

**An Edition of the Coucher Book and Charters of  
Bolton Priory (Yorkshire)**

**2 Volumes  
Volume 1**

**Katrina Jane Legg**

**Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**University of Sheffield  
Department of History**

**March 2002**

**2002**

## **Abstract**

This thesis contains an edition of the Coucher Book of Bolton Priory, an Augustinian house in Yorkshire, together with edited sections of Dodsworth MS 144, like the Coucher Book, a copy of the lost cartulary, and a number of original charters. These documents have been edited in full, with each being preceded by a caption in English together with a date and references to other copies. The edition of the Coucher Book contains notes as to where those sections believed to have been omitted from the cartulary are located in Dodsworth MS 144. The chapters which precede the edition are intended to give some context to the edition, as well as a brief examination of its contents. The first chapter contains a short history of the Augustinian Order, its development in England, and how Bolton Priory fits into this scheme. Chapter two is concerned with the patrons and benefactors of the priory. It is divided into two sections: the first examines the founders and patrons of the priory and their descendants, whilst the second explores the non-patronal benefactors of the house, with a brief analysis of several of the families who were connected from an early date with the priory, as well as the extent of their support and their motives. The third chapter investigates the estates of the priory and their development. Temporal property is examined first, focussing upon the various types of property acquired, together with its location, and methods of acquisition, and then spiritualities: those churches in which the canons acquired an interest, and to what extent as well as how this was acquired. Finally chapter four examines the lost cartulary and the Coucher Book, exploring their administrative histories, as well as a brief analysis of the charters of the founders and others.

## Contents

### Volume I

Table of Illustrations	4	
Abbreviations	5	
Acknowledgements	6	
Introduction	7	
Chapter I	The Order of St. Augustine and Religious Life at Bolton Priory	12
Chapter II	The Patrons and Benefactors of Bolton Priory	35
	The Patrons	35
	The Benefactors	56
Chapter III	The Estate History of Bolton Priory	89
	The Temporalities	89
	The Spiritualities	115
Chapter IV	The Lost Cartulary, the Coucher Book and Original Charters	135
	The Lost Cartulary	135
	The Coucher Book	141
	The Original Charters	152
Conclusion		180
Bibliography		185

### Volume II

Editorial Method	226	
The Coucher Book of Bolton Priory	229	
Appendix I	Documents from Dodsworth MS 144, thought to have formed part of the cartulary of Bolton Priory	555
Appendix II	Original documents for which no reference to their inclusion in the cartulary of Bolton Priory can be found	588
Appendix III	Transcripts of charters of the patrons of Bolton Priory for which the originals are no longer extant	636

## Table of Illustrations

Between pp.

15-16	Yorkshire Houses of Augustinian Canons
18-19	Stained Glass Window at the church of St. James, Papplewick, Nottinghamshire
39-40	Family Tree of the Lords of the Honour of Skipton
53-4	The Patronal Family of Bolton and their Benefactions
57-8	Family Tree of the Mauleverers
89-90	Extent of the Estates of Bolton Priory (2 maps)
111-12	Property held in the city of York by Bolton Priory
114-15	The Accumulation of Property by Bolton Priory
116-17	Parishes in the Craven and Surrounding Areas of the West Riding of Yorkshire
141-2	Facsimile of fo. 2r of the Coucher Book of Bolton Priory
146-7	Arrangement of the Lost Cartulary



## Abbreviations

<i>Bridlington Chartulary</i>	<i>Abstracts of the Charters and Other Documents Contained in the Chartulary of the Priory of Bridlington in the East Riding in the County of York</i>
<i>Cal. Doc. France</i>	<i>Calendar of Documents Preserved in France</i>
CB	Coucher Book of Bolton Priory
CCR	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i>
<i>C.Ch.R.</i>	<i>Calendar of Charter Rolls</i>
CFR	<i>Calendar of Fine Rolls</i>
<i>Compotus</i>	<i>The Bolton Priory Compotus 1286-1325, together with a Priory Account Roll for 1377-78</i>
CPR	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
<i>C.P.Reg.</i>	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers</i>
CRR	<i>Curia Regis Rolls</i>
CWAAS	<i>Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society</i>
EEA	<i>English Episcopal Acta</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
EP-NS	<i>English Place-Name Society</i>
EYC	<i>Early Yorkshire Charters</i>
<i>Fountains Chartulary</i>	<i>Abstracts of the Charters and Other Documents Contained in the Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains in the West Riding of the County of Yorkshire</i>
LAAS	<i>Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society</i>
<i>Mon. Angl.</i>	<i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i>
<i>Taxatio</i>	<i>Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate Pope Nicholai IV circa AD 1291</i>
VCH	<i>Victoria County History</i>
YAJ	<i>Yorkshire Archaeological Journal</i>
YAS, RS	<i>Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series</i>
<i>Yorks. Inqs.,</i>	<i>Yorkshire Inquisitions</i>

## Acknowledgements

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the many individuals and institutions which have made this thesis possible. Firstly, my thanks to the Duke of Devonshire for permission to consult the Coucher Book of Bolton Priory, and for allowing the manuscript to be placed at the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research during the period of the thesis. I would also like to thank Peter Day, Head of Collections at Chatsworth House, and his staff for their help during my many visits and for assisting in the access and use of documents.

Many thanks also to the staff of other libraries and archives that have been consulted, including the Yorkshire Archaeological Society and the Bodleian. My warmest thanks to the staff of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research for their support, patience and friendship during the past three years.

To my supervisors, Professor David Smith and Professor Ian Kershaw, I owe a great debt of gratitude for their continual encouragement, support and constructive criticism. Also my thanks go to Dr. Phillippa Hoskin for her support and suggestions, and to Sara Slinn for the creation of the various maps. Also I would like to thank Professors C. Brook and D. Greenway for their thoughts on various matters, and D. Gulliver and S. Moorhouse for their help in the location of various places.

Finally, I wish to thank my family and Matthew for their simply being there throughout, with encouragement and a sympathetic ear.

## Introduction

In 1120-1121 William Meschin and Cecily de Rumilly founded a house of regular canons of the order of St. Augustine at Embsay, close to the *caput* of the honour of Skipton, which fell to Cecily following the death of Robert de Rumilly, her father. This location proved inhospitable to the canons and within forty years the priory had been re-founded by Alice de Rumilly, one of the founders' three daughters, at Bolton. This second site placed the house next to the river Wharfe, with far more fertile soil and better farming conditions from which the canons were able to build and extend their estates. By the time the cartulary was created in the early fourteenth century the estate was largely complete, and relatively compact, lying mainly in the Craven area of West Yorkshire.

The priory has been the subject of antiquarian interest since the seventeenth century, as part of surveys both throughout England, such as *Monasticon Anglicanum*,<sup>1</sup> and with a more regional focus, for example, Burton's *Monasticon Eboracense*,<sup>2</sup> or Whitaker's *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven*.<sup>3</sup> The first scholarly study devoted to the house was that of Alexander Hamilton Thompson, whose work upon the history and architecture of the priory was published in 1928, greatly advancing knowledge about Bolton Priory.<sup>4</sup> Both Whitaker and Thompson made use of the *Compotus*, a series of accounts of Bolton Priory, although the latter used the former's transcript and did not consult the manuscript itself, thereby repeating some of Whitaker's inaccuracies (and adding some of his own).<sup>5</sup> Despite these defects, Thompson's work sheds light on both the hitherto unresearched history of the monastery and of the Augustinian order in general. In 1973 Ian Kershaw's doctoral thesis upon the

---

<sup>1</sup> W. Dugdale (author), J. Caley, H. Ellis & B. Bandinel, eds. *Monasticon Anglicanum*, (London, 1846).

<sup>2</sup> J. Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense*, (York, 1758).

<sup>3</sup> T.D. Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven*, (London, 1805).

<sup>4</sup> A.H. Thompson, *History and Architectural Description of the Priory of St. Mary, Bolton-in-Wharfedale, with some Account of the Canons Regular of the Order of St. Augustine and their Houses in Yorkshire*, Thoresby Society, 30, (Leeds, 1928).

<sup>5</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory: The Economy of a Northern Monastery, 1286-1325*, (Oxford, 1973), p. 3. Whitaker had been 'critical of [John] Burton's inaccuracies though his own transcripts ... were imperfect and his chronology was faulty', *ibid.*, p. 3.



economy of the priory for the years 1286 to 1325 was published by Oxford University Press, providing an updated and thorough insight into the administration and finance of the house.<sup>6</sup> This examination has recently been complemented by the publication of an edition of the series of accounts from which his work was originally drawn.<sup>7</sup>

In comparison to many of the houses of Augustinian canons founded in England there is a surprising corpus of extant documentation relating to Bolton Priory. Apart from the *Compotus* of between 1286 and 1325 and an account roll for 1377-1378, both recently edited by I. Kershaw and D.M. Smith, there is a rental of 1473, also edited by I. Kershaw, together with the dissolution inventory and rental of the priory,<sup>8</sup> as well as rentals from c.1280 and 1415.<sup>9</sup> Over one hundred original charters survive, the majority of which were transcribed by G. Potter in the 1960s,<sup>10</sup> together with the Coucher Book of Bolton Priory.<sup>11</sup> Although an early fourteenth century cartulary disappeared from trace in the seventeenth century, two partial copies are extant.<sup>12</sup> The intention of the edition which follows is to reconstruct this lost cartulary.

The reconstruction of the lost cartulary of Bolton Priory and examination of its contents builds upon and seeks to extend existing scholarship on the priory. By comparing a partial copy of uncertain origin, referred to as the Coucher Book of Bolton Priory, and a transcript made by Roger Dodsworth, part of Dodsworth MS 144, which also records the latest date at which the original cartulary is known to have been extant, it is possible to recreate most of the cartulary.<sup>13</sup> Both of the main sources on which this edition is based are, however, in some respects deficient. Whilst the Coucher Book contains full transcripts of a variety of

---

<sup>6</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, based upon his doctoral thesis of the same title, submitted in 1969.

<sup>7</sup> I. Kershaw & D.M. Smith, *The Bolton Priory Compotus, 1286-1325, Together with a Priory Account Roll for 1377-78*, YAS, RS, 154, (2000).

<sup>8</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory Rentals and Ministers' Accounts, 1473-1539*, YAS, RS, 132, (1970).

<sup>9</sup> Held at Lancashire Record Office and Bolton Abbey Estate Office respectively.

<sup>10</sup> The majority of the original charters are located at Chatsworth, Derbyshire. See chapter four.

<sup>11</sup> Dr. T. Cooper started a transcript of the Coucher Book in the early 1990s, but unfortunately the work was not completed.

<sup>12</sup> Dodsworth MS 144, fos. 1r-79r, housed at the Bodleian Library, Oxford and the Coucher Book, held at Chatsworth, Derbyshire.

<sup>13</sup> Dodsworth MS 8 also contains a partial transcript of the lost cartulary, but is briefer than that in MS 144, and does not note the folios from which the copies are being made.

documents contained in the lost volume, the copy made by Dodsworth alternates between full copies and abstracts.<sup>14</sup> In some instances the survival of an original charter, which provided the template for the cartulary, has made it possible to provide a full text where Dodsworth only gives an abstract.

The reconstructed cartulary provides an abundance of information about the patrons and benefactors of the priory as well as its estate development from its foundation at Embsay until the early fourteenth century, which is augmented by many original charters that are not found in either the Coucher Book or Dodsworth MS 144. The patrons of the priory descended from William Meschin and Cecily de Rumilly, the founders of the priory at Embsay, until the death of Aveline, the daughter of William de Forz III and Isabella de Redvers. The cartulary provides some indication of the levels of support and assistance given to the canons by their patrons. The importance of the priory's benefactors is also demonstrated; and this list is extended further by the inclusion of those grantors who are only found in original charters and other transcripts rather than in those documents used to recreate the cartulary. The motives of the patrons and benefactors of the priory, together with the methods by which they chose to support the canons, will be examined in an attempt to create a more encompassing picture of religious life in the middle ages in Craven.

The cartulary was arranged topographically, with no division between spiritualities and temporalities, and its reconstruction provides new insights into the construction of the priory's estates, making it possible to build up a fuller picture of the canons' estates. For example, it is possible to examine not only the types of property acquired and their location but also the methods by which they were initially acquired, and later developed and consolidated. In conjunction with the *Compotus* the edition offers an opportunity to establish the value of the lands at the turn of the fourteenth century, and gives indications of the corrodians of the house, as well as how the canons managed their estates.

---

<sup>14</sup> For further analysis of the Coucher Book and other documents see chapter four.

J.C. Dickinson's work on the origins of the Augustinian order, to which Bolton priory belonged, and its proliferation throughout the British Isles,<sup>15</sup> has been supplemented by more recent work by D.M. Robinson, which focuses upon the assets of the Augustinian houses, and how these were acquired and administered.<sup>16</sup> In conjunction with the cartularies of other Augustinian houses, the reconstructed cartulary of Bolton Priory makes it possible to build a broader picture of the order in England and to establish the similarities and differences between Bolton and other houses, as well as variations within the order.<sup>17</sup> The cartulary does not by its nature provide insights into the religious life of the priory; some light on this is cast, however, by the visitation records of the Archbishops of York and the records of the general chapters of Augustinian canons.<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately no liturgical records, such as the observances at Barnwell or the liturgical calendar at Guisborough, exist for Bolton.<sup>19</sup>

The edition of the Coucher Book of Bolton Priory and other charters, will, it is hoped, convey a picture of the lost cartulary. In order to provide some context for the edition the Augustinian order and the place of Bolton Priory within it will be examined. Following this the patrons and benefactors of the house will be discussed, considering the extent of their connection to the priory as well as the level of generosity displayed towards it. The scale and type of benefaction made to the priory is examined further in the chapter focusing upon the estates of the house, which also considers the various methods employed by the canons in their attempts to expand and consolidate their property, both temporal and spiritual. Having examined the benefactors of the priory and its estates, the documents from which the previous study has been made will be considered, focusing upon the lost cartulary and the later transcripts made of it, namely the Coucher Book

---

<sup>15</sup> J.C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England*, (London, 1950).

<sup>16</sup> D.M. Robinson, *The Geography of Augustinian Settlement in Medieval England and Wales*, B.A.R., British Series 80, 2 vols., (Oxford, 1980).

<sup>17</sup> Recent work by J. Burton on the monastic orders in Yorkshire has made inroads on analysis of the impact of the Augustinian order in the county, looking at each house and their attributes, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire 1069-1215*, (Cambridge, 1999).

<sup>18</sup> H.E. Salter, *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons*, C&Y, 29, (London, 1922; reprinted London, 1969).

<sup>19</sup> *The Observances in Use at the Augustinian Priory of S. Giles and S. Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire*, (Cambridge, 1897); F. Wormald, (ed.), 'A Liturgical Calendar from Guisborough Priory with some obits', *YAJ*, 31, (1934), pp. 5-35.



and Dodsworth MS 144, as well as individual charters. It is hoped that the recreation of the lost cartulary will go some way in constructing a wider understanding of the first two hundred years of the community of Augustinian canons at Bolton.

## Chapter I

### The Order of St. Augustine and Religious Life at Bolton Priory

#### The Rule of St. Augustine

A surprising amount is known about the man who is seen as the creator of, or at least the inspiration behind, the Rule of St. Augustine. The conversion of Augustine to Christianity occurred in 386,<sup>1</sup> with his baptism being conducted 24-25 April 387, and it was during this period that 'he and some kindred spirits devoted themselves to the monastic life'.<sup>2</sup> Augustine returned to Thagaste, his childhood home, in 388, and it was here that, possibly, his first monastery, or at least religious community, evolved.<sup>3</sup> He was ordained priest in 391, but he retained his monastic existence 'within the precincts of the church at Hippo', and even after becoming bishop of Hippo in 395 or 396 he still 'refused to give up the full common life',<sup>4</sup> expecting those religious under him to follow, to varying extents, this practice, and it was for this monastery that Augustine composed the *Regula*.<sup>5</sup>

Although there is a vast collection of works by Augustine, including 113 books and treatises, over 200 letters, and more than 500 sermons, of which copies have survived, it is his thoughts about the monastic life which are of particular importance to the development of the rule which bears his name.<sup>6</sup> It was during his time as bishop of Hippo that Augustine wrote a letter to a community of nuns with which his sister was associated, giving instruction about the practice of religious life.<sup>7</sup> This rule was later adapted for a male community and supplemented by 'a brief document listing the daily services and regulations on

---

<sup>1</sup> Whilst G. Lawless dates Augustine's conversion to 386, *Augustine of Hippo and his Monastic Rule*, (Oxford, 1987), p. 4, J.C. Dickinson has the date a year earlier, 385, *Austin Canons*, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> J.C. Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, p. 11. For a brief summary of the life of Augustine before his conversion see D. Attwater, *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints*, (Harmondsworth, 1965), p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> For Augustine and the monastery at Thagaste see G. Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo*, pp. 45-58.

<sup>4</sup> J.C. Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, p. 11; For Augustine at Hippo see, G. Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo*, pp. 58-62.

<sup>5</sup> G. Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo*, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> D. Attwater, *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints*, p. 56.

<sup>7</sup> J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300*, (Cambridge, 1994), p. 43.

This letter has become known as Letter 211.

discipline and manual labour'.<sup>8</sup> The rule has eight points: (1) the basic ideal: mutual love expressed in the community of goods and in humility, (2) community prayer, (3) community and care of the body, (4) mutual responsibility in good and evil, (5) service to one another, (6) love and conflict, (7) love in authority and obedience, (8) concluding exhortation.<sup>9</sup> The rule is brief, but deals with the most important aspects of life as part of a religious community, such as common property, chastity and obedience, in a clear and simple manner.

The adoption of the Rule of St. Augustine by various communities, and the emergence and development of the Order of St. Augustine were closely connected to the reforms that occurred contemporaneously within the Church. Although there must have been many religious communities in existence after Augustine's in 430 there is no evidence that any were actively following the rule attributed to him, even though fragments of it were embedded in two monastic rules drawn up in the early fifth century by Cæsarius of Arles, as well as in the rather later *Regula Tarnatensis*.<sup>10</sup> Houses of canons undoubtedly existed between the fifth and eleventh centuries, but it seems that St. Augustine's Rule was 'virtually ignored in the generations preceding the Gregorian Reform'.<sup>11</sup>

Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085) is intrinsically linked with the reform movement that occurred within the Church at the end of the eleventh century. Although attempts at the reformation of religious life had been made before this point they appear to have been geographically limited, for example the efforts of the Carolingian monarchs and the Council of Aachen (816-7).<sup>12</sup> Gregorian Reform was concentrated towards the elimination of simony, nepotism and clerical marriage, as well as the lay ownership of churches and tithes.<sup>13</sup> These were matters that it was felt could be improved by 'the adoption of a quasi-monastic

---

<sup>8</sup> J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p. 43. The regulations for a monastery are divided into eleven parts and touch upon all aspects of daily life, for example the section concerning prayer, specifies different arrangements for three groups of months: November to February, May to August, March to April and September to October. For the regulations see G. Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo*, pp. 74-9.

<sup>9</sup> These divisions are taken from T.J. Van Bavel, *The Rule of St. Augustine: Masculine and Feminine Versions*, (London, 1984), pp. 11-24.

<sup>10</sup> J.C. Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, p. 20.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16-20.

life by clerics', such as that promoted by the Rule of St. Augustine, in an overall attempt to return to the ways of the early church.<sup>14</sup>

The introduction of canons, rather than monks, belonging to a recognised order gave the Church a new way of instituting reform. Whereas monks led an enclosed life of contemplation, prayer and praise, the canons offered a religious life which differed in slight, but important, ways. Regular canons had been recognised as 'clerics by definition',<sup>15</sup> primarily due to their attachment to the Rule of St. Augustine. The dual roles combined by Augustine, of monk and priest, established a precedent for those who wished to live by a rule whilst still retaining a parochial, or clerical, element to their religious lives.<sup>16</sup>

Both the adoption of the ideals of Gregorian Reform and the adoption of the Rule of St. Augustine by houses of canons and by some eremitical communities appear to have occurred earlier on the continent than in England. France, for example, witnessed the establishment of houses of regular canons in the eleventh century, such as St. Martin des Champs, Paris, founded 1059-60.<sup>17</sup> Although houses of regular canons sprang up throughout France they were particularly prevalent in the extreme south of Provence, Gascony and the lower Lorraine and the northwest of the country, flourishing in the second half of the eleventh century.<sup>18</sup>

Although the Rule of St. Augustine, as with other religious developments, initially came from and was accepted on the continent, it is likely that three houses of regular canons were established in England in the last years of the

---

<sup>13</sup> See H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII 1073-1085*, (Oxford, 1998), pp. 543-53.

<sup>14</sup> J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p. 44. For the change in the possession of churches from lay to ecclesiastical hands see B.R. Kemp, 'Monastic Possession of Parish Churches in England in the Twelfth Century', *JEH*, 31, (1980), pp. 133-60.

<sup>15</sup> B. Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order c.1130-1300*, (Oxford 1995), p. 88.

<sup>16</sup> C.W. Bynum has expostulated the notion that even more important to the distinction between monks and regular canons was the latter's 'concern to edify their fellow men', see B. Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham*, p. 88; For a study of the differences between canons and monks see C.N.L. Brooke, 'Monk and Canon: Some Patterns in the Religious Life of the Twelfth Century', *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition*, ed. W.J. Sheils, SCH, 22, (Oxford, 1985), pp. 109-29, *passim*.

<sup>17</sup> J.C. Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, p. 28; for the emergence and development of houses of regular canons in France see *ibid.* pp. 27-9.



eleventh century. It was, however, the twelfth century that witnessed the rapid proliferation of monastic houses of regular canons in England, with this type of inmate increasingly being associated, both implicitly and explicitly, with the Order of St. Augustine. It is uncertain which house - St. Botolph's, Colchester, St. Gregory's, Canterbury, St. Mary's, Huntingdon - was established first, as their early histories are hazy, but all three became associated with the Rule of St. Augustine.

St. Botolph's, Colchester, is thought originally to have been 'a community of priests' who decided to adopt 'the full religious life' during the archiepiscopacy of Anselm (1093-1109).<sup>19</sup> The evidence to support such an early foundation and adoption of the Rule of St. Augustine is not insubstantial, but as the as 'the adoption of the Rule of St. Augustine was not originally regarded as an essential' for houses of regular canons it is possible that another house preceded St. Botolph's but has gone unrecorded.<sup>20</sup> The houses of Little Dunmow (Essex), Holy Trinity, Aldgate (London), and Dunstable (Bedfordshire) all seem to have been originally connected with Colchester, with Norman, possibly the canon who introduced the Rule of St. Augustine there, becoming the prior of Aldgate at the request of Queen Matilda.<sup>21</sup>

Little more is known for certain about St. Gregory's, Canterbury. It is thought to have originated from a hospital founded by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury (1070-1089), 'as part of his energetic programme of reform',<sup>22</sup> with the clergy living 'communiter et canonicè'.<sup>23</sup> This community appears to have undergone its metamorphosis into a house of regular canons under the guidance of Archbishop William Corbeil (1123-1136), but at what point the Rule of St. Augustine was embraced is unclear. As well as having a link with the hospital of St. John Northgate, the canons had parochial duties and were 'to supervise a song

---

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 46-8.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99, for St. Botolph's see pp. 98-103.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>21</sup> *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, ed. G.A.J. Hodgett, London Record Society, 7, (1971), p. xiv.

<sup>22</sup> *Cartulary of the Priory of St. Gregory, Canterbury*, ed. A.M. Woodcock, Camden 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 88, (1956), p. ix.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1; For the foundation charter see *Ibid.* no. 1.

## Yorkshire Houses of Augustinian Canons

Name	Dedication	Foundation
Bolton	St. Mary (St. Cuthbert)	1121 (Embsay); 1155
Bridlington	St. Mary	before 1114
Drax	St. Nicholas	1130x1139
Guisborough	St. Mary	1119x1124 (?1119)
Healaugh	St. John	before 1190; 1218
Kirkham	Holy Trinity	1119x1124 (?1124)
Marton	St. Mary	before 1154
Newburgh	St. Mary	1142/3 (Hood); 1145
Nostell	St. Oswald	before 1114 (hermits/clerks); 1114x1121
Tockwith	All Saints (cell of Nostell)	before 1121
Warter	St. James (Arrouaisian from 1142 to 1191x97)	1132



and grammar school', perhaps indicative of the diverse and flexible nature of regular canons and how they were used in programmes of reform.<sup>24</sup>

The establishment of the priory of St. Mary, Huntingdon, like Colchester and Aldgate, is thought to have occurred before the twelfth century. The house may have been linked to an earlier community, for there is reference to a 'little monastery of St. Mary outside the same town' (i.e. Huntingdon), in a charter of King Edgar to Thorney Abbey in 973.<sup>25</sup> However, at the time of the Domesday inquest the church was held 'sine liberatore et sine brevi et sine saisitore'<sup>26</sup> by Eustace the sheriff, the person who is believed to be the founder of the house. Unfortunately there is no definite date for the house's foundation, although it must have been prior to c.1092 when canons were sent from Huntingdon to found St. Giles, Cambridge.<sup>27</sup> It is even less clear as to the date at which the house adopted the Rule of St. Augustine, as reference to this was not normally included in the charters of benefactions to the house, being implicitly understood. Like St. Botolph's, Huntingdon was connected with the foundation of other houses of regular canons, including Hexham, which produced two twelfth-century chroniclers,<sup>28</sup> Barnwell (Cambridgeshire), whose observances have fortunately survived<sup>29</sup> and whose daughter house of Merton (Surrey) 'was to become one of the most influential of all English Augustinian houses',<sup>30</sup> and, of particular concern in this study, Emsay, later translated to Bolton, (both Yorkshire), a house to which the canons made some claim.<sup>31</sup>

By the Dissolution houses of Augustinian canons were more numerous than of any other religious order in England.<sup>32</sup> It was during the twelfth century that

---

<sup>24</sup> *Cart. St. Gregory, Canterbury*, p. x.

<sup>25</sup> 'The Cartulary of the Priory of St. Mary, Huntingdon', ed. W.M. Noble, *Transactions of the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society*, iv, (1915-1930), pp. 89-104, 109-24, 217-32, 257-80, p. 89, citing *The 29<sup>th</sup> Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, (1868), Appendix, p. 17.

<sup>26</sup> J.C. Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, p. 103, citing *VCH, Huntingdonshire*, i, p. 354.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103-4.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116. For the chroniclers of Hexham see A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c.550-c.1307*, (London, 1974), pp. 216-18, 261, 287-9.

<sup>29</sup> *Barnwell Observances*.

<sup>30</sup> J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p. 47.

<sup>31</sup> For the subjection of Bolton to Huntingdon see below.

<sup>32</sup> For a list of over 150 independent houses of Augustinian canons, with information about their founders, see J.C. Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, pp. 290-8; for a combined list of all houses,

houses of regular canons rapidly emerged throughout the country, with greater density in the east than in the southwest.<sup>33</sup> The reign of Henry I (1100-1135) saw the number of houses of regular canons soar from the three that had been in existence in the eleventh century to about forty-six permanent foundations in England and Wales, and it was during this time that the majority of the Yorkshire houses of Augustinian canons were founded.<sup>34</sup> By the end of the twelfth century the number of Augustinian houses in England and Wales had risen to over one hundred and sixty. Although there were a number of new foundations during the thirteenth century, the pace was slower.<sup>35</sup> This decline was to continue, as was the case with the other monastic orders, with only a handful of houses being established in the fourteenth century, including some that became moderately wealthy and important.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless the adoption of the Rule of St. Augustine by at least one previously established house, Ynys Tudwal (Celtic Monks, Carnarvonshire),<sup>37</sup> in the fifteenth century suggests that the order still had some appeal.

The Church would appear to have viewed regular canons as a means by which the attempt to reform religious life could be embodied. The fact that the Church gave 'the regular canonical communities full official standing', in the councils of 1059 and 1063, intimates that orders of canons were being recognised, and that there was a place for such a religious group.<sup>38</sup> It has been suggested that there was a fundamental connection between Gregorian Reform and the regular canons, and this, no doubt, influenced the degree to which episcopal support was given for the foundation of houses.<sup>39</sup> Episcopal support is evident in the

---

including Arrouaisian and Victorine houses as well as alien cells of Augustinian canons see D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 137-82; for a map of the 'Distribution of Augustinian Houses in Medieval England and Wales' see D.M. Robinson, *Augustinian Settlement*, p. 28.

<sup>33</sup> For a map of the 'Distribution of Augustinian Houses in Medieval England and Wales' with reference to their date of foundation see D.M. Robinson, *Augustinian Settlement*, p. 30.

<sup>34</sup> D.M. Robinson, *Augustinian Settlement*, p. 29. See table for foundations of Augustinian houses in Yorkshire.

<sup>35</sup> There were over forty foundations in the thirteenth century, including Ravenstone and Chetwode (Buckinghamshire), doubling the number of houses of Augustinian canons in that particular county.

<sup>36</sup> D.M. Robinson, *Augustinian Settlement*, p. 31.

<sup>37</sup> *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 173. This house is also known as St. Tudwal's Island and Modstedwall.

<sup>38</sup> J.C. Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, p. 34.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.



establishment of a number of early houses of regular canons in England.<sup>40</sup> The north of England was no exception. Archbishop Thomas II of York, for example, was connected with the foundation of Hexham, work continued by his successor, Archbishop Thurstan, who helped to expand the presence of regular canons in the north, being linked with houses at Carlisle, Guisborough, Drax and Thurgarton.<sup>41</sup>

The Rule of St. Augustine had a wide appeal, being attractive not only to the Church, but also to those who wished to join a religious house or to act as the patron or benefactor to one. The diversity of the roles that regular canons could adopt, including, for example, parochial duties, may have made them more attractive than the enclosed world of orders such as the Cistercians. The multifaceted nature of the Rule of St. Augustine was expanded further, as associated orders emerged, adopting different customs and observances, thereby slightly altering, or perhaps further defining, the houses' interpretation of the Rule of St. Augustine. Several Augustinian houses were associated with other monastic rules, even if only temporarily. In Yorkshire, for example, Warter (East Riding) appears to have become affiliated with the Rule of St. Nicholas of Arrouaise, which gave guidance for 'an austere and ascetic way of life',<sup>42</sup> towards the end of the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>43</sup> The Rule of St. Victor of Paris was another rule adopted by regular canons who wished for a secluded life, but there were only a handful of houses associated with this in England, and none in the north east of the country.<sup>44</sup> The Order of the Holy Sepulchre, which was connected with pilgrims to Jerusalem, had even fewer houses in England

---

<sup>40</sup> William Warelwast, bishop of Exeter, for example, instituted regular canons from Aldgate 'in the collegiate church of Plympton', took similar action with 'the great secular college of Launceston', and was connected with Bodmin Priory, (*Ibid.*, pp. 113, 128).

<sup>41</sup> J.C. Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, pp. 116, 124, 127; D. Nicholl, *Thurstan, Archbishop of York (1114-1140)*, (York, 1964), pp. 48, 121, 127-9, 136, 151, 192; For the influence of Archbishop Thurstan with regards to Embsay Priory, and other Augustinian houses, see below; *EEA*, v, ed. J. Burton, pp. xxvi, xxix, For the *acta* made by Archbishops Thomas II and Thurstan relating to houses of Augustinian canons see nos. 13, 15A-+17, 27, 32-42, 47-55, 66, 71-72.

<sup>42</sup> J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p. 52.

<sup>43</sup> For a brief article about Warter see N. Denholm-Young, 'The Foundation of Warter Priory', *YAJ*, 31, pp. 208-13; for those Augustinian houses connected with the Arrouaisian order see D.M. Robinson, *Augustinian Settlement*, p. 356; for a history of the Arrouaisian order see L. Milis, *L'Ordre des Chanoines Réguliers D'Arrouaise*, 2 vols., (Bruges, 1969).

<sup>44</sup> J.C. Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, pp. 85-6; for those Augustinian houses connected with the Victorine order see D.M. Robinson, *Augustinian Settlement*, p. 356.



than those previously mentioned, with only one house, Warwick, surviving past 1230.<sup>27</sup>

In addition to the Arrouaisian, Victorine and Holy Sepulchre orders, there were several others that developed from the Rule of St. Augustine. The Order of the



Augustinian canons of Newstead priory, Nottinghamshire portrayed in late fifteenth century glass at Papplewick, Nottinghamshire. Photograph by Allan B. Barton.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. van Driel, *The Rule of Saint Augustine*.  
<sup>28</sup> See the adoption of the Rule of St. Augustine by the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, *Leges, Statuta, and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in England, 1200-1500* (London, 1949), esp. ch. 10, pp. 104-105, and also see E. York, 'The Caritative or Hospitable Rule in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century England', *The English Historical Review*, 70 (1960), pp. 1-22.



than those previously mentioned, with only one house, Warwick, surviving past 1280.<sup>45</sup>

In addition to the Arrouaisian, Victorine and Holy Sepulchre orders, there were several others that developed from the Rule of St. Augustine. The Order of the Temple of the Lord of Jerusalem, for example, was connected to the Augustines, with one house existing in Yorkshire, North Ferriby.<sup>46</sup> The Premonstratensian order emerged in England a little later than the Augustinians, during the twelfth century, having originated in northeast France.<sup>47</sup> The basis for the observance of the Premonstratensians was the Rule of St. Augustine, amended with 'a number of customs borrowed from Cîteaux' to create a more austere way of life than that of the Augustinians.<sup>48</sup> The Gilbertine order was also connected to the Rule of St. Augustine, with the canons of the double houses being Augustinian.<sup>49</sup> This choice may have been made because of the practical responsibilities of the canons for which the Augustinians were well suited.<sup>50</sup> The Rule of St. Augustine was also adopted by the double Order of Fontevault.<sup>51</sup> Yorkshire, for example, contained one priory for canons and nuns (Watton), and three houses for canons alone (Ellerton, Malton and York).

The absence of 'concrete regulations and detailed laws'<sup>52</sup> in the Rule of St. Augustine also enabled it to be accepted by many existing communities who were willing, even eager, to adopt a recognised order.<sup>53</sup> The nature of the houses that adopted the Rule of St. Augustine varied widely. Whilst some houses

---

<sup>45</sup> D.M. Robinson, *Augustinian Settlement*, p. 357. For houses of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 151, 169, 174-6, 178-9.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168.

<sup>47</sup> For a history of the Premonstratensian order in England see H.M. Colvin, *The White Canons in England*, (Oxford, 1951), *passim*.

<sup>48</sup> J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, pp. 57-8.

<sup>49</sup> For the connections between the Rule of St. Augustine and the Gilbertines see B. Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham*, (Oxford, 1995), pp. 18, 31-2, 87-90.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31-2.

<sup>51</sup> For the order of Fontevault see B.M. Kerr, *Religious Life for Women c.1100-c.1350: Fontevraud in England*, (Oxford, 1999).

<sup>52</sup> T.J. Van Bavel, *The Rule of Saint Augustine*, p. 7.

<sup>53</sup> For the adoption of the Rule of St. Augustine by eremitical groups see H. Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe, 1000-1500*, (London, 1984), *passim*, especially pp. 89-92; and for its adoption by religious communities in Scotland see K. Veitch, 'The Conversion of Native Religious Communities to the Augustinian Rule in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century *Alba*', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 29, (1999), pp. 1-22.

became 'centres of letters and education', such as Dunstable, and others, like Kirkham, were places of monastic solitude, certain houses took on a more parochial role with 'groups of priests serving a church', or existing as a hospital.<sup>54</sup> The origins of the houses that adopted the rule were also diverse, with, for example, the Yorkshire houses of Nostell and Healaugh Park originating from hermitages,<sup>55</sup> Launceston (Cornwall) and St. Frideswide's, Oxford, replacing secular canons, Elsham (Lincolnshire) and Kersey (Suffolk) beginning as a hospitals,<sup>56</sup> and the nuns of Aconbury joining the Rule of St. Augustine after the revelation that women could not be members of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.<sup>57</sup>

This diversity presented difficulties in the creation of a uniformity between the houses of the order, for each community appears to have had adopted, or created, an individual set of rules, and despite attempts 'to reduce their varieties of observance to a single norm', no consensus appears to have been achieved within the order in the whole of England.<sup>58</sup> It would appear that houses also supplemented the Rule of St. Augustine with their own particular set of observances, of which, those of Barnwell Priory have survived.<sup>59</sup>

As Barnwell was one of the daughter houses of Huntingdon, there maybe have some similarity between the observances held there and those at Bolton, which, if any existed, have not survived. The observances expand upon matters that are only briefly touched upon in the Rule of St. Augustine, such as the responsibilities of the members of the community and details regarding religious observance, giving greater clarification and instruction. For example, whereas the Rule of St. Augustine merely notes that 'the clothes you wear are to come

---

<sup>54</sup> D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (Cambridge, 1966), p. 175; For Kirkham Priory see J. Burton, *Kirkham Priory from Foundation to Dissolution*, p. 16.

<sup>55</sup> For the adoption of the Rule of St. Augustine by hermitages see J. Herbert, 'The Transformation of Hermitages into Augustinian Priors in Twelfth-Century England', *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition*, ed. W.J. Sheils, SCH, 22, (Oxford, 1985), pp. 131-45, for Nostell and Healaugh, pp. 132-3.

<sup>56</sup> *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 162-3, 169-70, 157, 161.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 227, 230; H.J. Nicholson, 'Margaret de Lacy and the Hospital of St. John at Aconbury, Herefordshire', *JEH*, 50, (1999), pp. 629-51.

<sup>58</sup> D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, (Cambridge, 1950), p. 29. For the Chapters of the Augustinian canons see *ibid.*, pp. 28-31; *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons*.



from the one storeroom'<sup>60</sup> the observances of Barnwell Priory declare that it is the Chamberlain's duty 'to know what and how much each brother ought to receive in the year for his clothing',<sup>61</sup> and specify the type and quantity of clothes permitted to the novices, canons and the Prelate<sup>62</sup> as well as the condition in which they are to be kept: 'no canon is to be allowed to remain in convent with a cloak improperly cut, or with a surplice or shoes that have holes in them, or with his dress dirty, untidy'.<sup>63</sup> As well as practical concerns, the observances also stipulate the procedures for liturgical and spiritual matters, including specific references to the Mass of the Blessed Virgin and Morning Mass.<sup>64</sup> The duties and responsibilities of members of the community are stated in the observances, which for Barnwell included instructions to the Prelate, Sub-Prior, Third Prior, Precentor, Succentor, Librarian, Sacrist, Sub-Sacrist (*Maticularius*), Deacon, Sub-Deacon, Novices, Fraterer, Reader, Almoner, Chief Cellarer, Sub-Cellarer, Kitchener, Grainger, Receivers, Hosteller, Chamberlain, Master of the Farmery, and lay-brethren,<sup>65</sup> whilst the Rule of St. Augustine mentions only the superior, 'the priest under whose jurisdiction the religious house falls', those who look after the clothes and shoes, food, and books, and 'the infirmarian'.<sup>66</sup>

Although Augustinian houses had their own observances and customs, they were often also given external instruction about their behaviour. Walter de Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester (1236-1266), is known to have composed constitutions for monastic houses gave a set of statutes to Cirencester Abbey (Gloucestershire) concerning a variety of issues, including 'reverentia exhibetur custodibus ordinis', as well as more specific instructions about provision for the infirm, also mentioned in the Rule of St. Augustine, and the responsibilities of members of the community, with reference to the obedientiaries.<sup>67</sup> In addition to the

---

<sup>59</sup> *Barnwell Observances*.

<sup>60</sup> T.J. Van Bavel, *The Rule of Saint Augustine*, p. 19.

<sup>61</sup> *Barnwell Observances*, pp. 196-7.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 196-7.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 198-9.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 106-11.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36-231; In the period covered by the *comptus* there were seven obedientiaries at Bolton Priory: sub-prior, cellarer, sub-cellarer, sacrist, refectorer, receiver and granarer, (I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 13).

<sup>66</sup> T.J. Van Bavel, *The Rule of St. Augustine*, pp. 18, 19, 21, 23-4.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54; for the constitutions issued by Walter de Cantilupe for Cirencester see *ibid.*, pp. 53-5. Other examples of external influence upon the observances and customs of a house are at

episcopal visitations, which may have resulted in certain recommendations or orders being made to improve the standard of a house and for the maintenance of the Rule of St. Augustine, members of the Chapter of Augustinian canons also made visitations of their fellow communities. The prior of Launceston, for example, visited St. German's Priory (both Cornwall) at least twice in the second decade of the fifteenth century for there are two surviving sets of injunctions, following what can only have been less than satisfactory visitations. Both sets of injunctions voice some of the same instructions, concerning the administration of St. German's Priory, and the provision of bread and drink, which should be given sufficiently and decently, 'iuxta laudabilem & antiquam consuetudinem'.<sup>68</sup>

#### The Chapters of the Houses of the Order of St. Augustine

At several points attempts were made to achieve a degree of conformity, with regards to observances, between the many and varied Augustinian houses. About a century after the Augustinian houses had emerged in England, their number growing with remarkable speed, the diversity of observances, 'in liturgical and other matters', became of increasing concern to the Church.<sup>69</sup> Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) decreed that the priories in the diocese of York were 'to meet and make ordinances for the reformation of their order', no doubt an attempt to limit further diversification.<sup>70</sup> In 1215 the Lateran Council concluded 'that in every kingdom or province there should be triennial Chapters of abbots and priors, of all Orders that had not hitherto held General Chapters'.<sup>71</sup> Leicester was the venue for the first meeting (1217), following the letter of Pope Innocent III, but as with many of the future Chapters, the decisions reached were contested by individual communities.

---

Carlisle, which Bishop Halton declared could not be altered without his permission, even though 'they differ in some respects from those of other houses of the order', (*The Register of John de Halton, Bishop of Carlisle, A.D. 1292-1324*, ed. W.N. Thompson, C&Y, 12, (1913), p. 181), and the visitation of Healaugh Park by Archbishop William Wickwane, May 1280, ordered that the Rule of St. Augustine and the statutes made by Archbishop Ludham (1258-1265) were to be observed.

<sup>68</sup> *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons*, nos. 81, 83. For reference to the provision of food and drink in the Rule of St. Augustine see *The Rule of St. Augustine*, pp. 13-15.

<sup>69</sup> *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons*, p. xxii.

<sup>70</sup> *Cal. Papal Let.*, i, p. 28.

<sup>71</sup> *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons*, p. ix.

It was the intention that the Chapters should be attended by all of the houses of the Order of St. Augustine in England, but this was unsuccessful, for by 1223 the Chapter had been bisected geographically into northern and southern provinces, which met separately until 1341.<sup>72</sup> Details of the Chapters of the southern province are scant, but, fortunately, there is more information regarding the northern province, which 'contained only twenty Augustinian houses', including Bolton Priory.<sup>73</sup> The Statutes of Healaugh Park, 'a uniform code of observances for the houses of the northern province',<sup>74</sup> are, perhaps, the most significant product of the Chapter of the northern province, although even these may not have been universally adhered to, despite the long period of discussion and amendment.<sup>75</sup> Visitations, to be made by members of the order in addition to those of the bishops, were another aspect of the Chapters, but their impact, as well of that of legislation made by the Chapter and its ability to enforce its will, is debatable.<sup>76</sup>

As the northern province was formed of only twenty houses it would seem likely that members of Bolton Priory participated to a reasonable degree, as presidents, visitors, diffiners, and as non-office holding members of the Chapters.<sup>77</sup> The priors of Bolton appear to have been elected as presidents on a number of occasions, including the Chapter at St. Oswald's, Nostell in 1259 and at Northampton in 1374.<sup>78</sup> The prior of Bolton appears to have been designated as one of the visitors at the Chapter held at Worksop in 1302.<sup>79</sup> Together with the priors of Launde, Huntingdon, Walsingham, Ipswich and Hexham, the prior of Bolton was chosen to be one of the diffiners in 1341, at the Chapter of Newstead, also acting in this role at the Chapter of Northampton, 1401, with the abbots of Rocester and North Creak and the priors of Twynham, Kyme and Haltemprice, and being mentioned in the Chapter of Osney, 1443.<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xi.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xix; for the separate Chapters of the southern and northern provinces see pp. xi–xix and xix–xxii, respectively.

<sup>74</sup> J.C. Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, p. 174.

<sup>75</sup> *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons*, pp. xx–xxii.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xlii–xliii; for guidelines on how visitations should be conducted see *ibid.*, no. 97.

<sup>77</sup> For a summary of the duties of the Presidents, the Visitors, and the Diffiners see *ibid.*, no. 100.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 69.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 79, 85.



The Chapters of the Order of St. Augustine were instrumental in the development of greater cohesion between the numerous houses that followed the rule. Apart from discussing and formulating statutes in order to attain this unity and participating in visitations the Chapter also appears to have had an interest in the education of its members, actively encouraging the attendance of the universities. However, the expense involved in the education of a canon may have been influential in determining the numbers that went to university. The prior of Southwark complained against the order made by the abbots of Osney and Leicester 'that he should send one of his canons to a university'.<sup>81</sup> Although at least two canons of Bolton went to university in the late thirteenth century and early fourteenth century,<sup>82</sup> Bolton later appears in several lists of Augustinian houses that did not have scholars, being fined £10 in 1443, for a two-year absence, and £3 in 1511.<sup>83</sup> However, this does not seem to have been exceptional as many other houses also appear to have suffered similar penalties, depending on their circumstances, perhaps indicating that it was cheaper to pay the fine than to finance the university education of a canon.

#### The Size of Augustinian Houses

Not only did the nature of the houses of Augustinian canons differ, but also their size varied considerably. Unlike other religious orders, such as the Cistercians, who required at least thirteen members in order to establish a convent, there was no minimum number established for the foundation of an Augustinian house. This lack of precision, in conjunction with the multifarious nature of Augustinian monasteries, the reforming nature attached to the order, and their acceptance of a wide range of benefactions, such as tithes and other ecclesiastical property which was becoming increasingly unacceptable for a layman to possess, may have given those previously not in a position to found their own convent the opportunity to do so.

---

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167.

<sup>82</sup> The expenses incurred for the education of Henry of Laund, thought to have been the brother of Prior John of Laund, at Oxford are listed in the *Comptus*, pp. 95, 115, and for those of William Bulmer, also at Oxford, p. 185.

<sup>83</sup> *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons*, pp. 99, 187.

The sparse endowment by Cecily de Rumilly and William Meschin of their new foundation of regular canons at Embsay, would suggest that the original number of canons there was small, although as the canons were drawn from St. Mary's, Huntingdon, the benefaction was, presumably, considered to be sufficient. The number of canons forming Augustinian houses varied widely, although they may seem to be moderate in comparison to Benedictine monasteries of Reading (Berkshire) or Bury St. Edmunds (Suffolk).<sup>84</sup> Osney Abbey (Oxfordshire) was one of the larger Augustinian houses, fluctuating from its original community of twenty-six canons, to fifty canons during the thirteenth century, then decreasing in the following centuries, to eventually fall below its original complement by the time of its surrender.<sup>85</sup> Towards the other end of the scale were houses such as Weybourne (Norfolk) and Bradley (Leicestershire), where the number of canons does not appear to have entered double figures.<sup>86</sup> There is a similar, if slightly less extreme, disparity amongst the Augustinian houses of Yorkshire whose numbers ranged from nearly thirty, in the larger houses of Nostell, Kirkham, and Bridlington, down to around ten or less in Drax or Healaugh Park.<sup>87</sup> Bolton Priory would appear to fit somewhere in the middle of this range, as in 1275 there appears to have been fourteen canons, and at the Dissolution fourteen as well as Prior Richard Moone.<sup>88</sup>

#### The Foundation of Bolton Priory and its Connection to Huntingdon Priory

Although the order of the house is not stated in the early charters concerning the foundation and endowment of the canons of Embsay, simply referred to as 'ecclesiam canonicorum regularium',<sup>89</sup> the connections with Huntingdon, which adopted the Rule of St. Augustine at an unclear date, would strongly suggest that

---

<sup>84</sup> These monasteries are thought to have had in the region of a hundred and eighty monks respectively, during various periods, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 74, 61.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 149.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 158, 129.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>88</sup> *The Register of Archbishop Walter Giffard*, p. 309; *L&P Henry VIII*, 14, p. 162; Other figures stated by D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock include the prior and thirteen canons in 1315, and the prior and fourteen canons in 1380-1 and 1471, (*Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 148). The priory also contained a number of lay brothers, 'the Poll Tax of 1379 records nineteen canons and five lay brothers (more than in any other Yorkshire Augustinian House)' (I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 11). For details about the lay brothers at Bolton Priory see I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 11-13, 35.

<sup>89</sup> CB, no. 2.

the new foundation would follow their rule and possibly their observances.<sup>90</sup> Indeed, the only reference to Bolton as a house of the Augustinian order, rather than merely being a house of regular canons occurs in the fourteenth century; ‘piori de Bolton in Craven’ ordinis sancti Augustini Ebor’ diocesis’.<sup>91</sup>

The notification made by Cecily de Rumilly to Archbishop Thurstan regarding the gifts of churches and associated property appears to relate to ‘canonicis ecclesie sancte Marie Hun[t]e[...15mm] sancti Cuthberti Emmeseie’, with no clarification as to the division of these gifts, if any, or to the relationship between the individual houses.<sup>92</sup> The confusion as to the intention of this benefaction, which appears to have been made to both Huntingdon and Embsay, is increased by the confirmation of Henry I of the grant of William Meschin to Huntingdon of the same church, ‘ecclesiam sancte Trinitatis de Scipeton’’, some five or so years after the foundation of Embsay in 1120 or 1121,<sup>93</sup> perhaps indicating the ongoing development of the priory at Embsay and the importance at that stage of Huntingdon. As Huntingdon does not appear to have prevented or contested the grant of the church together with its chapel at Carlton *in proprios usus* by Archbishop Thurstan to the canons of Embsay, it seems most likely that Holy Trinity, Skipton was understood to have been given by Cecily and William as the endowment for their foundation rather than as an incentive, payment or benefaction to Huntingdon.<sup>94</sup> It is most likely that Prior Reginald and the first canons of Embsay had come from Huntingdon, for William Meschin was a benefactor of that house. This notion is strongly supported by the gift of the church at Skipton, being given to both Embsay and Huntingdon in the same charter.<sup>95</sup> It seems most likely that the benefaction of Holy Trinity, Skipton was made in order to provide an endowment for the new foundation, under the guidance of Huntingdon, which would hold the property, if only in name, until the house was established, after which it would ‘be transferred to the new priory

---

<sup>90</sup> Hexham was another northern house with connections to Huntingdon, as were the southern monasteries of Barnwell, previously St. Giles, Cambridge, and Merton, for details see J.C. Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, pp. 115-17.

<sup>91</sup> CB, no. 459.

<sup>92</sup> Chatsworth Charter, File B2, PB 4865/24.

<sup>93</sup> EYC, vii, no. 1.

<sup>94</sup> *Mon. Angl.*, vi, p. 205, no. 11; *EEA* v, no. 34.

<sup>95</sup> CB, no. 2; Chatsworth Charter, File B2, PB 4865/24.



under its prior, Reginald'.<sup>96</sup> Indeed the inclusion of an individual, Reginald, in the notification of the founders to Archbishop Thurstan, as well as the grant made by the archbishop to the canons, which also states Reginald rather than Huntingdon Priory, strengthens this notion.<sup>97</sup>

It would appear that Huntingdon wished to retain some connection with the canons of Embsay, later Bolton, although it is unclear whether or not Cecily de Rumilly and William Meschin had intended their foundation to exist as a daughter house or as an independent establishment. It was not until the end of the twelfth century that the canons of Bolton gained their independence, with 'Huntingdon Priory claiming Bolton's subjection as late as the 1190s'.<sup>98</sup> Following several enquiries, with the case being referred to Pope Celestine III (1191-1197), Bolton was assured of its independence.<sup>99</sup> The payment of an annual pension to Huntingdon by Bolton of £5. 6s. 8d. from the fruits of Kildwick church was established in 1194/5 and continued until the Dissolution, possibly indicating a material rather than spiritual interest by the former house.<sup>100</sup>

#### The History of Bolton Priory: Visitations and Religious Life

Episcopal, or in the case of the diocese of York, archiepiscopal, visitations were one of the external influences upon a monastic community, as part of the Church's efforts to maintain the expected standards, something also practised, in the case of houses of the Order of St. Augustine, by members of the General Chapter. Although, unfortunately, there appears to be no extant evidence concerning the visitations made to Bolton by its counterparts, there is record of

---

<sup>96</sup> J. Burton, *Monastic Order*, p. 81.

<sup>97</sup> A.H. Thompson, *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, p. 52. Thompson refers to Reginald as 'Reynald'.

<sup>98</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 5.

<sup>99</sup> A.H. Thompson, *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, p. 51; For details of the proceedings see *ibid.*, p. 51-2.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55; *Valor Ecclesiasticus Temp. Henr. VIII Auctoritate Regia Institutus*, ed. J. Caley & J. Hunter, 6 vols., (Record Commission, 1810-1834), v, p. 300; *Comptus*, p. 67. Other payments were also made to Huntingdon, for example, in 1300-1301, with regard to 'Decime Terre Sancte', there is an entry 'Pro pensione de Huntyndon' x.s. viij.d.', and in 1314-1315, 'De pensione de Huntyngdon' pro defensione patrie videlicet una vice de qualibet marca xij.d. et alia vice de qualibet marca ij.d. in parte vj.s. viij.d.', (*Ibid.* pp. 116, 381). Another house of Augustinian canons that seems to have been subject to another priory is Brinkburn (Northumberland) upon whom the priory of Pentney (Norfolk) laid some claim. At the end of the twelfth century Pentney relinquished any claim that they had on Brinkburn, although the reason for the previous subjection is not stated, and an agreement was made between the two houses with certain provisions being established, (*The Chartulary of Brinkburn Priory*, ed. W. Page, Surtees Society, 90, (1893), nos. 232, 234).

the findings of several archbishops and some of the remedies suggested, or actions demanded by them.<sup>101</sup>

Although there are no visitation records concerning Bolton Priory to be found in the registers of Archbishops Walter Gray (1215-1255) and Henry de Newark (1296-1299) entries can be found in the records of other archbishops of York. Two visitations were made by Archbishop Walter Giffard (1266-1279), during the priorates of William of Tanfield and William Hog. The first visitation on 2 December 1267, made by Walter scarcely a year after he was enthroned, mentions several problems that are frequently noted, such as silence not being kept in the church, cloister, dormitory or refectory.<sup>102</sup> Although the behaviour of William Hog and Hugh of York is, perhaps, the main issue being questioned in this visitation, other matters of concern were also noted. By the time of the next visitation, 7 October 1275, Richard of Beachampton, who had received episcopal confirmation as prior of Bolton in November 1270, had resigned, quite possibly due to the meddlesome activities of his successor, William Hog.<sup>103</sup> The priory appears to be in a poor state of repair, both materially, being 'monasterii bona perdita et dilapidata',<sup>104</sup> and spiritually, as the entry concludes with the deposition of the prior, who was to be replaced by John of Lund.<sup>105</sup>

The entries relating to the visitation of the priory made by Archbishop William Wickwane list not only the problems discovered but also the remedies suggested. The fabric of the house does not appear to have been improved upon since the visitation of Archbishop Giffard, for in 1280 'the church, chapter-house, and building were on the point of falling down'.<sup>106</sup> The Rule of St. Augustine is

---

<sup>101</sup> For a discussion of the episcopal visitations of Bolton Priory, together with translations of the records see A.H. Thompson, *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, pp. 63-76; for an overview of episcopal visitation see C.R. Cheney, *Episcopal Visitations of Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century*, (Manchester, 1931), *passim*, and E.N. Gorsuch, 'Mismanagement and ecclesiastical visitation of English monasteries in the early-fourteenth century', *Traditio*, 28, (1972), pp. 473-82.

<sup>102</sup> *Reg. Giffard*, pp. 145-6; For a translation and study of this visitation see A.H. Thompson, *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, pp. 63-6.

<sup>103</sup> For the confirmation and resignation of Richard of Beachampton see *Reg. Giffard*, pp. 32, 305-7; for the 1275 articles and visitation see *ibid.*, pp. 302-4, 320-2; For a translation and study of this visitation see A.H. Thompson, *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, pp. 66-70.

<sup>104</sup> *Reg. Giffard*, p. 303.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 304.

<sup>106</sup> *The Register of William Wickwane, Lord Archbishop of York, 1279-1285*, ed. W. Brown, Surtees Society, 114, (1907), p. xiii.

specifically mentioned, with the instruction that it should be upheld with the explanations given by the archbishop. The instructions given by Archbishop Wickwane concern many aspects of monastic life according to the Rule of St. Augustine, including the behaviour of the prior and the canons, the attendance of divine service, and the common possession of goods.<sup>107</sup> The financial life of the priory is also scrutinised, with the order for an inventory and a list of debts to be drawn up, as well as the institution of the production of an account of expenses and receipts to be effected twice a year, presumably to improve the monetary position of the priory, and to ward off the possibility of even greater debt.<sup>108</sup>

John le Romeyn made at least one visitation to Bolton Priory during his ten years as archbishop of York (1286-1296). The citation for the first visitation by John le Romeyn of Bolton Priory was made on 30 June 1286,<sup>109</sup> with the visitation itself occurring a short time later, in mid-July.<sup>110</sup> The heavy debts of the priory were of primary concern, but there is no remedy contained in the visitation. Another matter that alarmed the archbishop was the individual rather than communal possession of goods, which was 'entirely contrary to the monastic ideal'.<sup>111</sup> The next notice of visitation was made 10 March 1294, although there does not appear to be a record of the visitation itself that was due to take place on the 17 March.<sup>112</sup>

Notice of an impending visitation of Bolton Priory by Archbishop Thomas Corbridge (1300-1304), was made the 31 May 1301.<sup>113</sup> Although the date for the visitation was stated, being the 23 June, there is, unfortunately, no record of this having occurred. The next details that have survived for the archiepiscopal visitation of Bolton are from 1306 to 1315 when William Greenfield was

---

<sup>107</sup> As well as instructing the use of 'communi sartria', Archbishop Wickwane orders the breaking open of any locked chests, as well as forbidding the private use of such containers, *ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132. It is thought that the financial reforms instituted by Archbishop Wickwane were the reason for the creation of the *Compotus*, see *Compotus*, p. 7

<sup>109</sup> *The Register of John le Romeyn, Lord Archbishop of York, 1286-1296*, ed. W. Brown, Surtees Society, 123, 128, (1913, 1916), p. 53.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 56-7.

<sup>111</sup> A.H. Thompson, *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, p. 75.

<sup>112</sup> *Reg. Romeyn*, p. 139.

<sup>113</sup> *Register of Thomas Corbridge*, ed. W. Brown, 2 vols., Surtees Society, 138, 141, (1925, 1928), i, p. 50 n.3. Although reference is absent from the archbishop's register there is evidence



archbishop of York. On 15 May 1307, notice was given of the intention for a visitation of Bolton Priory to be held on 12 June, for which there does not appear to be any record in the archbishop's register.<sup>114</sup> Masters John de Roderham and William de Bukstanes were commissioned to undertake the visitation of Bolton on 25 September 1313, probably owing to the ill health of the archbishop, notice for which had been given on 10 September.<sup>115</sup>

Other matters concerning religious houses, apart from the often informative visitations, are to be found in the registers of the archbishops of York. Reference to discord amongst the brethren at Bolton, as well as other Augustinian houses in Yorkshire, can be found in several registers. The register of Archbishop Wickwane records the sending of John of Pontefract to Hexham, probably in 1280, to undergo penance on account of his undesirable behaviour that had been discovered by inquiry and visitation, as well as the penance he is to serve.<sup>116</sup> William of Appleton appears to have been a troublesome member of Bolton Priory, who was not, perhaps, entirely suited to the monastic life. In December 1313, by order of Archbishop Greenfield, William was sent to Thurgarton (Nottinghamshire), in exchange for William de Morton who went to Bolton.<sup>117</sup> This followed a succession of inappropriate actions and unacceptable behaviour by William. In March 1313 William of Appleton had been castigated by Archbishop Greenfield for leaving 'the cloister without special licence from the archbishop', a condition that had been imposed some time before.<sup>118</sup> William was also reprimanded for the offences of poaching, being out of the cloister 'for several days in secular dress', and for officiating in church whilst under sentence.<sup>119</sup> A few months later, in August, William was yet again reproached by the archbishop, this time 'for striking a secular priest', called John,<sup>120</sup> for which his previous penance was intensified with 'the restriction of his fare on

---

in the *comptus* that the visitation did occur, (*Comptus*, pp. 222, 226; I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 138-9).

<sup>114</sup> *Register of William Greenfield, Lord Archbishop of York, 1306-1315*, eds. W. Brown and A.H. Thompson, 4 vols., Surtees Society, 145, 149, 151, 152, (1931, 1934, 1936, 1937), ii, p. 27.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, p. 157, and note.

<sup>116</sup> *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 133-4.

<sup>117</sup> *Reg. Greenfield*, ii, pp. 169-70. See also *ibid.*, iv, pp. 140-1.

<sup>118</sup> A.H. Thompson, *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, p. 87.

<sup>119</sup> *Reg. Greenfield*, ii, pp. 140-1.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, p. 153.

Fridays to bread, beer, and vegetables, the recitation of the seven penitential psalms and litany, prostrate before one of the altars of the church every Monday, and a discipline in chapter on the same day' as well as not being permitted to sit with the other canons 'on the benches round the chapter-house'.<sup>121</sup>

Despite the occasional disruptive canon, the overall character of Bolton Priory does not appear to have been any worse than other houses of Augustinian canons. William de Morton, the canon who was sent to Bolton because his disagreeable and inciteful talk, which had caused many people to 'withdraw themselves from the celebration of divine service',<sup>122</sup> eventually returned to Thurgarton in 1315 with William of Appleton going back to Bolton at the same time.<sup>123</sup> Walter de Byngham was another brother from Thurgarton who spent some time at Bolton,<sup>124</sup> and his rapid rise to prior of St. Oswald's, Gloucester, could indicate that his reformation at Bolton was a success.<sup>125</sup>

As well as controlling the discipline of the canons, managing the administration of the house, and participating in matters concerning the Order of St. Augustine, the priors of Bolton were also involved in the business of others, including the archbishops of York and other ecclesiastics. The appropriation of Carleton, during the priorate of John of Laund, appears to have been the reward given by Archbishop John le Romeyn to the canons for 'the proclamation by the prior of Romeyn's sentence of excommunication upon Bishop Bek of Durham', a sentence that was not accepted by Edward I.<sup>126</sup> The prior of Bolton, probably Thomas or Richard, had also played a part in the passing of sentence against Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln (1235-1253), who had accused the prior of St. Frideswide's, Oxford (Augustinian), of incontinence. Despite the judgement given by the prior of Bolton and his fellow judges Pope Gregory IX annulled the

---

<sup>121</sup> A.H. Thompson, *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, p. 87.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88; for the entry in the archiepiscopal register see *Reg. Greenfield*, ii, pp. 169-70.

<sup>123</sup> *Reg. Greenfield*, ii, p. 213; *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 173, 175-6; A.H. Thompson, *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, pp. 87-8.

<sup>124</sup> *Reg. Corbridge*, i, p. 213; *Ibid.*, iv, p. 175.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, p. 63.

<sup>126</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 62; For documents relating to this incident see *CCR*, 1288-1296, pp. 272-3, 330-4.

sentence in 1237.<sup>127</sup> In 1363 the prior of Bolton, along with the bishop of Sodor and the abbot of Sallay, was ordered to reconcile Richard de Eckeslay with the abbey of Kirkstall.<sup>128</sup> The priors of Bolton are also recorded as fulfilling other commissions set by their ecclesiastical superiors. For example, in 1308 the prior of Bolton, together with Thomas de Renes, was given ‘the power to audit accounts of executors of wills under 100*li.*’ within the deanery of Craven,<sup>129</sup> and in 1311 the prior of Bolton, together with others including the prior of Newburgh, appears to have been a judge over the sequestration of the church of Easington, where the rector was excommunicated.<sup>130</sup> These examples are illustrative of the wide range of tasks to which heads of religious houses could be called.

Prior John of Laund, the head of Bolton Priory for the first three decades of the fourteenth century, seems to have been a capable man, fulfilling other duties, such as those mentioned above, as well as administering to the welfare of the priory. It was under his leadership that the priory’s acquisition of property, spiritual as well as temporal, escalated, and a host of other schemes and attempts to stabilize the priory’s economy were tried: ‘demesnes were taken back in hand, barns and sheep-folds repaired, flocks built up, and a highly centralised method of management and accounting evolved’.<sup>131</sup>

John of Laund appears to have received the support of the canons of Bolton, for there is no reference to any controversy surrounding his election, possibly like his predecessor John of Lund, who appears to have been unanimously elected by the canons, with the exception of his own vote.<sup>132</sup> Whilst the priorates of John of Lund and John of Laund appear, on the whole to have been successful – leaving aside events beyond control, such as the invasions of the Scots - Bolton Priory

---

<sup>127</sup> *Cal. Papal Let.*, i, p. 163. Robert Grosseteste was successful in securing the deposition of the prior of St. Frideswide’s despite the papal reinstatement. Grosseteste appears to have been exceptionally thorough in his dealing with monasteries that he felt were not of a suitable standard, with the heads of ten Augustinian houses being deposed during his first year as bishop of Lincoln, R.W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe*, (Oxford, 1986), p. 260.

<sup>128</sup> *Cal. Papal Let.*, 4, p. 34.

<sup>129</sup> *Reg. Greenfield*, iv, no. 1744.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, iii, no. 1553.

<sup>131</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 14; For the priorate of John of Laund see *ibid.*, pp. 9-18.



did not always enjoy such harmony. The priorate of William Hog, for example, appears to have been one of discord, lasting less than one year, from the January to the October of 1275.<sup>133</sup> William Hog appears to have been a troublesome member of the community both before his election, when his behaviour was questioned in a visitation (possibly for turbulence during the priorate of Richard of Beachampton, causing the latter's resignation), and following his succession as head of the house.

Few details are available regarding the earlier priors of Bolton. Without information recorded during the process of visitations, which does not necessarily give the most balanced picture as it naturally tended to emphasise the weaknesses of an establishment rather than its strengths or assets, most references are to be found in charters and other legal documents. There are, for example, only a few references to Prior Adam with definite dates, one being his participation in a final concord made with Ralph Darrel regarding the advowson of All Saints, Broughton (1255),<sup>134</sup> another being an agreement with William de Forz III (1257),<sup>135</sup> and the third being a final concord with Adam the prior of Bolton being called to warrant (1257).<sup>136</sup> There is another reference to Adam as the prior of Bolton in a confirmation charter issued by the Adam and the convent of Bolton to Walter de Grey of property in Kettlewell, but, unfortunately, it is not dated.<sup>137</sup> Nevertheless even from this brief information it would appear that during the priorate of Adam, which may have lasted from 1247 until 1263,<sup>138</sup> the priory was involved in the development of its estates, with, for example, an agreement being made with Fountains Abbey concerning pasture rights.<sup>139</sup>

In comparison to other Augustinian houses Bolton Priory does not stand out as having any particularly striking attributes, such as the development of a cult as at

---

<sup>132</sup> *Reg. Giffard*, pp. 308-12.

<sup>133</sup> *Heads of Religious Houses*, ii, ed. D.M. Smith & V.C.M. London, (Cambridge, 2000), p. 340.

<sup>134</sup> CB, no. 148.

<sup>135</sup> CB, no. 279.

<sup>136</sup> CB, no. 97.

<sup>137</sup> Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 34r.

<sup>138</sup> *Heads of Religious Houses*, ii, p. 340.

<sup>139</sup> CB, no. 139. Important building work was also completed during Adam's priorate, including the nave of the church at Bolton and the west front; see A.H. Thompson, *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, pp. 147-52, 168-9.

Bridlington, nor a scriptorium of any known importance. Nevertheless the priory seems to have attracted support from many of those who dwelt or held land near to the house. This could indicate that the religious life of the house was generally seen as acceptable, despite occasional incidents deemed incongruous with a canonical life, which are mentioned in visitation records and elsewhere; and that the prayers of the canons, as well as their interaction with and on behalf of the outside world, were viewed as beneficial.

## Chapter II

### The Patrons and Benefactors of Bolton Priory

#### The Patrons

The patronage of the Augustinian canons of Embsay, later of Bolton, was connected for over two hundred and fifty years with the descendants of Cecily de Rumilly and William Meschin, the founders of the priory. Following a brief interlude after the death of the last member of the main line of the family in 1274 the patronage became the concern of the Clifford family until the Dissolution, when the lands of the priory entered into, and have since remained, their and their heirs' possession. The history of the descendants of Cecily and William is, as is true of many other families of the middle ages, complicated by the lack of male heirs, and perhaps because of this the benefactions of others were of crucial importance to the survival of the priory, as the interest shown in the canons by the patrons varied between each generation and individual.

Cecily de Rumilly and William Meschin, the founders of a priory of regular canons at Embsay in 1120x1121, were 'two of the most powerful magnates in the north'.<sup>1</sup> The convent established there was, in 1155, translated to a site at Bolton, four miles away, by Alice de Rumilly, their daughter. A notification to Archbishop Thurstan (1119-1140) regarding the gift of the churches of Holy Trinity, Skipton and St. Andrew, Kildwick, as well as that of Harewood, extant, although in poor condition, states that Cecily was the daughter of 'R [...15mm] Rumill", while William, her 'dominus et maritus', was the son of 'Ran", these being Robert de Rumilly and Ranulf Meschin, vicomte of the Bessin, respectively.<sup>2</sup>

The means by which Robert de Rumilly acquired his lands is uncertain. He does not appear in Domesday Book, where those lands that came to compose his estates are not ascribed to him but rather to a host of people, including Earl

---

<sup>1</sup> J.E. Burton, *Monastic Order*, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Chatsworth Charter, B2, 4865/24; *EYC*, vii, pp. 1-4 for Robert de Rumilly and pp. 4-6 for William Meschin concerning the descent of their respective families.



Edwin of Mercia.<sup>3</sup> However, by 1096, but no earlier than 1094, Robert is found to be in possession of a several estates, granting the churches of St. Andrew in Wheatenhurst (Gloucestershire), Mappowder (Dorset), Molland and Warkleigh (Devon), and lands in Spetchwick (Devon), to the Benedictine abbey of St. Martin de Troarn, Normandy.<sup>4</sup> Between 1100 and 1107 Henry I confirmed the gifts of Roger earl of Shrewsbury, Torstin de Fontanis, Ralf Bastardus and Aseio, to the abbey of St. Martin de Troarn, as well as those of Robert de Rapoliolo [sic],

namely the church of St. Andrew, Witenehat with the priest's land and the tithes belonging to the vill, and that of Mapelel ... with the priest's land, and one ploughland with the meadow appurtenant, and the tithes of the manor and one plough[land] with meadow and three tenants (*hospites*) with their land, and one in Espicevine and the church of Warocle with the tithes which Robert gave the saint.<sup>5</sup>

The Rumilly family appear to have been benefactors of the abbey of St. Martin's, Troarn, founded by Roger of Montgomery, with Adelia, the sister of Robert de Rumilly, also making a gift, which was confirmed initially by Henry II, c. 30 September 1155, and later in 1259 by Louis IX of France.<sup>6</sup> An association with the family of Roger of Montgomery may have been of influence in the acquisition of lands by Robert de Rumilly, as his sons Arnulf of Montgomery and Roger the Poitevin received lands in Holderness and in the lordship of Craven respectively.<sup>7</sup>

It is quite plausible that it would be in the interest of the king, and the tenants in chief of that vicinity, to install men, such as Robert, who would be loyal in times of trouble, with the uprisings in the north being quashed, and unrest from the

---

<sup>3</sup> *VCH, Yorkshire*, ii, pp. 207-8.

<sup>4</sup> *Bruton Cartulary*, Somerset Record Society, viii, no. 329. For cross-channel possession of lands see D.J.A. Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions*, (London, 1962).

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Doc. France*, i, no. 470. It would seem that Robert de Rapoliolo and Robert de Rumilly were the same person for the church of St. Andrew, Wheatenhurst, later entered the Say family, probably through the marriage of Lucy, thought to be the sister of Cecily, to Jordan de Say, see *EYC*, vii, pp.1-3, 31-35.

<sup>6</sup> *Cal. Doc. France*, i, no. 480. See R.N. Sauvage, *L'Abbaye de Saint-Martin de Troarn au diocèse de Bayeux des origines au seizième siècle*, *Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, 4<sup>th</sup> series, IV, (1911).

<sup>7</sup> J.A. Green, *The Aristocracy in Norman England*, (Cambridge, 1997) p. 113 and n.59.

Scots a potential threat to the stability imposed.<sup>8</sup> The lords of Skipton were to benefit even further from the lands of the sons of Roger of Montgomery, for when they were banished in 1102 their lands, as well as others whose lands had been confiscated, were divided between the Rumilly and the Percy families who had remained loyal to Henry against Robert Curthose.<sup>9</sup>

William Meschin, the husband of Cecily de Rumilly, was the younger son of Ranulf Meschin, vicomte of the Bessin. His elder brother Ranulf, later became the earl of Chester. However, there is mention of a third son, who is not named, in an agreement made between Ranulf and Odo bishop of Bayeux, whose existence is supported by other, although possibly contradictory, documentary references.<sup>10</sup> As vicomte of the Bessin, Ranulf made gifts of lands in Normandy to the abbey of St. Stephen, Caen, which were confirmed by Hugh earl of Chester, who refers to 'donationem quam Randulfus vicecomes Baiocensis antecessor meus fecit', and Ranulf, the future earl of Chester, as well as acting as witness to other benefactions, including the foundation of the abbey of the Holy Trinity, Lessay.<sup>11</sup>

Despite the prominent position of Ranulf, William's father, the Meschin family was raised to greater heights owing to the death in 1120 of Richard earl of Chester, his maternal uncle. Because of the absence of an heir, the earldom of

---

<sup>8</sup> The lands of earl Edwin were lost to the crown after a series of revolts, which culminated in his death in 1071. These lands as well as other which had been confiscated provided an opportunity to impose the Norman regime more thoroughly with compact estates being granted and castelleries established. *Ibid.*, part i, especially ch. 3. P. Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship, Yorkshire, 1066-1154*, (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 129-31 for the honour of Skipton.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>10</sup> *Cal. Doc. France*, i, no. 1435. Perhaps this anonymous son was Richard who is mentioned in the foundation charter of Ranulf Meschin to Wetheral Priory, when he prays for the souls of his parents and 'Richardi fratris mei', *The Register of the Priory of Wetherhal*, ed. J.E. Prescott, CWAAS, (London, 1897), no. 1. Richard, unlike William he does not appear to have made or witnessed any benefactions of Ranulf. He may have inherited their father's estates in Normandy, or, as seems more probable, he may have taken vows, possibly at Durham as Prescott notes that he is 'mentioned in the *Liber Vitæ* of Durham', although this is open to speculation. However, it maybe a reference to a certain Geoffrey, 'fratri ejusdem Ranulphi', who occurs in an untrustworthy document relating to the distribution of lands in Cumberland, (*Ibid.*, no. 245). This document is stated by Prescott as being 'one of those common and inaccurate compilations', and contains numerous mistakes including blunders concerning the Rumilly family, such as 'Aliciam filiam Roberti de Romeley', whereas she was in fact his grand-daughter.

<sup>11</sup> *The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester, c.1071-1237*, ed. G. Barraclough, RSLC, cxxvi, (1988), pp. 191-192; pd. in English in *Cal. Docs. France*, i, p. 161, no. 455. *Cal. Docs. France*, i, nos. 116, 453, 460, 919, 1172.

Chester fell to Ranulf the eldest nephew of the deceased earl.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the lack of male heirs is of importance regarding the patrons of Bolton Priory, since both Ranulf and Matthew, the sons of William and Cecily, were succeeded by their sisters, and this fate also affected subsequent generations.

Ranulf I, earl of Chester, was instrumental in William acquiring lands, including the barony of Egremont, Cumberland. This was created for him, following William's loss of Gilsland to the Scots, which he had previously held.<sup>13</sup> This is another instance of loyal men being placed in areas of importance and contention, as Gilsland lay 'on the river Irving protecting the approach to Carlisle',<sup>14</sup> and 'Gille the native lord of the area, held out against the Normans till around 1156'.<sup>15</sup> William Meschin, like Robert de Rumilly, also profited from the distribution of estates that reverted to the crown, for he held the Domesday 'land of Durand Malet and William Blund'.<sup>16</sup>

The lack of a male heir to inherit the lands of Robert de Rumilly resulted in both Cecily de Rumilly and her sister Lucy becoming valuable heiresses. The lands of Robert de Rumilly appear to have been divided, with the basic criteria for distribution being their location. Lucy appears to have received those lands in Normandy, with the exception of some in Oxfordshire, and married Jordan de Say.<sup>17</sup> Cecily, on the other hand, claimed the bulk of those lands in England, which she therefore held by her own right, focussing her attention on the barony of Skipton.<sup>18</sup> The union of William Meschin and Cecily de Rumilly, therefore, created a powerful unit, with vast lands in Yorkshire, and estates in neighbouring Lincolnshire and elsewhere.

---

<sup>12</sup> See *The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester, c.1071-1237*, ed. G. Barraclough; *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters: A Tribute to Geoffrey Barraclough*, ed. A.T. Thacker, JCAS, vol. 71, (Chester, 1991).

<sup>13</sup> I.J. Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent, 1086-1327*, (Oxford, 1960), p. 115 for Egremont.

<sup>14</sup> J.A. Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England*, p. 119.

<sup>15</sup> W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North. The Region and its Transformation, 1000-1135*, (London, 1979), p. 200, citing J. Wilson, *Introduction to the Cumberland Domesday, Early Pipe Rolls and Testa de Nevill*, p. 310. For Gille son of Beieth and the territory of Gilsland see I.J. Sanders, *English Baronies*, p. 124.

<sup>16</sup> C.A. Newman, *The Anglo-Norman Nobility in the Reign of Henry I: The Second Generation*, (Philadelphia, 1988), p. 144, pp. 143-5 for the development of baronies.

<sup>17</sup> *EYC*, vii, pp. 31-5.



The predecessors of both William Meschin and Cecily de Rumilly had already made benefactions to religious houses, including, as mentioned, the Norman abbeys of St. Stephen, Caen, and St. Martin, Troarn. However, once the Meschin family had attained a more favourable situation, following the favour shown by Henry I to Ranulf in granting him the lordship of Carlisle and the descent of the earldom of Chester, the two brothers became benefactors to numerous houses. Their benefactions included the foundations of the priories of Wetheral and St. Bees, both cells of St. Mary's, York, and support for St. Werburgh's, Chester.<sup>19</sup>

The foundations of the priories of St. Cuthbert, Embsay, and St. Bees (Cumberland) occurred if not in the same year, then in very close proximity.<sup>20</sup> The foundation of Embsay on lands held by Cecily and the near contemporary foundation of St. Bees, appear to have been the enterprise of both partners, for although St. Bees was established by William the initial charter states that the gift was being made 'pro salute mea et uxoris mee', and a later gift is given 'consilio ... uxoris mee, Cecilie', suggesting that she was not without any influence in the matter.<sup>21</sup> It seems that both Cecily and William were disposed to found religious houses, with the couple establishing monasteries but being more greatly involved with the house founded upon their own lands. Both spouses, for example, were concerned with the salvation of the souls of their own parents, and this division between the families continued when Ranulf their son inherited the patronage of St. Bees, whilst Alice inherited that of Embsay. The orders that Cecily and William chose to patronise, if as individuals they held greater sway over the foundation established upon the lands which they held by their own right is correct, is interesting as St. Bees, a Benedictine cell of St. Mary's, shows a family connection for Ranulf, brother of William, was the founder and patron of Wetheral, also a cell of St. Mary's. The decision to choose the Augustinian

---

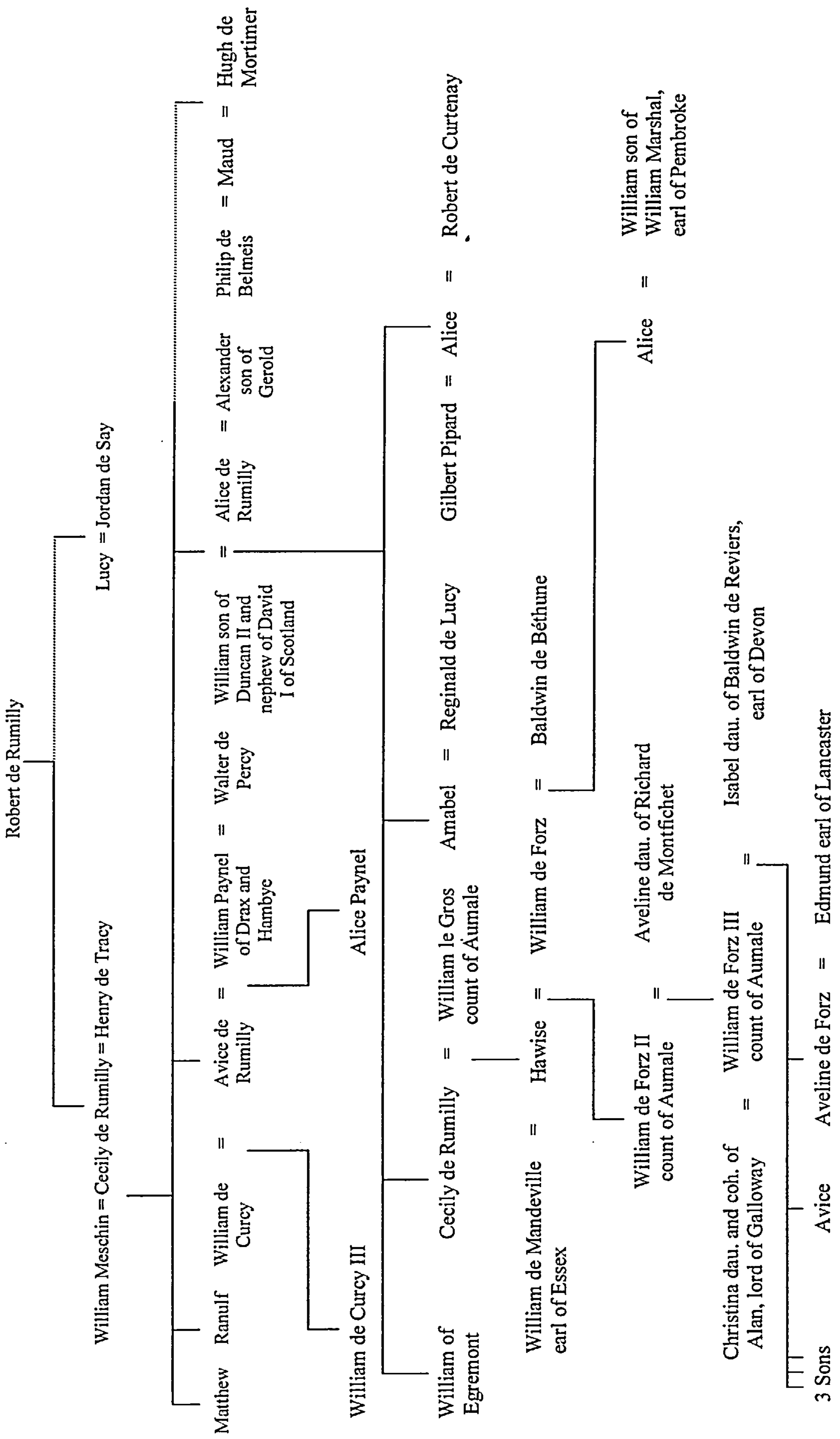
<sup>18</sup> I.J. Sanders, *English Baronies*, pp. 142-3. *EYC*, vii, pp. 3-4, for discussion of Cecily holding the honour of Skipton by her own right, and not that of William Meschin.

<sup>19</sup> *Register of Wetherhal*, pp. 1-5 foundation charter, 1092x1112; *The Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, ed. J. Wilson, (Durham, 1915), Surtees Society, 126; *The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester, c.1071-1237*, ed. G. Barraclough. For the religious houses supported by the patrons of Bolton see table.

<sup>20</sup> *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 75, 148.

<sup>21</sup> *Register of St. Bees*, nos. 1, 5.

# Lords of the Honour of Skipton



order for the foundation at Embsay, may have been made by Cecily, who could have wished to patronise a still relatively new order, although it plausibly reflected her husband's connections with the Augustinian priory of Huntingdon. William, as either an established man or a *novus homo*, may have been eager to show support for an order patronised by Henry I and Matilda.<sup>22</sup>

The Augustinian order, apart from being relatively new and flexible, also had the appeal of being not an excessively expensive order from which to found and support a new house, being praised among the variety of orders by Gerald of Wales for they were 'far less given to gluttony or greed'.<sup>23</sup> This may have presented opportunities for those who had previously been unable to found their own houses to do so rather than only being able to support the houses of others, meaning that, as well as saving their souls, they could have a physical sign of their wealth, generosity and spirituality created.

William and Cecily did not lavishly endow their new foundation at Embsay, with the initial grant only comprising of Holy Trinity Church, Skipton, with its chapel in Carlton and the vill of Embsay, presumably as the glebe of Skipton, 'fundendam inde ecclesiam canonicorum regularium'.<sup>24</sup> This meagre foundation grant, which provided the canons with unyielding demesne, was not improved upon by the patrons, until, following the death of William, some fifteen years later, Cecily made further benefactions of the vill of Kildwick with the mill of Silsden, and the church of St. Andrew's, Kildwick.<sup>25</sup> Unlike William's

---

<sup>22</sup> The definition of *Meschin* is '1° n. m. Jeune homme, jeune noble. – 2° adj. Jeune ... 3° Serviteur', *Dictionnaire de l'Ancien Français*, (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), p. 408. C.A. Newman considers William Meschin to be a member of the *curiales*, *The Anglo-Norman Nobility*, p. 124, which is countered by J.E. Burton who does not view the founders of Bolton as *novi homines* or *curiales* as they 'had been in the north since its conquest', *Monastic Order*, p. 94. For the development of the Augustinian order: J.C. Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, esp. ch. 3, and pp. 125-31 for the 'connection between the spread of the order and the court of Henry I'; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, i, p.175; J.C. Ward, 'Fashions in monastic endowment: The foundations of the Clare family 1066-1314', *JEH*, vol. xxxii, 1981, pp. 427-51; J.E. Burton, *Monastic Order*, ch. 3. For Huntingdon, *EYC*, vii, pp. 50-2; Huntingdon Cartulary, Cotton Ms. Faustina C.1.

<sup>23</sup> Gerald of Wales, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, ed. J.S. Brewer (R.S. 21), iv, p. 244, who considers them superior to the Benedictines, and rejects the Cluniacs and Cistercians for their gluttony and cupidity respectively; cited in J.C. Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, p. 138. J. Burton disagrees with the 'contention of R. W. Southern that the popularity of the houses of Augustinian canons lay in the modest outlay needed to endow them', (J. Burton, *Monastic Order*, p. 94).

<sup>24</sup> CB, no. 2. For the gift of Embsay as the glebe of Skipton church see I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory Rentals*, pp. ix-x.

<sup>25</sup> CB, nos. 4, 6.



foundation of St. Bees, where he invited the benefactions of others, 'quicumque ex militis meis aliquod incrementum terre de suis propriis terre dare voluerit concedo',<sup>26</sup> no call seems to have been made upon the local nobility and tenants to aid the new establishment at Embsay. The only benefaction which suggests the influence of Cecily and William in persuading others to support the priory at Embsay is of the Mauleverers of Beamsley [near Skipton]. Helto Mauleverer, with the consent of Bilioth his wife, gave twelve acres of land in Malham, specified as being 'ad feudum de Skipton', for the salvation of the souls of himself, his wife, their sons and 'dominorum meorum'.<sup>27</sup>

The role of foundress descended to Alice, daughter of William and Cecily, who took her mother's name of Rumilly, perhaps indicating a stronger connection between Bolton Priory and the Rumilly family than it shared with the Meschins, and also a tradition of the family in Craven. It was under the patronage of Alice that, in 1155, the transition from the site at Embsay to a more conducive location at Bolton, occurred, which supports the impression of the paucity of benefactions the priory received in its early years.<sup>28</sup>

The division of the lands among the children of Cecily and William is perplexing and confused further by the lack of a definite date for the death of their son, Ranulf. Cecily and William had five children who survived childhood, comprising two sons, Ranulf and Matthew, neither of whom, if they ever married, left any progeny, and three daughters, Alice, Maud and Avice, who succeeded to their estates. Whilst Maud and Avice inherited lands in Dorset, Devon, Cheshire, Huntingdonshire, Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and elsewhere, Alice inherited the majority of her mother's estates in Yorkshire including 'the *caput honoris* and castle at Skipton'.<sup>29</sup>

The marriage of Alice de Rumilly to William son of Duncan may have been a dominant factor in the choice of heir for the honour of Skipton. In a charter of Cecily to the canons at Embsay he is referred to as 'gener meus', which suggests

---

<sup>26</sup> *Register of St. Bees*, no.1.

<sup>27</sup> CB, nos. 106, 409.

<sup>28</sup> CB, no. 16.

that the designation of an heir occurred during Cecily's lifetime.<sup>30</sup> Marriage to an heiress with the potential to hold vast estates in Yorkshire would have been an attractive proposition to William son of Duncan at a time when the Scots were attempting to move the boundaries further south. Richard of Hexham records that during the invasion of the Scots in 1138, 'solas nobiles matronas et castas virgines, mixtim cum aliis feminis et cum præda, pariter abduxerunt', and, though no more than conjecture, it is not inconceivable that Cecily and Alice may have been coerced, or felt it provident during such unsettled times, to agree to the marriage of Alice to William son of Duncan.<sup>31</sup>

In Alice the canons of Embsay found a generous patron who, first and foremost, gave them the benefit of a superior site at Bolton for the location of the priory. The canons at Embsay, in comparison with most other Yorkshire Augustinian houses, such as Nostell, Bridlington and Newburgh, were not well provided for, with a poor farming terrain and relatively little support in terms of gifts of land in the years immediately following their establishment, which was not aided by the presence of Scots marauders. In 1155 the manor of Bolton was given in exchange for the vill of Stirton (*Stretton*) and Skibeden (*Scibdun*), in a charter written in the name of Alice, with the consent of her son and daughters.<sup>32</sup> As a patron she was more influential after the death of her first husband, William son of Duncan, by 1154, although she did issue one extant charter with him: a notification to Archbishop Thurstan (1119-1140), giving the canons of Embsay the church of All Saints, Broughton, which was later given by the Archbishop of York *in proprios usus*, and a confirmation of the gift of Helto Mauleverer.<sup>33</sup> Her second husband, Alexander son of Gerold, whom she married presumably before Michaelmas 1156, does not feature in any of Alice's charters concerning Bolton

---

<sup>29</sup> P. Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, p. 213; *EYC*, vii, pp. 6-9.

<sup>30</sup> CB, no. 6. This is the only example of a benefaction being made together with the gift of a knife, see below. For the use of symbolic items and ceremonies see E. Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England 1066-1135*, (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 160-2; M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, (Oxford, 1993), p. 38-9.

<sup>31</sup> Richard of Hexham, *De Gestis Regis Stephani et de Bello Standardii*, Rolls Series, *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, iii, p. 156; P. Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, pp. 211-17.

<sup>32</sup> CB, no. 16; fortunately the original of this charter exists, Chatsworth Charter, B5, 141265/4.

<sup>33</sup> CB, nos. 14, 415. For further reference to Broughton see below.

Priory.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, he does confirm a gift made by Alice and her first husband to Fountains Abbey,<sup>35</sup> and is found acting with his wife with regards to Dunstable and Conishead Priors, both of which were Augustinian.<sup>36</sup>

As the patron of Embsay, and later Bolton, Alice was fundamental in securing the future of the house, primarily by their relocation, with which the myth of the Boy of Egremont became connected, but also by gifts of lands, extending the canons' estates to a level where economic independence was potentially achievable. It was under her patronage that the canons acquired an interest in All Saints church, Broughton, privileges and exemptions regarding Skipton, a fair at Embsay, hunting rights, the vill of Kildwick, and the confirmation of a mill at Silsden.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, without the wide-ranging support of Alice de Rumilly it is debatable whether the canons of Embsay would have been able to survive.

The death of William, the Boy of Egremont, which probably occurred sometime around 1163, at any rate within the lifetime of his mother, who died before Michaelmas 1187, once again left three heiresses, Cecily, Amabel and Alice, in contention for the division of the lands of their parents and the patronage of Bolton Priory.<sup>38</sup> Despite his premature death William was marginally involved with Bolton Priory, contrary to the myth that Bolton was founded in his memory after he drowned crossing the Strid, as it was with 'consensu et assensu Willelmi filii et heredis mei', and the consent of his sisters, that the canons were translated from Embsay to Bolton by Alice de Rumilly his mother.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> Alexander son of Gerold 'was pardoned 69s. of the *donum* made by the county and city of York' *EYC*, vii, p. 12, citing *Pipe Roll 2 Hen. II*, p. 28. *EYC*, vii, p. 66.

<sup>35</sup> *Abstracts of the Charters and other Documents Contained in the Chartulary of Fountains Abbey in the West Riding of the County of Yorkshire*, ed. W.T. Lancaster, 2 vols., (Leeds, 1915), pp. 435, 437. The Rumilly family appear to have been valuable benefactors of Fountains Abbey. The daughter of William son of Duncan and Alice de Rumilly is titled 'advocatrix de Fontibus', suggesting that the daughters augmented their parents' benefactions, with Alice favouring Fountains. However, the title is actually relates to the church of Crosthwaite, (BL, Add. MS. 18276, fo. 236), as the patronage of Fountains was Episcopal. See *Mon. Angl.*, v, 394; S. Wood, *English Monasteries and their Patrons in the XIIIth Century*, (London, 1955), p. 18; J. Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey and its Benefactors 1132-1300*, (Kalamazoo, 1987), pp. 97-8, 165, 239.

<sup>36</sup> *EYC*, vii, nos. 24, 43, 50.

<sup>37</sup> CB, nos. 14, 21, 22, 19, 20, 10.

<sup>38</sup> For a detailed history of the heirs of Alice see *EYC*, vii, pp. 13-20. Clay dates the death of William to be 1163-66.

<sup>39</sup> The legend of the Boy of Egremont is captured by Wordsworth, *The Force of Prayer* and *The White Doe of Rylstone*. CB, no. 16.



At Alice's death the honour of Skipton, and with it the patronage of Bolton Priory, fell to Cecily, who, like her mother, chose a matronymic name, adopting Rumilly in preference to that of her father who had royal lineage. In the same way as her mother before her Cecily was an important heiress and therefore her marriage was of interest to the reigning monarch, Henry II. Cecily was 'married at the king's will'<sup>40</sup> to William le Gros, count of Aumale, a partner and situation that did not suit her,<sup>41</sup> and produced only one legitimate heir who survived infancy, Hawise.

Regardless of any differences there may have been between Cecily and William le Gros, both were notable benefactors of a variety of religious houses. William le Gros founded the Augustinian abbey of Thornton Curtis (Lincolnshire), the Cistercian abbeys of Vaudey (Lincolnshire) and Meaux (East Riding) and was an influential partner - with Gilbert son of Robert, who was the *primus fundator* - in the establishment of Nun (or North) Ormsby, a Gilbertine house, in Lincolnshire.<sup>42</sup> He also was a benefactor to the Augustinian priory of Bridlington, St. Peter's Hospital, York, the leper hospital at Newton, near Hedon, Holderness and St. Martin d'Auchy, Aumale, a Benedictine abbey in Normandy.<sup>43</sup> No doubt in such troubled times of a weak monarchy and bloodshed William tried to pave his way to a better afterlife, through benefactions to houses like Bridlington to atone for his earlier misdeeds.<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> English, *The Lords of Holderness 1086-1260: A Study in Feudal Society*, (Oxford, 1979), p. 17

<sup>41</sup> A speech allocated to Robert, earl of Gloucester, reports that the wife of William le Gros became a fugitive because of the 'intolerable filthiness', and that one of the opposing earls 'stole the said count's wife' (Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum, History of the English People*, ed. D. Greenway, (Oxford, 1996), p. 731). As the name of the wife of William le Gros is not stated it is possible that the tale relates to an earlier wife of William and not to Cecily de Rumilly (*Ibid*, pp. 730-1 n. 88). However, even if this is the case, and the pre-battle speech was a deliberate exaggeration it does suggest that the marriage with William was by no means idyllic.

<sup>42</sup> B. Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham*, pp. 210-12.

<sup>43</sup> Dodsworth, MS 144, fo. 21r, for charter between St. Martin's Abbey and Robert Fryboys regarding the chapel of St. Nicholas, Holmpton, which appears to have been included in the lost cartulary.

<sup>44</sup> B. English, *The Lords of Holderness*, pp. 21-2; William, Earl of York gave various lands to the canons of Bridlington 'for reparation of the damage which he has done to them', probably relating his earlier capture of the priory and the expulsion of the canons made in order to fortify the buildings. *Abstracts of the Charters and Other Documents Contained in the Cartulary of the Priory of Bridlington in the East Riding of the County of York*, (Leeds, 1912) ed. W.T. Lancaster, p. 342.

Despite the large number of houses and orders supported by William le Gros, those linked to the Rumilly family also received benefactions, often in conjunction with Cecily, who was most likely the moving force in these instances. The couple were benefactors of Holm Cultram, (Cistercian, Cumberland), which had received gifts from Alice, the mother of Cecily.<sup>45</sup> In separate charters Cecily and William gave the abbey a forge at *Wynnefelle*, with Cecily making a more extensive gift than her husband, possibly indicating that she had a greater association with the abbey as she confirmed the gift of Cospatric son of Orm together with a gift of services owed to her.<sup>46</sup>

Cecily and William also supported the priory of St. Bees, founded by the grandfather of Cecily. As with the couple's benefaction of Holm Cultram Cecily appears to have been the more active party making a greater number and variety of gifts and confirmations, with the charters of William and Cecily being made separately.<sup>47</sup> A pattern of separate benefactions and of showing greater favour to their families foundations is apparent but Cecily does not appear to rival, or even match, the generosity of her husband.

Despite the large scale and variety of benefactions made by William le Gros and Cecily to religious houses there is no evidence of their patronage at Bolton contained in the Coucher Book or the transcripts made of the lost cartulary by Dodsworth. Cecily appears to have acted in her own capacity with lands in the honour of Skipton, at least during her widowhood, as under the name of Rumilly she made a restoration to Geoffrey de Neville and Emma his wife, whilst during the life time of her husband she used the title of countess of Aumale.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, Bolton does not appear to have been well supported by Cecily and William le Gros, and it is only with their daughter Hawise and her marriage to William de Forz that there is a renewed interest by the patrons in the priory.

---

<sup>45</sup> *The Register and Records of Holm Cultram*, eds. F. Grainger, W.G. Collingwood, CWAAS, vii, (Kendal, 1929), nos. 54-54a.

<sup>46</sup> *Register of Holm Cultram*, nos. 50a-c, 49d.

<sup>47</sup> *Register of St. Bees*, nos. 17, 18, 27, 28, 224, 225, 382.

<sup>48</sup> CB, no. 214; *Register of Holm Cultram*, nos. 49d, 50c.

Hawise was the only surviving heir of the marriage of William le Gros and Cecily de Rumilly, although it would appear that William had a son, Geoffrey, by either by a previous marriage or a mistress, as two charters of Cecily to St. Bees were witnessed by 'Galfrido filio comitis Albemarle'.<sup>49</sup> As the sole heir to vast estates, like Cecily, the crown took a great interest in her future marriage partners, as, surprisingly for an heiress of such importance, she was not wed during her the lifetime of her parents. Firstly she was married to William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, secondly to William de Forz, and finally to Baldwin de Béthune, after which she offered 5,000 marks to King John so that 'she might have her inheritance and her dowers, and that she might not be distrained to marry again'.<sup>50</sup>

Ralph de Diceto records Henry II's personal interest in her first marriage, which included provisions for the county of Aumale to be transferred to William de Mandeville, whereby he took the title 'count of Aumale', although he retained and also used the title of the earl of Essex.<sup>51</sup> William de Mandeville was a powerful man in his own right, unlike the second and third husbands of Hawise, and it seems that this marriage was the most successful, possibly due to their similar social and economic standing.

William, the earl of Essex, as well as being a patron of the arts, was, like most notable men of the realm, a benefactor of various houses and orders.<sup>52</sup> Neither William nor Hawise are found in the extant charters relating to Bolton, the Coucher Book or transcripts made by Dodsworth. However, both William and Hawise are found making benefactions to other houses. As with the previous generation of the patrons of Bolton it may be that preference was shown to the houses of the family of the husband, as patronage was 'closely related to patrimony, inheritance and tenure'.<sup>53</sup> Perhaps in a marriage where the husband

---

<sup>49</sup> *Register of St. Bees*, nos. 225, 27. B. English argues that Geoffrey was an illegitimate child of William, and mentions another possible child, a girl, who appears 'in a law suit at the end of the thirteenth century' (*Lords of Holderness*, p. 27).

<sup>50</sup> See B. English, *The Lords of Holderness*, pp. 28-37, for Hawise and her three husbands.

<sup>51</sup> *The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, dean of London*, ed. W. Stubbs, R.S. 68, ii, p. 3.

<sup>52</sup> B. English, *Lords of Holderness*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>53</sup> E. Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, p. 181.



was of the same, if not higher, social standing it might be that precedence for large-scale benefactions would be given to either the older foundations connected to his family or, more likely, to newer foundations that could act as visible signs of power and piety relating to the individual or couple.

Several Yorkshire monastic houses received benefactions from William de Mandeville and Hawise. As the Earl of Essex William de Mandeville confirmed all the gifts made by William le Gros to Bridlington, the gifts of William de Argentom and Engelram de Munceus to Guisborough Priory, consisting of land in Ugthorpe, the witnesses to which are from Holderness, and issued a charter to Nunkeeling Priory.<sup>54</sup> Both Bridlington and Guisborough were Augustinian houses, and the charters made by William, who does not act with his wife, to these foundations were only to issue confirmations, rather than to make any gifts.<sup>55</sup>

Rievaulx in Yorkshire, and Garendon in Leicestershire, (both Cistercian houses), received gifts from both William de Mandeville and Hawise, suggesting that the couple were not parsimonious with their support, although it may be that William chose to patronise different orders or to concentrate his efforts on those houses with which his family had been involved. The predecessors of William de Mandeville had supported Walden Abbey, a Benedictine house, very generously, and it would seem that he did not entirely agree with their level of benefaction, complaining that 'he had no advowsons left for his own clerks because the abbey had them all'.<sup>56</sup> Walden was to lose the support of a charitable patron, as the marriage between William and Hawise did not produce any heirs, with Richard

---

<sup>54</sup> *Bridlington Chartulary*, p. 342; *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne, Ebor. Dioceseos, Ordinis S. Augustini, fundati A.D. MCXIX*, ed. W. Brown, Surtees Society, 86, 89, (1889, 1894), 89, no. 964, p. 212 n. 2; D.M. Smith, 'The cartulary of Nunkeeling Priory: a guide to its contents', *Monastic Research Bulletin*, 7, pp. 14-38, at p. 17

<sup>55</sup> Alice de Rumilly, daughter of Alice de Rumilly and William son of Duncan, supported Guisborough, founded by Robert de Brus, and is mentioned in a liturgical calendar of the priory, '2 Non. Marcii [6 March] obitus Alicie de Rumely servicium cum psalmis', 'A Liturgical Calendar from Guisborough Priory, with Some Obits', ed. F. Wormald, p. 15. It is interesting that like Cecily her sister she chose to use Rumilly as her name; *Cartularium Gyseburne*, 89, nos. 1142, 1143.

<sup>56</sup> S. Wood, *Patrons*, p. 167, citing *Mon. Angl.*, iv, 143 (chronicle); pp. 167-70 for the ensuing quarrel between Geoffrey de Say and Walden Abbey.

of Devizes remarking that Hawise was 'cuius relictam feminam fere virum, cui nichil virile defuit preter virilia'.<sup>57</sup>

However, the marriage of William de Forz to Hawise, even if not desired by Hawise, introduced a new interest in Bolton Priory, and produced the first male heir who would survive to become a benevolent patron to the canons.<sup>58</sup> Hawise certainly opposed the match suggested by Richard, and it was not until after bailiffs seized her moveable goods and sold them to the value of £115 that she relented, and, before 1192, married a man who was to prove 'as unpopular in Holderness as he was with his wife'.<sup>59</sup>

Perhaps the interest shown by William de Forz and his successors in Bolton Priory, as well as other monastic houses, was owing to the position and influence of his wife as patron and benefactor of various foundations, for he 'was not a member of a great feudal family' and does not appear to have had any familial allegiance to a particular order or house.<sup>60</sup> Indeed, it was only by his fortuitous marriage to a wealthy heiress and widow, this itself a result of his favoured position with King Richard, that he ultimately gained the opportunity to make a visible show of power and wealth, and even if he had previous connections with religious houses his acquisition of great lands may have meant that his 'pious interests were reoriented', or, possibly in his case, established for himself and his heirs.<sup>61</sup>

The marriage between William de Forz and Hawise was brief, with William spending much of his time overseas and dying in 1195 whilst in Normandy. However, despite the birth of a male heir to her second husband, Hawise was, for a third time, married to Baldwin de Béthune; like her previous husband he was a favourite of the king.<sup>62</sup> As with the former husbands of Hawise, Baldwin

---

<sup>57</sup> *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, ed. J.T. Appleby, (London, 1963), p. 10.

<sup>58</sup> The successor at Bolton was a better outcome than that faced by Walden Abbey, whose new patron, Geoffrey fitz Peter, was on 'almost consistently bad terms with the monastery', (S. Wood, *Patrons*, p. 167).

<sup>59</sup> B. English, *Lords of Holderness*, p. 30.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>61</sup> E. Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, p. 181.

<sup>62</sup> B. English, *Lords of Holderness*, pp. 32-35.

supported various religious houses connected with Hawise and her family, although he was closely tied to the church of St. Vedast, Arras, for which his family was 'the hereditary "advocates" or protectors'.<sup>63</sup> Baldwin confirmed gifts to Fountains Abbey, and sent letters on behalf of Meaux Abbey to whom he made a substantial gift of 100s. annual rent with his body, showing his attachment to the foundation as he was buried near to the entrance of the chapter house after his death in 1212.<sup>64</sup> Both Hawise and Baldwin confirmed a gift of 16s. annual rent from Holmpton, Holderness, made by William [le Gros], count of Aumale, to the Benedictine house of St. Nicholas, Exeter, with the charter of Baldwin stating that it was made by the assent of Hawise, and a jointly issued charter supported Dunstable by the confirmation and augmentation of a confirmation previously made by Hawise and her former husband, William de Forz.<sup>65</sup>

Following the death of Baldwin de Béthune Hawise gained her freedom, at a price of 5,000 marks, and spent the years before her death in March 1214 as a powerful woman, having amassed large estates by inheritance and by dower after the deaths of three husbands, all of whom had been rewarded and favoured by the reigning monarch. Hawise was active in her short-lived independence and issued several, still extant, charters, including two which 'were attested by her ladies-in-waiting', and which freed Fulk de Oyry, one of the stewards of the counts of Aumale, from certain obligations.<sup>66</sup>

The arrival of William de Forz II, son of William de Forz and Hawise, in England, after he had accepted the terms of King John by which he was permitted to enter into his inheritance, namely by his marriage to Aveline de Montfichet, came at a time of turmoil in the north of the country and provided a new patron to Bolton Priory, who appears to have taken an active interest in its affairs.

---

<sup>63</sup> B. English, *Lords of Holderness*, p. 32.

<sup>64</sup> *Fountains Chartulary*, p. 436; *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, ed. E.A. Bond, 3 vols., Rolls Series, 43, (1866-1888), i, pp. 290, 379, which dates his death to 1222.

<sup>65</sup> *EYC*, iii, nos. 1375, 1376; *EYC*, vii, nos. 45, 46.

<sup>66</sup> B. English, *Lords of Holderness*, pp. 37, 95, 115, 174. For the D'Oyry family see K. Major, *The D'Oyrys of South Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Holderness 1130-1275*, (Lincoln, 1984), for Fulk D'Oyry pp. 16-24.



The Coucher Book contains two confirmations made by William de Forz II to the canons of Bolton, concerning gifts made by his tenants, William of Marton and his son, including a *cultura* called Ingthorpe, an important acquisition that was later to become a grange of the priory, five bovates of land in Marton and another *cultura* called Tothelholme.<sup>67</sup> One charter missing from the Coucher Book, but fortunately transcribed by Dodsworth, confirms the gift of lands close to the priory in Beamsley, Storiths and *Thyselwatholm* made to the canons by William Mauleverer.<sup>68</sup>

However, in conjunction with confirming the gifts of others William de Forz II also made valuable gifts to the canons. The gift of a mill at Bradley and all suit of it, as well as other rights, and a messuage in the vill of Skipton, was the first documented gift made by a patron of the priory since the death of his great-grandmother, Alice de Rumilly.<sup>69</sup> The confirmations and gifts mentioned, along with others, including his entire wood at Lob Wood, were confirmed by letters patent, dated 20 September 1314, indicating the more personal involvement by William de Forz II than by the previous generation.<sup>70</sup>

William de Forz II was a benefactor to other religious houses, both those within his sphere of landed interest and those supported by his ancestors. Meaux, the foundation of his grandfather, was one establishment that received support including confirmations of earlier gifts, standing as warranty and a benefaction of land at Beeford.<sup>71</sup> The hospital of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem at Carlton le Moorland in Lincolnshire also received confirmation by William of a gift made by Ralph de Amundeville.<sup>72</sup> Unfortunately, William did not have such a harmonious relationship with the monks of Holm Cultram, resulting in Henry II mediating between the two parties.<sup>73</sup> William confirmed the gifts of William le

---

<sup>67</sup> CB, nos. 47, 53. Ingthorpe became a significant grange of the canons, with both arable and livestock farming, see I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 33, 95.

<sup>68</sup> Dodsworth MS 8, fos. 23v-24r.

<sup>69</sup> CB, no. 297.

<sup>70</sup> CPR, 1313-1317, pp. 180-1. A.H. Thompson, *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, p. 85.

<sup>71</sup> *Chronica de Melsa*, i, 362, 418; ii, 4, 27, 47.

<sup>72</sup> C.T. Clay, 'The family of Amundeville', *LAAS, Reports and Papers*, 1948, new series, iii, 2, p. 128.

<sup>73</sup> B. English, *Lords of Holderness*, p. 42.

Gros, the earl of York, and of others to Bridlington, mentioning Aveline, his wife.<sup>74</sup> This is of interest as there has been speculation concerning the background to the marriage between William and Aveline. Aveline's association with the king, possibly as one of his mistresses, was, perhaps, the reason for the unusually generous offer made to William de Forz II if he entered this particular alliance.<sup>75</sup>

On 29 March 1241, during a journey to Jerusalem, William de Forz died, and was succeeded by his son, William de Forz III, who had been in the custody of Henry III during the early years of his life, having been presented as a hostage for his father on 17 December 1216.<sup>76</sup> In 1234 William made the first of two advantageous marriages, this one to Christiana, daughter of Allan of Galloway, an alliance from which an heir would have had a valid claim to the Scottish throne, 'better than that of John Balliol'.<sup>77</sup> Unfortunately, Christiana died in 1246 without any surviving children, and the potential claim to the Scottish throne passed to her sister. William and Christiana also had a valid claim to the earldom of Chester, but for some extraordinary reason they released themselves from their rights in 1241 'in exchange for two manors, and a remittance of a rent'.<sup>78</sup>

The second marriage of William de Forz III, in 1248, was to Isabella de Redvers, sister of Baldwin de Redvers, the childless sixth earl of Devon. Although Isabella did not succeed her brother until 1262, two years after the death of her husband, the union brought together two influential families. It could have resulted in an extremely powerful house, and, following the death of William, Isabella, still a young woman, became an exceptionally wealthy dowager.<sup>79</sup> But, although the marriage did produce at least three children, Thomas, William and

---

<sup>74</sup> *Bridlington Chartulary*, p. 343.

<sup>75</sup> B. English, *Lords of Holderness*, p. 38.

<sup>76</sup> For William de Forz III see *ibid.*, pp. 49-53.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 50-1. This exchange is quite peculiar and can only be seen as a bad bargain on William's behalf, as the lands he received were inferior. R. Stewart-Brown, 'The end of the Norman earldom of Chester', *EHR*, xxxv, (1920), pp. 26-45.

<sup>79</sup> Isabella is viewed as 'the most formidable of all' the powerful dowagers of the thirteenth century, D. Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain 1000-1300*, (London, 1992), p. 79. See also S.F. Hockey, *Quarr Abbey and its Lands 1132-1631*, (Leicester, 1970), pp. 103-4.

Aveline, both male heirs died before coming of age and 'on Isabella's death in 1293 the main line failed completely'.<sup>80</sup>

Like his father, William de Forz III showed an interest in his role as patron and benefactor, acting charitably towards Bolton as well as other houses. He supported Fountains with a quitclaim of 'the vill of Crostwayth with the advowson of the Church there', which had been granted by Alice de Rumilly, daughter of William son of Duncan.<sup>81</sup> William was also a benefactor of Bridlington, and by an agreement made with John, the prior, he quitclaimed all his rights to ten bovates of land in *Skirlington* to the priory.<sup>82</sup> He showed a particular interest in the foundations of his great-grandfather William le Gros, Thornton and Meaux, to which he made not only gifts and confirmations but also acted in favour of the institutions during legal settlements and disagreements over land, such as that between Meaux and Sir Sayer de Sutton regarding lands in Sutton, of which the monks said 'auxilio tamen domini Willelmi de Fortibus tertii comitis Albemariæ, seisinam retinebamus'.<sup>83</sup> Indeed, William was closely attached to both Thornton and Meaux, for after his death he left to each house 100 marks and a moiety of his chapel, and although he was buried at Thornton, his heart was interred at Meaux.<sup>84</sup>

Charters of both William de Forz III and Isabella, his wife, are found in the Bolton Priory Coucher Book, acting individually and concerning different matters. William confirmed several gifts of lands to the priory, in Eastby, Scosthrop, Halton and Stirton, and was party to an agreement made with Adam, prior of Bolton, in 1257, by which he made a gift to the canons of seven acres of land in Silsden, in Kildwick parish, in exchange for five acres in Embsay.<sup>85</sup> Isabella, however, appears only to have acted as a benefactor to Bolton after the death of William and her succession to the lands of her deceased brother, as she

---

<sup>80</sup> R. Bearman, *Charters of the Redvers Family and the Earldom of Devon 1090-1217*, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, new series, 37, (1994), p. 18.

<sup>81</sup> *Fountains Chartulary*, p. 60. The vill of Crostwayth is now known as Crosthwaite.

<sup>82</sup> *Bridlington Chartulary*, pp. 343-44.

<sup>83</sup> *Chronica de Melsa*, ii, p. 6.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, p. 106.

<sup>85</sup> CB, nos. 26, 39, 279.



uses the titles 'comitissa Albemarl' et Devon' ac domina Insule' when confirming lands at Harewood and elsewhere.<sup>86</sup>

Through Isabella's marriage to William de Forz III two distant lines of the Rumilly family were, effectively, reunited. Margaret, the wife of Baldwin de Redvers and mother of Isabella, was the daughter of Warin son of Gerold and, like her father, made a benefaction to the canons of Bolton.<sup>87</sup> Indeed, it may have been the association between William de Forz II and Fawkes de Bréauté, the next husband of Margaret, that encouraged a union through William's son and Margaret's daughter, even though Fawkes was driven into exile in 1224, following which his wife sought the dissolution of their marriage.<sup>88</sup> Warin son of Gerold was the husband of Alice de Curcy, the daughter of William de Curcy and Avice de Rumilly. William de Curcy confirmed the gifts of Avice, his mother and Cecily de Rumilly his grandmother, relating to Harewood, Rawdon and Weeton.<sup>89</sup> The division of lands after the death of Cecily was such that, whereas Alice received the honour of Skipton, Avice took possession of the lands at Harewood and in Wharfedale, as well as estates in Devon and Lincolnshire.<sup>90</sup> However, although Avice de Rumilly made gifts to Bolton Priory, which her descendants continued, she was more deeply attached to the Cluniac nuns of Arthington Priory where she established a right to 'always have a nun nominated by her in the convent'.<sup>91</sup>

As well as acting as a benefactor to Bolton, Isabella also supported other religious houses patronised by her husband's family, for example, interceding on behalf of Meaux, and confirming gifts to Fountains.<sup>92</sup> Isabella also supported, although this was not always the case, those establishments connected to her family, such as the religious houses on the Isle of Wight, Carisbrooke Priory and

---

<sup>86</sup> CB, nos. 454, 455. For the administration of Isabella's lands in Yorkshire see N. Denholm-Young, 'The Yorkshire estates of Isabella de Fortibus', *YAJ*, 31, (1934), pp. 388-420.

<sup>87</sup> CB, nos. 451-453; R. Bearman, *Redvers Family*, pp. 16, 174-5 for Margaret de Redvers.

<sup>88</sup> J.C. Holt, 'Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England: IV. The Heiress and the Alien', *TRHS*, 1985, pp. 27, 28.

<sup>89</sup> CB, nos. 446-450.

<sup>90</sup> *EYC*, vii, p. 7.

<sup>91</sup> S. Thompson, *Women Religious: The Founding of English Nunneries after the Norman Conquest*, (Oxford, 1991), p. 184; *EYC*, iii, no. 1863, pp. 468-72.

<sup>92</sup> *Chronica de Melsa*, ii, p. 35; *Fountains Chartulary*, p. 688.

### The Patronal Family of Bolton and their Benefactions

Person	House	Order	Location (County)
Cecily de Rumilly	Embsay (co-founder)	Augustinian	Yorkshire
William Meschin	Embsay (co-founder) St. Werburgh, Chester Huntingdon	Augustinian Benedictine Augustinian	Yorkshire Cheshire Huntingdonshire
Henry de Tracy	Embsay	Augustinian	Yorkshire
Alice de Rumilly	Embsay/Bolton Fountains Holm Cultram Guisborough St. Bees Carlisle[?]	Augustinian Cistercian Cistercian Augustinian Benedictine Augustinian	Yorkshire Yorkshire Cumberland Yorkshire Cumberland Cumberland
William son of Duncan	Embsay Fountains	Augustinian Cistercian	Yorkshire Yorkshire
Alexander son of Gerold	Fountains Dunstable Conishead	Cistercian Augustinian Augustinian	Yorkshire Bedfordshire Lancashire
Cecily de Rumilly	Fountains Holm Cultram St. Bees	Cistercian Cistercian Benedictine	Yorkshire Cumberland Cumberland
William le Gros	Vaudey (founder) Meaux (founder)	Cistercian Cistercian	Lincolnshire Yorkshire

Person	House	Order	Location (County)
William le Gros (cont.)	North Ormsby (co-founder)	Gilbertine	Lincolnshire
	Thornton (founder)	Augustinian	Lincolnshire
	Newton, near Hedon, leper hospital (founder)	Augustinian[?]	Yorkshire
	St. Peter's Hospital, York	Augustinian	Yorkshire
	Bridlington	Cistercian	Cumberland
	Holm Cultram	Benedictine	Cumberland
	St. Bees	Benedictine	Aumale, France
St. Martin d'Auchy			
Hawisa	Garendon	Cistercian	Leicestershire
	Rievaulx	Cistercian	Yorkshire
	St. Nicholas, Exeter	Benedictine	Devon
	Dunstable	Augustinian	Bedfordshire
	Nunkeeling	Benedictine	Yorkshire
	Garendon	Cistercian	Leicestershire
	Guisborough	Augustinian	Yorkshire
Walden	Benedictine	Essex	
Rievaulx	Cistercian	Yorkshire	
Bridlington	Augustinian	Yorkshire	
Nunkeeling	Benedictine	Yorkshire	
William de Forz I	Bolton	Augustinian	Yorkshire
	Dunstable	Augustinian	Bedfordshire
	Nunkeeling	Benedictine	Yorkshire
Baldwin de Béthune	Meaux	Cistercian	Yorkshire
	Fountains	Cistercian	Yorkshire
	St. Nicholas, Exeter	Benedictine	Devon
	Dunstable	Augustinian	Bedfordshire



Person	House	Order	Location (County)
Baldwin de Béthune (cont.)	St. Vedast	Benedictine	Arras, France
William de Forz II	Holm Cultram Carlton le Moorland Bolton Meaux Bridlington Southwick[?]	Cistercian Lazarus[?] Augustinian Cistercian Augustinian Augustinian	Cumberland Lincolnshire Yorkshire Yorkshire Yorkshire Hampshire
William de Forz III	Thornton Meaux Fountains Bridlington Southwick[?] Croxtton St. Peter's Hospital, York	Augustinian Cistercian Cistercian Augustinian Augustinian Premonstratensian Augustinian[?]	Lincolnshire Yorkshire Yorkshire Yorkshire Hampshire Leicestershire Yorkshire
Isabella, Lady of the Isle, (Redvers)	Bolton Quarr Carisbrooke Fountains Meaux Portbury Breamore[?] Southwick Christchurch, Twynham Lyre St. Vedast	Augustinian Cistercian Benedictine Cistercian Cistercian Augustinian Augustinian Augustinian Augustinian Benedictine Benedictine	Yorkshire Isle of Wight Isle of Wight Yorkshire Yorkshire Somerset Hampshire Hampshire Hampshire Normandy, France Arras, France

The person who was a direct descendant of the founders of Bolton Priory is placed first in each section, even if there is no evidence for their direct involvement with the house, followed by their partners in order of marriage. For example, Hawise is placed before William de Mandeville, her first husband, followed by William de Forz and Baldwin de Béthune. Any uncertainty has been indicated by the use of a question mark within squared parentheses.

Quarr Abbey.<sup>93</sup> Isabella may have also been influential with the foundation of an Augustinian house at Portbury, Somerset, possibly a dependency of Bristol Abbey, which she is reputed to have established late in the reign of Henry III.<sup>94</sup>

In 1293 Isabella, countess of Aumale and Devon, Lady of the Isle of Wight, died, having outlived the last of her children, Aveline, by twenty years. Had Aveline lived for a longer period she may have been the mother of an heir in line to the throne, as she had been married to Edmund Crouchback at Westminster Abbey in April 1269.<sup>95</sup> However, she died without an heir on 10 November 1274, and was buried at Westminster Abbey. All her lands, excepting those held by Isabella as dower, reverted to the crown.<sup>96</sup>

The death of Aveline and the subsequent reversion to the crown of the family lands also brought about a brief period where Bolton Priory, as with other foundations established by her ancestors, was in a state of flux, as Skipton, and with it the patronage of Bolton, passed to various persons.<sup>97</sup> Four parties fought to gain control of certain estates - those of Aumale, the honour of Skipton, and lands in Cumberland and Northampton - claiming their hereditary right, although whether the final victor was a descendant of the family is disputable. Philip de Wyvelsby, the four co-heirs of Peter de Brus, Alice de Lucy and her nephew Thomas de Multon, and John of Eshton were the parties who made claims during the late 1270s, resulting in success for John of Eshton, who had claimed descent from Avice, possibly a mistake for Amice as he also mentions Hawise, a second daughter of William le Gros. However, during the inquisitions made to ascertain the rights of the claimants, John of Eshton may have been fortunate as a 'latent

---

<sup>93</sup> F. Hockey, 'The house of Redvers and its monastic foundations', in *Anglo-Norman Studies*, v, (Woodbridge, 1983), pp. 146-52. Isabella claimed patronage of Carisbrooke, a move resented by the priory, *ibid.*, p. 148; *Cartulary of Carisbrooke Priory*, ed. S.F. Hockey, IOW, RS, 2, (1981), *The Charters of Quarr Abbey*, ed. S.F. Hockey, IOW, RS, 3, (1991).

<sup>94</sup> J.C. Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, p. 296; *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 171, raises some debate over the exact nature of this house, if indeed it was one. *The Cartulary of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol*, ed. D. Walker, BGAS, Gloucestershire Record Series, (1998), nos. 73, 158, 289-295. Isabella is not mentioned, but William de Redvers confirmed a gift of land in the Portbury vicinity, no. 294, possibly suggesting a link to the earls of Devon.

<sup>95</sup> For details of the provisions made for the marriage see *C.Ch.R., 1257-1300*, pp. 121-2.

<sup>96</sup> *EYC*, vii, p. 23; B. English, *Lords of Holderness*, pp. 53-4.

<sup>97</sup> For the later patronage of Bolton Priory see below.



ambiguity' occurred in the questions posed to the jurors.<sup>98</sup> When questioned as to 'whether William le Gros had a daughter named Avice' the jurors answered in the affirmative, possibly due to some confusion, as Avice is a variant of Hawise. However, the findings of the jurors may have gone against the claim of John of Eshton, if a different question had been asked, such as 'whether Hawise had a sister named Avice, or whether William le Gros had a daughter named Amice'.<sup>99</sup>

Nevertheless, before 7 November 1278, John of Eshton was granted 'the lands and tenements in England, Normandy, and elsewhere' which had once belonged to Aveline de Fortibus and her ancestors.<sup>100</sup> John's success may have been more dependent upon the will of Edward I, than upon his claim of hereditary right, even if he was the rightful heir. Almost immediately after receiving his newly acquired lands John surrendered them to the crown, with copies of the release being delivered to the treasurer and the keeper of the wardrobe on 10 November 1278. However, John of Eshton was not impoverished by this act for he was now in possession of the manor of Thornton by Pickering, the villages of Broughton, Appletreewick, and Bradley, as well as advowsons, Eshton lake and other lands, 'in lieu of the hereditary right which he claimed' and had 'quitclaimed to the king', implying that Edward I may have had a private agenda in encouraging John's claim: the acquisition of more lands with which he could reward his loyal followers and enlarge his own estates.<sup>101</sup> Indeed, it has been claimed that the legal proceedings were 'conducted in a manner highly favourable to securing the success of the poorest claimant', for by the victory of John of Eshton in preference to the other three parties Edward I had gained a less influential party with whom to do business.<sup>102</sup>

For a short period the castle and manor of Skipton formed part of the dower of Eleanor, mother of Edward II, being confirmed to her for life on 23 January 1286, and reverting to the crown after her death in 1291.<sup>103</sup> Skipton remained in

---

<sup>98</sup> *EYC*, vii, p. 25.

<sup>99</sup> *EYC*, vii, p. 25, see also pp. 23-7; A. Beanlands, 'The claim of John de Eston', *Thoresby Society*, xxiv, (1919), pp. 227-44.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 239.

<sup>101</sup> *EYC*, vii, p. 26, citing *Yorks. Deeds*, i, no. 463 and *C.Ch.R.*, 1257-1300, p. 208.

<sup>102</sup> J. Beanlands, 'The claim of John de Eston', p. 232.

<sup>103</sup> *EYC*, vii, p. 28.

royal custody for nearly twenty years, after which it entered, for brief periods, into the hands of new guardians. Initially, on 16 October 1307, the earl of Lincoln, Henry de Lacy, was granted custody of Skipton castle. Subsequently, on 7 June 1308, Piers de Gaveston, favourite of Edward II, and his wife were granted the manor and castle, but Piers exchanged these lands for the more prestigious earldom of Cornwall on 5 August 1309, and so Skipton returned to the custody of Henry de Lacy. Despite the short tenure of Skipton by Piers de Gaveston he did act in the interest of Bolton by influencing a royal grant, made 9 September 1310, of free warren in Appletreewick and of a fair in the village at the feast of St. Luke.<sup>104</sup>

Finally, during 1310, Bolton Priory acquired a patron whose family was to retain its position until the Dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century. Robert de Clifford was granted the castle and manor of Skipton for life on 19 March 1310. He was to enlarge and consolidate this initial grant, despite a momentary break, which was corrected by a re-grant of the lands 18 December 1310, from whence the honour of Skipton 'descended in the Clifford family'.<sup>105</sup>

### **The Benefactors**

The foundation at Embsay was primarily associated with the gifts and patronage of William Meschin and Cecily de Rumilly, who also acted with her second husband, Henry de Tracy, and the subsequent generation who continued their benevolence. It was only after its relocation to a site at Bolton that benefactions began to accumulate and with them came the creation of granges and estates. Nevertheless three influential local families had been benefactors to the newly established priory at Embsay, the Mauleverers, the Amundevilles and the Flemings. To a smaller degree a fourth family, the Vavasours, had also supported the new foundation.

---

<sup>104</sup> *C.Ch.R., 1300-1326*, p. 51.

<sup>105</sup> *EYC*, vii, pp. 29-30.

### The Mauleverer Family

The Mauleverer family was among the first benefactors of Embsay, possibly making the initial gift with encouragement from Cecily de Rumilly.<sup>106</sup> The notification to Archbishop Thurstan of their donation was made by Cecily, who confirmed it and wished that the 'quadrugam terre et dimidiam apud Malghum' given by Helto be held 'in pura et perpetua elemosina'.<sup>107</sup> This grant, as well as another made by Helto, was made with the consent of Bilioth his wife. Although Cecily does not mention her in the notification to Archbishop Thurstan, in a later confirmation by Alice de Rumilly of the grant of twelve bovates of land by Helto, the assent of Bilioth is stated, 'assensu uxoris sue Biliot', possibly an indication that the land was connected to Bilioth.<sup>108</sup>

Helto Mauleverer was the first in a succession of his family, both male and female members, who were benefactors to at first Embsay and then Bolton. Three sons, William, Henry and Richard, and one daughter, Denise, succeeded Helto and Bilioth with William and Denise continuing their parents' support of Bolton Priory. The initial gifts made by Helto, with the assent of Bilioth, may have been made to establish a relationship between a religious house and the Mauleverer family, both present and future, as the donation of twelve bovates of land was made 'pro salute anime mee et uxoris mee et filiorum et dominorum meorum'.<sup>109</sup> The foundation of a house would, almost certainly, have been beyond Helto's resources, but by supporting a new establishment, even if it was at the behest of the lord, he could demonstrate the standing of his family within the locality and their loyalty to the powerful lords (for Helto acted as a witness to gifts of Cecily de Rumilly and her heirs), as well as expressing his piety and acquiring prayers from religious men.<sup>110</sup>

---

<sup>106</sup> See *EYC*, vii, pp. 114-53 for a history of the Mauleverers and their charters.

<sup>107</sup> CB, nos. 106, 409, 107, 410.

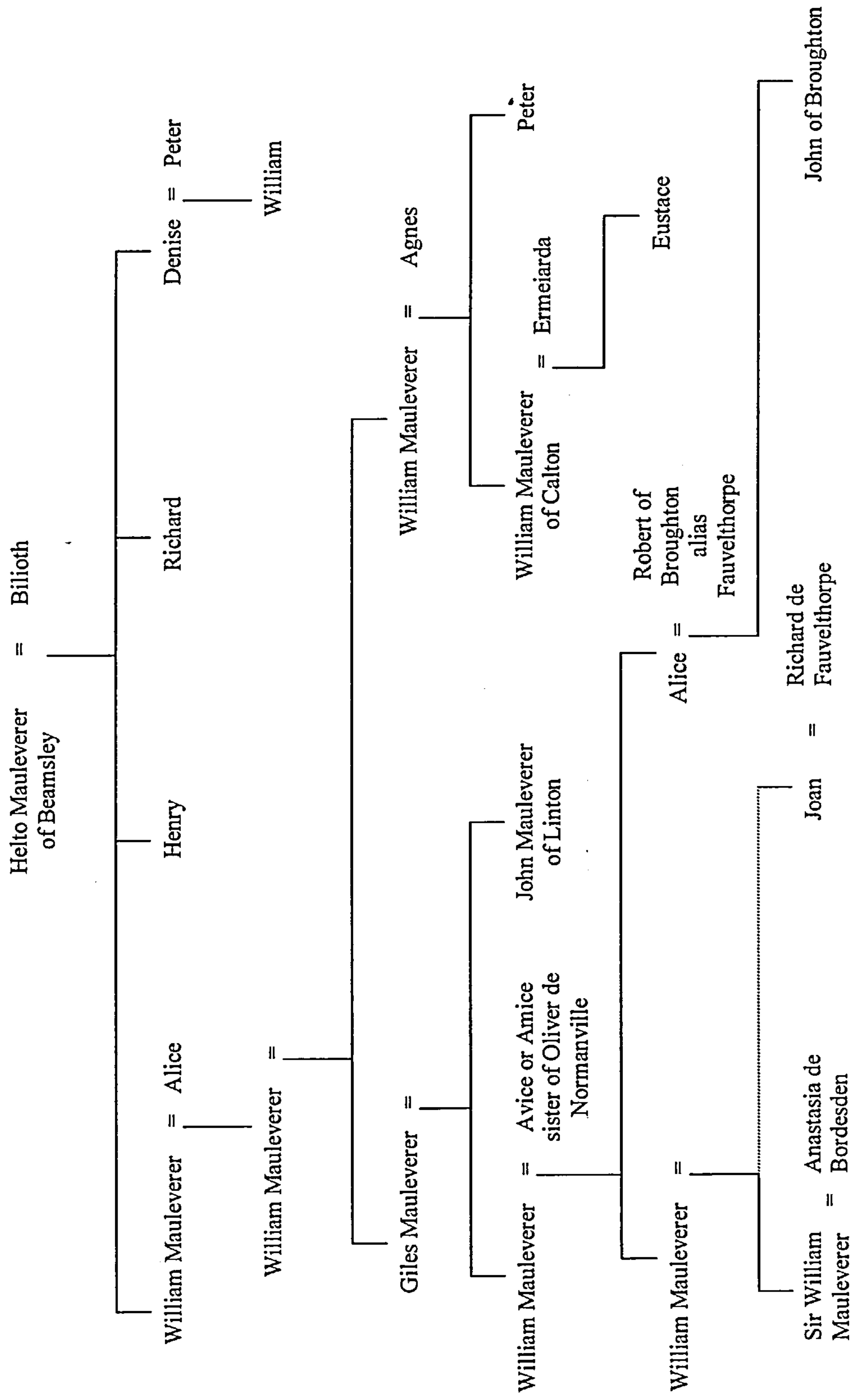
<sup>108</sup> CB, nos. 108, 415. The notion that the land in question was connected to Bilioth rather than Helto is strengthened by its location in Malham, for the Mauleverers were from Beamsley, (*EYC*, vii, pp. 114-16).

<sup>109</sup> CB, no. 409.

<sup>110</sup> CB, nos. 4, 6, 12, 16, 19, 277.



## Mauleverer of Beamsley



Although after the move of the canons from Embsay to Bolton grants to the priory continued primarily down the male line of the Mauleverer family, Denise the daughter of Helto Mauleverer and Peter her husband, with the consent of their heirs, made a gift of four acres of land in Beamsley. This appears to be the only surviving gift made by the daughter of Helto to the priory, and may indicate that the land bestowed on the canons was that of Denise, rather than her husband, since she is named before Peter in the salutation, 'ego Dionisia filia Helti Mali Leporar[iii] et Petrus vir meus'.<sup>111</sup> Though William the son of Peter (most likely the son of Denise and Peter) later made a gift to the canons of three acres of land in Beamsley, there is no clear evidence of any further benefactions made by this line of the Mauleverer family.<sup>112</sup>

William son of Helto Mauleverer appears to have been the heir through whom the tradition of benefaction of Bolton continued, as he confirmed the gifts of his father, adding greater specifications as to how the lands are to be held.<sup>113</sup> William also continued the family's connection to Fountains Abbey. As well as acting as witness to the charters of Alice de Rumilly and her successive husbands, he confirmed the donation of his father and made several gifts, including 'the foundation (*firmacionem*) of their two bridges, one across Schirphare and the other across Werh', witnessed by Geoffrey, the prior, and the canons of Bolton, together with various lands.<sup>114</sup> William connected the two favoured religious houses by making a gift to Bolton of a rent due to him from Fountains for land in Hawkswick. He appears, however, to have had a closer relationship with the Augustinian canons, or perhaps a greater faith in their particular order and, therefore, in the efficacy of their intercession, since this particular gift, as well as being for the souls of Alice his wife and his ancestors and successors, was made with his body for burial, presumably at the priory.<sup>115</sup>

The next Mauleverer benefactor to Bolton Priory, William son of William, showed a degree of interest in his financial well-being, as well as concern for the

---

<sup>111</sup> CB, no. 437. It seems likely that the land was the right of Denise, rather than of Peter, as her family, the Mauleverers came from Beamsley.

<sup>112</sup> CB, no. 439.

<sup>113</sup> CB, no. 413.

<sup>114</sup> *Fountains Chartulary*, pp. 434, 435, 350; *EYC*, vii, no. 83.

welfare of his soul. As was the normal practice of heirs, he confirmed the gift of his predecessors, the twelve bovates of land in Malham given by his grandfather. He also extended the original benefaction to include the 'affirmation' of his pool between lying between *Wandewat* and *Grinestanebec*, given in 'liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam', suggesting that he may have had some desire to provide for his spiritual future.<sup>116</sup> Despite this charitable donation the majority of the other charters issued by William contained some provision to compensate, or even benefit, himself as well as the canons of Bolton. He made several agreements with the canons of Bolton, and with Richard as their prior. One agreement concerns the gift of a mill and milling rights, and although no reciprocal action is mentioned in the charter the method by which the gift was made, being a 'convenit' rather than a straightforward donation, suggests that there was some benefit to William by this transaction.<sup>117</sup> The endowment to the canons of a tenement in Storiths in Beamsley was made in exchange for land in the vill of Calton and a moiety of a mill in Airton,<sup>118</sup> and a financial arrangement is recorded in the gift of Marioth' daughter of Dolfin, for in conjunction with retaining the sect of Rodbert and William son of Roger, William was given 15s., 'de caritate', by the canons.<sup>119</sup> Nevertheless the relationship between William and the canons appears to have been acceptable to both parties, and in what was probably his last transaction with Bolton, William displays concern for the salvation of his soul, rather than the retention of his worldly belongings, by the donation of a bovate of land in Beamsley together with his body.<sup>120</sup>

The only other member of the Mauleverer family known to have made gifts of land to Bolton Priory was Giles. Two priors of Bolton, Robert and Richard, who both ruled the priory in the second quarter of the thirteenth century,<sup>121</sup> were involved with transactions between Giles Mauleverer and the house. Robert was

---

<sup>115</sup> Dodsworth MS 8, fo. 217r.

<sup>116</sup> CB, no. 414.

<sup>117</sup> CB, nos. 422, 441.

<sup>118</sup> The lands in Calton and moiety of a mill in Airton had been acquired by the various benefactions of Hugh of Calton, Simon son of Ranulph, Hugh son of Henry and West Dereham Abbey, (CB, nos. 78-85).

<sup>119</sup> CB, nos. 421, 438.

<sup>120</sup> CB, no. 416.



party to a gift of land in Beamsley, and an exchange of other lands including those given by William the father of Giles, while Richard was involved in a gift relating to a mill in Beamsley[?] with provision for certain milling rights ‘sicut homines Willelmi fratris sui de Storiths’.<sup>122</sup> William son of William Mauleverer ratified an exchange made between the canons of Bolton and ‘Egidio Mauleverer fratre meo’.<sup>123</sup> Giles is also found in a final concord, dated 14 December 1226, involving both Bolton, under the priorate of Robert, and Fountains, whereby he quitclaimed a rent of one mark to Bolton. Possibly this was linked to the gift made by William Mauleverer, as the proceedings were carried out by an assise of mort d’ancestor.<sup>124</sup>

### The Amundeville Family

Three members of the Amundeville family, who also held lands in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, supported the priory from its earliest days at Embsay to its later foundation at Bolton by the valuable benefaction of the church at Long Preston.<sup>125</sup> This important gift may indicate the influence of the patrons of the priory in the accumulation of property for the house, or highlight the piety of the Amundevilles, for the family was involved with a number of religious houses, including the Augustinian priory of St. Mary’s, Huntingdon.<sup>126</sup>

Shortly before the relocation of the house to the site at Bolton, Walter de Amundeville gave the church of Long Preston to ‘ecclesie sancti Cuthberti de Embeseia et canonicis eiusdem loci’.<sup>127</sup> Although this referred to the advowson of the church rather than a grant *in proprios usus*, it would have been keenly received by the canons who had received very few benefactions since their foundation, and it was to be of greater value following its appropriation in the

---

<sup>121</sup> Robert was preceded by John who last occurred as the prior of Bolton 19 Feb. 1223, and was succeeded by Thomas by 1232. Thomas preceded Richard, his last definite occurrence being 8 July 1233, and Richard was followed by Adam who first occurs 20 June 1255.

<sup>122</sup> CB, nos. 417, 419.

<sup>123</sup> CB, no. 418.

<sup>124</sup> CB, no. 151; *EYC*, vii, pp. 117-18, for confusion over pedigree.

<sup>125</sup> C.T. Clay, ‘The family of Amundeville’, *LAAS, Reports and Papers*, 1948, new series, iii, 2, pp. 109-36; *EYC*, xi, pp. 172-80.

<sup>126</sup> For the connection between the Amundeville family and St. Mary’s, Huntingdon see *The Cartulary of the Priory of St. Mary, Huntingdon*, nos. 77, 79, 80, 85, 88.

<sup>127</sup> CB, no. 92.

fourteenth century.<sup>128</sup> Archbishop Henry Murdac, by the petition and presentation of Walter, confirmed this gift, but rather than being confirmed to the church of St. Cuthbert, Embsay, the foundation is referred to as ‘priorum et collegium sancti Cuthberti de Emmesey’.<sup>129</sup> This probably indicates an oversight by the scribe or confusion between the terms used to describe religious houses at a time when new orders were emerging, as the canons of Embsay, presumably, as we have noted, were founded as an Augustinian house.

Elias de Amundeville was the next member of the family to be involved with Bolton, over the church of Long Preston. In January 1219 a final concord was made between Elias and Bolton confirming the canons’ right to the advowson, with Elias being received into the church at Bolton.<sup>130</sup> Elias also made a gift to the church of Long Preston and its rectors of certain lands and benefits, whilst saving hunting rights in the woods of *Prestgill* and turbary, suggesting that the family had an active presence in the area.<sup>131</sup>

Nigel de Amundeville was the final member of the family who is recorded in the Coucher Book as having been involved with the canons at Bolton, appearing in a final concord of 1257 concerning the advowson of the church of Long Preston.<sup>132</sup> The descendants of the Amundeville family appear to have continued the support shown by their predecessors to certain religious houses, whilst, like in many other families, establishing new links with each generation. Walter de Amundeville spent his final years at the hospital at Elsham (Lincolnshire), a house that had been founded by Beatrice his mother, and which was later to adopt the rule of St. Augustine, still being patronised by his successors.<sup>133</sup> However, Sawley Abbey, a Cistercian foundation, also received the support of Elias and Ralph de Amundeville, with gifts of lands in Long Preston, as did Fountains, and the hospital of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem, Carlton le Moorland was

---

<sup>128</sup> For the church of Long Preston see below.

<sup>129</sup> *Mon. Angl.*, vi, 205, no. xiii; *EEA* v, no. 108.

<sup>130</sup> CB, nos. 93, 144; CB, no. 94: quitclaim by Elias to the canons of right to advowson of the church at Long Preston, ‘in advocacione et ecclesia de Preston’.

<sup>131</sup> CB, no. 95.

<sup>132</sup> CB, nos. 97, 145.

<sup>133</sup> C.T. Clay, ‘Amundeville’, p. 114.

also assisted by several generations of the Amundeville family.<sup>134</sup> It would seem, therefore, that the patronage and benefaction of religious houses was increasingly undertaken by those who had sufficient resources and inclination, especially as the number of orders proliferated, and the level of finance required to found an establishment diminished. This no doubt encouraged the lesser classes of feudal society to become more active in their displays of piety either by supporting already established religious houses or by making their own foundation.

### The Fleming Family

Although the Fleming, or Flandrensis, family was of influence, and presumably relatively wealthy, they do not, unlike the Amundevilles, appear to have founded any houses of their own.<sup>135</sup> Nevertheless, they are visible in their support of religious houses, especially of Bolton Priory, to which, as well as acting as witnesses to the donations and confirmations of others, they made gifts to the canons. They are also of interest as their surname suggests that they were not native to the area.<sup>136</sup> The presence of a foreign family may have given rise to the mistake made by the scribe who either wrote the original charter or the copy in the Coucher Book, as one of the witnesses is referred to as, 'Ricardo filio Walteri com[it]is Flandrensis', if the word contracted denotes 'count'.<sup>137</sup> The Fleming family was closely connected to the religious houses supported and established by the Rumilly and Meschin families, and frequently appears as benefactors and witnesses to charters relating to St. Bees and Huntingdon, as well as to Bolton.<sup>138</sup>

Members of the Fleming family had been involved with the canons since the foundation of the house at Embsay, an association that was to last several generations. Reiner, described as 'dapifer' (steward), suggesting that he acted in some administrative capacity for the founding family, witnessed the notification

---

<sup>134</sup> *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary of Sallay in Craven*, ed. J. McNulty, YAS, RS, lxxxvii, xc, (1933, 1934), ii, pp. 16-17; C.T. Clay, 'Amundeville', p. 128.

<sup>135</sup> *EYC*, vii, pp. 193-212, for Fleming fee and family.

<sup>136</sup> Perhaps the Flemings were connected to the Rumilly or Meschin family, and had arrived in Yorkshire due to this connection.

<sup>137</sup> CB, no. 89.

<sup>138</sup> *Register of St. Bees*, nos. 1-3, 5-11, for early charters witnessed by Reiner; *EYC*, vii, p. 51 (i).



to Archbishop Thurstan of Cecily de Rumilly's gift of the mill of Silsden.<sup>139</sup> A certain 'W. Flandrensis', probably William the son of Reiner, had acted as a witness to the gift made by Cecily de Rumilly of the church of St. Andrew, Kildwick, and Walter Fleming witnessed another gift of Cecily to the canons of the vill of Kildwick.<sup>140</sup>

William and Walter the sons of Reiner, according to the extant evidence, were the first members of the Fleming family to act as benefactors to Bolton. William the elder son gave lands in Strete and the mill of Wentworth (South Yorkshire) to the canons whilst still located at Embsay, for the salvation of the souls of himself and his brother, with one of his charters being witnessed by Alice de Rumilly.<sup>141</sup> Walter, like his brother, is known to have made a couple of benefactions to the canons of Bolton. The valuable gifts of three-fifths of a mill, together with a complete mill and common pasture at Hellifield, in the parish of Long Preston, transferred to the canons by one charter would have been welcomed by the canons.<sup>142</sup> The other benefaction of twelve bovates of land in Cononley, appears not only to profit the canons but also to act in part as a reciprocation of the benevolence shown to Walter by his brother, as the gift is made 'pro anima Willelmi fratris mei' and for the salvation of his own soul and that of 'Reineri nepotis mei', suggesting close family ties.<sup>143</sup> The gift is also of interest regarding the descent of lands and their lordship as the twelve bovates donated were held from John de Malherbe, who was connected to the Longvillers family by the marriage of his daughter, Clemence, to Eudo, demonstrating how intricate the patterns of landholding and familial relations could become.<sup>144</sup>

Reiner the son of William Fleming confirmed the gifts that had been made by 'Walterus Flandrensis avunculus meus', to the canons to hold the twelve bovates in Cononley as stated in the charter of Walter, with the confirmation of the mill

---

<sup>139</sup> CB, no. 8.

<sup>140</sup> CB, nos. 4, 6.

<sup>141</sup> Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 51v. Whereas the gifts made by William are only found in the copy of the cartulary made by Dodsworth, the benefactions of Walter are also contained in the Coucher Book.

<sup>142</sup> CB, no. 89.

<sup>143</sup> CB, no. 301.

<sup>144</sup> C.T. Clay, 'The family of Longvillers', *YAJ*, xlvii, pt. 165, (1967), pp. 44-6.

at Hellifield and other lands being made 'pro animabus patris mei et prefati Walteri avunculi mei', suggesting that the role of paternal uncle was one of influence. These particular confirmation charters are of note since, apart from being the last contact between the Fleming family and the canons other than in the role of witness, they were witnessed not only by Alice de Rumilly, but also by 'Adeliza filia eius'.<sup>145</sup>

The benefaction of the Fleming family continued for a few more generations, although the scale of their gifts diminished. Adam, one of the sons of Reiner, who witnessed a charter of Amabel daughter of Aldred son of Clibern of Halton, along with his brothers, William, Walter and Thomas, as well as their father, was also involved with the canons of Bolton making an agreement with them in 1243 regarding lands in Street.<sup>146</sup> A certain William Fleming, who Dodsworth suggests is the son of Reiner the son of William, made a gift of all his land in Wentworth, to the canons, 'unacum corpore meo'.<sup>147</sup> His choice of Bolton as his final resting place suggests that the canons were still held in some esteem by the Fleming family, as the family were benefactors of other houses, including Kirklees, St. Bees and the St. Peter's (later St. Leonard's) hospital, York.<sup>148</sup>

#### The Vavasour Family

Only one gift of land made to the canons of Embsay by the Vavasour family is recorded, being one and a half carucates of land in Yeadon made by Robert son of Malger, and the family's interest in the canons did not extend beyond their benefaction in Yeadon.<sup>149</sup> The gift does not appear in the Coucher Book, with the confirmations to the canons of Bolton made by William and Robert Vavasour also only being found in the transcripts made by Dodsworth.<sup>150</sup> Although the Vavasour family took some small interest in Embsay and later Bolton, with members participating in final concords relating to three bovates of land in

---

<sup>145</sup> CB, nos. 300, 90.

<sup>146</sup> CB, no. 42; Dodsworth MS 8, fo. 71r.

<sup>147</sup> Dodsworth, MS 8, fo. 71r.

<sup>148</sup> J. Burton, *Monastic Order*, p. 127.

<sup>149</sup> Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 50r. *EYC*, vii, pp. 166-77 for Vavasour fee and family.

<sup>150</sup> Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 50v.

Embsay and the wardship of Walter of Yeadon, and often occurring as witnesses, the family appear to have been more closely connected to Sawley Abbey.<sup>151</sup>

### The Longvillers and Neville Family

The support of more than one house, and often of more than one particular order was a common occurrence, as figures and families of both national and local importance appear to have been concerned with a variety of religious establishments. Bolton was to profit by the generosity of both local tenants and their lords, for example the Longvillers and Neville families, who were connected by marriage, gave and confirmed lands to the canons, as well as to other houses including Kirkstall Abbey, a Cistercian house.<sup>152</sup> Eudo de Longvillers, with the consent of his wife Clemence and his heir John, confirmed lands in Cononley given by William of Goldsborough.<sup>153</sup> Another relative, Roger de Montbegon also confirmed lands in Cononley and Farnhill, and finally, Margaret de Longvillers, their ancestor, the wife of Geoffrey de Neville, confirmed lands held by the canons in Cononley, Farnhill and Gargrave, as well as rents and other benefits and appears to have been particularly close to Bolton, or at least to have held the prior in high regard, as he was one of the executors of her testament.<sup>154</sup>

### The Tong Family

The benefactions made by the leading families in the locality were fundamental in the survival and growth of Bolton Priory, as is of many other foundations. Richard of Tong the son of Essulf and his family, as well as supporting Bolton, were involved with Kirkstall, including the unusual quitclaim of Hugh the son of David of Tong to the abbey.<sup>155</sup> The benefactions of the family towards Bolton are not as exceptional as the aforementioned gift to Kirkstall, being lands and a

---

<sup>151</sup> CB, nos. 146, 149-150; For examples see *Sallay Chartulary*, pp. 110-13, 505-7.

<sup>152</sup> C.T. Clay, 'Longvillers', pp. 41-51; C.R. Young, *The Making of the Neville Family 1166-1400*, (Woodbridge, 1996).

<sup>153</sup> CB, no. 309.

<sup>154</sup> CB, nos. 305, 369; *CPR, 1317-1321*, p. 313. A certain Robert de Neville, who styled himself 'dominus de Raby', granted right of entry to the canons, Dodsworth MS 83 fo. 15v, but no Robert, lord of Raby, is mentioned by C.R. Young, *The Making of the Neville Family*. For the expenses of the funeral of Margaret de Neville incurred by the canons of Bolton, see *Compotus*, p. 459.



mill, but would have been valuable to the canons, and their involvement came early in the history of the canons, with Richard son of Ranulf witnessing a gift of William son of Duncan.<sup>156</sup> The section headed '*Trepwoode*', contained in the Coucher Book, relates entirely to the gifts of the Tong family and of those who made transactions with them, including Adam of Baildon who made a gift of lands and other privileges that he had bought from Richard of Tong.<sup>157</sup> It appears that several generations of the family made or confirmed gifts to the priory, and that there was a close relationship between the canons and the Tong family. Matilda the widow of Richard of Tong strengthened this connection by choosing Bolton as her final resting place, whilst Matilda the daughter of Richard of Tong, who maybe the same person, entrusted the care of her 'duos pueros' to the canons.<sup>158</sup>

#### The Eshton and Pinkeny Family

Another family which showed a considerable amount of support for the canons was the Eshton family, who acquired lands in Appletreewick and elsewhere in exchange for surrendering those estates assigned to them by Edward I, which had been awarded after a long process to establish hereditary right. Several members of the Eshton family made gifts and confirmations, as well as other transactions, to the canons of Bolton, including John of Eshton, who was involved in the legal case mentioned above; his wife Mary; John his son, and James and Robert and Richard, the brothers of John son of John. However, the Eshton family also acted as benefactors towards other religious houses, including those, such as Fountains, Bridlington and Furness, founded or associated with the predecessors, if the pedigree provided in their favour is correct.

The gift of the advowson of the church of St. Andrew, Keighley, was one benefaction with which the Eshton family associated themselves. It seems likely that the grandfather of John of Eshton was one of the benefactors of the aforementioned advowson. Although there is no extant charter in a benefaction

---

<sup>155</sup> *EYC*, iii, no.1766; B.D. Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries and their Patrons in the Twelfth Century*, (Urbana, 1968), p. 67.

<sup>156</sup> CB, no. 12.

<sup>157</sup> CB, nos. 370-379.

<sup>158</sup> CB, nos. 371, 372.

made by Peter de Pinkeny, with the assent of his wife Constance, there is reference to a charter issued by Ranulf son of Walter.<sup>159</sup> This appears to imply that Ranulf was the son of Constance by a previous marriage, an idea supported by the pedigree used to prove John of Eshton's claim to the lands of Aveline de Forz.<sup>160</sup>

Despite this early involvement with the canons of Bolton the majority of the benefactions of the Eshton family were made later and relate to different regions. John of Eshton, as well as confirming the donations of Roger son of Aldred and Peter of Carleton, made gifts of twelve bovates of land in Halton, as well as Ivo Roch, and of an assart called *Aylmiskoch*, also in Halton, to Bolton Priory.<sup>161</sup> Mary the wife of John of Eshton, towards the end of her life also supported the canons with the gift of the homage and service of the heir of Henry of Thorpe for one carucate in Thorp, near Grassington, with 5s. rent, the benefaction being made together with her body.<sup>162</sup>

John, son of John of Eshton and Mary, as was customary on having entered into his lands, confirmed the gifts of his parents.<sup>163</sup> It was this generation of the Eshton family that acquired vast estates, and due to their fortunate position were able to make even greater transactions and gifts. John appears to have shown favour to Furness Abbey, with which he exchanged lands and confirmed the gifts of his parents.<sup>164</sup> It seems that John was either a shrewd businessman, or was adhering to a prior agreement or was rather daunted by his newly acquired wealth and power, as 'with the exception of 3 acres of woodland he alienated the whole of the lands granted to him by the king in compensation for his claim'.<sup>165</sup>

James, Robert and Richard, the brothers of John, were those who primarily benefited from John's success. Robert received the manor of Eshton from his

---

<sup>159</sup> *Fasti Parochiales*, iv, pp. 67-8; *EYC*, vii, pp. 231-2. Dodsworth MS 8, fo. 210v. Peter de Pinkeny and Constance also appear as witnesses to the gift of Elias of Steeton and Matilda his wife; Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 41r.

<sup>160</sup> CB, no. 159.

<sup>161</sup> CB, nos. 27, 28.

<sup>162</sup> CB, no. 270.

<sup>163</sup> CB, nos. 29, 271.

<sup>164</sup> *Furness*, ii, pp. 432-3.

<sup>165</sup> *EYC*, vii, p. 225.

brother and, possibly out of loyalty towards his sibling, he continued the generosity shown by his brother to the canons of Bolton by making a quitclaim of two carucates of land in the vill of Halton, that were associated with both his father and his brother.<sup>166</sup> Richard acquired John's interest in Broughton, and does not appear to have been a benefactor of Bolton, whereas James, the other brother, provided the canons with extensive new lands, focused on Appletreewick.

James acquired John's interest in Appletreewick, and as the lord of these lands acted as a benefactor to both Fountains and Bolton, which appears to have caused some difficulties, with the houses making provision between themselves with regard to lands at Appletreewick.<sup>167</sup> It was from James of Eshton that the canons of Bolton acquired the manor of Appletreewick, one of their 'three most valuable acquisitions', the others being the manor of Holmpton and the appropriation of Long Preston church, made by the priory under the successful leadership of John of Laund.<sup>168</sup> By a charter dated 18 April 1300 James made a gift of the manor of Appletreewick to the canons, which was augmented to include various rights by another deed dated on the same day.<sup>169</sup> These agreements were concluded by a final concord between James of Eshton and John [of Laund], the prior of Bolton, dated on the 8 July 1300, with the previous transactions being made possible by the purchase, 1 April 1300, of a licence to alienate in mortmain at the cost of 100 marks.<sup>170</sup> After this point the relationship between the Eshton family and Bolton decreased, with only intermittent transactions occurring, such as a lawsuit in which a certain John of Eshton the grandson of Robert of Eshton appeared, in conjunction with the prior of Bolton.<sup>171</sup>

As has been previously mentioned there appears to have been a connection between the Eshton and Pinkeny families, with Constance of Eshton apparently having been married to Peter de Pinkeny. A certain Richard de Pinkeny occurs

---

<sup>166</sup> CB, nos. 158, 30.

<sup>167</sup> CB, nos. 177, 187.

<sup>168</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory Rentals*, p. x. For the priorate of John of Laund see I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 9-11, 17-20.

<sup>169</sup> CB, nos. 181, 182.

<sup>170</sup> CB, nos. 179, 183.

<sup>171</sup> Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 19r.



in the early thirteenth century, and at some time before 1260 surrendered to William de Forz three carucates of land that he held in Halton, and 'the connexion between Halton East and Keighley suggests a relationship with Peter'.<sup>172</sup> Richard de Pinkeny, like Peter de Pinkeny also had an association with Bolton Priory, as both men acted as witnesses and were involved with benefactions. Although neither the Coucher Book nor the transcripts made by Dodsworth contain references to Richard de Pinkeny, other than in a role as witness, he appears to have made many gifts of lands in Halton to the canons of Bolton.<sup>173</sup> These gifts included seven acres and three rods of land in Halton made for the salvation of the souls of himself and Margaret his wife, and indicates that Bolton was highly regarded as the gift was made together with his burial, as was another of his benefactions.<sup>174</sup>

#### The Lesser Benefactors

Although Bolton Priory was involved in the acquisition of expansive or valuable lands and other assets, such as appropriations, a large part of their estates was accumulated on a smaller scale. Some gifts appear to have been made solely by one generation, for example Peter del Green, as the son of John del Green, made several gifts to the canons of lands centring on Cononley, which were confirmed by his widow, but there do not appear to be any further confirmations, possibly indicating that there was no heir, that his descendants were not as generous, or that this evidence is lost.<sup>175</sup> This concentration of benefactions in one generation may also be visible in the gifts of Hugh of Calton and Beatrice his wife, of lands in Airton and Thorpe, two of which were made for the salvation of the soul of Zachary.<sup>176</sup> Unlike the gifts made by the couple to Fountains Abbey - the house where Hugh chose to be buried - which seem to have been augmented by benefactions made by other members of the family, here there does not appear to have been any continuation.<sup>177</sup>

---

<sup>172</sup> *EYC*, vii, p. 232 n. 1.

<sup>173</sup> Chatsworth Charters, B2, PB30765/1-7, 9, 11, 14; L1, PP 6; K19; no. 461. No. 461 states that Richard had a son called Ranulph, a familial connection that is supported by B5, (F2)57, a gift made by Richard de Pinkeny to his son, Randulf.

<sup>174</sup> Chatsworth Charters, B2, PB 30765/5, 14.

<sup>175</sup> CB, nos. 346-353. For the possible connection to the FitzHugh fee see *EYC*, vii, pp. 236-7.

<sup>176</sup> CB, nos. 81, 83, 273-275.

<sup>177</sup> *Fountains Chartulary*, pp. 87, 156, 166, 429-30 etc.. However, it is possible that Richard de Hamerton (Chatsworth Charter, K6) was a relation to Hugh de Calton as there appears to be some

However, for the most part the benefactions of one generation were amplified, or at least confirmed by the next, and original, small gifts could escalate over time to a considerable size, especially if a member of a family was particularly charitable, or if the fortunes of a family improved, as was the experience of the Eshtons. The proliferation of gifts made by local families, such as the Martons, Malhams and Farnhills among many others, was decisive in the development of the estates possessed by Bolton Priory, indeed, it has been noted that, 'one of the striking things about gift-giving to monasteries was the way it spread down the social ladder in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries'.<sup>178</sup>

All except one of the gifts of lands that appear in the section headed Marton in the Coucher Book appear to have been made by successive generations of the Marton family.<sup>179</sup> The only other documents are memoranda about following charters, confirmations by William de Forz, and agreements made between Bolton and Kirkstall relating to the advowson of the church of Marton.<sup>180</sup> The Marton family was of local importance, with Simon of Marton being the constable of Skipton during the 1230s, and various members of the family, as well as acting as witnesses to charters relating to Bolton, were also benefactors to the canons, as well as to Sawley Abbey.<sup>181</sup>

William of Marton appears to have been the first member of the family to make a benefaction to the canons, although Peter, his father, had acted as a witness to the charters of Alice de Rumilly to the canons.<sup>182</sup> Ingthorpe, a *cultura* of land in the territory of Marton, which became a significant grange for the canons, appears to have been the initial gift made by Marton family, followed by another gift of a

---

connection between the two families recorded in a final concord, *Fountains Chartulary*, p. 156. The four sons of Alan de Hammerton appear to have assumed different toponyms, with William and John using Hamerton whilst Richard and Hugh used Calton, for further detail see J. Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey*, pp. 265-6. Therefore it is not unthinkable that Richard de Hamerton and Hugh de Calton were relations.

<sup>178</sup> H.M. Thomas, *Vassals, Heiresses, Crusaders and Thugs: The Gentry of Angevin Yorkshire 1154-1216*, (Philadelphia, 1993), p. 152 n. 80.

<sup>179</sup> CB, fos. 13v-19v.

<sup>180</sup> CB, nos. 44, 50, 55, 47, 53, 43, 63.

<sup>181</sup> *EYC*, vii, pp. 233-44; *Sallay Chartulary*, nos. 63-67.

<sup>182</sup> CB, nos. 10, 16.

mill at Marton together with various rights and other assets.<sup>183</sup> These benefactions were confirmed by Peter his son and William de Forz, and acted as the basis for further involvement by the family.<sup>184</sup> Peter of Marton, the son of William, extended his family's involvement with the canons by making gifts of his own, including five bovates, as well as other lands and assets, and one bovate in West Marton, confirmed by William de Forz, and improving the previous benefaction of the mill at Marton, by donating various benefits and rights.<sup>185</sup> It is in one of the charters of Peter son of William of Marton that reference to the advowson of Marton church occurs, with the gift of 'ecclesiam de Marton', having been made by his father, as the canons were to hold the benefaction 'sicuti habetur in carta patris mei'.<sup>186</sup>

Two other members of the Marton family, William son of William and Simon the son of Peter and the brother of the older [?] William made benefactions to the canons. Simon seems to have been involved in a variety of matters with the canons, including the confirmation of the gifts of his relatives, an exchange of lands and an agreement, concerning rights of pasture.<sup>187</sup> William son of William quitclaimed the gifts of his father, and his charter implies that the new mill promised by his father had been constructed, as two mills are mentioned, 'molendinum subtus gardinum meum, et molendinum de novo situm in loco que dicitur Langkeldberg'.<sup>188</sup>

Although the charters of several members of the Marton family are to be found in the Coucher Book, this does not indicate the full scale of their benefactions. The transcripts made by Dodsworth include charters not present in the Coucher Book, and give a fuller picture of the interest shown in Bolton Priory by the Martons. In addition to the gifts of lands in Marton, William of Marton gave lands in Thorlby to the canons, a benefaction which was confirmed by Peter his son, as well as the homage and service of Leticia his sister and her heirs for six bovates in the vill of Thorlby, and for two tofts and one culture in the vill and territory of

---

<sup>183</sup> CB, nos. 45, 57.

<sup>184</sup> CB, nos. 45-47, 56-57.

<sup>185</sup> CB, nos. 51-53, 58-60.

<sup>186</sup> CB, no. 56; *Fasti Parochiales*, iv, pp. 94-5; See *Compotus*, p. 37 n. 5.

<sup>187</sup> CB, nos. 61, 54, 48.



Skipton respectively.<sup>189</sup> William son of Peter also made gifts of lands in areas outside of Marton, including possessions and rights in Brandon and Wigton, to which Peter son of William added a mill at Wigton, with milling rights, and woodland.<sup>190</sup> These additional gifts enhanced the image of the Marton family, displaying their wealth and generosity.

Like the Martons, the Farnhill family also made benefactions to Bolton Priory of lands in different locations, rather than concentrating their gifts to one area as made by the Cononley family who only gave lands in the area from which they had acquired their name. William of Farnhill made gifts to the canons of a mill in the vill of Farnhill, which was confirmed by his son, also called William, and it appears that the same father and son gave and confirmed lands in Cononley.<sup>191</sup> However the majority of the lands that appear to have been given by other members of the family, such as Aldred, his son Adam, Adam son of William, Margaret daughter of William, John son of Robert, and Elias, were located in Cononley. This may indicate that this was where the family's main interest lay, which is most probable, since Cononley is directly adjacent to Farnhill, or that these were the lands they preferred to allot, or that the canons actively sought lands in this area, for Cononley was one of the larger estates possessed by Bolton.<sup>192</sup>

As well as the benefactions made by succeeding generations of particular families, Bolton also benefited from gifts made by one person or a couple, possible occurring more frequently at lower levels of society when resources may have been more limited.<sup>193</sup> Richard Ackman, for example, only appears to have made one gift to the canons, of three bovates of land in Malham, which was witnessed by men who occur in other documents relating to the priory, and the benefactions made by Alan son of Arnald of Gargrave relate solely to two

---

<sup>188</sup> CB, no. 62.

<sup>189</sup> Dodsworth MS 83, fos. 39v-40r, 12r.

<sup>190</sup> Dodsworth MS 83, fos. 2v-3v; Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 48r-48v.

<sup>191</sup> CB, nos. 286-287, 314, 316-317.

<sup>192</sup> CB, nos. 295-369: Cononley, excepting 297-298 which relates to property in Bradley.

<sup>193</sup> For an analysis of the benefactions of peasants to Fountains see J. Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey*, chapter five.

bovates of land in Gargrave.<sup>194</sup> Elias son of John of Arncliffe gave the services of Thomas of Buckden and Helen his wife for half a bovate of land to the canons, a not excessively large gift but as the Arncliffe family were benefactors of Fountains Abbey, the gift made by Elias to Bolton may have been an exception.<sup>195</sup> One donor of particular interest is Hugh of Leathley, who gave the homage and service of a certain person, as his family were benefactors to numerous houses; indeed the extent of their benefactions would have been 'a noble list even for a magnate family, let alone a family of knightly status', and ultimately their generosity brought about their decline.<sup>196</sup>

### Archiepiscopal and Royal Influence

Although the canons of Bolton received support and benefactions from the lay population, the very foundation of the priory may have been due to episcopal influence. Archbishop Thurstan was an enthusiastic 'promoter of holy vocations', and during his episcopate many houses of different orders were founded, supporting and developing the work of his predecessors in changing the north from a monastic desert to a flourishing region.<sup>197</sup> The arrival of the Normans in England had acted as the catalyst to the renaissance of monasticism which had stagnated, even disappearing in parts of the north in the years preceding the Conquest with William of Malmesbury noting how 'by their coming into England they rekindled the rule of monastic life in all those places in which it had perished'.<sup>198</sup> The combination of a new lay and ecclesiastical elite created many opportunities for the development of both monasticism and the church as a whole, as well as for the ruling classes to display their recently acquired power and wealth.

Although communities of regular canons had been established at Hexham and Bridlington by Archbishop Thomas II, the Augustinian order came to greater prominence during the episcopate of Thurstan. Apart from Embsay Priory, the

---

<sup>194</sup> CB, nos. 131, 68-71.

<sup>195</sup> CB, no. 142; *Fountains Chartulary*, pp. 70-7; J. Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey*, pp. 265 n. 105, 274 n. 159.

<sup>196</sup> Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 44v; J. Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey*, pp. 211, see also pp. 208-11.

<sup>197</sup> D. Nicholl, *Thurstan Archbishop of York*, chapter seven; L.G.D. Baker, 'The Desert in the North', *Northern History*, v, 1970, pp. 1-11, for the resurgence of monasticism in the north.

Augustinian houses of Nostell, Drax, Guisborough, Kirkham and Warter were founded under the guidance of Thurstan and it is most likely that he had some influence on the establishment of Newburgh and Marton.<sup>199</sup> Although the foundation charter of Embsay does not explicitly state the involvement of Thurstan, unlike the acknowledgement made by William Paynel, the founder of Drax, it seems highly unlikely that the archbishop would not have had some involvement in the establishment of a new house.<sup>200</sup>

It appears that a good relationship existed between Thurstan and Cecily de Rumilly, as well as her kin, unlike that between William le Gros and Henry Murdac, with foundations being made by her family not only of Embsay, but also of St. Bees and Calder.<sup>201</sup> Indeed, Thurstan seems to have been well liked and respected, and to have enjoyed a good relationship with the magnates of his see, including Cecily de Rumilly and Gundreda de Mowbray.<sup>202</sup> Although Thurstan was involved in the grants *in proprios usus* of the churches of St. Andrew, Kildwick, and Holy Trinity, Skipton, he does not appear to have shown any exceptional favour to Bolton Priory, perhaps being more concerned with the foundations with which he was closely related, such as St. Clement's Priory, York, and Fountains Abbey.<sup>203</sup>

Together with the support the canons received from Thurstan, archbishop of York and his successor, Bolton was also supported by the monarchy, although like most religious houses that were not directly founded, or their patronage later acquired, by the crown this was marginal to the overall development of the priory. King Henry I, with his wife, Matilda, was significantly involved in the introduction and expansion of the Augustinian order in England, and although he may not have shown any personal benevolence towards Bolton he was perhaps

---

<sup>198</sup> Translated by J. Burton, *Monastic Order*, p. 1, from *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis de gestis regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (RS, 1887-9), ii, 306.

<sup>199</sup> J. Burton, *Monastic Order*, p. 92; J.C. Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, pp. 116, 120-1, 123, 124; D. Nicholl, *Thurstan Archbishop of York*, p. 192.

<sup>200</sup> *EYC*, vi, no. 13.

<sup>201</sup> William le Gros was deeply involved in the elections for the new archbishop following the death of Thurstan, B. English, *Lords of Holderness*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>202</sup> D. Nicholl, *Thurstan Archbishop of York*, pp. 201-3; 'unable to penetrate to the intimacy of their friendship whilst nevertheless being in no doubt as to its reality', p. 201.

<sup>203</sup> *EEA* v, nos. 33-36, pp. xxvi-xxx; CB, no. 2; *Mon. Angl.*, vi, 205, xi, xii.



influential in Cecily and William's choice of order for their new foundation.<sup>204</sup> Shortly after the foundation of Embsay Henry I confirmed the possessions of Huntingdon Priory, including those made by William Meschin, and also two hides of land in the Forest of Dean given by William, indicating a connection between Henry I and William, and therefore a probable link between the two Augustinian houses by their association to William.<sup>205</sup>

The advent of Henry II saw a marked improvement in the fortunes of the canons with the move to the site at Bolton. Henry II also displayed benevolence towards the priory with the grant of a fair on the feast of St. Cuthbert, to whom the priory was dedicated, whilst he also confirmed the exchange made between the canons and Alice de Rumilly regarding the site at Bolton.<sup>206</sup> Moreover, if the document contained in the Coucher Book is accurate, towards the end of his reign Henry II took Bolton Priory into his protection.<sup>207</sup> No reason is given for this act, which was also made with the acquittance of various tolls and payments, but if it did occur royal support would have been welcomed by the priory, although it is likely that they would have had to solicit and paid for this benefaction. However, the presence of Ranulf Glanvill as one of the witnesses is interesting as a gift of Cecily, countess of Aumale, to Holm Cultram was made, 'for the souls of herself and family, and of Berta, wife of Radulph f. [sic] Radulph de Glanvill', suggesting that there was some relationship between the families, which may have benefited Bolton.<sup>208</sup>

Henry III was marginally involved with Bolton with a grant of free warren in the demesne lands of the priory,<sup>209</sup> but it was under the reigns of the three Edwards that the influence of the monarchy is more noticeable, following the introduction of the Statute of Mortmain in 1279 and other legislation. Edward I granted a licence to alienate in mortmain lands in Malham, and also permitted the benefaction of the manor of Appletreewick by James of Eshton, and the addition

---

<sup>204</sup> J.C. Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, pp. 108-31.

<sup>205</sup> *EYC*, vii, no. 1, pp. 51-2, (ii).

<sup>206</sup> *CB*, nos. 22, 17.

<sup>207</sup> *CB*, no. 444. No other copy of this document, nor the original, has been located.

<sup>208</sup> *Register of Holm Cultram*, no. 49d.

<sup>209</sup> Chatsworth Charter, K 12.

made by William Desert.<sup>210</sup> Edward II confirmed previous gifts made to the canons, granted licence to hold lands in Scosthrop, and, at the behest of Piers de Gaveston, made a grant of free warren in Appletreewick and of a fair, which was renewed by Edward III.<sup>211</sup>

Royal interest in the priory appears to have focused on the opportunity to control ecclesiastical affairs, especially with the accumulation of estates, and to improve the financial position of the monarchy, such as by fines to secure licence to alienate in mortmain. Indeed, the opportunity to raise funds also appears to have been one of the motives of several benefactors of the priory, as the chance to save one's soul as well as to possibly make a profit would have appeared to be a good venture. The canons were involved in a variety of transactions in the development of their estates, for as well as pious gifts the Coucher Book contains examples of the purchase and exchange of lands, and an unusual instance of a mortgage.<sup>212</sup> Many of the gifts of land contain the phrase 'for a sum of money' indicating that money had been part of the transaction, for example William son of Sarah of Cononley gave six roods of arable land in return for 'quadam summa pecunie'.<sup>213</sup> Although most of the sums are not stated, there is the odd example that does note the exact figure of the transaction, such as the quitclaim made by Richard of Otterburn regarding three bovates of land in Malham for 30s. of silver.<sup>214</sup> The direct sale of possessions, as well as those disguised as gifts, such as the benefactions made by Peter de Green, referred to as sales by Margaret his widow in her quitclaim of the said gifts, also occurs, including the sale of all the moveable and immoveable goods of Ranulph of Otterburn.<sup>215</sup>

There is the occasional charter that also states the use to be made by the benefactor of the money gained. As well as the gathering of funds to go on

---

<sup>210</sup> CB, nos. 123, 179, 199. Bolton Priory also occurs in the Quo Warranto rolls establishing its possession of certain lands; *Yorkshire Hundred and Quo Warranto Rolls*, ed. B. English, YAS, RS, cli, (1996), pp. 50, 75, 133, 209. William Desert was of local importance, being both a benefactor and administrator of the priory, later becoming a corrodian, (I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 114-15, 135-6).

<sup>211</sup> CB, no. 185; Chatsworth Charters, B2, 31865/40, K 13; A.H. Thompson, *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, pp. 94, 80.

<sup>212</sup> CB, no. 255.

<sup>213</sup> CB, no. 354.

<sup>214</sup> CB, nos. 346-353, 121.

pilgrimage, a devout act in its own right, which was the motive stated by Thomas son of William of Malham in the gift of two bovates of land with capital messuage in return for 30 marks, other less virtuous incentives also appear to be at work, such as the gift of William son of Adam of Goldsborough from which the profit was used to repay Samuel the Jew of York.<sup>216</sup>

As the nature of gifts was not initially prescribed or controlled in any particular form religious houses also presented an opportunity for benefactors to dispose of assets and rights that were frowned upon and those that were of little use or profit and thereby would not be sorely missed, whilst making a public gesture of piety and saving their souls. The possession of parish churches by the laity was regarded as inappropriate 'in the wake of the Gregorian Reform', and the Church moved to terminate the 'lay ownership of churches and tithes'.<sup>217</sup> Benefactions to monastic houses were one method by which this transfer could be promoted as it 'represented a spiritual investment' to the benefactor whilst furthering the aims of the Church.<sup>218</sup>

During the early years at Embsay the canons received several grants of churches *in proprios usus*, being Holy Trinity, Skipton, together with its chapel at Carleton, which was to acquire independent status, and the church of St. Andrew, Kildwick, the first being the gift of Cecily de Rumilly and William Meschin, and the latter solely of Cecily. The canons also acquired Long Preston church, which was connected with the Amundeville family, but this was not appropriated until 1304.<sup>219</sup> Although Bolton was later to acquire the churches of Keighley, Marton, and Broughton, and an interest in Kettlewell, the number of churches in its possession was inferior to those held by other Augustinian houses in Yorkshire

---

<sup>215</sup> CB, no. 126.

<sup>216</sup> CB, nos. 109, 308. The instance of a religious house participating in an usury case is not exceptional, as Fountains received a confirmation of land from Samuel the Jew, involving the 'quitclaim to the said Adam of all the debts he owed to the said Samuel', (*Fountains Chartulary*, p. 507), and Meaux was called upon to assist William Fossard in the clearance of his debts which had amounted to 1260 marks by 1176, (R. Davies, 'The medieval Jews of York', *YAJ*, 3, pp. 147-97, at p. 151), including the gift of two bovates of land to clear the debt of 'mille et octingentas marcas', (*Chronica de Melsa*, i, pp. 173-8).

<sup>217</sup> B.R. Kemp, 'Monastic possession of parish churches', p. 133.

<sup>218</sup> C. Harper-Bill, 'The piety of the Anglo-Norman knightly class', *Proceedings of the Battle Abbey Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies*, ii, (Woodbridge, 1980), pp. 63-77, at p. 67.

<sup>219</sup> For Long Preston church see below.



and elsewhere: this is an order that was conspicuously endowed with parish churches, possibly owing to an assumption that the canons would perform some parochial duties.<sup>220</sup>

As well as receiving the potentially valuable gifts of churches that were increasingly viewed as unacceptable lay possessions, the canons were also the recipients of gifts of serfs and pertaining feudal rights. Like other religious houses, including Kirkstall, Bolton received gifts that appear to have been of individuals and their families. William son of William of Beamsley appears to have sold Marioth daughter of Dolfin, with all her suit of court, to the canons for 15s.<sup>221</sup> Together with a gift of land in Malham, Hugh of Otterburn also gave Thorfin, the person who held the land, with 'tota sequela sua', a benefaction that was confirmed by his son.<sup>222</sup> Indeed, Bolton received gifts of lands together with individuals, not only in Malham, but also in West Marton, Airtton and Thorpe, and as with many of the other benefactions made to the canons these mostly purported to be made for the salvation of souls.<sup>223</sup>

The salvation of one's soul was the primary reason stated for the gifts given to religious houses, and one that the Church fostered with the theory of purgatory where the individual's time could be shortened or avoided by 'faith and good works', and the ever-present fear of eternal damnation.<sup>224</sup> In a violent and uncertain society, in which the Church was omnipresent, the foundation or benefaction of a religious house presented a way to secure salvation. Not only would a gift be made, with the giving of alms being seen as a good work, but also as the recipients were those whose lives were committed to God, the soul of the benefactor would benefit from the good works of an institution that would continue in perpetuity.

The gift of Cecily de Rumilly of the vill of Kildwick to the canons is the only example in the Coucher Book that displays both the piety of the donation and the

---

<sup>220</sup> *Fasti Parochiales*, iv, pp. 66-71, 94-8, 24-8, 71-5; J. Burton, 'Monasteries and parish churches in eleventh- and twelfth-century Yorkshire', *Northern History*, xxiii, (1987), pp. 38-50.

<sup>221</sup> CB, no. 438.

<sup>222</sup> CB, nos. 120, 122.

<sup>223</sup> CB, nos. 51-52, 60, 82, 273-275.

element of legal transaction that was involved. By the placing of a knife (knives being 'the favourite symbols of conveyance in the Anglo-Norman period')<sup>225</sup> upon the altar of St. Mary and St. Cuthbert, Cecily de Rumilly made a public display of both the spiritual and physical elements of the transfer of property. The presence of William son of Duncan as another person involved with the placing of the knife upon the altar may indicate that he had already wed Alice and was thereby acting in an administrative or familial role and displaying his power. Despite the recent incursions of the Scots into the north of England that had been led by William, causing much destruction, he is found shortly afterwards, or perhaps even during these, involved with donations to religious houses, indicating the violence and piety that coexisted and fed from one another.<sup>226</sup>

As well as the ever-present spiritual motives the foundation of a religious house could also display the power of an individual or family, and in many instances there was a 'fusion of practical and pious motivation'.<sup>227</sup> By the act of founding a religious house at Embsay Cecily de Rumilly and William Meschin were not only making their charity visible but were also displaying their power, an action that was also performed by the establishment of St. Bees in Egremont by William. Indeed the choice of dedication and of the site at Bolton may also indicate that signs of the old order in the north were being utilised, usurped or hidden. The initial dedication of the priory was to St. Cuthbert, a saint of local importance, and the Blessed Virgin Mary. However, after the relocation of the house to a site at Bolton the house appears to only be dedicated to the latter.<sup>228</sup>

---

<sup>224</sup> J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. A. Goldhammer, (Aldershot, 1990), p. 133.

<sup>225</sup> M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory*, p. 39.

<sup>226</sup> The mixture of piety and violence is apparent at Battle Abbey, for example, as a vow was made 'that on this battlefield I shall found a monastery for the salvation of all, and especially for those who fall here ... let it be an atonement', E. Searle, *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, (Oxford, 1980), p. 37. See also H.E. Hallam, 'Monasteries as war memorials: Battle Abbey and La Victoire', *The Church and War*, SCH, 20, ed. W.J. Sheils, (Oxford, 1983), pp. 47-57. The combination of knightly status, war faring ways and religion extended later into the crusades and the development of military orders who participated in the physical fight against the infidel and the devil, C. Harper-Bill, 'The piety of the Anglo-Norman knightly class', p. 76.

<sup>227</sup> C. Harper-Bill, 'The piety of the Anglo-Norman knightly class', p. 67.

<sup>228</sup> CB, nos. 1, 16, 19. A. Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales 1066-1216*, *Studies in the History of Medieval Religion*, i, (Woodbridge, 1989), p. 122. Worksop Priory is another Augustinian foundation that was also dedicated to both St. Cuthbert and St. Mary, with a charter of 1103 dedicated to St. Cuthbert but by the late twelfth century the house

The initial dedication used may indicate that there was already some religious building at Embsay dedicated to St. Cuthbert that the canons had adopted whilst residing there, a notion that is supported by the frequent practice of founding Augustinian houses at places that had a previous ecclesiastical existence of some kind.<sup>229</sup> Although Embsay appears to have been the location of the original house of regular canons there is a possible connection to the site of the church at Skipton, given by Cecily de Rumilly, 'ad fundendam inde ecclesiam canonicorum regularium', for if this had formed the basis the new foundation would have been within a short distance of Skipton Castle, which would have made a prominent display of their founders' power and piety.<sup>230</sup> This site does not appear to have been utilised for the actual establishment of the house, perhaps because the canons wished for a more isolated position, but it does suggest that there was some desire to be close to the religious who were indebted and who were concerned with the salvation of souls.<sup>231</sup>

Piety was the motive stated in the notification to Archbishop Thurstan by Cecily de Rumilly and William Meschin for the foundation of a church of regular canons, as they wished for the salvation of their souls as well as those of their ancestors and successors.<sup>232</sup> By establishing a religious house, the founders were performing a good work, which would be augmented by the 'good works to be performed by the monks in the form of prayers and alms, in which the founder

---

was also dedicated to St. Mary, possibly being linked to the 'building of the present church', c. 1170, A. Binns, *Dedications*, p. 158. *Comptus*, p. 36 n. 3.

<sup>229</sup> J. Burton, *Monastic Order*, p. 92.

<sup>230</sup> CB, no. 2.

<sup>231</sup> J. Burton, *Monastic Order*, pp. 81-2. Another house that was built in close proximity to the caput of the founder is Porchester that moved about four miles to a more tranquil location at Southwick, with one reason offered for the move being, 'The Monks probably became an embarrassment when it was decided to improve and strengthen the defences of the area and make the castle more secure', indicating the conflicts between the secular and religious life, M. Thomas, *The Ancient Priory of St. Mary Porchester*, (Ramsgate, 1976[?]), p. 6.

The move to a site at Bolton is also of interest if Whitaker is correct in his assertion that this place 'was the seat of earl Edwin's barony', for although the relocation occurred over half a century after Edwin's demise it may have been seen as removing the last visible traces of the old ruling classes; T. D. Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven*, p. 324. However, economics were probably the primary reason for the move to Bolton, for the site at Embsay was of inferior quality to that at Bolton; see I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 6-7, 34.

<sup>232</sup> CB, no. 2.



shares vicariously although not himself directly performing them'.<sup>233</sup> Although Cecily and William asked for no specific services, as theories of law and religion developed many benefactors of religious houses made further clarifications in their charters such as requests for burial or confraternity, the prescription of the purpose to which their gifts shall be put, and of other rights and privileges.<sup>234</sup>

Gifts made together with the body of the benefactor for burial are quite frequent and are not reserved solely for the patrons of Bolton. There do not appear to be any specific requests for burial made by the patrons but if this right was presumed then it is certainly possible that Alice de Rumilly and Margaret de Neville were buried at Bolton.<sup>235</sup> As a former patron the deceased would probably have had their anniversary celebrated, but unfortunately, unlike Tintern Abbey and Guisborough Priory, no evidence exists to prove that this was the case for Bolton.<sup>236</sup> The patron may also have been laid to rest in a position closer to the house than that allocated to other benefactors, such as the privilege shown to Baldwin de Béthune by Meaux, as he was buried near to the entrance into the chapter house.

The burial of patrons, and possibly of other benefactors, was of importance to a religious house, as it demonstrated the regard held for a particular house, especially if the patron was connected with a number of foundations, and also helped to secure the relationship with the successors of the deceased. This was certainly true of the Pecche family who came to the protection of the house of Barnwell, who claiming that 'they would sooner die than let the bones of their father and kindred be burnt'.<sup>237</sup>

---

<sup>233</sup> B. Thompson, 'From "Alms" to "Spiritual Services": The function and status of monastic property in medieval England', in *Monastic Studies: The Continuity of Tradition*, ii, ed. J. Loades, (Bangor, 1991), pp. 227-61 at p. 234.

<sup>234</sup> B. Thompson, 'From "Alms" to "Spiritual Services"', pp. 227-61.

<sup>235</sup> The evidence for the burial of Alice de Rumilly is, unfortunately, rather inadequate, but it was usual for patrons to be buried in the religious house they supported. A.H. Thompson states that Dr. Johnson, in a survey of 1670, 'noted that there was a statue leaning against the north wall of the choir, which he supposed to be that of "Lady Romilli", i.e. the foundress. It is possible that this tomb was made for her remains, and that the effigy in question belonged to it', *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, p. 139, n. 2; P. Watkins, *Bolton Priory*, p. 18. See also S. Wood, *Patrons*, p. 131.

<sup>236</sup> S. Wood, *Patrons*, pp. 131-2. Although no evidence exists for Bolton Priory, Alice de Rumilly features in a liturgical calendar for the Augustinian priory of Guisborough, see above.

<sup>237</sup> S. Wood, *Patrons*, p. 143, citing *Liber Memorandum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*, ed. J.W. Clark, (Cambridge, 1907), p. 123. Another example of the connection that could exist between a family

The prospect of imminent death would have been a powerful motive for benefactions to religious houses. Many men made gifts before departing on a crusade, and the death of a relative, especially of an heir, may have prompted a family to make a benefaction.<sup>238</sup> The death of William, the boy of Egremont, the son of Alice de Rumilly, for example, may have induced his mother to make a further gift to the canons at Bolton.<sup>239</sup> The legend of the Boy of Egremont has survived to the present day, and may well have appealed to the medieval imagination thereby adding to the overall perception of Bolton as religious house worthy of a person's generosity and an inspiration to acts of piety.<sup>240</sup>

The Coucher Book contains a number of gifts made by benefactors who also granted their bodies, including members of some of the prominent families in the locality such as Mary, the widow of John of Eshton, and William Mauleverer, as well as of other benefactors of the priory, for example Robert of Warter whose charter, by the inclusion of 'legavi', suggests that he was approaching the end of his life.<sup>241</sup> This supports the notion that prior to the mid thirteenth century burial in a monastic house was a preferred option, and that the prayers of those who had chosen to live a religious life were viewed as superior to those of the laity, with burial within the foundation being a constant reminder and direct request to the religious for prayers for the salvation of the soul of the deceased.<sup>242</sup>

---

and a monastery is at St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol which made a request to the bishop of Exeter that the body of Sir H. de Berkeley should be relocated to the priory, stating that the majority of the deceased's family were buried there and that 'by constant remembrance of the deceased, the devotion of the living may increase, and there may be more plentiful alms giving and offering of prayers for the common solace of the dead', (*St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol*, p. xxiii).

<sup>238</sup> C. Harper-Bill, 'The piety of the Anglo-Norman knightly class', pp. 66-7.

<sup>239</sup> William, the boy of Egremont, died c. 1163. Although there are no obvious examples of this contained in the Coucher Book, Alice may have given some gift to Bolton which has not been recorded, for the salvation of her son's soul.

<sup>240</sup> The myths surrounding the foundations of monastic houses can be found elsewhere, for example at Kirkham and the death of a son of Walter le Espec, its founder and patron, recorded in *Cartularium Abbathie de Rievallie ordinis cisterciensis fundatae anno MCXXXII*, ed. J.C. Atkinson, Surtees Society, 83, (1889), pp. 263-5. The legend of the boy of Egremont is believed to have inspired two of Wordsworth's poems, 'The Force of Prayer' and 'The White Doe of Rylstone'.

<sup>241</sup> CB, nos. 270, 416, 67.

<sup>242</sup> CB, no. 270, 416. See D. Postles, 'Monastic burial of non-patronal benefactors', *JEH*, xlvii, 4, (1996), pp. 620-37. It is interesting to note that the testament of Katherine and Margaret Mauleverer, 1399, records their wish 'corpa nostra ad sepeliend' in ecclesia nostra paroch' videlicet abbathia de Bolton', and that they bequeath two oxen as the mortuary payment,

The development of more specific services in exchange for gifts is also apparent in some of the benefactions made to the canons of Bolton, as well as those that appear in final concords that, by the form they were captured in, required a reciprocal action from the recipient.<sup>243</sup> In the final concord made in 1187 between Simon and Langusa and the canons of Bolton, for example, Simon and Langusa are received as 'fratrem et sororem' in return for the quitclaim of the advowson of the church of All Saints, Broughton.<sup>244</sup> Additionally, Alexander son of Ulf appears to acquire confraternity for himself and his heirs from the canons of Bolton, 'canonici susceperunt me et heredes meos in fraternitatem et commune beneficium', by his gift of lands in Eastburn.<sup>245</sup>

The chantry was another form of religious establishment intrinsically involved with prayers for the dead that appealed to a wider range of people. Indeed, chantries 'eclipsed the older institutions of the church in popularity, and they competed successfully for the money of the patrons, founders and benefactors'.<sup>246</sup> This new trend did not bypass the canons of Bolton Priory who are found to have been involved in an agreement with Elias of Steeton regarding the chapel of Steeton and the 'celebracionem divinorum', and another, in the mid-thirteenth century, with Thomas of Bradley and John of Otterburn for the support of one chaplain 'to celebrate for the souls of Thomas of Otterburn and Maud, his wife, John of Otterburn and Elisot, his wife, and John of Bradley and Mariote, his wife'.<sup>247</sup> John de Insula, lord of Rougemont, made a substantial gift to the canons 'for the maintaining of a chantry of six chaplains in the church of Harewood or the church of Boulton', a move which he appears to have taken

---

(Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Probate Registers, vol. 3, fo. 35r). Other testaments which include requests for burial in the priory church include that of John Young, 1427, and John Falburgh, 1430, with the latter also bequeathing 33s. 4d. to the priory, (Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Probate Registers, vol. 2, fos. 523v-524r; vol. 2, fo. 645r).

<sup>243</sup> B. Thompson, 'From "Alms" to "Spiritual Services"', p. 235 n. 46.

<sup>244</sup> CB, no. 147

<sup>245</sup> CB, no. 389.

<sup>246</sup> J.T. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: The Social Function of Aristocratic Benevolence, 1307-1485*, (London, 1972), p. 31. See K.L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain*, (Cambridge, 1965).

<sup>247</sup> A.H. Thompson, *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, p. 103, see also pp. 103-4. On 10 March 1367/8 Archbishop Thoresby confirmed the agreement, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Reg. Thoresby, fo. 145v.



very seriously as the benefaction included the appropriation of Harewood church, and a promise to bear the entire costs in the effort to secure his wishes.<sup>248</sup>

The Harewood gift appears to have been an exception, but nevertheless many benefactors recorded the services they wished to have performed. Several people, for example, made gifts to the canons of Bolton that were to be put to the specific use of purchasing or burning candles or lights, often in connection with the mass or the altar of the Blessed Mary, with one of the benefactions of William of Farnhill being made 'ad inveniendum unum cereum ardentem in prefata ecclesia coram imagine beate Marie virginis'.<sup>249</sup>

Other rights were requested with particular benefactions made to the canons of Bolton. Hospitality was a privilege expected by the patrons and the frequency of females as the patrons of the canons may have caused certain difficulties, resulting in the modification of discipline, for 'rules had to give way before the habits of aristocratic society'.<sup>250</sup> The provision of hospitality could be a significant drain on the resources of a religious house, especially if it was favoured by the monarchy. Although Bolton does not appear to have been the host to any royal party, the presence of Edward II, who was staying at Skipton Castle, induced the canons to make gifts of 31s. 2d. to the king and his companions.<sup>251</sup> Indeed, even dead patrons and benefactors could be an expense to the canons as the extensive arrangements and provisions made following the deaths of Margaret de Neville show.<sup>252</sup>

Gifts made with the desire to obtain certain rights or privileges of a not necessarily spiritual nature also appear to have been made by the benefactors of Bolton Priory. Wardship and provision for the heirs of a benefactor are concerns that appear in charters in the Coucher Book. The custody of the heir of Walter of

---

<sup>248</sup> CB, no. 405. *CCR, 1330-1333*, pp. 583, 520-1. Dodsworth MS 8, fo. 222v. 'Unfortunately, the chantry thus founded has no history, nor was it ever incorporated as a college of priests', A.H. Thompson, *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, p. 103, see also pp. 101-103.

<sup>249</sup> CB, nos. 315, 326, 114, 360. The cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary came to a climax in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and is featured in many dedications, R. and C. Brooke, *Popular Religion in the Middle Ages: Western Europe 1000-1300*, (London, 1985), pp. 31-4.

<sup>250</sup> S. Wood, *Patrons*, p. 101.

<sup>251</sup> A.H. Thompson, *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, p. 96; *Comptus*, p. 530.

<sup>252</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 105, 139. *Comptus*, p. 488.

Yeadon was contested between the canons and Robert le Vavasour, with the right being recognised as belonging to Bolton, in conjunction with one and a half carucates of land.<sup>253</sup> However, the two gifts of Matilda the wife of Richard of Tong are more informative cases, for one benefaction was made together with her body for burial, and both contain provision for her two boys, repeated in identical form.<sup>254</sup>

Matilda made the gifts upon the condition that her two boys were provided for by the canons, as was necessary, for the whole of their lives, 'sicut carta eorundem canonicorum testatur quam iidem pueri penes se inde habent'.<sup>255</sup> It is uncertain what the exact provisions expected to be made by the canons were, but it is possible that the education of the two boys was included, as this service was provided by other Augustinian houses, such as Bridlington and Guisborough, or that Matilda wished the children to prepare for entry into the monastic life.<sup>256</sup> This responsibility, whether it included an educational facet or not, must have been seen as a fair exchange for the gifts offered by Matilda, which included her mill at Ravenswath (Hazlewood), together with various rights, the homage and service of four men and two women, and all of her land in *Trepwood*, by the gift of her father. The choice of Bolton Priory may have been geographical, although the Tong family do appear already to have had some connection with the canons, and Matilda may have been able to use this relationship to her advantage with the lure of property and rights.

Despite the various agreements made by the canons and their benefactors with reciprocal actions for gifts, it was the patrons who enjoyed a far greater degree of power and influence, with the opportunity to profit both in this world and the

---

<sup>253</sup> CB, nos. 149-150. The claim by the canons may have been due to the gift of one and a half carucates of land in Yeadon that had been given to them by Robert son of Mauger, and confirmed by William Vavasour, probably the father of Robert Vavasour who was the deforciant in the final concord. *EYC*, iii, no. 1873; *EYC*, vii, p. 167 n. 7; *EYC*, xi, no. 120.

<sup>254</sup> CB, nos. 371-372.

<sup>255</sup> CB, nos. 371-372.

<sup>256</sup> E. J. Gardner, 'The English nobility and monastic education c. 1100-1500', in *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey*, eds. J. Blair & B. Golding, (Oxford, 1996), pp. 80-94; 'nutritii, raised in the monastery', C. Harper-Bill, 'The piety of the Anglo-Norman knightly class', pp. 67-9. It would appear that the priory of St. Mary, Huntingdon, from where the first canons of Embsay are believed to have come, had some involvement with education, 'The cartulary of the priory of St. Mary, Huntingdon', nos. 72-73.

next. One important right held by the patrons concerned the vacancies of the priory, as during that period they could, if unscrupulous, take advantage of the situation, and use their influence to delay the election of a new head of the house. Indeed accusations of this nature were not uncommon, with the monarchy also being criticised for earning revenue at the expense of monasteries, for King John was said to have prolonged the vacancy 'at St. Albans in 1214, "knowing its custody was profitable to him"'.<sup>257</sup> No such examples are apparent concerning Bolton, but its patrons did fulfil their obligations and claim their rights in such matters, as 'a relief was due to the earls of Albemarle at the prior's installation'.<sup>258</sup> Indeed Isabella, the widow of William de Forz III, was eager to utilise her rights as patron, and although there are no signs of difficulty with regards to Bolton, as she appears to have heeded the request of Archbishop Giffard (1266-1279) to restore the temporalities after the election of William de Tanfield, her relationship with other religious houses under her patronage were not always harmonious.<sup>259</sup>

Like many other religious houses, Bolton was under the potential risk of being exploited by its patrons and the monarchy by requests to take people into their establishment as corrodians, even though corrody was viewed as 'a kind of patronage belonging to the house which could be exercised in favour of its lord'.<sup>260</sup> There are several examples of the reigning king requesting the canons to accept a man, such as Adam Alman who 'in consideration of his good service to the king' was presented to Bolton with the condition that he would 'receive such maintenance in their house as John le Keu, deceased, lately received therein'.<sup>261</sup> However, Bolton also appears to have favoured the financial opportunities presented by accepting those who wished to become corrodians.<sup>262</sup> Isabel of Hawkswick appears in the accounts of 1298-1299, with the sum of £7

---

<sup>257</sup> S. Wood, *Patrons*, p. 75, citing *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H.T. Riley, R.S., xviii (London, 1867-9, 3 vols), i, p. 250.

<sup>258</sup> S. Wood, *Patrons*, p. 88 n. 4 citing, *CCR, 1272-1279*, p. 158.

<sup>259</sup> *Reg. Giffard*, p. 153. There was a dispute between Isabella and Quarr Abbey, in which Edward I intervened by taking the monastery into his own hands, see S. Wood, *Patrons*, pp. 96, 163-4; S. F. Hockey, *Quarr Abbey*, pp. 36, 104-12.

<sup>260</sup> S. Wood, *Patrons*, p. 107.

<sup>261</sup> *CCR, 1313-1318*, p. 564.

<sup>262</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 134-6.



6s. 8d., and does John Graunwall.<sup>263</sup> Whether these people had been in the service of the patron or were connected in some way to the canons is uncertain, but as with the actions of the king it was not unfeasible for a patron to assert some form of pressure onto a religious house to promote the entrance of a person, whether lay or wishing to enter holy orders.<sup>264</sup>

The benefits of a benevolent patron were multifaceted and with regards to elections, custody during a vacancy and protection and assistance in resolving disputes their support could be invaluable.<sup>265</sup> The turbulent times which the north encountered with bad harvests and raids from across the border may have caused the canons of Bolton, like other houses, to call upon the consciences and powers of their patrons.<sup>266</sup> For a short time the canons were forced to leave their estates and take refuge elsewhere due to the ferocity of the Scottish marauders, with the prior fleeing to Blackburnshire, Edward II issuing letters of protection for the priory, and Archbishop Melton requesting other Augustinian houses to take in the canons from Bolton due to their plight.<sup>267</sup>

Although the relationship between Bolton and its patrons does not appear to have been particularly difficult or strained the canons may, to a degree, have been deprived of the support of their patrons as for several generations the patronage

---

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 134 n. 10, 135. For record of payment to these people see *Compotus*, pp. 89-90.

<sup>264</sup> There are many instances where benefactions maybe seen as being made in order to secure a place for relatives of the donor, or the donor himself, such as at Fountains where 'Roger de Scuhscelf, for example, sold the monks two bovates of land in Carlton for an unspecified sum of money, and the monks in return agreed to receive his brother, Stephen, as a *conversus*', J. Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey*, p. 253. An example relating to Bolton is in Dodsworth MS 88, fo. 68v, by the charter of William de Chartenay, dated 1369, that appears to have quitclaimed Robert de Ottelay as a canon of Bolton.

<sup>265</sup> Although a close relationship with the patron was usually beneficial, it could be detrimental, such as the attempts by Walter Espec to convert the Augustinian priory of Kirkham to the Cistercian order, which eventually resulted in the foundation of a new house, Rievaulx, D. Baker, 'Patronage in the early twelfth-century church: Walter Espec, Kirkham and Rievaulx, *Traditio-Krisis-Renovatio aus theologischer Sicht: Festschrift Winfried Zeller*, eds. B. Jaspert, R. Mohr, (Marburg, 1976), pp. 92-9.

<sup>266</sup> For a discussion of the detrimental effects of agrarian crisis see I. Kershaw, 'The great famine and agrarian crisis in England 1315-1322', *Past and Present*, 59, (1975), pp. 3-50.

<sup>267</sup> A.H. Thompson, *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, p. 90-3; *CPR, 1317-1321*, pp. 355, 395, 506; Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Register of William Melton, old fo. 141v, new fo. 172v. Baldwin de Béthune, husband of Hawise, had shown the better attributes of a patron, with regard to Meaux rather than Bolton, for he 'took the monks into his house at Burstwick' at a point when the house was being dispersed due to poverty, (B. English, *Lords of Holderness*, p. 36). For an assessment of the damage inflicted by the Scots upon parts of Yorkshire during the reign

descended by the hereditary right of daughters, rather than of male heirs. For example, Cecily de Rumilly and William le Gros, her husband, do not appear to have continued the significant patronage of Cecily's mother and grandmother. This pattern of descent resulted in the patronage of numerous houses, and in several cases it seems that the monasteries connected to the husband received greater support. For example, William le Gros transformed his foundation of an Augustinian house at Thornton into an abbey, which was probably an action inspired as much by piety as by the desire to make a display of wealth and power.<sup>268</sup>

Although Bolton did not acquire the status of some of the other Augustinian houses in Yorkshire, such as Nostell which acted as a spiritual power house of Yorkshire,<sup>269</sup> or Bridlington where a cult emerged following the death of Prior John Tweng (a phenomenon that was promoted by the support of the Neville family),<sup>270</sup> its canons did receive the support of the patrons and their descendants, as well as of numerous benefactors. Bolton appears to have enjoyed a favourable reputation, with a large number of benefactions having some pious intention, and although several benefactors appear to have supported numerous houses and orders there must have been some attraction to the canons, even if some people may seem to have been hedging their bets in the effort to secure salvation. The motives for benefactions appear to have been piety together with practical reasons, the influence of familial or social relationships and, to a smaller degree, political impetus.

---

of Edward II see I. Kershaw, 'A note of the Scots in the West Riding, 1318-1319', *Northern History*, xvii, (1981), pp. 231-9.

<sup>268</sup> William le Gros had also given the monastery of St. Martin d'Auchy the status of abbey. B. English, *Lords of Holderness*, p. 25.

<sup>269</sup> J. Burton, *Monastic Order*, p. 95.

<sup>270</sup> J. Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire*, (Woodbridge, 1988), p. 99. Bridlington also received a phylactery containing relics, a valuable donation, from Walter de Gant, *EYC*, ii, no. 1136.

## Chapter III

### The Estate History of Bolton Priory

Despite the humble beginnings of the priory of regular canons at Embsay, with an initially poor endowment and relatively few benefactions, the relocation to the more propitious site at Bolton paved the way for a more secure future. As with many other houses of the Augustinian Order the possession of spiritualities was of importance to the canons of Bolton, even though they 'did not acquire the number of churches with associated benefits to the level of the larger houses of Nostell and Bridlington. Nevertheless with the generosity of numerous benefactors, the support of their patrons and of the episcopate, wise investment in both temporalities and spiritualities, exchanges, and the influence of individuals within the priory, such as Prior John of Laund, the canons of Bolton were to avoid the disasters which others suffered, providing a life which 'was for the most part uneventful', except in the early fourteenth century when a catalogue of misfortunes befell not only Bolton, but the country as a whole and especially the north.<sup>1</sup>

#### **The Temporalities**

Benefaction, exchange and sale were the methods employed by the canons of Bolton to acquire, augment and consolidate their possessions, as well as, to a smaller degree, the leasing of land, especially following the Statute of Mortmain in 1279, as this was one method employed by monastic houses to enable them to profit from land whilst circumventing legal contrivance.<sup>2</sup> Bolton Priory was also involved in several disputes with their lay and monastic neighbours, regarding a variety of rights, all of which stress the importance placed on establishing firm control over its possessions and their subsequent exploitation.

The development of the landed estates of the priory, including the acquisition of various rights appurtenant to those lands, such as the highly profitable milling

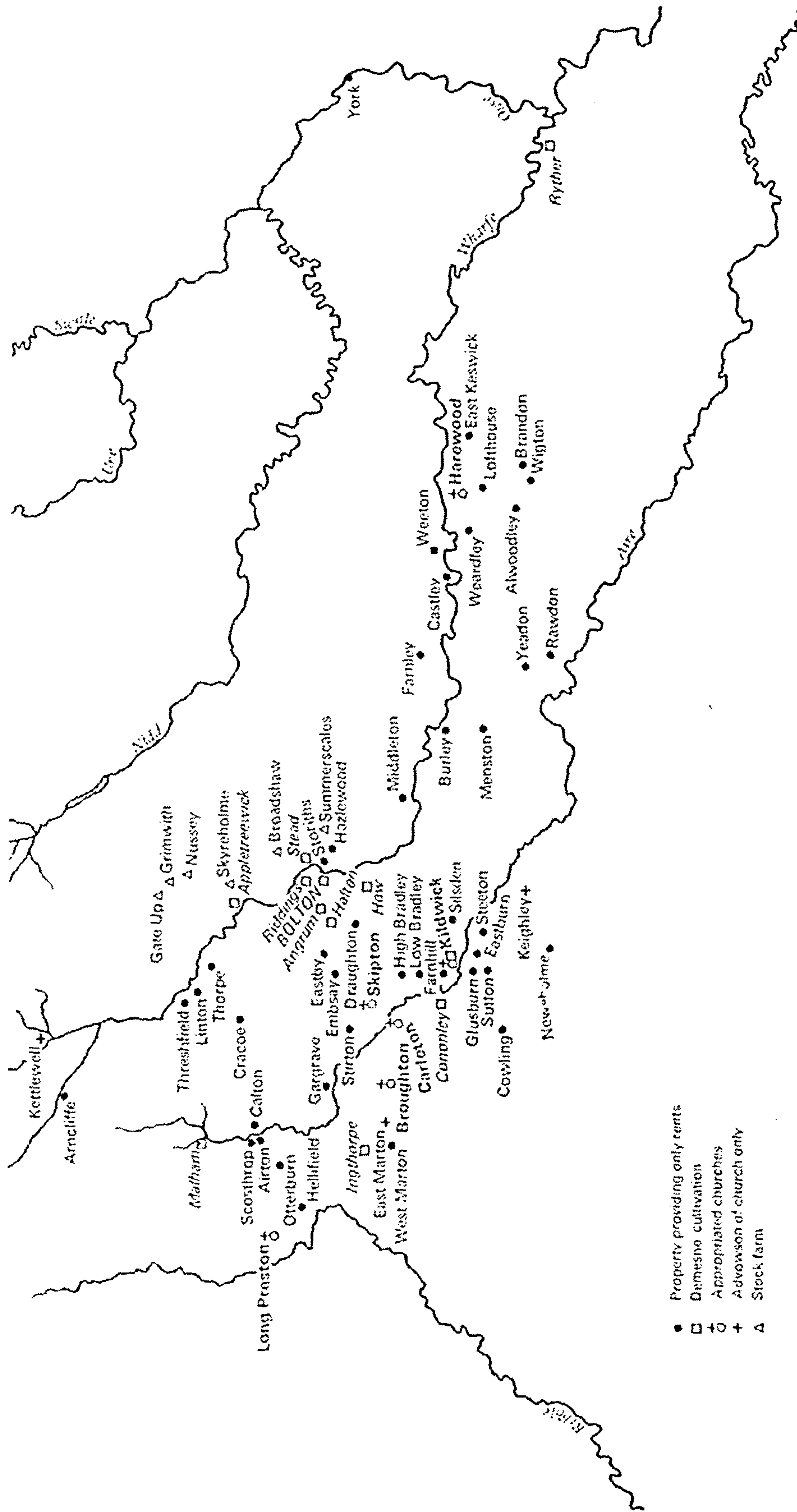
---

<sup>1</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 187.

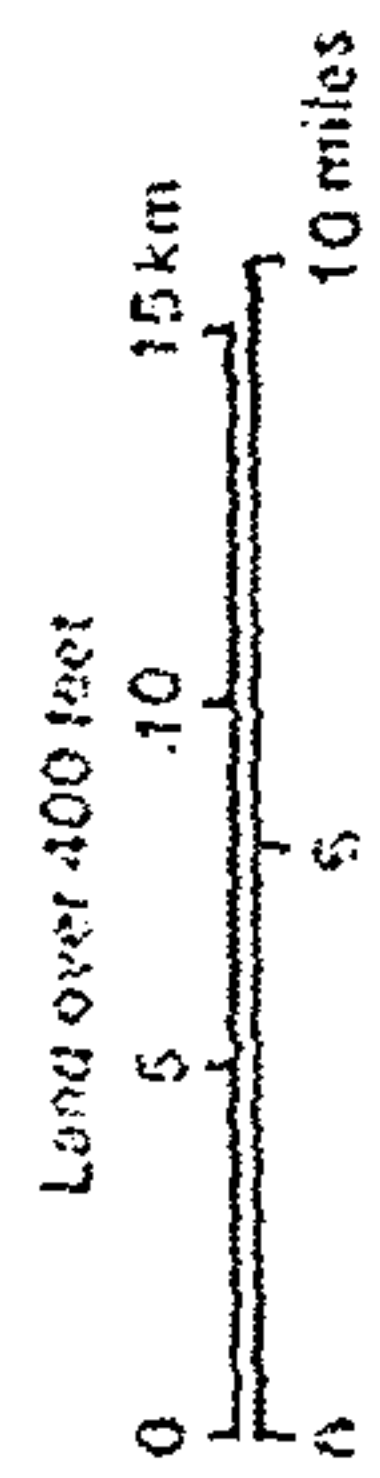








- Property providing only rents
- Demesne cultivation
- + Appropriated churches
- + Advowson of church only
- △ Stock farm



Wentbridge ●

rights, was a primary concern. The initial benefaction for the foundation of the house at Embsay only provided the canons with the church of Holy Trinity, Skipton, its chapel at Carleton, and the vill of Embsay, a meagre amount of land from which to gain subsistence for the first decade or so of the priory's life.<sup>3</sup> The paucity of the land and therefore of the provision for the canons is exemplified by the locations of the benefactions of lands to the canons whilst at Embsay. Apart from the vill of Embsay itself, the church of Skipton, with the chapel of Carleton, and Stirton and Skibeden, the majority of other benefactions to the canons were further afield, including property at Malham, Sutton (p. Kildwick), Kildwick, Yeadon (p. Guiseley), Street and Wentworth.<sup>4</sup> These benefactions were, no doubt, warmly welcomed by the canons. In some cases these gifts provided the nucleus for future developments, such as the estates at Malham and Kildwick, whilst others, like those at Street, Wentworth and Yeadon, due to their more distant locations were more suited to alternative forms of exploitation, such as leasing, exchange, or sale, which was probably the fate of the bovate of land in Penwortham (Lancashire) given by Richard Bussel.<sup>5</sup>

The grange system, an agricultural innovation frequently associated with the Cistercian Order,<sup>6</sup> was, to a certain extent, adopted by the Augustinian canons of Bolton, and was influential on the emergence and improvement of their outlying estates.<sup>7</sup> The decision as to which locations were to be developed into significant

---

<sup>2</sup> S. Raban, 'Mortmain in medieval England', *Past and Present*, 62, (1974), pp. 3-26, at pp. 7-10 for leasehold. For the statute of mortmain and its impact see S. Raban, *Mortmain Legislation and the English Church 1279-1500*, (Cambridge, 1982), passim.

<sup>3</sup> CB, no. 2.

<sup>4</sup> CB, nos. 106, 2, 6, 10; Dodsworth MS 144, fos. 50-50v, 51v.

<sup>5</sup> J.J. Bagley, *Historical Interpretation: Sources of English Medieval History, 1066-1540*, (Harmondsworth, 1965), p. 107; Dodsworth MS 8, fo. 20v contains the apparent gift by W. prior of Bolton and the canons to Richard son of Lauys of Knol of 'piscaria de Penfordham in aqua de Rivel', which they had by the gift of Richard Bussel, and the confirmation of Roger the constable of Chester, as well as mentioning a bovate of land held by Thomas Bussel, possibly a relative of the said Richard, for which the canons were to receive his homage and service, and 12s. annually.

<sup>6</sup> C. Platt, *The Monastic Grange in Medieval England: A Reassessment*, (London, 1969). For the growth and impact of the monasteries and their estates on the North East see B. Waites, *Monasteries and Landscape in North East England: The Medieval Colonisation of the North York Moors*, (Oakham, 1997), 'The monastic grange as a factor in the settlement of North-East Yorkshire', *YAJ*, 40, part 160, (1962), pp. 627-56, 'The monastic settlement of North-East Yorkshire', *YAJ*, 40, part 159, (1961), pp. 478-95, who expands on the work by T.A.M. Bishop, 'Monastic granges in Yorkshire', *EHR*, li, (1936), pp. 193-214.

<sup>7</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 30-8; For the development of the grange system by orders other than the Cistercians see J. Burton, *Monastic Order*, pp. 265-269; For the choice of grange sites see B. Waites, 'Monastic grange', pp. 638-64; For a survey of the different methods employed by



blocks of land and those which were to be put to other uses would probably have been influenced by the scale and types of property held. In contrast to the Cistercians it would appear that the 'possession of church, glebe, and tithe' were important factors in the choice of site for Augustinian granges and this does apply, in part, to those of Bolton Priory; other factors were the benefactions of sites for tithe barns, referred to as *grangia* or *horrea*, and gifts of significant blocks of land.<sup>8</sup>

The benefaction by Helto Mauleverer, with the assent of his wife Bilioth, of twelve bovates of land in Malham, which was, presumably, that notified to the archbishop as 'quadrugatam terre et dimidiam' by Cecily de Rumilly and confirmed by Alice, her daughter, provided the priory's initial holding in that vicinity.<sup>9</sup> Although, as far as can be ascertained, no further lands were acquired at Malham until around the turn into the thirteenth century, this area became one of great importance for the canons, providing good pasture and not impossible conditions for arable farming since, 'its limestone soils would provide good drainage even in years of heavy rainfall compared with other demesnes'.<sup>10</sup>

During the following years the canons received gifts of lands at Malham, as well as making various transactions with landholders in the area, such as Thomas son of William of Malham to whom they paid 30 marks for two bovates of land with the capital messuage.<sup>11</sup> Thomas son of William of Malham occurs in about a quarter of the charters recorded in the sections of the Coucher Book relating to Malham, and appears to have given gifts of lands, including one bovate of land which he had given to Elinor his sister and Richard her son for their lives, tofts, sheepfolds and pasture as well as various rights.<sup>12</sup> These gifts, although numerous and possibly of significant size, appear quite small in comparison with

---

Augustinian houses to manage and exploit their property, especially demesne lands, see D.M. Robinson, *The Geography of Augustinian Settlement*, (Oxford, 1980), i, pp. 291-7.

<sup>8</sup> J. Burton, *Monastic Order*, p. 268; CB, nos. 20, 98, 185, 400, 404; these donations of tithe barns all fell within the parish of Kildwick, of which the vill had been granted together with the church of St. Andrew 'ad proprios usus' to the canons whilst still at Embsay, with Kildwick becoming one of the larger blocks of demesne land held by the priory; B. Waites, 'Monastic grange', pp. 638-40.

<sup>9</sup> CB, nos. 106-108.

<sup>10</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 40.

<sup>11</sup> CB, no. 109.

the single benefaction by John le Aleman to the canons of half a carucate of land, as well as some in Linton which were augmented by the gift of his brother.<sup>13</sup>

Despite these numerous gifts of lands, perhaps the more important element with regard to Malham was the acquisition of pasture rights and lands that were allocated for the grazing of livestock. Although Bolton possessed lands for the pasture of thirty mares and their young up to three years old, as well as their cattle, it was the grazing for flocks of sheep and land for associated buildings that was of special importance.<sup>14</sup> The gift of a bovate of land and a place for a sheepfold sufficient for 300 sheep made by Peter de Melsa, costing the canons 12*d.* annually, must have been a great asset to Bolton Priory, especially as its potential was realised with the growth in the wool industry.<sup>15</sup> Wool and its associated trading and business soared in its importance to both lay and monastic economies; for example not only was Isabella de Forz involved 'with her Holderness farm', but also various religious houses with which she concerned, such as Meaux and Bolton.<sup>16</sup> Although Bolton did not reach the same production levels as other houses, amongst which the Cistercians led the way, being 'sheep farmers *par excellence*',<sup>17</sup> they were significant enough to be noted by the Italian wool-merchant Pegolotti,<sup>18</sup> with an annual yield of unsorted fleeces worth 12 marks. This figure places them on a par with other Augustinian houses in Yorkshire, such as Nostell, that was valued at 12 ½ marks for unsorted fleeces, and Drax, which had an estimated annual output of five sacks, with unsorted fleeces being valued at 12 marks.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> CB, nos. 109-117, 141.

<sup>13</sup> CB, nos. 136, 140.

<sup>14</sup> CB, nos. 116, 111, 117.

<sup>15</sup> CB, no. 119. For the importance of sheep in the economy of the priory see I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 79-93; for an overall view of the participation of monasteries in the wool industry see T.H. Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 289-99; and for Yorkshire monasteries see K. Wilson, 'The monastic wool trade in Yorkshire', *Amateur Historian*, iv, no. 4, (1959), pp. 134-9, H.E. Wroot, 'Yorkshire abbeys and the wool trade', *Thoresby Society*, xxxiii, (1935), pp. 1-21.

<sup>16</sup> E. Power, *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History*, (London, 1941), p. 24.

<sup>17</sup> E. Power, *The Wool Trade*, p. 35.

<sup>18</sup> Pegolotti was one of the many Italian wool merchants who conducted business with the English monasteries. He was a member the merchant house of Bardi, and during a visit to England listed the wool production of the English monasteries; see E. Power, *The Wool Trade*, pp. 22-3.

<sup>19</sup> W. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce During the Early and Middle Ages*, (5<sup>th</sup> ed., Cambridge, 1922), i, p. 638.

Indeed such was the importance of pasture that the canons of Bolton came into conflict with several other houses, including Fountains Abbey, regarding rights to various pasture lands. Both Fountains and Bolton claimed the right to lands at Malham and recourse to law provided the resolutions, with a series of agreements stating the rights of each convent.<sup>20</sup> The situation on Malham Moor was even more complicated, with Fountains, Sawley and Bolton all claiming rights to common pasture, resulting in the erection of 'miles of limestone walls to clear up boundary disputes'.<sup>21</sup>

Agreements were also made between Bolton and a variety of other houses over the key issue of pasture. Fountains and Bolton are found to be at loggerheads over the pasture at Appletreewick, where the canons acquired the manor and lands following the success of John of Eshton in a complicated legal case and the subsequent dispersal of the lands he acquired.<sup>22</sup> Both Fountains and Bolton had claim to pasture at Appletreewick, and although both parties had agreements with James of Eshton, in the first decade of the fourteenth century the discord between them was settled, with various boundaries and rights being established, and with the conclusion that 'the canons retained their advantage in their Appletreewick pasture'.<sup>23</sup>

Another dispute between Bolton and a monastic house, again illustrating the importance of the wool industry, centred upon pastures at Washburn, and at Beamsley and Blubberhouses, for the canons had hired a bercary there in 1299/1300, 'probably from Bridlington Priory which had a grange there'.<sup>24</sup> In 1297 John prior of Bolton and Gerard prior of Bridlington came to an agreement

---

<sup>20</sup> CB, nos. 137-139.

<sup>21</sup> W.G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape*, (Harmondsworth, 1970), p. 106; *Fountains Chartulary*, pp. 459-85 for Malham see pp. 460-1, 464, 467-8, 478 for dealings between Fountains and Bolton; For the demarcation of boundaries and ownership of property see *Yorkshire Boundaries*, eds. H.E.J. le Patourel, M.H. Long, M.F. Pickles, (Y.A.J., 1993), S.A. Moorhouse, 'Boundaries', *West Yorkshire: an Archaeological Survey to A.D. 1500*, eds. M.L. Faull, S.A. Moorhouse, (Wakefield, 1981), ii, pp. 265-93.

<sup>22</sup> For the case in which John of Eshton was one of the parties see above.

<sup>23</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 82; CB, nos. 177, 187; *Fountains Chartulary*, pp. 66-8 for Appletreewick, and p. 68 for dealings between Fountains and Bolton.

<sup>24</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 82; *Bridlington Chartulary*, pp. 5, 241-7 for Blubberhouses, p. 247 for agreement with Bolton; *Comptus*, p. 105, for reference to a bercary at Blubberhouses.



whereby Bolton was granted common pasture in the moors and pastures of Blubberhouses for all their animals in Beamsley, saving certain rights to Bridlington.<sup>25</sup> However, the discord between the two Augustinian houses was not so readily resolved, and three inquisitions were held to ascertain the rights of the canons. The first inquisition, initiated by the canons of Bolton, was dismissed by the canons of Bridlington who believed it to be erroneous, whilst the Earl of Cornwall, acting as arbitrator, instigated a third because he felt that the previous inquisitions were defective.<sup>26</sup> Finally on the 19 April 1298 Edmund, earl of Cornwall, issued his decision in favour of the canons of Bolton, who appear to have parted with £10 for this privilege.<sup>27</sup>

The canons of Bolton, overall, do not appear to have been engaged in many legal wrangles. However, they were determined to assert their rights and to keep all those lands which they had acquired, making full use of legal procedures, such as the three inquisitions instigated during their dispute with Bridlington, mentioned above. Although the charters contained in the Coucher Book and elsewhere do not normally include details of any financial arrangements, Bolton Priory does appear to have taken an increasingly active role in the growth of its estates, as previously indicated by its leasing of land for a bercary, a notion which is supported by the evidence contained in the *Compotus*.<sup>28</sup>

Halton East was one location where the canons of Bolton had acquired demesne land, and where a 'limited measure of consolidation was attempted and achieved'.<sup>29</sup> The section of charters relating to the lands at Halton contained in the Coucher Book is comprised of only a few folios, indicative of the small number of significant gifts and the link to the Eshton family.<sup>30</sup> The first gift of

---

<sup>25</sup> CB, no. 429.

<sup>26</sup> CB, nos. 430-435. One example of monasteries making provision for the intervention of an arbitrator with regards to boundary rights is in a charter between the abbeys of Rievaulx and Byland, B. Waites, 'Monastic settlement', p. 492-3.

<sup>27</sup> CB, no. 436.

<sup>28</sup> Although the priory did rent lands 'the outgoing rent was small', being generally 'only between 3 and 7 percent of total cash expenditure each year', I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 26, 163; In 1304-5 Bolton paid, whether as rents 2*d.* to Richard de Plumland for land in Halton, 6*s.* to Lord Henry son of Hugh for lands in Airton, *iid. ob.* to Lord J. Gylliot for land in Swynwath', and *xs.* to Lady Margaret de Neville for land in Gargrave, *Compotus*, pp. 179, *passim*.

<sup>29</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 33.

<sup>30</sup> CB, nos. 25-33.

land appears to have been made in the early thirteenth century and in the following decades this benefaction was confirmed and expanded by further gifts and by acquisitions made by the canons. The canons came, thereby, into possession of the manor of Halton, as well as of six carucates of land, 'partem etiam ex emptione et partem ex donatione'.<sup>31</sup> The demesne land they acquired and the uses to which it was put formed a not insignificant part of the income of the priory, with not only arable crops, such as wheat and oats, being farmed but also livestock, including a sizeable number of cattle and oxen, as well as a great number of horses, and, in 1312/13, 16 pigs.<sup>32</sup> This diversity of use, the condition and scale of the land, as well as the proximity of Halton to Bolton was undoubtedly an important factor in its success as a grange and as a component part of the priory.

By the early fourteenth century the demesne lands under cultivation and the granges of the canons were situated at Angrum, Riddings, Appletreewick, Stead, Kildwick, Cononley, Ingthorpe, Bolton, Halton and How, all within a reasonable distance from the site of the priory; and at the more isolated estates of Ryther and Holmpton in Holderness, although the charters relating to these two last places are not included in the Coucher Book.<sup>33</sup> These demesne lands, the goods which were produced, and the profits which were accrued were augmented with livestock farming at places like Skyreholme near to Appletreewick, and with the rents due from properties, often in more distant locations, such as Rawdon, Wentbridge and Arncliffe, which had therefore not been developed as granges.<sup>34</sup> The more distant properties held by the canons, the majority of which were benefactions in comparison with the active policy used with regard to those lands and estates closer to Bolton and the property already possessed by the canons, appear to have laid between the rivers Wharfe and Aire, often closer to the former as the distance from the house increased.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> CB, no. 25.

<sup>32</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 39, 41 Table III, 94-5.

<sup>33</sup> The economic peak for Bolton Priory was at the start of the fourteenth century, but 'between 1315 and 1320, the hard work of two decades was lying in ruins' due to a number of adverse conditions, I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 14.

<sup>34</sup> For the locations of the properties of the priory see map.

<sup>35</sup> Distant lands could cause difficulties in the management of estates, especially for the smaller houses, such as Lilleshall Abbey, whose property spanned at least eleven counties; *The Cartulary of Lilleshall Abbey*, ed. U. Rees, (Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society, 1997), pp.

The rivers Wharfe and Aire, as well as their tributaries, such as Washburn, are frequently used to describe the boundaries of various tracts of land granted to the canons.<sup>36</sup> The rights to the waters associated with many of the properties, donated to or acquired by the canons, may indicate the importance of access to and the use of waterways. As well as being a source of water for human and animal consumption, the irrigation and drainage of land, and the powering of mills, these provided a method of transportation, which may have been easier to use than the roads, ways and bridges, which also featured in charters to define properties and rights.<sup>37</sup> Logistic considerations would have been accentuated as commerce and dealings with other persons and places remote from Bolton, such as the estates in Holderness, developed. In 1318/19, for example, wool from Bolton Priory 'was carted to Ryther, from where it was a simple task to float it down river all the way to Hull'.<sup>38</sup> Transportation by water was especially useful for moving heavy or cumbersome goods, such as stone. Although no evidence has been found for Bolton, it is thought, for instance, that the Yorkshire monastic houses of Kirkstall and Rievaulx brought stone by river, whilst in Lincolnshire, Henry II gave a water-course to the Premonstratensians at Topholme, 'a concession which must have been of considerable value to a community about to undertake extensive building operations'.<sup>39</sup>

The movement of livestock primarily between pastures but also to buildings, such as for shearing, made droveways and rights of way important, and these

---

xvi-xvii. In contrast with the scattered lands of Lilleshall, with little exception 'the Cirencester canons acquired no property outside the areas in which lay the lands of their original endowment', which would have, presumably, have made the management of resources easier; *The Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey, Gloucestershire*, eds. C.D. Ross, (London, 1964), i, pp. xxiv-xxv.

<sup>36</sup> See below for the various methods used to describe boundaries, including rivers.

<sup>37</sup> C.J. Bond, 'Water management in the rural monastery', in *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*, eds. R. Gilchrist, H. Mytum, pp. 83-112, see pp. 97-9 for watercourses and transportation.

<sup>38</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 89, citing PRO, E.159/68, m. 87; *Comptus*, p. 460.

<sup>39</sup> C.J. Bond, 'Water management', pp. 97-8; H.M. Colvin, *The White Canons in England*, p. 101; The gift of Roger, lord of Clifton to the Augustinian canons of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol, of water-courses and 'stone from his quarries of Clifton for any building within the gates of their monastery', may indicate that there was a preference for floating stone to its destination, rather than hauling it by road, *The Cartulary of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol*, pp. 387-8.



were often specified in agreements.<sup>40</sup> An agreement, for instance, was made between the canons of Bolton and Fountains Abbey concerning the right of free transit and chase in the lands of Appletreewick, an area which was subject to dispute between them, 'tam per viam quam extra excepto blado et prato', as well as the carriage of goods.<sup>41</sup> The quitclaim by Richard de Monte Alto [Mohaut] formed part of the acquisition of the lands that were to become part of Ingthorpe grange, but Richard was careful to safeguard the rights of transit to his arable land for himself, his heirs and their livestock, possibly indicating the fine balancing act between generosity and the protection of one's own interests.<sup>42</sup>

The majority of charters contained in the Coucher Book appear to be straightforward benefactions to the priory, with the motives stated being for the salvation of souls, past, present and future, sometimes including rights of confraternity or burial, as well as phrases such as 'divine pietatis intuitu', 'intuitu caritatis', and 'divine caritatis intuitu'.<sup>43</sup> However, although piety and the fear of damnation were motives for donations to religious houses there are indications that the many of the transactions between the canons of Bolton and their benefactors had a worldlier basis, such as raising revenue (whether as profit or to pay off debts), and the consolidation of lands.

As previously mentioned, the canons of Bolton Priory gave 30 marks to Thomas son of William of Malham for lands in Malham, ostensibly to finance his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The canons also seem to have been willing directly to buy property; such as the unspecified moveable and immovable goods of Ranulph of Otterburn, probably purchased because they were connected with the lands that the canons had acquired from him and he was to become a corrodian of the house in 1314, or less likely, due to financial difficulties experienced by Ranulph.<sup>44</sup> However, the canons were also involved in transactions of land,

---

<sup>40</sup> Gifts stating exact measurements of ways for the transportation of goods are not uncommon. For example Kirkham Priory was granted 'a right of way fifteen feet wide in order to carry necessities from Swinton to Hildingley', (J.E. Burton, *Kirkham Priory from Foundation to Dissolution*, p. 12, citing Kirkham cartulary, fos. 28r, 39r).

<sup>41</sup> CB, no. 187.

<sup>42</sup> CB, no. 49.

<sup>43</sup> CB, nos. 51, 58, 95.

<sup>44</sup> CB, no. 126; I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 116, 135. For the purchase of lands by Augustinian houses see D.M. Robinson, *Augustinian Settlement*, i, pp. 282-4. One example of a

which although described as being gifts, often in alms, included the exchange of unspecified sums of money. The gift of six roods of arable land by William son of Sara of Cononley to the canons, for example, was made 'pro quadam summa pecunie mihi premanibus a predictis canonicis in mea necessitate attribute'.<sup>45</sup>

The transactions of money for lands, even if the sum is unstipulated, as well as occurring in what appear to be first time dealings, also seem to happen frequently in the finalisation of business over a particular property. Peter the son and heir of Henry Proudfoot, for example, received a sum of money, when quitclaiming lands in Cracoe that the canons held by the gift of Alexander 'capellani avunculi predicti Henrici patris mei', apparently due to necessity, but more likely to be the culmination of the priory's acquisition of certain property and therefore worth the expense to secure all the possible rights.<sup>46</sup> A slightly different instance was the benefaction by William of Farnhill, the son of William of Farnhill, to the canons of *Mickleholm*, a *cultura* of arable land in the fields of Farnhill, for which the priory was accustomed to pay 5s. annually, as well as the donation of rents, for which an undisclosed sum of money was paid.<sup>47</sup> This may indicate a scheme by the canons only to invest in the purchase of property which fulfilled a certain requirement, and suggests that they may have been lessees before committing themselves to parting with cash in the hope of long term gain.<sup>48</sup>

Holmpton, an area that is not mentioned in the Coucher Book but the charters relating to which are included in transcripts by Dodsworth, was a more distant estate, being 'the only holding outside the West Riding' invested in by Bolton.<sup>49</sup> Although the manor of Holmpton was not purchased until 1307, it is interesting to note the presence of William of Malham who appears to have been involved in the transaction, and the payment not only for the property, but also of 'substantial

---

religious house taking advantage of the financial difficulties of others is Thurgarton Priory, for the 'financial difficulties' of the vendors of land in Harmston and Hickling, presented 'a situation the priory took full advantage of', suggesting that they could be as unscrupulous in their dealings as anyone else: *The Thurgarton Cartulary*, ed. T. Foulds, (Stamford, 1994), p. xxvi.

<sup>45</sup> CB, no. 354.

<sup>46</sup> CB, no. 264.

<sup>47</sup> CB, no. 323.

<sup>48</sup> See I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 113-17 for investment by the canons by the purchase of property; p. 163, table XXIII for statistics regarding the income and expenditure, including rents, of the canons for 1287-1325. For renting see D.M. Robinson, *Augustinian Settlement*, i, p. 284.

pensions to the vendors of the land, Sir William of Cheshunt and his son Henry'.<sup>50</sup> The more fruitful agricultural climate of Holderness, which contained reclaimed land and more fertile soil than the majority of the other sites held by Bolton, was, no doubt, influential in the canons' decision to expend large sums on its acquisition and improvement.<sup>51</sup>

Possibly the largest expenditure, however, was made on the purchase of the manor of Appletreewick, a slightly unusual transaction in the development of the estates of a religious house, as by the turn of the fourteenth century most monasteries had acquired the majority of their temporal property, which 'frequently consisted of an array of scattered holdings'.<sup>52</sup> Bolton appears to have been eager to obtain this estate, which added an entire manor, a valuable asset, to their holding, and were willing to invest heavily, paying about £250 on the initial acquisition and then around another £200 on the subsequent buying out of subsidiary landholders at Appletreewick and on 'settling counter-claims to property which arose during the course of the transaction, and rounding of the estate by consolidating purchases', and even more with the corrodies for James of Eshton and William Desert.<sup>53</sup> A significant section of the Coucher Book is dedicated to the manor of Appletreewick, including documents relating to its acquisition by John of Eshton, indicating its importance to the canons as this property brought a host of assets such as mining, mills, a fair, and various rights, as well as demesne, pasture and arable land.<sup>54</sup> Manors were valuable acquisitions and religious houses seem to have been willing to take risks to add them to their estates: although Appletreewick in the long term brought a financial reward to Bolton Priory, other similar purchases, such as that of Barrow by

---

<sup>49</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 20; Dodsworth MS 144, fos. 18-18v, 20-21v.

<sup>50</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 115, 87-88. For an example of the use of agents by monasteries in the acquisition of land see B. Waites, 'The monastic grange', p. 642.

<sup>51</sup> See J.A. Sheppard, 'Field systems in Yorkshire', *Studies of Field Systems in the British Isles*, eds. A.R.H. Baker, R.A. Butlin, (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 145-87, especially pp. 162-3, M. Harvey, 'Planned field systems in Eastern Yorkshire: Some thoughts on their origin', *AHR*, 31, part II, (1983), pp. 91-103, W.G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape*, p. 100. For the long term effect of the sea see, G. de Boer, 'Coastal erosion of Holderness', *An Historical Atlas of East Yorkshire*, eds. S. Neave, S. Ellis, (Hull, 1996), pp. 6-7.

<sup>52</sup> *Bolton Priory Rentals*, p. xi.

<sup>53</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 114-15. For incidences of payments relating to acquisitions of property by licence to alienate in mortmain see S. Raban, *Mortmain Legislation*, pp. 180-96.

<sup>54</sup> CB, nos. 159-246.



Thornton Abbey resulted in an 'embarrassing debt' due to the over enthusiasm of its abbot.<sup>55</sup>

The foundation and development of granges, the consolidation of estates with the securing of rights and privileges and the exploitation of their property were the continual aims of the canons of Bolton Priory, as of every religious house, and exchange was one method employed in the fulfilment of their goals. The canons were involved in numerous exchanges of various amounts of lands in different locations, but perhaps the most important was that of the vill of Stirton and Skibeden for the manor of Bolton, made between the canons and Alice de Rumilly, daughter of the founders, which brought about their translation from the original site at Embsay.<sup>56</sup> This exchange, which provided the canons with a better site with improved water supply, soil fertility, and space for development, as well as a more isolated position, away from the hustle and bustle of Skipton, was fundamental to the survival of the priory, which had received few benefactions since its foundation.<sup>57</sup> In an effort to protect this transaction, the canons had the exchange confirmed by Henry II, for which privilege they presumably parted with money.<sup>58</sup>

Several benefactors made use of an exchange mechanism in their transactions with the canons of Bolton, and probably other parties with whom they dealt. This method was used, presumably, so that the parties in the transaction did not suffer material loss through their gifts of charity to those who would intercede for the salvation of their souls, and in many cases may actually have gained some advantage. Peter of Middleton, for example, exchanged the messuage and four acres of land he held in Appletreewick, property desired by Bolton Priory in their consolidation of their recently acquired manor, for all the lands and tenements of the canons, with the homage and service of the freemen, in the vill of Middleton and the hamlet of Stubham.<sup>59</sup> Although the property was exchanged, the canons

---

<sup>55</sup> D.M. Robinson, *Augustinian Settlement*, i, p. 283, citing *VCH Lincolnshire*, ii, p. 164.

<sup>56</sup> CB, no. 16.

<sup>57</sup> For the importance of the site of a monastic house see, D.M. Robinson, *Augustinian Settlement*, i, pp. 82-85.

<sup>58</sup> CB, no. 17.

<sup>59</sup> CB, no. 244. The canons had received lands, tenements and a bovate of land, (*Yorkshire Deeds*, iv, YAS, RS, 65, ed. C.T. Clay, (1924), no. 353), two acres of land in Stubham,

still must have viewed this as a long-term investment for a quitclaim was issued by Peter of Middleton, on whose initiative and at what price, if any, is uncertain.<sup>60</sup> It appears that both the canons and Peter of Middleton prospered by this arrangement, with Bolton consolidating their property at Appletreewick, in favour of the rents they received from elsewhere, and the Middleton family coming a step closer in their pursuit of the lands held in the said location by monastic houses, namely Bolton Priory, Furness Abbey and the Knights Templar.<sup>61</sup>

One of the main determining factors in the choice of the canons of Bolton regarding the concentration of their lands and development of granges was the generosity of their patrons and benefactors, as in the first years of its existence the priory would have had little opportunity to dictate or demand. However, as the amount of property in its possession grew and greater financial resources became available to them, so the attitude of the priory became more proactive, as we have seen, with the canons participating in sales, leasing and exchanges. Nevertheless, the locations of the priory's lands, with certain exceptions such as Appletreewick and Holmpton, appear to have been determined by its benefactors, with the choice of sites for other properties and granges in particular also being affected by other considerations, including the possession of spiritualities.<sup>62</sup>

---

(*Yorkshire Deeds*, v, YAS, RS, 69, ed. C.T. Clay, (1926), no. 464) an assart, with the homage and service of William and Robert of Scalewra and of Serlo de Godfere, and a piece of land called *Scalewra* and eight acres of land, (J. Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 117).

<sup>60</sup> CB, no. 246, is the letter of attorney whereby Bolton Priory is to be seized of the land, indicating that the procedure had been completed, and that this acquisition was important enough for all the documents relating to the canons' rights were copied initially into the Cartulary, and later into the Coucher Book. There are several entries in the *Compotus*, for the year 1317-1318, which probably relate to this particular exchange of lands, 'Et eidem [Roberto de Sapy Escaetori] pro inquisitione capienda de terra Petri de Midelton' in Apeltrewyk' vj.s. Et pro carta domini Regis de eadem terra xxxij.s. iiij.d. Pro carta domini Regis de perpetracione terrarum duplicand' xx.d.', (*Compotus*, p. 441). For the alienation of lands and the importance of delivery of seisin see J. Hudson, *Land, Law, and Lordship in Anglo-Norman England*, (Oxford, 1994), p. 162.

<sup>61</sup> D.J.H. Michelmore, 'Town gazetteer', *West Yorkshire: an Archaeological Survey to AD 1500*, ed. M.L. Faull and S.A. Moorhouse, (Leeds, 1981), ii, pp. 294-579, for Middleton see pp. 451-4.

<sup>62</sup> For discussion over whether the possession of a church or land, together with its relation to nearby settlements, was more important in the evolution of granges see B. Waites, 'Monastic grange', and C. Platt, *The Monastic Grange*, chapter 3.

Kildwick was the nucleus of a substantial body of property and an area in which the priory had an interest in temporalities as well as spiritualities.<sup>63</sup> Cecily de Rumilly had given the church of St. Andrew, Kildwick, which was later granted *ad proprios usus* by Archbishop Thurstan, to the canons while they resided at Embsay.<sup>64</sup> This was augmented by the gift of the vill of Kildwick which was made with the mill and soke of the mill, with a hedge or ditch, and all appurtenances in woods, fields, waters and pastures, together with common pasture, thereby acting as a considerable gift in its own right.<sup>65</sup> The possession of both lands and church formed a monopoly of possession by Bolton Priory, preventing any other religious houses from acquiring an interest to the detriment of the canons,<sup>66</sup> especially as Alice de Rumilly, daughter of Cecily, confirmed her mother's gift, clarifying the boundaries, giving pasture for their animals, as well as a good place for a granary (which may have become the centre of the priory's presence in Kildwick)<sup>67</sup> and specifying certain privileges for the transport of tithes.<sup>68</sup>

The parish of Kildwick is bordered by the villages of Steeton, Silsden, Farnhill, Glusburn and both High and Low Bradley, and the gift of the church and vill of Kildwick, early in the development of Bolton Priory, may have acted as an inspiration and focus for future benefactions, as property was amassed in all these areas. The lands eventually possessed by the canons in the villages were not great in extent. For example, at Steeton the property held encompassed no more than one bovate, one toft, a *cultura*, and other unspecified lands, presumably on a small scale. At several of the above locations the canons possessed additional assets of value, such as mills.<sup>69</sup>

Mills were one form of property that may have been actively pursued as acquisitions by various religious orders, apart from the Cistercians in their early

---

<sup>63</sup> For the grange at Kildwick see I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 33, 35-7.

<sup>64</sup> CB, no. 4. *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vi, p. 205, no. xii.

<sup>65</sup> CB, nos. 6, 276.

<sup>66</sup> For an influence of other nearby monasteries on the acquisition of property see T. Burrows, 'Geography of monastic property in medieval England: A case study of Nostell and Bridlington (Yorkshire)', *YAJ*, 57, (1985), pp. 79-86, at pp. 84-5.

<sup>67</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 33.

<sup>68</sup> CB, no. 20.

<sup>69</sup> CB, nos. 400-406.



years, who viewed the revenue as being 'contrary to the purity of the name and office of monk', as they could be exploited as a valuable source of income.<sup>70</sup> Bolton Priory was no exception with regards to the collection of mills and their associated rights, a practice that is apparent with many other houses of the Augustinian order, with Haughmond Abbey, for example, receiving over twenty mills by 1200.<sup>71</sup> A substantial number of mills, as well as portions of mills, were given to Bolton by both the patronal family and other benefactors.<sup>72</sup> For example, as well as the mill at Kildwick, mills in the surrounding villages of High and Low Bradley, Farnhill, Glusburn, and Silsden, were also acquired by the canons.<sup>73</sup> In conjunction with the gifts of mills, which also were located at Marton, Dalton, *Neubigging* and *Raweneswat*, Hellifield, East Keswick and Harewood, the canons received specific rights and privileges.<sup>74</sup> One benefaction of a mill which is of especial interest was that by Cecily de Rumilly of the mill of Silsden, which forbade the use of hand mills by those who should have used the mill, specifying corn, sack, horses and forfeiture as the losses to be incurred by those who went elsewhere, provisions which were later confirmed by Alice, her daughter.<sup>75</sup> The protection of a benefactor's rights and privileges in mills was not uncommon, with several donors, such as William son of William of Marton - who gave the canons his mill together with attachments, water-courses and all the sect of East and West Marton - making provision for their own multure, and

---

<sup>70</sup> J. Burton, *Monastic Order*, p. 217 citing *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, ed. J.M. Canivez, i, pp. 14-15, (no. 9). For the possession of mills by monastic houses see S.A. Moorhouse, 'Monastic estates: Their composition and development', *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*, eds. R. Gilchrist, H. Mytum, (Oxford, 1992), pp. 29-81, at pp. 52-4, and for the presence of water mill in the East Riding of Yorkshire see K.J. Allison, *East Riding Water-Mills*, East Yorkshire Local History Series, 26, (1970). An indication as to the value of mills in the possession of Bolton Priory can be gained from the *Compotus*. The mills of Harewood, for example, were farmed for £8 10s. 1d. ob. q. for the year 1288-1289, £12 for 1305-1306, and for 1313-1314, together with the tannery, £17 6s. 8d., *Compotus*, pp. 41, 192, 357. With regard to the income of the priory from rents it is believed that 'mills generally answered for a quarter to a third of the gross total and the rest came from lands', I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 23.

<sup>71</sup> U. Rees, *The Cartulary of Haughmond Abbey*, (Cardiff, 1985), p. 8.

<sup>72</sup> The gift of the mill at Silsden by Cecily de Rumilly is particularly interesting as an example of the rights of lords over their tenants, in this case the power of 'confiscation not only of their corn but also of the horse that carried it', R. Holt, *The Mills of Medieval England*, (Oxford, 1988), p. 38.

<sup>73</sup> CB, nos. 297, 286-288, 380, 386, 281-282, 8, 10.

<sup>74</sup> CB, nos. 56-58, 61-62, 89-90, 377-379, 371-372, 376, 460.

<sup>75</sup> CB, nos. 8, 10.

in the case of William de Marton also securing permission to cross the land to reach the common pasture.<sup>76</sup>

The possession of mills and the monopoly they gave to the canons with regard to the milling of corn in each locality, such as the limit of fifteen measures imposed at Marton,<sup>77</sup> was augmented by gifts of supplementary property and rights, adding to its potential value and the level and type of exploitation there. The provision of watercourses and the attachments of the mill were important features in the accumulation of the entire workings of a mill. The gifts and confirmations of mills at Harewood are interesting examples as the patrons of Bolton and their descendants provided for the monopoly of the canons in the parish by 'an undertaking that no mills would be build in the parish of Harewood other than in Wigton and Brandon'.<sup>78</sup> This enviable position was strengthened by the references found in two confirmation charters to 'stagna sua' and 'ductus aquarum dictorum molendinorum', which if taken in conjunction with the benefactions of various attachments to the mills and the associated ponds - for example, the attachments of the mill on the land, called *Holmes*, held by Richard son of William of Bracewell - indicates an increasingly active presence by the canons in the accumulation and exploitation of their property in that area, which was focused upon the mills.<sup>79</sup>

Woodland from which timber could be extracted for the maintenance of mills - an important consideration if the mill was to be exploited to its full potential - was another type of property acquired by the canons to which several references can be found in the Coucher Book. William son of William Mauleverer of Beamsley permitted the canons to take any necessary material from his wood called *Blabanck*, for the reparation of their mill pools, and William de Forz, count of Aumale, gave timber from his wood of *Kalder* for the restoration of the

---

<sup>76</sup> CB, no. 62. Other examples of benefactors saving multure rights are CB, nos. 57, 286, 421.

<sup>77</sup> CB, no. 57. For other examples of the use of measures with regard to milling see CB, nos. 288, 419, 441.

<sup>78</sup> D.J.H. Michelmores, 'Town gazetteer', p. 563; CB, nos. 446, 447, 449. A similar provision to improve the domination of the canons of Bolton was given by William de Marton, 'nec ego nec aliquis heredes meorum facient alia molendina in feudo predictarum villarum de Marton', CB, no. 57.

<sup>79</sup> CB, nos. 453, 454, 457. For references to the mills and associated property of Harewood see CB, nos. 446-457.

mill at Bradley.<sup>80</sup> In addition to the provision of materials for the maintenance of the mills the canons were also assured, by the charter of William de Marton, of the assistance of the men of the vills of Marton, who would ‘facient molendina nova et mairum’ deducunt de bosco et stagna et domos ipsorum molendinum reparab[un]t’, indicating how inclusive, and therefore beneficial, a gift could be.<sup>81</sup>

The Augustinians, like the Cistercians, who once again led the way, were involved in the clearance and improvement of lands, and Bolton Priory employed this method to augment their lands.<sup>82</sup> Assarts are found amongst the variety of lands that entered into the possession of the canons, but unfortunately very little detail is recorded about the size of these areas. Robert the clerk gave the canons the assart called *Dedheridding*, in Cononley, a location that contains many place-names linked to the clearing of lands such as Fall, ‘a place where trees have been felled’ and *Kerridding*, *kjarr* being old Norse for ‘marsh, brushwood’, and *ridding* being the old English for ‘clearing’.<sup>83</sup> William Mauleverer gave an assart called *Thuyselwathholm*, a name that is taken from geographical features (‘twisla “river fork”, vad “ford”, holmr’ being a water-meadow)<sup>84</sup> in Beamsley to the canons, a gift that was confirmed by Giles Mauleverer, his son.<sup>85</sup> Although the canons received assarts, which suggests that the lands had already been cleared, they were involved in the assarting or clearance of lands. William son of William of Farnhill gave the canons a certain part of the wood between Farnhill and Bradley, ‘ad assartandum et excolendum pro voluntate dictorum canonicorum’, and the mention of a newly assarted land in *le Ker*, belonging to the canons, suggests that they did actively pursue the clearance of lands where they felt there would be some gain.<sup>86</sup> The names of the granges and of the lands of Bolton Priory suggest that assarting occurred prior to and following the

---

<sup>80</sup> CB, nos. 422, 441, 297,

<sup>81</sup> CB, no. 57.

<sup>82</sup> For the practise of assarting and the clearance of waste see J.A. Sheppard, ‘Field systems of Yorkshire’, pp. 177-9. For the use of this practice by the Cistercians see R.A. Donkin, *The Cistercians: Studies in the Geography of Medieval England and Wales*, (Toronto, 1978), pp. 107-15, 129-33.

<sup>83</sup> CB, no. 357; *EP-NS, West Riding*, vii, pp. 185, 215, 238.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, v, p. 71; *ibid.*, vii, p. 207.

<sup>85</sup> CB, nos. 416-417.



foundation of the house, for example Riddings grange 'was clearly assarted land', and it is likely that this land as well as other outlying areas 'were cleared for cultivation by the canons themselves'.<sup>87</sup>

The types of lands accumulated by the canons were, to an extent, exploited and where appropriate cultivated, although the priory appears to have always sought land and toiled to grow crops, since 'as far as arable production was concerned, Craven was always on the fringe', and much of the land was better suited to pastoral farming, the mode of agriculture which has come to predominate over the centuries.<sup>88</sup> Despite the disadvantages of the quality of the land and its location, especially at Embsay where, 'the site was located on grade IV land, that is an area with severe limitations to agricultural development', the canons managed to put a large amount of land to demesne farming.<sup>89</sup> As previously mentioned the canons added to their lands by assarting, and it is probable that they used the same methods employed by other religious houses, as well as by lay men to improve and exploit their lands, such as enclosure with hedging and walling, the use of fertilisers (for which manure from their sheep flocks was a ready source, as was lime being extracted from the limescale hills), and the creation of drainage channels and ditches as means of both improving and segregating the land.<sup>90</sup>

The benefactions of lands, in their various guises of pasture, meadows, woods and fields, were crucial to the development of the estates held by Bolton, but these were complemented by transactions made to and with the canons of other types of property and rights, including grazing rights, which were fiercely sought after, and other privileges connected to fairs, rights to rivers and rights to other stretches of water such as ponds, often associated with mills. The possession of

---

<sup>86</sup> CB, nos. 320, 329, 358. Cultivation appears to have been expected (CB, no. 320), for 'permission *excolere* was a stage beyond that *assartare*', (R.A. Donkin, *The Cistercians*, p. 107).

<sup>87</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 32.

<sup>88</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 21. For demesne farming and the corn economy see I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 30-47, 71-8.

<sup>89</sup> D.M. Robinson, *Augustinian Settlement*, i, p. 83, using M.A.F.F., *Agricultural Land Classification Map of England and Wales: Explanatory Note*, (London, 1968).

<sup>90</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 118-19, 130. For drainage in areas held by Bolton see J.A. Sheppard, *The Draining of the Marshlands of South Holderness and the Vale of York*, (East Yorkshire Local History Series, no. 20, 1966).

mills was an economic asset that the canons exploited to full advantage, benefiting from the monopoly they represented, but other resources were often appended to mills and the source of water that powered them. In conjunction with his gift of the mill of Farnhill, for example, William of Farnhill gave ‘tota piscaria eiusdem molendini’.<sup>91</sup> Another instance of a gift connected with the possession of fish pools is the gift of Peter son of William of Marton of a large pool which the canons were to have ‘cum tota piscaria ad faciendum de aqua predicti stagni comodum suum et ad piscandum libere in predicto stagno quandocunque voluerint’.<sup>92</sup> This pond was also in close proximity to a mill, in this instance the mill of Marton that was already in the possession of Bolton, suggesting that the canons, with the support of their benefactors, were keen to consolidate and augment their property. Like the livestock farmed by the canons, fishponds and fishing rights gave Bolton an in-house source for one of the victuals ‘which made up the classic repertoire of the monastic refectory’.<sup>93</sup> However, as only a small percentage of the fish consumed by the priory appears to have come ‘from the rivers and streams on the demesnes’ the canons must have been content to purchase their provisions and invest their time, money and effort in activities which would prove more rewarding.<sup>94</sup>

One type of property that the canons do not appear to have exploited to the full, at least prior to the dispersal of the canons in the 1320s, was that of mineral or mining rights, which they had acquired as part of the manor of Appletreewick; for the value of the lead-mines was only £2 in 1340, the same as it had been in 1300.<sup>95</sup> There is also evidence of ‘small-scale lead mining’ at Cononley but this

---

<sup>91</sup> CB, no. 286. For the economic importance of fishponds see C.K. Currie, ‘The role of fishponds in the monastic economy’, *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*, eds. R. Gilchrist, H. Mytum, (Oxford, 1989), pp. 147-72; and for a study regarding Yorkshire as well as studies of the fishponds of Fountains and Byland see J. McDonnell, *Inland Fisheries in Medieval Yorkshire 1066-1300*, Borthwick Paper no. 60, (York, 1981); for Marton Priory see V.G. Swan, ‘Marton Priory fishponds: A postscript’, *YAJ*, 63, (1991), pp. 219-20.

<sup>92</sup> CB, no. 58.

<sup>93</sup> B. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience*, (Oxford, 1993), p. 11; for the diet of the Benedictines see pp. 34-71, and for fish see pp. 46-51. For Augustinian observances regarding diet and fasting see J.C. Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, pp. 181-3.

<sup>94</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 151. For the diet and expenditure of provisions at Bolton see *ibid.* pp. 144-58, and for fish see pp. 151-2.

<sup>95</sup> CB, no. 182; I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 130-1. For the successful exploitation of the mines by the post-Dissolution owners of the lands see R.T. Spence, ‘Mining and smelting in Yorkshire by the Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland, in the Tudor and early Stuart period’, *YAJ*, 64, (1992), pp.

was on an even smaller scale than that at Appletreewick.<sup>96</sup> This perhaps demonstrates that the canons' interests lay elsewhere, as several other Augustinian houses were involved in mining and appear to have made some investment in it: for example, Guisborough had access to iron deposits at Upper Eskdale and Bridlington had mines in the manor of Grinton.<sup>97</sup>

Ecclesiastical landlords were, in many respects, no different to their lay counterparts, and relations between the canons and the lay population with whom they came into contact also helped to shape the economy of Bolton Priory and were influential in its development. Although it is the Cistercian order that is commonly associated with the depopulation of areas, as at Byland, the Cistercians were not the only order to employ this strategy in order to exploit the lands in their possession.<sup>98</sup> The Augustinian house of Nostell appears to have been the cause for the redistribution of the local population at Santingley, the site of a 'major grange', indicating the influence of the monastic economy upon not only the landscape but also its inhabitants.<sup>99</sup> Although Bolton does not appear to have been overtly involved with the depopulation of areas that entered into the possession of the priory, it is probable that the relocation of the native population of Bolton itself was due to the foundation of the house there, for the grant by which the canons of Embsay acquired that site included 'locum ipsum et totam villam de Bolton',<sup>100</sup> though later sources provide 'no trace of a village or tenants at Bolton'.<sup>101</sup>

---

157-83, and for an study of mining in the region see A. Raistrick, B. Jennings, *A History of Lead Mining in the Pennines*, (London, 1965), especially pp. 30-6, 57-61.

<sup>96</sup> R.T. Spence, 'Mining and smelting in Yorkshire', p. 158.

<sup>97</sup> B. Waites, 'Monastic settlement', p. 488; *Bridlington Chartulary*, pp. 254-6. See S.A. Moorhouse, 'Monastic estates', pp. 50-2 for the importance and prevalence of mining in monastic economies.

<sup>98</sup> C. Platt, *The Monastic Grange*, ch. 4, esp. pp. 92-3, qualifies the 'legend of Cistercians as depopulators' (p. 92) with an argument against complete displacement, with the exception of the site of the monastic house, by reason that it would have been in their interest to maintain some population within a reasonably proximity, if only to provide the work force. For other views of the redeployment of populations see R.A. Donkin, 'Settlement and depopulation on Cistercian estates during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, especially in Yorkshire', *BIHR*, xxxiii, 88, (1960), pp. 141-65; R.A. Donkin, *The Cistercians*, pp. 37-51.

<sup>99</sup> S.A. Moorhouse, 'Monastic estates', pp. 43-4.

<sup>100</sup> CB, no. 18.

<sup>101</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 30.



Although the majority of the benefactions made to Bolton make no specific reference to the transfer of ownership of servile occupants of the land, there are a few instances of gifts of land made with those who inhabited it, which would have given the priory certain rights as well as another source from which to draw its labour force.<sup>102</sup> The bovate of land in Thorp, for example, given to the canons of Bolton by Hugh of Calton and his wife Beatrix, a benefaction that she confirmed in her widowhood, included the grant of Ralph son of Gamel, who held the land, and his family.<sup>103</sup> Considering only the charters contained in the Coucher Book, the canons of Bolton Priory appear to have received at least eight men, as well as one widow, and some of their families together with various lands as gifts.<sup>104</sup> The gift of Marioth the daughter of Dolfin, by William son of William of Beamsley does not include any property or rent, whilst the quitclaim made by Thomas son of William of Malham to the canons of Bolton solely of William de Birston, Nade and Peter his brothers specifies their status, 'nativos'.<sup>105</sup> In Marton the canons were made gifts of lands that were connected to the same people, for Alan son of Ralph together with his family was given in conjunction with the five bovates and another bovate that held from Peter son of William of Marton, and John and Adam sons of Thurstan also occur in two separate charters that appear to relate to different lands.<sup>106</sup>

Many lands were also given to Bolton, as to other religious houses, together with the rights appertaining to them, such as escheats, reliefs, wardship and *maritagium* whereby the priory would both assert their lordship and profit. The specific inclusion of rights such as these are found in several charters. Both the initial gift and the later confirmation of the homage and service of the heirs of Henry of Thorp, for example, contain a clause relating to the rights which were given alongside the aforesaid homage and service, including reliefs, escheats as

---

<sup>102</sup> For slavery and villeinage see R. Faith, *The English Peasantry and the growth of Lordship*, (London, 1997), pp. 59-70, 245-65. One example of ecclesiastic lordship and the control of those who inhabited their lands is 'the prior of Spalding, who made a careful list of his 'serfs' and their children in the thirteenth century', indicating the importance of the sources from which the work force for the monastic estates could be drawn; R. Faith, *The English Peasantry*, p. 249. For the labour force of Bolton see I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 47-59.

<sup>103</sup> CB, nos. 273-275.

<sup>104</sup> CB, nos. 27, 51-2, 60, 82, 120, 122, 273-275.

<sup>105</sup> CB, no. 438; Dodsworth MS 8, fo. 25.

<sup>106</sup> CB, nos. 51-52, 60.

well as that of guardianship which is referred to as *custodiis* and *wardis*, respectively.<sup>107</sup> Rights concerning the marriage of tenants are less frequent still, but, nevertheless, there are some examples, such as the grant by Henry le Macon of Skipton regarding tenants and rents from Halton, 'cum maritagiis heredum predictorum tenentium', and also the gift of William of Farnhill, similarly concerning tenants and rents, in this instance from Cononley, 'cum maritag[iis] heredum eorundem'.<sup>108</sup>

The exaction of rents from the lessees of the lands possessed by the priory was another means by which the canons profited from their property, but the benefaction of the rents paid by tenants and of the acquittance of rents due from the canons also formed part of the rental aspect of the landed economy of Bolton.<sup>109</sup> Airton was one of many locations from which the canons were able to draw rents in the form of cash from their tenants, rather than choosing to work the land themselves.<sup>110</sup> The first benefactions of lands and rents in Airton appear to have been made after the canons moved to Bolton, with the latest date for the start of a series of gifts being 1191, but possibly being as early as 1162.<sup>111</sup> This gift, made by Simon son of Ranulph, was comprised of the 12*d.* annual rent paid by Richard the clerk, the son of Ranulph the priest, for two bovates of land in Airton. Hugh of Calton appears to have been an influential figure, featuring in four of the charters relating to Airton, as well as in numerous others, including the gift of two bovates of land he bought from Richard son of Gospatrick, for which the canons were to pay 3*s.* annually.<sup>112</sup> Perhaps the limited property and rents held by the canons of Bolton in Airton is due to the interests in the vill held by other monastic houses, such as Fountains and Furness, for their would be little

---

<sup>107</sup> CB, nos. 270-271.

<sup>108</sup> CB, no. 31. Rights concerning marriage of tenants could of value to the canons. The marriage of Thomas the heir of Robert of Scothrop, for example, as well as his relief, brought the canons 40*s.*, (*Comptus*, p. 229).

<sup>109</sup> For the leasing of lands by Bolton see I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 22-7; for lands leased prior to the Dissolution see R. Hoyle, 'Monastic leasing before the Dissolution: The evidence of Bolton Priory and Fountains Abbey', *YAJ*, 61, (1989), pp. 111-37.

<sup>110</sup> CB, nos. 78-85.

<sup>111</sup> CB, no. 79.

<sup>112</sup> CB, no. 82.

reason to waste resources in an area where other monasteries were involved when they could be put to better use elsewhere.<sup>113</sup>

The canons also owned small amounts of property in the urban as well as rural setting. They held properties in the city of York, in Blake Street (which is the only example actually contained in the Coucher Book), as well as in St. Andrewgate, Aldwark, Fossgate and North Street, and in the vicinities of Nessgate and Bishophill.<sup>114</sup> It appears that the priory held land in Blake Street, which had belonged to Elwin Kent and his son, of the hospital of St. Peter, York, later known as St. Leonard's, before the turn of the twelfth century.<sup>115</sup> This perhaps indicates that a degree of economic stability had been achieved at the new site of Bolton, and that as an independent house it wished to establish a presence in York, the 'ecclesiastical metropolis of the north, and an important trading centre', as did many other monasteries at this time.<sup>116</sup> Although the canons had acquired this property at an early stage there is no record of it in the Coucher Book, other than of an exchange of rents accruing from lands in Appletreewick and Blake Street, York, which was made between the hospital of St. Leonard's, and the canons, c.1301.<sup>117</sup>

The land held by the canons in St. Andrewgate is only known in a reference to 'terram prioris de Boelton', in a charter made between Adam de Bikerton and Emma his wife and St. Peter's hospital, York, as this property does not appear in the Coucher Book or in the transcripts made by Dodsworth.<sup>118</sup> The canons of

---

<sup>113</sup> *EYC*, vii, pp. 217-19.

<sup>114</sup> A.H. Thompson also claims that the canons of Bolton held a messuage in Bootham and an orchard in Clifton, however this would appear to be an error on his part, probably due to a misreading of *L&P Henry VIII*, 20, i, p. 522, placing Bolton Priory with the later entry, rather than attaching it to the preceding property: 'a messuage called le Mansion Place at Bushoppehill in the parish of St. Mary of Old Byshoppehill in tenure of John Aske', for which other references to Bolton's ownership exist. The confusion may have been furthered due to the mention of Clifton in the rentals of the priory, where it refers to the place by that name near Farnley rather than to the district of York; for the entry see *Bolton Priory Rentals*, ed. I. Kershaw, p. 38.

<sup>115</sup> Bodleian Library, Yorks. Ch. no. 106; *EYC*, iii, nos. 252-253 (from Chartulary of St. Leonard's, York Nero D iii, fo. 87). For a study of St. Leonard's see P.H. Cullum, *Cremetts and Corrodies: Care of the Sick at St. Leonard's Hospital, York, in the Middle Ages*, Borthwick Paper no. 79, (York, 1991).

<sup>116</sup> S.R. Rees Jones, 'Property, Tenure and Rents: Some Aspects of Topography in Medieval York', D.Phil thesis, (York, 1987), i, p. 134.

<sup>117</sup> CB, no. 212.

<sup>118</sup> *EYC*, i, no. 290.





Bolton appear to have alienated a messuage in Aldwark to Bridlington Priory, for although there is no reference in the Coucher Book, the canons of Bridlington made note of their acquisition in their cartulary.<sup>119</sup> Fortunately, there is more information about the property held in Fossgate by the canons for although the original charter is no longer extant a transcript of a gift by Juliana the widow of Bartholomew Tillemire to Bolton Priory of 'totam domum meum lapideum' was made by John Burton.<sup>120</sup>

Reference to property in Bishophill is found in the Patent Rolls, which record that Henry le Scrope held houses 'of the demise of the prior of Boulton in Craven' in 'Bichehille',<sup>121</sup> and it is also mentioned in the letters and papers of King Henry VIII following the dissolution of the monasteries as, 'le Mansion Place at Bushoppehill in the parish of St. Mary of Old Byshoppehill'.<sup>122</sup> Similarly, it is only by the inclusion of a reference to 'terram dominorum prioris et .. conventus de Bolton' in Craven' in a grant made by Richard le Toller to Robert Verdenell and St. William's chapel, on Ouse Bridge, that the existence of property held by the canons in the vicinity of Nessgate is known.<sup>123</sup> It also appears that a messuage in York, whose location is not specified, was held by Bolton Priory, for in 1297 a claim was made against John, the son of John de Buggethorpe, whereby it was proved that 'the church of Boulton was seised of the property more that forty years ago', and that the property was leased for 8s. *per annum*.<sup>124</sup> This property may have been one of those recorded in an inquest taken in the thirteenth century that, unfortunately, does not list more detail than

---

<sup>119</sup> *Bridlington Chartulary*, p. 427; Note in *EYC*, i, p. 226.

<sup>120</sup> J. Burton, MS Top. York. e.7, p. 220. It is possible that Juliana the widow of Bartholomew Tillemire is the same person as Juliana of York who held a corrody of the house at the start of the fourteenth century, (*Compotus*, pp. 47, 53, 62, 89, 127, 145, 163, 179). Henry the son of William Tillemire, presumably a relative of Juliana, although this is not stated, quitclaimed 2s. annual rent to the canons, (J. Burton, MS Top. York. e.7, p. 221).

<sup>121</sup> *CPR*, 1313-1317, p. 166.

<sup>122</sup> *L&P Henry VIII*, 20, 1081 (19). 'The "Mansion Place of Bisshopp Hill" in the city of York, which belonged to Bolton Priory' is also found in *ibid.*, 17, 283 (8).

<sup>123</sup> 'The foundation of chantries in the chapel of St. William on Ouse Bridge, York', ed. D.M. Smith, *The Church in Medieval York: Records Edited in Honour of Professor Barrie Dobson*, ed. D.M. Smith, Borthwick Texts and Calendars 24, (York, 1999), pp. 51-65, at no. 4, p. 61.

<sup>124</sup> Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 18v; Pd. in W.P. Baildon, *Notes on the Religious and Secular Houses of Yorkshire*, YAS, RS, 17, 81, (1895, 1931), i, p. 13. John of Bugthorpe was a trader or merchant with whom the canons did business at the end of the thirteenth and the start of the fourteenth century, with several transactions being noted in the *Compotus*. As well as several payments for unspecified goods or services there is one example, in 1304-1305, where the canons paid 40s. 'pro furrur[is]', (*Compotus*, p. 184).

the parishes within which the property lay, being St. Wilfrid and St. Helen (now part of St. Michael le Belfrey), St. Andrews (united with St. Saviours), and All Saints, North Street.<sup>125</sup> Reference to the canons having an interest in property in North Street is also found in the *Compotus*, which for the year 1296-1297 records the sum of 2s. 6d. in connection with 'Nortstrete'.<sup>126</sup>

The acquisition and possession of urban property by Bolton Priory appears to have been primarily directed towards York, as this would have been of benefit for a variety of religious and secular reasons. Many monastic houses also held property in towns and ports where they had an economic interest, such as that held by Thurgarton Priory in Boston (Lincolnshire), and those held by Fountains Abbey in York, Boston, Yarm, Grimsby, Scarborough, Doncaster and Ripon.<sup>127</sup> Even though the canons of Bolton regularly purchased cloth and spices from the important fair held each year at Boston, they evidently did not follow the example set by Thurgarton Priory in acquiring property at this port.<sup>128</sup> It would seem perfectly reasonable for trade and business to be the motives that operated in the acquisition of urban property by religious houses: even Cistercian houses are found to have held such property, even though 'the 1134 General Chapter specifically prohibited monks from living in towns'.<sup>129</sup>

Fairs and markets were a crucial aspect of medieval commerce and acted as meeting place between the lay and monastic worlds, with many houses dealing, for example, with wool merchants and sometimes having debts to these corporations.<sup>130</sup> As with many other religious houses, of the Augustinian and other orders, such as Jervaulx Abbey (Cistercian) that had the right to hold a

---

<sup>125</sup> 'An early mortmain inquest', ed. D.M. Palliser, *The Church in Medieval York: Records Edited in Honour of Professor Barrie Dobson*, ed. D.M. Smith, Borthwick Texts and Calendars 24, (York, 1999), pp. 1-15, nos. 21, 77, 130.

<sup>126</sup> *Compotus*, p. 67.

<sup>127</sup> J. Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey*, p. 113; see pp. 113-16 for the urban property held by Fountains.

<sup>128</sup> See *Thurgarton Cartulary*, p. xxviii.

<sup>129</sup> J. Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey*, p. 113.

<sup>130</sup> Pipewell Abbey was one of many monastic houses that made 'improvident wool contracts'; E. Power, *The Wool Trade*, pp. 43-4; The practice of raising funds on future clippings was widespread, with another example being Fountains Abbey, which secured '697½ marks new and legal pence' for wool which was to be produced 'in each of the years 1277, 1278, 1279, and 1280'; H. Wroot, *Yorkshire Abbeys*, pp. 14-15; For further examples of this practice and its risks, as well as dealings with merchants see for further examples of this see T.H. Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade*, pp. 289-92.



weekly fair, 'at their manor of East Witton, scarcely a mile from the abbey' and Nostell Priory (Augustinian) which held fairs 'at the house itself and at Woodkirk', Bolton Priory held its own fairs at Embsay and Appletreewick as well as attending the fairs and markets held by others.<sup>131</sup>

As well as being granted privileges and exemption from the tolls normally incurred by those traders within and without the vill of Skipton, by Alice de Rumilly, the canons were also received 'libero transitu et exitu' to the fair at Embsay.<sup>132</sup> Henry II originally made the grant of a three day fair at Embsay, with the same tolls, liberties and customs as were held by the fair at Richmond (for which, unfortunately, no evidence exists).<sup>133</sup> This fair may have been fairly prosperous in the earlier years of the priory, as from the reign of Edward I the canons were granted an extension from the three days specified by Henry II to five days, 'videlicet per tres dies ante predictum festum sancti Cuthberti et in die et in crastino eiusdem festi'.<sup>134</sup> It would appear, however, that 'the priory's investment in the fair extension could justifiably be regarded as unsuccessful' with little improvement being apparent in the years following 1305, even before the economy of the area became severely disrupted through agrarian crisis and Scottish raids.<sup>135</sup> It is unclear what trade was conducted at the fair but it would seem logical that, unless the canons could secure higher profits elsewhere, they would have sold their produce and livestock here in an effort to draw traders to the area and thereby collect the tolls which if they had attended other markets they may have found themselves having to pay.<sup>136</sup>

---

<sup>131</sup> K.L. McCutcheon, *Yorkshire Fairs and Markets to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century*, (Leeds, 1940), p. 37; J. Burton, *Monastic Order*, p. 269; CB, nos. 21-24, 445; *C.Ch.R., 1320-1326*, pp. 51, 166. For ecclesiastical connections to fairs in Yorkshire see K.L. McCutcheon, *Yorkshire Fairs*, pp. 14-52.

<sup>132</sup> CB, no. 21.

<sup>133</sup> CB, no. 22; *EYC*, vii, p. 69.

<sup>134</sup> CB, no. 24.

<sup>135</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 29.

<sup>136</sup> The payment of tolls and the exemptions gained by monastic houses, as well as other privileges concerning trade, could be a point of contention between lay and religious communities, especially in the developing boroughs. A dispute between St. Werburgh's Abbey and the city of Chester, for example, 'regarding the fair held before the abbey gate on St. John the Baptist's Day was settled by arbitration in the Exchequer Court in Chester', with the city challenging what the strict regulations that were in favour of the abbey; R.V.H. Burne, *The Monks of Chester: The History of St. Werburgh's Abbey*, (London, 1962), pp. 41, 42, 119.

## The Accumulation of Property by Bolton Priory

Period	Place
1121-1154	Embsay (vill, fair), Skipton (church app., certain exemptions), Carleton (church app.), Silsden (mill), Kildwick (church app., mill, vill), Harewood (church app., mill), Beamsley, Storiths (mill), Long Preston (church app.), Sutton, Stirton, Skibeden, Malham, Weeton, Rawdon, Broughton (church app.)
1155-1199	Bolton (manor), Skipton, Yeadon, Wentworth, Street, Cononley (mill), Hellifield (mill), Dalton (mill), Keighley (church adv.), Farnhill (mill), Airton (mill), Egremont
1200-1224	Steeton, Glusburn (mill), Halton, Draughton, Bradley, High and Low (mill), Farnley, Marton, West and East (church adv., mill, Ingthorpe grange), Thorlby, Linton, Cowling, Arncliffe, Thorpe, Ryther, Kettlewell, Staveley (church adv.), Kettlewell (church adv.), Wigton (vill), Brandon (vill), Healthwaite [Hall and Hill], East Keswick (mill)
1225-1249	Hawkswick, Rodes in Mensington, Cracoe (mortgage), Lothersdale, Gargrave, Wath, Calton (mill), Eastburn, Eastby (hamlet)
1250-1274	Scosthop, Eastby, Newsholme, <i>Trepwood</i> , <i>Ravenswath</i> (mill), Weardly
1275-1299	Hazlewood, <i>Newbiggin</i> , Horsforth, York, Stubham, Blubberhouses
1300-1330	Appletreewick (manor, fair and exemptions, mines), Holmpton (church, adv.), Pensthorpe, Great Hadfield, Middleton, Dunkswick

The information contained in the above table is taken from the Coucher Book and Dodsworth MS 144, both manuscripts being partial copies of the lost cartulary of Bolton Priory. The priory held land in all the above but where they held an interest in the church, be it appropriated (app.) or just the advowson or moiety thereof (adv.), mill, fair, associated rights, or something of particular interest this has been specified, even if these elements were not part of the original acquisition. Likewise possession of a manor of an entire vill or hamlet has been mentioned. The earliest last date at which an interest in a place was obtained has been used to select which period a place should be entered, as for many places no exact date of acquisition is known.

Other property acquired by the canons of Bolton, but not found in either the Coucher Book or Dodsworth MS 144, and therefore thought not to have formed part of the lost cartulary, includes Esholt (*pre* 1327, possibly connected with Yeadon, for the two townships lie in close proximity), Penfordham, Lancashire (*pre* 1275), Grassington (*pre* 1285), Burley (*pre* 1323), Lothersdale (*pre* 1234).



The fair at Appletreewick was secured shortly after the extension of the fair at Embsay, costing the priory £10 and calling upon the benevolence of Piers de Gaveston, a favourite of the king who at the time was in possession of Skipton castle.<sup>137</sup> It would seem that this fair was at least partially concerned with the sale of livestock, especially of sheep, a trade that continued at Appletreewick beyond the Dissolution.<sup>138</sup> It is also probable that the investment in a fair to be held at the newly acquired manor of Appletreewick was more successful than that laid out for its counterpart at Embsay, for whereas the former seems to have disappeared in the late Middle Ages, the latter still provided a small income with '13s. 4d. coming from the issue of tolls of the fair' being recorded at the Dissolution.<sup>139</sup>

### **The Spiritualities**

The possession of spiritualities formed an important part of the economy for the Augustinian Order.<sup>140</sup> This varied, of course, between individual houses. For example, 'churches played a less important part in the economy of Cirencester Abbey than was usual with Austin houses', whilst Norton was quite reliant on the income from its spiritualities.<sup>141</sup> The importance of spiritualities to an individual house was dependent upon the location and wealth of those churches and the associated rights acquired as well as the manner in which they were held, whether merely with the right of presentation or with full appropriation. The order to which a house belonged also affected the spiritualities which could be acquired. The Cistercians, for instance, initially, did not accept this type of property,<sup>142</sup> whilst the Augustinians openly welcomed such gifts and may have been regarded as suitable recipients because of the nature of their houses, and their less enclosed nature.

---

<sup>137</sup> *C.Ch.R., 1320-1326*, p. 166; I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 29-30; For the political motives behind the granting of licences, especially regarding Piers de Gaveston see S. Raban, *Mortmain Legislation*, p. 61.

<sup>138</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 29.

<sup>139</sup> *Bolton Priory Rentals*, ed. I. Kershaw, p. 49; I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 29.

<sup>140</sup> For a survey of the importance and exploitation of spiritualities see D.M. Robinson, *Augustinian Settlement*, pp. 172-272; and for those possessed by Bolton Priory see I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 60-71.

<sup>141</sup> *Cirencester Cartulary*, i, p. xxv; J.P. Greene, *Norton Priory: The Archaeology of a Medieval Religious House*, (Cambridge, 1989), p. 19.

There are several possible reasons why the Augustinians became so involved with the possession and exploitation of spiritualities, including churches and chapels and their associated tithes, and (depending on the way in which the church was held) other benefits such as altarage. Gregorian Reform paved the way for the transfer of the ownership of churches and tithes from lay to ecclesiastical hands, although, unwittingly, this may have been the starting point of the 'monastic efforts to exploit the churches in their possession'.<sup>143</sup> During this period of upheaval and reform as the Augustinian Order was rapidly emerging, firstly on the Continent and then in England, the grants by donors were influenced by the 'realisation that it was increasingly inappropriate for a layman to hold a church' and that they 'would surrender less by the grant of a church than by the grant of temporalities'.<sup>144</sup>

The flexibility and indeterminate nature of the regular canons, described as by Erasmus 'a middle kind of creature between the monks and those termed secular canons, an amphibious sort of animal like the beaver', made them an attractive order to found and support.<sup>145</sup> This ambiguous quality was enhanced by the potential attraction of benefactions of churches by their connection with parochial work, which even if not always undertaken, may have influenced some donors in their favour.<sup>146</sup> Indeed the decision not to accept churches or *spiritualia* by some orders, such as the Cistercians, and the hesitancy by others, including the Premonstratensians and La Grande Chartreuse, may have benefited the Augustinian houses, as well as the Black monks, as they willingly received these benefactions, with the former becoming major recipients of such grants.<sup>147</sup>

---

<sup>142</sup> For the reasons why Cistercians initially refused to possess spiritual property see G. Constable, *Monastic Tithes from their origins to the Twelfth Century*, (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 138-39, and for their later acceptance see *ibid.* pp. 190-97, 251-4.

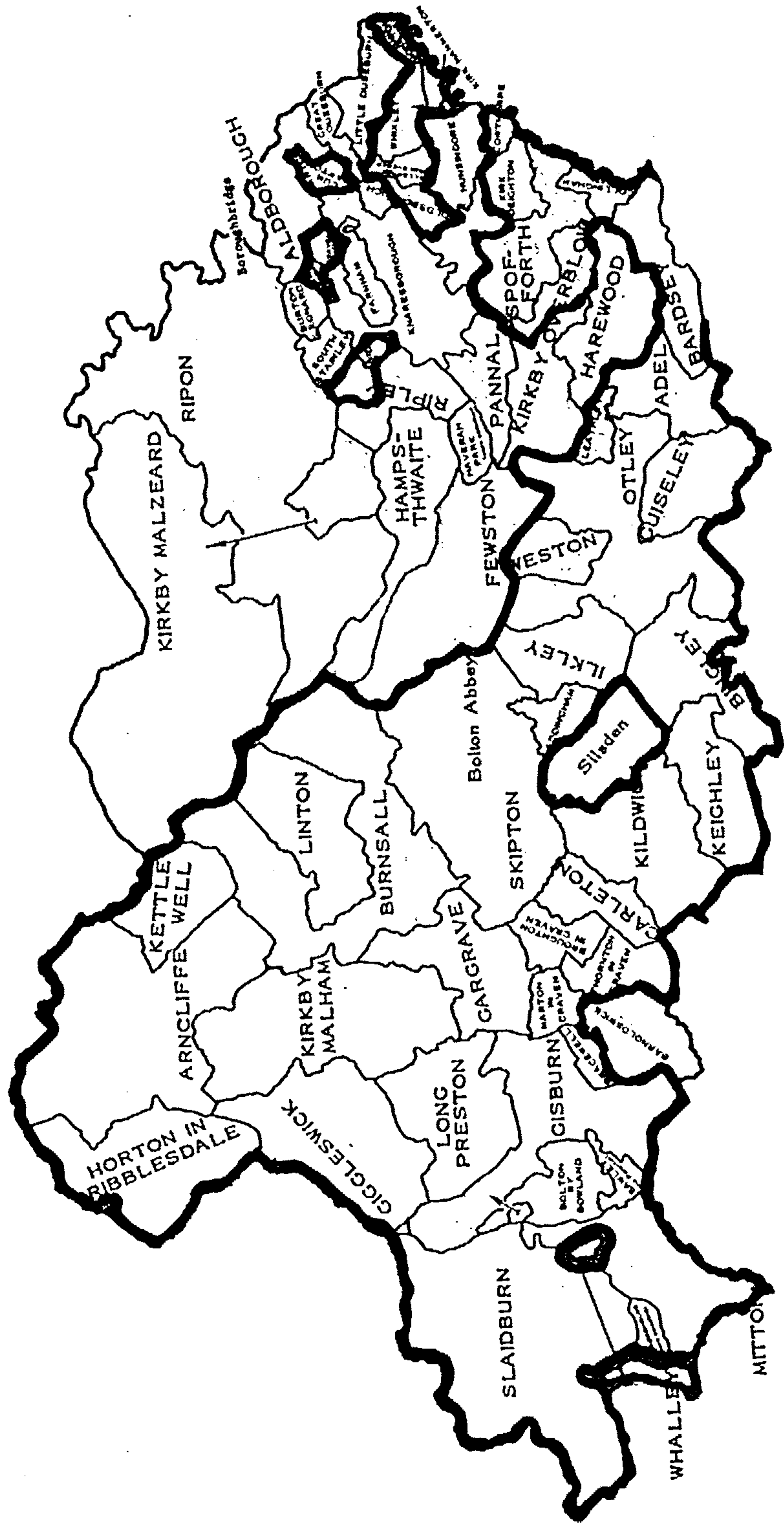
<sup>143</sup> B.R. Kemp, 'Monastic Possession of Parish Churches' p. 133.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 134.

<sup>145</sup> Erasmus: *Pilgrimage to St. Mary of Walsingham*, cited in J.C. Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, p. 197.

<sup>146</sup> For the debate over the parochial element of the religious orders see M. Chibnall, 'Monks and pastoral work: A problem in Anglo-Norman history', *JEH*, xviii, no. 2, 1967, pp. 165-72; M. Dudley, 'The monastic priest', *Monastic Studies: The Continuity of Tradition II*, ed. J. Loades, (Bangor, 1991), pp. 183-92; for the Augustinians in particular, and the development of theories over their parochial element see J.C. Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, pp. 214-41.

<sup>147</sup> J. Burton, *Monastic Order*, p. 235; Following the transfer of the canons from Embsay to Bolton the conventual church at the original site was 'retained as a parochial chapel to Skipton',



Scale 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Miles

Parishes in the Craven and surrounding areas of the West Riding of Yorkshire



### Holy Trinity, Skipton

In contrast with Kirkham, which received seven churches as part of its foundation, and Bridlington, which had interests in eight churches, Bolton was, initially, only in possession of the church of Holy Trinity, Skipton, together with its chapel at Carleton, and of course the conventual church at Embsay.<sup>148</sup> The church of Skipton, with the chapel at Carleton, and the vill of Embsay, given by William Meschin and Cecily de Rumilly his wife to Reginald the prior, provided the first spiritualities and temporalities, 'ad fundendam inde ecclesiam canonicorum regularium'.<sup>149</sup> The extent to which the canons were to hold the church is not specified. It is possible, even probable, that they had full control of the church and chapel, but it would have conveyed, at minimum, the advowson.<sup>150</sup> During the episcopacy of Archbishop Thurstan this ambiguity was cleared, with the church of Skipton being granted *in proprios usus*, remaining free from episcopal customs, by the consent of the dean, William, and the chapter of York.<sup>151</sup>

The foundation of the house of regular canons at Embsay, and the subsequent gifts of both spiritual and temporal property made by Cecily de Rumilly and William Meschin, and by Cecily alone, concerning the church at Skipton, although favourable to the priory, may have caused some confusion as to the relationship between St. Mary's, Huntingdon and the new monastery. The multiple references to the church in gifts to Embsay and Huntingdon, and in confirmations and notifications to both the monarch and the appropriate ecclesiastical dignitary, Henry I and Archbishop Thurstan, provides too much

---

but it is unclear as to what rights and privileges, if any, the canons held, (I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 6).

<sup>148</sup> J. Burton, *Kirkham Priory*, p. 13; *Bridlington Chartulary*, p. 12; CB, no. 2.

<sup>149</sup> CB, no. 2.

<sup>150</sup> J. Burton, *Monastic Order*, p. 238. I. Kershaw argues that the canons of Embsay were entitled to hold the church in its fullest sense from the foundation of the priory, with Embsay being 'granted as the glebe of Skipton church', indicative of the priory being the 'owner' of the church of Skipton, and that therefore 'there can be no doubt that Skipton church was owned in its fullest sense from the beginning', (*Bolton Priory Rentals*, p. x), with the Rental of 1473 stating that 'the manor of Embsay and the whole vill entirely [was held] in demesne as the glebe of Skipton church in free, pure and perpetual alms', (*Ibid.*, p. 4). I. Kershaw believes that life would have been impossible for the priory without full ownership of the church, because of their otherwise limited means of support.

<sup>151</sup> *Mon. Angl.*, vi, p. 205, no. xi; *EEA* v, no. 34.

information without a clearly defined structure; but they do suggest that the church was to pass into the endowment of the priory established at Embsay upon the transfer of Reginald and the other canons from Huntingdon. Although there were clear benefits which accrued from this acquisition, the grant was also an expense, for as well as any costs involved with its appropriation, the price of freedom from the claims of Huntingdon, which was not achieved until shortly before the start of the thirteenth century after several inquisitions, was an annual pension, with the canons paying £5. 6s. 8d., c.1291.<sup>152</sup>

### St. Mary's, Carleton

During the twelfth century the chapel of Carleton was separated from its mother church of Skipton and 'acquired independent status as a parish church'.<sup>153</sup> The right of the canons to the church at Carleton was reinforced by the confirmation of the advowson by Peter son of Grent to the canons, and the quitclaim by his son, Everard, of all his right to the aforesaid advowson, in return for which he himself and his heirs were to be received into the church of Bolton, an agreement which was also made by Thomas de Alta Ripa [Dawtry].<sup>154</sup> Nevertheless, disputes over the legality of their possession of the church were to continue until the early fourteenth century, when a decade after instruction was given to 'the archdeacon of York to induct the priory into possession'<sup>155</sup> of the church, the crown began proceedings which resulted in the payment of fine in order to secure a licence for them to retain it in mortmain.<sup>156</sup> Although the priory had little option but to pay in order to secure their right to the church, it does indicate that the canons were willing to invest in spiritualities as well as temporalities, perhaps even more so if the causes cited by the canons for their impoverishment, for frequent flooding, the death of their sheep and animals, and taxation, reduced the profits from their properties as they no doubt did.<sup>157</sup>

---

<sup>152</sup> A.H. Thompson, *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, pp. 50-2.

<sup>153</sup> *Fasti Parochiales*, iv, p. 36; see pp. 35-9 for the history of the parish of Carleton; for a survey of chapels, their status and use see N. Orme, 'Church and chapel in medieval England', *TRHS*, 6<sup>th</sup> series, 6, (1996), pp. 75-102.

<sup>154</sup> Christ Church Charters, M120-M122.

<sup>155</sup> *Fasti Parochiales*, iv, p. 36; for the political nuance of this appropriation see I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 62.

<sup>156</sup> *CPR, 1301-1307*, p. 324.

<sup>157</sup> *Reg. Romeyn*, i, pp. 119-21.

### St. Andrew's, Kildwick

The foundation gift of the church of Skipton, with its chapel at Carlton, was augmented by the benefaction of Cecily de Rumilly, after the death of her husband, William Meschin, of St. Andrew's, Kildwick.<sup>158</sup> Apart from being a valuable asset in itself, the proximity of the church to the monastic house, as well as its large size, coupled with the benevolence of the patrons of Embsay who, at a similar time, donated the vill of Kildwick, meant that the canons had acquired significant property and rights in the vicinity which were exploited to the full, with Kildwick becoming one of the most important granges.<sup>159</sup> As with the grant of the church of Skipton and the chapel of Carlton, this gift of St. Andrew's, one of the few churches whose dedication is stated, does not record the exact nature by which it was to be held, being merely a grant of the 'ecclesiam sancti Andree de Kildwicke cum omnibus pertinentiis suis'.<sup>160</sup> Later, upon the presentation by Cecily de Rumilly and Prior Reginald and the canons, Archbishop Thurstan granted the church *in proprios usus*, with the exception of 'synodalibus et episcopalibus consuetudinibus'.<sup>161</sup>

The acquisition of St. Andrew's, Kildwick, would appear to have created a connection between the canons of Bolton and the parish church of Ilkley, although detail about this relationship is imprecise. The first record concerning the church at Ilkley found in the *Compotus*, records the payment of 20s. to 'Henrico de Kigheley pro placito ecclesie de Ylkeley', in the account of the year 1291-1292.<sup>162</sup> In subsequent years an annual pension of 10s. appears to have been paid, as a lump sum in some years and in two parts, at Pentecost and Martinmas, in others.<sup>163</sup> This pension continues to be recorded into the fourteenth century, with a payment of 10s. 'Rectori ecclesie de Ilkelay pro

---

<sup>158</sup> CB, no. 4.

<sup>159</sup> CB, no. 6.

<sup>160</sup> CB, no. 6.

<sup>161</sup> *Mon. Angl.*, vi, p. 205, no. xii; *EEA* v, no. 33. For the use of the terms *in proprios usus* see B.R. Kemp, *EEA* 18, pp. cxii-cxv.

<sup>162</sup> *Compotus*, p. 42.

<sup>163</sup> In 1296-1297, for example, the payment of 10s. seems to have been paid as one amount, whilst in 1308-1309 the payment would appear to have been made in two instalments, 'pro pensione ecclesie de Ilkeley de termino Pentec' anni precedentii [*sic*] v.s. Pro eadem pensione de termino sancti Martini hoc anno v.s.', *Compotus*, pp. 67, 249-50.



pensione sua' occurring as late as 1377-1378.<sup>164</sup> It seems likely that this payment was made by the canons in order to secure their attainment of the tithes and oblations of Steeton, Eastburn and Glusburn, which were attached to the parish of Kildwick, for these were renounced by Andrew, the rector of Ilkley, at the start of the thirteenth century.<sup>165</sup> This possibly occurred after a case was heard before 'M. William de Novo Castro and Peter de Mixebyrii', papal judges delegate, at Lincoln Cathedral, in which Robert the rector of Ilkley was represented by W., clerk of Calverley, and the case was found in favour of the canons of Bolton.<sup>166</sup> Nevertheless, how the tithes and oblations were separated from Kildwick, and, therefore, came to form part of the parish of Ilkley is unclear, as even geographically Glusburn, Steeton and Eastburn lie in closer proximity to the former, across the river Aire.<sup>167</sup>

#### St. Mary's, Long Preston

The church of Long Preston was a fortunate and prosperous acquisition for the canons of Bolton, with the various steps involved in securing its appropriation making it 'a shrewd piece of investment'.<sup>168</sup> The priory had acquired an interest in this church by the benefactions of the Amundeville family.<sup>169</sup> Whilst still at Embsay, the canons had received the gift of Walter de Amundeville of the church of Preston in Craven in free, pure and perpetual alms, which was confirmed by Archbishop Henry Murdac (1147-1153).<sup>170</sup> This gift was followed by a quitclaim made by Elias de Amundeville, and a final concord was made between Elias and the canons, which recognised the right of the canons.<sup>171</sup> However, at some point prior to 1262, Bolton Priory lost control of its interest in the church, and a royal mandate was issued permitting Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester

---

<sup>164</sup> *Compotus*, p. 557.

<sup>165</sup> Chatsworth Charter, B3 PB191065/90; For Andrew, rector of Ilkley, see *Fasti Parochiales*, iv, p. 63.

<sup>166</sup> J.E. Sayers, *Papal Judges Delegate in the Province of Canterbury 1198-1254: A Study in Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Administration*, (Oxford, 1971; 1997), pp. 232, 290, citing Dodsworth MS 76, fo. 44.

<sup>167</sup> For the parish of Ilkley see *Fasti Parochiales*, iv, pp. 61-6.

<sup>168</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 63.

<sup>169</sup> For the Amundeville family see above.

<sup>170</sup> CB, no. 92; *Mon. Angl.*, vi, p. 205, no. xiii; *EEA* v, no. 108.

<sup>171</sup> CB, nos. 93-94. For the legal proceedings between Elias de Amundeville and Bolton Priory see *CRR*, 1213-1215, pp. 279, 286; 1210-1212, p. 322.

and Hertford, to present 'idoneam personam'.<sup>172</sup> The problems encountered by the priory in retaining control of its rights to St. Mary's church, Long Preston, were possibly exacerbated by the fact that they had 'no manorial holding in the area', allowing their rights to be usurped by a more powerful figure with property in the vicinity.<sup>173</sup> Despite this setback and others, such as instances of 'oppressionem', Long Preston church was appropriated in 1304, because of the supposed poverty of the canons and its difficulty in providing hospitality.<sup>174</sup>

The appropriation of Long Preston church placed the canons of Bolton in possession of many valuable assets. Indeed such was the joy at their success that 'the canons celebrated their new acquisition by giving a feast at Preston in 1304 out of the proceeds of the tithes of the village of Arnford and the rents of the glebe that year'.<sup>175</sup> In light of the financial problems facing the canons, and the fact that they had spent at least £50 on acquiring the appropriate licence to alienate in mortmain,<sup>176</sup> this may have been an improvident extravagance, but it does indicate how highly advowsons were valued. Indeed, this particular appropriated church provided not only the associated benefits, but also acted as the security upon which a sizeable loan was secured in 1317, during a particularly turbulent period in the priory's history.<sup>177</sup>

Although the Church encouraged the transfer of churches from lay persons, who were recorded of having lordship over a church,<sup>178</sup> to monastic bodies, it was

---

<sup>172</sup> CB, no. 98. In 1233 there had been a dispute raised in the King's court about the presentation of a parson to Long Preston, see *CRR, 1233-1237*, p. 3. Kirkham Priory also encountered difficulties in maintaining possession of some of its churches, 'and there is evidence that the canons' title was challenged in the cases of Burythorpe, Cold Overton and Whixley', J. Burton, 'Kirkham Priory', p. 13.

<sup>173</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 63.

<sup>174</sup> *Reg. Corbridge*, i, p. 83; for the appropriation see pp. 82-5. One example of the obstructions faced by the priory with regards to their rights of presentation to Long Preston church of 'idoneam parsonam' is a case heard in the Curia Regis in 1233, whereby John de Kirkby was accused of impeding this presentation; *CRR, 1233-1237*, p. 3. Hospitality could be a great burden on a religious house, especially if it was not well endowed or if it lay upon a major route, such as Lilleshall Abbey for which 'references to the burden of hospitality begin early' with much being blamed on its proximity to Watling Street; *Lilleshall Abbey*, pp. xvii.

<sup>175</sup> *Bolton Priory*, p. 63; *Compotus*, p. 177.

<sup>176</sup> *CPR, 1301-1307*, pp. 219, 246, 269; *CCR, 1302-1307*, p. 135.

<sup>177</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 17, 191-2.

<sup>178</sup> F.M. Stenton, *Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw*, (London, 1920), p. lxxiv, n. 4, which gives the example of Avice de Rumilly who refers to the



concerned about how this was achieved and with the provisions that were made following such an act. By the Council of Westminster, in 1102, an attempt was made to control the increasing number of churches entering monastic hands, by decreeing 'that monks were not to accept churches other than from bishops'.<sup>179</sup> Nevertheless, as with many decrees and controlling measures, this was not always obeyed, and frequently, as with the gift of Long Preston church, confirmation from the bishop, or in this instance Henry Murdac, archbishop of York, would be sought, in an effort to safeguard the monastery's rights.

### St. Andrew's, Keighley

One early benefaction of *spiritualia* by a member of the patronal family was by Alice de Rumilly, daughter of the founders, who granted the church of Keighley to the canons.<sup>180</sup> Unlike the other charters of gifts of churches made by the patrons the record of this particular benefaction was not copied into the Coucher Book. Peter de Pinkeny and Constance, his wife, also gave St. Andrew's, Keighley to the canons, a grant witnessed by Ranulf son of Walter, being Constance's son, and Alice de Rumilly.<sup>181</sup> Despite these early gifts, controversy arose in the mid thirteenth century when members of the Keighley family claimed an interest in the church.<sup>182</sup> A series of final concords and transactions took place between Bolton Priory and members of the Keighley family, such as Elias, Henry and Richard, whereby the right of the canons was established.<sup>183</sup> Unlike the churches of Skipton, Carleton and Kildwick, also given by the patrons, St. Andrew's, Keighley, was not appropriated, but this did not necessarily stop the canons from benefiting. Several of those presented by the canons of Bolton were men of influence, such as Walter de Langeton, who was

---

gift of her ancestors to the priory of Drax as "advocationem et dominium ecclesie de Imham, salva dignitate Aby persone qui eam in presentiarum possidet", citing Dodsworth MS 8, fo. 293.

<sup>179</sup> B.R. Kemp, 'Monastic possession of parish churches', p. 137, citing *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, ed. D. Wilkins, (London, 1737), i, p. 383; *Councils and Synods with Other Documents relating to the English Church, I, AD 871-1204*, eds. D. Whitelock, M. Brett, C.N.L. Brooke, part ii, 1066-1202, (Oxford, 1981), pp. 668-88.

<sup>180</sup> Chatsworth Charters, B1, PB10.

<sup>181</sup> Dodsworth MS 8, fo. 210v.

<sup>182</sup> For Keighley family see W.P. Baildon, 'The Keighley family', *YAJ*, 27, (1934), pp. 1-109.

<sup>183</sup> CB, nos. 152, 32; Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 36. In return for his recognition of the right of Bolton to the advowson of Keighley church Elias and his heirs were received into the priory, 'in singulis beneficiis et orationibus', (CB, no. 152). Likewise a spiritual 'payment' was made by the canons to secure the gift of Henry, with the donor being received 'in bonis spiritualibus', (CB,



the nephew of the dean of York.<sup>184</sup> However men who were of use to the priory were also presented, including Magister Robert de Nassington, who later acted as an official of York.<sup>185</sup> His presentation by the canons may also have been an attempt to curry the favour of the archbishop, for it was during his rectorship that the churches of Long Preston and Carleton were appropriated.<sup>186</sup>

As the balance of control of parish churches altered, with the gifts of this sort 'becoming almost a vogue for laymen of any importance' during the twelfth century, so the questions of the provision of parochial duties were addressed, with the development of vicarages.<sup>187</sup> Unlike the majority of monastic orders, the Augustinians had been recognised as one that could, with papal permission, serve those churches that entered into their possession, although they did not necessarily take advantage of this right.<sup>188</sup> In 1215 the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council 'represented the culmination of a formative period', at which point the institution of vicarages, with adequate provisions was more firmly established.<sup>189</sup> Further synods and councils, for example the Council of Oxford

---

no. 32). Unfortunately it is unclear whether any inducement or compensation was offered to Richard.

<sup>184</sup> *Reg. Giffard*, p. 35. It is not thought that this Walter de Langeton was the future bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, (*Fasti Parochiales*, iv, p. 69 n. 4).

<sup>185</sup> *Fasti Parochiales*, iv, p. 69.

<sup>186</sup> Many members of the Nassington family held influential posts, such as John I, who was Official and Vicar-General of York between 1304 and 1315, something which the canons may have hoped to capitalise upon by the presentation of one of the family. For the Nassington family see M. Sullivan, 'The role of the Nassington family in the medieval church', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 37, (1993), pp. 53-64.

<sup>187</sup> B.R. Kemp, 'Monastic possession of parish churches', p. 134. For the development of the parochial system and vicarages see G.W.O. Addleshaw, *Rectors, Vicars and Patrons in the Twelfth and early Thirteenth Century Canon Law*, Borthwick Paper no. 9, (London, 1956); *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition, 950-1200*, ed. J. Blair, (Oxford, 1988); C.R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton: English Church Government 1170-1213*, (Manchester, 1956); R.A.R. Hartridge, *A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge, 1930).

<sup>188</sup> B.R. Kemp, 'Monastic possession of parish churches', p. 145; In 1398 papal permission was granted to Bolton Priory to serve the churches of Skipton, Carleton, Harewood, Preston and Kildwick 'by canons, being priests, of their monastery, or by secular priests appointed and removed at their pleasure', (*C.P.Reg., 1396-1404*, p. 160). Monasteries did not always take advantage of this privilege and there are instances where prohibited practices continued by the permission of papal-judges delegate, such as at a church, in the possession of Guisborough Priory, where father and son were allowed 'to continue to serve one of its benefices in consideration of an increased pension', (C.R. Cheney, *Becket to Langton*, p. 127, citing *Guisborough Cart.*, ii, pp. 278-87).

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 158; *Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church, ii, A.D. 1205-1313*, eds. F.M. Powicke, C.R. Cheney, (Oxford, 1964), part i, pp. 47-9.

(1222),<sup>190</sup> extended and clarified the regulations surrounding the benefices of parish churches, something that, in effect, should have made better provision for a vicar and limited the extent to which the church could be exploited by its monastic owner.

The vicarage ordained by Archbishop Corbridge at Long Preston, in connection with the appropriation of the church by Bolton Priory, was preceded by the resignation of Roger de Skipton, the rector, whose charters were recorded in the Coucher Book.<sup>191</sup> The first person presented by the canons of Bolton and instituted to the newly established perpetual vicarage was Robert de Spaldington, who was to hold the position for the following seventeen years.<sup>192</sup> It would seem that the vicarage was adequately provided for, although the use of the tithes from Arnford by the canons as a celebration for their acquisition appears was slightly dubious as these formed part of the income of the vicar, 'una cum omnimodis decimis maioribus et minoribus de Arneford'.<sup>193</sup> The vicar's stipend, in January 1305, was altered to, and fixed at, 18 marks, which was confirmed over two years later by Archbishop Greenfield, with 'an additional charge being the payment of a stipend of 20 marks if received in cash', and in February 1322 some further minor changes were ordained.<sup>194</sup>

#### All Saints, Broughton

In addition to the gifts of the churches of Skipton, with its chapel at Carleton, Kildwick, and Keighley, made by members of the Rumilly family, the canons, whilst at Embsay, also received All Saints, Broughton. Ostensibly this was granted by William son of Duncan and Alice de Rumilly, his wife and daughter of Cecily, the founder of the priory. The benefaction of the church of Broughton, and the level to which the canons were to enjoy the gift, being 'tam in terris

---

<sup>190</sup> *Councils and Synods*, ii, part i, pp. 100-25.

<sup>191</sup> CB, nos. 103-104. Roger de Skipton was the vicar of Skipton after Magister Simon de Haplethrop, who occurs 9 February 1267, and is recorded as vicar 16 September 1272, being replaced by Martin de Grimeston 30 March 1302, (*Fasti Parochiales*, iv, p. 79). Roger of Skipton was involved with the appropriation of Long Preston church by the canons of Bolton, resigning his position as rector in February 1304, (*Fasti Parochiales*, iv, p. 106), for which act he was not insignificantly remunerated, (I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 36-7, 115-16). He is thought to have died 1310-1311, (*Comptus*, pp. 290 n.181, 298 n.188).

<sup>192</sup> *Reg. Corbridge*, ii, p. 166; *Fasti Parochiales*, iv, p. 106.

<sup>193</sup> *Reg. Corbridge*, i, p. 84.

quam in decimis', is more adequately stated in the notification made to Archbishop Thurstan than in the charters relating to the gifts of the churches of Skipton and Kildwick.<sup>195</sup> In fact, however, full appropriation of the church was not achieved until the mid-fifteenth century. Although the intentions of the gift made by William son of Duncan and Alice de Rumilly appear to have been fully inclusive, several final concords were made between the canons, by then at Bolton, and other parties who held some interest in the church. The first claim regarding All Saints, Elslack (i.e. Broughton), was made by Simon son of Ranulph and Langusa his wife.<sup>196</sup> By this final concord, in 1187, a quitclaim of the advowson of the All Saints, Elslack made by the aforesaid couple to the canons of Bolton was recognised, and they were to be received into the fraternity of the priory.

Precisely why the canons were unable to enjoy the full possession of the church is unexplained, since although the gift made by William son of Duncan and Alice de Rumilly is not exceptionally explicit, its intentions are apparent. Perhaps the grant never received episcopal consent, for the gifts of the churches of Skipton and Kildwick, made by Alice's mother were granted *in proprios usus* by Archbishop Thurstan. However, there is no documentation to prove or disprove this notion. Another possibility could be the lack of interest, or means, on the behalf of the canons, and/or support from their patrons for their claims; perhaps William son of Duncan later believed himself to have acted overly hastily, possibly having originally made the gift in recompense for the actions of the Scots in Craven, and, therefore, did not assist the canons in pursuing their rights. Another, more likely, explanation is that the church was governed by both the Skipton and Mowbray fees, with the canons, therefore, needing to acquire that part pertaining to the latter before either a grant *in proprios usus* or appropriation could be attained.<sup>197</sup>

---

<sup>194</sup> *Fasti Parochiales*, iv, p. 105.

<sup>195</sup> CB, no. 14.

<sup>196</sup> CB, no. 147. Elslack is within the parish of Broughton, *EP-NS*, WR, vi, pp. 42-5.

<sup>197</sup> *Fasti Parochiales*, iv, p. 24; Ralph Darel held land in Elslack, of the Mowbray fee, *EYC*, vii, p. 222, citing *Col. Top et Gen.*, vi, 132.



Despite this impediment Bolton Priory showed some determination in the acquisition of the entirety of the church for in the mid thirteenth century they were involved in another final concord, this time with Ralph Darrel, to whom they gave 5 marks of silver in order to receive recognition through his quitclaim.<sup>198</sup> It would seem, however, that the priory had already started having an active interest in the church at Broughton, for in the 1220s Richard de Wautringham had been instituted into the church by Archbishop Walter de Gray.<sup>199</sup> Although Richard de Sarum, possibly his successor, had authority by the Council,<sup>200</sup> the priory had reasserted its influence for in 1254, a year and a half before the final concord with Ralph Darrel, Richard le Vausur [*sic*] had been presented by the prior and canons of Bolton, being replaced at the end of that year by William de Caueresfeuld.<sup>201</sup>

After holding an interest in All Saints, Broughton, for some three hundred years, the church was finally appropriated to Bolton Priory on 4 September 1442, when John Thwaites, esquire, made a benefaction of the church to the canons. He augmented this gift by his quitclaim on 16 September 1442, for which acts, and subsequent assistance, the said John and Isabella his wife appear in an indenture made by Prior Thomas, in 1452, concerning the manor of Hille at Ryther and the rectory of Broughton.<sup>202</sup> Licence for the alienation in mortmain of the gift by John Thwaites had been acquired in June 1442, at a price of 25 marks, and episcopal permission for the appropriation was granted in the September of that year, with the provision that the priory would take possession following the resignation or death of the rector, which occurred a decade later.<sup>203</sup> After the death of William Spens, the last rector of the church, Broughton was served by canons from Bolton Priory until the Dissolution.<sup>204</sup>

---

<sup>198</sup> CB, no. 148; For quitclaim of the advowson of Broughton by Ralph Darel see Dodsworth MS 8, fo. 216.

<sup>199</sup> Christ Church Charter, M 114.

<sup>200</sup> Although Clay believes this 'Council' to be that of Lyon, (*Fasti Parochiales*, iv, p. 25 n.5), it is probable that it relates to the Lateran Council of 1215, where provision was made for the collation of churches due to a lapse in presentation.

<sup>201</sup> *Fasti Parochiales*, iv, p. 25, citing *Reg. Gray*, pp. 118, 214, 120.

<sup>202</sup> Dodsworth MS 8, fo. 217; Christ Church Charters, M 117, 119.

<sup>203</sup> Christ Church Charter, M 115; *Reg. Kempe*, new fos. 459-460.

<sup>204</sup> *Fasti Parochiales*, iv, pp. 27-8.

The fifteenth century witnessed the increasing presence of canons from the priory as the vicars of those churches appropriated to them, such as at the churches of Kildwick and Long Preston, whilst this occurred in Skipton from the mid thirteenth century.<sup>205</sup> The increase in the use of canons, rather than secular clergy, may have been initiated by a papal indult of 1398, although this presumably did not affect Skipton,<sup>206</sup> whereby Bolton Priory was permitted to serve the churches of Skipton, with the chapel of Carleton, Harewood, Preston and Kildwick with canons, or secular priests.<sup>207</sup> The extent to which Augustinian houses were intended to serve, and indeed did serve, those churches in which they had an interest, especially after appropriation, is questionable, and the decision of a monastery to pursue this parochial endeavour did not always prove to be in their best interests.

The choice of candidate for a particular parish would have been a cause for anxiety, although a vicarage could have been sought by canons who favoured a greater interaction with the secular world.<sup>208</sup> The pitfalls, however, could be great, for both the individual and the priory, with one example, although exceptional, being the murder of canon Richard de Wyntryngam, vicar of Skipton, by John of Rylstone in 1401.<sup>209</sup> The records of the proceeding trial give no clue to the motive, but no doubt many uncomplimentary reasons were given.<sup>210</sup> Nevertheless, the majority of canons who were instituted into the churches possessed by the priory do not seem to have been subject to any extraordinary criticism, in relation to that levelled at both other regular and secular clergy.

Episcopal concern relating to the standard of parochial ministry offered to each church was partially connected to the movement of parish churches from lay ownership into ecclesiastical hands, a development with which the Augustinians

---

<sup>205</sup> *Fasti Parochiales*, iv, pp. 80-1, 106-7, 109-10.

<sup>206</sup> A.H. Thompson, *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, pp. 104-5.

<sup>207</sup> *C.P.Reg.*, 1396-1404, p. 160.

<sup>208</sup> A.H. Thompson remarks that 'we are left with the impression that the canons who were getting past work were being turned out to graze in parochial benefices', *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, p. 100.

<sup>209</sup> *Fasti Parochiales*, iv, p. 109; For the pardon of John de Rilleston see *CPR*, 1401-1405, pp. 187, 215.

<sup>210</sup> A.H. Thompson, *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, p. 105.

were intrinsically involved, and by which the Gregorian reform movement had hoped to gain a greater level of control and to eradicate unacceptable practices, such as simony.<sup>211</sup> Indeed, from an early stage the flexibility of the Augustinian order had been utilised to promote the desires of the founders of the houses, including those established and promoted by members of the Church, for the prominence of churches among the endowments suggests that Thurstan saw their canons 'as agents of reform, and their role as a pastoral and spiritual one as well as intercessory'.<sup>212</sup>

The evolution of vicarages was linked with the increasing number of churches in the possession of religious houses. The potential for a mis-appropriation of funds and the deterioration of provision for the spiritual welfare of the parish were recognised as being causes for concern.<sup>213</sup> As demonstrated by those churches in which Bolton Priory had an interest, appropriation did not necessarily occur immediately upon possession, and, in many cases, it was never acquired, or even pursued, owing to the associated expense, or because of the advantages that could be had just by the rights to the advowson, such as the ability to provide a benefice for a clerk who had connections to the patrons, who could offer expertise, especially in law, or were willing to participate in the various property and other dealings of the house.<sup>214</sup>

Regardless of whether, in the case of the Augustinians, a canon or member of the secular clergy was instituted as the vicar of a church, appropriation determined the extent to which the monasteries could profit at the expense of the parish.<sup>215</sup> As previously mentioned the cost of appropriation, especially following the statute of mortmain, could prove a deterrent, particularly as more often than not.

---

<sup>211</sup> Although the aims of the reform may have been commendable getting them into operation was not an easy process, for example, in 1196, Guisborough 'allowed a father and son to continue to serve one of its benefices in consideration of an increased pension', and received permission from papal judges-delegate concerning the arrangement, C.R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton*, p. 127.

<sup>212</sup> J. Burton, *Monastic Order*, p. 93.

<sup>213</sup> E. Mason, 'The role of the English parishioner', *JEH*, 27, no. 1, (1976), pp. 17-29, 17.

<sup>214</sup> A.H. Thompson, *The English Clergy and their Organization in the Later Middle Ages*, (Oxford, 1947), p. 105.

<sup>215</sup> For the development of rectories and vicarages see R.A.R. Hartridge, *A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages, passim*; C.R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton*, pp. 122-39; and for the importance of the associated tithes see G. Constable, *Monastic Tithes, passim*.



poverty is cited as the reason that appropriation is being sought. The tithes owing to the parish church were a valuable extra source of income to a house, and, unlike the Carthusians and Cistercians or the orders of Fontevrault and Grandmontines who theoretically rejected the possession of associated property and rights, the Augustinians were willing recipients of such gifts.<sup>216</sup> Gifts, specifically mentioning the rights to tithes, were made to the canons of Bolton, such as the aforementioned church at Broughton given by William son of Duncan and Alice de Rumilly, as well as the tithes of animals hunted in defined areas, given by Alice de Rumilly, but, nevertheless the largest acquisitions of tithes came with the appropriation of churches.<sup>217</sup>

#### All Saints, Harewood

The appropriation of the church at Harewood, which occurred in the middle of the fourteenth century, would undoubtedly have been welcomed, although it lay further afield than the majority of churches in the possession of Bolton Priory.<sup>218</sup> According to the figures contained in the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas IV in 1291 this would have been one of the most valuable churches in the canons' possession, being rated at over £60, with its real value probably at least double this figure.<sup>219</sup> The appropriation of this particular church was connected with the foundation of a chantry by John de Rougemont, and maybe seen to demonstrate the increasing popularity of this form of personal religion and how the monastic houses were able to participate in the trend.<sup>220</sup>

#### St. Peter's, Marton in Craven

Although the majority of Bolton Priory's dealings regarding spiritual property were with members of the laity, especially with their patronal family, there are a couple of examples where the canons were involved in transactions with other

---

<sup>216</sup> For a discussion about the opposition to monastic possession of tithes see G. Constable, *Monastic Tithes*, pp. 136-165. For the income to Bolton from tithes see *Comptus*, *passim*. Whereas usually all the tithes from the large parishes of Skipton and Kildwick were taken to the house at Bolton, it is probable that those from the more distant spiritual properties of the canons were either sold at site with the revenue being kept by the canons, or that they were leased out at fixed rate, either annually or for a period of years. This would seem to be the case for the tithes of Long Preston as well as elsewhere, (I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 68-71)

<sup>217</sup> CB, nos. 14, 19, 185.

<sup>218</sup> A.H. Thompson, *Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, pp. 100-103.

<sup>219</sup> *Taxatio*, p. 299; I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 179.

monastic houses. The interest acquired by the canons in the church of Marton, where they had obtained temporal property, was achieved by the gift of Peter son of William de Marton and an agreement made with Kirkstall Abbey (Cistercian). The Coucher Book contains a section headed 'Kirkstall', with one memorandum, dated 1482, dealing with the payment of 3s. 4d. by Abbot Thomas to Prior Gilbert regarding land in Yeadon, which is preceded by a similarly late charter, and, most importantly, an agreement made between the two houses concerning 'operi ecclesie'.<sup>221</sup> At the instance of Kirkstall Abbey and the authority of Archbishop Henry Murdac, the chapels of Marton and Bracewell had gained independence from the parish of Barnoldswick in 1152/3, with the advowson of the new church at Marton passing to the Marton family and that of Bracewell remaining with Kirkstall.<sup>222</sup> Despite the inclusion of a section entitled 'Kirkstall' the most important charters relating to the acquisition of the church of Marton are found in the section relating to 'Marton'.

The Marton family were notable benefactors to the priory, particularly of temporal property in the area, but the gift of the church of Marton by Peter son of William of Marton, would have strongly reinforced the canons holdings, power and influence in the vill.<sup>223</sup> Kirkstall Abbey ratified the right of the canons to the advowson of the church, with Bolton Priory agreeing to pay 2½ marks of silver annually, and another covenant was made between the two houses regarding the aforementioned payment.<sup>224</sup> The regular payments made to Kirkstall Abbey suggest that the canons of Bolton saw their claim to the church as being one that should be upheld, to the extent that they were willing to make an investment, and to take advantage of the weak hold of Kirkstall.

Although the canons continued to present to the church until the Dissolution there is some mystery surrounding the possession of the advowson during the fourteenth century. An inquisition *ad quod dampnum* in 1305 indicates that there was some thought of the priory giving its right to the dean and chapter of York,

---

<sup>220</sup> *C.P.Reg., 1342-1362*, p. 488. For chantries see K.L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries*.

<sup>221</sup> CB, nos. 77, 75.

<sup>222</sup> For the churches of Bracewell and Marton see *Fasti Parochiales*, iv, pp. 19-23, 94-8.

<sup>223</sup> CB, no. 56.

<sup>224</sup> CB, nos. 43, 63.

and the charter for this gift was transcribed by Dodsworth.<sup>225</sup> However, it would appear that this benefaction did not occur, for, in 1312, another inquisition was held 'for the same purpose'.<sup>226</sup> Yet again, no actual transfer of the advowson occurred for in 1330 the canons of Bolton presented evidence claiming their right as 'patroni ecclesie de Marton in Craven'.<sup>227</sup> Marton was one of the poorer churches in which Bolton had an interest, being valued at £13 6s. 8d., c.1291, and at only £5 by the *nova taxatio*, so it maybe that the Dean and Chapter of St. Peter's were not interested because of the small benefits and possibly large outlay that could be required if the church buildings were in poor repair.<sup>228</sup> It would appear that possession of the advowson, however useful it might have proven in patronage terms, was of no real pecuniary value, possibly even being a drain upon the resources of the canons of Bolton, as the priory paid £1 13s. 4d. *per annum* for the right to present to Marton church.<sup>229</sup> The church does not appear to have been appropriated, and prior to the Dissolution the value of the rectory was £13 14s. 4d..<sup>230</sup>

#### St. Mary's, Kettlewell

The parish church of Kettlewell was another piece of spiritual property with which the canons of Bolton were connected, in a far less complicated manner than that involved with the advowson of Marton. Following the acts of over generosity by Peter de Arches, by which he had given both Coverham Abbey and Bolton Priory his interest in the church of Kettlewell,<sup>231</sup> a final concord was made between the two houses in 1222, whereby Coverham was to hold the advowson and Bolton was to receive one bovate, sixteen acres of land and the

<sup>225</sup> *Yorkshire Inquisitions*, vi, ed. W. Brown, YAS, RS, 37, (1906), p. 108; This inquisition is particularly interesting as it states that the church was of the advowson of the prior and convent, and they had it of the gift of lady Cecily de Rumilly, a claim that is not substantiated by earlier extant material; Dodsworth MS 83, fo. 2.

<sup>226</sup> *Fasti Parochiales*, iv, p. 95; *Monastic Notes*, ii, p. 97. There is no mention of any fees paid by the priory for the inquisitions regarding St. Peter's, Marton, or to or from the Dean and Chapter of York in the *Compotus*.

<sup>227</sup> Dodsworth MS 83, fo. 2v.

<sup>228</sup> *Taxatio*, p. 299.

<sup>229</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 61.

<sup>230</sup> *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v, p. 143.

<sup>231</sup> *CRR*, x, 171; Dodsworth MS 144, fos. 33v-34 for the lands received from Peter de Arches and Coverham Abbey.



moiety of a toft in Kettlewell which the abbey held of the hospital of St. Peter, York, (later known as St. Leonard's), and an annual payment of 20s..<sup>232</sup>

#### All Saints, Staveley & St. Nicholas, Holmpton

As with the temporal property held in Holderness and in areas outside of Craven the interest held by the canons in the churches of Staveley and Holmpton is not mentioned in the Coucher Book, but were, fortunately, recorded by Dodsworth from the Cartulary. Bolton Priory appears to have held some claim to the advowson of the church of Staveley, although how they acquired this and from whom is unclear. It is known, however, that the acquisition had occurred before 1233, at which date the canons were party to a final concord with Ranulf son of Henry of Ravensworth and Alice his wife, whereby Alice's right to the advowson of Staveley was recognised, and the canons received a moiety of the mill at Airton with the suit of free men.<sup>233</sup> The Staveley family held land in Calton and Airton, some of which passed into the ownership of Bolton Priory,<sup>234</sup> and, from the final concord of 1233, it would appear that they also had at least the advowson of Staveley church. The acquisition of the mill at Airton may have been undertaken due its the location, in an area where the canons already held or leased land, something that is not known to have been the case at Staveley.<sup>235</sup> Although the final concord states that the canons were to receive a moiety of Airton mill there are no references to this property in the *Compotus*. This ambiguity is confused further by a reference to the church of Staveley in 1322-1323,<sup>236</sup> with which the canons had, supposedly, relinquished any association in the previous century.<sup>237</sup>

---

<sup>232</sup> CB, no. 153.

<sup>233</sup> Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 18. For the connections between Henry son of Ranulf and Alice his wife and other benefactors of Bolton, especially regarding Airton and Staveley, see *EYC*, vii, pp. 217-19.

<sup>234</sup> CB, no. 78.

<sup>235</sup> The difficulty of maintaining ownership of distant advowson in an area where other property is not held is illustrated by Long Preston.

<sup>236</sup> *Compotus*, p. 510.

<sup>237</sup> Whilst it maybe merely coincidental it is interesting to note that the pension from Coverham Abbey (Premonstratensian) for a moiety of the advowson of Kettlewell is not present in the 1322-1323 account, being 20s. in the previous years covered by the *Compotus*, and does not feature in the accounts which form the remainder of the *Compotus*. The amount stated as the pension of Staveley is also of interest, for, being 20s., it matches that figure previously attached to Kettlewell (*Compotus*, p. 510). The last reference to the pension from Kettlewell occurs in 1321-1322 (*Compotus*, p. 494). If taken in conjunction with the emergence of a reference to the church of Staveley, the disappearance of any record to the church of Kettlewell and the absence of any

Details regarding the chapel of Holmpton are more frequent than those concerning the church of Staveley, with the reference similarly contained in a final concord. Together with a significant amount of land and meadow, as well as one and a half pounds of cumin rent, in Holmpton, Penisthorpe, Thorpe and Great Hatfield, given by William de Malham and Alice his wife, the canons received a moiety of the advowson of the church (referred to as chapel) of Holmpton.<sup>238</sup> This spiritual property would, probably, not have amounted to any great level of influence or material benefit, although it could have acted as a centre for the accumulation of lands in Holderness. It may well be that the canons decided not to retain that particular element of the gift, and to profit by a later transaction, for it is not mentioned as one of their possessions in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.<sup>239</sup>

Although spiritualities played an important role in the finance and development of the property of Bolton Priory, the canons were more reliant on their temporal possessions, even if there was often a connection between the two. As well as welcoming gifts from numerous benefactors the canons actively sought certain properties, both temporal and spiritual, and were willing to invest in the subsequent acquisition and exploitation of their possessions. By the time of the Pope Nicholas IV's taxation, Bolton Priory appears to have achieved a degree of stability, although it was one of the poorer Augustinian houses in Yorkshire and,

---

reference to Airtton mill, could indicate that some clandestine agreement was made whereby it was really the ownerships of moieties of the advowsons of Kettlewell and Staveley which were being transferred, rather than the mill. This notion maybe supported by the union of the moieties of Kettlewell some time before 4 December 1344, at which date the church was appropriated to Coverham Abbey, (*Fasti Parochiales*, iv, pp. 71-3).

<sup>238</sup> Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 18. 'The advowson of the rectory of [of Holmpton] belonged to Aumale Abbey, which in 1209 acknowledged that Robert of Friboys had the right of nomination. It was probably also the nomination, described as the advowson, in which William de Malghum and John of Hollym had half shares in 1307; William's share was included in his gift to Bolton Abbey', and it was not until 1368 that Aumale Abbey held the advowson, passing to Kirkstall in 1396, (*VCH, Yorkshire, East Riding*, v, p. 53).

<sup>239</sup> *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v, *passim*. There is a mistaken reference to the prior of Bolton and patronage of the church at Stroxtun (Lincolnshire), which is probably erroneous for the prior of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Bolton, Northumberland, (*Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste*, ed. F.N. Davis, C&Y, 10, Lincoln Record Society, 4, (London, 1913), p. 33), for a later presentation specifically links the hospital to Stroxtun, (*Rotuli Hugonis de Welles*, iii, ed. F.N. Davis, C&Y, 4, (London, 1908), p. 135).

as with many religious houses, owed many debts.<sup>240</sup> This position was to be severely damaged by the numerous disasters that were to occur in first few decades of the fourteenth century. Bolton Priory, as well as many other monasteries, was affected by the royal demands and requests<sup>241</sup> that occurred in both times of peace and war. The conflicts against the Scots and France heightened the monarch's need for the assistance of his subjects, especially in terms of finance, both in ready money and provisions.<sup>242</sup> The Scots' invasions (1318-1322) forced their removal to safer locations, whilst their property was ravaged, and in the worst cases destroyed, despite all efforts made by the canons to protect their property.<sup>243</sup> In conjunction with these problems, the poor harvests and widespread murrain between 1315 and 1321 that had depleted their livestock seriously debilitated their economy. Bolton did make some degree of recovery from the trials of the early fourteenth century and continued to attract various benefactions in the following centuries, increasing its temporal property as well as augmenting its spiritualities until the Dissolution.

---

<sup>240</sup> Bolton was valued at £56 18s. 4d., whereas Bridlington was by far the wealthiest house, £215 14s. 2d., with the poorest being Drax, £26 7s. 7d., see *Taxatio*, p. 305. For the debts of Bolton Priory and their management see I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 168-78.

<sup>241</sup> *CCR, 1333-1337*, pp. 91-2, concerning 'the marriage of his [Edward III's] sister Eleanor to the count of Guelders'.

<sup>242</sup> Edward I made requests to Bolton for 'a cart of four horses and their harness and with two men' for the transfer of the treasury to Westminster in 1304, and although this was 'at the king's expense' it would have had some effect on the priory, (*CCR, 1302-1307*, p. 223); requests for victuals were made in 1310 (*CCR, 1307-1313*, pp. 260-1).

<sup>243</sup> Earth works, especially of ditches, had been constructed at several of the sites owned by Bolton that 'have the ring of defensive measures rather than strictly productive improvements', (I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 123).



## Chapter IV

### The Lost Cartulary, the Coucher Book, and Original Charters

#### The Lost Cartulary

The last record of the physical existence of the cartulary of Bolton Priory dates from the seventeenth century. In the July of 1627, along with several others including Roger Dodsworth, William Ingilby was requested by William London, on behalf of 'John Rauson, keeper of his Majestie's house of records and evidences, called St. Mary's tower at York', to deliver the monastic records in their possession to the aforesaid John.<sup>1</sup> This order was, however, ignored for Roger Dodsworth appears to have viewed the cartulary in 1638 and on 7 August 1643, noting that it was in the possession of William Ingilby of Ripley on both occasions.<sup>2</sup>

The whereabouts and ownership of the cartulary prior to and following these dates in the seventeenth century are a mystery. Following the dissolution of the monasteries records pertaining to each house were, in theory, intended to be transferred to the king's commissioners for safekeeping.<sup>3</sup> However, in practice many documents never entered into the Court of Augmentations in London or its subsidiary bodies around the country, possibly remaining in their original location due to the speed with which property was alienated, or being destroyed or lost before they could be accounted for or during transport to their new repository.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> 'MSS. at Ripley Castle', in *Memorials of the Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains*, ii, J.R. Walbran, Surtees Society, 67, (1878), pp. 97-106, at p. 98; for the letter see *ibid.* pp. 98-9.

<sup>2</sup> In 1638 the cartulary was 'penes Wm. Ingilby of Ripley', (G.R.C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: A Short Catalogue*, (London, 1958), no. 61), and in 1643 Dodsworth records that the cartulary was 'penes Willelmum Ingleby de Ripley Armigerum', (Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 1r); B.A. English and C.B.L. Barr mistakenly date the last use by Dodsworth of the cartulary of Bolton Priory to 1634, ('The records formerly in St. Mary's Tower, York', I, *YAJ*, 42, (1967-1969), p. 498).

<sup>3</sup> *L&P Henry VIII*, xi, p. 596.

<sup>4</sup> B.A. English & C.B.L. Barr, 'The records formerly in St. Mary's Tower, York', pp. 203-4; For the Court of Augmentations and its handling of monastic documents see W.C. Richardson, *History of the Court of Augmentations 1536-1554*, (Baton Rouge, 1961), pp. 475-89.

Although 'cartularies were generally lodged elsewhere',<sup>5</sup> it is not implausible that the cartulary of Bolton Priory was deposited at St. Mary's Tower, York, at some time after its use by Dodsworth but before the Civil War and the subsequent destruction of the tower, and was, like so many documents, destroyed with the tower.<sup>6</sup> However, it could also have been one of the many documents saved by Ferdinando, second baron Fairfax, or his son Thomas, who are known to have been involved in the salvage operation, possibly then entering new ownership, although there is no evidence to validate this hypothesis.<sup>7</sup> Another possibility is that it became the property of one of the Catholic families, such as the Towneley family in Lancashire into whose hands many monastic documents entered.<sup>8</sup> The possession of seven cartularies by the Ingilby family, would suggest that they had some interest in or connection with the documents.<sup>9</sup> One other hypothesis is that the cartulary entered into the possession of the Ingilby family following some connection with the Cliffords. There is reference to a certain 'Mr. Ingelby' working for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Cumberland in the compilation 'from the certificates of the bailiffs the long list of tenants whose holdings were now free to be leased at the Earl's pleasure' in 1602.<sup>10</sup> It is possible that this person was in fact William Ingilby or one of his predecessors, and that as a commissioner for the Earl of Cumberland he would have had access to the muniments of the family, including the cartulary of Bolton Priory, and that

---

<sup>5</sup> B. English & R. Hoyle, 'What was in St. Mary's Tower: An inventory of 1610', *YAJ*, 65, (1993), pp. 91-94, at p. 92. The cartularies of the monasteries of Fountains, Kirkham, Meaux and St. Mary's, York, are known to have been in St. Mary's Tower, B.A. English & C.B.L. Barr, 'The records formerly in St. Mary's Tower, York', p. 207.

<sup>6</sup> B. English & R. Hoyle, 'What was in St. Mary's Tower', p. 91.

<sup>7</sup> See B.A. English & C.B.L. Barr, 'The records formerly in St. Mary's Tower, York', pp. 214-16, 218 for references to those documents saved by members of the Fairfax family. Another person who was involved in the salvage and preservation of documents was Thomas Thompson, see *ibid.*, pp. 214-15, 218, 220, 222, 487. For the collections of the Fairfax family see W.J. Connor, 'The Fairfax archives: a study in dispersal', *Archives*, 11, no. 50, (1973), pp. 76-85.

<sup>8</sup> The Towneley family held the cartularies of Eastbridge Hospital, Canterbury, the Hospital of St. James, Canterbury, and Tockwith, alias Scokirk, a cell of Nostell, G.R.C. Davies, *Medieval Cartularies*, nos. 209, 958, 977.

<sup>9</sup> The Ingilby family appear to have held a large number of cartularies in comparison with other families, only being exceeded by the collections of Sir Robert Cotton who had 16 monastic registers relating to Yorkshire, and Dodsworth, who held 8 Yorkshire cartularies, although 'five of these are no more than fragments' B.A. English & C.B.L. Barr, 'The records formerly in St. Mary's Tower', p. 207. Another Augustinian cartulary to enter into the hands of the Ingilby family was that of Bridlington, but as with the mystery surrounding that of Bolton, W.T. Lancaster was unable to ascertain 'how it originally came into their possession', *Bridlington Chartulary*, p. iii.

<sup>10</sup> R.T. Spence, 'The Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland, 1579-1646: A Study of their Fortunes based on their Household and Estate Accounts', Ph.D. thesis, London, 1959, p. 109.

following the Earl's death in October 1605, the cartulary was not returned to its rightful owner. Another connection that is known to have existed between the two families centres upon the unsuccessful privateering enterprises of the third Earl of Cumberland whom Sir William Ingilby assisted in the raising of funds.<sup>11</sup>

By comparing the documents transcribed by both Roger Dodsworth and the scribe or scribes of the Coucher Book it is possible to build a fuller picture of the composition of the cartulary, for both texts have omissions and additions.<sup>12</sup> One benefit in the transcript of parts of the cartulary made by Dodsworth in 1643,<sup>13</sup> if it is a complete copy of the original cartulary of Bolton Priory, is the inclusion of folio numbers at the end of each document, presumably relating to that in the original.<sup>14</sup> This copy indicates that the cartulary was composed of a minimum of 162 folios, following a topographical arrangement, with a section devoted to foundation documents and other charters of the patrons at the start of the cartulary, followed by a topographical section which is divided by a segment of final concords, with the final folio containing what would appear to be documents relating to leased land.<sup>15</sup>

The earliest charters that appear to have formed the cartulary relate to the foundation of the house of regular canons at Embsay by William Meschin and Cecily de Rumilly in the twenty-first regnal year of Henry I (1120-1121) and the second pontifical year of Archbishop Thurstan (1119-1140). It seems most probable that the cartulary was started and completed some time shortly after the acquisition of Appletreewick, the largest segment of the work, the latest document relating to this being dated 1322. Although the majority of documents,

---

<sup>11</sup> For the privateering career of the third Earl of Cumberland see R.T. Spence, 'The Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland, 1579-1646: A Study of their Fortunes based on their Household and Estate Accounts', Ph.D. thesis, London, 1959, pp. 32-77.

<sup>12</sup> See Section Headings Table.

<sup>13</sup> This manuscript is referred to as Dodsworth MS 144, presently held in the Bodleian Library, and is the most complete of all the transcripts made by Dodsworth and his assistants with regard to the cartulary of Bolton Priory.

<sup>14</sup> Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 1r is marked 'in chartulario prioratus de Bolton in Craven', with a note on fo. 54r, 'finis libri de Boulton'.

<sup>15</sup> There are, however, another two documents, not numbered with any folio reference found on the first folio of Dodsworth MS 144 that would appear to be connected with an assize and an inquisition. The latter is also found in the Coucher Book, but towards the end, rather than at the start, possibly indicating that these documents were a later addition into the text of the book, or



primarily benefactions and confirmations, date from before the fourteenth century there are some which are from periods long after the first third of the fourteenth century. The benefaction of Richard Baker of Cononley and Alice his wife to the canons of Bolton of property in Cononley, dated 6 February 1449, is one example of a document that seems to have been added later, probably filling the blank part of a page.<sup>16</sup>

From the Coucher Book and Dodsworth's copy it would appear that the cartulary was written in the early fourteenth century. As with many other monastic cartularies, that of Bolton Priory was presumably composed for the 'purposes of reference and information', and to document legal claims on property.<sup>17</sup> Based on internal evidence of dating, the cartulary would appear to have been written during the priorate of John of Laund (?1286 x 1331), one of the most influential leaders of the house.<sup>18</sup> The influence of both John of Laund and his predecessor upon the management of Bolton Priory is also illustrated by the *Compotus*, which covers the years 1286-1325, for although this series of accounts was 'instigated by Prior John of Lund' it was 'continued and extended by his notable successor'.<sup>19</sup> A new desire from within the house or perhaps an enforced measure from outside, for example, during the archiepiscopal visitations by Giffard and Wickwane, who both 'found fault with the financial organisation in 1267 and 1280 respectively', may have been influential in the move to establish more systematic record-keeping.<sup>20</sup>

The particular motives for the composition of the cartulary may well have related to the purchase of Appletreewick and quite especially to the series of disasters that occurred during the early fourteenth century – appalling harvests,

---

perhaps even inserted on a loose sheet. For details of the supposed arrangement of the cartulary with reference to the Coucher Book and Dodsworth see below and Section Headings table.

<sup>16</sup> CB, no. 296; Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 36v, from Bolton Cartulary, fo. 90. For those documents which would appear to have been added to the Coucher Book see below.

<sup>17</sup> G.R.C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, p. xi.

<sup>18</sup> The importance of John of Laund as prior of Bolton is illustrated by I. Kershaw, who suggests that 'For Bolton the priorate of John of Laund was as important as that of Henry of Eastry, his exact contemporary, for Christ Church Canterbury or the abbacy of Geoffrey of Crowland for Peterborough', I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 13.

<sup>19</sup> *Compotus*, p. 7.

catastrophic sheep- and cattle-losses, Scottish raids. Royal protection for the monastery had been sought in the years prior to the departure of the convent from Bolton.<sup>21</sup> In 1320 the majority of the canons left Bolton to join other Augustinian houses because of the ever-present threat of further Scottish raids and the hardships imposed upon the house due to previous incursions.<sup>22</sup> Although ‘five senior canons’<sup>23</sup> remained at Bolton, the priory was effectively run by lay guardians, who were to remain in control of the estates for at least five years, seizing ‘the opportunity to establish a sound financial position’ at the house.<sup>24</sup> As they worked to establish this more advantageous economic situation it is feasible that the cartulary was created as a compact reference book, which could be consulted in place of handling the original documents. It, therefore, seems most probable that the cartulary came into being as a by-product of the reorganisation of the muniments in an attempt to ascertain and confirm the property of the priory, or that the fear of the risk of destruction, such as had been posed by the Scottish marauders, demanded a copy to be made urgently for the sake of posterity.

The conjecture that the cartulary was composed in order to provide a compendium of title deeds and, therefore, to give an overview of the canons’ properties is enhanced if the purchase of Appletreewick was a factor behind its creation. The section relating to Appletreewick, as is demonstrated by Dodsworth’s copy, would have been the largest segment of the cartulary (as it is of the Coucher Book), probably occupying some twenty folios.<sup>25</sup> Although not the canons’ most valuable acquisition – a distinction held by the church of Long Preston –<sup>26</sup> the possession of Appletreewick was influential in the economic life of the priory, and more importantly in relation to the cartulary, would appear to

---

<sup>20</sup> *Compotus*, p. 7; The compilation of a rental at some point during the 1280s may also be illustrative of a ‘financial tightening-up’ and the subsequent need for a better method of record keeping, (*ibid.*).

<sup>21</sup> The prior and convent of Bolton received , ‘Simple protection for one year’ in October 1319, which was extended to protection for two years in the following year, see *CPR, 1317-1321*, pp. 395, 506.

<sup>22</sup> The effect of the Scots upon Bolton Priory is indicated by the absence of the account for 1319-1320 due to ‘perditus fuit propter adventum Scotorum’; *Compotus*, p. 476, see note also.

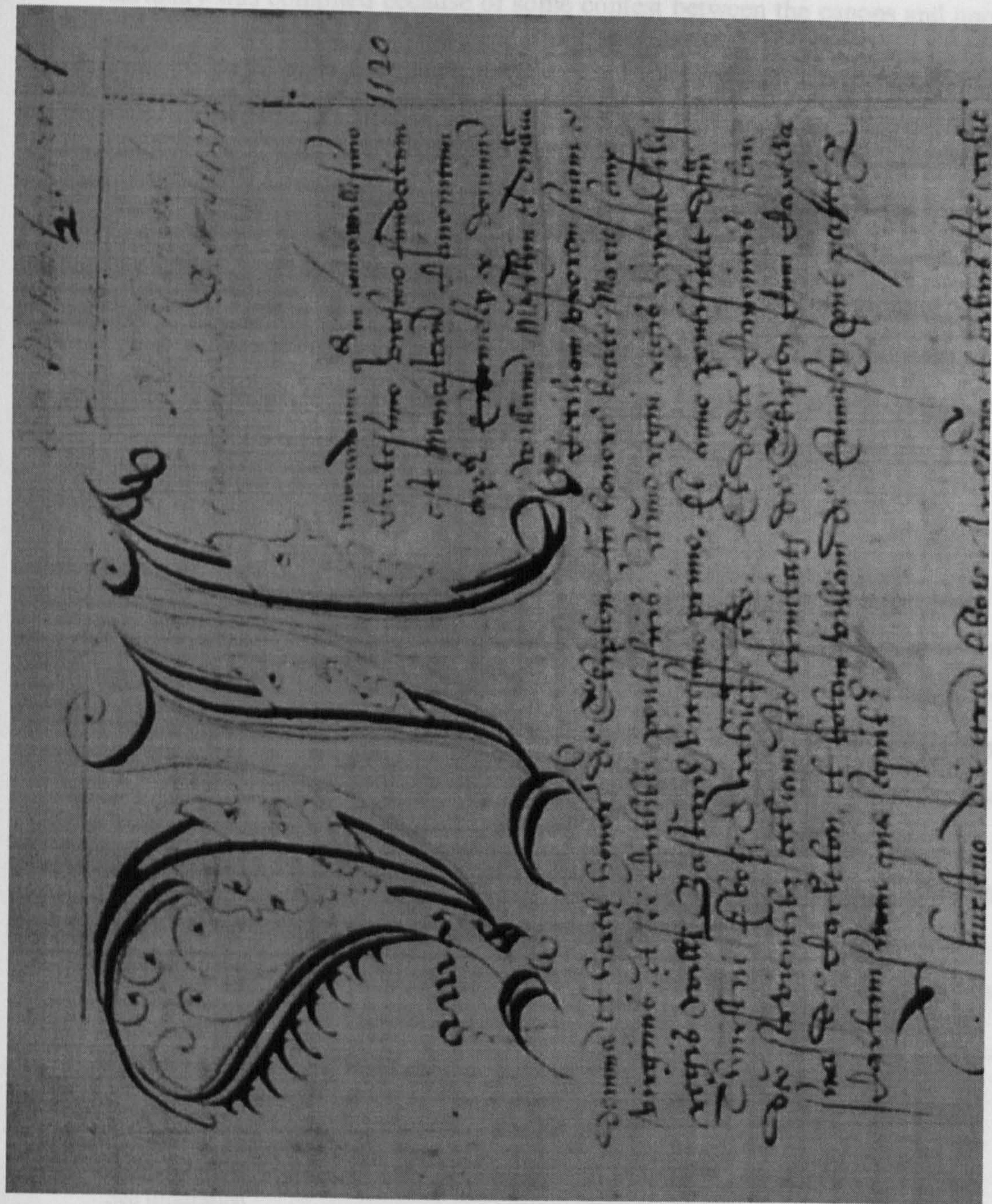
<sup>23</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 17.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

<sup>25</sup> Dodsworth MS 144, fos. 22-31v, which includes references to fos. 46, 53, 55-58, 61-66 and 72-73 of the cartulary.



have been the last large set of title deeds received into the priory's custody. The inclusion of the protracted legal contest which had preceded the casual acquisition of Appletrewick could also indicate that the cartulary was drawn up to safeguard their evidence of right to the land, and could even suggest that the cartulary was compiled because of some conflict between the priory and the king.



Coucher Book, fo. 2r.

<sup>20</sup> The Augustinian priory of Dunstable (Wiltshire) for example, is known to have had two cartularies, one from the twelfth century and a second, which apparently is a revision of the former in the thirteenth to fifteenth century. G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, nos. 66-67; for greater detail see *The Cartulary of Dunstable Priory*, ed. G. R. C. Davis, *Wiltshire Record Society*, 35 (Devizes, 1979), pp. 1-11.

<sup>21</sup> It would appear that two earlier versions of Dunstable Priory's cartulary still exist in 1880, although now only one is believed to exist. G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, nos. 66-67. The reliability of the transcript made by Dugworth of the Dunstable cartulary is supported by I.



have been the last large set of title deeds received into the priory's custody. The inclusion of the protracted legal contest which had preceded the canons' acquisition of Appletreewick could also indicate that the cartulary was drawn up to safeguard their evidence of right to the land, and could even suggest that the cartulary was compiled because of some contest between the canons and another party.

It is impossible to be certain whether any of the above factors - the Scottish raids, the purchase of Appletreewick, the influence of lay administrators and the priors of Bolton, or a legal wrangle in the offing - was in fact the primary reason for the compilation of the cartulary. It may have been started simply as an administrative task, possibly with the aim of securing the corporate history of the priory or following a reorganisation of the archives of the priory, but it is plausible that some crisis or momentous event acted as a catalyst for its creation, as had been the case at other monastic houses.<sup>27</sup>

The only evidence that has survived regarding the existence of a cartulary of Bolton Priory is found in the transcript made by Dodsworth, who states that the text was 'in chartulario prioratus de Bolton in Craven',<sup>28</sup> and by the title of the other document which would appear to have been copied from the lost volume, the 'Coucher [at] Bolton Abbey'.<sup>29</sup> It is not impossible that the differences between the transcript made by Dodsworth and the Coucher Book reflect an actual difference in the source from which they were taken, for some houses are known to have had multiple cartularies and other related documents,<sup>30</sup> many of which have been lost over the centuries.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, it would seem more

---

<sup>26</sup> See I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 115-16; for Appletreewick see *ibid.* pp. 114-15.

<sup>27</sup> Dover and Stoneleigh Priors, for example, were spurred into action by the loss of parts of their muniments due to theft, fire, decay and negligence; see T. Foulds, 'Medieval Cartularies', *Archives*, 18, no. 77, (1987), pp. 1-35, at pp. 23-5.

<sup>28</sup> Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 1r.

<sup>29</sup> See illustration.

<sup>30</sup> The Augustinian priory of Bradenstoke (Wiltshire), for example, is known to have had two cartularies, one from the fourteenth century and a later one, written 'apparently as a revision' of the former in the fourteenth to fifteenth century, G.R.C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, nos. 66-67; for greater detail see *The Cartulary of Bradenstoke Priory*, ed. V.C.M. London, Wiltshire Record Society, 35, (Devizes, 1979), pp. 1-11.

<sup>31</sup> It would appear that two cartularies of Guisborough Priory were still extant in 1868, although now only one is believed to exist, G.R.C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, nos. 465, 466. The reliability of the transcript made by Dodsworth of the Thurgarton cartulary is questioned by T.

likely, that both Dodsworth and the scribe of the Coucher Book made their transcripts from the same source, but with different purposes that influenced their respective contents.

### **The Coucher Book**

The Coucher Book is approximately 220mm by 320mm, with a depth of 40mm. The cover of the book has been written on twice, once giving a title 'Coucher [at] Bolton Abbey', the name being kept in order to distinguish it from the lost cartulary, and secondly giving what would appear to be a location reference, 'Drawer (P) No. 11'.<sup>32</sup> The title 'Coucher', another term for cartulary, refers to the compilation of material held by the canons of Bolton Priory.<sup>33</sup> Whether the original cartulary was referred to by this term is uncertain, although Dodsworth refers to the original as cartulary, perhaps indicating that this partial copy was called by a different name in order to identify the two copies, and possibly their purposes, which will be examined later.<sup>34</sup>

A limp vellum cover protects the text of the Coucher Book, which is written on paper. Whereas this type of wrap is usually a single sheet with the edges folded in order to strengthen the edges and corners, the cover of the Coucher Book is comprised of two sheets of vellum, perhaps indicating that expense was not an issue in its production. The use of two sheets of vellum is suggested by the various creases that are not mirrored on the outer and inner of the cover, as well as being made apparent by the worm holes that have been made in the sheets, some only affecting one whilst others have gone right through both. Apart from

---

Foulds, who states that it 'is clear that Dodsworth never saw nor abstracted from the original cartulary then in the possession of the Cooper family'; *The Thurgarton Cartulary*, ed. T. Foulds, (Stamford, 1994), p. cxcv.

<sup>32</sup> A similar reference 'Drawer (P) Bundle 13' has been found on the cover of a book of accounts of bailiffs of the Clifford family, created in 1613, (Unlisted Clifford Papers, Chatsworth House).

<sup>33</sup> 'Coucher' is an extension of the word 'Couch', for which the OED has two pertinent definitions, firstly, 'to set, place, put (together with others, in a list, category, etc.); to collocate, comprise, include', and secondly, 'to put together, frame, shape, arrange (words, a sentence, etc.); to express in language, put into words; set down in writing' (OED, Compact Ed. (Oxford, 1971), i, p. 572). Other words, apart from 'coucher', sometimes used to describe cartularies include 'register' and 'ledger book'.

<sup>34</sup> Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 1r, 'chartulario'; fo. 57r, 'cartulario'; Dodsworth MS 10, fo. 165r, 'chartulario'. Fo. 42r of Dodsworth MS 144 is titled 'Leigier of Bolton', with the following folio using, 'Bolton Leigier'; fos. 2-7, 8-19, 29-40, 45-54 'Bolton Reg.', with the fuller description of 'Bolton Register' on fos. 44-45; and 'Ad huc ex lib[ro] de Bolton' on fo. 41, marking the end of his transcription, 'Finis libri de Boulton', fo. 54r.

the holes made by insects, there are also three slash marks on the outside of the cover, approximately 25mm in length and only piercing the outer. The outer corners of the cover have been secured with lacing of vellum in a square arrangement, which are whole on the front cover, but both top and bottom squares on the back are damaged, with either one or two sides having become loosened and detached. The vellum skin on the inside of the front cover, at the bottom outside corner, appears to have split before the fore-edge was turned in and has been sown back together using linen. The binding is slightly concave but otherwise, as with the rest of the Coucher Book, in surprisingly good condition after over four hundred years of existence. There is evidence of lacing through, using vellum, in the outside of the cover, but this is more apparent at the middle of each section, where the stitching is clearly visible. Three lacing points can be seen using six holes, giving the appearance of a large stabbing stitch.

The Coucher Book has been bound in four sections, all of similar size, with the fourth being entirely blank, except for a couple of faint jottings on the reverse of the last folio. Why this should be is puzzling. It is possible that the book was assembled before the text was written, rather like purchasing a blank book today; or, that the text was written previously and the last blank section was added to enable further relevant information to be included.<sup>35</sup> The large size of the sections, all being over forty folios, makes this inclusion of a blank section even stranger, as the cost of paper was not insignificant, whether it was imported from the continent or produced at home.<sup>36</sup> The text gives no additional indication as to the intended use of the last section, as the previous three are not obviously self-contained and the last part of the third section gives the appearance of having been filled completely in several stages.

---

<sup>35</sup> Another, although unlikely, possibility is that this was the work of an amateur, maybe an early antiquarian, as the binding itself is not sophisticated.

<sup>36</sup> Paper mills appeared in England at the end of the fifteenth century, but production on the continent had occurred some time earlier, as early as the late twelfth century in France. Paper production in England did not flourish until the seventeenth century. For more detail of the history of papermaking see J. Grant, *Books & Documents. Dating, Permanence and Preservation*, (London, 1937), pp. 3-6. A rough indication as to the cost of paper maybe taken from the administration and inventory of the goods of Nicholas Pilgrim, a stationer and binder, Cambridge, 16 March 1545, which gives the following prices, 'ij Remys of paper ... ivs. viijd.' and 'queer of paper ... ijs.', (G.J. Gray & W.M. Palmer, *Abstracts from the Wills and Testamentary Documents of Printers, Binders, and Stationers of Cambridge, from 1504 to 1699*,



The blank pages provide an opportunity to view the watermark found in the paper with clarity not possible from those folios filled with text. The device found appears to be of a fairly simple pot, with the initials 'IB' being placed within a band. Although it is often possible to determine the origin and broad dating of a piece of paper from its watermark, at the present no identification has been possible.<sup>37</sup> However, it seems likely that the paper was of French origin, for the pot was a common watermark found in paper produced in France, and that it was manufactured in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.<sup>38</sup>

As has been briefly mentioned a similar reference to that found on the cover of the Coucher Book, 'drawer (P)', has been found on another document of the Cliffords held at Chatsworth House: a book of accounts of bailiffs created in 1613.<sup>39</sup> Although the paper with which these documents were written does not share the same watermark, the handwriting is similar, and there is some correlation of the places which are included. Although the Coucher Book appears to have been written in a number of hands, the majority seems to have been written in one hand, with the similarity with the bailiffs' accounts possibly indicating a date at the end of the sixteenth century or the start of the seventeenth century for the creation of the Coucher Book, and suggesting, too, that there was at that time administrative activity relating to the lands of the Cliffords.<sup>40</sup>

The first gathered section of the Coucher Book comprises of 23 bifolia, the second 25, the third 24 complete bifolia and one that has had the right hand folio cut out, and the fourth 21. The first four folios have not been numbered, but the

---

(London, 1915), p. 26), the cost of skins is also mentioned, although quantity is not, 'calfe skynnes ... xijd.', (*Ibid.*, p. 27).

<sup>37</sup> R.L. Hill, *Papermaking in Britain, 1488-1988*, (London, 1988), p. 32.

<sup>38</sup> The superior quality of French paper in comparison to that produced in England, meant that from 'fourteenth century onwards much of the paper used in England came from France', (W.A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the xvii and xviii Centuries and their Interconnection*, (Amsterdam, 1967), p. 58); for examples see *ibid.* pp. cccxlv-cccxlvi.

<sup>39</sup> See above; Chatsworth MS., Cliffords Yorkshire Misc., presently unclassified.

<sup>40</sup> Occasional margination in a seventeenth century hand is present in the Bolton Priory *Compotus*, especially with modernising of place names, such as Summerscales (near Storiths), (*Compotus*, p. 3 n.2). Later members of the Clifford family also appear to have been interested in documentary records, for three volumes were compiled for Lady Ann Clifford, including various transcripts, (Cumbria Record Office, WD/Hoth. Acc. 988/10, 10, 11). It may have been the need for an easily legible working text which resulted in the copying of the cartulary.

remainder of the book, one hundred and eighty five folios have been allocated Arabic numerals, including those that have not been filled with text. The continuous numbering suggests that the page that has been cut out, between folios 132 and 133, was removed prior to pagination. An area for the text has been marked out on each folio, being, on average, 140 by 250mm. The top margin usually contains the folio number, in the right hand corner, and a heading relating to the township or area in question. The margin at the base of the folio usually contains the link word to the following box of text, but there is one example of an astrological notation on fo. 92r. Occasionally, topographical section headings are found in the left hand margin, as well as other marginalia including additional information and brief descriptions of the document it accompanies,<sup>41</sup> and occasionally a pointing hand<sup>42</sup> or a mark with the semblance a shamrock.<sup>43</sup>

As with many other monastic cartularies, the arrangement of the Coucher Book is primarily topographical. The first five folios of text, with fo. 1 being blank, contain memoranda and charters dealing with the foundation charter of the priory, the benefactions of its patrons, the descendants of William Meschin and Cecily de Rumilly, as well as archiepiscopal notifications and the charters of various monarchs, including Henry II and Edward III. The Coucher Book then follows a topographical pattern, with some duplication of charters where they either relate to the patronal family and then a place or to two locations. The confirmation made by Alice de Rumilly of the gift of the mill of Silsden to the canons, for example, is found at the start of the Coucher Book and in the section headed Silsden<sup>44</sup> and the benefaction of Helto Mauleverer and Bilioth his wife is found under both Malham and Storiths.<sup>45</sup> The reasoning, if any, behind the order of places is unclear, with no parochial system or location in relation to the house either at Embsay or Bolton being obvious, nor any other method of arrangement,

---

<sup>41</sup> The Appletreewick section (fos. 47v-71v) contains the largest amount of marginalia, often accompanying transcripts of royal charters.

<sup>42</sup> CB, nos. 216, 220, 279. Two of these marks are found next to charters within the section relating to Appletreewick, with the third by a document concerning Kildwick.

<sup>43</sup> CB, nos. 409, 413, 414, 416. It is interesting to note that these all occur within the section relating to Storiths. It is possible that these were administrative markings, although they do not occur at the same point in the charters, with two being present in CB, no. 416.

<sup>44</sup> CB, nos. 10, 282.

<sup>45</sup> CB, nos. 106, 409.

such as the date at which acquisition began in individual areas, or even an alphabetical sequence, being apparent.<sup>46</sup>

Approximately a third of the way through the Coucher Book the topographical order is broken with a section headed 'Finalis Concordia'.<sup>47</sup> This segment is comprised of fourteen final concords, with seven of them relating to the churches of Long Preston, Broughton, Kettlewell, Keighley, and others concerning lands, properties and rights in Embsay, Yeadon, Hawkswick, Kettlewell, Appletreewick and Eshton. The inclusion of a memorandum and a charter of disafforestation of Wharfedale by King John within the final concords would appear to have been made on the basis that this was the most suitable location for documents of this nature which could not be easily integrated elsewhere.

The section of final concords precedes the next topographical segment, and one of the largest in the Coucher Book: Appletreewick. The Appletreewick section begins with a collection of legal documents relating to the claims of four contending parties for the possession of the property of Aveline de Forz who had died in 1274. The inclusion in the Coucher Book of documents produced during the proceedings may indicate a requirement, or at least the canons' desire, to have a copy of every piece of evidence available, should the legality of their ownership ever be contested. For example, as well as having copies of the main documents of the enquiry, such as the claims made by all four parties, the Appletreewick section also includes notes in French,<sup>48</sup> relating to the trial documents. The use of French is continued throughout the Appletreewick section, with many of charters being preceded with a note in French.<sup>49</sup>

The topographical arrangement continues until fo. 130v, after which point the nature of the contents alters, resuming a topographical section at fo. 134v. These

---

<sup>46</sup> I. Kershaw has noted that although there are exceptions there is a broad correspondence between the order of the Coucher Book and the administrative divisions that were applied to rents, as found in the rental of 1473, namely the focus upon 'those estates which lay in Craven' (*Bolton Priory Rental*, p. vii).

<sup>47</sup> CB, nos. 143-158.

<sup>48</sup> For example see CB, no. 170.

<sup>49</sup> For examples see CB, nos. 184, 188, 202, 209, 211, and for other examples of French see nos. 218, 220, 221, 226.



four anomalous folios, fos. 131-134,<sup>50</sup> include a miscellany of documents, which would not appear necessarily to have been of interest to the canons, and were therefore probably added by the scribe or composer of the Coucher Book, a notion which is supported by their absence in the transcript of the cartulary made by Dodsworth. Although the bounds of the forest of Knaresborough, written in English, a charter of Henry II, and the Philip and Mary material<sup>51</sup> are additional, the inclusion of an inquest at Skipton Castle<sup>52</sup> is, perhaps, more interesting as this is the second document in the transcript made by Dodsworth from the cartulary of Bolton Priory, but seems to have been a last minute addition by whoever was involved with the production of the Coucher Book.<sup>53</sup> Whilst this could indicate a change in how importantly an individual document was viewed it may simply also demonstrate how empty folios were utilised, for although it is noted that this was 'in principio libri', it is not assigned a folio, something which Dodsworth did for the rest of the cartulary, almost without fail, with the possibility of it being an insert being strengthened by the charters on the following folio being taken from fo. 1 of the text he was copying.

Whereas it would appear that fos. 2-132 of the Coucher Book were possibly written by the same scribe, this seems less likely for the Philip and Mary material, which has a less fluid style and seems to have been a later addition.<sup>54</sup> A far more noticeable change of hand occurs as the next topographically organised section: Harewood.<sup>55</sup> The first seven charters are written in a very different hand, and are littered with omissions and errors, for example Avice has been transcribed as Lucy,<sup>56</sup> suggesting that the scribe was unable to read whatever source he was copying from, more probably the cartulary than the original documents, as the order follows that of the transcripts made by Dodsworth.<sup>57</sup> However, the remaining entries in the Coucher Book in the section entitled Harewood, fifteen in total, are in yet another hand, with far fewer errors, similar

---

<sup>50</sup> CB, fo. 132v is blank.

<sup>51</sup> CB, nos. 443-445.

<sup>52</sup> CB, no. 442.

<sup>53</sup> CB, no. 442; Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 1.

<sup>54</sup> I. Kershaw believed that this section was probably 'added later in the 16<sup>th</sup> century as an appendix', (*Bolton Priory Rental*, p. viii).

<sup>55</sup> CB, nos. 452-467.

<sup>56</sup> CB, no. 448, 'Lucia'.

<sup>57</sup> Dodsworth MS 144, fos. 46-47v.

## Arrangement of Lost Cartulary

Heading	Parish	CB Folios	CB numbers	D 144 Folios	Cartulary Folios
[Foundation and Family charters]	Skipton	2-6	1-24	2-5	1-4
Halton and Eastby	Bolton Abbey	6v-7	25-26	5-5v	5
Halton	Bolton Abbey	7v-11v	27-33	5v-6	5-6, 8
Stirton	*Skipton	11v-12v	34-39	6v	9
Draughton	Bolton Abbey	13-13v	40-42	6v	9
Marton	*Martons, Both	13v-19v	43-63	7-8	10-13
Gargrave	Gargrave	19v-22	64-74	8v-9	14-15
Kirkstall		22v-23	75-77		
Airton	Kirkby Malham	24-26	78-85	9v-10	17-19
Scosthorp	Kirkby Malham	26-26v	86-88	10v	19
Hellifield	*Long Preston	27-27v	89-91	11	20
Long Preston	*Long Preston	28-31v	91-105	11v-12v	21-23
Malham	Kirkby Malham	32-38, 38-41v	106-127	13-14v	25-29, 115v.
			128-139	14v-16	30-33
Linton	Linton	41v	140-141	16v	33
Malham and Arncliffe	Kirkby Malham and Arncliffe	42	142		
Final Concords		42v-46	143-158	17-19v	34-40, 45, 82
[Holderness					
Appletreewick, initial page under different heading	Burnsall	47-71v	159-246	20-21v	41-43, 46, 49]
Cracoe				22-31v	46, 53, 55-58, 61-66, 72-73
[Kettlewell	Burnsall	72-79	247-269	32-33	75-80
				33v-34	81-82]

Heading	Parish	CB Folios	CB numbers	D 144 Folios	Cartulary Folios
Thorpe	Burnsall	79v-81	270-275	34v	83
Kildwick	*Kildwick	81v-82v	276-280	35	85
Silsden	*Kildwick	83-84v	281-285	35	85
Farnhill	Farnhill	85v-89	286-294	35v-36	88-89
Cononley	Farnhill	89-89v, 91-111v	295-296, 300-369	36v-39v	89-90, 92-95, 97-101, 103, 105-106, 116
Bradley	*Kildwick [Kildwick?]	90-90v	297-298		
Glusburn	*Kildwick	112-114	370-379	40	107
Eastburn	*Kildwick	114v-116	380-387	40v	110-111
Steeeton	*Kildwick	116v-119	388-399	41	113
Newsholme	Gisburn	119v-121	400-405	41v	114, 120v
Storiths	Bolton Abbey	121	406-408	42-44	115-119
Storiths and Beamsley	Bolton Abbey (and Addingham)	121v-129	409-	44	119
[Rodes in Menston Beamsley	Bolton Abbey (and Addingham)	129v-130v	436-440	44v	122]
Chapel inside Skipton Castle	*Skipton	130v	441		
Bounds of Knaresborough forest		131	442		
Henry II		131v	443		
Philip and Mary		132	445		
[Farnley	Otley	133-134		45-45v	123-124(?)
Harewood (not present 134v-135v)	*Harewood	134v-141	452-467	46-47v	125-127, 129, 130, 134]
[Weeton	*Harewood			47v	131]



Heading	Parish	CB Folios	CB numbers	D 144 Folios	Cartulary Folios
[East Keswick	*Harewood			48	133]
[Brandon and Wigton	*Harewood			48-48v	139, 141, 143]
[Rawdon	Guiseley			48v-49v	144-147]
[Yeadon	Guiseley			50-50v	148]
[Ryther	Guiseley			51	149-150, 153]
[Wentworth, including Street, and p. Wathe	Wathe in Birnsherd			51v-52v	155-157, 159]
[Wentbridge and Thorpe				53-54	162]

Section headings, found in top and left hand margin, in the Coucher Book, with indication of where omitted sections of the cartulary would have been. Those details placed within squared parentheses are not found in the Coucher Book but are thought to have been part of the lost cartulary because of their inclusion in the transcript made by Dodsworth (MS 144).

\* Indicates the possession of spiritual property by the canons of Bolton Priory.

to that used in the bulk of text, but with variations in size on different folios, for example there are 32 lines on fo. 137r and 39 lines on fo. 140v.

The arrangement and content of the Coucher Book is similar to the transcript made by Dodsworth, but there are some significant differences which may reveal the purpose of the Coucher Book's purpose and creator. The first important difference between the Coucher Book and the transcript made by Dodsworth is the omission in the former but presence in the latter of a section of documents relating to Holderness.<sup>58</sup> The exclusion of material relating to Holderness was, presumably, a deliberate act, as, from the indication of its size by the folio numbers of the cartulary included in Dodsworth's transcript, fos. 41-43, 46, 49, it would have been too large to have been accidentally passed over, unlike, for example the section concerning Rodes in Menston, which may have only filled one folio.<sup>59</sup>

The geographical location of Holderness, some hundred miles from Bolton, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, probably running under a separate administration from that of the house, may have resulted in the records of charters relating to that area being kept independently.<sup>60</sup> However, it seems more probable that the reason for the omission was made because Holderness was no longer part of, at least no longer being administered as part of, the estate, for which the Coucher Book was prepared as an administrative document for those areas it contained. The last suggestion bears greater credence if the Coucher Book is believed to be a post-Dissolution creation, as the Holderness lands did not pass to the Cliffords, with some lands remaining in royal hands until 1612, at which date it 'was granted to John Eldred and William Whitmore',<sup>61</sup> other property having been sold by the canons to John Constable in the fifteenth century.<sup>62</sup> The omission of Holderness underlines the hypothesis that a condensed copy of the cartulary was

---

<sup>58</sup> Dodsworth MS 144, fos. 20r-21v.

<sup>59</sup> Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 44v, from Bolton Cartulary, fo. 122.

<sup>60</sup> For example, Tockwith (*alias* Scokirk), a cell of Nostell at Tockwith, had its own cartulary (*The Chartulary of Tockwith, alias Scokirk, a cell to the Priory of Nostell*, ed. G.C. Ransome, YAS, RS, 80, (1931), pp. 149-206, 223-7). Breedon (Leicestershire) was another cell of Nostell that kept its own cartulary, see *ibid.* p. 153.

<sup>61</sup> VCH, *Yorkshire: East Riding*, p. 50.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51; for a history of the manor of Holmpton see *ibid.*, pp. 50-2.

made in order to clarify the status of the Clifford family's new possessions, even if the cartulary itself did enter their possession, together with the majority of property formerly held by the canons of Bolton. The Coucher Book would thereby have provided a more usable administrative document by which they could assert their claim to the land if any need arose.

Apart from Holderness other properties, although of smaller scale, are omitted from the Coucher Book. These include Kettlewell, Rodes in Menston, Weeton, East Keswick, Brandon, Wigton, Rawdon, Yeadon (all belonging to the administrative grouping in the Leeds area), Ryther, Wentworth, Street, Wentbridge and Thorpe, all of which lie outside the nucleus of the estates of Bolton Priory. Christ Church, Oxford, was endowed with property previously held by Bolton Priory.<sup>63</sup> This benefaction was fundamentally comprised of spiritual property including the churches of Long Preston, Broughton, Carleton, Skipton and Kildwick, as well as the former monastic chapel at Bolton itself and the pension from Kettlewell, as well as numerous appurtenances and tithes.<sup>64</sup> The grants of spiritual property to the dean and chapter of the cathedral of Christ Church, Oxford, rather than to the Cliffords raises questions about why material relating to those churches was included in the Coucher Book if it was, as suggested previously, a document relating to those lands late of the canons of Bolton, then held by the earls of Cumberland.

The inclusion of a document issued by King Philip and Queen Mary in the first and second years of their reign, respectively, (25 July 1554-5 July 1555),<sup>65</sup> following a medley of documents, referred to earlier, adds further complication to the dating of the document. Although it would indicate that the last document transcribed into the Coucher Book could not have been entered before 17 May 1555, the exact date at which the copy of the exemplification was added is

---

<sup>63</sup> Christ Church was initially known as Cardinal College (1525-1529), founded by Cardinal Wolsey, and being 'refounded in 1532 as King Henry VIII's College', J. Newman, 'Cardinal Wolsey's collegiate foundations', *Cardinal Wolsey Church, State and Art*, ed. S.J. Gunn & P.G. Lindley, (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 103-15, at p. 115. Altogether 'Cardinal College, Oxford, was endowed with the site and revenues of St. Frideswide's Priory, and with the revenues of twenty other monastic houses suppressed for the purpose ... with the addition of several Oxfordshire rectories', J. Newman, 'Cardinal Wolsey's collegiate foundations', p. 108.

<sup>64</sup> *L&P Henry VIII*, 18, p. 491; see also *ibid.*, 21, pp. 334-7.

<sup>65</sup> CB, no. 445.



difficult to establish, since the hand, of mid to late sixteenth century style, does not particularly resemble that of any other in the text. This exemplification does, however, help to piece together the administrative history of the Coucher Book. King Philip and Queen Mary appear to have issued it at the request of Henry, earl of Cumberland, who had acquired properties of the canons in 1541.<sup>66</sup> The motive behind for this request for an exemplification, with the reiterated charters dating back to the time of King John and the afforestation of lands in Appletreewick and Craven, as well as a fair in Skipton is uncertain. Its inclusion, however, may support the speculation that the Coucher Book was constructed after the dissolution of the priory in January 1539, upon entering the hands of the Clifford family, and that it was intended to be an administrative document, rather than a historical record of the priory, with the blank pages to be filled with copies of later important documents.

Although the Coucher Book contains many omissions in comparison to the transcript of the cartulary made by Dodsworth, there are also some additions, which assist in the process of dating the document. The section entitled Kirkstall, for example, not present in the copy made by Dodsworth, contains three documents: two relating to agreements with Kirkstall Abbey, bisected by a benefaction of land in Halton.<sup>67</sup> These documents would appear to have been arranged chronologically, 1223x1243, 1458 and 1482, but the grouping as a whole is unusual in comparison with the other sections in the Coucher Book, both in size and content. It would appear that these documents were transcribed into the Coucher Book at the time of its creation, but why they were included is unclear, and, conversely, why Dodsworth did not copy them, if both extant copies were made from the lost cartulary.<sup>68</sup>

Another section of the Coucher Book that contains copies of documents not found in Dodsworth's transcripts is that under the heading of Appletreewick. It is impossible to ascertain as to whether, like the Kirkstall documents, these documents had been part of the cartulary, for Dodsworth's transcripts do not

---

<sup>66</sup> *L&P Henry VIII*, 16, no. 167, p. 721; *Ibid.*, 17, nos. 283 (11), 881 (26), pp. 158-9, 491.

<sup>67</sup> CB, nos. 75-77.

contain reference to folios 67 to 71 of the cartulary, which is where, if they existed, they may have been located.<sup>69</sup> If the Coucher Book is an accurate copy of the cartulary these folios would have included transcripts of several letters patent issued by King Edward I and King Edward II,<sup>70</sup> two of extents of Appletreewick,<sup>71</sup> private charters<sup>72</sup> and other documents relating to legal matters.<sup>73</sup>

Some doubt is cast upon the hypothesis that the Coucher Book was created for use by the Cliffords, by the inclusion of lands which are not known to have entered the possession of the earls of Cumberland in the years immediately after the dissolution. Appletreewick, for example, is not mentioned in the lease made to Henry, earl of Cumberland in 1540 or in the grant of 1542,<sup>74</sup> presumably still in the possession of the family of Sir Christopher Hales (d.1541), who had acquired 'the manor of Appultrewyke alias Apuldre, Yorks' in 1539.<sup>75</sup> However, it is possible that the manor of Appletreewick entered into the possession of the Cliffords, during the lifetime of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl, who is thought to have been disposing of 'scattered and isolated manors in Yorkshire and elsewhere ... to purchase lands adjacent to his Craven estates'.<sup>76</sup> Likewise the omission of certain lands in the Coucher Book known to have been contained in the cartulary may indicate that its composition occurred following the disposal of certain properties by the Cliffords, such as Weighton [Weeton?], for example, which left the possession of the family in 1565.<sup>77</sup> This may indicate the earliest date after which the Coucher Book was created, for if the family had disposed of these properties there would be no reason to include them in the transcript taken from the cartulary.

---

<sup>68</sup> There is no mention of fo. 16 of the cartulary in Dodsworth's transcript, possibly indicative of an omitted section, i.e. Kirkstall, or, more likely, of a blank folio.

<sup>69</sup> For omission see Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 31v.

<sup>70</sup> CB, nos. 216, 233, 238.

<sup>71</sup> CB, nos. 217, 219.

<sup>72</sup> CB, nos. 235, 236, 240.

<sup>73</sup> For example, CB, nos. 222, 230.

<sup>74</sup> *L&P, Henry VIII*, 16 (1540-1541), 167; *ibid.*, 17 (1542), 283 (11).

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 (1539), i, 1354 (57).

<sup>76</sup> R.T. Spence, 'The Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland, 1579-1646', p. 12. This idea maybe supported by the inclusion of Woodhouse cum Appletreewick in the feodary survey of George, 3<sup>rd</sup> earl of Cumberland, made in 1573 (*Ibid*, p. 381).

The notion of the Coucher Book being an administrative document, possibly focused upon estate management maybe supported further by its similarity to the rental of 1473,<sup>78</sup> in its omission of certain properties, which ‘probably reflects some administrative division within the house’.<sup>79</sup> As with the Coucher Book, the rental does not mention those lands held by the priory in more distant locations, such as Wentworth and Weeton. Bolton Priory, however, must have held an interest, for the rental drawn up at the time of the dissolution gives these properties the values of £6 13s. 4d. and £4 12s. 10d. respectively, and they are known to have been given to the canons before 1473.<sup>80</sup>

The insertion of the section relating to Harewood at the end of the Coucher Book is another puzzling matter, for the first few folios are not given any heading and are written in two different hands.<sup>81</sup> One explanation is the possibly late acquisition of the canons’ lands at Harewood by the Clifford family, after which the appropriate section of the cartulary was copied into the Coucher Book ‘as an appendix’.<sup>82</sup> This would suggest that the Cliffords did not acquire Harewood until after 1555, for the charter of Philip and Mary, which occupies some of the folios between the section known to have been copied from the cartulary and that relating to Harewood, could not have been transcribed before the date at which it was created, and it would seem strange to have left three folios blank between topographical segments if the property had been purchased at the same, or a similar, time to the rest.<sup>83</sup>

The Coucher Book is presently lodged at Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. It would appear that, unlike the cartulary,

---

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11, citing *PRO Index, Pat. Rolls, 7 Eliz., pt. 6*; Brandon, Rawdon and Yeadon were disposed of in 1549 and 1559, respectively, (*ibid.*, citing *CPR, Ed. VI, iii, 60*; *Yorkshire Fines, Tudor, i, 231*).

<sup>78</sup> *Bolton Priory Rentals*, pp. 1-18.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. vii.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 36; Dodsworth MS 144, fos. 51v-52v, 47v.

<sup>81</sup> CB, nos. 452-467.

<sup>82</sup> *Bolton Priory Rentals*, p. viii.

<sup>83</sup> It would appear, from the rental taken at the dissolution of Bolton Priory, that the mills of Harewood had been leased, in 1534, to William Beane for a term of sixty one years, (*Bolton Priory Rentals*, p. 37), and perhaps therefore only became available for acquisition following his death.



it has been in the possession of the family from the time of its creation, presumably some time shortly after the acquisition of the lands of the former priory at Bolton. Although Chatsworth House is the Coucher Book's present home it has been kept elsewhere, for it is known to have been held in London at the offices of solicitors of the Dukes of Devonshire until the 1960s.

### Original Charters

For the reconstruction of the lost cartulary, as well as for the history of the house's estates, Bolton Priory is fortunate in that some twenty original charters known to have been copied into the cartulary, as well as a large number which are not found in the Coucher Book or Dodsworth MS 144, still survive.<sup>84</sup> The survival of these original documents provides the opportunity to appraise the accuracy of those copied into the Coucher Book and transcribed by Dodsworth, and also, therefore, the accuracy of the scribe who compiled the cartulary, for 'to depend upon any man's transcripts without comparing them with the originals will but deceive you'.<sup>85</sup>

More than one hundred original charters have survived, scattered to different locations since the dissolution of the priory and the distribution of its lands to new owners. The majority of the charters are presently housed alongside the Coucher Book at Chatsworth, and date from the twelfth century until shortly before the Dissolution.<sup>86</sup> Those relating to Bolton's churches which were acquired by Christ Church Oxford, for example, are located at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Other documents have entered the collections of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Leeds, and the British Library, London, as part of non-organic collections.

---

<sup>84</sup> The survival rate for original charters at Bolton is high in comparison to Thurgarton, for which none survive, and Lanercost, for which 'a random selection of ten, out of some 350 in the Cartulary' are extant; *The Thurgarton Cartulary*, p. cxci, and *The Lanercost Cartulary*, (*Cumbria County Record Office MSDZ/1*), ed. J.M. Todd, Surtees Society, 203, CWAAS, RS, 9, (1997), p. 29.

<sup>85</sup> *The Thurgarton Cartulary*, p. cxcv, citing D. Douglas, 'William Dugdale: the "Grand Plagiarist"', *History*, 20, (1935), pp. 193-210, at p. 195, (quote is by Dugdale).

<sup>86</sup> Until 2001 the estate office at Bolton Abbey still held some original charters relating to the lands of the priory; these have now been moved to Chatsworth.

Only just over twenty of the charters held at Chatsworth are found in the Coucher Book, raising questions about what was included and what was excluded from the cartulary, as well as from subsequent transcripts.<sup>87</sup> Very few charters of the patrons are included in this number, with only Cecily de Rumilly and William Meschin, Alice de Rumilly their daughter, and William de Forz II being represented. The other original charters that are contained in the Coucher Book relate to lands in Marton, Halton, Cononley, Hazlewood and Storiths, Beamsley, with the largest number, perhaps purely by chance, relating to property in Cononley.

The original charters held at Chatsworth and not contained in the Coucher Book are perhaps more interesting than those that are included. For example, of over ten original charters of gifts made by Richard de Pinkeny to the canons of Bolton,<sup>88</sup> as well as one made to his son, Randulf,<sup>89</sup> and another to Anabel the wife of Richard of Halton,<sup>90</sup> none is contained in the Coucher Book. The majority of these charters relate to land in Halton and refer to transactions made during the first half of the thirteenth century, in which Richard gave over ten acres of land as well as other property and rights, making him a conspicuous benefactor of the canons. Despite his generosity, however, there is only one reference to him, other than acting as witness,<sup>91</sup> in the appropriate section of the Coucher Book: a confirmation charter of William de Forz II, which included the gift of three carucates of land in Halton that Richard de Pinkeny had held and surrendered in the court of Skipton.<sup>92</sup>

The earliest original charter still extant at Chatsworth House is that of the notification to Archbishop Thurstan of York by Cecily de Rumilly and William Meschin, the founders of Embsay Priory, of their gift of the church of Skipton, which, as we have noted, they appear to have made jointly to the new foundation at Embsay and to the canons of Huntingdon.<sup>93</sup> No seal for this charter has

---

<sup>87</sup> CB, nos. 16, 27-30, 47, 59, 293, 307, 322, 327-332, 342, 343, 348, 350, 421, 427.

<sup>88</sup> Chatsworth Charters, no. 461, K19, B2, PB30765/1-7, 9, 11, 14.

<sup>89</sup> Chatsworth Charter, B5, (F2)57.

<sup>90</sup> Chatsworth Charter, L1, PP6.

<sup>91</sup> CB, nos. 41, 58, 59, 441, 422.

<sup>92</sup> CB, no. 26.

<sup>93</sup> Chatsworth Charter, B2, PB4865/24. For the connection with Huntingdon Priory see above.

survived; nor is there an extant seal for either Cecily or William. However, the charter itself, although damaged, provides an almost complete text with which to corroborate and clarify those charters for which only copies remain, as well as giving information about the founders' families.

The date of this charter is particularly interesting as it would seem to indicate that Cecily daughter of R[obert] de Rumilly made her own notification to Archbishop Thurstan following the death of her husband, William son of Ranulf [Meschin]. The inclusion of specific reference to the tithes of Skipton helps to clarify the ambiguity surrounding the extent of the original gift made by William and Cecily as displayed in the notification to the archbishop.<sup>94</sup> This notification is also of interest as it appears to have been created as a secondary charter supporting that originally issued by William and Cecily, as well as, to the best of our knowledge, being the notification to the archbishop of the gift of St. Andrew's church, Kildwick, which had been given by Cecily alone.<sup>95</sup>

The other original charters of the patrons of Bolton Priory now held at Chatsworth include two charters of Alice de Rumilly,<sup>96</sup> as well as an inspeximus of a charter concerning various rights of the canons concerning the fair at Embsay,<sup>97</sup> and a charter of William de Forz II.<sup>98</sup> Only one of the charters of Alice de Rumilly is found in the Coucher Book,<sup>99</sup> raising questions as to why the other was omitted.<sup>100</sup> The second charter relates to Keighley church: it is in such poor condition that it is impossible to tell whether it is a gift or confirmation, but taken in conjunction with the gift of Richard de Pinkeny it seems likely that it is the latter. There is not a topographical section relating to Keighley in either the Coucher Book or Dodsworth's transcript, suggesting that the original cartulary also lacked any documents relating to this spiritual property. Why this should be is unclear as the church was not inconsequential to the priory: in 1308 they were called upon 'to show their right, among other possessions, to a pension of a mark

---

<sup>94</sup> CB, no. 2.

<sup>95</sup> CB, no. 4.

<sup>96</sup> CB, no. 16; Chatsworth Charter, B1, PB10.

<sup>97</sup> Chatsworth Charter, B3, PB11065/54.

<sup>98</sup> CB, no. 47.

<sup>99</sup> CB, no. 16.

<sup>100</sup> Chatsworth Charter, B1, PB10.



from the church of Keighley', which they had received, and they made presentation of the clergy of the church, until the Dissolution.<sup>101</sup>

The number of royal charters for which originals survive but are not included in the Coucher Book are few. Some, granted in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,<sup>102</sup> are outside the scope of the cartulary, though these do help to create a fuller picture of the development of the priory's estates. Grants of free warren, made by Henry III and Edward II, including the grant of a fair at Appletreewick, do not appear in either the Coucher Book or Dodsworth's transcript.<sup>103</sup> The exclusion of a royal charter permitting a fair to be held at Appletreewick is curious as the acquisition of Appletreewick is well documented in the Coucher Book, which also contains reference to the fair at Embsay and its extension, for both fairs were profitable at the time the cartulary was created, with that at Appletreewick lasting until the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>104</sup>

Like other medieval estate-owners the canons of Bolton were plainly aware of the importance of documentary evidence to support their legal claims to property, which was probably one motive behind the construction of the cartulary in the fourteenth century. For example, the priory was called upon by Archbishop Greenfield to produce evidence of its right to the churches of Long Preston, Skipton, Carleton and Kildwick, for which the canons exhibited seven charters, five of which had been 'exemplified under the hand of Master Andrew de Tang, notary'.<sup>105</sup> The *Compotus* has record of payments being made for the duplication

---

<sup>101</sup> *Fasti Parochiales*, iv, p. 69. For the church of St. Andrew, Keighley see above.

<sup>102</sup> For example, Chatsworth Charter, B1 PB9 is the confirmation of customary rights to the priory by King Henry IV; Chatsworth Charter, B5 PB23166/1 is an inspeximus by King Henry VIII regarding the priory's right to common pasture.

<sup>103</sup> Chatsworth Charters, K12, 13.

<sup>104</sup> Although the canons acquired permission for a fair at Appletreewick in 1310, 'apparently, no advantage was taken of the grant at this time and it was renewed by Edward III in 1328' (I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 30).

<sup>105</sup> *Reg. Greenfield*, v, p. 208; Those exemplified by Master Andrew de Tang, were two letters of archbishop Thurstan, 'a third of William, the dean and chapter of York, a fourth of archb. H., a fifth of W., dean and chapter of York, with the other two being of Thomas, archbishop of York, and W., the dean and chapter of York, all of which were shown by the prior and convent in person. In 1298-1299 there is record in the *Compotus* of a payment of 10s. 8d. to 'Magistro A. de Tong' pro instrumento' which could relate to the above mentioned exemplifications. For details of Master Andrew de Tang, and his work as a notary see C.R. Cheney, *Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, (Oxford, 1972), pp. 58, 61-62, 66 n.5, 98, 104 n.5, 119, 121-2, 132-3, 165-6, 171-2, 184-5.

of charters, with, for example, 20*d.* being paid in 1317-1318 'pro carta domini Regis de perpetracione terrarum dupplicanda'.<sup>106</sup> Other references can be found in the *Compotus* of payments to the clerks of the archbishops for the charters related to the appropriation of Long Preston,<sup>107</sup> and for acquiring royal confirmation charters, such as that issued by King Edward I concerning a charter of Alice de Rumilly, over a century earlier, costing £5,<sup>108</sup> all of which indicate that the canons were willing to spend money upon the safeguarding of their property and rights, in addition to the initial acquisition of these assets.

During his 'research into the ecclesiastical antiquities of Yorkshire' James Torre noted the presence of various documents relating to Bolton Priory in St. Mary's Tower, York, which had survived the destruction of the tower some decades earlier.<sup>109</sup> Indeed an inventory of the contents of St. Mary's tower made in 1610 makes reference to 'iiij boxes wherin are diverse smale evidences belonginge to Bolton'.<sup>110</sup> Some of these 'smale evidences' must have surely been the charters recorded by Torre, although whether there were originally more than the eighteen charters noted in the index to the Torre's collection, of which only sixteen are present in the collection itself, is impossible to ascertain.<sup>111</sup>

Some of these charters recorded by James Torre may have come into the possession of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society (YAS), primarily as part of the Bradfer-Lawrence collection. Four of the charters held at the YAS are found in the Coucher Book, whilst an equal number do not appear to have been transcribed elsewhere.<sup>112</sup> One of the surviving charters is the notification made by Cecily de Rumilly to Archbishop Thurstan of the gift of Helto Mauleverer to the canons of Embsay of 'quadrugatam terre et dimidiam apud Malgu[m]'.<sup>113</sup> This charter, unlike the notification made by Cecily held at Chatsworth, has

---

<sup>106</sup> *Compotus*, p. 441.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184.

<sup>109</sup> *DNB*, 57, p. 63.

<sup>110</sup> B. English & R. Hoyle, 'What was in St. Mary's Tower', p. 93.

<sup>111</sup> B. English and C.B.L. Barr, 'St. Mary's', Appendix X, p. 507.

<sup>112</sup> There is reference to another charter relating to Bolton Priory in the catalogues of the YAS, MD 335 Box 71- MD 362, bundle 25, C26, which, unfortunately, could not be located under the new reference of MD 335 Box 41. It is hoped that this will come to light in the future.

<sup>113</sup> CB, no. 410.

stood the test of time exceptionally well, with very little damage or sign of wear and tear after over eight hundred years. It was written by Reginald the chaplain, who identifies himself in the witness list as 'scriptor huius carte', placing himself before the other witnesses.<sup>114</sup> There is a noticeable difference between the inks used for the body of the charter and for the witness list and its introductory clause. This may simply reflect a change in the type of ink used by the scribe or that the witness list was a later addition.

Other original charters are located at the Bodleian, as part of the archives of Christ Church<sup>115</sup> and Yorkshire (Charters) Religious Houses. The two charters in the later collection refer to land in Wentworth and York, whereas those forming part of the Christ Church archive focus upon the churches of Long Preston, Kildwick, together with Carleton, Broughton and Skipton, with one reference to Harewood, being properties which came into the possession of Christ Church following the Dissolution. The majority of these documents date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, although within those relating to Carleton there is one from the end of the twelfth century from Peter son of Grent, and another from the early thirteenth century issued by the Everard the son of Peter Grent.<sup>116</sup>

The other extant charters are found in the British Library. These include a benefaction made by Hamlin of Weardley to the canons<sup>117</sup> and a final concord made between Bolton Priory and Peter son of Grent concerning the church at Carleton.<sup>118</sup> This latter deed is of particular interest as it gives some indication of how clergy could be chosen for a particular church, in this instance at the request of the family who had made a gift of their claim to the advowson of the church at

---

<sup>114</sup> For a brief discussion of the position of the scribe in witness lists see J.H. Hodson, 'Medieval charters: the final witness', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 5, no. 2, (1974), pp. 71-89, at pp. 86-7. Reginald consistently uses the tagged e [ǣ] for the first and last letters of 'ecclesie', and to a lesser degree he used a symbol to represent the 'us' ending.

<sup>115</sup> For the archives of Christ Church see N. Denholm-Young, *Cartulary of the Medieval Archives of Christ Church*, (Oxford, 1951), pp. 175-9 for Bolton Priory.

<sup>116</sup> Bodleian, Christ Church, M 120-121.

<sup>117</sup> British Library, Add. Ch. 16706.

<sup>118</sup> British Library, Add. Ch. 20562.



Carleton.<sup>119</sup> Another interesting charter not found contained in the Coucher Book or Dodsworth's transcripts concerns permission given by prior John of Laund and the canons of Bolton for John Scot of Calverley to convey property to the Lady Isabel of Calverley, prioress of Esholt, and most probably a relative of John Scot. It would seem likely that this charter, if contained in the cartulary originally (which seems doubtful as there are few instances of charters made by the canons in either the Coucher Book or the transcripts made by Dodsworth), would have been in the section devoted to Yeadon.<sup>120</sup> The original, which has survived, was part of the collection of Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan, Baronet, presented to the British Museum in 1866.<sup>121</sup>

Although no other original charters are known to be extant, fortunately, Dodsworth made transcripts of material relating to Bolton other than that found in the cartulary. Dodsworth MS 76, for example, contains a benefaction made by William son of Gilbert of Ryther to the canons of a toft in Ryther called Hill, as well as other properties.<sup>122</sup> This charter is different in comparison with the other benefactions made to Bolton Priory as the body of the text, which is in Latin, is preceded and followed by sections in French, indicating that it is the confirmation made by the Earl of Lancaster 15 December 1315. Other charters transcribed by Dodsworth include those for which only abstracts made from the cartulary are known, such as the final concord made between the priory and William of Malham and Alice his wife, regarding the property in Holderness,<sup>123</sup> as well as charters for which we have no other copy, for example, the gift of Richard de Legarton of two bovates of land in Weeton.<sup>124</sup> Fortunately, like Torre, Dodsworth, on occasion, recorded the location of the material he was

---

<sup>119</sup> Other charters concerning the church at Carleton, including the gift of the advowson of Carleton by Peter son of Grent and the quitclaim made by Everard his son are found at the Bodleian as part of the Christ Church Archive, M 120, M 121.

<sup>120</sup> The section relating to Yeadon appears to have occupied fo. 148; see Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 50r-50v.

<sup>121</sup> *The Calverley Charters presented to the British Museum by Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan, Baronet*, vol. i, ed. W.P. Baildon & S. Margerison, transcribed S. Margerison, Thoresby Society, 6, (Leeds, 1904), p. v.

<sup>122</sup> Dodsworth MS 76, fo. 147r.

<sup>123</sup> Dodsworth MS 148, fo. 89r-89v; Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 18r. William of Malham was of great importance in the priory's acquisition of property in Holmpton and Calton. See I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 87-8, 116 and *Compotus*, p. 208.

<sup>124</sup> Dodsworth MS 83, fo. 4r.

transcribing, and, therefore, it is known that several original charters were held at Skipton castle during his visit there in 1646.<sup>125</sup>

### The Charters of the Founders

Neither the original nor any copy of the foundation charter of Embsay Priory has survived. The only specific reference to the date at which the house of regular canons was established at Embsay comes in a memorandum at the beginning of the cartulary, which states that it was founded, ‘in anno millesimo centesimo vicesimo’ in ‘anno regni regis Henrici filii regis Willelmi Bastardi vicesimo primo, et anno pontificis domini Thurstini Ebor’ archiepiscopi secundo’,<sup>126</sup> that is between 19 October 1120, which was the start of the second year of Thurstan’s reign as archbishop of York, and 4 August 1121, which would have been the last day of the twenty-first regnal year of Henry I. It is probable that the foundation occurred between February and March of 1121 (1120 following the use of Lady Day, 25 March, as the start of the new year), for it was only in the February of that year that Archbishop Thurstan entered York.<sup>127</sup>

Although it is possible to conjecture a date for the foundation of the monastery at Embsay, it is impossible to say what this meant in practice, whether the convent was fully established, with all conventual buildings erected or whether it was still in an embryonic state.<sup>128</sup> The notification made to Archbishop Thurstan by both William Meschin and Cecily [de Rumilly] his wife is written in the present tense, ‘sciatis quod nos damus et concedimus’, which may indicate that this was the year in which the first gift was made for the establishment of a house of regular canons.<sup>129</sup> It is interesting to note that in a later archiepiscopal notification made by Cecily, William is represented as the sole benefactor of the gifts made to St. Mary’s, Huntingdon, and St. Cuthbert’s, Embsay, for rather than using the plural, the singular is used, ‘Willelmus filius Ran’ dominus et maritus meus

---

<sup>125</sup> Dodsworth MS 83, fo 1r, ‘This booke conteyneth transcript[es] of Deedes remayning in Skipton castle in com’ Ebor’ 1646’.

<sup>126</sup> CB, no. 1.

<sup>127</sup> C.R. Cheney, *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History*, (Cambridge, 1996), p. 4. For the various dates chosen as the start of the year see *ibid.*, pp. 3-6.

<sup>128</sup> For the difficulties associated with foundation charters see V.H. Galbraith, ‘Monastic Foundation Charters of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries’, *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 4, no. 3, (1934), pp. 205-22 and 296-8, 215-22.

<sup>129</sup> CB, no. 2.

concessit'.<sup>130</sup> This may have been an attempt by Cecily to show how worthy her husband was of the prayers of the religious from those houses, for her confirmation is being made for the souls of her late husband, as well as her son, and others. This seems to be the most reasonable explanation as to why William is given greater importance than Cecily, for apart from the gift of Holy Trinity church, Skipton, the other benefactions mentioned in the confirmation, including St. Andrew's church, Kildwick, were made solely by Cecily following the death of her husband.

The motive stated by Cecily de Rumilly in her benefactions to the canons focuses upon the salvation of souls. St. Andrew's church, Kildwick, for example, was given for the souls of her husband, William Meschin, and her sons, Ranulph and Matthew, as well as for those of herself and her daughters, whose names, unlike those of their brothers, are not listed.<sup>131</sup> However this all-inclusive request for family salvation is not found in Cecily's other benefaction, which merely desires the salvation of the souls of herself and her parents.<sup>132</sup>

The notifications made by Cecily de Rumilly to the archbishops of York, as well as those made in conjunction with her husbands, differ in their salutation clause. For example, that made by Cecily and William Meschin, is addressed to 'Thurstino Dei gracia Ebor' archiepiscopo et omnibus sancte ecclesie filiis',<sup>133</sup> whereas the notification made by Cecily herself is more verbose, referring to 'Karissimo domino et patri suo domino archiepiscopo Ebor' et omnibus Cristi fidelibus presentibus et futuris'.<sup>134</sup> When she informs the archbishop of the benefaction made to the canons of Embsay by Helto Mauleverer, yet another form of salutation is used, 'T. Dei gracia Ebor' archiepiscopo et omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis necnon et omnibus hominibus suis atque amicis', elaborating the address still further.<sup>135</sup> The damage which the extant original charter has suffered makes it very difficult to establish the phrase used by Cecily in her notification to Thurstan of a host of benefactions, although it is interesting

---

<sup>130</sup> Chatsworth Charter, B2, PB4865/24.

<sup>131</sup> CB, no. 4.

<sup>132</sup> CB, no. 6.

<sup>133</sup> CB, no. 2.

<sup>134</sup> CB, no. 8.



to note that she refers to herself as both daughter and wife,<sup>136</sup> whereas in the other notifications she has been called Cecily, described as the wife of William Meschin,<sup>137</sup> or Cecily de Rumilly.<sup>138</sup>

The introductory clause used by Cecily de Rumilly also varies within her benefaction charters, although she does usually identify herself simply as Cecily de Rumilly. Whilst the charter relating to her benefaction of the vill of Kildwick is addressed to 'omnes qui sunt et venturi sunt',<sup>139</sup> the gift of St. Andrew's, Kildwick, uses 'omnibus has literas auditoris vel visuris',<sup>140</sup> whilst her confirmation of the benefaction of Helto Mauleverer is addressed to 'omnes tam futuri quam presentes'.<sup>141</sup> 'Sciatis' or 'Sciatis me' appear to have been the only forms preceding these variations, although in her joint charters with her first husband the plural form is used, 'Sciatis quod nos'.<sup>142</sup>

The majority of the charters connected with Cecily de Rumilly use the simple greeting 'salutem', although two of the notifications made to Archbishop Thurstan contain the slightly longer, 'salutem in Domino'.<sup>143</sup> However, two of her charters, as well as those made with her second husband, Henry de Tracy, do not contain any salutation, moving straight into the main text of the document.<sup>144</sup>

The documents issued by the founders of the priory at Embsay to the regular canons they had established there speak of the house in a number of ways. Cecily de Rumilly refers to the priory by both a single dedication, the church of St. Cuthbert, and its double dedication, the church of St. Mary and St. Cuthbert. However, the dedication of the priory is sometimes unclear, for it is simply referred to as a church, with the benefaction being made to God, Mary and Cuthbert. Although the benefactions made by Cecily refer to the foundation at

---

<sup>135</sup> CB, no. 410.

<sup>136</sup> Chatsworth Charter, B2, PB4865/24.

<sup>137</sup> CB, no. 2.

<sup>138</sup> CB, no. 8.

<sup>139</sup> CB, no. 6; a similar address is used in the charter made by Cecily with Henry de Tracy and in her benefaction relating to Harewood, see CB, nos. 278, 446.

<sup>140</sup> CB, no. 4.

<sup>141</sup> CB, no. 411; This address is identical to that used in the charter made by Helto, CB, no. 409.

<sup>142</sup> CB, no. 2.

<sup>143</sup> Chatsworth Charter, B2, PB4865/24.

Embsay as a church the grants *in proprios usus* made by Archbishops Thurstan and Henry Murdac refer to the holy college of blessed Cuthbert of Embsay and the college of St. Cuthbert of Embsay respectively, most likely demonstrating an ambiguity of terminology, as the gifts prior to these archiepiscopal grants refer to the church of St. Cuthbert.<sup>145</sup>

It is in the benefactions of the mills of Silsden and Harewood that the extent of the legal rights of the canons over these acquisitions is most fully described. These particular charters have some similarities between them, including rights of forfeiture, with Cecily declaring that those who fall under those rules will be compelled or coerced by herself and her heirs into adhering to them.<sup>146</sup> Cecily's other charters do not contain such stringent regulations, although these may have been assumed by those whom the benefactions concerned, such as the inhabitants of Kildwick, where the whole vill together with its mill and the soke of the mill, as well as the church, passed from the lordship of Cecily de Rumilly into that of the prior and canons of Bolton.<sup>147</sup>

Two of Cecily's charters include the valediction, 'Valete', whereas all the others in her name lack this detail.<sup>148</sup> In the notification made to Thurstan of the gift of Helto Mauleverer 'valete' precedes the witness list, whereas in the charter made with Henry de Tracy it follows the witnesses. It is unusual to find a valediction this early, with the practice gaining favour in the thirteenth century.<sup>149</sup> It is possible that the scribes of these charters were uncertain about the protocol normally used in the construction of charters and therefore used 'valete' to signal the end of the document, possibly with addition of the witness list afterwards as the body of the charter had already been drawn up beforehand.

---

<sup>144</sup> CB, no. 6, 411, 278; Dodsworth MS 8, fo. 12r.

<sup>145</sup> 'sancto collegio beati Cuthberti de Emmesey' and 'collegium sancti Cuthberti de Emmesey'; *Mon. Angl.*, vi, p. 204, nos. 12, 13; CB, nos. 4, 92; *EEA* v, nos. 33, 108.

<sup>146</sup> CB, nos. 8, 446; 'Ego et heredes mei compellemus eum illud sequi' and 'mea et heredum meorum choerebunt eos eadn' molend' sequi' respectively.

<sup>147</sup> CB, nos. 4, 6.

<sup>148</sup> CB, nos. 278, 410.

<sup>149</sup> For the use of a valediction in the *acta* of the archbishops between 1070 and 1154 see, *EEA* v, pp. xlviiii-xlix.

Whilst the benefactions of Cecily de Rumilly are witnessed by a variety of people, including important landholders of the honour of Skipton, her notifications to Archbishop Thurstan appear to be witnessed by those who were connected to the founders' household, although there is an overlap between the two types of document. Reiner the steward, for example, referred to also as Reiner Flandrensis, appears as a witness to all three of the notifications known to have been made by Cecily alone to Thurstan, as well as to a number of her other charters.<sup>150</sup> It is likely that he was the steward of William and Cecily, acting as witness to their charters to a number of religious houses, including St. Mary's, Huntingdon.<sup>151</sup> Another witness who appears to have had some official capacity within the honour of Skipton is Ivo the constable, who occurs in those confirmation charters copied into the Coucher Book,<sup>152</sup> and who is thought to have been the same person as Ivo [son of William] son of Aschetil, who witnessed two benefactions made by Cecily de Rumilly to the canons of Embsay.<sup>153</sup>

The majority of the witnesses of Cecily de Rumilly's benefactions appear to be major landholders of the honour of Skipton, some of whom also made gifts to the canons. Helto Mauleverer, for example, occurs as a witness to Cecily's benefactions to the canons of Embsay, and is one of the canons' earliest benefactors who was not a member of the patronal family. The first four witnesses listed in Helto's benefaction to the canons of land in Malham are identical with those in the notification made by Cecily to Archbishop Thurstan.<sup>154</sup> However, many of those who acted as witness to Cecily's charters, such as Ranulf of Lindesey and Walter de Vianes, are not known to have made any further act of support towards her foundation at Embsay.

Reginald the chaplain was the scribe of the notification issued by Cecily de Rumilly to Thurstan regarding the benefaction made by Helto Mauleverer to the canons of Embsay, and is the first to appear in the witness list, describing himself

---

<sup>150</sup> CB, nos. 8, 107, 281, 410, 446; Chatsworth Charter, B2, PB4865/24.

<sup>151</sup> For details of Reiner Fleming see *EYC*, vii, pp. 195-6.

<sup>152</sup> CB, nos. 8, 107, 281, 410.

<sup>153</sup> CB, nos. 411, 446.



as 'scriptor huius carte'.<sup>155</sup> Another scribe, Hugh the chaplain, also starts the witness list in the confirmation charter made by Cecily concerning the aforementioned gift of Helto Mauleverer.<sup>156</sup> The witness list to this particular charter is also different from the other early charters, being preceded by the phrase 'Huius confirmationis advocati sunt testes', a slightly more verbose expression than is normally found with regard to the charters of the founders.<sup>157</sup> Unfortunately it is not recorded to what or whom Reginald and Hugh were chaplains. They could have been connected with the priory, with Helto Mauleverer, with Cecily de Rumilly, or even with Archbishop Thurstan.

The charters of Cecily de Rumilly do not contain any corroboration clauses, though they were presumably sealed with wax. Although one of the extant original charters gives no indication of whether a seal would have been affixed or not, since the majority of the foot of this document is missing,<sup>158</sup> the other issued by Cecily, notifying Archbishop Thurstan of the gift of Helto Mauleverer, appears to have had a seal attached to the top left hand corner of the charter, so that it would have still been visible even when the charter was closed, although at some point the seal has been folded and stitched, the area of which now appears to contain fragments of wax.<sup>159</sup> Although the impression or legend that would have been found on Cecily de Rumilly's seal is unknown, a sketch made by Dodsworth does partially record that of her second husband, Henry de Tracy, under a benefaction to which Cecily was party, relating to the gift of Kildwick to the canons of Embsay.<sup>160</sup>

The charters of Alice de Rumilly, the daughter of Cecily de Rumilly and William Meschin, who assumed the patronage of Bolton Priory, are more numerous than those of her parents, even with the inclusion of those which were made by her

---

<sup>154</sup> CB, nos. 409, 410. Different witnesses appear in the confirmation made by Cecily, (CB, no. 411), as well as a different scribe to the benefaction made by Helto.

<sup>155</sup> CB, nos. 107, 410.

<sup>156</sup> CB, no. 411.

<sup>157</sup> 'Hiis testibus', or 'Hiis sunt testes' is more usually found, although the confirmation made by Cecily de Rumilly and Henry de Tracy uses a more similar phrase, 'Huius donationis testes sunt', CB, no. 278.

<sup>158</sup> Chatsworth Charter, B2, PB4865/24.

<sup>159</sup> CB, no. 410.

<sup>160</sup> Dodsworth MS 8, fo. 12r.

mother's second husband, Henry de Tracy. This tally is augmented further if taken in conjunction with those charters made by or with Alice's first husband, William son of Duncan, who, unlike her second husband, Alexander son of Gerold, is known to have been involved with grants of lands to the canons.

The form of address used by Alice de Rumilly is slightly different than that found in the charters of her mother, frequently making use of phrases such as 'omnibus tam presentes quam futuri temporis sancte ecclesie filiis',<sup>161</sup> and even when a charter is addressed personally to Archbishop Thurstan and Osbert the archdeacon, 'omnibus sancte matris fidelibus' is inserted as part of the notification.<sup>162</sup> The briefest address found in a charter of Alice de Rumilly relating to the canons of Bolton refers simply to 'omnibus hominibus'.<sup>163</sup> There is one unusual address, the only example of its kind found in the Coucher Book or the transcript made by Dodsworth, in a notification made by William son of Duncan, which refers to 'omnibus hominibus de Crava, Francis et Anglis'.<sup>164</sup>

Although the majority of the charters of Alice de Rumilly are grants to the canons of Bolton, the earlier ones, together with her husband, William son of Duncan, were, presumably, made whilst the canons were still at Embsay.<sup>165</sup> William appears to have made the notification of the gift of the vill of Kildwick under his own authority, although it was with Cecily de Rumilly, his mother-in-law, that he placed a knife upon the altar of St. Mary and St. Cuthbert,<sup>166</sup> and it was Alice, alone who confirmed her mother's benefaction.<sup>167</sup>

The consent of interested parties is stated in the charters of Alice and William. In the notification made to Archbishop Henry Murdac, for example, although it is

---

<sup>161</sup> CB, no. 16.

<sup>162</sup> CB, no. 14.

<sup>163</sup> CB, no. 21.

<sup>164</sup> CB, no. 12.

<sup>165</sup> The new name of Bolton was not always immediately used in reference to the house of Augustinian canons that had moved there from Embsay. Their previous residence was used as reference as late as 'Michaelmas 1162, when the monks [*sic*] of 'Ebesi' [evidently Embsei], were pardoned 5s. for danegeld in Yorkshire', (*EYC*, vii, p. 66, citing *Pipe Roll 8 Henry II*, p. 52). However, it is believed that William son of Duncan died before 1154, so the use of 'Embsay' after the translation to Bolton can in this case be discounted.

<sup>166</sup> CB, no. 6.

<sup>167</sup> Dodsworth MS 8, fo. 12v.

William son of Duncan who sends greetings it is stated that the gift of All Saints church, Broughton had been made by himself and 'Aeliz de Rumelli uxor mea'.<sup>168</sup> It is, however, in Alice's charters that the importance of securing the assent of anyone who could in future lay claim to a benefaction and thereby render it invalid, is more visible. The translation of the canons from Embsay to Bolton, for example, was undertaken with 'consessu et assensu Willelmi filii et heredis mei et filiarum mearum', with William of Egremont, her son, also acting as witness to the charter.<sup>169</sup> The consent, as well as the counsel, of William son of Duncan, is recorded in the confirmation made by Alice de Rumilly of the gift of Helto Mauleverer (which had been made with 'assensu uxoris sue Bilioth').<sup>170</sup>

As in her mother's charters relating to the mill of Silsden, the confirmation made by Alice contains clauses concerning forfeiture. Elsewhere, like the charters of her mother, the state in which the canons should hold their possessions is mentioned. In one charter Alice orders that the canons of Bolton should hold 'omnes supradictas terras et possessiones et libertates bene et in pace, iuste et honorifice, libere et quiete'.<sup>171</sup> The charter by which the canons were transferred from Embsay to Bolton also contains the first example of a warranty clause by the patrons of the priory, and the only one by Alice de Rumilly.<sup>172</sup>

In several of Alice de Rumilly's charters the first section acts as a confirmation of previous benefactions, such as her parents' gifts to the canons of Embsay, whilst the second section concerns gifts being made at the present time by Alice. These include, in one charter, the confirmation of the gifts made by herself and by Helto Mauleverer, as well as a new benefaction of 'liberam schaciam'.<sup>173</sup> Although this division is also found in other charters, for example her confirmation of the vill of Kildwick which also contains the gift of 'bonam placeam in singulis villis meis et hamlettis' as well as 'liberum transitum', the majority of Alice's charters are written in only one tense.

---

<sup>168</sup> CB, no. 14.

<sup>169</sup> CB, no. 16.

<sup>170</sup> CB, no. 108.

<sup>171</sup> CB, no. 19.

<sup>172</sup> CB, no. 16.



There are some similarities between the witnesses chosen by Alice de Rumilly and those chosen by her mother. Helto Mauleverer, for example, and his son witness charters of both mother and daughter, as does Robert the mason and Adam son of Swain. However, a slightly greater number of ecclesiastical witnesses occur in the charters of Alice than in those of her mother, and Alice's witnesses appear to have been of higher status, both in secular and monastic spheres, such as Osbert the archdeacon and Alexander the abbot of Kirkstall.<sup>174</sup> The number of people who witnessed the charter by which the canons were translated from Embsay to Bolton is the largest of any document of the patrons: twenty two named persons as well as 'multis aliis',<sup>175</sup> a far greater number than found in any other of the charters issued by Alice de Rumilly alone, or by her mother solely, possibly indicating the importance of the charter.<sup>176</sup>

Although no copy of Alice de Rumilly's seal has survived, there is no doubt that she did make use of a personal seal to validate her charters. The charter by which the canons were translated from Embsay to Bolton is extant in the original and would originally have had a pendant seal attached to it.<sup>177</sup> Although the seal is now lost, the method by which it was affixed to the charter is still present. Six *oculi* are present at the base of the charter, piercing the folded section, through which green and cream silk cord, probably not original, is laced.<sup>178</sup> There is a sketch in Dodsworth MS 8, which there seems no reason to doubt, of Alice de Rumilly's seal.<sup>179</sup> The sketch made by Dodsworth depicts a round seal with a geometric impression of two linked circles and a legend that reads, '+ SIGILLUM : HAELIZ : DE RUMELI :'. Although this seal does not fit the

---

<sup>173</sup> CB, no. 19.

<sup>174</sup> See table.

<sup>175</sup> CB, no. 16.

<sup>176</sup> Fifteen named witnesses are the most found in connection with Cecily de Rumilly, and this number may have only been so high owing to the influence of William son of Duncan. Adam son of Swain, for example, only once acts as witness to a charter of Cecily de Rumilly, the transaction of which William son of Duncan had participated. Moreover, Adam son of Swain acts as witness to the charters made by William and Cecily de Rumilly as individuals and as a couple.

<sup>177</sup> CB, no. 16; Chatsworth Charter, B5, PB141265/4.

<sup>178</sup> A note by Prof. Potter, which originally stated that 'The strings cannot be original', has been amended to 'The strings may not be original', adding that 'Dr. Major thinks they can be', (on envelope attached to Chatsworth Charter, B5, PB141265/4).

<sup>179</sup> Dodsworth MS 8, fo. 11r.

usual pattern of 'a pointed oval with a standing female figure',<sup>180</sup> which was becoming more common place amongst women of high standing and is the case with the seal of Alice de Rumilly, presumably her daughter,<sup>181</sup> it is not exceptional for the mid-twelfth century.

The majority of those charters issued by the later patrons of Bolton Priory are confirmations of the grants made by their predecessors or other benefactors of the canons, although occasionally a new benefaction is made. Three charters of William de Forz II, for example, are found in the Coucher Book, two of which are confirmations of the gifts of William of Marton and Peter son of William of Marton.<sup>182</sup> The third is the only gift made by William de Forz II recorded in the Coucher Book, that of the mill of Bradley.<sup>183</sup> This pattern is followed in the charters of his son and heir William de Forz III, who likewise is found to be making more confirmations than benefactions, with two confirmations and only one agreement, in which seven acres of land in Silsden were exchanged for five acres in Embsay.<sup>184</sup>

### The Charters of the Benefactors

Although over twenty charters are thought to have been issued by the patrons of Bolton Priory, either to the canons or to interested parties, such as the archbishops of York, the majority of charters found in the Coucher Book are gifts made by lesser benefactors. While the scale of the gifts differs greatly, the format used by those who supported the priory is very similar. The next most prevalent forms of document are confirmations and quitclaim, followed by final concords and agreements, a variety of royal documents and notifications, and finally licences to enter, sales, leases and a mortgage.

The canons of Bolton are specified as the recipients of benefactions in a number of ways, the most frequent being 'ecclesie sancte Marie de Bolton et canonicis

---

<sup>180</sup> P.D.A. Harvey & A. McGuiness, *A Guide to British Medieval Seals*, (London, 1996), p. 48.

<sup>181</sup> R.H. Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office, Personal Seals*, ii, (London, 1981), no. P1977, 'A lady standing, with unbound hair and wearing a long close-fitting gown; her L hand is on her hip and her R hand holds a long-stalked flower'.

<sup>182</sup> CB, nos. 47, 53.

<sup>183</sup> CB, no. 297.

<sup>184</sup> CB, nos. 47, 53, 297.

ibidem Deo servientibus'.<sup>185</sup> A slightly amended phrase is less frequently found: 'ecclesie beate Marie de Bolton et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus'.<sup>186</sup> The choice of *sancte* or *beate* appears to have been a personal one, with Thomas son of William of Malham, for example, always using the latter,<sup>187</sup> apart from one charter confirming benefactions made to the priory, whilst Alexander son of Ulf and his descendants always use *sancte*.<sup>188</sup>

There are instances where different phrases are used to describe the canons and priory of Bolton, including 'canonicis ibidem Deo famulantibus',<sup>189</sup> 'religiosis viris priori et conventui domus de Bolton in Craven',<sup>190</sup> and 'monasterii beate Marie de Bolton in Craven'.<sup>191</sup> Occasionally it is noted that the canons of Bolton were regular, 'canonicis regularibus',<sup>192</sup> but, as already indicated, there is only one example in which the monastic order to which the canons belonged to is described as, 'ordinis sancti Augustini'.<sup>193</sup> One other description used in relation to Bolton Priory is found in the charters of Adam the smith of Halton and Matilda his wife, and later as his widow, for their benefactions are made to 'Deo et beate Marie et sacristarie ecclesie de Boulton' et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus'.<sup>194</sup>

As well as the varying designations of the house, its location is described in different ways. The most obvious, of course, is between the pre- and post-translation locations of the house, Embsay and Bolton - a difference also reflected in the dual and then single dedication of the house.<sup>195</sup> By the end of the thirteenth century the location of the priory was often extended to 'Bolton in Craven'. This slightly longer phrase occurs in over sixty documents in the

---

<sup>185</sup> For example, CB, nos. 90, 1.

<sup>186</sup> For example, CB nos. 314, 356.

<sup>187</sup> CB, nos. 109-112, 114-116, 141.

<sup>188</sup> CB, nos. 388-391.

<sup>189</sup> CB, no. 357.

<sup>190</sup> CB, no. 201.

<sup>191</sup> CB, no. 240.

<sup>192</sup> CB, no. 307.

<sup>193</sup> CB, no. 459. This charter is comes from the fourteenth century and is not a benefaction made to the canons but concerns the canons' rights with regard to five bushels of corn.

<sup>194</sup> Chatsworth Charter, no. 464, Chatsworth Charter, B2, PB 4865/29. For the accounts of the sacrist which, like those of the refectorer, were kept separate from the otherwise centralized financial system of Bolton see I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, pp. 2, 841; *Bolton Priory Rentals*, pp. 3, 8, 17, 46 n. 2.



Coucher Book, and seems to have become more frequently used towards the end of the thirteenth century and at the start of the fourteenth, by both the benefactors and the priory itself.<sup>196</sup>

A variety of methods are used in the charters in the Coucher Book to specify the property being granted. One of the earliest lengthy definitions of property given to the canons is found in the charter of Alice de Rumilly concerning the new site at Bolton, where the boundaries are stated, including the use of rivers and streams, ditches, and ways:

per [istas] divisas scilicet a Lumgila subtus h[aiam qu]e dicitur Lobwith, sicut descendit a mora que vocatur Lo[b]withslect per ipsum Lumgile usque in aquam de Wherf, et sic per ascensionem ipsius aque usque ad Berdenebec et sic per Berdenebec usque ad Cress[eke]lde, et sic ad viam que ducit ab Apel[tr]ewic usque Halt[on et] sic usque in Merebec que est divisa inter Boelton et Halt[on et] sic ad Hameldune versus occidentem per [d]ivisas de Berewic usque perveniatur [it]e[m] ad Lumgilesheved in mo[r]a[m] [i]uxta Lobwith<sup>197</sup>

Alice de Rumilly also specifies the boundaries of other gifts made to the canons of Bolton, including the villis of Kildwick and Embsay.<sup>198</sup> Although the practice of including a description of the property being given does not frequently occur in such detail, many of the charters do contain some detail. The use of boundaries, physical landmarks and the name by which a piece of land was known, are found in many of the charters, either singularly or in combination. William of Marton's gift of a *cultura* of land, for example, uses all three of the above techniques: the property being described as in the territory of Marton, clarified further by the inclusion of a description of its boundaries, 'sicut rivulus descendit de Cravenhou usque ad pontem de Unckethorpe, et ita usque ad divisas de Stainton', et ita ad fossam inter Levenedflatt et Cravenhou', as well as the name by which it is known, 'Unckthorpe'.<sup>199</sup> Although these details are also found in the confirmation issued by Peter, the son of the benefactor, they are absent from that made by William de Forz, count of Aumale, but are possibly

---

<sup>195</sup> See below for further reference to the change from a single to a dual dedication.

<sup>196</sup> For example see CB, nos. 86, 187, 290-294, 429.

<sup>197</sup> CB, no. 16.

<sup>198</sup> CB, nos. 19, 20.

<sup>199</sup> CB, no. 45. This property was later developed into Ingthorpe grange.

covered by the inclusion of the phrase 'secundum quod in carta eiusdem Willelmi continetur'.<sup>200</sup> Another method used to specify a piece of land was by reference to the person who held that property or the surrounding land. The toft and croft in Cononley given by Elias son of Kasegay to the canons, for example, is known to have lain between the tofts of Elias Black and Edwin,<sup>201</sup> whilst the gift of a bovate of land in Steeton made by Elias of Steeton is specified as that formerly held by Richard White.<sup>202</sup> Other descriptions employed include the method by which a person came to hold the land in question, an important issue in preventing any future claim being made against it, with Clarissa the daughter of Winfrid of Cononley stating that the land she was granting to the canons was given to Stephan of Lothersdale, her late husband, by her father, 'in libero maritagio'.<sup>203</sup>

As has been mentioned, one of the first instances of a warranty clause made in relation to a benefaction to Bolton Priory was contained in a charter of Alice de Rumilly, and gained in usage from then onwards occurring in the majority of charters issued to the canons. Although 'those who took up the cross were granted temporary immunity from the process of law'<sup>204</sup> and, therefore, were not likely to face the same pressure to include a warranty clause as those who were not shortly undertaking a pilgrimage, the benefaction made by Thomas the son of William of Malham, for which he received 30 marks for his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, does include this clause.<sup>205</sup>

As well as warranty provided by the person who issued a particular charter, other methods of enforcing the benefactors' wishes are occasionally included. The charter of Peter son of William of Marton, for example, warns of ecclesiastical censure by the Dean and Chapter of York if he or his heirs do not fulfil their

---

<sup>200</sup> CB, no. 47.

<sup>201</sup> CB, no. 334.

<sup>202</sup> CB, no. 401.

<sup>203</sup> CB, no. 360.

<sup>204</sup> *The Early Charters of Waltham Abbey, 1062-1230*, ed. R. Ransford, p. lxxviii. See *ibid.*, no. 328 for the grant of Ralph the miller de Pyrie to the canons of Waltham for which he received 18s. for his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which was made shortly before that of Thomas son of William of Malham to Bolton Priory and does not contain a warranty clause.

<sup>205</sup> CB, no. 109.

obligation of warranty towards the canons of Bolton.<sup>206</sup> The issue of compensation is mentioned in the quitclaim made by William son of William the senior of Farnhill, with 100s. to go towards the fabric of York castle.<sup>207</sup> The gift of Ambrose son of John of Cononley is of interest as it threatens use of both civil and canon law.<sup>208</sup> The mortgage of two bovates of land by Thomas of Cracoe, perhaps, provides the most interesting reference to legal procedure. This particular charter mentions that the benefactor and his heirs will not warrant the transaction, 'Ego et heredes mei warrantizare non poterimus totam predictam terram'. This statement is followed by reference to an affidavit in the hand of the prior and 'tactis sancrosanctis' before four people, but also that

renunciand' in hac parte omni iur[i] remedio et litteris cavillationum et regie prohibitioni et etiam omnia alia que possunt contra hanc concessionem et confirmationem imponi et ut vicecomit[e] Ebor' vel ballivi sui vel ballivi dominorum de Skipton faciant plenam saisinam in predicta terra si in aliquo defecero<sup>209</sup>

There is no recorded symbolic act performed by a benefactor of Bolton Priory such as that carried out by Cecily de Rumilly and William son of Duncan, that is the placing of an object, in that particular instance, a knife, upon the altar. Nevertheless, there is some indication that benefactors did undertake some physical act in conjunction with the creation of the charter, other than that of giving seisin of the land to the donee. For example, it would appear that Helto Mauleverer swore upon an unspecified holy object, so that his charter would remain 'rate et stabiles'.<sup>210</sup> This charter was also affixed with his seal and witnessed by local notables, including the bailiff of Skipton, all indicating that Helto wished for his benefaction to be upheld and secure, and that his action was possibly symbolic rather than necessary in a legal necessity.

Whilst many of the charters contained in the Coucher Book do contain a warranty, witnesses would seem to be present in almost all, with the exception of some of the royal documents, the inquisitions regarding Appletreewick and other lands, and final concords. The other significant method used by benefactors of

---

<sup>206</sup> CB, no. 51.

<sup>207</sup> CB, no. 314.

<sup>208</sup> CB, no. 342.

<sup>209</sup> CB, no. 255.

<sup>210</sup> Chatsworth Charter, B2, PB30765/8.



corroborating and verifying a gift was the use of a seal. Whilst some benefactions would only have required one charter, bipartite chirographs were also frequently used, with the seals of the participants being used, rather than merely that of the benefactor. The majority of chirographs record the use of seals, as in the confirmation charter of William de Forz, which states that 'in cuius rei testimonium presenti scripto cyrographato tam signum nostram quam signum prioris et conventus mutuo fecimus apposui'.<sup>211</sup> Although many of the charters state that a seal has been affixed, not all include this declaration. The confirmation charter of Henry of Keighley, for example, by which he sought reception into the convent, does not contain any reference to a seal having been affixed.<sup>212</sup> Another instance where there is no indication of the use of a seal is in a benefaction made by Thomas of Appletreewick to Henry, the steward of Lord William of Hebden, although it may have been attached but not mentioned. However, the absence of reference to a seal does not necessarily signify that the benefactor did not possess one, since one charter of Thomas son of Ranulph of Cracoe, for example mentions the use of his seal, whilst another has no such statement.<sup>213</sup>

Apart from the sketches made by Dodsworth of the seals of various benefactors of Bolton Priory, including those of William son of Peter of Marton and Peter son of William of Marton,<sup>214</sup> William de Forz, Count of Aumale,<sup>215</sup> and Isabella, Countess of Aumale,<sup>216</sup> some seals are still fixed to their original charters. Over twenty original surviving charters made to the canons of Bolton have extant seals, seven of which belong to a single person, Richard de Pinkeny, who appears to have used several different seals. Some, for example, have the impression of a flower with eight petals,<sup>217</sup> others have what would appear to be the impression

---

<sup>211</sup> CB, no. 26; for the development of chirographs see M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory*, pp. 87-8.

<sup>212</sup> CB, no. 32.

<sup>213</sup> CB, nos. 253, 254.

<sup>214</sup> Dodsworth MS 83, fos. 2v, 3v.

<sup>215</sup> Dodsworth MS 8, fo. 13r.

<sup>216</sup> Dodsworth MS 83, fo. 5v.

<sup>217</sup> E.g. Chatsworth Charters, B2, PB 30765/2, 30765/3. It maybe that the seals of Richard de Pinkeny originated from a pun from his name, for the designs of seals sometimes were 'canting references or rebuses playing on the owner's name', in this instance a flower, (P.D.A. Harvey & A. McGuiness, *A Guide to British Medieval Seals*, p. 80).

of a fleur-de-lys,<sup>218</sup> whilst another has an entirely different impression possibly resembling some type of flower.<sup>219</sup> Of those charters found in the Coucher Book for which the originals survive, at least nine still have a seal attached, being those of John of Eshton, Ambrose son of John of Cononley, Ambrose son of John son of Samson of Cononley, William son of William Mauleverer, Adam of Newsholme, Henry Crokbyn, and Peter son of William of Marton.<sup>220</sup>

Excluding the charters of the patrons of Bolton Priory it appears that women - as individuals and together with their husbands - issued about ten per cent of the charters to the canons. The majority of these women recorded in the Coucher Book are widows. Although most of the widows declare themselves to be the wife of their late husband, or their father's daughter, others, who were members of the nobility, simply give their names, such as 'domina Margareta de Longvl' and 'domina Margareta de Nevill' (the same person).<sup>221</sup> Whilst the majority of widows declare that their marital status and their power to act, using a variety of phrases, including 'in pura viduitate', 'in pura viduitate mea et ligia potestate', and 'in viduitate mea propria et potestate legitima',<sup>222</sup> occasionally this is only inferred with, for example, Ellen merely mentioning that she was 'quondam uxor Henrici Dispensatoris de Crackhow'.<sup>223</sup>

Like male benefactors women, including widows, wives and daughters, are found issuing a variety of charters: gifts, quitclaims and confirmations. Whilst those charters made together with a male counterpart would probably have used the seal of the husband,<sup>224</sup> the majority of charters issued by widows were affixed with the seal of the benefactor involved, 'sigillum meum'.<sup>225</sup> One interesting corroboration clause is found in the charter of Maria the widow of Peter Green of Cononley by which she quitclaimed property previously given by her husband,

---

<sup>218</sup> E.g. Chatsworth Charter, B2, PB 30765/7.

<sup>219</sup> Chatsworth Charter, B2, PB30765/5.

<sup>220</sup> In the order of persons listed, CB, nos. 27; 327-329, 343; 343; 427; 331; 59.

<sup>221</sup> CB, nos. 368, 369. Margaret uses two different surnames in confirmations that deal with identical areas, that is, Cononley, Farnhill and Gargrave.

<sup>222</sup> CB, nos. 66, 270, 364.

<sup>223</sup> CB, no. 258.

<sup>224</sup> An exception to this is CB, no. 293, a quitclaim made by John Crokebain of Cononley and Agnes his wife, the daughter of William Bott, which was made jointly and certified by 'sigilla nostra'.

stating, 'et ut hec mea concessio rata sit sine dolo vel fraude presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui'.<sup>226</sup> This slightly longer corroboration clause, in comparison with the more frequently found 'in huius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui', and variants of this, may indicate that Maria, or the scribe of the charter, was aware of the importance of the charter and its validity, rather than merely following an established formula. Slightly more descriptive corroboration clauses are also found in the confirmations made by Matilda, Agnes and Avice, the daughters of Geoffrey Mori, of their father's benefaction to the canons. Whilst no corroboration clause is found in the benefaction of Geoffrey Mori, the confirmation charters of his daughters state, 'et ut ista confirmatio firma et inconcussa permaneat eam sigilli mei appositione munivi'.<sup>227</sup>

Apart from Reginald and Hugh the chaplains who acted as scribes to the charters of Cecily de Rumilly, two other scribes are known from the Coucher Book: William de Hillum and Richard de Langeb[er]gam. William de Hillum was the scribe of, and a witness to, a charter of Thomas son of William of Malham in the early thirteenth century,<sup>228</sup> and Richard de Langeb[er]gam acts as scribe and witness to the benefaction by Herbert de Camera of Bradley,<sup>229</sup> with both of these men being placed last in their respective lists. The copy of the cartulary made by Dodsworth also contains a charter where the scribe is recorded as, John le Mazon, the 'clerico presentium scriptore' of a charter of William Ward to Robert de Vesey, composed in the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>230</sup>

### The Charters of Bolton Priory

Although the canons of Bolton primarily occur as the recipients of benefactions, the Coucher Book contains over twenty charters in which the priory is an active

---

<sup>225</sup> For example see CB, nos. 66, 271, 362.

<sup>226</sup> CB, no. 352.

<sup>227</sup> CB, nos. 35-38. It seems unusual that the benefactions of Matilda, Agnes and Avice were validated by their personal seals, whilst that of Geoffrey Mori, their father, was not. This puzzle is augmented by the use of the same witnesses in the same order in all four charters, probably indicative that they were drawn up at the same time. One possibility is that the scribe of Geoffrey de Mori's benefaction charter omitted the phrase, or that whoever composed the Coucher Book, or the cartulary, missed that particular line in the transcription.

<sup>228</sup> CB, no. 112.

<sup>229</sup> CB, no. 298.



party. These are mostly in the form of an agreement between Bolton and an individual or another religious house, although there are some examples of benefactions being made by the house. In the Coucher Book alone eight priors of the house, John, Adam, Robert, Thomas, Henry, Richard, John of Lund, John of Laund, are named in a variety of documents other than in benefactions to the monastery, mainly final concords and other agreements, with Reginald, the first prior of Embsay occurring as the named recipient of the gift of William Meschin and Cecily de Rumilly for the foundation of the house. From other sources it would appear that priors Walter and Richard of Beachampton were also named in charters relating to the monastery.<sup>231</sup> Overall it would appear that in the majority of charters in which the convent were active participants, such as agreements, final concords, and benefactions to others, the head of the house was named rather than simply an unnamed prior and the canons of Bolton.

Bolton Priory was party to a number of final concords made before justices itinerant concerning a variety of different issues. The rights of the canons to the advowsons of the churches of Long Preston, Broughton, Keighley and Kettlewell were consolidated by final concords.<sup>232</sup> On other occasions, the royal authorities were consulted concerning a tenement in Egremont, lands in Embsay, Appletreewick and Yeadon, together with the custody of the heir of Walter of Yeadon, rent in Hawkswick, and property in Farnhill, with final concords being created to safeguard the holders' rights.<sup>233</sup> The earliest final concords to which the canons of Bolton were party were made before the start of the thirteenth century, the first in September 1187 and the second in October 1194.<sup>234</sup> The majority of final concords contained in the Coucher Book are from the first half of the thirteenth century, with a few from later in that century, the last being made 14 October 1280.<sup>235</sup>

---

<sup>230</sup> Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 48v.

<sup>231</sup> Dodsworth MS 8, fo. 216v; Dodsworth MS 144, fo. 47v.

<sup>232</sup> CB, nos. 144; 147, 148; 152; 153.

<sup>233</sup> CB, nos. 143, 146, 154, 149-151, 288.

<sup>234</sup> CB, nos. 147, 143. The latter final concord refers to an earlier quitclaim by Reginald de Lucy and Ulf, son of Edward, for which neither the original nor a copy in the Coucher Book or Dodsworth's transcripts.

<sup>235</sup> CB, no. 288. As well as being separated from the earlier section of final concords, the order of this agreement differs from the others in that the justices itinerant are listed after the parties.

As well as being participants in final concords made before royal justices the canons of Bolton were also involved in other agreements. For example, agreements were made with other religious houses, including the Cistercian monasteries of Kirkstall and Fountains (Yorkshire), the Augustinian priory of Bridlington (Yorkshire), and the more distant Premonstratensian house of West Dereham (Norfolk),<sup>236</sup> as well as with private individuals, such as Thomas son of William of Malham, Henry of Hartlington, and William de Forz III.<sup>237</sup>

There are few grants made by the prior to either religious houses or to lay persons in the Coucher Book.<sup>238</sup> However, of those other charters issued by Bolton Priory that are recorded in the Coucher Book, there is a grant of two bovates of land in Gargrave to William Anglicus in return for his homage and service and an annual payment of 12*d.*, which includes warranty as well as a clause prohibiting the grant of this land to religious men,<sup>239</sup> as well as the gift of a mill to lord Geoffrey de Neville, annually rendering 10*s.* of silver to the canons.<sup>240</sup> The chirograph is one form of document used frequently by the canons of Bolton, for grants, exchanges and agreements.<sup>241</sup> Indication of other copies of a document is also found in the corroboration clause for those that are not thought to have been chirographs, with, for example, one of the agreements made between Henry of Hartlington and the canons, stating 'in cuius rei testimonium presentibus scriptis sigilla partium alternatim sunt apposita'.<sup>242</sup>

Excluding the final concords made between the priory and other parties, the majority of documents made by the canons transcribed in the Coucher Book include a corroboration clause announcing the use of the seal of Bolton, be it by 'sigilla com[m]un[ia] capitulorum' in an agreement made with Bridlington Priory, 'domus sigillis' in an agreement made with Fountains Abbey, or 'sigillum nostrum commune'.<sup>243</sup> One example of a charter being affixed with the seals of

---

<sup>236</sup> CB, nos. 63, 75; 137-139, 187; 429; 83.

<sup>237</sup> CB, nos. 113, 189, 191, 279.

<sup>238</sup> For the fifteenth century there are a couple of confirmations made by the canons of Bolton of property in Harewood, CB, nos. 465-66.

<sup>239</sup> CB, no. 73.

<sup>240</sup> CB, no. 370.

<sup>241</sup> For examples of the transcripts of chirographs see CB, nos. 197, 379, 421.

<sup>242</sup> CB, no. 191.

<sup>243</sup> CB, nos. 429, 137, 197.

both the donor and the recipient is a confirmation issued by Margaret de Longvillers, where the corroboration clause reads, 'in cuius rei testimonium ego domina Margareta et prior et canonici antedicti presenti carte cirograffate sigilla nostra sub alternatione duximus apponend[um]',<sup>244</sup>

As well as providing valuable transcripts of charters Dodsworth has also included many sketches of seals, which help to build a more comprehensive picture of those seals that have been lost from both extant charters and transcripts. Dodsworth MS 83, for example, includes not only sketches of the seals of benefactors, but also a drawing of the seal of the prior and convent of Bolton, during the priorate of John of Laund,<sup>245</sup> and Whitaker included an illustration of the priory seal in his work on Craven.<sup>246</sup> There is an extant seal of prior John of Laund with which to corroborate the sketches, but unfortunately no other is known.<sup>247</sup>

When used in conjunction with the transcripts made by Dodsworth and others, as well as the still extant original charters, the Coucher Book provides an insight into the development of the estates of Bolton Priory and the methods used in their acquisition, primarily through the diverse documents deemed of sufficient importance to have been transcribed as well as being kept as an original, and those who were connected with the priory. Although the cartulary remains lost at present there is always the possibility that, like the recent examples of the cartularies of Lanercost<sup>248</sup> and Athelney,<sup>249</sup> it may one day come to light,

---

<sup>244</sup> CB, no. 368.

<sup>245</sup> Dodsworth MS 83, fo. 2v.

<sup>246</sup> C.T. Clay, 'The seals of the religious houses in Yorkshire', *Archaeologia*, lxxviii, (1928), p. 12, citing T.D. Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., p. 592, 'imperfect and no reference'.

<sup>247</sup> R.H. Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office, Monastic Seals*, i, (London, 1986), p. 10, MO89: 'Under a canopy, the Virgin, half-length, holding the Child on her L side. Above, Our Lord, half-length, showing his wounds, between two demi-angels, holding (L) the nails and (R) the crown of thorns. Below, under an arch, the prior, half-length, praying to the R.'; legend: 'ESTO MEMOR SERVI VIRGO MARIA TUI'; 'Pointed oval, 37x23; uncoloured, varnished brown, tag. Complete, good impression, flattened'.

<sup>248</sup> The original cartulary of Lanercost Priory was identified in May 1982 by B. Jones; for the later history of the cartulary see *The Lanercost Cartulary*, pp. 43-6.

<sup>249</sup> In 1992 S. Keynes believed the cartulary of Athelney Abbey to be lost and that the transcripts made by George Harbin was the sole clue to its contents, (S. Keynes, 'George Harbin's Transcript of the Lost Cartulary of Athelney Abbey', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History*, 136, (1992), pp. 149-59). The hope that the cartulary would re-appear has been fulfilled for in 2001 knowledge of its existence was made public. For a brief article on its history and discovery



clarifying the ideas and thoughts made about it and satisfying those questions which cannot now be answered.

## Conclusion

Monastic cartularies provide an invaluable source from which to glean information about the life of a particular house. Questions about the creation of estates and their subsequent consolidation and administration, patrons and benefactors, individual heads of houses and their influence can be answered. Unfortunately many cartularies were lost at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries and during the Civil War of the seventeenth century, the fourteenth-century cartulary of Bolton Priory among them. Nevertheless, the survival of other important records of the priory means that the majority of information it contained has not been lost forever since the original cartulary can in part measure be reconstructed. This has been the aim of this study.

By the juxtaposition of two partial copies of the lost cartulary of Bolton Priory, namely the Coucher Book, held at Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, and Dodsworth MS 144, kept at the Bodleian Library, it has been possible to attempt this reconstruction of the document, which was last seen in 1643. Whilst Dodsworth MS 144 provided a more complete impression of the cartulary, with the important inclusion of folio references, it frequently provided only abstracts of individual documents. This deficiency was partly remedied by the contents of the Coucher Book of Bolton Priory, which provided full transcripts of all of those charters copied by its scribe, although these were fewer in number than those found in Dodsworth MS 144. It has not been possible to discover, beyond any doubt, the contents of every folio of the lost cartulary. Occasionally no reference can be found to a particular folio, whilst in other instances the reference is placed within pedigrees displaying the benefactions of several members of the same family, although in the latter case these have sometimes been copied into the Coucher Book. The Coucher Book also gives a clear indication of the order of the cartulary by use of headings and marginal markings, but is not as complete as that in Dodsworth MS 144, which contains material relating to property not included in the former manuscript.

By an examination of the contents of the Coucher Book and Dodsworth MS 144 it has been possible to establish some probable reasons for the creation of a cartulary of the house of Augustinian canons of Bolton, as well as establishing an approximate date for its genesis, during the priorate of John of Laund (c.1286-1331). The subsequent administrative history of the cartulary, however, remains uncertain, with very little evidence on which to base any hypothesis, especially regarding its final disappearance, which occurred some time after its use by Dodsworth in the 1640s. Even so, this study has gone some way to illuminating its history from the time of its inception to its disappearance.

Similar uncertainties, such as the reason for its creation, the exact point at which it was commenced, and its creator, apply to the Coucher Book, although this study has attempted to solve them. It seems most likely that the Coucher Book was the concept and work of administrators of the Clifford family, who acquired the majority of the lands of Bolton Priory following its dissolution, and that this occurred towards the end of the sixteenth or at the start of the seventeenth century.

Although the reconstruction of the lost cartulary has expanded our knowledge of the priory, the existence of a large number of original charters has increased this still further. Over twenty original charters of those transcribed into the Coucher Book are still in existence, a small proportion of the total number of charters found in the copy of the cartulary. However, it is the exclusion of over one hundred original charters by the scribe of the cartulary, from which Dodsworth MS 144 and the Coucher Book were copied, that is perhaps more striking. Once again the reasons behind these omissions can only be surmised, as can the motives for the inclusion of others, although the current possession of the property in question is one likely factor.

The aggregation of the various extant materials relating to Bolton Priory – the Coucher Book, Dodsworth MS 144, extant original charters, as well as the recently edited series of accounts known as the *Compotus* - provides a mass of information with which to expand our previous knowledge of the house. The acquisition of property by the priory is one important area that has been



expanded upon by the study of the Coucher Book and other documents. Whilst the importance of spiritualities to the economy of the house has been further supported, it appears that temporalities were of greater significance. The property held by the canons in York, for example, has been found to have been more extensive than previously thought.

The Coucher Book and other documents have demonstrated the wide range of people who supported the priory, from the Lady of Skipton and her husband, its founders, to those of only local prominence. Moreover, the preceding chapters have demonstrated how, although the patrons of the priory were crucial in establishing the house and securing its short-term survival (especially through its translation to the site at Bolton), it was the generosity of its benefactors, possibly influenced by the lords of Skipton, that was of greater importance in developing its long-term viability. The lack of many enduring relationships with their benefactors - the majority lasting, at most, three generations - does not appear to have stifled the development of the priory's estates for they seem to have found new individuals or families to support the house.

The primarily local support shown to the canons of Embsay and later Bolton produced an estate that principally lay in the immediate vicinity of the priory, a geographical concentration built upon by the house as it actively pursued the consolidation of its holdings. The canons of Bolton Priory appear, at times, to have vigorously pursued such consolidation by means of exchange, purchase and issuing of corrodies. The location of the priory may have endeared it to the local population, for there was no other monastic house, Augustinian or otherwise, in the immediate vicinity, therefore, possibly creating a stronger tie between the house and its neighbours.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The closest religious establishment, in Yorkshire, to Bolton Priory was the leper hospital of St. Mary Magdalene at Skipton, but this was not founded until *ante* 1306, almost two hundred years after the establishment of Embsay. Other monastic houses that may have rivalled Bolton for the acquisitions of property in the immediate area include the Cistercian houses of Sawley, Fountains and Kirkstall, the other close convents being nunneries, Esholt (Cistercian) and Arthington (Cluniac). Only Bolton and Skipton lay in the deanery of Craven, the others were in the neighbouring deaneries of Ainsty and Boroughbridge to the east of Craven.

The legal records of property rights do little, by definition, to deepen an understanding of the religious life at Bolton Priory, although the number of benefactions made to the house is a possible indicator of the regard in which it was held. The early history of the priory and its connection to St. Mary's, Huntingdon is not alluded to in the reconstructed cartulary. However, the connection to one of the earliest houses of Augustinian canons founded in England is patent, as has been shown. Moreover, the registers of the archbishops of York, as well as documents relating to the general chapters of the Augustinian canons, have provided further evidence of the spiritual as well as temporal development of the priory.

By comparing Bolton Priory with other Augustinian houses, both in Yorkshire and throughout England, with regard to its estate development and to a lesser degree its spiritual life, it has been possible to gain insight into the specific features of the house's evolution, from its inauspicious foundation and modest endowment at Embsay through to its prosperity under the leadership of Prior John of Laund in the early fourteenth century, as well as those aspects common to other houses of Augustinian canons. The Coucher Book demonstrates the various mechanisms by which the priory enlarged its estates and secured its claim to property, whilst comparison with other houses shows that these methods were not exclusive to Bolton, with each house having to use its resources wisely in order to guarantee its future existence and success. Bolton Priory, like many other Augustinian houses, appears to have leased and rented lands, whilst acquiring others by sale, agreement and/or exchange, and the issuing of corrodies, whilst also relying on the generosity of their benefactors.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps, with further study, it maybe possible to broaden present understanding of the development and consolidation of the estates of Augustinian houses, if not of houses throughout England, then at least in Yorkshire or the northern province, possibly contrasting these findings with houses of other orders, such as the Cistercians.

---

<sup>2</sup> There is one example of the priory participating in a mortgage, but this does not appear to have been a frequent business transaction, unlike Haughmond Abbey, which was party to over twenty.

The sudden down-turn in the fortunes of Bolton Priory between 1315 and 1320 when circumstances dealt the house 'a fell blow', demonstrates how despite centuries of acquisition and the consolidation of property a house could rapidly enter dire straits, through no fault of its own.<sup>3</sup> Though the reconstructed cartulary gives no indication of the difficulties of the priory, its very creation was probably part of the attempt to counteract the instability and to improve the priory's administration of its estates. Perhaps, therefore, Bolton Priory is best thought of as a house which battled against the odds, never achieving the fame or riches of some of its neighbouring monastic communities, but a house which capitalised upon those opportunities which were present and rode out every storm which passed its way until meeting the fate of all religious houses in England during the reign of Henry VIII.

---

<sup>3</sup> I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 187.



## Bibliography

### Primary Sources: Manuscripts

#### Chatsworth House, Derbyshire

L1: PP2, 6

L2: P10, 12, 17, 25, 30, 58; 10P; PB30

L3: P96(b), 97, 98, 98(b), 117(b); P?25

B1: PB1-3, 5, 7-14, 20-22

B2: PB30765/1-16, PB2865/18-23, PB4865/35-41

B3: PB22965/19-21, PB24965/27, PB11065/52-54, PB151065/80-81, 85,  
PB191065/86, 90-91

B4: PB51065/66, 71(a)

B5: PB22965/12, PB27965/14, PB22965/17, PB161165/100, PB141265/4,  
PB23166/1, PB(f2)57

K1-22

[L1-L3 and B1-B5 refer to the files in which the transcripts made by G.R. Potter are contained, followed by his reference for each charter. Those prefixed by K are references given by the author.]

Hardwick Charters, nos. 461, 464, 470 (alias B5, PB21265/111)

Two charters regarding the advowson of Keighley church [Previously housed at Bolton Abbey Estate Office, Bolton Priory, Yorkshire.]

Bolton Priory Coucher Book [Containing three letters between Sir C.T. Clay and Prof. G. Potter]

Clifford MSS, presently unclassified

#### Bodleian Library, Oxford

Dodsworth MSS, 8, 9, 10, 76, 83, 144, 148

Ms. Ch. Yorks A1, nos. 41, 106a

Christ Church Charters, M111-126

MS Top. Yorks. e.7, 8 (John Burton)

MS Top. Yorks. b.14 (James Torre)

Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Leeds

DD 12/1/29

DD 203/38

DD 203/44

DD 203/46

MD 303

MD 335/65/1-4

MD 335/75 Ribblesdale C.1.A

MD 335/75 Ribblesdale C.2.A

MD 335/75 Ribblesdale C.9.A-C, E

British Library, London

Add. Ch. 16706, 20562

Harl. Ch. 112 E 52, 58 I 44

MS Cotton Nero D iii (St. Leonard's, York)

Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York

Reg. 9, Register of Archbishop Melton

Reg. 11, Register of Archbishop Thoresby

Reg. 19, Register of Archbishop Kempe

Probate Registers 2, 3

Lancashire Record Office, Preston

Dawson-Greene of Whittington collection: DDGR Est. 1

Cumbria Record Office, Kendal

Hothfield MSS: WD/Hoth. Acc. 988/10, 10, 11

## Printed Primary Sources

*Abstracts of the Charters and Other Documents Contained in the Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains in the West Riding of the County of Yorkshire*, ed. W.T. Lancaster, 2 vols., (Leeds, 1915).

*Abstracts of the Charters and Other Documents Contained in the Chartulary of the Priory of Bridlington in the East Riding in the County of York*, ed. W.T. Lancaster, (Leeds, 1912).

*Abstracts of the Chartularies of the Priory of Monk Bretton*, ed. J.W. Walker, YAS, RS, 64, (1924).

*The Acts of Malcolm IV, King of Scots, 1153-1165*, ed. G.W.S. Barrow, *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, i, (Edinburgh, 1960).

*The Acts of William I, King of Scots, 1165-1214*, ed. G.W.S. Barrow with the collaboration of W.W. Scott, *Regesta Regum Scottorum*, ii, (Edinburgh, 1971).

*The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century*, ed. T. Wright, *Rolls Series*, 2 vols., (1872).

*The Bolton Priory Compotus, 1286-1325, Together with a Priory Account Roll for 1377-78*, ed. I. Kershaw & D.M. Smith, YAS, RS, 154, (2000).

*Bolton Priory Rentals and Ministers' Accounts 1473-1539*, ed. I. Kershaw, YAS, RS, 132, (1970).

*Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1227-1509*, (62 vols., London, 1902-1963).

*Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, 1198-1513*, 19 vols. in 18, (London, 1893-1994).



*Calendar of Fine Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1219-1422*, 7 vols., (London, 1911-1963).

*Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1216-1509*, 56 vols., (London, 1891-1916).

*The Calverley Charters Presented to the British Museum by Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan, Baronet*, vol. i, ed. W.P. Baildon, ed. and trans. S. Margerison, Thoresby Society, 6, (Leeds, 1904).

*Cartularium Abbathiae de Rievalle Ordinis Cisterciensis Fundatae Anno MCXXXII*, ed. J.C. Atkinson, Surtees Society, 83, (1889).

*Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne, Ebor. Dioceseos, Oedinis S. Augustini, Fundati A.D. MCXIX*, ed. W. Brown, Surtees Society, 86, 89, (1889, 1894).

*The Cartularies of Southwick Priory*, ed. K.A. Hanna, 2 vols., Hampshire Record Series, 9, 10, (1988, 1989).

*The Cartulary of Bradenstoke Priory*, ed. V.C.M. London, Wiltshire Record Society, 35, (Devizes, 1979).

*The Cartulary of Carisbrooke Priory*, ed. S.F. Hockey, Isle of Wight Record Society, 2, (1981).

*The Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey, Gloucestershire*, ed. C.D. Ross & M. Devine, 3 vols., (Oxford, 1964, 1977).

*The Cartulary of Haughmond Abbey*, ed. U. Rees, Shropshire Archaeological Society, (Cardiff, 1985).

*The Cartulary of Holy Trinity, Aldgate*, ed. G.A.J. Hodgett, London Record Society, 7, (1971).

*The Cartulary of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England*, ed. M. Gervers, British Academy, Records of Social and Economic History, new series, 6, 232, (Oxford, 1982, 1996).

*The Cartulary of Lilleshall Abbey*, ed. U. Rees, Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society, (1997).

*The Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide at Oxford Edited from the Christ Church and Corpus MSS and Other Sources*, ed. S.R. Wigram, 2 vols., Oxford Historical Society, 28, 31, (1895,1896).

*The Cartulary of Newnham Priory*, ed. J. Godber, Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 43, (1963).

*The Cartulary of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol*, ed. D. Walker, Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, (1998).

*The Cartulary of the Priory of St. Denys near Southampton*, ed. E.O. Blake, 2 vols., Southampton Records Series, 24, 25, (1981).

*The Cartulary of the Priory of St. Gregory, Canterbury*, ed. A.M. Woodcock, Camden 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 88, (London, 1956).

*The Cartulary of St. John of Pontefract from the Original Document in the Possession of Godfrey Wentworth, Esq. Of Woolley Park*, ed. R. Holmes, 2 vols., YAS, RS, 25, 30, (1898, 1901).

*The Cartulary of the Priory of St. Mary, Huntingdon*, ed. W.M. Noble, Transactions of the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society, 4, (1915-1930), pp. 89-104, 109-124, 218-232, 257-280.

*Chapters of the Augustinian Canons*, ed. H.E. Salter, C&Y, 29, (London, 1922; reprinted London, 1969).

*The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester, c. 1071-1237*, ed. G. Barraclough, Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 126, (1988).

'Charters of Byland Abbey relating to the Grange of Bleatarn, Westmoreland', ed. J. Burton, *TCWAAS*, 79, (1979), pp. 29-50.

*Charters of the Honour of Mowbray 1107-1191*, ed. D.E. Greenway, British Academy Records of Social and Economic History, new series 1, (Oxford, 1972).

*The Charters of Quarr Abbey*, ed. S.F. Hockey, Isle of Wight Record Series, 3, (1991).

*Charters of the Redvers Family and the Earldom of Devon, 1090-1217*, ed. R. Bearman, Devon and Cornwall Record Series, new series 37, (1994).

*The Chartulary of Brinkburn Priory*, ed. W. Page, Surtees Society, 110, (1893).

*The Chartulary of the Augustinian Priory of St. John the Evangelist of the Park of Healaugh*, ed. J.S. Purvis, *YAS, RS*, 92, (1936).

*The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary of Sallay in Craven*, ed. J. McNulty, 2 vols., *YAS, RS*, 87, 90, (1933, 1934).

'The Chartulary of Tockwith, Alias Scokirk, a Cell to the Priory of Nostell', ed. G.C. Ransome, *YAS, RS*, 80, (1931), pp. 149-206 (pp. 223-227 index).

*Chronica Monasterii de Melsa ...*, ed. E.A. Bond, 3 vols., Rolls Series, (1886-1888).

*The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. E. Searle, (Oxford, 1980).

*The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes*, ed. J.T. Appleby, (London, 1963).



*Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, 4 vols., Rolls Series, (1884-1889).

*Clifford Letters of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. A.G. Dickens, Surtees Society, 172, (1962).

*Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, eds. F.M. Powicke, C.R. Cheney, D. Whitelock, M. Brett & C.N.L. Brooke, 2 vols. in 4, (Oxford, 1964-1981).

*Curia Regis Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1189-1245*, 18 vols., (London, 1923-1999).

*A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office*, 6 vols., (London, 1890-1915).

*Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw*, ed. F.M. Stenton, British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History, 5, (London, 1920).

'Documents relating to the lands of the preceptories of the Knights Hospitallers', ed. E.W. Crossley, notes by E.B. Tempest, YAS, RS, 94, *Miscellanea*, 4, (1936), pp. 73-174, (index 190-213).

*The Early Charters of Waltham Abbey, 1062-1230*, ed. R. Ransford, *Studies in the History of Medieval Religion* 2, (Woodbridge, 1989).

*Early Tudor Craven: Subsidies and Assessments 1510-1547*, ed. R.W. Hoyle, YAS, RS, 145, (1987).

*Early Yorkshire Charters, being a collection of documents anterior to the thirteenth century made from the public records, monastic chartularies, Roger Dodsworth's manuscripts and other available sources*, ed. W. Farrer & C.T. Clay, 13 vols. in 12 (Edinburgh, 1914-1915, Wakefield, 1935-65).

*English Episcopal Acta V, York 1070-1154*, ed. J.E. Burton, (British Academy, 1988).

*English Episcopal Acta VII, Hereford 1079-1234*, ed. J. Barrow, (British Academy, 1993).

*English Episcopal Acta 18, Salisbury 1078-1217*, ed. B.R. Kemp, (British Academy, 1999).

*English Episcopal Acta 20, York 1154-1181*, ed. M. Lovatt, (British Academy, 2000).

*The English Register of Oseney Abbey, by Oxford, Written About 1460*, ed. A. Clark, English Text Society, (London, 1907, 1913; reprint New York, 1971).

*Feet of Fines for the County of Yorkshire, from 1232 to 1246*, ed. J. Parker, YAS, RS, 67, (1925).

*Feet of Fines for the County of Yorkshire, from 1246 to 1272*, ed. J. Parker, YAS, RS, 82, (1932).

*Feet of Fines for the County of Yorkshire, from 1272 to 1300*, ed. F.H. Slingsby, YAS, RS, 121, (1956).

*Feet of Fines for the County of Yorkshire, from 1301 to 1314*, ed. M. Roper, YAS, RS, 127, (1965).

*Feet of Fines for the County of Yorkshire, from 1327 to 1347, 1-20 Ed. II*, ed. W. Paley Baildon, YAS, RS, 42, (1910).

*Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et cujuscunque generalis Acta Publica inter Reges Angliae et alios quosuis Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes*, ed. T. Rymer, 2 vols., 2 parts, (1816, 1818, 1821).

*The Fountains Abbey Rental*, ed. D.J.H. Michelmore, (Leeds, 1974).

*Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J.S. Brewer, J.F. Dimock & G.F. Warner, Rolls Series, 8 vols., (London, 1861-1891).

*The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Sixth Year of Richard the First, Michaelmas 1194 (Pipe Roll 40)*, ed. D.M. Stenton, Pipe Roll Society, 43, new series v, (1928).

*Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Historia Anglorum, The History of the English People*, ed. D. Greenway, Oxford Medieval Texts, (Oxford, 1996).

*The Lanercost Cartulary (Cumbria County Record Office MS DZ/1)*, ed. J.M. Todd, Surtees Society, 203, CWAAS, RS, 11, (1997).

*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII Preserved in the Public Record Office, British Museum and Elsewhere*, 37 vols. in 22, (London, 1864-1932).

‘A Liturgical Calendar from Guisborough Priory with some obits’, ed. F. Wormald, *YAJ*, 31, (1934), pp. 5-35.

*Memorials of the Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains*, ed. J.R. Walbran, Surtees Society, 42, 67, 130, (1863, 1878, 1918).

*Newstead Priory Cartulary, 1344, and Other Archives*, ed. D. Gray, trans. V.W. Walker, (Nottingham, 1940).

*Notes on the Religious and Secular Houses of Yorkshire*, ed. W.P. Baildon, *YAS*, RS, 17, 81, (1895, 1931).

*The Observances in Use at the Augustinian Priory of S. Giles and S. Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire*, ed. J.W. Clark, (Cambridge, 1897).



*Pedes Finium Ebor. Regnante Johanne AD MCXCIX-AD MCCXIV*, ed. W. Brown, Surtees Society, 94, (1897).

'*Pedes Finium Ebor. Tempore Ricardi Primi*', ed. W. Brown, YAJ, 11, (1891), pp. 174-188.

*The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154*, ed. C. Clark, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (Oxford, 1970).

*The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*, ed. W. Knight, 8 vols., (London, 1896).

*The Pudsay Deeds. The Pudsays of Bolton and Barforth, and their Predecessors in those Manors*, ed. R.P. Littledale, YAS, RS, 56, (1916).

*Radulfi de Diceto, Decani Landoniensis Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, (1876).

*Records of the Trial of Walter de Langeton Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield 1307-1312*, ed. A. Beardwood, Camden 4<sup>th</sup> series, 6, (London, 1969).

*The Register and Records of Holm Cultram*, ed. F. Grainger & W.G. Collingwood, CWAAS, RS, 7, (1929).

*The Register of John de Halton*, ed. W.N. Thompson, intro. T.F. Tout, 2 vols., C&Y, 12, 13, (1913).

*The Register of John le Romeyn, Lord Archbishop of York, 1286-1296*, ed. W. Brown, Surtees Society, 123, 128, (1913, 1916).

*The Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, ed. J. Wilson, Surtees Society, 126, (1915).

*The Register of the Priory of Wetherhal*, ed. J.E. Prescott, CWAAS, RS 1, (London, 1897).

*The Register of Thomas Corbridge, Lord Archbishop of York, 1300-1304*, ed. W. Brown, 2 vols., Surtees Society, 138, 141, (1925, 1928).

*The Register of Walter Giffard, Lord Archbishop of York, 1266-1279*, ed. W. Brown, Surtees Society, 109, (1904).

*The Register of William Greenfield, Lord Archbishop of York, 1306-1315*, ed. W. Brown & A.H. Thompson, 5 vols., Surtees Society, 145, 149, 151, 152, 153, (1931, 1934, 1936, 1937, 1940).

*The Register of William Melton, Archbishop of York, 1317-1340*, eds. R.M.T. Hill, D. Robinson & R. Brocklesby, 4 vols., C&Y, 70, 71, 76, 85, (1977, 1978, 1988, 1997).

*The Register of William Wickwane, Lord Archbishop of York, 1279-1285*, ed. W. Brown, Surtees Society, 114, (1907).

*Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, Episcopi Lincolniensis, AD MCCIX-MCCXXXV*, ed. F.N. Davis, 3 vols., C&Y, 1, 3, 4, (London, 1908).

*Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, Episcopi Lincolniensis, AD MCCXXXV-MCCLIII*, ed. F.N. Davis, C&Y, 10, (London, 1913).

*The Rule of St. Augustine: Masculine and Feminine Versions*, ed. T.J. Van Bavel, R. Canning, (London, 1984).

*Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate Pope Nicholai IV circa AD 1291*, ed. T. Astle, S. Ayscough & J. Calley, (Record Commission, 1802).

*Three Yorkshire Assize Rolls for the Reigns of King John and King Henry III*, ed. C.T. Clay, YAS, RS, 44, (1911).

*The Thurgarton Cartulary*, ed. T. Foulds, (Stamford, 1994).

*Transcripts of Charters Relating to the Gilbertine Houses of Sixle, Ormsby, Catley, Bullington, and Alvingham* edited, with a translation, from the King's Remembrancer's Memoranda Rolls Nos. 183, 185, and 187, ed. F.M. Stenton, Lincolnshire Record Society, 18, (1922).

*The Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England Commonly called Glanvill: Tractibus de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Regni Anglie qui Glanvilla Vocatur*, ed. G.D.G. Hall, (London, 1965).

*Twelfth-Century English Archidiaconal and Vice-Archidiaconal Acta*, ed. B.R. Kemp, C&Y, 92, (2001).

*Valor Ecclesiasticus Temp. Henr. VIII Auctoritate Regia Institutus*, ed. J. Caley & J. Hunter, 6 vols., (Record Commission, 1810-1834).

*Yorkshire Deeds*, eds. C.T. Clay, M.J. Hedditch & M.J. Stanley Price, 10 vols., YAJ, RS, 39, 50, 63, 65, 76, 83, 102, 111, 120, (1909-1955).

*Yorkshire Hundred and Quo Warranto Rolls 1274-1294*, ed. B. English, YAS, RS, 151, (1996).

*Yorkshire Inquisitions in the Reigns of Henry III and Edward I*, ed. W. Brown, 4 vols., YAS, RS, 12, 23, 31, 37, ( 1892-1906).

### **Printed Secondary Sources: Books**

Addleshaw, G.W.O., *The Beginnings of the Parochial System*, St. Anthony's Hall Publications no. 3, (York, 1953).

Addleshaw, G.W.O., *The Development of the Parochial System from Charlemagne (768-814) to Urban II (1088-1099)*, St. Anthony's Hall Publications no. 6, (York, 1954).



Addleshaw, G.W.O., *Rectors, Vicars and Patrons in Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Century Canon Law*, St. Anthony's Hall Publications no. 9, (York, 1956).

Allison, K.J., *East Riding Water-Mills*, East Yorkshire Local History Series no. 26, (1970).

Attwater, D., *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints*, (Harmondsworth, 1965).

Bagley, J.J., *Historical Interpretation: Sources of English Medieval History, 1066-1540*, (Harmondsworth, 1965).

Barnes, G.D., *Kirkstall Abbey, 1147-1539: An Historical Study*, Thoresby Society, 58, (1984).

Barlow, F., *The Feudal Kingdom of England 1042-1216*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., (London, 1988).

Binns, A., *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales, 1066-1216*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 1, (Woodbridge, 1989).

Blair, J., (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition, 950-1200*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 17, (Oxford, 1988).

Brett, M., *The English Church under Henry I*, (Oxford, 1975).

Briquet, C.M., *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire Historique des Marques du Papier*, 4 vols., (1966).

Brooke, R. & C., *Popular Religion in the Middle Ages: Western Europe 1000-1300*, (London, 1985, 1<sup>st</sup> publ'd 1984).

Burne, R.V.H., *The Monks of Chester: a History of St. Werburgh's Abbey*, (London, 1962).

Burton, J., *Monasticon Eboracense*, (York, 1758).

Burton, J., *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire 1069-1215*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4<sup>th</sup> series, (Cambridge, 1999).

Burton, J.E., *Kirkham Priory from Foundation to Dissolution*, Borthwick Paper no. 86, (York, 1995).

Burton, J.E., *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain 1000-1300*, (Cambridge, 1994).

Butler, L., Given-Wilson, C., *Medieval Monasteries of Great Britain*, (London, 1979).

Cappelli, A., *Cronologia Cronografia e Calendario Perpetuo, Dal principio dell'era Cristiana ai nostri giorni*, (Milan, 1983).

Cheney, C.R., *Episcopal Visitation of Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century*, (Manchester, 1931).

Cheney, C.R., *From Becket to Langton: English Church Government 1170-1213*, (Manchester, 1956).

Cheney, C.R., *Hubert Walter*, (London, 1967).

Cheney, C.R., *Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, (Oxford, 1972).

Cheney, C.R., (ed.), *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History*, (London, 1996).

Churchill, W.A., *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, France, England, etc. in the xvii and xviii Centuries and their Interconnection*, (Amsterdam, 1967).

Clanchy, M.T., *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066-1307*, (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Oxford, 1993).

Clay, C.T. *York Minster Fasti being notes on the Dignitaries, Archdeacons and Prebendaries in the Church of York prior to the year 1307*, YAS, RS, 123, 124, (1958-1959).

Clay, C.T. & Greenway, D.E., (ed.), *Early Yorkshire Families*, YAS, RS, 135, (1973).

Cohn, N., *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, (London, 1970).

Cokayne, G.E., *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant*, (ed.) V. Gibbs, H.A. Doubleday, D. Warrand, H. de Walden, G.H. White, R.S. Lea & P.W. Hammond, 15 vols. in 14, (London, 1910-1998).

Colvin, H.M., *The White Canons in England*, (Oxford, 1951).

Constable, G., *Monastic Tithes from their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thoughts, new series 10, (Cambridge, 1964).

Constable, G., *Medieval Monasticism: A Select Bibliography*, (Toronto, 1976).

Cowdrey, H.E.J., *Pope Gregory VII 1073-1085*, (Oxford, 1988).

Cownie, E., *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England 1066-1135*, (Woodbridge, 1998).



- Crook, D., *Records of the General Eyre*, PRO Handbooks, 20, (London, 1982).
- Cross, M.C. & Vickers, N., *Monks, Friars and Nuns in Sixteenth Century Yorkshire*, YAS, RS, 150, (1995).
- Crouch, D., *The Beaumont Twins: The Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 1, (Cambridge, 1986).
- Crouch, D., *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain 1000-1300*, (London, 1992).
- Cullum, P.H., *Cremetts and Corrodies: Care of the Poor and Sick at St. Leonard's Hospital, York, in the Middle Ages*, Borthwick Paper no. 79, (York, 1991).
- Currie, C.R.J. & Lewis, C.P., *English County Histories: A Guide. A Tribute to C.R. Elrington*, (Far Thrupp, Stroud, 1994).
- Cunningham, W., *Growth of English Industry and Commerce during the Early and Middle Ages*, i, (5<sup>th</sup> ed., Cambridge, 1922).
- Dalton, P., *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship Yorkshire 1066-1154*, (Cambridge, 1994).
- Davis, G.R.C., *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: A Short Catalogue*, (London, 1958).
- Dawson, G.E., Kennedy-Skipton, L., *Elizabethan Handwriting 1500-1650, A Guide to the Reading of Documents and Manuscripts*, (London, 1968).
- Denholm-Young, N., *Cartulary of the Medieval Archives of Christ Church*, Oxford Historical Series, 92, (Oxford, 1951).

Dickinson, J.C., *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England*, (London, 1950).

Dickinson, J.C., *Monastic Life in Medieval Britain*, (London, 1961).

Dickinson, J.C., *The Priory of Cartmel*, (Milnthorpe, 1991).

*Dictionary of National Biography*, eds. L. Stephen & S. Lee, 64 vols., (London, 1885-1900).

Donkin, R.A., *The Cistercians: Studies in the Geography of Medieval England and Wales*, (Toronto, 1978).

Dugdale, W. (author), Caley, J., Ellis, H. & Bandinel, B., (eds.), *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 vols. (in 8), (London, 1846).

Earle, A., *Essays upon the History of Meaux Abbey and Some Principles on Medieval Land Tenure*, (London, 1906).

Ellis, R.H., *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office, Monastic Seals*, i, (London, 1986).

Ellis, R.H., *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office, Personal Seals*, 2 vols., (London, 1978, 1981).

Emden, A.B., *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500*, 3 vols., (Oxford, 1957-1959).

English, B., *The Lords of Holderness 1086-1260 A Study in Feudal Society*, (Oxford, 1979).

Faith, R., *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship*, (London, 1997).

English Place-Name Society, 5, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, 14, *The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York*, 30-38, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. A.H. Smith, (Cambridge, 1928-1963).

*Fasti Parochiales*, 5 vols. eds. A.H. Thompson, C.T. Clay, N.A.H. Lawrance, N.K.M. Gurney, YAS, RS, 85, 107, 129, 133, 143, (1933-1985).

Faull, M.L. & Moorhouse, S.A., *West Yorkshire: An Archaeological Survey to AD 1500*, 4 vols., (Wakefield, 1981).

Fryde, E.B., Greenway, D.E., Porter, S. & Roy, I., (ed.), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (London, 1986).

Gervers, M., (ed.), *Dating Undated Medieval Charters*, (Woodbridge, 2001).

Gilchrist, J., *The Church and Economic Activity in the Middle Ages*, (London, 1969).

Gilchrist, R. & Mytum, H., (eds.), *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*, (Oxford, 1989).

Le Goff, J., *The Birth of Purgatory*, (Aldershot, 1990).

Golding, B., *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order, c.1130-c.1300*, (Oxford, 1995).

Gransden, A., *Historical Writing in England c.550-c.1307*, (London, 1974).

Grant, J., *Books & Documents Dating, Permanence and Preservation*, (London, 1937).



- Gray, G.J. & Palmer, W.M., *Abstracts from the Wills and Testamentary Documents of Printers, Binders and Stationers of Cambridge, from 1504 to 1699*, (London, 1915).
- Greatorex, J., *Coggeshall Abbey and Abbey Mill*, Manors, Mills and Manuscripts Series, (Castle Hedingham, 1999).
- Green, J.A., *The Aristocracy of Norman England*, (Cambridge, 1997).
- Greene, J.P., *Norton Priory: The Archaeology of a Medieval Religious House*, (Cambridge, 1989).
- Greimas, A.J., *Dictionnaire de L'Ancien Français jusqu'au milieu au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (Paris, 1968).
- Gribbin, J.A., *The Premonstratensian Order in Late Medieval England*, (Woodbridge, 2001).
- Griffith, H.H., *The Story of Harewood and its Church*, (Harrogate, 1930s)
- Gunn, S.J., *Early Tudor Government*, (London, 1985).
- Hartridge, R.A.R., *The History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, (Cambridge, 1930).
- Harvey, B., *Living and Dying in England 1100-1500: The Monastic Experience*, (Oxford, 1993).
- Harvey, P.D.A. & McGuinness, A., *A Guide to British Medieval Seals*, (London, 1996).
- Heales, A., *The Records of Merton Priory in the County of Surrey chiefly from Early and Unpublished Documents*, (London, 1898).

- Hector, L.C., *The Handwriting of English Documents*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (London, 1966).
- Hill, B.D., *English Cistercian Monasteries and their Patrons in the Twelfth Century*, (Urbana, 1968).
- Hill, R.L., *Papermaking in Britain, 1488-1988*, (London, 1988).
- Hockey, S.F., *Quarr Abbey and its Lands 1132-1631*, (Leicester, 1970).
- Holt, J.C., *Colonial England 1066-1215*, (London, 1997).
- Holt, R., *The Mills of Medieval England*, (Oxford, 1988).
- Hoskins, W.G., *The Making of the English Landscape*, (Harmondsworth, 1970).
- Hudson, J., *Land, Law and Lordship in Anglo-Norman England*, (Oxford, 1994).
- Hughes, J., *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire*, (Woodbridge, 1988).
- Humphrey-Smith, C.R., *Anglo Norman Armory Two: An Ordinary of Thirteenth-Century Armorials*, (Canterbury, 1984).
- Hunter, J., *South Yorkshire: The History and Topography of the Deanery of Doncaster in the Diocese and County of York*, 2 vols., (1828-1831).
- Kapelle, W.E., *The Norman Conquest of the North. The Region and its Transformation, 1000-1135*, (London, 1979).
- Kelham, R., *A Dictionary of the Norman or Old French Language*, (Wakefield, 1978).
- Kerr, B.M., *Religious Life for Women c.1100-c.1350: Fontevraud in England*, (Oxford, 1999).

Kershaw, I., *Bolton Priory: The Economy of a Northern Monastery 1286-1325*, (Oxford, 1973).

Knowles, D., *The Religious Orders in England*, (Cambridge, 1950).

Knowles, D., *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (Cambridge, 1966).

Knowles, D., *Saints and Scholars: Twenty-Five Medieval Portraits*, (Cambridge, 1962).

Knowles, D., *The Historian and Character and Other Essays*, (Cambridge, 1963).

Knowles, D. & Hadcock, R.N., *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (London, 1971).

Knowles, D., Brooke, C.N.L. & London, V.C.M., (eds.), *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, 940-1216*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (Cambridge, 2001).

Lancaster, W.T., *The Early History of Ripley and the Ingilby Family: with some account of the Roos family of Ingmanthorpe*, (Leeds, 1918).

*Lands of Dissolved Religious Houses*, PRO Lists and Indexes, supplementary series, iii, nos. 4-5, (1964).

Langdale, T., *A Topographical Dictionary of Yorkshire ...*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (Northallerton, 1822).

Latham, R.E., *Revised Medieval Latin Word List from British and Irish Sources*, British Academy, (London, 1973 reprint, 1<sup>st</sup> publ. 1965).



Lawless, G., *Augustine of Hippo and his Monastic Rule*, (Oxford, 1987).

Leyser, H., *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe, 100-1500*, (London, 1984).

Lloyd, T.H., *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (Cambridge, 1977).

Logan, F.D., *Runaway Religious in Medieval England c. 1240-1540*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4<sup>th</sup> series, 32, (Cambridge, 1996).

Loyd, L.C., *The Origins of some Anglo-Norman Families*, ed. C.T. Clay, D.C. Douglas, Harleian Society, (Leeds, 1951).

Major, K., *The D'Oyrys of South Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Holderness, 1130-1275*, (Lincoln, 1984).

Marcombe, D. & Hamilton, J., (ed.), *Sanctity and Scandal: The Medieval Religious Houses of Nottinghamshire*, (Nottingham, 1998).

Matthew, D.J.A., *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions*, (Oxford, 1962).

McCutcheon, K.L., *Yorkshire Fairs and Markets to the End of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century*, Thoresby Society, 39, (Leeds, 1940).

McDermid, R.T.W., (ed.), *Beverley Minster Fasti, being Biographical Notes on the Provosts, Prebendaries, Officers and Vicars in the Church of Beverley Prior to the Dissolution*, YAS, RS, 149, (1993).

McDonnell, J., *Inland Fisheries in Medieval Yorkshire 1066-1300*, Borthwick Paper no. 60, (York, 1981).

- Purvis, J.S., *Notorial Signs from the York Archiepiscopal Records*, (York, 1957).
- Raban, S., *Mortmain Legislation and the English Church 1279-1500*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 17, (Cambridge, 1982).
- Raban, S., *The Estates of Thorney and Crowland: A Study in Medieval Monastic Land Tenure*, University of Cambridge Department of Land Economy Occasional Paper 7, (Cambridge, 1977).
- Raistrick, A., Jennings, B., *A History of Lead Mining in the Pennines*, (London, 1965).
- Richardson, W.C., *History of the Court of Augmentations 1536-1554*, (Baton Rouge, 1961).
- Robinson, D.M., *The Geography of Augustinian Settlement in Medieval England and Wales*, B.A.R., British Series 80, 2 vols., (Oxford, 1980).
- Rosenthal, J.T., *The Purchase of Paradise: The Social Function of Aristocratic Benevolence 1307-1485*, (London, 1972).
- de Sainte-Marthe, D., (ed.), *Gallia Christiana*, 16 vols., (Paris, 1715-1865).
- Sanders, I.J., *English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent 1086-1327*, (Oxford, 1960).
- Sayers, J.E., *Papal Judges Delegate in the Province of Canterbury 1198-1254: A Study in Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Administration*, (Oxford, 1997).
- Sheppard, J.A., *The Draining of the Marshlands of South Holderness and the Vale of York*, East Yorkshire Local History Series, 20, (1966).
- Simpson, A.W.B., *An Introduction to the History of the Land Law*, (London, 1961).

Smith, D.M., (ed.), *The Church in Medieval York. Records Edited in Honour of Professor Barrie Dobson*, Borthwick Texts and Calendars, 24, (York, 1999).

Smith, D.M. & London, V.C.M., (eds.), *Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, 1216-1377*, (Cambridge, 2001).

Smith, R.B., *Land and Politics in the England of Henry VIII: The West Riding of Yorkshire, 1530-1546*, (Oxford, 1970).

Southern, R.W., *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe*, (Oxford, 1986).

Stewart, H.V., *The Story of Carlisle Cathedral*, 14<sup>th</sup> ed., (Gloucester, 1966).

Thacker, A.T., et al., (ed.), *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters: A Tribute to Geoffrey Barraclough*, *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, 71, (Chester, 1991).

Thomas, H.M., *Vassals, Heiresses, Crusaders, and Thugs: The Gentry of Angevin Yorkshire 1154-1216*, (Philadelphia, 1993).

Thomas, M., *The Ancient Priory Church of St. Mary, Porchester*, (Ramsgate, 1976?).

Thompson, A.H., *History and Architectural Description of the Priory of St. Mary, Bolton-in-Wharfedale, with some Account of the Canons Regular of the Order of St. Augustine and their Houses in Yorkshire*, *Thoresby Society*, 30, (Leeds, 1928).

Thompson, A.H., *The English Clergy and their Organization in the Later Middle Ages*, (Oxford, 1947).



Thompson, S., *Women Religious: The Founding of English Nunneries after the Norman Conquest*, (Oxford, 1991).

*Victoria History of the County of Yorkshire: the City of York*, ed. P.M. Tillott, (London, 1961).

*Victoria History of the County of Yorkshire: East Riding*, 6 vols, ed. K.J. Allison, (London, 1969-).

*Victoria History of the County of Yorkshire: General*, 3 vols., ed. W. Page, (London, 1907-1925).

*Victoria History of the County of Yorkshire: North Riding*, 2 vols., ed. W. Page, (London, 1914-1925).

Waites, B., *Monasteries and Landscape in North East England: The Medieval Colonisation of the North York Moors*, (Oakham, 1997).

Walker, C., *The Priory Church of St. Mary and St. Cuthbert, Worksop*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., (Gloucester, 1972).

Wardrop, J., *Fountains Abbey and its Benefactors 1132-1300*, Cistercian Studies Series, 91, (Kalamazoo, 1987).

Wareing-Bardsley, C., *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames with Special American Instances*, (Baltimore, 1968).

Watkins, P., *Bolton Priory and its Church*, (Bolton Abbey, 1989).

Whitaker, T.D., *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven*, (London, 1805).

Wood, S., *English Monasteries and their Patrons in the XIIIth Century*, (London, 1955).

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

Young, C.R., *The Making of the Neville Family 1166-1400*, (Woodbridge, 1996).

### **Printed Secondary Sources: Articles**

Agarde, A., 'The compendium of the records in the Treasury', *The Ancient Kalendars and Inventories in the Treasury of his Majesty's Exchequer*, ed. F. Palgrave, (1836).

Baildon, W.P., 'The Keighley family', *YAJ*, 27, (1924), pp. 1-109.

Baker, D., 'Patronage in the early twelfth-century church: Walter Espec, Kirkham and Rievaulx', *Traditio-Krisis-Renovatio aus theologischer Sicht: Festschrift Winfried Zeller*, ed. B. Jaspert & R. Mohr, (Marburg, 1976), pp. 92-9.

Baker, L.G.D., 'The desert in the north', *Northern History*, 5, (1970), pp. 1-11.

Beanlands, A., 'The claim of John de Eston', *Thoresby Society*, 24, (Leeds, 1919), pp. 227-44.

Bishop, T.A.M., 'Monastic granges in Yorkshire', *EHR*, 51, (1936), pp. 193-214.

de Boer, G., 'Coastal erosion of Holderness', *An Historical Atlas of East Yorkshire*, ed. S. Neave & S. Ellis, (Hull, 1996), pp. 6-7.

Bond, C.J., 'Water management in the rural monastery', *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*, ed. R. Gilchrist & H. Mytum, (Oxford, 1989), pp. 83-111.

Brooke, C.N.L., 'Monk and canon: some patterns in the religious life of the twelfth century', *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition*, ed. W.J. Sheils, *Studies in Church*, 22, (Oxford, 1985), pp. 109-29.

Burrows, T., 'The geography of monastic property in medieval England: a case study of Nostell and Bridlington priories (Yorkshire)', *YAJ*, 57, (1985), pp. 79-86.

Burton, J., 'The estates and economy of Rievaulx Abbey in Yorkshire', *Cîteaux*, t. 48, fasc. 1-2, (1998), pp. 29-93.

Burton, J.E., 'Monasteries and parish churches in eleventh and twelfth-century Yorkshire', *Northern History*, 23, (1987), pp. 39-50.

Burton, J.E., 'Monastic building in twelfth-century Yorkshire: some documentary evidence', *Trivium*, 17, (Lampeter, 1982), pp. 67-86.

Chadwick, H., 'The ascetic ideal in the history of the church', *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition*, ed. W.J. Sheils, *Studies in Church History*, 22, (Oxford, 1985), pp. 1-23.

Chandler, V., 'Politics and piety: influences on charitable donations during the Anglo-Norman period', *Revue Bénédictine*, 90, (1980), pp. 63-71.

Chaplais, P., 'The spelling of Christ's name in medieval Anglo-Latin: 'Christus' or 'Cristus'?', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 8, no. 4, (1987), pp. 261-280.

Chibnall, M., 'Monastic foundations in England and Normandy, 1060-1189', *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Bates & A. Curry, (London, 1994), pp. 37-49.

Chibnall, M., 'Monks and pastoral work: a problem in Anglo-Norman history', *JEH*, 18, no. 2, (October 1967), pp. 165-72.



Chibnall, M., 'Dating the charters of the smaller religious houses in Suffolk in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *Dating Undated Medieval Charters*, ed. M. Gervers, (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 51-9.

Clark, C., 'Women's names in post-conquest England: observations and speculations', *Speculum*, 53, (1978), pp. 223-51.

Clay, C., 'The seals of the religious houses of Yorkshire', *Archaeologia*, 78, (1928), pp. 1-36.

Clay, C.T., 'The Clifford family', *YAJ*, 18, (1905), pp. 355-411.

Clay, C.T., 'The family of Amundeville', *Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society, Reports and Papers*, 3, ii, new series for 1945-1947, (1948), pp. 109-36.

Clay, C.T., 'The family of Longvillers', *YAJ*, 42, pt. 165, (1967), pp. 41-51.

Clay, C.T., 'The family of Meaux', *YAJ*, 43, (1972), pp. 99-111.

Connor, W.J., 'The Fairfax archives: a study in dispersal', *Archives*, 11, no. 50, (1973), pp. 76-85.

Cownie, E., 'Gloucester Abbey, 1066-1135: an illustration of religious patronage in Anglo-Norman England', *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Bates & A. Curry, (London, 1994), pp. 143-57.

Cownie, E., 'The Normans as patrons of English religious houses 1066-1135', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference, 1995, Anglo-Norman Studies*, 18, ed. C. Harper-Bill, (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 47-62.

Currie, C.K., 'The role of fishponds in the monastic economy', *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*, ed. R. Gilchrist & H. Mytum, (Oxford, 1989), pp. 147-72.

Dalton, P., 'Aiming at the impossible: Ranulf II earl of Chester and Lincolnshire in the reign of King Stephen', *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters: A Tribute to Geoffrey Barraclough*, ed. A.T. Thacker, *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, 71, (1991), pp. 109-34.

Davies, R., 'The medieval Jews of York', *YAJ*, 3, (1895), pp. 147-97.

Davies, V., 'Rivals for ministry? Ordinations of secular and regular clergy in southern England c. 1300-1500', *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay*, ed. W.J. Shiels & D. Wood, *Studies in Church History*, 26, (Oxford, 1989), pp. 99-109.

Denholm-Young, N., 'The foundation of Warter Priory', *YAJ*, 31, (1934), pp. 208-13.

Denholm-Young, N., 'The Yorkshire estates of Isabella de Fortibus', *YAJ*, 31, (1934), pp. 388-420.

Dickinson, J.C., 'English regular canons and the continent in the twelfth century', *TRHS*, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 1, (1951), pp. 71-89.

Donkin, R.A., 'Settlement and depopulation on Cistercian estates during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, especially in Yorkshire', *BIHR*, 33, no. 88, (1960), pp. 141-65).

Donkin, R.A., 'Bercaria and lanaria', *YAJ*, 39, (1958), pts. 155-6, pp. 447-50.

Dudley, M., 'Monastic priest', *Monastic Studies The Continuity of Tradition II*, ed. J. Loades, (Bangor, 1991), pp. 183-92.

English, B. & Barr, C.B.L., 'The records formerly in St. Mary's Tower, York', *YAJ*, 42, pts. 166-168, (1967-1969), pp. 198-235, 359-86, 465-518.

English, B. & Hoyle, R., 'What was in St. Mary's Tower: An Inventory of 1610', *YAJ*, 65, (1993), pp. 91-4.

Fiallos, R., 'An overview of the process of dating undated medieval charters: latest results and future developments', *Dating Undated Medieval Charters*, ed. M. Gervers, (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 37-48.

Forster, G.C.F., 'Yorkshire', *English County Histories: A Guide. A Tribute to C.R. Elrington*, ed. C.R.J. Currie & C.P. Lewis, (Far Thrupp, Stroud, 1994), pp. 433-9.

Forster, G.C.F., 'Yorkshire: The West Riding', *English County Histories: A Guide. A Tribute to C.R. Elrington*, ed. C.R.J. Currie & C.P. Lewis, (Far Thrupp, Stroud, 1994), pp. 456-60.

Foulds, T., 'Medieval cartularies', *Archives*, 18, no. 77, (1987), pp. 3-35.

Galbraith, V.H., 'Monastic foundation charters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 4, no. 3, (1934), pp. 205-22.

Gardner, E.J., 'The English nobility and monastic education, c.1100-1500', *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey*, ed. J. Blair & B. Golding, (Oxford, 1996).

Gemmill, E., 'The ecclesiastical patronage of the earls during the reign of Edward I', *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain: Proceedings of the 1994 Harlaxton Symposium*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies VI, ed. B. Thompson, (Stamford, 1999), pp. 64-74.

Gervers, M., 'The DEEDS project and the development of a computerised methodology for dating undated English private charters on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *Dating Undated Medieval Charters*, ed. M. Gervers, (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 13-35.

Gorsuch, E.N., 'Mismanagement and ecclesiastical visitation of English monasteries in the early-fourteenth century', *Traditio*, 28, (1972), pp. 473-82.



Greatrex, J.G., 'Some statistics of religious motivation', *Religious Motivation: Biographical and Sociological Problems for the Church Historian*, ed. D. Baker, *Studies in Church History*, 15, (Oxford, 1978), pp. 179-86.

Green, J., 'Aristocratic loyalties on the northern frontier in England, circa 1100-1174', *England in the Twelfth Century. Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. D. Williams, (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 83-100.

Green, J.A., 'Earl Ranulf II and Lancashire', *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters: A Tribute to Geoffrey Barraclough*, ed. A.T. Thacker, *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, 71, (1991), pp. 97-108.

Green, J.A., 'David I and Henry I', *Scottish Historical Review*, 75, I, no. 199, (1996), pp. 1-19.

Greenway, D.E., 'A lost cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York', *YAJ*, 42, pt.166, (1967), pp. 178-80.

Hadley, D.M., 'Conquest, colonization and the church: ecclesiastical organization in the Danelaw', *BIHR*, 69, no. 169, (1996), pp. 109-28.

Hall, K.M., 'Pre conquest estates in Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Boundaries*, ed. H.E.J. le Patourel, M.H. Long & M.F. Pickles, (Leeds, 1993), pp. 25-38.

Hall McCash, J., 'The cultural patronage of medieval women: an overview', *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. J. Hall McCash, (Athens, Georgia, 1996), pp. 1-49.

Hallam, E.M., 'Monasteries as war memorials: Battle Abbey and La Victoire', *The Church and War*, ed. W.J. Sheils, *Studies in Church History*, 20, (Oxford, 1983), pp. 47-57.

Harper-Bill, C., 'The piety of the Anglo-Norman knightly class', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies II*, (Woodbridge, 1979), pp. 63-77, 173-6.

Harrison, B., 'Field systems and demesne farming on the Wiltshire estates of St. Swithun's Priory', *Agricultural History Review*, 43, part i, (1995), pp. 1-18.

Harvey, M., 'Planned field systems in eastern Yorkshire: some thoughts on their origin', *Agricultural History Review*, 31, part ii, (1983), pp. 91-103.

Herbert, J., 'The transformation of hermitages into Augustinian priories in twelfth-century England', *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition*, ed. W.J. Sheils, *Studies in Church History*, 22, (Oxford, 1985), pp. 131-45.

Hill, R.M.T., 'Town mice and country mice in the province of York 1317-40', *The Church in Town and Countryside*, ed. D. Baker, *Studies in Church History*, 16, (Oxford, 1979), pp. 201-5.

Hockey, F., 'The house of Redvers and its monastic foundations', *Anglo-Norman Studies V. Proceedings of the Battle Abbey Conference 1982*, ed. R.A. Brown, (Woodbridge, 1982), pp. 146-52.

Hodson, J.H., 'Medieval charters: the last witness', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 5, no. 2, (1974), pp. 71-89.

Holt, J.C., 'Politics and property in early medieval England: a rejoinder', *Past and Present*, 65, (1974), pp. 127-35.

Hoyle, R., 'Monastic leasing before the Dissolution: the evidence of Bolton Priory and Fountains Abbey', *YAJ*, 61, (1989), pp. 111-37.

Hudson, J., 'Diplomatic and legal aspects of charters', *The Earldom of Chester and Its Charters: A Tribute to Geoffrey Barraclough*, *Journal of Chester Archaeological Society*, 71, ed. A.T. Thacker, (1991), pp. 153-78.

Hudson, J., 'Life Grants of Land and the Development of Inheritance in Anglo-Norman England', *Anglo-Norman Studies XII*, Proceedings of the Battle Abbey Conference, 1989, ed. M. Chibnall, (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 67-80.

Hughes, J., 'Walter de Langton and his family', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 35, (1991), pp. 70-6.

Jones, A., 'Land measurement in England 1150-1350', *Agricultural History Review*, 27, part i, (1979), pp. 10-18.

Kemp, B.R., 'Monastic possession of parish churches in England in the twelfth century', *JEH*, 31, (1980), pp. 133-60.

Kent, G.H.R., 'Yorkshire: The East Riding', *English County Histories: A Guide. A Tribute to C.R. Elrington*, ed. C.R.J. Currie & C.P. Lewis, (Far Thrupp, Stroud, 1994), pp. 440-6.

Kershaw, I., 'The great famine and agrarian crisis in England 1315-1322', *Past and Present*, 59, (1975), pp. 3-50.

Kershaw, I., 'A note on the Scots in the West Riding, 1318-1319', *Northern History*, 17, (1981), pp. 231-9.

Keynes, S., 'George Harbin's transcript of the lost cartulary of Athelney Abbey', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History*, 136, (1992), pp. 149-59.

Keynes, S., 'A lost cartulary of St. Albans Abbey', *Anglo Saxon England*, 22, ed. M. Lapidge, (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 253-79.

Keynes, S., 'The cartulary of Athelney Abbey rediscovered', *Monastic Research Bulletin*, 7, (2001), pp. 2-5.



Mason, E., 'The role of the English parishioner 1100-1500', *JEH*, 27, no. 1, (1976), pp. 17-29.

Mason, E., 'Timeo barones et donas ferentes', *Religious Motivation: Biographical and Sociological Problems for the Church Historian*, ed. D. Baker, *Studies in Church History*, 15, (Oxford, 1978), pp. 61-75.

Mason, E., 'Pro statu et incolumnitate regni mei: royal monastic patronage 1066-1154', *Religion and National Identity*, ed. S. Mews, *Studies in Church History*, 18, (Oxford, 1982), pp. 99-107.

Mate, M., 'The impact of war of the economy of Canterbury Cathedral Priory, 1294-1340', *Speculum*, 57, (1982), pp. 761-78.

Mate, M., 'Medieval agrarian practices: the determining factors?', *Agricultural History Review*, 33, part i, (1985), pp. 22-31.

Mayr-Harting, H., 'Functions of a twelfth-century shrine: the miracles of St. Frideswide', *Studies in Medieval History presented to R.C.H. Davies*, ed. H. Mayr-Harting & R.I. Moore, (London, 1985), pp. 193-206.

McDonald, P., 'The exemption of Tonbridge Priory: some fourteenth-century evidence', *BIHR*, 62, no. 147, (1989), pp. 81-4.

Michelmores, D.J.H., 'Township gazetteer', *West Yorkshire: an Archaeological Survey to AD 1500*, ed. M.L. Faull & S.A. Moorhouse, (Leeds, 1981), ii, pp. 294-579.

Moorhouse, S.A., 'Boundaries', *West Yorkshire: an Archaeological Survey to AD 1500*, ed. M.L. Faull & S.A. Moorhouse, (Leeds, 1981), ii, pp. 265-93.

Moorhouse, S.A., 'Monastic estates: their composition and development', *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*, ed. R. Gilchrist & H. Mytum, (Oxford, 1989), pp. 29-81.

Newman, J., 'Cardinal Wolsey's collegiate foundations', *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, ed. S.J. Gunn & P.G. Lindley, (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 103-15.

Nicholson, H.J., 'Margaret de Lacy and the Hospital of St. John of Aconbury, Herefordshire', *JEH*, 50, no. 4, (1999), pp. 629-51).

Olson, S., 'Family linkages and the structure of the local elite in the medieval and early modern village', *Medieval Prosopography*, 13, no. 2, (1992), pp. 53-82.

Oppenheimer, J., 'A chapter of accidents', *Archives*, 15, no. 62, (1982), pp. 148-51.

Orme, N., 'Church and chapel in medieval England', *TRHS*, 6<sup>th</sup> series, 6, (1996), pp. 75-102.

Owen, D.M., 'Cartularies and other monastic records: a survey of some recent publications', *Archives*, 17, no. 33, (1965), pp. 40-5.

Palliser, D.M., 'The medieval street-names of York', *York Historian*, 2, (1978), pp. 2-16.

Palliser, D.M., 'Domesday Book and the "harrying of the north"', *Northern History*, 29, (1993), pp. 1-23.

Palliser, D.M., (ed.), 'An early mortmain inquest', *The Church in Medieval York. Records Edited in Honour of Professor Barrie Dobson*, ed. D.M. Smith, Borthwick Texts and Calendars, 24, (York, 1999), pp. 1-15.

Le Patourel, J., 'The Norman conquest of Yorkshire', *Northern History*, 6, (1971), pp. 1-21.

Pope, J.M., 'Monks and nobles in the Anglo-Saxon monastic reform', *Anglo-Norman Studies xvii, Proceedings of the Battle Abbey Conference 1994*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 165-180.

Postles, D., 'The Austin canons in English towns, c. 1100-1350', *BIHR*, 66, no. 159, (1993), pp. 1-20.

Postles, D., 'Monastic burial of non-patronal lay benefactors', *JEH*, 47, no. 4, (1996), pp. 620-37.

Raban, S., 'Mortmain in medieval England', *Past and Present*, 62, (1974), pp. 3-26.

Rose, R.K., 'Cumbrian society and the Anglo-Norman church', *Religion and National Identity*, ed. S. Mews, *Studies in Church History*, 18, (Oxford, 1982), pp. 119-35.

Searle, E., 'Women and the legitimisation of succession at the Norman conquest', *Proceedings of the Battle Abbey Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies, 1980*, 3, ed. R.A. Brown, (Woodbridge, 1981), pp. 159-70, 226-9.

Sheils, W.J., 'Yorkshire: the North Riding and the city of York', *English County Histories: A Guide. A Tribute to C.R. Elrington*, ed. C.R.J. Currie & C.P. Lewis, (Far Thrupp, Stroud, 1994), pp. 447-55.

Sheppard, J.A., 'Field systems of Yorkshire', *Studies in Field Systems in the British Isles*, ed. A.R.H. Baker & R.A. Butlin, (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 145-87.

Smalley, B., 'Ecclesiastical attitudes to novelty c.1100-c.1250', *Church, Society and Politics*, ed. D. Baker, *Studies in Church*, 12, (Oxford, 1975), pp. 113-31.

Smith, D.M., (ed.), 'The foundation of chantries in the Chapel of St. William on Ouse Bridge, York', *The Church in Medieval York. Records Edited in Honour of*



Professor Barrie Dobson, ed. D.M. Smith, *Borthwick Texts and Calendars*, 24, (York, 1999), pp. 51-65.

Smith, D.M., 'The cartulary of Nunkeeling Priory: A guide to its contents', *Monastic Research Bulletin*, 7, pp. 14-38, (2001).

Spence, R.T., 'Mining and smelting in Yorkshire by the Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland in the Tudor and early Stuart period', *YAJ*, 64, (1992), pp. 157-83.

Stewart-Brown, R., 'The end of the Norman earldom of Chester', *EHR*, 35, (1920), pp. 26-54.

Sullivan, M., 'The role of the Nassington family in the medieval church', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 37, (1993), pp. 53-64.

Swan, V.G., 'Marton Priory fishponds: a postscript', *YAJ*, 63, (1991), pp. 219-20.

Tallon, P., 'What was a caldecote?', *EP-NS Journal*, 31, (1999), pp. 31-54.

Thacker, A.T., 'Introduction: the earls and their earldom', *The Earldom of Chester and its Charters: A Tribute to Geoffrey Barraclough*, *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, 71, ed. A.T. Thacker, (Chester, 1991), pp. 7-22.

Thompson, B., 'From "alms" to "spiritual services": the function and status of monastic property in medieval England', *Monastic Studies: The Continuity of Tradition*, II, ed. J. Loades, (Bangor, 1991), pp. 227-61.

Thompson, B., 'Introduction: monasteries and medieval society', *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain: Proceedings of the 1994 Harlaxton Symposium*, *Harlaxton Medieval Series*, 6, ed. B. Thompson, (Stamford, 1999), pp. 1-33.

Veitch, K., 'The conversion of native religious to the Augustinian Rule in twelfth- and thirteenth-century *alba*', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 29, (1999), pp. 1-22.

Waites, B., 'The monastic settlement of north-east Yorkshire', *YAJ*, 40, pt. 159, (1961), pp. 478-95.

Waites, B., 'The monastic grange as a factor in the settlement of north-east Yorkshire', *YAJ*, 40, pt. 160, (1962), pp. 627-56.

Walker, D., 'The organization of material in medieval cartularies', *The Study of Medieval Records. Essays in Honour of Kathleen Major*, ed. D.A. Bullough & R.L. Storey, (Oxford, 1971), pp. 132-50.

Ward, J.C., 'Fashions of monastic endowment: the foundations of the Clare family 1066-1314', *JEH*, 32, no. 4, (1981), pp. 427-51.

White, S.D., 'Succession to fiefs in early medieval England', *Past and Present*, 65, (1974), pp. 118-27.

Wilcox, S.C., 'The source of Wordsworth's "The Force of Prayer"', *Modern Language Notes*, 52, (1937), pp. 165-6.

Wilson, K., 'The monastic wool trade in Yorkshire', *Amateur Historian*, 4, no. 4, (1959), pp. 134-9.

Wroot, H.E., 'Yorkshire abbeys and the wool trade', *Thoresby Society*, 33, (1935), pp. 1-21.

Yax, M., 'Arther Agarde "Elizabethan Archivist": his contribution to the evolution of archival practice', *American Archivist*, 61, no. 1, (1998), pp. 56-69.

### **Unpublished Theses**

'The Administration and Alienation of Ex-Monastic Lands by the Crown, 1536-47', P.A. Cunich, Cambridge, D.Phil. thesis, 1990.

'An Edition of the Cartulary of St. Mary's Collegiate Church, Warwick', C.R. Fonge, York, D.Phil. thesis, 2 vols., 1999.

'Coverham Abbey: A Preliminary Study in its History and Archaeology, c.1187-1536', G. Halsall, York, B.A., "Bridge Essay", 1986.

'Bolton Priory, 1286-1325 an Economic Study', I. Kershaw, Ph.D. thesis, Oxford, 1969.

'Property, Tenure and Rents: Some Aspects of the Topography and Economy of Medieval York', S. Rees Jones, D.Phil. thesis, 2 vols., York, 1987.

'The Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland, 1579-1646: A Study of their Fortunes based on their Household and Estate Accounts', R.T. Spence, Ph.D. thesis, London, Ph.D. thesis, 1959.

'Edition of the Kenilworth Cartulary', C. Watson, London, Ph.D. thesis, 1966.

### **Electronic Sources**

West Sussex Record Office, (29 August 2001)

<http://www.westsussex.gov.uk.RO/services/cartulary.htm>