THE GILBERTINE PRIORIES OF ALVINGHAM AND BULLINGTON:

THEIR ENDOWMENTS AND BENEFACTORS

by

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by B.J. Golding of Wadham College in Trinity Term, 1979

This thesis has two themes. In the first place it is a study of the development of the estates of two small Gilbertine houses in north Lincolnshire from their foundation c.1150 to c.1300, by which date their holdings had reached their largest extent. It is clear that the great majority of the houses' properties had been obtained by c.1200 and by this date granges had been established at the largest holdings. At the same time the priories were receiving grants of churches, the income from which provided over half of their income by the end of the thirteenth century.

Secondly, I have examined the benefactors of these communities, most of whom were drawn from the ranks of the lesser lords of the region or from the free peasants. I have attempted to demonstrate how the fortunes of the priories and their economic growth were dependent upon the economic condition of their benefactors. Many of these men had little land to grant to religious houses and often their families were declining in importance. As a result their grants in favour of the priories were increasingly small.

Evidence for both the endowments of the priories and for the condition of their benefactors is largely confined to charters, of which a large number survive for both priories. Though it has not proved possible to describe the economy of either priory in any details the evidence does allow a detailed study of the creation of the estates of these small houses and an assessment of their importance in the life of their region.

ABSTRACT

Since the publication in 1901 of Miss Graham's S.Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines, the history of the Gilbertine order has been largely neglected. Professor Knowles published an article on the revolt of the lay brethren of Sempringham in the English Historical Review for 1935, and in 1943 Mlle. Foreville's Un Procès de Canonisation a l'aube du XIII^{e} siecle; Le Livre de Saint Gilbert de Sempringham studied the miracle stories (which were transcribed in the book) relating to Gilbert's canonisation. The afore-mentioned works concentrated upon the life of Gilbert and his priory at Sempringham. Those wishing to learn of the other Gilbertine priories, their endowments and economic life, have had to rely upon the short articles written by Miss Graham and others in the relevant volumes of the Victoria County Histories.

In part this neglect can be attributed to lack of evidence for studies of the individual priories and their estates. Over 100 charters of Sempringham survive, and some of these were printed by Major Poynton in the Genealogist between 1899 and 1901. About 200 charters relating to the priories of Sixle, Ormsby, Catley, Bullington and Alvingham were transcribed and translated with an introduction by Sir Frank Stenton in 1922. Over 100 original twelfth century charters relating to Bullington were printed in his Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw, and a few of the charters relating to Alvingham and transcribed in the cartulary of that house were printed in his Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw.

In none of these works, however, was Stenton primarily concerned with the endowments of the priories.

Only two cartularies of Gilbertine houses survive: those of Alvingham and Malton. An abbreviated copy of a third, that of Bullington, was made in 1642 by Gervase Holles, but the original is now lost. Mr. Kennedy of Glasgow University is now engaged upon an edition of the Malton cartulary; the other two, together with the surviving original charters relating to Bullington, form the basis of the present study.

This study represents, therefore, the first attempt to describe in detail the establishment of any Gilbertine house. It is, however, subject to some limitations. The most important of these derives from the fact that no account rolls of either house survive. As a result there can be no illustration of the dynamic of their economic life. An enforced reliance upon charter evidence in the account inevitably produces a two-dimensional picture of the priories' economy. Nevertheless, close attention to such evidence has enabled me to focus upon two aspects of the priories' history during their first 150 years.

First, a detailed analysis of the creation of the priories' estates has been possible. It has proved difficult to date many grants made to the canons to within less than 25 years. Very few of the charters were dated. Only in a very few cases are the witness lists given in the charters transcribed in the Alvingham cartulary. When these lists are given, (as is the case in the Bullington charters and, in an abbreviated

form, in the cartulary copy), it is often difficult to identify many of the witnesses, who were often men of only local importance. Palaeographical evidence does not allow any closer dating of these documents. Even when this is taken into account it has still proved possible to establish a broad pattern of the chronology of these endowments, which reveals that the greater part of the priories' granges were developed by c.1200. Their period of rapid expansion was, therefore, limited to a period of about 50 years.

Secondly, the charters also reveal the importance of the grange in the priories' economy, and the thesis emphasizes this aspect. Though it does not intend to give a charter by charter account of the creation of every grange, a number of representative estates have been chosen to illustrate the process of grange development in detail. Another chapter considers the extent to which the canons were prepared to pay rents for such properties and to hold them at farm. The importance of the grange is also suggested through negative evidence, in the analysis of the properties which the canons, unable to consolidate into a grange, demised at farm.

In 1291 both priories derived more than 50% of their income from spiritualia; the endowment of churches which were often appropriated to the priories. The importance of these churches in the priories' economy is investigated, and an attempt made to assess the types of incumbent whom the canons were presenting to these churches. The first section, therefore, aims to provide a detailed assessment of the

endowments from which the priories derived both their spiritual and temporal incomes from their foundation to c.1300.

The second section focuses upon the benefactors to the priories. These were primarily drawn from the local knightly and gentry class, who were responsible for the foundation of these houses, just as others of their kind founded many similar small communities throughout the country. This group was also responsible for the initial endowments of the granges and the donation of the churches. It has been my intention to demonstrate how dependent the canons were upon the benefactions of these men, and to shew how the changing fortunes and economic capabilities of this group affected the fortunes of the priories. Their grants illustrate their spiritual aspirations; they also illustrate their economic condition. Not all their grants were freely given, and though they can be styled 'benefactors' of the priories, they were not always 'donors'. Though they might often receive payment for their grants, their role in the creation of the priories' estates cannot be overestimated.

Another important group of benefactors, especially to Alvingham, were the local free peasants. Their role in the development of the priories' estates was clearly less important than that of the lesser lords, but at the same time their involvement with the houses provides a rare insight into the close relationship that could exist between a religious house and local peasants. The Gilbertine houses were small, with few of the pretensions of the wealthy Benedictine abbeys;

their appeal was always to those of relatively modest means. Grants by peasant families, the histories of some of whom this thesis follows in detail, show the working out of this relationship at a parish level.

From these benefactors the canons gained lands and other endowments; in return the benefactors gained the prayers of the community. They could also receive more tangible spiritual benefits, such as rights of confraternity or burial, or the reception of a member of the family into the community. The provision of such benefits provides a useful index of the relationship between benefactor and community which is one of the central themes of this study.

The thesis is a study of aspects of the economy of two Gilbertine houses, yet in many respects their history is similar to that of small religious houses of any order. Studies of these are comparatively rare. Led both by inclination and availability of source material, monastic historians have tended to concentrate their attention upon the larger and wealthier communities. Their history is important. At the same time it should be remembered that it is not typical of the majority of religious foundations in England, most of which were of modest endowment and of only local importance. In this study I have attempted in small measure to redress the balance.

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PREFACE

This thesis is not a study of the economic life of the priories of Alvingham and Bullington. Still less is it an account of the religious life of two Gilbertine houses. Surviving source material for the early history of the priories is almost entirely limited to charters relating to their land transactions. Using these charters I have attempted to describe the development of the priories' estates and the role of the benefactors in this process.

No original charters relating to Alvingham priory appear to have survived, but there is a cartulary of the house originally compiled between 1260 and 1270, though it contains additions made until the fifteenth century. This is a manuscript (Bodl. MS. Laud Misc. 642) of 169 folios which, besides containing about 1000 charters also includes records of litigation involving the house, genealogical material relating to families of benefactors, agreements with other religious houses, a copy of the 1217 reissue of Magna Carta and other miscellaneous material.

Bullington possessed a cartulary, but this is now missing. It was, however, extant in 1642, when Gervase Holles made an abbreviated transcript (B.L. Addit.MS. 6118, pp. 713 to end). In addition, about 600 original charters have survived. The majority are in the Harleian but a few in the Cottonian collection (British Library).

It is my duty and pleasure to thank the staff of the Bodleian Library, British Library and Public Record Office, and also the archivists of the Lincoln and Northumberland County

Record Offices. I have benefited greatly from the advice of many colleagues and friends, and from discussion with them of many aspects of the thesis: Dr. Ernest Blake, Mr. Pierre Chaplais, Dr. Paul Hyams, Mr. Michael Kennedy, Miss Kathleen Major, Professor Colin Morris, Mr. Alexander Murray, Mrs. Dorothy Owen, Dr. Sandra Raban, Dr. Kevin Sharpe, Mr. William Urry and Miss Joan Wardrop. I would also like to thank my typist, Mrs. Sally Johnson, for her careful and speedy typing of an often difficult script. My wife Flora Lewis has long suffered the writing of this thesis. Her comments and criticisms have been most valuable.

Above all I must thank my supervisor, Barbara Harvey. Her assistance and support, encouragement and meticulous attention to detail have never failed. Though what follows is a poor reflection of her guidance, without her it would not have been possible at all.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.S.R.P.	:	Reports and Papers of the Architectural and Archaeological Societies of the County of Lincoln and the County of Northampton
Addit. MS. 6118	:	London, British Library, Additional MS. 6118.
B.I.H.R.	:	Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research
Book of Fees	:	Book of Fees, The (3 vols., H.M.S.O., London, 1920-31).
Cal.Ch.R.	:	Calendar of Charter Rolls (H.M.S.O., London, 1903-)
Cal.Cl.R.	:	Calendar of Close Rolls (H.M.S.O., London, 1892-)
Cal.Inq.Misc.	:	Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery) (H.M.S.O., London, 1916-)
Cal.Inq.post mortem:		Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem (H.M.S.O., London, 1904-)
Cal. Papal Letters:		Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, ed. W.H. Bliss, C. Johnson and J.A. Twemlow: Calendar of Papal Letters (H.M.S.O., London, 1893-)
Cal.Pat.R.	:	Calendar of Patent Rolls (H.M.S.O., London, 1901-)
CGH	:	Transcripts of Charters relating to the Gilbertine Houses of Sixle, Ormsby, Catley, Bullington and Alvingham ed. and translated F.M. Stenton (Lincoln Record Society 18, 1920)
C.R.R.	:	Curia Regis Rolls (H.M.S.O., London, 1922-).
DC	:	Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw from Various Collections, ed. F.M. Stenton (British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales v, 1920)
Eng. Hist. Rev.	:	English Historical Review

EYC	:	Early Yorkshire Charters, ed. C.T. Clay (12 vols., Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, Extra Series, i-xii, 1914-1965)
Fasti	:	J. le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300, compiled D.E. Greenway, iii, Lincoln (London, 1977).
Final Concords i	:	Abstracts of Final Concords temp. Richard I, John and Henry III, ed. W.O. Massingberd (Lincolnshire Records, i. 1896).
Final Concords ii	:	Final Concords in the County of Lincoln from the Feet of Fines preserved in the Public Record Office A.D. 1244-1272 with additions from Various Sources A.D. 1176-1250 ed. C.W. Foster (Lincoln Record Society, 17, 1920).
G.E.C.	:	G.E. Cokayne, The Complete Peerage, ed. V. Gibbs, H.A. Doubleday, et al (London, 1910-)
Laud Misc.MS.642	:	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. MS.642
Liber Ant.	:	Liber Antiquus de Ordinationibus Vicariarium tempore Hugonis Wells, Lincolniensis Episcopi, 1209-1235, ed. A. Gibbons (Lincoln, 1888).
Lincolnshire Domesday	:	Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey, The ed. C.W. Foster and T. Longley with an introduction by F.M. Stenton (Lincoln Record Society, 19, 1924, reprinted 1976)
L.R.S.	:	Lincoln Record Society
Mon. Ang.	:	W. Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel (6 vols., London, 1817-30)
P.R.S.	:	Pipe Roll Society
Reg. Ant.	:	Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, The ed. C.W. Foster and K. Major (10 vols., Lincoln Record Society, 27-9, 32, 34, 41, 46, 51, 62, 67, 1931-73)
Reg. Sutton	:	Sutton, Oliver, Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton, 1280-1299 ed. R.M.T. Hill (7 vols., Lincoln Record Society, 39, 43, 48, 52, 60, 64, 69, 1948- 75).

R. Lit. Claus.	:	Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati, 1204-27, ed. T. Hardy (2 vols., Record Commission, 1833-44).
R. Lit. Pat.	:	Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi Asservati, 1201-16, ed. T. Hardy (Record Commission, 1835).
Rot. Chartarum	:	Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati, 1199-1216, ed. T.D. Hardy (Record Commission, 1837).
Rot. Gravesend	:	Gravesend, Richard. Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend, diocesis Lincolnensis, 1258-1279 ed. F.N. Davis and others (Lincoln Record Society 26, 1925).
Rot. Grosseteste	:	Grosseteste, Robert. Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, 1235-1253, ed. F.N. Davis (Lincoln Record Society 11, 1914).
Rot. Welles	:	Wells, Hugh of. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, 1209-1235, ed. W.P.W. Phillimore, F.N. Davis and H.E. Salter (3 vols., Lincoln Record Society 3, 6, 9, 1912-14).
T. Rymer, Foedera	:	Rymer, T., ed., Foedera, conventiones, literae et cujuscunque generis acta publica inter reges Angliae et alios quosvis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes vel communitates (4 vols. in 7, Record Commission, 1816-69).
Taxatio	:	Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, circa A.D. 1291, ed. T. Astle, S. Ayscough and J. Caley (Record Commission, 1802).
Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.	:	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
Val. Eccles.	:	Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henrici VIII, auctoritate Regia Institutus, ed. J.Caley and J. Hunter (6 vols., Record Commission, 1810-34).
V.C.H., Lincs.	:	Victoria History of the County of Lincoln, The, ed. W. Page (London, 1906), vol. 2.

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INTRODUCTION

The monastic context in eleventh and twelfth century Lincolnshire

In 1066 there were no religious foundations in Lincolnshire anywhere to the north of Lincoln. The region had suffered heavily during the Danish invasions, and most monasteries in the county had been destroyed. Some, such as Bardney or Crowland, revived; others, like Barrow-on-Humber, never recovered. This is probably the single most important factor in explanation of the monastic desert that existed in much of the county in 1066. The first post-Conquest community to be founded was that of the cathedral at Lincoln, transferred there from Dorchester by bishop Remigius in 1072. Thereafter a few alien priories were established in the last quarter of the eleventh century, but no native foundations were made until the last years of the reign of Henry I.[1]

A dramatic change occurred c. 1130. In the next thirty years houses belonging to both the old Benedictine and the new orders sprang up all over north Lincolnshire. The Cistercian abbeys of Louth Park, Kirkstead and Revesby were founded in 1137, 1139 and 1143 respectively. The Premonstratensians had abbeys at Newsham (1143), Barlings (1154-5) and Tupholme (1155-6); Augustinian houses were established at Wellow (c.1132) Nocton, Thornholme (both t. Stephen), and Thornton (1139); Benedictine Humberston was founded c.1160. As numerous were the nunneries. Cistercian nunneries were established at Stixwould (c.1135), Heynings (after 1135), Gokewell (before 1148), Nun Cotham (1147-53), Legbourne (after 1150)

1. See D.M. Owen, Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire (Lincoln, 1971), pp.47-52.

and Greenfield (before 1153); a house of Premonstratensian canonesses was founded at Orford c.1155-60. To these houses should be added the five Gilbertine houses founded in north Lincolnshire before 1160: Alvingham, Bullington, Sixle, Tunstall and North Ormsby.[1]

Walter Daniel provides the most famous explanation for this upsurge in monastic foundations in his Life of Ailred, who was himself abbot of the Lincolnshire abbey of Revesby before becoming abbot of Rievaulx. The bishop ordered Ailred 'to accept grants of lands from knights in generous free alms', and Ailred obeyed, 'since he had realised that in this unsettled time such gifts profited knights and monks alike, for in those days it was hard for any to lead the good life unless they were monks or members of some religious order'.[2]

These foundations lay very close to each other. Alvingham lay in the next parish to Louth Park, and only two or three miles to the north of Legbourne. Within a distance of some ten miles lay the houses of Bullington, Barlings, Stainfield, Bardney, Tupholme and Stixwould. The monastic garden of Lincolnshire was overcrowded. No longer a desert, the region was now too fruitful. As a result of this overcrowding and pressure on the available land, few of these houses gained more than modest endowments or wealth. Their sphere of

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1. D.Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales (revised edition, London, 1971), passim.
2. Walter Daniel, The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx, trans. with Introduction and Notes F.M. Powicke (London, 1950), p.28.

influence was local, almost parochial in extent. Of the houses that have been mentioned, only Kirkstead, Revesby, Barlings and Thornton had incomes over £200 in 1535, and only Thornton (£591) had an income over £300.[1] Moreover, most of these houses were founded by lesser local lords. They stood as witnesses to the piety and pretensions of tenants of magnates rather than the great lords themselves. The amount of land available for the demands of piety was limited, though it was sometimes possible for houses to be founded on unreclaimed or uncultivated lands, thereby allowing the benefactor to gain a reputation for good works with little effort.[2]

It is in this context that the foundation and early endowments of Alvingham and Bullington must be seen. They were founded at the same time as many other houses, both Gilbertine and of other orders; they had to take their chance in the competition for land and other endowments from benefactors of modest means, whose capabilities were limited. It was not an easy world for the first generations of canons and nuns, and the conditions that they faced set the course of comparative obscurity and poverty that the priories endured until their dissolution.

The foundation of the Gilbertine priories and the early development of their estates

In 1131 Gilbert, the parish priest of Sempringham, was asked by seven local girls to create a closed community for them on the north side of the parish church, and to provide

1. D.Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, op.cit., passim.
2. D.M. Owen, op.cit. p.49.

them with a Rule.[1] This became the first Gilbertine foundation. Gilbert was unwilling to expand his infant community, and no new houses were founded until 1138, when bishop Alexander of Lincoln offered him the island of Haverholme (in the marshes near Sleaford). Another small community was created here.[2] In 1147 Gilbert travelled to the Cistercian General Chapter at Citeaux in an attempt to persuade the Cistercians to take over his communities. This he failed to do, but St. Bernard of Clairvaux did aid him in drawing up a rule for his communities, which from this time comprised nuns, canons, lay brethren and sisters.[3] The events of 1147 and 1148 constitute a watershed in the history of the order.

Thereafter the order rapidly increased in numbers. Houses grew under the patronage of 'many rich and noble earls and barons who showered money and possessions on him and who built many houses throughout many districts'.[4] The years immediately following 1148 saw the foundation of eleven Gilbertine houses; eight of these were for nuns and canons,

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1. For a general account of St. Gilbert and his order see R. Graham, S. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines (London, 1901) and her account of Sempringham priory in The Victoria History of the County of Lincoln, ed. W. Page (London, 1906), ii. 179-87 (hereafter V.C.H. Lincs.). The Vita of St. Gilbert and his Rule are given in W. Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel (6 vols., London, 1817-30), vi. part 2. *v-*xcvii (between pages 945 and 946). (hereafter Mon. Ang.).
2. V.C.H. Lincs., ii. 187.
3. I have considered this aspect more fully in 'St. Bernard and St. Gilbert' in The Influence of St. Bernard, ed. Sister B. Ward (Oxford, 1976), 42-52.
4. Mon. Ang., vi. part 2 *iii. (between pages 945 and 946).

the remainder for canons only. The former group included both Alvingham and Bullington.[1] By the time of Gilbert's death in 1189, or shortly thereafter, all but seven of the twenty seven Gilbertine houses had been founded.[2] The author of the life of St. Gilbert stated that by 1189 there were 700 canons and 1500 nuns in the order.[3]

Twelve Gilbertine houses lay in Lincolnshire, and they were especially concentrated in north Lincolnshire where, within a twenty square mile area, could be found the priories of Alvingham, Bullington, Sixle, Catley and Ormsby. Not only did the houses lie close together, they also tended to attract a similar type of benefactor. All of the houses just listed were founded by local lords with local connections and of comparatively modest means.[4] As a result, and also because they lay close together so that no house could achieve a dominant position, Gilbertine houses were rarely wealthy. Only four had annual incomes over £200 in 1535: Watton (£360) Sempringham (£317), Chicksands (£212) and St. Catherine's, Lincoln (£202).[5] Bullington was the sixth wealthiest house in 1535, Alvingham the ninth. In 1254 the wealthiest priories were Sempringham (£185), Malton (£149 8s. 6d.), St. Catherines, Lincoln (£131) and Watton (£117 6s. 8d.). Out of a total of sixteen houses whose incomes are recorded in 1254

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1. D.Knowles and R.N.Hadcock, op.cit., pp.194, 197.
2. Ibid., pp.194,197.
3. Mon.Ang., vi. part 2. *xxix (between pages 945 and 946).
4. The wealthiest among them was probably Simon son of William, the founder of Bullington. See below, pp. 218-9.
5. D.Knowles and R.N.Hadcock, op.cit., pp.194,197. None of these were in north Lincolnshire.

Bullington was the sixth and Alvingham the ninth wealthiest house. In terms of wealth, therefore, Alvingham and Bullington rank among the middling priories of the order.[1]

The absence of cartularies or major charter collections for any of the priories except Alvingham, Bullington and Malton makes it difficult to determine the chronology of the landed endowments of the order with exactitude. As will be shewn in more detail, the majority of Alvingham and Bullington's estates were substantially complete by c.1200.[2] Up until c.1190 Malton made considerable acquisitions of land, thereafter followed a period of modest growth, with a quickening of active interest in the expansion and consolidation of estates by purchase or exchange after 1215.[3] In the mid-thirteenth century Malton was spending considerable sums on land purchases.[4]

In so far as the surviving charters of other Gilbertine houses allow any assessment of their growth to be made, it appears that the majority of their estates were also acquired before 1200, and that thereafter grants were small or the canons had to rely on chance opportunities to purchase estates.[5] The period of growth was therefore a short one that extended for only a little over half a century from the priories' foundation.

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1. W.E.Lunt, The Valuation of Norwich (Oxford, 1926), pp. 518-19.
2. See below, particularly pp. 51-58.
3. I am indebted to M.J. Kennedy of Glasgow University for this information.
4. See R.Graham, 'The Finance of Malton Priory, 1244-1257', Trans.Roy.Hist.Soc. xviii (1904), 141-2.
5. See below, pp. 51-58.

The foundations

1. Alvingham.

Alvingham lies in the wapentake of Louthesk, about four miles to the north west of Louth. It is about 25 feet above sea level on the edge of the middle marsh (composed largely of boulder clay) and the saltmarsh clays which had been gradually reclaimed from the sea. Mixed farming was practised here, with arable on the middle marsh and sheep grazing on the saltmarsh and reclaimed fen.[1]

In 1086 there were four manors in the vill.[2] The largest formed part of the king's great soke of Gayton, later granted to the count of Brittany. The majority of the vill's sokemen lived on this estate. Other manors were held by Odo, bishop of Bayeux, Alfred of Lincoln and Rainer of Brimou. Thus at this time there was no dominant landholder in the vill; a situation which continued into the twelfth and thirteenth century. It was probably for this reason that the Gilbertine priory appears to have been a cooperative foundation rather than that of a single lord. No foundation charter survives for Alvingham, and since the cartulary does not contain a transcript of one it does not seem that one ever existed. Historians have been divided as to the founders

1. See J.Thirsk, English Peasant Farming: The Agrarian History of Lincolnshire from Tudor to Recent Times (London, 1957), ch.2, passim and H.C. Darby, The Domesday Geography of Eastern England (3rd edn., Cambridge, 1971), pp.88-9.
2. The Lincolnshire Domesday and the Lindsey Survey, ed. C.W. Foster and T.Longley, with an introduction by F.M.Stenton (L.R.S.19, 1924 reprinted 1976), pp.23, 44,126, 161 (hereafter Lincolnshire Domesday).

and the date of foundation. Tanner stated 'by whom founded, it does not certainly yet appear, whether by Will. de Friston, Hugh de Scoteni, Hameline the dean or some other.'[1] Miss Graham hazarded a foundation by Hugh de Scoteni or one of his tenants between 1148 and 1154; Professor Stenton stated categorically that the priory was founded by Roger son of Gocelin.[2]

All the charters of these putative founders transcribed in the cartulary assume that the priory was already in existence when they made their grants. It is likely that no one demesne lord in Alvingham was in a position to make a foundation by himself, for the estates of these men were too small to endow even a small house. Not only were the suggested founders small landholders, but they held of different tenants-in-chief. William of Friston held of Hugh de la Val; Roger son of Gocelin of Ralph de Baiocis; Hugh de Scoteni held in demesne as tenant-in-chief; Hamelin held of the count of Brittany.[3] Professor Stenton emphasised how complicated grants of parish churches to the Gilbertines could be. He ascribed this to a confusion of interests in the church, relating this to the frequent division of Lincolnshire villages into several lordships, each holding a fraction of the church.[4]

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1. T.Tanner, Notitia Monastica: an account of all abbeys, etc. in England and Wales. (reprinted by J.Nasmith, Cambridge, 1787), Lincolnshire I. Dugdale did not venture an opinion.
2. V.C.H.Lincs., ii.192; Transcripts of Charters relating to the Gilbertine Houses of Sixle, Ormsby, Catley, Bullington and Alvingham, ed. F.M. Stenton (L.R.S.18, 1920), p.xvi (hereafter CGH).
3. The index to the charters in the cartulary has marginal entries giving the fees to which most of the grantors' lands belonged.
4. CGH., pp.xxiii-xxiv.

This phenomenon and explanation can perhaps be extended in this area beyond parish churches to transactions in land. It is perhaps more realistic to think in terms of a cooperative foundation, therefore, rather than the foundation of a single benefactor: a venture in which each holder in demesne contributed something towards the initial endowment of the priory.

If no one founder stands out, it may be possible instead to suggest an initiator of the foundation. The earliest confirmation charter in favour of Alvingham is one of Bishop Robert of Lincoln (1148-1166).[1] Though it confirms in general terms all the priory's possessions, it emphasises the grants of three benefactors. These are Amfridus of Legbourne, William of Friston and Hugh de Scoteni. William had granted five tofts and four bovates, Hugh a toft and bovate in Alvingham. Clearly neither of these was adequate to maintain a foundation, however small. Yet there is evidence that the Scotenis regarded themselves in some sense as having a special relationship with the priory, for Sibyl, the wife of Hugh's son Lambert, described herself as the community's lady and advocate (sicut dominam et advocatam earum).[2]

No charters of Roger son of Gocelin are preserved in the cartulary. However, as Gilbert of Sempringham's brother he did have very close personal links with the Gilbertines, and he was a generous benefactor to Sempringham.[3] He also belonged

1. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.12a^{v}.
2. Ibid., f.60.
3. E.M. Poynton, 'Charters relating to the Priory of Sempringham', The Genealogist, new series 15 (1898-9), 158-9.

to an earlier generation than the other benefactors. He was probably born before 1100, since his elder brother is said to have been born in 1083. Roger's grant is mentioned in the charter of Hamelin in which the latter granted his share of the church. This charter clearly implies that Roger's grant preceded that of Hamelin.[1] It is probable, therefore, that Roger was a prime mover in the enterprise.

Hamelin's role is more shadowy. His only grant in Alvingham was his share of the parish church, the other share already having been granted by Roger.[2] His part in the foundation may well therefore be a minor one, the consolidation and corroboration of an existing foundation by a local ecclesiastical dignitary.

It is impossible to date these charters with any precision. The earliest date for Hugh's grant is 1148, the terminal date for his first charter, 1160, when one of the witnesses, Humphrey, subdean of Lincoln, apparently died.[3] William of Friston made at least one of his grants by 1153, by which date abbot Gervase, first abbot of Louth Park and witness to this grant, was succeeded as abbot by Ralph of Norway.[4] Hamelin's grant must be dated 1160-7 on account of its mention of bishop Robert and the inclusion amongst the witnesses of Robert, arch-

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.10.
2. Ibid., f.10.
3. J.Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300, compiled D.E.Greenway, iii. Lincoln (London, 1977), 21 (hereafter Fasti).
4. D. Knowles, C.N.L.Brooke and V.C.M.London, eds., The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, 940-1216 (Cambridge, 1972), p.137.

deacon of Lincoln.[1] Though the charter was only a corroborative accessory rather than the instrument of donation, and the actual foundation of a community could predate the foundation charter by many years, it seems likely that the priory was founded between 1148 and 1155.[2]

Neither the founders, nor their initial grants, nor the time of their foundation of Alvingham are certainly known. The priory's lands, however, appear to have been built up around the 4½ bovates granted by William of Friston, the bovate granted by Hugh de Scoteni and the glebe land of the church granted by Roger and Hamelin. Piecemeal accumulation of the estate followed.

2. Bullington

Bullington lies about twenty miles to the southwest of Alvingham and ten miles to the north west of Lincoln, in the wapentake of Wraggoe. It is situated between the cliff of Lincoln to the west and the wolds to the east in a vale of boulder clay, at a slightly higher altitude than Alvingham. The region was heavily wooded and poorly drained. The priory did not lie in the main valley, which ran north-south and in which the houses of Barlings, Stainfield and Bardney were situated, but in a small valley drained only by a small stream.[3] Opportunities for the expansion and development of the priory

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1. Fasti, iii.25.
2. See V.H.Galbraith, 'Monastic Foundation Charters of the 11th and 12th Centuries', Cambridge Historical Journal iv. (1934), 205-22.
3. J.Thirsk, op.cit., ch.4, passim; H.C. Darby, op.cit., pp.88-9.

in Bullington itself were considerably less than they were in Alvingham.

In 1086 there were three manors in the vill, held by the bishop of Durham, the earl of Chester and Ivo Taillebois.[1] By 1118 the latter's holding was in the hands of Rannulf Mischin, son of the earl of Chester.[2] In 1212 only one lord is recorded in the vill, Simon of Kyme, a tenant of the bishop of Lincoln.[3] It is uncertain when this change both in the tenant-in-chief and in the demesne lord occurred; its consequences for the history of the priory were considerable, since it ensured the dominance of the Kymes.

Bullington was founded by Simon son of William and his son, Philip I of Kyme, between 1148 and 1155.[4] By his foundation charter Simon granted part of his demesne in Bullington, a portion of his park and wood, besides land to the north and east of the convent that had already been built upon the site. There is a slight problem as to where the original foundation was made, for though the foundation charter states that the park of Bullington was the original site,

1. Lincolnshire Domesday, pp.31, 76, 85.
2. Ibid., pp. 255-6.
3. Book of Fees, i.171.
4. Henry II's confirmation charter in favour of the priory (Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw from Various Collections, ed. F.M. Stenton / British Academy Records of Social and Economic History v. 1920 / no.1 / hereafter DC7) is almost certainly to be dated to the summer of 1155. The witnesses to this charter are almost identical with those witnesses to one in favour of St.Martin's, Troarn dated to this time by Eyton (R.W.Eyton, Court, Household and Itinerary of Henry II)(London, 1878,) pp.11-12.
5. CGH., p.91. The charter clearly postdates the establishment of the priory. The grant was witnessed by three of Simon's sons, Philip, Simon and Walter and in a charter of Roger of Benniworth Philip is linked with his father in the foundation (CGH., p.95).

Henry II's confirmation grant refers to the grants made to the nuns of Lindelai.[1] There was a settlement, now extinct, of this name in the parish of Lea in the wapentake of Corringham in the west of the county. Canon Foster stated that the priory was first established here.[2] However, since the Kymes are not known to have held any land in this area, and since the total possessions of Bullington in Lea seem to have been seven acres of meadow, this early settlement seems unlikely. Lindelai can mean either 'limewood' or the 'leah where flax is grown'.[3] If this Lindelai has the former etymology then the name would seem to be the name of that wood in which Simon's park was situated.

Development of the priory's home estates

1. Alvingham

There are some 180 charters relating to the Alvingham estate preserved in the cartulary, and land was granted to the priory from tenants of every manor in the vill, thereby continuing the cooperative nature of the foundation. The greater part of the estate was in existence by 1200. From the Scoteni fee Robert of Pormort, a tenant of the fee in 1166, leased a bovate to the priory for 10 years, free of all but royal service and the payment of tithes. After 10 years it was to be held by the priory in fee for 3s. per annum. He also granted the land of two of his nativi for a term of six years, after which the land was to be held in fee for 6s. per

1. DC., no. 1.
2. Lincolnshire Domesday, p.lx.
3. E.Ekwall, The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names (Oxford, 1960), p.299.

annum. Later he granted two bovates, all the land of Gocelin de Marais and meadow land, besides lands in the neighbouring vill of Cockerington for 40 marks of silver.[1] Robert's sale and the lease of his land clearly shew that he was in financial difficulties and that the priory was taking advantage of his plight to expand their estate. Robert's lord, Lambert, son of Hugh de Scoteni, granted a bovate together with its unfree tenant, tofts and crofts.[2]

Very few grants were made from the fee of William of Friston besides that made initially by William himself.[3] These small grants were of arable or meadow adjacent to the priory's holdings, and were sometimes made in the form of exchanges, allowing the mutual consolidation of the priory's and benefactors' holdings.[4] More substantial grants were made from the de Baiocis fee. Like the grants made from the Scoteni and Friston fees they were almost all made by the end of the twelfth century. The most substantial acquisitions here were from Peter de Melsa and his family. In the mid-twelfth century Peter granted a villein holding to the west of the convent's orchard. His wife went on to sell the southern half of their demesne in Alvingham and Cockerington (excluding a toft and orchard) comprising 30 acres of arable and 10 acres of meadow for 87½ marks of silver in order to pay off a Jewish debt.[5] Their son John added the site of a mill to the north

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.14.
2. Ibid., f.24 (third quarter, twelfth century).
3. See above, p.9.
4. Laud Misc.MS.642, ff.20^{v}, 29, 30^{v}.
5. Ibid. f.10^{v}.

of Boyfen adjoining the nuns' orchard in his confirmation of his mother's grant.[1] In 1182 he sold out completely when he granted all his demesne in Alvingham and Cockerington, with the exception of 18½ bovates with their tofts held by his men. At the same time he conveyed the holdings of two of his nativi to the priory.[2] For this large estate he received 140 marks. This was the largest sum ever known to have been spent by the priory and it was probably the largest estate ever acquired. Thereafter grants from this fee were less extensive. Constance of Aisterby, John de Melsa's sister, granted two nativi, their tofts and a bovate to the house.[3] Her son granted another two nativi, two tofts and two half-bovate holdings. He also granted two selions of arable on the north of the priory's grange; they were said to lie between the priory's land and the grange - a very clear case of the consolidation of the canons' estate.[4] Small grants were made by peasant tenants of the fee but these amounted to only a little over a bovate of land.[5]

Grants made to the priory from the estate of the soke of Gayton continued to be made until well into the thirteenth century, and are in this respect, as in others, in marked contrast to grants made from other fees. They form the majority of all grants made in Alvingham, and the grantors tend

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1. Ibid. f.10^{v}.
2. Ibid., f.11. For the reception of his sister and a niece and three nieces of Reiner of Waxham, see below, p.339. Another charter granted another nativus and his holding.
3. Ibid., f.11^{v}.
4. Ibid., f.12a.
5. Ibid., ff.12a^{v}, 126-126^{v}.

to be almost exclusively drawn from the free peasantry. As a result their grants are normally smaller than those of the lesser lords whose grants have already been enumerated. The average size of a grant of land from these benefactors amounted to between four and five selions, that is, approximately two acres. The vast majority of these grants were of between one and three selions. Their importance to the priory lies in their enabling the canons to consolidate the estate rather than to expand it.[1] Even the grants of the wealthier tenants of the soke amounted to very little. Geoffrey, son of Hamelin the dean, granted a total of 13 selions and his son Hugh added a further nine.[2] The fact that the total amount of land granted by the family of one of the supposed founders of the priory was approximately 12 acres is a measure of the difficulty faced by Alvingham in the creation of its estate in the vill.

From the first the priory had to struggle to acquire lands. Purchases on a large scale were essential within some 30 years of the house's foundation, and the acquisitions from the Melsa family were the most important in the priory's history. A steady trickle of grants, becoming smaller from generation to generation, had the cumulative effect of enabling the priory to consolidate its estate in the vill. The house had the advantage of being an undying corporation; it could afford to be patient. It had to be.

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1. Many of these grants are described below, Ch. VI 'The Peasants as Benefactors', pp.291-9 passim.
2. Laud Misc.MS.642, ff.24^{v},22.

2. Bullington

After the initial foundation there was little further development of the priory's estate in Bullington. Philip I of Kyme granted two bovates there in exchange for land in Ingham, and granted his wood of Wlvedale which lay between his park and the vill's boundary with Newball, for a wood that had been granted to the priory by William son of Ivo.[1] In the second quarter of the thirteenth century his grandson, Philip II of Kyme, granted 20 acres in the east of the vill, and his son granted a portion of his wood for the brethren to clear in the 1240s.[2] The last grant by the Kymes was an exchange of 16 selions of arable on Wodehyll for 27 selions (totalling 16½ acres) in Donnecrosseburgh made by Philip III towards the end of the thirteenth century.[3] Other grants in the vill were small and date from the end of the thirteenth century. They reveal some consolidation of holdings on Wodehyll.[4]

It seems doubtful whether the priory ever expanded to any great extent in the cultivated areas of the vill. The centre of the canons' activity remained in the parkland of the Kyme's and the woodland cleared between that park and the boundary with Newball, on the fringe of the vill's cultivated area. Bullington provides, therefore, another example of a house of the 'new' orders founded on the edge of a vill or between the

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1. DC., nos. 9,10 (mid-twelfth century).
2. Harl.Charts., 52 H 38, 21.
3. Addit.MS.6118, p.717.
4. Harl.Charts., 54 C49, 54 I 46; Cott.Chart., xi.34.

cultivated areas of two parishes.[1]

Comparisons and Contrasts: some conclusions

In 1535 Alvingham derived c.30% of its temporal income from demesne and a wood in the vill of Alvingham, besides a further 14% from rents in the vill. It was by far the wealthiest estate held by the priory.[2] Bullington, on the other hand, obtained only 6% of its temporal income from its demesne in Bullington, and six other properties were of greater value.[3] In 1291 21% of Alvingham's temporal income was derived from its Alvingham estate, more than from any other estate.[4] Such figures are not known for Bullington, but Wraggoe wapentake, in which the priory was situated, did not provide as much income as that of Aslacoe.[5]

At first sight these figures are surprising. Bullington with one lord, and that lord and his family the priory's benefactors, might have been expected to be more fortunate than Alvingham. Yet paradoxically this very dependence might be at least partly responsible for the priory's comparative failure in the vill. As will be shewn in more detail below, the priory depended to a very great extent upon the generosity of the Kymes, and they determined where the estates of the

1. C.Platt, The Monastic Grange in Medieval England: a Reassessment (London, 1969), chapter 3, passim.
2. Valor Ecclesiasticus temp.Henrici VIII, Auctoritate regia institus, ed. J.Caley and J.Hunter (6 vols., Record Commission, 1810-34), iv.58 (hereafter Val.Eccles.).
3. Ibid., iv.84. The six properties were Huttoft, Burgh-le-Marsh and Winthorpe, Ingham, Hackthorn, West Torrington and Southrey.
4. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.39.
5. Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicholai IV. circa A.D.1291, ed. T.Astle, S.Ayscough and J.Caley (Record Commission, 1802), p.70. (hereafter Taxatio).

priory were to be. Bullington was a small vill, and there was probably little available land for the Kymes to give, especially as they maintained an active interest in their estate here.[1]

No notable Lindsey tenants, on the other hand, held in demesne in Alvingham, and land there did not form such an integral part of any holding as did Bullington in the Kyme barony. The priory attracted a great many grants here both from lesser lords and the free peasantry. It was not, therefore, reliant upon the generosity of one family as was Bullington, and was slowly to establish and consolidate its estate in the vill from grants from numerous sources.

Ultimately the reason for the differing development of the estates lay in the relative wealth of the soils. Alvingham lay in a highly productive area with good soils and possibilities for both arable and pastoral farming. Bullington was isolated, poorly drained and heavily wooded. While not a desert it was comparatively infertile. The canons were probably more concerned to develop their more profitable granges such as Huttoft, Burgh-le-Marsh or Ingham, and the fact that few grants were received in the vill of Bullington itself probably caused little anxiety. The relative wealth of the two vills does much to explain the landed history of the two priories: Alvingham, an essentially local house with local appeal; Bullington, with estates scattered over north Lincolnshire. It is to the development of the priories' estates that I now turn.

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1. In 1259-60 the Kymes received a greater income (£29) from their estate here than from any of their other estates in Lindsey (P.R.O., Exchequer Accounts, Miscellaneous, E.101/505/11).

CHAPTER I

THE GRANGE AND ITS ROLE IN THE PRIORIES' ECONOMY

Introduction

The grange was a central feature of the Gilbertine rule and economy. The whole tone of the Rule suggests that St. Gilbert envisaged granges as essential to the order, and elaborate provisions were made for the organisation of the grange as both an economic and spiritual unit.[1] Granges provided the canons with the greater part of their income from temporalia and, wherever possible, it was their ambition to incorporate every holding into a consolidated, self-contained estate. In order to achieve this they were prepared not only to accept outright gifts,but also to exchange lands for culture or selions that were adjacent to their estates and to purchase land to supplement insufficient gifts.

Though the Gilbertine rule, unlike that of the Cistercians, did not forbid the creation of granges more than a day's journey from the house,it was clearly envisaged that granges should be near to a priory, both in order that the lay brethren serving there might easily return to the priory church for great festivals and, more importantly, that the canons might have a measure of practical control over the granges, especially since the discipline of the conversi could never be assured.[2] The majority of granges of Alvingham and Bullington lay close to the priories, but the process

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1. See R.Graham, S.Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines (London, 1901), pp. 65-7
2. See M.D.Knowles, 'The Revolt of the lay brothers of Sempringham', Eng. Hist. Rev.1(1935), 465-87.

of creating these estates was laborious and slow. In north Lincolnshire there were no areas on the frontiers of settlement able to be exploited by the new orders and Gilbertine granges were usually found in well-populated vills. As a result monastic demesne lay side by side with free-holders' land and it was rare for any of the canons' granges to be totally consolidated. Moreover, in an area where the great lords held few estates in demesne, the canons depended upon the grants of lesser men, the local gentry and knights, to provide the nucleus of their estates around which they could gradually assemble other holdings. Granges were the result of many years' careful and cumulative acquisition of land by gift, purchase and exchange. The successful creation of the grange owed much to the fact that the corporate body of the priory could afford to be more patient than an individual in the slow grouping together of lands.

This chapter will consider first the importance of the granges in the economy of the two houses and will then describe the foundation of the granges, their further expansion until the beginning of the fourteenth century and the cost of that expansion.

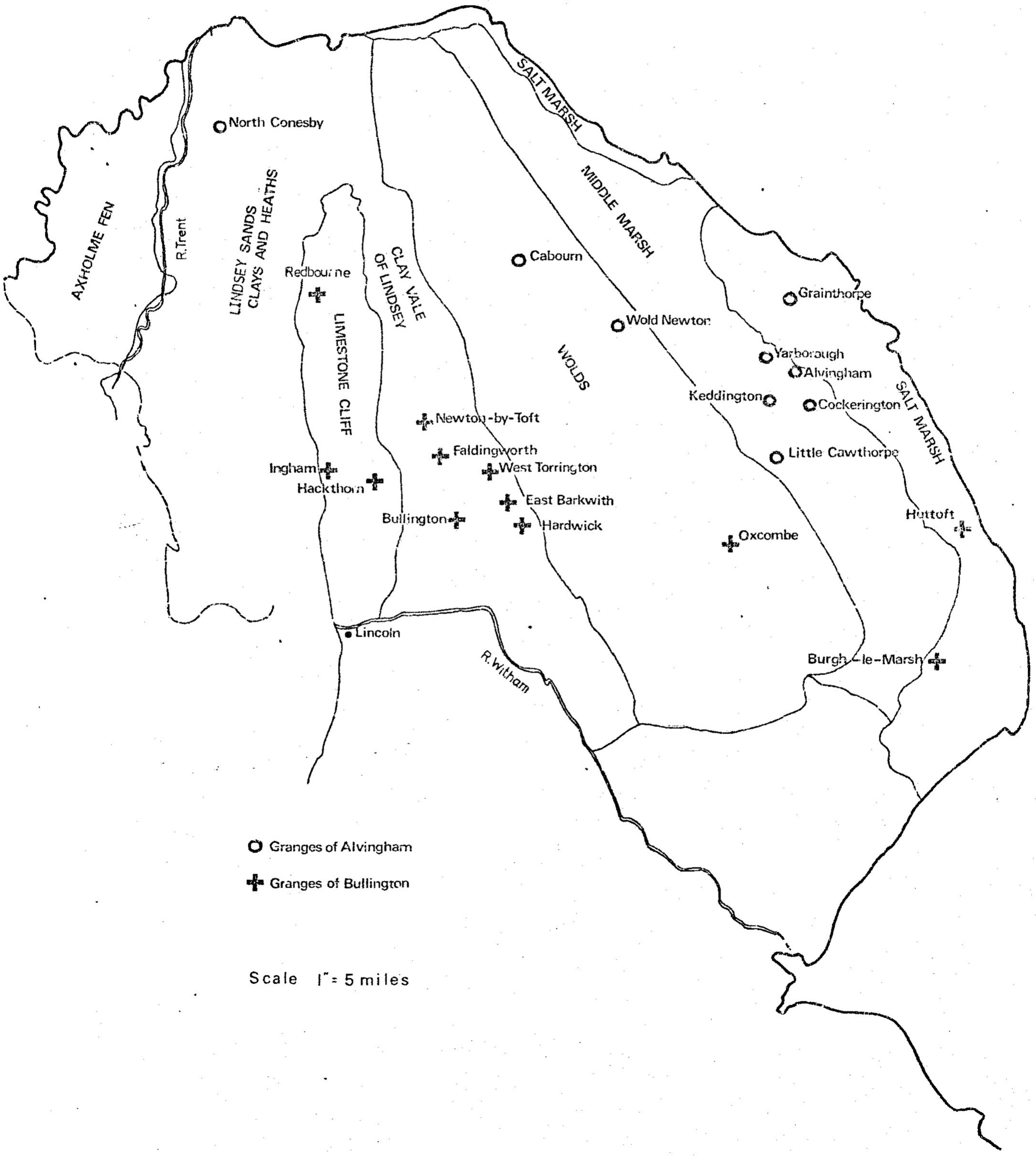
The granges and their situation

No list of the granges of either Alvingham or Bullington survives, but it is possible to establish with some certainty which of the priories' estates constituted granges from references in charters and in the Valor Ecclesiasticus. In the case of Alvingham these sources can be supplemented by references in a confirmation charter of pope Alexander IV

THE MAIN PHYSICAL REGIONS OF LINDSEY

Map I

after H.C. Darby, The Domesday Geography of Eastern England (Cambridge 1952) p87 and J. Thirsk English Peasant Farming (London, 1957) p50



(1254-1261) and from the detailed assessment of the priory's estates for the Taxation of pope Nicholas IV given in the Alvingham cartulary.[1]

The papal confirmation charter mentions nine granges belonging to Alvingham. Five of these lay close to the priory: the home farm of the priory lying outside the gate (quae extra abbaciam vocatur), Grainthorpe to the north, Keddington in the adjacent parish to Alvingham to the south west, the grange 'called Hayntoft' in Cockerington to the south and, a little further south, Little Cawthorpe. Further away were the granges of Wold Newton, some eight miles to the north west of Alvingham, Cabourn, about fourteen miles to the north west and North Conesby (in Flixborough parish), a few miles south of the Humber in the north west of the county. One grange, that of Swinefleet, lay just across the county border in Yorkshire upon the river Ouse.[2]

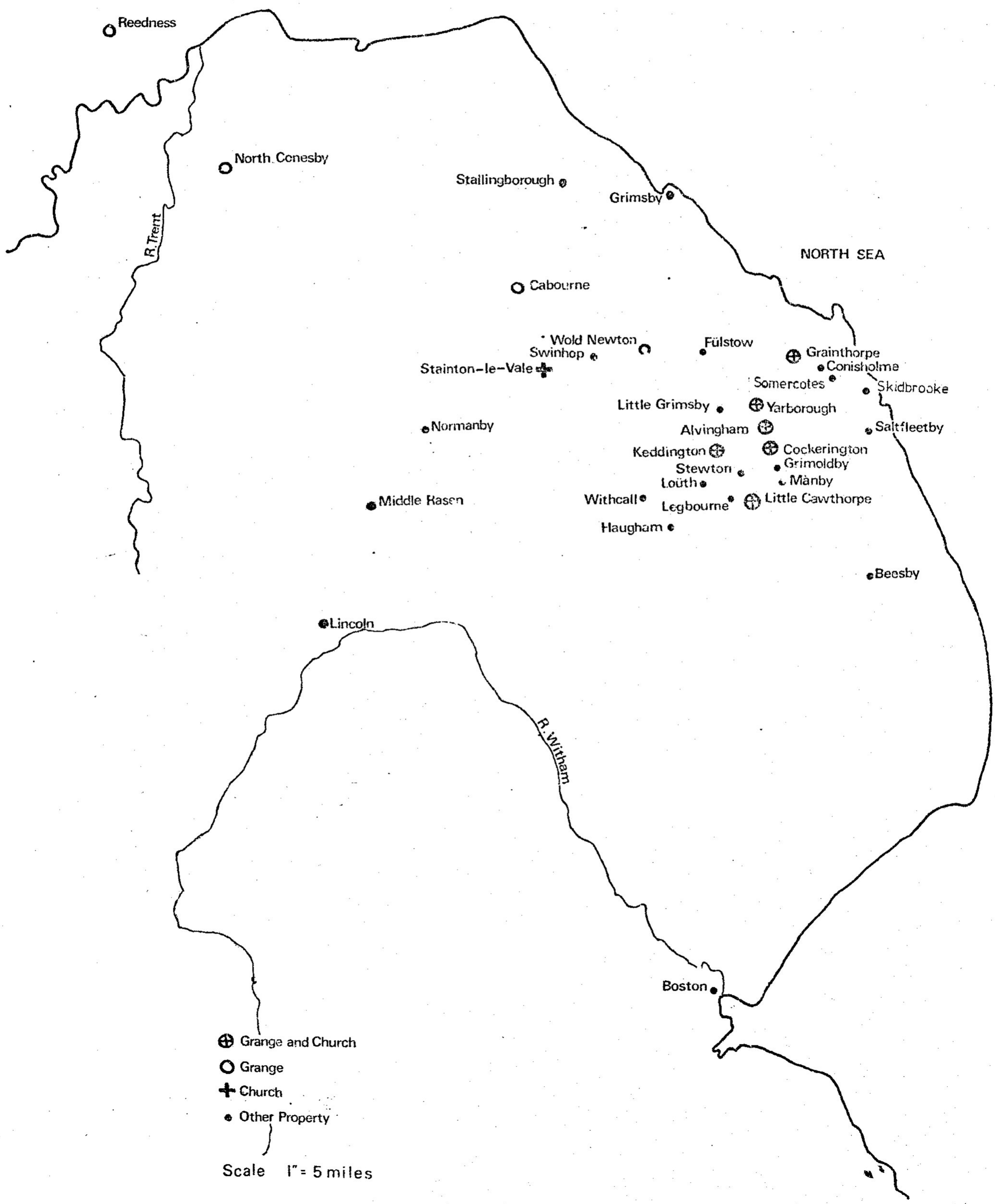
The granges around Alvingham all lay in the marshland area of north Lindsey between the 100 foot contour and sea level, though the western half of the parish of Little Cawthorpe rises fairly steeply to the lower slopes of the chalk wolds.[3] With the exception of Grainthorpe and the eastern half of South Cockerington, all the parishes in which the priory's granges lay were on the middle or clay marsh, a

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1. Val.Eccles., iv.58, 84; Mon.Ang., vi, part 2. 960-1; Laud Misc. MS.642, f.39.
2. See Map II after p.22.
3. For the geography of this area see H.C. Darby, The Domesday Geography of Eastern England (3rd edn., Cambridge, 1971), pp. 88-9 and J. Thirsk, English Peasant Farming: The Agrarian History of Lincolnshire from Tudor to Recent Times; (London, 1957), chapter 2, passim.

ALVINGHAM AND ITS POSSESSIONS c. 1150 - c. 1300

Map II



belt of boulder clay running between the wolds and the marsh proper, a coastal belt of alluvial silt also known as the saltmarsh clays which reaches to the sea.

Land reclamation began early here (probably at the time of the Danish settlement) and new settlements along the receding coastline were usually created by colonisation from the parent villages on the middle marsh,which established shepherd dwellings around the summer pastures on the salt-marsh around which reclamation took place.[1]. Throughout the medieval period the marshland villages were amongst the largest and wealthiest in the county. In 1086 the king's soke of Gayton, by far the largest estate in the area, was valued at £45, and though the density both of population and plough teams here was generally lower than on the wolds,it is clear that this region was one of considerable prosperity in the late eleventh century.[2] The Lay Subsidy of 1334 shews that Louthesk was the fourth wealthiest wapentake in Lindsey, and that the wealthiest vills, notably Skidbrook, Somercotes, Saltfleetby, Cockerington and Grainthorpe all lay in the marshland.[3]

Nearly every village on the middle marsh possessed fenland on its eastern edge,providing rich pasture and meadowland. The clay soils were rich and fertile for arable farming. Both pastoral and arable farming, therefore, were practiced in this region during the medieval period, and there is no evidence

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1. W.G. Hoskins, The Making of the English Landscape (Harmondsworth, 1970), p.80 and Thirsk, op.cit., pp.51-2.
2. Lincolnshire Domesday, p.23; cf. Darby, op.cit., pp.88-9.
3. The Lay Subsidy of 1334, ed.R.E. Glasscock (British Academy Records of Social and Economic History, new series, ii, 1975),p.183.

that the canons specialised in pastoral farming in this region.

Both the granges of Wold Newton and Cabourn lay on the northern chalk wolds of the county, Wold Newton being between 200 and 300 feet above sea level, and Cabourn lying on the western scarp of the wolds some 300 feet above sea level, though parts of the parish rise to over 450 feet. The population density of the northern wolds was less than that in the southern wolds, and in 1086 villages and plough teams were fewer than in the southern wolds.[1] The relative poverty of the soil and the sparse population resulted in comparatively large holdings and ready availability of land, grazing land being abundant. Most agricultural income was derived from sheep farming. Nevertheless, in spite of the comparative poverty of the region, Wold Newton itself was one of the most prosperous villages in the wapentake in 1334.[2]

North Conesby lay about three miles to the east of the river Trent, about 100 feet above sea level on the Lindsey sands and clays. This area was amongst the most barren in the whole county with a sparse and thinly spread population. The sandy soils provided rough grazing but there is little evidence of arable farming. It is no coincidence that by 1341 both North and South Conesby were deserted settlements and no income is recorded from either of them in the Nonarum Inquisitiones.[3]

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1. Darby, op.cit., pp.85-6.
2. The Lay Subsidy of 1334, 180.
3. M. Beresford, The Lost Villages of England (London, 1954), p.363.

The grange of Reedness was situated in the parish of Swinefleet on the lower Ouse. In the late eleventh century the area was largely unpopulated, consisting of undrained marshland and peat fen. The Domesday Inquest records almost no settlements or ploughlands and an extremely small population throughout the whole of the Humberhead levels.[1] By 1341 however, colonised and farmed by several monastic houses of both Yorkshire (especially St. Mary's Abbey, York) and Lincolnshire, Reedness was one of the wealthiest vills in the wapentake.[2]

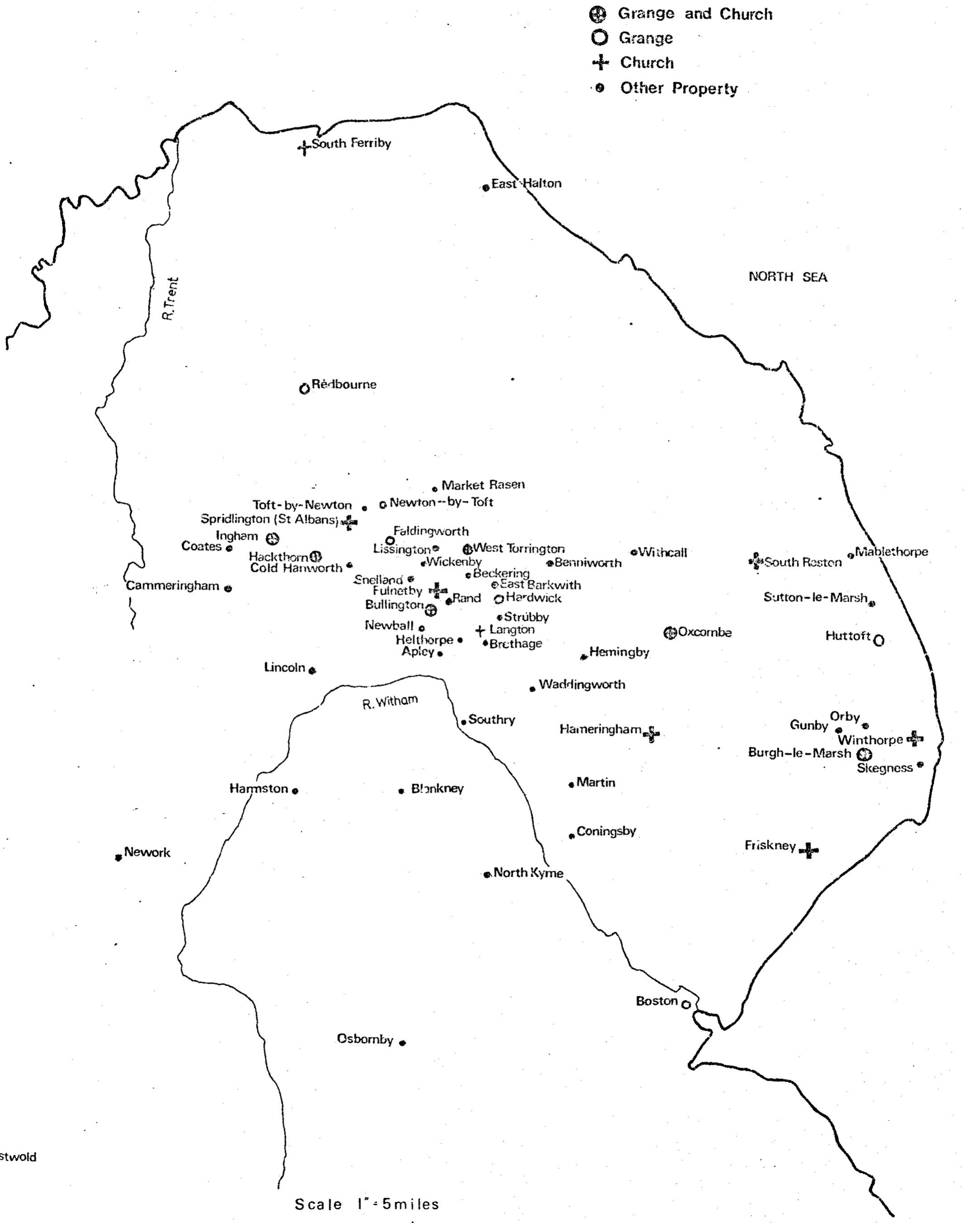
The areas in which Alvingham possessed granges, therefore; were of varying prosperity, from the rich marshland, where the majority of the granges were concentrated and whence the canons derived most of their income, to the unproductive soils of north west Lincolnshire. At a time when pressure on available land was growing rapidly throughout north Lincolnshire, the canons had to develop their estates wherever they could obtain land: there was little opportunity for choice. To what extent they adapted their farming to the soils and agricultural conditions will be considered below.[3]

Bullington possessed at least ten granges. Besides the home farm at Bullington, Hardwick and West Torrington lay close to the priory, some five miles to the east and north west respectively.[4] A group of granges lay about 10 to 15

1. H.C.Darby and I.S.Maxwell, The Domesday Geography of Northern England (Cambridge, 1962), pp.14, 81, 231.
2. The Lay Subsidy of 1334, pp.390, 391.
3. See below, pp. 31-9.
4. See MapIII after p.25.

BULLINGTON AND ITS POSSESSIONS c.1150 - c.1300

Map III



miles north west of the priory at Faldingworth, Aldfeld (in the parish of Faldingworth), Hackthorn and Ingham.[1] Redbourne was situated about twenty miles to the north west of Bullington and Huttoft lay on the marshes of Calcewath wapentake some twenty miles to the east. The most distant grange was at Prestwold in Leicestershire and was the only rural property held outside Lincolnshire by the priory.

Other granges may have been developed at Newton-by-Toft (though it is likely that the priory's lands here formed part of Faldingworth grange), East Barkwith (to the north of Hardwick) where a charter mentions the presence of conversi though there is no specific mention of a grange, Oxcombe (about 20 miles east of Bullington) where a toft 'in which the brethren dwell' is mentioned though there is no further mention of a grange and Burgh-le-Marsh where the size of the canons' holdings suggests that a grange must have been developed there.[2]

The granges of Bullington, like those of Alvingham, lay in widely differing geological and agricultural areas. The cluster of granges around Bullington, together with Faldingworth and Newton-by-Toft, all lay in the clay vale of Lindsey at between 50 and just over 100 feet above sea level. In 1086 there was a low plough-team density here, and though there were many small settlements the population

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1. It is possible, however, that Aldfeld formed part of Faldingworth grange.
2. The charter implying the presence of a grange at East Barkwith is Harl.Chart. 54 I 31 and the reference to the toft at Oxcombe is in a charter entered in the Bullington cartulary, Addit.MS.6118, p.774.

was less than that of most areas of north Lincolnshire.[1] One reason for this was the large areas of woodland in this region. These remained throughout the medieval period. The soil here was mainly boulder clay and arable farming predominated.

Burgh-le-Marsh and Huttoft both lay upon the marshland, their parish boundaries including both the middle marsh and the saltmarsh clays. No point in either parish was more than 50 feet above sea level. In both parishes pastoral farming predominated throughout the medieval period, a feature already apparent in 1086 when the region had a comparatively high population with plentiful meadow and pasture land but relatively few plough teams.[2] By 1334 the two vills were amongst the wealthiest in the marshland wapentakes.[3]

The vills of Hackthorn, Ingham and Redbourne all lay along the ridge of the wolds to the north of Lincoln. As is often the case in the woldland vills their parish boundaries reached from the ridge at between 140 and 200 feet above sea level to the lower ground below the ridge less than 50 feet above sea level. Though the soils on the ridge were thin and poor these villages also had access to the more fertile soils of the clays that bounded the uplands. There were, therefore, opportunities both for sheep grazing on the limestone ridge and arable farming on the clays below.[4]

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1. H.C.Darby, The Domesday Geography of Eastern England (3rd edn., Cambridge, 1972), p.89.
2. Ibid., pp.88-9.
3. The Lay Subsidy of 1334, pp.182, 184.
4. H.C. Darby, op.cit., pp. 90-1.

Bullington held only one grange on the wolds. Oxcombe, at a height of between 350 and 450 feet above sea level, was the highest village in which the priory had an interest. This area of the wolds was more densely populated than the northern wolds and though the land here is very undulating much land was given over to arable farming.[1]

Bullington's property in Leicestershire lay between the river Soar to the east and the Leicestershire wolds to the west. The parish of Prestwold rose from some 100 feet above sea level at the river to 250 feet upon the hills. The valley contained much fertile alluvial soil and considerable meadow land. Though the soils were light upon the wolds the evidence of the Domesday Inquest suggests that this region too was prosperous, with both a high population and plough team density.[2]

The granges of Bullington were more widely scattered than those of Alvingham. Several must have been more than a day's journey away from the priory.

Bullington was almost entirely dependant upon the generosity of the Kymes and their tenants.[3] The community had to accept land wherever it was given: like Alvingham Bullington was not in a position to dictate terms to its benefactors.

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1. H.C. Darby, op.cit., pp. 85-8.
2. H.C.Darby and I.B.Terrett, The Domesday Geography of Midland England (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1971), pp.356-7.
3. For the importance of the Kymes see below, pp.217-37 passim.

Income from the granges

It is clear from the Valor Ecclesiasticus and, to a lesser extent, from the Taxation of pope Nicholas IV that income from the granges accounted for the greater part of the priories' income from their temporalia. Though by the sixteenth century many, if not all, of the granges were leased to lay farmers, the income from these estates recorded in the Valor amply demonstrate their importance. In 1535 Bullington received over 76% of its total income from temporalia from rents and farms in vills where the priory possessed granges. Over 93% of Alvingham's income from its temporalia was derived from the same source.[1]

The detailed figures for the 1291 assessment given in the Alvingham cartulary enable a similar assessment to be made of the importance of the granges in the priory's economy, some 250 years earlier than the Valor figures, at a time when the priory's estates had almost reached their farthest extent. In 1291 about 77% of the priory's income from its temporalia came from vills in which the canons had developed granges.[2] This figure, though substantial, is lower than the Valuation of 1536, and the difference is probably to be explained by the canons' disposal of land that could not profitably be incorporated into a grange during the later middle ages. Even in 1291, however, no property in a vill in which Alvingham did not possess a grange produced as much as that of the least profitable grange, Wold Newton.

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1. Val.Eccles., iv. 58, 84. See Appendices II and III, pp. 92, 93.
2. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.39. £70 7s.3½d. of Alvingham's assessed income from temporalia was derived from grange vills. The total income from temporalia was £91 14s. 2½d. See Appendix I, p.88.

Since similar detailed figures do not exist for Bullington, it is harder to assess the importance of its granges in the priory's economy at the end of the thirteenth century. There are one or two indications, however, that the grange was at least as important to the canons of Bullington as it was to those of Alvingham. Bullington's only property in the wapentake of Calcewath was its grange of Huttoft. In 1291 this property produced £10 6s. 8d. per annum, almost 10% of the priory's total income from its temporalia. The priory's holdings in Lawress wapentake were dominated by the grange of Faldingworth. Property in this wapentake accounted for 10% (£10 17s.10d.) of the total income. In Aslacoe wapentake most of Bullington's property was concentrated in the granges of Hackthorn and Ingham. Over 29% (£31 17s.11d.) of the canons' income came from property in this wapentake.[1]

A further measure of the importance of the grange in the priories' economies is provided by the Nonarum Inquisitiones (1342). This assessment does not include a valuation of the canons' land in every vill in which they possessed granges, but in some cases it does reveal the dominance of the priories' estates in these vills. Over 26% of the assessed income of the vill of Alvingham came from lands held by the priory, and even in Cockerington, where the priory's share of the vill's total income was lower than elsewhere, the canons were still receiving 11% of the total.[2] In some places where Bullington held granges its share of the total income was even greater.

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1. Taxatio, p.70.
2. Nonarum Inquisitiones in Curia Scaccarii temp. Regis Edward III (Record Commission, 1807), p.262.

In Faldingworth nearly 54% of the vill's total income was derived from the priory's holdings, and in West Torrington income from Bullington's land amounted to exactly half of the total income from land in the vill. On the other hand, in Burgh-le-Marsh only 3% of the vill's income came from land in the hands of the priory and at Redbourne only a little over 4% came from such lands.[1]

The assessments of 1291, 1342 and 1536 give some indication of the relative importance of the granges. Only in the case of the Valor, however, do the figures give more than an approximation of the value of the granges. A more impressionistic view of their importance is given by the hundreds of charters describing their creation and expansion and the litigation and agreements with both lay and ecclesiastical neighbours concerning rights and privileges in these lands. Before analysing the creation of the granges, however, the agricultural exploitation of the granges will be considered.

The granges and sheep farming

All the Gilbertine houses were wool producing communities. The wool was usually sold before making up but the Gilbertine rule presupposed that some wool was made into cloth before sale.[2] In 1193 all the wool produced by the Order in that year was taken to help pay for the ransom of Richard I, an imposition that also fell upon the Cistercians. Throughout the thirteenth century there are frequent references to the

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1. Ibid., pp. 247 (Faldingworth), 249 (West Torrington), 267 (Burgh).
2. Mon. Ang., vi. part 2, *lxv (between pages 945 and 946). See also R. Graham S. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines (London, 1901), pp. 125-7 and V.C.H. Lincs., ii. 182.

fact that the Gilbertines were disobeying their Rule and were acting as wool factors in Lincolnshire. In the middle years of the thirteenth century Malton priory received from between 58% and 82% of its annual income from the sale of wool. In one year (1251) the canons of Malton received £460 16s. 8d. from such sales.[1]

There is much less evidence for the importance of sheep farming in the economies of Alvingham or Bullington. It is recorded, however, that in 1283 Alvingham possessed 941 ewes, 1005 wethers and 503 lambs. In that year the canons had 12½ sacks of better quality wool (valued at 17½ marks a sack and 8s.4d. a stone) and 2 sacks and 21 stones of poorer quality wool (valued at 11 marks a sack and 5s. 2¾d. a stone, besides an extra 3d. for each full sack). The canons' total income from wool sales in 1283 amounted to £166.[2] The number of sheep possessed by the canons can be compared with Thornton abbey's 7934 which produced 86 sacks and 9 stones (worth £690 15s. 3d.) in 1313.[3]

About 1300 Bullington was recorded as exporting 18 sacks of wool per annum and Alvingham 10 sacks. Compared with the figures for other Lincolnshire houses such as Kirkstead or Spalding (40 sacks per annum) or even Louth Park (30 sacks)

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1. R.Graham, 'The Finance of Malton Priory, 1244-1257', Trans.Roy.Hist.Soc., new series xviii (1904), 149-50 and Appendix I (after p.156).
2. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.35^{v} (attached to folio). This brief account is written on a fragment of parchment stitched to the cartulary. It also records that in 1283 the canons began to sell their wool through Hugolinus of Lincoln and his partners, merchants of Lincoln. This is perhaps an indication that the priory, unlike Malton, was not a sufficiently large producer to market its own produce or that of others.
3. D.M. Owen, Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire (Lincoln, 1971), p.68.

or Sempringham (25 sacks) these sums are not substantial.[1] Other scattered information concerning wool production at individual monasteries in the late thirteenth century suggests that neither house was in the front rank of monastic producers and that production cannot be compared with such great wool producers as the Yorkshire Cistercian abbeys or even Louth Park, Alvingham's Cistercian neighbour.[2]

As has already been shewn, most of the regions in which the priories held granges were suitable for both pastoral and arable farming.[3] Though there is considerable evidence that land was being acquired for sheep pasture and grazing, and though the marshland areas in particular provided good pasturage, there is very little evidence for specialisation in either sheep or arable farming on the priories' estates. This may account for the relative unimportance of sheep farming when compared with other local religious houses.

The only granges belonging to either priory that may have concentrated on wool production were Alvingham's estates at North Conesby and Swinefleet. In North Conesby the soil was very barren and ill suited to arable production, but there was good sheep pasturage in the watermeadows of the Trent. It is probably significant that one of the few references to a sheep-fold (bercaria) in the cartulary is found amonst the North Conesby charters.[4] Between 1180 and 1206 Ralph Pinceon granted

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1. Ibid., p.66.
2. T.H.Lloyd, The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 289-92.
3. See above, pp. 22-8.
4. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.160.

pasture there to the canons for 40 sheep and 2 oxen, and his lord, Thomas d'Arci, granted pasture for 1200 sheep 'on both sides of the vill but especially on the heath', 27 beasts, 2 horses and 16 pigs.[1] The pasturage for 1200 sheep is the largest amount recorded for any of the Alvingham holdings. In 1242 Norman d'Arci, the son of Thomas, granted all his meadow of Nortdaile 35 acres and 1½ roods in extent, lying in the watermeadows between the Trent and the Cardyke.[2] He also released the canons from their obligation to give him one sheep from their flocks, in return for permission to cross his meadows when the sheep were taken down to the river for washing, on condition that in future the canons did not bring their flocks across his lands without permission.[3] Pasture rights in North Conesby were jealously guarded. In 1269 Isabella, the widow of Philip d'Arci, conceded that because she had sown a cultura against the customs of the vill to the loss of the priory's common rights, the brethren could take all the harvest of that sowing to 'their larger house' (ad maius domus sue). She also promised that the priory would not again be deprived of its rights during her lifetime.[4] In 1281 the prior of Alvingham brought an action against Norman d'Arci claiming that he had deprived the prior of common pasture rights pertaining to his free holding by sowing six acres that should have lain fallow. Agreement was made that in future the prior should be able to common his flocks

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.161^{v}.
2. Ibid., f.162-162^{v}. This land was measured by the perch of 16½ feet.
3. Ibid., f.162^{v}.
4. Ibid., f.162^{v} (margin).

each year on the land of Norman d'Arci that lay fallow.[1]

Elsewhere the priory received grants of pasture for sheep in nearly every vill in which the canons possessed a grange. In 1291 flocks were recorded in all grange vills with the exception of Reedness and Grainthorpe.[2] In Cabourn Geoffrey de Turribus granted pasture for 300 sheep and common pasture rights in the common fields, to which his son Gilbert added pasturage for a further 200 sheep and pasturage in the sown fields every year for 100 lambs for 15 days after they had been weaned.[3] Gilbert also granted rights of common pasture throughout the vill, excepting his own pasture in Rossedale and Suthdale, and pasture for a further 400 sheep.[4] Though the grange here did not specialise in pastoral farming to as great a degree as North Conesby, and though the priory's arable estate here amounted to some 200 acres, it seems likely that the canons concentrated their activities on sheep farming here in a region where grazing land was plentiful.

In Cockerington Alice de Neville granted pasture for 240 sheep in the mid-thirteenth century, but no other grants of pasture are specifically described in this vill.[5] The only pasture known to have been granted to Alvingham in the neighbouring vill of Keddington came from Geoffrey of Keddington, who granted rights of pasture in all his demesne lands, and

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.162 (margin).
2. Ibid., f.39.
3. Ibid., f. 157.
4. Ibid., f.157-157^{v}.
5. Ibid., f.70. An unspecified amount of pasture was also granted by William de Redburn in the second quarter of the thirteenth century (Ibid., f.84).

from Rabod the vicar of pasture in Wilwat.[1]

In Yarborough Brian son of Hamelin granted pasture for 100 sheep, but no more pasture was conveyed to the canons here.[2] In Little Cawthorpe the priory received only rights of common pasture in the fee of Amfridus of Legbourne, the founder of the grange.[3] Even less pasture land was recorded at Grainthorpe where the only grant was of 'a little pasture' conveyed by Maria Hopscort at the end of the twelfth century.[4] This may explain why the grange at Grainthorpe was not producing any income from flocks in 1291.

The canons held little pasture in Wold Newton. Osbert the knight of Newton granted them common pasture rights in the fields of Wold Newton, saving pasture for his own sheep and that of his tenants. The confirmation charter of Osbert's widow pledged that neither she nor her son would allow outsiders (alienae) to pasture their sheep in the pasture, without the priory's assent.[5] It is likely, however, that the pasturage of the grange of Wold Newton lay within the bounds of the adjacent vill of Swinhop. Here Simon de Chaunci granted land 'with the house built there' for 600 sheep and 16 beasts with rights of entry to all pastures on the heath, in the fields of Wold Newton and Swinhop.[6] In 1229 the prior complained that Philip de Chaunci, nephew and heir of Simon, had not kept the terms of a final concord made between the priory

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1. Ibid., ff.122, 125.
2. Ibid., f.110^{v}(late twelfth century).
3. Ibid., f.136.
4. Ibid., f.100.
5. Ibid., ff.150^{v}, 153.
6. Ibid., f.145b^{v}. In a charter of Philip de Chaunci the 'house' is called a 'sheepfold' (Ibid., f.146).

and Simon regarding the pasture, and had withdrawn the pasture rights. Agreement was reached that Philip could retain pasture for 200 sheep and the 16 beasts, leaving the priory with pasturage for 400 sheep.[1]

The coastal mocrland of which the priory's estate at Swinefleet largely consisted was almost certainly used for sheep pasturage, though pasture is not mentioned specifically in any of the charters. Certainly very little arable was granted to the canons here, and land newly reclaimed from the sea as this area was would initially have been of little use for corn production.

Bullington appears to have been granted rather more pasturage than was Alvingham. Again there is little evidence of specialisation, and in both the vills where the priory received the largest grants of pasture the canons also possessed arable land. In Faldingworth the priory received a grant of pasture for 600 sheep from Simon of Kyme and for 500 sheep from William Beket.[2] At Huttoft the grange, one of the most productive held by the priory, was devoted almost entirely to pastoral and dairy farming. The initial grant was made by Philip I of Kyme who granted half of his pasture and meadow in Huttoft and Sutton-in-the-Marsh together with a toft in which the brethren might dwell.[3] This grant was soon augmented by Eudo, son of Richard of Bilsby, who granted all his pasture and meadow in the outer marsh of Lacrocheddeila

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1. Ibid., f.146-146^{v}.
2. CGH., p.91 (c.1155); Addit.MS.6118, p.795.
3. DC., no.56 (c.1155-60).

and by Walter of Swaby who granted four acres of meadow in his daila in the meadows of Huttoft.[1] The most important grant of pasture in Huttoft, however, was made in the second quarter of the thirteenth century when Philip II of Kyme granted pasture for 600 sheep in his common pasture of Huttoft, together with 20 acres of meadow.[2] When his daughter Joanna entered the priory he gave all the land and pasture in Huttoft outside le Hauedik and common pasture rights within le Hauedik, a sheepfold and the site of another, three acres of meadow and an annual payment of 5s. made to him by the prior and convent of Markby for the pasturage of 50 sheep, besides releasing the canons from their annual obligation to provide food for one of Philip's shepherds.[3] In 1242 Robert de Welle and the priory reached an agreement concerning the priory's right to pasture 100 sheep outside le Hauedik.[4] No other grants of pasture are recorded here, though several parcels of meadow were conveyed to the priory up until about 1250[5].

Elsewhere, Bullington received grants of pasturage in nearly every vill in which a grange was held. In Hackthorn pasturage was given for 660 sheep, in Redbourne 500, in Ingham, Oxcombe and East Barkwith 300, in West Torrington 160 and in Hanworth (which was probably administered from Hackthorn

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1. DC., no 57; Addit. MS.6118, p.776.
2. Addit.MS.6118, p.724.
3. Ibid., p.725.
4. Harl.Chart., 44 A 38.
5. Harl.Charts., 46 D 54, 49 I 27, 50 D 46; Addit.MS.6118, p.780.

grange) 180.[1] All of these grants date from before 1200.

Thus, while there is little evidence that more than one or two granges specialised in sheep farming, it is clear that sheep farming was of considerable importance in the priories' economy. Grants of extensive pasturage are indicative of that importance. Wherever possible the priories practised mixed farming; in places unsuitable for arable farming, such as North Conesby, they specialised in pastoral farming.

The establishment of the granges.

The ideal grange lay in a fertile region on the fringes of cultivation, whether between settlements and the moors, as was often the case with Cistercian granges in Yorkshire, or between the fields of two settlements, sometimes crossing parish boundaries, as was often the case with granges sited in more populated areas.[2] The initial nucleus of the grange was ideally a comparatively large holding, in a situation where there were abundant possibilities for future expansion and consolidation of the estate. The grange should lie within easy reach of the house, and be of easy access by road or water

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1. Addit.MS.6118, pp.741, 808, 811 (Hackthorn); Ibid., pp. 738, 739 (Redbourne); Ibid., pp. 782, 787 (Ingham); Ibid., p.724 (Oxcombe); Ibid., p.772 (East Barkwith); Ibid., p.758 (West Torrington); Ibid., p.816 (Hanworth). Pasture was also granted in Spanby, Wragby, Langton and Beckering: vills where there was not a grange.
2. This and the following paragraphs owe much to T.A.M.Bishop, 'Monastic Granges in Yorkshire', Eng.Hist.Rev. li (1936), 193-214, C.Platt, The Monastic Grange in Medieval England: a Reassessment (London 1969) passim (especially chapter 3) and B.Waites 'The Monastic Settlement of north-east Yorkshire', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal xl (1959-62), 478-95 and 'The Monastic Grange as a Factor in the Settlement of north-east Yorkshire, Ibid., xl (1959-62), 627-56.

communications. It was also highly desirable that the parish church of the vill in which the grange lay be appropriated to the house, or at least that the church's glebe land be held by the religious community.

These desiderata of the ideal grange were seldom obtained by the priories of Alvingham and Bullington. Unlike the more northern Cistercian or Gilbertine houses in Yorkshire, north Lincolnshire was already well colonised and settled by the middle of the twelfth century. There were no areas formerly fertile, but laid waste and deserted in the previous century, for the canons to spur into renewed agricultural activity: equally there were few opportunities for further reclamation of waste land in areas where Bullington and Alvingham established estates. References to assarts or woodland in the charters or cartulary are few. In an established landscape the canons could not so readily impose their own agricultural system upon it. Instead they had to compromise, and adapt their ideal of a completely consolidated and integrated estate set apart from the lands of their neighbours.

Moreover, the canons were not in a position to dictate where they should be granted lands by their benefactors. They had to accept land wherever it was granted, and make the best they could of such grants. Often it was the case that these grants were made by local landholders in vills around the priory, so that the wishes of the canons to have granges close to the house were satisfied, but in other instances grants were made in areas that were further afield. The granges of Bullington are scattered over a much wider area than those of

Alvingham. Some of these, especially Huttoft to the east and Prestwold in Leicestershire, must have proved difficult to develop and to oversee. They were created by the Kymes, the founding family, and their tenants. Unlike Alvingham, Bullington was almost entirely dependant upon one family and its vassals for its lands. The choice of the location of the granges was the benefactors' not the canons'.

In one notable respect, however, the canons were able to achieve one of the ideals of the successful grange; the possession of the parish church. The importance of the possession of the tithes and glebe land of the parish church has long been recognised.[1] T.A.M. Bishop went as far as to suggest that such possession was 'the chief factor in deciding where they (the canons) should acquire temporal property'.[2] Possession of the tithes meant that a storehouse for them and a centre for their sale was required. Such storehouses were styled grangiae and the agreement between the Cistercians and Gilbertines (1164) allowed the establishment of such grangiae in order to store tithes and the produce of the glebe.[3]

Possession of the church brought tithes and glebe land to the canons. Such land often formed the nucleus of the grange. It was more likely to consist of a consolidated holding than of isolated selions in the open fields. From this central core, suitable for the site of a few farm buildings and small oratory (a locum ad habitandum ut ibi faciant domos et grangias et ceteras suas as Simon son of William's grant to Bullington in Faldingworth was described) the canons could move outwards

1. T.A.M.Bishop, op.cit., 204-6. Cf. also B.Waites, 'The Monastic Grange', 638-41.
2. Ibid., 204.
3. Ibid., 205. For this agreement see below, p.60, n.1.

slowly expanding and consolidating their estate.[1]

Possession of the church had another, less tangible, advantage. It established a sphere of influence within the parish for the canons. Other religious houses would tend to be excluded from the territory, or would at least find it difficult to maintain a large holding there. Parishioners' grants to the church would now, in effect, be made in favour of the canons and the canons' hold upon the spiritual affections of the parish strengthened.

It remains to indicate the correlation between possession of a grange and possession of the parish church.

In parishes where granges were developed Alvingham held the churches of Alvingham, St. Mary's, Cockerington, St. Leonard's, Cockerington, Keddington and Little Cawthorpe ad usus proprios by the end of the twelfth century.[2] The priory had also been given the church of Wold Newton but failed to make good its claim to the church here against Durham cathedral. The advowson of the church at Grainthorpe was also held though that of Yarborough was not acquired until 1275.[3] The priory never had an interest in the churches of Cabourn, North Conesby or Swinefleet.

Bullington had appropriated the churches of Bullington, West Torrington, Burgh-le-Marsh, Prestwold (of which Houton was a dependant chapel) and a moiety of Hackthorn by the end of the twelfth century. The priory also held the advowsons of Ingham and Oxecombe. The churches of Faldingworth,

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1. CGH., p.91. Here grangia probably has the meaning 'storehouse'.
2. See below, pp. 131-142 passim.
3. See below, pp. 142-51 passim.

Redbourne, Huttoft, Newton-by-Toft and East Barkwith were never held by the canons of Bullington. Hardwick grange lay within the parish of Panton and the settlement never possessed a church.

The correlation between the site of a grange and possession of a parish church is not perfect. Moreover, it is not certain that the canons held the glebe land of the church when they only possessed the advowson of the church.[1] The charter by which Brian of Yarborough gave the advowson of the church of Grainthorpe to Alvingham does, however, suggest that the canons did receive something more than the mere right to present to a vacant living. The church was granted 'with all its appurtenances for the maintenance of the convent and sustenance of Christ's poor'. It was clearly intended, therefore, that the priory should derive some material profit from the church.[2] The churches of Bullington, Langton, Prestwold, Ingham, St. Alban's, Spridlington, Oxecumbe, Tetford and Winthorpe, together with a moiety of Friskney and a third of Fulnetby granted to Bullington by Philip I of Kyme, were all granted with their appurtenances, even though several of these churches were never appropriated to the priory.[3]

Though the priories did not succeed in obtaining the churches of all the parishes in which they held granges, it is clear that where churches were held the possibilities for expansion were the greater. It is probably no coincidence that Wold Newton and Cabourn were two of the smallest granges

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1. See below, pp.152-4.
2. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.96 (late twelfth century).
3. DC., no. 3.

held by Alvingham, and both lay in parishes where the churches were possessed by other religious communities; Durham cathedral and Grimsby priory. A more positive indication of the importance of the glebe endowment in the creation of the grange is provided by the charter of Geoffrey of Keddington that confirmed to the priory all the grants that had been made to the parish church from his own demesne and from the land of his tenants, scilicet de singulis bovatis una acra, dimidia ex una parte ville et dimidia acra ex alia.[1] Such an endowment was clearly considerable and provided a suitable nucleus for the canons' grange in Keddington.

B. Waites has stressed that if the creation of the grange preceded possession of the church, then tithe ownership was not important in the establishment of the grange.[2] This is true, but, as has already been suggested, possession of the glebe land may have been as important in the economy of the priories as possession of the tithes.[3] The evidence, though slight, suggests that the priories held the glebe land of the church even where it was not appropriated, and it is certainly the case that in most places where both a grange and the advowsons of the church were held the latter was the first grant to be made in the vill.

Though the individual circumstances of the granges' creation differ certain general observations can be made. In the first place it is difficult to pinpoint with any exactitude either the topographical location of the grange or the date of

1. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.122. See also below p. 135 and DC., p.lxxi.
2. B.Waites, 'The Monastic Grange of North East Yorkshire', 639.
3. See above, pp. 40-1.

its foundation. Though each grange obviously had a centre consisting of the farm buildings and oratory, its lands were not grouped compactly around these buildings. Holdings were scattered in the open fields, and their consolidation was a long drawn-out process, never completed. The grange is rarely so styled either in the charter creating the estate or in later charters. It is, therefore, necessary to work back from the records of granges known to have existed in the thirteenth century and to look for the largest grant made early in the estate's history. In the Alvingham cartulary such grants are normally to be found on the first folio of the section relating to a particular vill. This extrapolation is not very satisfactory, but it is the most certain method of determining which were the first grants to be made in a given vill. The absence, moreover, of any specific initial grant of a grange estate further suggests that the granges were created on an ad hoc basis. Only after a number of grants had been received in one vill were the canons in a position to erect farm buildings, to send out conversi and to commit themselves to further expansion and consolidation of the estate. The canons had to wait and see whether a grange would be economically viable before making these decisions.

The initial grants were usually comparatively large, and were made by one of the wealthier landholders in the vill. The grange of Cockerington was built around a grant by Hugh de Scoteni of his share of the churches of St. Mary's and St. Leonard's with their appurtenances and all the land that his

tenants had granted to them, a bovate and a mill with its croft.[1] Before 1166 Geoffrey of Keddington granted the glebe land of Keddington church and all the land once held by Thurkil, his father's tenant. At about the same time Amfridus of Legbourne granted the glebeland of the church of Little Cawthorpe.[2] A second charter of this grantor indicates that the glebeland was intended as the nucleus of the grange, for in this he granted an acre of land adjoining the church, land lying between the church and the public road, a bovate of arable, 2½ acres of meadow, two acres of woodland, a toft and its land, land lying between Jerleshake and Cawthorpe wood, a cultura called Dergavit and common pasture pertaining to his fee in Cawthorpe and Legbourne ad ampliandum locum instructuram domorum fratrum.[3]

A series of endowments by Hamelin the Dean probably formed the initial endowment of the grange at Grainthorpe.[4] Though the canons had to wait for the grant of the church until the time of Hamelin's son, since Hamelin was parson of Grainthorpe it is likely that the priory gained effective control over the church lands when Hamelin resigned his living and entered the community. Hamelin granted the mansura of a tenant, 18 acres of meadow, three tofts, five selions of arable and two saltpans with their sandpits together with all the land of his fee between Hasedic and a saltpan held by the parish church.[4]

Brian son of Hamelin was responsible for the creation of the canons' estate at Yarborough, a large holding that even if it was not described as a grange until later must have been

1. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.60 (pre-1160).
2. Ibid., ff. 122, 136.
3. Ibid., f.136.
4. Ibid., f.95v.

cultivated as one. In a series of charters he granted 16½ acres and 72 selions (perhaps a further 36 acres) of arable, pasture for 100 sheep, extensive meadow, two tofts and other (unspecified) lands.[1]

The nucleus of the grange at Cabourn was the creation of Geoffrey de Turribus, who gave a toft and a considerable area of pasturage.[2] At North Conesby the initial grant was probably a grant of a bovate and a toft 'in which the brethren could dwell' granted by Ralph Pinceon before 1180.[3] It was a small grant, but the canons received substantial additions to this estate shortly afterwards. The first grant in Reedness was also small, Reiner of Waxham granting six acres of arable and moorland.[4]

Walter Bek probably intended the glebe land of St. Peter's, Wold Newton to be the first provision for the canons there, but their failure to maintain their hold on the church led the canons to rely upon the grants of Walter's tenant, Robert son of Walbert, who initially granted 40 acres of arable to the canons together with a mansura and all the pasture pertaining to his fee in the vill.[5]

Like those of Alvingham, the granges of Bullington were formed round the nucleus of a comparatively large grant of either a local member of the gentry class, usually a tenant of the Kymes, or of the Kymes themselves.

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, ff.110^{v}-111^{v}.
2. Ibid., f.157 (pre-1185).
3. Ibid., f. 151^{v}.
4. CGH., p.112 (c.1186-90). This grant was confirmed to the canons by Reiner's lord, who allowed them 'to cultivate the moorland or do as they wished with it' (Laud Misc.MS.642, f.164^{v}).
5. Laud Misc.MS.642, ff.147 (Walter Bek's grant), 148 (Robert's grant).

Hardwick grange was the creation of Simon, son of Simon I of Kyme, who granted all his land there to the canons towards the end of the twelfth century.[1] That of West Torrington was almost certainly founded around the glebe land of the church that had been given to Gilbert of Sempringham by his father, shortly after the former's return to Paris, and which probably remained in the hands of Sempringham until ceded to Bullington in return for an annual quit rent.[2] In 1165 Roger Musteil (Gilbert of Sempringham's brother-in-law) confirmed all lands that had been granted to Bullington in the vill.[3] By the end of the century the canons held nearly all the tithes of the fee of William, Roger's brother.[4] The granges in Faldingworth were the creation of Simon son of William, and lands for them were granted in the priory's foundation charter.[5] He granted 'all Aldfeld and Ravenstoft as far as Marmatehou on the west, and thence in a straight line towards the south as far as the boundary of Hanworth, and from the same Marmatehou as far as the boundary on the northern side'. He further granted all the land he held of William Becket in the vill together with common pasture of the vill and of Aldfeld for 600 sheep and their other beasts.

The grange at Hackthorn was almost certainly the creation of Alexander de Crevequer, who granted 40 acres of arable, 10 acres of meadow and two acres ad habitandum, presumably to be

1. DC., no.82. Another charter states that Simon gave the land to the priory if he should die on crusade (si moriar in itinere de ultra mare) (Addit.MS.6118, p.719).
2. See below, pp.
3. DC., no.101.
4. DC., no. 105.
5. CGH., p.91 (c.1155).

the site of the grange buildings, together with common pasture of Hackthorn and Hanworth for 500 sheep, 10 cows and all their calves.[1] Ingham grange was probably built around Philip I of Kyme's grant of the church of Ingham with its appurtenances and of 2½ bovates held of him by Ailwin Neht, and six bovates formerly held of Philip's father by Fulk.[2] Huttoft grange was also founded by Philip I of Kyme. He granted half of all his meadow and pasture in Huttoft and Sutton-in-the-Marsh together with Nortoft 'where the house of the brethren is'.[3] Huttoft grange consisted almost entirely of pasture land and there is no evidence that any arable land was granted when the grange was founded.[4]

The Leicestershire granges were the foundation of Anketil (or Asketin), parson of Prestwold, who granted the church of Prestwold, its appurtenances and 30 acres of arable to Bullington. He also granted all the tithes of Hoton to the priory.[5]

The canons' estate at Redbourne was originally intended to be the site of an independant Gilbertine priory. Reginald de Crevequer gave the islands of Tunstal (in the river Ancolne) and Hade together with Wulfholm, meadow lying between (sic) the two islands and 16 acres of arable 'outside the island in the fields of Redbourne' ad construendam abbatiam for the souls of Henry II and Gilbert son of Jocelin.[6]

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1. DC., no.96 (c.1155-60).
2. Ibid., nos. 58,59,61 (c.1155-70). The land formerly held by Ailwin was assigned ad alimentum ovium predictarum monialium. Later this land was returned to Philip in exchange for two bovates in Bullington (Ibid., no.9).
3. Ibid., no.56 (c.1155-60).
4. See above, pp.37-8.
5. DC., nos. 90, 54 (late twelfth century).
6. Harl.Chart., 48 I 49 (c.1148-55).

Another charter, known only from a copy in the cartulary, appears to date from the same time as the foundation charter. In this charter Reginald also gave pasture for 300 sheep and other beasts in Redbourne, common rights in the marshland pastures, fisheries and the site of a mill held by a tenant 'if Reginald was able to obtain it from the tenant's heirs.'[1] It is not clear why Reginald's son, Alexander de Crevequer, granted the site of Tunstal priory to Bullington, though it is possible that this endowment was not considered large enough to support a priory.[2] The most likely reason for the failure of Tunstal was the strong interest of Selby in the vill. Selby possessed the parish church, its glebe land, 5½ bovates, a mill and all the tithes from the demesne of the grantor, the lord of Redbourne in the first half of the twelfth century, Gilbert son of Jocelin. Reginald de Crevequer, Gilbert's son-in-law, continued to favour Selby as well as Bullington.[3] Certainly its cession to Bullington provided a fine nucleus for what was to become one of the priory's most successful granges.

Bullington's other estates which were probably developed into granges were all in the priory's hands by the end of the twelfth century. Three bovates in Newton and its adjoining settlement, Toft, were granted to the canons by Philip I of Kyme.[4] The estate at East Barkwith appears to have been

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1. Addit.MS.6118, p.738.
2. DC., no. 96, (third quarter twelfth century).
3. The Coucher Book of Selby ed. J.T. Fowler (2 vols., Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association, Record Series, X, XIII, 1890, 1892), ii.228-32, 299.
4. DC., no.61 (c.1170-80).

granted by William, son of Robert of Barkwith, who sold a bovate with its appurtenant meadow, a toft and pasture for 200 sheep, 8 oxen, 4 horses and 20 pigs for four marks.[1] The grange at Oxcombe was the creation of William, son of Humfrey of Oxcombe, who granted 40 acres of arable and its appurtenant meadow, pasture for 300 sheep and a toft 'in which the brethren dwell together'.[2] At Burgh-le-Marsh the grange was almost certainly created from the initial grant of the church by Eudo of Mumby, and a further grant of five bovates to be held of Eudo for the service of one eighth of a knight.[3]

All the granges of Alvingham and Bullington were established by 1200, and most of them had been created by c.1170. Thus within one or two generations from the foundation of the communities the general pattern of the canons' landholding was fixed until the Dissolution. Already pressure on available land in north Lincolnshire was making it extremely difficult for the priories to continue their expansion. The canons were competing with many other local houses for grants, and by 1200 there was no longer sufficient scope for the canons to create new, consolidated estates. Rather they had to seek to expand the holdings they already possessed.

Consolidation and expansion

Before looking in detail at the development of some typical granges of Alvingham and Bullington, it is necessary to give a

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1. Harl.Chart., 54 I 31 (late twelfth century).
2. CGH., p.97 (c.1160-70).
3. Ibid., pp. 97-8 (c.1173-79).

general outline of the chronology of expansion. It has already been demonstrated that all the granges were in existence by 1200, and it is clear, moreover, that the greater part of the additions to the initial endowments were made by the end of the twelfth century. During this period generous grants were made both by the families of those who had endowed the grange and by other, local gentry families. To their grants were added smaller benefactions by the free peasantry, especially in the region around Alvingham.

Some indication of the extent of the granges in 1200 is provided in an assessment for a subsidy on church lands made in 1199-1200.[1] This assessment clearly shows that the greater part of Alvingham's estates were grouped around the priory, and that the largest estates were those of Alvingham, Keddington and Cockerington.[2]

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1. P.R.O.E.179/242/113.
2. Alvingham's holdings were as follows:

Cockerington	6 carucates.
Alvingham	5 "
Keddington	4 "
Legbourne and Cawthorpe	2 "
Conesby	2 "
Swinehop	1 "
Farlesthorp and Ludenham	⅓ "

The Cockerington entry includes the holdings of Louth Park in the vill. Alvingham's holding in Alvingham is also given as 6 carucates, but this entry is wrongly listed under Wraghoe wapentake and is probably incorrect. No assessment is given for the holdings of Alvingham in Yarborough, Grainthorpe, Cabourn or Wold Newton, though it is possible that the Swinehop entry includes the Wold Newton assessment, since the vills adjoined and Alvingham's land in the two vills was probably administered as one unit. The estate at Farlesthorp is unrecorded elsewhere. The priory's holding at Keddington can be compared with the estates of Louth Park, the bishop of Durham and Nun Appleton nunnery, assessed at 2, 2 and 1 carucate respectively. Louth Park and Legbourne nunnery each possessed 2 carucates in Legbourne and Cawthorpe, the bishop of Durham held 1 carucate in Cockerington.

The largest holdings of Bullington were at Bullington itself, West Torrington, Ingham and Burgh-le-Marsh.[1] Though these figures represent a fiscal assessment, and it would be unwise to assume that the carucates given here represent the statutory 120 acres, it does demonstrate something of the scale and location of the priories' holdings at this date.

During the thirteenth century the priories added comparatively little to their granges. They were able to make an occasional purchase of an estate, as was the case in Keddington in 1268 or in Hackthorn at about the same time, but these were fortunate windfalls for the canons, who were able to take advantage of the financial embarrassments of local families to enlarge their own estates.[2] In general, however, the canons had to be content with the acquisition of small pieces of land measured by selions rather than culture, which could be incorporated into the grange. Land was frequently obtained by ex-

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1. Bullington's holdings were as follows:

Bullington	4 carucates
West Torrington	4 "
Ingham	4 "
Burgh-le-Marsh	4 "
Hackthorn	3 "
Oxcombe	2 "
Redbourne	2 "
Hardwick	1½ "
Toft by Newton	1 "

The combined holding of St. Mary's, York, Pontefract priory and Bullington at South Feriby amounted to 6 carucates, but Bullington's share of this was small. Bullington's estates at Huttoft, Faldingworth, East Barkwith and Newton by Toft are not given in the assessment, though the entry for Toft by Newton probably includes the canons' holding in Newton by Toft. The bishop of Durham held 4 carucates in Bullington, 1½ carucates in Burgh-le-Marsh and 1 carucate in Oxcombe. The Templars held 1 carucate in Ingham, and the glebe of the church there was assessed at the same sum.

2. For these purchases, and others, see below pp.58-67 passim.

change rather than outright gift. In this way both priory and lay grantor were able to mutually consolidate their estates. The Alvingham cartulary records over 60 exchanges made between the priory and another party. With the exception of two that relate to land in Somercotes, all relate to lands in vills where the priory possessed a grange. In nearly every case the land acquired adjoined land already held by the priory. Less than 20 exchanges are known to have been made by Bullington, but all of these were made in order to expand the priory's grange estates, and they reveal as clearly as do those of Alvingham the consolidation process at work. This is most clearly seen when land in a vill where the priory held little was exchanged for land in a vill where a grange was held. Simon of Beckering, for example, received a toft, a cultura and four selions in Beckering in exchange for land in West Torrington comprising a toft, four selions on Brigedail 'on the west of their (the canons') grange near their land', a further five selions in the same cultura and five selions on Stainholm, another cultura in which the canons held many selions.[1] Thus Simon was able to increase his holding in his own vill, and the canons could extend and consolidate their lands in West Torrington. In other cases the canons were prepared to grant more land than they received in exchange, if they were able thereby to consolidate their holding. In the mid-thirteenth century, for example, Philip II of Kyme granted a little over 15 acres of arable in Bullington to the priory, in return for 16½ acres in the same vill.[2] Nearly all

1. Addit.MS.6118, p.764 (early thirteenth century?).
2. Ibid., p.717.

of the priory's gains in this transaction, however, lay in one cultura. Occasionally compensation was paid because the exchange was unequal. John son of Cost granted a selion in Alvingham in return for pasture in Middle Fen. He recognised that his was the better bargain, and agreed to pay an annual rent of 1d. to the priory for his land.[1]

Exchanges were one of the chief means by which the priories could rationalise their estates in the thirteenth century. Outright gifts were now scarce, and it is clear from the evidence of the surviving charters and cartulary that little was added to the priories' estates after 1250, and that the outlines of the granges were substantially complete by the end of the first quarter of the century. After the Statute of Mortmain (1279), the necessity to obtain royal license permitting the acquisition of land by a religious house enables the final stages of land acquisition by the priories to be charted more precisely.

Alvingham acquired very little land after 1279. In 1303 the earl of Lincoln received permission to return lands in Reedness which he had taken from several religious houses 'long before'. Alvingham received back moor and marshland extending through Inkelesmore 24 perches in width.[2] In 1327 the prior and convent paid 20s. to receive a confirmation of the alienation of land in Yarborough, together with a number of rent charges conveyed to them.[3] Thereafter there is no record of further acquisitions by the community.

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.25^{v}.
2. Cal.Pat.R., 1301-1307, p.114, 389.
3. Ibid., 1327-1330, p.167.

Bullington acquired rather more land after 1279. In 1295 Philip of Kyme was allowed to grant 40 acres of wood in Goltho (in Bullington parish), and four years later the priory made fine to acquire another wood in Bullington, 14 acres of arable and 10 acres of meadow in Hackthorn, two messuages in Burgh-le-Marsh, an acre in Oxcombe and a messuage in Fulnetby and Winthorpe.[1] In 1312 the community was given license to acquire lands or churches to an annual value of 40 marks.[2] In the following year Bullington took advantage of this license to acquire a toft in Coningsby (where the canons did not have a grange) and a messuage in Burgh-le-Marsh.[3] In 1316 the prior and convent acquired tofts in Toft by Newton and Burgh-le-Marsh, an acre in Burgh, two acres in Ingham and a bovate in Hardwick, all which were of the fee of the prior and an annual rent charge of 8d. in West Torrington. The whole was extended at 5s.6d. per annum.[4] In 1317 two tofts and 20 acres in Hackthorn, a garden and three acres in Oxcombe and 12 acres in Bullington together extended at 18s.6d. per annum were conveyed to the priory, together with an annual rent charge of 12d. in East Barkwith.[5] In 1319 a major acquisition was made in West Torrington, when Philip of Kyme granted a messuage, three tofts, a garden, 80 acres of arable, 12 acres of meadow and

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1. Cal.Pat.R., 1292-1301, p.142,425. The priory did not have granges at Fulnetby or Winthorpe.
2. Ibid., 1307-1313, p.468.
3. Ibid., 1313-1317, p.27. These properties were valued together at 4s.6d. per annum.
4. Ibid.,pp.484-5.
5. Ibid., p.646.

50 acres of pasture valued at 37s.6d. per annum.[1] This was the largest single acquisition by the priory after 1279. In 1324 the priory acquired 16 acres of arable in Burgh-le-Marsh, a toft, nine acres of arable and three acres of meadow in Hardwick and eight acres of arable and 12 acres of pasture in Skegness, all belonging to the prior's fee collectively valued at 25s.3d. per annum.[2] No further acquisitions were made until 1344, when the priory received two messuages and four acres of arable in Burgh-le-Marsh and a messuage and five acres in Bullington valued at 9s.6d. per annum.[3] The final use of the king's licence was made in 1348 when the canons received a total of seven messuages, seven bovates of arable, 6½ acres of meadow and 18d. of rent in Hackthorn, Oxcombe, Ingham, Burgh-le-Marsh, Cotes by Ingham, Rand, Coningsby and Southrey valued at 21s.2d. per annum together with the reversion of a messuage, two bovates of arable and six acres of meadow in Southrey valued at 13s.4d. per annum.[4]

It is clear from this survey of Bullington's acquisitions after 1279 that the majority were in vills where the canons possessed a grange, and that these acquisitions were concentrated in Hackthorn, Burgh-le-Marsh and West Torrington. Though these lands were not negligible in extent they cannot be compared with grants of land in these vills during the twelfth century. They represent a final and brief period of growth

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1. Ibid., 1317-1321, pp.345-6.
2. Ibid., 1321-1324, p.396.
3. Ibid., 1343-1345, p.253.
4. Ibid., 1348-1350, p.119.

after the stagnation of much of the thirteenth century. Moreover, it should be emphasised that many of these transactions after the Statute of Mortmain were concerned not with the acquisition of new lands, but the resumption of land into the demesne that had earlier been farmed to tenants.

The cost of expansion

Almost from the moment of their foundation Gilbertine priories were active in the land market. The order did not, unlike the Cistercians, absolutely forbid the purchase of land, but the rule strongly discouraged the practice. The canons were warned not to accept lands at farm and no lands could be purchased or accepted for rent or taken in pledge without the consent of the Master.[1] The engagement of the canons in the acquisition of land from men encumbered with debt was expressly forbidden.[2] Nevertheless, there is abundant evidence that Alvingham and, to a lesser extent, Bullington were purchasing encumbered estates from the third quarter of the twelfth century until the end of the following century, even though their purchases did not equal the expenditure of Malton priory which spent £478 14s. 5d. in the purchase of lands between 1244 and 1257.[3]

The importance of land purchases to Alvingham is implicit in an agreement made between that house and its Cistercian neighbour, Louth Park, in 1174.[4] It was witnessed by the

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1. Mon.Ang., vi.part 2 *xcv (between pages 945 and 946).
2. Ibid., *lxix (between pages 945 and 946).
3. R.Graham, 'The Finance of Malton Priory, 1244-57', Trans.Roy. Hist.Soc., new series xviii (1904), 140-2.
4. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.130. The agreement also demonstrates that the Cistercian prohibition on land acquisition was already a dead letter.

abbot of Fountains, the abbots and chapters of Kirkstead and Revesby, the abbot of Louth Park, and the prior and chapter, on the Cistercian side, and by Gilbert of Sempringham, Roger, prior of Malton, the priors of Sixle and Ormsby and the prior and convent of Alvingham on the Gilbertine side. It was drawn up 'for the preservation of peace and unity and that untroubled and unbroken peace might remain for ever in times to come', and provided that neither house should purchase or lease for a term of years any sort of land, cultivated or waste, in 21 named villages surrounding Alvingham and Louth Park, without the consent of the other community.[1] Only lands granted in free alms or ex voto were free of this restriction. The agreement stipulated that if Louth Park neglected to obtain the consent of Alvingham to any acquisition of land, then the latter could take one third of the land on payment of one third of the purchase price. If Alvingham broke the contract Louth Park could take two thirds of the land for two thirds of the purchase price. Moreover, for as long as Alvingham kept the agreement, the priory could have the tithes from all cultivated lands in these parishes (except from newly cultivated lands /novales/) but if the agreement was broken then Louth Park could refrain from the payment of tithes on its lands.

The abbots of Fountains, Kirkstead and Revesby were to enforce the compact on Louth Park, and the abbots of Kirkstead

1. The vills were Louth, Keddington, Brakenburgh, Alvingham, Cockerington, Grimolby, Manby, Stewton, Legbourne, Reston, Saltfleetby, Skidbrook, Somercotes, Scupholme, Conisholme, Ludena, Grainthorpe, Yarborough, Covenham, Cawthorpe and Fulstow.

and Revesby and priors of the Gilbertine priories of Lincoln and Sixle were to force its observance on Alvingham within 40 days. If the Cistercians failed to bring Louth Park to order, then the matter was to be undertaken by the general chapter, and if Alvingham was still contumacious the Gilbertine general chapter and, failing that, the bishop of Lincoln and the cathedral chapter were to act. A final section of the agreement forbade the creation of any grange, sheepfold or cowfold (vaccaria) or the acquisition of any other property except that given in free alms within two leagues of either house, without the consent of the other.[1]

The agreement amply demonstrates the considerable pressure on land that prevailed in north Lincolnshire by the second half of the twelfth century, and the stress that both Gilbertines and Cistercians laid upon the acquisition of grange estates free from the interference of other houses. Significantly, however, there is almost no evidence that the provisions of this agreement were ever invoked. In 1225, however, an agreement was made between the two communities whereby Alvingham gave the Cistercian house three selions adjacent to the abbey's grange of Calvecroft in Cockerington 'in compensation for some lands which they claimed against the house of Alvingham', and this may allude to the acquisition of lands by Alvingham without the permission of Louth Park.[2] Either the agreements were regarded as dead letters from the beginning, or permission was always given

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1. This echoed an earlier agreement made in 1164 between the Gilbertines and Cistercians (B.L. Stowe MS.937, f.145-145^{v}).
2. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.61^{v}.

for the purchase of land or the creation of a grange within the prescribed area. There is no record of any objection to any of Alvingham's purchases in the immediate neighbourhood of the priory, and not only were granges of Alvingham and Louth Park within two leagues of each other, but both communities possessed granges in the same vills, as at Keddington. Pressure on land was a cause of the agreement, it also provided the reason why it could never work.

The purchase of lands indeed was essential, if the priories were to expand their holdings in vills where there was little spare land, and where the possibilities of acquiring large estates from generosity alone were slight. With the exception of the purchase of a little urban property, an access road in Grimsby Parva and valuable meadow land on the rich grazings of the saltmarsh at Somercotes and Conisholme, all known purchases by Alvingham were in vills where the canons possessed granges.[1] By the end of the twelfth century the priory had spent a total of 267½ marks in the acquisition of three estates in Alvingham, by far the largest amount that the canons spent anywhere.[2] In Cockerington the canons acquired two nativi, two bovates, the land of Jocelin de Mareis, five pieces of meadow and a 'little estate' (terrula) adjoining their grange from Robert de Pormort in the third quarter of the twelfth century.[3]

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, ff.141^{v} (Lincoln), 156 (Grimsby), 130 (Grimsby Parva), 91-91^{v} (Somercotes), 92 (Conisholme).
2. For details of these purchases see above, pp. 14-15.
3. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.59-59^{v}. Robert also sold land to the canons in Alvingham. The sum paid was 40 marks.

At about the same time the canons acquired seven acres of the demesne of Ivo son of Swain in payment of a debt owed them by Ivo.[1] This land adjoined land already granted to the priory by Ivo's father. A considerable holding was acquired from Alice de Nevill c.1260, and though the charters do not suggest that the lands were being sold to the priory it seems certain that such was the case, for in 1265 it was agreed that the priory should pay £5 per annum to the Exchequer until all the debts of Alice de Neville were repaid.[2] In 1269 the priory rendered account of £32 1s. 6½d. of the debts of which only £5 had been paid.[3] No other purchases were made here until the mid-thirteenth century when they acquired the estate of William, son of William of Redburn, who was heavily in debt to the Jews, for an unspecified sum and the provision of a large corrody. They also paid a sum of money prae manibus to William's daughter, Alice, for her renunciation of all rights to the property.[4]

During the late twelfth and early thirteenth century few purchases were made. Geoffrey of Keddington, founder of the grange and lord of the vill, sold land lying 'at the gate of the brethren', and Toka, Geoffrey's reeve, sold four selions of land lying next a group of selions held by the priory for 11s., and another tenant of Geoffrey sold two acres of arable to the canons.[5] The majority of the priory's purchases at the end of the twelfth century were made through the good

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.80^{v}.
2. Ibid., ff.69^{v}-70^{v}; Cal.Cl.R, 1264-1268, p.154.
3. Ibid., f.84^{v}.
4. Ibid., f.72^{v} and margin.
5. Ibid., ff.122, 123, 126 (mid-twelfth century).

offices of Rabod the vicar who acted as the priory's land agent in the vill. He spent more than £3 in acquiring two bovates, four acres of arable and meadow and two tofts for the priory.[1]

The major purchase in Keddington was made in 1268. In 1263 Philip, son of John of Cotum, (who had succeeded to the lands once held by Geoffrey, lord of Keddington) demised all his demesne land and land of his tenants both bond and free to the priory for 6 marks per annum. This land consisted of his capital messuage of five acres, 14 acres in adjacent crofts, 24 acres of arable on the east side of the vill and 44 acres of arable and six acres of meadow on the west side, eight tofts, besides five bovates and four tofts held by tenants of the priory. Half an acre held of the priory in Saltfleetby was also demised at the same time. The rent from this land was to be used to pay a debt of £15 owed to Isaac the Jew of York, which Philip had agreed to pay in yearly instalments of £5 from his lands in Keddington and elsewhere, if the lands there did not suffice.[2] In spite of this agreement, it is clear that Philip was unable to pay off his debts, and in 1268 John Bek purchased the starr from Isaac and then, at the request of his brother Antony (later bishop of Durham) conveyed the charter recording the debt to

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, ff.124^{v}-125^{v}. One of these purchases was made on the express understanding that Rabod convey the land to a religious house (ad dandum terram...cuicumque domui de religione ipse Rabodus voluerit).
2. Ibid., f.126^{v}. This grant was confirmed to Alvingham by Philip's lord, John Bec.

to the priory.[1] The sum paid by the canons for this estate is not recorded but was probably considerable.

In Yarborough Alvingham acquired meadow 'called the meadow of Brian' from Brian son of Hamelin for 3 marks given to Brian in his desperate necessity (in urgentissimo negocio suo).[2] In the early thirteenth century the canons purchased a toft and three selions from Robert, son of Simon of Harpham, for half a mark, and one selion adjoining the priory's land in the east of the vill from Simon, son of Gilbert of Hacham, for the same sum.[3] Their largest expenditure here, however, was made in 1263 when Gilbert, son of Simon of Hacham, confirmed his father's grant (which was itself perhaps a sale) of a capital messuage and sold three crofts, 16 acres of arable and one acre of meadow for 10 marks of gold.[4]

In Grainthorpe only two purchases were made, both in the last quarter of the twelfth century. The canons acquired six acres of arable from Roger Broclaus, a tenant of Brian of Welton, and the site of a salt pan with its adjacent land (adjoining a saltpan already held by the canons) from Baldric of Grainthorpe for 20s.[5]

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.126 and margin. Although the priory had not yet acquired the land free of all charge, the canons clearly had acquired considerable hold over the Cotum estate. The final stage in the acquisition came shortly afterwards, when John son of Philip quitclaimed the annual sum of 6 marks for which the land was originally demised, in return for rights of confraternity (Ibid., f.129). At the same time Osbert, who had married Philip's widow, quitclaimed the rights of his wife and himself to a third part of the six marks (Ibid., f.128^{v}).
2. Ibid., f.111 (late twelfth century).
3. Ibid., f.113^{v}.
4. Ibid., f.114^{v}.
5. Ibid., ff.96, 102^{v}. The charter of Baldric is one of the very few that expressly state that the land had been sold rather than given.

In the outlying granges of Reedness, Wold Newton and North Conesby the canons spent little. They paid 2 marks to William of Well in Wold Newton for a nativus and 6 marks to Ralph Pinceon for a bovate of arable, two mansurae, a cultura of arable adjoining the curia of the brethren and as much common pasture as pertained to the bovate in Conesby.[1]

The purchases of the Alvingham canons have been dwelt upon at some length because they clearly illustrate features of the canons' policy towards their estates. Not only is it obvious that the canons were almost entirely concerned to invest capital in their granges alone, but also that they spent much more on the granges close to the priory, especially in Alvingham itself and Cockerington, than they did on other granges. Moreover, the majority, though not all, of these purchases were made before 1200. It is apparent that it was necessary to purchase land in order to consolidate grange properties almost as soon as the granges were created. In most cases the purchases were of properties that lay close to land already held by the priory. Most purchases, too, were of comparatively large holdings. To consolidate their granges selion by selion the canons usually relied upon exchange rather than purchase; the expenditure of capital was usually confined to the acquisition of culturae rather than single selions.

Bullington made fewer purchases than did Alvingham, but the pattern and policy of the canons' purchases were the same.

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1. Ibid., ff.150 (Newton), 161^{v} (Conesby) (both late twelfth century).

With the exception of two nativi purchased in Orby and Winthorpe and a rent charge in Lincoln, all Bullington's purchases were made in vills where the priory possessed a grange. Nearly all of these purchases were made in the late twelfth century, though the highest sum paid for any land was 30 marks for Peter of Wendover's estate in Hackthorn, comprising six bovates of arable in the third quarter of the thirteenth century.[1]

In contrast to Alvingham, however, Bullington did not concentrate its purchases in a few vills, and made no purchases at all in Bullington itself, which is perhaps a tribute to the generosity of Simon son of William's foundation grant.

Purchases were not, however, negligible. Forty acres of arable were bought in Redbourne, a toft, bovate and pasture for 200 sheep and 32 other animals in East Barkwith, an estate of unspecified size in Newton and a further eight acres in Hackthorn (besides the purchase from Peter of Wendover).[2] All these acquisitions added considerably to the comparatively small demesne of the canons in these vills.

It is likely, moreover, that these purchases represent only a small fraction of the total number.[3] In 1192 the prior of Bullington was numbered among the debtors of the

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1. Harl.Chart., 44 I 20. Peter was in debt to the Jews. A starr of Isaac Gabois, Jew of Lincoln, remitted all his claim to these lands to the priory (Harl.Chart., 43 A 57). See Starrs and Jewish Charters preserved in the British Museum, ed. I. Abrahams, H.P. Stokes and Herbert Loewe (3 vols., Cambridge and London, 1930-32), i.30-32, ii.131-38.
2. Addit.MS.6118, p.740 (Redbourne); Ibid., p.772 (East Barkwith); DC., no. 86 (Newton); Ibid., no. 43 (Hackthorn).
3. For 'concealed' sales see below, pp. 67-68.

late Aaron of Lincoln. He owed £304, of which he had paid £7 10s. and had contracted to pay the remainder at an annual rate of £5. It is hard to see how he could have run up such a large debt other than by borrowing money in order to invest in land.[1]

This survey of purchases by the priories has been confined to those cases where a money payment is known to have been made and which is recorded, even if the amount is unspecified, in the charter. Vendors were reluctant to state explicitly that a sale had been made and usually sales were recorded using the same formulae as were applied to outright gifts and then, at the end of the charter, there is a mention of the consideration paid to the grantor. Recorded purchases probably represent only a small proportion of the total number of purchases made by the priories. 'Concealed' purchases, that is transactions where the property conveyed was styled a gift, but where, in fact, money was paid for the property, are by definition almost impossible to identify. If, however, a benefactor, who is known to have been in financial difficulties and is known to have made one sale to the priory, also made other grants that appear as outright donations, then it is at least probable that these, too, were made in

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1. He was one of the greatest debtors in the county (Pipe Rolls 3 and 4 Richard I /P.R.S. xl, 1926/, p.231). Such a debt could have been contracted to pay for building projects, but there is no documentary or archaeological evidence to suggest that Bullington carried out such work at this time.

return for some financial consideration. All the transactions between Robert de Pormort, for example, and the priory in Alvingham or Cockerington or between William of Redburn in Cockerington have to be regarded with some suspicion. Furthermore, if the priory was obtaining land from such benefactors in a particularly favourable position then there is an even greater likelihood that they were purchasing that land.

The line between a sale and a gift was, in any case, a thin one. Sales were often recorded in *formulae* more suitable to grants of land *in elemosinam*. Toka of Keddington stated that he had received 11s. from the canons for his grant, but in the warranty clause described this grant as a gift (*donacio*).[1] There are two possible reasons for this ambiguity and apparent reluctance to identify purchases. In the first place the Gilbertine rule prohibited the acquisition of any lands, woods or other forms of property valued at 3 marks or over without the consent of the prior of the order.[2] Clearly the canons could evade the necessity of obtaining his consent much more readily when there was no written evidence of a cash transaction than if details were recorded in a charter. The second reason is that neither grantor nor community saw any real distinction between the outright gift made in *liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam* and the grant for which a money payment was made. The transaction by which William of Redburn ceded all his land in Cockerington to the priory

1. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.126.
2. *Mon.Ang.*, vi. part 2.*xxxiii (between pages 945 and 946).

in return for payment of his Jewish debts, for example, was made in liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam and the drafters of the charter saw no inherent contradiction here.[1] Both types of grant brought spiritual benefits to the grantor and his family. Thus, when John of Meaux sold all his demesne in Alvingham and Cockerington to the priory for 140 marks the priory received his sister, a niece and three nieces of Reiner of Waxham into its community.[2] There was no reason why those who sold land to the canons should not receive spiritual benefits as well as temporal ones, for the vendors, too, were benefactors of the priories. The canons could not have expanded their properties as they did without a willingness to sell on the part of these grantors. It is therefore unrealistic to draw a distinction between gifts and sales, for in both cases the benefactors were rendering a service, and in both cases they received their reward.

The development of the grange: some case studies

i) Cockerington

This was the largest grange held by Alvingham. The initial grant here by Hugh de Scoteni has already been described.[3] Shortly after his benefaction, his tenants, Robert de Pormort and William of Friston, made considerable additions to the estate. Robert sold two bovates, a tenant's land, some marshland, a mansura and a little estate (terrula) to the canons, to which he later added the grant of a toft, two

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1. Laud Misc. MS. 642, f. 72^{v}.
2. Ibid., f. 10^{v}.
3. See above, p. 9.

selions of arable adjoining the grange and his meadow in Cockerington.[1] The canons also obtained a further bovate, which Robert had granted to the Templars, in return for an annual payment of 3s. to the Templars.[2] William of Friston granted four bovates, his share of a mill, a mansura and croft of a tenant together with William's common pasture rights in the vill.[3] By the beginning of the thirteenth century the priory had also received meadow land in Graflet from Lambert de Scoteni, a bovate from Juliana of Otby and two bovates and a toft from Constance of Aisterby.[4] At about the same time Peter of Irford and his wife granted 25 acres of arable, 7½ acres of meadow and two tofts.[5] Peter also granted a bovate to the canons in fee farm.[6] Thomas de Scoteni granted over 16 acres of meadow and his brother William de Scoteni, a toft and bovate holding.[7] By this time, therefore, the priory probably held about two carucates of land besides a considerable acreage of meadow and several tofts. This estate was largely the creation of local gentry families; to their grants were added those of the free peasantry.[8] Some of their grants consisted of only one or two selions but others were larger. At the end of the twelfth century, for example, the priory received eight acres, a toft,

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.59.
2. Ibid., f.59^{v}.
3. Ibid., f.59.
4. Ibid., ff.60-60^{v}, 79^{v}, 82^{v}.
5. Feet of Fines for the County of Lincoln for the Reign of King John, 1199-1216, (P.R.S. lxvii, 1953), No.117 (1202).
6. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.76^{v}.
7. Ibid, f.61.
8. Many of these grants are described below pp. 299-304.

and half of a toft and croft holding from Roger le Vavasur, Robert the smith his brother and Robert's daughter, Goda.[1]

Thereafter, however, the flow of grants to the priory lessened. The priory made a number of exchanges that enabled consolidation but not expansion of its estate.[2] But for the indebtedness of a local family little more would have been gained in Cockerington. William of Redburn the elder may not have been financially embarrassed, but the fact that his wife Alice and son William were in debt to the Jews and the scale of his benefactions suggests that he was.[3] From him the priory acquired a bovate, six acres and more than 25 selions of arable, 12 acres of meadow and pasture. The canons also received a further five selions of arable in exchange for seven selions granted to William.[4] From his wife they obtained six selions of arable, nearly 30 acres and a daila of meadow, pasture for 240 sheep and a toft.[5] The last major acquisition in Cockerington was the gradual purchase of the estate of William, son of William of Redburn, who first disposed of 3½ acres and 44½ selions of arable, 13½ acres of meadow, a toft and croft with a wang (field) and then granted his entire estate to the priory in 1260.[6]

ii) Keddington

The development of the grange at Keddington followed a very similar pattern to that of Cockerington. Initially the

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, ff.62-63, 79.
2. See e.g. ibid., ff.68v, 71, 74, 75v-76, 77v-78.
3. See also above p.62.
4. Ibid., ff.68 - 69v.
5. Ibid., ff.69v-70v (c.1260).
6. Ibid., ff.71-72v.

grange was the creation of the chief tenants of the vill, Geoffrey of Keddington (who held of the Bec fee) and Roger of Midley (who held of the de Scoteni fee).[1] Besides his grant creating the nucleus of the estate Geoffrey granted rights of pasture in all his demesne lands, 10 selions of arable with appurtenant meadow and meadow lying in Willewat.[2] He also sold land lying 'before the gate of the brethren', and granted two selions of land adjoining the convent's land to the canons in return for two that lay in his cultura.[3] Roger of Midley granted two bovates in return for an annual payment of 10s. and a mill with its toft and holm for 6s. per annum. He also conveyed 1½ bovates, meadow in Willewat and nine tofts or mansure to the canons including his demesne toft and its copse.[4] By 1200 the priory had also received a bovate and two tofts from Geoffrey of Keddington's son-in-law, Stephen of Cotum, and a number of properties from the tenants of Geoffrey.[5] William the smith, for example, sold two acres and gave a selion to the house and Tocha, Geoffrey's reeve, granted 20 selions[6]. Two bovates, four acres of arable and

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1. See above, p.56.
2. Laud Misc. MS. 642, ff.121^{v}-122^{v}.
3. Ibid., f.122-122^{v}.
4. Ibid., ff.123-124^{v}. The rent for the mill was later remitted by Roger's son (Ibid., f. 124^{v}).
5. Ibid., f.123^{v}. This land had been granted by Geoffrey to his grandson but was conveyed to the priory when the boy entered the priory.
6. Ibid., ff.123, 127-128^{v}. One of Tocha's grants was confirmed with the seal of Geoffrey his lord, the only reference in the cartulary to the use of a lord's seal in this way.

meadow and two tofts were acquired for the priory by the vicar of Keddington.[1]

All these grants were made by the beginning of the thirteenth century. Thereafter, with two exceptions, the canons received little. The total amounted to a toft, 17½ selions and rent charges totalling 9¼d.[2] Had it not been for the acquisition of the estate of Philip, son of John of Cotum in 1263,which resulted in more than 10 bovates falling into the priory's hands,the canons' estate at Keddington would have been substantially complete soon after 1200.[3]

iii) Cabourn

The grange here was almost entirely the creation of the de Turribus family. Never a large estate,the grange was valued at only 13s. 4d. in 1535.[4] The canons did not possess the church here and this fact, combined with the priory's failure to receive grants from other than the de Turribus family, probably accounts for the relative poverty of the estate.[5] At the end of the twelfth century Gilbert de Turribus added to his father's foundation with grants of two tofts and six bovates together with considerable pasturage.[6] His son Geoffrey granted a toft adjoining the grange and 20 acres of arable and all the property he had acquired from Robert son of Thomas,comprising two tofts, 2½ bovates of

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, ff.124^{v}-125^{v}. See below, pp. 62-63.
2. Ibid., ff.126^{v}-129.
3. Ibid., f.126. See above, pp. 63-64.
4. Val.Eccles., iv.58. It does not appear in the Taxatio of 1291.
5. The church was held by Grimsby abbey (W.Farrer, Honors and Knights' Fees /3 vols, London and Manchester, 1923-5/, ii.96).
6. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.157-157^{v}.

arable and a rent charge of 3s. per annum.[1] He also granted two selions of land amounting to five acres that adjoined the priory's land.[2] His brother Thomas granted another two selions of five acres.[3]

When Norman d'Arci confirmed all the grants made to the priory in Cabourn the grange was complete.[4] With the exception of six selions given by William of Hakeford, tenant and man (tenens et homo) of Geoffrey de Turribus it was entirely the creation of the de Turribus family.[5] In all they had granted some 170 acres to the priory.

iv) Redbourne

The grange at Redbourne had almost reached its maximum extent by 1200. Shortly after Reginald de Crevequer's foundation of Tunstal had been taken over by Bullington, Walter de Grasci made a considerable grant of 23 acres of arable, all the land he had on the islands of Tunstal, lower and upper Hadhe, all his marsh around the river Ancolne, a toft and rights of common pasture in his land in the vill. Another charter conveyed a toft and 10 acres in Redbourne, together with a stanc (pond).[6] William Wacelin granted 11 acres of arable, his cultura called Hestfen adjacent to the canons'

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1. Ibid., f.158^{v}. These lands were quitclaimed to the priory by Robert. His charter refers to the four bovates and a toft which he held of his lord and which had been granted to the priory so it would appear that other lands granted by Gilbert were held by Robert his tenant. (Ibid., f.159).
2. Ibid., f.158^{v}.
3. Ibid., f.158^{v}.
4. Ibid., f.160.
5. Ibid., f. 160.
6. DC., nos. 92, 93.

grange and his share of the meadow of Wlfholm.[1] A kinsman, perhaps a brother, Robert added six selions in lower Hadhe to the estate.[2] Towards the end of the century Cecilia de Crevequer, the granddaughter of Reginald, and her husband, Walter de Neville, granted a fishery in the river Ancolne, a toft to the canons, 41 acres of arable and pasture for 200 sheep.[3] At the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century Simon of Beckering gave a toft and bovate in Redbourne in accordance with the testamentary wishes of his brother.[4]

By this time, therefore, the priory had acquired over a carucate of land in addition to the original grant of Tunstal. Thereafter, only three further grants are recorded, all made in the first quarter of the century. They comprised a toft, $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres and four selions of arable.[5] The period during which the canons' grange at Redbourne was established, therefore, extended over little more than half a century. It is not surprising to find that in 1535 the grange of Hackthorn only provided 1% of the priory's income from temporalia.[6]

v) Prestwold

The grange at Prestwold was never an important one and was valued at only £1 17s. 5d. in 1291.[7] Nevertheless, its

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1. Ibid., no.97.
2. Addit.MS.6118, p.802.
3. CGH., p.96; DC., nos 98, 99. The grant of 41 acres was later the subject of a fine made between Cecilia and the priory in 1199-1200 when she quitclaimed the land to the canons for 16 marks. (Addit.MS.6118, p.740).
4. Harl.Chart., 54 B 44.
5. Addit.MS.6118, p.802, Harl.Chart., 55 D 10.
6. Val. Eccles., iv. 84.
7. Taxatio, p.70.

development is of interest since its history illustrates the fortunes of a grange that lay a considerable distance from the priory. It is very probable that Bullington's estates at Hoton, Cotes and Burton-on-the-Wolds, all settlements within the parish of Prestwold, were administered from Prestwold grange.

After the donation of the church of Prestwold with its dependent chapels and 30 acres of his demesne by Asketin of Prestwold, Simon Pollard, a tenant of Asketin, granted four acres in Prestwold and part of his toft 'which they enclosed'.[1] William, son of Ivo of Prestwold, another tenant of Asketin and his son, Elias, exchanged two selions of arable on Wronglandes 'outside the dwelling of the prior and convent' for two selions in another cultura. He granted permission for the land to be enclosed with a wall, hedge or ditch.[2] Elias of Prestwold granted a toft in Prestwold and one in Cotes together 'with the house built upon it'.[3] Martin the chaplain of Prestwold added another toft and croft to the canons' estate at about the same time.[4] The most interesting series of charters relating to Prestwold grange date from the mid-thirteenth century. Four of these were made in favour of the priory by 25 tenants of Prestwold and are couched in identical terms. They grant permission to the priory to enclose with a ditch or hedge eight selions of arable 'near

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1. Harl.Chart., 54 I 28 (first quarter thirteenth century).
2. Ibid., 55 A 25 (first quarter thirteenth century). He also granted a nativus to the canons (Ibid., 55 A 24).
3. Addit.MS.6118, p.842.
4. Harl.Chart., 47 I 48.

the curia of the brethren' which the priory had of the gift of John Putrel, William son of Ivo, William de la Grene, William Duke and Stephen, son of Gilbert of Cotes.[1] The charters of all these grantors (with the exception of that of William son of Ivo) survive, and they provide a clear illustration of the consolidation process at work. John Putrel exchanged one selion in Wronglandes for another in Baudale, Stephen exchanged three selions in the same cultura adjoining the mansio of the brethren for two selions near le Mere, William Duke exchanged one selion in Wronglandes outside the brethren's dwelling for one in Gildehou and William de la Grene exchanged one selion in Wronglandes for an unspecified piece of land.[2] All gave permission for the land to be enclosed with a wall, hedge or ditch, and that of William de la Grene gave specific permission for the building of a house on the site. There is no clearer example of the process of consolidation by exchange of a grange than this. Not only is the function of the exchange well demonstrated, but also the bringing together of selions into one cultura adjoining the grange buildings, and the subsequent enclosure of the field as a self-contained unit.

No further grants in Prestwold are recorded. In Hoton after Robert Putrel had granted the chapel with its lands and tithes the priory received half a bovate from Reiner, son of Henry of Newton, and a similar grant together with a piece of meadow from Elizabeth, daughter of William Budde.[3] In the

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1. Ibid., 47 D 22, 48 H 36, 49 H 35, 55 A 12.
2. Cott.Chart.,xxviii. 95 (John Putrel); Harl.Charts., 48H34 (Stephen), 49F50 (William Duke), 50I32 (William de la Grene).
3. Addit.MS.6118, pp. 770, 771.

first quarter of the thirteenth century William, son of William le Paumer, granted 10 acres of arable and 10 perches of meadow with common pasture rights in Hoton and Richard, son of Robert Putrel, granted a piece of land adjoining the canons' grange.[1] In Burton the canons are only known to have received one virgate of land and a toft, the grant of Hugh de Berges.[2]

Prestwold grange was probably too far from Bullington to be developed effectively. The only connection between Prestwold and the priory was the fact that the Kymes held land in the vill. There was little chance that the canons could use much influence there, even though they did possess the church, for other, more local, religious houses had interests there. Craxton, Lenton, Burton and Garendon abbeys all had extensive holdings in the parish; most of Burton, for example, belonging to Garendon.[3] Bullington's grange, therefore, was not favourably sited for expansion. By 1535, though the rectory was still held by the canons, it seems that all temporalia here had been disposed of, an indication of the priory's failure to maintain Prestwold as a viable holding.

vi) Ingham

The grange at Ingham was substantially completed by the

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1. Addit.MS.6118, p.770 Harl.Chart., 55 A 36. The later charter has a piece of vellum stitched to the dorse listing the witnesses to the delivery of seisin of this land (Hii sunt testes seisine apud Hout' personaliter cooperantes).
2. Harl.Chart., 46 A 37.
3. See J. Nichols, The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester (London, 1800), iii. part I, 353, 358, 363, 365.

end of the twelfth century, and its expansion was almost entirely due to the generosity of Philip I of Kyme and his tenants c.1170 to 1200. To his initial grant Philip I added a further 20 acres of arable and confirmed the grants of his tenant, William de Pomfol.[1] William de Pomfol sold all his lands in Ingham, Toft and Newton to Philip for 40 marks in order that the land might be conveyed to the priory, and it is possible that this land is that six bovates in Ingham and three bovates in Toft and Newton conveyed to the priory by Philip.[2] William also granted two bovates of his demesne, a little under six acres of meadow, a toft and pasture for 200 sheep to the priory.[3] Agnes of Orby, the sister of Philip of Kyme, purchased 32 acres of arable and 1½ acres of meadow in Ingham which she then conveyed to the priory. In an earlier charter she granted two acres of arable and 1½ acres of meadow 'outside the curia of the brethren'.[4] William son of Osbert (who had sold the land to Agnes) himself granted a bovate of arable and 2½ acres of meadow on the east of the brethren's curia.[5] This grant was confirmed to the canons by Adam de Insula, who also granted four selions to the priory.[6] In 1196 John son of Richard granted a toft and bovate in Ingham which had been the subject of an assize of novel disseisin between himself and the canons.[7] By 1200,

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1. Addit.MS.6118, p.726; DC., no.63.
2. Addit.MS.6118, p.783. See above, p.49.
3. DC., no. 62.
4. Ibid., nos. 67, 68; Addit.MS.6118, p.786.
5. Harl.Chart. 52 B 18.
6. Addit.MS.6118, p.786; DC., no.69.
7. Addit.MS.6118, p.783.

therefore, the grange of Ingham consisted of more than 200 acres of arable besides meadow and pasture. After 1200 grants continued to be made to the priory in Ingham. No other religious house had a major interest in the vill and, in marked contrast to some of the granges so far considered, Bullington continued to expand here until c.1250.

Walter of Evermue granted seven acres of meadow to the canons c. 1225-30, and at about the same time William son of Ivete granted two selions of arable and William le Grant one selion.[1] In 1226 William son of Hugh reached agreement with the prior concerning $5\frac{3}{4}$ bovates and $2\frac{2}{3}$ tofts which William claimed as his. In return for the prior's renunciation of his claim to four bovates and two tofts of this property, William confirmed the prior's rights to the remainder of the property.[2] William later granted one of the tofts ceded to him by the prior together with three selions and half an acre of arable.[3] He also granted more than 23 selions of arable and appurtenant meadow.[4] John, son of William the clerk, granted half of his toft and croft, a bovate of arable and five perches of meadow and Matilda, the widow of Richard of Cambridge, granted 20 acres of arable, some meadow and a half share in a windmill.[5] The largest grant made in the second quarter of the thirteenth century was that of William son of Roger, who granted two tofts and nine bovates of arable together

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1. Ibid., p.789; Harl.Chart., 52 B 22; Addit.MS.6118, p.793.
2. Harl.Chart., 50 A 46.
3. Cott.Chart., v.26.
4. Ibid., v.28.
5. Addit.MS.6118, p.785; Harl.Chart., 47 G 27.

with pasture for 100 sheep.[1] In 1245 Jordan, son of Jordan de Insula, granted all his land in Ingham to the house. Though there is no direct evidence that these two grants were sales to the priory, their scale and the fact that they were made at a time when gifts were less often made strongly suggests that a cash payment accompanied these transactions.[2] No major grants to the priory are recorded after this date.

vii) Burgh-le-Marsh

The expansion of the grange at Burgh, which became one of Bullington's richest properties, was a slower process than that of Ingham or Redbourne and continued, as has been shewn, well into the fourteenth century.[3] Nevertheless, Bullington received most of its largest grants here before the end of the twelfth century. After Eudo of Mumby had founded the grange with land held by his tenant Magnus, Eudo's son Alan purchased land from his cousins Maria and Alice, which he then transferred to the priory for an annual rent of a pound of cumin and the performance of forinsec service.[4] The connection between the priory and this family ended with the grant by John son of Alan of two selions of arable in the early thirteenth century.[5] In the late twelfth century William, son of Gilbert of Skegness, granted a toft of three acres, half a bovate of arable, pasture, all the land called Benedicteland and three acres of meadow.[6] His son added Aldide-

1. Harl.Chart., 50 D 9; Addit.MS.6118, p.785.
2. Addit.MS.6118, p.792.
3. See above, pp. 56-7.
4. Harl.Chart., 54 A 11.
5. Addit.MS.6118, p.828.
6. DC., no.16.

land, five selions of arable, three acres of meadow and all the land that he held of Philip Waytecroft.[1] Richard son of Gilbert (probably the brother of William) granted all his land of unspecified extent called Oustcroft.[2] A contemporary, Robert son of Roesia, granted Salteland, presumably a piece of land upon the saltmarshes of the vill.[3]

Early in the thirteenth century John Blanchard (who held land in the vill in 1212) granted 20 acres of arable to the house and confirmed the grants of two tenants :Milo who gave a toft and one selion,and Adam 'homo meus' who gave an acre of arable.[4] At this time also Juliana, the sister of Alan of Burgh, and Ralph Hardwyn both granted tofts to the priory.[5] John, son of Ralph of Washingborough, granted 3½ acres and six selions of arable.[6] Magnus, son of Robert of Waitecroft, granted two selions, a piece of enclosed land called Oakestoft and one acre in Dalacre.[7] Richard, son of Syrid of Burgh, granted a toft and six selions.[8]

In the second quarter of the thirteenth century the largest grant was that of Henry Bec, who conveyed 16 acres of meadow to the priory.[9] There were many other grants,but all were small. Gilbert Blanchard, for example, granted three selions of land in the south field and exchanged three more

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1. Harl.Chart., 47 E 21; Addit.MS.6118; p.826.
2. DC., no.14.
3. Addit.MS.6118, p.823.
4. Ibid., p.825; Harl.Charts., 46 E 15, 16.
5. Harl.Chart., 47 E 29; Addit.MS.6118, p.828.
6. Ibid., 50 B 26; Addit.MS.6118, p.824.
7. Ibid., 57 D 26; Addit.MS. 6118, p.825.
8. Addit.MS.6118, p.828.
9. Harl.Chart., 45 H 11.

selions for a similar holding elsewhere in the vill.[1] In 1230 John, son of Alan of Newland, leased meadowland for a term of 10 years (later extended to 16 years by his mother). He also granted an acre of arable.[2] Philip, the son of Ralph Hardwyn, granted two acres and three selions of arable.[3] All other grants known to have been made to the priory were of isolated selions or tofts.[4]

This detailed account of the acquisitions of Bullington in Burgh demonstrates how, although the priory continued to receive lands until the middle of the thirteenth century, the scale of benefactions declined markedly. This pattern is most obvious when the grants of fathers and sons are compared, such as those of John and Gilbert Blanchard or Ralph and Philip Hardwyn.

viii) Faldingworth

The canons' estate at Faldingworth was both one of the first granges to be created and one of the first to be completed. Shortly after the initial grant by Simon son of William, Ralph de Neville added 30 acres to the estate, and before 1160 Thomas de Neville had granted a further 40 acres.[5] In the following generation Philip of Kyme granted two bovates and tofts in the vill that he had inherited from Gervase of Halton, and granted or confirmed the grant of land in his fee

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1. Addit.MS.6118, p.826; Harl.Chart., 44 A 37.
2. Harl.Chart., 54 C 19; Cott.Chart., xxviii.11; Addit.MS. 6118, p.826.
3. Harl.Chart., 51 C 22; Addit.MS.6118, p.826.
4. See e.g. Harl.Charts., 47 E 24, 57 A 31, 58 D 11; Cott. Chart., xxvii. 181.
5. Addit.MS. 6118, pp.795, 734.

adjoining Aldfeld which had been returned to him by his two tenants, Reingot and Ralph, together with 10 acres in Spridlington 'adjacent to the grange of Faldingworth'.[1] Ultimately Philip of Kyme granted all his demesne in Faldingworth to the priory.[2]

Philip's lord, William Beket, confirmed the grants of his tenants, and granted lands in the eastern fields of Faldingworth, together with pasture for 500 sheep and 24 oxen and common pasture for the priory's animals.[3] At about the same time Richard de Sturs granted a cultura called Langidail and all the land pertaining to his fee that reached from there to the boundary with Spridlington.[4] Towards the end of the twelfth century Richard's son granted the canons a bovate in Crowmare together with four perches of land on Slapethornhill.[5]

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1. DC., nos. 19, 20, 71. The land of his tenant, Ralph, may be that which Ralph, son of Robert of Faldingworth, granted to the priory in the west of the vill. In this charter Ralph also confirmed the demise of land in the vill by his brother, Reingot, to the canons (Addit.MS.6118, p.797). In 1187 the two bovates were the subject of litigation between the canons and Gilbert son of Pagan and Emma his sister, from whose father Gervase of Halton had purchased the land. A final concord was made conceding that the land should remain with Emma and her heirs, while Bullington should hold the land on payment of 9d. per annum and forinsec service. Gilbert and Emma also agreed to pay one mark per annum to Bullington for as long at Mathew, son of Gervase of Halton, should live. In return for this return of the land to themselves, they gave two acres of land in Hackthorn and two acres in Faldingworth to the canons (Harl.Chart., 44 A 22; DC., no.22). At the same time the canons agreed to pay the mark paid by Gilbert and Emma to Peter of Beckering for as long as Mathew his father-in-law should live (DC., no.114).
2. Addit.MS.6118, p.714.
3. Ibid., p.795. This arable is probably the 92 acres of arable in Faldingworth granted by William in another charter (Ibid., p.795).
4. Ibid., p.796.
5. Ibid., p.797.

Thereafter the canons received little more in Faldingworth. In 1212 Reginald Furre granted a 'small selion' to them and Ralph de Sturs, grandson of Richard, granted a further selion adjoining ten selions held by the priory in Ravenstoft.[1]

Conclusions

The successful development of a grange depended upon a number of factors: the ready availability of land within the vill, the possibilities for consolidation of holdings into a self-contained estate, the presence of local benefactors whose own economic position was sufficiently stable to allow grants to be made from their estates and the lack of competition from rival religious communities. The interplay of these factors affected both the potential size of the grange and the chronology of its development.

As has been demonstrated, the process of creation and growth of a grange estate differed markedly in individual cases as individual circumstances of the vill and benefactors differed. Some estates continued to grow until the mid-thirteenth century or beyond, such as Alvingham's granges of Cockerington and Keddington or those of Ingham or Burgh-le-Marsh amongst granges held by Bullington. It is clear from licences granted for the alienation of land in mortmain that Bullington, and to a lesser extent Alvingham, were prepared to expand their estates until well into the fourteenth century. There is no evidence that granges were being demised to lay tenants at this period, and land was clearly still desired in order to

1. Addit. MS. 6118, p.797 (post-1220).

increase demesne farming.[1] Such growth could only continue at a price, however, and if the priories wished to make major additions to the granges land had to be purchased. Even in parishes where donations continued to be made until well into the thirteenth century, grants show a sharp decline in both quality and quantity from the earlier period.

In some vills the priories were even less fortunate. The interests of other communities within the boundaries of Redbourne, Prestwold or Cabourn, for example, certainly inhibited the expansion of Bullington and Alvingham's estates in these places, and here, as also at Faldingworth, the period of growth was short indeed. Bullington was least successful in attracting grants at Hardwick, which after its foundation by Simon, brother of Philip I of Kyme, had no further lands added until 1324, but the most important period of growth of all the priories' granges lasted for no more than two generations in the second half of the twelfth century.

Even during the earlier years competition for land could be fierce, as the agreement between Louth Park and Alvingham in 1174 makes clear. After 1200 the pressure on available land was too great to allow much further expansion. More religious houses were competing for less land, and potential benefactors had less land to convey. The fortunes of the priories were closely tied to the fortunes of the local gentry, their most loyal and generous benefactors. As these families failed, so the main source of grants dried up.[2]

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1. For the farming of lands to lay tenants see below, pp. 181-208.
2. See below pp. 267-72 passim.

Neither Alvingham nor Bullington were in the best geographic position to receive large grants of cultivated, or uncultivated, territories. By the time of their foundation they had to compete with other communities, close at hand and dependent upon the same class of benefactors. It is hardly surprising that all the granges of Alvingham and Bullington were founded shortly after the foundation of the priories themselves, and that their period of growth was so short.

Appendix I

The Temporalia of Alvingham in 1291

Deanery of Grimsby

Fulstow

lands			10s.	0d.	
meadows			15s.	0d.	
fruits, flocks and animals			2s.	0d.	
				£1	7s. 0d.
Beesby					2s. 0d.
Wold Newton					
lands, rents, mill	£1	10s.	0d.		
a pittance		6s.	8d.		
fruits, flocks and animals	£1	0s.	0d.		
				£2	16s. 8d.
Swinhope					
lands	£1	0s.	0d.		
				£1	0s. 0d.
Grimsby					
rents		6s.	8d.		
					6s. 8d.

Deanery of Louthesk and Ludborough

Muckton					
lands		6s.	8d.		
					6s. 8d.
Raithby					
rents	£1	6s.	8d.		
				£1	6s. 8d.
Withcall					
rents		6s.	8d.		
					6s. 8d.

Conisholme			
meadows		18s. 0d.	
			18s. 0d.
Somercotes			
lands	£1	6s. 8d.	
			£1 6s. 8d.
Stewton			
lands		2s. 0d.	
			2s. 0d.
Cockerington			
lands and rents	£11	9s. 3d.	
fruits, flocks and animals	£5	2s. 6d.	
			£16 11s. 9d.
Alvingham			
lands and rents	£12	11s. 8d.	
fruits, flocks and animals	£4	1s. 3d.	
			£16 12s. 11d.
Grimoldby			
meadow		4s. 0d.	
			4s. 0d.
Manby			
rents		3s. 7d.	
			3s. 7d.
Keddington			
lands and rents, fruits and flocks	£7	0s. 0d.	
			£7 0s. 0d.
Yarborough			
lands and rents	£2	12s. 0d.	
fruits and flocks	£3	6s. 8d.	
			£5 18s. 8d.

Grainthorpe

lands and rents, £5 7s. 0d.
meadows, fruits and fields

£5 7s. 0d.

Deanery of Calcewath

Cawthorpe and Legbourne

lands and rents £1 10s. 2½d.
fruits, flocks and animals £2 10s. 0d.

£4 0s. 2½d.

Trusthorp

meadows 3s. 0d.

3s. 0d.

Deanery of Manley

Conesby

lands and rents £3 0s. 6d.
fruits, flocks and animals £5 8s. 5d.

£8 8s. 11d.

Deanery of Walshcroft

Rasen

rents £1 10s. 8d.

£1 10s. 8d.

Normanby

rents 7s. 5d.

7s. 5d.

Deanery of Yarborough

Stalingburgh

meadows 1s. 8d.

1s. 8d.

Deanery of Lincoln

Lincoln

for pittance 6s. 9d.

6s. 9d.

Deanery of Holland

Boston		
rents	£1 5s. 0d.	
		£1 5s. 0d.
Swinefleet		£3 11s. 2d.
	TOTAL	£91 14s. 2½d.

Sources: Laud Misc.MS. 642, f.39 (Lincolnshire properties)
Taxatio, p.305 (Swinefleet)

Granges are underlined.

Appendix II

Assessed income from Alvingham's Temporalia in 1535

Alvingham demesne	£20	0s.	0d.
wood in Alvingham	£10	0s.	0d.
rents in Alvingham	£14	4s.	10d.
Cockerington St. Leonard	£14	0s.	1d.
Cockerington St. Mary	£ 5	4s.	7d.
Keddington	£ 8	11s.	0d.
Grainthorpe	£10	14s.	8½d.
Yarborough	£ 2	11s.	0½d.
Stewton		11s.	0d.
South Somercotes	£ 1	11s.	0d.
Wold Newton	£ 2	0s.	0d.
Clee		10s.	0d.
Grimsby		4s.	0d.
Swinefleet (Reedness)	£ 1	0s.	0d.
Flixborough	£ 2	13s.	4d.
Normanby		3s.	0d.
Boston		11s.	0d.
Muckton		6s.	8d.
Middle Rasen	£ 1	0s.	0d.
Trusthorpe		4s.	0d.
Withcall		2s.	3d.
Raithby	£ 1	6s.	8d.
Louth		3s.	4d.
Lincoln		1s.	8d.
Little Cawthorpe	£ 2	0s.	0d.
Cabourn		13s.	4d.
TOTAL	£100	8s.	4d. (recte £100 7s.6d.)

Source: Val.Eccles., iv. 58.

Granges are underlined.

Appendix III

Assessed income from Bullington's Temporalia in 1535

Bullington	£ 5	0s.	0d.
Hackthorn	£ 6	8s.	4d.
Ingham	£ 9	16s.	6d.
Southrey	£ 5	12s.	2d.
Cold Hanworth	£ 1	0s.	0d.
Aldfeld	£ 3	0s.	0d.
Redbourne		17s.	4d.
Faldingworth	£ 1	6s.	8d.
Halton and Beckering		6s.	0d.
Wragby	£ 1	17s.	0d.
Lissington		12s.	0d.
East Barkwith		4s.	10d.
Toft and Newton		17s.	4d.
West Torrington	£ 6	0s.	11d.
Oxcombe	£ 1	13s.	4d.
Lincoln		4s.	0d.
Strubby	£ 2	10s.	0d.
Huttoft	£15	0s.	0d.
Burgh-le-Marsh and Winthorpe	£12	0s.	0d.
Cuxwold		10s.	0d.
South Ferriby	£ 1	6s.	8d.
Hardwick	£ 4	6s.	8d.
Farms of water mills in			
Donington-on-Bain	£ 2	6s.	8d.
Hemingby	£ 2	6s.	8d.
Income from courts		6s.	8d.
TOTAL	£85	9s.	9d.

Source: Val. Eccles., iv. 84.

Granges are underlined. Southrey did not become a grange until the fourteenth century.

CHAPTER II

THE PRIORIES AND MONEY RENTS

As in the case of all monastic land holding, all land held by the priories of Alvingham and Bullington was held for some kind of service. This could be the provision of unspecified spiritual labour, as tenure in free alms implied, or the performance of temporal services, as where the houses held by knight service or in socage. The Gilbertine rule did not forbid the holding of land on terms other than free alms, though it did stipulate that lands were not to be bought, accepted as a pledge or held at farm without the permission of the Master. There was, however, some disapproval of the practice; the canons were warned of the dangers of accepting lands or pastures from the laity for an annual payment, unless they were compelled by intolerable poverty or necessity. The major prohibition, however, was directed not at the means of acquisition of land but at its disposal.[1]

Throughout the period under consideration, from the foundation of the priories to the beginning of the fourteenth century, land burdened with some form of money payment was granted to the canons. Neither priory could afford to accept only land that was given in free, pure and perpetual alms. It was necessary both to purchase and to hold lands in fee farm in order to expand and consolidate their estates.

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1. For the Gilbertine rule on this topic see: Mon. Ang., vi. part 2, *xcv (between pages 945 and 946). The text warning of the dangers of accepting lands for payment reads qui vero in veritate Deo militare cupiunt, caveant a secularibus terras vel pasturas sub annua pensione accipere, et eorum tributari vel firmarii fieri; nisi intollerabili paupertate vel necessitate cogantur.

There was a cash as well as a spiritual nexus between community and benefactor, and it would be wrong to distinguish too rigidly between the material and spiritual relationship. The payment of rent did not preclude the payment of spiritual benefits, whether in the form of prayers in the house, grants of confraternity or burial rights, or the reception of a member of the benefactor's family into the community.[1] Moreover, even a grantor whose grant was made in return for a cash payment or for a substantial annual rent can still be regarded as a benefactor of the priory that he favoured. The property granted was clearly of use to the priory, or the canons would not have accepted it burdened with financial demands: such property often consisted of mills, meadows and large holdings.[2] Often such a grant enabled the canons to consolidate a holding or to expand the acreage of a grange. This chapter will attempt to examine the cash relationship between benefactors and the priories in some detail, and to determine the nature of the property for which the canons were willing to pay rent. It is first necessary to look more closely at the tenurial and legal implications of frankalmoign tenure.

Free alms - the theory and the practice

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw the gradual

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1. See below, pp. 127-8.
2. See below, pp. 113-9.

transformation of the concept of free alms.[1] The term elemosina had first been used mainly to describe the nature, charitable or pious, of a grant rather than a type of tenure. From the mid-twelfth century onwards it bore in addition judicial implications. Land that was given to a church in free alms was subject to the ecclesiastical courts alone. This was emphasised in the Constitutions of Clarendon (1164) which established that the only right of interference in litigation relating to church lands retained by the royal courts was the determination, in the assize utrum, whether or not the disputed land was held in lay fee or free alms. A strict definition of the tenurial obligations of frankalmoign tenure does not appear to have been reached before the early thirteenth century, but it has recently been suggested that until 1219 land for which the church owed services was regarded by the royal courts as lay fee.[2] In that year a case concerning land held by the church in Norfolk presented a problem for the jurors, who did not know whether the land was held in free alms because services were owed by the church. The fact that the case had to be sent to Westminster for

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1. The following paragraphs owe much to the writings of F.W. Maitland and Miss E. Kimball, F. Pollock and F.W. Maitland, The History of English Law (2nd edn., 2 vols., Cambridge, 1968) i. 240-51 and E. Kimball, 'Tenure in Frank Almoign and Secular Services', Eng.Hist.Rev., xliii (1928), 314-53 and 'The Judicial Aspects of Frank Almoign Tenure', Ibid., xlvii (1932), 1-11.
2. A. Nichol, 'Changes in the Assize Utrum between the Constitutions of Clarendon and Bracton' in Medieval Legal Records edited in memory of C.A.F. Meekings, ed. R.F. Hunnisett and J.B. Post (H.M.S.O., London 1978), pp. 18-25.

solution suggests that there was no precedent for this problem.

The justices at Westminster gave a clear statement of principle. Lands granted in free, pure and perpetual alms did not owe any service to the grantor, lands that were merely given in free alms were liable to such service as appertained to the land.[1] Thus, while both types of grant carried the implication of permanence and were not grants made at the donor's pleasure, lest the grants should later be revoked by his heirs, only in the former type of elemosinary grant was the donee freed from the performance of intrinsec, temporal service. Such grants were subject only to the performance of indefinite spiritual service.

Though the royal courts may have regarded land held by the church for services as lay fee until 1219, it is clear from twelfth century charters relating to Alvingham and Bullington that the canons and their benefactors continued to regard such grants as made in free alms, in the sense that the grant was made for a charitable or pious purpose.

There are many examples of intrinsec service being demanded for land that was given in free and pure alms, though the amount of service required was often small. Thus in the late twelfth century Conan son of Mengi made a grant of the land of his unfree tenants in Alvingham to the priory. This was given in pure and perpetual alms ut specialem

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1. Bracton's Notebook, ed. F.W. Maitland (Cambridge, 1887), ii.20-1. Some lands date sunt in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam, ille scilicet que nullum facient servicium while others are given in liberam elemosinam tantum, scilicet ille que faciunt servicium quod ad terram pertinet.

elemosinam nostram but, despite this, an annual payment of half a mark was still required for all services pertaining to the land.[1] In this early period some grants were even said to be given both in free alms and for a fee farm; this is true, for example, of Roger Musteil's grant to Sixle priory, where in the same charter he referred to a grant of his fee in Legsby in perpetual fee farm while warranting this grant in pure and perpetual alms.[2] Very few, if any, grants made in free, pure and perpetual alms and requiring temporal services can be dated after the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Such wording would by then have been regarded as both inaccurate and inappropriate. In the second quarter of the thirteenth century Robert Ses of Louth quitclaimed to Alvingham all his rights in a toft in Keddington. He pledged that no services would in future be exacted nisi tamen orationes.[3] This was the essence of frankalmoign tenurial service: prayers for the donor and his family, living and dead, though such service could also include the reception of the donor's body, or that of his kin, for burial, rights of confraternity in the house or an agreement to receive the donor as a religious when he should choose to leave the secular world.

The use of the term elemosina in this way described the motive of the donor; it did not define the responsibilities or rights of the donee. The royal courts were more realistic. They saw that there was nothing in practice but an

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.12a^{v}.
2. CGH., p. 17.
3. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.127.

indefinable pious motive between a grant made in free alms for temporal service and a lay enfeoffment. Such land should, therefore, be regarded as lay fee.

The decision of 1219 marks a watershed in the definition of frankalmoign tenure. Its direct result was the increased precision of the wording of tenurial clauses in charters of donation that followed. The decision also reflected a changing emphasis from the jurisdictional to the tenurial implications of frankalmoign tenure. Until 1219 the advantage of holding lands in free alms lay in the fact that the tenant was impleaded in the church rather than in the royal courts. Indeed Mrs. Nichol argues that prior to 1219 a parson could only claim land that was held in return for secular services by bringing a writ of right. It was not necessary, therefore, to distinguish between types of free alms tenure. Therefore all land claimed as demesne of the church had to be claimed as free alms, whether or not services were owed for the land.[1] The claim of 1219 was concerned with the rival jurisdictions of royal and church courts. The judgment settled that issue and incidentally clarified the tenurial ambiguities of frankalmoign tenure. It was now clear that the wording of a charter could make a difference to both grantor and grantee in assessing the responsibility of either party for the performance of service. Thereafter precise wording became of crucial importance. The draftors of charters now had to follow a set form or face unwelcome decisions in the royal courts.

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1. A.Nichol, op.cit., p.20.

The priories and liability to forinsec service

Though grants to religious houses made in free, pure and perpetual alms freed the donee from the obligation to perform intrinsec temporal service to the immediate lord, i.e. the donor, they did not release the house from liability for the performance of forinsec service. Such service covered all services owed for the land other than those owed to the immediate lord. The term, therefore, includes both the service owed to the king and that owed to the grantor's lord or lords.

From its beginning the Gilbertine order was exempt from the payment of royal dues. The charter of Henry II that granted this privilege was followed by a further charter of exemptions and privileges from John, and this charter was confirmed by Henry III in 1227 and 1252 and by Edward I in 1285.[1] A charter specifically in favour of Bullington was granted by Henry II in 1153. This confirmed all the canons' possessions and stated that they were to be held free from all royal exactions.[2] There is a reference to these privileges in an early charter of Conan, son of John of Welton, in favour of Alvingham, in which he granted the holding of a tenant to the priory for an annual payment of half a mark of silver for all services 'except murdrum and danegeld from which the brethren are rightly exempt'.[3] Such royal exemptions may have afforded some relief from exactions but they

1. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.168 (Henry II); Rotuli Chartarum, 18 (John); Cal.Ch.R., i.18,385 (Henry III); Cal.Ch.R., ii.303 (Edward I).
2. DC., no.1.
3. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.12a^{v} (mid twelfth century).

do not seem to have prevented all demands for royal services, since a number of the grantors' charters specifically state that the priories were liable for these services.[1] The fact that Ralph, earl of Chester, confirmed the grant of Henry of Boydel, his tenant, to Bullington, free of all services including Danegeld, suggests that it was to the lords rather than to the king that the canons had to look for exemption from royal services.[2]

Of rather more importance to the canons was their liability for forinsec service owed to their donors' lords. Such service was aptly defined by Peter of Beckering in a charter in favour of Bullington as that quod ultra me vel meos transit.[3] In charters where liability to forinsec service by either grantor or grantee is unspecified it is far from clear upon whom that burden rested.[4] Such liability was more than a matter of legal debate, for it bore important economic implications; if a religious house was liable, the cumulative effect of such a burden upon a monastery's resources would have been considerable. The only contemporary legal theorist to discuss this matter is Bracton, and he does not appear to be certain concerning the law relating to forinsec service. When he speaks of gifts made in free alms he states that unless the donor specifically took upon himself the service due to another, together with

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1. See, for example, DC., no.25; Laud Misc.MS.642, ff.14,148.
2. Harl.Chart., 52 A 18 (late twelfth century).
3. DC., no.21 (third quarter twelfth century).
4. Different views are expressed by on the one hand Miss Kimball, who held that the grantee was liable if such liability was unspecified ('Tenure in Frank Almoign and Secular Services', Eng.Hist.Rev.xliii, [1928] 346-7) and on the other by Maitland, who considered that in such cases the grantor was responsible (F.Pollock and F.W. Maitland, op.cit., i. 245).

its warranty and defence with the consent of the other (i.e. the chief) lord, forinsec service must be performed by the grantee. Moreover, if no certain sum of service was stated in the charter, then it was to be rendered according to the amount rendered by other holdings in the same fee or vill.[1] Elsewhere, however, he states that when a thing is given, the services must be certain and expressed in writing; if not expressed, all customs and services are remitted, for 'a charter relieves from burdens which does not burden expressly'. Services belonging to the chief lord must be mentioned, otherwise they cannot be claimed. In addition the warranty clause of a charter probably implied an exemption from liability for forensic service on the part of the grantee, since Bracton said that a full warranty clause pledged the donor and his heirs to acquit the donee of all claims to service over and above those specified in the charter.[2] It is difficult to reconcile such contradictory statements. The following paragraphs will attempt to throw light upon this general problem by reference to grants relating to Alvingham and Bullington, and will attempt to assess how far these priories were held responsible for the performance of forinsec service.

In the light of the apparent uncertainty concerning such liability it is surprising that so little litigation appears to have been concerned with this issue.

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1. Bracton, De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae, ed. G.E. Woodbine, translated, with revisions and notes, by S.E. Thorne (5 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1968-78), ii. 93, 115.

2. Ibid., ii.62, 67, 113, 118.

Several charters suggest that forinsec service, if already incumbent upon the tenant, was transferred to the religious house unless the charter of donation gave specific exemption. William Longspée, earl of Salisbury, granted land to Alvingham 'free and quit from all exaction and secular service'. His charter made no mention of the prior's liability to forinsec service, and the warranty clause merely warranted the land contra omnes gentes.[1] In 1256, however, the prior recognised that it was his responsibility to perform forinsec service for the land.[2]

The decisive factor may well have been the attitude of the donor's lord. If the confirmation charter of the lord confirmed the grant in free, pure and perpetual alms, then no service would be due to him for that grant.[3] Some of the charters relating to the houses reveal the lords or the donors making specific arrangements in order to ensure that the priories should not be liable for forinsec service. Ralph, earl of Chester, confirmed the grant made by his tenant, Gilbert de Turribus, in Wold Newton of four

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1. CGH., pp.107-8 (c.1218).
2. Final Concords, ii.120.
3. The few cases in the Curia Regis rolls that are concerned with this issue also suggest that the possession of a confirmation charter from the donor's lord was of crucial importance. In a case of 1231 recorded in Bracton's Notebook the prior of Markby (Lincolnshire) claimed that Richard de Perci had distrained on his land through default of forinsec service owed on six bovates of land which the priory had of the gift of Adam, son of Henry. The prior produced a confirmation charter of William de Perci, the ancestor of Richard, granting the land in free alms to the priory. The prior claimed that because of this charter he had always been quit of forinsec service. The prior won his case (Bracton's Note Book, i. no.660). In a similar case of 1225 the prior of Merton claimed that Hubert de Burgh had distrained on his land for forinsec service of which Nigel de Mowbray ought to have acquitted him. He brought a charter of William, Nigel's father as justification for his claim. The result of this plea is unknown. (CRR., xii. no.820).

bovates, three tofts and pasture to Alvingham, stating that Gilbert should perform the service due from these lands from other lands that he held of him.[1] When Ralph confirmed the grants of Henry of Boydel and Idonea, his wife, to Bullington, he stated that the priory should hold the lands free of all services.[2] The clearest example of a donor making alternative arrangements for the performance of forinsec service is an acknowledgement by William, son of Robert of Barkwith, that he would perform the forinsec service due to his lord, Thomas, son of William, from all the land that he had given to Bullington in Beckering and Barkwith from another fee that he held of him.[3] A charter of Sibyl, daughter of Osbert of Oxcombe, assigned a rent of 8d. per annum which she received from three of her tenants in Oxcombe for the payment of scutage and forinsec service to the lord, Hugh of Hamington. Nothing is known of the background to this charter, which is only preserved in the copy of the Bullington cartulary, but it is likely that Sibyl was both the donor of property to the canons and the tenant of Hugh, and in this charter made arrangements for the performance of service owed to her lord.[4]

All these charters suggest that the canons were normally held responsible for forinsec service, unless specific other arrangements were made. If such was the case, why do some charters granting land to Alvingham and Bullington make special reference to the houses' liability? It is note-

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642. f.158 (late twelfth century).
2. Harl.Chart., 52 A 18 (late twelfth century). A copy of Henry's charter makes no mention of liability for performance of forinsec service (Addit.MS.6118, p.746).
3. DC., no. 5 (third quarter twelfth century).
4. Addit.MS.6118, p.779 (early thirteenth century).

worthy that the majority of charters which specifically state the priories' responsibility relate to comparatively large grants. Philip I of Kyme granted six bovates in Ingham and three in Toft and Newton to Bullington, on condition that the canons paid forinsec service to the lord and to the heirs of Richard de la Haia 'that is, 1/5th of a knight for a carucate of land and 1/40th of a knight for a bovate'.[1] Lambert de Scoteni confirmed to Alvingham all the grants made by himself, his father and his tenant, Robert de Pormort, in Alvingham and Cockerington in free alms, 'save for forinsec service'.[2] Robert de Pormort leased a bovate in Alvingham to the priory for a ten year term at an annual payment of 3s. and 'royal service'.[3] When he granted a further seven bovates he carefully stipulated that the land should be held freely, save for an annual payment of 18d. and the service 'due to the king, the sheriff or his ministers, which the brethren of Alvingham should pay, as much as is due from that land, when it is lawfully (juste) exacted from them'. Moreover, if the lord of the fee 'by command of that king, or by his wish, should place an aid upon that fee, the brethren of Alvingham should pay for that holding as much as pertains to it'. When Robert swore on the altar of Sempringham during the General Chapter of the Order to maintain this grant freely he, again stressed the liability of the canons to forinsec service and the payment

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1. DC., no.61 (c.1170-80). The land is defined in terms of the king's service, i.e. six and three bovates ad servicium domini regis. See Stenton's comments on this grant in DC., pp.cxxvii-viii.
2. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.60 (late twelfth century).
3. Ibid., f.14 (late twelfth century).

of a just relief and reasonable aids to Robert's lords.[1] Other large grants for which the payment of forinsec service by the canons was demanded include the grant to Bullington by Roger of Claxby of all his land in Spridlington together with all his nativi there, and Jordan Foliot's grant of two tofts and nine bovates in Ingham.[2] The most likely reason for the insistence in these charters upon the canons' obligation to pay forinsec service seems to be that the grant was too large for the lord of the grantor to expect that service would be performed for the grant from other lands that the grantor held, and the amount of service involved was also too great to allow the lord to issue a confirmation charter freeing the grantees (that is, the canons) from their obligations.

Both the charters that state the canons' responsibility for the performance of forinsec service, and those recording exemption from such services granted by the grantors' lords strongly suggest that it was the grantor's lord who determined upon whom the burden of such service should fall. Most of these charters date from the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century. After the first quarter of the thirteenth century there are very few grants that carry either a reference to liability for forinsec service or refer to the lords' confirmation of their tenants' grants. These charters regulating forinsec service must be seen in the context of the issue of alienability of free

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, ff.14,59 (late twelfth century).
2. Harl.Charts., 48 B 42, 50 D 9 (both early thirteenth century); cf. also Harl.Charts., 47 G 27, 57 A 12 and DC., nos. 7, 20, 21, 25, 86, 88, 103, 104.

tenements.[1] Until the last quarter of the twelfth century it was unthinkable for a grant to be made without the confirmation (which implied consent) of the grantor's lord. So long as the tenant and grantor was not thought to have any sort of transferable ownership over his land it was essential that his lord be involved in the tenant's grant of land and that he should consent to any grant made to a religious house. This involvement implied that only action by the lord could remove the liability for forinsec service from the grantee and place it upon the grantor or remove it altogether. This 'traditional' view of service is that given by Bracton when he speaks of the grantee's responsibility.

As tenants began to alienate without their lords' consent and to consider that they had an independent title to their land, so lords became worried about the possible loss of services to themselves. They were particularly concerned with grants to religious houses, since it was especially difficult to distrain upon their property. The net result of unauthorised alienations and difficulty of distraint was the possibility of serious losses to the lord. This gave rise to the legislation that began in 1217 with the reissue of Magna Carta and its provision that 'no free man henceforth give or sell to another so much of his land that he cannot from the remainder adequately perform the service that he

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1. Much of this and the following paragraph is based upon S.F.S. Milsom, The Legal Framework of English Feudalism (Cambridge, 1976), especially pp.110-21. See also J.M.W.Bean, The Decline of English Feudalism (Manchester and New York, 1968), pp.40-103; D.W.Sutherland, The Assize of Novel Disseisin (Oxford, 1973), pp.86-96 and F.Pollock and F.W.Maitland, op.cit., i.329-349.

owes to the lord'. Legislation continued with the ordinance of 1256 forbidding the alienation of land by tenants-in-chief without the licence of the king, and the Provisions of Westminster of 1259, forbidding alienation into mortmain unless with the consent of the donor's lord. This legislation culminated dramatically in the Statute of Mortmain in 1279. Thus the struggle by lords to control alienations had two objectives: to establish legislation enforcing tenants to gain the consent of their lords to alienations in mortmain, and to ensure that their tenants were able to perform the services owing to them after they had alienated land. The onus of forinsec service thus increasingly fell upon the tenants as donors. This change is reflected in those statements of Bracton that it is the grantor who is responsible for forinsec service if the grantee's liability was not expressly stated. This might explain the usual failure of thirteenth-century charters to demand the performance of forinsec service from the grantee. Confirmation charters, on the other hand, continued to be granted by donors' lords.

To what extent, then, were Alvingham and Bullington liable to the performance of such service? Liability may well have been more burdensome in theory than in practice. As has been suggested above, the donors rather than the canons were probably held responsible in the thirteenth century. During the latter half of the twelfth century, when the canons received their most considerable estates, they were probably held responsible. There are, however, a great number of confirmation charters in favour of the two priories. Most

of these confirmations are in free, pure and perpetual alms, so that no service was due to the lord who confirmed the grant. Such land was thus held free of all temporal service to the grantor and the grantor's lord. The canons owed no service to the king; unless there happened to be a lord, or lords, between the king and the grantor's lord the land must have been held totally free of all but spiritual services. Except in cases where the grant was a large one and it was therefore necessary, as has been shewn, to ensure that someone perform the services in order to avoid a heavy loss to the lord, the lords proved generous. It was their action in freely confirming the grants of their tenants that probably relieved the priories from most services for which they were liable.[1]

The payment of rents by the priories

As has been suggested above, from their foundation both priories had to rely on grants made in return for secular services as well as gifts made free from all temporal conditions. While it is true that the majority of grants received by the canons were made in free, pure and perpetual alms for which no secular service was required, a substantial minority of grantors did demand such services. The priories

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1. Bullington may well have fared better in this respect than Alvingham. Most of the priory's donors were tenants of the Kymes and when in 1256 William of Kyme, in a general confirmation of all the lands that the priory held of his fee, acquitted the canons of 'all things and exactions, suits of court and demands and from all services and customs, pleas and incidents and from all kinds of forinsec service' the great majority of Bullington's properties must then, even if they had not been before, have been held totally free of secular services. (CGH., pp.91-2).

made annual payments in every vill where they had a substantial holding for both lands and also for mills and nativi. Rents could, however, be of a number of different types, ranging from the wholly nominal to the truly economic rent. An annual payment, for example, of a half penny could be paid (as it was by Alvingham to Thorald and William Mancelot for land in Grainthorpe) as a quit-rent, a nominal recognition by the donee of the tenure.[1] Such a small sum might be the only recognition of a sale of the land; the creation of a nominal tenure in return for an unstated lump sum.[2] These nominal rents, however, shade imperceptibly into economic rents, fixed by supply and demand, and it is often difficult, and sometimes impossible, to distinguish between the two. Though in the majority of cases it might be stated that the grant was made in alms, it is clear that in essentials it was a grant made in fee farm.[3] That there was no real difference between grants explicitly made in fee farm and those elemosinary grants which demanded a money rent is demonstrated by two charters of Roger of Midley, in which he granted two bovates in Keddington to Alvingham. The charters are almost identical and are entered consecutively in the cartulary. The first made the grant in perpetuam elemosinam and demanded the payment of an annual rent of 10s. for all services, while the second granted the land in feudo firmam et elemosinam.[4] For convenience a rather crude

1. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.100^{v} (late twelfth century).
2. Pollock and Maitland, op.cit., i.29.
3. For fee farms in general see B.F. Harvey, 'Abbot Gervase de Blois and the Fee Farms of Westminster Abbey', B.I.H.R., xl (1967), 127-38 passim.
4. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.123^{v} (third quarter twelfth century).

division of these grants into those where the rent was economic and those where the rent was nominal or, at least, relatively small will be made.

Grants for economic rents

It is difficult to distinguish between rents which were economic and those which were not. In cases where the sum paid was large or the property of considerable importance, a mill for example, an economic rent can probably be assumed. Equally where an annual payment of only one penny was required it is likely that the sum represented a nominal rent. Difficulty lies in ascertaining the status of rents that lie between these extremes. Moreover, even when a large property was conveyed to the priories for rent it is hard to determine whether or not that rent was economic. A beneficial rent might have been charged to a religious house, or the rent might have been lowered because a large down payment was made when the grant was made. One possible method of determining whether an economic rent was being paid is to compare it with the estimated income from land in free tenure that is given in royal inquisitions, especially inquisitions post mortem. These figures are, however, of dubious validity.[1]

Extended incomes were always notoriously low and could vary greatly. Income from mills in Lincolnshire during the thirteenth century recorded in Inquisitions post mortem, for example, varied from between 10s. and £6 13s 4d. The highest valuation of demesne arable in the county during this period

1. See on this subject E.A. Kosminsky, Studies in the Agrarian History of England in the Thirteenth Century, ed. R.H. Hilton (Oxford, 1956), pp. 58-63.

was 1s 4d, but it was much more usual for such land to be valued at 6d or 8d. Meadow was more highly prized and could be valued as highly as 3s 6d an acre, though in 1288 meadow in vills around Alvingham was said to be worth between 10d and 18d an acre. Not only are the figures themselves likely to be inaccurate, but there are few inquisitions relating to vills where Alvington or Bullington paid rent for their lands. Most of the Lincolnshire inquisitions also date from the end of the thirteenth century or beyond, after the priories had received most of their land. Thus there is little correlation in either time or place between the payments recorded in the charters of the priories and the incomes from free land given in the inquisitions. Nevertheless, the figures given in local inquisitions, if used with care, can provide some yardstick by which to measure the nature of the rents paid by the priories.

As suggested above, all grants for which the services demanded a money rent can be regarded as grants in fee farm. Only in a few instances, however, is the grant explicitly so described. In nearly every case these explicit fee farms were of comparatively large holdings, and the rents demanded were more than nominal, at least at the time when the grants were made. Such grants in fee farm included mills, meadow and large holdings of arable. The smallest grant made specifically in fee farm was of a toft in Little Cawthorpe granted by Ralph son of Tamar for 6d. per annum.[1]

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.148 (early thirteenth century?)

Grants made in return for economic rents can be analysed in a number of ways. Here, the nature and size of the holdings that were so granted, the geographical context of these holdings and the social status of the grantors will be considered.

The priories showed particular willingness to make money payments for certain types of property. Mills were, perhaps, the most important, and for these rents tended to be highest. Mills were substantial sources of income, so important indeed that the Cistercians were in theory forbidden to hold them. No such restrictions affected the Gilbertines. In Cockerington, Alvingham had an interest in two of them, both water mills upon the river Ludena. Since the mill was always an appurtenance of a manor, members of the peasantry are never found as grantors; in Cockerington the donors were Robert, son of Gilbert of Tathwell, and William of Friston. Robert granted a mill in perpetual fee farm to be held of him and his wife for an annual payment of 20s. After their death the priory was to hold of the neighbouring Cistercian nunnery of Legbourne for the same rent. This charge was later, in 1317, quitclaimed to the priory by Beatrix, the prioress of Legbourne, pro tempore elapso and for 72 years in the future. It appears that Alvingham had been backward in its payments, which may have lapsed after the death of the donors, and that it was now making a substantial lump sum repayment.[1] William of Friston granted two thirds of his

1. Ibid., ff.62, 83, 85 (late twelfth century).

mill in Cockerington in fee farm for 10s. annual rent, the free milling of the corn of his demesne and two 'presents' at Easter and Christmas. John, his son and heir, later quitclaimed the payment of the presents in return for two marks and an additional rent of two shillings per annum.[1] A mill was granted in perpetual fee farm in Swinehop by Simon de Chaunci, who also granted the mill house, 20 acres of arable, a meadow, a holm and license to move and rebuild the mill wherever the canons wished 'beyond the bridge to the west'. The rent here, as in the case of the mill at Cockerington, was 20s. per annum.[2]

Bullington held more mills than Alvingham, including those at Hackthorn, Redbourne and Ingham: all vills where the priory had a large estate. Only for two mills, however, is it certain that the priory made money payments. Roger of Midley gave a mill at Hemingby, together with half of the 'demesne toft' of his father next to the mill (presumably the mill house) and his meadow in Milnecroft, next to the mill. The only service owed by Bullington for this holding was the performance of forinsec service owed by Roger to Jordan Tison.[3] The mill at Harmston was held jointly by Bullington and St. Katherine's priory, Lincoln, but the rent

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.65-65^{v} (mid twelfth century). The site of another mill was given in fee farm in Somercotes by William, son of William of Somercotes. Here the service appears to have been limited to the milling of 10 measures of his grain at the mill. This comparatively low rent is presumably because only the site of the mill was given (Ibid., f.90^{v}).
2. Ibid., f.145b^{v}.
3. DC., no. 52 (third quarter twelfth century).

in this case was in no way an economic rent, for the two priories were only bound by Hawise, the daughter of Philip I of Kyme, to pay jointly to William de Sees an annual rent of a pound of pepper.[1] The grant of a mill on the Bain at Donnington by Lucy of Benniworth at the end of the twelfth century may also have included a money payment, since the confirmation charter of Lucy's son, Roger, stated only that it was given in perpetuam elemosinam, rather than in pure and perpetual alms.[2] At none of these three places where Bullington held mills is the priory known to have held any other property; mills were the easiest form of property for a religious house to administer in the absence of a grange. They would rarely, if ever, be staffed by a lay brother but by a hired and skilful servant, the miller. They needed no attention apart from the upkeep of their buildings and they provided a steady income. It is probably for these reasons, as well as because of the undoubted profitability of such property, that the canons were prepared to pay substantial rents, and also, in the case of Bullington, to hold mills in distant vills where they had no other property.

Meadow was another type of holding that was at a premium and the priories were prepared to pay a high price for such land. In Conisholme the nucleus of Alvingham's holding was a valuable daila of meadow that Harold son of Robert sold to the priory for the very large sum of 30 marks and an annual

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1. Harl.Chart., 52.G 44 (late twelfth century). For the difference between land held in alms and pure alms see above p. 97. St. Katherine's priory was also a Gilbertine house.
2. Addit. MS.6118, p.720.

rent of one mark.[1] It is significant that in this vill Alvingham paid rent for meadow alone. In the neighbouring vill of Somercotes annual rents totalling 3s 6d. were paid for meadow but only 12d. per annum was paid for a messuage and unspecified amounts of arable.[2]

Early in the thirteenth century Alvingham acquired over 16 acres of meadow in Cockerington from Thomas de Scoteni for the comparatively low rent of 20d. per annum. This land was especially desirable as it lay next to meadow already held by the priory.[3] Alvingham possessed rougher grazing land on its estate at Reedness in Swinefleet on the Humber, the most distant property held by the priory. Here there was a large expanse of moor in which many religious houses of both Lincolnshire and Yorkshire had interests. Considerable grants of land here were made to Alvingham at the end of the twelfth century, and for all of them rent was required, though most of these payments were later remitted to the priory by the donors' descendants. Their largest single holding on the moor was held of the abbey of St. Mary's, York, for an annual rent of 2s.[4] The importance of this area lay not only in its value as grazing land but also as a source of peat, an asset well illustrated by William son of Norman's quitclaim to the priory of all rights he had in his moor of

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.92 (late twelfth century). After three generations all this rent had been remitted; 16d. by Harold himself, 12d. by his son Gilbert and finally two releases of 12d. and 10s. by his grandson Thomas (Ibid., f.92-92^{v}).
2. Ibid., f.91.
3. Ibid., f.61 (early thirteenth century). It is of course possible that a down payment was also made at the time of the transaction.
4. Ibid., ff. 164-165^{v}. Some of these charters are printed in CGH., 111-3.

digging and lifting 20,000 turves every year.[1]

Bullington appears to have had less grazing land of good quality, and there are only two examples of the priory making money payments for meadow alone. Walter of Buslingthorp, Fredesant his wife, Bertram, his son and heir, and his other heirs granted a meadow in Faldingworth to be held in fee farm at an annual rent of 6s. For this grant the brethren 'considering his need and goodwill towards them' gave Walter two marks, his wife a cow and his son 16d. to buy hose. They also granted the family rights of confraternity pro amore Dei et negotii causa. This charter must date from soon after the foundation of the priory, since it is called by the name of Lindeleia which was soon dropped in favour of that of Bullington.[2] Towards the end of the thirteenth century the canons received meadow in Ley marsh on condition that the house performed the forinsec service due from this land.[3]

Other grants for economic rents tended to be of comparatively large holdings, often measured in bovates. In Alvingham Cunan of Welton gave all the holding of one of his unfree tenants for ½ mark per annum.[4] At about the same time Geoffrey of Welton granted the land and persons of four of his nativi for an annual payment of 9s. 10d.[5] He also confirmed

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1. Ibid., f.166^{v}.
2. Addit.MS6118, p.735. This charter must date from soon after the foundation of the priory since it is called Lindeleia, a name which was soon dropped in favour of that of Bullington (see above, p. 13).
3. Harl.Chart., 57 A 42.
4. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.12a^{v} (late twelfth century).
5. Ibid., f.12b.

the grants made by the family of Dued, his tenants, to be held of him in fee farm for an annual payment of 3s. 8¾d.[1] This included the earlier demise in fee farm by Thorald son of Dued and his son Gilbert of the great Daila (enclosed meadow) of Dued for 16d. per annum.

The largest grant in fee farm made to Alvingham was that of Osbert, son of Robert Walbert, who gave all his demesne in Wold Newton, together with 15 acres of meadow in Fulstow which the priory held of him, and all the labour services that pertained to his fee in Newton. The annual payment was fixed at two marks per annum and Osbert further promised that if God inspired him to demise in fee farm, to sell or to give in alms any more of his fee in Newton or Fulstow, then it would be demised to the brethren of Alvingham. It would appear that Osbert honoured this pledge, for the next charter in the cartulary contains his grant of a bovate in Newton for an annual payment of 3s. and forinsec service. Since the brethren had given him 33s., 'that is, the farm of 11 years', he declared that they would be quit of further payments until 1183.[2] In the same vill the canons received a toft and bovate holding from Henry, count of Brittany, for an annual rent of ½ mark and rights of confraternity, and for a further payment of 5s. annual rent the priory gained an unspecified amount of land and a toft from

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1. Ibid., f.14. This charter contains an interesting reference to the actual payment of the rent, which was to be paid to Geoffrey's servant in Alvingham during the week before St. Botulph's day (17 June; for obvious reasons a common day for the payment of dues in Lincolnshire).
2. Ibid., f.148.

Ralph of Grainsby.[1]

The highest rent paid by Bullington appears to have been for land granted by Muriel, the widow of Hugh Pumfol, in the late twelfth century. In return for 20s. per annum she gave all her lands and rents in Newton and Toft. When she married again her new husband, Benedict Nehed, confirmed this grant but increased the rent to 60s. for as long as his wife should live.[2] Other payments by Bullington were usually made for land in vills where the canons had a substantial estate. In Faldingworth Philip I of Kyme granted two bovates and two tofts for an annual rent of 18d., and in Ingham he gave 2½ bovates and a toft for a besant or 2s. per annum.[3] His tenant, Peter of Beckering, demanded an annual payment of 3s. for two bovates and tofts in Beckering, though this payment was later quitclaimed to the priory by his son, Simon.[4] In Winthorpe the priory was given 30 acres called Tonlande by Ralph, son of Magnus of Burgh. The priory was to pay the donor 2s. for as long as he should live or until he became a religious, and 5s. were to be paid to the grantor's lord.[5]

It seems clear from the cases cited in the preceding paragraphs that the canons were only prepared to hold property that was of especial value or which constituted a relatively large holding. It is clear, moreover, that the canons would

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1. Ibid., ff.150^{v} (pre-1183), 149^{v}.
2. DC., no.86; Addit.MS.6118, p.784. On Muriel's death the priory was presumably to hold the land freely.
3. DC., nos. 20, 59 (third quarter twelfth century).
4. Ibid., no.7; Addit.MS.6118, p.770.
5. DC., no. 112 (third quarter twelfth century).

not normally make payments for land in vills where they did not intend to develop a grange. The highest rent paid by Bullington for land in a vill where the priory did not possess a grange was in Lissington, where Hugh de Neville granted land that he had bought from a local tenant for 11s. per annum, a large sum in the essentially small scale of the priory's transactions. There was a large estate of Lincoln cathedral in the vill, which lies close to Bullington, and it may have been intended to establish a grange here, but because of the competition of the cathedral in the land market the venture was probably doomed to failure from the beginning, especially since Hugh's grant, probably made in the 1220s, came rather late.[1] Money payments by Alvingham for land in vills where the priory did not have a grange are also insignificant in both their number and scale. A typical example of such a payment is that made to a free peasant in Skidbrook of 10d. per annum for half of a toft, together with its house, two acres and some meadow.[2] There is also a little evidence to suggest that the canons were prepared to pay rent for land that enabled them to consolidate their grange properties. Certainly the meadow that the canons of Alvingham held of Thomas de Scoteni in Cockerington adjoined meadow that they already held, and Peter of Beckering's grant of two tofts and bovates in Beckering was adjacent to land already held by the brethren of Bullington.[3] The descriptions of other properties held by the priories are not,

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1. Harl.Chart., 54 B 14.
2. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.89 (early thirteenth century?).
3. Ibid., f.61; DC., no.7.

however, sufficiently detailed to prove whether consolidation was a common motive for the acceptance of land burdened with money rents.

Finally it should be noted that almost all of the grantors who demised land to the priories for money rents rank among the lesser gentry or above. Only such men had their own mills or meadow to grant away, and they alone were in a position to grant consolidated holdings of land for which the priories were prepared to pay rent.

Nominal Rents

As has already been suggested, the borderline between economic and nominal rents is very ill-defined. Rents that were fully economic (or were so at the time of the grant, even though, as land values rose, they became very uneconomic) shade into rents that were beneficial to the grantee and then into the fully nominal.

The majority of nominal rents owed by the priories seem to have been quitrents, that is, small rents paid for the quittance of tenurial obligations. Typical of these is Philip Blakeman's quitclaim of all his rights in two acres of meadow in Trusthorpe, given by his tenant, William le Franceis, for an annual payment of 1d., or Brian of Welton's quitclaim of his rights in $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow sold to the priory by his tenant, Roger Broclaus, for $\frac{1}{2}$d. per annum.[1]

The largest collection of such grants for quitrents relate to small parcels of land conveyed to Alvingham by free peasants in Grainthorpe and other vills close to Alvingham at

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, ff.32^{V}, 96. For further examples see ff.90, 92^{V}.

the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries. In nearly every case the grantor had himself received the property from another (usually a brother or other close relative) and a quitrent had been demanded for the grant. When the land was transferred to the priory the canons were made responsible for the payment of this rent. From the wording of the charters it seems clear that it was recognised that the original grantee would assign the land to the priory, and in two cases there is no doubt. Thorald and William Mancelot granted to Hugh Hopscort, his heirs and assigns their marsh in Grainthorpe for an annual rent of ½d. while the same Thorald granted land in the same vill to his kinsman, Thomas, son of Robert Mancelot, his heirs and 'he to whom the grantee wished to assign the land' for 2d. per annum. Both the grantees then granted the land to Alvingham.[1]

There are only two examples of a nominal cash sum being paid as a quitrent by Bullington. Thomas, son of Richard of Cambridge, granted his capital messuage in Ingham to the priory. For this land annual rents of 6d. had to be paid to William of Kyme and his heirs, 4d. to the heirs of William of Randeby and ½d. to Robert Brito, all of whom had some interest in Thomas' holding.[2] Occasionally a payment of pepper or cumin was required of the canons as a quitrent. Two examples of this form of quitrent are contained in the charters of Alvingham and one in those of Bullington.

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, ff.100^{v}, 101, 108.
2. Harl.Chart., 47 G 24 (mid thirteenth century).

Alvingham received six acres of arable and six perches of moor in Reedness from Reiner of Waxham, on condition that they rendered an annual service of half a pound of pepper to Robert son of Holdewin who had granted the land to Reiner. This payment was later quitclaimed to the priory by Robert's great-grandson, Thomas.[1] The other pepper rent was paid by Alvingham to John de Neville, the chief lord, for four bovates and five tofts granted to the priory by William Longspée, earl of Salisbury. In 1256 this rent was quit-claimed to the priory by the chief lord in return for the grant of confraternity rights.[2] Bullington paid a quitrent of a pound of pepper to William de Sees for his mill in Harmstone.[3]

The examples cited above are of payments to be made to the grantors' lords or to others with an interest in the land. Other small sums were sometimes demanded by the grantors themselves. The most likely explanation of these payments is that they were recognition rents, payable in the case of lands that changed hands by sale and purchase. No mention of the payment of a lump sum is made and only the small rent, exacted in order to maintain some tenurial connection between the grantor and the priory, remains as indication

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1. CGH., pp. 112-3 (late twelfth century). In the latter part of the thirteenth century the price of pepper varied between 7d. and 1s 6d. per pound, the average price being around 1s. Cumin was cheaper, at about 2d. per pound (J.E.T. Rogers, A History of Agriculture and Prices in England (Oxford, 1866), i. 627, 631.
2. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.142-142^{v} (c.1218).
3. Harl.Chart., 52 G 44 (late twelfth century).

of a sale. Two grants by Philip I of Kyme in favour of Bullington probably fall within this category. For two bovates and two tofts in Faldingworth he required 18d. per annum and forinsec service, while for 2½ bovates and a toft in Ingham 2s. or one besant was the annual rent. Compared with rents charged by the priory when it demised similar property these rents are low, and while it is possible that Philip, the founder of the priory, was charging a beneficial low rent, it is more likely that in these cases his grants were, in fact, sales.[1]

Bullington was granted an unspecified amount of land in Burgh-le-Marsh that the grantor had purchased from his cousins, for the annual payment of one pound of cumin.[2] In Lincoln Bullington received land next to the barra regis from Mathew, the clerk of Lincoln, for an annual payment to himself, his daughter, Hysoda, and their heirs of a pound of pepper.[3] Both these cases probably represent a sale of land to the canons.

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1. DC., nos. 20,59 (third quarter twelfth century). For further examples of low rents paid by Bullington see Ibid., nos. 7,112; Addit.MS.6118, p.770. The Hotot cartulary, dating from the first half of the thirteenth century, contains a list of purchases made by Richard Hotot in Clopton (Northants) and elsewhere and details the services he owed for land that he held in that vill. From these entries it is clear that in every case where he paid a nominal rent for property he had paid considerable sums as purchase price. Thus from the nuns of the Gilbertine priory of Chicksand he purchased 18 acres of land for 18 marks and paid them an annual rent of a pound of pepper or 12d. (B.L., Addit.MS.54228, ff.2^{v}, 4^{v}). I am indebted to Professor P.D.A. Harvey for this information.
2. Harl.Chart., 54 A 11 (early thirteenth century).
3. DC., no. 72 (early thirteenth century).

Only a few instances of this type of nominal rent are known from the charters of Alvingham. The following may serve as examples of grants for which a down payment and small annual rent was probably required. Robert de Alneto manumitted a nativa and her daughter and granted her service to the priory for an annual rent of 1d. It is probable that in this case the canons paid for her manumission.[1] Two free peasants in Yarborough granted land they had gained in exchange with another peasant to the priory for an annual rent of 1d., and in 1261 a widow of Yarborough quitclaimed her dower rights in 12 acres of arable, in return for the annual payment of two quarters of corn.[2]

Leases to the priories

Leases to the priories for a term of years are so few as to be of negligible importance in their history. No leases by Alvingham survive and only one by Bullington is known. In 1230 John, son of Alan of Newland, granted all his meadow in Aldezland (Burgh-le-Marsh) to Bullington for 10 years, for an annual payment of 12d. and an initial payment of six marks. After the 10 years had elapsed the priory were to hold the land freely in perpetuity. This lease, probably the result of the grantor's indebtedness, was confirmed by the donor's mother in her widowhood, but this time for a term of 16 years. For this confirmation she received a small corrody of wheat.[3]

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.144 (late twelfth century).
2. Ibid., ff.116a (mid thirteenth century), 114v.
3. Harl.Chart., 54 C 19; Cott.Chart., xxviii, 11.

It is possible that records of leases were not kept by the priories after the term of years had expired, or even that leases were not made by written instrument at all. Either the property was returned or the houses received a perpetual grant of the land, the record of which transaction would be kept rather than that of the original lease. Survival of charters relating to grants in perpetuity rather than those relating to leases may, therefore, account for the almost total dominance of the grants in perpetuity. It may also be true that the priories actively discouraged the acquisition of property for a term of years. Certainly it would be difficult to assimilate such grants into a grange system.

Conclusion

This account of the rents paid by the priories has not been comprehensive. It has not described every payment made for the canons for every property for which such returns were demanded. Rather it has attempted to illustrate the type of property for which rents were required and paid and to distinguish between the various forms such rents could take.

Both Alvingham and Bullington were paying rent for some of their lands from an early date, but although the canons were prepared and perhaps obliged, because of a need to augment their estates, to pay annual sums for some of their holdings, they did not pursue a clearly defined policy in such acquisitions. Some types of property were more desirable than others and for these, such as mills and meadows, the

canons were prepared to pay a higher price.

Though the sums paid and the property obtained in this way cannot be ignored, the total amounts of land and money involved were not large and it would not appear that the annual expenditure on rents was ever a serious drain upon the priories' resources.[1]

These grants, though comparatively small in number, do show that there was a clear cash nexus between the priories and some of their grantors. Since it was sometimes difficult for the priories to acquire land, especially those kinds of land that were most profitable, even those who demised such land to them for an economic rent were doing the canons a good service and could therefore be regarded as benefactors as well as those who gave land free of all but spiritual service.

Most of the grants which have been discussed above were made in alms; spiritual services and advantages for the donor and his family were expected in respect of them and the payment of a money rent in no way diminished the spiritual benefits accruing to the donor and his family or the spiritual services incumbent upon the donee. Grants could include both demands for money payments and specific spiritual services as, for example, in the sale and grant in fee farm by Walter of Buslingthorpe in favour of Bullington, in which the priory granted him and his family confraternity rights pro

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1. Between 1244 and 1257 less than 3% of Malton's total expenditure went on the payment of rents (R.Graham, 'The Finance of Malton Priory, 1244-57', Trans.Roy.Hist.Soc., new series xviii (1904) appendix II following p.156.

amore Dei et hujus negotii causa.[1] Henry, count of Brittany, received confraternity rights when he granted a toft and bovate in Newton-le-Wold to Alvingham for half a mark per annum.[2] Roger de Millei gave Alvingham his mill at Keddington as a dowry gift when his daughter, Andrina, was received as a nun, but he still stipulated than an annual rent of 6s. should be paid.[3] Spiritual favours such as confraternity rights or burial could also be 'bought' in exchange for secular services. Such an exchange was made explicit when John, the grandson of Geoffrey of Welton, remitted to Alvingham the rent of 9s. 10d. they used to pay for his grandfather's grant of land and nativi in return for the grant of confraternity to himself, his wife and heirs in compensacione temporalium.[4] Stephen of Irford quitclaimed to the priory the payment due for a grant made by his father; in return he received the right to burial at the priory.[5] The payment of a money rent, therefore, in no way undermined or negated the intangible ties created between the benefactor and the religious house.

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1. Addit.MS.6118. p.735. See above, p. 117. This feature of these grants is discussed in more detail below pp. 349-50.
2. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.150^{v} (pre-1183).
3. Ibid., f.123^{v}.
4. Ibid., f.32^{v}. See below, p. 350.
5. Ibid., f.76^{v}.

CHAPTER III

THE PRIORIES AND THEIR CHURCHES

Income and Value

It is clear from the assessment of ecclesiastical income for the Valuation of Norwich in 1254 that Alvingham and Bullington were already receiving a very considerable portion of their total income from their spiritualia. The Malton cartulary gives two sets of figures that are both stated to be assessments for this Valuation. These figures differ considerably from each other, one being much lower than the other.[1]

The lower Valuation shows that eight of the thirteen Gilbertine houses whose incomes are recorded derived more than half of their total income from their spiritualia. Bullington obtained £48 14s. 8d. (60%) out of a total income of £81 18s. 4d. from its churches, while Alvingham gained £32 13s. 4d. (62%) out of a total income of £52 18s. 4d. The proportion of total income provided by the spiritualia as given in the higher valuation is much lower, but even according to these figures Alvingham received £56 13s. 4d (51%)

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1. B.L. Cott.Claud.D xi. f.278. The higher set of figures were used by Dr. W. Lunt in his study of the Valuation while the lower assessment was used by Miss R. Graham in her study of the finances of Malton priory. Neither seem to have recognised the existence of the other figures entered on the same folio of the cartulary. One possible explanation of the discrepancy is that the lower set of figures represents the Order's own assessment of income (it is styled an estimacio in the cartulary) while the higher figures represent the assessments made by the official valuers in 1254. (W.E. Lunt, The Valuation of Norwich (Oxford, 1926), p.518; R. Graham, 'The Finances of Malton Priory, 1244-1257', Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc., new series xviii (1904), 151.

from a total of £110 10s.8½d. and Bullington £100 (51%) from a total of £196 3s. 6d. in income from their churches.

The assessment figures for the Taxation of pope Nicholas IV in 1291 shew that both priories continued to derive much of their income from their churches. Bullington obtained £142 19s. 4d. (56%) out of a total of £252 7s. 6½d. from its spiritualia, while the income obtained from the same source by Alvingham fell to £43 6s. 8d. (28%) out of a total of £121 9s. 8½d. These figures are, of course, subject to all the criticisms that can be made of medieval tax assessments, but they do provide some indication of the relative importance of the possession of churches in the economy of both priories.[1] The importance of the spiritualia continued until the Dissolution, for in 1536 Alvingham was still deriving nearly 30% and Bullington nearly 60% of its income from churches.[2]

The possession of churches was doubly important for the canons. On the one hand the income provided by tithes and other 'spiritual' sources after appropriation could be considerable, and on the other the gift of even the advowson of a church was usually accompanied by the grant of the glebe land of the parish. Such land could be extensive and it was often sited close to the church in a compact holding. As

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1. Taxatio, passim.
The veracity of the Taxatio was assessed by Miss Graham who concluded that there was considerable underassessment in 1291 compared with the true values of the spiritualia (R. Graham 'The Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV', Eng. Hist. Rev., xxiii (1908), 434-54 passim.
2. Val. Eccles, iv.58 (Alvingham), 84 (Bullington).

such the glebe was frequently used as the nucleus of a grange.[1] It is the high economic value of the churches that underlies the canons' concern to acquire them, and which explains the frequent litigation to which both canons and laity resorted in order to protect their rights to them.

The donation of the churches

By the end of the thirteenth century Alvingham had interests in seven churches. Of these, Alvingham, St. Mary's, Cockerington, St. Leonard's, Cockerington, Keddington and Stainton-le-Vale (where the canons held two-thirds of the church) were appropriated to the priory, while at Yarborough and Grainthorpe only the advowson was held, though the latter church was appropriated in 1448. The priory had also been granted the advowson of Wold Newton, but had failed to make good this claim against Durham cathedral. Bullington held more than twice as many churches as did Alvingham. Nine of them, Bullington, Langton, West Torrington, Burgh-le-Marsh, Winthorpe, Spridlington, Prestwold and a moiety of Friskney and Hackthorn were appropriated to the canons by 1300, and in 1311 Ingham was added to their number. The priory also held the advowsons of Oxcombe, Hameringham, South Reston and one-third of Fulnetby, and for a short while had unsuccessful claim to the advowsons of Tetford and Bilborough.

By the thirteenth century the distinction between

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1. For the glebe as nucleus of the grange see above, pp. 40-42.

possessing the advowson of a church and possessing the church ad proprios usus was clear.[1] In the former case the possessor had only the right to present a candidate to the living to the bishop for ordination and had no right to the income of the church. In some circumstances, however, the possessor of the advowson could impose the payment of an annual pension upon the rector. This represents a situation midway between the possession of the advowson and full appropriation. The appropriator had a right to all the income from the church including the glebe land, the greater and lesser tithes and all offerings made to the church.

During the twelfth century, the period during which most of the churches in which Alvingham and Bullington had an interest were acquired by the canons, there was considerable ambiguity between these types of possession. When a twelfth-century donor gave a 'church' it was far from clear how much of the 'church' the donee would end by possessing. The donee might manage to gain control over the tithes and offerings, that is, full appropriation, but it might only be possible to hold the glebe land or gain the right to a pension and presentment. At the same time the twelfth century saw a great increase in the number of donations of churches to the religious from lay patrons, which gave rise to fears that the priests serving these churches were subject to exploitation

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1. On the theory and practice of appropriations see G.W.O. Addleshaw, Rectors, Vicars and Patrons in Twelfth and early Thirteenth Century Canon Law (St. Anthony's Hall Publications, 9, 1956), passim.

by their new masters. As a result full appropriations of churches became increasingly difficult and subject to diocesan and papal control. In 1102 Anselm forbade monks from taking so much of the revenue from their churches that there was not enough left for the maintenance of the priests. There are a number of individual instances throughout the twelfth century in which bishops stipulated that the priest should be adequately provided for, but it was only at the end of the century that reforming bishops made any systematic attempt to regulate the possession of churches by the religious. They enjoined that the appropriator or rector should ordain a suitable payment in cash or kind, the vicarage, for the maintenance of the vicar, the priest appointed by the rector to serve the church, who should be a perpetual appointment, that is, an appointment until death, resignation or deprivation. Such ordinations of vicarages had to be formally sanctioned by the diocesan bishop.[1]

During this period of transition, when bishops were gradually extending their control over parish churches and the nature of rights to churches was being defined, it is often hard to determine the nature of the donations of churches made to the priories. This difficulty is illustrated by the confirmation charter of Geoffrey, bishop-elect of Lincoln (1175-1181) in favour of Bullington. This lists twelve churches that the prior had ad proprios usus eorum possidendos. This

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1. Twelfth century developments are considered by M. Brett, The English Church under Henry I (Oxford, 1975), pp.230-233 and C.R. Cheney, From Becket to Langton: English Church Government, 1170-1213 (Manchester, 1956), pp. 121-125, 133-136.

implies that appropriation of the churches had already taken place. Of these churches, however, Hameringham was never formally appropriated, Ingham was not appropriated until 1310 and the canons' claim to the church of Tetford was never made good.[1] Even by the late-twelfth century, therefore, terms of appropriation were still being used very loosely.

The remainder of this section will describe the canons' acquisition of their churches, but the questions of appropriations, episcopal control and the creation of vicarages will be considered in the following section.[2]

The churches of Alvingham and Cockerington St. Mary (which lay in the same churchyard) were probably granted to the priory at, or very shortly after, its foundation by the local lords, who were together responsible for that foundation. The advowson of St. Adelwold, Alvingham was held jointly by Hamelin the dean, who served the church and who held three-quarters of the church, and Roger, son of Jocelin, the brother of Gilbert of Sempringham, who held the other quarter. Their grants were probably made at the same time as they endowed the priory with land in the vill.[3] St. Mary's, Cockerington also appears to have been held jointly by two lay patrons. William of Friston granted the church to the priory and his gift was confirmed by Robert, bishop of Lincoln (1148-66). Hugh de Scoteni, with the assent of his wife and son and heir,

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1. DC., no. 4.
2. See below, pp.152-66.
3. Laud Misc. MS. 642, f.12a^{v}.

granted his share of a third of St. Mary's constituta in illo loco ubi idem conventus manet, together with all its appurtenances and the land that his tenants had given to the church. He also gave the church of St. Leonards, Cockerington to the canons.[1] Some time between 1186 and 1200 Lambert de Scoteni, the son of Hugh, gave his share (two thirds) of the advowson of Stainton-le-Vale.[2]

The donors of the churches so far considered have all claims to be regarded as the founders of the priory, and it is probable that these churches were given at the time when the priory was founded.[3] The other churches were granted by local lords who, though not themselves founders, proved themselves generous benefactors of the priory. Geoffrey of Keddington gave the church of St. Margaret's, Keddington and confirmed to the priory all the grants that had been made to the parish church, both from his own demesne and also from the land of his tenants, scilicet de singulus bovatis una acra, dimidia ex una parte ville et dimidia acra ex alia.[4] Professor Stenton cited this charter as evidence for the communal endowment of churches by the entire vill, both lord and free peasants being involved in the foundation.[5] Keddington is one of the few vills in this area where a church was recorded in 1086, but it would appear from Geoffrey's charter that its

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1. Ibid., f.60. Hugh probably died c.1155.
2. Ibid., f. 4^{v}. This charter is repeated on f.143^{v} but here the whole church was given and the rubric to the entry reads Idem Lambertus dat nobis totam ecclesiam de Stainton. There is no other evidence that the priory ever held the advowson of the whole church.
3. For these benefactors as founders see above, pp. 8-10.
4. Laud Misc. MS. 642, f.122.
5. DC., p. lxxi.

endowment was primarily made in the second half of the twelfth century. The grant of the church glebe lands here, amounting, it would seem, to at least a fifteenth of the total arable in the vill, must have provided a substantial nucleus for the creation of the canons' grange at Keddington, and suggests that the acquisition of glebe land may have been just as important in the priory's economy as the acquisition, through appropriation, of the tithes pertaining to the rectory[1] Between 1148 and 1166 St. Helen's, Cawthorpe was given by Amfrid of Legbourne when his daughter was received into the house, together with a considerable grant of land in the vill to increase the brethren's grange that lay to the east and north of the church. He also confirmed the lands that his rustici had granted to the church.[2]

In the middle of the twelfth century the advowson of St. Peter's, Wold Newton , was also granted to Alvingham by Walter Bec when his daughters were received into the house.[3] In spite of Walter's clear statement in his charter that he had obtained the confirmation of Henry II for this grant, there is no evidence that the canons ever presented a clerk to the living of Newton. In 1235 a fine was made between the bishop and prior of Durham and Walter Bec's heir in which the Bec family acknowledged the rights of the bishop of Durham to the advowson, and contemporary episcopal registers show that the cathedral presented to the church without a break during this

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1. See above, p.41.
2. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.136.
3. Ibid., f.147.

period.[1] The reason for the failure of Alvingham to make this grant good is not far to seek. In 1086 the bishop of Durham held nearly 1½ carucates of land in the vill and there was already a church on this manor.[2] The Becs held many estates of the bishop and were amongst his most promiment lay officials.[3] It is hardly surprising, therefore, that in spite of Walter Bec's gift to the canons the bishop was able to retain his hold over the village church.

Two other churches were not acquired by Alvingham until the thirteenth century: Yarborough and Grainthorpe. The history of the advowson of Yarborough, and the struggle by Alvingham to maintain its hold over it, reveals how complex an issue the possession of an advowson was, and how much litigation such possession could provoke. In the late-twelfth century Brian of Brittany was enfeoffed by Conan IV, count of Brittany (1146-1171) with eight librates of land in Yarborough and Grainthorpe together with the advowson of Yarborough. Brian had two sons, Ralph and Alan.[4] In 1190 Ralph's possession of the advowsons of Yarborough and Grainthorpe was contested by Brian, son of Hamelin the dean, and in a final concord Brian conceded the right of Ralph to the advowson of Yarborough.[5] Ralph died without issue and was succeeded by

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1. Final Concords, i.293. For presentations see, e.g., Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, 1235-1253, ed. F.N. Davis (Lincoln Record Society, xi, 1914), p.95; Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend, diocesis Lincolniensis, 1258-1279, ed. F.N. Davis and others (Lincoln Record Society, xx, 1925), pp.79,87.
2. Lincolnshire Domesday, p.31.
3. C.M. Fraser, A History of Antony Bek, bishop of Durham, 1283-1311 (Oxford, 1957), pp. 4-8.
4. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.110^{v} margin.
5. Ibid., parchment sewn onto f.120^{v}.

Alan his brother who presented his chaplain, William, son of Jordan of Brackenburgh, to the living in 1219 after Robert, a chaplain, had unsuccessfully claimed that he had been appointed to a vicarage in the church worth 30 shillings per annum.[1] Possession of the advowson then passed to Alan, son of Walter of Couton. It is unclear how it came into his possession, though it has been suggested that Walter of Couton married the only daughter and heiress of Alan, son of Brian.[2] On the death of William the priest in 1263 Alan presented Thomas of Preston to the living, but Alan's right to half the advowson was contested by Richard, son of John of Yarborough. In a final concord Richard recognised Alan's rights in return for a payment of 40 shillings.[3] Richard's son, however, continued to claim the advowson against Alan, who was obliged to pay him 25 marks for his quitclaim. This stated that he renounced all rights in the church that he had whether by reason of the grant of the advowson to himself by Brian of Geoffrey, sons of Hamelin, or their heirs, or by the grant of any holdings granted to him or his ancestors by Brian or Geoffrey, or because of any other of his acquisitions from the same grantors. He further promised that if any case was brought by Brian or Geoffrey's heirs concerning the advowson, he would defend the case at his own expense.[4] These

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1. Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, 1209-1235, ed. W.P.W. Phillimore, F.N. Davis and H.E. Salter (3 vols., Lincoln Record Society, iii, vi, ix, 1912-14), i.85.
2. R.C. Dudding, 'Yarborough' AASRP, xli (1932) 29. Alan held half a knight's fee in Yarborough with Richard, son of John, son of Gikel of Yarborough in 1242 (Book of Fees, ii. 1053).
3. Laud Misc. MS. 642, f.119.
4. Ibid., f.119.

transactions reveal that the tenurial position was far from clear. It is possible, however, that the counts of Brittany originally granted a moiety of the advowson to the families of both Hamelin and Brian of Brittany. 'Thus the final concords made by Ralph son of Brian, and Alan son of Walter, with Brian son of Hamelin and the latter's tenant, Richard son of John, and the purchase by Alan of a quitclaim from the sons of John of Yarborough (Hamelin's great-grandsons) for four marks brought control of the whole advowson into the hands of Alan.[1] In such a complex situation Alan may well have thought it advisable to transfer the advowson to the priory, which he did in 1275, conveying the advowson, together with 2½ acres of meadow in Grainthorpe, to Ranulph, prior of Alvingham.[2] The canons were not, however, secure in their new acquisition. In 1282 a final concord was made between the prior and Robert son of Alan, in which the latter received rights of confraternity in return for the quitclaim of the advowson. Robert also received a payment of 10 marks for the quitclaim, though this payment was not recorded on the final concord.[3] Even after 1282 the struggle for the advowson continued. In 1309 the prior was summoned to answer a plea in the royal courts that the grant of the advowson to prior Ranulph by Robert, son of Alan of Couton (sic) had infringed the Statute of Mortmain. It was claimed that since Robert's lord, John count of Brittany, had failed to fill the vacant living upon the death of Ranulph's appoint-

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1. For the quitclaim see Laud Misc. MS.642, f.119^{v}.
2. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.118^{v}.
3. Ibid., f.119^{v}.

ment, Geoffrey of Richmond, the right to present now belonged to the king. The presentation by prior Thomas of Camelton to the living had caused damages to the king assessed at the improbable sum of £1000. The prior replied that the advowson had been granted before the Statute of Mortmain, and produced the charter of Alan to prove his claim. He also produced his part of the final concord made between prior Ranulph and Robert. In reply the king's attorney stated that these documents had no validity unless the other half of the fine was produced, since the charter could have been forged in the prior's camera or other secret places. Judgement was deferred until it could be proved whether or not the advowson had been acquired before or after the Statute of Mortmain. At the same time there was a further claim that the prior had infringed the Statute by presenting Geoffrey of Richmond to the living, and it was implausibly alleged by the king's attorney that king John had presented his clerk, Hamelin le Uyel to the living, and that on Hamelin's death the prior had intruded his own appointee, causing damages to the king valued at £100. In spite of the efforts of the prosecution, it was conceded after further inquiries that the prior held the advowson lawfully.[1] It is possible that the instigators of this case were the grandsons of Alan, John and William. In 1313 the prior claimed that they had presented their own clerks to the living. He won his case and was awarded 15 marks damages, being half the value of the church.[2] In 1333 the family tried again to recover the

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642 f.121-121^{v}.
2. Ibid., parchment sewn onto f.120^{v}.

advowson by claiming ejectment by the prior, but the prior was again successful in his defence.[1]

The case of Yarborough reveals the complexities that could surround the possession of an advowson during the thirteenth century. The charters and litigation clearly reveal that many men had, or believed themselves to have, interests in the church. The history of the advowson of Yarborough illustrates how advowsons could continue to be regarded as lay property, long after it was illegal in canon law for churches themselves to be owned by the laity.[2]

The grant of the advowson of Grainthorpe to the priory was comparatively straightforward. Germund, the ancestor of Hamelin, had been enfeoffed with the advowson and with lands in Grainthorpe by Alan (probably Alan Rufus I, died 1089). Osbert the dean, the father of Hamelin, was parson of the church around the middle of the twelfth century, but then resigned the living which passed to Hamelin, his eldest son. The short genealogy of the family that is given in the cartulary relates how Hamelin in turn resigned the living and married the daughter of the provost of Beverley, and that their eldest son granted the advowson to the canons. The charter recording this grant states that since it is better for the care of churches to be in the hands of regular clergy rather than those of the laity, the donor had given the church to the canons with the assent of his uncle, Hamelin the dean, saving his rights in the church as parson during his lifetime.

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1. R.C. Dudding, op.cit., 29.
2. DC., pp. lxxii-lxxiv.

This uncle Hamelin must be Hamelin Croc, dean of Covenham, who presumably took over his brother's right in the church when the elder Hamelin resigned his living. This grant was made with the authority of H' (Hugh of Avallon?), bishop of Lincoln, for the maintenance of the convent and the relief of the poor received by the convent.[1] Descendants of the donor attempted to regain the advowson in 1241 by bringing an action of darrein presentment, but were unsuccessful, and the prior received their confirmation of their ancestor's grant in return for grants of confraternity.[2]

Bullington held more than twice as many churches as did Alvingham. Most of them were received within a few years of the foundation of the priory, and nearly all were granted by the Kymes. Most of the few churches whose advowsons were not granted by the Kymes were given by important tenants of that family. The first churches to be granted to Bullington appear to be those of Bullington itself and of the neighbouring vill of Langton-by-Wragby. These churches were given by Simon of Kyme between 1150 and 1155, and confirmed by his son, Philip I into the hands of bishop Robert of Lincoln between 1150 and 1155.[3] In a further grant Philip gave or confirmed to the priory, besides Bullington and Langton, the churches of Ingham, St. Alban's, Spridlington, Oxcombe, Tetford, Winthorpe, Prestwold (together with its chapels), half of the

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.96. This charter, dating from the end of the twelfth century, is of interest in revealing a lay attitude towards the possession of churches. Hugh was bishop from 1186 to 1200.
2. Ibid., f.98.
3. CGH., p.91; DC., no.2.

church of Friskney, a third of Fulnetby, together with the church of Hameringham which Simon, the brother of Philip, had given.[1] All of these churches were confirmed to the priory by Geoffrey, bishop-elect of Lincoln between 1175 and 1181, by which time the canons had also acquired the churches of South Reston and West Torrington, together with an interest in the church of Hackthorn .[2]

Some of the original charters recording the gift of individual churches by the Kymes have survived. Philip I of Kyme gave the church of Ingham into the hands of Robert, bishop of Lincoln, so that the bishop might grant the church to the canons when the body of his mother was moved to lie next to that of his father in the chapter house of the priory. This grant reveals that when a church was granted to a religious house and the donor made the grant first into the hands of the bishop of the diocese, according to canon law, the grant was not necessarily made at the mother church .[3] Philip I of Kyme was not alone in possessing an interest in the church of Ingham, however, since in the early thirteenth century, Jordan de Insula, William, son of Roger of Ingham and Hugh de Neville all brought a plea of darrein presentment against the prior of Bullington. The prior vouched Simon of Kyme to warranty,and the three claimants all quitclaimed their rights in the church in return for grants of confraternity. The quitclaims of Jordan and William were

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1. DC., no.3. All of these churches had been granted by 1181.
2. Ibid., no.4.
3. Ibid., no.58.

almost certainly made at the same time, since the charters have identical wording and witness lists and they are written in the same hand.[1] At the same time Reginald de Mareis, clerk (presumably the rector of Ingham), also swore an oath in the chapter of Lincoln renouncing all his rights and resigning all his rights (instrumenta) in the church of Ingham.[2]

The charter in which Philip I of Kyme gave a third of the church of Fulnetby clearly illustrates that lords were still thinking of churches that lay on their holdings as their personal property with which to do as they pleased, even though there was increasing pressure on them to grant such churches to the religious. The charter states that Philip gave that portion of the church that pertained to his fee in the vill of Fulnetby.[3]

There were two churches at Spridlington, dedicated respectively to St. Hilary and St. Alban, one on each of the two manors in the vill. The former was granted by Geoffrey son of Ruallon to Bardney abbey, but the latter came to Bullington.[4] The charter granting this church has not survived, but there is a copy in the Bullington cartulary in which Philip gave the church to support the nuns' infirmary (ad sustentamentum infirmatorii ... sanctarum monialium).[5]

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1. C.R.R., vii, 218, 221, 249 (Michaelmas 1214); Harl.Charts., 52 B 30, 32; Addit. MS.6118, p.840.
2. Cott.Chart., xii, 3.
3. DC., no.28.
4. Ibid., p.lxxv.
5. Addit. MS.6118, p.729.

There is no record at all of the grant of the churches of Oxcombe, Tetford, Winthorpe or the moiety of Friskney. It is unlikely that the priory ever made good its claim to Tetford, since a lay patron (not of the Kyme family) is always found presenting to that church during the thirteenth century.[1]

The church of Hameringham was given by Simon, son of Simon I of Kyme, but though the church lay in his (Simon's) fee, Roger, son of Willian of Summerby, also resigned all his rights in the advowson and all his rights of patronage in the church.[2] In 1202 a plea of darrein presentment was heard between the prior of Bullington, as plaintiff, and William, son of Alured. The jurors said that Simon, son of William (of Kyme) presented last, and his heir, Simon of Kyme, then warranted the church to Bullington. William was amerced for a false claim.[3] In 1254 fine was made between the prior of Bullington and Roger of Tetford after a plea of novel disseisin relating to the advowson. Roger recognised the prior's right to present. but for this recognition the prior conceded that Roger should appoint his clerk to the living at that time. Thereafter the right of presentation should revert to Bullington. Thus, in spite of Simon's

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1. e.g. Rot.Grosseteste, pp. 63, 96, Rot. Gravesend, pp.5, 18, 23. Papal confirmations of churches held by Bullington in 1253 and 1255 continue to list Tetford but these are the only references to Bullington's possession of the advowson. Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, i.284, 311.
2. Addit. MS. 6118, p.781.
3. The Earliest Lincolnshire Assize Rolls, A.D. 1202-1209, ed. D.M. Stenton (Lincoln Record Society, 22, 1926), no.130.

earlier grant, the priory was unable to obtain undisputed control of the living for another eighty years.[1]

It is not clear whether Philip I of Kyme granted the advowson of Prestwold (Leicestershire) or merely confirmed the gift of his tenant, Asketin, son of Hugh of Prestwold. A charter of Philip survives in which he grants the advowson of Prestwold, together with its dependant chapels of Hoton, Cotes and Burton on the Wolds, and in which he states that the gift came from the inheritance of his father Simon (ex cuius hereditate haec donatio procedit).[2] Another charter of Philip states that, at the request and prayer of Asketin and Thomas his son, he confirms Asketin's grant of the church of Prestwold, 30 acres of his demesne and all other appurtenances of the church.[3] A copy of the charter by which Anketin (an alternative form for Asketin) made this grant is preserved in the Memoranda Roll of 1411, and a charter of Elias, son of Anketil.(another alternative form of the name) confirmed his father's grant of the church and swore that neither he nor his heirs would ever bring any suit against the priory, and that he and his heirs would also bear all 'reasonable expenses' in its defence. This charter has an Anketil, chaplain of Prestwold, amongst its witnesses and this man is presumably to be identified with the donor of the church.[4] Anketil died sometime between 1225 and 1229,

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1. Final Concords, ii. 106.
2. DC., no.80.
3. Ibid., no. 81.
4. CGH., p.93; Harl.Chart.55 A 22 (cf. Harl.Chart. 55 A 21 and CGH., p.93).

after which the prior and convent presented to the living.[1] These charters suggest that Anketil as rector granted the church to the priory, but that Philip of Kyme's consent as lord of the fee was necessary to the grant. Anketil, who appears as a witness in transactions involving Bullington and Prestwold and its surrounding villages, probably continued to hold the church until his death, since it was as parson of Prestwold that he negotiated an agreement with Bullington concerning the tithes of Hoton and Prestwold.[2]

It is also uncertain from whom the priory obtained the advowson of a moiety of South Ferriby. A charter of Ivo de Karkeni granted the moiety which belonged to his fee, while another charter in favour of his tenant, Herbert son of Alard, refers to the same moiety which Ivo gave to the priory at the request of Alard. This grant was also confirmed by Herbert, who stated that the grant had been made by Ivo with the consent of Alard.[3] Another charter of Herbert's, however, states that he gave his land in South Ferriby, together with the church, to Agnes his wife (the daughter of Simon I of Kyme) in dower and she herself 'wishing to make provision for the salvation of her lord, herself and her child, gave the land and half of the church of the vill which belongs to that land to God and the church which Simon my father founded on his fee'.

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1. Harl.Chart., 46 E 32.
2. At about the same time Robert Putrel of Prestwold recognised the church of Prestwold and its chapels to be the right of the priory and was granted rights of confraternity in return (Harl.Chart., 55 A 36). For Anketil as witness see DC., nos.18, 55 and for the tithe agreement see DC., nos. 53, 54.
3. Addit. MS.6118, p.804; DC., nos. 24, 25.

In this instance it seems likely that Bullington, in spite of the wishes of Alard and the grant of Ivo, was unable to gain control of the church until the next generation. Alard's son was still able to dispose of the advowson to his wife, and only when she granted the church were the canons firmly in possession.[1] Two other churches, those of Hackthorn and Burgh-le-Marsh, were granted to the priory by tenants of the Kymes, and confirmed to the canons by William of Kyme in 1256. Half of the church of Hackthorn was granted to the canons c.1160 by Hubert, son of Wigot of Hackthorn. At his request Roger the precentor of Lincoln instituted the canons into the church .[2] Burgh church was granted to the priory by Eudo of Mumby, probably between 1173 and 1179 when Alexander, the vice-archdeacon, instituted the canons to the church at his presentation.[3] Eudo and his family were notable benefactors of Bullington in Burgh, and his grant of the advowson together with land held by his tenant, Magnus of Burgh, formed the nucleus of the priory's estate in the vill. A confirmation of this grant by Eudo's daughter Beatrix, the widow of Robert de Turribus, describes his grant in more detail. Not only was the advowson of the parish church given, but also the dependant chapel of St. Mary's with all its land and appurtenances and all the land called Burg' which lay to the east of the chapel, while a mansio

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1. DC., nos. 26, 27. The initial grant dates from the third quarter of the twelfth century.
2. DC., no. 31; Harl. Chart., 52 H 28; Addit. MS. 6118, p. 806. For William of Kyme's confirmation see CGH., p. 92. Hubert's gift was confirmed by his lord, William of Otringham, William de Lasceles and Hubert's son, William (DC., no. 30, where William is called the donor /see DC., p. lvi note/; Harl. Chart. 52 I 40; Addit. MS. 6118, p. 818).
3. DC., no. 11.

lying next to the parish church was also granted.[1] Two other charters relating to the church shew that others also had an interest in the church. That of William the clerk of Hagh', which is couched in the same terms of that of Beatrix, is probably a release by the parson of his rights in the church, while the other charter (now known only in a very abbreviated copy) is a grant by Ralph of Washingborough of the church together with its appurtenances. This charter cannot be dated and is presumably a confirmation of the gift of Eudo.[2]

It is not clear how the church of West Torrington came into the hands of the canons. Only two charters refer to it. In one of them William Musteil warranted all the tithes of the vill from his fee to the canons, with the exception of two garbs from his land which were paid to the monks of Angers, while in the other charter Philip I of Kyme confirmed his father's and his own foundation of the priory, granted or confirmed the advowsons of the churches of Spridlington, Winthorpe and a moiety of Friskney, and granted to the canons an annual rent of half a mark from the mill of Croft for the rent they paid annually to the church of Sempringham for the church of Torrington.[3] The church of West Torrington (together with that of Sempringham itself) had been given to Gilbert of Sempringham by his father,and it is likely that when the priory of Sempringham was founded both the churches

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1. Cott. Chart., xxix, 89.
2. Addit. MS.6118, pp. 821, 823.
3. Addit. MS.6118, pp.757, 714; Harl.Chart., 52 G 18.

passed to it. When Bullington was founded, some five miles from West Torrington, it is likely that the mother house ceded the church to the new foundation in return for the annual quit-rent.[1]

Bullington seems also to have acquired the church of South Reston from another house. This church was held by the abbot and convent of the Premonstratensian abbey of Welbeck. Between 1153 and 1169 they are known to have granted this church to one of their clerks for an annual farm. It was, however, in Bullington's hands by 1181, but there is no record of the transaction by which the advowson was transferred from Welbeck. In 1213, when Richard of Reston brought a plea against the prior concerning the advowson, the prior vouched the abbot of Welbeck to warranty. The prior must have won the case, since he continued to present to the living throughout the thirteenth century.[2]

All the churches so far considered lay in the diocese of Lincoln. Bullington also had a brief claim to the church of Bilborough and its neighbouring chapel of Strelley (Nottingham) in the diocese of York. Some time before 1199 Simon, son of Simon I of Kyme, granted the advowson of Bilborough together with the chapel of Strelley (which, although it lay in a different and adjacent manor to Bilborough, was probably dependant upon it) to the canons. This gift was

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1. Mon.Ang., vi.part 2. *vii (between pp.945 and 946).
2. DC., nos.453, 4; C.R.R., vii. II, 218. In 1283 Richard, son of Gilbert of South Reston, quitclaimed all his rights in the advowson to the canons (Addit.MS.6118, p.782). See also, H.M. Colvin, The White Canons in England (Oxford, 1951), pp. 69-70.

confirmed by Philip I of Kyme and Simon II his son, and also by Walter de Rieboef, husband of one of the donor's three daughters. Though Geoffrey, Archbishop of York (1191-1215), granted the priory an annual pension of six shillings from the church, the canons did not hold onto the advowson for long, for in 1227 Robert of Strelley, lord of the manor, brought an action against them concerning the advowson. Thereafter the church is found in the hands of lay patrons, and though the advowson was confirmed to the canons in the papal confirmations of 1253 and 1255, there is no evidence that they ever made good their claims. As it lay far distant from the priory, and was held in a vill where the canons had no other holdings, it is unlikely that the loss of the advowson caused them much regret.[1]

This survey of the acquisition of advowsons by the two priories clearly shows that the grant of an advowson was by no means a guarantee that the canons would be successful in maintaining their hold upon the church. Alvingham was unable to hold Wold Newton , and Bullington soon lost Bilborough and Strelley. Moreover, there is no evidence that Bullington ever made good its claim to the churches of Rand and Tetford. Other churches were only obtained after a struggle. It took a long time for Alvingham to establish its right to Yarborough. The priory was also involved in litigation over its right to the advowsons of Grainthorpe

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1. Addit. MS.6118, pp.730, 731; W. Farrer, Honors and Knights' Fees (3 vols., London, 1923, 1924; Manchester, 1925), i.178-80, 182-4; Cal.Pap.Reg., Papal Letters, i.284, 311; Cal.Pat. Rolls, 1225-1232, p.165.

and Stainton-le-Vale. Bullington at various times had to contest its possession of the advowsons of South Reston, Ingham, Hameringham and Prestwold. Such disputes are the only ones that came to the royal courts, but the desire to avoid litigation as far as possible is reflected elsewhere in the numerous confirmations from interested parties of the original donations that have been instanced above. The potential value of an appropriated church was high; it is not surprising, therefore, to find men, especially the descendants of the donors, attempting to regain control of their rights, nor is it surprising that there are more legal cases relating to the advowsons than to any other type of property held by the priories.

Appropriations and the creation of vicarages

As has been shewn, in the late twelfth century there was considerable doubt as to the implications of the donation of a church while, at the same time, bishops were attempting to expand their jurisdictional rights over parish churches.[1] Both these aspects of church donations are apparent in the transfer of churches to the priories of Alvingham and Bullington. In the few instances in which appropriation is clearly stated, such as in the case of Stainton-le-Vale, it is clear that the canons were also acquiring the temporalia of the church.[2] In other cases, too, however, though appropriation is not mentioned, the canons were certainly intended by the donors to obtain possession of the glebe land. This

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1. See above, p.133.
2. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.4^{v}.

is apparent in the terms of the charters in which Hugh de Scoteni, Geoffrey of Keddington and Amfridus of Legbourne gave the churches of St. Mary's, Cockerington, Keddington, and Little Cawthorpe respectively.[1]

The charters of Philip I of Kyme demonstrate that Bullington, too, was intended to receive all the temporal possessions of the churches granted or confirmed to the priory by Philip. He granted the churches of Bullington and Wragby 'with all their appurtenances, in tithes, lands and in all other things' and his general confirmation granted all the churches with their appurtenances.[2] It appears, therefore, that donors expected the priories to receive all the temporalia of the churches that they gave. Nevertheless, it is clear that the canons did not maintain control over the temporalia of all the churches that they were granted. The determining factor was almost certainly the attitude of the bishop of Lincoln.

Most grants were made in the presence of the bishop and received his confirmation. William of Friston's grant of St. Mary's, Cockerington was confirmed by Robert, Bishop of Lincoln (1148-1166).[3] Bishop Robert was present when Hugh de Scoteni granted St. Leonard's, Cockerington in the cathedral, and Amfridus of Legbourne granted the church of Little

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1. See above, pp. 134-6 .
2. DC., nos. 2, 3.
3. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.60.

Cawthorpe in the bishop's presence at Louth.[1] Geoffrey of Keddington gave the church of Keddington into the hands of Robert in order that the bishop might then institute the canons into the church.[2] In the following generation Lambert de Scoteni gave his share in the church of Stainton-le-Vale in the presence of bishop Hugh (of Avallon) who received the nuns into the church and confirmed it to them ad usus proprios, saving the rights of the present incumbent and the cathedral church, and on condition that a good (competens) vicarage was created.[3]

Philip I of Kyme confirmed or granted the churches of Bullington, Wragby and Ingham into the hands of bishop Robert. The church of Ingham was specifically given into the hands of the bishop in order that he might grant the church to the canons.[4] When Hubert, son of Wigot of Hackthorn, granted a moiety of Hackthorn church to Bullington, he requested Roger the precentor of Lincoln to institute the canons into the church, and Alexander the vice-archdeacon instituted the canons to the church of Burgh-le-Marsh at the presentation of the donor, Eudo of Mumby.[5]

Though it is clear that most, if not all, grants of churches were believed by their donors to include the tempo-

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1. Ibid., ff.60, 136. The cartulary also contains a notification that R., archdeacon of Lincoln (presumably Robert /Fasti, iii. 257) that Amfridus gave the church to the nuns of Alvingham in his presence and in the presence of Thorald the dean and Hamelin of Yarborough (the dean and parson of Alvingham) both of whom represented local deaneries (Ibid., f.136).
2. Ibid., f.122.
3. Ibid., f.4^{v}.
4. DC., nos.2, 58.
5. Ibid., nos. 31, II.

ralia, and most of these grants were confirmed by the bishop, the canons did not gain ultimate control of all these churches' lands and incomes. It appears to have been as a result of the bishops' failure to license formal appropriations that the canons were restricted to the possession of advowsons in some churches, but there is no direct evidence for this. Certainly it was clearly in the canons' best interests to appropriate all the churches of which they held the advowson, and thereby to keep all the revenues from tithes and other spiritual sources for themselves, while making some provision for the maintenance of vicars to serve these churches. It was equally the concern of the bishops, especially Hugh of Wells and his successor, Grosseteste, to ensure that sufficient vicarages were appointed for the priests who served these churches.[1]

By the time that bishop Hugh of Wells (1209-35) had compiled his register of appropriated churches and vicarages, the Liber Antiquus, all but one of the churches of which Alvingham held the advowson had been appropriated and vicarages for them instituted.[2] It is hard to gauge when these appropriations were made, and how far Hugh, or his predecessors, were responsible for the provision of a vicar's portion. The only episcopal charters that refer to appropriation of a

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1. On vicarages in general see R.A.R.Hartridge, A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1930), passim and C.R. Cheney, From Becket to Langton: English Church Government, 1176-1213 (Manchester, 1956), pp.131-36. For the creation of vicarages in the diocese and county of Lincoln see D.M.Owen, Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire (Lincoln, 1971), pp.26-7, 73-4 and Cheney, op.cit., pp.182-185.
2. Liber Antiquus de Ordinationibus Vicariarium tempore Hugoni Wells, Lincolniensis Episcopi, 1209-1235, ed. A.Gibbons (Lincoln, 1888). It was probably compiled during 1228 and 1229 (D. Smith, 'The Rolls of Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln, 1209-35', B.I.H.R., xlv (1972), 175.

church before the compilation of the Liber Antiquus are the confirmations of Lambert de Scoteni's grant of two-thirds of the church of Stainton-le-Vale. In one of them the bishops instituted the canons to the church ad usus proprios, saving the rights of the sitting incumbent, Robert de Hard', during his lifetime, and in the other charter the church was confirmed to the canons on condition that a satisfactory perpetual vicarage was created.[1] The frequent references in Alvingham carters to Rabod the vicar of Keddington at the end of the twelfth century suggest that that church had also been appropriated before the episcopate of Hugh of Wells.[2] The Liber Antiquus records the ordaining of seven vicarages in churches held by Bullington, and one other vicarage is recorded in the registers of bishop Hugh. The confirmation charter of Geoffrey, bishop-elect of Lincoln (1175-81) lists twelve churches that the prior held ad proprios usus eorum perpetuo possidendas, which implies that appropriation of these churches had already taken place. However, of these churches Hameringham was never appropriated, and Ingham was not appropriated until 1310, while Tetford, as has been suggested above, was probably never held by the priory.[3]

The wealthiest vicarage created by Alvingham was that of the combined livings of Alvingham and Cockerington St. Mary (North Cockerington). The situation here was doubly unusual.

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1. Laud Misc MS.642, f.4^{V}. These charters can be dated between 1186 and 1200.
2. e.g., ibid., f.125-125^{V}.
3. DC., no.4. On Tetford see above, p.151.

The churches stood immediately outside the priory gates to the south and east and also lay in one and the same churchyard (in uno et eodem cimiterio). Here it was the custom for the churches to be served by a chaplain and a canon of the priory.[1] The Liber Antiquus, however, stated that a vicar should have the cure of souls of both parishes. He was to receive oblations on major feast days from both churches, 2d. at All Saints, 6d. at Christmas, 4d. at Easter and 2d. on the churches' patronal festivals. He was, moreover, to receive 1d. at all funerals and marriages. Each year he should receive one mark, six quarters of marketable(?) (paccabilis) wheat and three quarters of marketable(?) barley. The canons were also made responsible for providing him with a deacon at their own expense and also a good and serviceable house (mansum bonum et competens). The total value of this vicarage, received partly in cash and partly in kind, was six marks.[2] Even this allowance may well have been inadequate, since in 1264, when bishop Gravesend instituted a new vicar, he reserved his episcopal right to augment the vicarage when it seemed expedient.[3] Since the parish of Cockerington St. Leonards (South Cockerington) adjoined that of Alvingham and lay close to the priory, it is not surprising to find that the vicarage there also consisted partly of a food payment. In this parish the vicar was to receive all the altar dues except those of linen, a quarter of wheat and one of marketable(?) barley. The canons had also to provide a toft, but the vicar

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1. This is the only known instance of a canon of the house serving one of the priory's churches during this period.
2. Liber Ant. p.59.
3. Rot. Gravesend, p.18.

had to pay an annual rent to the prior and convent. The vicarage was worth three marks and more (eo amplius).[1] At both the other vicarages ordained for Alvingham's churches and described in the Liber Antiquus a toft for the vicar was provided. That of Little Cawthorpe was built next to the church and had been given to the priory by Thomas Malcuvenant of Cawthorpe, the donor stating that the canons might do with the toft whatever seemed best and most useful.[2] The vicar's income here consisted of all the church dues except the tithes of the demesne of Alvingham there (i.e. the canons' grange and any land that belonged to the church itself). The vicarage was valued at three marks.[3] Keddington vicarage consisted of all the altar dues except linen and was valued at four marks, though the vicar had to pay an annual payment to the prior and convent of 12d.[4]

Of Bullington's vicarages described in the Liber Antiquus (five of which appear in Geoffrey's confirmation charter referred to above) the vicarages of the neighbouring marshland churches of Burgh-le-Marsh and Winthorpe were the best endowed, the former having a vicarage worth about (circiter) nine marks and the latter one worth seven marks. The vicar at Burgh was to have a chaplain and perhaps (the text is unclear) a further clerk, provided at the expense of the

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1. Liber Ant., p.60.
2. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.138. The toft was 66 feet in length and lay between the toft which Wygot once held of the priory and the road from Muckton. A marginal note reads super istum toftum habitat vicarius.
3. Liber Ant., p.60.
4. Ibid., p.60.

priory. Burgh was a large parish and the parish church had at least one dependant chapel. Charters in favour of the priory are frequently witnessed by two or three chaplains of the parish.[1] The canons also had to provide a suitable clerk for the vicar of Winthorpe. At Burgh the vicar was to receive 13 quarters of marketable(?) wheat and six quarters of marketable(?) barley; he was also to have two marks per annum, the altar bread, oblations at the major feasts, obventions at confessions and 1d.for every marriage and funeral. The canons had also to provide him with a toft.[2] The money payment to the vicar of Winthorpe was the same as that made to the vicar of Burgh, and he too was to be provided with a dwelling place, but his food allowance was only six quarters of wheat and three of barley.[3] At Bullington itself, where the vicarage was valued at three and a half marks, the vicar was to receive a toft, an annual payment of 10 shillings and all the altar dues except for those of linen, and the profits of the tithes of the curia of Philip of Kyme at Goltho. He was also to receive the 'garb' tithes of eight bovates of land in the parish held by eight named tenants.[4] In neighbouring Langton the vicarage was worth five marks and consisted of all the altar dues together with a toft.[5] That of West Torrington (worth three and a half marks) consisted of all the altar dues except for linen

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1. See, for example, Harl.Charts., 46 E 16, 47 E 21, 54 C 19.
2. Liber Ant., p.59.
3. Ibid., pp. 59.
4. Ibid., pp.58-9. The reference to Philip of Kyme suggests that the vicarage was created after the death of Simon of Kyme in 1218.
5. Ibid., p.58.

and the tithes of all the crofts in the parish together with the 'garb' tithes of four bovates, three held by Thomas Musteil and the other by Thomas, son of Hulle, 'which were assigned to the vicar'. The prior and convent were also responsible for the provision of a toft for the vicar.[1]

Friskney church was appropriated jointly to the priories of Bullington and the Gilbertine house of St. Katherine's juxta Lincoln. While the vicar here was to receive all the altar dues with the exception of those of salt (an indication of the salt industry's importance on the marshes of Candleshoe wapentake) together with houses next to the church and a rood of land for a curtilege, he had to pay the considerable rent of 10 marks per annum to the two houses.[2] Notwithstanding this high payment the vicarage was still valued at five pounds.

A moiety of the church of Hackthorn was also appropriated to Bullington, and here their vicar was to receive all the altar dues pertaining to the canons' moiety except those of linen. He was also to pay an annual sum of four shillings to the prior and convent. The priory would here, as at all the other vicarages, provide a toft for the vicar.[3] The register of Hugh of Wells provides a few more details of the division of income when the church was held jointly. In 1226-7 the other half of the church was held by master Reginald de Bathon by presentation of a lay patron. Reginald also had a vicar who was to receive half of the altar dues of his moiety, the tithes of hay, land belonging to the church and

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1. Ibid., p.58.
2. Ibid., p.58.
3. Ibid., p.68.

linen, and he was to receive an annual payment of two marks from Reginald at Michaelmas and Christmas, together with a dwelling. In 1231-2 the priory presented the vicar of Reginald to their half of the church, and it was agreed that he should serve both halves of the church while Reginald de Bathon retained the tithes of hay, the church's demesne with its meadow and dwelling and the two marks that he would normally pay to his vicar. On Reginald's death, probably in 1232-3, a new rector was appointed to his half of the church, while in the following year Bullington presented another vicar to their half of the church, the archdeacon being commanded to induct him to the vicarage, notwithstanding that the bishop had previously conceded the fruits of his vicarage to Robert, the vicar of Reginald. In this way the two halves of the vicarage seem once again to have been separated.[1]

One other vicarage not described in the Liber Antiquus, is given in Hugh of Wells' Register. At Spridlington the vicar was to take all the obventions of the altar, together with all the church lands and a manse. He was also to receive a third of all the 'garb' tithes pertaining to 18 bovates of demesne land held by Henry de Neville, and all the tithes from the land of Pagan. He was, however, made responsible for paying the sinodalia of the church, an obligation to which no other vicar of either Alvingham or Bullington was subject. The value of this vicarage is not given.[2]

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1. Rot. Welles, i.223, 224, 230, 233. See below, p.175.
2. Ibid., i.103-4.

In the thirteenth century it was becoming increasingly difficult for a religious house to appropriate a rectory without a plausible excuse. In 1248 pope Innocent IV gave permission for the master of the Order of Sempringham and the prior and convent of Bullington to appropriate the church of Prestwold, which was of their patronage and valued at 26 marks. This permission was granted in consideration of the priory's obligation to maintain one hundred women under the Rule who, 'for lack of necessities were suffering in health.'[1] The Register of Hugh of Wells describes what were the responsibilities and income of the rector before the appropriation. The rector was to have the three subordinate chapels of Cotes, Burton and Houton and was to receive from all of them all the sacramentalia and burial fees, though he was to be responsible for paying the bishop's sinodalia. The chaplain of Cotes was to pay to the mother church two candles, 8d. and a pound of incense for the chapel every year. No payments were specified from either the chapels of Burton or Houton, though at Burton (which was to be served once a week by the mother church) Bullington was to receive two thirds of the 'garb' tithes from some demesne land while making some compensatory payments to other religious houses to which tithes were owed in the parish.[2]

A different excuse was proffered for the appropriation of the church of Ingham, the only other church that Bullington succeeded in appropriating before the Dissolution. As was standard form, the canons claimed poverty as

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1. Cal. Papal Letters, i.258.
2. Rot.Welles, i.255-6.

the motive for appropriation in 1310, and this was recognised by the bishop in his reply to the request, in which he not only referred to the heavy burden of taxes upon the house, that were liable to increase in the future, but also spoke of the proximity of the priory to the public street so that 'on that pretext frequent crowds of noble people and the poor come to it' with the result that the convent could not support the heavy expense of hospitality and reception. . Moreover, the great number of nuns and lay sisters in the community placed an unbearable strain upon the house's resources. The house was, therefore, allowed to appropriate the church saving a reasonable portion for a vicar.[1]

By the beginning of the thirteenth century Alvingham had appropriated all of the churches then in its possession with the exception of Grainthorpe, and that church was not appropriated until 1448.[2] Yarborough, acquired later in the century, was never appropriated.

Finally, how generous were the canons in their provision of vicarages? The Fourth Lateran Council laid down that vicars should receive a reasonable portion and later English councils frequently repeated this stipulation. The most

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1. Harl.Chart., 43 H 35. For complaints of poverty as legitimate justification for appropriation see S.Wood, English Monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century (Oxford, 1955), pp.138--9. For the royal license to appropriate Ingham see Cal.Pat.R., 1307-1313, p.294. The vicarage is not described.
2. In a petition to bishop Alnwick (1448) the canons claimed that the rectors no longer paid the pension of £10 that they owed and that they were in considerable financial difficulties because of the Black Death, flooding, sterile lands and pestilence amongst their flocks (VCH., Lincs. ii. 193. The priory gained royal permission to appropriate the church in 1352 (Cal.Pat.R., 1350-1354, p.360).

precise was that of the Council of Oxford (1222), which decreed that the value of the vicarage should be a minimum of five marks per annum, except in Wales where the churches might be too poor to maintain such a burden.[1] It has been suggested that the vicars frequently received one third of the total value of the church.[2]

Unfortunately neither the Liber Antiquus nor the registers of Hugh of Wells always give the value of the vicarage together with the total value of the church. In the cases where both values are given for churches held by Alvingham (all of them except Stainton-le-Vale) three of the vicarages are valued at well under five marks. At the same time the value of the vicarage was considerably more than one third of the total value of the church. At Cawthorpe, the vicarage was valued at £2, the whole church at only £2 13s 4d.[3] In this case it was clearly impossible for the vicarage to be worth more than five marks per annum. There are two possible explanations for the low valuation of these vicarages. Firstly, they may have been created before the reforming days of the

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1. For the Lateran Council decree see C.J.Hefele, Histoire des Conciles, translated and edited by H.Leclercq (8 vols., in 16, Paris, 1907-21), v, part ii.1359-60. For the Oxford Council see Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church. II.A.D. 1205-1313, ed.F.M. Powicke and C.R.Cheney (2 vols., Oxford, 1964), i.112 and for examples of other legislation of the thirteenth century dealing with the problem, ibid. 314 (Statutes of Worcester III, 1240), 165 (Statutes of Chichester I, 1245 x 1252), ii.171 (Legatine Council of London, 1268), 1025-6 (Statutes of Exeter II, 1287). Reforming bishops, such as Grosseteste in Lincoln, made frequent attempts to increase the value of vicarages wherever possible.
2. Hartridge, op.cit., pp.42-3.
3. Liber Ant., p.60.

Lateran Council, the Council of Oxford and bishop Hugh of Wells. It is however, perhaps more likely that, given the general poverty of these churches, the value of the vicarage could not be higher. In the one case where the vicarage exceeded five marks in value, at the combined livings of Alvingham and Cockerington St. Mary (where it was valued at £4) the combined total valuation of the churches was £16 13s. 4d. so the vicar here was by no means well provided for.[1] It seems, therefore, that where the canons did hold a comparatively rich living they paid only a little above the statutory minimum, where their own income was low they were comparatively generous.[2]

This pattern is repeated in the case of Bullington. In two of the four cases where comparison between the values is possible the value of the vicarage was far below five marks (including at the parish church of Bullington itself where the vicarage was valued at £2 6s. 8d.) but in both cases the value was nearly half of the total value of the church.[3] In the other two churches, however, Friskney, valued at £26 13s. 4d., and Winthorpe, valued at £22 13s. 4d., the vicarages were valued at £5 and £4 13s. 4d. respectively.[4]

Only in two instances does the Valuation of Norwich (1254) allow a direct comparison to be made between the vicarage and

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1. Rot.Welles, iii. 84-5.
2. It is likely that all the valuations were too low but this probably does not affect the relative values of vicarages and rectories (R. Graham, 'The Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV', Eng.Hist.Rev., xxiii (1908), 434-54 passim.
3. Rot.Welles, iii.83. The other example of a comparatively generous vicarage is West Torrington (ibid., iii.83).
4. Ibid., iii. 83, 80.

the whole church. At West Torrington the assessed value of both houses had risen by 6s. 8d. and the vicarages' share of the income of the whole church risen to half, while at Bullington the value of the church had increased to £6 from £5 while the value of the vicarage had fallen from £2 6s. 8d. to £2.[1]

In 1291 the Taxation of pope Nicholas IV revealed that the income of the vicar of St. Alban's, Spridlington at £5 stood at half that of the total value of the church, while at Friskney the vicarage continued to be valued as it had been in bishop Hugh's time while the value of the whole church had fallen by £1 13s. 4d. to £25.[2] By 1536 the balance certainly seems to have shifted in the vicars' favour. At Langton, Ingham, Hackthorn and Friskney the vicarage was worth more than the rectory. At West Torrington vicarage and rectory had the same value while at Winthorpe and Burgh the proportion paid to the vicar though smaller, was still considerably higher than it had been three centuries earlier.[3]

Vicars and Rectors

Thirteenth century episcopal registers of the diocese of Lincoln, though unrivalled by those of other English dioceses, are not sufficiently complete to enable a full list of institutions to the priories' churches to be compiled. They do, however, provide enough material for some general conclusions concerning the background, provenance and education of the clergy who were presented to churches by Alvingham and Bullington during this period.

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1. W.E. Lunt, The Valuation of Norwich (Oxford, 1926) p.240 .
2. Taxatio, pp.75, 58.
3. The church of Bullington had long since disappeared, the victim of drastic depopulation in the parish. Val.Eccles., iv. passim.

The names of 30 priests who served the churches appropriated to Alvingham or whose advowsons were held by the priory are known, and over 70 rectors and vicars of Bullington's churches can be identified from the episcopate of Hugh of Wells (1209-1235) to that of Oliver of Sutton (1280-1299). Of their social status virtually nothing is known. John of Legbourne, vicar of Keddington from 1262 to 1277, probably belonged to the Legbourne family, lords of that vill, and Thomas Musteil, who was vicar of Bullington from 1260-1 until his death in 1294, was a member of the small gentry family descended by marriage from St. Gilbert himself.[1] Richard de Néville, who was inducted to the church of Prestwold in 1253-4, was probably a member of the knightly Neville family, though of which branch it is not known.[2] Both Alan Plant, vicar of Burgh, and master Stephen of Cambridge, rector of Ingham, were members of families who frequently appear as witnesses or donors to the priory in those vills.[3] It is probable that with few exceptions most of the other vicars and rectors were drawn from the ranks of the wealthier peasantry in the locality. Such a hypothesis is supported by evidence of toponyms which probably indicate the incumbents' place of origin.

Twenty five of the incumbents of Alvingham's churches bore toponyms and of the 22 places that can be identified, 16

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1. Rot. Gravesend, pp. 2,5. For the Musteil family see below pp. 256-62.
2. Rot. Grosseteste, p.387.
3. Rot. Gravesend, p.6; Rot.Welles, i.171.

are in Lincolnshire. This would suggest a local origin for the majority of the incumbents. In some cases the vicars were drawn from the immediate locality. Thus, two came from Grainthorpe and two from Keddington, one of these being vicar of the same parish. The nearby settlements of Louth and Legbourne each provided one vicar, while another came from Sixle, the site of another Gilbertine priory. A similar pattern is apparent in the case of Bullington. Fifty four of the priory's vicars or rectors had toponyms and 35 of the identifiable places are in Lincolnshire. Many of the places represented lay close to the priory itself or to the villages where the livings were held. Winthorpe provided four vicars, of whom two were vicars either of Winthorpe itself or of the adjoining parish of Burgh-le-Marsh. Three incumbents were styled 'of Ingham', two came from Louth and two from Sempringham (though these may have been canons of the priory there).

As these incumbents were of low social status and nearly all were drawn from the immediate locality, it is not surprising to find that only a few of them were styled magistri.[1] There are only two magistri amongst the known incumbents of Alvingham's churches, and it is probably significant that both of them, William of Louth and his successor, Walter of Stainsby, were rectors of Grainthorpe, the richest advowson held by Alvingham and at this time (c.1283) one of only two of the priory's churches that had not yet been appropriated.[2]

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1. The term magister during this period implies that the clerk was university educated.
2. The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton, 1280-1299, ed. R.M.T. Hill, (7 vols., Lincoln Record Society, 39, 43, 48, 52, 60, 64, 69, 1948-75 [In progress]), i. 47.

Such evidence strongly suggests that the vicars of Alvingham were of little formal education.

A rather higher proportion of those appointed to the churches held by Bullington were styled magistri, 13 rectors and vicars bearing that title. Two of them, master Ralph of Sempringham and master Thomas of Louth, are known to have studied at Oxford. Master Ralph, who was probably a canon of Sempringham, was an M.A. by 1231 when he was presented to Bullington's living of South Reston. In 1235-6 he became rector of Bolney (Oxfordshire) and by c.1249 he was chancellor of the University of Oxford, resigning this post to become Dean of Lichfield Cathedral in 1253, a post he held until his death in 1280.[1] It is uncertain for how long he held the living of South Reston, since Alan of Castle Carlton who was presented to the living in 1266-7 replaced a Thomas Marmion of Louth as rector.[2] Master Thomas of Louth appears to have been in Oxford c.1272 and 1285. He was admitted to the rectory of Adstock (Buckinghamshire) in 1259-60 and to Grainsby (Lincolnshire) in 1264. The following year he also became rector of Thimbleby (Lincolnshire), a position he still held in 1283, when he certainly also held the Bullington living of Ingham in plurality. Thomas resigned the living of Ingham in 1286 , and Grainsby in 1290, after which he became rector of Bottesford (Lincolnshire).[3] Master Thomas was clearly a

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1. A.B.Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500 (3 vols., Oxford, 1957-9), iii.1669.
2. Rot.Grosseteste, 103.
3. Emden, op.cit., ii.1165; A.B.Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge (Cambridge, 1963), p.374. In 1283 Thomas paid sums to Italian collectors of the papal tax as rector of both Ingham and Thimbleby (W.E.Lunt, Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327 /Cambridge, Mass., 1939/p.646).

pluralist and it is not clear whether he was instituted to the living of Ingham by Bullington or by his bishop. Of the other magistri little is known. Eleven of them held rectories and of these four were rectors of South Reston. This strongly suggests that the better educated of clerks presented by Bullington to the priory's livings were instituted to the wealthier livings, where they would receive nearly all of the income of the church. Two of the other magistri were officials of the bishops of Lincoln in the second half of the thirteenth century. One, master Everard of Bromholm, was presented to the living of South Reston by bishop Grosseteste in 1271, since the priory had failed to present. He is noted as a canon of Lincoln later in the decade, being probably identifiable with Everard, canon and Provost of the Common, noted in 1282.[1] His near contemporary, master Jordan of Ingham, was presented to the rectory of Hameringham by Bullington in 1280, a position he resigned in 1284 to become rector of East Torrington, which he had briefly held in commendam from the beginning of that year. In 1291, shortly before his own death, he received episcopal commissions to discharge wills in the vicinity. As an episcopal clerk he may well not have been resident at East Torrington, since in 1291 an official of the archdeacon of Lincoln was told to make Jordan's executors pay for the repairs of the church because the new appointee had complained to the bishop that Jordan's predecessors had assigned the rector £10 for repairs but these had not been carried out.[2]

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1. Rot.Gravesend, p.48; Reg.Sutton, i.28; Fasti, iii.25.
2. Reg.Sutton, i.9, 56, 58, 164; iii.92, 152.

With few exceptions,the clerks presented by both Alvingham and Bullington seem to have played little part in the life of the diocese. These men, usually of local origin and little education, did little but serve their own parishes. One, Rabod, the vicar of Keddington at the end of the twelfth century, has already been encountered as a servant of the canons of Alvingham, buying land from peasants in the vill for the priory, but his is a unique case.[1] Two incumbents of Alvingham's churches did, however, serve the bishop as well as their parish. Ralph de Waravill was appointed to Alvingham's wealthy living of Grainthorpe by bishop Hugh of Wells (acting by the dispensation of the papal legate) in 1218, the record of his institution stipulating that the priory should have the right to appoint to the living after Ralph's death. Ralph was a canon of Wells in 1221,but in the following year is recorded as a canon of Lincoln. Between 1225 and 1232 he served as the bishop's datary and he was probably prebend of Thame c.1234, though he continued to hold a canonry at Wells until his death c.1240. Ralph frequently appears as a witness to charters of Bishop Hugh and was styled dean and canon in a charter of bishop Grosseteste in 1235. It seems clear that Ralph served in the household of Hugh of Wells and probably joined his staff while Hugh was archdeacon of Wells, before he moved to Lincoln.[2] The only

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1. See above, pp. 62-63 .
2. Rot.Welles, i.127-8, ii.184, 290, iii.54, 127, 143, 150; Rot.Grosseteste, p.163; Fasti, iii. 102. In 1226-7 Ralph acted as proctor for master Reginald de Bathon when he was instituted to half of the church of Hackthorn (Rot.Welles, i.124).

other episcopal servant to hold a church belonging to Alvingham was John of Willingham, who became vicar of Keddington in 1282 and who, in the following decade, appears as a member of bishop Sutton's household, witnessing various episcopal letters and the sealing of the bishop's will in 1296. In this case, however, John seems to have joined the episcopal household some years after his appointment to Keddington, and there is no suggestion that he was collated to the vicarage by the bishop.[1]

Besides the magistri who served the bishops of Lincoln and who were rectors or vicars of Bullington's churches, two of the other incumbents were also minor officials of the bishops, though as in the cases noted above it is possible that they became officials after serving in the churches rather than receiving the churches as a reward for episcopal service. William of Essendine became rector of Ingham in 1240. As William of Ingham he appears as a canon of the cathedral some time between 1248 and 1254, after which he appears intermittently until 1275. In the obit roll of John of Schalby he is styled prebend of Stow. In 1266 William was instituted to the vicarage of St. Albans, Spridlington, but he resigned that living the following month, perhaps continuing to hold the much more lucrative church of Ingham instead.[2] A later vicar of Spridlington was given a commission by bishop Sutton in 1292 to hear confessions of the clergy in the deanery of Aslacoe.[3] A third incumbent, Hugh, son of

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1. Reg.Sutton, i.28; iv.89, 109; v.3, 188.
2. Rot.Grosseteste, pp.50, 140; Rot.Gravesend, pp.91-2; Fasti, iii.98.
3. Reg.Sutton, iv.46.

master Durand of Lincoln (who was archdeacon of Stow under bishop Sutton), may also have been an episcopal official. He was instituted to the living of Ingham in 1286 in the person of Robert of Kibworth, his proctor.[1]

Though in the great majority of cases the priories presented to the churches whose advowsons they held, in instances where the incumbent was an episcopal servant the intervention of the bishop is sometimes apparent. Gilbert de Jone', described as dean of the city of Lincoln, was instituted to the church of Ingham by bishop Hugh of Wells, and master Everard of Bromholm was presented to the church of South Reston in 1271 by bishop Gravesend since Bullington failed to present. Failure to present is also probably the reason for the induction of Richard de Neville to the church of Prestwold by bishop Grosseteste in 1235.[2] Ralph de Waravill was certainly an episcopal appointment to Alvingham's living of Grainthorpe, and in this instance the canons appear to have made no protest at the episcopal provision. A similar action, however, by the same bishop occasioned considerable litigation. As described above, the canons of Alvingham appropriated their share of the church of Stainton-le-Vale during the episcopate of St. Hugh of Lincoln.[3] Hugh of Wells revoked this appropriation and instituted his own appointee, Peter, to the church. In 1245, after Hugh's death, the convent appealed to pope Innocent IV for restoration of their rights,

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1. Ibid., i.75. For master Durand see Fasti, iii.47.
2. Rot.Welles, i.125; Rot.Gravesend, p.48; Rot.Grosseteste, p.387.
3. See above, p.154.

and after the case had been heard before papal judges-delegate (including the master of the schools at the Gilbertine priory of Malton) won their case, and their right to the church was confirmed. In this instance it is unclear whether the bishop was merely concerned to put his own clerk in the church, or whether he was really attempting to stop the appropriation altogether.[1] On the whole, however, the priory seems to have been able to present its own appointees without hindrance for, with the exception of Grainthorpe, no rectory or vicarage was sufficiently wealthy to be likely to be able to tempt a bishop to reward one of his clerks with such livings.

In cases where the priories held only a part of the advowson of a church, practices of appointment seem to have differed from church to church. At Friskney, where the advowson was held jointly by Bullington and the Gilbertine priory of St. Katherine's juxta Lincoln, both priories usually presented together.[2] At South Ferriby, where Bullington shared the advowson with Bridlington priory, there is no record of Bullington ever presenting, while Bridlington frequently presented to half of the church. Perhaps in this case Bullington always allowed the other house to make a presentation.[3] At Fulnetby, which was divided between Bullington, which held a third, and a lay patron, the episcopal registers suggest that the two patrons took it in turns to

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, ff.4-5. See also Liber Ant., p.67.
2. e.g. Rot.Welles, iii.83,209.
3. e.g. Ibid., iii.171; Rot.Grosseteste, p.123.

present, and at Hackthorn, where the living was also held jointly by the priory and a lay patron, one presentation, during the episcopate of bishop Gravesend, was made explicitly 'for this turn'.[1] A rather more complicated arrangement was made here, however, during the episcopate of Hugh of Wells. In 1226-7 master Reginald de Bathon was presented to the moiety of Hackthorn held by the lay patron, and in the following year Reginald appointed a vicar, Robert son of Gilbert, with the assent of his patron. In 1231-2 when the moiety held by Bullington fell vacant, Reginald's vicar was also appointed to their vicarage. This union of the two halves of the church under one incumbent was, however, only temporary.[2] At Stainton-le-Vale, where the church was shared by the canons of Alvingham and a lay patron, the normal practice seems to have been for both of the patrons to present when their portion of the church fell vacant.[3]

Most of the incumbents remained in the churches to which they were first presented until death, but the resignations of 11 of the incumbents of churches held by Alvingham are recorded, and 16 of Bullington's appointees either resigned their livings or moved to another parish. Where resignation alone is noted the incumbents probably gave up because of infirmity or old age, but some did resign to move to other livings. Such moves probably usually represented an improvement in status, as when an incumbent moved from a vicarage to a rectory, or an improvement in income, or both. Alan Plant

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1. Rot.Gravesend, p.96.
2. Rot.Welles, i.223, 224, 230. See above, pp.160-1.
3. e.g. Rot.Welles, iii.108, 141, 161.

was presented to Winthorpe by Bullington in 1260-1, but immediately resigned that vicarage to acquire the wealthier one of Burgh-le-Marsh.[1] Thomas of Grainthorpe became vicar of Alvingham and Cockerington St. Mary in 1271, in 1274 he also became vicar of Cockerington St. Leonard. He resigned this vicarage in 1291 and died in 1298 as vicar of Alvingham, so that it would seem that he held the two livings in plurality for some 17 years.[2] Hugh of Tydd became vicar of Keddington in 1277 and in 1282 moved to the poorer vicarage of Little Cawthorpe. In 1286 he left Cawthorpe and entered neighbouring Legbourne nunnery, presumably to serve as priest to the nuns.[3] In these cases the moves were very local and were merely a change from one church held by the canons to another. Other men moved further. John of Cressingham was presented to the chapel of Castle Carlton in 1281 and five years later went to Little Cawthorpe.[4] Alan of Thingdene was instituted vicar of Little Cawthorpe in 1266 and resigned the same year. Two years later he was presented by Thorney abbey to the church of Huntingdon All Saints where he died in 1279.[5] John of Theddlethorpe resigned as vicar of Keddington in 1282, in 1285 he was presented to Huttoft church by the prior of Markby, and in 1292 was presented to Beesby-in-the-Marsh by the prioress of Greenfield. It is not clear whether

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1. Rot.Gravesend, pp.5,6.
2. Rot.Gravesend, pp.50, 58; Reg.Sutton, i.161, 236.
3. Rot.Gravesend, pp.75-6; Reg.Sutton, i.26, 28, 92.
4. Reg.Sutton, i.16, 92. Little Cawthorpe, small though it was, was more lucrative than the dependant chapel of Castle Carlton.
5. Rot.Gravesend, pp.23, 24, 173, 188.

he held these livings in plurality or consecutively.[1] His moves are a clear example of a vicar gradually bettering himself. Hugh of Wells had valued the vicarage of Keddington at four marks, Huttoft was valued at six marks and in 1291 Beesby was unappropriated and valued at £7 16s.[2] Walter of Navenby, rector of South Reston from 1285 to 1291, did even better for himself on his institution to the church of Nettleton by the Gilbertine canons of Sixle, since in 1291 South Reston was valued at £5, Nettleton at £26 13s. 4d.[3]

Very few incumbents appear to have held livings in plurality. Some, such as Thomas of Grainthorpe and master Thomas of Louth, have already been considered.[4] Master William of Louth was certainly a pluralist in 1283 when he held the rectories of Grainthorpe and Grimsby, but in the same year he resigned the living of Grainthorpe. It is likely that he was the same master William of Louth who was presented to Kirton church by the Hospitallers in 1288 (though he failed to make good his institution) and who was described as rector of Aylesby in 1295.[5] Geoffrey of Richmond, instituted to Yarborough in 1281, was involved in a dispute in 1295 concerning the church of Wakerley (Norhants) which he had farmed from the rector there. In this dispute he was styled rector of Thorpe-next-Norwich, so that at that time he was clearly attempting to hold both Wakerley and Thorpe in plurality. It is not known, however, whether he was still in possession of

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1. Reg.Sutton, i.28, 67, 169.
2. Liber Ant., pp.60, 47; Taxatio, p.59.
3. Taxatio, pp.59, 57.
4. See above, pp.169, 176.
5. Lunt, op.cit., p.646; Reg.Sutton, i.47, 107-8, v.64.

Yarborough.[1]

One rector appointed by Bullington may also have held in plurality. Master William of Lowther (Westmorland), who had been instituted to the church of Ingham some ten weeks earlier, was granted letters dimissory by bishop Sutton on 1st March, 1294 to receive the diaconate and priesthood. The following Palm Sunday an agreement was made between Bullington and William in which the latter granted all the profits of the church (which had been assessed at £10 13s. 4d. in 1291) from that date until Michaelmas 1295, in return for £40 to be paid to him or his proctors in two instalments in the priory of Bullington, Paris, Bologna or at the papal curia, depending on where William was at the time. The money was to be paid to him or those he had appointed guardians of his affairs, whether merchants or others, or to any other persons acceptable to both parties. If William suffered any expense or damage on account of this arrangement the priory was to repay him. The priory, moreover, was to find a suitable chaplain to serve in his stead and to maintain the church houses, the chancel books and other ornaments belonging to William in the same condition as they found them. If William was kept out of the kingdom for a longer period, then the priory would be able to keep the church for £20 per annum. William was clearly of some importance in ecclesiastical affairs and was probably, to judge from the places he intended to visit during the year, a canon lawyer. There is, however, no record of his career apart from the notice of his

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1. Reg. Sutton, i. 117-8, v. 96.

institution to the church and his entry into the priesthood. By 1296 Roger of Bolingbroke was rector of Ingham in his stead.[1]

In conclusion, for the most part the incumbents of the priories' churches appear to have been insignificant men, of local provenance and comparatively lowly status and education who only occasionally served outside their parish. Moreover, the livings held by Alvingham and Bullington were not usually sufficiently lucrative to tempt careerists, pluralists or bishops eager to reward their officials or clerks. Only two were a disgrace to their calling. One, John of Legbourne, presented to the church of Keddington in 1262-3, was excommunicated and left the archdeaconry of Lincoln in 1275. The episcopal register states that he left his church destitute of all divine service and in spite of frequent enquiries during 1275 and 1276 nothing was heard of him and it was not even known whether or not he was still alive. After public denunciations in the church and two orders for him to appear were both unsuccessful a new appointment was made to the vicarage in May, 1277.[2] The other failure was John son of Michael described in the Plea Rolls of the

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1. Harl.Chart., 44 A 54. Master William may be the same man as William, parson of Louther, regarding whom the bishop of Carlisle received royal writs in 1312 and 1313. William had been one of the collectors of a clerical subsidy in the county and diocese during the reign of Edward I but had failed to render an account of the money he had collected. His ecclesiastica bona in the diocese were therefore confiscated to the value of 50 shillings. (The Register of John of Halton, Bishop of Carlisle, A.D. 1292-1324, transcribed by W.N.Thompson /Canterbury and York Society, 12-13, 1913/i.59-60, 78).
2. Rot.Gravesend, pp.75-6.

Jewish Exchequer as 'formerly vicar of Cockerington' though he does not appear in any episcopal register. In 1275 he was impleaded on a plea of trespass and forgery of a charter by John son of master John Scrapetof'. Since he did not appear to answer the charge the sheriff was ordered to confiscate his goods. The sheriff, however, reported that John had neither lands nor tenements in the county by which he could be attached. Repeated attempts to find him failed and in 1276 it was ordered that if he could not be found by general proclamation through the country he was to be outlawed. Neither the result of this search nor the result of the case are known, but it seems clear that John had been engaging in criminal activities concerning Jewish affairs, and the alleged forgery of the charter suggests tampering with Jewish bonds.[1]

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1. Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews preserved in the Public Record Office, ed. H. Jenkinson (The Jewish Historical Society of England, 4 vols., 1905-1972), iii. (1275-1277), 24, 160-1.

CHAPTER IV

INCOME FROM RENTS: GRANTS AND DEMISES BY THE PRIORIES

The importance of rents in the economy of Alvingham and Bullington

The Gilbertine Rule frowned upon the permanent alienation of monastic property. No *spiritualia* were to be given at farm, and other lands, woods, ecclesiastical rents, mills and all other property were not to be alienated without the majority assent of the chapter.[1] In the early years, at least, it also seems that the priories may have required the assent of the Master of the Order for alienation of their holdings, for a grant by G. prior of Alvingham of a *mansura* in Cawthorpe was made with the assent of Roger the Master (c. 1188-1204).[2]

In spite of this discouragement, however, there is much evidence to suggest that, from at least the beginning of the thirteenth century, and probably earlier, Gilbertine houses were alienating their property. Such grants could be made in fee (and were, therefore, in perpetuity) or were in the form of leases, either for a term of years or for lives. Almost all of these grants were of free tenancies and there is little evidence that either house was creating customary tenancies. Only two alienations by Alvingham refer to the performance of any labour services. In Keddington the prior granted a toft to Nicholas son of Robert and another to Henry of Wickenby and his wife for an annual money rent,

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1. *Mon.Ang.*, vi.part 2. *xcv (between pages 945 and 946).
2. *Laud Misc.* MS.642, f.137^{v}. The prior is probably Gamel who occurs 1202 (D. Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke and V.C.M. London, eds., *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, 940-1216* (Cambridge, 1972), p.201.

performance of suit of court and one autumn boon work. Both of these grants probably date from the third quarter of the thirteenth century.[1] No such grants of customary holdings by Bullington are known to have been made. That income from customary tenancies was negligible is further suggested by the priories' policy towards nativi that were granted to them. Though frequently granted, most of them appear to have been immediately manumitted, probably in return for a cash payment. The implication of these manumissions is that the priories had little or no use for such unfree tenants, and that in an area where the majority of peasant proprietors were free tenants the priories relied upon their lay brethren and hired labour to work their demesne.[2] Thus, while it must be admitted that the evidence for customary tenancies is defective, since no rentals for either house survive for this period, it seems likely that almost all the priories' income from rents was derived from free tenancies.

Evidence for alienations by the priories is derived from three scurces; the charters, the details of the 1254 Valuation of Norwich preserved in the Malton cartulary and, for Alvingham only, a breakdown of the assessment for the Taxation of

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1. Ibid., ff.127^{v}, 129^{v}.
2. See below, pp.191-2 for examples of land granted in fee to manumitted nativi. The Gilbertine priory of Malton also seems to have had very few customary tenants. Its mid-thirteenth century rental does not refer to any customary holdings and villeins granted to the priory were, as in the case of Alvingham, manumitted and granted land for a money rent (R.Graham, 'The Finance of Malton Priory, 1244-1257', Trans.Roy.Hist.Soc., new series, xviii (1904), 261.

Pope Nicholas IV (1291) given in the cartulary of that house. Only about 45 of a total of nearly 450 charters in the Alvingham cartulary record grants made by the priory. These, however, do not represent the total amount of land alienated by the house.[1] Often these grants are entered in the margin of the cartulary, next to the entry relating to the earlier grant of the holding to the canons, while sometimes they are added at the end of a section recording the grants made to the house in one vill. The script of these entries suggests that they were added to the cartulary at the end of the thirteenth century after the initial compilation of the manuscript c.1260 to c.1270.[2] A full record of holdings alienated by a religious house would more often be found in a rental than in a cartulary, and it is noteworthy that while the rental of Malton priory records the income derived from some 150 tofts, the grants of only a few of these are recorded in the charters of Malton.[3] It is also probable that records of temporary grants for a term of years or lives would be less likely to be preserved than permanent alienations and that, therefore, the preponderance of grants in fee over leases that is noticeable in the case of Alvingham and Bullington may be more apparent than real.

The details of the 1254 taxation given for all the Gilbertine houses in the Malton cartulary give their total

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1. For example, the cartulary makes no mention of any lands held in Raithby or Beesby and yet they were both producing rents in 1291 (Laud Misc. MS.642, f.39).
2. E.g. Ibid., ff.32b, 64, 108^{v}, 109.
3. B.L.MS.Cotton Claud.D.xi. passim.

assessed income from *temporalia* and also the sum assessed as *immobilia*, that is, the estimated value of the granges and other property held by the canons in demesne if they were granted at farm. The difference between the total sum and the *immobilia* figures represents the assessed total of income from rents and manorial profits, such as payments at the manorial courts. These figures shew that only some 35% of the *taxable* income of both Alvingham and Bullington derived from their demesne. While it is impossible to ascertain how much of the remainder was derived from income from rents and how much from other sources, it is clear that a substantial portion of their total taxable income came from rents.[1] It must, however, be emphasised that the 1254 assessment did not include income from the sale of wool. In the case of Malton this was the greatest single source of income during the mid-thirteenth century, nearly always accounting for more than half of the canons' total annual income, and on one occasion, in 1245, accounting for 75% of the total.[2] During this period from 1244 to 1257 Malton's actual income from farms amounted to a little under 10% of its total income, rising steadily from £47 14s in 1244 to £60 13s 4d in 1257.[3] These

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1. B.L.MS. Cotton Claud. D.xi, f.282^{v}.

	Temporalia	*Immobilia*	*Immobilia* income as percentage of total
Alvingham	£53 17s. 4½d.	£20 5s. 0d.	37.6
Bullington	£96 3s. 6d.	£33 2s. 8d.	34.4
(Malton	£130 5s. 4d.	£55 6s. 8d.	42.5)

2. *Ibid.*, ff.275^{v}-276^{v}, printed in R.Graham, *op.cit.*, Appendix I following p.156.
3. *Ibid.*, *loc.cit.*

figures do, therefore, suggest that the mid-century income from rents was not negligible, even though such income might not have been as important as the 1254 assessment might suggest.

Some evidence of the relative importance of rents in the economy of Alvingham at the end of the thirteenth century is provided by the cartulary's breakdown of the valuation for the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV.[1] This shows that all urban property was yielding rents and that in the majority of the vills in which the priory held lands, at least some of the priory's income was derived from rents. This was the case even in vills where granges had been developed, while in some vills the priory derived all of its income from rents rather than from sale of produce.[2]

The evidence provided by the charters and the assessments of 1254 and 1291 is, therefore, defective and incomplete. In the absence of any rentals for either Alvingham and Bullington during this period it is impossible to give a very clearly defined picture of the priories' policy towards their holdings during the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nevertheless, it is clear that during the thirteenth century Gilbertine houses were alienating, as well as leasing, their property and that rent income was important in their economy.

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.39.
2. In Middle Rasen, Normanby, Raithby, Withcall, Saltfleetby and Manby. The breakdown does not give separate figures detailing income derived from the sale cf produce and that derived from rents in the same vill. See also Appendix I pp.88-91.

Alienations in fee

i. Introduction

The most striking feature of these alienations is their chronology. Though it is extremely difficult to date the majority of the charters in either the Alvingham cartulary or the Bullington collection it seems clear that neither house was making any alienations before the end of the twelfth century. The majority appear to date from the first half of the thirteenth century, but there is no indication that any one prior was responsible for the encouragement of alienations.[1] This chronology of alienations is clearly at variance with that of many other religious houses which were increasingly attempting to regain lands that they had alienated in the twelfth century or earlier and were now farming their land directly. It is possible that during the first fifty years of their foundation Alvingham and Bullington were paying heed to their Order's Rule which discouraged alienations and that thereafter the Rule's warning was largely ignored. It is more likely, however, that during this period, when both houses were receiving their largest gifts and were engaged in the creation of their granges, the canons were waiting to see which properties could be developed into granges before they considered the alienation of holdings that could never be incorporated into a consolidated estate. By around 1200, the canons had received the larger parts of their estates and were in a position to see

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1. In the case of Malton the majority of alienations appear to have been made during the priorate of William of Ancaster, c.1236-1256 (B.L.MS.Cotton Claud.D.xi, passim).

which lands could most profitably be exploited directly and which could best be used as rent-producing properties.

Alienations, especially grants in fee, however, possessed certain disadvantages. Although the rent required could well be economic at the time when the grant was made, in a period of rising prices rents lost their value and there was no way by which the canons could adjust them. Grants in fee were made in perpetuity and it was difficult for the grantor to recover them. Moreover, until the mid-thirteenth century it was possible for the grantee to alienate the land without his lord's consent.[1] That nearly all the alienations made by the canons contain a clause forbidding their tenants to alienate without license shows that they were aware of the problem and attempting to surmount it.[2]

In spite of these severe disadvantages, alienations were made throughout the thirteenth century. There are at least three possible reasons for the canons' action. They may have wished to benefit their servants and benefactors; alienations may have been made to provide capital for the consolidation of other properties; the priories may have been in financial difficulties and were capitalising their resources in this way.

ii. Alienations and Benefactors

A high proportion of the grantees in whose favour Alvingham made grants in fee were themselves benefactors of

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1. See D.W. Sutherland, The Assize of Novel Disseisin (Oxford, 1973), pp.86ff, and The Cartulary of God's House, Southampton; ed. J.M. Kaye (2 vols., Southampton Records Series, xix, xx, (1976), i. lxiii-lxiv.
2. E.g. Laud Misc.MS.642, ff.32b, 67, 88^{v} (where alienation to any church was forbidden).

the priory, or belonged to families which had made benefactions. Almost without exception they were wealthier members of the local peasantry. Typical of them was Geoffrey Haket, who in the first quarter of the thirteenth century granted some 15 acres in Cockerington (though it is uncertain whether this land was given or sold) besides making considerable exchanges with the priory and selling land to the canons. He held a toft with its land of the priory for an annual payment of 2s and arable land for the small sum of 1d. per annum.[1] Similar grants were made in Grainthorpe, where in the early years of the thirteenth century representatives of both the Hopscort and Mancelot families held tofts of the priory.[2]

It is rather harder to trace close connections between Bullington and its grantees, but there is some evidence that there, too, the canons were making alienations in favour of their benefactors. In Burgh-le-Marsh a toft and bovate was granted for the low annual rent of 6d to Alan, son of Lucy of Winthorpe, a benefactor to the house.[3] Similarly, in Hackthorn, Alan, son of Richard held two tofts for an annual payment of 4s.[4]

It must be emphasised that it is not clear whether the grants made to the priories by these benefactors were made

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1. Ibid., ff.64,67. See below pp.199-200 for an examination of the grant to Geoffrey. For Geoffrey's grants to the priory see ff.63-64^{V} and for the Haket family see below, pp.199-200.
2. Laud Misc.MS.642, ff.64,67,105^{V}. For the families of Mancelot and Hopscort seebelow pp.308-12.
3. Harl.Chart.,44 A 40. For Alan's grant to Bullington see Harl.Chart., 47 E 24.
4. Harl.Chart., 44 A 47 (third quarter thirteenth century). For Alan son of Richard's grants see Harl.Charts., 51 B 27,29.

free of all return, or whether they were, in fact, sales. In some of these cases the priories seem to have granted more to their benefactors than they themselves received. Thus, both the grant of Alan, son of Lucy of Winthorpe, of two selions to Bullington and Thorald Mancelot's grant of a meadow to Alvingham are paltry besides the property they themselves received. In these cases it is likely that a lump sum was also paid to the priories when the transactions were made. Moreover, it is possible, though it cannot be proved, that the grants by the priories formed part of an exchange whereby both parties consolidated their holdings. Certainly when half a toft was granted to Walter Mancelot he already held the half toft adjacent to it, while on the other hand Hugh Hopscort who had received a toft and croft, two acres of meadow and two selions of arable from the canons for an annual rent of 12d. granted to them an area of salt-marsh in Grainthorpe that adjoined marsh already held by the priory.[1] Thus, while it is not possible to determine whether the gifts of the benefactors to the priories ante-dated grants to them by the priories, it is clear that these alienations by the priories did form part of the complex relationship between community and benefactors that is also revealed in sales and exchanges as well as in outright gifts.

iii. Alienations and priory servants

While the priories seem to have made little use of customary tenants, there is ample evidence that Gilbertine houses were relying heavily upon hired labour as well as

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1. Laud Misc. MS. 642, ff. 105^{v}, 112 (both early thirteenth century).

upon their conversi to work their estates from at least the end of the twelfth century. The Rule recognised that hired servants might be used at Gilbertine granges, and the 1164 agreement between the Gilbertine and Cistercian orders stipulated that neither should take hired workers from the other until they had completed their term of service.[1] The Malton accounts show that by the mid-thirteenth century the wages of these hired labourers were the major factor in the grange expenses.[2] The Malton rental, compiled at the same time as the accounts, shows that almost all of the the holdings alienated by the priory at that time consisted of tofts. It has been shown that there is a correlation on each grange between the number of tofts demised by the priory and the number of hired workers, and it has been plausibly suggested that these tofts were acquired by the canons in order to house their workers.[3] Only in a very few cases was the demise of a toft accompanied by the grant of land, and there is some evidence, in the references to new tofts, to suggest that this process of developing tofts was continuing during the thirteenth century.[4]

Such an explanation appears also to fit the evidence from Alvingham and Bullington. Almost all of the alienations made by the priories in vills where they had granges were of

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1. Mon.Ang., vi, part 2* lxxxii (between pages 945 and 946)B.L.MS. Stowe 937, f.146.
2. B.L.MS.Cotton Claud. D xi, ff.267-71, 273-74. The details may be found in B. Waites 'The Monastic Grange as a factor in the settlement of North-East Yorkshire', Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, xl.(1959-62), 654.
3. B. Waites, op.cit., 631.
4. The tofts are variously described as built on, or not built on.

tofts. A measure of the preponderance of tofts amongst the priories' demises is provided by the charters relating to Grainthorpe and Cockerington. In Grainthorpe nine out of twelve alienations were of tofts, while in Cockerington seven of the eight demises in perpetuity or leases consisted of tofts.[1] The clearest example of a toft being provided for a worker on the Alvingham estates is that granted to Edric of Grimolby. He was a nativus of Walter of Saltfleet-by who granted him to Alvingham. He was then granted a toft in Alvingham that had been given to the house by Andrew son of Cost. The annual rent was 6d. Though there is no record of the manumission of Edric when he was received by the priory he seems to have been a free tenant of the priory for the grant was made to him for his 'service and homage', terms more appropriate to the service of a free tenant than of a villein. Moreover he was able to grant and warrant the toft to his son by charter on condition that his son paid the rent.[2]

There is further evidence to suggest that at least one or two of the priories' demises were made in favour of nativi who had been granted to the priories and then manumitted, probably for a cash payment. William son of Alured, a nativus

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1. Ibid., ff.105-105^{v}, 108^{v}, 109, 96, 101 (margin) (Grainthorpe); 64, 74 (margin), 81, 84, insert between ff.85 and 86 (Cockerington). In both Hackthorn and Redbourne almost all of Bullington's demises consisted of tofts (Harl.Charts., 44 A 47, 52, 51 B 34; DC., no.47; Hackthorn); Harl.Chart., 44 A 45 (Redbourne).
2. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.84 (early thirteenth century).

of Juliana of Otby, was granted by her to Alvingham and then manumitted. He was then granted the toft and bovate holding in fee that his father had once held, presumably in customary tenure, for an annual rent of 4s.[1] In Grainthorpe Ralph of Hallay gave his nativus, Jordan son of Ralph Loben, to Alvingham. Later the prior granted him 'for his free homage' two perches of land in Newcroft for 12d. per annum.[2]

In the majority of cases where the priories received a grant of a toft together with its arable it is likely that they retained the arable while disposing of the toft.[3] In a few cases the grant of a toft was accompanied by a bovate holding or a considerable acreage of arable.[4] Here it is less likely that the holding was being granted to a hired worker. The majority of cases, however, record the demise of the toft alone, or of the toft with only a small area of land. Hugh, son of Maria Hopscort, received a toft, croft, two selions of arable and two acres of meadow and in Somercotes Ralph, the kinsman of John, received a toft, four selions of arable and three perches of meadow.[5]

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1. Ibid., ff.74, 79^{v} (late twelfth century).
2. Ibid., f.108^{v} (late thirteenth century). William Foliot gave his man, Ailric, chaplain of Spanby, to Bullington with his dwelling and land to be held of the priory for one mark per annum. Ailric and his wife, who were given with their chattels, seem to have been unfree and this transaction may well be similar to those described above. For the history of the priory's property at Spanby see below pp.196-7/Addit. MS.6118 pp.748, 749/7.
3. See T.A.M.Bishop, 'Monastic Granges in Yorkshire', Eng.Hist.Rev., li (1936), 207.
4. E.g., Laud Misc. MS.642, ff.127^{v} (late thirteenth century), 137^{v} (late twelfth or early thirteenth century); Harl.Charts., 44B2, 50 A 46, 52 B 29 (all mid thirteenth century).
5. Laud Misc.MS.642, ff.105^{v}, 90 (both early thirteenth century).

It is also possible, though it cannot be proved, that the houses made grants in favour of the clerks serving churches of which the canons held the advowson. In Grainthorpe Matthew the clerk was granted a toft, the annual rent for which was to be paid 'in our church', and in Yarborough William son of Eustace, alias William the clerk, held eight acres of arable in Yarborough and two acres of meadow in Grainthorpe for a rent of 12d. per annum.[1] Some alienations may have been of charitable intent. In Keddington Alvingham granted to Hugh, the son of Rabod the vicar (who had acted as middleman in the purchase of land for the priory), four acres of arable land that his father had obtained for the priory. No rent is mentioned in this charter and it is possible that the grant was a charitable one made in favour of the son of a useful benefactor and servant of the house.[2] A grant made by prior Richard of Alvingham in the 1240's in favour of Durand, 'once servant of the King', probably also falls into this category. He was granted 4½ acres in Saltfleetby at an annual rent of 6d.[3]

There is a little evidence to suggest that tofts were acquired and then developed, either by the priory or the tenant. Robert Stori was granted the site of two tofts in Reedness on condition that he built tofts at his own cost within two years. If he failed to do this he rendered him-

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, ff.105, 112. The grant to Robert of Tetney, chaplain, of a toft in Grainthorpe at an annual rent of 18d. and one suit of court is probably a further example of an alienation to a clerk of the priory (Ibid., f.109).
2. Ibid., ff. 129^{v}, 124^{v} (early thirteenth century).
3. Ibid., ff.74, 79^{v}. A Durant serviens witnessed a grant by Philip de Midley, 1233-39, in Saltfleetby to Lincoln cathedral (Reg.Ant.,v.no.1652). For the demise in the context of the priory's holdings in Saltfleetby see below pp.197-8.

self liable to a fine of half a mark.[1] Land in Grainthorpe was granted to the priory in Grainthorpe 'to make a toft there or whatever seemed better to the house'.[2] Certainly a toft was built on the site, whether by the priory or the tenant is not clear, and this was granted first to Walter Blort for 12d *per annum* and then to Robert of Tetney, chaplain, at an increased rent of 18d.[3] It is possible that the three acres of arable granted to Asger Þaip in Somercotes were also intended to be developed as a toft, for the charter stipulated that the grantee and his heirs should build up (*edificabunt*) the land and should have enough goods upon the land to allow distraint if the grantee failed to pay the farm at the stipulated date.[4]

iv. *Alienations and the grange economy*

Another reason for the alienation in perpetuity of property by the priories is that the canons were disposing of some properties in order to obtain capital to consolidate the properties they farmed directly. It may be possible to see perpetual alienations and leases, along with explicit exchanges or sales of property, as a means towards the rationalisation of the priories' estates, whether by disposal of lands in distant vills or the demise of lands in vills where the canons possessed a grange but which they were unable to incorporate into it. Alienations in vills where the priories did not possess granges will first be considered.

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1. See above, p. 190, fn. 4.
2. *Ibid.*, f. 166 (early thirteenth century). Here 'toft' seems to retain its original meaning of farmstead or dwelling.
3. *Ibid.*, f. 109 (early thirteenth century).
4. *Ibid.*, f. 90 (early thirteenth century).

Rent-producing properties are, in one sense, the corollaries of the granges: land which, for one reason or another, could not be consolidated into self-contained units. Two main factors determined the development of granges: availability of land and distance of the property from the priory. Middle Rasen probably lay too far from Alvingham to be considered a suitable site for a grange. In 1291 it was yielding an income from rents of £1 10s.8d.[1] Around 1218 William Longspée, earl of Salisbury, granted four bovates and five tofts that he had of the purchase of Simon of Brackley his tenant.[2] The priory did not acquire any more land in the vill and it seems likely that these lands were demised almost immediately. Certainly in 1247 Richard, Master of the Order, set aside an annual rent of six marks and six shillings to provide smocks for the nuns of Alvingham, of which 20 shillings were to come from the four bovates in Middle Rasen.[3]

Normanby, too, lay too far from the priory to be suitable for a grange. The priory only received two grants of land here. John of Claxby (who held land in the vill in 1242) gave a bovate, three selions of arable, meadow and pasture for 120 sheep. This supplemented an earlier grant of land by John, that had previously been granted by William his father to William the reeve of Otby for an annual rent of 46d.

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.39.
2. Ibid., f.142.
3. Ibid., f.142^{v}. This is an example of the internal assignment of revenue by the priory for special needs. See below pp. 367-70.

William the reeve probably continued to hold the land on demise from the priory, for the charter of 1247 referred to in the previous paragraph assigned four shillings rent to be paid by William of Otby from the gift of John of Claxby, a rent which closely approximates to the rent of 46d owed by William to John and his father.[1]

Surviving evidence suggests that Bullington farmed out considerably less property than did Alvingham, at least until the end of the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, though most holdings were kept in demesne and farmed directly, it is clear that Bullington also demised property in vills that were distant from the priory. Osbournby was the southernmost vill in which Bullington had an interest. Only one grant of land in this vill to the priory is known. William, son of Richard, the steward of Philip I of Kyme, gave a nativus, together with his holding of 1½ bovates when he took the habit. Such an isolated grant would have been of little use tc the canons and it is likely that they granted the land to a local tenant, Walter, son of Reginald of Osbournby, shortly after they themselves received the land.[2] If this was the case it would be one of the earliest known demises by the priory, dating from the last quarter of the twelfth century.

In the case of Spanby, a vill that lay close to Osbournby, the choice of holding in demesne or of demising the land was made explicit. William Foliot gave his man Ailric, chaplain of Spanby, with his dwelling, its buildings, toft, croft and

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1. Ibid., ff.142^{v}, 145b. By 1291 Alvingham's income from rents in Normanby had risen to 7s.5d. (Ibid., f.39).
2. Harl.Chart., 52 G 27; Addit.MS.6118, p.748 (late twelfth century).

one bovate, together with its appurtenant meadow and pasture, to the priory; Ailric was to pay an annual sum of one mark to the priory. If he were to die childless, William stipulated that any of the sons of his (William's) men whom the priory deemed suitable should hold the land, or the priory could till the land itself or demise it to whomsoever it wished. Though it was, therefore, envisaged that the priory might hold in demesne, this was clearly not a viable possibility unless the house acquired more land in Spanby, and it appears that the canons continued to farm out this property since in the following generation Richard Foliot made a grant in favour of Ralph 'the man of the nuns of Bullington' or any of his assigns of four selions in Spanby.[1]

In other vills where it was impossible or undesirable to develop a grange, through lack of donations or the prior existence of a grange or large estate of another house, land was also demised. The vill of Saltfleetby adjoined Alvingham to the west, but the priory never held much property there. Almost all of the land that the priory was given in this vill, both arable and meadow, was regranted in fee to tenants. Thus the 18 acres given by Humphrey of Saltfleetby at the beginning of the thirteenth century were soon demised to Ramacle of Theddlethorpe.[2] Idonea, the widow of William

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1. Addit.MS.6118, pp.748-749 (late twelfth century). The size of the bovate in Spanby was 32 acres, considerably larger than the 'customary' bovate of 15-20 acres.
2. Laud Misc.MS. 642, f.87^{v}.

of Elkington (who held land here in 1242), gave 4½ acres of her maritagium on which Durand lived. This was re-granted to him by Richard, prior of Alvingham in the late 1240's.[1] The 2½ acres given by William of Manby were demised by the priory for 2s. 7d.[2] Only a further seven acres of land held by the priory in this vill remains unaccounted for, and it is almost certain that this land, too, was regranted.

In Snelland, a vill which lay close to Bullington, Hugh de Neville (sheriff of Lincoln in 1227) obtained land from two local tenants, Helco and Peter Wites. He then granted his rights in this land as part of a grant to Bullington, in return for the provision of two chaplains to celebrate a daily mass in the priory church for the souls of his family. The canons were to pay an annual quit-rent of one pound of cumin to Helco and Robert his heir for this land. Sometime between 1225 and 1251 Robert paid the large sum of eight marks for the land and in return obtained a demise of the land from the priory, in return for an annual rent of one pound of pepper.[3] It is possible that the canons originally intended to farm the land (26 acres of arable) themselves, but they were unable to develop an estate here (where the Cistercians of Kirkstead already had a large holding). The

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1. Ibid., f.88-88^{v}. For Durand see above p.193.
2. Ibid., f.88. A marginal note stating that John, son of William of Manby, paid this sum may indicate a purchase of the land by the family from the canons rather than its demise by the priory to the donor's son.
3. Addit.MS.6118, p.769; Harl.Chart., 44 A 48.

grant to Robert is a clear example of the priory selling off property in a vill where they were unable to expand their holding further.

In vills where the priories did not possess a grange it was obviously to the canons' advantage to demise, or even sell, all kinds of property in order to raise capital to develop those estates where they did have granges; in vills where granges had been established more selective criteria towards alienations had to be applied. It is very clear from all the charters that record demises by the priories in such vills that almost no arable land or pasture was alienated.[1] All the land that was so demised lay in very small parcels scattered throughout the fields of the vill. Sometimes it adjoined land already held by the grantee, which suggests that pressure on the house to alienate came from him. Typical of such grants was that made by Alvingham in favour of Geoffrey Haket in Cockerington. This dates from the early thirteenth century. The fact that a low nominal rent of 1d. per annum was charged suggests that the priory may have sold land to Geoffrey. Geoffrey received all the land the priory held in Dunnedale, one selion at Wytemarende, one selion on Wytelandmare (both these selions adjoined land held by the abbey of Louth Park), one selion abutting on the headland of Geoffrey's kinsman, Robert Haket, on the south of Gudesmundsic, one selion close by adjoining land that Geoffrey already held, one selion extending beyond Haketegate

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1. On the selective use of acquisitions in a vill where a grange was being developed see T.A.M. Bishop, op.cit., 201.

and four selions lying on Everholm.[1] Clearly such scattered parcels of land could never be incorporated into the priory's grange at Cockerington, their only value lay in the fact that they could be sold, demised or exchanged for other property more suitable for demesne farming. The only example where an exchange was explicitly combined with a demise occurs amongst the charters of Somercotes. Here the priory demised 16 acres of meadow to William, son of Robert of Somercotes, for an annual payment of 16d., while William granted 13 acres of meadow 'lying together in one field' and all his meadow in Withdailes in Cockerington for an annual rent of 20d.[2] This charter demonstrates both the alienation by the priory of property in a vill where it did not have a grange, and its use in the expansion of consolidated property in a vill where a grange had been developed. The only large alienation in perpetuity by either priory in a vill where a grange had been developed appears to be one made by Bullington in Hackthorn at the end of the twelfth century in favour of Henry son of Osbert. He received some 23 acres of arable, meadow and common pasture for four animals, a horse and 60 sheep, for the comparatively low rent of 2s. per annum. Hackthorn was an important grange, Henry was not a benefactor of the house and the only explanation for this considerable alienation

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.67. A late thirteenth century addition to the cartulary tabulates holdings of the fee of the prior by Richard Gikel of Yarborough in Cockerington. He held eight selions in four culture on the east of the vill and eight selions in three culture and 1½ acres of meadow on the west side. Eight of these selions and the meadow adjoined land Richard held; none of the land adjoined other properties of the priory (Ibid., f.41).
2. Ibid., f.91v (early thirteenth century).

appears to be the need by the priory for ready cash, the payment of which is not mentioned in the grant.[1]

The only kind of property that was frequently demised in vills where the priories had granges was tofts. The reasons for these grants have already been considered; it suffices here to emphasise that there was no attempt to grant whole granges to the laity during the thirteenth century, as was happening on Cistercian estates, such as Meaux, by 1280.[2] The grange remained an integral part of the Gilbertine economy, and while tofts might be granted for special purposes, and other property demised because it could not readily be incorporated into the enclosed estate, the central holding remained firmly in the hands of the canons.[3]

v. Alienations and poverty

It is difficult to ascertain how far the priories were under financial pressure during the thirteenth century, and how far this pressure forced alienations. There is some evidence from other priories that the Order was facing difficulties at this time. Malton, one of the more prosperous houses, accumulated considerable debts which amounted to a little over £250 in 1256. Miss Graham suggested that these debts were incurred in the legal expenses of the Order at the papal Curia. Certainly Gilbertine proctors contracted a loan of 1500 marks there in 1253, and the Gilbertine Rule stated that the expenses of obtaining papal Bulls should

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1. DC., no.47.
2. For the demise of tofts see above, pp.190-1. The early leasing of granges is considered in C.Platt, The Monastic Grange in Medieval England (London, 1969), pp.94-7.
3. There is no evidence that any Gilbertine granges were demised during this period.

be borne by the houses of the Order in proportion to their means. It is likely, therefore, that both Alvingham and Bullington were faced with similar financial demands as was Malton at this time.[1] Other Gilbertine houses are also known to have been in difficulties during the mid-thirteenth century. In 1247 the community of 200 women at Sempringham itself claimed to be in great necessity and to be suffering in health from its lack of the necessities of life. In 1267 Haverholme pleaded poverty in its request to the bishop of Lincoln to allow the appropriation of the churches of Old Lafford and Ruskington.[2] Monastic over-population may have been as great a cause of poverty as papal exactions.

The capitalisation of resources by the demising of property for a lump sum and an annual rent was an answer to the problem of poverty, though it is uncertain how far the solution was successful. There is very little evidence that the grantees did pay a lump sum for their property, though evidence from other religious houses would suggest that they frequently did. The demise by Bullington of its property in Snelland for a large down payment and a small annual rent has already been considered, and a further case where a large sum was probably paid by the grantee is found in a fine made in 1226 between William, prior of Bullington, and William son of Hugh concerning $5\frac{3}{4}$ bovates and $2\frac{2}{3}$ tofts with their appur-

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1. R.Graham, op.cit., 154-5.
2. R.Graham, S.Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines (London, 1901), pp.110, 119. Bullington made a similar plea to appropriate the church of Ingham in 1310 (Harl.Chart., 43 H 35). Such pleading of poverty may have been specious; it was certainly successful.

tenances in Ingham. The prior acknowledged four bovates and two tofts to be the right of William, who was in future to hold them of the priory for an annual rent of 8d. and the performance of forinsec service. In return William remitted all his rights in the remaining lands to the prior. It is highly probable that William made a cash payment to the prior for these lands, though it is also possible that the rent was paid in recognition of William's quit-claim of his rights in the remaining land.[1] Where rents demanded by the priories were comparatively low it is impossible to determine whether it was because a lump sum was paid when the grant was made, or whether the grantor was recognising some obligation to the grantee because of earlier donations, but where the rents were more than merely nominal it is likely that an additional down payment was required.[2]

vi. The resumption of alienated property

There is a little evidence to suggest that the priories were attempting to reverse the process of alienation in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. In a document of 1255-60 Walter, the prior of Bullington, stated that the priory had been able to redeem half a bovate from one of its free tenants in its fee in Hanworth, next to the canon's grange of Aldefeld, using money provided by William, Master of the Order. For this payment, the canons bound themselves to pay half a mark to William from the common goods of their house.[3] The original enfeoffment

1. Harl.Chart., 50 A 46. For Snelland see above, pp.198-9.
2. Rents of tofts normally stood at between 1s. and 2s. (sums similar to those charged by Malton). For examples of low rents charged by Alvingham see Laud.Misc.MS.642, ff.88, 116b^{v}, 127^{v}.
3. Harl.Chart., 44 A 43.

by the priory to the tenant is unrecorded. Licences for alienations in mortmain to the priories also show that the canons were taking land back into their own hands. In 1316 and 1324 the prior of Bullington brought back into demesne three tofts, 4½ bovates of arable, three acres of meadow and 12 acres of pasture.[1] The greater part of this land lay in Burgh-le-Marsh, Ingham and Hardwick :all vills where the priory possessed granges. Only at Skegness (where the canons acquired a bovate of arable and 12 acres of pasture) did the house not possess a grange. It seems evident, therefore, that the priories were selective in their resumption of land and were primarily concerned to expand the demesne of their granges.

Leases

The lease had some, if limited advantages for the grantor over the grant in fee. The land leased was recoverable (even if this proved difficult and costly for the grantor) and the rent could be raised on the death of the tenant to take account of rising prices.[2]

All of the grants made by Alvingham for a limited term were for the lives of the grantee (and, usually, his wife) rather than for a stated term of years. Since, with one exception, these grants were entered into the cartulary after

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1. Cal.Pat.R., 1313-1317, p.484; Cal.Pat.R., 1321-1324, p.396. Alvingham took back much less land into its own hands; a small property in Yarborough worth 3d. per annum (Laud Misc. MS.642, f.120).
2. By the middle of the thirteenth century the life tenant was held to be the possessor of a free tenement and as such could bring actions of mort d'ancestor and novel disseisin against his lord. Moreover, until the Statute of Marlborough (1267) he was not liable for waste of the tenement. On this subject see F.Pollock and F.W.Maitland, op.cit.,ii.6ff. Some actions for waste were occasionally brought against life tenants before 1267.

its original compilation in the 1260s it seems clear that such leases were a feature of the latter part of the century. The earliest lease was made in the priorate of Roger (who is known to have held office in 1229) in favour of the miller of Withcall during his life. A toft and ¾ bovate in Withcall was granted for 7s. per annum and the performance of service owed to the lords of the fee. This tenement was the only holding of Alvingham in the vill and had been given by Sybil, wife of Lambert de Scoteni (who had granted the property to her), in her widowhood in order that the income from the land might be used for the benefit of nuns who were sick. In 1291 the income from Withcall was 6s.8d, wholly derived from rents. Since the priory had not received any more land in the vill since Sybil's grant, it seems that the canons were continuing to lease out the holding at approximately the same rent as they had some 60 years earlier.[1]

The other, later, grants were of tofts. In Keddington one was leased to Henry of Wykenby and his wife for the term of their lives at an annual rent of 3s., one suit of court and an autumn boon work, while in Cockerington tofts were leased on similar terms (though no boon works were required) to John son of Walter and Roger of Saleby and their wives for the term of their lives.[2] These grants probably date from the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth centuries. An early fourteenth century lease to Ralph the

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, ff.143^{v}, 39.
2. Ibid., f.129^{v} and insert between ff. 85 and 86.

carpenter and Alice his wife of a toft, croft, six selions of arable and two pieces of meadow was made for the much higher rent of 10s. per annum and the performance of forinsec service.[1] All of these leases forbade the alienation of the holding on pain of forfeiture and stipulated that the tenants should be responsible for the maintenance of all buildings and other appurtenances. While these leases all date from the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth centuries, three of them refer to previous tenants (apparently unrelated to the present lessees). The earlier leases were, therefore, probably made in the third quarter of the thirteenth century.

Only two leases by Bullington are recorded. The earlier is dated 1237; land that was previously held of the priory by the donor, Peter Hachet, in Beckering was granted for a term of 25 years to Robert of Habrough for an annual rent of 7s.[2] The second lease, which probably dates from the end of the thirteenth century, was of a toft and bovate in Ingham, to a tenant, his wife and their son during their lives, for a rent of 8s. per annum. There is some evidence here for the 'reconstruction' of a toft and bovate holding from discrete holdings, for the toft and half of the bovate had formerly been held of the priory by Muriel of Cameringham, while the other half bovate was added out of the priory's demesne. Both of these properties had already been leased to other tenants and there is no evidence that the new tenants were

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1. Ibid., insert between ff. 85 and 86.
2. Cott. Chart., xii, 16.

kin of the old. In this instance, therefore, as in the case of most of the Alvingham leases, the priory seems to have been able to keep some measure of control over its leases.[1] The rents required tended to be higher than those demanded for similar holdings that were granted in fee. There is no evidence that leases were made on beneficial terms to benefactors or servants of the priories, and it would seem that leases were granted for the highest rent the grantors could reasonably expect. It is unlikely, however, judging from the surviving leases, that either house received more than a negligible income from this source.

Conclusions

During the thirteenth century the Gilbertine houses in Lincolnshire did not have the choices, or the problems, of the older Benedictine monasteries. Possessing very few manors and using the labour of *conversi* and hired workers rather than *nativi*, considerations whether or not to cultivate their land directly with customary tenants were irrelevant to their economy. The most important element in this economy was the grange, and both Alvingham and Bullington were continuing to consolidate their granges until the middle of the century. In a time of increasing pressure on land it is unlikely that many of their acquisitions at this time were purchases rather than outright gifts.[2] Such expenditure required capital that could come from the sale of produce, especially wool, or from rents. At the same time Gilbertine

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1. Addit.MS.6118, p.792; Harl.Chart., 44 B 2.
2. See above, pp.58-68. Malton's purchases from 1244 to 1257 reveal how much a Gilbertine house could spend on acquisitions during this period (B.L.MS.Cotton Claudius D xi, ff. 279^{v}-81.)

houses were faced with considerable financial demands and with considerable expenditure to maintain their large communities. There was, therefore, little surplus capital. It was above all the need for cash to consolidate and expand their granges in demesne that stimulated the priories to demise property, even at a time of rising agricultural prices. At the same time, there was pressure from both benefactors and servants of the houses for certain kinds of property, notably land to consolidate their own holdings and tofts to house the servants. It was precisely this type of property that the priories could not absorb into their granges, and which was readily demised.

CHAPTER V

THE GENTRY AND KNIGHTLY CLASS AS BENEFACTORS

Introduction

The benefactions of local gentry families to the priories of Alvingham and Bullington were essential to the creation and development of the houses' estates. Peasant grantors conveyed many, though small, holdings to the priories that enabled the consolidation of estates in individual villages, but it was to the gentry that the canons and nuns looked for the greater part of their land. Both priories owed their foundation to members of the gentry class: Hugh de Scoteni, William de Friston, Roger son of Gocelin and Hamelin the dean in the case of Alvingham, Simon son of William and his son, Philip I of Kyme, in that of Bullington.[1] Members of the gentry were responsible for the grants of churches to the priories and for the establishment of the granges.[2] Later, representatives of these families continued their family's tradition of benefactions or fell into debt, with the result that the priories profited by the canons' ability to purchase encumbered estates. Finally, the failure of most of these families to maintain their social and economic status into the second half of the thirteenth century, or their failure through lack of heirs, ensured that the priories could expect no more grants

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1. For the role of these men in the priories' foundations see above, pp. 8-13. Other Gilbertine houses founded by members of the local gentry class include Catley (Peter de Belingey, 1148-54), North Ormsby (Gilbert fitz Robert of Ormsby, 1148-54), Sixle (Robert ? de Gresley, c. 1148-54) and Mattersey (Roger son of Ranulf of Mattersey, c.1185).
2. For the donation of the churches see above, pp. 134-51 and for the creation of the granges see above, pp. 45-50.

from that source. Thus the fortunes of these families and those of the priories were intermeshed: the success of the priories depended upon the success of these benefactors and upon their pious preferences.

The group under consideration will first be defined and then the general role of these benefactors in the creation of the priories' estates will be considered, together with some suggestion of the motives that lay behind their grants. The greater part of the chapter, however, will consist of the presentation of six case histories of families to illustrate both their role in the establishment of the priories and their own position within north Lindsey.

Definitions

Definitions of the terms 'knight' and 'gentry' are notoriously beset with pitfalls.[1] At all periods their connotations are never fixed and at no time was the function and status of the knight changing more rapidly than during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. In general, however, during this period the number of knights was falling as the cost of military equipment rose rapidly. Those professional fighting men who held one or two knight's fees after the Conquest no longer formed the nucleus of the army, and those who did fight in person now formed a military elite. At home, too, the social status of the knight rose as numbers

1. On this thorny subject and the changing role of the knight see especially, S.Harvey, 'The Knight and the Knight's Fee in England', Past and Present 49 (1970), 3-43; E.King 'Large and Small Landowners in Thirteenth-Century England. The Case of Peterborough Abbey', Ibid., 47 (1970), 26-50. See also R.H. Hilton, A Medieval Society: The West Midlands at the end of the Thirteenth Century (London, 1966), pp.49-61.

fell. With estates that were usually more extensive than those of the knights of the late eleventh and early twelfth century, the knights of the Angevin era played an increasingly important role in local administration.

All of the families to be considered could have maintained a knightly position. They possessed to a greater or lesser degree the economic potential to become knights. Very few are known to have been active militarily, but at home they fulfilled most of the peacetime functions of the knight. Some, such as Simon of Kyme or Robert of Cokefeud, served as sheriffs, others were of more local importance. All were 'country gentlemen'. They held rights of advowson in local churches and, in a region where there were few great lords resident, dominated local society.

At the same time, the group under discussion is an extremely heterogeneous one. At its head stood those families whose economic and political status ranked almost with the magnates. Income from their estates gave them an influential position lacked by those humbler landholders whose interests were confined to one or two villages. This sub-group is represented among the archives of Alvingham and Bullington by the Kymes, Becs or d'Arcis. These families had interests that extended beyond Lincolnshire, they were sometimes active at the king's court and could take an influential part in national politics.

Below them stood the lesser tenants-in-chief and holders of small baronies. They were important local figures who held between ten and twenty knight's fees. This group

includes families such as the Scotenis de Turribus or Crevequers. Their political and economic role was usually confined to the region or county. They held public office in the locality, sometimes serving as sheriffs, as did Robert of Cokefeud, a benefactor to Alvingham in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, or in the household of a great lord, as did Reiner of Waxham, dapifer to Rannulf de Glanvill after 1177. Sometimes this group included lesser scions of important families, as were John and Peter de Melsa, benefactors of Alvingham towards the end of the twelfth century, or Alice de Neville, the wife of William de Redburn and benefactress of Alvingham in the mid-thirteenth century. This group, as will be demonstrated in more detail below, were very prone to failure.

Below these families was the bottom rung of the knightly or gentry class: men who held less than ten knight's fees and often only one or two. This group shades off into that of the wealthier peasants. Because of their comparative insignificance their history is the most difficult to reconstruct. No doubt men such as Geoffrey of Keddington or Ralph of Midley in Keddington or Geoffrey 'son of the knight of Hackthorn' were men of standing in their village, but their influence did not extend beyond it.

All these families, however, have certain aspects in common. All were essentially local in outlook, even though some might occasionally take part in national politics. None, or very few, appear to have served on military campaigns.

Nearly all were linked to each other by ties of blood or lordship, and these ties were reflected in the benefactions that they made to local religious houses.

Together this group of benefactors were responsible for the foundation of Alvingham and Bullington and for the creation and expansion of their estates. Sibyl, the wife of Lambert de Scoteni, described herself as advocata of Alvingham.[1] The ties that bound benefactors and priories together were not usually stated so explicitly: they were none the less real. Without the active support of these families the priories could never have existed. The canons relied on them for benefactions of both land and churches. Such families confirmed the grants of others and stood as warrantors of the priories' lands. Their representatives appear time after time in the witness lists to grants by their peers. In return they gained the prayers and other spiritual benefits of the communities. They received rights of burial or confraternity or placed one of their number in the communities as a recruit. Together they stood as benefactors and protectors, almost as the lay familia of the religious. It was upon their continued willingness and ability to support the priories that the economic fortunes of the canons ultimately depended.

The Role of Gentry Benefactors

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the gentry benefactors of Alvingham and Bullington. In the creation of the priories' granges they alone had sufficient

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1. See below, p. 338.

land to endow in order to establish a consolidated estate.[1] They held the advowsons of parish churches, and all the churches granted to the priories were granted by members of the local gentry, none by the great magnates.[2] They alone were in a position to grant mills and extensive pasturage rights to the canons, and they alone held culture rather than isolated selions in the open fields to grant to the priories. More negatively, the decline in importance of most of these families during the thirteenth century deprived the priories of the most important source of their benefactions, though the canons were sometimes able to reap benefit from their benefactors' decline by the purchase of their encumbered estates.

These benefactors were responsible for the foundation of Alvingham and Bullington, just as others of their kind founded Gilbertine houses of similar scale or other local houses in Lincolnshire. Alvingham was the joint creation of several of these families: those of Friston, Scoteni, Yarborough, and that of Gilbert of Sempringham himself. The three latter families are considered in more detail below; William of Friston held five knight's fees in 1166 and was of similar standing to the other founders.[3] Like them he favoured other houses as well as Alvingham. He granted land in Cockerington to Louth Park, and supported the Cluniac foundation of the family of his lord, Henry de Lacy, in Pontefract.[4]

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1. See above, pp. 45-51.
2. See above, pp. 134-51.
3. For the three families see below, pp. 237-45, 256-66; Book of Fees, i. 177.
4. Cal.Ch.R., iii. 257; The Chartulary of St. John of Pontefract, ed. R. Holmes (2 vols., Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series xxv, xxx, 1898, 1900), i. 81, 212.

Bullington was a foundation of the Kymes, and all the granges held by this house were established as the result of grants made by the Kymes or by their tenants. The priory was founded upon the demesne parkland of the family, close to their dwelling at Goltho, and a close relationship between the family and the canons was maintained over several generations. It is no coincidence that the period of Bullington's most rapid growth (c.1150-1200) coincides with the period when the Kyme family was at the height of its prestige and wealth. When the family's fortunes were eclipsed by the misfortunes of Simon I, Bullington felt the effect.

Motives for these benefactors' support of the priories were mixed. It is impossible to assess to what extent they were stimulated by piety and the hope of eternal salvation or the fear of damnation.[1] In part their foundations and benefactions were announcements of their prestige and standing in local society. Gilbertine priories, like their Augustinian or Premonstratensian counterparts, had the added advantage in this respect of being relatively cheap to endow.[2] Tenants tended to support communities favoured by their lords. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the Kymes where the granges of Burgh-le-Marsh and Prestwold were both the creation of Kyme tenants.[3] Ralph of Midley and Robert de Pormort, who

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1. But see below, p.332 for an attempt at such an assessment.
2. On this point in general see R.W.Southern, Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages (Harmondsworth, 1970), pp. 245-50.
3. See above, pp. 49, 51.

made extensive grants to Alvingham in Keddington and Cockerington, were tenants of the Scoteni fee.[1] Wold Newton grange was the creation of the Becs and their tenant Osbert, and such connections could be demonstrated in every vill in which the priories held property.[2] Ties of marriage were also of importance. Marriage into a family with close connections with the priories could lead to the assumption of pious responsibilities towards them, as was the case for example, when the Benniworth family married into the Kymes.[3] At the same time, of course, marriage by a daughter of a family of benefactors into a family with no connections with the community had the opposite effect, as is seen in the case of the Orby family or that of the Crevequers.[4]

Abcve all, benefactors were inspired by the example of their neighbours and friends. In part, no doubt, such inspiration was provoked by rivalry; thus, if the holder of one estate in a vill favoured the community such as, for example, Geoffrey of Keddington in Keddington, then it behoved the other, in this case Ralph of Midley, to follow suit. In part, too, benefactions were perhaps an expression of group solidarity. These benefactors acted together socially and politically. They fulfilled the same functions and offices, they supported each other by acting as each other's pledges, occasionally they fought together. Thus, the Kymes, the Benniworths, the Chauncis, the Scotenis and the d'Arcis, all close neighbours

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1. See above, pp. 72, 13-14.
2. See above, p. 47.
3. See below, p. 219.
4. See below, pp. 220-1, 249.

and benefactors to the priories, fought on the baronial side against John.[1] As importantly, they witnessed each other's charters in favour of the priories. In this neighbourly environment the pressures to favour the same religious houses were considerable.

Whatever the varied motives for support of Alvingham and Bullington displayed by these benefactors, their role was crucial to the success of the priories. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a brief account of six of the more important families in the history of the priories and will attempt to demonstrate how the changing situation of the benefactors affected their attitudes towards the communities they favoured.

Some Case Histories

1. Kyme.

This family, the founders and benefactors of Bullington, was one of the most influential in Lincolnshire. In the second half of the twelfth century it possessed 'probably the largest holding of any knightly family in the kingdom ... far larger than that of many of the barons'.[2] Though only 1½ fees were held directly of the crown, they held about 30 fees in mesne and regularly paid the baronial relief of £100 during the thirteenth century.[3] Their estates were largely confined

1. J.C. Holt, The Northerners: a Study in the Reign of King John (Oxford, 1961), passim.
2. W.Farrer, Honors and Knights Fees (3 vols., London and Manchester, 1923-5), ii.118.
3. I.J. Sanders, English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent, 1086-1327 (Oxford, 1960), p.79.

to Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and they were prominent in local and sometimes in national affairs. In spite of vicissitudes the family survived in the male line until the death of William II, Lord Kyme, in 1338 when their estates passed with his sister Lucy to the Umbravilles.[1]

The early history of the family is obscure and complicated, though it is likely that they descended from a William, tenant of Walden the engineer in 1086.[2] The first member of the family of whom much is known is Simon son of William, the founder of Bullington.

Simon was farmer of the earl of Chester's lands from 1158 to 1161, and farmer of Doncaster from 1160 to 1161.[3] He is probably to be identified with the Simon son of William who was pardoned 4 marks on the levy of his knights in Lincolnshire in 1161, and who paid a mark in the following year for the amercements of his men in the county.[4] He remains, however, a shadowy figure : the servant of a great lord rather than a great lord himself.

His benefactions to religious houses were almost entirely confined to his foundation of Bullington, which was founded on the demesne parkland of his estate.[5] To this grant he added the two churches of Bullington and Langton, a mill in Hackthorn and land in Faldingworth.[6] He did, however, grant some land

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1. G.E.C., vii. 357.
2. W. Farrer, op.cit., ii. 118.
3. Ibid., ii. 119.
4. Ibid., ii. 119.
5. CGH., p.91.
6. DC., no.2; CGH., p.91;

in Metheringham to Kirkstead abbey.[1] In his foundation of Bullington Simon was typical of a new type of benefactor. These men have been characterised as 'of modest means but with the instincts of great landlords. Like their betters they wanted that symbol of territorial stability - a religious house where they would be honoured as founders and patrons, and buried with decency in the midst of their family..'[2] Bullington stands as a memorial to the aspirations of a relatively minor lord, but one whose status was increasingly important.

Simon's sister, Sibyl, was also a benefactor of Bullington. She purchased land in Lincoln from the priory of Nocton Park which was then purchased of her by Simon, who founded a hospice for the canons and brethren of Bullington on the site. Sibyl confirmed this grant and received a grant of confraternity in exchange.[3] She was married to Roger, son of Walter of Benniworth, whose mother Lucy donated a mill on the river Bain to the priory, and who himself granted a croft of seven acres next to the mill.[4] Roger also appears as a witness to charters in favour of the Gilbertine houses of Sixle, Ormsby and Catley, and the links between his descendants and local Gilbertine houses were to be close and long-lasting.[5]

Simon left at least three children: Philip I of Kyme

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1. B.L. Cott. Vespasian E.xviii, f.72.
2. R.W. Southern, Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages (Harmondsworth, 1970) p.245
3. DC., no.76.
4. CGH., p.95.
5. Ibid., pp.15 (Sixle), 55 (Ormsby), 84 (Catley).

(the heir), Simon and Agnes.[1] The latter married Herbert, son of Alard of Orby, a local landowner. The grants made by Agnes and Herbert well illustrate the diversity of grants made to several houses in the region. They granted 16 bovates in Walcot and two bovates in Folkingham to Sempringham when their daughter was received into the house.[2] Agnes granted a 'small' carucate, a toft and half of the church in South Ferriby to Bullington, and purchased 1/12th of a knight's fee in Ingham from the clerk of Ingham which she granted to Bullington in her widowhood.[3] She also founded the Premonstratensian abbey of Hagnaby in 1175-6 in honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Its endowment was small, and for 70 years it remained a dependant on Welbeck priory, whose patron was Simon of Kyme, Agnes' nephew.[4] Agnes and Herbert also granted land to Welbeck and Bardney.[5] It was probably as a result of these gifts to various houses that Agnes' own foundation of Hagnaby was so poorly endowed, rather than the fact that her resources 'were insufficient for the endowment of an autonomous house with the status of an abbey'.[6]

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1. W. Farrer, op.cit., ii.119-21.
2. The witness list includes Philip of Kyme and four of his sons. E.M.Poynton, 'Charters relating to the Priory of Sempringham', Genealogist, new series xv (1899), 226.
3. DC., nos. 27, 68. Philip of Kyme and her uncle, Roger of Benniworth, were among the witnesses to the first charter; Thomas, prior of Hagnaby, the sub-prior of Bullington, the prior of Kyme priory (founded by Philip I) the chaplain of Simon of Kyme, the clerk of Philip I, master Richard of Kyme, canon of Lincoln (probably a son of Philip I) and Roger of Benniworth were among the witnesses to the second charter. Herbert also granted a nativus to the priory (DC., no.87).
4. H.M.Colvin, The White Canons in England (Oxford, 1951), pp. 107-8.
5. Ibid., p.68; W. Farrer, op.cit., ii.98.
6. H.M. Colvin, op.cit., p.108.

After the death of Agnes the interest of the Orby family in Bullington waned. Her interests were subsumed in those of her husband's family, and she was buried not at Bullington but at Hagnaby.[1] The family's benefactions thereafter were concentrated on that house.

Simon, Agnes' brother, was a generous benefactor to Bullington. He granted all his holding of Mablethorpe which his father had given him, all his land in Hardwick (which became a grange of Bullington), a bovate in Skegness and the churches of Hameringham and Bilborough (with its dependant chapel of Strelley).[2] It is unclear how much of his father's patrimony Simon received, but it seems likely that Simon held little or no land in demesne. Certainly all the land he granted to Bullington was held by tenants. Hardwick was granted to the priory while Simon was on Crusade (in itinere de ultra mare). The priory could retain the land if Simon failed to return.[3]

Simon's main estates may have lain in Nottinghamshire, for in 1174 he was pardoned 10s. of the scutage of Ireland as a tenant of the Peverel fee there in 1174.[4] The name of Simon's wife is unknown. Their son Simon married Isobel, daughter and heiress of Thomas of Cuckney. Thomas was the founder of Welbeck abbey and therefore Simon son of Simon

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1. She was buried with her husband in the chapter house (Ibid., p.108).
2. DC., nos. 53, 100. For the donation of the churches see above, pp. 150-1. For Bilborough see also W.Farrer, op.cit., iii. 182-4.
3. Addit.MS.6118, p.719.
4. W. Farrer suggested that he held the manor of Bilborough which had come to his father by grant of Henry II when the honour of Peverel came into his hands and which was then surrendered to Simon by his father (W.Farrer, op.cit., iii. 182).

inherited the patronage of that house.[1] Not surprisingly he made no grants to Bullington, but a tenement was granted to Lincoln cathedral.[2]

Of much greater importance was Philip I of Kyme. Philip was certainly associated with his father in the foundation of Bullington, being described as co-founder in a charter of Roger of Benniworth.[3] He granted a number of churches to the priory, and lands in Bullington, Faldingworth (where he granted all his demesne), Ingham, Huttoft, West Torrington, Newton-by-Toft, Toft-by-Newton, East Halton, Sutton-in-the-Marsh, Kyme, Spridlington and Wainfleet.[4]

In many Bullington charters he appears as the most important witness, and in agreements and disputes involving the priory he fulfilled all the traditional roles of the lay advocate. His parents were buried in the convent, his daughter Joanna was a nun there.[5] He purchased land from a tenant, William of Pontfol, for 40 marks 'for the use of the nuns of Bullington'.[6] In 1191 he helped to pay off the debt of £400 owed by Bullington to Aaron of Lincoln. In a complicated arrangement he provided for the payment of 60s. of the 100s. that Bullington had compounded to pay annually to the Exchequer until the debt had been paid off. This sum was to be paid by

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1. H.M.Colvin, op.cit., p.68.
2. Reg.Ant.,vi.no.1827. This may represent the toft and two bovates confirmed to the cathedral by the earl of Chester c.1208-13 (Ibid., no.1850).
3. CGH., p.95. The grant was made to the church which 'Simon son of William and Philip his son and heir founded'.
4. DC.,nos.3,9,10,19,20,48,56,59,61,71,103.He also granted the priory license to fish in his waters of Dogdike four men with two boats and two nets for the two days of the year when the nuns were travelling to and from the general chapter at Sempringham (CGH., p.92).
5. See below, p. 336.
6. Addit.MS.6118,p.783.Philip may have been acting as the priory's agent in this instance.

his sister Sibyl and son, Gilbert of Benniworth, from the farm they owed Philip for land they held of Philip in East Halton. In return the total farm owed by them was reduced from 100s. to 80s. per annum.[1]

Though Philip was most generous to Bullington, his grants to other Lincolnshire houses were extensive and reveal the wide range of pious interests held by this benefactor. He founded the small Augustinian priory of North Kyme on his demesne land there.[2] He granted 10 acres of meadow and pasture for 180 sheep in Huttoft to Louth Park, and half a carucate of arable in Metheringham to the Templars.[3] Bourne received the church, the priest's dwelling and two acres of land in Helpringham; Bardney gained the church of Sotby, two saltpans and a holm in Friskney.[4] Philip further granted the church of Wainfleet to the hospital of Partenay, which later came under the care of Bardney.[5] He constituted the prebend of Carlton to the cathedral of Lincoln, saving the right of his son Simon to the advowson.[6]

Philip's grants to these houses shew him to have been a figure of considerable wealth and importance in the county.

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1. DC., nos. 49, 50.
2. Its main revenue seems to have been from its spiritualia. Philip granted it the churches of Kyme, Wainfleet All Saints, Swarby, Ewerby, Osbournby, Metheringham, Thorpe, Calceby, Northolme and Croft (Mon.Ang. vi.377).
3. Cal.Ch.R., iii.265; Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: The Inquest of 1185, ed.B.A.Lees (British Academy Records of Social and Economic History ix. 1935), p.84.
4. Cal.Ch.R., iv.45, 249, 254.
5. Ibid., iv.249, 254, 255.
6. Reg.Ant., i.no.214. It is hardly surprising that this prebend was later held by Richard of Kyme who was probably Philip's son (Fasti, iii.57). He also confirmed the grant of his brother Simon to the cathedral in Skegness (Reg.Ant., vi.no.1828).

The majority of his land lay in Lincolnshire, but it is difficult to determine the exact extent of his holdings. In 1166 he held two fees of the bishop of Lincoln, three of the bishop of Durham, two (with Joscelin of Engleby) of Richard de Haia, 1½ of William de Romare, one (with Eustace de Berchectane) of Walter de Ainecurt and 4½ fees of earl Simon (of Northampton). In Yorkshire he held a fee of William de Curci and is also known to have held of William Peverel in Nottinghamshire.[1] The extent of his considerable holdings of the honour of Chester is not recorded, and his own return as tenant-in-chief has not survived.[2] Since in 1211 the family paid scutage on only 1½ fees and his half fee in Sotby was not acquired until 1177, it seems only one fee was held of the king in chief in 1166.[3] Little is known of Philip's wife Hawise, though it has been suggested that she was the heiress of a fee in Kyme from which Philip took his toponym.[4] The extent of her holding is not known.

Philip served in the household both of the earl of Chester (for whose estates in Lincolnshire, Warwickshire and Leicestershire he began to account in 1181) and Gilbert de Gant, whose dapifer he became.[5] Employment by Gilbert gave Philip an opportunity to expand the family's interests in Yorkshire. He witnessed grants by Gilbert and his daughter Alice in favour of Rievaulx and Bridlington; he also witnessed grants by other

1. Red Book of the Exchequer, ed. H.Hall (3 vols., Rolls Series, 1896), passim.
2. But see W.Farrer, op.cit., ii.120.
3. I.J.Sanders, op.cit., p.79.
4. W.Farrer, op.cit., ii.120.
5. Ibid., ii.120-1.

Yorkshire magnates.[1] It was possibly through the de Gant connection that Philip's ties with the Gilbertines were strengthened. Gilbert of Sempringham's father had been a tenant of the earl, and while witnessing a grant of William Tison (a neighbour of de Gant in the Lincolnshire vill of South Ferriby) in favour of Sempringham in Lincoln cathedral Philip met St. Gilbert.[2] This is a rare example of a recorded meeting between a prominent benefactor of the Gilbertines and Gilbert himself. It was such personal links that undoubtedly provided the greatest impetus for benefactions to be made to the priories, but they are rarely recorded. Though Philip probably gained little land for himself as a result of his service in Yorkshire, it opened the way for his son to take advantage of the ties thus made.

Little is known of Philip's career as a royal servant. From 1162 to 1166 he was farmer of Tickhill, and in Michaelmas 1167 he became sheriff of Lincoln, a post he held till the following Easter.[3] He was one of the barons present at the Council of London (1177) when Henry II made an agreement between the kings of Castille and Navarre.[4] It is uncertain whether Philip took part in the baronial rebellion of 1173, but in 1176 he, his brother Simon and earl Simon (of Northampton) provided 90 marks for the redemption of Ralph de Watervill, one of the rebels.[5] In 1177 some of the land he held of the

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1. EYC., ii.470,472 (Rievaulx); 438,494 (Bridlington).
2. The grant was made in presentia magistri Gilberti. EYC., xii.131.
3. W.Farrer, op.cit., ii.120.
4. T.Rymer, Foedera, i.part 1. 34.
5. W.Farrer, op.cit., ii.121.

king was confiscated and the land he held in Sotby, Cales, Sutton and Thorpe was only retained on payment of a £100 fine.[1] Such action may have been the result of Philip's participation in the rebellion.

By 1177, moreover, Philip was in financial difficulties. The debts he incurred as farmer of Tickhill were not paid off until 1174-5, and the same year he was fined 20 marks for an unjust disseisin of which 10 marks was still unpaid in 1177.[2] By that time, too, he was in debt to the Jews. In 1182 he was accused by Ralph Brand of London of owing him £50. In 1185 two Jews claimed sums from him because he had stood surety for defaulting debtors.[3] In 1192 Philip owed £254 13s. 4d. to the king of the debts of Aaron of Lincoln, of which he compounded to pay 100 marks per annum.[4]

In the last years of his life, therefore, Philip's position was increasingly difficult. He was heavily in debt and had failed to acquire any major new estates. The Kymes were moving into the first rank of Lincolnshire society; Philip had demonstrated the piety of his house by many grants to religious communities; he had served his king (perhaps without scrupulous loyalty) and two of the country's leading

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1. His lands were restored to him in 1178. W.Farrer, op.cit., ii.121.
2. Pipe Roll 21 Henry II (P.R.S.xxii, 1897), pp.146, 84; Pipe Roll 23. Henry II (P.R.S.xxvi, 1905), p.109.
3. Pipe Roll 28 Henry II (P.R.S.xxxi, 1910), p.161; W.Farrer, op.cit., ii.121. His financial position in 1185 could not have been helped by the fine of 100 marks imposed upon him for his failure to produce a man in court for when he had stood surety (Pipe Roll 31 Henry II /P.R.S.xxxiv, 1913/ p.92).
4. This debt was still unpaid when Philip died. Pipe Rolls 3 and 4 Richard I (P.R.S.xl, 1926), p.231.

magnates. But all was not well beneath the facade and Philip's heirs were left with a crippling legacy of debt.

Philip died between 1189 and 1194. He left at least five sons: Simon, Philip, William, Walter and Gilbert. His daughter, Joanna, was a nun in Bullington, and there was at least one other daughter, Eleanor.[1] Richard of Kyme, a canon of Lincoln and ecclesiastic of the family, was probably also a son of Philip.[2] Both Richard and Philip witnessed grants in favour of Bullington, but were not themselves benefactors.[3] Richard of Kyme made only one grant, to his cathedral.[4] Philip son of Philip I was also a donor to the cathedral, granting a moiety of the church of Potton to Lincoln and a moiety to Kyme priory.[5]

Simon of Kyme was altogether more important, both as a political figure and as a benefactor to religious houses in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. He married Rohaise, the daughter of Robert son of Robert, the steward of William de Perci II. His brother William married Margaret, the sister of Rohaise.[6] These marriages were clearly a result of the de Gant connection created by their father, for Robert had married Rohaise,

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1. For Joanna see below p. 336.
2. Fasti, iii. 19,57.
3. E.g., DC., nos. 3, 32,61; CGH., p.95. Richard acted as one of the spokesmen for the priory in a dispute between Bullington and Stainfield nunnery (Harl.Chart., 44 A 23).
4. Reg.Ant., ix.no.2606.
5. Reg.Ant., iii.nos.654, 655. This church had already been granted c.1120 to St. Andrew's priory, Northampton by David I of Scotland. The priory at the request of Henry II granted the church to Ralf Foliot, archdeacon of Hereford. Philip ignored both these grants. Not surprisingly much litigation followed and Philip's grant was declared null and void.
6. EYC., xi.96-7.

the widow of Gilbert de Gant, after the latter's death in 1156. Robert held 3½ knight's fees of the Perci honour: comprising lands in Ilkley, Pallethorpe (with appurtenances in Ouston and Heaulagh) and Snainton in Yorkshire, and in Cawthorpe, Elkington, Fotherby, Little Grimsby, Immingham and Kirmond-le-Mire in Lincolnshire, with outlying estates in both counties.[1] On Robert's death it has been suggested that this holding went to Margaret, while the inheritance of Robert's first wife, Alice de Arches, passed to Rohaise.[2] On the death of Margaret (sometime before .1184) William lost his right to hold by courtesy of England and their land passed to Simon and his wife. William was probably given land in Elkington by Simon to compensate for the loss of his interest. It may also have been at this time that William was given the ⅛ fee that a descendant was reported to hold of Simon in Covenham and Cawthorpe in 1242.[3]

In 1212 Simon's landed position was considerable. It consisted of his fees in Yorkshire and large holdings in Lindsey and south Lincolnshire. Only a little land is said to have been subinfeudated: in Sotby where Philip I had enfeoffed three tenants with 7½ bovates out of a total holding of four carucates.[4] William of Kyme does not appear in the 1212 inquiry. He may have died by 1212 or all his lands may have lain in Yorkshire, for which no returns have survived.

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1. EYC., xi.89. The holding was said to be four knights fees on Robert's death.
2. Ibid., xi.97.
3. Ibid., xi.98.
4. Book of Fees, i. 154, 159-62, 164, 166-171, 176, 178-80, 192. For Sotby see Ibid., i.170.

Philip, another brother, held 2 5/6 fees besides three carucates and five bovates for which the service due is not recorded, but the estates of Simon far exceeded those of his brother.[1] Various factors, however, worked against this seeming prosperity.

New family connections brought new commitments to religious houses. Communities such as Nun Appleton, Heaulaugh Park and Sallay came into the Kyme orbit. Rohaise's mother Alice was the founder of Nun Appleton, and Simon inherited an interest in that nunnery from her.[2] Rohaise had an interest in Heaulaugh Park, which lay on the demesne land that she brought to Simon in inheritance. Simon also granted land in Ilkley to Sallay abbey and land in Earby to the Hospitallers.[3] At the same time the family interests in Lincolnshire were not forgotten, but there was, however, a marked decline in the scale of donations to houses that had previously greatly benefited from the patronage of the Kymes. Simon granted a nativus in Southrey and all the tithes of his lands in Brethage to Bullington.[4] He also granted three nativi and their lands in Helpringham and all of his demesne land in Kirmond-le-Mire that he had inherited with his wife, and which probably amounted

1. Book of Fees, i. 160, 161, 164, 166.
2. EYC., ix. 95, 97. William of Kyme granted 30 acres in Elkington and two bovates of pasture to Nun Appleton in exchange for two bovates which his wife's father had bequeathed to them. He also granted pasture for 300 sheep, six oxen and two horses in Elkington, and a cartway and land in Covenham to the community. William's second wife Lucy granted the nuns three acres of arable in Ormington. (EYC., xi.96).
3. EYC., xi.97-8.
4. Harl.Chart., 52 H 2 (Southrey); Addit.MS.6118, p. 716 (Brethage). He also confirmed the grants of both his ancestors and tenants.

to 6½ bovates, to Sixle priory.[1] Rather more land was granted to Bardney. Some land was granted in Southrey but of more interest were transactions involving lands in Baumber and Brethage. Bardney granted a third of the vill of Baumber and the mill there to Simon and William his brother, in return for seven pounds of silver per annum. Later this rent was increased to a money rent of 20s. per annum.[2] In 1216 Simon sold all his land in Brethage to Bardney for 113 marks 'which they (the monks) gave me for the release of Philip of Kyme my son and heir'.[3] Philip was held captive by John in 1216 and a large ransom was exacted for his release.[4] Simon was clearly in financial difficulties by 1216, but even much earlier in the reign he had been forced to demise his land in Thornton (Yorkshire) to Kirkstead for eight years.[5] The advantages gained for Simon by increased holdings in Yorkshire were therefore offset by the new responsibilities to religious houses there. The decline in the number and size of grants is at least in part attributable to lack of land to grant away. Such a lack probably explains Simon's readiness to hold land for a considerable money rent from Bardney. At the same time, however, his financial difficulties forced him to sell land.

In national politics and administration, Simon was always

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1. CGH., p.8.
2. Cal.Ch.R., iv.238.
3. B.L.Cott.Vesp.E xx, f.89v.
4. R.Lit.Pat. 163b, 192b.
5. It is not known how much Simon received for this land. C.R.R., i. 392-3.

a leading, though only intermittently a loyal, servant of the crown. He first appears in the Pipe Roll of 1174 when he was associated with his father in the redemption of the rebel Ralph de Waterville.[1] At least twice in following years he was fined for keeping dogs against the Assize of the Forest, and in 1185 he was fined 40 marks because, after recognising that he had no right in land in Baumber, he proceeded to fight a duel over the same land.[2] In 1194 he was a pledge for Gilbert of Benniworth, his uncle, who owed 40 marks because he had married a ward of the king without royal licence.[3] Already it is apparent that he was a man difficult to control and that he was prepared to break royal laws in a variety of ways.

This pattern continued more obviously under John. At the same time Simon accumulated high office: in 1190 he became keeper of the royal forest of Galtres; the following year he was one of the royal judges in Yorkshire and was hearing pleas in London and Middlesex.[4] In 1194 he became sheriff of Lincolnshire paying 40 marks '<u>de dono habendo comitatis</u>.[5] In 1197 he paid 100 marks to avoid going to Normandy and was fined the enormous sum of 1000 marks for the unexplained offence of allowing 'the ships and merchandise of foreign merchants to go away from Boston fair'.[6] In 1204

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1. See above, p.225.
2. W. Farrer, <u>op.cit.</u>, ii.120.
3. Pipe Roll 6 Richard I (P.R.S.xliii, 1928), 118.
4. <u>Pipe Roll 2 Richard I</u> (P.R.S. xxxix, 1925), p.60; <u>Pipe Rolls 3 and 4 Richard I</u> (P.R.S. xl, 1926), pp.74, 75, 139.
5. <u>Pipe Roll 6 Richard I</u> (P.R.S. xliii, 1928), p.103.
6. <u>Pipe Roll 9 Richard I</u> (P.R.S. xlvi, 1931), pp.100, 111.

he was one of the collectors of tallage for Lincolnshire and in 1207 he became a commissioner for gaol delivery in Lincoln.[1] This is the last record of an official appointment for Simon until those made by John under compulsion at the height of the baronial unrest.

During all this time Simon's debts were mounting. As heir to those of his father he had inherited an almost insuperable burden, and it is likely that Simon also suffered by standing surety for debtors who later defaulted.[2] Simon's total debt when he ceased to be sheriff in Michaelmas 1197 stood at £992 10s. 8d., of which he was to pay £200 per annum. At the same time he was pardoned 200 of the 1000 mark fine that he had incurred earlier in the year.[3] Such a sum is a reminder that the baronial rebels against John may well have incurred the majority of their debts, whose enforced repayment was so potent a royal weapon in the days of John, in the days of his father and brother. Simon's debts continued unpaid after John's accession, and to them were accumulated sums unpaid for scutage or to avoid overseas service.[4] By 1203 the pressure was mounting and Simon paid 20 marks to have a jury of Christians and Jews determine whether the sum the Jews of Lincoln were claiming from him by reason of his father's debts were really owed or not.[5] It is against this background of mounting

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1. Pipe Roll 6 John (P.R.S. lvi, 1940), p.48; R.Lit.Claus.i.83b.
2. E.g. Pipe Roll 9 John (P.R.S. lx, 1946), p.17.
3. Pipe Roll 9 Richard I (P.R.S. xlvi, 1931), pp.114-15.
4. E.g. Pipe Roll 5 John (P.R.S. liv, 1938), pp.100, 114, 118.
5. Ibid., p.99. There is no record that these debts were ever paid off.

insolvency that Simon's grants to religious houses must be seen. While only on a few occasions is it certain that Simon was selling land to the houses, sales should perhaps be assumed in the majority of cases.[1]

There is no space to discuss at length the role of Simon in the baronial rebellion, but among the Lincolnshire rebels he played a prominent role.[2] It may be no more than coincidence that so many of the knightly donors to the Gilbertines were found in the rebel cause. They include Thomas of Moulton (a close friend and ally of Simon and a benefactor of Bullington), Gilbert of Benniworth (a kinsman and benefactor of Bullington) and the Scotenis, Chauncis and d'Arcis (all benefactors of Alvingham). On the other hand their common political cause may point to a closer and more longstanding link between these men, fostered by grants of land to the same small and local order. Moreover they acted as witnesses of each others' grants and together stood as a well-defined local community. Two examples of this group, all donors to Gilbertine houses, acting together are illustrative here. In 1206 Simon supported Norman d'Arci's proffer for the d'Arci barony and agreed with him to pay 600 marks, six palfries and a destrier for the lands of Thomas, Norman's father.[3] In 1207 Simon, Simon de Chaunci and Alexander of Pointon (a benefactor of Sempringham) were amongst those backing Ralph of

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1. He also sold the advowson of the Kyme prebend in Lincoln cathedral to John (R.Lit.Pat., i.part 1. 78).
2. See J.C. Holt, The Northerners: A Study in the Reign of King John, (Oxford, 1961), passim.
3. Pipe Roll 8 John (P.R.S. lviii, 1942), p.104.

Willoughby in an appeal for a stay of judgment on Ralph.[1]

In 1212 Simon was one of those who met John to urge reforms; the following year he was one of the four sent on general commission to hear complaints against royal officials.[2] In 1214 he sent his son to serve in Poitou rather than going himself,and was therefore freed from the payment of scutage. At the same time the rate of repayment of his accumulated debts was reduced from 500 marks to 200 per annum.[3] There can be very little doubt that it was these debts that finally pushed Simon into the rebel camp. His Jewish debts alone amounted to £853 12s. 4d. capital and £419 11s. 6d. interest in 1211-2. He compounded these to £1000 to be paid off over three years. This was a very heavy rate of compoundment, equalled only by John's pressure on other recalcitrant barons. It was an impossibly large sum even though in the same year he was pardoned a further debt of £139 5s. 4d.[4]

Soon after the start of the civil war Simon's lands were taken into the hands of Geoffrey de Neville, the king's chamberlain.[5] Philip, Simon's son,was captured in 1216 at Rochester,and there is evidence that at this time Simon was engaged in negotiations with the king. Letters patent frequently refer to safe conducts granted to him,and one entry refers to similar letters to two bearers of the king bringing

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1. Pipe Roll 9 John (P.R.S. lx, 1944), pp. 11-12.
2. R.Lit.Pat., i. part 1, 97.
3. R.Lit.Claus. i. part 1, 201b;
4. J.C.Holt, op.cit., p.168.
5. R.Lit.Claus., i. part 1.233, 248, 309.

two goshawks from Simon to the king; this may be an attempt to curry favour with his king by appealing to John's passion for hunting.[1] At this time Philip was still in custody and Simon was allowed to go to his lands 'to speak with his friends concerning making his peace with the king and to discuss the release of his son'. Simon was then with the king at Newcastle, and was instructed to go to one of his manors lying near the route of John's return from the north and to meet John there.[2]

Unfortunately this plan fell through; Philip continued to languish in gaol, and in 1217 Peter de Maulay was ordered to take him to Bristol for safe-keeping; Philip was evidently regarded as one of the more important baronial prisoners.[3] Simon himself was probably captured during the battle of Lincoln, but in 1218 he made his peace and was found in the royal army at Newark.[4] By this time his lands had been committed to the earl of Albemarle. If by this late recantation Simon hoped to salvage something from the disaster he was mistaken: when he died in 1220 all his holdings of the earldom of Chester and Lincoln had been demised to pay for his redemption.

Simon's political and financial experiences have been dwelt on at some length. This has been partly because there is more evidence for Simon's career than there is, for example,

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1. R.Lit.Pat., i, part 1. 162, 166.
2. Ibid., i, part 1. 163.
3. Ibid., i, part 1. 192.
4. Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury, ed. W.Stubbs (2 vols., Rolls Series, 1879-80), ii.111; R.Litt.Claus., i. part 2.379.

for those of his Scoteni or Chaunci contemporaries, and partly because his misfortunes seem to provide the only valid explanation for the almost complete moratorium on grants to religious houses by the family in following years. This decline in benefactions is a general phenomenon among the priories' benefactors in the thirteenth century: the case of the Kymes is only unusual in that the family were extraordinarily generous until the death of Simon, and their decline in John's reign was more acute than that of any other family. Moreover, unlike other families to be considered, the family did recover and faced no dangers through lack of heirs until well into the next century. Somehow the impetus to make grants in free alms had been lost: the answer is surely to be found in the time of Simon when debts, political miscalculations and lack of land to alienate combined with a general inflationary situation to create a policy of forced retrenchment.

Philip II of Kyme succeeded to a temporarily depleted inheritance and to the unpaid debts of his father. One of the first acts of Simon's widow and son was to grant their manors of South Elkington and Cawthorpe to bishop Hugh of Wells of Lincoln for 20 years, for an annual farm of 20 marks. The very detailed conveyance lists the Kymes' pledges; they include representatives of the rebel families with which Simon and his son had been associated: the Chauncis, Benniworths and Beckerings.[1] It was not a happy start to Philip's years as

1. Reg.Ant., i.no.233. .In 1233 Hugh made over this land to Louth Park in his will, or provided for the annual payment of 10 marks to the abbey as an alternative (Ibid., ii.no.372).

head of the Kyme household.

With Simon's death the family's close links with Bullington came to an end. Only three charters in favour of Bullington in the post-1220 period are known. Simon, son of Philip II of Kyme, granted part of his wood in Bullington to the priory.[1] Philip III, son of Sir William of Kyme, granted part of his wood in Bullington and exchanged a little over 15 acres of arable for 16½ acres in the same vill at the end of the thirteenth century.[2] Though the family survived and prospered, as in the case of their less fortunate contemporaries their grants to religious houses dried up. The family had overreached itself politically and financially in John's reign. It is hardly surprising that retrenchment followed and that the religious houses were one of the first groups to feel its effects.

II Scoteni

This family dominates much of the early history of Alvingham. From them the priory received lands in Alvingham itself, in Cockerington, Grainthorpe, Keddington, Withcall and Stainton-le-Vale. They were also responsible for the grants of the churches of St. Leonard's, Cockerington and their share of the churches of St. Mary's, Cockerington and Stainton-le-Vale.[3]

Hugh de Scoteni appears to have been the heir, and was probably the grandson, of Ralf de Criol who held considerable estates scattered throughout the northern wapentakes of

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1. Harl.Chart., 52 H 38 (mid-thirteenth century).
2. Harl.Charts., 52 H7, 21.
3. For an account of this family see Reg.Ant., vi. Appendix II, 171-81 and also I.J.Sanders, op.cit., pp.81-2.

Lincolnshire in 1118. This land amounted to some 16½ carucates. In none of the vills did Ralf's holding amount to more than two carucates, and in Stainton-le-Vale, which was later the caput of the Scoteni barony, it amounted to only 5½ bovates.[1] To this inheritance should be added the dowry of his wife Bertha, which amounted to 34 bovates in Great Limber.[2] There was, therefore, scope for alienation of property to neighbouring religious houses. Hugh spread his grants widely. To Alvingham he granted a toft and bovate in Alvingham, a bovate and a mill with its croft and another 12 acres of arable in Cockerington, together with his share of the church.[3] He granted arable and woodland in Cockerington to Louth Park, and two bovates, a mansura and land in Hennedale in Great Limber to Newhouse.[4] He also granted tithes from some of his Lincolnshire estates to Lewes priory (Sussex).[5]

Hugh died between 1150 and 1160 and was succeeded by his son Lambert. In 1166 Lambert held 10 knights' fees. Half of his land had been demised to tenants, half continued to be held in demesne, with the exception of three quarters of a fee which he had granted to Robert de Pormort.[6] Up to this time, therefore, the integrity of the Scoteni demesne estates survived, apart from the grants made by Hugh to religious houses.

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1. Lincolnshire Domesday, pp. 239, 240, 245, 249, 250, 254, 256.
2. Reg.Ant., vi.172.
3. Laud Misc.MS 642, ff.12a^{v}, 60.
4. Cal.Ch.R., iii. 247-8 (Louth Park); DC., no. 303; Cal.Ch.R., iii.386 (Newhouse).
5. Reg.Ant., vi.171.
6. Red Book of the Exchequer, ed. H.Hall (3 vols., Rolls Series, 1896), i.385.

Like his father before him Lambert was a benefactor to several religious houses. Alvingham remained the favoured priory of the family, and he granted land in Cockerington, his share of the church of Stainton-le-Vale and ¾ bovate, a toft and a nativus in Withcall that he purchased from Ralf of Withcall for 4 marks.[1] He granted all the Scoteni land in Sixle and some land in Kingthorpe to Sixle priory (Gilbertine), land and pasture in Saxedale and Withcall to Kirkstead (Cistercian), and a croft in Withcall to Louth Park.[2] Grants were also made to the Cistercian nunnery of Nun Cotham and to the Templars, who received two carucates in Great Limber.[3]

Lambert de Scoteni was never of more than local importance. There is no indication that he was ever employed as a royal servant. His activities were confined to the area of north Lincolnshire in which he resided. Charters to which he was a witness suggest that he rarely, if ever, moved in the orbit of the great magnates. The most important families to which he acted as a witness of their transactions were the Kymes and the de Baiocis family. His local activities are perhaps typified by an agreement which he and other landholders in Cockerington drew up between the vills of Cockerington and Somercotes, concerning the repair of a dike and causeway between the two settlements.[4] He only rarely appeared in the royal courts,

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, ff.60, 143^{v}, 143.
2. CGH., p.6 (Sixle); B.L.Cott.Vespasian E. xviii, f.83 (Kirkstead); Cal.Ch.R., iii.263 (Louth Park).
3. Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: The Inquest of 1185, ED. B.A.Lees (British Academy Records of Social and Economic History ix, 1935), p.104: Bodl.MS. Top. Linc.d.l., ff.14^{v}, 26 (Nun Cotham).
4. Final Concords ii. 333-4.

once, in 1199, being engaged in a suit against Gerard de Canville shortly before his death, in obscure litigation that may have been over the de Criol inheritance.[1]

Before Michaelmas 1202 Lambert was dead, leaving no male heir. From this,time until the fortunes of the family finally collapsed in 1276,there were to be no direct male heirs. The inevitable division of the estate between numerous co-heiresses slowly took its toll,and the de Scoteni barony ignominiously sank into oblivion. Disputes concerning the inheritance began immediately on Lambert's death and were not settled until 1207 when Thomas and William, the sons of the two daughters of Lambert's younger brother, Walter, divided the inheritance between them.[2] The division of the barony had important repercussions for the religious houses faboured by the family, for reduction of its size inevitably meant a reduction in the capacity for benefactions, especially as it is apparent from the Inquest of 1212 that considerable sub-infeudation had taken place since 1166.[3] The lands over which Thomas and William maintained real control therefore, were substantially depleted and the landed assets of the Scoteni's were running low.

At the same time the family was becoming increasingly indebted; Lambert de Scoteni had been a debtor of Aaron the Jew, and he was dilatory in his payment of scutages and in his

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1. Reg.Ant., vi.175. Miss Major pointed out that this was a strange time to make such a dispute, forty years after Lambert succeeded to his inheritance and less than a year before his death.
2. Ibid., vi.176-8. See also I.J.Sanders, op.cit. p.82.
3. Ibid., vi.173.

contribution to the ransom of Richard I, which may suggest inability to pay as well as unwillingness.[1] The debts of Thomas and William, however, were on a larger scale. The former's debts to the Jews were extensive, and when William died, in or before 1232, an agreement was made whereby his heiresses who were of age were to continue the arrangement made between William and the Crown to pay £10 per annum of the debts he owed the Crown.[2]

The misfortune of the Scoteni's was in part a result of the divided inheritance. Not only were the brothers obliged to divide the barony, they also paid for the privilege. In 1207 Thomas proferred £100 and a palfrey to have his share of the estates.[3] This was a very considerable sum for a man who stood to gain only five fees, and it is not surprising that the brothers had to go to the money lenders. In part, however, the brothers brought their misfortunes on themselves, for they made common cause against king John. The result was temporary confiscation of their lands. Though they were given back in 1217 it is extremely unlikely that they were returned without the payment of a heavy fine, though one is not recorded.[4] Like many of their class and neighbours the Scotenis, already in difficulties, compounded their problems by political misjudgment.

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1. Pipe Rolls 3 and 4 Richard I (P.R.S. xl, 1926) p.21. An entry on the Pipe Roll of 1200 referring to the payment by Simon of Kyme of £27 de pluribus debitis que recepta fuerunt de Lamberto de Scoteigni a servientibus eius may refer to more serious debts. (Pipe Roll 2 John /P.R.S. 1, 1934/ p.73.
2. Excerpta e Rotulis Finium, i.228-9.
3. I.J. Sanders, op.cit., p.82.
4. R.Lit.Claus., i.323b, 324, 337b, 338. The Scotenis appear to have also had interests in Sussex, Northampton, Huntingdon and Yorkshire since the writs concerning their lands were addressed to the sheriffs of these counties.

The decline of the family's status had an inevitable effect upon their benefactions to religious houses. Both brothers continued to support the communities favoured by their ancestors, but on a reduced scale: William granted a toft and bovate held by one of his free tenants in Cockerington to Alvingham.[1] Thomas confirmed the grant by one of his tenants of meadow there, in return for a money rent which he later quitclaimed to the canons.[2] Thomas recovered land in Stainton and North Willingham from two tenants whom Lambert had enfeoffed, and then granted it to the cathedral at Lincoln.[3] He also granted a small meadow in Cockerington to Louth Park, and granted rent paid by his free tenants in Middle Rasen to Sixle priory.[4] William granted less than his brother: besides his grant to Alvingham he granted about a bovate of land in Hogsthorpe to Lincoln cathedral.[5] It is apparent, therefore, that neither brother alienated substantial lands from their demesnes to religious houses, rather they bought back land they had previously granted to tenants or granted money rents. It was clearly becoming impossible for the increasingly impoverished brothers to grant away any more land.

On the death of the brothers the fortunes of the family declined further. William, like Lambert, left no male heir on his death in 1232. The estate was divided amongst his three heiresses. Their husbands had no previous connection with

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, 60^{v}. William presumably repurchased this land from his tenant before making the grant.
2. Ibid., f.61.
3. Reg.Ant., iv. nos. 1372, 1373, 1375-7.
4. Cal.Ch.R., iii.257 (Louth Park); CGH., p.23 (Sixle).
5. Reg. Ant., vi.179.

Alvingham, and ties between this branch of the family and the priory were severed.[1] Thomas died in 1246, hopelessly in debt to the Jews. His plight is revealed very clearly by the inquisition post mortem. He held five knight's fees: in Stainton-le-Vale, Great Limber, Witham, Cockerington, Withcall, Willingham, Hainton and Barkwith. All but 13½ bovates (11 held in demesne and the remainder in villeinage) in Stainton-le-Vale, the caput of the Scoteni barony, had been subinfeudated. The annual income from his demesne was assessed at 54s.[2] The day of reckoning had come: such a sum was insufficient to pay the relief on the barony. In order that the king might not lose thereby his tenants were to be individually distrained for the payment. The official record puts the reason for this decision bluntly: it was on account of alienations from the barony (propter alienaciones factas de baronia).[3]

Thomas' unfortunate heir, Peter de Scoteni, attempted to keep the tradition of piety alive. He granted a porciuncula of land to Alvingham in Stainton-le-Vale to extend the wall of their building there. It was two feet wide.[4] Three fines reveal the last trials of Peter de Scoteni and the desperate state of the Scoteni barony. On payment of a fine of 12 marks he was able to establish his right to the family lands in Willingham, after all his tenants there had vouched him to warranty.[5] He acquired 7 marks of rent per annum in Bloxholme

1. I.J. Sanders, op.cit., p.82.
2. Cal.Inq.post mortem, i.no.61.
3. Excerpta e Rotulis Finium, ii.65.
4. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.144.
5. Final Concords ii.104 (1253).

from his father-in-law for a token payment of one sore sparrow-hawk in 1254, and in 1261 he recouped 20 marks from John Paynel when he acknowledged the latter to be his tenant of six bovates and 30s. rent in Middle Rasen for a rent of 2s. per annum and performance of forinsec service.[1] Peter, however, also held land of John Paynel in the same vill, and in 1263 was vouched to warranty by the abbot of Tupholme because John had distrained upon nine bovates of land (or $\frac{1}{8}$th fee) held by the abbot of Peter for non-performance of service. Peter acknowledged the rights of the abbot to hold in free alms and received rights of confraternity in exchange.[2] Peter was clearly by this time unable to perform his duties as tenant. His estate had already fallen temporarily into the king's hands in 1256. Peter had failed to do justice to his tenants (justiciare nequivit homines suos) and therefore the king had ordered the five fees which he held in chief to be given up, with the exception of $16\frac{1}{2}$ bovates which he held of the king for the service of half a knight and one mark per annum. The king was very surprised (miratur quam plurimum) that the barons of the Exchequer had exacted the aid for the knighting of the king's son from Peter's five fees, and ordered that the aid should be levied directly from Peter's tenants instead.[3]

In 1272-3 an inquisition was made into that portion of the Scoteni barony held by Peter and an extent drawn up. It

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1. Ibid., 107, 182.
2. Ibid., ii.233.
3. Cal.Ch.R., 1254-6, p.305. See also Cal.Ch.R., 1256-9, p.302.

reveals that, with the exception of 16 bovates in Stainton-le-Vale, all the lands of the half barony had been granted to tenants.[1] Three years later the estate was once again surrendered to the king.[2] Peter died in 1277, leaving an heir, John. At that time Peter held a capital messuage, 10 bovates of arable and 3s. rent per annum in Stainton-le-Vale of the king, a capital messuage, six bovates of arable and 6s. 2d. annual rent in Willingham of the cathedral of Lincoln and 3s. annual rent held of John Paynel in Middle Rasen.[3] John is the last of the family to be recorded in the Alvingham cartulary. In 1290 he quitclaimed all his rights in the priory's share of the church of Stainton-le-Vale.[4]

Like many of their class in the thirteenth century the Scotenis experienced indebtedness, the difficulties that arose through the lack of male heirs, and the gradual decline in the amount of land available for the needs of the family and the support of religious houses. The effect of these misfortunes on those communities is clear. After the dispute over the inheritance and its division, and after the onset of indebtedness exacerbated by political foolishness, the communities favoured by Hugh and Lambert could expect to receive little more from the family.

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1. Cal.Inq.Misc., i. no. 944.
2. Cal.Cl.R., 1272-9, pp. 283, 338.
3. Cal.Inq. post mortem, ii. no. 229.
4. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.144.

III Crevequer

Though there is no evidence linking the Lincolnshire Crevequers with their more illustrious namesakes in Kent, it is possible that Reginald de Crevequer, the first of that name to appear in Lincolnshire, was a cadet of the Kent family, for all of his land in Lincolnshire was derived from his marriage to Maud, the heiress of Gilbert son of Jocelin, lord of Redbourne.[1] It may also be the case that his foundation of the small (and unviable) Gilbertine priory of Tunstal on his demesne land in Redbourne was intended as an assertion of his arrival among the ranks of Lincolnshire county society. In the early twelfth century his father-in-law was one of the greatest landholders in Lindsey, and whether or not Reginald was a parvenu in the county, he found himself by marriage among the more important of local lords.[2]

From his father-in-law Reginald had inherited an interest in the Augustinian priory of Nostell, to which he gave his land and mill in Stixwold; and to the Templars he granted a carucate and two bovates in Normanby.[3] He also favoured Selby abbey, to which his father-in-law had been a generous benefactor in Redbourne. Jocelin had granted the parish church, 5½ bovates and a mill to the abbey. Reginald granted 40 acres of his demesne in Redbourne and the church of the

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1. I.J.Sanders, op.cit.,74-5; The Earliest Lincolnshire Assize Rolls. A.D.1202-1209, ed. D.M.Stenton (Lincoln Record Society, 22, 1926),FRlxxx-lxxxii.
2. Lincolnshire Domesday, p.238. His largest holding was of seven carucates in Redbourne, the caput of the barony. His smaller holdings appear to have been alienated by c.1150 (CGH., p.14).
3. EYC., iii.153-6 (Nostell); B.Lees, op.cit., p.106 (Templars). This represented his entire holding in Normanby.

neighbouring vill of Askeby.[1] Reginald was most generous to the Gilbertines. His original intention was to found a house of Gilbertine nuns on his Redbourne demesne, and for a short time his foundation of Tunstal stood on an island of that name on the river Ancolne. Almost 100 acres of arable and extensive pasturage was granted to the new community, but it failed to survive and by the time of Simon and Alexander, the sons of Reginald, Tunstal had become a grange of Bullington.[2]

The pattern of the Crevequer grants to religious houses in the mid-twelfth century is a familiar one. Grants were made to several communities, both within the immediate neighbourhood (such as Bullington or the Templars), and further afield (such as Nostell or Selby). No one house achieved a monopoly of the family's benefactions. Reginald 'inherited' the houses favoured by his wife's family; he also had pretensions to found his own. Ironically it was probably the interest of Selby in Redbourne that prevented his own priory there from being a success.

Reginald regularly accounted for scutage at the Exchequer during the 1150s and early 1160s, amongst the other leading names of his county, but he remains a shadowy figure.[3] On his death sometime before 1166 the family fortunes took a turn for the worse. Reginald's two elder sons, Alexander

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1. Coucher Book of Selby, ed. J.T.Fowler and C.C.Hodges (2 vols., Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association, Record Series x, xiii, 1891, 1893) ii. 228-32.
2. For this creation and the development of the grange see above, pp. 74-5.
3. E.g., Pipe Roll 7 Henry II (P.R.S.iv.1885), p.16, Pipe Roll 8 Henry II (P.R.S. v. 1885), p.20, Pipe Roll 9 Henry II (P.R.S. vi, 1886), p.67, Pipe Roll 11 Henry II (P.R.S. viii, 1887), p.38.

and Gilbert, may have predeceased him: they were both dead by 1166, when their younger brother Simon was responsible for the honour.[1] Nothing is known of Gilbert and only a little is recorded of Alexander, who does however frequently figure as a witness to Bullington charters.[2] On his death, perhaps on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he left no male heirs from his marriage to Annabel, co-heiress and daughter of an important member of the Yorkshire gentry, Adam son of Swein.[3] His two daughters, Cecily and Annabel, were passed over in favour of his brother Simon. His widow then married William de Neville, who put in a claim for the dower lands that she ought to have received on her marriage to Alexander. No carta of the barony in 1166 has survived but in 1172 it answered for 13½ knights' fees.[4] The inheritance was clearly worth fighting for.

By 1185 Simon too was dead, leaving his wife Maud, the daughter of Robert son of Ernisius, two sons aged 5 and 4 and two daughters.[5] The declining fortunes of the family are illustrated by an entry in the Rotuli de Dominabus in which the sheriff of Lincoln, who was instructed to provide Maud with necessities every half-year from her land in Hakent' (Hackthorn?), 'was said to be scarcely able to provide for her

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1. The Earliest Lincolnshire Assize Rolls, A.D.1202-1209, ed. D.M. Stenton (Lincoln Record Society, 22), p.lxxxi.
2. E.g., DC., nos. 35, 40-2, 46, 47.
3. The Earliest Lincolnshire Assize Rolls, p. lxxxi.
4. I.J.Sanders, op.cit., p.74. The number of fees fluctuated from between 8½ and 15 between 1162 and 1212.
5. Rotuli de Dominabus et Pueris et Puellis de XII Comitatibus (Pipe Roll Society p.18 xxxv, 1913), p.18.

from that manor'.[1] The family's position was exacerbated by the survival of Reginald's widow, Maud, now aged more than 60, who continued to hold rents and flocks in Redbourne causing a further drain on the barony's resources.[2]

Alexander's daughter, Cecily, and her husband, Walter de Neville, now advanced claims to the barony, and in 1185 Walter accounted to the Exchequer for 20 marks pro recto de terra que fuit Reginaldi de Crevecuer cuius filiam (sic) habuit in uxorem.[3] Walter died c. 1197-8, and as lady of Redbourne his widow lived undisturbed until 1202. The couple continued the Crevequer benefactions to Bullington. Walter granted a toft, 44 acres of arable and pasture for 200 sheep, Cecily granted two tofts and sold 41 acres of arable for 16 marks to the canons, and together they granted a fishery in the river Ancolne.[4]

In 1202, when Alexander son of Simon came of age, he attempted to regain the barony from his cousin by a plea of mort d'ancestor.[5] The case, which was long and involved, resulted in a victory for Cecily.[6] She continued to hold the barony until her death in 1209-10, and with her death the family connection with Bullington ended. Cecily's son and heir Alexander probably died in the same year as his mother,

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1. Ibid., p.18.
2. Ibid., p.20.
3. Pipe Roll 31 Henry II (P.R.S. xxxiv, 1913), p.91. This debt was not paid off until 1197.
4. Addit.MS.6118, pp.738, 739,740,744; DC., nos. 98, 99. See above, pp. 74-5.
5. The Earliest Lincolnshire Assize Rolls, p. lxxxi.
6. Ibid., p.lxxxi-lxxxii.

and by 1212 the barony was in the hands of the king. The survey of the barony is more than usually detailed, and it is clear from its record that there was now little land available for grants to religious houses.[1] Only one of the 15 fees continued to be held in demesne (in Redbourne); the remainder had been subinfeudated. Some land had been granted to the family of Cecily's husband and to others of her kin: Geoffrey de Neville held a ½ fee in Harpswell and Hugh de Chenai received a ½ fee in Hackthorn as a maritagium with his wife Annabel, Cecily's sister. Hugh also received 93½ acres of the Redbourne lands and 50s. rent there. Alexander de Crevequer, Cecily's unsuccessful opponent for the barony, held a ½ fee in Hackthorn and Cold Hanworth 'by an agreement made between himself and Cecily de Crevequer for a claim which he made for the whole barony'. Family claims such as these could not be ignored, especially after the long years of litigation that had already occurred over the inheritance. Other grants had been made to local lords, such as Simon of Kyme who held one fee and Gerald de Canville who held two. Cecily had also favoured other religious houses besides Bullington. The Templars had received land in Hackthorn and the priory of Thornholm 18 acres in Redbourne. Such generosity could not be continued indefinitely, and even had the family been in a prosperous condition it is unlikely that Bullington could have expected more grants.

The cadet branch of the Nevilles that assumed the inheritance on Cecily's death was unfortunate. Cecily's son

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1. Book of Fees, i. 188-9.

Alexander I died shortly after her own death, and his son John became a ward of a representative of the main Neville line and Richard de Alençon.[1] John died in 1230 shortly after attaining his majority, and was succeeded by Alexander II, his brother and heir. Alexander II died in 1249 leaving his son Alexander III, a minor who died four years later.[2] His inquisition post mortem reveals that by this time the baron of Redbourne held a mere $3\frac{3}{8}$ fees in chief in Lincolnshire: comprising a carucate held in demesne and a carucate held by customary tenants besides meadows and rents.[3]

The death of Alexander III saw the effectual end of the barony. He left one married sister, Joan, and four unmarried, Margery, Helen, Juliana and Cecily; all were entrusted to the guardianship of Richard de Alençon as their father and uncle had been before them.[4] Each daughter inherited one fifth of the barony, and apparently owed some sort of obedience to John of Eton, the husband of Joan.[5] The husbands of Helen and Juliana exchanged their land in Yorkshire with Margaret's husband, Nicholas de Neville, for land in Redbourne, but on Nicholas' death in 1285 the inquisition post mortem reveals how little of the Redbourne inheritance remained. He held

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1. The guardians not only had to pay the £100 relief but also had to clear the debts owed to the Jews by John's father. Cal. Pat.R., 1225-32, p.405.
2. I.J.Sanders, op.cit., p.74.
3. Cal.Inq.post mortem, i.no.270. Between 1212 and 1242 it appears that the last Crevequers continued to favour the Gilbertines for a fee held by Simon de Crevequer of Alexander II in 1242 was held of him by Sixle priory. This land presumably represents the $1\frac{1}{2}$ carucates Alexander I was said to have held in the same vill as one fee in 1212 (Book of Fees, ii.1017).
4. Cal.Cl.R.,1251-53, p.166; Cal.Cl.R., 1253-54, p.3.
5. Placita de Quo Warranto Temporibus Edw. I.II.et III in Curia Receptae Scaccarii Westm.Asservata, ed. W.Illingworth (Record Commission, 1818), p.426.

the site of a capital messuage which was not yet built, 111 acres of arable, some meadowland, a fishery, 38s.5d. in rents, the advowson of the church of Harpswell and a cottage 'in which he used to stay'.[1] Lacking even a house of his own in the ancestral caput of the barony of Redbourne, the fate of Nicholas rather pathetically ends the history of the Crevequers.

IV De Turribus

This family was singlehandedly responsible for the establishment of Alvingham's grange at Cabourn, and its history is an admirable example of the lesser knightly families on whom the smaller religious houses of Lincolnshire relied so heavily. In 1118 Hugh de Turribus held four carucates and three bovates in Cabourn of Ranulf Meschin.[2] He granted two-thirds of the tithe of his demesne there to Spalding abbey, but there appear to be no further references to Hugh, who was dead by 1166 when Geoffrey I held three fees of William de Romare. He also held one fee of the honour of Bolingbroke in Newhouse.[3] This land was subinfeudated to William, son of Geoffrey of Newhouse, and was granted to Newhouse abbey by Geoffrey on condition that William continue to hold the land of the abbey. This grant suggests that the family was concentrating its attention on its demesne at Cabourn.[4]

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1. Cal.Inq.post mortem, ii. no. 574.
2. Lincolnshire Domesday, p.247.
3. W.Farrer, op.cit., ii.96.
4. DC., no.305. See also H. Colvin, op.cit., p.44.

Here, too, alienations to religious houses were extensive. Newhouse received pasture for 700 sheep, four acres for a sheepfold, a mansura of one of his tenants and five bovates.[1] Geoffrey was probably responsible for the grant of the church of Cabourn to Grimsby abbey.[2] He also conveyed a large grant of pasturage to Alvingham, which became the nucleus of the canons' grange at Cabourn.[3]

Geoffrey de Turribus seems to have held extensive lands in Cabourn alone. He appears in no public records and bore no public office. He was succeeded by a son, Gilbert, who is almost as obscure a figure as his father. In 1201 he owed £100 to the Exchequer to have the land of an otherwise unknown Hamon de Masci who had been declared a bastard.[4] He appears in the Lincoln assize rolls as a pledge, and in 1218 he won a case of novel disseisin against a group whom he said had disseised him of a free tenement in Smedefeld in 1200-1.[5] He was also involved in an action of darrein presentment when the prioress of Chester claimed the advowson of Sutterby church.[6]

By 1212 Gilbert seems to have expanded the de Turribus estates. He continued to hold three knights' fees in Cabourn,

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1. DC., no.256. The confirmation charter of Robert, bishop of Lincoln, refers to his grants of two mansure and 140 acres of arable (Ibid., no.239).
2. W.Farrer, op.cit., ii. 96.
3. See above, pp. 47, 73-4.
4. W.Farrer, op.cit., ii. 96.
5. Rolls of the Justices in Eyre, no. 171.
6. Ibid., no. 255. Gilbert is not known to have held land in Sutterby and said as much during the case but claimed that his son Thomas held the advowson. The prioress recovered seisin.

Cuxwold and Norcotes and five bovates in Newhouse for the service of one knight. If the next entry (which is defective) reads Gilbertus de /Turribus/ he held a further carucate and three bovates in Grimsby Parva of the same honour of Chester. He also held another carucate (1 ¼ fee) of Norman d'Arci.[1] The integrity of the estate, therefore, was maintained until the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

Gilbert continued the generosity of his father to the Templars and Alvingham. The former received eight bovates in Cabourn in return for 4s. per annum and four bovates, three tofts and extensive pasturage in the same vill were granted to Alvingham.[2] He also made extensive grants to the Hospitallers in Cabourn. They received over 28 bovates of arable held by Geoffrey's tenants, three tofts, a croft, 1½ acres of meadow and pasture for 800 sheep, 12 oxen, 6 cows and 13 horses.[3] Most of this land (with the notable exception of the pasturage) was tenanted land, and there is no evidence that Gilbert was being forced by debt to dispose of his own land to religious houses.

Gilbert probably died soon after 1215, and thereafter the descent of the estates becomes confused. It appears that they were divided between Gilbert's two sons, Thomas and Geoffrey II. In the Hundred Rolls Thomas was said to have

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1. Book of Fees, i.155, 156, 158.
2. B.Lees, op.cit., p.105. The grants to Alvingham are discussed further above, pp. 73-4.
3. Northumberland County Record Office, Middleton Charters, Box 23/1/1, 5, 7, 9; 24/1/3.

held 1½ fees in Cabourn as his father had before him.[1] This holding represents one half of the de Turribus estate in the vill. It was also stated that Thomas had alienated his entire holding, and that the right to it had been resigned by his son to earl Henry de Lacy. Thus the de Turribus estates were divided and the inevitable result was to render the family vulnerable to further decline.

Though by the mid-thirteenth century land had been acquired in Sutterby, the centre of the de Turribus estates continued to be Cabourn. Both brothers continued to make grants to local religious houses both in Cabourn and elsewhere, but the scale of these benefactions and the straitened circumstances of the family suggest that these transactions were sales. In Cabourn Thomas granted a messuage and 10 bovates valued at 100s. per annum to Grimsby abbey, a messuage and eight bovates valued at 40s. per annum to Humberstone, a sheepfold and 6½ bovates valued at the same amount to Newhouse and eight bovates and four messuages to the Templars.[2] Thomas does not appear to have made any grants to Alvingham. His brother Geoffrey, however, made a few small grants to the priory in Cabourn and confirmed the grants of his father.[3] Geoffrey may also have sold his holding of a toft and two bovates that he held of Robert de Neville in Middle Rasen to

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1. W. Farrer, op.cit., ii.97.
2. Rotuli Hundredorum, ed. W.Illingworth and J.Caley (2 vols., Record Commission, 1812-18), i.295b, 296. The grant to the Templars may be a confirmation of the grant made to them by his father.
3. See above, p. 74. He also granted two bovates to the Hospitallers (Northumberland County Record Office, Middleton Charters, Box 23/1/11).

Grimsby abbey.[1]

Geoffrey was dead by 1234,when his widow made a fine with Alvingham concerning her claim to a third of four bovates in Cabourn which she claimed as her dower.[2] Thereafter the family does not appear in the Alvingham cartulary, and its fate in the second half of the thirteenth century is unknown. It had certainly fallen upon hard times,and even though there is no direct record of indebtedness, the lavish scale of benefactions to religious houses suggests financial difficulties, and the division of the estate must have left both portions barely viable. The total amount of land alienated to religious houses in Cabourn would have left the brothers and their heirs very little on which to live. In 1303 the heir of Thomas de Turribus is recorded as holding a quarter of a fee of the d'Arci fee, but no mention is made of the fees formerly held of the honour of Chester.[3] The decline of this family is difficult to chart. It is certain, however, that several religious communities had reason to be grateful for its generosity, however unwilling.

V Musteil

This family, apparently of Yorkshire origin, came to be one of the most generous families to Gilbertine houses, especially to Bullington. The reason for their generosity is obvious, for Agnes, daughter of Jocelin and the sister of

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1. Rotuli Hundredorum, i.361.
2. Feet of Fines, i.142.
3. W.Farrer, op.cit., ii.97. In 1401-2 however, the heir of John Toures held three fees in Cabourn (Ibid., ii.98).

Gilbert of Sempringham himself, married into their line. In 1086 Jocelin held large estates of Alfred of Lincoln in Lindsey, especially in Sempringham and Boothby, though he was also an important tenant in Alvingham and Cockerington.[1] In the Lindsey Survey he appears as holding land in West Torrington of the same fee, though there is no reference to the other lands he held in 1086.[2]

On Jocelin's death his eldest son Gilbert could not succeed because he was a religious, and the estates passed to Roger, Gilbert's younger brother. Roger granted all his land in Sempringham and Billingborough with a mill in Cockerington to his brother's foundation in Sempringham.[3] Roger was probably one of the founders of Alvingham, to which house he is known to have granted his share in the parish church, but no other record of his grants here have survived.[4] Roger died heirless before 1166 and was succeeded by his sister Agnes who married into the Musteil family.[5] By this time the family estate had already been reduced by nearly 50% because of the claims of the family's most famous son. Considerable economic self-sacrifice was necessary for a family that produced a founder of a religious order. It is no coincidence that both Sempringham and Alvingham were founded in vills in which the family had landed interests and that a

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1. These lands were assessed at a little over 13 carucates. Lincolnshire Domesday, pp.126, 130.
2. Ibid., p.257.
3. EYC., vi.252.
4. See above, pp. 9-10.
5. EYC., vi. 252-3.

third, Bullington, lay very close to the family's holdings in West Torrington.

By 1166 Agnes held little in demesne of the three fees held of Hugh de Baiocis. Not only had a considerable portion been lost in the interests of family piety, but two sub-tenancies, held by Walter de Huel and Peter de Mause, had been created.[1] The Musteils took over an interest in the Gilbertine order when Agnes married into the family, and benefactions to their priories continued. Roger Musteil, the son of Agnes, demised the whole village of Legsby to Sixle for 6 marks per annum and granted his ½ fee in North Willingham to the same house for 20s. per annum.[2] The land in North Willingham was probably not held in demesne, since it consisted of seven tofts and six bovates, which suggests the land there was divided into the familiar toft and bovates holdings of the Lincolnshire peasantry. In 1165 Roger confirmed all the grants of his men tam rustici quam liberi that they had made to Bullington in West Torrington, and at about the same time he granted a bovate there to the same house which his uncle Roger had once granted to a tenant.[3]

Roger's alienations were therefore considerable, but there is some evidence that he was at the same time receiving further grants of land for himself. He was granted two

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1. Red Book of the Exchequer, ed. H.Hall (3 vols., Rolls Series, 1896), i.387.
2. CGH., p.17. This grant accompanied the reception of Roger's two daughters 'whom master Gilbert my uncle received into his order of nuns'.
3. DC., no 101; Addit.MS.6118, p.755.

carucates, for example, by Hugh de Baiocis and c.1180 he granted land that he held of Hugh Malet to Lincoln cathedral.[1] No holding of the Malet fee is recorded in 1166.

Though the family probably came from York, after the Lincolnshire connection was made they do not appear to have taken any interest in their Yorkshire properties. Roger held a ½fee in Adel and Cookridge of William Paynel, but this seems to have been the subject of considerable dispute.[2] In 1177 he paid 5 marks to the Exchequer for the hastening of his right against William Paynel, but his land here was finally granted to Kirkstall abbey. Roger's charter states that the abbey had acquitted him of the pledge for which William Paynel had held it, which suggests that Roger was in debt to his lord or that the land had been distrained.[3] Further evidence that the Musteils were not interested in their demesne holdings in Yorkshire is provided by a charter in which Roger granted William de Weeton a carucate in Tofthouse for the fortieth part of a knight's service.[4]

By the time of Roger's death the family were in a fairly parlous condition. They had never been large landowners, and marriage into the family of a saint had its drawbacks. Their lands in Yorkshire proved no compensation: these were first compromised by debt, and then ceded outright to Kirkstall.

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1. Book of Fees, i.171; Reg.Ant., ix. no.2608.
2. EYC., vi.249-55.
3. Pipe Roll 24 Henry II (P.R.S. xxvii, 1906), p.8; EYC., vi. 251-2.
4. EYC., vi. 257-8. By 1284 this land had also come into the hands of Kirkstall (Ibid., 78-9).

At the same time Roger had had to provide for his younger brother William, to whom he granted a toft and two bovates of his Torrington demesne.[1]

Roger was succeeded by his son William. William was married to Emma, who appears to have been a member of a West Torrington family, since one of William's grants to Bullington there states that this land was not part of his wife's dowry.[2] William confirmed the grants of his father to Bullington and granted a little over 28 acres of arable to the house.[3] The relationship between the family and Bullington comtinued to be a close one, for Agnes his mother was buried in the priory and he himself was a confrater of the priory. William was an insignificant landowner, and there is no evidence that he ever played any part in local administration. He appears as a debtor of Aaron of Lincoln for the sum of 7s. 4d., but the very smallness of this amount suggests a relatively lowly status.[4] During William's lifetime the family seem to have given up all their interests in Yorkshire: William granted the church of Adel to Kirkstall and continued to receive 40s. rent per annum from the abbey for its land in Adel.[5]

William was succeeded c.1220 by his son Thomas, who appears

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1. DC., no.102.
2. Addit.MS.6118, p.756.
3. DC., nos. 104,105; Addit.MS.6118, pp.756, 760. He also confirmed the grant of tithes to the priory and defined the sowing rights of the brethren in the fields of West Torrington. (DC., nos. 105, 107).
4. Pipe Rolls 3 and 4 Richard I (P.R.S. xl, 1926), p.230.
5. EYC., vi.252. The church of Adel had already been granted to Holy Trinity priory, York by Ralph Paynel in the late eleventh century. The rival rights of the two houses were not resolved until 1237 when the rights of the latter to the church were confirmed.

as a witness to charters in favour of both Bullington and Sixle but made no grants himself. The family was no longer in a position to make grants to religious houses. By 1212 the leading landholders in West Torrington were now the Trussebuts, and the Musteils no longer held any land in demesne in their estate of Boothby.[1] Thirty years later Thomas was said to hold a ¼ fee in Alvingham (the rest of his fee there had been subinfeudated to Constance, the widow of Simon of Clatthorp, and to Idonea of Aisterby). In West Torrington he held a ½ fee of John de Baiocis.[2] Further indication of the family's declining status is revealed in Bullington charters that shew that one of Thomas' brothers, Roger, the son of William son of the lady of Torrington, was only a clerk.[3] He granted a bovate in the vill to Bullington. Another member of the family, Thomas, son of Alexander Musteil, was styled the carpenter of West Torrington.[4]

From this time on little more is heard of the family, save for an unspecified grant by Thomas Musteil to Sixle in West Torrington.[5] In 1288 the heirs of Thomas Musteil held a messuage, 70 acres of arable in demesne, 10 acres of meadow and rents in West Torrington, and an estate of identical size was held of them by Ralph Pigot and his wife in Boothby.[6] Such a holding does not suggest total impoverishment, but is

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1. Book of Fees, i.172, 188.
2. Ibid., ii.1053, 1062.
3. Addit.MS.6118, pp.764, 765.
4. Ibid., p.766.
5. CGH., p.9.
6. Cal.Inq. post mortem, ii. no. 689 (pp.424, 425).

certainly considerably smaller than the family's estate a hundred years earlier. The last representative of the line appears to have been Sabina Musteil. When she died in 1294 she held two knights' fees, a capital messuage, six bovates of arable in demesne in West Torrington, rent from her free tenants and bondmen and a ½ fee in Scamelsby (which does not appear as a Musteil holding in 1242 and which is presumably her dowry). She had three heirs, Adam de Wareville, Andrew de Halton and Alice, wife of Jordan de Asscheby, between whom the estate was divided.[1]

VI Yarborough

Amongst the gentry benefactors to Alvingham who held lands in the wapentakes of Louthesk and Calcewath were a few families of native or Anglo-Danish origin who still retained considerable lands and status within the northern Danelaw in the twelfth century. Of these the most interesting is the family descended from Gerund, who was enfeoffed with lands in Grainthorpe and with the advowson of its church by count Alan of Brittany in the early twelfth century.[2] His son Ketelcroc became rural dean and rector of Grainthorpe, offices that were then held by Ketelcroc's son Osbert, and grandson, Hamelin of Yarborough. Hamelin's brother, Hamelin Croc of Covenham was also a rural dean.[3]

Hamelin of Yarborough is one of the more interesting and

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1. Cal. Inq. post mortem, iii. no. 178.
2. Laud Misc. MS. 642, f. 96^{v} (margin). In 1118 count Alan held two carucates in Grainthorpe (Lincolnshire Domesday, p. 258).
3. R. C. Dudding, 'Yarborough', AASRP xli (1932), 34.

unusual of Alvingham's benefactors. He was associated with the foundation of the priory, to which he gave his portion of the church of St. Adelwold of which he was parson. Most of his grants, however, were made in Grainthorpe,where he granted land when his son Osbert was buried in the canons' cemetery and 40 acres of meadow and a saltpan,when his daughters Matilda and Helena were received into the community.[1] When he himself was received into the priory 'to serve God all the days of my life' he conveyed four tofts held by his tenants in Grainthorpe to the canons.[2] Hamelin did not grant all his lands to the priory when he entered it, but it seems that he did dispose of all his property in Alvingham to the house, and the fact that most of this consisted of tofts and crofts[3] suggests that it was held by tenants rather than in demesne. Hamelin also held land in Yarborough and granted some of this land to the priory.[4]

Hamelin's closest links were with Alvingham, but he was also a benefactor of Kirkstead abbey,to which he gave a toft of two acres in Grainthorpe and 12 acres of his patrimony there.[5] Though Hamelin is not known to have made grants to other houses he occurs as a witness to charters in favour

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, ff.10^{v}, 95^{v}. He also probably granted part of a croft in the vill though this may be a grant of Hamelin Croc, his brother (Ibid., f.95^{v}).
2. Ibid., f.95^{v}.
3. CGH., p.106.
4. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.97. He later received this land back in exchange for land and a saltpan in Grainthorpe.
5. B.L.Cott. Vespasian E.xviii, f.85-85^{v}. His brother granted all the land and meadow he had of his brother in Grainthorpe to Kirkstead (Ibid., f.94).

of Ormsby and Sixle priories and of Lincoln cathedral.[1] Such involvement may, however, be by virtue of his office rather than because of any personal connection with these communities.

As both a member of a clerical dynasty and a not inconsiderable tenant of the counts of Brittany, Hamelin was clearly an influential man in the vills around Alvingham. He was married to Mabel, daughter of the provost of Beverley, but nothing is known of her dowry or lands. A further tribute to his importance is contained in the list of debtors of Aaron the Jew. Hamelin the dean owed over £100 to the money lender. This makes him fifth only to Jocelin of Amundeville, the prior of Bullington, Hugh, earl of Leicester and Matilda de Coleville amongst the debtors in the county.[2] The Pipe Roll of 1191 records that some of his debt was owed on his lay fee in Winthorpe and Irby (in Calcewath wapentake).[3] This is the only reference to land held by Hamelin outside Louthesk wapentake, and there is no indication that his heirs continued to hold this land. Hamelin's debts continued to be entered upon the Pipe Rolls until 1210, when his pledges for the debts were Walter of Grimsby, his brother Drogo and

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1. CGH., pp.3,5 (Sixle), 42, 51-2, 58 (Ormsby); Reg.Ant., iv. no.1400, v. nos. 1686, 1687.
2. Pipe Rolls 2 and 3 Richard I (P.R.S.xl, 1926) p.19. It is not of course absolutely certain that Hamelinus decanus is Hamelin of Yarborough. Since mention is made on the same membrane to Reginald dean of Covenham the Hamelin here is unlikely to be Hamelin Croc. A mention of rent owed him by Louth Park in the list of his debts suggests that he had some connection with that abbey also, but he is not known to have been a benefactor of Louth Park.
3. Ibid., p.19.

Brian, son of Alan of Welton.[1] By this time Hamelin had long since entered the priory and may even have been dead. It is at least possible that he entered the priory which he had long supported in order to escape the payment of these debts.

By 1212 Hamelin had been succeeded by his son Brian who then held his lands of Wimar the Chamberlain, a tenant of the counts of Brittany.[2] Brian continued his father's benefactions both to Alvingham and Kirkstead. To the former he granted the church of Grainthorpe once served by his father, and also conveyed a number of small parcels of tenanted land in the same vill. Brian appears to have maintained land in demesne in Yarborough where he granted a considerable acreage of arable, pasture for 100 sheep and meadow styled parcum Briani.[3] Two of his charters hint at financial difficulties. The meadow was sold to the canons for 3 marks in urgentissimo negocio meo quando haec carta facta fuit, and an unusually detailed warranty clause of another charter refers to the possibility of distraint being made upon his fee 'for debt'. He also granted 85 acres of meadow in Grainthorpe and seven perches of meadow in Yarborough to Kirkstead abbey.[4]

Sources for the history of the family in the thirteenth century are disappointingly few. Robert the chaplain, brother of Brian, confirmed his father's grants to the priory in Grainthorpe and that part of the parish church that pertained

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1. Pipe Roll 12 John (P.R.S. lxiv, 1949), p.20.
2. Book of Fees, i.174.
3. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.110^{v}-111^{v}.
4. B.L.Cott. Vespasian E.xviii, ff. 85-85^{v}, 92.

to him.[1] Brian's great nephew, Hamelin the son of Richard son of Osbert, granted meadow in Grainthorpe to the priory.[2] Brian had two sons, John and Gilbert. In 1242 they were parties to a fine confirming Alvingham's right to the church of Grainthorpe and they also granted land in Yarborough and Grainthorpe.[3] One of these grants was made when their mother entered the priory, shewing that the close personal ties between the family and the house continued unbroken. The connection continued until 1278 when John's son Robert granted six acres of meadow in Grainthorpe and Alvingham to the priory.[4]

It is difficult to determine the status of this family during the thirteenth century. They never appear in public records and do not appear to have had any landed interests outside Grainthorpe and Yarborough. It may be that Hamelin the dean's financial difficulties ruined his heirs for several generations. Certainly they never achieved a dominant position even in the two vills where they held land. Nevertheless their decline was halted in the early fourteenth century, but by then it was too late for the canons to benefit. John son of Robert became collector of the subsidy in Lincolnshire in 1319, and an assessor of the subsidy in Lindsey in 1322. He was also probably a knight of the shire in that year. With him and his son Robert, who is said to have married the daughter of Sir John Ewerby, the fortunes of the family may be said to have revived.[5]

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.111.
2. Ibid., f.110.
3. Ibid., ff.98, 111^{v}-112^{v},
4. Cal.Cl.R., 1307-13, p.113.
5. R.C.Dudding, 'Yarborough', AASRP xli (1932), 34.

Conclusions

This survey of the role of the lesser lords in the creation and expansion of the estates of Alvingham and Bullington has concentrated on the brief histories of six families who enjoyed a close relationship for more than one generation with the priories. These families were chosen because of their importance as benefactors to the communities, and also because there was usually more evidence for the activities of these families both as benefactors and as local lords than there was for other families of the same type associated with the priories. Nevertheless the sample is a representative one, and the experiences of these families could be paralleled in many other cases.

All of the families considered above went into decline during the thirteenth century. Some collapsed entirely such as the Scotenis or Crevequers; others like the Kymes or family of Yarborough survived various vicissitudes and continued comparatively unharmed into the fourteenth century. All, however, were in crisis during the first quarter of the thirteenth century. A number of factors were responsible for this situation. Most important was the almost chronic indebtedness of many of these families at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries, and the failure to produce a direct male heir, so that the estates were divided amongst distant male claimants or between a number of co-heiresses. The litigation that ensued was often costly, and division of the estates necessarily produced a decline in income

and increased the temptation to borrow from money lenders. At the same time several of these families joined the baronial rebellion against John. Motives for their action were mixed, but they were certainly influenced by their financial difficulties which the king himself was exploiting.[1] The royalist victory led to confiscation of lands and heavy fines, thus further adding to the families' difficulties.

The families on whom Bullington and Alvingham most relied, moreover, were the most vulnerable to disaster. With few exceptions they held ten or less knights' fees. There is little evidence that they were substantially adding to their estates during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. On the other hand it is clear both from charter evidence and from the Book of Fees that lands continued to be granted out to both members of the family and outsiders, and that the amount of demesne land held was, therefore, being substantially reduced. On the one hand this increased the financial difficulties of many of the class, while on the other the amount of land available for grants to religious houses declined rapidly.

It was no coincidence, therefore, that nearly all of the families which had proved most generous to the priories in the mid-twelfth century were no longer making large grants to the canons by the end of the century. To the families already considered could be added others such as the Chauncis or de Melsa family which failed to maintain their station during this period. The list of the Lincolnshire debtors of Aaron

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1. J.C.Holt, The Northerners (Oxford, 1961), passim, especially pp. 162-74.

the Jew of Lincoln provides a useful indication of the difficulties faced by many of the benefactors to Alvingham and Bullington in the 1190s. Amongst others Thomas d'Arci owed 40 marks, Ivo of Barkwith 5 marks, William de Pontfol £10, Ailwin Net, 29 marks and Eudo of Munby 4 marks.[1] In some instances the priories were able to benefit from these difficulties and to obtain the grant of an estate in return for the payment of all or part of the debt. It has already been shewn how both houses, Alvingham in particular, managed to acquire land in this way from local lords such as John and Peter de Melsa, Robert de Pormort and William, son of William of Redburn.[2] It has also been suggested that the priories were also purchasing other land from the financially embarrassed, but that these transactions were hidden in the guise of gifts rather than sales.[3] Even if this possibility is taken into account, it does not appear that the priories had any developed policy towards the acquisition of lands of local lords. It is unlikely that either house possessed the necessary means to take advantage of the misfortunes of others. The lords, both lay and ecclesiastical, who were most active in the land market for encumbered estates, were rich and powerful with contacts at court.[4] This the canons never were. Thus the relatively poor canons could not usually benefit from

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1. Pipe Rolls 3 and 4 Richard I (P.R.S. xl, 1926), 21, 22.
2. See above, pp. 14-15, 61-2.
3. See above, pp. 67-8.
4. See P.R. Coss, 'Sir Geoffrey de Langley and the Crisis of the Knightly Class in Thirteenth Century England', Past and Present 68 (1975), 1-34 especially 4-5, 17-24.

the needs of their former benefactors but suffered from their decline.

The decline of many local families during the thirteenth century was the chief contributory factor in the failure of the priories to continue to expand. But even had these families continued to flourish there was a further constraint on large benefactions. As has been stressed in the case-studies, these families made grants to a large number of different communities. The old order in which a great family would patronise one house above all others, which it would expect to dominate and where it would expect members of the family to be members of the community and to be buried, was passing away. In part this was due to the new orders refusal to be so closely involved with their lay patrons, but this does not wholly explain why many lesser lords made grants indiscriminately to old Benedictine houses, representatives of the new orders, Hospitallers and Templars alike. The most likely reason is a desire for prestige: to have the family name remembered in life and death among as many communities as possible. Grants that were ostensibly motivated by piety were an expression of temporal power. Whatever the motives for this behaviour, its effect upon the fortunes of religious houses that often lay close together and which were competing for the same lands from the same benefactors was inhibiting. If the lists of benefactors to the Cistercian abbeys of Louth Park and Kirkstead and to Alvingham, all of which lay within a few miles of each other in the soke of Gayton, are compared the same names regularly appear. John son of Mengi granted

land in Alvingham to both Louth Park and Alvingham and land in Welton-le-Wold to Kirkstead; Geoffrey his son granted land in Alvingham to Alvingham and land in Welton to Kirkstead; the sons of Gikel of Yarborough granted lands in that vill to all three houses.[1] Both Roger of Midley and Geoffrey of Keddington made extensive grants in Keddington to Alvingham and Louth Park; William of Friston and Robert de Pormort granted lands in Cockerington to both houses.[2] The list could be extended at length. No major benefactor of Alvingham in the vills around the priory was not also a benefactor of Louth Park. Such catholic donations ensured that neither house obtained a position of dominance in the region around.

In this way the role of the lesser lords in the endowment of the priories of Alvingham and Bullington was limited. Without their support the priories could never have been founded and could never have survived. At the same time, reliance on these small local men ensured that the period of the priories' growth would be a short one. Their benefactors lacked the capabilities to maintain sustained support of the houses they had founded. The fact that most families continued to make small grants to the canons until the end of the thirteenth

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642.f.12a; Cal.Ch.R., iii.248 B.L.Cott Vespasian E.xviii, f.80v. (John); Laud Misc.MS.642, f.12b; B.L. Cott.Vespasian E.xviii, f.97v (Geoffrey); Laud Misc.MS.642, f. 113-113v; Cal.Ch.R., iii.259; B.L.Cott. Vespasian E.xviii, f.94 (sons of Gikel).
2. Laud Misc.MS. 642, ff.122-3; (Geoffrey), 123-4 (Roger); Cal. Ch.R., iii.260-1 (Geoffrey), 254 (Roger); Laud Misc.MS.642, ff. 65-65v (William) 59-59v (Robert) Cal.Ch.R., iii.247 (William and Robert).

century suggests that the priories had not lost their appeal, but that the families were no longer in a position to make munificent grants.

CHAPTER VI

THE PEASANTS AS BENEFACTORS

The importance of the free peasantry in the social and economic history of the Northern Danelaw has long been recognised. Both in Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw and The Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw Sir Frank Stenton showed how vital an understanding of the sokemen and free peasantry was to an understanding of the history of the Danelaw.[1] Yet, in spite of the fact that Stenton used documents almost exclusively derived from monastic sources in his work, the role of the peasantry in the religious life of North Lincolnshire has largely been ignored.[2] It is the purpose of this chapter to assess the importance of the peasantry in the creation and expansion of the estates of Alvingham and Bullington.

Before such an assessment can be made, however, it is necessary to consider two questions and problems, both of definition. What criteria define the medieval peasantry and who are to be included in the terms of this definition? Professor Hilton has stated that peasants possess the means of agricultural production and worked their holdings as a family unit, usually with family labour, while forming larger

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1. F.M. Stenton, Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw (London, 1920) and The Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw (Oxford, 1969), passim.
2. There is, for example, almost no mention of this topic in the most recent study of the medieval church in Lincolnshire (D.M. Owen, Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire, Lincoln, 1971).

community groups, having common property and rights within such groups. The class also includes other labourers and artisans drawn from their own ranks.[1]

A high proportion of the peasants of north Lincolnshire were relatively free. The majority were sokemen, peasant proprietors owing suit of court and money rents to their lord, responsible for the payment of their own geld and usually owing few, or no, labour services. Their most important freedom, from the point of view of local religious houses, was their ability to devise land by charter. The only restrictions on alienations were those imposed by lords on the transactions of all their free tenants. A free peasant could also witness the charters of others and be vouched to warranty. He could take quarrels to, and be sued in, the royal courts. He also possessed his own seal.[2] Though a charter of Roger Musteil (1163) confirmed the grants made by his men tc Bullington tam rustici quam liberi, in

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1. R.H. Hilton, The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages (Oxford, 1971), pp.12-13. This definition largely accords with a modern sociological one; that of T.Shanin, which stresses the importance of the family farm as the unit of social organisation, agricultural work as the chief means of livelihood, with little specialisation and economic near-autonomy, and specific cultural patterns often related to the characteristics of a small village community. Peasants and Peasant Societies, ed. T.Shanin (Harmondsworth etc. 1975), pp.15-16.

2. Several of the charters of Bullington retain their seals. The most common device used by the peasantry is a fleur-de-lys, though quatrefoils, animals and sprays of foliage are also found. It is not unknown for a peasant to have two seals as did Remi, son of Remi of Hackthorn (DC., nos.44 and 45). Only one charter relating to either house refers to the use by a peasant donor of his lord's seal. This was attached to a grant by Tocha, reeve of Keddington, by his lord, Geoffrey of Keddington(Laud Misc. MS.642, f.126).

general the freedom of the peasant grantors to the priories should be assumed.[1]

If such a definition of the Lincolnshire free peasant during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is accepted (and it is, at best, somewhat indeterminate) it remains to identify individual donors to Alvingham and Bullington as peasants or sokemen. This is a more difficult task. A number of criteria can be applied to each donor or family but, as can readily be shown, all of these are capable of misinterpretation. Firstly, the size of the grant and its type can provide some indication of the social and economic status of the donor. The donor of a church or of a mill is unlikely to be of less than gentry status, nor is one whose grant of arable land was usually measured in culture rather than in selions.[2] The amount of land given, however, represents only the smallest possible holding of the donor. The charter tells only of what was given, not that which was left. Only in a very few instances does the charter reveal specifically that the grant represents the donor's all. There are charters, too, of knights who give only a single selion.[3] Then, again, a peasant donor might be expected to make grants only within one vill, and to hold of one lord. Yet in the Alvingham cartulary, Andrew son of Cost, represen-

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1. DC., no. 101.
2. There is, however, some evidence that by the twelfth century some of the peasants in this region already held land severally, perhaps enclosed, and there is abundant indication, as will be shewn, that the peasants were consolidating their holdings in exchanges with religious houses.
3. e.g. a grant by Robert of Barkwith of a selion in West Torrington (DC., no. 109).

tative of a family of almost certain peasant descent, granted land in both Alvingham and Yarborough, and his son John granted land in the same vills to Louth Park.[1]

Names are also a clue to the status of the donors, members of the free peasantry tending, with considerable conservatism, to keep the use of Anglo-Danish names well into the thirteenth century. Yet others, besides the free peasants, bore such names. Hamelin the dean and his ancestors before him had names of impeccable Danish origin and yet were far from being representatives of the Anglo-Danish peasantry.[2]

As stated above, one of the most significant rights of the free peasant was to authenticate charters by his own seal. Where these seals have survived on original charters they can provide some indication of their owners' status. A peasant seal tended to bear a simpler design than one of a knight. Yet William Musteil, Juliana, widow of Geoffrey of Hackthorn, and Muriel, widow of Hugh Punfol, all of whom were considerable landholders, possessed seals with a fleur-de-lys device.[3] If the possession of a simple seal is not a guarantee of peasant status, the corollary, the possession of an equestrian or heraldic seal, is an infallible indication of gentry or knightly status.

Rather surer evidence is provided in the relatively

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, ff.23^{v}, 116a^{v} and Cal.Ch.R., iii. 255.
2. For a more detailed discussion of personal nomenclature in the Danelaw and its problems see DC., pp.cxi-cxviii.
3. DC., nos.105, 51, 86.

uncommon instances where the occupation of the donor is recorded. Of the status of John 'called the mason' of Saltfleetby, Robert the smith, son of Siward of Cockerington or Thomas the carpenter of West Torrington there can be no doubt.[1] With very few exceptions named occupations are those of the village 'service industries' rather than those of agricultural labour. More uncertain is the status of those donors styled clerici, though when the size of their grants is considered, it is clear that the majority of these, too, ranked among the peasant population. Also many of these clerks were married, their wives and offspring often being named, and it is unlikely that any but those in the lowest of holy orders would have been married during this period.[2]

A final indication of peasant status is provided by the witness lists to charters. Stenton stressed the importance of the legal position of the witness in determining the independant status of the peasantry of the Danelaw, though he recognised that it is often impossible to determine the status of witnesses.[3] It is clear that the free peasantry were competent to witness charters, and it also seems likely that peasants tended to witness grants made by other peasants. In any charter where the witnesses are exclusively, or almost exclusively, drawn from the local landholders, royal officials

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, ff88^{V}, 72^{V}; Addit.MS.6118, p.766.
2. Hamelin the dean is the only cleric of local importance who is known to have been married at this period.
3. DC., pp.cii-cvi.

or members of a knightly or baronial family, the donor is unlikely to have been a peasant. Similarly the charter of a peasant is likely to have a predominantly peasant witness list.

All these indications of peasant status have their limitations.[1] When, however, more than one of these possible criteria is present the probability that the donor is of peasant status is increased, though there can rarely be certainty in any instance. Ultimately it is the way of life and the attitudes of an individual or family rather than, for example, the size of the holding, that defines the peasant; it is rare for charters to reveal such attitudes.

Since individual peasants or their families only occasionally appear in secular records such as feet of fines or assize rolls, it is clearly impossible to make such a study of peasant families as was attempted in the chapter dealing with the gentry and knights as donors. What will be attempted is an assessment of the role of the peasantry as donors to the houses, and a comparison of that role with that of the gentry donors. Where possible families rather than individuals will be investigated, and an attempt made to measure the economic importance of the donors in the economy of the village.

Stenton was in no doubt that the grants of the free peasantry to religious houses were cumulatively of considerable

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1. A further, rather negative criterion, and one that must be used with considerable caution, is that of appearance in the records of either central or local government. A donor who does so appear, except as a litigant, is unlikely to have been a member of the peasantry.

importance. He suggested that the pattern of endowment of monastic estates in this area owed much to the social and economic position of the donors who gave small holdings piecemeal, allowing the gradual creation of these estates. The grants were small and had to 'be maintained for a long time' before they amounted 'to a holding of material value, but time was on the side of the religious house'.[1] There were, however, at least three controls upon the scale of alienations by the free peasantry during this period and in this area that restricted the scope of their donations to local religious houses.

The first, and most important, of these was the size of the peasant holding. Lennard convincingly established that the economic, as distinct from the legal or social, status of the sokeman could be lower than that of the villanus.[2] Though there were wealthy sokemen who possessed more than one plough team in 1086, and though economically the class was heterogeneous, with individual sokemen possessing anything from one oxen to a full team, in Lincolnshire a large proportion of the sokemen owned very few ploughbeasts and were markedly poorer than their counterparts to the west and north.[3] More than 40% of the Lincolnshire sokemen possessed less than two oxen and nearly 80% of them owned less than half a team. There is little doubt that the holdings of both sokemen and villani in the county were

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1. DC., pp.liv-lv.
2. R. Lennard, 'The Economic Position of the Domesday Sokemen', Economic Journal, 57 (1947), 179-95.
3. Ibid., 184-5.

unusually small, at least in arable. Lennard rightly recognised that there were two mutually contradictory explanations of this phenomenon; the sokemen might have been sheep farmers carrying on a considerable trade with other regions, or they might have become poor through increasing population which led to the minute sub-division of already small estates. His statistics were derived from Domesday, compiled some 60 years before the foundation of Alvingham and Bullington. Though there is little but charter material to illuminate the economic history of the Northern Danelaw during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, charters suggest that it is unlikely that the holdings of the free peasantry at this time (descendants in the main from the Domesday sokemen)were larger than those of their predecessors. Indeed, there is some evidence to suggest that they were decreasing in area.

There seems little doubt that the notional peasant holding during the twelfth century consisted of a bovate with its appurtenant toft. Bovates occur as the unit of peasant tenure in a great number of charters, normally though not exclusively accompanied by tofts. By the toft we are probably to understand the homestead or cottage, together with its yard and outbuildings and the land upon which such buildings stood.[2] It was, therefore, of variable size.

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1. Ibid., 195.
2. It may also have included the croft, or enclosed area lying around the dwelling. See G. Beresford, The Medieval Clayland Village: Excavations at Goltho and Barton Blount (The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series, vi, 1975), p.12.

Tofts could be granted without any arable accompanying them; and in these instances they were presumably the dwellings of shepherds or rural craftsmen. Indeed, Stenton suggested that many of the tofts recorded in the marshland district were, in fact, sheep enclosures and sheepfolds.[1] Some of these individual tofts were also held by those who elsewhere would be styled cottarii, the small holders and peasants providing labour on the farms of others, perhaps on a seasonal basis.[2] The acreage of the bovate itself varied, but it seems likely that in Lincolnshire the average bovate contained 20 acres, such that in a vill with two great fields 10 acres of a holding would lie in one field and 10 acres in the other. The acre, however, was not yet a standard unit of measurement; it varied in area from vill to vill and from manor to manor while customary acres differed from measured acres. The perch, which determined both the breadth of the strips and the area of the acre, is known to have varied considerably and its length is occasionally recorded in charters.[3]

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1. An example of a toft held without a bovate is the grant by Roger Vavasur (himself a free peasant) of the toft held by William Sanggestere and half a bovate held by Roger himself to William of Redburn in Cockerington (Laud Misc.MS.642, f.62^{v}. For a general discussion of the toft see DC., pp. xxxviii-xxxix.
2. For examples of this type of toft holder see B.Lees, Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century (London, 1935), pp.lxxvi and 82-93 passim, 95-8 passim and 100-17 passim.
3. DC.,pp.xlvi-xlvii. The grant by Agnes wife of Herbert to Bullington of a 'small carucate' in South Ferriby further suggests that the bovate was not a standard unit of measurement (DC.,no.27). Stenton quotes a further example where a grant to Lincoln cathedral in Owmby-by-Spital refers to a bovate and a half as de magnis bovatis, que magna bovata et dimidia faciunt tres bovatas parvas (DC.,pp.xxviii-xxix,n). See also, A.Jones, 'Land Measurement in England, 1150-1350', Agricultural History Review, xxvii (1979), 13-15.

There is also much evidence that while toft and bovate holdings were common there were also many irregular holdings, both larger and smaller than the bovate. How far the bovate bore any resemblance to agricultural realities other than as a useful measure of rents and services is open to question. Toft and bovate holdings were granted to both Alvingham and Bullington; examples of such grants can be found in nearly every vill in which the houses held property. The great majority of these, however, were given not by the peasantry but by their lords. Moreover, when nativi were given to the priories their holdings were also normally measured in bovates. Similar charters in Stenton's collection also suggest that the toft and bovate holdings were the holdings of the unfree peasantry.[1] In the Templars' Inquest of 1185 the bovate was a frequent holding in the county; but it was held by peasants who paid a money rent, provided renders of hens and performed four days boon service in the year.[2] The conclusion seems inescapable that the toft and bovate holding was typical in Lincolnshire, but that it was typical of the unfree, rather than the free, peasantry. The bovate, approximately equivalent to the half-virgate holding elsewhere in the country, probably represented the basic unit of customary land. Little is known of the inheritance customs of the unfree in this area. Perhaps the inheritance had once been partible, as was that of the sokemen; however, the lords had a strong interest in the introduction

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1. E.g. Addit.MS.6118, pp.748, 805bis (in one of these charters a nativus held only a toft); Laud Misc.MS.642, ff.60, 134; DC., nos.138, 184, 200, 305 and 478.
2. B.Lees, op.cit., pp.clxix-clxxvii.

of primogeniture, since to them increasing fragmentation of holdings meant inevitable loss of revenue and of services. By the twelfth century, in Lincolnshire at least, the size of customary holdings seems to have been stabilized. It is also likely that any new grants of land to the peasantry during the twelfth century were of bovate holdings. Thus Roger son of Jocelin granted Dolfin a bovate for his service, which he and Helwisa his sister later granted to Bullington.[1]

Such stability, however, was not the case amongst the free peasantry. Stenton illustrates from the charters deriving from the soke of Bolingbroke how the holdings there were considerably smaller than in other areas. Though he suggested that these holdings also depended originally on a distribution arranged on the bovate holding, by the mid-twelfth century the half bovate holding was as common as that of the bovate.[2] A peasant holding some seven or eight acres would, by any standards, be regarded as a smallholder, whereas a bovate holder would probably (dependant on such variables as the size of his family)have a surplus, regardless of possible income from sheep farming. With few legal or customary restrictions on alienation, the free peasantry in an area of rapidly rising population had a freedom that could mean 'freedom to become poor'.[3] Professor Hallam has shown how, in the southern part of the county, the large number of freemen and sokemen farmed a rapidly

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1. Addit. MS.6118, p.755.
2. DC., pp.xxiv-xxv.
3. R. Lennard, op.cit., 145

proliferating number of very small holdings such that the majority of them were. in effect. cottagers. This was the most pressing incentive on the inhabitants of the Lincolnshire fenland to reclaim land from marsh and fen; indeed, only by cocperative reclamation was the land able to sustain such a rapidly growing population.[1]

It is possible that the size of the fenland holdings was smaller than those of the sokemen elsewhere in the county during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Even in the sixteenth century the average size of a farm in the marshland of north Lincolnshire was much larger than that of its fenland counterpart. It is likely that, with the acceptance of primogeniture, farms in the sixteenth century were larger than they had been three hundred years earlier, but even at this period almost 60% of all farms contained 30 acres or less. In the claylands, where most of Bullington's holdings lay, about 50% of all holdings measured 30 acres or less. Thus, though pressure on land may not have been as great as it was in the southern parts of the county, the whole area under consideration was one of predominantly small holdings.[2]

Unfortunately, very few of the charters of either Alvingham or Bullington give details of the complete holdings of their peasant benefactors. In Alvingham itself we know

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1. H.E. Hallam, Settlement and Society (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 216-22 and 'Some Thirteenth Century Censuses', Economic History Review, 2nd. ser., 10 (1958), 344-9.
2. J. Thirsk, English Peasant Farming (London, 1957), pp. 41-4, 73-6 and 96-7.

the holding of Dued to have consisted of 16 selions and a headland of arable and two acres of meadow.[1] The area of a selion was as variable as that of an acre; but in charters in which its acreage is specified its most usual size is half an acre. On this reckoning the size of Dued's holding was probably not much more than half a bovate. The patrimony of his grandson Ralph amounted to a toft and 14 acres: a larger holding than that of his grandfather but still less than a toft and bovate tenement.[2] In the neighbouring vill of Grainthorpe John son of Gikel granted to the mother church of Lincoln all the land his tenant, Robert Mancelot, held of him. Robert had already granted some land to Alvingham and it is uncertain whether the priory or the cathedral was the ultimate beneficiary of the donations.[3] Robert's holding amounted to nine acres and three perches of arable, three acres of meadow, half of the pasture that his kinsman Richard had once held in the saltmarsh and half of Saltcoteholm (probably a saltern).[4] This again represents a comparatively small holding, but one that is probably typical of the sokemen of this area.[5]

The key to these small holdings almost certainly lies in the inheritance customs of the sokemen of northern

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.13. For the variable size of the selion see DC., pp.xliv-xlvi.
2. Ibid., f.13v.
3. Ibid., f.101.
4. Reg.Ant., v. no. 1603.
5. A charter in the Duchy of Lancaster collection reveals a similar small holding in Manby where Robert son of Quenlof sold all his land to Andrew, son of Odo Galle. It comprised a toft, 13 selions and three perches of meadow (F.M. Stenton, The Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw (Oxford, 1969), no. 91).

Lincolnshire. According to both Glanvill and Bracton (who repreated the earlier author without amendment), inheritance of socage tenure varied according to custom. If the tenure was partible ab antiquo then such it would remain; but if it was not so partible by long custom, then primogeniture would obtain. If there was only one messuage on the holding then it was to go entire to the first born, but he should give his brothers land of equal value from the remaining land. If there was more than one messuage then the firstborn was to have the right of first choice, the second son the next and so on.[1] By the time of Bracton there was already a strong movement towards primogeniture. Lords were concerned at the potential loss of services occasioned by the practice of partigeniture and it is no coincidence that partibility continued longer on free than on customary land. Even on free land, however, there were considerable economic and agricultural pressures encouraging the replacement of partigeniture by primogeniture. Economic requirements, such as the necessity to maintain a viable tenement, overrode legal theory.[2] Gradually the eldest son, who already had (as both Glanvill and Bracton stated) superior rights when the inheritance was divided, and who was ultimately responsible for family decisions upon the allotment and alienation of the

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1. Glanvill, ed. G.D.G. Hall (London, Edinburgh etc., 1965), p.75; De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae, ed. G.E.Woodbine, translated, with revisions and notes, by S.E.Thorne (5 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1968-78), ii.221.
2. The words of Edward I when he 'disgavelled' the lands of John of Cobham are as appropriate to the situation in north Lincolnshire as to Kent: 'it often happens that tenements are divided among co-heirs into so many parts and fragments that each one's part will scarcely support him' (F.Pollock and F.W. Maitland, op.cit., ii.273).

holding, came to exercise control over the disposition of land until the rights of his brethren were eroded away.

The absence of any customals of the great sokes of Lincolnshire makes it impossible to say with certainty whether or not partible inheritance was the custom upon these estates. In Leicestershire the soke of Rotheley certainly followed this custom during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, land being divided equally between the sons and daughters of a deceased sokeman.[1] In south Lincolnshire Professor Hallam has convincingly demonstrated that partible inheritance obtained and that it was the direct cause of the great division of arable land in Holland. He has argued that this, combined with the practice of inheriting land while the father was still alive, allowed young men to marry early and to produce large families, while they were placed under little pressure to emigrate to such vills where partible inheritance was not the custom.[2] It is dangerous to argue from the practice of partible inheritance in these areas to the practice in the north of the county, especially in the soke of Gayton, in which most of the sokemen who gave lands to Alvingham had their holdings. Inheritance patterns could vary not only from region to region but from village to village.

There is, however, strong evidence that partible inheri-

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1. G.T.Clarke, 'The Customary of the Manor and Soke of Rotheley in the County of Leicester', Archaeologia, xlvii (1882),89-130.
2. H.E.Hallam, 'Some thirteenth Century Censuses', Economic History Review, 2nd.ser.,10 (1958), 340-61. Stenton suggested that the small holdings in the soke of Bolingbroke were probably due to partitions among co-heirs (DC., pp.xxiv-xxv).

tance was the custom on the soke of Gayton. In the first place there are a large number of charters in favour of both Alvingham and the Cistercian abbey of Kirkstead in which brothers granted lands jointly. In Grainthorpe, for example, Robert, Simon and John, the sons of Robert Palmer, exchanged saltmarsh for arable in Yarborough.[1] In Alvingham Thorald and Gilbert the sons of Dued demised the great daila (enclosed meadow) of their father and also granted a toft and some arable to the priory.[2] In Cockerington Siward had two sons, Robert and Roger. Not only did they jointly quitclaim their rights of inheritance in two bovates held by two tenants of their father, but the grant by Roger of half a toft and half a croft strongly suggests that the toft and croft of their father had been divided between them.[3] The grant of two selions in Yarborough in 1272 by two brothers acting jointly suggests that partible inheritance was still being practised in this region at the end of the thirteenth century.[4]

Perhaps the strongest evidence for the division of estates among co-heirs is provided by the example of Thorald, John and Ralph, the sons of Dued of Alvingham. Thorald and Robert and William, the sons of Ralph, granted the holding of Dued to the priory, to be held of the lord of the fee for an annual rent of 13⅓d. As Stenton pointed out, this sum represents a third of a total rent of 40d., a quarter of a

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1. Laud Misc. MS642, f.105.
2. Ibid. f.13.
3. Ibid. f.62.
4. Ibid., f.105.

mark of silver.[1] Dued's holding had clearly been divided amongst his three sons and this division was reflected in the division of the rent.

Co-heiresses who held of the soke of Gayton also shared their inheritance, as is evident from a charter in which Sibilla and Juliana, daughters of Walter, granted all the toft their father held in Manby of the soke of Gayton to the priory.[2]

Where partigeniture obtained the heirs could either divide the land amongst themselves or hold it as parcenors, holding and farming the land in common. Both usages had their disadvantages, but where the initial holding was small the latter practice was the more viable. Evidence for agricultural practice in north Lincolnshire, however, is not conclusive. Certainly the fact that two brothers together granted one selion in Yarborough suggests that they must have cultivated it in common, but where small grants of land were involved holding as parcenors was probably more common.[3] On the other hand, in several cases land granted to Alvingham adjoined land held, or formerly held, by a brother of the grantor, which suggests that the original estate had been divided to be held severally by the heirs.[4]

Whatever form the division of the inheritance took,

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1. Ibid., f.13; F.M. Stenton, The Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw (Oxford, 1969), p.50.
2. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.86^{v}.
3. Ibid., f.24. Stenton believed that it was likely that in Gayton soke a family farmed as parcenors after the father's death (DC., pp. xcvii-iii).
4. See, e.g., Ibid., ff. 15, 18, 25-25^{v}.

however, the result was the same. The practice of partigeniture severely limited the scale of peasant donations to local communities. Though the generosity of a peasant family to Alvingham might extend over several generations it was only in the first or second generations that substantial grants could be made. It is the constraint imposed on alienation by partigeniture that provided the most important explanation for the decline in grants to Alvingham by peasant families after the first decades of the thirteenth century.

If the size of holdings and the custom of partible inheritance effected considerable control upon the scale of peasant grants to the priories (for a grant of a mere four selions might well mean a considerable reduction of the total holding of the peasant), a further control was imposed by the geography of the priories and their granges. Sokemen were not distributed evenly across the county. In the division of Lindsey the percentage of sokemen to villeins and bordars ranged from 34% in the wapentake of Axholme to 73%in the wapentake of Ludborough.[1] Fluctuations could be as great in vills that adjoined and lay in the same wapentake. In Louthesk (where the Domesday percentage of sokemen was 62%)the percentage of free peasants in Alvingham was 52% ; and in Skidbrook, the vill that lay next to the East, the percentage was as high as 89%[2]. As will be shewn, peasant donations only benefited the priories in vills where granges

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1. These figures are taken from Stenton, op.cit., pp.6-7.
2. Lincolnshire Domesday, passim.

were already developed. Naturally a grange could not be created from the small gifts of the sokemen alone. In several vills where the priories (especially Bullington) held granges, the Domesday free peasant population was very small. In Redbourne it was as low as 23% of the total recorded population; in Hackthorn there were only 2 sokemen in a recorded population of 27.[1] In these vills it is unlikely that the free peasantry would be found making a significant contribution to the expansion of monastic estates. Since no new sokes were created after the Conquest most of the free peasants of Lincolnshire during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were descended from the sokemen of Domesday.

The Peasantry and the development of the estates of Alvingham and Bullington.

i) Alvingham

There are some 180 charters relating to the vill of Alvingham in the cartulary of the priory. About 150 of these can be ascribed to the free peasantry and sokemen of the vill, and it is clear from the index to the cartulary that most of these held of the soke of Gayton. In 1086 the largest estate in the vill formed part of that soke and most of the recorded sokemen held lands within it.[2] Only a few peasant families are represented in the cartulary, however, and most of the charters emanate from only three families, those of Dued, Cost and Pigot, all of whom belonged to the upper stratum of the peasantry.

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1. Lincolnshire Domesday. passim.
2. Ibid., passim. Out of a total population of 36, 26 lived upon the estate of the soke.

Dued had at least five sons: one of whom, Gamelin, was a brother in the priory. It has been suggested above that Dued's holding did not amount to more than half a bovate.[1] He, himself, gave nothing to the priory. His sons Thorald and Gilbert gave a toft within the enclosure of their father's house, which may suggest that they already had shares in the family holding before the death of their father, and 14 selions of arable. One of these lay in Duedesmore, indication of an early separate close belonging to their father, and one lay next to the court of their father. They also demised in fee farm the great daila of meadow that had belonged to their father.[2] Thorald also gave a selion called Duederig with its appurtenant meadow in the West Fen and a further two perches of meadow. He also granted all his inheritance of his father.[3] The total amount granted by Thorald amounted to something under one bovate besides the toft and the meadow.[4] Thorald's own holding may well then have been larger than that of his father before him, but there is no indication of the total extent of his holding. Amongst the other sons of Dued, John gave three selions of arable and meadow.[5] In the next generation Ralph son of Thorald gave all his patrimony in the vill, a toft and 14 acres of arable, for an annual payment of 18d. in lieu of all services, exactions, liberties and customs of the sokemen

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1. See above, p. 285.
2. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.13 (c.1190).
3. See above, pp. 288-9.
4. Ibid., ff.13-4 (c.1200).
5. Ibid., f.22^{v} (early thirteenth century)

of Gayton.[1] Two sons of John also gave land; William giving a selion with his body to be buried, while John made three exchanges with the priory, granting a total of 14 selions for 13 selions and eight acres of arable. These exchanges allowed the mutual consolidation of both his own and the priories' estates.[2]

The grants by the family of Cost of Alvingham also extended over three generations. Cost's grants were largely in the form of exchanges, though he did give one selion outright in return for a grant of confraternity to himself and his wife. Certainly the exchanges were to his advantage, since for 12 selions he gained 23½ for himself.[3] He also granted meadow in Alvingham to the Gilbertine house of Ormsby.[4] Cost had at least five sons: all but one appear as donors to the priory during the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Like the grants of their father, most of their grants were in the form of exchanges. John exchanged arable, meadow and pasture and seems, like Cost, to have driven a hard bargain. Indeed one of the charters recognises this. John gave one selion in the East Field for nine headlands of pasture and stated that because the exchange which he had received was better than that he had granted to the canons he and his heirs would pay an annual rent of one penny for the nine headlands.[5] John also quit-claimed all his rights in lands and appurtenances held by

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1. Ibid., f.13^{v}.
2. Ibid., ff.22^{v}, 26^{v}-7^{v} (c.1230).
3. Ibid., ff. 23, 24^{v}, 28 (late twelfth century).
4. Ibid., f.23.
5. Ibid., ff.25-25^{v}, 27.

his grandfather and granted the toft with its appurtenances once held by John the clerk.[1] His only outright gift was a grant of one selion, stipulating that he should be buried in the nuns' cemetery when he died.[2] John's brother William granted six selions to the priory, while another brother, Andrew, seems to have been the most generous of the brothers, granting three selions and a toft, exchanging 6½ selions for one selion and a toft and, in addition, undertaking to maintain the embanking of the dykes around this property.[3] The fourth brother, Hugh, only exchanged seven selions for five others, while his sons Andrew and Adam gave a further selion that lay in the fields of Yarborough.[4] With this donation the connection of the family with the priory seems to have ended. Andrew, Hugh and William, and also the otherwise unknown Alice were all stated in 1230 to be tenants of lands formerly held by Hamelin the dean and therefore liable for the dean's debts. The combined total of their liabilities was 56s. 2d. Moreover, the 'heirs of Cost' were liable for a further 18s. 9d.[5] These large sums suggest that the family was comparatively wealthy. John, son of Andrew, son of Cost, was a donor to the abbey of Louth Park, to whom he gave a toft and croft, four selions and three perches of meadow in Alvingham, besides six selions in Yarborough and all

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1. Ibid., f.23. One of these charters states that if distraint ought to be made upon the land for default of service then it should be made upon other land of his fee.
2. Ibid., f.31^{v}.
3. Ibid., ff. 23^{v}, 24^{v}, 25.
4. Ibid., f.24.
5. Pipe Roll 14 Henry III (P.R.S. xliii, 1927) p.311.

that might fall to him by inheritance or from the dower of Letia Gildyng.[1]

There are some 80 charters relating to the family of Pigot, a number unsurpassed by any other family recorded in the cartulary. The number of charters in itself suggests that the family represented the very highest rank of the peasantry. The family had marriage connections outside the vill, though only in the neighbouring vill of Cockerington. Pigot son of Pigot was clearly of some note in the community for the cartulary contains his notification that he and his heirs would maintain at their own cost all the banks of the Aldecroftdic for a length of 60 perches and would bear the cost of all damages arising from lack of upkeep. This he pledged himself and his heirs to do, under the threat of excommunication by the rural dean if he or his heirs failed in this duty.[2] Though Pigot I does not figure as a donor his four sons all made grants between c.1200 and c.1240. The eldest was probably Pigot II who, with his brother, Reginald the clerk, appears as the most generous donor in the family. He gave outright a toft and croft, 29 selions and five headlands of arable. The total extent of this land was probably rather more than a bovate. At least some of this land was given during the lifetime of his parents, for one charter stipulated that if his mother should outlive his father and claim the land given (two selions) then he would substitute land of equal value.[3] Without exception, all these grants

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1. Cal.Ch.R., iii. 255.
2. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.18^{v}.
3. Ibid., ff.18-19^{v}.

lay between or adjoined land already held by the priory; this consolidation is even more clearly to be seen in the exchanges which Pigot II made with the priory, giving 14 selions in return for 12 selions and a cultura called Gayrewang. This acquisition of a whole cultura further suggests that Pigot must be regarded as one of the wealthier members of the village community.[1] The pattern of the grants of Reginald, Pigot II's brother, is similar. He gave a total of 17½ selions, a headland and some meadow; the total of arable given probably being rather more than half a bovate.[2] All this land lay close to land already held by the priory and this consolidation of the priory's estate by small grants of the peasantry is further attested by his exchange of seven for 12 selions.[3] Reginald was also associated with his brothers Andrew and Pigot in even larger grants, giving all their father's meadow in Boyfen and some 85 selions that lay on both sides of the vill.[4] Such generosity is unparalleled amongst donations from the peasantry; indeed, it is such a large grant that it may be doubted whether the family should be classed amongst the peasantry at all. Certainly Reginald had sub-tenants, for he sold all his meadow which he had received in free marriage with his wife Matilda, and which was held by a tenant, to Richard the chaplain of Alvingham.[5] Reginald seems to have been active in the land market, for in 1240 he granted to Pigot ,his brother, arable on both sides of

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.29^{v}.
2. Ibid., f.26.
3. Ibid., f.30.
4. Ibid., ff.15^{v}-17^{v}.
5. Ibid., f.16^{v}.Cf.f.20.

the vill, together with meadow, for the comparatively high annual payment to the lords of the fee of five shillings, saving the rights of the priory and the dowry rights of their mother.[1]

Compared with the grants of these brothers, those of Andrew and John, sons of Pigot I, were small. Andrew gave one selion in Alvingham, and another in Yarborough.[2] His widow, Margaret, gave a total of 23 selions in Yarborough and quitclaimed all her dower rights in lands in both vills. This would suggest that Andrew married outside his native vill and gained his lands in Yarborough by marriage. John merely quitclaimed all rights he held in a toft and croft donated by his father[3]. In the 1290's Thomas, his son, quitclaimed the rent of 2s. 6d. due from lands given by Pigot in the vill.[4]

Pigot I had at least one daughter, Helena, who married Robert Haket of Cockerington. In the first quarter of the thirteenth century this couple, in association with Reginald, Andrew and Pigot II granted 13 selions meadow that Robert had received in exchange with the three brothers for a toft and three marks in negotio meo.[5] Helena's daughter Matilda married Richard Gudared. She confirmed the small grant by her husband and quitclaimed her rights in lands the priory had of the gifts of her husband and parents.[6]

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1. Ibid., f.16^{v}.
2. Ibid., f.15.
3. Ibid., f.20.
4. Ibid., f.33^{v}.
5. Ibid., f.14^{v}. The family of Haket will be considered in more detail amongst the peasants of Cockerington. See below pp. 299-301.
6. Ibid., f.31^{v}. This grant was made with her body to be buried.

In 1277 her sons William and Robert granted small parcels of arable and meadow to the priory.[1] With the grant of a piece of meadow in Nortfen by Matilda, the daughter of William son of Matilda donations by the Pigot family end.[2] No peasant family ever proved as generous to the priory; but if the scale of the donations of the Pigots was atypical, so too were they amongst the free peasantry in the size of their holdings.

When compared with the grants of the three families that have just been considered, grants by other free peasants in the vill were insignificant both in number and extent. The total amount that they gave scarcely amounted to that given by Reginald Pigot and his brothers. Though the number of peasant charters in the vill is very great, the amount of land they conveyed was small. This land did, however, have some use; for in the majority of cases it adjoined property already held by the priory. For consolidation purposes the grants made by the free peasants were admirable. The peasant donors do not seem to span the whole spectrum of the peasantry; rather they came from the highest layer, from peasants of substance who might indeed have sub-tenants. Only the holding of Dued seems to have been a small holding typical of the holdings of the free peasantry; the holdings of the other families that have been considered must all have been comparatively large. That the donors represent only a small sector of the free peasant population is further suggested by the evidence of donations to the abbey of Louth Park.

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1. Ibid., ff.32a, 32b.
2. Ibid., ff.32a^{v}, 33 (late thirteenth century).

With only two exceptions the peasant donors were drawn from the same families as have been considered above.[1]

The collection of charters relating to the priory's estate in Cockerington is the largest in the cartulary. A large number of them derive from the free peasantry of the vill, which in 1086 contained 36 sokemen out of a recorded population of 54.[2] The most important family archive amongst these charters is that of the Haket family, who must have represented the highest layer of peasant society. The earliest grant of this family is that of five selions, and parts of three more, given by Thorald and confirmed by his son Haket.[3] The most important donor, however, was Geoffrey Haket, probably, though this is nowhere stated, the son of Haket. He granted three acres and 23 selions; since one of his charters states that four selions contain two acres, his total grant was probably something of the order of 14 or 15 acres. He also held lands in Somercotes, where he had a tenant who granted an enclosed meadow of five acres to the priory.[4] He also made two exchanges with the priory, in one of them granting six selions of arable in return for nine selions and in the other exchanging seven selions and a headland for one selion, 10 buttes and pasture on the marsh abutting his cultura of Carlemare.[5] The general quit-claim of Muriel, his widow, also refers to land that her husband had sold to the house.[6] Geoffrey seems to have been

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1. Cal.Ch.R., iii. 251, 252, 255, 257.
2. Lincolnshire Domesday, passim.
3. Laud Misc. MS. 642, f.63 (late twelfth century).
4. Ibid., ff.63-4 (late twelfth century).
5. Ibid., f.63^{v}.
6. Ibid., f.64.

fairly active in the land market, for two charters relating to land that later came into the hands of the priory refer to his grant to a brother William of a toft and two acres of meadow, and the sale to Christina de Neville of six acres of meadow for five silver marks and an annual rent of 8¼d.[1] He was also a tenant of the priory, holding land, a toft and a portion of meadow in fee for 2s. 1d. per annum.[2]

Geoffrey is known to have had two sons, William and Robert. William granted two selions of arable with his body, but Robert was rather more generous.[3] He may have been in financial difficulties, for in 1195 or 1206 he granted all his meadow in Boyfen to his brother in pledge for 10 shillings. The parties pledged faith in the hands of brother Michael of the priory, a detail that sheds a little light on the role of the priory in the secular affairs of the village community.[4] Robert Haket married Helena, the daughter of Pigot I of Alvingham, and both families clearly belong to the upper stratum of the peasantry. Robert gave nine selions of arable, including one with the body of his daughter Sapientia for burial, and in 1222 gave a general confirmation of all the arable and meadow in Boyfen and Westfen that the convent had of his gift in both Cockerington and Alvingham.[5] One further charter of Robert's is of some

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, ff.63, 64.
2. Ibid., ff.64, 67.
3. Ibid., f.67v.
4. Ibid., f.64v. This charter has a curious dating clause; it was written in the year in quo accidit festum annunciationis sancte marie in vigilia pasche floridi et ante festum sancte botulphi.
5. Ibid., ff.66v, 67.

interest. He granted a selion in the vill until he could procure for the house the quitclaim of Reginald son of Pigot of two selions of arable in Alvingham. When this had been procured the priory would return the land and also the vestitura from the land (or an equivalent sum) according to the estimate of viri legales.[1] It is probable that the grant of two selions had been made by Helena Pigot, Robert's wife, a grant which required confirmation by her brothers before the priory's title could be secure.

Robert himself had atleast four daughters: Sapientia who was buried in the convent, Matilda, married first to Richard Gudered and then to William of Somercotes, Christina and Agnes, married to Richard the Skinner. Christina confirmed the gifts of her father in a charter of 1242 and gave two selions in her own right.[2] Agnes and her husband gave 9½ selions that they had of the gift of Robert. This land was presumably part of Agnes' dowry.[3] The only other member of the family recorded in the cartulary is Hugh, who between 1213 and 1229 quitclaimed all his rights in lands given by Goda, daughter of Robert the Smith, and her ancestors.[4]

The family descended from Siward of Cockerington rivalled that of Haket in prosperity. Roger Vavassor, son of Siward, and his brother, Robert the Smith, held of the Scoteni fee. Roger granted eight acres of arable, eight acres of meadow and two acres of marsh in Medelholm. A further charter

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1. Ibid., f.67.
2. Ibid., f.67.
3. Ibid., f.67^{v}. Agnes died before her husband, who then gave a further selion with her body.
4. Ibid., ff.64^{v}, 65.

confirms this grant and, incidentally, reveals the importance of the sealed charter in the transactions of the free peasantry. This charter repeated the description given in the earlier document but added ne aliquis in perpetuum illam cartam ob renovacionem sigilli mei infirmare vel impedire voleat eam novi sigilli mei testimonio corroboravi et predictas terras prenominatis monialibus confirmavi.[1] That the family was of some standing is confirmed by the brothers' quitclaim of a further two bovates held by Hanke and Gille of their inheritance. Hanke and Gille may have been nativi; they appear in the same charter in which Lambert de Scoteni granted five nativi to the priory.[2] Certainly they appear to have been tenants of Roger and Robert, and this suggests that the brothers stood amongst the wealthier members of the peasantry. The brothers also granted William of Redburn a toft and half a bovate in fee for an annual rent of 6d. Robert was a tenant of the prior of Alvingham, of whom he held a toft with its buildings and appurtenances.[3] His daughter Goda entered the house as a nun and also gave a toft and four selions of arable.[4] Richard, the grandson of Roger, later quitclaimed to William son of William of Redburn, five acres and seven selions, three acres of meadow and one acre of ros (wasteland?). It is significant that

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1. Ibid., f.62-62^{v} (c.1190).
2. Ibid., ff.62,60, (before 1202). In 1239 Peter son of Ede of Scupholm quitclaimed all his rights in land granted by Ivo, Roger and Robert his uncles and Hanke and Gille, his kinsmen, of which the priory was in seisin. He also granted four selions containing $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres of arable that adjoined the priory's land (Ibid., f.80^{v}).
3. Ibid., f. 72, 81.
4. Ibid., f.79.

one selion lay in Neuland and a marginal note refers to the Neuland of Alice Vavassour.[1] The family was clearly increasing its holdings by the assarting of waste. This is one of the few references to assarting in the cartulary.

The family of Alured is one of the most interesting of all the peasant families in the vill. The toft and bovate holding of Alured was granted to the priory by Juliana of Otby when she entered the priory on her deathbed. This holding was then occupied by Alured's son, William, and he, his sequela and chattels were also granted to the priory by Juliana. The confirmation charter of Gilbert de Well' (husband of Juliana) shews, however, that the couple in fact manumitted William in the presence of their friends and tenants.[2] William, now a free man, was next regranted his father's holding by Thomas the prior for an annual rent of four shillings.[3] William is known to have made one grant to the priory, that of a selion of arable on Colethornhil.[4] His son Robert was more generous, giving 12 selions and an acre to the house (nearly half of his patrimony) and exchanging four for six selions. He also remitted one selion to the priory that he held of the alms of the convent.[5] With the family holding substantially reduced it is hardly surprising that no further grants by this family are recorded.

The charters so far considered have been those of the

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.63 (mid-thirteenth century).
2. Ibid., f.79^{v} (late twelfth century).
3. Ibid., f.74$_{v}$(margin).
4. Ibid., f.73^{v} (early thirteenth century).
5. Ibid., f.74-74^{v} (second quarter thirteenth century).

wealthier free peasants. The donations of families such as those of Haket and Siward were clearly of some significance and importance in the development of the priory's grange in Cockerington. This picture is misleading, however, for there were many other isolated grants of individual peasants which may have added little to the priory's possessions but which demonstrate that peasants who were less prosperous also made small donations. Thus Robert Pa on the day he received the habit of a brother (perhaps a lay brother) gave a selion of arable containing about an acre.[1] His son William, who was to be buried in the priory cemetery, gave six selions and a headland while William's son John gave two selions of arable and appurtenant meadow.[2]

In Keddington, though about 65% of the recorded Domesday population were sokemen, their contribution to the priory's estate was less than in either Alvingham or Cockerington. The creation of the grange was largely the work of the two lords of the vill, Geoffrey of Keddington and Roger of Midley; grants by their peasant tenants were rare. They were also confined to the more prosperous peasants. At the end of the twelfth century Tocha, the reeve of Keddington, granted a total of nine selions; for four of them, which lay between the selions of the priory and Louth Park, he received 11 in exchange.[3] The status of the reeve is unclear. Styled reeve of Keddington, rather than the reeve of his lord, he

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.78^{v} (late twelfth century).
2. Ibid., ff.78^{v}, 79 (second quarter of thirteenth century).
3. Ibid., f.126. He had already granted two selions to the parish church of St. Margaret whose advowson had been granted to the priory (Ibid., f.126).

seems to have been free, for he warranted his own charters.

One of his charters, however, carried the seal of his lord, rather than his own,which suggests that he himself did not possess one. Tocha may be Tocha Sarnail who witnessed a charter of Geoffrey of Keddington in favour of Walter Galle in Saltfleetby in the reign of Henry II.[1] If such is the case, then he may be that Sarnail who held two bovates and a toft of Roger of Midley that Roger granted to the priory.[2] Though Tocha's sons were associated with him in all of his grants, none of them made grants themselves, though his daughter Isobel conveyed three selions to Rabod the chaplain which later came into the priory's hands.[3]

It is likely that Rabod himself was of peasant stock for he bore a native name and was vicar of the parish church. He was certainly active in the peasant land market on the priory's behalf at the end of the twelfth century.[4] There are only two other peasant donors in Keddington recorded in the cartulary. They gave a total of five selions.[5] Another donor, Adam North, may also have been a peasant. Towards the end of the thirteenth century he granted a total of eight selions and common pasture belonging to his 20 acres in the East Field.[6] His holdings were clearly of some size, perhaps totalling 2 bovates. The fact that he also granted rents from lands held of him in both Keddington and Grainthorpe suggests that Adam was wealthier than most of his

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1. DC., no.539.
2. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.123^{v}.
3. Ibid., ff.124^{v}, 125 (early thirteenth century).
4. Ibid.,f.129^{v}. For Rabod as land agent see above, pp.62-3.
5. Ibid.,ff.127, 128.
6. Ibid.,ff.129, 128^{v}.

fellow villagers, though these rents only amounted to 9d. per annum.[1]

The confirmation charter of Louth Park names several of the free peasants of Keddington as donors. In several cases the names are also found in the Alvingham cartulary. Thus William the Smith granted two selions, a headland and 1½ perches of meadow while his grandsons John and William granted a toft and four selions. Walter, son of Roger, son of Matilda who gave four selions to Alvingham, granted meadow to Louth Park, while his son Roger granted all his holdings in the vill to that abbey.[2] As in the case of Alvingham, however, it was the donations of Geoffrey of Keddington and Roger of Midley which formed the core of Louth Park's holdings here; the contribution of the free peasants was comparatively negligible and confined to one or two families.

In Yarborough, which lay entirely within the soke of Gayton and which, therefore, might be expected to have had a large free population, the pattern is similar. The considerable estate of the priory depended on the generosity of the families of Hamelin the dean and of Gikel of Yarborough. The role of the peasantry here was minimal. At least two of the sons of Cost of Alvingham appear to have moved to Yarborough, for Hamelin son of Cost gave eight selions and exchanged two more for another selion. His brother, Robert, exchanged four selions, of which two lay in Alvingham and two

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1. Ibid., f.128^{v}.
2. Cal.Ch.R., iii.254,255. William the smith sold two acres to Alvingham and gave another selion (Laud Misc. MS.642, ff. 123, 128).

in Yarborough, close to the boundary with Alvingham, for six selions, one of them lying in Alvingham, close to the parish boundary, and the others lying in Yarborough. Normally consolidation in exchanges is only seen at the level of the individual cultura in the same vill; here it is seen spanning two neighbouring vills.[1] Andrew, son of Cost, gave three selions in Yarborough as well as his grants in Alvingham.[2] Other grants were largely in the form of exchanges and of little consequence. Robert, son of Thomas, exchanged a selion with his lord, John son of Gikel, and then granted it to Alvingham.[3] His nephew Alan had already sold lands in Keddington which had been the marriage portion of his mother, so Robert must have had holdings in both vills. His sister Iveta gave a further six selions in Yarborough which Robert confirmed.[4] This Robert, called Serraunt, may be Robert the Palmer of Yarborough who exchanged two selions for one with the priory and whose sons William and Robert exchanged a toft and nine selions for six selions and an acre of meadow with Simon, son of Gilbert Blund, which land was to be held of the priory.[5]

Third only to the granges of Alvingham itself and Cockerington in income in the Valor Ecclesiasticus, the priory's grange in Grainthorpe was of considerable extent.[6] Here the role of the free peasantry in the creation of a

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, ff.116a^{v}, 116a (early thirteenth century).
2. Ibid., f.117^{v} (early thirteenth century).
3. Ibid., f.115^{v} (c.1200).
4. Ibid., ff.124^{v}, 115^{v}.
5. Ibid., f.116a (mid-thirteenth century).
6. Val. Eccles., iv.58.

grange of the priory can most clearly be seen. Several peasant families can be followed in their donations both to the Gilbertine house and, to a lesser extent, to the Cistercian abbey of Kirkstead and the cathedral church of Lincoln. The family whose history can most fully be reconstructed is that of Robert Hopscort. Towards the end of the twelfth century Robert, in conjunction with his brother Bart and son and heir Roger granted a total of five acres of meadow and four acres of arable to the priory.[1] He also confirmed the grant of Tobias, another brother, styled clerk of Grimsby. Tobias was married to Emma of Grimsby who had given the house a toft in that town. Their daughter Cecilia was given to the priory along with half of Tobias' holding in Grainthorpe. Its extent is not specified.[2] The remaining half, described as the right of Tobias' son Andrew, was demised to the priory until Andrew should be of full age. Should he die while still a child or wish to enter the house, Alvingham was to continue to hold the land freely. That Emma pledged herself and her son to pay 12 marks if warranty could not be sustained suggests that the amount of land granted was considerable.[3] Robert Hopscort's brother Ralph was also received into the house and was also a benefactor.[4]

Robert's son Roger seems to have died before his father,

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, ff.99^{v}, 100^{v}.
2. Ibid., ff.99^{v}, 100.
3. Ibid., f.99^{v}. The division of the estate is further evidence for the practice of partigeniture in the soke.
4. Ibid. ff.99^{v}, 100. His grants are not described.

for it was Robert's daughter Maria who acted as heiress, confirming her father's gifts and those of her uncles, besides making gifts herself.[1] Besides these confirmations, Maria in her own right gave all her land in Heyeninges and a little pasture, when her son Andrew was received into the house.[2] After Andrew had entered the priory her son Henry became heir and he assented to her remission to the priory of an annual payment of warnoth for lands the priory had of her father's grant.[3] After the death of her husband, Maria granted a toft of three perches extent that adjoined her own toft and of which it was presumably then a part, and a toft and croft between the tofts of William son of Igmund, her son-in-law, and that of Arnold Bild, together with a selion of arable.[4] The Hopscort inheritance seems finally to have gone, not to Henry, who does not appear again in the charters, but to another son, Hugh, who exchanged two selions of arable for two others and a piece of meadow.[5] He also granted a platea of marsh called Moldfang which he had been granted by William, son of Ralph the Palmer.[6]

The name Moldfang refers to mould used in the salt extraction process and is clear evidence that the peasantry were engaged in the industry, whose presence in Grainthorpe is attested by Domesday's mention of 6 saltpans there in 1086.[7]

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, ff.99^{v}, 100, 103.
2. Ibid., f.100.
3. Ibid., f.100. For the nature of the rent warnoth see DC., pp.cxxxv-vii.
4. Ibid., f.100-100^{v}.
5. Ibid., f.100^{v}(c.1230).
6. For William, see below, p.315. For further comments upon the salt industry see below p.315.
7. Lincolnshire Domesday, p.23.

Unlike other families, the Hopscorts do not appear even as witnesses in other charters relating to other religious houses which had estates in the vill, though Maria appears in a fine made in 1195 involving John, son of Gikel of Yarborough. This lists rents owed to John by various tenants amongst whom Maria appears as owing 4s. 6½d.[1] It would appear from this reference that Maria was one of John's more prosperous tenants. She was also granted three acres of meadow by Roger de Neville for an annual rent of 12d. which perhaps suggests her increasing prosperity.[2]

The connection of the Hopscort family with the priory lasted for three generations. Each of these generations was represented in the priory, and the family's ties with the priory were as close as those of most of the gentry families that have been considered as donors. Yet the total amount of land given probably amounted to less than a bovate of arable and a few acres of meadow. Whether this was a significant portion of the Hopscort patrimony is impossible to determine, though the fact that Maria gave two tofts that she possessed besides her own, and the comparative high rent she paid her lord for her holding suggests that the family ranked high amongst the peasantry. Both Maria and Hugh held land of others, including other peasants.

The family of Mancelot is rather more fully documented than that of Hopscort, though again references to the family are to be found almost entirely in charter sources. Towards

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1. Final Concords, ii.301-2.
2. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.99^{v}. She also held a toft in the neighbouring vill of Ludborough (Reg.Ant., iv. no.1424).

the end of the twelfth century Richard Mancelot granted 10 acres of meadow to the monks of Kirkstead about which there had earlier been a dispute that had been settled in the royal court. Nothing is known of this case apart from this incidental reference in the charter.[1] This grant was made with the consent and advice of his sons Robert, Thorald and Richard. A Robert Mancelot was a donor to Alvingham, but it is not clear whether he was the son of Richard II or Thorald. He granted a total of a toft, 5½ acres of arable and a piece of Saltcoteholm which Richard Mancelot had once held, with free entry and exit between the holm already held by the convent and that of Robert the Palmer. He also granted an acre of meadow.[2] Thorald Mancelot granted another piece of meadow that adjoined the meadow held by William, the son of Robert Mancelot.[3] He is also known to have granted four acres of arable to Lincoln Cathedral of which two acres lay adjacent to land held by Alvingham.[4]

Robert Mancelot had two sons, William and Thomas. William granted to Alvingham all his meadow comprising two acres in Hayedailes while Thomas granted all the land in Houstecroft that he had of the grant of Thorald.[5]

In the one case where the family appears other than in charters relating to the religious houses, Thomas son of Thorald brought an assize of novel disseisin in 1218 against

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1. B.L. MS. Cott. Vespasian E.xviii, f.91^{v}.
2. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.101. Evidence for the size of Robert's holding has been discussed above, p.285 .
3. Ibid., f.101 (early thirteenth century).
4. Reg.Ant. v. no.1604, Thorald was certainly one of the wealthier peasants of the vill for he enfeoffed (feofavit) Gilbert the carpenter with a holding in Litelcroft (Laud Misc. MS. 642, f.101 margin).
5. Ibid., f.101-101^{v}.

his brothers Robert and Ralph concerning his free holding in Grainthorpe. Judgment was given in his favour; three marks damages were awarded.[1] The Mancelot family did not have such close links with Alvingham as did the Hopscorts. None of them is known to have entered the priory and the family patronised other houses as well as Alvingham. None of their gifts to these houses was large. The family was a large one : Richard had three sons, Thorald, five at least. If the inheritance were divided amongst them there was little to spare for piety. In one case a single selion was divided between Thorald and his nephew, Thomas.[2] Such pressure on the land led to secular disputes on the one hand and to rapid diminishment of the amount available for the religious on the other, ensuring that the canons could never rely upon peasant generosity for more than a few generations.

Grants by Baldric and his sons were probably subject to the same limitations. Baldric, together with his sons Ralph, Peter, William, Richard and Robert, sold a saltpan with its appurtenances to Alvingham for 20 shillings, thus allowing the priory to expand its own salt workings in the marsh.[3] Richard, Baldric's son, gave only two selions and a sandpit adjoining the holm of the priory.[4] He did, however, grant a total of nine acres to the cathedral, besides giving the annual rent of 6d. paid to him by Rumpharius of Grainthorpe and Ralph son of Siward, (both peasant donors to Alvingham)

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1. Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Lincolnshire 1218-9 and Worcestershire 1221, ed. D.M. Stenton (Seldon Society [illegible], 1934), no. 205.
2. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.101.
3. Ibid., f.102^{v}(late twelfth century).
4. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.102^{v}.

for land and a saltpan held by his father; so perhaps the reason for the decline in grants in favour of the priory was due less to pressure on the land than to patronage of another community.[1] Certainly Cost, Richard's son, was able to give eight acres and two perches to Alvingham, one of the perches being for the convent to develop into a toft with its buildings.[2] This grant, dated c.1240, is the last made in favour of the priory by this family.

The descendants of Siward of Grainthorpe made grants only to Alvingham. Siward was the father of at least five sons: Cost, Thorald, John, Alan and Ralph. All occur as donors in the early years of the thirteenth century. The amount they gave was small, though the total suggests that they had a considerable holding. Thus Cost granted two tofts and one selion; Ralph gave all his land of Sutholm (probably another holm connected with the salt industry, certainly the land was adjacent to the 'old saltpan'), John gave four selions, one of which he had exchanged with his brother Thorald, and three acres of meadow, and with his brother Thorald he granted half of the holm of the saltpan of their father. This grant is similar to that of Ralph, and suggests that the holm had either been divided between the brothers or that they held it jointly.[3] Thorald also confirmed half of the holm given to the house by his uncle, Robert Palmer; he gave one selion that the canons were allowed to enclose with a bank if they wished, one acre of

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1. Reg.Ant., v.no.1612 (c.1215-1220).
2. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.102^{v}.
3. Ibid., ff.104, 103^{v} (second quarter thirteenth century).

meadow and a piece of land where the brethren might make a toft.[1] Two selions were given for an annual rent of 8d., and with his brother Alan Thorald exchanged a width of sand next to the priory's sandpit ad augmentacionem sablunarie for marsh (probably saltmarsh) in Grainthorpe. This charter is dated 1224.[2] Thorald was also a donor to Louth Park, giving that abbey four acres of his meadow in Waterelesdayle in Grainthorpe.[3] In the next generation Ralph son of Thorald remitted the rent of 8d. his father had required from his earlier grant but himself gave nothing.[4] The pattern of a family whose donations tended to be made by collaterals rather than by lineal descendants shews clearly here. A common phenomenon amongst these charters, it is probably a result of the division of holdings amongst brothers.

The family was, however, linked to another, that of Robert Palmer who was the uncle of Thorald son of Siward. Robert Palmer has already been considered as a minor donor in Yarborough.[5] In charters of both Alvingham and Ormsby priories his holdings in that vill are frequently mentioned, but he made no outright gifts in Yarborough, and it seems probable that Robert and his family were retaining their patrimony there while disposing of acquisitions they had made in Grainthorpe, perhaps through marriage into the family of Thorald: thus mirroring at a lower social level the attitudes of the nobility and the knights towards their land.

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1. Ibid., f.103.
2. Ibid., f.103.
3. Cal.Ch.R., iii.265.
4. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.103^{v}.
5. See above, p. 307.

Robert himself gave only a sandpit and saltmarsh in Grainthorpe that lay between similar holdings of his brothers, Rumfarius and Walter.[1] A Rumfarius the clerk, who is presumably to be identified with Robert's brother, exchanged seven acres of land for an equal amount with the priory but gave no other land.[2] Robert's sons were all involved in donations to the priory. Ralph gave land adjoining that which Rumfarius had exchanged, a sandpit and a piece of land in Neucroft. Walter gave a toft and Robert, Simon and John together exchanged a holm with its marsh and sandpit for three acres of arable in Yarborough, further evidence that the family's main interest lay in that vill.[3] Only three donors of a later generation are recorded in the cartulary. William the son of Ralph granted a sandpit adjacent to his holm quod vulgo dicitur Moldfang.[4] He was probably in financial trouble, for the cartulary also records a sale by William in negocio meo to Hugh Hopscort of a piece of his saltmarsh.[5] Much later, in the 1260's, Alan and Geoffrey the sons of Rumfarius granted their land in Stang'mal close to the sandpit of the house.[6] So many of the charters of this family relate to the salt industry that it is possible that the family owned a small salt working and had little to do with arable farming.[7]

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642.f.104^{v} (late twelfth century).
2. Ibid., f.106.
3. Ibid., f.105.
4. Ibid., ff.104^{v}, 108 (second quarter thirteenth century).
5. Ibid., f.108^{v}.
6. See E.H. Rudkin and D.M.Owen, 'The Medieval Salt Industry in the Lindsey Marshland', Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports and Papers, new series viii(1960)76--84.
7. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.107^{v}.

No other peasant 'dynasties' are represented in the Granthorpe archive. Other peasant donors occur as individuals; occasionally a father and son or two brothers will make donations. None of the grants were large, the most extensive being the two acres of arable and three acres of meadow given by Alan, son of Adam of Grainthorpe, at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[1] Several grants were of tofts, sometimes with an accompanying croft. In some cases it appears that the donor continued to live in the toft after it had been granted to the priory, thereafter paying a money rent to the priory, for there are grants quit-claiming rights in tofts held of the convent. Other donations were of pieces of meadow, arable or land in the salt marsh. Sometimes the land lay in crofts, sometimes in the open fields.

In spite of the great bulk of peasant charters in the Grainthorpe (and Alvingham) archive, the contribution of peasants to the priory's landed endowment was small when compared with that of the major land holders in the vill. A similar picture is revealed by the records of Kirkstead and Louth Park abbeys and of the cathedral; there were many peasant donors and sometimes they made grants to two or more of the local religious houses, but the bulk of the estates came from the generosity of the local gentry. Such peasant grants as there were came from the better endowed of the peasantry - of which there were few amongst the small holders of the soke of Gayton.

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.107^{v}.

Stenton stressed the importance of the coastal villages of Skidbrooke, Saltfleetby, and Somercotes as centres of the free peasantry in the Northern Danelaw.[1] Thousands of charters and copies of charters relating to the villagers of these communities and their land transactions have been preserved; together they constitute the most important record of the free peasant land market in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in existence.[2] One of the free peasants, Odo Galle, was a paradigm of the successful peasant, actively if laboriously expanding his holdings, until by the end of the thirteenth century the Galles of Saltfleetby were of established knightly rank.[3] Here, only a few miles from Alvingham, the influence of the free peasantry in the creation of monastic estates might be expected to be most felt. Charters of the free peasantry in all three vills are preserved in the cartulary. Yet Alvingham never established a grange in any of these vills, though the advantages of an estate here are obvious. Saltfleet Haven was a small port and, as the name suggests, there were many salterns along the seamarsh.

In Saltfleetby there were at most only three donors drawn from the free peasants. Walter, son of Walter ad ecclesiam, gave 2½ acres of arable, William of Manby gave 2½ acres of meadow, while sometime after the compilation of

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1. See DC., pp.xcv--xcvii.
2. These charters are now preserved in the Public Record Office amongst the Cartae Miscellaneae of the Duchy of Lancaster records.
3. For this family see DC., pp.xcvi-xcvii. Hundreds of charters relating to this family are to be found amongst the Duchy of Lancaster records.

the cartulary, towards the end of the thirteenth century, John the furrier gave five acres of arable.[1] The major holding here, however, was of the gift of Harold son of Humphrey, a member of the local gentry, and of John of Aisterby, heir to the Melsa fee.

In Skidbrook it is possible that all of the donors to the priory were peasants. Since the total given by these four benefactors amounted to some meadow, a dike, two acres and half of a toft, their generosity was limited. In Somercotes a little more was donated, though here also it did not amount to a large estate. Much of the land given was meadow or saltmarsh, and the gift of Arnegrim of five acres of meadow in one enclosure, together with the dikes surrounding it, suggests that the land had been reclaimed from the marsh by the donor. The Registrum Antiquissimum of the cathedral, the confirmation charter of Louth Park and the Kirkstead cartulary all contain many grants by the free peasants of these coastal villages. It is hard to explain why Alvingham, nearer to the coast than any of the other houses, received so few grants. The peasant holdings were small but the peasants gave small parcels of land to these other houses. Certainly the size of their holdings was not great enough to allow of patronage of more than one religious house, but this does not explain why the other houses were chosen in preference to Alvingham.

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, ff.87^{v}-88^{v}.
2. Ibid., f.89.
3. Ibid., ff.90-1.

The peasants who have been considered lived above all in that area of north Lincolnshire in and around the wapentake of Louthesk. Outside this area Alvingham possessed few properties and peasants played little part in either the creation or expansion of these estates. A few selions were given or exchanged in Wold Newton (where there was a considerable sokeman population in 1086) but their involvement with the priory, if it is compared with that of the peasants of Louthesk, was minimal.[2] In general, the canons received few benefactions from peasants who lived more than a few miles from the priory; their appeal was local in the extreme.

ii) Bullington

The estates of Bullington were more widely scattered than those of Alvingham. They also depended to a far greater degree upon the grants of a single family and its tenants. Nearly every grange was created around the nucleus of a grant by the Kymes, to which were added the gifts of the lesser land holders. None of the grange vills lay within a great soke and, for the most part, the role of the peasantry in the creation of the granges was minimal.

In Bullington itself the priory depended, as has been shewn elsewhere, upon the grants of the Kymes from the middle of the twelfth century until grants declined towards the end of the thirteenth century.[3] The few grants that were made by the peasants of the vill were all made towards the end of

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1. Lincolnshire Domesday, passim.
2. Laud Misc. MS. 642, ff. 150v-153v passim.
3. See above, pp. 17-18 .

this period and added little to the estate. There is little evidence that the peasants on any of the vills around Bullington where the house had developed granges played any part in their expansion. There are isolated grants from all of these vills, but little beyond individual donations of a few selions. West Torrington, some five miles to the north east of the priory, was one of the two villages whose churches were given to Gilbert of Sempringham by his father.[1] Here, if anywhere, a close link with the local saint might have been expected to stimulate grants to Gilbertine houses by all classes. Certainly Roger Musteil confirmed the grants of his tenants, including his rustici, in 1163.[2] None of the charters of these tenants, however, whether free or unfree, has survived and very few of the Torrington charters can be shewn to derive from the peasantry. Doffinus and his sister, Helewisa, may have been of Anglo-Scandinavian stock, but their status is unknown. They gave one bovate which they had been granted by Roger Musteil.[3] Helewisa may be that daughter of Hiaca who pledged a bovate to Philip of Kyme in return for 10 pounds of silver.[4] Indeed, there is only one recorded grant in the vill by a peasant who was unrelated to the Musteils; he was Abraham the smith, who gave a selion and meadow towards the end of the twelfth century. He is probably to be identified with Abraham of Torrington, who at this time gave nine selions and meadow in various parts of the vill.[7]

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1. Mon.Ang., vi.part 2,*vi. (between pages 945 and 946).
2. For a discussion of this charter see above, 274-5.
3. Addit.MS.6118, p.755.
4. DC., no.103.
5. Addit. MS.6118, p.765.
6. Ibid., p.766.
7. Ibid., p.762.

If there were few peasant donors in the cluster of vills around Bullington, there were equally few in the area a few miles to the west where Bullington possessed estates in a group of vills around Ingham. Only in Hackthorn were there peasants among the donors, and even here their role has perhaps been exaggerated.[1] The greater part of Bullington's holdings was granted by the Crevequers and the Nevilles who were the most considerable land holders at the end of the twelfth century. Substantial donations were also made by the families of Foliot and Wendover. The Foliot seal was a simple lys device (the women of the family are known to have held seals featuring a head and a knot) but the scale of grants by this family, the fact that it had tenants who also gave generously, and its marriage connections with the Wendovers (who though impoverished were certainly not peasants) all suggest that the Foliots ranked above the free peasants in Hackthorn society.[2] Rather more difficult to place is the Woodcock family. At the end of the twelfth century Remi, son of Remi Woodcock, granted some 15 acres of arable and meadow to the priory. Most of this land adjoined land already held by the priory or by Remi's brother Adam who confirmed Remi's gifts.[3] Remi also sold a

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1. By Stenton in DC., pp.lv-lvi.
2. DC., nos.32,33,35. A further example of rather indeterminate status in the vill is provided by the example of the family of Richard, son of Thomas. Richard's seal bore the lys device and Stenton suggests that he would rank as a sokeman together with Geoffrey of Walmesgate and the sons of Remi. Yet he had a tenant, Wigot, both Richard and his sons held land of the priory and Richard probably married into the Wendover family (DC., p.lvi; Harl.Charts., 51 B 22, 44 A 47; Addit. MS.6118, p.820).
3. Harl.Chart. 51 B 14; Addit.MS.6118, pp.812, 817.

further eight acres of arable and five swathes of meadow to the house for three marks.[1]

Adam Woodcock was a more important figure. His name and his seals both suggest peasant origin, but his grants to Bullington and the cathedral shew that his holdings were considerable. To Bullington he gave more than two acres of arable and three perches and a rood of meadow, but his grants to the cathedral were more extensive. In a series of eleven charters he gave arable totalling at least a bovate, some meadow and pasture for 60 sheep in Hackthorn and the neighbouring vill of Hanworth.[2] Henry de Neville himself purchased meadow from Adam, which eventually came into the hands of the priory.[3] Adam's nephew Richard gave part of his toft, three acres and three selions of arable to Bullington. He also granted, c.1240, an acre of arable and three perches of meadow to the cathedral.[4] His daughter Agnes was married to Osbert of Coringham, who at the petition of his wife gave four selions to the priory. This land probably came from Agnes' dowry land, since she swore on the holy gospels and in the hand of Richard the sub-prior that she would never make dispute or bring a claim upon the land on pain of 40 shillings.[5] Together, in 1237, Agnes and Osbert

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1. DC., no.43.
2. Addit.MS.6118, p.811. Adam's wife's name was also of English origin, Brictive (DC., no.30). Cf. DC., p.lvi, note: For his grants to the cathedral see Reg.Ant. iv. nos. 1157, 1160, 1167-75. These grants are dated c.1210-20.

3. Addit.MS.6118, pp.816, 17, 819. Adam was still alive in 1219 when he entered a plea of novel disseisin against a fellow tenant (Rolls of the Justices in Eyre, no. 799).
4. Addit.MS. 6118, p.821; Reg.Ant., iv.no. 1166.
5. Addit. MS.6118, p.819.

leased two acres to Geoffrey de Magdalena for an eleven year term for a sum of five shillings, binding themselves to observe the terms of the lease on pain of 10 shillings.[1] These charters are the last known alienations by the Woodcock family. The family is a good example of the difficulties encountered when one attempts to define the status of any family in Lincolnshire during this period. Apparently the family had interests only in Hackthorn and Hanworth, but it possessed enough land to alienate a considerable holding to both religious houses and other tenants in the vill. In 1086 the average size of a sokeman holding in the vill was larger than is common for much of the county and it may be that these descendants of those sokemen were wealthier than their counterparts in the east of the county.[2]

Another family who must be regarded as being amongst the wealthiest of the peasantry was that of Roger of Walmesgate, who gave 13 selions containing seven acres and one perch in Hackthorn. His son Geoffrey gave a total of six acres and 16 selions (a holding not far short of a bovate) and one perch of meadow.[3] Geoffrey's two seals both bore a lys device but in 1219 he (together with Remi Woodcock) was a recognitor in an assize of claim of false oath in which another recognitor was Thomas of Moulton, a man of considerable importance in Lincolnshire society.[4]

Grants by less prosperous peasants in Hackthorn were few and of little account , the largest being a grant by Goda and Alice, granddaughters of Eda, and the grant of another toft and a selion of arable by their sister Margary

1. Reg.Ant., iv. no.1185,
2. Lincolnshire Domesday, passim.
3. Addit.MS.6118,pp.812,818;DC.,nos.41,41.;Harl.Chart 57 E 7.
4. Rolls of the Justices in Eyre, no.804.

in her widowhood.[1]

Though in Hackthorn the wealthier peasants played some part in the development of Bullington's estate, in the neighbouring vills of Ingham and Redbourne the contribution of the peasantry was small. In Ingham William, son of William the reeve, gave a toft with its appurtenances, William son of Iveta granted two selions and William le Grant gave one selion.[2] The grant of John, son of William the clerk, of a bovate, meadow and part of a toft and croft was more considerable, but his status is uncertain. He had a seal with a lys device and his father was only a clerk but his charters were witnessed by men of substance, including canons of Lincoln cathedral, perhaps at the instance of master Richard of Kyme, who was at this time one of the cathedral chapter.[3] In Redbourne the only donor who was certainly a peasant was Makewilliam, who with Alice his wife granted a selion of 1½ acres and another acre of arable.[4]

In only one vill in which Bullington had a substantial interest did the peasants play a considerable part in the development of the grange. In Burgh-le-Marsh, most important of a group of properties on the coast in southern Lindsey, peasants gave some 30% of all arable land received by the priory. The most important of these was John Blanchard. John had a homo (probably a servant in this context rather

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1. Harl.Charts., 51 B 32-4 (Cf. Addit.MS.6118, p.821).
2. Addit.MS.6118, pp.793-4; Harl.Charts., 52 B 22, 23.
3. Addit.MS.6118, p.785; Fasti, iii.19, 57.
4. Harl.Chart., 55 D 10.

than a tenant) Adam, whose own grant John confirmed. He also confirmed the grant of Milo son of William who was presumably his tenant.[1] John himself gave 20 acres of arable , while his son gave only three selions and exchanged three more.[2] John, with his own tenants and grant of a bovate to the priory, clearly stood amongst the most prosperous of the peasants in Burgh. Other peasant donors in the vill were less generous and probably of lesser status. Their grants were of tofts (nine being given in the vill, all by peasants) or of isolated parcels of land. Thus Simon Buttercake gave one selion in the fields of Burgh, William atte Trappe granted two selions,and Walter the mason, who was the son of Agnes Blanchard,gave six selions.[3] The most extensive of these grants was that of Philip Hardwyn, who gave three selions and two acres of arable, to add to his father's grant of a toft to the priory.[4] Though these grants were small and made by individuals, often as single donations, rather than by families, their cumulative effect in Burgh was more considerable than in other vills in which Bullington held property. Certainly few donors of the gentry made large grants in the vill, the largest donation being five bovates given by Eudo of Mumby.[5] Perhaps for this reason the priory may have encouraged grants by lesser men.

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1. Harl.Charts., 46 E 15, 16.
2. Addit.MS.6118, pp.825, 829, Harl.Chart. 44 A 37.
3. Harl.Charts., 47 F 10, 57 A 31; Addit.MS.6118, p.827.
4. Addit.MS.6118, pp.826,828; Harl.Chart., 51 c 22.
5. Harl.Chart., 54 A 11.

Conclusions

There can be no doubt that many charters in favour of both Alvingham and Bullington derive from free peasants or sokemen. Many of them have been summarised here in some detail to show the sort and size of donation that the priories could expect from this class of donor. A large number of grants have, however, been omitted: for the most part they relate to very small parcels of land recorded in a single charter of one donor. As far as possible the donors have been considered in family units, for the patrimony was the responsibility of the family (especially where partible inheritance was the custom) and any decrease in its extent by alienations to the church affected the family as a whole. Moreover, only from a consideration of the grants of families can any conclusions concerning continuity of donations be drawn. In any example discussed above the gifts of each generation were markedly less than those of the preceding generation. The amount of available land was not unlimited and grants were rarely made by more than three generations of any one family. Less attention has been paid to individual donors, but it is unlikely that the emphasis that has been placed upon the gifts of families seriously distorts the pattern of peasant donations, since even the cumulative total of individual grants was small when compared with grants made by a family over several generations.

The evidence for peasant donations has been drawn primarily from the Alvingham cartulary rather than from the

Bullington charters. This imbalance reflects the fact that the former house relied on, and received, such grants to a far greater extent than did Bullington. This further illustrates the crucial difference between the history of the endowment of the two houses: Bullington was essentially a creation of the Kymes and their tenants, while Alvingham was from the first a cooperative venture. Bullington was founded on the demesne of the Kymes, in their park, close to their chief residence; Alvingham was situated in an area where few great lords were resident. From the first the potential number of peasant donors to Alvingham was much greater, and though their grants may not have produced great estates, at least the number of their charters is far larger than those of their counterparts who made grants to Bullington.

It is clear from any analysis of these charters that the free peasantry formed a very heterogeneous class and that while the size of a free peasant's holding might often be very small, in the region of 10 acres, there was a minority (perhaps a large minority) of substantial freeholders. Some of these, who had their own tenants and who gave as much, or more, than a bovate, are clearly almost indistinguishable from the poorer knights and gentry. Indeed, they could easily enter the ranks of the knights, as did the Galles of Saltfleetby.[1] Others, no doubt, preferred if possible to avoid the expense that such a rise in society necessarily entailed. While there is no evidence that any of the wealthier peasants who gave land to Alvingham or Bullington become

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1. DC., pp. xcv-xcvi.

knights, there is evidence that they were often of note in their vill, taking an active part in the secular affairs of their community and acting as jurors on assizes.

The donors that have been considered in this chapter tended to come from such upper reaches of the peasant class, though the fact that a donor made more grants and issued more charters than is common does not necessarily imply that he was especially wealthy; it may reflect greater generosity or piety (or need, if the land was in fact sold rather than donated) rather than greater prosperity.[1] Nevertheless, if it is accepted that holdings of free peasants in the county were often small, it is likely that those who did make comparatively large donations were prosperous, more often holding in the region of two bovates than half a bovate.

What, however, did the canons gain from these grants and how important were they in the economy of the priories? The cartularies of other local religious houses contain hundreds of similar grants. All such grants were of small extent. The majority of these were, as has been shewn, of selions, often given singly and rarely in groups of more than three or four. Moreover they were scattered, some in the culture of one great field, some in the culture of the other. The cumulative effect of these grants can, as Stenton warned, be underestimated; built up over a century or more, each grant of a selion, perhaps half an acre or a full acre in extent, achieved a corporate importance when grouped with others.[2] A monastery could afford to wait for the

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1. For sales see above, pp. 61-4.
2. DC., pp.liv-lv.

generosity or impoverishment of its lesser neighbours. But at the same time it is easy to overestimate the importance of peasant grants. It is easy to be impressed, perhaps over impressed, by the number of gifts made by the free peasantry. A casual reading of the charters transcribed in Free Peasantry of the Northern Danelaw, for example, gives an overwhelming impression of a most vital economy and a most generous peasantry. Yet when the endowments of any religious house of north Lincolnshire, whether Gilbertine priories such as Alvingham or Bullington, or Cistercian houses such as Kirkstead, or the cathedral church of Lincoln are considered, it is clear that, compared with the grants of the local gentry, the scale and significance of the grants of the peasants appears markedly less. The economy of the Gilbertine houses depended primarily upon the grange system of farming and the direct exploitation of estates. The foundation of a grange required a larger nucleus of land than it was possible for a peasant to give. Moreover, in a grange economy grants of selions were markedly less viable than those of culture. Though, as has been suggested already, some of the peasants held their land enclosed in closes and in compact blocks within the culture, none was in a position to give the complete culture that were necessary to the successful creation of a grange.[1] At the same time no peasant ever granted pasture to either Bullington or Alvingham, for possession of separate pasture was a sign of lordship; it was also essential to the sheep

1. See pp. 45-51.

farming interests of the priories. In this respect, too, the peasants' donations were of little use.

Another factor further served to restrict the importance of peasant donations in the expansion of the priories' estates. Though grants continued to be made by the peasants throughout the thirteenth century, the great majority, as has already been shewn, were made at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth centuries. By 1250 the canons of Alvingham could no longer look to the families of Cost or Hopscort for grants, nor could the canons of Bullington expect more grants from the Woodcock family.

A constant feature of the charters, however, points to an important contribution peasant grants could make to the economy of the priories. Nearly all such grants were of land adjacent or lying close to holdings already held by the houses. The very preponderance of such grants suggests that the priories were putting some pressure on the donors to dispose of their lands, or perhaps actually purchasing them, though there is little explicit reference to such purchases. For consolidation purposes, for the filling in of interstices between holdings, the small gifts of the peasants were ideal. This explains why so many exchanges were made between the priories and such small donors. Land acquired in small grants, and not immediately of advantage could be used as a fund for future exchanges. Often there could be a marked inequality between that given and received by the priory with considerable advantage to the 'donor', who was often able to consolidate his own holding in the process.

It is in this area of consolidation and exchange that we should look for the true importance of the smaller gifts in the priories' economy.

Material advantage could then accrue to the peasant donor who shrewdly exchanged his lands with the priory. But the peasant donor, as did all donors, gained more than material assets, he gained the hope of salvation. The new priories gave small donors their first opportunity to participate directly in the religious life. All could now participate in the prayers of a local community; some gained burial there, others rights of confraternity or the acceptance of a child as a recruit, whether as choir canon or nun or as lay brother or sister. With their freedom to alienate land, their ability to warrant such grants and their freedom to symbolically bind their grants with their own seal the peasants imitated in diplomatic and importance the charters of those higher in the social scale; in their alienation of land to a local religious house they were made part of its spiritual commonwealth.

CHAPTER VII

SPIRITUAL BENEFITS

Introduction

All grants, including sales and grants of land in return for payment of rent, made in favour of religious houses were made in expectation of spiritual benefits.[1] They were made to procure the salvation of the benefactor and his family, and usually expressed this hope explicitly in standard formulae. Simon of Kyme, for example, founded Bullington for the safety of his soul and that of Agnes his wife and for the souls of all his ancestors.[2] Roger of Midley's grant of land in Keddington to Alvingham was made for the soul of his father, and for the safety of his own soul and that of his wife.[3]

Sometimes the donor named more distant relatives in his charter. Thus Philip I of Kyme and his wife made a grant for the salvation of themselves, their children and friends, for the souls of their parents and ancestors and for the soul of the countess Rohaise (mother of the wife of Philip's son and heir, Simon and the widow of earl Gilbert de Gant).[4] This grant also included the donor's friends amongst those for whom salvation was desired. Such inclusion of friends is not unusual, and grants made for the salvation of all the faithful are frequent. Occasionally hope was also expressed for the salvation of the grantor's lord, and it is likely that

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1. Pollock and Maitland, History of English Law, i, 242-44. For further discussion of this point see above, p. 195.
2. CGH., p.91 (c.1155).
3. Ibid., p.105 (c.1150-70).
4. Addit.MS. 6118, p.728 (third quarter twelfth century).

the name of the lord was inserted because he had confirmed the grant. Roger of Benniworth, for example, granted a mill to Bullington for his salvation, that of his mother, Sibyl his wife, for the soul of his father, for the soul of earl William and his son and for the souls of all their ancestors. Roger was an important tenant of earl William de Romare, earl of Lincoln.[2]

More unusual were the grants of Reginald de Crevequer, who granted land to Bullington for the souls of Henry II and Gilbert son of Jocelin, and Jocelin of Hagh whose grant of land in Burgh-le-Marsh was made for the soul of Magnus, the clerk of Burgh.[3] William of Torrington gave land in West Torrington in order to gain forgiveness for all the sins of himself and of Sigerthe his wife.[4]

Grants were, however, made for more specific spiritual benefits than those normally expressed in the formulae. They reveal closer links with the priories and a more personal association of the lay benefactor with the religious. Such benefits could take several forms: the reception of the donor or a member of his family into the priory as a nun or canon, the burial of a member of the donor's family or the promise of burial on the donor's death in the priory, the grant of confraternity rights to the donor and his family or

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1. See, e.g., DC.,nos.58,82 (friends); DC.,nos.71,89, CGH., pp.98-9, 110 (faithful).
2. CGH., p.95(pre-1189). See Honors and Knights' Fees, ii.179 for Roger's holdings of earl William.
3. Harl.Chart., 48149 ; Addit.MS.6118, p.821 (both late twelfth century).
4. pro omnibus excessibus meis et uxoris mee Sigerthe. Addit.MS.6118, p.760 (late twelfth century).

the provision of sundry other benefits, rather more temporal than spiritual, such as corrodies or obits.

A benefactor could make alternative arrangements to be received into the community or to receive the rights of a confrater, and a charter of Gilbert, son of William of Burgh-le-Marsh, and his wife Alice can serve both as an example of this type of charter and of the close ties that could exist between benefactor and priory. Gilbert and Alice granted and confirmed lands in Burgh to Bullington and were received into full fraternity (in plenariam fraternitatem), so that if they wished to be made a canon and nun they would be received by the community. They also promised to bring a third of all their goods with them when they were received. If, however, they ended their life in the world they chose to be buried at Bullington and would be treated as confratres. Gilbert ended thus. Ego vero G. stabo cum eis ex pleno animo sicut frater in necessitatibus suis.[1]

Dowry grants and recruitment

Evidence for the numbers and origins of recruits to the priories of Alvingham and Bullington is extremely limited, and entirely derived from charters. The sample of known entrants thus obtained is very small when compared with the total population of both houses, and it can do little more than provide an indication of the social origins of the recruits and demonstrate the close relationships that existed between some donors and the priories.

Not only are few of the names of the nuns and canons in

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1. Harl.Chart., 47E21 (late twelfth century).

Alvingham and Bullington known, there is also no indication of the total numbers in the communities during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Gilbertine Rule was unique in its stipulation of maximum numbers to be accommodated in each Gilbertine house. Alvingham was to have no more than 80 nuns and 40 canons and Bullington no more than 100 nuns and 50 canons.[1] The total size of the communities when the numbers of lay brethren and sisters are included was therefore very great, and it is doubtful whether either community ever became as large as the Rule allowed. Nevertheless, there is a little evidence to suggest that Bullington was a large community during the thirteenth century. In 1248 the house received papal permission to appropriate the church of Prestwold because there were 100 women in the community who were suffering in health for lack of necessities, and in 1310 the convent, when requesting episcopal permission for the appropriation of the church of Ingham, claimed that the excessive size of the community was a prime cause of poverty.[2] A clerical subsidy of 1376 shows that Bullington had a prior, nine canons, two conversi, 45 nuns and 10 lay sisters, and Alvingham had a prior, seven canons, 29 nuns and 11 lay sisters. With the exception of Sempringham Bullington was the largest community in the county, Alvingham was the fourth largest.[3]

Only a very small proportion of the communities are

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1. Mon. Ang., vi. part 2.* xcvii (between pages 945 and 946).
2. See above, pp. 162-3.
3. Printed in D. Owen, Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire (Lincoln, 1971), Appendix 2, pp. 144-5.

known by name. Recruits appear to have been drawn from the ranks of both the local gentry and the wealthier free peasants, though in the case of the latter it is impossible to determine whether the entrant was a choir nun or canon or a lay sister or brother, since the charters describe all recruits indiscriminately as soror or frater.

It is not surprising that all the founders of Alvingham and Bullington entered the communities themselves or placed relatives there. One or more daughters of Hugh de Scoteni, William of Friston and Hamelin the dean became nuns of Alvingham, and Philip I of Kyme's daughter Joanna was received into Bullington. There is no evidence, however, that these girls entered the priories when they were founded, nor were the grants made when they entered necessarily large. Hugh de Scoteni's grant of a mill with its croft and 12 acres of arable in Cockerington with his daughter was not his most generous, nor was that of William of Friston who gave a mansura and croft held by one of his rustici, common pasture in Cockerington and a confirmation of lands granted to the priory by his tenants when his daughter was received.[1] When Hamelin's two daughters were received into the community the priory gained 14 acres of meadow and a saltpan in Grainthorpe, and even when Hamelin entered the house 'to serve God all the days of his life' he brought with him only three tofts and four acres of meadow.[2]

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642 ff.60$_v$ (pre-1155), 65^v (c.1150-60).
2. Ibid., f.95^v (late twelfth century). For the possibility that Hamelin might have entered the house to escape his creditors, see above, p. 265.

Though the grant that accompanied the reception of Joanna, daughter of Philip I of Kyme, into Bullington was not the most generous made by her father, the impressive list of witnesses suggests the solemnity of the occasion. The heads of six local communities with whom the Kymes had connections head the list: the abbots of Kirkstead, Bardney, Barlings, Revesby and Tupholme and the prior of Kyme. The transaction was also witnessed by representatives of the local gentry including the d'Arcis, Chauncis and Benniworths.[1]

The scale of these grants would suggest that there was little correlation between the size of the grant and the nature of the relationship between donors and community. This may reflect an attempt to avoid accusations of simony which the Gilbertine rule strictly forbade; it also emphasises that individual grants should not be considered in isolation from other grants made by the same benefactor or family.[2] In the case of the grants considered above, the families had already shewn themselves to be great benefactors to the houses, and the reception of a member of the family into the house was more a recognition of a close relationship than the occasion for a large grant.

Though all the founders placed a close relative in their priories, there is little evidence that close personal links continued into following generations. In the late

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1. Addit. MS. 6118, p.725 (third quarter twelfth century).
2. For the Gilbertine rule on simony see Mon.Ang., vi, part 2* xxxiii (between pages 945 and 946).

twelfth century Lambert de Scoteni (the son and heir of Hugh) gave meadow in Cockerington 'with my wife Sibyl whom the nuns agreed to receive as a nun in their community when it pleased her as their lady and advocate' (sicut dominam et advocatam). There is, however, no evidence that Sibyl ever entered the house. She was certainly still living and holding land in Calcewath wapentake in 1212.[1] The close association of the family of Hamelin with the priory ended at about the same time as did that of the Scotenis. Brian son of Hamelin and Constance his wife were first received into confraternity when they granted four selions in Yarborough; later, and presumably after the death of Brian, his sons John and Gilbert gave a further four selions 'with their mother'. This is the only example in the cartulary where a confrater of the house is known to have entered the community.[2] None of the descendants of William of Friston or of Philip I of Kyme are known to have entered the priories.

Links between other benefactors and the priories were even more tenuous. No family ever placed more than one recruit, or group of recruits, in the priories. All of the charters recording such grants date from before 1225, and most of them were made before 1200 which may suggest that legislation against simoniac entry was taking effect, or at least, that if gifts were made on entry, the donors took care not to mention the fact.[3]

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1. Laud Misc. MS. 642, f.60; Book of Fees, i.161.
2. Ibid., ff.111,112 (early thirteenth century).
3. For criticisms of simoniacal entry in the western church during this period see J.H.Lynch, Simoniacal Entry into Religious Life from 1000-1260: a social, economic and legal study (Ohio State University Press, Columbus, U.S.A., 1976), passim.

The largest grant was that of John de Melsa, who conveyed all his demesne in Alvingham and Cockerington when his sister, niece and the three nieces of Reiner of Waxham, the steward of Ranulf de Glanville were received into Alvingham.[1] For this grant John received 140 marks. This transaction clearly demonstrates that it is not possible to separate spiritual and temporal benefits in any consideration of grants made to the priories. Other grants by members of the local gentry were substantial. Walter Bek, for example, gave the advowson of Wold Newton church to Alvingham when his two daughters were received into the community, and Roger of Midley granted two bovates, a mill and its holm in Keddington when his daughter entered Alvingham.[2]

In most cases a dowry grant formed part of a series of donations made by a family. Both Roger of Midley and John de Melsa were generous supporters of Alvingham, and though Cikel of Yarborough's only grant to the priory was made when his two daughters were received into the community, members of his family were considerable benefactors.[3] Similarly, the family of Amfridus of Legbourne were benefactors but his only grant was made when his daughter became a nun.[4]

A similar pattern is apparent in dowry grants made by the peasantry, for normally only those families especially generous to the priories had members therein. The Hopscorts,

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.10^{v} (1183).
2. Ibid., ff.147, 123^{v}. The canons were to hold the mill in fee farm of Roger for six shillings per annum.
3. Ibid., f.98^{v} (Late twelfth century).
4. Ibid., f.136 (pre-1166).

whose generosity to Alvingham has been noted elsewhere, had three, and possibly four, representatives in the priory at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century.[1] A charter of Tobias, brother of Robert Hopscort, stated that he gave all his holding in Grainthorpe and Grimsby (where he was a clerk) when his daughter Cecilia entered the house; but a later charter of Emma, his wife, suggests that the holding was divided, half being regarded as the inheritance of Cecilia and the other half as being that of Andrew, her brother.[2] Emma granted this portion to be held until Andrew came of age. If he then wished to become a canon, or died before reaching adulthood, the canons would continue to hold the land freely; if he remained in the world then they would have to do him service for the land.[3] When Ralph brother of Tobias entered the priory, Robert Hopscort and Roger, his son and heir, gave a small amount of meadow and arable that adjoined land already held by the canons in Grainthorpe.[4] Robert's daughter and heiress, Maria, also placed her son in the priory ad vestiendum when she confirmed her father's grants and gave further lands in Grainthorpe.[5] No other peasant family had such close personal links with Alvingham. The family of Dued, which made generous grants in Alvingham, had only one representative in the priory: Gamel son of Dued, though Dued's

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1. For the Hopscort family's grants see above, pp. 308-10.
2. Laud Misc. MS.642, ff.99^{v}, 100 (c.1200).
3. Ibid., f.108.
4. Ibid., f.99^{v}.
5. Ibid., f.99^{v} (early thirteenth century).

grandsons Robert and William had the option of entry if they so desired.[1] Rabod, vicar of Keddington and the priory's land agent, placed Agnes his neptis in the priory but is not known to have had other relatives in the community.[2]

All known peasant recruits to Alvingham were drawn from the immediate vicinity of the priory, for the most part coming from Alvingham itself, Cockerington and Grainthorpe. Their dowry grants were usually small, the smallest being that of Robert Pa who, on the day he received the habit of a brother, gave one selion of land in Cockerington.[3] These small grants must not, however, be seen in isolation from other grants made by the family. They, like the dowry grants of the gentry, usually form part of a series of grants and must be seen in that context. Rather than creating a nexus between the laity and the religious these grants served to cement a pre-existant relationship.

The final category of recruits are an interesting group, though very small in number. These are those who were placed in the community for political reasons. The most notable were the children of the recently killed Welsh leaders, Llewyllyn ap Grufydd, prince of Wales, and Dafydd his brother, whom Edward I, 'having compassion on their sex and age', placed in Alvingham in November 1283.[4] Though Edward claimed that he had chosen Alvingham because of the order's piety, the reason for his choice was probably more

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1. Ibid., f.13. For the grants of this family see above, pp.292-3.
2. Ibid., f.126 (late twelfth century).
3. Ibid., f.78^{v}.
4. Ibid., f.42.

pragmatic. North Lincolnshire was very remote from Wales. For that reason it was unlikely that further Welsh resistance would focus on these representatives of the ruling family. Edward does not appear to have made any formal arrangement for their upkeep in Alvingham, although in 1289 he did make enquiries whether his protégés were being well maintained.[1]

The only other example where a grantor placed one who was not a relative in Alvingham is that of Robert son of Walbert, a knightly tenant of the Becs in Wold Newton in the mid-twelfth century, who gave 18 acres of land with a dwelling house to increase the priory's curia with 'a girl, the daughter of Gilbert, canon of Lincoln, called Margaret'. It is probable that this transaction was an attempt to avoid scandal.[2]

Recruits could be received into the priories in three different ways: as oblates, in adulthood, or on their death-bed. The charters of Alvingham and Bullington provide examples of all three types. It is likely that in most cases where a grantor placed his child in the priory that such a recruit was an oblate, but this is seldom stated explicitly. Two thirds of all known recruits to Alvingham and half of all recruits to Bullington were probably given to the priories as children. The clearest references to oblation are to be found in the charters of William of Friston, whose

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1. T. Rymer, Foedera, ii (1273-1307). 429. Gilbertine houses were favoured as refuges for the children of rebels. Another daughter of Dafydd was placed in Sixle in 1283, and another daughter of Llewyllyn was sent to Sempringham at the same time. Joan, daughter of Roger Mortimer, was placed there in 1324, as were the two daughters of Hugh Despenser the elder (V.C.H. Lincs. ii. 184, 195).
2. Laud Misc. MS. 642, f. 149.

daughter William and his wife 'placed in the community of the nuns'; Roger de Neville who 'commended his daughter' into the hands of master Gilbert of Sempringham in the common chapter of the nuns of Alvingham that she might be made a nun amongst them when adult'; Stephen, son of Warin of Cotum, who granted the nepos of his wife who 'was received in the house of Alvingham to be made a canon and offered at the altar (super altare oblato)'.[1]

It was recognised that not all oblates would stay in the priory on reaching their majority. The case of Andrew son of Emma has already been cited.[2] A more interesting example is provided by an agreement made between Bullington and Walter, son of Hugh of Burgh-le-Marsh.

Walter had granted his holding in Burgh to the priory, which then regranted it to him to hold of the priory. It was agreed that the priory should receive Walter as a canon if ever he wished to change his life, and it was further agreed that William son of Walter should be made a canon on reaching his majority if he so desired. Meanwhile the convent undertook to provide food, clothing and education for him. If Walter died or entered the priory after William reached maturity William could keep his inheritance on payment of one besant as relief; if Walter died while William was still in the canon's care, the boy's guardian was to promise the prior to look after the boy's interests, to defend the land and to perform the service due for it. William was clearly regarded

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1. Laud Misc. 642, ff.65^{v} (c.1150-60), 67^{v} (1179), 127^{v} (late twelfth century).
2. See above, p. 340.

as an oblate who was to be the responsibility of the canons as a minor, but it was well recognised that the boy might wish to leave the house to inherit his land.[1]

We know little of the motives that caused adults to join the community, but in the cases of women recruits it is likely that they entered as widows. Certainly that appears to be the implication behind the promise to receive the wife of Lambert de Scoteni as a nun whenever it pleased her.[2] Such promise of reception was not confined to women however. Amfridus of Legbourne, who had already placed his daughter in Alvingham, gave a further 40 acres in Cawthorpe in return for land which he had failed to warrant to the priory. For this grant the priory agreed to receive Amfridus and his wife 'freely' whenever they wished.[3] The wording of this agreement strongly suggests that even in the first generation of the Order grants were expected in return for entry into the house.

A similar grant to that of Amfridus was that of Gilbert, son of William of Burgh-le-Marsh, who gave land there on the understanding that he and his wife might join Bullington whenever they wished.[4] William son of Richard, the steward of Simon of Kyme retired from the world when he gave to Bullington a nativus and 1½ bovates of land in Osbournly and entered the priory, but there is no indication of his age when he made this decision.[5]

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1. DC., no.10 (c.1188-1204).
2. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.60. See above, p.338.
3. ipsi reciperint me et uxorem meam gratis si ad religionem converti voluerimus. Ibid., f.136 (pre-1166).
4. Harl.Chart., 47E21.
5. DC., no. 88 (mid twelfth century).

It is probable that some of these benefactors expected to join the religious only in old age or on their death bed, but the records of the priories provide only one example of an ad succurrendum entry when the benefactor made a death-bed grant to the priory and died clothed in the habit. Juliana of Otby granted a nativus and his holding in Cockerington 'with her body before she received the habit of a nun' which can only be interpreted as an ad succurrendum grant.[1]

Men and women entered the priories for a number of reasons. A nunnery was 'a career, a vocation, a prison, a refuge; to its different inmates the medieval nunnery was all of these things'.[2] Gilbertine houses rarely attracted very wealthy benefactors; therefore they only attracted recruits drawn from local knightly families and the wealthier free peasants. Just as the estates of Alvingham and Bullington tended to be close at hand to the priories, so too were their benefactors from whose number the religious were drawn. Lacking more than local appeal, neither house ever attracted recruits from far afield. This in turn meant that the number and scale of benefactions was circumscribed and a vicious circle was created, ensuring the permanent limitation of the houses' expansion and prestige. In this way not only are

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1. Laud Misc.MS.642, f.79^{v}. Those who died thus habited were recorded in the martyrology of the house and their names written in the breves mortuorum (Mon.Ang.vi, part 2.*xcii (between pages 945 and 946). Another charter implies that deathbed reception could be arranged in advance for Fulk of Reedness granted land there to Alvingham and stipulated that if he wished to receive the religious habit either during his lifetime or at death the convent would receive him honourably as a free man in their community (honorifice sicut liberum hominem in congregacione sua; Laud Misc.MS.642, f.164; [late twelfth century]; printed in CGH., p.111).
2. E. Power, Medieval English Nunneries, c.1275 to 1535 (Cambridge, 1922), p.25.

the recruits the priories attracted an indicator of the houses' prosperity, they also had a direct influence upon such prosperity.

Confraternity

Though all grants made in free alms gave the grantor a share in the prayers of the community, a grant of confraternity forged a closer link between the benefactor and the community. It provided a less dramatic, but no less real, connection than did the entry of a lay benefactor into the priory. The names of monastic confratres were usually recited during mass and prayers were offered for them as for a member of the community at their death.[1]

The Gilbertine rule, though it prescribed detailed instructions for the relationship to be maintained between the cloister and the world, did not specifically mention confratres. It did state, however, that departed parents, brothers, sisters and other close relatives of the brethren were to be remembered by name at the Order's annual chapter and in each house of the Order. They were also to be made partakers in all the benefits that the general chapter decided to perform for departed brethren, and a special office was to be held for them upon the eve of St. Edmund.[2] The Gilbertine Ordinal shews that upon that day prayers were

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1. For confraternities in general see D.Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, 940-1216 (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1963), pp.475-9; H.M. Colvin, The White Canons in England (Oxford, 1951) pp258-64; Rev.Prebendary Clark-Maxwell, 'Some Letters of Confraternity', Archaeologia, 2nd ser., xxv (1926), 19-60 and 'Some Further Letters of Fraternity', Archaeologia, 2nd ser., xxix (1929), 179-216.
2. Mon.Ang., vi.part 2*xciii (between pages 945 and 946).

specially said for parents, relatives, the Order's friends and all specially received by the community into their prayers.[1] The most important benefit that a confrater received was probably the right of burial amongst the canons and the saying of prayers for the recipient's soul after death. This aspect of confraternity is clearly expressed in a grant of Ralph, son of Tamer of Cawthorpe, who was received with his wife into the fraternity of Alvingham in order that the canons should perform for them at death 'exactly as was done for brethren of the house'.[2]

The clearest indication of spiritual benefits contained in the Alvingham cartulary is provided in a notification by R. of Richmond, prior of Alvingham, in favour of J., earl of Richmond (the prior is probably Ralph, active in the last quarter of the thirteenth century and the earl is probably John of Brittany, earl from 1269 to 1305). In return for John's support of the house as 'a patron and special advocate' he was received into full confraternity, and given the promise that when the priory heard of his death the canons would circulate his obit together with the notification throughout the order. If he chose to be buried at Alvingham he would lie before the high altar, and would be ever remembered because his name would be written in all the canons' martyrologies.[3] It was important for the canons to favour the earl for, as lord of Gayton soke, he was the most

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1. The Gilbertine Rite, ed. R.M.Woolley (2 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society, lix, lx, 1921, 1922) i.87.
2. Laud Misc. MS. 642, ff.136^{v}-137.
3. Ibid., f.42. In fact John was buried in 1305 in the Carmelite priory at Ploërmel, Brittany (G.E.C., x.814).

powerful magnate in the area of Alvingham. In this case a grant of confraternity represented a reward for his secular protection.

Other grants of confraternity suggest that they were used to bind together grantor and community, being given as spiritual rewards for temporal concessions. There appears, for example, to be a close connection between such grants and litigation settled by final concord, for in all cases in which the prior of Alvingham made an agreement with a lay plaintiff, the plaintiff was made a participant in all prayers and benefits of the house. This correlation is not, however, apparent in the case of Bullington.

In three cases confraternity was granted to benefactors following litigation or uncertainty concerning advowsons. In 1208 Thomas and William de Scoteni were granted confraternity for their acknowledgement that two thirds of the advowson of Stainton-le-Wold was held by Alvingham; in 1241 Gilbert and John, sons of Brian of Grainthorpe, received such rights for their quitclaim of the advowson of Grainthorpe; and in 1282 Robert, son of Alan of Couton, recognised that the advowson of Yarborough was held by the priory in return for a grant of confraternity to Robert and his heirs.[1] In all these cases the advowsons had been granted by the plaintiff's ancestors. The grant of confraternity was, therefore, a cheap way to buy off the claims of descendants and to prevent

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, ff.143^{v}, 98, 119. The final concords for Stainton-le-Wold and Grainthorpe are printed in Final Concords, i. 77, 336. The grant of these advowsons is discussed in more detail above, pp. 137-42.

further disputes by binding the benefactor's family and the priory more closely together.

A similar motivation lay behind the grant of confraternity rights by Bullington to William of Kyme, William of Ingham, Jordan de Insula and Hugh de Neville. The advowsons of Ingham had been granted to Bullington by Philip I of Kyme, but in 1214 William of Ingham and Jordan de Insula, tenants of the Kymes, claimed the advowson in a plea of darrein presentment brought against the prior. The case was not settled until 1219 when the two tenants, together with William of Kyme and Hugh de Neville, acknowledged the prior's right to the advowson and were all received into the benefits and prayers of the house.[1]

In two other instances in which confraternity was granted at the end of litigation, the cases were brought by the benefactors' lords. In 1233 a dispute between Norman d'Arci and the prior of Alvingham, concerning pasture rights granted to the priory by Norman's tenants, was settled amicably by the grant of confraternity; and in 1256 John de Neville acknowledged his responsibility to perform the forinsec service due on land held by the priory in return for confraternity.[2]

The correlation between confraternity grants and quit-claims of rights or rents is also seen in transactions where

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1. Harl.Charts., 52B20, 52B32.
   The fine is printed in Final Concords, i.125. See above, pp.143
2. Final Concords, i.288 (cf., Laud Misc.MS.642, f.152 margin); Laud Misc. MS.642, f.142^{v} (printed in Final Concords, ii. 120).

there was no litigation. Early in the thirteenth century, for example, Beatrix, daughter of Ralph of Mumby, received confraternity in return for her quitclaim of services owed by Bullington for land held in Burgh-le-Marsh.[1] In the third quarter of the century John, son of Philip of Cotum, quitclaimed an annual rent of six marks owed by Alvingham for land purchased by the priory from John's father in 1264.[2] Towards the end of the century John le Breton quitclaimed an annual rent of 9s 10d owed by Alvingham for a grant by his ancestor Geoffrey, and received a grant of confraternity for himself, his wife and heirs. No charter expresses the link between temporal benefits for the priory and spiritual benefits for the grantor more clearly: dicti prior et conventus in compensacione temporalium spiritualiter concesserunt mihi et Alicie uxori mei et heredibus meis quod simus participes omnium bonorum que fient in domo sua.[3]

Confraternity could also be granted in return for confirmation of grants by the benefactors' lords. The example of John, earl of Richmond, has already been cited.[4] Robert Putrel of Prestwold was granted confraternity, in return for his recognition of Bullington's claim to the advowson of Prestwold church and its dependant chapels that had been granted by his tenant.[5] Simon I of Kyme purchased land in Lincoln from his sister in order to give it to Bullington. She then confirmed the grant in return for confraternity

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1. Harl.Chart., 54A14.
2. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.129.
3. Ibid., f.32^{v}.
4. See above, pp. 347-8.
5. Harl.Chart., 55A38.

'to the glory of God and for the redemption of our souls'.[1]

Other grants of confraternity do not appear to fall into a pattern. The size of the benefaction could be large, as when Oliver of Wendover granted 50 acres in Newton to Bullington, or small, as was the grant of half an acre in East Barkwith made by Thorald son of Warin.[2] It is probable, however, that, as is the case with burial grants, a small benefaction in return for a grant of confraternity does not represent the sum total of land granted. Certainly Cost of Alvingham, who received confraternity for himself and his wife in return for one selion of land, had made other larger grants, as had Idonea of Newbold who received confraternity in return for the grant of two perches of land to Bullington in order to complete a ditch she and her husband had earlier granted.[3]

In some cases the grant was not made freely. Alan count of Brittany granted land in Newton-le-Wold to Alvingham in return for an annual rent of half a mark and a grant of confraternity, and this grant was confirmed to the priory about fifty years later by Thomas de le Wydehaye on the same conditions.[4] Walter of Buslingthorpe sold land to Bullington for two marks, a cow for his wife and 16d for his son to buy boots. He was also to receive an annual rent of six shillings besides confraternity for himself and his family.[5]

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1. Addit. MS.6118, p.722.
2. Ibid., p.798 (late twelfth century; DC., no.6 (c.1200).
3. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.23 (for the family of Cost see above, pp. 293-5); Harl.Chart., 54A45 (c.1205).
4. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.150^{v} and margin.
5. Addit. MS.6118, p.735.

No single account can summarize confraternity grants to the priories. They were made from the time of the houses' foundation through to the mid-thirteenth century, and their concentration at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century probably merely reflects the larger number of benefactions made at this time. The great majority of grants of confraternity were made to members of the local gentry, though families that contributed most to the landed wealth of the houses were not necessarily recipients of such rights. Confraternity was in no way linked to the size of the grant, though in cases in which confraternity was granted at the end of litigation or in return for quitclaims by heirs or lords the property involved was of importance.

Burial grants

Unlike the Cistercians, the Gilbertines placed no restrictions upon lay burials within their convents. The rule made clear provisions for the laity to be buried within their churches, and there is considerable evidence that laymen took advantage of this privilege throughout the order's existence.[1] Women were to be buried in the nuns' choir while redditores seculi were to be buried ad altare secundum,

1. See R. Graham, S. Gilbert of Sempringham, pp. 113-4. The Cistercians forbade burials in their 1134 Statutes (Canivez, i. cap. 5., p. 14 [1134]).

presumably a side altar or nave altar.[1] After the annual general chapter of the order a memorial service for the dead was to be held in each house of the order, for all those of the order whose names were recited and remembered in chapter, and for all those for whom the Master or priors of individual houses, with the advice of their convents, promised prayers at the request of influential patrons (prece nobilium). Those who were joined to the order in confraternity were to be especially remembered in a memorial service on the eve of the feast of St. Edmund. The principal founder and foundress were to be honoured in the community that they had founded upon the anniversary of their death.[2]

Burials within the convent, whether in the cemetery, chapter house, or most exalted of all, in the priory church were marks of close emotional ties. In a sense, they represented closer ties than those of confraternity, since whereas donors could have rights of confraternity in several houses at once they could be buried in one place only. To be buried amongst a large community was an expression of sentiment and brought mutual prestige, 'to be buried in one place was a concrete expression of family solidarity'.[3]

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1. Corpora ... omnium foeminarum ponantur in choro (sanctimonialium)... Redditorum secularium (ponantur) ad altare secundum. Mon.Ang., vi. part 2.*xci-xcii (between pages 945 and 946). The term redditor, which I have not encountered elsewhere, should probably be translated benefactor. There is archaeological evidence from Watton priory that by the mid-fourteenth century laymen of note could be buried in the presbytery of the nuns' quire (W.H.St.John Hope, 'The Gilbertine Priory of Watton, in the East Riding of Yorkshire,' Archaeological Journal lviii (1901), 10-11 and Plate VII).
2. Dugdale, op.cit., *xcii (between pages 945 and 946).
3. S.Wood, English Monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century (Oxford, 1955), p.131.

Burials, however, were more than matters of emotion. They meant endowments, especially of land, and for the small Gilbertine houses the grants that accompanied burials or the promise of burials were probably more important than the prestige that the burial of a notable could bring to his resting place. Just as was the case in dowry and confraternity grants, personal and economic considerations went hand in hand. Thus the translation of the body of Philip I of Kyme's mother to lie beside her husband Simon in the chapter house of Bullington was no doubt a moment of great solemnity that revealed an emotional solidarity between Bullington and the Kymes. However, not only did the family see a representative buried in the priory it had founded, but the priory received the advowson of the church of Ingham, one of the most valuable churches held by Bullington.[1]

The names of 27 members of the laity who were buried in Alvingham and 13 who were buried in Bullington priories are known. Most of these names are known from charters recording burial grants, and such grants fall into two types: those made with the body of a member of the donor's family at the moment of burial and, more frequently, those made by the donor with a promise of burial when he should die. Very occasionally these grants are associated with the provision of an obit, the celebration of an annual mass upon the anniversary of the death of the donor or his kin.[2]

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1. DC, no.58.

2. For obits, see below pp. 365-6.

It was natural for the founders of houses or their descendants to find their final resting place amongst the communities which they had founded, and although none of the founders of Alvingham (with the exception of Hamelin, who became a canon in the priory) are known to have been buried in the house, it seems probable that they were buried in the convent. Certainly the implication of the provision in the Rule that the founders should have an annual obit in their houses is that the founders were normally buried at their foundations. Even if the founders were not buried in the priory, their kin were. Humphrey of Alvingham, the nepos (probably the nephew) of William of Friston, and his wife were received into confraternity and promised burial in the priory when they should die. This promise was made in return for the small grant of two selions and a headland in the fields of Alvingham. This was the only donation Humphrey is known to have made to the priory.[1] An even smaller grant, of one selion, was made by Geoffrey son of Hamelin when his wife was buried in the priory; but Geoffrey did make other, larger grants to the priory and his burial grant should be seen in the context of all his benefactions to the house.[2] Though burial grants made by the founders and their kin were often small, they can still illustrate the close relationship that could exist between the founders' families and the priories. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the case of Thomas de Scoteni. As has been noted elsewhere, Thomas was in some financial difficulties

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.20^{v} (late twelfth century).
2. Ibid., f.24^{v}.

and his own donations to Alvingham amount to very little.[1] In return for the grant of an annual rent of 20d in Cockerington he received the promise of burial in the priory. He was to be buried amongst the community (inter suos) and he expressly stated that he wished all his friends to know that he had chosen to be buried in the house of Alvingham. He further stipulated that he wished Maria, his aunt, who was a nun in the house, to receive the 20d per annum for the remainder of her life. After her death it might be given to any of his daughters whom he might place in the house.[2] This charter, one of the last to be made in favour of the priory by the Scoteni family, demonstrates that the family were still concerned to maintain their ties with the community and to shew these links publicly. Though the fortunes of the family had collapsed and the priory could, therefore, expect few more material advantages from it, sentiment between community and family still ran high.

Bullington provides even stronger evidence that the family of a priory's founder expected to receive burial within the priory. Four generations of Kymes, who maintained closer ties with the priory than did any other family with either Bullington or Alvingham, were buried at Bullington over a period of more than a century. The founder of the priory, Simon of Kyme, and his wife are known to have been buried in the chapter house of the priory, though there is no record of a grant made on the occasion of their burial. The grant of the church of Ingham made when the body of

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1. See above, p.242.
2. Laud Misc. MS642, f.61^{v} (early thirteenth century).

Simon's wife was transferred has already been mentioned, while in another grant Philip I of Kyme gave a toft and land in Wainfleet in order to find money for two lamps to burn perpetually, one in the priory church and the other in the chapter house above the tombs of Philip's parents and that of the countess Rohaise, the widow of Gilbert de Gant.[1]

Philip I's younger brother Simon directed that he was to be buried in the priory when he granted a large holding in Mablethorpe together with land in Herdewic.[2] The burial place of Philip I himself is unknown, but the heart of his son Simon I was given to the priory with arable land in Brethage by Simon's son, Philip II, sometime after Simon's death in 1220.[3] Later in the century Philip II's own son William gave meadow in Lee next Trent together with his heart to be buried in the conventual church.[4] He is the last representative of the family whose body, or part of it, is known to have rested in Bullington. His descendants, and even his wife, found other burial places more in keeping with the burial habits of the late-thirteenth century nobility and gentry.[5]

Burial grants associated with the founders' families,

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1. See above, p.354; B.L.Addit. MS.6118, p.728. Rohaise was the most important figure to be buried at Bullington. Two of Philip's sons, Simon and William, had married daughters of Rohaise by her second marriage to Robert son of Fulk (See above, pp.227-8).
2. Addit.MS.6118, p.719. Another contemporary charter refers to grants in Herdewic to be made to the priory if Simon should die while on crusade (Ibid., p.719).
3. Ibid., p.717.
4. Ibid., p.723.
5. See below, pp. 363-4.

though frequent, were not necessarily large benefactions. On the contrary, they were often insignificant in comparison with other grants made by the same donor or family. Founders may have regarded their burial in their foundations as a right which did not demand further donations.

Excluding the founders, there are very few references to burials of the local gentry in the records of either Alvingham or Bullington, four being known in the former and three in the latter. The grants that accompanied these burials could be generous. Thus Simon de Chauncy gave Alvingham 20 acres of land in a cultura in Swinhop to be held by the priory during the lifetime of his widowed mother, and promised the remainder of the cultura that he held in demesne upon her death, when she was to be buried in the nuns' chapter.[1] At about the same time Juliana of Otby, the wife of Gilbert of Welton, gave a toft and bovate in Cockerington together with the son of the former holder of this land, with her body to be buried in the convent.[2] The other two known burials of gentry benefactors at Alvingham occurred in the mid-thirteenth century. Sometime after 1233, Geoffrey de Turribus, whose grandfather had provided the nucleus of the grange at Cabourn, confirmed to the priory all the grants of tofts, rents, lands and all appurtenances that it had

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.145b^{v}. This land seems later to have been the subject of some dispute for while Simon included the whole of this cultura in a grant of demesne land in Swinhop after his death (c.1166) Roger, prior of Sempringham, granted half of the cultura to Simon's son pro bono pacis et concordie and in return for his confirmation of the grant of other lands that his father had made to the priory (Ibid., f.146).
2. Ibid., f.79^{v}. This was probably an ad succurrendum grant (see above, p. 345).

received in Cabourn, besides granting an unspecified amount of land that he had purchased from a tenant in the vill, in return for the promise of burial for himself and his wife Agnes. Though Geoffrey's grants to Alvingham were small by comparison with the lavish benefactions of his father and grandfather, he had been sufficiently concerned to maintain links with the priory to purchase land in order to make a donation possible. The promise of burial was his reward.[1] At about the same time Stephen of Irford gained burial for himself by quit-claiming the 20s. annual rent that the canons had formerly paid to him for land granted by his father in Cockerington.[2]

It is not surprising to find the mother of William Musteil buried in Bullington, for she was the sister-in-law of St. Gilbert himself; it is surprising rather to find that she is the only member of this family so closely connected with the order's founder who is known to have been buried in a Gilbertine house.[3] The other two gentry burials in Bullington both occur at the beginning of the thirteenth century. In 1205 Walter of Faukonberg gave the annual rent of one mark from the farm of land in Mablethorpe with the body of his wife Agnes, and at about the same time Alexander of Wendover gave land in Hackthorn in return for the promise of burial for himself and his wife if they chose to be buried in the priory.[4]

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1. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.158^{v}.
2. Ibid., f.76^{v}.
3. Addit. MS.6118, p.756 (late twelfth century).
4. Harl.Chart., 49 I 17; Addit.MS.6118, p.814. The grant of Alexander also included the endowment of an obit.

The majority of burials in Alvingham priory were of donors and their families who held land in Alvingham itself and in the adjoining settlement of Cockerington. Most of these burials were of members of the local free peasantry, and usually only a very small amount of land was given. Indeed, in many cases it would appear that burial was obtained for the grant of a single selion. Though in several cases the land given adjoined land already held by the priory, so that such grants did allow the consolidation of the priory's estates, it is clear that burial grants were rarely larger, and often smaller, than other grants made without the promise of specific spiritual benefits. In most cases, it is true, the donor or his family had already made grants to the canons, and in these instances burial grants should be seen as an indicator of close relations between family and community over one or more generations rather than as individual grants conferred for individual spiritual benefit. It is, however, impossible to tell whether or not such grants represent a final gift made to complete a series of donations.[1] In every case where a small burial grant was the only grant that appears to have been made by a benefactor his family had already made grants in favour of the house, and ties had, therefore, been made with the community. Thus, for example, William son of John, son of Dued, was able to secure the promise of burial for himself for the grant of a single selion in Alvingham but his family were already established as amongst the most

1. Professor Holdsworth suggested that several burial gifts made to Rufford abbey represented the last in a series of grants (Rufford Charters, ed. C.J. Holdsworth /2 vols., in progress, Thoroton Society, xxix, xxx, 1972, 1973/ i.xl).

generous of peasant donors in the vill.[1]

There are few signs, however, that there were family traditions of burials in the priory amongst the peasant benefactors of Alvingham, the largest family grouping being that of Cost of Alvingham.[2] Both Cost and his brother Ralph made small grants in favour of the house and received the promise of burial for themselves or their kin in return. Cost gained confraternity rights for himself and a promise of the burial of his wife Alice when she should die, in return for the grant of one selion and a headland, while in the following generation his son John gave a small selion (parvus sellio) in return for the promise of burial for himself in the nuns' cemetery.[3]

The burial grants made to Alvingham and Bullington constitute a majority of grants made carrying a specific spiritual obligation. To the numbers whose burials within the priories is known from burial grants should be added those who received grants of confraternity who would gain burial in the communities as confratres. Nevertheless, the total number of known burials in the houses is not large. Many gentry benefactors such as the D'Arcis or the Crevequers were not buried in the priories, and there is no evidence that either Alvingham or Bullington ever became a mausoleum for any family, with the possible exception of the Kymes at Bullington.

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1. Laud Misc. MS. 642, f. 22^{v}. For the Dued family see above, pp. 291-3.
2. Ibid., ff. 23, 31^{v}, 22^{v} (Ralph, son of Tengi). For the family see above, pp. 293-5.
3. Ibid., f. 28.

The fact that burials were comparatively rare, and frequently confined to only one representative of a family of donors, is a further indication that Gilbertine houses were unable to attract great and long-lived patronage. Just as families were patrons of many houses, so too they found burial in a number of different communities. One of the prime functions of a house monastery was as a family resting-place, preserving the community of the living and the dead, the lay and the religious; now that the concept of the house monastery was dead, so too, few families were united in death beneath the roof of one abbey church. One of the best examples of the new distribution of burials amongst a number of communities is provided by the Gant family. The first Gilbert de Gant was buried in the Benedictine house of Bardney, which he had been instrumental in refounding. His son Walter was also buried there. His grandson Gilbert, the lord of Gilbert of Sempringham, directed that he was to be buried in the Augustinian priory of Bridlington, which his father had founded and where he had been brought up. He preferred burial there than at the Cistercian abbey of Rufford, which he had founded. His brother Robert was buried at the Cistercian abbey of Vaudey, that had been founded on the Gant estates by a vassal. His daughter gave mills in Folkingham with her body to be buried at Sempringham, though it is likely that she, too, was buried at Bridlington. Her own daughter Roesia was buried in the chapter house of Bullington.[1] All of these houses had been founded within

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1. These details are given in a genealogy (now lost) of the Gant family printed in Mon.Ang., v.491. For the grant to Sempringham, see G.E.C., vii, 673 and for Roesia's burial in Bullington see Addit.MS.6118, p.728.

fifty years and all were looking for grants from the same family. It is little wonder, therefore, that communities that relied on benefactors such as these failed to attract burials from one family for more than one or two generations. Sometimes a donor received rights of confraternity at one house and burial at another. In the mid-twelfth century, for example, Oliver of Wendover, Petronilla his wife and his two sons received rights of confraternity from Bullington in return for the grant of 50 acres of land at Newton. The family was also a benefactor of the Gilbertine house of Catley and it was there, rather than at Bullington, that Petronilla was buried.[1]

During the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries the number of burials in Alvingham and Bullington, especially of gentry benefactors, was restricted by the claims of other communities to the bodies of benefactors.[2] Thereafter another factor assumed importance. As men increasingly favoured the friars at the expense of the older monastic orders and founded chantries rather than communities so too they found new places for burial. One example of the in-roads the friars were making upon the links between priories and their benefactors reveals the declining hold of Bullington upon its supporters. At the end of the thirteenth century William of Kyme was buried in Bullington but Lucy his wife was buried amongst the Grey Friars at York.[3] Moreover, in

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1. Ibid., p.798; CGH, p.85.
2. Thus, for example, Robert, son of Gilbert of Legbourne, was a benefactor to both Alvingham and Legbourne priories but was buried in the latter house (Mon.Ang., v. 634-5).
3. G.E.C., vii. 352.

1343, Gilbert de Umbreville, who had inherited the lordship of Kyme when William II Lord Kyme died without a male heir in 1338, founded a chantry at Dogdike for the souls of himself, his wife, his ancestors, heirs and all the faithful departed. The family burial place at Bullington had now been forgotten and the lords of Kyme were subscribing to a new form of spirituality.[1]

Burials fulfilled a valuable cohesive role between the priories and their lay benefactors; perhaps among their more important results was the fact that they enabled a lay society to enter a closed community that they supported but rarely saw. When this function was no longer felt to be necessary the days of the monopoly of monasteries in the spiritual affections of the laity were numbered.

Corrodies, clothing and miscellaneous grants

There were other ways by which benefactors could demonstrate special ties with the communities without themselves entering the house as recruits or receiving rights of confraternity. Perhaps the most important expression of these ties, and certainly that which most profoundly affected the spiritual life of a religious house, lay in the reception of the benefactor as a corrodian in return for the grant of his, or her, land.

Only two grants of corrodies are recorded in the case of Alvingham, and none are known to have been granted by Bullington. In 1215 Alice, the widow of Robert de Portmort, brought a claim of dower against the prior of Alvingham for a

1. D.M.Owen, Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire (Lincoln, 1971), p. 93.

third of a caricate and a bovate in Alvingham and Cockerington. This land had been sold to the priory by her impecunious husband who had disposed of all his land in these vills to the priory.[1] There seems little doubt that Alice was in financial difficulties, and that her plea was genuine and born out of economic desperation. In return for her quitclaim of the land the prior granted to her five loaves to be given to her every Sunday for the remainder of her life.[2] Thus the priory obtained for a small outlay confirmation of an important estate lying close at hand.

The other corrody was larger, though the gains for the canons were greater. In 1260 William of Redburn sold his capital messuage in Cockerington to the canons together with all his land in the vill. Like the de Pormorts, William was heavily in debt to the Jews. In return for his sale William was to receive an annual grant of nine quarters of the wheat used to make the convent's bread, five quarters of barley, half a quarter of oat flour, four cartloads of mutton (worth 3d. a cartload), a bushel of peas, two stones of cheese, a basket of herrings, a cartload of hay and one of turves, 10 shillings to buy a robe at Boston fair and a house which the priory undertook to keep in good repair.[3]

Corrodies provided for the benefactor while living, obits and pittances ensured his memory when dead. These, too, are uncommon in the records of the priories, though the grant

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1. See above, p. 14.
2. Final Concords, i.116 (cf. Laud Misc. MS. 642, f.59-59^{v}, 14).
3. Laud Misc. MS. 642, f.72^{v} (margin).

of confraternity rights included the celebration of an obit.[1] Only two obits are known to have been endowed in Alvingham. Towards the end of the thirteenth century Gilbert, son of J. of Cockerington, granted a toft in Cockerington in return for an obit to be celebrated annually upon the anniversary of his death.[2] At about the same time prior R. de Richmond granted an obit to John, duke of Brittany, to be observed on the anniversary of his death in all the houses of the order.[3]

Four pittances were endowed in Bullington. All but one date from the middle of the thirteenth century. The earliest is that of Gilbert son of William of Burgh, who gave three acres of meadow in Winthorpe in return for a pittance at the end of the twelfth century.[4] William, a former burgess of Louth, left 30 shillings in a legacy for this purpose.[5] Sir Robert of Boleviore (Belvoir?) left money for pittances on his anniversary and on the feast of St. John the Baptist, and Sir William Russell of Edlesburgh gave eight shillings per annum, half for a pittance on the feast of St. John the Evangelist and half for lights to burn before two altars in the priory church.[6]

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1. See above, p.346.
2. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.79 (margin).
3. Ibid., f.42. This grant is considered more fully above, pp.347-8.
4. Harl.Chart., 47E20.
5. Ibid., 44I20.
6. Ibid., 44I17; 44I19. It is not clear why Russell, who held lands in chief in Edlesburgh (Bucks) in 1235 and 1242, should have made benefactions to a small Lincolnshire house unless he is to be identified with that William Russell who held lands in Lincolnshire in 1242 (Book of Fees, i. 465, 469, 472, ii. 876, 877, 1035, 1036, 1049, 1087, 1091). This grant was confirmed to the canons in 1273.

The most common form of a grant for special purposes was the provision of land or rents to provide clothing for the religious. Richard the clerk of Louth and Roger, son of Wygot of Reesby, both granted money for their daughters at Alvingham, the former setting aside the considerable sum of 8s. 8d. per annum to maintain his daughter during her life-time. Roger gave one shilling per annum to provide his daughter with linen cloth. After their death these sums were to be for the use of the whole community.[1] Other grants were made to purchase clothing for the whole community, John son of Roger of Aisterby granting an annual rent of two shillings at the beginning of the thirteenth century and William Longspée, earl of Salisbury granting land in Middle Rasen whose income was to be used for that purpose.[2] In 1247 Robert, master of the Order, confirmed to Alvingham annual rents of £4 6s. to buy smocks for the community. Two pounds of this sum was to come from the church of Grainthorpe, the remainder from rents in Middle Rasen (William Longspée's grant), Boston and Manby.[3]

The nuns of Bullington also received clothing grants. Philip I of Kyme granted 20 acres of meadow and pasture in Huttoft for the provision of garments, and Nicholaa de la Haye granted an annual rent of 5s. 4d. that the canons owed to

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1. Laud Misc. MS. 642, ff. 132^{v}, 152 (late twelfth century?). The Rule forbade nuns to receive clothes for their individual use without the license of the Prior of the Order and Richard took care to state that he had obtained this (Mon. Ang. vi. part 2. *xciv (between pages 945 and 946).
2. CGH., pp. 107-8.
3. Laud Misc. MS. 642, f. 142^{v}. This sum was to be paid to the canon styled custos operis et ovium monialium who was made responsible for the purchase of the clothes.

her for land they held of her fee in Ingham and Toft to buy smocks for the nuns in perpetuity.[1] In 1235 the Master of the Order assigned an annual rent of five marks to Bullington from lands held by Bullington in Friskney and Burgh-le-Marsh to buy smocks in perpetuity.[2]

Other grants were made for the maintenance of the convents' services to the sick and the poor. Philip I of Kyme gave the church of St. Alban's, Spridlington, to Bullington for the maintenance of the infirmary; Walter de Neville gave a fishery on the river Ancholne at Redbourne and Hugh de Neville assigned land in Lissington for the same purpose.[3] Early in the thirteenth century Sibyl de Lisewis, the widow of Lambert de Scoteni, granted land in Withcall for the benefit of sick nuns.[4] In 1261 William of Redbourne sold land in Cockerington to the priory in order that its income might be used for the maintenance of the guesthouse in the priory, and at about the same time Hugh, son of Edric of Grimolby granted a toft in Cockerington for the same purpose.[5] Thomas of Moulton and William of Firsby were granted permission by G. prior of Sempringham to give land at Skirbeck to Bullington for the relief of the nuns' poverty.[6] Land

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1. Harl.Charts., 52H1 (third quarter of twelfth century); 51C18 (before 1230).
2. Ibid., 44I14.
3. Addit.MS.6118, p.729 (third quarter of twelfth century); DC., no. 99 (late twelfth century). Harl. Chart., 54B14 (early thirteenth century).
4. ad usum monialium in infirmatorio lecto doloris detentarum. Laud Misc. MS.642, f.143.
5. Ibid., ff.83^{v}-84. The rubric to these charters reads Carte de terris emptis per subcelerarium. This is the only reference to transactions conducted by an obedientary in the cartulary.
6. Addit.MS.6118, p.749. The prior is probably Gilbert II, master of the Order 1205--25.

granted by Simon of Kyme in Lincoln for the nuns to build a hospice was probably intended as the site for a guest-house for the canons when visiting the city, rather than for a house for relief of the poor.[1] In the mid-thirteenth century Simon le Porter of Bullington granted two shillings annual rent there for the sustenance of the poor at the priory gate.[2]

Some grants were specially assigned by the grantor for the maintenance of lights or the upkeep of the church. John Trew of Lincoln gave the annual rent of a toft in Louth to provide candles at the Sunday mass in the priory church at Alvingham, Robert de Almeto gave land in Stainton-le-Vale to find a light for St. Mary's altar in the parish church, and Robert Ribald granted an annual rent of 3s. 6d. to pay for a wax candle to burn before the image of St. Mary in the nave (in corpore) of Cawthorpe at all masses and one oil lamp to burn in the church at matins and mass.[3] Robert of Legbourne assigned the service of a nativus (an annual rent of four shillings) to the renovation of the vessels in the canons' refectory at Alvingham.[4] Only one grant for lights is recorded for Bullington: that of a toft and land in Wainfleet granted by Philip I of Kyme for two lamps to burn for ever in the priory church and chapter house above the tombs of his parents and of the countess Rohaise.[5]

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1. Ibid., p.722.
2. Harl. Chart., 54I46.
3. Laud Misc. MS. 642, ff.132 (mid-thirteenth century?), 144 (early thirteenth century), 137^{v} (late twelfth century).
4. Ibid., f.133^{v} (c.1218).
5. Addit. MS. 6118, p.728 (pre-1194).

There is only one example in the priories' charters of a grant made for a chantry. In the second quarter of the thirteenth century Hugh de Neville granted land in Wickenby and Snelland, for the maintenance of two chaplains to celebrate masses in the house of Bullington for the souls of his parents, ancesters and successors.[1]

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1. Addit. MS. 6118, p.768.

CONCLUSION

Nothing remains above ground of the priories of Alvingham and Bullington. Hillocks and mounds mark the site of the former, close to the parish church of St. Adelwold: the last fragment of wall belonging to Bullington fell a few years ago. The houses fostered no artistic tradition, no scholarship, and produced no canonised saint, theologian or other writer to be their memorial. Though almost nothing is known of the priories' history during the later middle ages, it is likely that they, like other houses of their order, became increasingly poor.[1]

The only records left by the priories are the charters. These stand as a memorial, not to the priories themselves, but to their benefactors, for they testify to the piety and religious aspirations of the lesser men of twelfth and thirteenth century Lincolnshire. Alvingham and Bullington were modest houses catering for those of modest means. They were not supported by the great magnates, but by the lesser lords with local interests and ambitions, who were responsible for grants of the larger holdings that went to make up the granges, and for the grants of churches, whose income contributed so much to the total wealth of the houses. The lords received privileges of confraternity and burial, and recruits to the priories were drawn from their children. At the same time, most of these families spread their grants amongst a number of communities, which had the effect of limiting the expansion of any one house.

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1. R. Graham, S. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines (London, 1901), pp. 137-155.

The priories also provided an opportunity for the local free peasants to make their benefactions. From these small freeholders the priories gained comparatively little, though they were often able to use the grants of these benefactors to consolidate their own holdings. The new foundations of the twelfth century allowed local peasant benefactors their first chance to contribute to the expansion of the temporal estates of the Church. For the first time they, too, gained the promise of salvation long offered to wealthier benefactors. The demands of the Gilbertines were not excessive. There is no evidence that the order or its rulers ever wished to compete with other communities for great wealth or prestige. Indeed, there is some indication that Gilbert of Sempringham never wished to found an order at all, that he was pressed by others to organise his followers, and that he himself wished to have as little to do with the organisation and administration of his communities as possible.[1]

The humble desires of Gilbert and his followers, and the comparatively low economic status of most benefactors to the priories, ensured that the nuns and canons would never be of more than local importance. The narrow bounds of both Alvingham and Bullington can be illustrated in a number of ways. First, the majority of their estates lay close at hand. With the exception of Reedness in the case of Alvingham, and Prestwold in that of Bullington, no grange lay outside the riding of Lindsey, and most lay within a few miles of the priories.

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1. See R. Graham, op.cit., pp. 12, 23.

It was these properties that the priories were most concerned to develop, if necessary by the purchase of additional land. The majority of the appropriated churches also were close to the priories.

Secondly, most of the benefactors to the priories were local men. Neither priory attracted support from lords whose main properties were not in the immediate vicinity of the priories. The development of the priories' estates depended upon the generosity of Lindsey lords, who rarely held interests outside the riding. The grants of the peasants were naturally confined to the vills in which they lived. The inevitable result was that both priories had very close ties with the lay population of the immediate area, but beyond the surrounding villages found little support.

Thirdly, most of the recruits to the priories were drawn from the immediate locality. Neither priory was sufficiently wealthy or prestigious to attract outsiders. This in turn contributed to the failure of the houses to expand their properties or influence beyond local boundaries. Moreover, for those local men who did support the priories and place recruits in them, there was a wide choice of similar small houses in the region from which they could choose; just as this fact inhibited the growth of the priories' estates, it also inhibited recruitment.

This study of Alvingham and Bullington has attempted to demonstrate how their development depended on the type of benefactor who could be attracted to their support, the benefactors' attitudes towards the houses, and the benefactors'

own economic conditions. I have stressed that the milieu of both the priories' properties and the benefactors was local. While it will never be possible to write a detailed account of the development and economy of all the Gilbertine houses, Alvingham and Bullington can stand as typical of other Gilbertine priories in Lincolnshire. They are also typical of many small religious houses in the area, whether of monks or nuns. The general pattern of their development and of their benefactions is repeated across the country. Their development is less spectacular than that of the great Benedictine houses which dominated the economy of whole regions, and whose influence, spiritual and economic, spread over the country. Within their circumscribed spheres of influence, however, the presence and appeal of Alvingham and Bullington were no less real.

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