

## ART. VIII – *The Estates of Calder Abbey*

BY JOHN THORLEY

- Notes
1. Quotations from original documents, whether in Latin or in English translation or in English, are given in *italics*. Original spellings of names have been retained in these quotations.
  2. Internal cross-references to the chronological list of documents are given in **bold**, e.g. **26**. In **35**, **T** = Temporal, **S** = Spiritual.
  3. A Summary Table of the possessions of the abbey and a map showing properties in West Cumbria is included at the end of the article.
  4. Where the words carucate and bovate or oxgang appear it is assumed that if converted to statute acres from customary acres there can be no certainty. For the size of customary acres in Cumbria see B. C. Jones, “Variations in the Length of the Perch in Cumbria”, *CW2*, lxxxiii, 177-9. Also see Angus J. L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (1987), 78 note 32. Percy Survey – To convert to statute acres multiply by a factor of 1.6.

**N**O cartulary from Calder Abbey has survived, and therefore we have no coherent record of the estates that the abbey possessed. We do, however, have a considerable number of documents of different sorts and from different periods that mention lands and privileges held by the abbey, and from these it is possible to produce some picture of the holdings of Calder, in outline if not always in detail. From the documents available it is clear that the possessions of the abbey did change over time. Not only were there gains, there were also losses. In most cases we cannot now trace why some possessions were lost to the abbey, though in some cases we can make an informed guess. The purposes of this paper are to reconstruct, as far as is possible from surviving evidence, something of what a cartulary might have told us if one had survived, and also to add a commentary on the properties owned by the abbey at various times. Since most of the relevant documents can be dated fairly securely, they will be dealt with in chronological order, numbered 1 to 36. But firstly it will be necessary to consider the complex story of the founding of the abbey, which has caused some problems in the interpretation of the earliest records.

### **The Foundation of the Abbey**

Calder Abbey was founded in 1135 by a group of twelve monks from the Savignac abbey of Furness under the leadership of Gerald, the first abbot of Calder. The land for the abbey had been granted by Ranulf le Meschin, Lord of Copeland who had his seat at Egremont Castle.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately these were troubled times, partly because of the disputed accession of Stephen in 1135, and less than four years after the monks arrived at Calder, in 1138, they were driven out by marauding Scots. With all their possessions in a cart pulled by eight oxen they returned to Furness. But there they did not receive a friendly welcome. The exact sequence of events is not entirely clear, but it seems that abbot Gerald of Calder was not prepared to give up his title of abbot, nor his authority over his monks, but wished to operate a separate “Calder unit” within Furness Abbey – presumably on a temporary basis

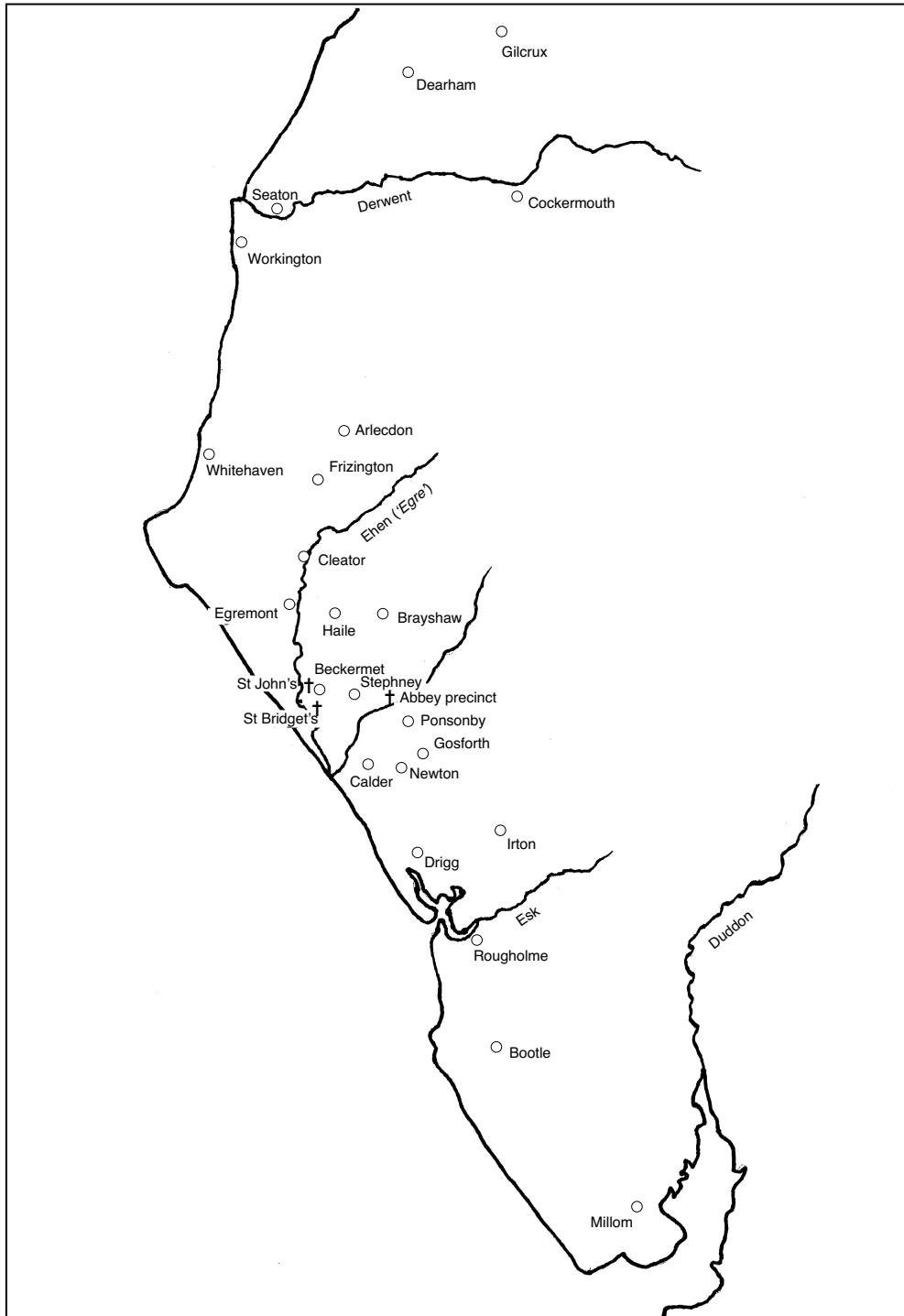


FIG. 1. Sketchmap to illustrate the possessions of Calder Abbey in West Cumbria.

until they could return to Calder. The abbot of Furness (perhaps Eudo de Surdevalle<sup>2</sup>) was not prepared to accept these conditions and would not even let the monks of Calder through the abbey gates. The impression we are given is that this argument between the two abbots took place while the poor monks of Calder stood with their ox-cart outside the gates of Furness Abbey. The outcome was that Gerald took his monks with their ox-cart off to York to consult Archbishop Thurstan. He sent them to Roger de Mowbray of Thirsk, who gave them a site for an abbey on his own lands at Hood (or Hode), three miles east of Thirsk. In 1142 the community moved again, to Old Byland, just two miles west of Rievaulx. Meanwhile Abbot Gerald had gone to Savigny in Normandy, the founding house of the Savignac order, to complain about the behaviour of the abbot of Furness and to formalise the separation of the monks of Calder from any control from Furness. This he duly achieved, but died at York while returning to his community in February 1143.

The same year, on hearing about all this, the abbot of Furness decided to send another group of monks to re-establish a monastery at Calder under a new abbot called Hardred. This time the abbey prospered. In fact Hardred even claimed that the monks now established at Byland should be under his jurisdiction, on the grounds that they were strictly monks of Calder. His claim failed, but then Furness tried to pursue a similar claim over Byland, but that also failed, and the independence of Byland was acknowledged. In 1148 the whole Savignac order was united with the Cistercians, so that all three abbeys became Cistercian.<sup>3</sup>

### **From the Foundation of the Abbey to the Charter of Henry III, 1231**

All this is an interesting story, but it also has a relevance to the original gift of land for the building of Calder Abbey. The earliest record of the existence of Calder is from a bull confirming the possessions of Furness Abbey by Pope Eugenius III and dated to his 8th year (1152-3), only nine or ten years after the re-founding of Calder in 1143. It is clear from the text of this document that Calder was regarded by the writer as a property of Furness; presumably this was the view of the Abbot of Furness who must have provided the information for the papal bull, but whether the new abbot of Calder would have agreed with this we do not know. The charter lists the possessions at Calder as follows:

1. 1152-3: Bull of Eugenius III (*Furness Coucher* (Chetham Society 1886-8), 591-5, and Dugdale, *Monasticon* (London 1817-30), vol. V, 250, Furness Abbey, No. XII) . . . *from the gift of William, nephew to the noble David, king of Scots, Caldre and the mill in the same place, and Dermerton and Flolegate, with their appurtenances. In Scaddesbrites [transcribed "Staddesbutles" in Monasticon] one house, free and quit, two saltworks in Whithofhed [i.e. Whitehaven], a fishery of Derwent, a fishery of Eggre [Ehen], and pannage for your swine through all the land of Ranulph Mustin, who had previously granted these things to your church in pious devotion.*

The fact that William, nephew of David, king of the Scots, is given a prominent mention as a benefactor (though all he did was to confirm the gift of Ranulf; see **6(i)** below) is particularly interesting. This William is otherwise known as William FitzDuncan, the successor of Ranulf le Meschin as Lord of Copeland and owner of Egremont Castle, through his marriage to Ranulf's sister Alice.<sup>4</sup> He was the very

same man who had been at the head of the marauding Scots who were the cause of the hasty departure of the monks in 1138! The sequence of events is far from clear, and it is not known exactly when William married Alice, though it was presumably soon after his escapade in 1138.<sup>5</sup> It is also not known exactly when Ranulf died, but it seems most likely that this occurred in or just before 1140. William may thus have achieved by marriage what he had earlier tried to achieve by war. William was supported in all this by David, king of the Scots, who was doubtless keen to see his nephew ensconced in Egremont Castle. It seems probable that William then confirmed his brother-in-law's original grant of land to Calder Abbey at the time of the re-founding of the abbey in 1143. This may well be the reason that his name was associated with the actual building of the abbey, and even in some authorities with the original foundation gifts to the abbey, which in fact he may only have confirmed.<sup>6</sup> The fact that he was himself responsible for the departure of the first monks from Calder was conveniently forgotten.

The bull of Eugenius III incidentally illustrates some of the problems with the names of people and places that occur so frequently in medieval charters, and certainly in the ones quoted in this article. The spelling of Latin was more or less standardised, but not so the spelling of English, and much less so the spelling of English names.<sup>7</sup> The name "Calder" is spelled at least nine different ways in the manuscripts. This is not too much of a problem in the case of Calder, because the name is well enough known, and the context is usually sufficient to avoid any misunderstanding, though the boundaries of what is meant by "*Caldre*" are not specified.<sup>8</sup> We also know that Ranulph Mustin must be Ranulf le Meschin. But where are *Dermerton* and *Flolegate* and *Scaddesbrites* (or *Staddesbutles*)? We shall see later that the first two are referred to as *Bemerton* and *Holgate* in later charters (though their exact location is still a problem), and *Scaddesbrites/Staddesbutles*, which may be Scadebothes near Maryport,<sup>9</sup> was later changed to Egremont, though the reason is not clear (see later under 2).

The next record we have referring to gifts to Calder Abbey is the earliest of the charters which were in the possession of W. J. Charlton of Hesleyside (near Bellingham in Northumberland).<sup>10</sup> These charters came into the possession of the Charlton family in 1680, "through the marriage of W. J. Charlton's great-great-grandfather with Mary, daughter of Francis Salkeld of Whitehall, in the parish of All-hallows, Cumberland".<sup>11</sup> All-hallows is the area to the west of Mealsgate, and Whitehall still survives, just off the A595 near Mealsgate. Seven of the thirty-three charters in this collection refer to properties owned by Calder Abbey. Some of these charters are undated, but the dates can be ascertained within fairly narrow limits from the names of the donors or of the witnesses. Charters 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 21 and 22 below are from this collection.

2. 1153X1179 (probably c.1155): The Charter of Cecily, Countess of Albemarle and Lady of Copeland (from the former Hesleyside Collection; *St Bees Register*, 549-50)

Cecily was the eldest daughter of William FitzDuncan and Alice. She firstly confirmed the grant of Ranulf le Meschin, which we have seen had also been confirmed by her father William, though there are certain changes to the names of

the properties. “*Dermerton*” is now “*Bemertona*”, “*Flolegate*” is now “*Holegata*” (see later under **6(ii)** for the likely identification), and the house in “*Scaddesbrites*” has now become a house “*in burgo de Egrem[on]t*”. Whether this was a genuine property exchange or the correction of some kind of error is not clear. Cecily also added the grant of “*Stouenerga*” (Stavenerge; see **6(viii)**), from which it is clear that Cecily is confirming, as lord of the manor, a grant made by others). It was in fact quite normal for lords of the manor to confirm charters of their predecessors soon after they inherited the manor, adding any grants made since the previous charter, by themselves or by others. It seems likely that Cecily’s father William died around 1153-4,<sup>12</sup> and therefore the date of this charter is likely to be about 1155, by which time Cecily must have been married to William le Gros, Earl of Albemarle.

3. 1152X1179: The Charter of William de Esseby and his wife Hectred (from the former Hesleyside Collection; *St Bees Register*, 550)

This next charter records that William and Hectred gave *Becheremet and all things pertaining to it, both in waters and in pastures, and a mill in the same vill, and a fishery in the Ehgena [Ehen] pertaining to the same vill* (presumably a different fishery from the one granted by William FitzDuncan), *for the salvation of the souls* of their own family and of the family of William le Gros, Earl of Albemarle. The gift was felt to be appropriate since William de Esseby and Hectred had received Beckermet and the mill from William le Gros. The wording implies that William le Gros was still alive (he died in 1179<sup>13</sup>), and among the witnesses is Richard, Prior of St Bees, who was prior approximately 1160-70, though this date is far from secure.<sup>14</sup> William de Esseby and Hectred also granted land to the abbey at St Bees around this time.<sup>15</sup>

The main problem with this charter is to identify what exactly was given to the abbey. The text seems to imply that the “vill” of Beckermet is intended. But there are problems here. The charter of Henry III in 1231 makes no mention of this grant to the abbey (see **6**), which perhaps implies either that the gift was not very substantial or that for some reason it had been revoked by 1231. We know that in 1242, and probably for some time before that (see **9**), the Flemings held Beckermet and its castle, and there is no indication then that the abbey in any sense held the vill of Beckermet. Moreover, in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* list of the abbey’s properties the entry against Beckermet (*Bekarment*) is far too low, at 25s. 8d., for the annual rent on a “vill” (see **35 T (v)**). It may, however, be significant that five of the seven witnesses to the charter of William de Esseby and Hectred are clergy, and perhaps this might imply that the charter is concerned at least partly with church property. However, any connection with the two Beckermet churches here is highly speculative. The “vill” itself must have referred to land, and the omission of any reference to it in the charter of Henry III implies either that this intended gift was never implemented or that the Flemings somehow acquired the property from the abbey before 1231.<sup>16</sup>

The next charter is not actually a gift to the abbey, but refers to a property that was later to be given to the abbey.

4. Before 1186?<sup>17</sup> Charter of Adam son of Uhtred to Beatrice de Molle (from the former Hesleyside Collection; *St Bees Register*, 550-1)

In this charter Adam son of Uhtred confirms the gift to his niece Beatrice de Molle (Mow in Roxburghshire, south-east of Kelso; the village no longer exists) of five bovates (about 75 acres) of land in Gilcrux granted to her by her brother William, son of Liolf de Molle. The circumstances appear to be that Beatrice's brother William has died, and Adam, her uncle, is the executor of his will. It would therefore appear that Liolf, the father of Beatrice and William, was the brother of Adam. Adam's father Uhtred was the youngest son of Ketel, Baron of Kendal.<sup>18</sup> Several members of the family are in the list of witnesses. One is Gospatrick, son of Orm, elder brother of Uhtred (so Gospatrick was Adam's cousin), and two others are Gospatrick's sons, Thomas and Adam. This offers additional evidence for the *terminus ante quem* of the charter, since this Thomas died about 1202, and his father Gospatrick probably died before Thomas founded the abbey at Preston Patrick (later to move to Shap) about 1191.<sup>19</sup> Beatrice at some unspecified later date gave the same property in Gilcrux to the abbey (see **6(xii)**).

5. Last quarter of 12th century: The Charter of Richard de Boisville (from the former Hesleyside Collection; *St Bees Register*, 551)

This charter is presumably to be dated some time after that of William de Essesby and Hectred (3), since two of the witnesses are the same (Robert, priest of Ponsonby, and Richard, vicar of Beckermet St Bridget's), and whilst a certain Ketel (not in this case the Baron of Kendal) was a witness to the charter of William of Esseby and Hectred, his son Adam was a witness to this charter of Richard de Boisville. The Boisville (Boyvill) family is well known as the lords of Millom, though Richard de Boisville seems to have been a minor member of the family. He appears as a witness to some of the charters in the *St Bees Register*, and on p. 440 he is described as the nephew of William de Boisville, presumably the same William who is also a witness to this charter. From the small size of the gift one might reasonably assume that Richard was not amongst the wealthier members of the family. Richard gave the abbey ten acres of land in "*Culdretun*". Perhaps the most obvious identification is the hamlet of Coulderton two miles south-west of Egremont, and the fact that there are witnesses to the charter from Egremont, Beckermet and Haile may well support this. But if this is so, then there is no further record of the abbey holding this property. It is just possible, though, that the charter refers to the village of Calder (called Cauder Towne in 1554). In this case the property may be included in later references to Calder, and it might be the property mentioned as a "searange" in **14**.<sup>20</sup>

6. 1231: The Charter of Henry III (J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland* (London, 1777, republished 1976), vol. ii, 524-5, text in Latin; *Monasticon*, V, 340; *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, vol. 1 (PRO-Kraus 1972), 131 (no text is given)

In 1231 the Charter of Henry III confirmed the lands then owned by the abbey, though, as we have seen, for some reason the Beckermet properties given by William and Hectred (see 3) are not included in Henry III's charter, and perhaps the ten acres in *Culdretun* given by Richard de Boisville (5) are also omitted (though they might have been subsumed in *Kaldra* under **(i)** below).

In dealing with the items in this charter it is worth noting that such lists usually have a certain internal logic, often geographically based, and that appears to be the case for (i) to (vii) here. The charter lists the following:

- (i) *From the gift of Radulf Meschin, the land of Kaldra with its appurtenances, on which the abbey was founded.* This is unfortunately very imprecise. Presumably it is what is contained in the confirmation of William FitzDuncan above (1; William also specified the mill). But “*the land of Kaldra*” remains undefined. It was probably in effect a manor, presumably including both the abbey precincts and “*the manor of Cauder*” of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (35 T(ii)). The *Calder Survey* and William Legh’s accounts of 1536 give a full analysis of the properties of the Calder “*demesne*” as it was then defined (see 36).
- (ii) *Bemertone and Holgate, with all their appurtenances.* These must be the *Bemertona* and *Holegata* of Cicely’s charter above (2) and the “*Dermertonam et Flolegate*” of William FitzDuncan’s confirmation in the bull of Eugenius III (1). From their position in the list we might expect these two properties to be close to the abbey. Bemerton cannot be identified, but Holgate is presumably Hallgate Fell, near Thorneholme Farm on the River Calder about two miles NNE of the abbey. This certainly accords with the description of Holgate in the Feet of the Fines record for 1243 (see 11).<sup>21</sup>
- (iii) *One dwelling-house in the town of Egremount.* This accords with Cecily’s confirmation in 2, which we saw had been changed from William FitzDuncan’s list, where in the equivalent position we find “*In Staddesbutles one house, free and quit*”.
- (iv) *Two saltworks of Withane.* These must be William FitzDuncan’s “*two saltworks in Whithofhed*” (1), i.e. Whitehaven.
- (v) *A fishery of Derwent.* Again as in William FitzDuncan’s list (1).
- (vi) *A fishery of Egre* (i.e. the Ehen), again as in William’s list (1). That given by William de Esseby and his wife Hectred (3) is not specifically mentioned.
- (vii) *Pasture for all their animals in the forest of the same Radulf, as much as they need; and everything necessary for their saltworks and fisheries and for the buildings of their homes, and for their pigs without pannage through all the land of the aforesaid Radulf, as in their own lands.* This looks as if it is copied from the original charter of foundation by Radulf, and so probably is the whole of this section referring to Radulf’s grants. In William FitzDuncan’s list (1) only the pannage for the pigs is specifically mentioned (pannage, incidentally, can mean both the actual pasturage, as it does in William FitzDuncan’s list, and also the payment for it, as in this list of Henry III). The geographical sequence, which has so far gone from the abbey in a north-westerly direction, is now abandoned in this more general statement.

This is as far as the list of William FitzDuncan’s confirmation in the charter of Eugenius III went. The remaining items in Henry III’s charter were given to the abbey after the original foundation. The arrangement is perhaps now very roughly chronological.

- (viii) *From the gift of John son of Adam and Matthew his brother, all the land of Stavenerge with its appurtenances.* Stavenerge is now Stepney, a farm less than a mile to the west of the abbey,<sup>22</sup> but the identity of John and Matthew is not specified.<sup>23</sup> As noted above (2), Cecily confirmed this grant as lord of the manor probably c.1155, and so a date of c.1150 for the original grant of Stavenerge seems reasonable.
- (ix) *From the gift of Robert Bonekill one carucate [120 acres] of land in Little Gillecruz, which Radulf the clerk of Karl[isle] held, with all its appurtenances; and 12 acres and one perch of land in Lesser Gillecruz; and one acre of meadow which is between Lesser Gillecruz and Greater Gillecruz; and pasture for 20 oxen and 12 cows and 6 horses with their following of one year [i.e. offspring in their first year].* The Latin text uses both *Parvo* (Little) and *Minori* (Lesser), but they are probably synonymous. Robert Bonekill (the name comes from Bunkle in Berwickshire) was apparently descended from Adam, son of Lyulph, baron of Greystoke (see (viii) above, and note 23) in the female line.<sup>24</sup> Robert Bonekill's sons Thomas and Walter afterwards gave the abbey the rest of their lands in Gilcrux.<sup>25</sup> Since this latter gift is not recorded in Henry III's charter, this implies that the gift of Robert Bonekill was probably made some time after 1200.
- (x) *From the gift of Roger, son of William, all the land that he has in Ikelinton and Brachampton [Ickleton and Brookhampton in Cambridgeshire], and the whole part that he has in the mill of Brachampton.* This Roger is probably Roger de Lucy, though he is otherwise unrecorded in Cumbria, and his relationship to the rest of the family is not clear. The De Lucy family became lords of Egremont probably around 1170, through Amabel, younger daughter of William FitzDuncan and his wife Alice. Amabel was married to Reginald de Lucy. It is known that a Roger de Lucy owned 15 "librates" of land in Ickleton in the hundred of Whittlesford in Cambridgeshire (a "librate" was a pound's worth, calculated from the annual rental income, and thus about 40 acres of arable land). Richard de Lucy, son and heir of Reginald and Amabel, still held a knight's fee there in 1212,<sup>26</sup> and this is perhaps the same 15 librates of land, with the addition of the mill at Brookhampton. This suggests that the land and the mill listed in Roger's gift were still in the possession of the De Lucy family in 1212 (see further under (xi) below), but how Roger acquired them is not clear. There is still a property at Ickleton called "Caldees", presumably from the previous ownership of the land by Calder Abbey.<sup>27</sup>
- (xi) *From the gift of Richard de Lucy, a moiety of the mill of Ikelinton, with all that appertains to the same moiety.* As noted under (x) above, Richard de Lucy still held a knight's fee in Ickleton in 1212. But he died in 1214, and it is likely that both gifts referring to Ickleton and Brookhampton date from around this time. Richard's widow Ada married Thomas de Multon in 1218, and hence the lordship of Egremont passed to the De Multon family.<sup>28</sup>
- (xii) *From the gift of Beatrice de Molle, five bovates [about 75 acres] with their appurtenances in Lesser Gillecruch, and a fourth part of the mill of Greater Gillecruch.* These five bovates of land have already been referred to in 4.



Beatrice had given the land to the abbey, adding the share in the mill at Gilcruix, at some time after the date of 4.

- (xiii) *From the gift of Thomas, son of Gospatric, one toft of six perches and one quarter [34.5 yds.] in length and four [22 yds.] in breadth in Workintone; and 20 salmon annually at the feast of St John the Baptist; and one net in Derewent, between the bridge and the sea.* Thomas, son of Gospatric, was lord of Workington, and as noted under 4 he died about 1202. Such a small gift was probably a form of burial fee, for Thomas to be allowed to be buried in the abbey cemetery.<sup>29</sup> The abbey already had a fishery on the Derwent (see (v) above).
- (xiv) *From the gift of Thomas de Moleton a moiety of the vill of Dereham in Alredale, with the advowson of the church of the same vill, and with all their other appurtenances.* As noted in xi, Thomas de Multon married Ada, widow of Richard de Lucy, in 1218, thus becoming lord of Egremont. He married off his son, Lambert, to Ada's daughter Amabel (named after her grandmother; see (x) above), thus securing the De Multon family in the lordship. It seems it was this Thomas de Multon who about 1220 built the fine early English church of the abbey whose ruins still survive.<sup>30</sup> It is likely therefore that this gift dates from the same time. In fact the advowson of Dearham never did pass to Calder Abbey. It was in the gift of Guisborough Priory, and remained so until the dissolution.<sup>31</sup> The size of the moiety of the vill of Dearham is not specified, but it was presumably substantial.

### From 1231 to 1535

Between 1231 and the compilation of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* in 1535, the abbey acquired several more properties – or at least several properties are now mentioned which were not recorded before. There are also several documents referring to properties already acquired before 1231, though in some cases it is difficult to determine whether the reference is precisely to those properties already acquired or to new properties in the same area, or indeed to additions to existing possessions. There was in fact a charter of confirmation of the abbey's properties by Edward III in 1363 (see 32), but it is of no help in specifying properties acquired between 1231 and 1363 since it is virtually a copy of the charter of Henry III of 1231 with no additions since that date.<sup>32</sup> The documents relating to the abbey from this period are a motley collection, but some clear patterns emerge, even if there are still areas of doubt.

7. After 1231, probably mid-13th century.<sup>33</sup> St Bees Register, Charter of Gunilda concerning land in Bootle (*St Bees Register*, 279-80, doc. 263)

This deed in the cartulary of St Bees states that *Gunilda, widow of William son of Roger [de Seton] gives to Henry son of Thomas, parson of Botil, land which lies between the land which her son Benedict gave to the aforesaid Henry and the acre which my husband gave to the abbey of Calder, with one meadow adjoining.* This is not mentioned in the Charter of Henry III, which implies that the land was given to the abbey after 1231, though an acre and a meadow in an unspecified location may have escaped notice.

8. After 1231, probably mid-13th century:<sup>34</sup> St Bees Cartulary, Charter of Jordan son of Ketell (*St Bees Register*, 458-9, doc. 462)

*The deed of Jordan son of Ketell concerning lands with boundaries in Dreg . . .* This is not a gift to the abbey, but there is a reference to land next to the land of the Abbot of Calder. Unfortunately the abbey's land is not specified, except that it must have been in Drigg. Again, either this land was given to the abbey in the few years after the Charter of Henry III in 1231, or for some reason it was omitted from that charter.

9. 1242: Grant of Sir John le Fleming (A. G. Loftie, 60-2)

Loftie, quoting Denton, states that in 1242 Sir John le Fleming of Beckermet gave the abbey the advowson of the church of St Michael, Arlecdon (see also **13** below) and lands in Greater Beckermet (i.e. Beckermet St Bridget's), though the extent of these is not specified.<sup>35</sup> Sella Park is a possibility (see **17** and **35 T(v)**). Unfortunately there is no extant charter to confirm this grant.

10. c.1242? Grant by Sir John Fleming and his wife Amabel (from the former Hesleyside Collection; *St Bees Register*, 558)

This is presumably about the same date as **9**. John le Fleming and Amabel gave the abbey *all that land next to their land in Milnum . . . within the ditch [fossatum] next to Sewal [?]. (If this cannot be guaranteed . . .) he will give in exchange in Greater Beckymeth [land] to the value of that land.* What land the abbey already possessed in Millom is not recorded before 1242, nor is it clear how much land was now being granted.

It is possible that either Sir John or his son Richard gave the abbey the advowson and rectory of St John the Baptist's Beckermet, or at least confirmed this (see also **3**, **13** and **31**).

On the strength of their grants to the abbey both Sir John Fleming and his son Richard were buried in the abbey church.<sup>36</sup>

11. 1243: Feet of Fines for Cumberland, Land in Hologate (27 Henry III, no. 34)

The heading of the record is "*Jollan Abbot of Caldre and Alexander de Punzanby: land in Hologate*".<sup>37</sup> The land concerned was 40 acres in Hologate, together with pasture for around a thousand livestock which was presumably in the hills around Hologate. The text defines the land, and though the precise boundaries remain a little vague it is clear enough that it was on the east side of the River Calder, around Stone Pike, about two miles east-north-east of the abbey, though it extended close to the abbey *where Hologatebeck falls into the Calder*.<sup>38</sup> From the area covered by this definition it is clear that both the 40 acres and the additional pasture must be included together. The "final agreement" was that Alexander of Ponsonby confirmed the abbot's claim, since his father Richard de Ponsonby had granted this land to the abbey, though there is no earlier record extant of this grant. It would seem from this that the land in question was not that of **6(ii)**, but must have been adjacent to it and to the south-east.<sup>39</sup>

12. 1246: Feet of Fines for Cumberland, Hologate and Ponsonby (31 Henry III, no. 54b)

But it seems that Conishead Priory also had an interest in Hologate and Ponsonby (perhaps also granted to them by Richard de Ponsonby, though this is not made clear). In 1246 Prior John of Conishead gave up his claim to “the whole vill of Hologate” and to an alder grove in Ponsonby “opposite the said abbey towards the south” in exchange for 20 acres owned by Calder Abbey in Ponsonby parish along the east bank of the Calder. When or how the abbey acquired these 20 acres is again not specified, but it may also have been given by Richard de Ponsonby. See also 34.

13. 1262: Correspondence with the Archbishop of York (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, V.341)

In 1262 the abbey asked the archbishop of York to give them full rights over the churches of St John the Baptist, Beckermeth, and St Michael, Arlecdon. They had been given the advowson of the latter in 1242 by Sir John le Fleming (9). From this correspondence it seems they already held the advowson and rectory of St John the Baptist, Beckermeth, and from the reply from the archbishop it is also clear that the abbey already held the patronage (and presumably the tithes) of St Bridget’s Beckermeth, though when they acquired these is not clear (see 3 and 10). The reply they received from the archbishop was that they should indeed possess fully the church of St John the Baptist’s Beckermeth, but that they must transfer their rights over Arlecdon to the Archdeacon of Richmond, so that he might have a place to stay in this remote part of his archdeaconry.<sup>40</sup>

14. c.1270: St Bees Register, A Sea-Grange in Newton (*St Bees Register*, 166, charter 126; for the date see charter 128 and *CW2*, ii, 316)

In this charter, in the register of St Bees, the piece of land with which the deed is concerned is to the east of the River Calder and is defined as “. . . between Grucokgilbek on the west side and the main road which runs from Newton towards the sea-grange (*grangiam maris*) of Calder on the east side”. “Grucokgilbek”<sup>41</sup> might be the modern Newmill Beck to the north of Seascale, and the “main road” might be the present minor road leading from Gosforth to Fleming Hall and Seascale Hall. This would mean that the “sea-grange” was on the coast to the north of Seascale (whatever the geographical identifications this seems the most likely area for a coastal property of the abbey). The term *grangia maris* is in fact rather strange. Presumably the writer meant simply a grange (a barn or a small farm) on the coast. This property might just possibly have been part of the manor of Calder (the modern hamlet of Calder is only a mile from this stretch of coast), or it might be the *Culdretum* recorded under 5 (though see the discussion there; and *Culdretum* is not recorded in 6). It is also possible that the property was nothing to do with Calder Abbey, since the abbey is not specifically mentioned. However, the term “grange” was as often as not used of abbey properties, and “Calder” in the register of a neighbouring abbey is likely to have referred to Calder Abbey.

15. 1272: Charter of Alice de Lucy (*St Bees Register*, 542, Illustrative Document XXIV, from Cockermouth Castle)

On 19 March 1272 Alice de Lucy, widow of Alan de Multon, granted to the abbey lands in Greater and Little Gilcrux, together with the church and advowson of the church. Cornage was to be paid to the king. (Cornage, incidentally, refers to a tax on horned cattle, not corn.) The lands are not specified, but this is probably simply a confirmation of the lands recorded in **4** and **6(ix)** and **6(xii)**, since Alice was lady of the manor of Egremont on her husband's death. Alice de Lucy's first husband was Lambert de Multon, whose first wife was Alice's sister Amabel (see **6(ix)** and **6(xiii)**). Alice then married Alan de Multon, who was Lambert's younger brother. The church and advowson of Gilcrux, however, are additions to the original grant (see **36(xiii)**).

16. 1278: Assize Roll, Cumberland: Rougholme (*Ass. Roll, Cumb.*, 6 Edw. I, m.2, No. 133; in *CW2*, xxv, 130)

In 1278 the monks of Calder defended “*a charge of trespass and waste in a wood called Rouholm [now Rougholme, on the south side of the River Esk, opposite Muncaster Castle], out of which they successfully pleaded Richard, son of Benedict, had granted them licence to take sufficient timber for their fishery of Eske*”. The abbey still possessed this fishery at the time of the dissolution (see below under **35 T(ii)** and **36(i)**).

17. 1278: Eyre: A Grange called “Sele” (PRO, JUST1/132)

The record of an eyre (a court of itinerant justices) of 1278 records that Calder Abbey possessed a grange at “Sele”.<sup>42</sup> It seems likely that this is Sella Park, on the west side of the River Calder between Yottenfews and Calder Bridge, which perhaps was a part of the manor of Calder (as in **1**), or it may have been given to the abbey by Sir John Fleming (see **9**).

18. 1279: Assize Roll, Northumberland: Cockermouth (*VCH Cumb.*, vol. ii, 176, referring to *Three Early Assize Rolls of Northumberland*, Surtees Society, 297)

In 1279 Adam, son of Gilbert de Comwyntyn (Cumwhinton) brought a case against the abbot of Calder (who is unnamed) in respect of a messuage in Cockermouth, which Adam argued was the property of his wife Emma. There is no other record of this messuage, but it is probably safe to assume that it was, like that given by Thomas, son of Gospatric (**6(xiii)**), a burial fee. The outcome of the case is not recorded, but the fact that the messuage is not mentioned later in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* implies that the abbey lost the case.

19. 1282: Agreement between the Lords of Egremont and Calder Abbey (*St Bees Register*, 551-2, Illustrative Document XXXIVb, from Cockermouth Castle)

This was an agreement between the Lords of Egremont and Calder Abbey giving the monks the right to take reasonable amounts of wood, etc. for their essential needs from within the Forest of Copeland, the area being defined as “*from Oxlesgate [?] eastwards to the water of Eske, and from Auesthaitbrig northwards to the rightful*

*boundaries between the said Forest of Coupland and Derwent Felles*". This is presumably a reference in more specific terms to the rights of the abbey in one section (the area to the east of the abbey) of the forests of the lords of Egremont given by Ranulf le Meschin, as in **6(vii)**.

20. 1286: Deed of Warinus, Abbot of Calder (A. G. Loftie, 66)

In 1286 Warinus, abbot of Calder, executed a deed regarding some land belonging to the abbey "*in the vill of Dregge*".<sup>43</sup> This is presumably that referred to in **8** above and later in **26**.

21. 1287: Charter of John de Hudleston (from the former Hesleyside Collection; *St Bees Register*, 564-5)

In April 1287 John de Hudleston gave the abbey pasture for six cows, four horses and forty sheep with their following (i.e. their offspring) on Millom Common. The charter also grants to the abbey two acres of land at their existing saltpans at *Sandslof* (presumably on Duddon Sands), which the charter says had been granted by Hudleston's ancestors. John de Hudleston was Lord of Anneys in Millom,<sup>44</sup> which he acquired through his marriage to Joan de Millom (of the Boisville family). In 1291 his son gave the abbey additional properties in Bootle and Millom (see **23** below).

22. 1291: Charter of John de Hudleston the Younger: a Villein (from the former Hesleyside Collection; *St Bees Register*, 565)

This charter is quite different from the others, since it concerns the grant to the abbey by John, the son of John de Hudleston of **21**, of a certain villein (*nativus*), William son of Richard de Loftscals (now Lowscals?<sup>45</sup>), on payment by William of 2d. a year (a day's wage for a labourer<sup>46</sup>) to the abbey. As both John Hodgson and Jefferson pointed out, this was in effect a deed of manumission, in which the abbey freed William from his master for a small annual payment.<sup>47</sup>

23. 1291: Charter of John de Hudleston the Younger (*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* (London 1912), 20 Edw. I, no. 172)

In 1291 this same John gave the abbey 8½ acres of land and one acre of meadow in Bootle, and a place in Millom called "*Barkerhals*" (this might be Borwick Rails, on the south-east side of Millom). But see also **25** and **27** below.

24. 1291: Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV (*Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV, circa 1291* (Record Commission 1802), 329.

Also in 1291 the abbey was assessed on its "temporalities" (i.e. possessions other than churches) as possessing an annual income of £32.<sup>48</sup> This was the survey carried out under the title of "The Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV" on all church properties with a view to imposing a tax of one tenth of the annual income for six years to support the expedition of Edward I to the Holy Land. See also **30** below.

25. 1292: Inquiry Quo Warranto (*VCH Cumb.* vol. ii, 176: *Placitum de Quo Warranto*<sup>49</sup> (Record Commission), 116-7)

In 1292 the Crown questioned the abbey's ownership of some of the lands it then claimed to hold. Mention was made in this inquiry of the following:

- 3 carucates (about 360 acres) of land in Gilcrux; this seems to accord well with the known grants of Robert Bonekill (around 150 acres, plus unspecified gifts by his sons Thomas and Walter – see **6(ix)**) and Beatrice de Molle (about 75 acres – see **4** and **6(xii)**);
- 1 carucate (about 120 acres) in *Dereham*; this seems to be the “*moiety of the vill of Dereham*” given by Thomas de Multon (**6(xiv)**), or at least a substantial part of it (see **35 T(x)**);
- 1 oxgang (about 15 acres) in Millom; this is probably the land given by John, son of John de Hudleston, in 1291 (see **23**);
- 10 acres in Irton; the grant of this holding to the abbey is not recorded, but its later transfer from the abbey's ownership is recorded. The Public Record Office (PRO) has a document (C1/832/17) of unknown date which refers to the claim of a certain “*Christopher Jackeson of London, clothworker, son of William Jackeson: . . . a grange and land in Urton* (sic; the older spelling is usually ‘Yrton’), *demised to the said William by his brother John Urton, abbot of Calder, 46 years ago*”. From their different surnames William and Abbot John were presumably half-brothers. The abbot is likely to have been the John (no surname given) recorded in 1462.<sup>50</sup> If that is correct, then the date of the document must be around 1508. One might question what Abbot John was doing demising the abbey's property to his brother, who presumably like Abbot John came from Irton and doubtless welcomed ten acres in his home area.
- 2 oxgangs (about 30 acres) in Bootle; this is rather more than the 9<sup>1/2</sup> acres given by John, son of John de Hudleston, in 1291 (**23**). The acre and meadow given by William, husband of Gunilda (7) was also in Bootle, but 20 acres would be a big meadow!

In the records of the inquiry it is stated that the abbey had held these lands since before the reign of Richard I (1189-99), which implies (see note 49) that the abbey had no deeds for these properties (though the Charter of Henry III includes the Gilcrux and Dearham properties; had the abbey lost it already?). On the evidence that we have only the grant of the land in Gilcrux given by Beatrice de Molle (**4** and **6(xii)**) may have dated from before 1189.

26. 1300: Inquiry Post Mortem of John Wake (*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* (HMSO 1912), 28 Edw. I, 597)

This inquiry states “. . . *Dregge in Coupland. The manor held by the abbot of Caudre, Patrick de Culwen, and Lady Margaret de Multon, of Sir John de Greystoke, son of Robert de Haverington, and they hold the same of Sir John Wake by service of a knight's fee*”. The acreage held by the abbey is unfortunately not stated; one might guess it was a third of the vill. This is presumably the property referred to in **8** and **20**, and it occurs later in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (see below, **35 T(ix)**).

27. 1300: Alienation in Mortmain (*Calendar of Patent Rolls* (HMSO 1895), 28 Edw. I, vol. III (HMSO 1895), 519, m.13)

Also in 1300 the abbey had to pay a fine for the “alienation in mortmain” to the abbey by John de Hudleston (the younger) of the lands in Bootle and Millom that he had given the abbey in 1291 (see 23). The Statute of Mortmain had been passed by Edward I in 1279. It added to the already existing penalties for transferring land without the permission of the lord or the Crown to ecclesiastical bodies. The point was that land so transferred was then exempt from escheats (reversion to the lord on the death of the tenant without an heir) and reliefs (payment by an incoming tenant) due to the lord or the Crown because an abbey or church was in effect a perpetual tenant. Such transfers of property could still (and did) take place, but the receiving body had to apply for a licence (a patent) from the king, for which payment had to be made.

28. 1303: Inquiry Post Mortem of Thomas de Derwentwater (*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* (HMSO 1913), 31 Edw. I, 141)

In this inquiry Calder Abbey is recorded as having “*Half a carucate [about 60 acres] of land, held by the abbot of Calder, rendering 12d and half a pound of pepper*”. Unfortunately the exact location is unspecified, but it occurs in a list after “*Gilcrouce*”, and “*Ullaik*” (Ullock, south of Cockermouth), and before “*Talenter*” (Tallentire). Presumably therefore it was in the Cockermouth area. This is probably the land given by Beatrice de Molle (4, 6(xii) and 25), over which Thomas de Derwentwater held feudal rights. The amount (about 60 acres) seems close enough to that given by Beatrice (about 75 acres). The rent given in the text is the small fee paid by the abbey to Thomas de Derwentwater as feudal lord. Such fees are often in the form of pepper.

29. 1305: Inquiry Post Mortem of Thomas de Lucy (*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* (HMSO 1913), 33 Edw. I, 322)

The inquiry records “. . . 10 marks of land in *Gilcrouce* held freely by the abbot of Calder by 6s. 8d. *cornage*”.<sup>51</sup> This probably refers to the land in Gilcrux given by the Bonekills (6(ix)), over which the De Lucy family may have held feudal rights. “10 marks [*£6. 13s. 4d.*] of land” is probably 250 acres or more, and this fits fairly well with that given by the Bonekills.

30. 1314: Re-assessment of Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV (As for 24)

The abbey (see 24) was re-assessed at £5. The fall from £32 was doubtless the result of the wars with Scotland at this period, or perhaps more directly the result of the invasion of Robert Bruce in 1311, together with a series of bad harvests from 1310 to 1317.<sup>52</sup> There was probably little loss of properties by the abbey; rather a problem of getting rent from impoverished tenants.

31. 1327: St Bees Register, Agreement between St Bees and Calder about Tithes of Beckermert (*St Bees Register*, 130-34, doc. 97)

This agreement was the result of a dispute between St Bees and Calder abbeys about the use of the parkland in Egremont parish (the property of St Bees) for crops and pasture by the residents of Beckermets St John's (whose tithes went to Calder). The outcome was that St Bees should have the tithes from produce from the Egremont parkland, but they made a one-off payment to Calder of 20 marks (a considerable sum; see **35 S(ii)** for the tithe from St John's in 1535. **3**, **10** and **13** also refer).

32. 1363: Charter of Edward III (see note 32)

As mentioned in the introduction to this section, in 1363 Edward III gave the abbey a charter of confirmation of Henry III's charter of 1231.

33. 1392: Alienation in Mortmain: Licence granted by Richard II (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Richard II, vol. V (Kraus reprint 1971), 185)

In 1392 the abbey obtained a licence from king Richard II *for the alienation in mortmain of 6 messuages, 142 acres of land, 6 acres of meadow, 2s of rent and the rent of a pound of pepper* [probably the feudal fee to the lord], *and a moiety of 160 acres of pasture in Gilcrous, Seton, Bolton, Gosford and Hale, not held in chief . . . for finding a taper (cereum) to burn daily before the high altar at mass in the abbey church.* The fine for the licence was 100s., which appears to be about a year's rent on the properties. The court which granted this patent was held at Oxford, and the fine was paid on behalf of the abbey by William de Bretby, Robert de Lowther, vicar of Wigton, and John de Haveringham. It is interesting to note that the abbot of Calder at the time was Nicholas de Bretby, and it seems likely that William de Bretby was his brother, who had led the little delegation to Oxford on behalf of the abbey. From the mention of a taper to be burned at mass it is clear that this grant to the abbey (which must be all one gift) was made, presumably not too long before 1392, on the death of the benefactor, whose name unfortunately is not given.<sup>53</sup> The Bolton mentioned, incidentally, is the Bolton to the south of Wigton and not Bolton in Lancashire. These holdings present something of a problem. See the discussion at **35 T(iv)** and **(xi)** and at the end of **35 Temporal**. See also **36(vii)**.

34. 1441: St Bees Register: Charter of Nicholas de Staynlow (*St Bees Register*, 333-4, doc. 329)

A deed in the St Bees Register dated 2 October 1441 records the confirmation by Nicholas de Staynlow of lands *in Ponsunby* given to the abbeys of St Bees, Calder and Conishead. The date of the original grant is not specified, nor is the extent of the land in question. Whether this land has any connection with that mentioned in **12** is not clear.

Out of all this the additions to the abbey's holdings after 1231 appear to be the following:

- One acre and a meadow in Bootle (**7**, **25**)
- Unspecified land in Drigg (**8**, **20**, **26**)
- The advowson of Arlecdon (lost in 1362) and lands in Greater Beckermets (**9** and **13**)



- The churches of Beckermeth St John and St Bridget (10, 13)
- Additional lands in Millom (10)
- The church and advowson of Gilcrux (15)
- A fishery on the Esk and timber from Rougholme (16)
- A messuage at Cockermouth, which was probably then lost (18)
- Salt pans in Millom, pasture on Millom common and two acres of land (21)
- 9½ acres in Bootle, and “*Barkerhals*” in Millom (23, 25, 27)
- 10 acres in Irton (25), demised perhaps c.1462
- About 20 more acres in Bootle (25)
- Unspecified lands, though perhaps substantial, in Seton, Bolton, Gosforth and Haile (33)
- Lands in Ponsonby (20 acres in 12 – though they were given in exchange to Conishead Priory – and unspecified lands in 34)

### **The *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 1535**

Henry VIII’s valuation of all ecclesiastical properties in 1535 came to be the basis for the process of dissolution of the religious houses in the next four years. The record in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of the “temporal” holdings of Calder is brief, partly because the abbey was amongst the poorest in the land and partly because the individual entries lack any detail. This was to some extent the result of the standard format of entries in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, but it would also reflect the way in which the accounts of the abbey were kept, since the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* must in every case have been compiled from account books and not from cartularies. The “temporal” entries are therefore summaries of income under geographical headings, and inevitably they present problems of identification, at Calder as elsewhere.

As is usual in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, the entries tend to be in geographical clusters, presumably reflecting the way in which they were recorded in the account books of the religious foundation concerned. In this case they start from the abbey itself and then go north-westwards to Egremont. Then the properties to the south are listed, then those to the north at Dearham and Gilcrux, and finally there are the abbey’s holdings in Cambridgeshire.

Each item in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* will be taken separately. The translation of each entry will be followed by a brief commentary on the identification of the properties listed with references to earlier documents.

35. 1535: *Valor Ecclesiasticus* for Calder Abbey (*Valor Ecclesiasticus* (London 1825), v. 264; also in S. Jefferson, *History and Antiquities of Allerdale Ward* (Carlisle 1842), 318-20)

“Temporal” holdings:

- (i) *From the site of the aforesaid abbey with gardens, small orchards, close and mill within the precincts of the same abbey, per annum* 60s.

The valuation is perhaps largely nominal, since the actual precincts of the abbey are not likely to have been let out. All this is presumably included within 6(i).

- (ii) *From the manor of Cauder* £13

Again, there is no attempt to define the property, but it was presumably essentially the land granted by Ranulf le Meschin (**6(i)**), probably with the addition of Holgate (**1, 2, 6(ii), 11**; see discussion later). The income quoted would suggest that the property was at least 500 acres, and more if it included fell pasture, which it seems to have done, but the income given in the *Calder Survey* and William Legh's accounts (see **36(i)** and **(ii)**), indicate that that the property was in fact over twice this size. From the details given in the *Calder Survey* of 1536 and in the accounts of William Legh the Calder demesne consisted mainly of the Calder valley from Thornholme, about two miles north-east of the abbey, downstream past the abbey and onto the coastal plain. The demesne may have included Sella Park, a mile or so the south-west of the abbey (see **9** and **17**) and in the parish of St Bridget's Beckermert, though it is not included under that name in the *Calder Survey* or in William Legh's accounts. The abbey certainly held this as a deer park in 1536, and after the dissolution it was sold to Sir Henry Curwen of Workington.<sup>54</sup> For some reason a fishery some six miles to the south near Ravenglass called Monk Garth was also included in the demesne (presumably the *fishery of Eske* in **16**; mentioned also in **36(i)**). It is likely that all this, with some minor adjustments, was the property that was sold to Thomas Legh (or Leigh) after the dissolution of the abbey (but it did not include Sella Park, see above).<sup>55</sup> The itemised list in the grant to Thomas Legh is in fact surprisingly repetitive and vague, but from what can be identified it does seem that the property was essentially the Calder demesne as specified in the *Calder Survey* and William Legh's accounts.

(iii) *From the vill of Ponsaby*

13s. 4d

This must be the land referred to in **34** above (and possibly in **12**). From the value of the property it seems it was not large, perhaps 25 acres or so.

(iv) *Brashaw*

18s.

This must be the modern Brayshaw, the farm some two miles north of the abbey. It is in the parish of Haile, and is probably the property referred to in **33**.

(v) *Bekarment*

25s. 8d

Grants of land to the abbey in Beckermert are recorded in **3** (see discussion there) and also in **9**. The property recorded here must be that in **36(v)**, and may include that referred to in **9**, which appears to be in St Bridget's, whilst **36(v)** refers also to St John's.

(vi) *Pycheyng*

10s.

This is otherwise unrecorded, and indeed so far its location has been untraceable. It seems to have been a smallholding, perhaps from its position in the list somewhere in the Beckermert/Egremont area. Perhaps part of the grant of John le Fleming in 1242 (**9**); but see also **36(vi)**.

(vii) *Egremund*

3s. 6d.

This must be the "*dwelling-house in the town of Egremount*" of **2** and **6(iii)**. At an annual rent of 3s. 6d. it must have been a rather poor property. Of course it could well have been nearly 400 years old by now!

(viii) *Buttyll and Mellom*

£4

Properties in Bootle and Millom are recorded in **7,10, 21, 23, 25** and **27**, and there

are apparently some of which we have no precise record (see **21, 25**). These in total could well account for the rent of £4.

(ix) *From the vill of Drege* 73s. 4d.

The abbey apparently held around one third of the vill of Drigg (see **8, 20, 26**). 73s. 4d. rental implies a holding of around 150 acres, which sounds a reasonable figure for approximately a third of a small vill.

(x) *From the vill of Deram* £8 4s. 6d.

The abbey held a moiety of the vill of Dearham (**6(xiv)**). **25** mentions one carucate (about 120 acres) in Dearham, though this looks small for half a vill and may not refer to the abbey's total holding. The rental of £8.4s.6d. indicates a holding of at least two carucates, at an average of 6d. to 9d. an acre for good arable land.

(xi) *From the vill of Gylcrouse* £8 6s. 8d.

The abbey's holdings in Gilcrux are the best attested of all. In brief these are:

- From Robert Bonekill (**6(ix)**) Total: c.133 acres + pasture
- From Beatrice de Molle (**6(xii)**) Total: c.75 acres + 1/4 of mill
- 3 carucates (about 360 acres) of land in Gilcrux (**25**)  
(presumably includes all above)
- “*Half a carucate [about 60 acres] of land, held by the abbot of Calder*” (**28**, probably near Gilcrux) (may be included in above)
- “*10 marks of land in Gilcrouse held freely by the abbot of Calder*” (**29**)  
(presumably included in above)
- “*6 messuages, 142 acres of land, 6 acres of meadow, 2s of rent and the rent of a pound of pepper, and a moiety of 160 acres of pasture in Gilcrux, Seton, Bolton, Gosford and Hale*” (**33**) (apparently additional to above, but the Gilcrux portion is unspecified)

From this it would appear that the abbey's holdings in and around Gilcrux as recorded before the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* were about 360 acres + 1/4 of a mill + unspecified messuages, lands, meadow and pasture (say 45 acres, if the unspecified holdings were roughly equally divided between Gilcrux, Seton, Bolton, Gosford and Haile). This is not far from what would be expected for a rental of £8 6s. 8d., even though it is somewhat on the low side.

(xii) *Yklyngton* £5

This must be the properties recorded in **6(x)** and **6(xi)**, which consist of land at Ickleton and Brookhampton in Cambridgeshire, a moiety of the mill at Ickleton and a part of the mill at Brookhampton. The acreage of the properties is not specified, but if the land rental within this figure of £5 was, say, £4, then the land must have been around 150 acres.

Total from “temporal” holdings: £48 15s.

Though one cannot be sure that the above identifications are entirely correct, they do at least offer a possible pattern in which the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* is equated with earlier documentary evidence, more or less, both geographically and financially. However, there are properties and rights of which we have record from sources earlier than the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, but which do not occur, at least not by name, in

the latter. Some are probably not in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* because they were of little or no monetary value. In this category we might place the following:

- a fishery of Derwent (6(v))
- a fishery of Egge (6(vi); perhaps also that in 3)
- rights in the forests of the Lord of Egremont (1, 2, 6(vii) and 19)

Some were probably of limited monetary value, but one might nevertheless have expected them to appear in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* – if the “dwelling-house in the town of Egremount” appeared, so perhaps should the following, if the abbey still owned them:

- a toft in Workington (6(xiii)), perhaps lost in one of the many conflicts in the region, or through natural causes such as fire or simple decay
- a messuage in Cockermouth (18), though this was probably lost in the court case of 1279, or for the reasons suggested above
- two saltworks in Withane [Whitehaven] (1, 2, 6(iv))

. . . and one might add the 10 acres in *Culdretun* (5), which might be the same as the *sea-grange* near Newton of 14, though as mentioned earlier these may have been regarded now as part of the manor of Calder.

However, the following were apparently more substantial, and require some explanation:

- Holgate (1, 2, 6(ii), 11) is presumably now included in the manor of Calder (ii), since “Halgate” is listed under Thorneholme Grange as part of the Calder demesne in the *Calder Survey* (see under “The dissolution of the abbey” below), and “Hallgate Fell” is part of the grant to Thomas Legh after the dissolution (see note 55).
- Stepney (2, 6(viii)). This is close to the abbey, but is not mentioned as part of the Calder demesne in the *Calder Survey* or in William Legh’s accounts (see 36) or in the grant to Thomas Legh. A. G. Loftie pointed out<sup>56</sup> that this property was in later times not tithe-free, as the other monastic properties had been, and this may imply that the abbey had in fact sold it before 1535.
- 6 messuages, 142 acres of land, 6 acres of meadow, 2s of rent and the rent of a pound of pepper, and a moiety of 160 acres of pasture in [Gilcrux] Seton, Bolton, Gosford and Hale (33)

We have seen above that if one takes out of this list a fifth of the properties and allocates them to Gilcrux, then the Gilcrux figure in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* appears reasonable, if a bit on the low side. “Hale” is probably *Brashaw* (iv) above), say 40 acres. Gosforth is later recorded in 36(vii) with a rental of 17s. 6d., perhaps another 40 acres. This leaves around 100 acres for Seaton and the Boltons. Thus approximately 140 acres (rental value about £7-£10) and a few messuages from 33 are not recorded in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. Of course, it is possible that most of these holdings were in Gilcrux, but if so that simply transfers the problem to Gilcrux by increasing the recorded holdings there, whereas the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* figure already looks a little low for the Gilcrux holdings assumed above.

Some implications of these omissions will be considered later.

## “Spiritual” holdings:

- (i) *Tithe of the chapel of St Bridgide [Beckermet]:*  
*In oats, barley and rye 40s.; wool 26s. 8d.; lambs 14s.; geese and hens 10s.; offerings on the three chief days 6s.; small and private tithes as in the Easter Book 40s.*  
*Total: £6 16s. 8d.*
- (ii) *Tithe of the church of St John [Beckermet]*  
 [Itemised list similar to above] *Total: £4 7s. 8d.*
- (iii) *Tithe of the church of Cleator [Cleator]*  
 [Itemised list similar to above] *Total: £4 4s. 5d.*
- Total from “spiritual” holdings: *£15 8s. 9d.*

Of these three churches listed in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* as held by the abbey, Beckermet St John’s and St Bridget’s are previously recorded (see 13), but Cleator is not in earlier documents. Gilcrux, acquired in 1272 (see 15), is not listed here (see also 36(xiii)).

*Total of all temporal and spiritual holdings of the aforesaid abbey: £64 3s. 9d.*

However, the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* also lists the “Deductions” from the abbey’s annual income. In brief, these are:

- *Rent to the king’s bailiff of Gilcrowsse and Deram, and a rent to the Abbot of Holme [Cultram]* *13s. 4d.*
- *Pension paid to the vicar of Gylcrowsse, and payments to the council and churchwardens of the church* *64s. 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d.*
- *Fees to various agents of the abbey (Thomas Lamplew, Thomas Dachaund, William Ponsonby [possibly brother of the last abbot], John Dawson bailiff of Deram, John Adason bailiff of Gilcrux)* *£7 6s. 8d.*
- *Alms [it is interesting to note that though the abbey was in a parlous financial state it was still allocating around one tenth of its income to alms]*  
*£6 10s*  


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*£17 14s. 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d.*

It would appear that in 1535 the abbey no longer possessed what seem to have been substantial holdings at Stephney (acquired *c.*1150), in Seaton, and in the Boltons. It was noted above that Stephney had probably been sold, and this also seems to be the most likely explanation for the omission from the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Seaton and the Boltons. Abbeys did not often sell off their lands, and in most recorded cases this was only done as part of an exchange. However, we know that Abbot John certainly sold land in Irton to his brother (25), and the case for the sale of Stephney, Seaton and the Boltons appears to be strong. These cases may be an indication that the poverty-stricken abbey at Calder may have been something of an exception in its willingness to make a little capital out of some of its properties.

A final note about the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. The thoroughness of the agents who compiled the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* has often been praised; they were in most cases local

people who knew the churches and abbeys they were visiting, and they are not likely to have accidentally omitted substantial holdings.<sup>57</sup> Although there is no evidence that the omission of Stephney, Seaton and the Boltons is the result of their oversight (there is at least no record of anyone acquiring these properties as a direct result of the dissolution), it will be seen under 36 that the reputed thoroughness of the agents who compiled the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* might indeed be questioned. The point will be pursued later.

### **The dissolution of the Abbey**

The abbey was dissolved in 1536. The sequence of events was, firstly, that the act dissolving the smaller monasteries (those with an income below £200) received the royal assent in late March or early April. In fact the act is normally dated to 4 February, that being the first day of the parliamentary session in which the act was passed by parliament. Officers from the Court of Augmentations, set up in March 1536 to deal with the properties confiscated under the Dissolution, then visited Calder on 23 June. One of the purposes of this visit, as for all the smaller houses, was to consider any grounds for exemption. In the case of Calder there were none. But the officers also prepared detailed financial surveys of the properties they visited, and these survive in full. In the *Calder Survey* the officers actually re-assessed the abbey's net income at £93 1s. 8<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d., just over twice the (corrected) figure of £46 9s. 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. recorded in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.<sup>58</sup> It would appear that the figures quoted were real income and not simply a valuation, so it seems the abbey had either greatly increased its rents since the previous year, or (more probably) was now giving more accurate figures. But of course this was still not enough to bring the abbey out of reach of the act. The final visit of the Augmentations officers was on 2 September, and this visit was apparently to confirm the dissolution of the abbey.<sup>59</sup> This process has led to some problems in defining the actual date of the dissolution. For legal purposes the date of 4 February was used, as in the accounts of William Legh (PRO SC6 7454; see below), as the date on which the abbey's possessions were in principle transferred to the crown, but in the same accounts the "*date of dissolution of the said abbey*" is taken as 23 June. Probably the actual departure of the monks did not take place until after the September visitation. The Abbot Richard Ponsonby's pension of £12 a year dated from the Feast of the Annunciation on 25 March that year,<sup>60</sup> probably the result of back-dating to the nearest major feast to the royal assent for the act.

The annual income of the abbey, whichever assessment was used, was way below the £200 minimum, and according to the *Compendium Compertorium*,<sup>61</sup> the notorious "Black Book" listing the visitations to the monasteries in 1535-6, the abbey had debts of £20, not a satisfactory financial situation. The *Compendium Compertorium* also recorded that five of the monks of Calder were "sodomites" (including Matthew Ponsonby, perhaps a brother of the abbot), two had had affairs with women (one of them is also in the previous list!), and two (both already listed in the previous categories) wanted to leave the religious life. The exact number of monks at the dissolution is not known but it seems likely that only the abbot himself and a few monks escaped criticism in the Black Book. Even though the accuracy of the

statements in the Black Book has often been questioned, it might be argued that the abbey in 1535 does not seem to have been in good order.

An interesting tailpiece to the story is that the monks of Calder seem to have been amongst those that were restored to their abbeys as a result of the “Pilgrimage of Grace” in the autumn of 1536. However, when the rebellion collapsed early in 1537 the monks must have been finally removed from Calder – and Richard Ponsonby would have lost his pension.<sup>62</sup>

On 26 July 1538 Thomas Legh, one of the two “visitors” of the religious houses in the north in 1535-6, who may have been personally responsible for the Black Book report on Calder, was granted (or rather purchased for £243 5s.) the abbey, its precinct and the adjoining lands by letters patent from Henry VIII. In fact, a certain William Legh (Thomas’s brother? Perhaps the father of the Thomas Legh, nephew of Thomas, who inherited Calder on his death<sup>63</sup>) had been appointed as the *firmarius* to supervise the abbey’s estates, apparently from 23 June 1536. Accounts from the period of William Legh’s supervision of the property still survive.<sup>64</sup> The list of properties and the annual value of each are almost identical to the list in the *Calder Survey* of 23 June (the properties are the same, though there are variations in the details, and there are a few increases in the annual income in William Legh’s accounts). There are, however, significant differences from the list in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. The following summary of the assets of the abbey is taken from William Legh’s accounts, with additional references to the *Calder Survey* of 23 June 1536 when it provides further relevant information.

### 36. Calder: The Accounts of William Legh (PRO SC HVIII 7454)

(i) *The Demesne* (apparently the abbey precinct and the manor of Calder).

Seventeen properties are listed, twelve of them “closes” or similar, totalling 215 acres (the acreages are given in the *Calder Survey*<sup>65</sup>), and valued at £5 12s., and four granges valued jointly at £7 18s. 4d. A derelict mill near the abbey and a fishery near Ravenglass (probably the one in 16; it was included in Thomas Legh’s purchase in 1538) are also mentioned, but bring in no income. The *Survey* also adds woodland along the River Calder, also bringing in no income. The total for these is therefore:

£13 10s. 4d.

All this seems to equate quite well with 35 T(i) and (ii). But then the William Legh accounts add:

(ii) *From the rent of 35 holdings and one cottage with lands, meadows and pastures, and grazing in the vill and fields of Calder.*

£19

*From the rent of one water mill for corn in the same place.*

£2 6s. 8d.

These are not in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, and one wonders how they came to be omitted. The amounts are considerable.

(iii) *Punsonby: Five holdings and two cottages*

16s.

This must be the same as 35 T(iii)

(iv) *Haile: Three holdings and four cottages*

£1 1s. 5d.

Probably the same as *Brashaw* in 35 T(iv) (see discussion there) and in 33.

- (v) *St Bege and St Johns* [presumably Beckermet]: *four holdings and one cottage*  
 £1 11s. 4d.

As in **35 T(v)** (see other references there)

- (vi) *Cleter, Egremounte, Fresington and Kelton (?)*: *five holdings and one cottage*  
 16s. 10d.

The cottage at Egremont is in **35 T(vii)**, but the other properties are otherwise unrecorded, unless one or more of them is the *Pycheyng* of **35 T(vi)**.

- (vii) *Gosseforth*: *two holdings and two cottages* 17s. 6d.

Not in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, but probably the property referred to in **33**.

- (viii) *Dregge*: *fourteen holdings* £4 8s. 5d.

As in **35 T(ix)**.

- (ix) *Eske and Duddon*: *ten holdings and eight cottages* £4 8s. 8d.

This rather odd wording apparently represents the Bootle and Millom of **35 T(viii)**. The recorded income seems about right (£4 in **35 T(viii)**).

- (x) *Gilcroux*: *twenty-four holdings* £14 15s. 10d.

As in **35 T(xi)**, but with a considerably increased rent.

- (xi) *Dereham*: *twenty-three holdings and two cottages* £9 3s. 6d.

As in **35 T(x)**

- (xii) *Ikelington in the County of Cambridge*: *two lands* £5

As in **35 T(xii)**.

- (xiii) Tithes:

<i>St Brigide</i> [Beckermet]	£11
<i>St John</i> [Beckermet]	£9
<i>St Leonard de Cleter</i>	£9
<i>Gilcroux</i>	£5 6s. 8d.

Not only are the tithes of the first three now almost twice as high as in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, but Gilcroux is now added to the list. It is inconceivable that the abbey had forgotten in 1535 that it received tithes from the church at Gilcroux, granted to the abbey in 1272 (see **15**). Perhaps in the accounts of the abbey the income from Gilcroux church was allocated straight to the “*bailiff of Gilcrouse*” and to the vicar’s pension and other payments to the church recorded in the “*Deductions*” in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, and was therefore not recorded separately (hardly good accounting practice even in 1535). The amounts seem about right, if one assumes that the Gilcroux tithe would have been lower in 1535 than recorded here. Moreover, in William Legh’s accounts under “*Pensions and Salaries*”, the pension of the vicar of Gilcroux is specifically stated to be “*exeunte de decimis*”.

From these accounts it is clear that the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* list of the estates of Calder was in fact not a very accurate record of the abbey’s total assets. Not only



were some rentals omitted, but the levels of virtually all rentals was considerably below the figures given in the *Calder Survey* and in William Legh's accounts.<sup>66</sup> One reason for this, as in the case of other religious houses, is probably a degree of connivance between the abbey and the local worthies who were responsible for the drafting of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. In 1535 Henry's ultimate intentions were not fully known (probably not even to Henry!). The stated purpose of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* was to obtain information for taxing church incomes, and it doubtless seemed a good idea for abbeys to minimise their income as far as was compatible with local interests. Another contributory reason may have been that Calder Abbey's accounts were not accurately maintained.

### Was there ever a Calder Cartulary?

Though no cartulary has been found, it does seem that some charters owned by the abbey did survive after the dissolution and at least into the 19th century. Unfortunately none can be traced now, but their contents are known and they have been analysed above. They are the Charter of Edward III (32) and the Hesleyside Charters (2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 21 and 22). Their very survival raises certain questions.

The abbey's title to most of its estates was in fact contained in the Charter of Henry III. These properties represent 77% of the "temporal" revenue (£37 14s. 8d. out of £48 15s.) as recorded in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*; the same properties in the William Legh accounts represent 82% of the temporal revenues. But we do not know whether the abbey actually had a copy of the charter of Henry III at the time of the dissolution. Its absence from the Hesleyside collection, whilst the earlier Charter of Cecily (2) is in that collection, might indicate that the abbey did not have a copy, and the evidence from the 1292 Inquiry *Quo Warranto* (25) points in the same direction. However, it seems very likely that the abbey did have a copy of the charter of Edward III, which simply confirmed the charter of Henry III (see 32 and note 32), and it seems probable that the abbey relied on this charter for the title to most of its estates.

The seven charters from the Hesleyside collection were most probably owned originally by the abbey. It is highly unlikely that they were the donors' copies, since the donors are different in each case, and the history of the charters, as far as it is known, points to the abbey as their source. They were the property of the Salkeld family of Whitehall near Mealsgate from some unspecified date up to 1680, and this location may be significant. It seems possible that these charters came to the Salkelds through John Dawson of Dearham or John Adason of Gilcrux, the agents of the abbey listed in the "Deductions" in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. I can so far find no connection between these agents and the Salkeld family, but both Dearham and Gilcrux are less than ten miles from the Salkeld estates at Whitehall. But these seven charters are a very strange collection. 2 was effectively superseded by the charter of Henry III; 3 seems not to have been implemented, or at least was later revoked; 4 does not actually refer to a gift to the abbey; 5 is a small gift to the abbey, and is probably later subsumed in other properties; 10 is so imprecise as to be of little value in establishing title; 21 is only a few acres on Millom Common and Duddon Sands; and 22 is not about land at all. It is difficult to know what to make of such a collection. Presumably it was kept together for some purpose, but it is difficult to see

## SUMMARY TABLE

Summary table of properties, rights and churches owned by Calder Abbey,  
and documents in which these appear

The columns are in chronological order from left to right. Entries in each column refer to the numbered items in the text of the article. Modern names have been used when identification is certain or probable; names not positively identified are in *italics*.

Location	Eugenius III (1) and Cecily (2)	<i>Other pre-1231 (3, 4, 5)</i>	Henry III (6), 1231	1231-1535 (7-34)	Val. Eccl. (35), 1535 T = Temporal S = Spiritual	Legh's Accounts (36) 1537
Abbey precinct	1,2		6(i)		T(i)	(i)
Arlecdon				9,13		
Beckermest		3		9	T(v)	(v)
St Bridget's				13	S(i)	(xiii)
St John's				10,13,31	S(ii)	(xiii)
<i>Barkerhals</i>				23,27?	T(viii)?	
<i>Bemertona</i>	1,2		6(ii)			
Bolton				33		
Bootle				7,23,25,27	T(viii)	
Brayshaw				33?	T(iv)	(iv)?
Brookhampton			6(x)		T(xii)?	(xii)?
Calder	1,2		6(i)	17?	T(ii)	(ii)
Cleator					S(iii)	(vi),(xiii)
Cockermouth				18		
<i>Culdretun</i>		5				
Dearham			6(xiv)	25	T(x)	(xi)
Derwent	1,2		6(v),(xiii)			
Drigg				8,20,26	T(ix)	(viii)
Egremont	2		6(iii)		T(vii)	(vi)
Ehen ('Egre')	1,2	3	6(vi)			
Esk				16		(ix)
Forest	1,2		6(vii)	19		
Frizington						(vi)
Gilcrux		4	6(ix),(xii)	15,25,28,29,33	T(xi)	(x)
Gosforth				33		(vii),(xiii)
Haile				33		(iv)
Holgate	1,2		6(ii)	11,12		
Ickleton			6(x),(xi)		T(xii)	(xii)
Irton				25		
<i>Kelton</i>						(vi)
Millom				10,21,23,25,27	T(viii)	
Newton				14		
Ponsonby				12,34	T(iii)	(iii)
<i>Pycheyng</i>					T(vi)	(vi)?
Rougholme				16		
<i>Scaddesbrites/ Staddesbutles</i>	1					
Seaton				33		
Stephney	2		6(viii)			
Whitehaven	1,2		6(iv)			
Workington			6(xiii)			

what that purpose might have been. The documents appear to be no more than a chance collection of old charters from Calder, old even at the time of the dissolution.

The impression one gets from these documents that appear to come from the abbey is not encouraging. We have already seen signs that the abbey was not particularly conscientious in its record-keeping. In the *Quo Warranto* inquiry in 1292 (25) the abbey apparently had to rely on the statute of 1290 (see note 49), presumably because it could not produce evidence of ownership of the lands in question, some of which were in the Charter of Henry III (6).<sup>67</sup> The evidence of the Black Book may also be an indication that the abbey was not the most efficient of places. And the magnitude of the discrepancies between the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* on the one hand and the *Calder Survey* and the accounts of William Legh on the other hand do not inspire confidence.

It remains possible that a cartulary, together with deeds and other documents, could indeed have been lost at the time of the dissolution. But the fact that the charters in the Hesleyside collection and the Charter of Edward III did survive might suggest that there were no other documents of any interest left in the abbey. It may well be that the problems of piecing together the estates of Calder are at least in part due to the minimalist approach to record keeping of the abbey itself.<sup>68</sup>

### Acknowledgements

I wish to express my thanks for the help and advice given to me in the preparation of this article by John Todd and Keith Stringer.

### Notes and References

- <sup>1</sup> Not by an earlier Ranulf le Meschin, Earl of Chester, as still in B. D. Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries and Their Patrons in the Twelfth Century* (Urbana, 1968), 98; see A. G. Loftie, *Calder Abbey* (Kendal, 1888), 40 ff. for a discussion of the problems. This book is a reprint of Loftie's two articles in *CW1*, viii, 467-504, and *CW1*, ix, 206-39. Loftie's work is the last detailed published treatment of Calder Abbey. *The Furness Coucher Book* (Manchester, Chetham Society, 1886-8), 11, says that Calder Abbey was founded in 1134 on 10 January ("iiii<sup>o</sup> Idus Januarii"). There is no reason to disbelieve it, though since the calendar year began at this period on 25 March the year was on modern reckoning 1135.
- <sup>2</sup> Though Eudo appears as the 2nd abbot of Furness in *The Furness Coucher*, p. 8, Knowles *et al.* doubt the accuracy of this list (D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and V. C. M. London, *Heads of Religious Houses in England and Wales, 940-1216* (Oxford, 2001), 133-4).
- <sup>3</sup> Most of this account is conveniently summarised in *The Victoria History of the County of Cumberland* (hereafter *VCH Cumb.*) (Westminster, 1901), vol. ii, 174-5. Janet Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069-1215* (Cambridge, 1999), 110-11 has a detailed account of the move to Hood. The continental Savignac houses, incidentally, merged with the Cistercians in 1147, but the English houses objected and were only merged by a papal bull the following year.
- <sup>4</sup> See Loftie, 46, and a more detailed account in C. T. Clay (ed.), *Early Yorkshire Charters, vol. vii: The Honour of Skipton* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1947), 9 ff.
- <sup>5</sup> This is the view of Paul Dalton in *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship* (Cambridge 1994), 211-2. C. T. Clay, *loc. cit.*, suggests the marriage took place *before* 1138.
- <sup>6</sup> See Loftie, 40-46. It may be that the abbey's lands had in fact technically escheated to the lord of Egremont (Ranulf and then William) after the departure of the monks in 1138, and therefore William was in a sense the founder of a new abbey.
- <sup>7</sup> Papal bulls were in fact even more liable than other charters to the miss-spelling of names, since they

were copied by Italians, who would have no knowledge of the places they were recording, from letters sent in to the papal office in Rome.

- <sup>8</sup> A. J. L. Winchester, *Landscape and Society in Medieval Cumbria* (Edinburgh, 1987), 155-6, offers a definition of “Calder”, though he points out that the evidence for the medieval period is scanty; but see also **6(i)** and **35 T(ii)**.
- <sup>9</sup> As in J. M. Todd (ed.), *The Lanercost Cartulary*, (Surtees Society vol. 203, 1997), no. 170-2, and note on p. 200; and J. Wilson (ed.), *The Register of the Priory of St Bees* (Surtees Society vol. 126, 1915), no. 49, p. 80, note. The letters “c” and “t” were frequently confused in medieval manuscripts.
- <sup>10</sup> Most of these (but not all) were copied by the Revd John Hodgson and published in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Series I, ii (1832), 386-91; see also *VCH Cumb.*, vol. ii, 175; S. Jefferson, *History and Antiquities of Allerdale Ward* (Carlisle, 1842), 314-7; Loftie, 59-60. Of the 33 charters transcribed by Hodgson 29 are from West Cumbria. *St Bees Register* has some charters from Hesleyside not in Hodgson’s collection. I have not been able to trace the present location of these charters. They are not in the Northumberland Record Office, and they are not in any of the Cumbria Record Offices.
- <sup>11</sup> Hodgson, 382.
- <sup>12</sup> C. T. Clay, 10, presents a clear argument for this date. Loftie, 58 (footnote) must be wrong in assigning a date of 1136 for Cecily’s marriage to William le Gros, since she is not likely to have been born until after that date.
- <sup>13</sup> *St Bees Register*, 602.
- <sup>14</sup> *St Bees Register*, 608.
- <sup>15</sup> *St Bees Register*, 83-4 (Lorton), 84-5 (Ellenborough, Maryport), 105-6 (Loweswater and Egremont).
- <sup>16</sup> Loftie, 59-60, suggests a church connection, but does not refer to the absence of Beckermest from the Charter of Henry III.
- <sup>17</sup> A. A. M. Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1975), 417, suggests that Eschina, who confirmed Uhtred’s grant of Mow to Kelso Abbey in 1186 was Uhtred’s granddaughter and heir. See also G. W. S. Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History* (Oxford, 1980), 61.
- <sup>18</sup> For Adam and Liulf see G. W. S. Barrow, 65. For Ketel see John Hodgson, 384, who has a convenient pedigree of the Tailbois and Meschens (*sic*) families, in which Ketel and his sons occur.
- <sup>19</sup> See J. F. Hodgson in *CWI*, iv, 179.
- <sup>20</sup> For Cauder Towne see *Place Names of Cumberland* (Cambridge, 1950), vol. ii, 427. Loftie, 60 also suggests Carleton between Egremont and Haile.
- <sup>21</sup> Loftie, 56, though Hallgate Fell is no longer recorded on the 6" OS map. A. J. L. Winchester, 156-7, provides a definition of “Holegate”, but see also **11**. A record from 1839 of a “grant of tithes issuing out of Calder Abbey Estate . . . and from closes forming part of Hole Estate” in the Staffordshire Record Office (D3272/6/3/9) may refer to “Holegate”.
- <sup>22</sup> Spelt “Stepheney” on the 1" OS map of 1863-6.
- <sup>23</sup> Loftie, 57, suggests that Adam was “most probably the son of Lyulph baron of Greystoke”, quoting Denton, MS History of Cumberland, before 1610, p. 68.
- <sup>24</sup> Loftie, 58, suggests that Adam had received Gilcrux from Waldeof son of Earl Gospatric.
- <sup>25</sup> Loftie, 58, quoting Denton.
- <sup>26</sup> *VCH Cumb.*, vol. ii, 176, note 2, with references.
- <sup>27</sup> See *Place Names of Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge, 1943), 94-6.
- <sup>28</sup> As in R. V. Turner, *Men Raised from the Dust: Administrative Service and Upward Mobility in Angevin England* (Philadelphia, 1988), 111.
- <sup>29</sup> See Loftie, 59.
- <sup>30</sup> Loftie, 55, presumably from Denton.
- <sup>31</sup> *VCH Cumb.*, vol. ii, 176, Dugdale, *Monasticon*, V 340-1, No. i; VI 271, No. xv.
- <sup>32</sup> Loftie, 67, says he saw a copy at Calder abbey, but it is not there now, nor is it in the Calder archive at Whitehaven. The charter is referred to in *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1361-4* (HMSO, 1912), 404, as being issued by the king on 8 October 1363, but no text is given. It was in fact an “inspeximus” charter, apparently simply confirming the earlier charter of Henry III.
- <sup>33</sup> *St Bees Register*, *ad loc.*, gives a date of 1230-40, but it is not clear how Wilson justifies this.
- <sup>34</sup> *St Bees Register* again gives 1230-40.
- <sup>35</sup> Loftie, 60-2, from Denton. Loftie suggests that the grant was in fact in St John’s parish, since this is where the Flemings’ estates were; but we do not know whether or not they also held lands in St Bridget’s. See also Jefferson, 305 and 314.

- <sup>36</sup> *St Bees Register*, 558, Illustrative Document XLVI (though this is not in the Hesleyside collection of John Hodgson, *loc. cit.*). For the advowson and rectory of Beckermet St. John's see Jefferson, *op. cit.*, 314. I am assuming here that the John le Fleming of charters 9 and 10 are the same person. There were at least four John le Flemings between about 1230 and 1350, and their wives' names are not otherwise recorded. But in charter 10 the mention of Beckermet and the fact that several of the witnesses are from the Beckermet area suggests that the family had not yet moved to Coniston, which they did under John's son Richard. For a pedigree of the Flemings see M. L. Armitt, *Rydal* (Kendal, 1916), facing p. 176. For the burial at Calder of Sir John Fleming and his son Richard see Loftie, 61.
- <sup>37</sup> Mentioned in *CW2*, vii, 223, where there is an informative article on the Feet of the Fines for Cumberland. It should be pointed out that though "Feet of the Fines" records (the "fines" refer to "final agreements") are presented as court cases, they are mostly simply a way of recording land transfers. The texts referred to in 11 and 12 are summarised in *St Bees Register*, 306, note on charter 294.
- <sup>38</sup> According to the *Place Names of Cumberland*, vol. ii, 4, Hologatebeck is the present-day Birrel Sike, but A. J. L. Winchester, 156-7, places it about 700 m north, entering the Calder just north of Prior Scales.
- <sup>39</sup> A. J. L. Winchester, 156, however, assumes that the land in Hologate referred to here is the same as that in the original endowment to the abbey.
- <sup>40</sup> Loftie, 63-5.
- <sup>41</sup> Grucokgilbek (or the other forms in which it occurs in the *St Bees Register*; see pp. 17, 152-4, 161, 165-7, 324, 327, 331) is not identified in *Place Names of Cumberland*. From its frequent occurrence in the *St Bees Register* in identifying properties in Gosforth it must have been a fairly prominent feature.
- <sup>42</sup> In A. J. L. Winchester, 155.
- <sup>43</sup> The deed is apparently unpublished, but was in the possession of the Senhouse family, one of whose ancestors, Alexander Sevenhouys, was a witness to the deed.
- <sup>44</sup> Jefferson, 312-13.
- <sup>45</sup> As in *Place Names of Cumberland*, vol. ii, 416.
- <sup>46</sup> Figures for wage levels and rents throughout this article have been taken from *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol. II, ed. H.E. Hallam (Cambridge, 1988), 665-6 and 760-772, vol. III, ed. E. Miller (Cambridge, 1991), 8, 471, 483-90, 605, and vol. IV, ed. Joan Thirsk (Cambridge, 1967), 317 and 321-2. As a very general statement, in the 14th century daily rates for skilled craftsmen were around 3d.-4d., for "helpers" 1½d.-2d. These rates had increased by around 50% by 1500. Rents for arable land varied from about 4d. to 1s., but in the north of England they tended to be at the lower end of this range; I have used a figure of 6d. an acre in any calculations. It is interesting to note that rents per acre have remained at around three times the basic wage through to modern times. The inflation of the Tudor period came mainly after the dissolution of the monasteries, which indeed contributed to the inflation; see Asa Briggs, *A Social History of England* (London, 1983), 167-8.
- <sup>47</sup> Hodgson, 391, and Jefferson, *loc. cit.*
- <sup>48</sup> See also Loftie, 66-7. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, V.340 also refers.
- <sup>49</sup> The "Inquiries Quo Warranto" were set up by Edward I in 1278 to verify the claims of lords and other landowners. A statute of 1290 accepted undocumented rights held before the accession of Richard I, and the abbey was clearly invoking this statute.
- <sup>50</sup> See *VCH Cumb.*, ii, 177-8. Two abbots called John are also recorded in the 13th century, one c.1211, and the other c.1246 (doubtful, not accepted in *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, ii (1216-1377)* (Cambridge, 2001), 271); neither has a recorded surname. But the style of PRO C1/832/17 seems to be later than the first half of the 13th century.
- <sup>51</sup> The "cornage" is again the fee paid to the lord of the manor. "Freely", incidentally, means free from feudal duties, not free from any payment.
- <sup>52</sup> *St Bees and Furness* also seem to have suffered similarly. For the very poor harvests during these years see J. M. Stratton, *Agricultural Records A.D. 220-1977* (London, 1978), 27-8. The period 1310-15 was a time of high inflation, the result of these and perhaps other factors; see e.g. Asa Briggs, 115-6.
- <sup>53</sup> One might guess that this grant could have been made by the Lord of Egremont; certainly it was made by someone who had lands scattered around the area. But Antony de Lucy died in 1368, his daughter and heir Maud died in 1398, and her second husband Henry Percy, who inherited the barony of Egremont, died in 1407/8 (see Jefferson, 40-42, and J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland* (London, 1777, republished 1976), vol. ii, 133, where Maud's death is given as 1399, though in fact the *Inquiry post mortem* quoted on 525-6

- shows that she died “on the Wednesday after Christmas” in 1398). If this was a gift of Antony de Lucy, then the Mortmain court took 24 years to get round to dealing with the case – which is not impossible.
- <sup>54</sup> Jefferson, 306.
- <sup>55</sup> The grant to Thomas Legh is given in translation in Loftie, 93-4.
- <sup>56</sup> Loftie, 57.
- <sup>57</sup> See G. W. O. Woodward, *Dissolution of the Monasteries* (London, 1966), 59. Sybil Jack, “The last days of the smaller monasteries in England”, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. xxi (1970), 102, also comments on the accuracy of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.
- <sup>58</sup> As recorded in PRO E315/399. In fact it was common for these re-assessments to be higher than those of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. See also note 66.
- <sup>59</sup> PRO SC6/7467; these are the Receiver’s accounts. The process of dissolution for the smaller houses is described in detail in Sybil Jack, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. xxi (1970), 97-124.
- <sup>60</sup> *VCH Cumb.*, vol. ii, 177.
- <sup>61</sup> There is a copy of the relevant section in *CWI*, iv, 90.
- <sup>62</sup> Sybil Jack, 122.
- <sup>63</sup> See Loftie, 92.
- <sup>64</sup> PRO SC6 HVIII 7454. For the role of the *firmarius* (“farmer”) see Woodward, 84.
- <sup>65</sup> In PRO E315/399. A slightly inaccurate version is in *Monasticon*, V.341.
- <sup>66</sup> In fact this is commonly the case when any later figures for dissolved abbeys from the Augmentation Office are compared with the figures in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. No research seems to have been done on the general level of these discrepancies.
- <sup>67</sup> The loss of the Charter of Henry III might explain the need, some 70 years later, for a charter of confirmation by Edward III. It is just possible, however, that the Charter of Henry III would not be admissible as evidence in the Inquiry of 1292 since the details in it must have been provided by the abbey itself.
- <sup>68</sup> John M. Todd, *The Lanercost Cartulary*, 28-38 offers an interesting account of how a cartulary was produced from an archive of deeds. Calder seems not to have got this far.