the final suppression of the house, a layman, by the name of Robert Bowes, managed the entire demesne. It was Bowes who submitted to the king's agents an account for the preceding year's farming activity on the demesne, and it was he, almost certainly, who had previously acted as bailiff for the monastery on the granges it had kept in hand.⁽³⁶⁾ Further than this, however, the abbot would seem to have reserved to himself additional rights and interests at the important cattle-grange and estate-centre at Dale. In 1537 John Metcalf was the bailiff of the entire lordship known as Dale Grange. He had been bailiff already before the suppression of the abbey. With other members of his family - Agnes, the widow of Abraham Metcalf,

35. P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/398, f.40.

36. Valor Ecclesiasticus, v.241; and P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4441, m.2-3.

Roger Metcalf, and Lucas Metcalf - he held a tenement at Dale not on an agreed lease of some duration, but at will.⁽³⁷⁾

For the same period, the demesne lands of Fountains were still extraordinarily extensive. The Nidderdale cattle-lodges, with few significant exceptions, were yet retained in hand. They were farmed out to keepers who, as we have seen, included among their duties the tending of the cattle of the abbey. In addition, there were demesne estates at Aldburgh, just to the south of Masham, and at the granges immediately to the north, the south and the west of the abbey, at Swanley, at Morker, at Sutton, at Haddockstones, at Warsill and at Brimham. For the demesne granges, as for the cattle-lodges, there is little to show that the monks any longer took a hand in the farming of their estates. The greater part of the Brimham estate was let out to two tenants, John Steel and Robert Ellis; Ninian Pullen and Henry Atkinson jointly farmed Morker Grange, right up against the site of the abbey itself; John Johnson and John Stile kept Haddockstones for the abbey; Thomas and Henry Jenkinson kept Swanley; and Ralph Hogeson was the farmer, or keeper, of Sutton.⁽³⁸⁾

In terms of produce alone, there were obvious reasons for keeping at least a portion of the estates in hand. Every monastic house preferred, where its situation allowed it, to maintain a

37. P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., SC.12/19/20, f.33v.

38. Dugdale, Monasticon, v.311; also Fountains Memorials, i.313-4, 316-20.

home farm of its own. And if this preference, for traditional reasons, remained more marked among the Cistercian communities of the 15th and 16th centuries, it was not unknown either to their earlier imitators, the regular canons, or to the Benedictines and Cluniacs. For the last, we have seen already that the Cluniac estate at Swanborough closely resembled, from an early date, the first Cistercian models (above, pp. 152-7). If it was not known as a 'grange' at the time - and the title 'manor' would seem to have been preferred - there is no need to deny it such a description today. As for the Benedictines, the home farm, because it was organised much as a Cistercian grange of the same period might have been, came naturally in the course of time to be known by a similar name. Even within the limits of the few sites we have already considered, there is plentiful evidence of this.

We have remarked, for example, the moats at Whitby Laithes, a little over a mile to the south of the former Benedictine house at Whitby, in the North Riding. By 1394 Whitby Laithes, conveniently sited as demesne for the abbey, had come to be known already as a 'grange'. On the assumption of office of the new abbot, Thomas of Bolton, there were forty quarters of wheat, eighty quarters of oats and twenty cartloads of hay stored at the grange; in the fields, there were thirty

acres sown with wheat. On the same occasion, the other demesnes of Whitby were listed as the grange at Stakesby, and the granges, or manors, at Lath-Garth, Fyling and Hackness.⁽³⁹⁾ By the dissolution of the abbey, the estate at Whitby Laithes had been partitioned and let out to farm. Roger Middlewood, at a rent of 40s., held the 'manor or grange' called Whitby Laithes. A tenement next to the grange was demised to Christopher Stubbings at 10s.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Tisbury, another of the sites we have treated, lay some seven miles to the north-east of Shaftesbury, an important house of Benedictine nuns. We know that the manor at Tisbury had long been part of the abbey's endowment; in the course of time the rectory was added to it as well. But the bulk of the demesne lands were not to be attached either to the manor or to the rectory; instead, they were assigned to a grange. Something of this is still recognisable on the tithe apportionment for the parish. Place Farm, replacing the Shaftesbury grange, in 1838 remained distinguishable as the largest block of tithe-exempt lands in Tisbury. Some 565 acres were free from tithes at Place Farm, as against a total of 1422 acres to be counted exempt in all.⁽⁴¹⁾ In the earlier accounts what might have been

39. Whitby Cart., i.318-20.

40. P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4624, m.2d.

41. Tithe Comm., Parish of Tisbury, Wilts., 1838.

inferred from the tithe map is interestingly confirmed. There were three principal sources of revenue at Tisbury in September 1540. Of these, by far the greatest was the income to be derived from the rents of the free and customary tenants of the manor. Next to this was the farm of the grange. A poor third was the site of the manor, with its original demesnes now severely truncated. Sir Thomas Arundell, a prominent local landowner, had held the manor since 5 February 1538. He paid an annual rent of £5. 14s. By contrast, the grange, at a rent of £10. 13s. 4d., was valued nearly twice as highly. It was currently let out to William Moor, who also held certain parcels of the manorial demesnes. Significantly, the rent paid by Moor was reckoned as the monetary equivalent of a former return in produce. The sum of £5. 6s. 8d. replaced an original twenty quarters of wheat. And two equal sums of £2. 13s. 4d. substituted in the one instance for twenty quarters of barley, in the other for forty quarters of oats.⁽⁴²⁾

42. P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/655, m.8d; also Aug. Off., Part. for Grants, E.318/44. Compare also the home farms, known in the 16th century as 'granges', at Stainer (Selby), Barton (Bath) and Follaton (Totnes). In each case the term 'grange' was employed to denote an estate that either was then, or recently had been, held in demesne by the monastery (East Riding Co. Rec. Off., DDLO/20/92; Dugdale, Monasticon, ii.258,272; Devon Monastic Lands, p.20).

Clearly, in the 15th and 16th centuries it could no longer have been considered out of the way for a religious house of any order to describe its home farm, or farms, as a 'grange'. It is perfectly true that the term no longer implied all that it might have done four, or even three, centuries before. But the basic characteristics of the original grange - a demesne estate contributing its produce direct to the stores at the monastic house - were repeated with at least adequate fidelity in the home farm of later years. There was, however, another characteristic of the 12th-century grange that was not so widely shared at the time. In a limited sense, that is, the first granges housed a small community of religious, perhaps no more than three or four lay brethren strong, but at least sufficiently unlike the accepted manorial tradition to cause wide remark both in the century of the original foundations, and for long years thereafter. Now, it is easy to establish that the home farm was rarely the only estate kept in hand by the average religious house, much less by the community sufficiently well endowed to be able to indulge its fancies. And if other estates were reserved in demesne, or let only on short leases to lay tenants, the reason for doing so seldom had much relation to the produce needs of the monasteries that owned them. In effect, an estate might frequently be kept in hand if the religious themselves

wished to reside there. Further, if members of the community, for whatever reason, were in the habit of living at the manor-house, the additional qualification had been completed, and both mansion and estate might often have been described as a 'grange'.

To take another example from the sites we have already considered, the community at Pershore possessed an estate at Broadway, the surviving buildings of which have come, not unreasonably, to be known as 'The Abbot's Grange'. The village of Broadway, in which the mansion is situated, lies about ten miles to the south-east of the abbey at Pershore - at a decent remove, that is, without being too remote. The abbot held the lordship of the village, the rectory there, and important rights of market and of fair. In the 13th century, if not before, the manor had become one of the most important possessions of the house. In the 16th century, the abbot was still reluctant to abandon it entirely to laymen. The terms of a lease, dated 14 October 1535, make this abundantly clear. The abbot was not himself interested in farming the manorial demesne. In consequence, he leased the bulk of it to Anthony Daston on a sixty-three-year lease. But he reserved to his own use some valuable pasture at the manor, sufficient to maintain a flock of fifty sheep. At the same time, although he allowed his tenant the use of some of the chambers in the manor-house, he clearly did not intend him to use them all. It was, and is, a fine building, conveniently situated for the occasional

visit or retreat. No purpose would have been served by abandoning it altogether at that stage, especially if the tenant could be persuaded to keep the mansion in continuous readiness and repair. If it became known as a 'grange' - and this would seem, in fact, to be a later appellation - it was precisely this use as an occasional residence by members of the community that ensured the propriety of the title.⁽⁴³⁾

Indeed, had the incentive and the resources been there, it would not have been impossible, even as late as the 15th century, to create a grange out of what had formerly been known, quite rightly, as a manor. The quality of a grange, in the 15th century as earlier, resided in its use as a demesne farm of the owning abbey, as well as in the continuous presence of members of the community, whether on business, vacation, or retreat. It is known, for example, of the Augustinians of Leicester that they acquired their important manor at Ingarsby only as late as 1352. With other properties in the county, the manor was the gift of Simon Islip, the then archbishop of Canterbury, and it formed part of the endowment of a chantry in Islip's name.⁽⁴⁴⁾ At the time of the original gift, the archbishop had reserved twelve messuages and twelve virgates of land in Ingarsby, and the manor was of no great value. But the canons, finding the

43. Valor Ecclesiasticus, iii.259, and P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4057, m.5.

44. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1350-4, p.269.

property convenient (it lay in a remote valley only six miles to the east of the abbey), would seem to have resolved to exploit their advantage to the full. They acquired the full lordship of the manor, and set about a methodical process of consolidation, still at work shortly before 1468. It was not good arable land. The steep slopes of the valley still ensure that much of it remains as pasture. Besides, it was well placed to run the beef-cattle and sheep of the monastery, absolutely necessary, as the last abbot was to claim, for the maintenance of hospitality at the house. Whether for this reason alone, or because the profits of wool production were rising throughout the century, the canons employed the rights of their newly acquired lordship to depopulate the village that originally lay just to the south and the east of the manor-house. The earthworks of the settlement are still plainly visible to this day. In financial terms, the depopulation would seem to have been a complete success. A handsome new building (plate 22) was constructed on the old manor-house site. It was designed, no doubt, to accommodate the visiting canons and their servants, at least for as long as the estate remained in the hands and occupation of their house.⁽⁴⁵⁾

45. The abbot and convent, on 17 November 1468, successfully bought a pardon for the acquisition, without licence, of two tofts, five virgates of arable, and ten acres of meadow in Ingarsby (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1467-77, p.123). Wholesale enclosure of Ingarsby was undertaken the following year. It was at this time that the former village at Ingarsby would seem to have been depopulated, and its site converted to pasture (Hoskins, Essays in Leicestershire History, pp.75-80).

The first lease of Ingarsby, later to be considered the root cause of the financial disorders of the house, was contracted on 1 October 1514. By this stage, the estate had become undeniably the richest of the Leicestershire temporalities of the abbey. The lessee was Richard Cave of Stamford. He acquired all but two important closes of the manor, including all those pastures lying where once the village and its fields had been. The lease was for thirty-seven years, and the annual return was calculated at £58. 10s. The two closes, Thurnby Close and Houghton Close, both to the south of the manor, were leased, either then or soon afterwards, to Sir William Skevington. On 29 September 1538, shortly after the suppression of Leicester Abbey, the same two tenants still held the manor between them. But although it was called a manor at the time, a significant note was attached to the year's account. There were no receipts to be recorded from the manorial court. The reason for this was simple. There were no tenants there to use it.⁽⁴⁶⁾

In every respect, save only the employment of lay brethren, the manor at Ingarsby had become a typical grange. And, once again, if the title 'grange' were now to be applied to it, there would be nothing incorrect in the usage. Two years before the dissolution, Cromwell had endeavoured to persuade the abbot,

46. P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/1827, m.46; also Land Revenue, Misc. Books, LR.2/181, f.25lv.

already his creature, to transfer the lease, or reversion, of Ingarsby to a nominee of his own. On 19 April 1536 John, abbot of Leicester, wrote to Cromwell to make his excuses for his failure to comply. He sent Cromwell the sum of £100 for favours past received, and begged for the continuance of his good offices. As for the matter of Ingarsby, there was little, in effect, that he could do. As he explained:

'I have vehemently moved my brethren to give the farm of Yngwordsbye to Master Richard, as you required; but since it has always been the demesne land of the house, without which we can neither bring up beeves nor muttons to maintain our hospitality, I cannot bend them to it. My predecessor brought the monastery to its present hindrance by letting it. As it is your pleasure that I should prosper because I am of your advancement, with kneeling heart I beseech you not to require it.' (47)

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As the reservations incorporated in the Broadway lease, in particular, have implied, the reasons for keeping at least a part of the demesne in hand were not always to be wholly economic. It was obviously useful to preserve the home farm in demesne; it might even have become profitable as well. But there were certain needs in the life of each community that could not be met at the home farm, nor, indeed, anywhere near the religious house at all. From time to time the members of the community, singly or in small groups, might have had to be sent away to recover from an infectious epidemic. Periodic blood-lettings, a part of the routine at many Benedictine houses, required equally regular

47. L. & P., Hen.VIII, x.285.

retreats to recuperate at a convenient manor. The abbot, worn by responsibility, or merely self-indulgent by nature, might himself make use of a manor to escape the preoccupations of his office; he might even carry his business with him to where he could attend to it at leisure. In each case, special provision for the visiting, or resident, religious would have had to be made at the manor-house, and a park, or a pleasure ground, might have had to be kept in hand. These were requirements true for the communities of all orders. In meeting them, monks and canons, whatever their allegiance, came together once again in the adoption of very similar expedients. The qualities that made a manor suitable for a religious retreat were precisely those so often achieved, willy-nilly, on the grange. It is not surprising that such retreats, in their turn, came frequently to be known as 'granges'.

We know, for example, that the monks of Spalding usually took their 'seynies' at a 'grange' of their house at Wickham;⁽⁴⁸⁾ their brethren at Bardney would retreat to their estate at

48. Linc. Visit., i, p.xxviii. Archbishop Courtenay, in a metropolitan visitation conducted in 1389, laid down strict regulations for the diet and observance of the monks holidaying at Wickham. The holiday, he provided, was to last from Sunday after the procession until the following Saturday evening. Two loaves and a gallon and a half of beer were to supplement the normal rations of the 'minutus' throughout his stay at Wickham. But the routine of prayer was to be observed, and special masses were to be celebrated in the chapel by direction. On certain feast days the 'minutus' might be required to come back to the priory for the day, although he might return to Wickham once again that evening, or early the following morning.

Southrey;⁽⁴⁹⁾ at Peterborough, it was generally the cell, or grange, at Oxney that was visited for that purpose.⁽⁵⁰⁾ In short, the distinguishing characteristics of the mansion, by whatever name it might appear, were chiefly those of privacy, tranquillity and seclusion. To these were added the deliberate provision of such facilities as might enable the small community of vacationing religious to continue its devotions undisturbed. It has been said of Abbot Hugh of Cluny that he was given to retreat to a favourite 'grange' at Berzé, there to seek occasional relaxation from the cares of an exceptionally active public life. To this day, there survives a fine Romanesque chapel at the farm-house.⁽⁵¹⁾ Over four centuries later, an abbot of Bury St. Edmunds was dangerously to extend the practice. Although reputed to be blameless in most other respects, he was alleged at the time to lie 'moche forth in his granges'.⁽⁵²⁾

49. ibid., ii.23.

50. ibid., i.37n, 155.

51. Evans, Monastic Life at Cluny, p.57.

52. Letters Relating to the Suppression of Monasteries, p.85. The remark was made by John Ap Rice, one of the king's commissioners charged in 1535 with the investigation of the affairs of the abbey. Over a century before, legislation had been thought necessary to check a practice to which some abbots were becoming increasingly prone. The King's Articles, presented at Westminster in May 1421, began a more general criticism with the particular indictment of the abbots, whose lives and deeds should properly have served as an example to all. Prolonged absence on a personal manor was held to imply both an excessive accumulation of private property, and a neglect of the cure of souls. In consequence, it was decreed that no abbot after that date might spend more than three months annually on his manors; and these were further to be limited to the months immediately following Easter (Benedictine Chapters, ii.110-11).

Plainly, the meaning of the word 'grange' was both well understood and intelligently preserved right up to the suppression of the monasteries. In many cases, of course, the term might have been extended without meaning on an estate that had formerly held the status of a grange. But where 'grange' is used to describe a particular establishment, the property of a religious house not given to the organisation of granges in the past, it was usually applied only to the estate remaining in demesne, the home farm, or the favoured country mansion of the abbot and his monks. In this sense, clearly, the Benedictine usage was at least as correct as the Cistercian had been before. If anything, it discriminated more exactly between different estates than the Cistercians themselves had originally been accustomed to do. Indeed, by the 16th century the term 'grange', as employed in a Benedictine record, meant very much more than it might have done in a contemporary Cistercian survey or extent. For the Benedictines, the grange once again possessed those primary qualities that had distinguished it originally in the 12th century. To the Cistercians, the common description 'manor or grange', to all appearances no more than a slipshod usage, had come to possess in itself a considerable significance. For it was not, after all, as if even in the earliest years the separation of manor and grange had always been so much an act

of deliberate policy. By the 16th century, and perhaps for as long as two centuries before, the rôles had merged, to become, in due course, unmistakably the same.

It has not, then, been our purpose simply to outline the change and decay of an institution, important though those processes may have been, but also to stress its continuity.

It has been shown that the Cistercians, on the general abandonment of large-scale demesne farming in the 14th century, freely partitioned their lesser granges, and leased the remainder to laymen. To an extent unusual among their contemporaries, the Cistercians would seem to have retained a measure of control over their better situated estates. But they were rarely given to employ choir monks as resident supervisors on their granges, and the decline both in the numbers and in the quality of their lay brethren compelled the communities to put their trust in tenants of a more conventional kind.

The archaeological implications of partition have been stressed. In a number of cases it led, as we have seen, to the abandonment of the original buildings on the grange at a relatively early date. Beyond this, the needs of a single tenant farmer, even were such a man to be found, differed both

in degree and in kind from those of the diminutive communities of lay brethren that he replaced. It has been argued above that we need not expect great changes in the buildings, for they were never of such unconventional design. But if widespread rebuilding is not, on the whole, to be allowed for, we must at least be prepared for some.

The decline of the Cistercian grange had not been so sudden as to leave either its lessons or its memory unremarked. By those orders which had seldom originally had cause to organise granges of their own, the term 'grange' was widely adopted in the 15th century to signify an establishment possessing many of the more obvious characteristics of the former Cistercian model. A Benedictine 'grange' was usually a home farm, supplying the monastery direct with the produce of its lands. But in previous centuries the grange had also been the home of a small religious community, however plain its origins and simple its composition. In consequence, wherever a Benedictine manor continued to be employed as a rest-house, or retreat, for the community as a whole, it became not unusual to describe it as a 'grange'. Archaeologically, this practice is important. The scale of the so-called 'grange' of the Benedictines is likely to have been considerably greater than that of its Cistercian namesake. A wide time-lag may have separated their periods of greatest

prosperity and use. Where 'grange' is employed to denote a Benedictine estate, much may be assumed from the use of that designation alone. But to adopt those same assumptions in the analysis of the conventional Cistercian grange would surely be far from correct.

Chapter VII. The Grange at the Dissolution.

With the dissolution, the story of the grange in England might be thought to have come naturally to its end. But an important source of evidence, the records of the post-dissolution settlement, remains to be considered. Naturally, it can be no part of my purpose to discuss in general terms the character of the settlement as such. However, returning to the individual buildings and earthworks treated above, some explanation of their survival, whatever the form that it took, might still be sought in the details of post-dissolution ownership. Courtier, official, entrepreneur, and sitting-tenant, shared out between them the spoils of the plundered estates. But if each were to take advantage of his position to reap the richest reward that he could, each would not prove equally prepared to make the same use of his property once he had acquired its freehold. Should we seek, then, some general principle of survival, we need often look no further than this. For, the settlement achieved in the 'forties was much more than a temporary contrivance. Although founded on barely-legalised brigandage, its main dispositions, in almost every important particular, have lasted untouched to this day.

Reduced to its essentials, the problem which principally concerns us may be put simply enough. It is, what enabled a grange building to survive? To arrive at a satisfactory answer,

we shall have to understand something of the nature of the preparations that antedated the actual suppression of the religious houses. The security of a long-term lease, negotiated before the dissolution, will have to be balanced against the confusion and uncertainty that ensued. In the final event, whether a building were repaired, suffered to decay, or demolished altogether, may be shown to have depended on nothing much more than a question of current occupation. In other words, the inducements for the owner-occupier to keep his premises in good order were obviously high from the beginning. In the same way, it might well have suited the purposes of a great landowner to have maintained at least some part of the buildings in repair. But to the lesser official, and still more to the entrepreneur and the speculator, the value of the estate was seldom more than the sum he could extract from it on the spot. In consequence, the processes already at work before the dissolution might be allowed to continue unchecked. The buildings decayed; they might even have been demolished for the value of the materials in their make-up. The estate itself was frequently partitioned and dispersed.

In the following chapter, the significance of the post-dissolution settlement at individual estates will be examined. It will be shown that an unbroken continuity of occupation,

particularly if it then developed into ownership, was frequently the best guarantee of survival for the buildings of the grange. The Cistercian property at Dymock will be employed to illustrate such a succession. It will be contrasted with the partition that occurred at Musden. And the stages of each process will be treated in detail as they demonstrate the settlement in action. Had the dispersal of the monastic estates lent itself to ideal solutions, the ensuing partitions might have led to a more complete destruction of the grange sites than that which actually occurred. In the event, we shall see that many of the finest properties were spoken-for well before they came upon the market, and it was as single properties that they continued in later generations to be farmed. Here again was a reason for survival; it is well illustrated by the subsequent fate of the important Cluniac grange at Swanborough. Where a former monastic property became a part of a great landed estate, it stood a better chance of remaining unaltered as a unit. Instances of this will be advanced in the frequent apportionment of the monastic lands to courtiers, to officials, and to members of the household. A wealthy landowner usually preferred to keep the former monastic tenant in occupation of the estate; it was not, save in exceptional circumstances, in his interests to do anything else. In some measure, further, the rights of the tenants were protected

by statute. It might even be the tenant himself who bid for the property he held. In each case, the dissolution history of the grange has its bearing on what we are likely to discover of its remnants on the ground. It is this, principally, that may be held here to justify its treatment.

As studies in contrasting development, it would be hard to better the case-histories of the Cistercian grange at Musden, for the one part, and of its Gloucestershire equivalent at Dymock, for another. At the first, partition and multiple leasing led, in due course, to the abandonment, or total remodelling, of the buildings. It was a process that we shall be able to follow in detail once again in the discussion of the excavated grange at Cowton. At Dymock, by contrast, a continuity of ownership, quite extraordinarily complete, secured the unbroken occupation of the buildings, as well as the preservation of those of the greatest subsequent use.

The grange at Musden was sited in Dovedale, some eight miles to the north of Croxden Abbey. Shortly before the dispersal of the community in 1538, Musden Grange was still kept by the abbey in demesne. In the words of the abbot, 'neither God's service nor hospitality' could be maintained without it; it had not been let out to farm for forty years at the least. Certainly,

it was on these grounds, later to be disputed, that the abbot in 1533 refused to consider a lease of the grange to Francis Meverell, despite the powerful advocacy of Cromwell.⁽¹⁾ And Meverell was not to be the only disappointed suitor. Francis Bassett, a Staffordshire gentleman alleged by Cromwell to be the servant of the archbishop of Canterbury, and by Cranmer to be the servant of Cromwell, presented his claims in 1538. But a lease of the grange to George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, had already been negotiated, and the archbishop in 1539 could do little more than urge Cromwell to write to the earl's successor, in the hope of restoring the rights of Bassett, of which he alleged he had been dispossessed.⁽²⁾

In September 1539 the actual position was this. In direct contradiction of Abbot Thomas's earlier arguments, the two Croxden granges at Musden and at Cauldon (some three miles to the west) had been let on an eighty-year lease, dated 13 February 1535, to George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury. Francis Talbot, who succeeded his father in 1538, held Musden Grange at a rent of £14. 10d.; Cauldon he rented for £5. 10s. the year. But there were other tenants besides the earl both at Musden and at Cauldon, holding their own lands entirely independently of his.

1. L. & P., Hen. VIII, vi.16.

2. ibid., XIII.ii.450, and XIV.i.352.

The remaining demesne lands at Musden had been divided into four portions. Henry Turner possessed a smallholding, worth no more than 3s. 6d., for which there is no record of a separate indenture. A messuage, of the annual value of 24s., had been demised, on 21 September 1529, to John Smythe and William, his son. Another messuage, described as a 'grange' and worth 20s., had been given by indenture, dated 4 November 1534, to Elena Smythe, her son Ralph, and her grandson Rowland. A third, valued at 28s., had been demised, as long before as 23 December 1520, to Richard Alcock and to Thomas, his son. In each case, the lease had been negotiated for life. At Cauldon, lifetime leases had been given already to no fewer than six lesser tenants, besides the earl himself. Here the value of the portions ranged from 2s. to 13s. 4d. The first lease, to John Scopflake, was dated 12 July 1501; the last, to Richard Leyland, was conceded on 1 August 1532. In all, the total value of both granges together was calculated at £27. 17s.⁽³⁾

Neither the earl nor his successor would seem to have been successful in securing the freehold of Musden Grange. Nor is it very clear whether Francis Talbot even maintained the farm of Musden for the term originally agreed. On 6 June 1545 the farm of Musden Grange was granted, with other properties in

3. P.R.O., Land Revenue, Misc. Books, LR.2/183, fos.161v-2; and Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/3353, m.44d-5.

Lincolnshire and in Cheshire, to Richard Cotton, servant of the king. The clear annual value of the grange was then reckoned at £17. 13s. 8d.; it included the £14. 20d. (sic.) said to have been the rent agreed in the earl of Shrewsbury's original lease. A memorandum noted that the patent extended only to those parcels of the former grange in the tenure of the earl of Shrewsbury or his assignees. It was not, that is, to include those parcels leased separately to Henry Turner, to the Smythes, or to Richard Alcock.⁽⁴⁾

It is not hard to guess at the reason for the earl's failure to acquire Musden for good. Francis Bassett, the original disappointed suitor of 1538, returned to the attack in a petition addressed to the king through the medium of Sir Richard Rich, chancellor of the Court of Augmentations. The petition is not dated, but must have been presented between the death of George Talbot in July 1538, and the resignation of his chancellorship by Sir Richard Rich in 1544. Bassett alleged that Thomas, the late abbot of Croxden, had deliberately contrived the lease of his two demesne granges at Musden and at Cauldon to George, late earl of Shrewsbury. He claimed that the arrangement had been made so that if the monastery should be taken, as it was later to be, into the king's hands, the leases might then be

4. P.R.O., Aug. Off., Part for Grants, E.318/319; see also the grant for life, dated 20 January 1545, recorded in L. & P., Hen.VIII, XX.i.678.

discovered to be in force, to the loss of the king's interest. Bassett undertook to prove that since the contracting of the lease, neither the earl nor his assignees had taken possession of the said granges, suffering them to remain in the possession and occupation of the late abbot, without any claim or title, 'until such time as now'. Further, the abbot, he said, since the date of his original lease to the earl, had contracted another lease of his own of the same granges to Richard Caddy and Thomas Woolly. Bassett continued with other serious allegations. He claimed to have in his possession a blank form of lease, undated yet sealed with the conventual seal. He urged that that alone proved the deceit and manifest collusion of the abbot, seeking to defraud the king's highness. He reported, in addition, that he had been informed that when the king's officers had first surveyed the monastery, the leases arranged with the earl had not been brought forward to be inspected, 'which thing also proves the covenant and fraud aforesaid'. It was his earnest request and prayer that the leases agreed by the earl should be commanded to be brought before the king's court, so that, should they be found to be corrupt, they might be disallowed altogether.⁽⁵⁾

There is no record of how the case proceeded. In all probability, it was suppressed on political grounds. But Francis

5. P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/20, f.4.

Bassett was acting within the terms of the statutes of 1536 and 1539, in which special provision had already been made to disallow such leases fraudulently contrived.⁽⁶⁾ And there is no doubt that he had good precedents to support him.⁽⁷⁾ Whether or not he secured his hearing, it is certain that the grange thereafter continued to pass from one hand to another. It is conceivable that Francis Bassett, a Staffordshire man himself, might have maintained the buildings at Musden had he obtained possession of the site in 1538. Equally, the earl of Shrewsbury, on securing the freehold, might have discovered it in his interest to keep the estate, as far as possible, intact. But the late abbot himself, and even his predecessors as well, had already long begun the process of partition of the demesne. There was no reason at all why a successor, particularly an absentee, should not have continued the practice unchecked. For it is evident that there were tenants readily available in the region, themselves holding portions of the original, partitioned estate. In any event, the buildings were eventually destroyed. As for partition, it remains a reality to this day.

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6. Statutes of the Realm, iii.576, 734-5.

7. Compare, for example, the lease of Ystrad Fflur's grange at Aberdohonowye, 'craftily' demised by the late abbot under a counterfeit conventual lease, drawn up actually after the suppression of his abbey (Court of Augmentations, Wales and Monmouthshire, pp.20-1). See also Dymock below.

The fraud alleged at Musden was repeated again at Dymock, but the outcome was different indeed. Dymock was an important grange of the small Gloucestershire house of Flaxley, dissolved in 1536-7. It lay about eleven miles to the north of the abbey in what is still exceptionally rich farming land, to the north of Newent and to the south-east of Hereford. Dymock Grange, with the most important of the Flaxley lands, was included with the site of the abbey in a grant to Sir William Kingston. The grant was dated 27 March 1537. Sir William had long been a prominent courtier, and at that time held the office of constable of the Tower. He was later to be promoted, on 9 March 1539, to the position of controller of the household, and would be created knight of the Garter the following April, some sixteen months before his death. The Flaxley lands were counted a reward for his services.⁽⁸⁾

But Sir William was not to find it so easy to make good his claims to Dymock. John Wynniatt had been the abbot's collector at Dymock Grange shortly before the dissolution.⁽⁹⁾ It is probable that he had long held the grange from the abbey on terms of mutual convenience, and certainly he was unwilling at this point to relinquish any interest he might have had. On seeking to take possession of his new property at the grange, Sir William found himself confronted by the angry opposition of

8. L. & P., Hen.VIII, XII.i.353.

9. Valor Eccl., ii.486.

John Wynniatt and his family, and by the presentation of a document alleged to be a properly negotiated lease. Sir William, with powerful connections at court, petitioned successfully for his rights. Addressing his appeal to the king, he reported that whereas he had been granted the grange of Dymock with all its appurtenances, he was prevented at the time from taking up occupation, as he should have been able to do, by the presence there of one John Wynniatt, with Thomas Wynniatt and others. John Wynniatt, he said, had claimed to possess an earlier lease, made out to himself, to Thomas, and to one Katherine Wyss. It was Sir William's contention that the lease had actually been drawn up no earlier than 14 January 1536, a matter of months only before the suppression of the abbey. He alleged that John Wynniatt had conspired with the last abbot, Thomas Ware, to ante-date the lease, placing it back not in 1536, where its validity would certainly have come in question, but in 1529/30, the twenty-first year of Henry's reign. This being the case, it was Sir William's argument that the lease should be counted utterly void, and that its provisions should be disallowed in his favour.⁽¹⁰⁾

There would seem no doubt that Sir William made his point; for his son, Sir Anthony, the provost-marshal, succeeded without question to his father's estates at Dymock, as elsewhere.⁽¹¹⁾

10. P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/20, f.15.

11. The Flaxley lands were regranted to Sir Anthony in February 1543 at a rent of £77. 8d. (L. & P., Hen.VIII, XVIII.i.124). On 22 May 1544, in recognition of his services, Sir Anthony received the outright grant of the lands (ibid., XIX.i.379).

But on 1 June 1544, a few days after the confirmation of his own unencumbered freehold, Sir Anthony sold the manor, or lordship, of Dymock to Sir Thomas Wenman, of Thame Park, Oxfordshire, a wealthy clothier, or wool-merchant, who already possessed interests in the parish.⁽¹²⁾ The Wynniatt family, despite its initial defeat, appear to have remained tenant farmers at the grange. We know that the Kingstons, both father and son, were busy men-of-affairs. A good offer from John Wynniatt, already in effective occupation of the grange, was not likely to be rejected. For the Kingstons, although Gloucestershire men themselves, were not interested in farming the grange on their own account. They would have been satisfied to obtain simply an unquestionable right to the freehold.

The Wynniatts were of an enduring local stock, and their persistence was truly astonishing. On 19 September 1611, John Wynniatt, the grandson of the abbey's collector, having successfully courted Jane, the granddaughter of Sir Thomas Wenman, married the heiress of his landlord. She brought him the freehold of the 'Old Grange', of which he was then the tenant, as her marriage portion.⁽¹³⁾ John Wynniatt, who long outlived his wife, turned some of the Wenman money to the improvement of his family home, for the grange was substantially rebuilt before his death in 1670.

12. *ibid.*, XIX.i.505.

13. A manuscript family-tree, preserved at the existing mansion, has here been used as the source.

The land was good, and the Wynniatts, now substantial land-owners in their own right, continued to prosper throughout the two centuries that followed. In due course, they became respected local gentry, as proud of their lineage as the Wenmans themselves, whose first aristocratic connection dated back to Sir Thomas's wife Jane, daughter of William West, first Lord De La Warr (of the second creation). The present mansion of the grange, with the remaining fifty acres of the estate, has only recently been sold by the last representative of the Dymock Wynniatts, Mrs. Wynniatt Husey. To this day, the barn at the grange is, for the most part, late medieval in construction. There is good 15th-century stonework in the east wall of what was formerly the domestic range. The entire core of the medieval building, in all probability, remains virtually untouched within the additions that Wynniatt latter-day prosperity contributed to the mansion in the 17th and 18th centuries (above, pp.34-5).

Both at Musden and at Dymock the court party, making the most of its situation, had been brought up short against a local interest with rights and properties to protect. But this was not to be the only contest of influence and of will that the suppression of the religious houses brought out into the open. The partition, or share-out, of the monastic estates

presented an opportunity unique in the experience of men. There was no lack of those, idealist or realist by inclination, prepared to take a hand in the apportionment.

Of the idealists, the views expressed by Thomas Starkey were representative enough. Writing in 1537, with many of the greater houses still to be suppressed, he gave it as his opinion that the former monastic estates should be leased by copyhold at a designedly low rent. They were to be allotted specifically to those younger brothers whose lack of a sufficient patrimony compelled them to live unprofitably by service; they might also be given to those 'wych be of lower state and degre'.⁽¹⁴⁾ Indeed, to many of the royal officials and representatives actually present at the dispersal of the religious communities, it was precisely this policy that recommended itself most strongly. The duke of Norfolk, charged in 1537 with the suppression of Bridlington Priory, suggested that the demesne lands at Bridlington should be divided among the inhabitants of the town, in part to console them for their loss of employment at the priory itself.⁽¹⁵⁾ Likewise, in Lancashire, Richard Pollard that same year reported that he had let temporarily the demesne land and granges of Whalley to the poor inhabitants of the region, 'which ys to ther great comfort and releyff'.⁽¹⁶⁾

14. Starkey's Life and Letters, pp.lviii-lix.

15. Suppression Papers (Yorks.), p.47.

16. ibid., p.55.

The sufferings of the former servants and dependants of the monasteries may well have continued to move the commissioners to compassion, but for the most part they had little alternative but to accept the situation as they found it at the time. At Bridlington, as it was, the explanation of the duke of Norfolk's generosity arguably lay less in tenderness of conscience than in the determination not to lay the way open to a single tenant who might, on his own account, have set about the dismantlement of the great lead-covered barn of the priory. Again, Richard Pollard, for his part, had done, and could have done, little more than relieve for a season the hardships of a deprived local peasantry. In 1537 the special plea of Robert Southwell was moved not by the desire to consolidate a new solution, but by an impulse to recognise an old one. Beaumont Grange, an important estate of the former Cistercian house at Furness, was currently in occupation of seventy-two 'tall fellows'. It was on the behalf of these that Southwell wrote to Cromwell, urging that they should not be dispossessed to suit 'any gentleman's pleasure'.⁽¹⁷⁾ Yet, scarcely twenty years before, these tenants themselves had replaced a single tenant-farmer, the fifth in line of succession at the grange. His name was Robert Southworth the younger, and on 29 November 1518 he had

17. L. & P., Hen.VIII, XII.ii.88-9.

been convicted of illegally withholding the profits of the grange, being allowed less than a month to pack up his belongings and quit. But the Southworths, father and son, had been tenants at the grange for well over thirty years. They had undoubtedly established powerful interests in the region, and a successor, in the circumstances, might well have proved hard to find. Rather than ride out any local discontent there may have been, the convent in 1518 would seem to have resolved on a new tactic, a policy of divide and rule. The grange was sited close to the east of the village of Slyne. For nearly a century the rent had remained stable at £20. It was both more convenient and more profitable to partition the demesnes among the neighbouring smallholders than to risk another imbroglio with a single tenant. By the dissolution, the policy had obviously paid off. Robert Southwell found the demesne divided among divers tenants. The revenues at Beaumont had risen to £50. 14s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.⁽¹⁸⁾

More generally, wherever the richer properties of the monastic houses were at issue, the suitors and the speculators had been gathering already some years before the dissolution. Little had been left to chance; still less to generosity of spirit. The monastic demesnes (in effect, all those lands not

18. P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster, Rentals and Surveys, DL.43/14/7 (a detailed rental which includes a memorandum naming the tenants at Beaumont from the reign of Henry VI); B.M., Add.33,244, f.59 (a memorandum in a later hand narrating the terms of Robert Southworth's expulsion); P.R.O., Duchy of Lancaster, Min. Accts., DL.29/159/2505, m.18.

yet let out to farm), had long been open to the candidature of the servants and officials of the greater men at court. On the personal recommendation of Thomas Cromwell, requests had been made in 1533, in 1538 and again in 1539 for the farm of Musden Grange;⁽¹⁹⁾ a tenant was proposed for Ingarsby in 1536;⁽²⁰⁾ for the Fountains grange at Sutton, Cromwell in 1538 advanced the name of William Dale, a servant of his own.⁽²¹⁾ The fact that the requests were rejected, interesting although that may be, is not, of course, as important as that they should have been made at all. Elsewhere, for example on the Chester estates, they might have met with greater success.⁽²²⁾ Indeed, the impression is inescapable that, for all the reluctance of both the monks and their future expropriators to put their belief in words, few doubted the prospect of outright suppression, and most were prepared to speculate on an outcome they felt to be sure. Cromwell, it need hardly be said, was in a unique position to know. It is for this reason that his own dealings with his future property at Lewes are so vital to the picture as a whole.

19. L. & P., Hen.VIII, vi.16; XIII.ii.450; XIV.i.352.

20. ibid., x.285.

21. ibid., XIII.i.102.

22. The Chester estates would seem long to have been the subject of royal and official intervention. In the words of the last abbot, writing to Cromwell on 7 June 1538, 'I have received by the bearer your letters for a lease to be made to one Master Edgare of the manor of Huntynghon, or else of the manors of Sutton and Ince for 40 years. I beg you to consider the state of this poor house and my late coming thereto. Before I came to the promotion, upon letters of the King, the late queen Jane, and your Lordship, the chief

Lewes Priory, in Sussex, was by a long way the richest Cluniac house in England. It was surrendered peaceably in 1537, and the prior, who had always done his utmost to fall in with the wishes of Cromwell and his friends, was rewarded with appointment as a prebendary of Lincoln. Much hinges on that same prior's reluctance to lease his manor-house, or grange, at Swanborough. Through August, September and October 1536, he wrote repeatedly to Cromwell, pleading to be allowed to continue Swanborough as demesne of the priory, yet unable to refuse him whatever he really wished. The position would seem to have been this. Already in December 1534, the prior had received a communication from Cromwell in favour of the suit of Edward Shelley, a master of the king's household. Shelley, a Sussex man himself, wished to acquire the farm of the priory's manor at Langney, about fifteen miles to the south-east of Lewes. It so happened, however, that Langney had previously been leased in due form under the conventual seal, and the prior had no means of ejecting the existing tenant. Not wishing to antagonise the court, Prior Robert offered his demesne property at Swanborough,

22. (continued) profits of the manor of Sutton were granted to Wm. Ardern, the King's servant; and the manor of Ince, according to your Lordship's directions both by letter and at my late being with you, is granted to Ric. Coly, late servant of Mr. Hennege and now to the Prince. Nothing remains but the manor of Huntyngton, without which hospitality cannot be kept.' (*ibid.*, XIII.i.428). The manor-place at Saughton had been acquired by John Booth, chaplain to the king, on 11 August 1533 (*ibid.*, vi.449).

immediately to the south-west of the priory, in its place. Although made in good faith, it was not an offer that he would be able to carry through.⁽²³⁾

Shortly afterwards, on a visit to London, the prior discussed estate policy with Cromwell and with the duke of Norfolk, patron of his house and a descendant of the original founder. He was told by Cromwell, in the presence of the duke, that he should immediately call in such leases as he had granted, and that he should make sure to keep in his own hands whatever land he needed for the maintenance of his house and its hospitality. It is quite likely that Cromwell already had an eye to his own inheritance. But whatever his purpose, his instructions were sufficiently plain to persuade the prior to delay sealing the lease he had granted at Swanborough. Significantly, Cromwell added the rider that the prior should ignore any instructions to the contrary that he might receive in later letters from himself.

Late in July, or early in August 1536, Cromwell, perhaps for some reason less certain of the final outcome of his scheme, endeavoured to secure for himself the farm of the manor of Swanborough. Prior Robert replied to his letters on 2 August. He explained, on behalf of himself and the convent at Lewes, that Swanborough was the only estate left for the maintenance of the

23. ibid., xi.237.

house. Without it, he would have to do something to reduce the numbers of his establishment. Besides, as he pointed out, Cromwell himself had only recently commanded him to keep sufficient lands in hand to maintain his house without deterioration or loss of any kind.⁽²⁴⁾

By the end of August a fresh complication had arisen. The king himself wrote to Prior Robert to urge the suit of Sir Thomas Audley, created lord chancellor on the resignation of Sir Thomas More in 1532. Audley, by the king's wish, was to have the farm of the grange at Swanborough for himself. Cromwell would seem to have acquiesced in the new arrangement almost immediately. Prior Robert wrote to him on 31 August, once again to explain how essential Swanborough remained to the maintenance of his house and hospitality, and to remind him of his instructions in the past.⁽²⁵⁾ But the prior's excuses were not to be favourably received. By the time he wrote for the third time, on 12 September, he had clearly been reminded of his duty to the king. He was to give the farm 'frankly' to Audley. In the meantime, he explained his delay as the result of the 'untowardness' of his brethren, and stated that he had arranged with Audley to transfer to him the farm of Swanborough at Michaelmas 1538. It could not possibly be spared till then, and even so it must cause the decay of the hospitality of the house, and a lack of hay and straw to meet its needs.⁽²⁶⁾

24. *ibid.*, xi.94.

25. *ibid.*, xi.149.

26. *ibid.*, xi.181.

The suit of Edward Shelley, postponed on Cromwell's earlier instructions, was revived by the new arrangement. Informed of Audley's coup, Shelley's own reaction would seem to have been to seek an interview with the prior, and to ask ~~him~~ to remind Cromwell of his own superior claim. Prior Robert wrote again to Cromwell on 7 October. He recounted the circumstances of the earlier, abortive lease to Shelley; told him why it had been deferred; and explained that, although it was true that he had recently granted Swanborough, on the king's and on Cromwell's instructions, to Sir Thomas Audley, this lease had not yet been sealed. It was not to come into effect for a couple of years, and he had delayed the preparation of the formal indentures until the following term. He asked for further instructions as to whom the lease should actually be assigned.⁽²⁷⁾ It is doubtful whether such instructions were ever given. The priory was surrendered in the later months of 1537, and an extensive grant of the St. Pancras lands, including the manor at Swanborough, was made to Thomas Cromwell himself on 16 February 1538.⁽²⁸⁾ Scarcely a month later, it was Cromwell who was being approached, in place of the late prior, for the favour of the farm at Swanborough.⁽²⁹⁾

The demesne lands, by reason of their wealth and availability, remained the chief prize in the majority of subsequent partitions.

27. ibid., xi.237.

28. ibid., XIII.i.138.

29. ibid., XIII.i.212.

On the attainder and execution of Thomas Cromwell, late earl of Essex, the estate at Swanborough was granted, on 30 May 1541 to William Fitzalan, earl of Arundel. With lands formerly of Michelham Priory, east of Lewes, it formed part of a series of exchanges by which the powerful Fitzalan family sought to rationalise its Sussex estates.⁽³⁰⁾ No doubt the survival of the best part of the domestic buildings at Swanborough owed much to the continued attentions of the [redacted] earl, his heirs and his assignees. Elsewhere, the great names of the court, many of them those of a self-made Tudor aristocracy, featured repeatedly in the property transactions which followed on the suppression of the religious houses. Thomas Wriothesley, to become lord chancellor in succession to Audley, took a large part in the secretarial work at court that attended the successive disbandments of the communities. In the last days of 1537 he acquired for himself the site of the Premonstratensian priory at Titchfield, to the east of Southampton Water. This was to remain his principal estate, and it was from this that he was to take his first title as Baron Wriothesley of Titchfield. But already during the course of the year Wriothesley had collected into his own hands many of the richest properties of the Cistercian house at Quarr, on the Isle of Wight, dissolved in 1536. His first grants in Arreton had been acquired on

30. ibid., xvi.429.

23 February 1537.⁽³¹⁾ To these, on 6 November of the same year, he added the important demesne grange at Haseley, together with a number of the other manors and granges formerly of the community at Quarr.⁽³²⁾

To the west of Southampton Water, within convenient boating distance of his Titchfield estate, Wriothesley shortly acquired the considerable demesne lands of the Beaulieu lordship. Over three months before the formal grant of the Beaulieu lands, Wriothesley's agents were already at work securing the property for their master. Thomas Stephens, late abbot of Beaulieu, now rid of his 'lewd' monks, was in residence in April 1538 at the former grange at St. Leonard's. He asked to remain there, even suggesting that he should himself be granted the farm, for he explained that he now had no house of his own.⁽³³⁾ But Wriothesley's agents on the spot would seem to have thought differently. On 12 April, Dr. John Crayford, in the pay of Wriothesley, wrote to his employer to suggest that St. Leonard's might be useful to him as a base during the course of the building at Titchfield.⁽³⁴⁾ By September that same year, the farm of the grange had been demised at £8 to Thomas Knight, who was later to exchange two further manors in Hampshire for

31. *ibid.*, XII.i.253.

32. *ibid.*, XII.ii.404.

33. *ibid.*, XIII.i.314.

34. *ibid.*, XIII.i.282.

much of the Beaulieu demesne.⁽³⁵⁾ It was in the care of Thomas Knight, a local man of some considerable means, that the principal buildings at St. Leonard's remained comparatively unharmed.

Both as a settled landowner, representative of the new order, and as a speculator, dealing in former monastic lands, Thomas Wriothsesley's activities were typical of those engaged in by men of all classes at the time. For himself, Wriothsesley, now become lord chancellor, secured, on 10 June 1546, the grant of the rich Abingdon demesne manor, or grange, at Sutton Courtenay in Berkshire. The following day, he sold the grange to Thomas Calton, a London goldsmith, in whose family the property remained for the following century, or longer.⁽³⁶⁾

To the rising Seymour family the suppression of the monasteries presented opportunities quite as great. Shortly before his disgrace and execution, Thomas, Lord Seymour, lord high admiral of England and brother of the late Queen Jane, felt it worth his while to contract with the new bishop of Bristol to farm, on a seventy-year lease, the former St. Augustine's rectorial manor at Ashleworth. The agreement was signed on 25 January 1548.⁽³⁷⁾

35. P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys (Gen. Series), SC.11/576, and Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/3340, m.2; for the exchange, dated 18 December 1546, see L. & P., Hen.VIII, XXI.ii.348.

36. ibid., XXI.i.573,581; and V.C.H., Berks., iv.374.

37. P.R.O., Court of Augmentations, ^{Proceedings,} E.321/28/74. Early in 1549, Seymour was arrested on the charge of high treason. He was executed on 20 March that same year.

As for his brother Somerset, his rapacity in the collection of monastic estates was well-known and remarked at the time. One among many, the important manor at Frocester, late of Gloucester Abbey, in its site and demesnes alone was worth over £30. Henry Stephens, tenant for the abbey since 1531, outlived at least two generations of landlords. He had held the manor originally on an eighty-year lease, sharing it in the first instance with another family, Henry Lugge and Joanna his wife. On the execution of Protector Somerset in 1552, Henry Stephens was still in possession of the manor.⁽³⁸⁾

Indeed, for the lesser courtier and official, as for the tenant, the greater chances of survival no doubt made up, in some measure, for the smaller opportunities for reward. Among such men, Sir Nicholas Poyntz, son of the vice-admiral and himself well-known at court in the later years of the reign, took advantage of his Gloucestershire experience and background to bid for the estates of Kingswood. Like many of his contemporaries, he did so in part as a speculation. On 14 February 1540, that is, he found the sum of £835.10s. to purchase the greater part of the Kingswood lands, including the site of the abbey, its demesnes, and the more important granges.⁽³⁹⁾ Two years later, on

38. P.R.O., Exchequer K.R., Misc. Books, E.164/39, fos.245v-6, and Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/1248, m.7.

39. P.R.O., Aug. Off., Part. for Grants, E.318/900; also L. & P., Hen.VIII, xv.111.

13 February 1542, he sold the grange at Calcot, equipped with its fine barn, to one Henry Brain.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In the same way, special qualities, whether of favour or of office, were employed by others to a virtually identical effect. The long lease of the manor of Middle Littleton, secured by Sir George Throckmorton in February 1540, undoubtedly owed much to the influence of Catherine Parr, a niece of his wife by marriage. Earlier in the year she had already been instrumental in rescuing Sir George from the enmity of Thomas Cromwell.⁽⁴¹⁾ In a somewhat different fashion, it was in the course of his professional duties that Sir Thomas Pope found the opportunities to carve out a fortune for himself. Pope was a protégé of Lord Chancellor Audley, long holding an important post in the administration of the Court of Augmentations. On 3 June 1540 a large purchase of former monastic estates, contracted in the name of Pope, included the important Winchcombe manor of Enstone, in Oxfordshire.⁽⁴²⁾ Indeed, so long as there remained lands to distribute, the crown was in a unique position to reward the services of its officers. Already distinguished for his conduct at the capture of Boulogne in 1544, Sir Ralph Ellerker found it so much the easier to acquire the former Meaux estate he coveted at Moor. On

40. ibid., xvii.60.

41. ibid., xv.563.

42. ibid., xv.403.

17 March 15⁴⁵ he registered a request to purchase the farm of the grange at Moor. A few days later, on 24 March, the property was confirmed to him 'for his services'.⁽⁴³⁾

Up to this point, the discussion of the details of the post-dissolution settlement may have suggested a break in the continuity of estate management more marked than that which actually occurred. It is, of course, true that the transfer of the freehold might have had important implications for the future. In the short run, however, the former monastic tenant, always provided that he held his lease by formal and verifiable indenture, would have found his interests protected. We have seen already examples of continuity in the Wynniatt holding at Dymock, and in the long tenancy of Henry Stephens at Frocester, further to the south in the same county. In effect, the new landowners frequently possessed interests so widespread as to render constant supervision impracticable. They preferred to acquire former demesne lands, for on those they would enjoy a greater freedom of action. But should a tenant be already in possession, even had the alternative of ejection been available, it is doubtful that it would so often have been used.

43. P.R.O., Aug. Off., Part. for Grants, E.318/409, and L. & P., Hen.VIII, XX.i.224. The name Ralph was seemingly traditional in the Ellerker family. Both Sir Ralph's father and his eldest son were known by it. The latter, like his father, was knighted for military valour by Henry VIII. He died in 1550, and could conceivably have been the gentleman referred to in the **grant.**

It must have been plain, in any case, that the acts of 1536 and 1539 had already left no doubt as to the rights of those holding land, office, corrody or pension from the dissolved religious houses. Claims of financial interest were to be allowed, debts were to be paid, obligations, whatever their nature, were to be honoured. As for leases, they were to remain valid, and the tenants were to be left in possession, if they had been formally contracted on lands usually let out to farm. Demesne lands, let with intent to defraud within a year of the making of the first act, were to be returned to the new freeholder unencumbered. But if, within that period, a contract had been negotiated for an estate habitually farmed out by the religious community, it should be counted as valid as if it had been made a period of months, or years, before.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Some attempt, moreover, would seem to have been made to enquire of individual tenants whether they themselves wished to purchase the property they held. An instance of this is preserved in a letter that concerns, among other former estates of Jervaulx, the grange north of Richmond at Melsonby. On 12 June 1543, Sir Richard Southwell, receiver to the Court of Augmentations and a former tutor of Gregory Cromwell, wrote to Philip Lenthall, his agent on the spot. He instructed Lenthall to investigate the status of a number of properties he listed at the foot of his

44. Statutes of the Realm, iii.576, 734-6.

letter. He was to find out whether these properties adjoined crown land. He was to discover also by what right the existing tenants held their lands, and what additional interests (for example, advowsons) might attach to them. Finally, he was to enquire of the tenants whether they, or any neighbours of their's, desired to buy the lands they held.⁽⁴⁵⁾ There is no record of what resulted at Melsonby, but it would seem likely enough that the tenant should at least have made a bid for the grange. In 1543 the estate was farmed by John Metcalf, probably a relative of the Metcalfs of Dale, and possibly the same John Metcalf who had been bailiff for the monastery at its lordship of Dale Grange. In September 1537 he had paid a rent of £3. 6s. 8d. for the messuage of the grange with its garden, for sixty acres of arable, and for an eight-acre close of pasture known as 'Monkeholme'. But he had possessed at the time no formal lease, holding the grange only at the will of the abbot.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Given the opportunity, and granted the means to take it, he would, almost certainly, have wished to improve his position.

45. L. & P., Hen.VIII, Addenda, I.ii.539. Sir Richard Southwell's employment of Lenthall at this early date is certainly interesting, for it is reasonable to suggest that Philip Lenthall was a relative of William Lenthall (1591-1662), speaker of the Long Parliament. Now, we know that William Lenthall's father was another William Lenthall, of Lechford in Oxfordshire. His mother was Frances, daughter of Sir Thomas Southwell, of St. Faith's in Norfolk. Sir Thomas was himself the natural son of Sir Richard Southwell, the courtier and official.

46. P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4441, m.9.

If John Metcalf, for whatever reason, failed to take advantage of his tenancy, there were others who were to find themselves better placed to make good use of their's. Some fourteen miles to the south-east of Melsonby, Christopher Bowes, yeoman, had held since 12 December 1534, the Rievaulx grange at Angram, in the parish of Welbury. The term of his lease was forty-seven years. Bowes paid an annual sum of £6 for the site of the grange, for its immediate estate, and for an additional parcel of land in Welbury Field.⁽⁴⁷⁾ In 1538, following the suppression of the abbey at Rievaulx, he continued to farm Angram on the strength of his earlier indenture.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Five years later, the grange was bought from the crown by Richard Vincent. It was included along with a very much more important purchase of lands in the neighbouring village of Great Smeaton, late of St. Mary's, York.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Vincent must already have known that he would find a ready purchaser for Angram in its tenant. Indeed, it is likely that, well before the confirmation of the larger purchase on 14 September 1543, a composition had already been reached between the tenant and himself. On the seventeenth of the same month, Vincent obtained a licence to

47. Rievaulx Cart., p.351.

48. P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4553, m.3.

49. L. & P., Hen.VIII, XVIII.ii.141.

alienate the farm and grange at Angram to its then tenant, Christopher Bowes by name.⁽⁵⁰⁾

There was nothing, of course, to prevent the tenants of monastic estates from being men of very considerable wealth in their own right. In cash terms alone, little might distinguish the pre-dissolution grange from its post-dissolution successor. And monastic tenancies, as we have seen, might have been sought with as much eagerness before the dissolution as after it. In many cases it must have paid the wealthy landowner, or prosperous yeoman farmer, to bid highly for any available estate of a neighbouring religious house. Moreover, for many reasons, some to be measured purely in good-will, it would often have been convenient for the community to accept. A wealthy tenant could afford a good rent. He might also be relied upon to keep a valuable property in readiness for the occasional visit, as well as in adequate repair.

At their grange at Great Coxwell, in Berkshire, the Cistercians of Beaulieu had long maintained an important centre

50. *ibid.*, XVIII.ii.142. Compare also the case of Tile House Grange, late of Byland. In September 1540 Anthony Rooke and his wife Joan held the grange by indenture at a rent of 33s. 4d. (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4550, m.7d). On 25 July 1543 Rooke and his wife were still the tenants at Tile House when the grange was sold, together with numerous properties in Gloucestershire, Yorkshire, Westmorland and Leicestershire, to two land speculators by the names of Richard Andrews and Nicholas Temple. The purchasers, on 14 September of the same year, received a licence to alienate Tile House to Thomas Allanbridge of Farsley in the West Riding, described as a clothier. Anne Rooke, daughter of Anthony and Joan, was included with Thomas Allanbridge in the terms of the alienation. It was to the heirs of her body that the grange was subsequently to descend (*L. & P.*, Hen.VIII, XVIII.ii.53,142).

for their rich properties in the Faringdon lordship, to the south-west of Oxford. On 5 June 1534, and probably not for the first time, the community leased the grange to a wealthy layman. On this occasion, his name was Thomas Moores. While reserving certain chambers for their own use, the monks conceded a ninety-six year lease to their new tenant, at a rent of £20, and on the understanding that the buildings should be kept in good repair. Two years later, on 14 September 1536, a further indenture was drawn up in the name of the same tenant, granting to him the farm of all the woodlands on the estate.⁽⁵¹⁾ On the dissolution of the monastery in 1538, Thomas Moores was in possession of a valuable lease about which there could be no dispute. He was in a good position to consolidate his gains.

This he was able to do in 1540. For the very considerable sum of £666. 14s. 2d. he bought, on 26 March, the manors of Great and Little Coxwell, with the reversions of the chief messuage of the grange and of the lands leased to himself in both manors. He agreed to pay an annual pension of £3 to the vicar of the parish church at Great Coxwell.⁽⁵²⁾ Later in the same year, on 17 December 1540, Moores took out a twenty-one year lease on the apartments in the principal messuage of the grange which the monks had reserved to themselves in 1534; these included the chapel, a new hall, and several chambers.⁽⁵³⁾ But these arrangements,

51. P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/3340, m.15d-16.

52. L. & P., Hen.VIII, xv.178.

53. ibid., xv.561.

costly though they undoubtedly were, were not to be the limit of his enterprise. On 4 April 1545, he raised the further sum of £330 for the purchase of the neighbouring lordship and manor of Little Faringdon. The grant was conceded in the name of his son James, and included some additional properties in Faringdon itself. Of these, one was an inn called 'The Bell', another a messuage called 'Bacons'.⁽⁵⁴⁾

It must be clear that if, in some sense, the land settlement which followed the suppression of the monasteries broke abruptly with the past, it also held a hand out to the present. Here, as in earlier chapters, the intention has been to lay an equal stress, where warranted, on the incidence both of continuity and of change. For, in continuity lies some explanation of the common survival, in so many parts of the country, of grange earthworks virtually untouched. Whereas in change, manifested in partition, might be sought at least one reason for their failure to be more extensive than they are.

To the archaeologist, it has been my purpose to demonstrate, the details of the post-dissolution settlement, as they concern his site, may go far to explain its condition. Dymock has been instanced as an example of a continuity of ownership that

54. ibid., XX.i.298-9.

guaranteed the survival of its buildings. At Musden, early partition ensured the future transformation of the grange. Contemporary ideal solutions, had they been granted so much as a hearing, might have resulted in a partition in every sense more complete. But, in the event, the stakes were to prove too high, the interest too well-formed, for charity. The Tudor aristocracy had to be supported and endowed; there were dissidents to be placated; churchmen, officials, money-lenders and soldiers, all expected their reward. In the settlement, allowance would be made for each.

The remaining demesne lands we have seen to be the prize. The richest estates were commonly sought-after well before the suppression of each house. Preserved as individual units, they frequently retained their buildings remarkably intact. As for the rest, the same forces at work before the dissolution continued after it to splinter the estates. Where a tenant succeeded in purchasing his holding, the process might have been arrested for a while; it might even have been halted altogether. But the grange that was most conveniently situated was also most open to partition. Tenants were readily available. The buildings, no longer suited to their purpose, were early abandoned and suffered to decay. If the earthworks were to survive, they would do so only where the former site of the grange might continue to serve as home pasture for one of its lesser replacements.

There is no need, of course, to look to the dissolution settlement in each case for a convincing sequel to the history of a site. In the preceding chapter we have seen how much could have happened to the grange well before the suppression of the community which ran it. For many granges, even those which survived as long, nothing of the detail of the settlement has remained. For others, it should hardly be necessary to say, the decay of the buildings might have been due to circumstances of a very much later date. But the point has already been made. The settlement, if not comprehensive, at least laid down some pattern for the future. In the discovery and in the interpretation of the place of the individual site within that pattern may lie, as often as not, the clue to its survival.

The principal surviving buildings of the grange and the domestic house were essential in the discussion of the architectural development of the grange. Both architectural and textual evidence were found to be slight and inconclusive where the earliest grange buildings were concerned. Nevertheless, and despite parallels, the only satisfactory evidence for comparable buildings in the 12th century, were employed in the

Chapter VIII. Conclusion.

The study and assessment of the physical characteristics of the grange have been the principal themes of the preceding discussion. They have depended upon the identification of a select group of sites, each of which, in its turn, has been employed to throw some light on the problems of planning and organisation at the grange. The limitations of such a method should be admitted. It makes no claim, that is, to be comprehensive. The grange site, frequently preserving at least a part of its original earthworks, is almost as familiar a characteristic of the surviving medieval landscape as the better-known deserted village. To compile a full list of grange sites would be beyond the resources of any one field-worker; it would tax the strength of an organisation many times as large. In the circumstances, there was no alternative but to restrict the scope of the enquiry. It is, of course, a restriction that will limit the value of the conclusions as well.

The principal surviving buildings at the grange and the monastic manor were assembled in the discussion of the architectural development of the grange. Both architectural and record evidence were found to be slight and inconclusive where the earliest grange buildings were concerned. Benedictine and Cluniac parallels, the only satisfactory evidence for comparable buildings in the 12th century, were employed in the

suggestion of a like planning at the grange. It was argued that such parallels were not out of place, for it was demonstrated that the later evidence unequivocally pointed to an identity of planning in the principal buildings of the grange, as in the domestic quarters of the wholly conventional manor.

It has been maintained that the grange, wherever it was not employed for some special purpose of the abbot or his community, can seldom have attracted considerable expenditure in a lavish provision of buildings. In the earliest years it is probable that some deliberate separation was commonly attempted between the quarters of the lay brethren on the one hand, and those of their servants on the other. In the same way, a wall, or ditch, of reasonable dimensions would have isolated the court of the grange from the dwellings of any peasant community which flanked it. There is no evidence, whether at this or at a later stage, of any further elaboration of the buildings or their plan. Nor is there anything known of the early organisation of the grange that would seem, in any fashion, to have required it. Beyond doubt, evidence of the 14th century and later points universally to the adoption of a very simple plan. At the grange of later centuries, and probably of earlier as well, the hall was supplied with a chamber and a kitchen in a building of

conventional design. A chapel, frequently no more than an oratory, might often have been attached to these. But a chapel, as we have seen, was rarely a feature of the grange of the first generation. In later centuries it remained confined, very largely, to those buildings of which the choir monks might themselves have intended to make some use. To a limited degree, also, it was the enlargement and embellishment of selected later granges that encouraged expenditure on their fortification. Even so, it was only in regions particularly exposed to attack that the grange was fortified to any effect. At the earliest granges, and at the majority of the later, the poverty of the buildings scarcely merited a heavy investment in their defence.

Although surviving buildings at the grange are rare, earthworks are relatively plentiful. Three common types of earthwork were identified in a sample survey of the Yorkshire sites; they were shown to find equivalents in sites outside the county as well. Each category of earthwork corresponded with a particular terrain, bearing no relation to the individual practice of a single house or religious order. Of the three, the first to be discussed was the upland site, characterised by a restricted area enlarged occasionally by terracing. The second was the lowland grange, a mixed farm which habitually combined a consolidated arable holding with extensive pasture-rights on

neighbouring commons or waste. It was noticed that this second category of site could often be equipped with a double enclosure, the larger of which might tentatively be identified as the former grange court, the smaller as the site of the domestic buildings of the estate. A third category was suggested in the marshland sites of the East Riding, many of which featured a small rectangular moat, frequently water-filled to this day. It was held that the purpose of the moat was drainage; that it restricted the site unduly; and that it may often have been abandoned at later rebuildings of the grange.

The discussion of the grange earthworks in Yorkshire raised problems of siting and of scale. It was shown that the foundation of a number of the Yorkshire granges owed nothing to idealistic concepts of isolation. Rather, it followed, and improved upon, an initial block grant of land wherever that might be obtained. The image of the Cistercians as extensive depopulators was held up to question. The size and the nature of a typical Cistercian estate was assessed, and it was concluded that the Cistercians themselves had as much need of local assistance as any landholder on a comparable scale. Further parallels were drawn between the estates of the Cistercians and their contemporaries. The evidence of the 19th-century tithe apportionments was employed to demonstrate both the extent of

the Cistercian holdings and the many similarities in practice that continued to characterise the estate policies of the 12th-century religious houses. The Cistercians were shown to have made use of the labour of peasant families, whether donated, purchased, or exchanged. They recruited harvest labour at their granges, and exacted ^{works} from their tenants in precisely the same fashion as any landowner of the day. The problems of mustering and housing such a labour force were examined. It was allowed that the Cistercians, in this particular, were not as well placed as many of their contemporaries. The availability of land, and the possibility of assembling into one unit a sufficient acreage to make demesne farming worth while, had secured that the grange was frequently established at some considerable remove from the existing peasant settlements. In rejecting the more usual conventions of manorial organisation, and in refusing, for the moment, the gift of rectories, the Cistercians had cut themselves off from the obvious sources of supply. It is plain that they needed the labour. It is equally clear that where their granges were remote, they would have had to import it, or abandon the farming of their estates. Little record of the adoption of such an expedient may be expected to appear in the early documents. It has been shown, however, that the association of the earthworks of the grange and of a neighbouring diminutive peasant settlement

site is not by any means uncommon in Yorkshire. No excavations have yet been conducted on such a site, but it may not be premature, for all that, to suggest an association in date as well as in position.

The widespread leasing of the monastic estates, and the transformation of the grange which resulted, does not, it has been argued, deprive it of interest to the archaeologist. The individual grange, favoured by retention in demesne, may be expected to have seen successive phases of improvement and modernisation spanning the centuries before the dissolution. At the majority of grange establishments, by contrast, the general abandonment of demesne farming in the 14th and 15th centuries, as true of the Cistercians as of any of their contemporaries, was accompanied by a common neglect of the buildings. It has been shown that leases of increasing duration were negotiated at the more compact and self-contained of the granges. The lesser estates, in particular those sited within, or beside, a substantial independent settlement, were frequently partitioned and forgotten. In establishing an archaeological sequence at any one grange site, it is clearly this period which deserves the most exacting study. For the survival of the buildings at a grange depended principally upon the circumstances of leasing and partition, and it will be through

an analysis of these that a final date of decay is most likely to be satisfactorily determined. It was natural, of course, that the whole process should have accelerated at the dissolution, Partition and multiple-leasing, if these had not already been effected, became common on the majority of the former monastic estates. Where a building occasionally survived, it did so either because the exceptional elaboration of its structure recommended it to the taste of a later generation, or, more simply, because a pre-dissolution occupier remained subsequently in absolute, uninterrupted possession of the estate. Each process of foundation, consolidation, leasing, partition and demolition, as these succeeded each other at a single establishment, will be demonstrated at Cowton, a grange of Fountains, the excavations at which are reported upon in a separate appendix. It will be seen here that the archaeological evidence supports and supplements in many particulars the details of the historical record. The estate at Cowton, as was the case at many other granges in the county, originated in a single block grant of land, to which were appended many subsequent quitclaims, purchases and donations. At Cowton, again, the abbot and convent of Fountains enjoyed rights in the vill of North Cowton which clearly precluded any deliberate isolationism in the conduct, or management, of their grange. The succession of partition and

leasing at Cowton left its recognisable mark on the archaeological record, repeating in due order the sequence characteristic of many equivalent establishments both within the county and beyond. It will be shown that by the 15th century the grange site at Cowton had ceased to serve as a centre for the interests of the abbey in the region. A reconstruction of the domestic buildings, for which the suggested date will be the last years of the previous century, had led to the supply of a hall, a chamber, and a kitchen on the ancient, and conventional, plan. Indeed, Jervaulx, within half a century, saw fit to put up identical buildings at its grange at Lazenby, some six miles away to the south. Occupation of the principal messuage at the site of the grange at North Cowton continued up to the dissolution, overlapping it by a number of years. Retained always in the hands of local men, the buildings were to be extended and embellished late in the 16th century. They were abandoned only when, at the turn of the century, the kitchen and the south end of the hall were gutted by fire.

In the Cowton report a joint reading of the archaeological evidence and the documentary record will find its most obvious expression. Nevertheless, it may already be claimed that it is precisely this combination of sources that has both suggested and determined the scope of the preceding enquiry. Hypotheses

have been advanced that concern the buildings at the grange, its situation, staffing, origins, leasing and decay. In effect, the study of the buildings and the other extant remains on the grange has widened - as, indeed, it had to do - into an examination of the conditions which determined them. The last word, of course, has yet to be spoken. It has been possible only to sample the archaeological material available. Until more excavations are undertaken and reported upon, many of the conclusions arrived-at will have to remain open to question. But the method has proved its value, even were it admitted that a study begun only as a preliminary survey of the evidence has ended by making no claim more extravagant than that.

South, the western boundary of the manor (fig. 3). South of the grange, and on the south-west borders of the fields of Goston village, the monks had a second estate of Greenberry. In the town, this was known as a 'grange'. The abbey possessed further interests in the village, holding a joint lordship of Goston⁽¹⁾. In 'Great Goston' additional properties included an estate at Whitelaw, nearly four miles to the south-east of Goston Grange. Late in the 13th century, it was recorded of the Fontaines lands that they consisted of two parcels in South Goston, another two in Greenberry, and no fewer than six parcels in Great Goston⁽²⁾. There is little reason to doubt that the buildings at

1. *Fontaines Eboracae*, i. 142 (note).

2. *Fontaines Eboracae*, i. 142.

Appendix I.The Excavations at Cowton Grange, Yorkshire.

The grange at Cowton, formerly of Fountains, lay some six miles to the north-east of Richmond, nine to the north-west of Northallerton, both market-towns in the North Riding (fig. 9, inset). The original grange buildings, now represented only by earthworks, were sited immediately to the north of the Richmond - Great Smeaton road, between the villages of Moulton and North Cowton. Although counted within the boundaries of Moulton, the grange was placed scarcely more than a mile from the village at North Cowton, from which it was separated only by the cultivated fields of the medieval settlement. Between Moulton and itself lay the wastes of Lingy and Moulton Moor, to the west of Howl Beck, the western boundary of the demesne (fig. 9). South of the grange, and on the south-west borders of the fields of Cowton village, the monks ran a second estate at Greenberry. In its turn, this too was to become known as a 'grange'. The abbey possessed further interests in the village, holding a joint lordship of North Cowton.⁽¹⁾ In 'Great Cowton' additional properties included an estate at Whinholme, nearly four miles to the south-east of Cowton Grange. Late in the 13th century, it was recorded of the Fountains lands that they consisted of two carucates in North Cowton, another two in Greenberry, and no fewer than six carucates in Great Cowton.⁽²⁾ There is little reason to doubt that the buildings at

1. Fountains Memorials, i.142 (note).

2. Rotuli Hundredorum, i.122.

North Cowton constituted from the first an estate-centre for the entire Fountains interests in the region. It was certainly in North Cowton and Moulton that the original grants were made.

The Cistercians of Fountains were not the only religious to hold estates in Moulton and the Cowtons. Three North Riding houses, Marrick (Benedictine nuns), Rievaulx (Cistercian monks), and Bridlington (Augustinian canons), shared considerable rights in East Cowton. Of these, the nuns of Marrick held a number of lesser properties, scattered but carrying with them an entitlement to pasture for a hundred sheep on the Cowton commons.⁽³⁾ The church and rectory of East Cowton, with additional miscellaneous properties throughout Great Cowton, belonged to the canons of Bridlington.⁽⁴⁾ And a further three carucates in the parish, with several minor grants, became the property of the Cistercians of Rievaulx during the course of the 12th century.⁽⁵⁾ No more than a quarter of a mile to the west of East Cowton village, the Templars held a manor, sometimes called a 'grange', of their own. Together with the site of the manor, they ran a windmill and farmed some 150 acres of arable and pasture.⁽⁶⁾ Their interests were not confined to the South Cowton estate. At North Cowton, they and their successors, the Hospitallers, maintained a small property of no more than two acres. At Moulton, in the same township as the Fountains grange, they held another carucate of land. They shared with the community at Fountains an obligation to pay ten

3. Cal. Charter Rolls, v.90.

4. Bridlington Cart., pp.256-67; Taxatio Ecclesiastica, p.306; L. & P., Hen.VIII, xv.471.

5. Early Yorks. Charters, ii.291,292-3, and B.M., Add. Ch. 20,564.

6. B.M., Add. 6165, fos.161v-2.

shillings into the treasury at Richmond Castle, in annual settlement of any services due on each of their respective estates in Moulton.⁽⁷⁾

Tithe apportionments of the 19th century have been used above to demonstrate the extent of the demesne lands on a number of manors and granges. At Cowton, the records of exempt lands are unusually complete, but so also are the perambulations of the medieval boundaries, recorded in the 16th-century leases. Together, they present a unique opportunity to test the one against the other.

For tithe purposes, the Fountains lands at Cowton extended into the townships of Moulton, North Cowton and South Cowton. It is not unlikely that Fountains should have held further property in the parish of East Cowton as well. In the apportionments of 1842, 1838, 1848 and 1838 respectively, the greatest single concentration of exempt lands centred at the eastern extremity of the township of Moulton - a prolongation of the township eastwards, bordered on the north by Croft parish, and on the east and south by the fields of the township of North Cowton (fig. 9). The western boundary of the exempt estate lay along the line of Howl Beck, a stream running southwards to join Scorton Beck just to the north of the present Scorton Station. With the exception of the estate itself, lying to the east of the beck, the channel of Howl Beck formed the natural boundary between the townships of Moulton on the west and of North Cowton on the east. It was itself about equidistant between the villages.

7. Cal. Inq. Post Mort., ii.213.

Within the exempt lands there were three farms in 1842, all three of which survive as independent units to the present day. Then, as now, the two southern were both known as 'Cowton Grange', the northern as 'Halnaby Grange'. At only one, the central of the three, are there now buildings of any antiquity; nor are these any earlier than the middle of the 17th century in date. The earthworks of the medieval grange may still be identified immediately to the south of the farm-house at Halnaby. The rectangular grid shown on the plan to the south of Halnaby Grange represents the area covered by the excavation grid. It is included within the earthworks of a grange enclosure some fifteen to eighteen acres in area, the southern half of which now belongs to the northern of the two Cowton granges. The enclosure extends at its north-western corner beyond the northern boundary of Moulton township into the parish of Croft.

There were no further exempt lands in Moulton. Of those to the east of Howl Beck, the greater part lay to the north of the Richmond - Great Smeaton road. Including the extension to the south of the road, they totalled something over 560 acres in all, the whole being grouped in seventy-two adjoining closes, garths, lanes and fields. Two degrees of exemption were noted. For the most part, exemption extended only to great tithes. This was true of the whole central portion of the estate, reaching from Howl Beck on the west to the boundary of North Cowton township on the east. Of the fields that were exempt from tithes both great and small, one group, known as 'The Winsers', concentrated at the extreme north-east corner of the parish; another group centred on the more modern of the two

Cowton granges to the south.

Beyond the concentrated lands of the immediate demesne, the apportionments for the townships of North and South Cowton further contribute to the picture of the Fountains interest as a whole. At North Cowton, tithe-free fields were scattered widely throughout the cultivable acreage of the township. Within the village, a good proportion of the village houses and their crofts were likewise held to be exempt. To the west of the medieval settlement, another concentration of exempt lands, in the south-west corner of the township, matched up with some 80 acres likewise exempt in the north-west corner of the neighbouring township of South Cowton. They coincided with the Fountains estate at Greenberry, still known as 'Greenberry Grange'.

In South Cowton the exemptions were still more extensive. Besides the 80 acres of Greenberry, they included a number of 'ancient farms' within the township, covered from the render of all manner of great, or rectorial, tithes in return for fixed prescriptive payments to the impropriator. For the most part, the farms were sited in the southern reaches of the township, to the south and south-east of the mansion and park at Pepper Ardern. Customary payments in lieu of renders in kind were due on the farms of Rushmire Grange and Danby Hill, on Whinholme and on South Moors. A payment of ten shillings covered the two farms at Rushmire and at Danby Hill, 180 and 181 acres respectively. For the 130 acres of Whinholme, the sum of 13s.4d. had been agreed. At South Moors, 2s.5½d. was all that was demanded for the 99 acres of the farm. The largest sum, at 20s., was due on the 80 acres of the southern portion of the ancient

estate at Greenberry. Only Whinholme was exempt from both rectorial and vicarial tithes, the latter being covered by a further prescriptive payment of 8d. to the vicar, for the time being, of Gilling.⁽⁸⁾

The exempt lands in East Cowton were subject, at least in part, to the same form of payment. The whole of the parish was liable to tithes, with the exception of three farms. Of these, the first was a farm of 183 acres, exempt from tithes on the payment of a modus of £3.6s.8d. Two farms, belonging to the hospital at Ravensworth, and together extending to 307 acres, were exempt from rectorial tithes, that is, of tithes of the tillage land.

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It need not necessarily be supposed that the full range of exempt lands in the three Cowtons belonged originally to Fountains. Rievaulx, had it retained its 12th-century grants in East Cowton, might well have claimed exemption on their product. Likewise, the canons of Bridlington, as rectors themselves of East Cowton, might reasonably have arranged some compositions on such estates as belonged to their house in the parish. Nevertheless, some explanation of the customary payments still levied in the 19th century might be found to rest in a general composition, negotiated as early as 1205, between the Cistercians of Fountains for the one part, and the Benedictines of St. Mary's, York, for the other. In 1205 the decisions of the Fourth Lateran Council had not yet limited the

8. An exemption from small, or vicarial, tithes was also recorded at the farm known as 'Temple Farm'. On the 197 acres of the farm, which were not exempt from great tithes, an annual sum of 40s. was payable to the vicar of Gilling (Tithe Comm., Township of South Cowton, Yorks., 1848).

overall exemption that a Cistercian house might claim. But it is clear, for all that, that the community at Fountains preferred to modify its claims for the sake of agreement with its brethren at the powerful Benedictine house at York. Certain parts of the Cowton estate had been liable, before its acquisition, to the full payment of tithes. To secure an absolute freedom from any further obligation, and in the interests of continued goodwill between the houses, the abbot of Fountains agreed to pay the annual sum of 35s. to his counterpart at York, the payment to be made in equal portions at Easter and on 29 September. Some trifling exceptions were made in the case of certain of the demesne lands at Greenberry, and a general reservation of rights was agreed in respect of all property subsequently to be acquired in the parishes held by St. Mary's.⁽⁹⁾

But whatever the original nature of the Fountains holding in South Cowton (and the six carucates in Great Cowton, recorded in 1275/6, would suggest that it was large) the estates that remained worth individual mention immediately before the dissolution clearly centred principally at Whinholme, in the south-east portion of the township, and at Greenberry, in part beyond its boundaries to the north-west. As much, and more, is brought out in the terms of the lease, negotiated on 16 May 1530, of the remaining Fountains interests at Cowton.⁽¹⁰⁾ Sir William Bulmer, of Wilton in the North Riding, was the new tenant. He was to hold the grange for

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9. B.M., Add. 40,010, fos.265v-6. Immediately before the recital of the terms of the agreement, a memorandum recorded the extent and nature of the non-tithable lands at Greenberry (ibid., f.265.)
 10. Leeds, Yorks. Arch. Soc., MS 284, f.75. The terms of the lease are recited again in the post-suppression account of September 1541 (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4452, m.6d), and in the re-grant of the grange to John Rowce, 28 July 1544 (P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/216, fos.123-6).

thirty years at a rent of over £15. Of this, £4.6s.9½d. was set aside for the site and demesnes of the so-called 'manor or grange' of North Cowton. It was noted that the sum of 6s.8d. was then payable in lieu of tithes (presumably vicarial tithes) on the demesne; a further annual payment of 10s. was still due to the castle at Richmond. The boundaries of the demesne were recited. On the south, it was contained by the Richmond - Great Smeaton road; on the west, Howl Beck set the limit; on the north, the bounds ran by the close and garden of the grange, immediately to the south of Halnaby.

The greater part of the estate lay beyond the demesne. It was valued at £11.2s., and was known collectively as 'Cowton Grange'. Within it were included all those miscellaneous properties that the abbey had formerly assembled in the Cowtons. Certain among them were singled out for special mention. There was a grange called 'Grenebery Graunge'; also a parcel of meadow, or pasture, in South Cowton, known as 'Wynholme'. Interestingly, the closes called 'Wynsiors', sited, as we know, to the north-east of the grange enclosure, were no longer to be counted a part of the demesne. The separation bears out, and may partly explain, the distinction we have had cause to notice in the tithe apportionment of 1842. In 1842, whereas the group of fields known as 'The Winsers' was exempt from all manner of tithes, both great and small, the remainder of the site, apart from some additional fields to the south, was exempt only from great, or rectorial, tithes. In 1530 vicarial tithes on the demesne had been covered by a prescriptive payment of 6s.8d. The payment had been forgotten by 1842, but the obligation to meet a vicarial tithe remained. On those

lands where no composition had been arrived at, total exemption persisted unchanged.

For a ready demonstration of the variety of the Fountains interests at Cowton, we need look no further than the lease of 1530, or the apportionments of three centuries later. But an explanation of that variety is better sought in the records of an earlier date. We know, for example, that the initial grant at Cowton was secured for the abbey by Henry Murdac, at some point within the two years that separated his own elevation to the abbacy in 1143, and the first confirmation of the grange as such in a bull of Eugenius III, dated 1145.⁽¹¹⁾ The first benefactor at Cowton was Alan, count of Brittany and earl of Richmond (d.1146). It was his concession of lands and rights on Moulton Moor that enabled the monks to begin the construction of their grange; and by the time his son, Earl Conan (d.1171), came to confirm and extend the original grant, much had already been achieved. By 1158, that is, the monks had enclosed and cultivated sixty acres of the moor. Conan confirmed to the monks their assarts on the moor, and added wide pasture rights, to be held in common with his own men of Moulton village, for the oxen, the cows and the sheep of the grange.⁽¹²⁾

From such comparatively humble beginnings, the grange continued to expand. In Earl Conan's day, the principal boundaries of the demesne

11. Bodleian MS, Univ. Coll. 167, f.17.

12. Leeds Central Library, Vyner MS 5384, fos.50v-51. For another record of Earl Alan's gift, see Bodleian MS, Univ. Coll. 167, f.1.

lands at North Cowton were already largely established. For the promise of an annual payment of 10s. in the future, and for the immediate supply of the considerable fee of fifty silver marks, Earl Conan confirmed to the monks the site of their grange in Moulton. The 10s. then, as later, replaced any rights that might have been claimed (or services exacted) on the lands which extended from Howl Beck, on the west, to the fields of Cowton on the east, and which were bounded on the south by the Richmond - Great Smeaton road.⁽¹³⁾ The general grants and confirmations of the earls of Richmond served to give authority to the lesser donations of their tenants at Moulton and at Cowton. By way of successive agreements, the monks and their agents continued to extend and consolidate their Cowton demesne. They might note in their cartularies, for example, that Ralph, son of Eudes, had given them an acre, a rood and twelve perches at Holdikes in North Cowton for the support of their grange, 'sited next to North Cowton'.⁽¹⁴⁾ Likewise, Hervey, son of Ralph of Moulton, had presented them with all his northernmost lands in the culture lying between Hollegille and Cowton Grange. And Ralph of Moulton, Roger of Burdon and Helias, his son, had further abandoned any claim to the six pennies due annually on seven acres of land in the territory of Moulton, lying between Hollegille and the abbey's grange at Cowton.⁽¹⁵⁾

The consolidation of the demesne was one thing, the acquisition of miscellaneous properties outside it was another. In soliciting grants in North Cowton village and its fields, the monks clearly had at least two

13. Early Yorks. Charters, iv.56

14. Leeds Central Library, Vyner MS 5384, f.49v.

15. *ibid.*, f.50v; also B.M., Add. 18,276, f.44.

purposes in mind. In the first place, they needed the services of the villagers in the cultivation of their North Cowton demesne. Having secured a partial lordship of the vill, they went on to build up their interests by the acquisition of peasant houses, with their tofts and crofts in the village, and with their strips in the fields beyond. Among many similar purchases, exchanges and donations, it was said of Rainer, son of Ralph of North Cowton, that he gave the monks of Fountains two tofts with their crofts in the vill of North Cowton; also, that he added to these a total of eight acres, scattered in lots of half an acre or less throughout the lands of the township.⁽¹⁶⁾ At an annual rent of 18s., the abbey was subsequently to re-grant these lands to David, Rainer's son. But if the monks were not concerned to farm the land outside their own immediate demesne, they could well use any rights of lordship they acquired. Tenants, both bond and free, were essential to the working of their estate. What was true in the 14th century must surely have proceeded from the experience of the centuries before. On 11 November 1310, for example, there were six free tenants at North Cowton; of bond tenants, there were some thirteen families in all.⁽¹⁷⁾

Rather more directly, the second purpose also concerned the demesne. It need hardly be said that if the monks were to expect to profit by exchanges, they would have had to have land to exchange. With this in mind, they were not likely to reject any proffered gift, even if it failed to adjoin land already a part of their demesne. All lands had

16. Leeds Central Library, Vyner MS 5384, f.48.

17. B.M., Add. 40,010, f.79.

their value in the services they might bring. But many might be turned to a better effect even than this. Consolidation by exchange was a necessary accompaniment of the rationalisation of any medieval estate. At Cowton, the method was frequently employed. It accounted for a transaction that involved the allowance of five roods in the fields of North Cowton, in return for another five roods more conveniently situated for the monks.⁽¹⁸⁾ It led also to the abandonment of ten acres pertaining to the house in 'Suehelandes' and 'Morflat', in exchange for an equivalent area in the region of the demesne, by Howl Beck.⁽¹⁹⁾

Those same ambitions which had prompted further acquisitions in North Cowton must go far also towards explaining any additional enterprises that might have been launched in the townships to the south. With a firm base already established in Moulton and North Cowton, the monks were well equipped to continue the expansion of their interests at minimum risk to themselves. Again, as in the siting of the grange itself, no doctrinal objections could hinder them in the pursuit of a profitable estate. At Greenberry, on the borders of South Cowton, a carucate of land, the gift of the brothers William and Hamelin, was to be employed as the nucleus for the later Greenberry Grange.⁽²⁰⁾ At Whinholme, a series of grants, including meadow at the 'hanging well', created another enclave of Fountains property some way to the south of the Templars'

18. Fountains Cart., i.189.

19. ibid., i.174.

20. ibid., ii.719.

manor in the township.⁽²¹⁾ Of the seventeen fields of the farm at Whinholme, one was still known as 'Well Field' in 1848.⁽²²⁾

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There is no doubt that the community at Fountains possessed every advantage at its grange at North Cowton in the further exploitation of its local interests. But, at the same time, there were manifest difficulties in the siting of the grange itself; for it was exceptionally far removed from the abbey. In a direct line, that is, it was somewhat over twenty miles to the north of Fountains; by road, it was very much more. In some measure, the very distance of the grange from its mother-house may explain the determination of the monks to tighten their hold on the peasant communities of the region. It would also account for the variety of the estate. But it was to have consequences more serious than these. From the early 14th century onwards, demesne farming on the Fountains estates was to be reduced drastically in scale. Cowton was among the first of the granges to suffer from the change.

The details of the leasing of the Cowton estate have been recited in another context above (pp. 190, 196). Briefly, the abbot and convent leased their grange in 1310 to a lay brother of their own community. Brother Robert of Morton was granted the grange on a fixed farm. He was himself to attend to the cultivation of the demesne; he might also have had duties as bailiff and collector^{for} the abbey's miscellaneous interests in the region.⁽²³⁾ Eight years later, and probably earlier than that,

21. *ibid.*, ii.565-6.

22. Tithe Comm., Township of South Cowton, Yorks., 1848.

23. B.M., Add. 40,010, fos.261-4.

those interests had become virtually valueless. In May 1318 the Scottish army invaded England 'further than usual', burning Northallerton and Boroughbridge, and extending its march as far south as Ripon. The plunder continued over succeeding years, and in 1322 the Scots were again on the borders of the North Riding. Centred at Darlington, only six miles to the north of Cowton, they sent out raiding parties in the direction of Hartlepool and Cleveland; another they dispatched towards Richmond.⁽²⁴⁾ The grange at North Cowton, in the track of repeated devastations, could scarcely have escaped unscathed.

The Scottish raids, following the famines of 1315-16 and succeeded in due course by further pestilence and tempest, sadly undermined the economy of the abbey. Cowton Grange, in company with many Fountains properties, had early been reduced to ruins. Already in 1319 Abbot Walter of Fountains was seeking relief from the losses he had lately sustained. He was excused the collection of the eighteenth due from his tenants in a number of the townships of the North and West Ridings, among them the township at North Cowton.⁽²⁵⁾ By 1363, despairing of a better solution, Abbot Robert resolved to abandon any further attempt at demesne farming on the grange. It was to be let out to lay tenants, and its lands were to be partitioned, or re-united, in whatever fashion best suited the

24. Lanercost Chron., pp.221,230.

25. Fountains Memorials, i.143 (note). For a discussion of the poor harvests, famine and pestilence widespread in western Europe in 1315 and 1316, see Lucas, 'The Great European Famine of 1315, 1316 and 1317', pp.343-77. Famine and plague had both spent themselves in northern and western Europe by the late summer of 1316 (ibid., p.374).

interests of the monastery.⁽²⁶⁾

With the decision of 1363, a new era opened at Cowton. On 11 November 1381, just over sixty years after the initial lease to Brother Robert of Morton, the rental of the grange recorded a significant rise in the number of free tenancies. In place of the thirteen bondmen of 1310, there were now twenty tenancies at will. William Gray, a layman, farmed the demesne lands at North Cowton at the rent of £4. Greenberry Grange, at 20s., had been demised to two further laymen, both by the name of William.⁽²⁷⁾ Distance from the mother-house was to ensure that Cowton should not be among the granges to be restored to the demesne in more tranquil and prosperous years. Although the estate continued for accounting purposes to be considered as a whole, the main dispositions of 1381 remained effective right through till the dissolution. In Sir William Bulmer's lease of 16 May 1530, the partition recorded a century and a half before was repeated in the divisions and sub-headings of the 16th-century indenture (above, pp.277-8).

Sir William Bulmer, already holding the grange by lawful indenture on a thirty-year term, continued to farm it after the suppression of the community at Fountains late in 1539. In September 1541 he was named as the collector and farmer of 'Cowton with Greenberry', and the terms of his original indenture were quoted in full with the account for the previous year. Thomas Smith, or Smithson, formerly receiver of the abbey on its

26. Fountains Memorials, i.203-4.

27. B.M., Add. 40,010, f.240.

Cowton estates, was then in occupation of a messuage and three acres of land in North Cowton, for which he paid the small sum of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.⁽²⁸⁾ Three years later, Sir William himself not being in residence at the grange, Thomas Smithson had moved there in his place. On 6 November 1543, giving Cowton Grange as his abode, the new occupier saw fit to draw up a will. He allowed money gifts to his children, made certain small donations to the parish church at Middleton Tyas, and provided for his widow, Elizabeth, by conceding to her the third part of all his goods, movable and immovable, as well as his farm-house in the parish.⁽²⁹⁾

He was to live to see himself dispossessed. By May 1544 Sir William Bulmer himself was dead, and his widow, another Elizabeth, had delivered the original lease at the Augmentation Office for confirmation and renewal. The terms of the 1530 indenture were recited once again. On 20 May 1544, on the payment of a fine of £20, the lease was re-granted on a twenty-one-year term jointly to the said Elizabeth Bulmer and to another by the name of John Rowce.⁽³⁰⁾ Two months later, the renewed lease was surrendered at the Augmentation Office. It was re-granted, to John Rowce alone, on 28 July.⁽³¹⁾

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28. P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4452, m.6d; for Thomas Smithson's official post, see Valor Ecclesiasticus, v.254. This would seem not to have been Smithson's only property in North Cowton. By the terms of the lease of the grange in July 1544, Smithson, ~~and his wife~~, would appear to have held in addition another messuage in the vill, with a bovate of arable and some meadow. For this he rendered yearly a quarter of a pound of pepper (P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/216, f.124v).
29. Richmond Wills, pp.48-9. The township of Moulton was parcel of the parish of Middleton Tyas. Thomas Smithson, in consequence, was favouring his own parish church. Had he still been living in North Cowton township, he might have done the same for the church at Gilling.
30. P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/216, fos.123-5.
31. *ibid.*, fos.125v-6.

Not long afterwards, and certainly within the year, John Rowce found himself back at the office once again with a complaint. He took an action to court, citing some 'ill-disposed persons', among them Thomas, Brian and Elizabeth Smithson. These he alleged to have occupied the premises at North Cowton without any title or good right, 'wrongfully and with force'. Not only were they illegally in possession, but they also refused to pay to Rowce the customary yearly rent for the property. It was, as he explained, incumbent upon him, as the rightful lessee, to pay the full sum of his farm to the king, and he found himself much oppressed by the refusal of his just rights. Moreover, it remained his intention to secure peaceful occupation of the premises for himself, and he hoped to exact some compensation from the defendants for his losses in the past.

Thomas Smithson put up an energetic, if confusing, defence. He claimed (what can hardly have been true in view of the evidence of the 1541 account) that Sir William Bulmer, some four months after the official surrender of the abbey, had transferred to himself the remaining years of the contract he had negotiated with Fountains. The date of this fictional transaction he put at 1 April 1540. He further denied any knowledge of a lawful lease held by the plaintiff at Cowton Grange, and argued that he himself, 'peacefully and lawfully', had already occupied the property for a full four years.⁽³²⁾ There is no record of the final judgement in the case, but it would seem unlikely that Smithson could have had his argument upheld. Certainly, although there were Smithsons still in residence in

32. P.R.O., Aug. Off., Proc. of the Court of Augmentations, E.321/9/87.

the township of Moulton over a century later, it was Margaret Stancy who in 1657 was currently in occupation of a rebuilt Cowton Grange. Margaret was among the beneficiaries of a will, drawn up on 8 February 1657 at the behest of Thomas Matteson, a prosperous yeoman farmer at North Cowton. It was to her that Matteson forgave a debt of £6.8s. The sole executor of the same will was another Thomas Smithson, presumably a descendant of the first. As the beloved friend of Matteson, he was to receive all the latter's lands and tenements in North Cowton. To each of the children of George Smithson, a small present of 3s.4d. was to be allotted out of the estate. It was to be 'put into William Browne their uncle his hands to buy each of them a lamb withall'.⁽³³⁾

It must be clear that, apart from the original foundation, the event of the greatest archaeological importance in the history of the grange at North Cowton was not the dissolution, through which occupation of the premises persisted relatively unchanged, but the initial destruction of the buildings by the Scots in the raids of 1318 and 1322. It was this, following poor harvests and famine, and succeeded by further repeated natural disasters, that led finally to the abandonment of demesne farming at Cowton. And it was from this that proceeded the effective partition of the estate: its division into units more convenient for the purposes of the average tenant farmer.

If the destruction by 1363 had been as complete as Abbot Robert alleged it to have been, we should expect to find little of the earliest

33. Somerset House, P.C.C., 1658 Wootton 224.

phase of buildings on the grange. Nor did we, in fact, find anything of any great importance. For the later phases the site promised better results. Within the formidable enclosures of the 12th-century establishment, the grange premises, in a form suitably modified to their new purpose, persisted in continuous occupation until, at the earliest, the last years of the 16th century. There was, that is, little early partition of the actual demesne at North Cowton. The closes known as 'The Winsers' had become attached to the greater estate; and so, in all probability, had some of the fields of the southern of the three modern farms. In addition, a property known as the 'Monkende', presumably to the north, or north-east, of the site, had been leased separately to the landowner at Halnaby, in Croft parish, beyond the northern boundary of the grange. It was not included in Sir William Bulmer's indenture and was purchased, shortly after the dissolution, by Christopher Place, lord of the manor of Halnaby.⁽³⁴⁾

In the hands of substantial tenant farmers, the design of the grange is unlikely to have shown much variation on that of the granges and manors still currently in occupation by the monks and their assignees. Nor, on the evidence advanced above, is it to be supposed that the new buildings need have differed so widely from those that they actually replaced. With the certain exception of an oratory, or chapel, the tenant at the end of the 14th century would have required precisely the same accommodation as that enjoyed by Brother Robert of Morton in 1310.

34. Yorkshire Deeds, ii.97, and Richmond Wills, pp.84-5.

He would, that is, have needed a chamber for himself, a hall for his family and his servants, and a kitchen for the use of them all. Hardly surprisingly, this was exactly what we found.

There exists, indeed, a close analogy between the Cowton buildings excavated and the buildings we know to have been in occupation at Lazenby in September 1537. The analogy is of particular value in that Lazenby, sited immediately to the east of Danby Wiske, was no more than six miles to the south-east of Cowton, being established on land of a similar nature. There is, moreover, good reason to believe that the construction of the buildings at Lazenby had been undertaken at a date comparable to that of the repairs and reconstructions we know to have taken place at Cowton. Lazenby had started life as a manor and chantry with a separate endowment of its own. In the course of time, however, that endowment had become insufficient, and in 1444 Robert Nevill, bishop of Durham, obtained a royal licence to assign the property to the Cistercian community at Jervaulx.⁽³⁵⁾ The manor at Lazenby was a valuable acquisition for the abbey. Re-christened a 'grange', it was retained under a lay keeper as demesne property of the house until the expulsion of the monks in 1537. No doubt the original buildings, the first to suffer from the diminishing value of the endowment, had long fallen into serious disrepair. To replace them, the monks built another house of sufficient dignity to be described, following the suppression, as a 'fair house', the only one of the Jervaulx demesne granges so to be praised. Its accommodation was listed in unusual detail in at least two

35. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1441-46, pp.227, 251.

of the post-dissolution surveys. There was, of course, a hall, occupying the central portion of the building; at the south end of the hall, a chamber was set across the structure; and at the far end, on the north, there was a kitchen. All the windows of the farm-house were glazed.⁽³⁶⁾ An identical plan was repeated at the Fountains farm-house at Cowton. To the results of the excavations of that farm-house we may look first for some idea of the scale; second, for a notion of the materials used and the techniques employed in the construction.

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The excavations, August - September 1962.

The excavations at North Cowton were concentrated almost exclusively within the area of a rectangular grid, 220' x 160', immediately to the south of the present farm-house known as 'Halnaby Grange' (fig. 9). The site, on its northern edge, was crossed by a series of hedge-banks, no earlier than the 17th century in date. On the south-east, it had been disturbed by the intrusion of a workshop, functioning in the middle years of the 17th century, and not finally abandoned much before 1690. The group of buildings uncovered was found to be placed approximately central to the banks and ditches of a large enclosure, within which it occupied the high ground.

Demesne farming at Cowton (c.1145 - c.1350).

The earthworks of the great enclosure of the court undoubtedly remain the most impressive monument to the first phase of occupation at

36. P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., SC.12/19/20, f.12, and Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4441, m.3. See also above, p.65.

Cowton. By comparison with similar enclosures elsewhere in the county, the area delimited, although large, was not exceptionally so. At some fifteen to eighteen acres, it compared closely with the great oval enclosure at Angram, a Rievaulx grange, eight miles to the east of the site. It was equalled, even exceeded, by the original earthworks at the two Jervaulx granges at Kilgram and at Melsonby, to the west.

By and large, the boundaries of the court have remained well-marked, in particular towards the south-west. In the south-east corner, the banks and ditches, by all accounts as impressive, at one time, as those on the south-west, have recently been levelled and ploughed-out. Their line may still be traced as a crop-mark on the vertical air-photograph of the site (plate 24). At the hedge which currently divides the enclosure in two, the bank, no longer accompanied by an appreciable ditch, resumes its course northward to join the parish boundary to the north-east of the site. The northern line of the enclosure follows for most of its length the common boundary of the parishes of Croft and Middleton Tyas. At the north-west corner, it projects northward once again to encircle what would seem to have been the site of a single building, intruding into the arable beyond. A barn, not earlier than the 18th century in date, occupies a corner of the projection.

It was thought to be desirable to section the bank at some point, and a test section was cut where both bank and ditch were at their most obvious, some thirty feet to the south of the hedge, and nearly four hundred feet to the north of the south-west corner of the enclosure. It was found that the ditch had been dug out originally to

a depth of seven feet, and that it had measured at least seventeen feet across at the top (fig. 10). It had been cut in a V-shape, and it included a second, smaller cutting, flat-bottomed and just below the bank. The lack of any primary silting in the lesser cutting suggests that it was effected shortly before the deliberate filling of the main ditch, perhaps to found the stakes of some sort of palisade. Soil, washed down from the top of the bank, had spread in a distinct line across the top of the fill. There is no doubt, in consequence, that the main filling took place at one time, and as part of a single process. It was followed by the continued decay of whatever was left of the bank.

As the cutting was at some remove from the buildings, there was very little pottery in the ditch. What little there was turned out to be mainly 14th-century in date, although there was at least one 15th-century sherd in the upper part of the fill. No pottery later than the 15th century was found, and there was no pottery at all in the lower levels of the natural silting. From such evidence certain conclusions must follow. In the first place, it would seem highly probable that the bank and ditch were designed originally to enclose the early buildings at the grange. By the 14th century, and perhaps particularly in that century, the ditch had been allowed to silt-up to more than a third of its depth. But it remained open, and the bank had been preserved at a reasonable height. At some time, probably again in the 14th century, and possibly as some answer to the risk of further Scottish raids, an attempt had been made to reinforce what was left of the bank by placing a palisade in front of it. Not later than the 15th century, the bank was

substantially levelled, and the ditch was filled. It is obvious that the tenant farmers of the 15th century could no longer have had a purpose for such formidable outworks. They were farming an estate on a very much smaller scale, and it would undoubtedly have improved the amenities of the site to be rid of the barriers once and for all.

It would seem unlikely that any systematic fortification was ever attempted at Cowton. The earthworks towards the road were on a larger scale than those away from it, and a palisade, or a retaining fence, was certainly supplied. But the court was already far too extensive to allow any adequate defences, and there was no suggestion of particular fortification of the main group of the buildings itself. Indeed, the explanation of the nature of the earthworks would appear to be simpler than this. The re-use of the medieval ditch for a modern land-drain (which appears in the section of the test cutting) in some measure explains the original purpose of the 'moat'. The southern part of the enclosure extended into a field that may still become waterlogged in the winter. At its south-west corner, the ditch continued westward with little change in size. It was not supplied with a bank, and clearly served to drain the main ditches in a wet season out in the direction of Howl Beck. Moreover, the very size of the enclosure should itself suggest its purpose. From an early date, the lay brethren at Cowton enjoyed the right to run an undetermined number of oxen, twelve cows, and no fewer than four hundred sheep on the neighbouring Moulton Moor.⁽³⁷⁾

37. Leeds Central Library, Vyner MS 5384, f.50v.

They undoubtedly improved upon those numbers. Some of these would have had to be brought back to winter at the grange. On such a reckoning, the earthworks would have served as much to keep the cattle in as to fence the marauder out.

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For the 12th-century buildings at North Cowton there is little reason to expect many survivals. Whatever the extent of natural disaster and Scottish depredation, we know that in Abbot Robert's judgement the buildings had been rendered thereby ruinous, if not destroyed altogether. They would appear, even at the earliest date, to have been constructed largely of timber, and in the circumstances there could have been little point in attempting a reconstruction along precisely the original lines. Nor does such a reconstruction seem to have been undertaken.

In actual fact, fragments of the earlier work survived only where the later buildings were not superimposed directly upon those of the first generation. The site was shallow. The timber buildings of both phases were founded directly on the hard natural clay. There was no good reason in the 14th century to re-use the old foundations, or to follow the wall-lines of the past. Equally, where new buildings were to be constructed over, and across, the old, the floors were cleaned down on construction to the same natural clay that had floored the structures they replaced.

This being the case, there is nothing strange in the fact that the only unmistakably early work to survive did so outside the line of the later domestic range, although within the immediate area of the

premises. It comprised the west end of a building, 21'6" in width, the lower course of the foundations of which had survived as part of the make-up of the later farm-house yard (fig. 11, inset). Both at the north-west and at the south-west corners, the foundations extended beyond the yard, but they did not intrude into the buildings of the later generation. Not only did this building clearly ante-date the cobbling of the yard, which, on other evidence, was not laid down before 1550, but it also preceded the construction of the domestic range itself. For the foundations were found to underlie the wall-lines of the 14th/15th-century farm-house, and they had been preserved there simply because the ground-sills of the later buildings had been laid flat across their top. At their maximum, the original walls had been no wider than 2', and at no point had more than a single course of unmortared stone been preserved. The stone employed was unworked river pebble, and it could have served only as a primitive stone base for a timber structure above.

Towards the north-west of the site (within the grid square G2) the fragmentary remains of another rough-stone wall, two or even three courses high, followed approximately the same alignment as the building under the yard. The technique of construction was identical, and the width was scarcely greater. But there was nothing to establish the wall as part of a structure of the earlier date. Indeed, the only comparable rough-stone walls on the site (at H5/6 and O8), already sturdier in construction, were certainly late in date. It is more likely, in the event, that the wall at G2 served some purpose connected with the working of the north-west workshop than that it dated back to the

earliest phase of occupation at the grange.

Of this early phase, the pottery recovered on the site was to provide some more convincing indications. Almost without exception, the early pottery at Cowton (mainly of the 13th and 14th centuries) was confined to the centre, the north and the west of the excavated area. Towards the south-east, in the region later to be occupied by a workshop that post-dated even the 14th/15th-century farm-house, there was no fragment of any earlier ware, either among or under the abundant sherds that were datable securely to the 17th century. For the most part, the early pottery on the site was represented by sherds of angular-rimmed cooking-pots and bowls of a ware usually described as 'northern gritty ware'. It has been suggested that such wares may range in date from the 12th to the 14th centuries.⁽³⁸⁾ But at Cowton they were not alone in confirming an occupation of the site at least as early as the 13th century. Thin, gritty red wares, attributable to the 13th century, were found to be grouped in particular towards the south-west corner of the excavation. Of a somewhat wider distribution, sherds of a light fabric with a patchy, yellow-green glaze spanned the 13th and 14th centuries. On the west of the site, two silver halfpennies were found, neither at a depth of more than 18". Of these, one (found at G4) was a halfpenny of the short-cross type, badly worn and datable only within the wide range 1180 - 1247. The other (at F2) was a long-cross of Henry III, c.1253 - 58/60.

38. For a recent comprehensive discussion of the ware, see Mr. T.G. Manby's 'Medieval Pottery Kilns at Upper Heaton, West Yorkshire', Archaeological Journal, cxxi (1964), pp.70-110.

The grange at Cowton after leasing (c.1350 - 1539).

There would be every reason, on the historical evidence, to suggest a mid-14th-century transformation of the grange at Cowton. The composite archaeological picture is no less convincing. Overlying the 12th/13th-century remains, and immediately beneath the present turf, was the outline of a further set of buildings, certainly no earlier than the 14th century in date. It was distinguishable from the earlier structures on the site not only by its positioning, but also by the differing technique of its construction.

The buildings which post-dated the adoption of leasing at Cowton were constructed entirely of timber. In this one respect they followed the precedent set by the buildings they supplanted, but they were to go beyond them in that not even a rough-stone foundation was to be supplied. In this second phase the practice would seem to have been to lay a ground-sill, some 15" wide, flat on the previously levelled ground. Above it was raised a timber skeleton of upright principal posts and horizontal wall-plates. And between these latter were bonded the wattle and daub of the walls. Backing the ground-sills on the inside of the buildings were lines of large stones, placed so that their flat sides rested against the inner face of the beam. They were to be observed most clearly in position where the cobble floor, built up against the outer face of the beam, gave some indication of its width (plate 25). Although many of these stones had been dislodged on the final demolition of the buildings, sufficient remained in place to give

a very fair idea of the plan of the entire domestic range.

The latter plainly consisted of the three traditional apartments of the average farm-house of the time. At Lazenby, the Jervaulx grange, the chamber had lain at the south end of the hall, the kitchen at the north. At Cowton, while the essentials of the plan remained the same, the order had been reversed. The plan may be studied on figure 11 and plate 26. A chamber, approximately 20' x 16', was sited at the north end of a small rectangular courtyard. It was supplied with a substantial fireplace in the west wall, in the construction of which some earlier worked stone would seem to have been used as a curb (plate 27 and fig. 12). If this were indeed the case, it would suggest that at least some part of the original buildings at the grange, conceivably the chapel, had been finished with a more than average care. One other fragment of a stone moulding was found on the site. It had been re-used in the construction of the chimney at the workshop which was to be established in the 17th century to the south-east of the demolished farm-house.

A door led out to the south of the fireplace into the upper end of a small hall, measuring 36' x 20'. The chamber at the north end of the courtyard had run east and west. The hall, to its west, was planned on a north-south axis. It occupied the greater part of a simple, rectangular timber-framed structure, of which the southern end was taken up by the kitchen. The only surviving hearth was set well towards the kitchen end of the apartment in K5 (fig. 12). Its irregular placing and small size suggest that it post-dated the regular use of the hall. It

lay, that is, on just about the line usually taken by a screens passage, for which the obvious gaps in each wall-line towards the south end of the hall may well indicate the position of the normal opposing doors. The entire building was roofed with tiles and the windows of both hall and kitchen were glazed with a plain green glass. It is possible that the floor of the hall was tiled as well. A few fragments of glazed floor-tile were recovered on the inside of the west wall. But the tile was unfeatured, and its rarity would suggest rather that it belonged, in actual fact, to neighbouring buildings of the earlier phase.

At the south end of the timber frame an area 20' square was set aside for the kitchen. It was supplied with a rectangular fireplace, or hearth, built into the south-west corner at K6 (fig. 12). It would seem likely that a substantial stone chimney occupied this corner of the frame building. The great stones which had backed the south end of the west ground-sill were reinforced at this point by a second line of smaller stones. Both this and a large, square worked stone, fallen from the chimney, may be seen on the general photograph of the site (plate 26). There was nothing to suggest that the kitchen floor had been tiled or finished-off in any material harder than the natural clay. Trodden deeply into it, were found the fragments of the greater part of a large, tubular-spouted cooking-pot, of the heavy green-glazed ware attributable to the 15th century. The rest of the pot had been swept up and disposed of. But these fragments had been suffered to remain as part of the make-up of the floor over at least another century of its use.

In general, the pottery found within the walls of the domestic

range collectively suggested a continuous occupation of the building from a date towards the middle of the 14th century to just about 1600. At the base of the stone-work in the east wall of the chamber was incorporated pottery certainly not later than the 14th century in date. It included many sherds of an angular-rimmed bowl of northern gritty ware (fig. 13:6), as well as a large fragment of the rim of a smaller beaker of a fine cream/buff fabric splashed with green glaze (fig. 13:9). In neither case was the size or condition of the fragments such as to suggest that they could have remained unscattered had they not been incorporated in the foundations of the new building.

Elsewhere on the site, sherds of 14th-century pottery continued to be associated with the wall-lines of the new buildings. They were to be found, for example, at the base of the fragmentary wall at H3, and the concentration noticeably increased by the west wall of the hall at J4/5. Not surprisingly, for it was within the immediate area of the buried foundations of the earlier building, the northern end of the domestic range was particularly marked for the frequent occurrence of 13th/14th-century wares along with, and below, the later. Of these last, the green and brown-glazed wares of the 15th and 16th centuries were everywhere abundantly represented.

The domestic range at Cowton was supplied with outbuildings, stables and barns to the west, to the south and to the east. On the west, a hearth in I4 would seem to indicate that another small building attached to the north end of the hall. The hearth (fig. 12) was built

up in such a way as to suggest that it served a building lying to its east. About 10' to the north-west of the hearth, a small patch of cobbling was all that survived of another interior court. It is unlikely to have extended much further to the north, for the positioning of the stones in the wall-line at H3 indicated, by analogy with those in the main buildings of the domestic range, another building lying to the east. The flat sides of the stones had been lined up against a beam which clearly lay to the west of them, and it may be assumed that this comprised the west ground-sill of another smaller timber-framed building. To the north again there were fragments of rough-stone walling. At G2 the wall was well-finished, and stood two courses high. It had been badly robbed, and there were no further signs of walling of a similar nature in the area. Immediately to the east of it, at I2, the foundation stones of another wall were visible. It followed the alignment of the main building, and may possibly have served as a northern limit to the outbuildings in the area. It was never more than two stones wide, and did not have the appearance of anything more substantial than the base of a garden wall, probably constructed of cob.

At the north-west corner of the site a workshop centred on a circular hearth, or oven floor, in F2 (fig. 12). There were considerable quantities of stone in the area, most of which had clearly derived from the walls, the roof, and the chimney of the oven. To the west of the oven in particular, the floor had become hard and blackened with use. Into it were trodden sherds of the late 15th and the 16th centuries. There were no indications of the purpose of the oven, but it would seem

most likely to have been a bake-oven for the farm-house. Incorporated within the outer circle of its floor was another smaller circle, fashioned to surround a large, flat stone. A chimney had been built up against the northern face of the hearth.

Traces of a large building survived only in a single rough-stone corner to the south of the bake-house, and to the west of the domestic range, at H5. In marked contrast to the structures elsewhere on the site, the building had been based on a carefully constructed rough-stone wall, 3' in width. In part the wall had remained to a height of three courses. But the work of demolition had been virtually complete, and there were no signs of a continuation either to the north or to the west. Built into the corner was an unused glazed roof-tile, only slightly broken. The tile was of a type commonly in use in the 15th century, and is likely to have found its way into the wall as part of the builders' waste. Pottery in the immediate region ranged from the 15th to the 17th century in date. It would seem likely that the building was put up during the 15th century as an addition to the main farm-house. Being of stronger construction than the rest of the buildings on the site, it outlasted their demolition at the end of the following century. It continued in use in the 17th century, and was demolished only on the final abandonment of the site, c.1690.

The chief problems of interpretation at Cowton centred on the buildings that squared off the domestic range to the south and to the east. The cobble floors of the courts are likely to have been laid not

earlier than the latter part of the 16th century, but their outline, nevertheless, is significant. Where the western of the two floors had survived intact, it had been finished off at its north-west and at its north-east corners in precisely the same fashion. On the west, the deliberately contrived edge had owed its nature to the presence of a building against which the floor abutted. On the east, it is reasonable to assume that the same was true. The southern part of each courtyard had been destroyed to make way for the 17th-century workings to the south-east. In consequence, there is little to be said of any buildings the area may have housed. But at the north it would seem beyond question that a small building intruded into the courtyard at L4, possibly to be finished off before it reached the area of the later disturbance. Beyond the second fragment of cobbling, to the east, the ground level dipped once again into the remains of another building, this time considerably wider and forming a natural limit to the courtyard on its eastern flank. Much of the area to the south had been seriously disturbed in the 17th century, but enough of the earlier material remained to suggest that a large barn, some 86' x 24', closed off the courtyard to the south.

One characteristic feature, in particular, distinguished the agricultural buildings at Cowton. In the domestic range the floor had been so worn and swept as to lower it below the level of the ground-sills on each side. In the farm-buildings, by contrast, it was the wall-lines that had remained below the level of the floor. Indeed, where little was

described at length in a section entitled 'The Buildings and Buildings of Barton Flaxton'.

left of the walls it was the humping-up of the floor that contributed most to the interpretation of their plan (fig. 15). Now, there are at least two possible explanations for this. In the first place, it hardly needs saying that a farm building was unlikely to have been kept as clean as the buildings of the domestic range. In due course the floor level might have risen for this reason alone. But another explanation might just as reasonably be sought in a practice in common use from the 14th to the 17th centuries, and possibly longer than that. A Yorkshire agriculturalist of the first years of the 17th century tells us that it was customary (or at least desirable) to make up the floor of the barn from time to time with loads of clay.⁽³⁹⁾ Three centuries before, as we know from an account compiled shortly after January 1344, a similar method had likewise been employed to raise the floor of the barn at Grangegorman, a manor of the Augustinian priory at Holy Trinity, Dublin.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Beyond the limits of the court, there was little to encourage further exploration. A test cutting on the western edge of the cattle-pond to the south of the main site produced pottery of the 15th century. To the north, enough was opened up to show that 19th-century land-drains had combined with hedge-banks not earlier than the 17th century to destroy any traces of the buildings which had closed off the northern end of the court. It is possible that the main gate was sited at the north of the yard, but it is virtually certain that whatever was actually there, that flank could not have been left open to the elements. On the

39. Best, Rural Economy in Yorkshire in 1641, p.107. The practice is described at length in a section entitled 'For Makinge and Mendinge of Earthen Floores'.

40. Dublin, Holy Trinity, Account Roll, p.36.

east, a single post-hole, squared off with stone, was found on the rise by the east wall of the furthest building on that side. It may be seen on the site plan within the square O4. At the most, it may suggest the presence of a lean-to structure up against the main buildings on the east. The further stonework and cobbling shown on the plan to the south of the court securely post-dated the demolition of the farm-house.

Post-dissolution reconstruction and repair (c.1570).

The final transfer of the estate at Cowton to lay ownership, which was to follow the suppression of Fountains in 1539, brought in its train certain predictable consequences. The monks in their time had recognized the obligation either to maintain the buildings at Cowton in repair on their own account, or to see that the current tenant himself undertook repairs as a condition of his lease. But there had been no inducement on either side to go beyond the simplest structural alterations or replacements. To the post-dissolution owner-occupier, or even to the long-term tenant with reasonable expectations of eventual ownership, the position might have seemed very different.

John Rowce and his successors were prosperous, and literate, farmers. Rowce himself had taken his case at least twice to London, and, unlike his predecessor, Sir William Bulmer, had expressed his intention of living at the grange. Questions of title had to be resolved, and the land had to be made to pay its way. But just as soon as these were no longer at issue, there would be nothing to bar the introduction of an extensive programme of remodelling and refurbishing at the grange. Of

the actual adoption of such a programme two clear indications have survived. The fine plaster-work of the chimney-piece in the chamber could scarcely date earlier than the third quarter of the 16th century. Likewise, the cobbling of the inner courtyard was not effected before a similar date.

The decorated plaster from the chamber chimney-piece had fallen forwards on the demolition of the building. It had fallen face-downwards, and it proved possible to recover sufficient of it to reconstruct the overall design. The plaster may be seen in position, before lifting, in plate 28 and fig. 16. It would seem originally to have taken the form of an elaborate frieze, supplied to the west (or fireplace) wall of the chamber. With a width of no more than 2', it featured a composition of human, animal and architectural motifs, repeated over a length of approximately 4'6" (plate 29 and figs. 17-19). On grounds of style alone, Mr. Geoffrey Beard, in a note at the end of this report, has suggested a likely date at c.1570.

The greater elaboration of interior furnishings was reflected in a new attention to exterior approaches as well. In the 15th century the inner courtyard had been floored only with rubble. This had extended through, and had masked, the remaining foundations of the buildings of the earlier grange. Into the floor, and next to the south-east break in the earlier foundations, had been trodden several sherds of a green-glazed pot, unmistakably 15th-century in date. In the course of time some six to eight inches of fine, dark loam had been allowed to accumulate over the rubble floor. The loam held pottery of both the

15th and the 16th centuries, of which the latest included fragments of the neck and mask of a broad-masked stoneware jar, or bellarmine, attributable to the third quarter of the 16th century. The new cobble floor would seem to have been laid soon after the jar was broken. No attempt was made to clear the loam, or to found the floor on the lower rubble base. In consequence, the new floor-level of the yard was set markedly higher than that of the interior of the buildings it flanked (fig. 15). There is no question of the two being of an identical date.

Demolition of the principal buildings (c.1600)

The refurbishing of the pre-dissolution buildings would appear, in actual fact, to have prolonged their life over no more than half a century. The old timber structure might already have suffered from changes of ownership and the inevitable temporary repairs. But the final decision to demolish it undoubtedly owed much to a fire which, towards the end of the 16th century, destroyed the kitchen (or southern) end of the main building. The fire does not appear to have affected the greater part of the hall, but there would seem little reason to doubt that the damage was sufficient to persuade the then owner to demolish the remaining buildings and to rebuild the grange, this time in stone, to the south. It was this new stone building, still known as 'Cowton Grange', that was in the occupation of Margaret Stancy in 1657.

The date of demolition may be counted established beyond doubt. Five Nuremberg jettons, datable to the last years of the 16th century, were found in a loose group on, or above, the floor of the hall, and

towards its western wall. They confirm the dating of the pottery, none of which may be placed any later than 1600. Within the fired area indications of the nature of the destruction were plentiful. Quantities of fire-crackled window-glass characterized the upper levels in that part of the site. There was a marked accumulation of charcoal where the ground-sills of the west wall had lain. And a number of fragments of distorted roof lead were recovered from towards the centre of the kitchen floor. A single sherd of a decorated stoneware jug, attributable to the second half of the 16th century, lay among the debris of the collapsed partition which had formerly divided hall and kitchen. And the falling-in of the roof had broken a small stoneware jug of the same date against a larger jug of the local green-glazed ware (plate 30 and fig. 14: 3 and 5). The stoneware jug was of a type known to have been imported in large numbers from Frechen in the Rhineland. The jugs are usually dated between 1560 and 1600, the Cowton example falling within the earlier years of that range.⁽⁴¹⁾ A crushed brass cooking-pan, still equipped with a fragment of its projecting wooden handle, remained where it had been abandoned, close to the kitchen wall on the east.

The demolition of the remaining buildings was completed with exemplary thoroughness. The timbers, where they had survived the fire, were carefully removed, disturbing little of the stonework which had backed them. No doubt many were re-used in the construction of the new farm-house and its outbuildings. But although the plaster frieze in the

41. For a short discussion of these jugs, see Mr. J.G. Hurst's note in Mr. B. Cunliffe's Winchester Excavations 1949-1960, pp.142-3 (Winchester, 1964).

chamber must still have been recognizably a modern and decorative addition, no attempt would seem to have been made to salvage it. On destruction, the fall of the northern end of the frieze broke a small pot, glazed green on both interior and exterior, and typical of the local wares of the very last years of the 16th century. The sherds were found lodged in the plaster of the frieze, into which they had been driven by the impact of the fall. A heap of coal, abandoned immediately to the south front of the fireplace, may be taken to suggest that the building was still in active occupation very shortly before its demolition (fig. 16).

Later uses of the site and final abandonment (c.1690).

It is not unlikely that some few of the farm buildings at the grange should have retained their usefulness even after the demolition of the central domestic range. Certainly, it would appear that the building to the west of the site at H5/6 long outlasted the majority of its contemporaries. But whether or not some of the original buildings remained above ground, there were yet significant differences between the pottery and other finds associated with the remains of the last phase of occupation on the site and those that were recovered from the destruction levels of the pre-1600 buildings. So marked were the differences, indeed, that they would in themselves go far to suggest a break in the continuity of occupation on the site, a break which could conceivably have persisted for as long as half a century. There were other indications of the same interruption of occupation. It would seem that the site of the old domestic range and court had had time to become

thoroughly obscured and overgrown well before a decision was made to establish a new workshop towards the south-east corner of what became our excavated area. It was noticeable, that is, that although much of the original 16th-century cobbling was removed to accommodate the new buildings, no further disturbance took place on the more open and vulnerable portions of the former buildings to the west. Presumably they were already covered by the topsoil.

There is little to indicate either the nature or the purpose of these later buildings at Cowton. It may be presumed, once again, that they were built largely of timber, and the complete absence of roof-tile, so characteristic of the remainder of the site, would suggest that they were thatched with straw. On the ground they were represented by a finely-finished rectangle of cobbling at 07/8 (fig. 12), as well as by an area of blackened rubble flooring immediately to the north, incorporated in which were massive quantities of assorted rubbish, in particular pottery, glass and clay tobacco-pipes. The rubble floor, centering on a depression some twenty-five feet to the north of the good cobbling, would seem to have done double duty both as a rubbish dump and as additional work-space for the enterprise to the south. Of what was being made, or worked, there was no indication at all. There were no wasters amongst the rubbish, nor were there any fragments of metal or other firable materials.

Whatever the purpose of the workshop may have been, a kiln or oven of some sort was clearly essential to it. A rectangular patch of fine cobbling, measuring 9'8" x 5', was neatly finished-off with large

flat stones on three sides. On the fourth, it abutted against a fragment of rough-stone wall, within which were incorporated the remains of what would seem to have been a blocked fireplace. It is possible that the fireplace and wall dated to an earlier phase of occupation on the grange; they may well have been used as a basis for the less substantial structures of the late 17th century. Certainly, the fireplace itself showed few signs of firing, whereas a diminutive circular floor, incorporated within the cobbling on its east side, gave every indication of having been subjected to intense heat. The diameter of the fired area was no more than two feet, but the flames had obviously been forced out in an easterly direction through an opening on that side. Presumably they had served to heat an oven, for next to the cobbles were the remains of another circular oven floor, constructed once again of flat, unworked stone, and not unlike the earlier floor excavated at F2.

The rubbish which partly filled the depression to the north of the workings provided in itself an entirely distinctive and homogeneous collection. It found no parallels elsewhere on the site, with the single exception of the material found by the rough-stone corner at H5/6. The pottery, of a type never to occur within the older buildings, was characterized by its hard, glossy finish, as well as by a variety of glaze colours which ranged from a dark to a very pale green. The clay pipes (discussed in greater detail by Mr. Eric Parsons in a note at the end of this report) for the most part belonged to the last years of the 17th century. Such a dating was repeatedly confirmed by the character of the imported pottery found here associated with the local green-glazes

of the area. With the notable exception of stoneware (found only in the pre-1600 buildings) the imported wares ranged through delfts, comb-wares and late slip-wares, none of which could be placed much earlier than the third quarter of the 17th century. For the glass, an identical dating applied. Fragments of 'Netherlandisch' glass, displaying the characteristic blue glass applied ornamentation, were accompanied by a very few pieces of a soft-brown tinted glass. Both varieties are usually attributed to the second half of the 17th century.

The remarkable uniformity of the pottery would suggest that the workshop was not in use over a very long period. An earliest date might be put back at 1650; a latest, scarcely much after the turn of the 17th/18th centuries. Neither pottery nor clay pipes could be dated later than 1700, and the glass would put it earlier than that. Indeed, the resolution of a final date might be said to depend on a somewhat bizarre discovery which nevertheless possessed considerable dating value of its own. An undamaged wine bottle, of a form datable to 1675-90, was found to be placed squarely on the middle of the demolished corner at H5/6. It had been within the immediate area of this rough-stone corner that the only other collection of late wares had been found, and the presumption must be that the bottle had been left behind on the site at the time (perhaps even the day) of the final demolition of whatever buildings remained. In due course the bottle had become hidden from view as the site became overgrown. By the time we found it a new topsoil had long accumulated to preserve it perfectly intact.

The Finds.Pottery.

With the exception of the very latest wares on the site, there is no dating criterion better than style for the greater part of the pottery at Cowton. There were no securely datable sealed deposits, and the site was too shallow to allow a satisfactory division by layer. For this reason, the Cowton pottery in itself is of no more than marginal importance, and it is not proposed to discuss it here at any length. Much work is currently being done on the pottery of the north-east, and of Yorkshire in particular. For comments on some part of this, reference may be made to recent excavation reports from Leeds, Pontefract, Huddersfield and York.⁽⁴¹⁾ But it is too early, as yet, to expect a definitive presentation of conclusions.

Analogies with the product of comparable excavations elsewhere in the county would suggest that the earliest pottery to be recovered at Cowton was the 'northern gritty ware', now generally dated broadly between the 12th and the 14th centuries. The ware, usually employed in the manufacture of simple, unadorned cooking-pots and bowls, is characterized by its plain, angular rims. It may range in colour from a dark buff to a light cream. At Cowton, fragmentary examples of this

41. For the Huddersfield report, see Manby, op. cit. Mrs. J. Le Patourel has commented on the pottery excavated in recent years at both Leeds and Pontefract, Thoresby Society Publications, xlviii (1959), pp.xv-xvi, 22-3, 36-40, 64-7, 93-8, 125-30, and ibid., xlix (1962-4), pp.106-22. Comments on the medieval pottery found at two primarily Roman sites at York have been appended by Mr. T.C.M. Brewster to the excavation reports of Mr. P. Wenham, 'Excavations in Feasegate, York, 1955-7', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, xl (1959-62), pp.339-42, and 'Excavations in Davygate, York, 1955-8', ibid., pp.581-6.

ware were not uncommon throughout the excavated area (fig. 13:1). The only complete, or virtually complete, pot was the large vessel found lodged at the base of the east wall of the chamber (fig. 13:6). Its form was heavy and clumsy, and it had every appearance of being a late representative of its kind. Its context on the site would suggest a date in the middle years of the 14th century.

Glazed examples of the same ware were recovered in somewhat lesser quantities. There is no good reason to date them any later than the unglazed specimens of similar texture and colour. Yet they may, for all that, have anticipated the introduction of a new fabric, lighter and softer than the old, and again characterized by a patchy green, or yellow-green, glaze. The same fabric seems to have been employed at Cowton through much of the 13th and 14th centuries, though later examples appear to have acquired a harder texture than the earlier (fig. 13:2, 4 and 9). The rims of the developed ware took on a new variety, even a flamboyance (fig. 13:5). An occasional hard red ware, with a green or a brown glaze, might also have dated back to the 14th century; there is certainly nothing in the common later wares to parallel it (fig. 13:3).

By the 15th century the pottery at Cowton had become heavy and massive. In keeping with contemporary wares throughout the county, it was characterized by a thick, dark-green glaze, and by a grey/black interior, reduced in the kiln. The rim form was usually simple and unadorned, but jugs of the ware were supplied with bold, thumb-pressed

handles, sometimes also with projecting spouts. It is likely that the ware remained in common use until at least the second quarter of the 16th century, and possibly later than that.

Although the heavy 15th-century wares may have taken some time to disappear, there is no doubt that they had been replaced by the middle of the next century by a lighter fabric (a mixture of buff, orange and red) and by a glaze which had become a softer, glossier green, with undertones of brown. A late, and finely-finished, example of this new ware was found on the kitchen floor in close association with a stoneware pot of the second half of the 16th century. It is likely that both pots were broken on the collapse of the building in c.1600 (plate 30 and fig. 14:3 and 5). The finer imported wares, associated with these later green glazes, included abundant fragments of stoneware jugs, as well as a few sherds of 'Cistercian' ware, probably of the first half of the 16th century. The latter may be identified as the fragments of a tall, two-handled mug, and of one or more two-handled cups.⁽⁴³⁾

A time-lag of as much as half a century would seem to have separated the latest pottery at Cowton from that associated with the pre-1600 farm buildings. In the interval, the fabric of the 17th-century wares in the region had become still harder, the glazes glossier and more professional. There was now a greater variety of glaze colour ranging from a dark to a light green. A rough incised decoration was a common feature of the coarser light-green glazes. Rim forms were

43. The mug may be assigned to Mrs. Le Patourel's type III, the cup, or cups, to her type I (Thoresby Society Publications, xlix (1962-4), pp.116-9).

usually simple, and a characteristic vessel of the ware was the shallow bowl, or platter, finished on the interior with a smooth, glossy, deep-green glaze (fig. 14:1 and 8). Less familiar wares included a delicate, brown-glazed red-ware, employed in the manufacture of lugged drinking-cups, or bowls (fig. 14:7). Among other non-regional specimens, the brown slip-wares, delfts, and comb-wares of the century were abundantly represented. There was no stoneware in the late 17th-century workshop collection. It is of interest that very similar pottery has recently been found by Mr. Eric Parsons at Durham. It was discovered in a deposit below the chapter library at the cathedral, sealed in 1684.

Illustrated pottery

Fig. 13

1. Rim; diameter 12 cm.; northern gritty ware, cream/buff fabric; cooking-pot, 13th-14th century.
2. Rim; diameter about 14 cm.; northern gritty ware, white/buff fabric with splashes of pale-green glaze; cooking-pot, 13th-14th century.
3. Rim of jug; hard, reddish fabric with green-glaze splashes below the rim; probably 14th century.
4. Rim; diameter 15 cm.; northern gritty ware, white/buff fabric with splashes of pale-green glaze (c.f. no.2 above); cooking-pot, 13th-14th century.
5. Rim of bowl; diameter about 32 cm.; northern gritty ware, cream/buff fabric with a touch of red; 14th century.

6. Bowl; northern gritty ware, cream/buff fabric; mid 14th century.
7. Rim; hard red fabric with pale-grey core; green glaze on rim and interior; 16th century.
8. Rim; similar to no.7 above; grey fabric, the interior glazed, 15th-16th century.
9. Rim; cream/buff fabric, slightly gritty with splashes of green glaze on the exterior only; 14th century.
10. Dish or platter; red fabric with patches of brown glaze on interior and rim; 16th century.

Fig. 14

1. Rim of bowl; diameter 46 cm.; hard cream/buff fabric with grey core; smooth green glaze on interior; 17th century.
2. Base; hard cream/buff fabric with grey core; patchy green glaze on both interior and exterior; 17th century.
3. Imported stoneware jug; second half of the 16th century.
4. Foot of pot; red/buff fabric with mica fragments; pitted green glaze on interior; probably 16th century.
5. Rim and handle of jug (found associated with no.3 above); red/buff fabric with grey core; shiny green-glazed exterior becoming light-brown at rim; interior unglazed; 16th century.
6. Base; hard cream/buff fabric with pitted, green-glazed exterior and grey/black interior; 16th century.
7. Rim and lug of cup; red fabric with an all-over light-brown glaze; 17th century.

8. Bowl; hard red/buff fabric; interior coated with a smooth green glaze, exterior splashed with glaze; 17th century.

Coins

Both medieval coins found on the site came from the north-west quarter of the excavation, the one from G4, the other from F2. Neither was in a stratified context. By contrast, the positioning of the five Nuremberg jettons is clearly of very much greater importance. All five were found on the 16th-century floor-level within the hall and towards its south-west corner. Together, they suggest a final date for the abandonment of the building not much later than 1600.

1. Short-cross halfpenny, datable within the range 1180-1247.
Legend uncertain, but possibly records Godard of London (1180-9).
2. Long-cross halfpenny, Henry III, c.1253-58/60. The moneyer appears to have been Willem. He occurs at the following mints - London, Canterbury, Carlisle, Lincoln, Northampton, Norwich, Oxford, Wilton and Winchester.
3. German jetton; by Hans Krauwinkel of Nuremberg; end of 16th century.
4. German jetton; by Hans Krauwinkel; end of 16th century.
5. German jetton; probably by Hans Krauwinkel; end of 16th century.
6. German jetton; probably by Hans Krauwinkel; end of 16th century.
7. German jetton; probably from Nuremberg; 16th century.

The Cowton Clay Tobacco-Pipes, by Eric Parsons.

The clay tobacco-pipe material excavated at Cowton Grange forms a small but interesting group, consisting of pipes from the south-west of

the country, from Bristol, Gateshead and Yorkshire.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The group as a whole fits firmly into extreme date brackets of 1640-1706, with a closer range of 1640-90 as the more likely. Four pipes of typical Bristol manufacture are the earliest, and of these only one bears a maker's stamp (fig. 20:1). The name of John Garrett of Bristol (1676) is recorded⁽⁴⁵⁾, but the date is somewhat late for this pipe form. Similar stamps, incorporating these initials, occur on York 'bulbous' pipes excavated at Hungate, York.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Two pipe-marks (fig. 20:2 and 3) are typical of those commonly occurring on the pipes of the south-west, and although there is a slight variation between them, the duplication of initials suggests the possibility that the pipe-maker IG made pipes of both forms. None of the York 'bulbous' pipes bears a maker's stamp, but one of them (fig. 20:4) has a base moulded in a heart shape, reminiscent of the south-west country style. It would, though, be unwise to attach too much significance to this fact when seeking the origins of the Yorkshire pipe industry. The latest evidence is in the form of a maker's stamp from a pipe made by Leonard Holmes of Gateshead, Co. Durham. His name is one of the six recorded in the charter enrolment of the Company of Grocers, Apothecaries, and Pipe-makers of Gateshead (1675). An entry in the parish register of 1672 records his marriage, and one of 1706 his

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44. The reasons for the multiplicity of types are dealt with at length by Parsons, 'The Archaeology of the Clay Tobacco-Pipe in North-East England', Archaeologia Aeliana, Fourth Series, xlii (1964).
45. Oswald, A., 'The archaeology and economic history of English clay tobacco pipes', Journal of the British Archaeological Association, xxiii (1960), pp.40-102.
46. O'Neil, B.H.St.J., 'A Note on Clay Pipes from Hungate, York', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, xl (1959-62), p.379.

death. The style of the stamps used by him varies sufficiently to indicate a terminal date of 1690 for the Cowton material.

The Plasterwork from North Cowton, by Geoffrey Beard.

Plasterwork studies are at a stage, and probably always will be, where it is not possible to arrive at exact conclusions as to date. The plaster is rarely, if ever, signed, and whilst it follows certain stylistic trends, there are frequent examples of a style being used when it is really outmoded in other decorative mediums. The North Cowton fragments from a wall-frieze date to about 1570. They have the following composition :-

Insoluble	16.2%	-	probably mainly quartz sand or silt.
R_2O_3	1.6%	-	this, combined with a little of the insoluble material, is probably present as clay.
$CaCO_3$	75.3%		
	4.6%	-	organic fibrous material in the plaster (not hair).

This composition, compared with samples of similar date which have been analysed for the writer, shows a straightforward pattern of the basic Calcium Carbonate being combined with sand and fibrous material to give a simple material which was air-slaked for a considerable period. This gave a fine appearance, was extremely hard and difficult to break, and was much used for wall-friezes, as witness the durability of the frieze at Old Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, which has been exposed to the elements for many years.

Appendix II.A Gazetteer of the Principal Grange and Manorial Sites Named in the Text.

(Note : The gazetteer, which relates directly to the text, is not intended to be a full list of the extant buildings and earthwork remains at the granges and manors of the English religious houses. In so far as it has proved possible to compile a comprehensive list of the surviving buildings, such a cover has been attempted. But the earthwork sites recorded are limited, with few exceptions, to the Yorkshire granges. In short, in compiling the gazetteer it has been my intention to include all the surviving grange buildings known to myself, as well as a good sample of the Yorkshire earthwork sites, and a scatter of grange earthworks brought to my attention outside the boundaries of the county.)

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AUGUSTINIANBridlington.

WILLERBY, Yorks. : TA 008792. The earthworks at Willerby are concentrated to the east and west of the modern Willerby Grange, itself immediately to the south of the parish church. It is likely that the present farm-house re-uses the site of the original grange buildings, but the enclosures beyond the farm buildings remain exceptionally well-marked. They include, on the west, what may be the outline of a large building, possibly a barn. On the east, the outer enclosure bank is picked up again where it emerges from the immediate area of the later farm buildings. The canons of Bridlington secured the church at Willerby by gift of Adelard of Willerby, confirmed by Walter de Gaunt, Adelard's lord (Bridlington Cart., p.100). Further lands in Willerby were donated to Bridlington by Henry, Adelard's son, as well as by successive

generations of the same family (ibid., pp.100-2, 105-6). As early as 1152 Henry Willerby had also given substantial concessions in the vill to the Cistercians at Rievaulx. In 1172 he confirmed the grant, which had included a site for a house for the brethren and their household, and pasture in Willerby for 300 sheep. Three years later, in 1175, Rievaulx was persuaded to transfer its whole interest in Willerby to Bridlington, already the holder of the rectory (ibid., pp.114-5). Willerby became an important rectorial manor of Bridlington, and there is evidence that the prior himself occasionally took up residence at the manor-house. He was there, for example, in 1317, holding a council of his advisers (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1317-21, p.86). On 15 February 1528 the capital messuage and demesnes at Willerby were leased on a thirty-one-year term to George Burton and Isabel, his wife. The rent was fixed at £8. 2s. 2d., with the further obligation of sending twenty cartloads of hay to the priory. George Burton was still farmer at Willerby in September 1537 (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4430, m.14). In an earlier rental, attributed to the previous reign, Burton was said to be farmer of the church at Willerby, paying an annual farm of £12 (P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., SC.11/728).

Bristol, St. Augustine's.

ASHLEWORTH, Glos. : SO 817253. The grouped buildings at Ashleworth together provide a particularly good example of an Augustinian rectorial manor. They include a stone-built tithe barn, the work of Abbot Newland (1481-1525), a 15th-century manor-house, known as the 'Court House', and

the church itself, also very largely 15th-century in date. The manor-house is of a conventional plan. It comprises a central hall, supplied with an upper and a lower chamber on the north. At the south end of the hall, another chamber is sited over the serving rooms of the kitchen. Henry II was the original donor of Ashleworth to St. Augustine's (Dugdale, Monasticon, VI.i.366). Of the lay tenants who doubtless held the manor for many years before the dissolution, the first recorded are Thomas and Richard Long, yeomen. Together, they held the manor and rectory of Ashleworth by indenture dated 8 May 1527. For the site of the manor, with the demesne lands and tithes, they paid the annual sum of £29. 1s. 5d. (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/1240, m. 7d; also Court of Requests, Proceedings, Req.2/85/15). On 10 June 1542 the manor and rectory were included with the other estates assigned to the endowment of the new bishopric of Bristol (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xvii.257). Six years later, on 25 January 1548, the bishop demised the manor and rectory on a seventy-year lease to Thomas Seymour, brother of the late Queen Jane and lord high admiral of England (P.R.O., Court of Augmentations, Proceedings, E.321/28/74).

(fig. 1)

Leicester, St. Mary de Pratis

INGARSBY, Leics. : SK 685054. The east wing of the present mansion at Ingarsby is of a late 15th-century build. In all probability it constituted the chamber wing of the medieval manor-house. Modern buildings

replace the hall and kitchen of the original structure. The site is moated on three sides, and lies immediately to the north-west of the earthworks of the former medieval village. A careful plan of the moats, although not of the village earthworks, was drawn by the Rev. E.A. Downman in February 1914. He noted that he had visited the site and taken the necessary measurements in October 1898 (B.M., Add. ^{38,841}~~38~~, f.23). The manor of Ingarsby was a late, albeit important, acquisition of the Augustinian canons of Leicester. It came to them by gift of Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, in an arrangement confirmed on 23 May 1352 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1350-54, p.269). The archbishop reserved to himself twelve messuages and twelve virgates of land in the manor, but the abbot and convent soon set about a methodical process of consolidation at Ingarsby, which undoubtedly led finally to the acquisition of the reserved lands (see, for example, Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1467-77, p.123). By 1469 the process would seem to have been complete. At a charge of £74. 11s. 9d., the abbey enclosed the open fields of the village and completed the removal of its inhabitants (Nichols, History of Leicester, III.i.292). Ingarsby became an important cattle and sheep-farm of Leicester Abbey. On 1 October 1514 it was leased for a term of thirty-seven years to Richard Cave of Stamford at a rent of £58. 10s. Two further closes, known as Thurnby and Houghton Close, were demised to Sir William Skevington at a rent of £22. 10s. (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/1827, m.46, and Land Revenue, Misc. Books, LR.2/181, f.25lv). Richard Cave and Sir William Skevington remained in possession of their farms until the dissolution. But the canons clearly considered the leasing of the estate a major disaster, and in 1536 the abbot, despite

the powerful intercession of Cromwell, failed to persuade them to consider a further extension of the lease (L. & P., Hen.VIII, x.285). On 24 February 1540, following the suppression of the abbey, Brian Cave of Ingarsby, presumably the son of Richard, bought Ingarsby and the remaining abbey lands in the parish of Hungerton. He paid the very considerable sum of £1371. 6s. 8d. for the property (ibid., xv.114).

(plate 22 and fig. 1)

Owston

KNOSSINGTON, Leics. : SK 788082. A large moated site at Knossington has been identified as the site of Owston's manor in the parish. The moat is rectangular, and it would appear that the enclosed area has long been ploughed. For a plan and description of the site, see Bott, 'Oliver Cromwell's Castle', pp.133-9. Knossington was an important manor of Owston, ranking as one of the major possessions of that small Augustinian house. In 1535 the return from the Knossington estate totalled £12. 3s. 9¹/₂d., with a 10s. revenue from the manorial court (Valor Eccl., iv.158). The community at Owston was dispersed in 1536. In September that year it was recorded that Randolph Carter held the manor, 'or house', of Knossington by indenture under the conventual seal, dated 10 December 1532. By the same indenture Carter held eight messuages in Knossington, the rents of which totalled 17s. The major itself was worth £2. 4s. the year, and Carter had negotiated the lease for a twenty-year term (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/1825, m.16). The tithe apportionment of Knossington, confirmed on 30 April 1847, recorded a total of 35 acres of pasture,

'which are ancient Abbey lands', sited towards the actual grange site in the north-east corner of the parish. These, with the glebe lands of the parish, were declared absolutely exempt from the payment of all tithes (Tithe Comm., Parish of Knossington, Leics., 1847).

BENEDICTINEAbingdon

CHARNEY BASSETT, Berks. : SU 382944. The medieval remains at Charney comprise a stone building of the late 13th century, incorporating the solar and the chapel, with their respective undercrofts, of the original manor-house. Both the hall and the present north (or kitchen) range have been extensively altered and rebuilt. A Buckler drawing of the south front of Charney Church, executed in 1817, shows the bulk of the original hall rising behind the church. The building was equipped with a fine chimney-stack of late-medieval date (B.M., Add. 36, 356, f.136). The existing solar measures 30' x 16'; the chapel, 12'5" x 9'10". For a good description of the buildings, see Long, 'Medieval Domestic Architecture in Berkshire', ii.106. The first mention of Charney as part of the Abingdon estates dates back to a charter of Coenwulf, king of Mercia, conceded in 821. King Beorhtwulf in 852 further sanctioned the gift of the vill and an estate at Charney to Abingdon. (Abingdon Chron., i.26, 29). From an early date Abingdon held the advowson of the church at Charney. It was included among the possessions of the house confirmed by Eugenius III in 1146 (ibid., ii.192). Late in the 15th century Charney had been leased to Peter Fetiplace. He died in possession of the 'Hall Place' at Charney on 31 May 1494, being

succeeded by John Fetiplace, his son and heir (Cal. Inq. Post. Mort., Hen. VII, i.540). Shortly afterwards, on 28 September 1496, the abbot and convent leased the manor to John Yate, merchant, for the term of his life and for ~~the~~ of his sons Jacob, Richard, Andrew and Barthus. In 1538 John and his sons continued to hold the manor, rendering for it yearly the sum of £35. 10s. 8d. (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/109, m.45d-6). In 1539 John Cheyney, an esquire for the Body, was granted a £20 annuity from the revenues of Charney, to run from Michaelmas 1538 (L. & P., Hen. VIII, XIV.i.595). The advowson of Charney rectory was sold to Thomas Strowde, Walter Erle and James Pagett on 8 September 1544 (ibid., XIX.ii.178). And on 1 March 1545 the manor was granted to William Gorffyn, of Reading, in exchange for certain other properties in Sussex and Kent. The Yates remained tenants at Charney (ibid., XX.i.208).

CUMNOR, Berks. : SP 461041. The earthworks of the buildings and garden-terracing at Cumnor survive in good condition immediately to the west of the parish church. The buildings are known to have been demolished in 1810, some of their more decorative features, including the best windows, being re-used in the construction of Wytham Church. There are several extant illustrations of the demolished grange, the best of which is the engraving published in Whittock's The Microcosm of Oxford, p.4. The British Museum collections include several sketches of architectural details at Cumnor, the work of Samuel Lysons (1763-1819), the antiquary. With these, there is a rough sketch-plan of the grange, indicating the position of the ground-floor windows and doors, of the hall fireplace, and of the staircase, with an outline plan of the quadrangle (B.M., Add.

9460, fos. 77v-8). A very full description of the buildings at Cumnor was published, shortly after their demolition, in The Gentleman's Magazine, xci (1821), parts 1 & 2, i.198, ii.35, 201-5. The principal apartments of the mansion included a hall (44' x 22'), a chapel (22' x 15'), a number of important chambers and a gallery. The buildings were set about a central court, or quadrangle, and were entered (by way of an outer gateway and court) from the north. The origins of the Abingdon estate at Cumnor are said to have dated back to a gift by Caedwalla (abdicated 688). By 968, the date of Edgar's confirmation, the abbey was holding an important property at Cumnor (Abingdon Chron., i.8n, 126, 267, and Stenton, The Early History of the Abbey of Abingdon, p.48). As late as 1389 the abbey was still to be found seeking a licence to acquire land in Cumnor (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1388-92, p.39), and the property, which included the church, became over the years one of the principal estates of that ancient Benedictine foundation. On 6 March 1538, on the suppression of the abbey, Thomas Rowland, late abbot of Abingdon, was granted the mansion-house at Cumnor (L. & P., Hen.VIII, XIII.i.583). Rowland, alias Pentecost, held the manor 'for the term of his life, rendering nothing for it'. This he owed to the 'benevolence' of the king (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/109, m.26d). On 29 August 1540 Oliver Wellesbourne, servant of the king, was appointed keeper of the chief messuage, called the 'Manour Place', at Cumnor (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xvi.714). Four years later, on 26 August 1544, a part of the demesne lands at Cumnor was sold, along with other monastic properties, to John Doyle and Sir John Williams, recently appointed treasurer at the

Court of Augmentations (ibid., XIX.ii.82). In 1547 Sir John bought other properties in Cumnor in the tenure of Oliver Wellesbourne (ibid., XXI.ii.422). But the manor and rectory at Cumnor, including the mansion called 'Cumnor Place', had already been sold on 8 October in the previous year to George Owen, physician to the king, and to John Bridges, also a physician (ibid., XXI.ii.157). Owen died in possession of Cumnor in 1558. The mansion descended to Owen's son, William, who is said to have leased the property to Anthony Forster, chief controller of the household of Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester. Shortly afterwards, on 8 September 1560, Amy Robsart, countess of Leicester, met her death at Cumnor. It was widely rumoured at the time that Anthony Forster had contrived her murder, acting under the instructions of Dudley himself (a version of the story is given in the Dictionary of National Biography, under 'Dudley, Robert, earl of Leicester').

(plate 8).

SUTTON COURTENAY, Berks. : SU 503939. The present mansion at Sutton Courtenay incorporates much of the medieval manor-house. The original buildings, which were mainly 14th-century in date, included a hall, measuring 40' x 24', and a two-storeyed solar block, attached to the north end of the hall. It has been suggested that the solar block antedates the hall by some years. By tradition, the community at Abingdon first acquired Sutton by gift of Ine, king of the West Saxons (688-c.726). At that time the monks held the whole vill, but they were to lose it again in 801 when Abbot Rethun, attempting to buy the favour

of Coenwulf, king of Mercia, transferred the ownership of Sutton back into royal hands (Abingdon Chron., i.14, 23, and ii.274). Abbot Faritus (1101-1115) tried, but failed, to persuade Henry I to sell the vill to the abbey once again. He alleged, in justification of his plea, that the men ('rustici') of the vill had caused much trouble to his agents and to himself (ibid., ii.289). The rectory at Sutton had already been restored to Abingdon by gift of William II. With the mill donated to the monastery by Henry I, it featured in a general confirmation by Eugenius III, dated 1146. (ibid., ii.179, 192). In September 1538 Thomas Fulbroke was the principal tenant at Sutton. Two other lesser messuages were held by Reginald and John Trullok. The manors of Milton and Sutton were taken together for the purpose of the account, and the chief messuage of the two was sited, by this date, at Milton (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen. VIII/109, m.14). On 10 June 1546 the two manors were granted to Lord Chancellor Wriothsley, who transferred them the following day to Thomas Calton, a London goldsmith (L. & P., Hen.VIII, XXI.i.573, 581).

Bath, St. Peter

ENGLISHCOMBE, Somerset : ST 716628. The principal medieval survival at Englishcombe is a 14th-century stone rectorial barn. Bath held the rectory, but not the manor, at Englishcombe. On 7 April 1523 the farm of the rectory and tithes at Englishcombe was demised for a term of thirty-eight years to John Colyns, at a rent of £7. 3s. 4d. Colyns was still tenant of the rectory in September 1539 (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen. VIII/3144, m.28). It is probable that Englishcombe was among those

monastic properties sold, or let, in anticipation of the suppression of the owning house. There is a record of the grant of the church at Englishcombe on 21 October 1538 to four Londoners, one of them a Merchant Taylor. The grant was transacted in the name of William Holloway, the last prior, and ~~_____~~ ^{may well} have been disallowed on the transfer of the priory's estates to the crown (B.M., Harley 3970, fos. 7v-8).

Canterbury, St. Augustine's

MINSTER in Thanet, Kent : TR 313643. The buildings at Minster form a group of exceptional importance. They include the remains of the 12th-century hall in the north wing, a chapel (excavated in 1930) to the south, and a further range of contemporary buildings linking the two on the west. For a full discussion of the buildings and of the excavations, see Kipps, 'Minster Court, Thanet', pp.213-23 (with plan). The lower walls of the medieval barn may still be identified in a large building to the north-east of the domestic range. A 17th-century elevation of the south front of the north range shows the hall to have been lighted by two small round-headed windows of early 12th-century date (B.M., Add. 32, 368, f. 151). The same style of windows, high on the north wall, are shown in a good 19th-century drawing of the mansion by Edward Blore, 1787-1879 (B.M., Add. 42, 017, f. 2). The estate at Minster-in-Thanet was the most important possession of the great Benedictine house at St. Augustine's. Minster itself had begun life as a monastic foundation as early as the last years of the 7th century. It was taken and sacked on several occasions by the Danes, and was finally abandoned after the fire

and massacre of 1011 (There are varying accounts of the early history of Minster in Thorne's Chronicle, pp.22-4, 38, 236-8; Canterbury, St. Augustine's, Register, i. pp.xxxiii-xxxix; and Canterbury, St. Augustine's, History, pp.214-22). The deserted nunnery was presented to St. Augustine's by King Cnut, whose father, Swegn Forkbeard (d.1014), had destroyed it. Thorne gives the date of the gift as 1027 (Thorne's Chronicle, p.43). The monks acquired important market rights at Minster in 1116, and soon afterwards appropriated the church (ibid., pp.64-5, 68). Minster Church was the mother-church of three chapels, St. Lawrence, St. Peter and St. John, all in Thanet (B.M., Add. 46, 352, fos. 94v-95). Of the successive monk-wardens at Minster, Brother John de Belham showed himself an active sympathiser with the baronial cause. After the battle of Lewes in 1264 he was appointed one of the commissioners charged with provisioning the ships lying at Sandwich (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1258-66, p.349). In due course, probably in 1275, an enquiry was ordered into his actions over ten years before. In the intervening years he would seem to have escaped punishment (Cal. Inq. Misc., i.312). Shortly afterwards, in ~~1293~~ ^{1293/4}, ~~the king~~ the king claimed as his own the manors of Langport, Chistlet, Sturry, Minster and Salmstone. It is said that, on the miraculous intervention of St. Mildred in a dream, Edward was persuaded to abandon his claim (Thorne's Chronicle, pp.321-4, and Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1292-1301, p.35; for the circumstances of the king's claim, see Placita de Quo Warranto, temp. Edw. I, II & III, p.353, and Rotuli Hundredorum, i.201, 203, 210, 211, 227). Early in the 14th century there were risings of the tenants at Minster and Salmstone. A commission of enquiry was appointed

at the request of the abbot on 4 January 1318. At both manors, monks were in residence at the time of the outbreak (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1317-21, p.98). The abbey continued long to keep much of the manor in demesne. A list of the returns in kind due from the manor, datable to c.1330, displayed totals of grain-products and animals rivalled only by those from the abbey's manor at Northbourne (B.M., Arundel 310, fos. 139-141). It is significant also that the hall, chambers, kitchen and parlour at Minster were reserved to the use of the monks as late even as 1536. On 21 June in that year the farm of the manor was demised to Roger Bere on a fifteen-year lease, at £127. 9s. 6d. But the best part of the principal messuage of the manor was still to be kept for the monks (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/1755, m.5). Tithe exemptions in the parish of Minster, noted in the apportionment of 1842, included the estate called 'Minster Court' of an estimated area of 265 acres, 3 roods and 3 perches. The land was exempt from tithes, having formerly been a possession of St. Augustine's; but it remained subject to a modus (or composition) of seven shocks (or cops) of wheat and seven shocks (or cops) of barley, payable to the vicar and compounded-for at the rate of £4. 13s. 4d. Of the Minster acreage, by far the greater proportion was farmed as arable (Tithe Comm., Parish of Minster, Kent, 1842).

(plates 1 and 2, and fig. 1)

SALMSTONE, Kent : TR 353696. The chapel and the hall at Salmstone Grange are both buildings of the 14th century. The former is a free-standing structure still maintained in good order as a chapel. It is equipped with a piscina and aumbries, and retains its original king-post roof. To the

east of the hall are the ruins of a chamber or a kitchen, and the remaining buildings of the present-day structure replace, and probably incorporate, much medieval work. Two useful drawings by Edward Blore (1787-1879) show the chapel and domestic buildings from the north-west, and the chapel and hall from the south-west. The domestic range was equipped with two west-facing gables, and must originally have been supplied with an exterior timber gallery. A small, late-medieval cloister linked the chapel and the hall, precisely where the modern cloister has replaced it (B.M., Add. 42, 043, f.2 and Add. 42, 017 f.81). To the south-east of the mansion was sited a large, thatched tithe-barn, now totally destroyed (B.M., Add. 32, 368, f.4). Salmstone was among the manors threatened by Edward I's claim in 1293/4 (Thorne's Chronicle, pp.321-4). There were two monks, William Biholte and William of Middleton, in residence at Salmstone on the occasion of the tenants' rising. An enquiry into the circumstances of the rising was ordered on 4 January 1318 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1317-21, p.98, and Thorne's Chronicle, pp.432-3). A survey of the St. Augustine demesnes (tempus Richard II) recorded a total of 99 acres, 1 virgate at Salmstone (Thorne's Chronicle, p.682). On 26 July 1531 the manor of Deane and the 'rectory or grange' of Salmstone were demised for twenty years to Simon Webb and William, his son. Seven years later the remaining years of the twenty-year term were re-assigned to Edward Thwaytes. A schedule of dead stock at the manor was annexed to the lease. Miscellaneous equipment in the court included two spits, a bucket and chain, a rope, a brass ladle belonging to the well, a brewing-lead in the brew-house, a ladder of twenty rungs, and two racks

and two mangers in the stables. There were two bedsteads and a cupboard in the main (or lord's) chamber, and another bedstead in a second chamber. In the hall there were three tables and three forms. The furnishings and equipment of the chapel included a gilded phylactery, a cup of silver-gilt, a missal, a primer, a vestment for celebrating mass, a corporal with its case, a pair of cruets, a sacring bell and a holy water stoup (P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/215, f.31v). On 16 February 1543 Edward Thwaytes secured the renewal of his lease for a further twenty-one-year term (*ibid.*, f.32, and L. & P., Hen.VIII, XVIII.i.554).

(plates 9 and 10, and fig. 1)

Chester, St. Werburgh

INCE, Cheshire : SJ 449765. There are still two free-standing stone buildings at Ince, both of them mainly 15th-century in date. The larger of the two, since used for many years as a barn, was originally equipped with eight square-headed windows. It may have served as a court-house or hall, but it has been suggested also that it could have been the chapel. The site occupies approximately one acre. It would seem to have been moated on three sides and walled on the fourth, though all traces of the moat have now disappeared. The manor at Ince was an early acquisition of the pre-conquest monastic foundation at Chester. It was among the chief properties of the house shortly after the conquest. (Chester Cart., i.xx). Between 1214 and 1223 the abbey further secured to itself the appropriation of the rectory at Ince (ibid., i.131-2). The siting of the

manor close to Stanney, an important grange of the Cistercian house of Stanlaw, led to a series of demarcation disputes between the two houses. These were not finally resolved until the closing years of the 13th century (ibid., i.195-208). In 1291 the Chester temporalities at Ince were listed as two carucates of land, some meadow and a water-mill (Taxatio Ecclesiastica, p.258). On 18 March 1399 the abbot and convent obtained a licence to crenellate their manor-house at Ince (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1396-99, p.552). The licence was confirmed by Henry IV on 5 February 1410 (ibid., 1408-13, p.160). In 1439/40 the greater part of the demesne lands at Ince, valued at £3. 13s. 4d., was farmed by John Wilkinson. In addition, a number of tenants together held a parcel of arable land, formerly of the demesne, valued at 15s. (P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser. SC.11/892). Shortly before the dissolution, the manor was granted, on the intercession of Cromwell, to Richard Cowley (L. & P., Hen.VIII, XIII.i.428). Cowley also held the rectory by indenture dated 16 September 1538 (Dugdale, Monasticon, ii.392). On 26 July 1541 both manor and rectory at Ince were included with the other properties of St. Werburgh which went to make up the endowment of the new cathedral at Chester (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xvi.535).

SAIGHTON, Cheshire : SJ 443618. The only surviving medieval work at Saughton is the great gate-house tower, attributed to Abbot Simon of Ripley, and dated to c.1489. The remainder of the grange was rebuilt in 1876, and many of the foundations of the original buildings were disturbed, or even removed altogether, on the laying down and extension of the garden. The gate-house is a three-storeyed building, measuring in plan

approximately 25' x 15'. Its features include a good oriel window on its west side, a niche containing a mutilated stone figure on the south-west, and an upper chamber lit by large four-light windows. To the gate-house is attached a slender turret on the west side. The turret holds a circular newel stair. A Buckler drawing of the gate-house tower, dated 1843, shows something of the nature of the original west wing. It was a high building, as high as the tower itself, supplied with what appears to have been a first-floor garderobe. Both the garderobe and the upper floor were lit by simple square-headed windows (B.M., Add. 37, 339, f.83v). An earlier drawing of the gate-house by Samuel Lysons (1763-1819) shows the east wing to have been a simple, much less massive building of two storeys. It was lit by square-headed windows, and need have been no earlier than the 17th century in date (B.M., Add. 9461, f.129). Saughton was an important early possession of Chester Abbey. Like Ince, it had belonged to the first monastic foundation at Chester, and it continued to be held as demesne of the Benedictine house for much of the monastic period. A licence to fortify Saughton was granted by Prince Edward before his accession to the throne in 1272 (Chester Cart., i.230). Shortly afterwards, Sir Philip Burnell, nephew of Edward's chancellor, claimed Saughton and three other Chester manors as a part of the inheritance of his wife Isabel, an heiress of the barony of Malpas. On 18 November 1281, at the end of expensive litigation, Sir Philip formally abandoned his claim (ibid., i.222-4). Another licence to crenellate Saughton was sought, and obtained, on 18 March 1399. With Saughton were included the important demesne manors at Sutton and at Ince (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1396-99, p.552).

The licence was confirmed at the direction of Henry IV on 5 February 1410 (ibid., 1408-13, p.160). In September 1431 the demesne lands at Saughton were farmed by Hugo Lilye and Thomas, his son. They paid a rent of £8, holding the manor-house in repair and readiness for the visits of the abbot and convent (P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Series, SC.11/901). An inquisition held in 1580 led to the recollection by Henry Langton ('of the age of 90 years or thereabouts') that one Richard Nicholl had been granted a lease of Saughton for the term of his life before the suppression of the abbey. The information was confirmed by another Richard Nicholl ('60 or thereabouts'), presumably a relation of the first (P.R.O., Court of Requests, Proceedings, Req.2/163/69). We know, however, that John Booth, the king's chaplain, was in occupation of Saughton from August 1533 onwards (L. & P., Hen.VIII, vi.449, and ibid., ix.28). On 5 August 1541 the freehold of the manor was granted to the dean and chapter of the new cathedral church of Chester (ibid., xvi.535). John Booth, who had become archdeacon of Hereford in 1523, died in 1542. His will was dated 8 August in that year, and he left his lease and interest in the manor-house at Saughton to Margaret Booth. Margaret was to receive also the livestock at the manor, the furnishings of the chapel (including a chalice, partly gilt), and a chest of linen, some part of the contents of which were to go to another beneficiary by the name of Barbara (Cat. Ancient Deeds, v.493). On 14 December 1544 the dean and chapter re-assigned the lease of Saughton to John Calveley (L. & P., Hen.VIII, XIX.ii.443). In 1840, by the terms of the tithe apportionment of that year, 884 acres and 2 perches in Saughton Township were stated to be free from tithes on the

payment of a modus of £2 to the dean and chapter of Chester Cathedral. The exempt area included Saughton Hall, the whole western portion of the township, and a group of cottages in the village, together with two other blocks of fields to the east (Tithe Comm., Township of Saughton, Chester, 1840).

Evesham

MIDDLE LITTLETON, Worcs. : SP 080471. At Middle Littleton the fine 14th-century tithe-barn, 142' x 38', is sited behind the present farmhouse, to the north of the church. By tradition, Evesham acquired its first interests in the Littletons by gift of Ethelred of Mercia in 703. Late in the 13th century the abbey maintained two carucates in demesne at Middle Littleton, although the larger part of its revenues continued to be drawn from rents in the parish (B.M., Harley 3763, fos.59, 166). Further lands and interests continued to be acquired in Littleton throughout the 14th century (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1313-17, pp.28-9, 291, 397; ibid., 1324-27, p.305; ibid., 1350-54, p.60; ibid., 1364-67, p.224; ibid., 1391-96, pp.171-2). On 16 December 1538 the manor of Middle Littleton was demised to John Aldington for the term of seventy years. The monastery retained in its own hands the tithes at Littleton, valued at the considerable sum of £30. 10s. 8d. Presumably, it also kept control of the great barn. Aldington himself agreed to pay his rent in kind - twenty-four quarters of barley, twelve quarters of grain, four great loaves of bread and two capons. On the suppression of the monastery, the payments in kind were

replaced by a monetary equivalent - £6 out of a total rent-charge of £13. 6s. 8d. (P.R.O., Land Revenue, Misc. Books, LR.2/184, f.371v, and Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4047, f.18). On 20 February 1540 the farm of the manor was granted to Sir George Throckmorton, the father of Sir Nicholas, the diplomatist, and a distant relative of Catherine Parr. Sir George was to hold the manor for twenty-one years (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xv.563). The advowson of the rectory was included, on 5 August 1542, with the endowment of the new cathedral church at Westminster (ibid., xvii.395). On 11 December 1546 it was transferred to the cathedral of Christ Church, Oxford (ibid., XXI.ii.335).

(plates 20 and 21)

Glastonbury

DOULTING, Somerset : ST 647432. A stone tithe-barn of 15th-century date survives intact at Doultling, supplied with the usual twin transeptal porches. The original grant of twenty hides at Doultling has been attributed to King Ine, 688-c.726 (Dugdale, Monasticon, i.24, 25, 48). Licence to appropriate Doultling Church was granted by Walter Giffard, bishop of Bath and Wells (1264-66), on 9 June 1266 (ibid., i.32). A 14th-century extent of the manor records its total value at £48. 7s. 4¹/₂d. annually. At the time, there were 357 acres under arable, 30 acres of meadow, and 118 acres of pasture (B.M. Egerton 3321, pp.175-6). In the account of September 1539 the farm of the demesne lands at Doultling was given as £10. The farm of the tithes of the whole parish was rated at £18. 13s. 4d. (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/3163, m.42). John

Horner (identifiable, perhaps, as the 'Jack Horner' of the nursery rhyme) had secured the lease of the tithes and of the tithe-barn at Doultling before the suppression of the abbey at Glastonbury. On the surrender of his conventual lease, he was allowed a re-grant of the lease for a term of twenty-one years at a rent of £18. 16s. 8d. The new lease was negotiated and confirmed on 15 March 1540 (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xv.172). On 28 July in that same year the manor-house at Doultling, formerly in the occupation of John White, was leased to Benedict Killgrew. The new tenant was granted a lease of twenty-one years duration at a rent of £10 (ibid., xv.480).

PILTON, Somerset : ST 588407. The former Glastonbury manor at Pilton remains equipped with a fine stone-built barn of the late 14th century. The first gift to Glastonbury of twenty hides at Pilton was attributed by the monks to King Ine (688-c.726). It was Ine, again, who is said to have specified that the abbey should keep at Pilton a house fit to receive travellers and guests (Dugdale, Monasticon, i.24-6). A survey, or extent, of the manor of Pilton, dating to the abbacy of Geoffrey de Fromond (1302-1322), demonstrates the continued importance of the estate. The manorial buildings stood in a court and garden extending to 17 acres; there were 687 acres of arable on the estate, and 107½ acres of meadow; in addition, there were further pastures, woodlands and moor, two pigeon-cotes and a water-mill. The demesne alone was valued at £60. 18s. 7d. the year (B.M., Egerton 3321, pp.280-2). In September 1539 Thomas Whytyng held the demesne lands at Pilton by indenture under the conventual seal (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/3163, m.13d). In a contemporary

survey, conducted for the king on the attainder of Richard Whytyng, the last abbot, the buildings at Pilton were described in unusual detail. The park was walled, and was entered through a fair gate-house. Within it, the apartments of the mansion included a hall, a long chapel, no fewer than ten chambers (one of them a 'dining-chamber'), a well-house, a fine cellar, a good kitchen supplied with its pantry, buttery and larder, a bake-house, a wash-house and a stable for ten horses. The park itself was three miles in circuit; it held 350 deer, and was equipped with a 'pretty' lodge of its own (P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/420, fos.28v, 39). The barn and shepecote together were served by a close of pasture containing one acre and worth 12d. yearly (*ibid.*, f.39v). Thomas Whytyng, no doubt a relation of the last abbot, would seem to have forfeited his lease on the attainder of his late patron. On 1 May 1540 Edward Rogers was appointed keeper of the manor-house and of the park at Pilton. He was to receive payment of 2d. a day for each office (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xv.341).

Gloucester

FROCESTER, Glos. : SO 787029. There survives at Frocester a stone barn, 184' x 30', built to the order of Abbot John de Gamages (1284-1306). The first gift of the manor at Frocester is attributed to Rabanus Anglicus Revenswart, a brother of King Beornwulf of Mercia (823-5), himself a benefactor of St. Peter's (Gloucester Cart., i.77). The manor was alienated before the Conquest, but was restored to the abbey at the intercession of Serlo, the first Norman abbot, elected in 1072 (*ibid.*, i.11). Gloucester would appear to have held the advowson of Frocester Church for many years

before the formal appropriation of the church in 1225 (ibid., i.78, ii.231-2). On 29 September 1531 the demesne lands were leased for the term of eighty years to Edward Luge, Joanna his wife, Henry Stephens, Rose his wife, and Edward, Walter and Richard, the sons of Henry and Rose. Together, they paid an annual rent of £33. 3s. 10d. (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/1248, m.7). Shortly after the suppression of the abbey, the freehold was transferred to Edward Seymour, brother of Queen Jane and later Protector. On Somerset's execution in 1552 the manor and rectory were still farmed by Henry Stephens. Another small portion of the demesne, valued at 10s. yearly, was farmed by the Browning family, holding by conventual indenture dated 29 September 1532 (P.R.O., Exchequer K.R., Misc. Books, E.164/39, fos. 245v, 246v).

Pershore

BROADWAY, Worcs. : SP 094374. The 'Abbot's Grange' at Broadway is a 14th-century stone manor-house of conventional plan. The hall measures 19' x 25', the oratory 7' x 13', and the chamber 13' x 26'. Late 19th-century measured drawings and a plan, by Charles Long, are preserved in the British Museum (Add. 37, 626, fos.359, 360). The museum collections include also two fine drawings of Broadway Grange by Edward Blore (1787-1879). These show the grange unspoilt by modern additions, indicating the presence of a kitchen, or store, in a detached building immediately to the north of the hall (B.M., Add. 42, 018, fos.15, 16). For brief descriptions of the buildings at Broadway, see Robertson, 'The Church and Abbot's Grange,

Broadway', pp.437-9, and Country Life, 14 January 1911. Pershore's estate at Broadway dated back to the reign of Edgar (957-975). At the time of the Domesday survey, the abbey held thirty hides in the manor (Dugdale, Monasticon, ii.416-7). By grant of Henry III, Pershore held weekly markets and an annual fair at Broadway (Cal. Charter Rolls, i.365; also B.M., Add. Roll 41, 397, piece 5). The abbey had long held the advowson of the parish church, and in February 1384 a licence was sought to appropriate it (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1381-85, p.374). The abbot retained in hand some part of the demesnes at Broadway as late as the dissolution. In 1535 he still kept sufficient land in the manor to sustain fifty sheep (Valor Eccl., iii.259). It is likely, also, that some chambers in the mansion were reserved for the use of visiting monks. When the buildings and demesnes were leased to Anthony Daston on 14 October 1535, the lessee was allotted 'certain' chambers and parlours only. The lease was to run for sixty-three years at a rent of £64 (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4057, m.5).
(plates 5, 6 and 7)

Shaftesbury

BRADFORD, Wilts. : ST 824604. At Barton Farm in Bradford there survives a stone-built barn, 168' x 33', supplied with twin transeptal porches. The barn is 14th-century in date, and some of the remaining farm buildings at Bradford may incorporate medieval work. Bradford is said to have been given to Shaftesbury by Ethelred in 1001. The abbey possessions in Bradford are given in Domesday as forty-two hides; there was also a market, and the rents of thirty-three burgesses (Dugdale, Monasticon, ii.479-80,

481; for greater detail, see B.M., Harley 61, f.94). Edward I disputed the possession of the manor with the abbess, but a decision was given in the latter's favour in 1281 (Dugdale, Monasticon, ii.484). On the occasion of the levy of a tenth in 1295 Bradford was valued at £80 (B.M., Harley 61, f.107). On 14 February 1539, shortly before the suppression of the abbey, the site and demesne lands of the manor at Bradford were demised to William Webb for the term of forty years. The agreed rent was £26. 16s. 8d. (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/655 m.8d).

TISBURY, Wilts. : ST 951297. The 15th-century buildings at Place Farm include a great barn, an external and an internal gate-house, and the best part of the original domestic range. The barn occupies the whole of the east side of the outer farm court. It is a thatched, thirteen-bay structure, measuring 188' x 32'. On the south-west of the court is a substantial external gate-house equipped with a large upper chamber. An internal gate-house, to its north, leads through into the private garden of the farm-house, itself originally a building of the conventional medieval domestic plan - a chamber or chambers, a hall and a kitchen. The hall, originally open to the roof, has since had a floor inserted in it to divide it into an upper and a lower chamber. The great fireplace of the hall, with a span of 13'4", was sited at the north end of the apartment. It still survives intact, as does the fine late-mediaeval chimney-stack which served it. For a plan and a short description of the buildings at Place Farm, see Dufty, 'Place Farm, Tisbury', pp.168-9. A set of Buckler drawings, dated 1812, contributes significantly to what we know of the 15th-century plan. In the first, a view of the great barn shows that it was formerly equipped

with a small, two-storeyed porch at the north-west corner, the upper chamber of which was probably assigned to the barnward, or guardian. A second drawing establishes that the modern farm buildings, dividing the great court in two, actually replace medieval buildings of a similar plan, presumably the stables. The gable end of the medieval building may be seen built into the southern wall of the court, between the gatehouse and the barn. In a third drawing, it appears that another short wing, an extension to the solar block of the farm-house, originally projected westwards from the domestic range, just below the chimney stack (B.M., Add. 36, 392, fos.201-3). No traces of any such structure survive today. The fine set of 15th-century stables, still intact in the middle years of the last century, has since been demolished (Parker, Domestic Architecture in England, iii.331). The original twenty hides of the Tisbury estate were acquired by the nuns of Shaftesbury in 984 by gift of King Ethelred (Dugdale, Monasticon, ii.479). The abbey early secured the advowson of the parish church, and in 1380 sought a licence to appropriate the rectory altogether. An enquiry, to be conducted by Thomas of Illeston, was ordered on 26 February in that year. A meeting was held at Tisbury on 8 March, and a report was returned that no harm would result, and no interests would be affected, should the appropriation be allowed (P.R.O., Chancery, Inq. ad quod damnum, C.143/395, no. 1). The licence was granted on 6 May 1380 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1377-81, p.491). In 1295 the value of the estate at Tisbury had already been calculated as high as £40 (B.M., Harley 61, f.107). But the property continued to grow throughout the 14th century (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1321-24, p.324;

ibid., 1374-77, p.287; and Cal. Inq. Misc., ii.159). Following the dissolution, the estate, now divided into a manor and a grange, yielded an annual rental of £71. 2s. 4¹/₂d. (P.R.O., Aug. Off., Part. for Grants, E.318/44). Of this, the sum of £10. 13s. 4d. was returned for the farm of 'Tisbury Grange', demised to William Moor. The site and demesnes of the manor, demised to Sir Thomas Arundell by indenture dated 5 February 1538, were worth £5. 14s. The total of William Moor's farm included the sum of £5. 6s. 8d. in place of a pre-dissolution return of twenty quarters of grain; also £2. 13s. 4d. substituting for twenty quarters of barley, and another £2. 13s. 4d. in place of forty quarters of oats. There would seem no doubt that Place Farm was the grange in question (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/655, m.8d). On 30 June 1540 the manor and grange of Tisbury, with the advowson of the vicarage, were sold to Sir Thomas Arundell, the pre-dissolution tenant of the manor (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xv.412). The rectory of Tisbury, on 18 November 1542, became a part of the endowment of the new cathedral at Bristol (ibid., xvii.638). The tithe apportionment of the parish of Tisbury, confirmed on 8 October 1838, recorded a total of 1422 acres exempt from tithes. Of this, the estate at Place Farm was the largest single block. It extended to 565 acres, 3 roods and 27 perches in all (Tithe Comm., Parish of Tisbury, Wilts., 1838).
(plates 11-15 and fig. 2)

Whitby

WHITBY LAITHES, Yorks. : NZ 921096, and air-photograph 106G/UK/1700. 5273. 27 Aug 46. Immediately to the east of the modern farm-house there are the remains of a small moated enclosure, on the west edge of which the present buildings are sited. To the south-west of the farm-house another enclosure bank runs due west towards the road. To the east, there are traces of a further large enclosure, possibly a cattle-pound of some kind. With Stakesby, Lath Garth, Fyling, and Hackness, the estate at Whitby Laithes was described as a 'grange' in the inventory of Whitby possessions taken at the installation of Abbot Thomas of Bolton in 1394. The grange appears to have been held in demesne at the time, rendering quantities of wheat, oats and hay to the central stores at the abbey. In 1394 the sum of £23 was required to put the buildings at Whitby Laithes back into order (Whitby Cart., i.318-20, 322). In September 1540 the revenues at the manor totalled £38. 9s. Of this, the sum of 40s. was derived from the farm of the 'manor or grange' at Whitby Laithes, currently in the tenure of Roger Middlewood. A tenement next to the grange was demised at 10s. to Christopher Stubbings. George Bushel and John Master together held the farm of an important close of pasture called 'Robin Hood Stone', for which they paid the rent of 20s. (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen. VIII/4624, m.2d). By way of the earl of Warwick and Sir John York, master of the mint, Whitby Laithes, on 1 July 1555, became the possession of the Cholmley family in the person of Sir Richard Cholmley (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1554-55, pp.257-8, and Dugdale, Monasticon, i.408).

Winchcombe

ENSTONE, Oxon. : SP 378251. At Enstone the stone tithe-barn was built in 1382 by Walter Winiforton, abbot of Winchcombe. The barn is divided into six bays, and measures internally 72' x 26' (Wood-Jones, 'The Rectorial Barn at Church Enstone', pp.43-7). The vill of Enstone was included among the Winchcombe properties confirmed by Alexander III in 1175 (Dugdale, Monasticon, ii.303). On 26 February 1309 Abbot Walter of Wykewane secured the appropriation of the church at Enstone (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1307-13, p.152). He also negotiated the enclosure and clearance of 60 acres of woodland and waste in Enstone, subsequently to become part of the manorial demesne (ibid., p.351, and Dugdale, Monasticon, ii.310). In January 1525 both the manor and the rectory were demised together on a thirty-year lease to William Rigley and Eleanor, his wife. The negotiated rent of the two came to £27. 13s. 4d., the lessees agreeing further to pay the dues of the vicar and to pay a small sum in compensation for the ancient right of the abbot and convent to demand a day's free hospitality at Enstone on the occasion of each visit by one of their number. William Rigley was still tenant at Enstone in September 1540 (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/1240, m.113d). On 3 June 1540 the manor of Enstone was among the Oxfordshire properties of Winchcombe sold to Sir Thomas Pope, at that time an official of the Court of Augmentations. The rectory was not included in the sale, and Sir Thomas agreed to continue the payment of an annuity of 26s. 8d. to Richard Ford, the former monastic bailiff at the manor (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xv.403, and Valor Eccl., ii.456). On 15 September

1542 the rectory of Enstone was included with the endowment of the new cathedral church of Christ Church and St. Mary, Oxford (L. & P., Hen. VIII, xvii.491).

Yedingham

SINNINGTON, Yorks. : SE 746862. A large medieval hall is sited immediately to the north of the parish church at Sinnington. Windows of the 15th century, now blocked, have replaced any earlier work on the west and south walls of the building. But a good two-light transitional window survives high on the east wall, and the main part of the structure may therefore be put back to the last quarter of the 12th century. The foundations of the chapel of St. Michael have been traced to the north of the hall, and further foundations, presumably a part of the medieval rectorial manor, have been uncovered on the construction of outbuildings attached to the present farm. The nuns of Yedingham first acquired the advowson of the church of Sinnington by gift of Ralph de Clare. The same donor presented them with four oxgangs of land in the parish, and the priory estate was swelled by further outright gifts, as well as by arrangement with the canons of Guisborough, who likewise possessed interests in the parish (Dugdale, Monasticon, iv.273). The estate was termed a 'grange' in the records of the lay subsidy of 1301 (Lay Subsidy (Yorks.), p.55). On 20 January 1540 the tithes of Sinnington rectory were farmed out to William Thwaytes (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xv.562). They were re-granted to Robert Holgate, then bishop of Llandaff, on 30 August 1544 (ibid., XIX.ii.85). Holgate, who became archbishop of York the

following year, assigned the rectory to John Thurleston, master of the free school founded by himself at Hemsworth, near Pontefract. Sinnington, and certain lands late of Mount Grace Priory, became a part of the school's endowment on 10 November 1548 (Cat. Ancient Deeds, vi.501).

CISTERCIANBeaulieu

GREAT COXWELL, Berks. : SU 269940. At Coxwell there remains a fine stone-built barn, 152' x 40', held to be mid-13th-century in date. The barn has been restored recently, and perfectly preserves its medieval form. It is equipped with central transeptal porches and fine moulded doorways. The British Museum collections include several sketches of the interior and a measured plan, the work of the antiquary Samuel Lysons (1763-1819). An 18th-century print of the plan of the barn may possibly be the product of Lysons's drawing (B.M., Add. 9460, fos.76-7, and Add. 28, 676 A, f.191). The grange at Coxwell would seem to have served as a centre for the Beaulieu estates in the Faringdon region of Berkshire. These included considerable properties in Faringdon itself, in Great and Little Coxwell, in Wick, Inglesham, Little Faringdon, and Shilton (Cal. Chart. Rolls, v.164). King John made the initial grant of the manor of Faringdon on 2 November 1203 (B.M., Cotton Nero A. xii, f.5). The monks continued to hold important interests in Faringdon itself, where they conducted an annual two-day fair (*ibid.*, f.7). But it is likely, nevertheless, that their grange buildings were sited principally at Great Coxwell. Certainly, it was here that the abbot and convent had

their own oratory for private worship (*ibid.*, fos.20-1). In February 1243 Beaulieu formally appropriated the churches of Shilton and Inglesham, and it may have been to house the tithes of these that the great barn at Coxwell was built (*ibid.*, fos.21v-5). Details of the 14th-century estate organisation at Coxwell remain exceptionally complete. They include a list of the days on which the lay brethren and the servants on the Faringdon estates were to do no work (*ibid.*, fos.79-80); also lists of the customs of the manor at Great Coxwell, of the tenants and of the cottars, of the acreages of arable and pasture, and of the stipends of the grange servants (*ibid.*, fos.124v-136). Thomas Temese was the keeper of Great Coxwell in 1372. It was against his 'intolerable oppressions' that the tenants of Great and Little Coxwell, led by Thomas Taylor, appealed directly to the king. There is no record of the outcome of the appeal (Cal. Inq. Misc., iii.320-1). On 5 June 1534 the manor and rectory of Coxwell were demised to Thomas Moores for a term of ninety-six years (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen. VIII/3340, m.15d). Six years later, on 26 March 1540, Moores bought the manors of Great and Little Coxwell for £666. 14s. 2d. (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xv.178). The following December Moores took out a twenty-one year lease on those apartments in the grange mansion that the monks had reserved to their own use in 1534. These included the chapel, a new hall, and several chambers (*ibid.*, xv.561).

ST. LEONARD'S, Hants. : SZ 406983. The extant remains at the grange include the chapel and the great barn. Both buildings are exceptionally large, the one measuring 60' x 25', the other 216' x 61'. The barn is

likely to date to the first half of the 13th century; the chapel may be as much as half a century later. There are traces of further foundations to the north of the chapel in the garden of the farm-house, a building which may itself incorporate medieval work, both re-used and in place. Part of the medieval precinct wall on the east of the site has remained intact; it bounds the road northwards towards Beaulieu. St. Leonard's formed a part of the lordship of Beaulieu, granted to the Cistercians by King John in 1205 (B.M., Harley 58 I.25). A further four carucates, lying between St. Leonard's and the coast, came to Beaulieu by gift of Henry III (Cal. Charter Rolls, i.216-7). At the suppression of the community at Beaulieu, the buildings at St. Leonard's appear still to have been in good repair. It would seem likely, also, that the grange had remained in demesne until this late date; for Thomas Stephens, late abbot of Beaulieu, took up residence himself at St. Leonard's on the dissolution of his abbey (L. & P., Hen.VIII, XIII.i.295, 314). On 29 July 1538 the site and demesnes of Beaulieu, including the grange at St. Leonard's, were granted to Thomas Wriothesley, later lord chancellor (ibid., XIII.i.569). By September 1538 the grange at St. Leonard's had been demised to Thomas Knight at a rent of £8 (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/3340, m.2). Six years later, on 18 December 1546, Thomas Knight acquired St. Leonard's, with the site and former demesnes of Beaulieu, by exchange with the lord chancellor (L. & P., Hen.VIII, XXI.ii.348).

(plate 17 and fig. 2)

Buckfast

CHURCHSTOW, Leigh Grange, Devon : SX 720466. The surviving 15th-century buildings at Leigh include a fine two-storeyed gate-house (now roofless). The domestic range is sited immediately to the south, its upper floor still approached by a galleried outer stair. The apartments presumably included a hall, a chamber and a kitchen, and it has been suggested that the south wing held the hall on the upper floor, with a kitchen or storage-cellar below. If this were so, the chamber, together with its own undercroft, would have occupied the west wing of the manor-house. In each case the upper apartments remain equipped with contemporary fireplaces and garderobes. The medieval buildings are now used as barns, and are in a ruinous condition. Leigh has been identified as the site of the Buckfast grange in Churchstow (see, for example, Knowles & Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, p.120). But a connection between the two would be hard to establish. Late in the 13th century the tenement called 'The Leigh' in Churchstow was in the occupation of Thomas Leigh, a member of a family which seems already to have held the property long enough to assume its name (B.M., Add. Ch. 29, 026). In the 16th century John Leigh and James, his son, still held lands and tenements in Leigh, among them, presumably, the so-called 'grange' (B.M., Add. 37, 640, fos.32-3). In September 1539 the former monastic lands in Churchstow and Kingsbridge, excluding the town, were in the charge of William Putt, bailiff. John Southcote was farmer of the rectory of Churchstow with the chapel of Kingsbridge (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/7300, m.3). Six years later, on 18 December 1545,

the manor of Churchstow, late of Buckfast, was included in an exchange negotiated by the crown with Sir William Petre. There was no mention of Leigh in the terms of the exchange, and the principal messuage of the manor was said to be at Norton, farmed at the time by William Putt, the former bailiff, who held it for his own life (and for that of his son John) by an indenture dated 20 May 1534 (P.R.O., Aug. Off., Part for Grants, E.318/859). In the tithe apportionment of 1839 the present 'Leigh Grange' was known simply as 'Leigh'. The lands of the Leigh estate totalled some 128 acres in all, but neither these nor any other lands in the parish of Churchstow were exempt from the payment of tithes (Tithe Comm., Parish of Churchstow, Devon, 1839).

(fig. 2)

Byland

BALK, Yorks. : SE 477808, and air-photograph 541/565. 4103. 4Jun50.

The earthworks at Balk lie immediately to the south of the Bagby road, in front of the farm known as 'The Grange'. They consist of a rectangular banked-and-ditched enclosure, incorporating a smaller enclosure in the north-west corner. The banks are particularly marked on the east side of the site: the side, that is, away from the stream. Byland owed its properties in Bagby and Balk to the gift of Roger de Mowbray (d.1188). The abbey's right to hold the property was disputed in 1267, but it was successfully established that the estate was not, as had been argued, the manor of Balk, but a grange

sited within the neighbouring manor of Bagby (V.C.H., Yorks. N.R., ii.48). Balk was among the Byland properties granted to Sir William Pickering on 20 July 1539. In September 1540 the revenues from Balk totalled £10.13s. 4d. The estate was divided between two tenants, each holding by indenture. Of these, one was John Collyer, paying £6.13s. 4d. the year; the other was John Gibson, from whom was due the remaining £4 (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4550, m.6d).

(fig. 5)

CAMS HEAD, Yorks. : SE 537791. There are traces of former buildings in the paddock to the south of the present farm-house and yard, and other faint earthworks may be detected further to the south and to the east. Cams Head would seem to have been a small grange, or lodge, of Byland: a unit in the larger home demesnes of the abbey. It was sited next to an important fish-pond of the abbey, part of the dam of which yet remains in place. Permission to make the fish-pond, 'opposite Cambesheved', was sought by Abbot Henry in 1234/5 (V.C.H., Yorks. N.R., ii.14). Following the suppression of the abbey, the granges of East Camb and West Camb, valued respectively at £3 and £2 the year, were included in a grant of the demesne lands of Byland to Sir William Pickering, dated 20 July 1539 (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4550, m.3d).

MURTON, Yorks. : SE 535882, and air-photograph F21/542/RAF/93. 0027. 6Dec54. The majority of the original buildings of the grange at Murton are likely to lie under the present farm-house and barns. But there are clear traces of earlier foundations in the closes of pasture to the

north-west of the farm-house. In addition, a new plantation now covers foundations in an area to the north of the farm-house, on the edge of the steep slope down into the valley. Among these, a large rectangular barn, or cattle-shed, shows clearly on the air-photograph of the site. The vill of Murton was acquired by Byland by gift of Hugh Malebiche, the abbey agreeing to pay an annual token rent of 40s. to Hugh and his heirs (B.M., Egerton 2823, f.65). The payment was waived by William Malebiche, a descendant of the original donor (ibid., f.65). In September 1540 the farm of Murton Grange, with Wethercote, was rated at £8. 6s. 8d. The grange had been sold on 19 April 1539 to Sir Richard Bellasis, who continued to pay the sum of 16s. 8d. annually to the crown (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen. VIII/4550, m.5d).

OLD BYLAND, Yorks. : SE 547858. There are good surviving earthworks immediately to the west of Old Byland village and to the north of the Cold Kirby road. The wall-lines of early buildings are still exceptionally clear. They may relate either to the original structures of the grange or to an extension of the village, now shrunken, which it bordered. There are no medieval earthworks visible at the farm now known as 'Old Byland Grange', across the Cold Kirby road to the south. Abbot Roger's founding community acquired the vill and rectory of Byland by gift of Roger de Mowbray (d.1188). A site for the abbey was selected next to the Rye just above Rievaulx. It was abandoned shortly afterwards, and became in due course the tile manufactory of the abbey, later to be known as 'Tile House Grange'. A grange, probably intended

to be the principal demesne grange, or home farm, of the abbey while at the Tile House site, was established at Byland vill, the inhabitants of which were encouraged to settle elsewhere (Dugdale, Monasticon, v.350-1). In September 1540, following the suppression of the abbey the previous year, the total revenues of the former estate at Old Byland amounted to £14.15s. 7d. The chief value of the estate lay in numerous miscellaneous tenements and rents, presumably in the vill of Old Byland which may never have been entirely depopulated. Amongst these, a single tenement with appurtenances was known as 'Old Byland Grange', being listed at £3 12s. The tenant at the time was William Stores (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4550, m.5). On 22 August 1544 the rectory and the rectory-house, or hall, of Old Byland were among the properties sold to John Broxolme, a Londoner (L. & P., Hen.VIII, XIX.ii.76).

SCACKLETON, Yorks. : SE 637726. The outlines of a large enclosure lie to the east of the modern farm-house and to the south of the beck. The enclosure is squared-off at its south-east and south-west corners, and there are signs of buildings (possibly quarrying) towards the beck in the north-west quarter of the site. Further irregularities, including some indications of earlier buildings, may be traced just outside the enclosure to the south-west, as well as to the north of the beck, south and south-west of 'Grange Houses'. The three original carucates of Scackleton Grange came to Byland by gift of Roger de Mowbray, d.1188 (B.M., Egerton 2823, f.111v). In September 1540 the annual value of the grange was listed as £6.6s. 8d. Alice, widow of William Otterbourne, held the estate by indenture under the seal of the late monastery

(P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4550, m.4). On 2 November 1545 the grange, with other properties, was sold to Henry Wildon and John Bell. It was currently in the tenure of Alice and John Otterbourne. (L. & P., Hen.VIII, XX.ii.445-6). Henry Wildon, or a successor by the same name, was still in occupation of the grange in March 1594 (Cat. Ancient Deeds, vi.406).

TILE HOUSE, Yorks. : SE 566867, and air-photograph RY67 (St. Joseph). The earthworks at Tile House include the remains of buildings in the pastures to the north-west and the south-west of the modern farm-house. A kiln, or merely a heaped dump of kiln-wasters, is sited immediately to the east of the farm-house garden. Tile House is usually held to have been the site of Byland Abbey at an early stage of the preliminary wanderings of the community. It became a grange on the abandonment of the site, and remained such until the dissolution. In 1535, shortly before the suppression of Byland, the grange at Tile House was leased to Anthony Rooke (V.C.H., Yorks. N.R., ii.4). Rooke paid a rent of 33s. 4d. for the grange, and continued to hold it in September 1540 (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4550, m.7d). On 25 July 1543 the grange, with other former monastic properties in several counties, was sold to Richard Andrews and Nicholas Temple (L. & P., Hen.VIII, XVIII.ii.53). Two months later, on 14 September 1543, Andrews and Temple were granted a licence to alienate the grange to Thomas Allanbridge, a clothier of Farsley, in association with Anne Rooke, daughter of Anthony Rooke, the sitting tenant. The grange was to descend to the heirs of Anne (ibid., XVIII.ii.142).

Croxden

MUSDEN, Staffs. : SK 123513. The remains of the grange at Musden are terraced into the hillside a few yards to the west of the existing farm-house. They include a large, rectangular terrace, built out at its northern end; also a smaller terrace a little up the hill to the west. The foundations of several lesser buildings are sited immediately below the great terrace itself. The grange is a classic example of a hillside cattle-lodge, closely comparable in its setting with the Nidderdale lodges of Fountains and Byland. The estate at Musden was given to Croxden by Bertrand of Verdun as a part of the foundation endowment of the house (Dugdale, Monasticon, v.662). It became, in due course, an important grange of Croxden, so vital to the economy of that house that Abbot Thomas in 1533 refused to let the farm of Musden to Francis Meverell, the favoured candidate of Cromwell (L. & P., Hen.VIII, vi.16). Two years later, on 13 February 1535, in flat contradiction of his earlier arguments, the abbot negotiated a lease of the grange on an eighty-year term to George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury. The rent of the grange was fixed at £14.0s. 10d. (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/3353, m.44d). The arrangement would seem to have been arrived at in private. Certainly, Francis Bassett, a native of Staffordshire, appeared to know (or to think) little enough about it to press his own claims to the farm in 1538/9 (L. & P., Hen.VIII, XIII.ii.450, and ibid., XIV.i.352). Bassett, alleging fraud on the part of the abbot and of the late earl, soon afterwards took his case to court (P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/20, f.4). There is no record of the outcome of the

dispute, but the farm of Musden appears to have been re-granted on 6 June 1545 to Richard Cotton, servant of the king. In 1545 the annual value of the grange was calculated at £17.13s. 8d., including the sum of the earl's original farm (P.R.O., Aug. Off., Part. for Grants, E.318/319).

Flaxley

DYMOCK, Gos. : SO 688318. Medieval stonework is still visible in the east front of the present mansion, the core of which, in all probability, has remained substantially unchanged since the 15th century. Extensive rebuilding took place late in the 17th century, and there were further additions in the 19th century as well. The timber-work of the brick-and-timber barn is likely also to be 15th-century. The barn lies well away to the south-west of the domestic range. It measures externally 108' x 28', and is supplied with a two-storey extension measuring 16' x 28'. Dymock was an important grange of Flaxley, becoming the property of that house before 1154 (Flaxley Cart., p.16). In 1291/2 Flaxley farmed five carucates at Dymock, holding also a water-mill at the grange (Taxatio Ecclesiastica, p.171). An undated memorandum, probably of the 14th century, records that the tenants at Dymock each owed harvest works at the grange (Flaxley Cart., pp.176-7). In 1535 John Wynniatt was named 'collector' at the grange. The total value of the abbey estate was given as £12.12s. (Valor Eccl., ii.486). On 27 March 1537 Dymock, with many of the Flaxley lands, was granted

to the courtier, Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower (L. & P., Hen.VIII, XII.i.353). Kingston's entry into his new property was disputed by the then tenant, John Wynniatt, formerly the abbot's collector on the Dymock estates (P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/20, f.15). Despite the disagreement, Sir William would appear to have consented to Wynniatt remaining as tenant at the grange. But his son Sir Anthony in 1544 sold the freehold to Thomas Wenman, a wealthy clothier of Oxfordshire (L. & P., Hen.VIII, XIX.i.505). The Wynniatts finally secured the freehold for themselves on the marriage of John Wynniatt, the grandson of the collector and tenant of 1537, to Jane Wenman, granddaughter of Sir Thomas. The wedding took place on 19 September 1611.

(plate 16)

Fountains

ARNFORD, Yorks. : SD 836563. The present farm-house is a building of the 17th century, but there are traces of earthworks, in particular field banks, in the pastures to the south. The farm is sited next to the Ribble, and many of the existing earthworks undoubtedly owe their origin to drainage, some of which may be medieval. Fountains owed its first possessions at Arnford to the successive gifts of the heirs of Alan of Arnford, later confirmed by Peter de Bruce the younger (Fountains Cart., i.82-4, and Fountains Memorials, ii.27). The Arnford estate was listed as a grange in Richard's general confirmation of the abbey

properties, dated 9 November 1198 (Fountains Memorials, ii.14). But Alan of Arnford had also given land in the township to the abbot and convent of a sister-house at Sawley. In due course the interests of the two houses in the township clashed. An agreement to resolve the dispute was finally negotiated in 1223. Sawley transferred its Arnford properties to Fountains, and granted Fountains the right to maintain a team of lay brethren at Arnford. In return, Fountains promised to allow the men of Sawley free transit through the Arnford estate, and agreed not to dispute Sawley's right to keep an equivalent community of lay brethren at Litton (Fountains Cart., i.85, 86). On 20 September 1527 the manor of Arnford was farmed out to Stephen Pudsey on a forty-year lease. Pudsey paid a rent of £8 for the entire Fountains property in the area, continuing to hold the manor in September 1541 (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4452, m.14).

BEWERLEY, Yorks. : SE 157647. A small stone chapel of early 16th-century date survives at Bewerley, bearing the initials of Abbot Huby (1494-1520). The chapel was rebuilt and extended late in the 17th century, and there were further 19th-century additions. ^{Bewerley}~~Beverley~~, with the principal Nidderdale granges and lodges of Fountains, was the gift of Roger de Mowbray, d.1188 (Fountains Memorials, ii.14). It would seem to have served as an estate-centre for the region, possessing an important sheep-house of its own at Moor House, to the west (ibid., i.344). Following the suppression of Fountains, Bewerley and Moor House were included in the large purchase of abbey lands negotiated by Sir Richard Gresham on 1 October 1540 (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xvi.96).

BOUTHWAITE, Yorks. : SE 123713. The existing farm-house at Bouthwaite is a building of the 17th century, although it may still incorporate earlier work. Some traces of earlier foundations, including the remains of at least one large building, may still be seen in the meadow immediately to the north-west of the farm-house. In Richard's general confirmation, dated 9 November 1198, Bouthwaite was listed as a lodge of Dacre (Fountains Memorials, ii.14). Through the centuries, it remained an important centre for the Nidderdale lodges of the abbey. In common with many of the other granges and lodges of the area, Bouthwaite was held by a lay keeper in the 15th century. The keeper returned a rent both in cash and in kind, the terms being recited most exactly in the agreement negotiated on the appointment of Robert Brown as keeper of Bouthwaite in 1537 (ibid., i.276-80). Shortly after the dissolution, the grange would seem to have been farmed by Robert Smith, possibly in partnership with Brown. The total value of the estate was calculated at £12 (ibid., i.338-9). Bouthwaite was among the former demesnes of Fountains granted to Sir Richard Gresham on 1 October 1540 (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xvi.96).

BRIMHAM, Yorks. : SE 222629. No complete medieval buildings have survived at Brimham, but plentiful fragments of worked stone, 15th-century in character, remain built into the existing farm-house, cattle-sheds and barn. The fragments include several letters of an inscription similar to that placed by Abbot Huby on his extant chapel at Bewerley. Recent trial excavations at Brimham have uncovered

several foundation walls, as well as part of a late-medieval tiled floor, immediately to the south of the modern garden wall. The first lands at Brimham came to Fountains by gift of Roger de Mowbray (d.1188). Roger also gave half a carucate in the township to the Templars, but the latter were persuaded to concede this property to Fountains on an agreed yearly payment of 10s. (B.M., Add. 18, 276, fos.30v, 31v). Early in the 14th century, John de Mowbray (1286-1322), a descendant of the original donor, disputed the rights of the abbey in Nidderdale, including Brimham. An agreement between the parties was negotiated successfully in 1308 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1385-89, pp.119-20). The abbot seems to have visited the grange at regular intervals, probably for the hunting. This was certainly the case in the mid-15th century, when the expenses of the abbot at the grange featured regularly in the abbey accounts (Fountains Memorials, iii.25, 52, 67). Shortly before the dissolution the silver plate kept at Brimham for the abbot's use included a silver chalice, a goblet with a silver-gilt 'covering', a silver salt-cellar, and seven silver spoons (ibid., i.293-4). On the same occasion there were ten quarters of rye, twenty quarters of oats, and a hundred loads of hay ~~at~~ the grange (ibid., i.295). At the dissolution, and probably before it, the demesne at Brimham had come to be farmed out in two parts. Of these, John Steel paid £3 for his 'half' of the estate; the other portion, at £6, was farmed by Robert Ellis (ibid., i.313-4). On 1 October 1540 the grange was granted, with other Fountains properties, to Sir Richard Gresham (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xvi.96).

CAYTON, Yorks. : SE 287632. Important earthworks survive to the east and south of the present farm buildings at High Cayton, near South Stainley. They include well-marked enclosure banks, presumably the site of the original grange, as well as the earthworks of what appears to have been a small peasant settlement, lying immediately to the south of the grange site itself. It is a reasonable supposition that the settlement earthworks testify to the presence of a community of peasant cultivators employed in the working of the grange. Fountains acquired the vill of Cayton by gift of Serlo of Pembroke before 1135 - presumably the two carucates confirmed by Eustace Fitz-John, lord paramount of the fee (Fountains Memorials, i.55-6, ii.2). The grange was sited above, and to the east of, Cayton Gill, and the monks would seem to have dammed the waters of the gill towards Ripley to make fish-ponds for themselves (B.M., Add. 18, 276, f.33v, and Fountains Cart., i.153). Cayton was among the Fountains properties to suffer in the Scottish raids. In 1363 the abbot sought, and obtained, permission to convert Cayton (with eight other granges) into a vill (Fountains Memorials, i.204). There is no evidence that such a conversion took place. At the suppression of Fountains the grange had already been partitioned into two almost equal portions. The first of these, called 'Near Cayton' and rated at £11 yearly, was held by George Horner. The second, at a rental of £10, had been demised on a forty-five-year lease, dated 19 June 1538, to John Vavasour (ibid., i.318-20). Cayton was among the Fountains properties granted to Sir Richard Gresham on 1 October

1540 (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xvi.96).

(fig. 5)

KILNSEY, Yorks. : SD 973678, and air-photograph 106G/UK/1514. 3073. 16May46. A 17th-century building obscures what was probably the original site of the grange, but there are earthworks, suggestive of disused enclosures and another large building, a few yards up the hillside to the north-west. Kilnsey Grange served as an estate-centre for the abbey's interests on Langstrothdale, to the west. In much the same fashion as Jervaulx's grange at Dale, it operated through a chain of lodges, already seven in number by 1241 (Bodleian MS., Univ. Coll. 170, fos.70-1). The estate at Kilnsey itself was consolidated on an initial grant of two and a half carucates, the gift of William, a nephew of King David I of Scotland (Fountains Cart., i.434). To this, Edulf of Kilnsey added another half carucate on condition that the community agreed to accept him as a lay brother and his son Nicholas as a monk. The abbey was also to place Edulf's wife in religion (ibid., i.436). With Cowton and Marton, Kilnsey was one of the three granges acquired for Fountains during the short abbacy of Henry Murdac, 1143-7 (Fountains Memorials, i.86). In 1363 it was among those granges for which permission was sought to convert the sites to villis (ibid., i.204). Some fourteen years before the suppression of the abbey, the farmer at Kilnsey was a certain John Ellis, later of Skipton. In 1525 the abbot turned Ellis out of Kilnsey, neglecting to compensate him for a crop of oats he had sown at his own expense. Twelve years later, in 1537, Ellis addressed a letter of protest on the subject to Thomas, lord Darcy,

himself executed shortly afterwards for his part in the Pilgrimage of Grace (L. & P., Hen.VIII, Addenda, I.i.421). Kilnsey was among the important Fountains properties granted to Sir Richard Gresham on 1 October 1540 (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xvi.96).

KIRBY WISKE, Yorks. : SE 372850. The grange at Kirby was sited originally in the field still known as 'Grange Garth'. Deep ploughing over the field has recently destroyed what remained of the earthworks, but something of these may still be seen in the plan featuring in the current edition of the Ordnance Survey maps of the area. This would suggest that there were two lines of enclosures on the site: a great outer enclosure, or farm court, and a smaller inner enclosure, housing the domestic buildings, and occupying the north-east corner of the court. Glazed roof-tile may still be picked up on the field, and it is said locally that much stonework was disturbed by the ploughing. The abbey's principal benefactor at Kirby Wiske was William, son of Eudo, of that vill. By the terms of his gifts we know that the court of the grange was surrounded by a ditch, that a sheepfold was sited on an acre of land outside the court, that the monks enjoyed the right to pasture three hundred sheep on the lands of the vill, and that there was an oratory at the grange from an early date (Fountains Cart., i.384, 387, 407). An exceptionally complete series of charters reveals that in other respects the accumulation of lands at Kirby Wiske was a long and painful process, involving a succession of further donations, purchases and exchanges in the fields of the vill (B.M., Add. 18, 276, fos.103v-109). The lands at Kirby were eventually to total 376 acres, 1 rood.

They lay dispersed principally in the north, south and west fields of the vill (*ibid.*, fos.258-9). Kirby Wiske was among the Fountains estates devastated by the Scots in 1318, but it remained counted a grange of the house at least as late as 1353 (Fountains Memorials, i.143, ii.35, 37). There is no means of knowing how much longer Kirby survived as a grange, but the grange buildings had certainly disappeared by 1538. In that year the site of the grange, by then parcel of the manor of Baldersby to the south, was listed merely as a close of arable and pasture (*ibid.*, i.357-9). With Baldersby, the lands at Kirby Wiske were granted to Sir Richard Gresham on 1 October 1540 (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xvi.96). The following year, on 4 May, Sir Richard alienated the estate to Christopher Lascelles, whose family had farmed a large portion of the remaining Kirby lands in the last years before the dissolution (*ibid.*, xvi.418, and P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4452, m.7d). In 1839 the thirty-acre field known as 'Grange Garth' remained the largest plot in Kirby Wiske absolutely exempt from tithes (Tithe Comm., Township of Kirby Wiske, Yorks., 1839).

MORKER, Yorks. : SE 277676. The site of the outer court of the grange at Morker is still marked by a large rectangular enclosure, lying in an east-west direction. A smaller enclosure, also rectangular in outline, occupies the south-west corner of the larger. It was within the smaller enclosure that we may presume the domestic buildings to have been sited. To the south of the stream, and beyond the modern hedge-line, there are signs of further buildings. The three carucates of the original Morker estate came to the abbey by gift of Robert de Sarz

and Raghenilda, his wife. The estate became one of the first of the Fountains properties to be organised into a grange (Fountains Cart., ii.563, 564). Sited next to Fountains, Morker remained demesne property of the abbey until the dissolution (Valor Eccl., v.253). It yielded wheat, oats, and hay to the abbey's central stores (Fountains Memorials, i.295). Shortly after the dissolution the grange was kept by Ninian Pullen and Henry Atkinson. The buildings, garths, orchards and gardens of the grange were worth 6s. 8d., and the whole estate was valued at £18 yearly (ibid., i.316). Over half a century before, in 1480, John Hardcastle had kept the grange for the abbey (ibid., i.352n). With many of the more important Fountains demesnes, Morker was granted to Sir Richard Gresham on 1 October 1540 (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xvi.96).

SUTTON, Yorks. : SE 283738, and air-photograph RP/540/RAF/572. 3289. 30Jul51. The earthworks at Sutton Grange include a large rectangular enclosure, lying in a north-south direction immediately to the west of Grange Farm. The banks and ditches of the enclosure are exceptionally well-marked on the west side, where they constitute an earthwork and moat of almost defensive proportions. Within the outer banks, a lesser enclosure still survives in a fragmentary condition on the east side of the greater. There are further considerable disturbances, including the remains of buildings and hedge-banks, on the far side of the farm track on the east. It is to be presumed that the modern farm-house re-uses the site of the medieval grange. Two carucates in Sutton were among Archbishop Thurstan's foundation grants to the new community at Fountains (B.M., Add. 18, 276, f.234). The grant was confirmed by

Stephen in 1135 (Fountains Memorials, ii.2). By 1156 further considerable gifts, among them a grant of pasture by Roger de Mowbray, had swelled the grange estate (ibid., ii.77). Sutton was among the granges of Fountains for which Abbot Robert in 1363 sought permission to convert the sites to vills (ibid., i.204). But there is nothing to suggest that, in this instance, such a conversion took place. Early in the 15th century, in the abbacy of John Ripon (1414-34), the grange was worth £20 yearly. It was let to Nicholl Tempest, described as 'the greatest extortioner of all the country where he dwells'. Tempest refused, over a period of three years, to pay his rent; further aggravating his offence by stripping the buildings of much valuable lead. The abbot and convent, explaining that they could obtain no recovery against him by the common law, sought remedy direct from the king (Monastic Chancery Proceedings, p.40). Shortly before the dissolution, we know that the grange had returned to the demesne. It supplied wheat, rye, oats and hay to the monastery, and its value, both for grains and for the pasturage of cattle, was counted so high that the abbot, on 16 February 1538, refused to consider Cromwell's request for the preferment of his servant William Dale to the farm of the estate (L. & P., Hen.VIII, XIII.i.102, and Fountains Memorials, i.287-8, 295). With the site and many important demesnes of Fountains, Sutton Grange was granted to Sir Richard Gresham on 1 October 1540 (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xvi.96). It appears to have been kept at the time by Randall Hogeson, the value of site, dwelling-house and farm buildings together being counted at 5s. The rough pasture, meadow and arable

attached to the grange brought the total value of the estate to £13.6s. 8d. (Fountains Memorials, i.320-1).

WARSILL, Yorks. : SE 237660, and air-photograph 540/520. 4185. 3Mar51. Signs of early enclosures, and possibly some buildings, are preserved in the pasture immediately to the east of Warsill Hall. They include a single enclosure bank and cross-wall; also the remains of a small building, semi-circular in form. The forest of Warsill came to Fountains by gift of Robert de Sarz, the donor of the Morker estate (Fountains Memorials, i.55). Warsill was quickly organised into a grange, and was already described as such in a confirmatory charter of Henry Murdac, granted a few years later (ibid., i.157). The Warsill estate was to become the subject of a serious dispute with an unnamed archbishop of York, which is said to have 'gravely disturbed the peace' of both parties. A compromise settlement was reached, 'after many troubles', through the mediation of good men (Fountains Cart., ii.740). In 1535 the grange at Warsill remained demesne property of the abbey (Valor Eccl., v.253). It was granted, with other demesnes of the house, to Sir Richard Gresham, holding by letters patent dated 1 October 1540 (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xvi.96). At the time, Peter Smith held the grange by indenture, paying a rent of £3.6s. 8d. for the pasture, woods and a small quantity of arable pertaining to the estate (Fountains Memorials, i.357).

Garendon

BURTON ON THE WOLDS, Leics. : SK 595213. The earthworks in Grange

Field include the remains of a deep, wide moat, cutting off a corner at the highest portion of the field. Enclosure banks circle the rest of Grange Field to form a large rectangular outer enclosure. It is to be presumed that the smaller moated enclosure held the grange buildings, the outer enclosure functioning as an outer court. Garendon acquired four and a half carucates in Burton by gift of Gilbert de Coleville. The gift was confirmed by William, his son, as well as by Hugo Malet, lord of the fee of Burton (B.M., Lansdowne 415, fos.8, 18). Another four carucates in the vill were subsequently acquired from the Berges family (*ibid.*, fos.8, 3lv). An early gift and quitclaim, by Gilbert son of Picot, mentions a sheep enclosure at Burton, outside the ditches of the grange court (*ibid.*, f.9). In the third quarter of the 15th century the grange was demised on an eighty-year term to William Gould. By September 1536 the heirs of William Gould had sub-let the grange at Burton at a rent of £4 to Richard Twichell. Other messuages in Burton were held at will by John Smythe, Thomas Lake, William Barton, John Whiteley, Charles Greve and John Gross (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen. VIII/1825, m.19d). On 4 August 1539 Burton Grange, 'late in the tenure of Richard Twichell', was granted in fee to John Wiseman, auditor at the Court of Augmentations (L. & P., Hen.VIII, XIV.ii.32). On 8 March 1541 it was re-granted, with other former possessions of Garendon, to Thomas, earl of Rutland (*ibid.*, xvi.326).

Jervaulx

AKEBAR, Yorks. : SE 189906. The earthworks of a group of buildings

lie immediately to the south-east of the present farm-house. To the south again, a pattern of enclosing banks and ditches runs down the meadow to Leeming Beck. The remains of a medieval settlement, set about the chapel on the far side of the beck, are said locally to have been bulldozed recently. Akebar was an important grange of Jervaulx, and remained among the granges held in demesne at the suppression of that house. Robert Bowes was keeper of Akebar at the dissolution. In September 1537 Bowes still held the farm of Akebar at a rent of £4 (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4441, m.2). A contemporary survey of the Jervaulx estates lists the buildings at the grange as a dwelling-house, two barns and a stable. Attached to the buildings was a croft of one acre. Buildings and croft together were valued at 3s. 4d. The total for the whole estate, including the grange, was calculated at £38.10s. 6d. (P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., SC.12/19/20, f.6).

BRAITHWAITE, Yorks. : SE 118857, and air-photograph 106G/UK/1512. 3226. 16 May 46. Braithwaite Hall, while preserving the name of the former Jervaulx grange, has probably obscured its site. To the east of the hall, there are earthworks suggestive of a former peasant settlement, two of the houses of which are still plainly visible both on the ground and on the exceptionally clear vertical air-photograph of the site. Further traces of disturbance, to the west of the peasant settlement, separate it from the site of the hall. The earthworks, such as they are, occupy the south-east corner of the field between Braithwaite Hall and the houses and crofts of the former settlement. It is conceivable that they, rather than the hall itself, might be identified as the site

of the grange. Braithwaite was listed among the lesser granges of Jervaulx in 1301 (Lay Subsidy (Yorks.), p.97). As late as 1317 Jervaulx was still acquiring land in Braithwaite (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1313-17, p.623). But the grange had already been let out to farm by 1342 (P.R.O., Chancery, Misc. Inq., C.145/147, f.21). On 15 March 1397 Braithwaite was included with a number of Jervaulx lands and tenements exchanged for the advowson of the church of Aysgarth. The other party in the transaction was Ralph de Nevill who became earl of Westmorland on 29 September that same year (Madox, Formulare Anglicanum, pp.95-6). Richard II granted a licence to the abbey to appropriate the church on 2 October 1397 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1396-99, p.209). The appropriation was sanctioned by Pope Boniface IX on 8 February 1398 (Cal. Papal Reg.: Letters, 1396-1404, pp.160-1). It was confirmed, on a further payment, by Henry IV on 23 February 1400 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1399-1401, pp.235-6). Braithwaite, with other Nevill lands, descended by way of Anne, daughter of Richard Nevill, earl of Warwick (d.1471), to Anne's husband Richard, duke of Gloucester. It was granted to the duke of Gloucester on 20 February 1475 (ibid., 1467-77, p.483). Of the 15th-century tenants, we know that Anthony Harvey on 4 April 1542 replaced John Gostwick as farmer of the site and demesnes of the manor. Gostwick himself had surrendered a lease dated 7 July 1524 (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xvii.159).
(plate 23)

DALE, Yorks. : SD 935908, and air-photograph 58/711. 3019. 3 June 51.
A single 13th-century lancet window has been re-used in the north wall of Chantry Farm, itself occupying the site of the original Dale Grange.

To the south of the farm-house, there are traces of early terracing on the banks of the river. To its east, the foundations of several large buildings may be identified in the air-photograph of the site; some part of these may still be observed on the ground. Dale, said to be one of the sites early chosen by the community for its abbey, became an important estate-centre of Jervaulx. It controlled a chain of cattle-lodges stretching over the abbey's pastures in Wensleydale, becoming by 1535 the most valuable possession of the house (Valor Eccl., v.241). At the suppression of Jervaulx John Metcalf was the abbey's bailiff for its entire estate at Dale. Members of his family shared between them the farm of the grange, each of them holding his portion not by long-term indenture, but at the will of the abbot. In addition, certain of the lands of the grange were retained fully in demesne to the last (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4441, m.7d). Considerable acreages of exempt lands, formerly the possession of the Cistercians of Jervaulx, were listed in the 19th-century tithe apportionments for the townships of Askrigg and Low Abbotside. These included a number of sheepgates on the moors above the grange (Tithe Comm., Township of Askrigg, Yorks., 1839, and Township of Low Abbotside, Yorks., 1840). KILGRAM, Yorks. : SE 193857, and air-photographs JH90 (St. Joseph) and 58/711. 4184. 3 June 51. The earthworks at Kilgram are particularly extensive. They occupy a bend of the river Ure, to the east of Jervaulx Abbey, and immediately to the south of the present farm-house. The most obvious traces of former buildings are sited in the north-east corner of the great enclosure, though it is quite as

likely that modern buildings occupy the best part of the site of the old. The main enclosure itself has been roughly squared-off with banks and ditches, presumably serving as flood guards. The siting of Kilgram close to the abbey at Jervaulx ensured that it was preserved as demesne right up to the dissolution. With the other principal demesne granges of the house, Kilgram in its last years was kept for the abbey by Robert Bowes. In September 1537, a few months after the suppression of Jervaulx, Robert Bowes held the grange at a rent of £26.0s. 4d. The total value of the estate included the sum of 3s. 6d. for the farm of the dwelling-house, a barn, an ox-house and a cow-house (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4441, m.2d). A few months later, on 1 May 1538, Sir Christopher Danby addressed a letter to Sir George Lawson expressing his intention to purchase certain properties late of Jervaulx, among them the 'farmhold' at Kilgram (L. & P., Hen.VIII, XIII.i.331). The grange had already been leased on 18 March that year to Lancelot Alford, page of the Wardrobe (ibid., XIII.i.245).

MELSONBY, Yorks. : NZ 184076, and air-photograph 540/567. 4009.

29 July 51. The site at Melsonby is now known as 'Grange Castle'. It survives as a rectangular earthwork, enclosing an area approximately 200' x 120'. Beyond it to the south and to the west additional banks and ditches originally enclosed a very much larger area, also rectangular in outline. The larger enclosure incorporated the smaller towards its south-east corner. The outer banks have now, for the most part, been ploughed-out. They may still, however, be identified on the vertical air-photograph of the site. The early history of the

grange is not well documented, but we know that the abbey held property in Melsonby and Diddelston from an early date (V.C.H., Yorks. N.R., i.107). In September 1537, a few months after the suppression of Jervaulx, the farm of Melsonby was held by John Metcalf, possibly the same John Metcalf who had acted as the bailiff of the abbey's estates in Wensleydale. Metcalf held the estate 'at will', paying £3.6s. 8d. for the farm of the dwelling-house with its garden, for sixty acres of arable, and for an eight-acre close of pasture known as 'Monkeholme'. With the exception of 2s. in free rents assigned to the chaplain of the chantry at Cowton, there were no other Jervaulx interests in the township (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4441, m.9). In 1543 John Metcalf was still tenant at Melsonby. On 12 June in that year Sir Richard Southwell wrote to Philip Lenthall instructing him to enquire whether the existing tenants on certain properties, late of Jervaulx, wished to purchase them from the crown. Melsonby was among the estates listed in Southwell's schedule (L. & P., Hen.VIII, Addenda, I.ii.539).

NEWSTEAD, Yorks. : SE 164852. The earthworks at Low Newstead are of particular interest and complexity. They include the remains of numerous buildings on both sides of the beck which runs eastwards from the farm-house to the road. There appear to have been more buildings in the pasture just to the south. The outline of a large L-shaped structure of two rooms shows clearly through the pasture immediately to the west of the modern farm. There are further medieval enclosure banks (and possibly some traces of buildings as well) at the farm

known as High Newstead to the south. Newstead was among the Jervaulx granges to suffer from the devastations of the Scottish raids. In 1342 it was said to have been converted to a vill, although we need not assume that the partitioning lasted for long (P.R.O., Chancery, Misc. Inq., C.145/147, f.21). At the suppression of Jervaulx the grange at Newstead was worth a total of £22 the year. Of this, a third part was made up of the rents of several tenants holding at the will of the abbot. The remaining £14.13s. 4d. was accounted for by Henry Asquith, presumably the farmer of the former demesne lands of the grange (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4441, m.4d). On 11 February 1538 the lease of a third part of the grange, including 'the field before the door', was re-assigned for the term of twenty-one years to Lawrence Asquith (L. & P., Hen.VIII, XIII.i.135). Some two months later Lawrence and Henry Asquith were named as joint tenants of Newstead, a property in which Sir Christopher Danby wished to make clear his especial interest (ibid., XIII.i.331).

THRINTOFT, Yorks. : SE 319929, and air-photograph 106G/UK/1235. 4161. 10 Mar 46. The only surviving medieval building at Thrintoft is the chapel, now used as a barn and sited immediately to the south-west of the present farm-house. There are earthworks in the pastures to the west and north of the chapel, including a small rectangular enclosure which shows up well on the air-photograph of the site. Thrintoft appears to have been one of the lesser granges of Jervaulx. Following the suppression of the abbey in 1537, the estate was let in September that year to John Stane who held the house and garden there (with other

lands of the demesne) at a rent of £2.3s. 4d. Thomas Iles farmed another parcel of the estate, comprising both arable and pasture and valued at 13s. 4d. Both tenants held their farms not by indenture, but at will (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4441, m.12).

Kingswood

CALCOT, Glos. : ST 839949. A 14th-century stone barn survives in a mutilated condition at Calcot. Inside the south porch a coign stone gives the date of construction as 1300. The barn was destroyed by lightning in 1728 and was rebuilt in 1729. A drawing by Samuel Hieronymus Grimm, dated July 1790, shows the barn in its 18th-century guise (B.M., Add. 15, 540, f.107). Other drawings by the same hand represent the inscription and bas-relief in the barn, as well as the fragments (a door-frame and a holy water stoup) of a chapel, now destroyed (*ibid.*, fos.108-10). The barn still stands to its full length. It is a building of nine bays, measuring 140' x 37'. Calcot continued through the centuries to be an important grange of Kingswood. A dissolution valuation of the Kingswood lands gives the farm of Calcot at £8, a total exceeded only by Haselden among the granges of the house (P.R.O., Treasury of Receipt, Books, E.36/152, p.13). At the suppression of Kingswood the tenant at the grange was William Clark, holding Calcot by indenture on a lifetime lease (P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., SC.12/7/70, f.21v). On 14 February 1540 Calcot Grange, with other properties of Kingswood including the site of the abbey itself, was sold to Sir Nicholas Poyntz, a Gloucestershire

gentleman and a prominent courtier during the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xv.111). At the date of sale William Clark and John, his son, were still tenants at the grange (P.R.O., Aug. Off., Part. for Grants, E.318/900). On 13 February 1542 Sir Nicholas Poyntz obtained a licence to alienate Calcot Grange to Henry Brain (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xvii.60).

(plates 18 and 19)

TETBURY, Glos. : ST 896920. At Estcourt Grange, Tetbury, the modern kitchen would seem to have been originally a chapel. A piscina, equipped with a plain trefoiled head, remains built into the south wall of the kitchen, suggesting a 14th-century date for the original apartment. Tetbury was among the Kingswood granges taxed in 1291 (Taxatio Ecclesiastica, p.221). Shortly before the dissolution the grange was in the occupation of Thomas Stevens. Stevens paid an annual rent of £6.13s. 4d. (P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Ser., SC.12/7/70, f.21v). The tithe apportionment of Tetbury Parish, confirmed by the commissioners on 27 September 1838, recorded that some 260 acres of pasture, having formerly been a part of the possessions of Kingswood, remained exempt from all tithes, both great and small. This is unlikely to have been the full extent of the Kingswood estates in the area, and the presumption must be that a good part of the Kingswood lands lay outside the parish boundaries (Tithe Comm., Parish of Tetbury, Glos., 1838).

Kirkstall

BARNOLDSWICK, Yorks. : SD 872466. There are minor earthworks visible in the field to the north of the present factory buildings and to the west of the town of Barnoldswick. They include a medieval boundary bank and the faint remains of a few buildings. Ridge and furrow, to the east of the modern hedge-line, runs over what might prove to be further more extensive remains. For some five or six years Barnoldswick was the site of the first conventual buildings of the community which later settled at Kirkstall. The monks came to Barnoldswick on the invitation of Henry de Lacy, who himself held the land from Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk (d.1177). Hugh Bigod was persuaded to confirm the grant of these lands on the discovery that Henry de Lacy was not, in actual fact, entitled to give them away (Kirkstall Coucher, pp.ix-x, 188-9). In 1276 Brother Peter was the granger at Barnoldswick. He is known to have cut off an ear of a serving-boy at the grange, caught stealing two loaves of bread (Rotuli Hundredorum, i.112). In the last years of the same century the grange was demised for life to Peter of Chester, a wealthy provost of Beverley with connections with the Lacy family. Peter died in c.1298 (Kirkstall Coucher, p.330). It was at this period that certain valuable pasture rights of the abbey at Barnoldswick were threatened by the claim of Henry de Lacy (d.1311), earl of Lincoln. The dispute was finally resolved in favour of the abbey by a royal mandate dated 21 August 1335 (ibid., pp.321-39). In September 1540, following the suppression of the abbey, the manor of Barnoldswick (called 'le halle demeynes') was farmed by Richard Banester,

holding this and other Kirkstall properties by an indenture granted by the late abbot and convent (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4590, m.12).

Kirkstead

GAYTON-LE-WOLD, Lincs. : TF 244854. The earthworks at Gayton Grange lie mainly to the west and north-west of the modern farm-house. Deep ploughing to the east of the site has obliterated whatever traces there may have been, on that quarter, of an earlier settlement. For the most part, the surviving earthworks are boundary banks. They comprise a large enclosure, rectangular in outline, with a smaller enclosure on the north-east corner, partly destroyed by the ploughing. There are indications of buildings in the north-west quarter of the great enclosure, where there is also an entrance contemporary with the banks. Another building, or quarry, is sited up against the north enclosure bank. The estate at Gayton, extending to two and a half carucates, was given originally to the Cistercians of Bégard, in Brittany. The donation was made by Alan (d.1146), earl of Richmond and count of Brittany, with the specific intention that the land should be employed to found a grange. Alan himself was later to be buried at Bégard. The monks in Brittany found their Lincolnshire possession too remote for effective use, and, by agreement with Earl Conan, Alan's son, they arranged the transfer of the estate to the new community at Kirkstead. Conan appears to have added the church at Gayton to the original two and a half carucates of the property (B.M., Harley 43 B.45; also Harley 48 G.40, and Cotton Vesp. E. xviii, fos.78v-80). Over half a century later the

Cistercians at Bégard disputed the terms of the transfer, wishing to recover their former Lincolnshire estate. Arbitration was sought at the general chapter of the order, and a decision was given in favour of Kirkstead on 16 September 1215 (B.M., Harley 43 B.46, 43 B.47, and 44 A.14). In the meantime Gayton had become an important grange of Kirkstead, and it would appear to have continued to retain at least some qualities as demesne until the suppression of the abbey. On 16 June 1521 the grange was leased on a twenty-year term to Richard Talbot. Talbot continued to hold the grange in September 1537. The rent at the time was fixed at £8. 10s., of which £3 replaced the twenty quarters of grain supplied before the dissolution to the monastery. Talbot was not the only tenant in Gayton to owe a corn rent to the abbey, for each of the tenants holding at will before the suppression owed some part of his rent in kind (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/2062, m. 8d-9). Two years later, on 19 March 1539, Gayton was among the Kirkstead estates granted to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk (L. & P., Hen.VIII, XIV. i. 261).

Meaux

CROO, Yorks. : TA 139545. Later buildings have obscured the site of the former grange at Croo, but the three ponds that are now set about the modern farm-house may yet represent the

remains of a moat. To the west of the buildings, and outside the modern boundaries of the estate, there are the surviving earthworks of a small peasant settlement. It is possible that the settlement may have been that of the labourers employed to work the grange. To found the grange, the community at Meaux acquired over the years an estate formerly the possession of Geoffrey Bryto. The process was a long one, and the grange was not finally established until the abbacy of Michael, 1235-49 (Meaux Chron., i. 164-7, ii. 47-9). A century later the debts of Meaux were such as to compel Abbot William of Dringhoe (1349-53) to demise the estate for life to Peter of Grimsby and his wife Clementia (ibid., iii. 85). The grange was still let out to farm in 1396. It was held by Richard of Stopes, the farmer of Moor Grange to the south. Richard and his wife Elena held the grange at a rent of £4. Attached to it were four bovates of land in Beeford, another six in Dringhoe (B.M., Cotton Vit. C. vi, f. 206v). In September 1540 the grange at Croo was farmed by John Wren, paying a rent of £4. 10s. for the site and the demesnes (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4612, m. 8). The tithe apportionment of 1842 records an exempt acreage at Croo Grange of some 147 acres (Tithe Comm., Township of Beeford, Yorks. 1842). (fig. 7). DRINGHOE, Yorks. : TA 157552, and air-photograph RP/CPE/UK/1911.

3106. 27 Dec 46. A complex of earthworks, the majority related to the former village at Dringhoe, may be seen on the air-photograph to surround the site of the grange. On the ground there are considerable surface irregularities, better identified from the air. The first recorded acquisitions of land in Dringhoe date to the abbacy of Thomas, third abbot of Meaux (1182-97). Between 1235 and 1269 further extensive grants included the gift by Thomas, son of Gualo, of a carucate and two tofts in Dringhoe, with eight men and their families to work it (Meaux Chron., i. 223, ii. 45, 105). Late in the 14th century Abbot William of Scarborough (1372-96) moved the abbey's mill, formerly at Beeford, to Dringhoe in the parish of Skipsea, where it was re-sited on a 'very high place', presumably the mound of the motte just to the east of the grange. The object of the move was to avoid in future the payment of tithes of the mill to the rector of Beeford. The rectory at Skipsea had already long been appropriated by Meaux (ibid., iii. 185). A survey of the Meaux estates, taken on the occasion of the accession of Abbot William's successor, recorded a total of 377 acres, 1 rood, and 7 perches at Dringhoe Grange (B.M., Cotton Vit. C. vi, f. 223). In September 1540 John Wroid held the farm of the windmill at a rent of 30s. There was no mention of the grange, and the largest tenement in the vill was worth no more than 25s. 6d. (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4612, m. 8).

HAYHOLME, Yorks. : TA 092468, and air-photograph CPE/UK/1834. 3162. 13 Nov 46. There is a small rectangular moated site at Hayholme immediately to the west of the present hall; the moat is still water-filled. The site is overgrown, but appears not to have been built upon since its original abandonment. There are some further earthworks, less well defined, in the fields to the east of the hall. The acquisition of the site and demesnes at Hayholme dates to the first years of the abbey. The manor came to Meaux by gift of Robert Scurres, who himself entered the community as a novice during the abbacy of Adam, the first abbot (Meaux Chron., i. 96). Hayholme was surrounded by low-lying marshes, and the boundaries and pasture rights on the east continued throughout the 13th century to be the cause of dispute between Meaux and the freemen of Brandesburton (ibid., i. 365, ii. 92-4, 150-1). Early in the 14th century the revenues of Hayholme were assigned first to Richard Thorpe, then to John of Cottingham, in each case to compensate the recipient for the appropriation of his rectory at Skipsea and Easington respectively (ibid., ii. 235, iii. 6-7). In a valuation compiled in 1342 the Hayholme estate was rated at £6 (ibid., iii. 27). During the abbacy of William of Scarborough (1372-96) the buildings within the moats at Hayholme were dismantled, to be

of the place (ibid., Cotton MS. B. vi, fol. 207v, 211v, 212v)

reconstructed again outside them (ibid., iii. 228). By 1396 Hayholme had become the principal cattle-farm of the abbey. It extended to a total of 201 acres, 1½ roods, and 13 perches, and it was kept for the abbey by Brother Robert of Wansford at a rent of £14 (B.M., Cotton Vit. C. vi, fos. 206v, 222). In September 1540 the farm of Hayholme was held by John Thompson at a rent of £13. 6s. 8d. Thompson was the only tenant on the estate (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4612, m. 8).

MOOR, Yorks. : TA 139512, and air-photograph CPE/UK/1834. 3264. 13 Nov 46. A water-filled moat at Moor Grange all but surrounds a site measuring approximately 200' x 100'. There are a few traces of further medieval earthworks in the fields to the south of the farm-house and moats. The estate at Moor, a compound of lands from Dunnington and Beeford, became a grange before 1172 (Meaux Chron., i. 163-4). In the following years the community at Meaux succeeded, by a process of purchase and exchange, in consolidating its lands at Moor into a convenient, centralised estate (B.M., Cotton Vit. C. vi, fos. 21v-3). Moor was demised to Ada of Malberthorpe during the short abbacy of John of Rislai, 1353-6 (Meaux Chron., iii. 100n). In 1396 the grange was held on a lifetime tenancy by Richard of Stopes and Elena, his wife. Richard and Elena paid a rent of £4. 13s. 4d. for the 408 acres of the grange (B.M., Cotton Vit. C. vi, fos. 206v, 223v). On

18 March 1535 the abbot^{of} Meaux leased Moor Grange to William Barker and Agnes, his wife. William and Agnes agreed to receive and entertain the abbot twice a year, and to find food and provender for his agents. A number of apartments were reserved for the use of the abbot, among these the chapel, the abbot's chamber, a chamber for the abbot's servants, a cellar, a stable, and another servant's chamber over the stable. For William Barker himself there was a hall, a chamber, and a kitchen, with a grain-barn, a hay-barn, a stable (or ox-house), and a cow-house. The rent of the grange was fixed at £10 (P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/215, fos. 21v-3). Eight years later William Barker, now married to Joanna, sought a renewal of his lease, originally granted to him for life. On 8 March 1543 Barker was re-granted his lease, again at £10, for a term of twenty-one years (*ibid.*, f. 22v, and L. & P., Hen.VIII, XVIII. i. 553). The freehold of the grange was later assigned, 'for his services', to Sir Ralph Ellerker, the marshal. The grant was confirmed at Westminster on 24 March 1545 (P.R.O., Aug. Off., Part. for grants, E.318/409, and L. & P., Hen.VIII, XX. i. 224). In the tithe apportionment of the township of Beeford, confirmed in 1842, there were said to be over 420 acres of exempt lands centred on Moor Grange (Tithe Comm., Township of Beeford, Yorks., 1842).

(fig. 6)

NORTH GRANGE, Yorks. : TA 099405. The sole remaining earthworks at North Grange are those of a small moated site, the interior platform of which is some 130' square. The site, if it ever housed the buildings of the grange, cannot long have continued to do so. In the 13th century a tile-kiln, recently excavated, was being worked in the middle of the moated area (Eames, 'A thirteenth-century tile-kiln', pp.137-68). North Grange was an important demesne grange of Meaux. It was acquired by gift of William, count of Aumarle (d.1179), and is said to have replaced the manor and village of Meaux from which the abbey took its name (Meaux Chron., i. 81). Early in the 13th century there were smiths and tanners working at North Grange. During the abbacy of Michael Brun (1235-49) they were moved (with their buildings) to the abbey itself, and to an estate to the south at Wawne (ibid., ii. 63). The abbey kept a sheep-house at North Grange. Repairs to its buildings were effected during the last years of the 14th century (ibid., iii. 225, 242). In 1396 North Grange was one of the four important granges kept in hand by the abbey. At the time, Walter Cokk ran the tannery and cobbler's workshop at the grange. Walter paid a part of his rent in kind, supplying boots and shoes to the requirements of the abbot and monks (B.M., Cotton Vit. C. vi., fos. 216, 218). Following the suppression of Meaux, North Grange was among the former demesnes of the abbey demised by

the crown to Lancelot Alford. In September 1540 Isabella Denton was in occupation of North Grange, presumably sub-letting the property from Alford. The farms of North Grange and Fewsom Grange together were rated at the low figure of £1 (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4612, m. 1).

OCTON, Yorks. : TA 021715, and air-photograph CPE/UK/1839.

3349. 13 Nov 46. The earthworks at Octon are of exceptional interest and importance. A large rectangular outer enclosure runs approximately north and south. In its south-east corner it holds a smaller enclosure (as surveyed) in which there are distinct traces of earlier buildings, including the outline of a large hall, or barn. The limits of both outer and inner enclosures are still readily identifiable on the ground. Octon was among the first of the Meaux estates to be consolidated into a grange. The three carucates of the grange were the gift of Henry of Octon and Godfrey of Harpham, and the whole process of foundation and consolidation was completed within the abbacy of Adam, the first abbot (Meaux Chron., i. 99, 102). By 1298 the grange had already been leased to a layman. An inquisition, dated 24 September in that year, observed that the late John Ughtred and Isabel, his wife, had held the capital messuage and lands of Octon (given as thirty bovates) for life. Ughtred's heir was his daughter Joan, aged 4½ years (Cal. Inq. Post Mort., iii. 355-6). In 1396 William Paslewe was holding the grange at

Octon at will. Paslewe paid the small sum of £2. 5s. for the 434 acres of the former demesne (B.M., Cotton Vit. C. vi, fos. 215, 228v). In September 1540, following the suppression of the abbey at Meaux, the total revenues of the Octon estate were calculated at £6. 0s. 8d. The farm of the grange itself, at £5. 6s. 8d., had been demised by indenture to John Watford. In addition, Robert Hogson held another messuage and lands in the township (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4612, m. 10d). In 1843 a total of 537 acres, concentrated closely about the grange were counted exempt from all manner of tithes, 'having been parcel of the possessions of the Abbey of Melsa, one of the Greater Monasteries of the Cistercian Order' (Tithe Comm., Hamlet of Octon, Yorks., 1843).

(figs. 5 & 7)

WAWNE, Yorks. : TA 099369, and air-photograph 58/RAF/2162. 0075. 7 May 57. The most important earthwork at Wawne is a large square moated enclosure, heavily wooded and sited on the east side of the field known as 'Grange Croft'. The field itself has been thoroughly ploughed over the years, but clear signs of former enclosures and buildings, immediately to the west of the moated site, show up as crop-marks in the air-photograph of the area. The elements of the Wawne estate came to the abbey as a part of the endowment gift of William, count of Aumarle (d. 1179). They were shortly afterwards swelled by Henry Murdac's grant of a

further two carucates in the vill (Meaux Chron., i. 83-4, 93-5). In 1276 the entire estate was said to extend to four carucates (Rotuli Hundredorum, i. 107). The community at Meaux claimed for itself the church and rectory at Wawne, but failed in the final event to establish the claim (Meaux Chron., i. 407-9). During the abbacy of Michael Brun (1235-49) a re-organisation of the abbey estates led to the removal of the workshop of the smiths and tanners, formerly sited at North Grange, to the abbey and to Wawne. In the same abbacy a stone wool-house was built at Wawne (possibly the long building, visible on the air-photograph, in Grange Croft). Originally the wool-house was roofed with lead, but this was later to be replaced by tiles (ibid., ii. 63). There was a rising of tenants at Wawne during the abbacy of Robert of Beverley (1356-67). It was put down at the cost of long and expensive litigation (ibid., iii. 127-42). In the last years of the 14th century the grange was leased on a twelve-year term to John Painter and three others. The lessees paid their rent in kind, both grains and livestock (B.M., Cotton Vit. C. vi, f. 218, and Meaux Chron., iii. 177). Wawne remained an important possession of the monastery, but would seem, whether at this time or later, to have ceased to be run as a single estate. In September 1540 the lordship of Wawne included within it a large cow-house,

supplied with fifteen acres of meadow and demised by indenture to John Kerlington. In addition, Katherine Squire held a messuage and lands in Wawne, with a close called 'Waghen Graunge', valued in all at £4. 10s. 4d. The total revenues for the whole lordship were rated at £114. 17s. 7d. (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4612, m. 2d-3).

Quarr

HASELEY, Isle of Wight : SZ 547857. The visible remains at Haseley include a medieval barn equipped with two sets of transeptal porches, another smaller barn or granary, and some 14th-century timber-work in the roof of the existing farmhouse. The latter was very largely rebuilt in the 17th century, and has been modified and enlarged since that date. The first benefactor at Haseley was Engler de Bohun, who granted the main part of the estate to Quarr (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1358-61, p. 533). William de Vernon, earl of Devon and son of the founder of the abbey, added certain liberties in the parish (Cat. Ancient Deeds, iii. 516). By arrangement with the Benedictines of the Norman house at Lyre, the tithes at Haseley and other important Quarr estates were remitted, in return for an annual composition payment of 40s. in silver (V.C.H., Hants., ii. 138). The Haseley lands were still absolutely exempt from tithes in 1844 (Tithe Comm., Parish of Arreton, I. of W., 1844). Although the grange at Haseley

continued to be reserved as demesne of the abbey until the dissolution, it was kept in the last years by Richard Lee, holding the estate on an annual basis at a rent of £13. 6s. 8d. (P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/398, f. 40). Lee continued to farm the grange in September 1536 (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/3326, m. 18). On 6 November 1537 the manor of Haseley was included in a grant of former Quarr estates to Thomas Wriothesley, later to be created lord chancellor (L. & P., Hen.VIII, XII. ii. 404).

(fig. 2)

Rievaulx

ANGRAM, Yorks. : NZ 388044, and air-photograph 106/UK/1700. 1285. 27 Aug 46. A large roughly oval enclosure, in a bend of the Wiske immediately to the west of Appleton Wiske, may be identified as the site of the former grange at Angram. The enclosure is approximately eighteen acres in area, and although the whole interior has long been systematically ploughed, there yet remain signs of the former buildings, particularly marked in the squaring-off of the banks at the east end. The area is frequently subject to flooding, but the enclosure itself, protected by its ditches and banks, has never been known to flood. The estate at Angram owed its origin to the extensive

gifts of Gilbert Hansard, to which Hugh of Uckerby, Elena of Welbury, and Robert of Lirthington added further concessions (Rievaulx Cart., pp. 266, 267, 288, 295). The grange was leased on 12 December 1534 to Christopher Bowes, yeoman, of Angram. Bowes paid a rent of £6, and secured the farm for a period of forty-seven years (ibid., p. 351, and P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4553, m. 3). Bowes continued as tenant at Angram until 1543. On 14 September in that year the grange was sold, together with important properties in Great Smeaton late of St. Mary's, York, to Richard Vincent (L. & P., Hen.VIII, XVIII. ii. 141). Three days later, on 17 September, Vincent himself resold the grange to the sitting tenant, Christopher Bowes (ibid., XVIII. ii. 142). The lands of Angram Grange, recorded as tithe-free in the apportionment of 1841, extended to 350 acres (Tithe Comm., Parish of Welbury, Yorks., 1841).

BROUGHTON, Yorks. : NZ 552057, and air-photograph 106G/UK/1700. 3333. 27 Aug 46. The remaining earthworks at Broughton include a small lightly-moated enclosure and a set of further boundary banks. The moated site is rectangular in outline, and probably housed no more than a single building, possibly a barn. The present farm-house shows some signs of earlier work. The first buildings of the grange were established on a holding of no more than fifteen acres, of which thirteen were the gift of Jordan Paen,

of Broughton, and another two were donated by Alan and Bernard, Jordan's men. The site of the grange was stated specifically to lie outside the vill of Broughton (Rievaulx Cart., pp. 76-8). On 4 July 1538, just five months before the suppression of the abbey, the grange at Broughton was leased to Leonard Sayer, himself a Broughton man. The lease was to run for thirty-three years at an annual rental of £8 (ibid., p. 354). In September 1539 Sayer held the Broughton estate, acting as bailiff and collector for the crown (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/ 4553, m. 8d).

(fig. 5)

GRIFF, Yorks. : SE 586837, and air-photograph MZ 97 (St. Joseph). A single enclosure bank, with possible extensions northward towards the farm-house, is still visible in the pasture immediately to the south of the present farm buildings at Griff. Somewhat further to the south, above Whinny Bank, are what appear to be the earthworks of a former peasant settlement. The settlement may well have served to house the peasant cultivators employed at the grange. Four carucates of land at Griff were included with Walter Espec's initial foundation grants to the abbey (Rievaulx Cart., p. 22). The grange was closely associated with

the abbey's important sheep-house at Sproxton to the south-east, with which it was linked by its own bridge over the Rye (ibid., p. 291). Griff was sited conveniently next to the abbey, and the grange was kept in demesne until the dissolution. It was among the Rievaulx properties granted to Thomas Manners, earl of Rutland. In post-suppression valuations of the Rievaulx lands the estate was rated at an annual value of £10. 11s. 10d., of which 12d. was the estimated value of the 'edifices and barns' at the grange (P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/401, p. 331, and Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4553, m. 1d).

MORTON, Yorks. : SE 428996. There are clear signs of earlier buildings in the meadow to the south of the modern farm-house. Short of excavation, however, it would scarcely be possible to interpret their relation to the buildings of the original grange. Rievaulx acquired its East Harlsey estate by gift of Robert Lascelles. The initial grant was subsequently enlarged and confirmed by Geoffrey, Robert's son (Rievaulx Cart., pp. 53-5). On 1 April 1506 John Burton, abbot of Rievaulx, leased his grange at Morton to Henry Eccleston, prior of the Carthusian house of Mount Grace (ibid., pp. 357-8). The priory later found the responsibility of running the grange too much for it, and on 1 March 1535 John Wilson, then prior of Mount Grace, re-assigned the remaining years of the lease to his servant Robert Wilson.

Wilson agreed to pay a rent of £13. 6s. 8d., the sum fixed in 1506 (*ibid.*, p. 357). On 7 May 1540 Morton, together with the site and other estates of Mount Grace Priory, was sold to Sir James Strangeways, of West Harlsey (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xv. 343). Later in the same year, on 28 December, Sir James sold Morton Grange to William, lord Dacre of Gilsland (*ibid.*, xvi. 176). NEWLASS, Yorks. : SE 582865, and air-photograph 106G/UK/1344. 4224. 1 Apr 46. The earthworks at Newlass are exceptionally extensive. They include the area to the south of the modern hedge-line (as surveyed), as well as a set of still clearer earthworks north of the hedge, possibly marking the site of the domestic buildings of the medieval farm. The main feature of the latter is a large roughly square enclosure which may, on excavation, prove to be the foundations of a quadrangular building. The estate at Newlass does not feature as a grange in the earlier documents of Rievaulx. In its later years, the principal importance of the grange would seem to have lain in its function as a demesne sheep-farm, sited on the high ground immediately to the east of the abbey. Newlass was held in demesne at the dissolution. In September 1539 the farm of the grange was worth £6. 15s. 6d. Its buildings included a dwelling-house, a great sheep-house, and the necessary outbuildings of each. In addition, the abbey ran a small rabbit-farm on its

Newlass estate, equipped with a house, a rabbit warren, and five acres of pasture. With the site of the abbey and other important Rievaulx estates, the freehold of Newlass was granted at the suppression to Thomas Manners, earl of Rutland (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4553, m.l.d, and Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/401, pp.335-337).

(fig. 5)

NEWTON, Yorks. : SE 620799. The earthworks at Newton are sited mainly to the west, the south-west, and the north-west of the existing farm-house. Of these, the most promising would seem to constitute the remains of a small L-shaped building, said locally to have been a chapel. There were further buildings immediately to the west of the farm-house. To the north, earthwork enclosures suggest the former siting of a settlement of peasant cultivators attached to the grange. Rievaulx held a total of four carucates at West Newton. In addition, the grange enjoyed some interest in the important sheep-house and pastures at Sproxton to the north-west (Rievaulx Cart., pp. 292-3). On 8 August 1537, shortly before the suppression of the abbey, the grange at Newton was leased on a ninety-nine-year ~~year~~^{term} to Thomas Manners, earl of Rutland. The rent agreed was £22 (P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/401, p.339). Following the dissolution, Newton and other former demesne properties of Rievaulx were granted outright to the earl (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4553, m.l.d).

SKIPLAM, Yorks. : SE 656875, and air-photograph 106G/UK/1344. 4236. 1 Apr 46. An excellent series of earthworks at Skiplam includes the outline of a large outer enclosure, rectangular in form and set in a north-south direction parallel with the road and river. Within the enclosure, and immediately to the west of the modern farm buildings, there are the foundations of two buildings, one of which has been divided by cross walls into three small rooms. The buildings are set at right-angles to each other, the larger being terraced into the slope in an east-west direction. The estate at Skiplam was acquired by Rievaulx by gift of Gundreda, mother of Roger de Mowbray. The gift was subsequently confirmed by Roger himself (Rievaulx Cart., pp. 30-3). To the north of the grange, at Wether Cote, the community ran a sheep-house organised from Skiplam. The sheep-house was sited some two hundred feet higher than the grange at the base of Skiplam Moor (ibid., pp. 204, 210-11, 284-5). In March 1526 John Braithwaite and Alison, his wife, were in residence at Skiplam, presumably at the principal messuage of the grange. They were granted a generous corrody at the abbey, and were promised that should they grow tired of living at Skiplam, they might exchange their farmhold there for a house at the monastery itself (ibid., p. 355). On the surrender of the monastery on 3 December 1538 a contemporary surveyor noted

that the abbot had kept his mansion at Skiplam in hand, in addition to the close of the sheep-house at Wether Cote and 20 acres of brushwood at Hoggebek (or Holebek Hagge), the whole valued at 16s. The remainder of the former demesnes had been demised equally to four tenants (William Edon, Thomas Hooton, John Hooton and William Barker), each holding his portion at a rent of £3 (P.R.O., Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/401, p. 346). On 6 June 1541 Skiplam was included with the Rievaulx estates granted to Thomas Manners, ██████ earl of Rutland (L. & P., Hen. VIII, xvi. 458). The tithe apportionment of Skiplam, confirmed by the commissioners on 7 July 1844, recorded that the entire lands of the township, having formerly belonged to 'the order of Cistercian monks', were exempt from all manner of tithes when in the manurance of the owners. The total acreage of the township extended to 2760 acres, of which 600 acres were arable, 718 acres were meadow and pasture, 324 acres were woodland, 98 acres were enclosed moor, 1000 acres were open moor, and another 20 acres covered rivers, roads and waste. Of this, some 1322 acres, including the site of the grange itself, were exempt from tithes in all conditions, on the payment of a modus totalling £16. The area of Skiplam Grange, subject to the highest agreed payment at £10, totalled 671 acres, 1 rood, and 30 perches (Tithe Comm., Township of Skiplam, Yorks., 1844).

Leases formed out in Skiplam Grange in 1539 (Tithe Comm.,

Proceedings of the Tithe Comm., Yorks., 1844).

Vaudey

BURTON LAZARS, Leics. : SK 774155. The grange site at Burton lies in a marshy area south of the site of the former Burton Lazars Hospital. It consists of a small moated site, measuring some 150' x 120'. The moat continues some way towards the north, and there are further considerable earthworks, for the most part enclosure banks, in the fields to the north and west of the site. Vaudey acquired its Burton estate by gift of a number of donors, the whole being confirmed by Richard I on 7 September 1189. Mention is made in the same confirmation of a tower at the grange (Dugdale, Monasticon, v. 491). By 1276 the estate had swollen to no fewer than eight carucates (Rotuli Hundredorum, i. 240). On 10 August 1529 Burton Grange was leased to Thomas Ratcliffe for a term of fifty years, Ratcliffe paid £8. 17s. 10d. for the farm of the grange, in addition to a further £3. 6s. 8d. for the farm of certain pastures in Burton Lazars. He was still tenant of the grange in September 1536 (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/2006, m. 9). The tithe apportionment of the township of Burton Lazars, confirmed by the commissioners on 19 October 1848, recorded tithe exemption only on an 'ancient farm' in the township known as 'Stonehill'. The Stonehill estate covered 86 acres, 1 rood, and 9 perches, and it may conceivably have coincided with the pastures in Burton Lazars farmed out to Thomas Ratcliffe in 1529 (Tithe Comm., Township of Burton Lazars, Leics., 1848).

Lewes

SWANBOROUGH, Sussex. : TQ 401078. The medieval work at Swanborough is confined to the north range of the present buildings. It includes the remains of a hall, of a chapel, and of a small internal gate-house. Originally the hall extended to the full height of the building; it measured 37' x 15'6". It was lighted by slender lancet windows, of which one specimen, now blocked, still survives in the north wall. At the west end of the hall a screens passage was served by two doors, both of which are now also blocked. The chapel was sited at the east end of the hall. ~~_____~~ A quatrefoil peep-hole and a doorway linked the two apartments. Internal modifications, undertaken at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, included the insertion of a floor in the hall, as well as the supply of a new set of two-light windows to serve the two chambers. At the same time, the outer walls of the building were raised, and the whole was re-roofed. Two water-colour drawings by the local painter James Lambert (1725-88) show first that the east wing, now extensively restored, had already been largely rebuilt in the 16th century, or later; second, that the internal gate-house led, in the 18th century, into an extension of the farm-yard. A substantial stone wall, possibly medieval, separated the farm-yard from the garden (B.M., Add.5677,

fos.28, 29). The estate at Swanborough, extending originally to 5½ hides, was first acquired by gift of William de Warenne (d. 1088), founder of the priory. He and his son, also William, enlarged the property with further gifts, all dating to before 1100 (Lewes Cart., i.4, 10, 12, 21, 25, 35-6). A valor of the Lewes estates, taken either just before or just after the dissolution, rated the value of the demesne lands at Swanborough at £14. 13s. 4d. The rent-roll of manorial tenants swelled the total value of the estate to £47. 4s. 4d. (P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, Gen. Series, SC.11/662). Swanborough, conveniently sited within easy reach of the priory, was long preserved in demesne. In a series of letters, dating to 1536, the then prior of Lewes displayed his reluctance to let a property so valuable to his house (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xi. 94, 149, 181, 237). On 16 February 1538 the manor of Swanborough was included with the other properties of St. Pancras granted to Thomas Cromwell (ibid., XIII. i. 138). The following May there was a serious outbreak of plague at Lewes, and it was debated whether Master Gregory, Cromwell's son, who was in Lewes at the time, should be housed at Swanborough. It was decided, however, that the buildings at Swanborough were too small to house Master Gregory's company (ibid., XIII. i. 389). On the attainder of Cromwell, lately created earl of Essex, the Swanborough estate, with other

St. Pancras lands, was re-granted to William Fitzalan, earl of Arundel (ibid., xvi. 429). The tithe apportionment of the parish of Iford, confirmed by the commissioners on 29 June 1842, recorded a total of 542 acres in the parish exempt from all manner of tithes, 'having formerly been parcel of the possessions of the abbot and monks of Lewes'. The exempt acreage, which occupied the whole north-west corner of the parish, was a part of the 'farm and lands called Swanburgh Farm' (Tithe Comm., Parish of Iford, Sussex, 1842).
(plates 3 & 4 and fig. 1)

GILBERTINEMalton

LINTON, Yorks. : SE 909708, and air-photographs 106G/UK/1313. 4439. 27 Mar 46 and CPE/UK/1839. 4263. 13 Nov 46. At Linton there are three large earthwork enclosures, all roughly rectangular in outline and set in a north-south direction. The modern farmhouse, occupying the central enclosure, may well have taken the place of the medieval buildings of the grange. The Gilbertines of Malton acquired the hamlet of Linton with the church of St. Peter of Wintringham, to which the lands were attached (Dugdale, Monasticon, VI. ii. 970, 971). The estate was not listed as a grange in the 13th-century cartulary of the house, but an entry in a later hand at the end of the cartulary recorded

that there were twenty-four bovates at Linton, each worth 6s. 8d., together totalling £8 (B.M., Cotton Claud. D. xi, f.283v). If the grange were not organised as such in the 13th century, it had certainly acquired its full status by the suppression of the priory, perhaps as a consequence of the clearance and enclosure of the estate for sheep. In the last years before the dissolution the grange of Linton was demised by indenture to Edward, described as a 'canon', and presumably a member of the community and keeper of the grange for the priory. Edward would seem to have continued to hold his lease in September 1540, and he may even have retained it for another four years after that. On 26 January 1545, that is, the farm of Linton was re-assigned to William Fuller, to hold it at the same rent of £10 for the term of twenty-one years. Fuller took over with his lease all the 'houses, buildings, barns, stables, dovecots' formerly in the occupation of Edward (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4618, m.4d, and Aug. Off., Misc. Books, E.315/216, f.134).

RILLINGTON, Yorks. : SE 851747, and air-photograph 106G/UK/1313. 4355. 27 Mar 46. A fine set of earthworks is sited immediately to the west of Park Farm in Rillington. It includes a large almost square outer enclosure, with a smaller enclosure set within the larger on its northern edge. The banks and ditches

of the smaller enclosure remain very clearly marked, and it might be supposed that the domestic buildings of the grange were sited originally within it. The estate at Rillington was among the granges of Malton listed in the mid-13th-century cartulary of that house (B.M., Cotton Claud. D. xi, fos.277v-278v). The canons, who were the rectors of the important church at Wintringham just over two miles to the south, did not hold the advowson of Rillington, which early became the property of the Cistercians at Byland (B.M., Egerton 2823, fos.97, 98v). On 5 November 1316 Byland secured a licence to appropriate the rectory (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1313-17, p.560). In September 1540 the estate at Rillington included several important tenements, but there was no mention of the grange. Of the former, the most important holding was that of William Atterton, farming by indenture two tenements with three adjacent gardens and eleven bovates of land, the whole valued at £4.6s.8d. (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4618, m.4d). Giles Bateson, footman to Catherine Parr, was appointed bailiff and collector of the Malton lands, including Rillington, on 13 June 1545 (L. & P., Hen.VIII, XX. i. 675). SUTTON, Yorks. : SE 795705. Buildings, largely of the 19th century, have obscured the best part of the site of the medieval grange; but a short stretch of what appears to have been a village street survives in the pasture to the south-east of the

dwelling-house, next to the Birdsall road. The earthworks of a few peasant houses of conventional plan may still be identified on the west side of the former street, now a sunken trackway ending at the road. Sutton was among the Malton estates listed as granges of the house in the mid-13th century. In a cartulary of that date the expenses incurred at this and other granges of Malton between the years 1244 and 1257 were recorded in detail (B.M., Cotton Claud. D. xi, fos.277v-278v). On 9 May 1540 the grange at Sutton, in the tenure of John Wyth, was included with the other Malton lands sold to Robert Holgate, bishop of Llandaff. The sale was confirmed on 26 June in the same year (P.R.O., Aug. Off., Part. for Grants, E.318/681, and L. & P., Hen.VIII, xv. 410). The grange itself was worth £3 the year, its assets including a fishery. The mill at Sutton, described as a 'water grain mill', was accounted for separately at 30s. It was currently in the tenure of Richard Andrew (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4618, m.1, 3d.).

WINTRINGHAM, Yorks. : SE 886732, and air-photograph 106G/UK/1313. 4324. 27 Mar 46. Substantial earthworks, including the remains of buildings and numerous enclosure banks, are visible in the field known as 'Grange Garth' immediately to the west of the parish church. Late medieval pottery may still be recovered on the site as surface finds. The church of St. Peter at Wintringham,

with the vill at Linton to the south, came to Malton as part of its initial endowment (Dugdale, Monasticon, VI. ii. 970). The estate was later organised into a grange, and it was as such that it was listed with the other Malton granges in the 13th-century cartulary of the house (B.M., Cotton Claud. D. xi, fos.277v-278v). In September 1540 the receipts from Wintringham for the previous year totalled £28. 13s. 11d. Of this, a rent of £6 replaced the ten quarters of grain and twenty quarters of barley previously sent to the priory by William Constable, farmer of the demesnes there by indenture. The estate was described as the 'manor or rectory' called 'Grange Garth'. William Constable, by the same indenture, held the farm of the church, for which he paid £8. 10s. 7d. The tithes of the parish, at £4, were demised to John Thorpe. For the rest, the remaining revenues at Wintringham were made up of rents and miscellaneous dues (P.R.O., Min. Accts., SC.6/Hen.VIII/4618, m.5d). On 10 July 1541 John Thorpe secured the renewal for a twenty-one-year term of his farm of the Wintringham tithes (L. & P., Hen.VIII, xvi. 721). The manor of Wintringham was among the lands, late of Malton, to which Giles Bateson, footman to Catherine Parr, was appointed bailiff and collector on 13 June 1545 (ibid., XX. i. 675).

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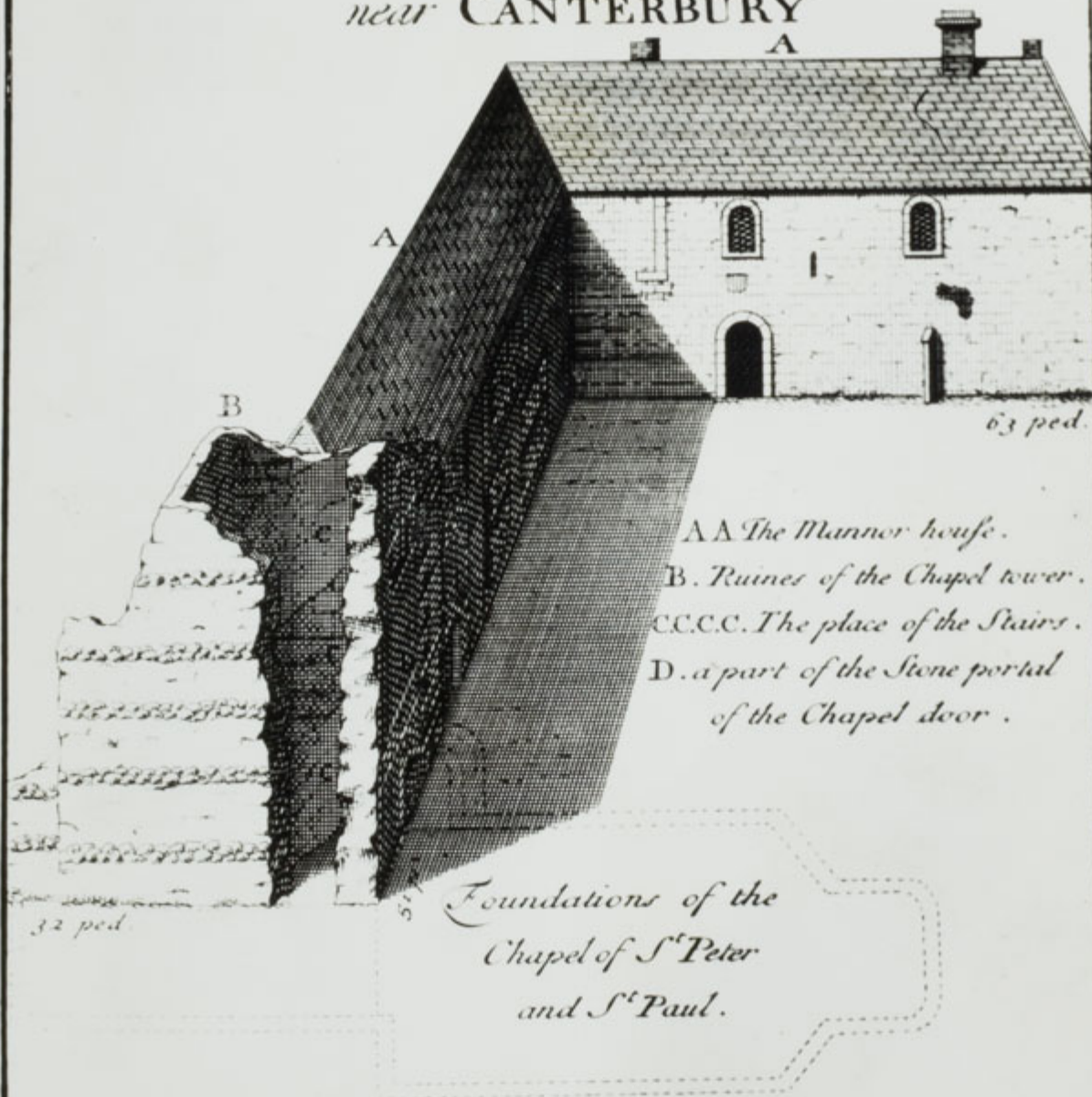
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*The South prospect of the Antient manner-house
of Mynstre belonging to the Monastery of*
S^T PETER and S^T PAUL
*at S^T Austins Abby
near CANTERBURY*



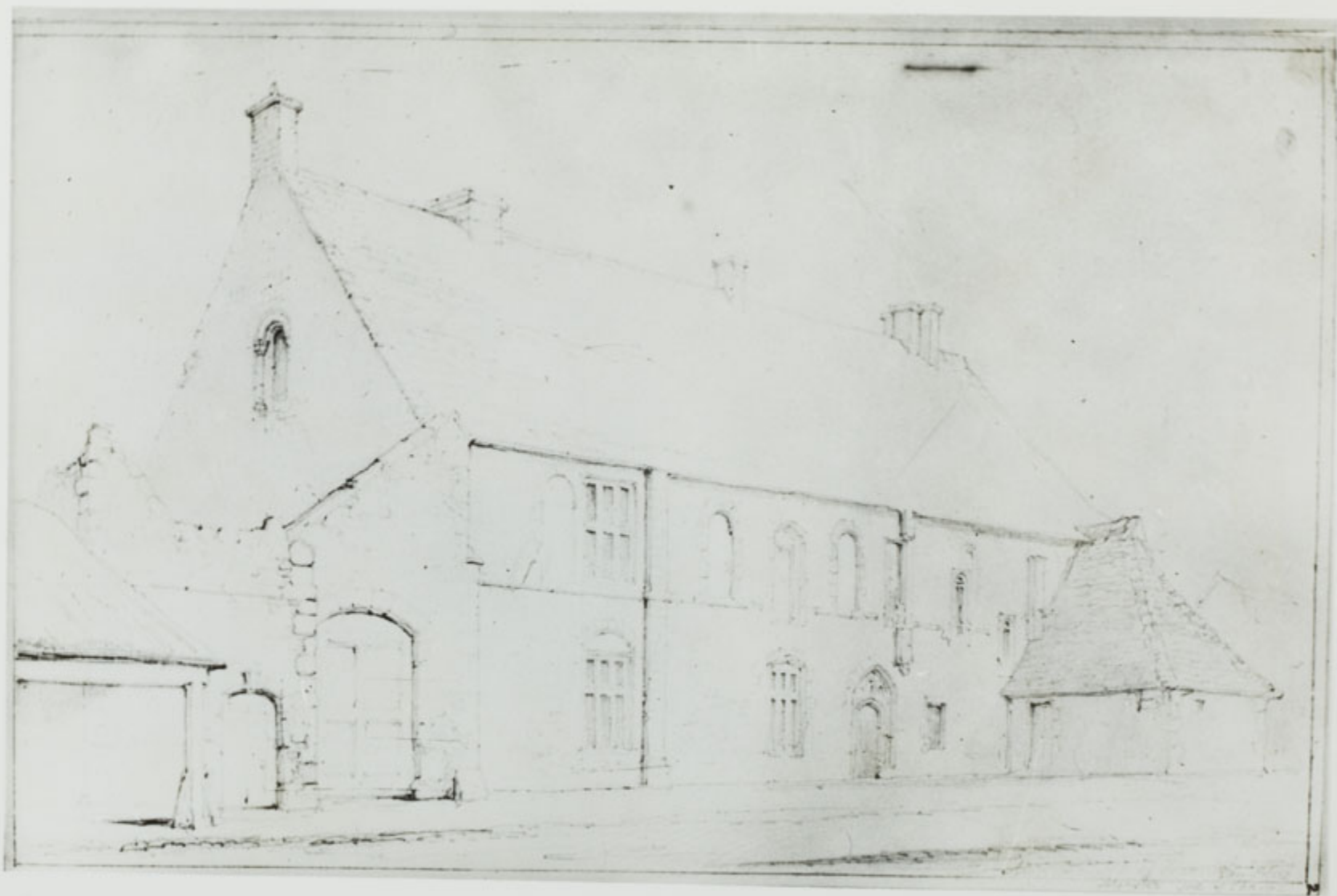


Plate 2. Minster Court, Kent, the north front (B.M., Add. 42,017, f.2,
drawing by Edward Blore, 1787 - 1879).

EX



SWANBOROUGH *near* LEWES

Plate 3. Swanborough Manor, Sussex, the east front (B.M., Add. 5677, f.28, water-colour drawing by James Lambert, 1725 - 1788).



Plate 4. Swanborough Manor, Sussex, the north front (B.M., Add. 5677, f.29, water-colour drawing by James Lambert, 1725 - 1788).



Plate 5. The Abbot's Grange, Broadway, Worcestershire, the east front.
(B.M., Add. 42,018, f.15, drawing by Edward Blore, 1787 - 1879)



Plate 6. The Abbot's Grange, Broadway, Worcestershire, the west front.
(B.M., Add. 42,018, f.16, drawing by Edward Blore, 1787 - 1879)



Plate 7. The Abbot's Grange, Broadway, Worcestershire,
the east front.



Drawn et Lith.

by N. Whitlock

CUMNER PLACE. BERKS.

Plate 8. Cumner Place, Berkshire, the demolished west range.

(N. Whitlock, The Microcosm of Oxford, p.4)



Plate 9. Salmstone Grange, Kent, the south front (B.M., Add. 42,043, f.81,
drawing by Edward Blore, 1787 - 1879).



Plate 10. Salmstone Grange, Kent, the west front (B.M., Add. 42,043, f.2,
drawing by Edward Blore, 1787 - 1879).



Plate 11. Place Farm, Tisbury, Wiltshire,
the outer gate-house.

Plate 12. Place Farm, Tisbury, Wiltshire,
the inner gate-house.





Plate 13. Place Farm, Tisbury, Wiltshire, the outer gate-house and the south gable of the barn (B.M., Add. 36,392, f.202, drawing by John Buckler, 1770 - 1851).



Plate 14. Place Farm, Tisbury, Wiltshire, the west front (B.M., Add. 36,392, f.203, drawing by John Buckler, 1770 - 1851).



Plate 15. Place Farm, Tisbury, Wiltshire,
the west front.



Plate 16. Dymock Grange, Gloucestershire, late medieval stonework
in the east front.



Plate 17. St. Leonard's Grange, Hampshire, the barn.



S.H. Grimm fecit 1730

Plate 18. Calcot Grange, Gloucestershire, the barn (B.M., Add. 15,540, f.107,
drawing by Samuel Hieronymus Grimm, 1734 - 1794).

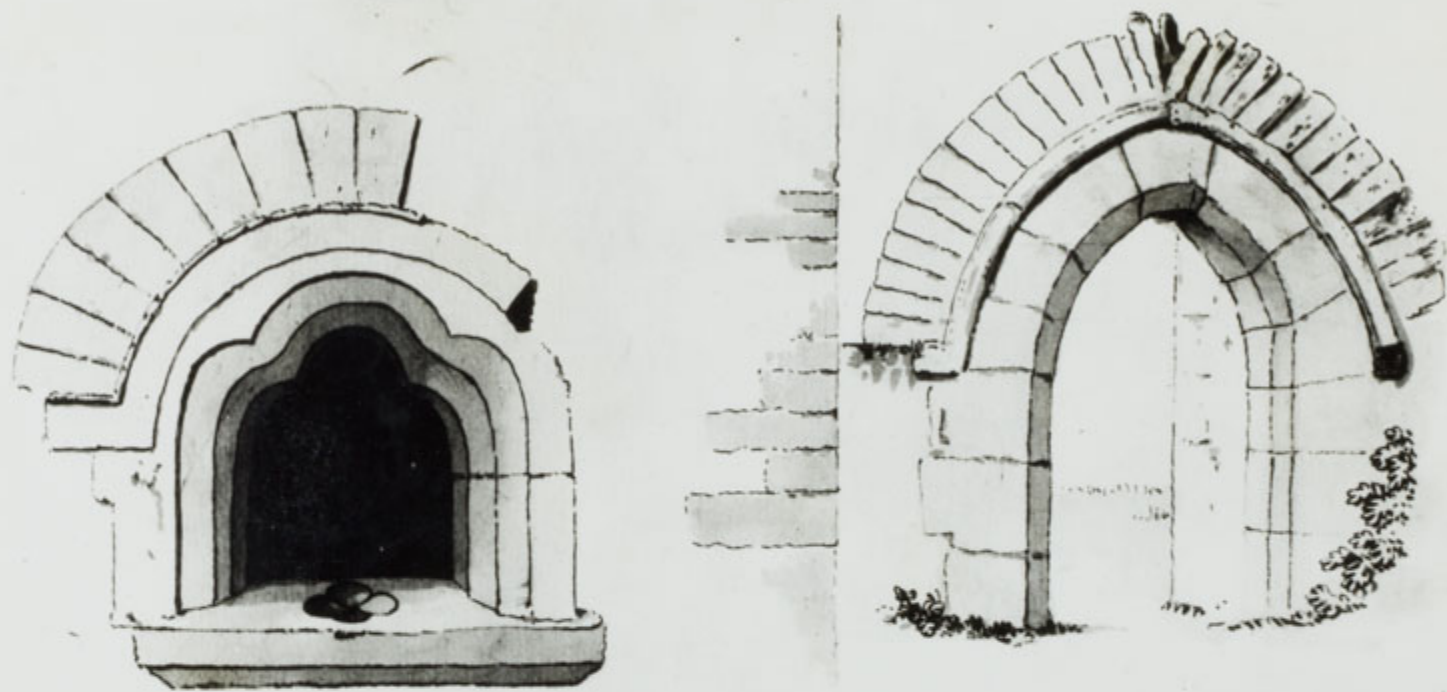


Plate 19. Calcot Grange, Gloucestershire, fragments of a chapel
(B.M., Add. 15,540, f.110, drawings by Samuel Hiero-
nymus Grimm, 1734 - 1794).



Plate 20. Middle Littleton, Worcestershire,
the barn (east front).



Plate 21. Middle Littleton, Worcestershire,
the barn (west front).



Plate 22. Ingarsby Grange, Leicestershire, the west range.



Plate 23. Braithwaite Hall, Yorkshire, earthworks to the east of the hall (the hall is the triple-gabled building towards the western edge of the photograph; the outlines of two peasant houses and crofts may be seen a field away to the east).



Plate 24. Cowton Grange, Yorkshire, the site and neighbouring farms.



Plate 25. Cowton Grange, Yorkshire, slot to hold the footings of the east wall of the hall.



Plate 26. Cowton Grange, Yorkshire, view of the excavations from the north.

Plate 28. Cowton Grange, Yorkshire, the plaster frieze
before lifting.



Plate 27. Cowton Grange, Yorkshire, the chamber fireplace.



Plate 29. Cowton Grange, Yorkshire, a fragment of the
plaster frieze.

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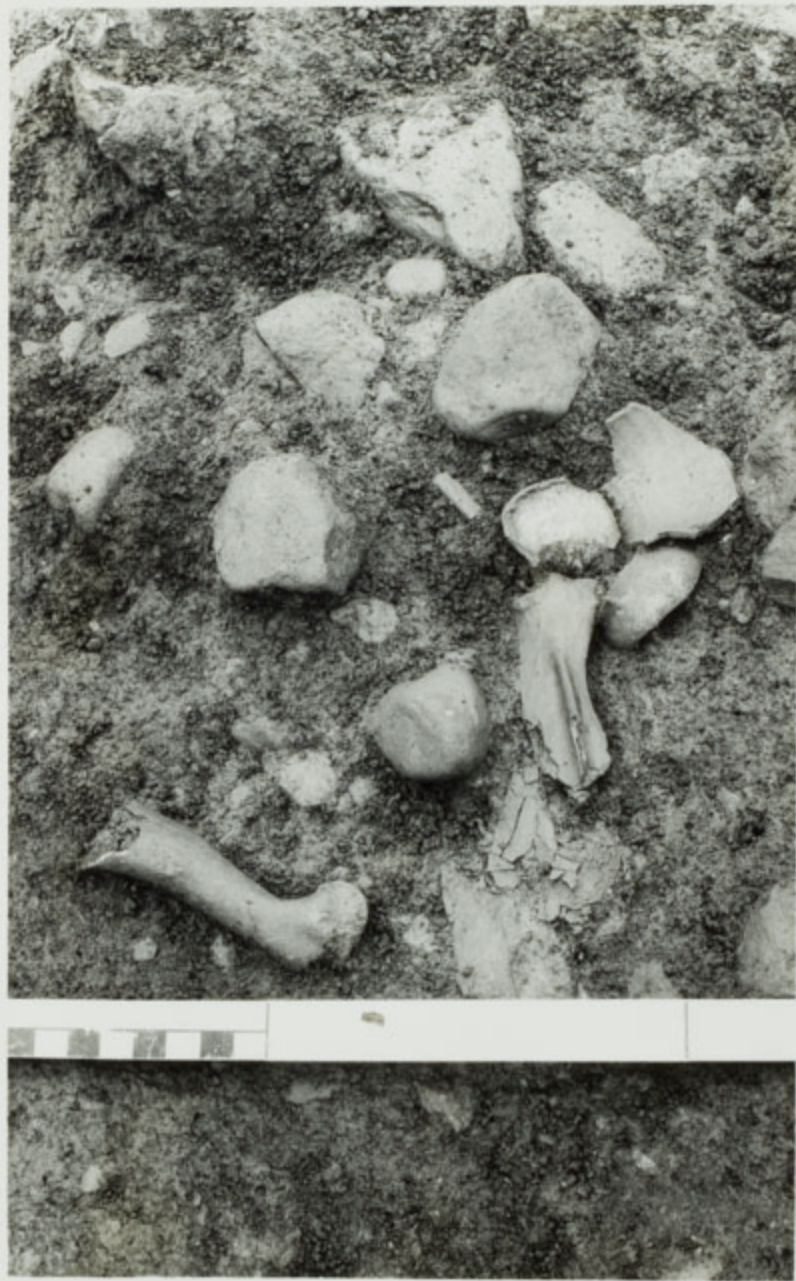


Plate 30. Cowton Grange, Yorkshire, an imported stoneware jug found associated with fragments of a jug of local manufacture.

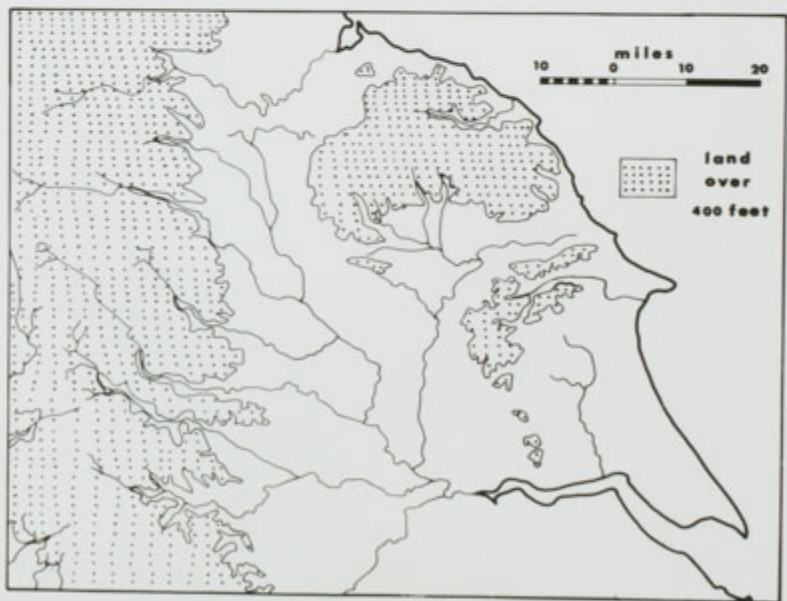
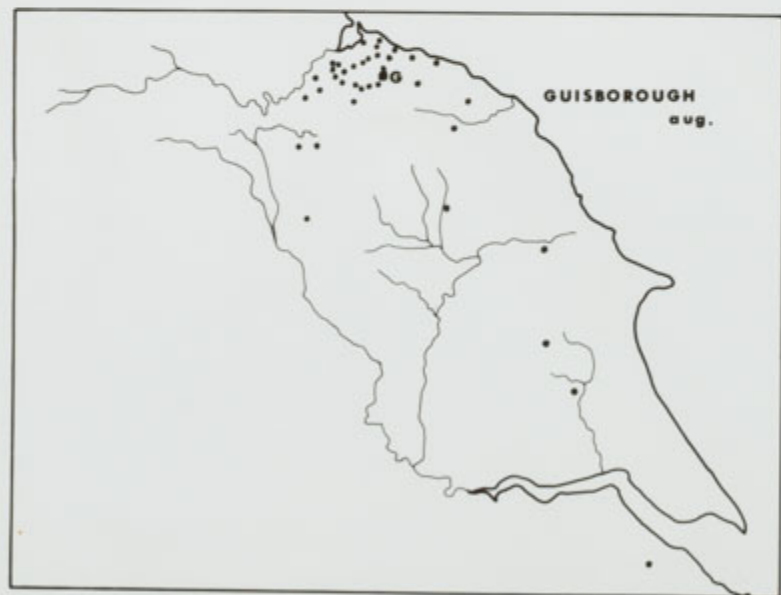
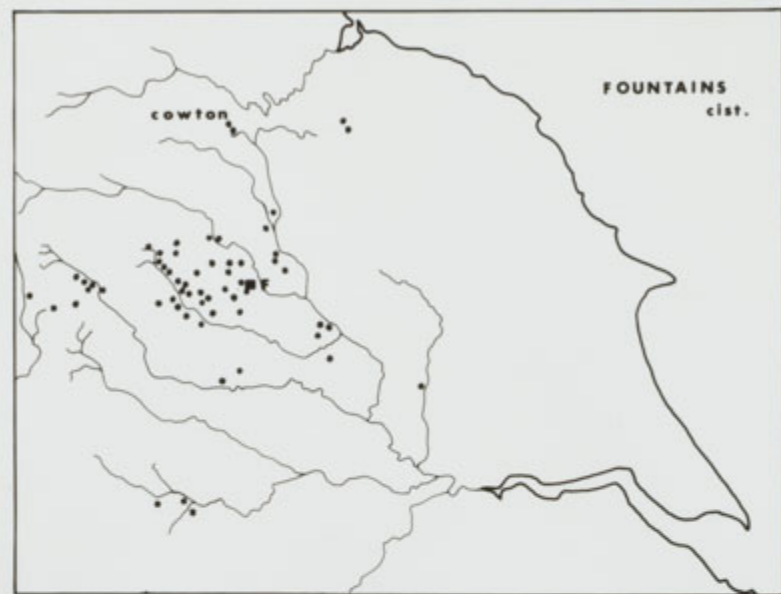


Figure 3. The distribution of the principal Yorkshire estates of Fountains (Cistercian), Malton (Gilbertine), and Guisborough (Augustinian).

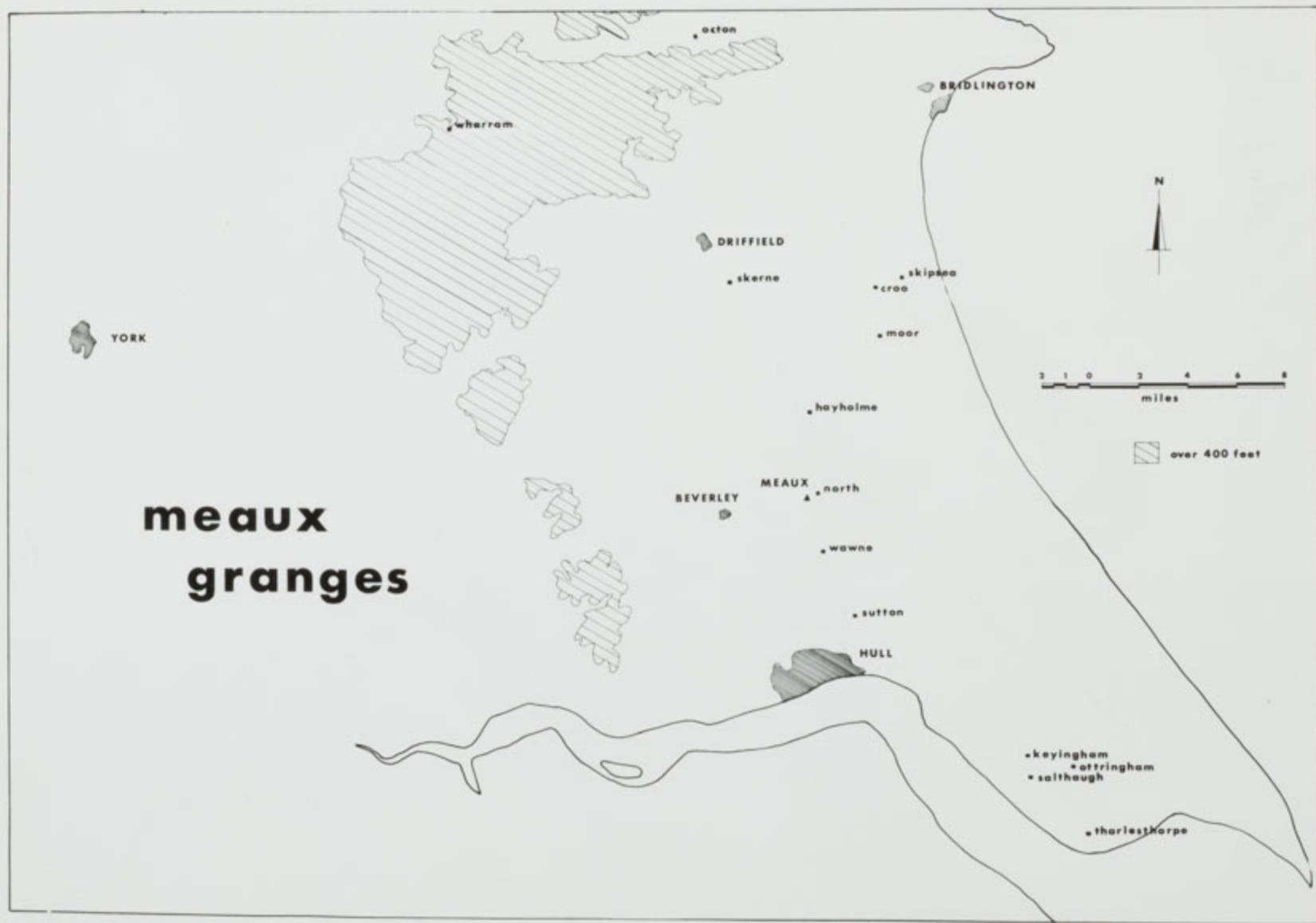


Figure 4. The Yorkshire granges of Meaux : siting and distribution.

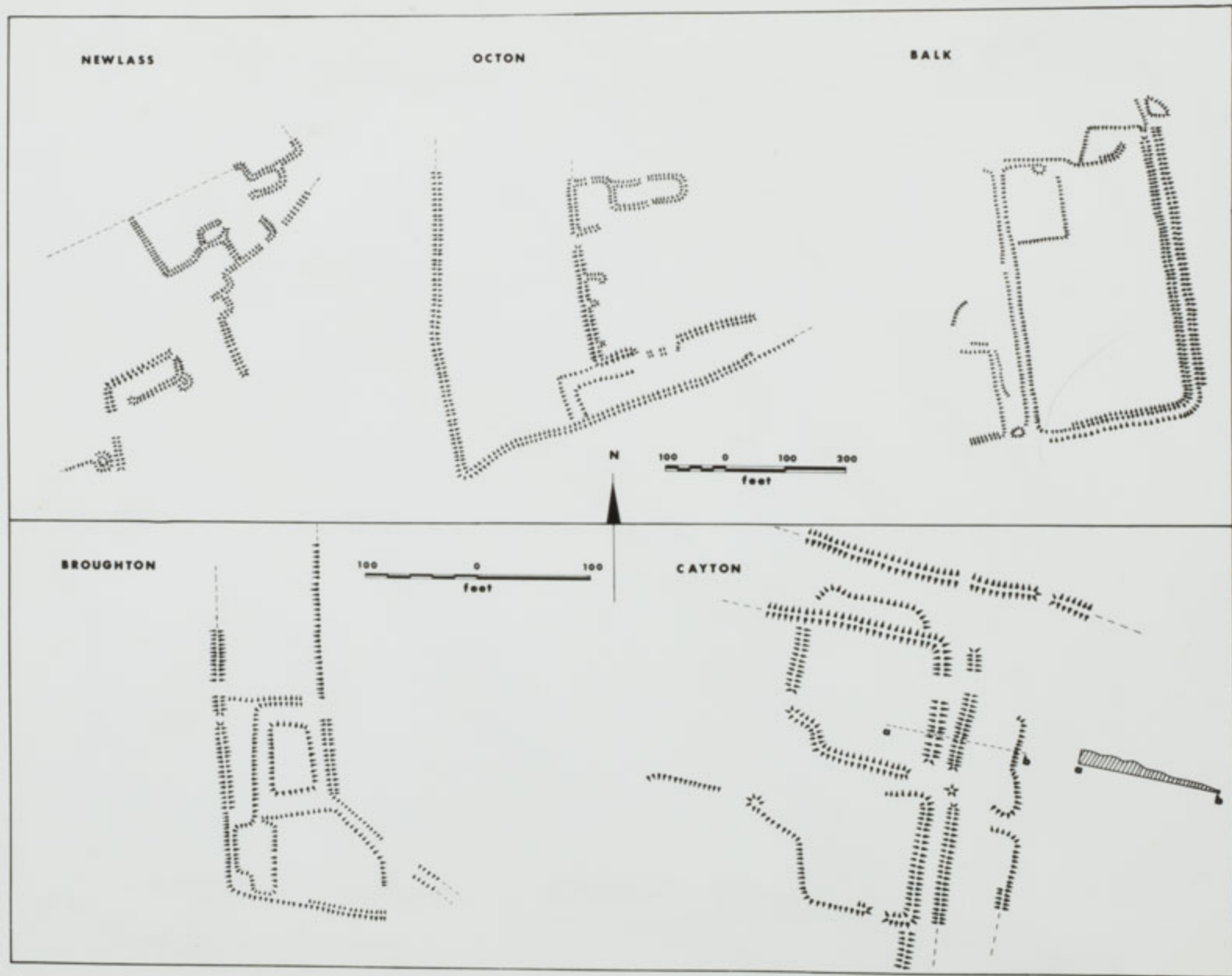


Figure 5. Earthworks at the granges at Newlass (Rievaulx), Octon (Meaux), Balk (Byland), Broughton (Rievaulx), and Cayton (Fountains).

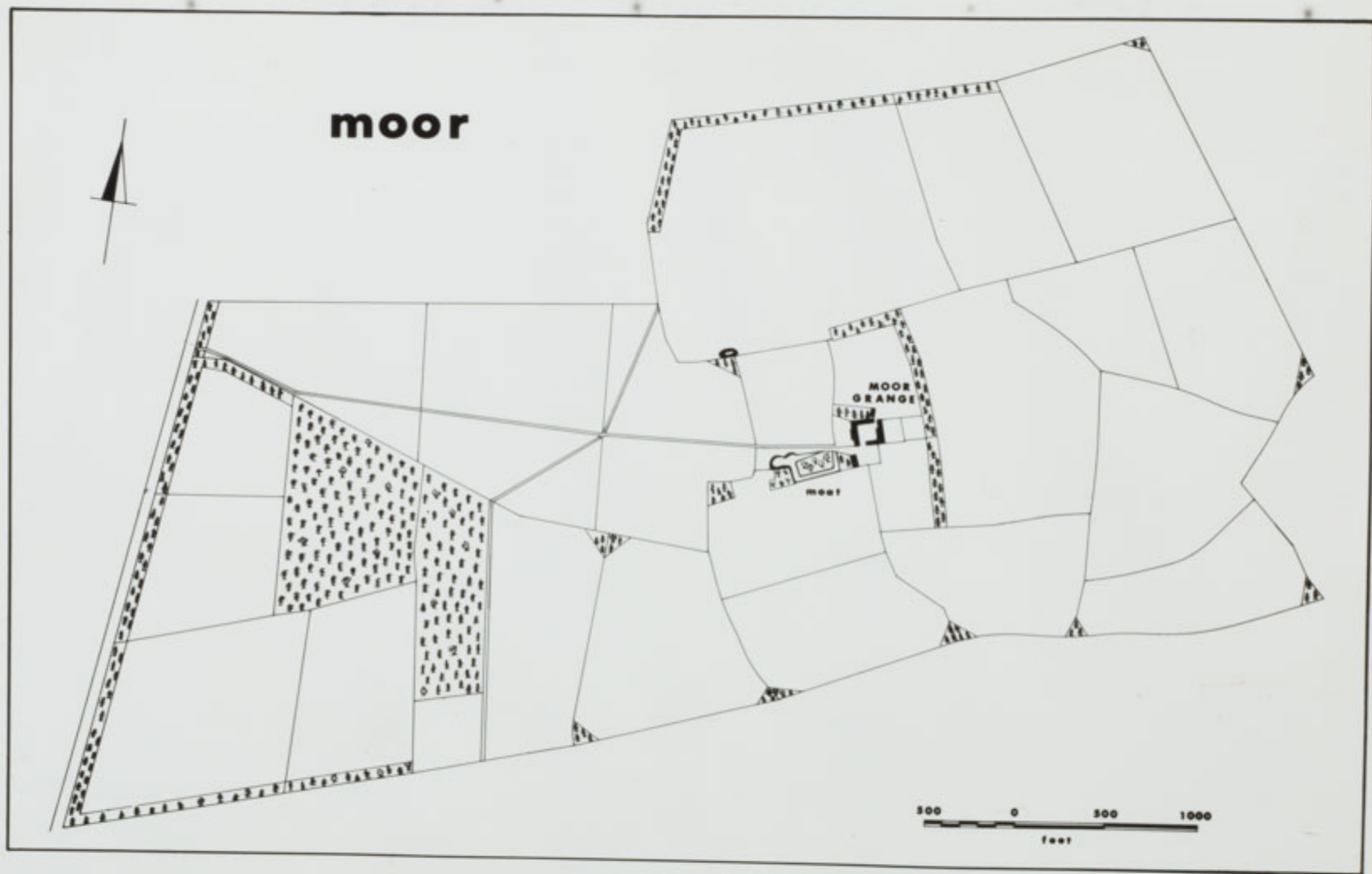


Figure 6. Moor Grange, Yorkshire, fields exempt from tithes.

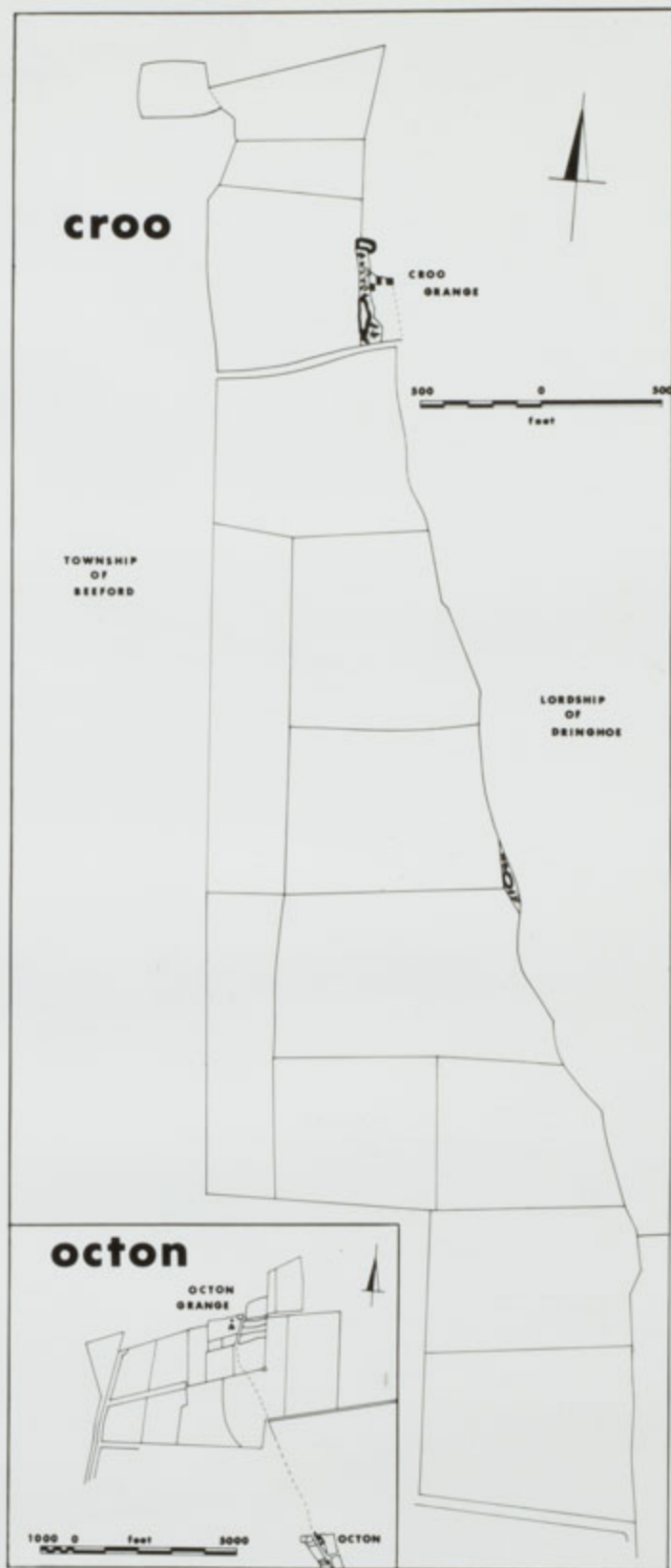


Figure 7. Croo Grange and Octon Grange, Yorkshire, fields exempt from tithes.

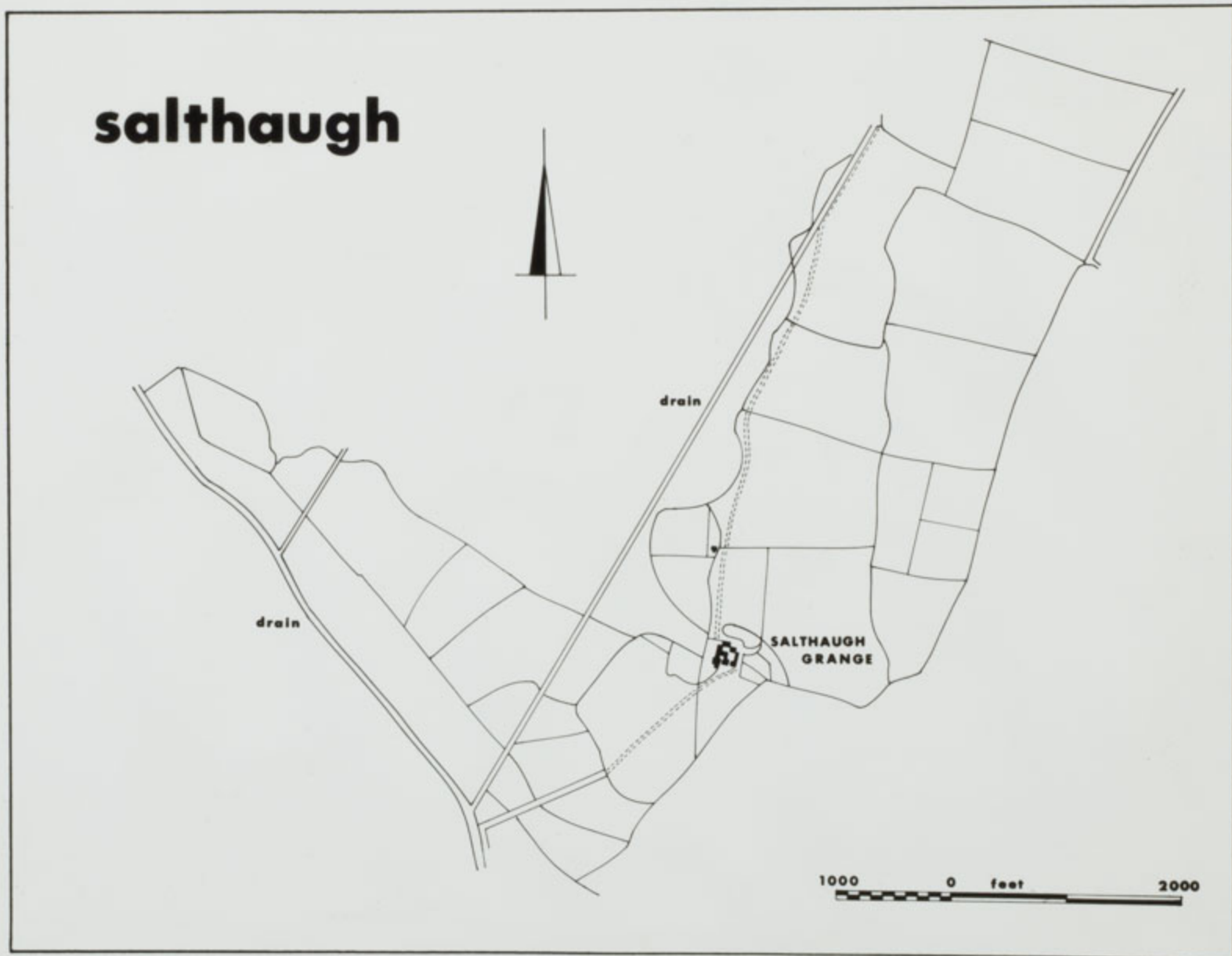
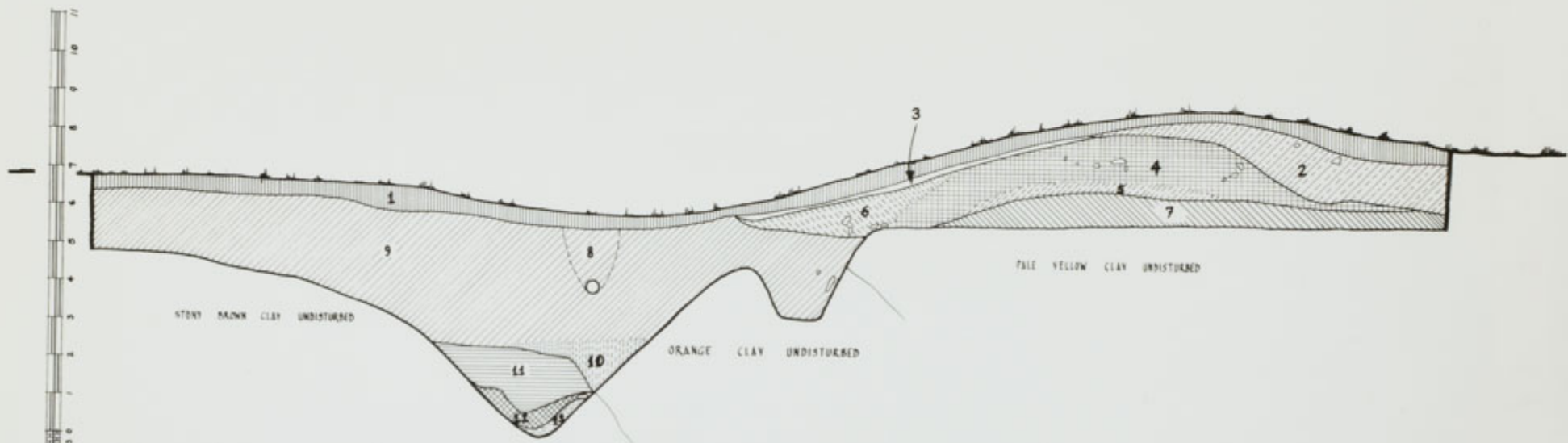






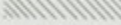

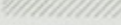
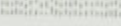

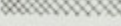



Figure 8. Salthaugh Grange, Yorkshire, fields exempt from tithes.



Key to section

	TURF	1
	BROWN CLAY WITH MUCH RUBBLE AND STONE	2
	PEBBLES WEATHERED OVER FRONT AND BACK	3
	ORANGE CLAY WITH STONE PEBBLE	4
	PALE YELLOW CLAY	5
	BROWN SOIL WEATHERED FROM BANK	6
	BLACK SOIL (OLD TOPSOIL)	7
	TRENCH FOR LAND DRAIN — IDENTICAL WITH 9	8
	DARK GREY SOIL WITH RUSTY MARKINGS (DITCH FILLING)	9
	BLACK SILT	10
	MIXED ORANGE AND BROWN SOIL	11
	BLACK SILT WITH MUCH DECAYING VEGETATION	12
	SOFT GREY-BROWN SOIL	13

section
through
boundary bank
and ditch

Figure 10. Cowton Grange, Yorkshire, section of the outer bank and ditch.

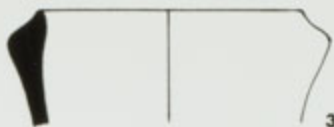
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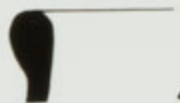
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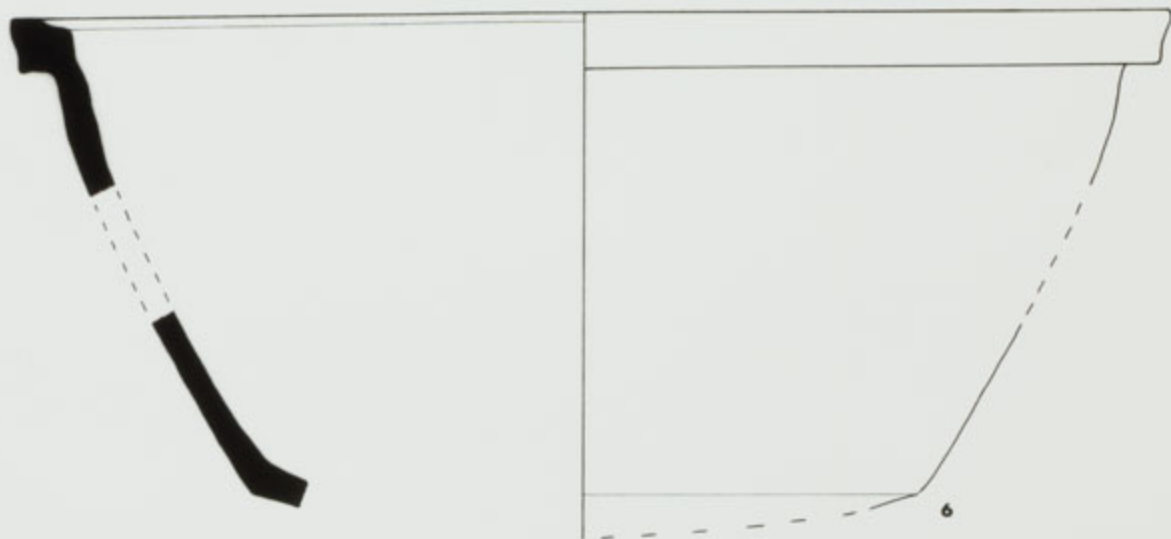
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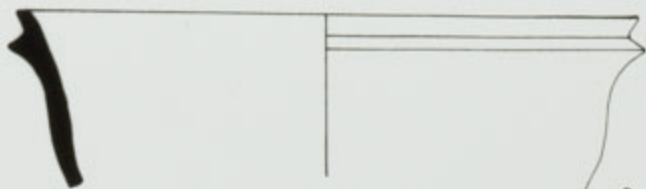
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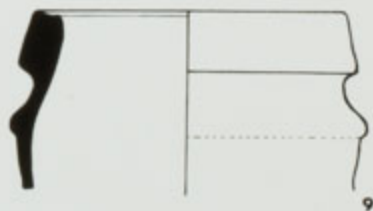
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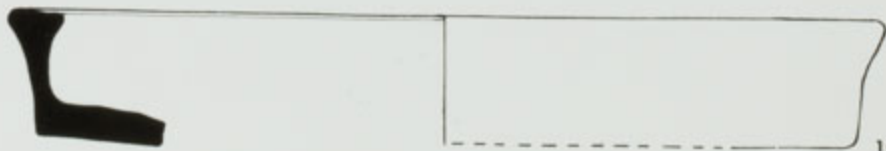
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Figure 13. Cowton Grange, Yorkshire, the pottery (scale 2/5).

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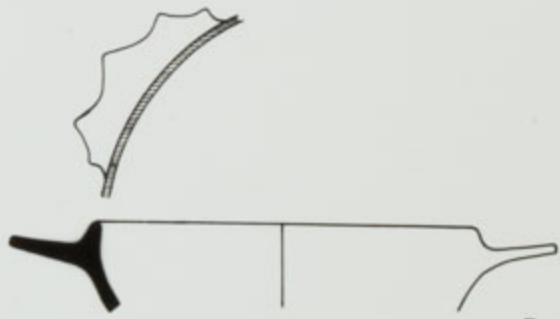
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Figure 14. Cowton Grange, Yorkshire, the pottery (scale 2/5).

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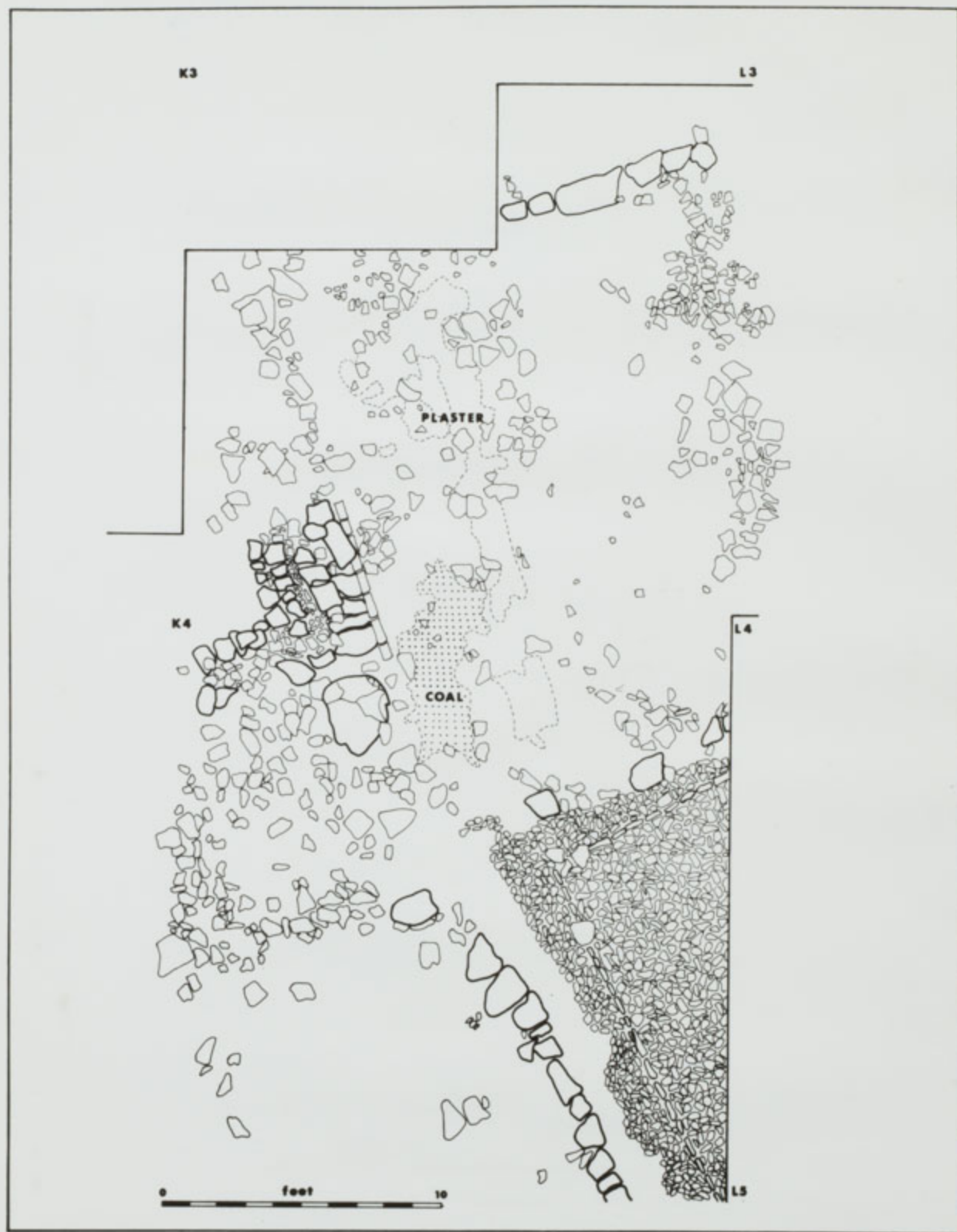


Figure 16. Cowton Grange, Yorkshire, the plaster frieze before lifting.



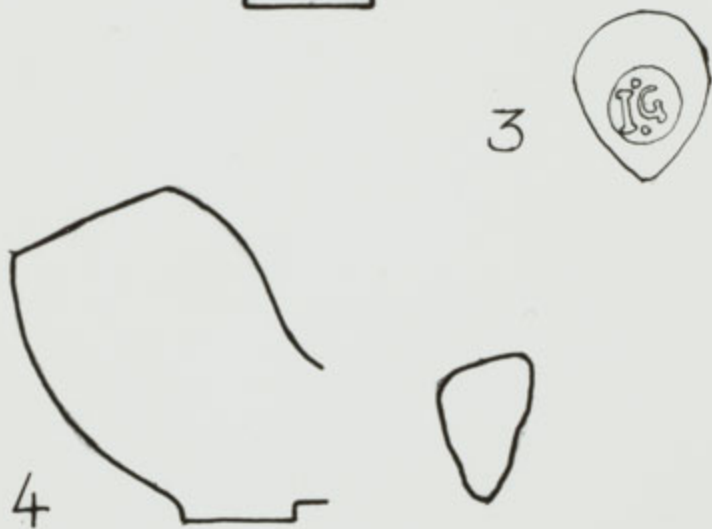
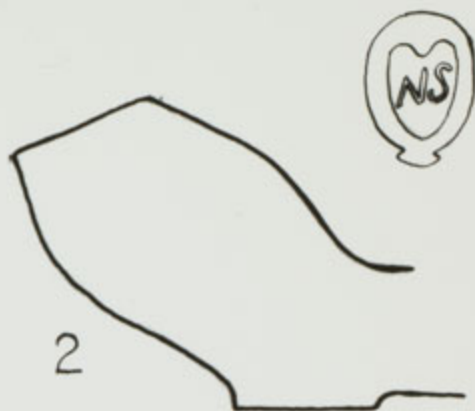
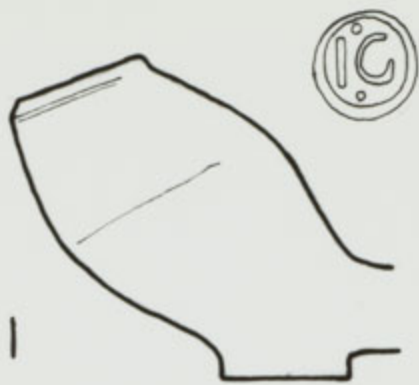
Figure 17. Cowton Grange, Yorkshire, a fragment of the
plaster frieze (scale 1/2).

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Figure 19. Cowton Grange, Yorkshire, reconstructed design of
the plaster frieze (scale 3/10).

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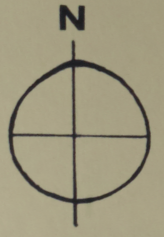
W.D.

Figure 20. Cowton Grange, Yorkshire, seventeenth-century
clay tobacco-pipes.

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CROFT

THE
WINSERS



MOULTON

COWTON

H.G.
site

C.G.

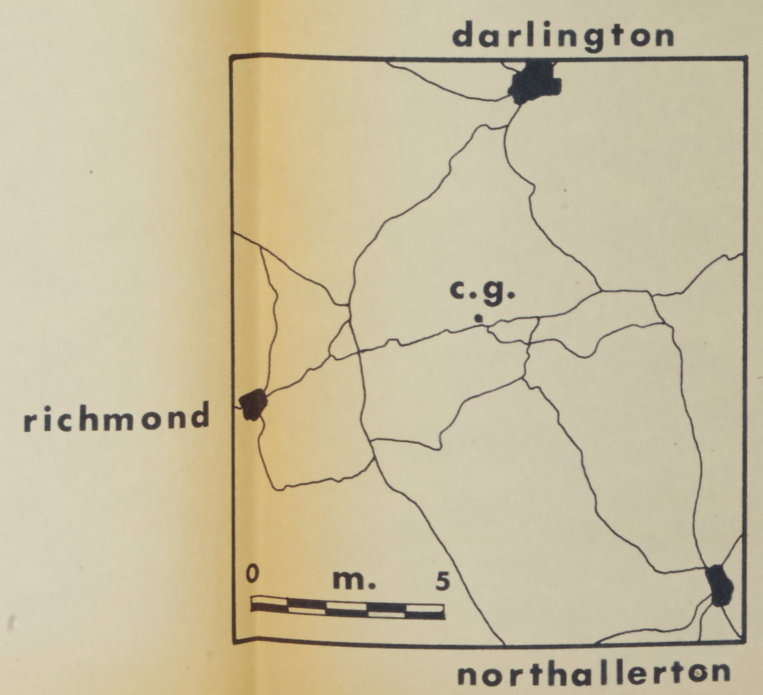
howl beck

to
RICHMOND

to
SMEATON

to
NORTH COWTON

0 yards 500



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Figure 9. Cowton Grange, Yorkshire : the location of the site and the fields exempt from tithes.

SALMSTONE

SWANBOROUGH

ASHLEWORTH

church

MINSTER

INGARSBY

N

as excavated (1930)

medieval

some med. work

modern

100 0 feet 100 200

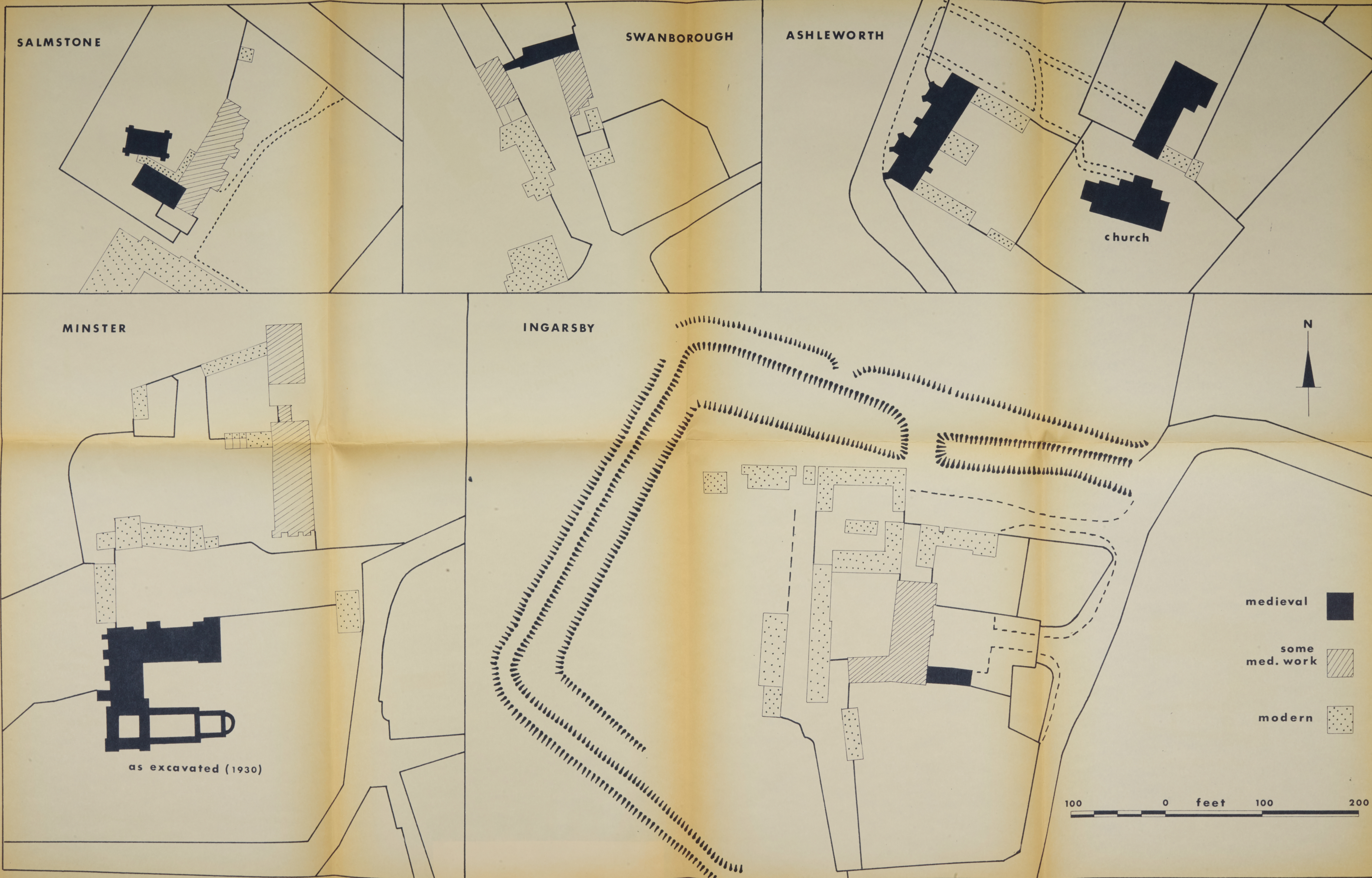
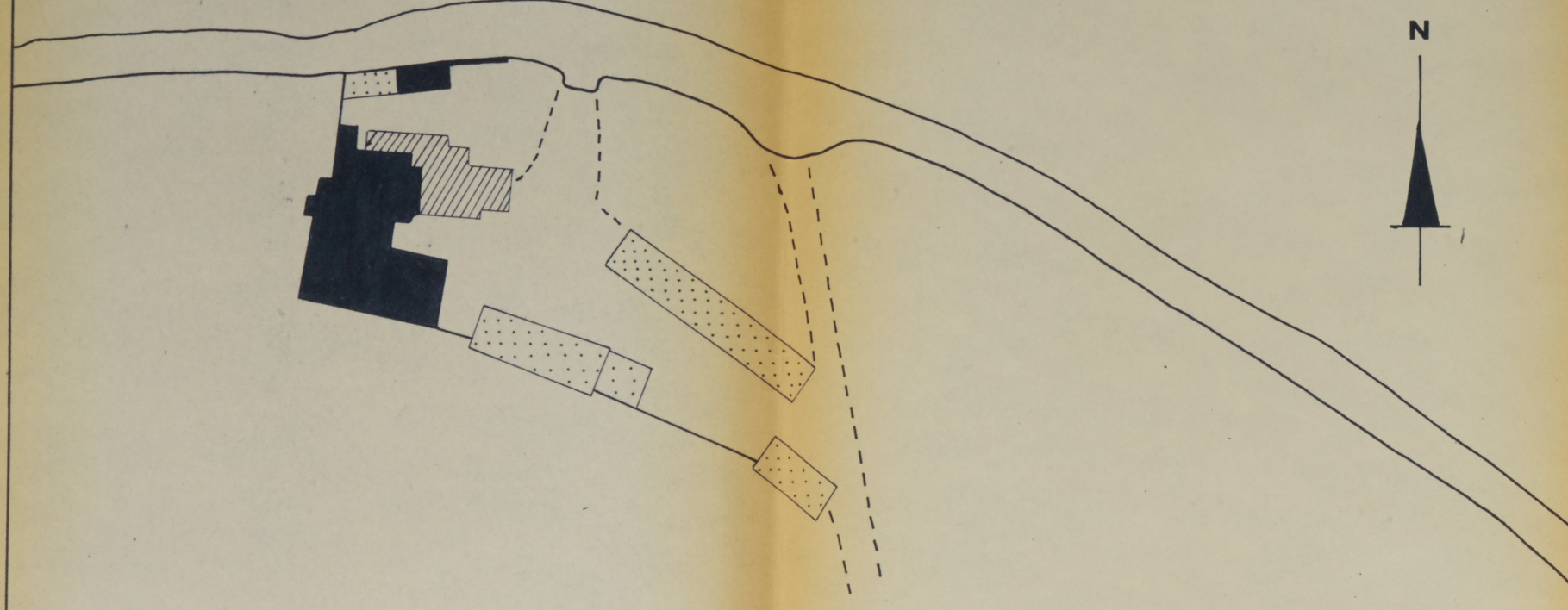
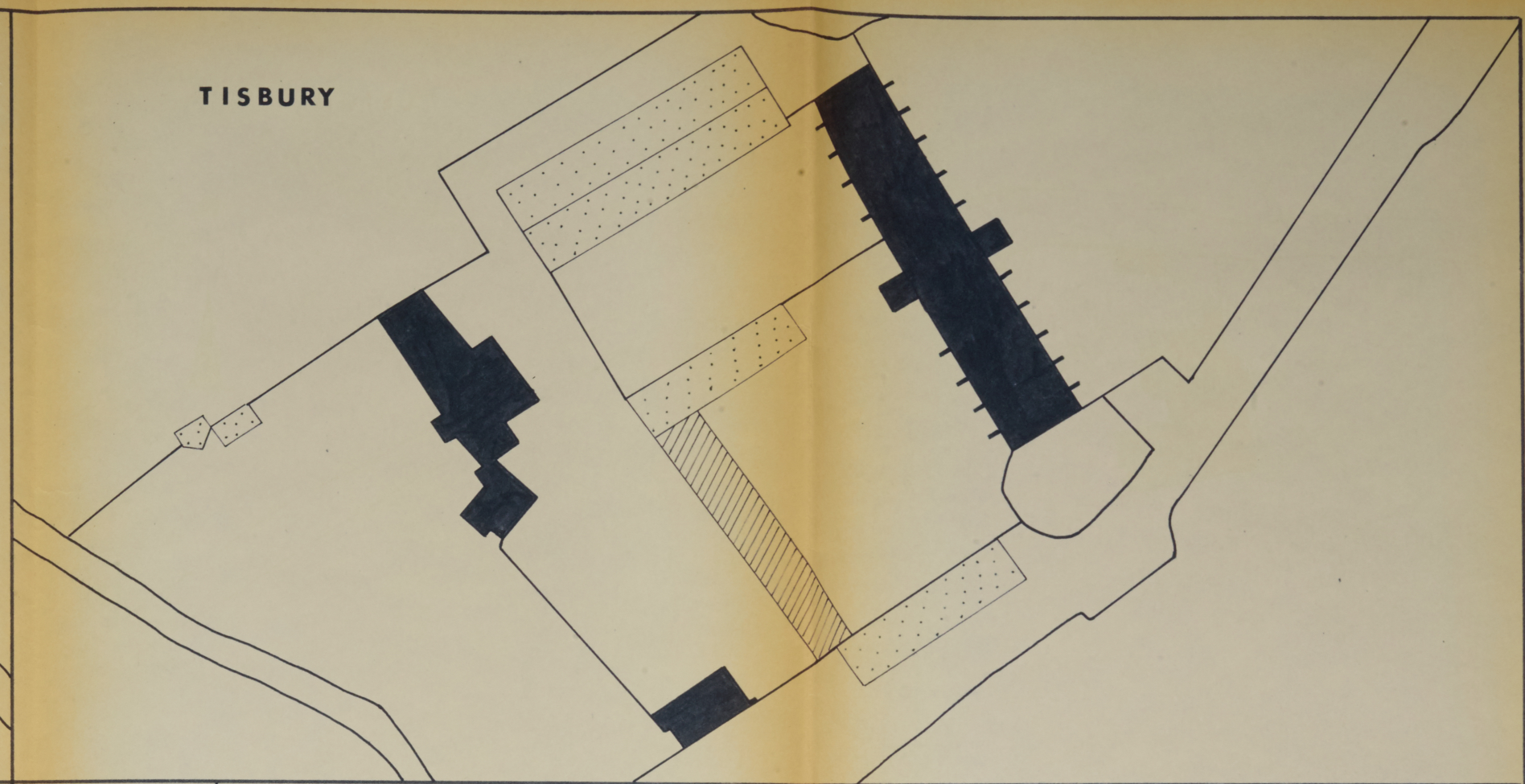


Figure 1. Simplified plans : Salmstone Grange,
Swanborough Manor, the Court House (Ashleworth),
Minster Court, and Ingarsby Grange.

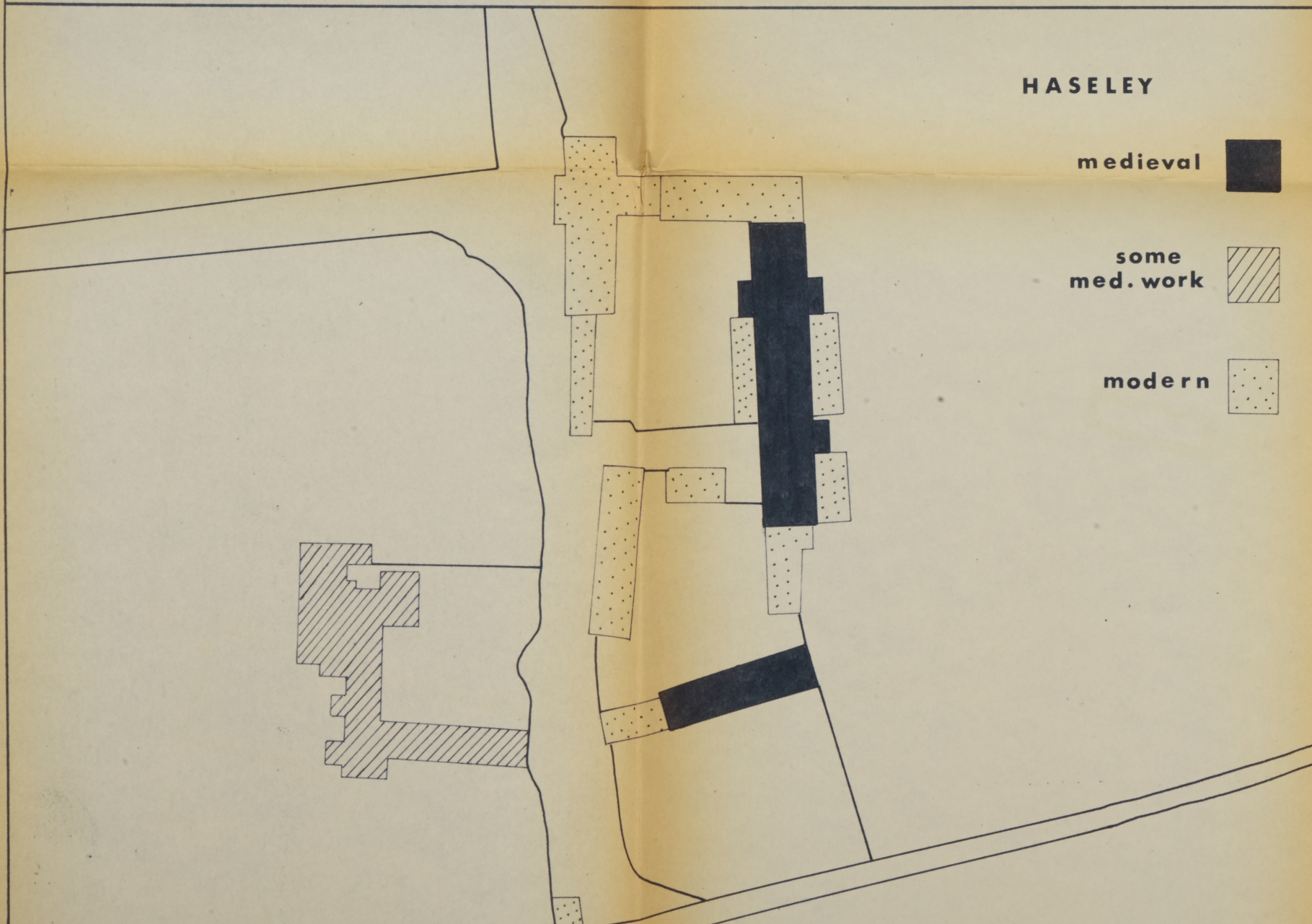
LEIGH






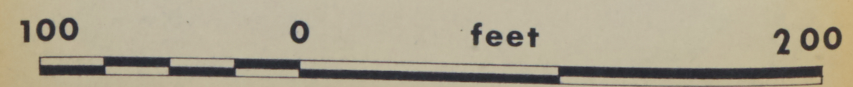
TISBURY



HASELEY



- medieval 
- some med. work 
- modern 



St. LEONARD'S

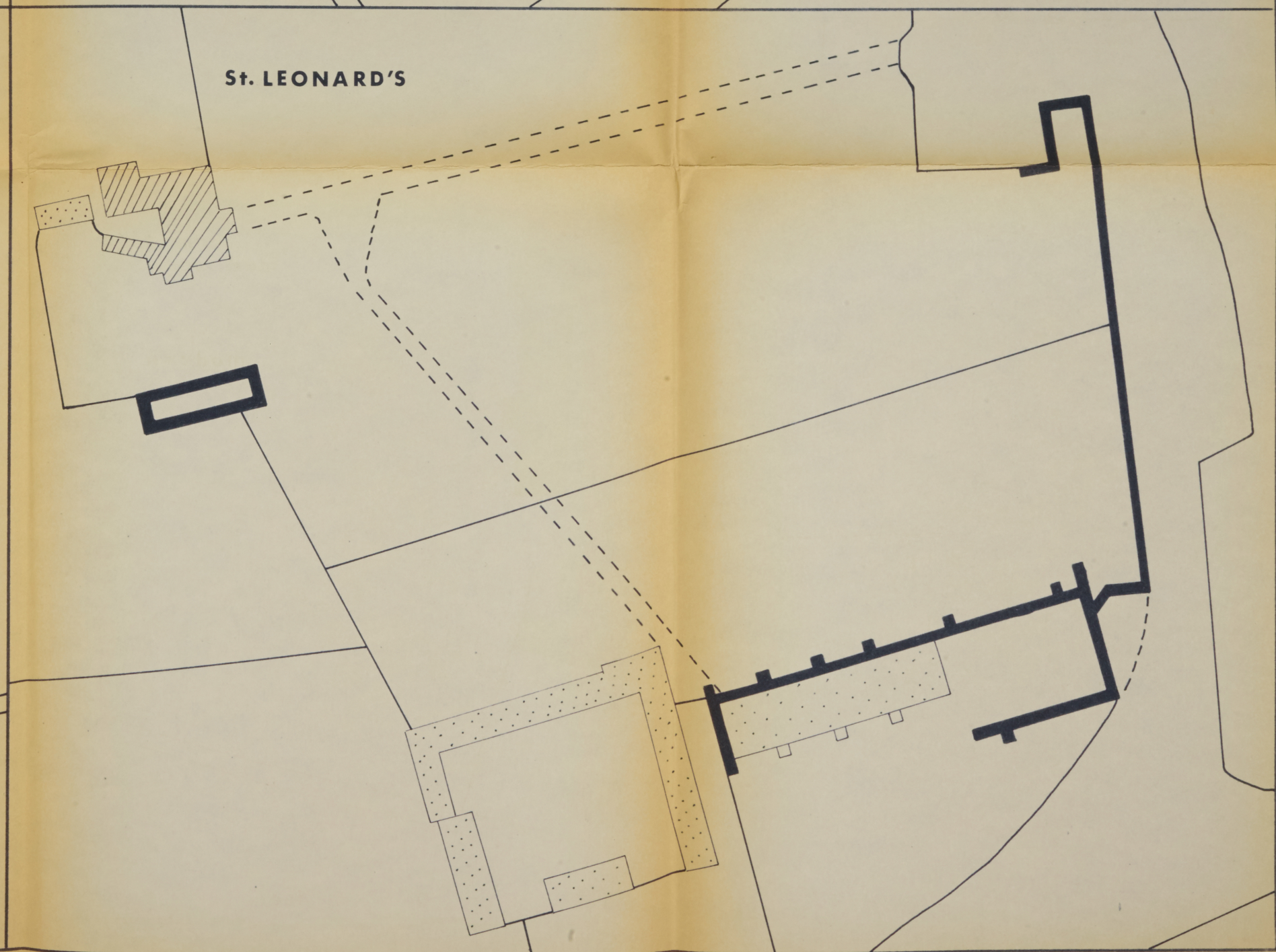
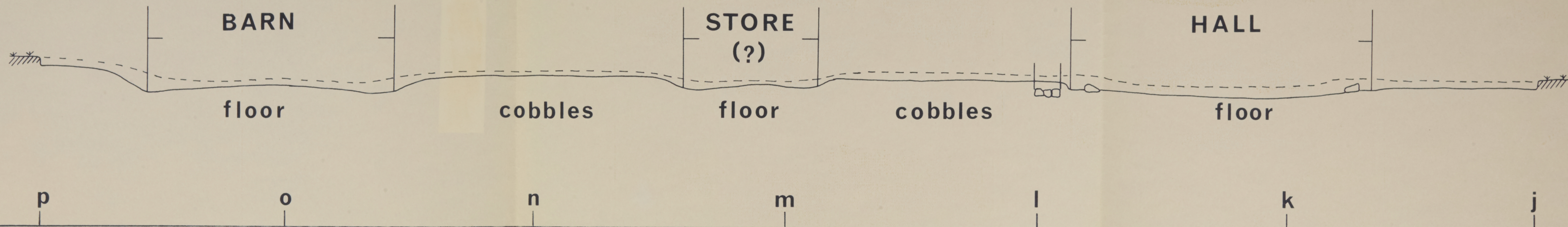
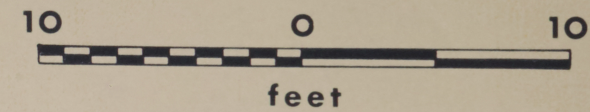


Figure 2. Simplified plans : Leigh Grange,
Place Farm (Tisbury), Haseley Grange, and
St. Leonard's Grange.

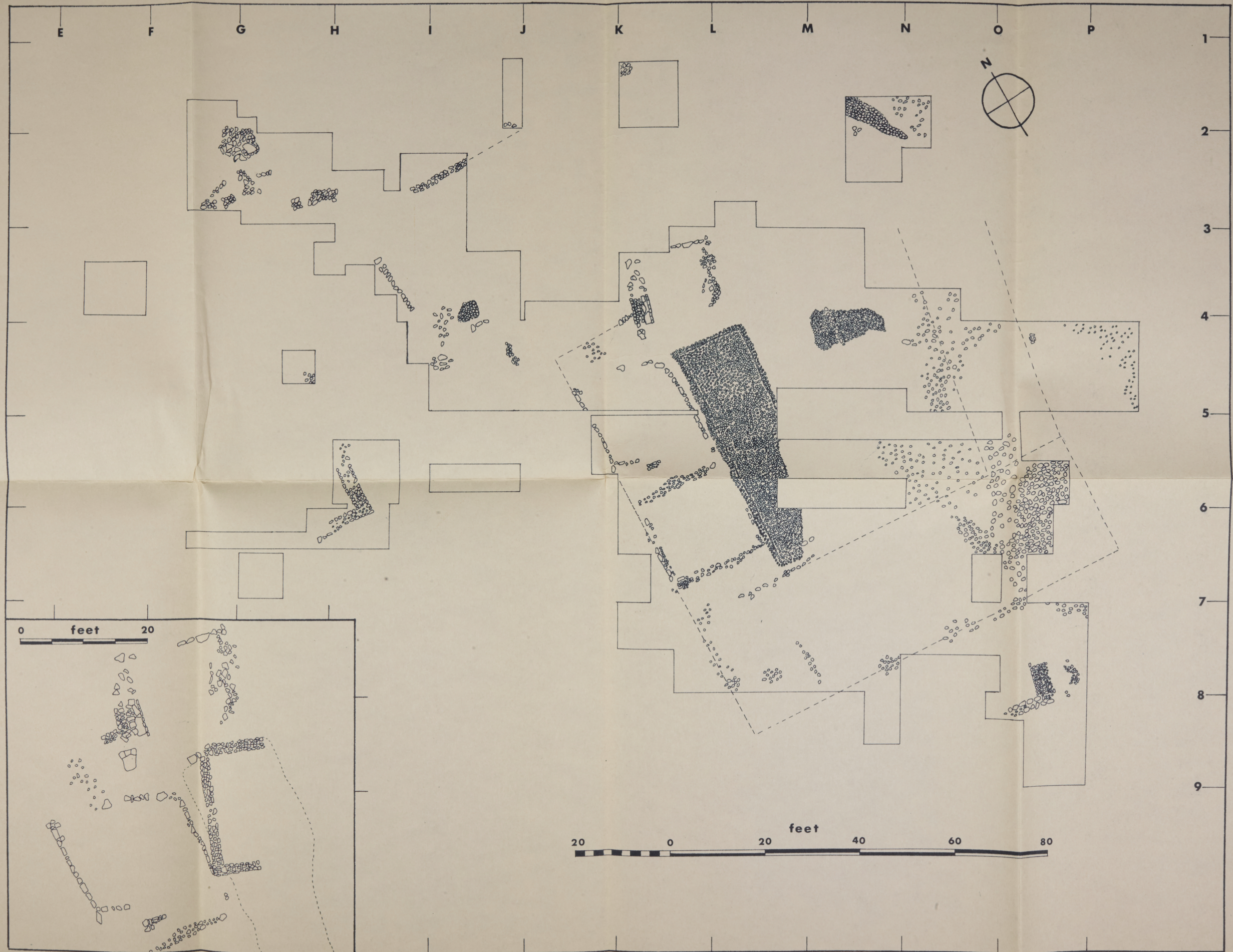
NORTH-FACING SECTION
GRID LINE 5



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Figure 15. Gorton Grange, Yorkshire, north-facing section
on grid line 5.

15.11



SECRET
PROPERTY
EXEMPT

Figure 11. Courton Grange, Yorkshire, general plan
of the excavations.

