

Glaziers and the removal, recycling, and replacement of windows during the Reformation in England

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The intention of this paper is to review the archaeological evidence for the existence and activities of glaziers in England at the end of the Middle Ages and during the Reformation in particular. Scholars such as Pamela Graves (2001, 486) have touched on this topic, particularly when considering the movement and survival of medieval windows during the turbulent decades of the 1530s-1540s. However, such studies have tended to focus on the actual windows themselves, rather than the people and processes behind their translation. This paper seeks to examine the physical evidence for the specialist role of the glazier during the Reformation, in an attempt to discern what archaeology can tell us about the activities of this overlooked craft.

Ecclesiastical windows at the Reformation

The effect that the Reformation had upon the windows, amongst other fittings, of the churches and abbeys of the medieval world is well attested to. In England the destruction of monastic property during, and immediately after, the Dissolution throughout the 1530s-40s has received much comment (e.g. Aston 1973), and the longer-term process of iconoclasm that took place in the parish church has been discussed (e.g. Duffy 1992). However, it is equally apparent that a considerable amount of care was taken to preserve and reuse window glass at this time. Traditionally this has been seen through historical records of sale at the Dissolution, such as the rather uninformative mention of “xxviii panes of glas” listed for sale from the church at the Benedictine nunnery of Brewood, Staffordshire (Hibbert 1910, 225).

There is also archaeological evidence for the intentional retention of glazing schemes, although given the fragility of the material concerned these are rare and hard to identify. Perhaps the best surviving example is a reconstructable late 13th-century grisaille window

panel found at Bradwell Abbey. This was discovered in still leaded state 2m to the north of the church, from which it had presumably been removed with some care. This corresponds to a post-suppression survey of the site that referred to “old glasses...which would be taken down and saved for mending of divers Chancels etc.” (Croft & Mynard 1986). However, perhaps one of the most persuasive arguments for the curation of window glass is its relative absence on excavated monastic sites. Even if recovery methods employed on early excavations, combined with the tendency for medieval glass to degrade in certain soil conditions, are taken into account, the total amount recovered from most extensively excavated sites can only be said to be a fraction of the original present at the Dissolution.

In much of the older literature there is a tendency to suggest that upon the closure of the monasteries the Crown was only really interested in the immediate wealth of the precious metals contained within the house, and the lead and bells that adorned it (e.g. Gasquet 1889, 387-439; Hibbert 1910, 135-60). But in many cases this was clearly not the case, as the often-quoted case of the Rievaulx inventory attests. Here, clear instructions were

left that the west windows of the church be taken down carefully and carried away to Helmsley Castle. Such was their perceived value that £3 13s. 4d. was set aside for this task, presumably to pay for the skilled labour required to undertake the task, almost certainly professional glaziers (Atkinson 1889, 337).

Not only the Crown saw the potential value of window glass. At Dale Abbey, Francis Pole of Radbourne acquired a considerable proportion of the monastery's goods and building fabric for the sum of £77 12s. 2d. on 28th October 1538 (Walcott 1871, 221-4). What Pole did with the majority of his new acquisitions is unknown, presumably many elements were incorporated into his principal seat at Radbourne Hall, which no longer survives, but some parts of the former monastery ended up being moved to Morley Church. The most striking of these are five matching perpendicular square-headed windows, each containing four lights, and interspersed with fine supporting wall buttresses (Fig 1). As argued by St John Hope (1880, 129-30), these windows almost certainly came from the cloister walk at Dale; not only do they correspond stylistically to the documented rebuilding of the cloister in the late 1470s, they match the width of the

excavated foundations found at Dale, which indicated that the cloister walk wall was approximately 20m long, providing enough space for six windows and their supporting buttresses on each side (Ward 1890, 72). How Pole disposed of the remaining 19 windows from his purchase of the cloister alley is uncertain, but of these five windows at Morley, four were set in the north wall of the north aisle and one at its east end. Because the windows and their adjoining buttressing had clearly been moved *en masse* the whole north aisle of Morley church had to be rebuilt to incorporate them. Clearly, such a complex translation required not only the concerted efforts of several glaziers, but also masons and builders, all working together to ensure the successful movement of the glazing scheme.

Thus far two well-known and frequently cited examples of translated fenestration have been presented here. However, most discussions ignore the people directly responsible for the highly skilled dismantling and reuse of these windows, the glaziers. Again, the Rievaulx Inventory hints at their activities, even if their presence is not specifically mentioned. This can be seen when glass from elsewhere on the site was ordered to be “sortyd into iii partes. One the fyrest to

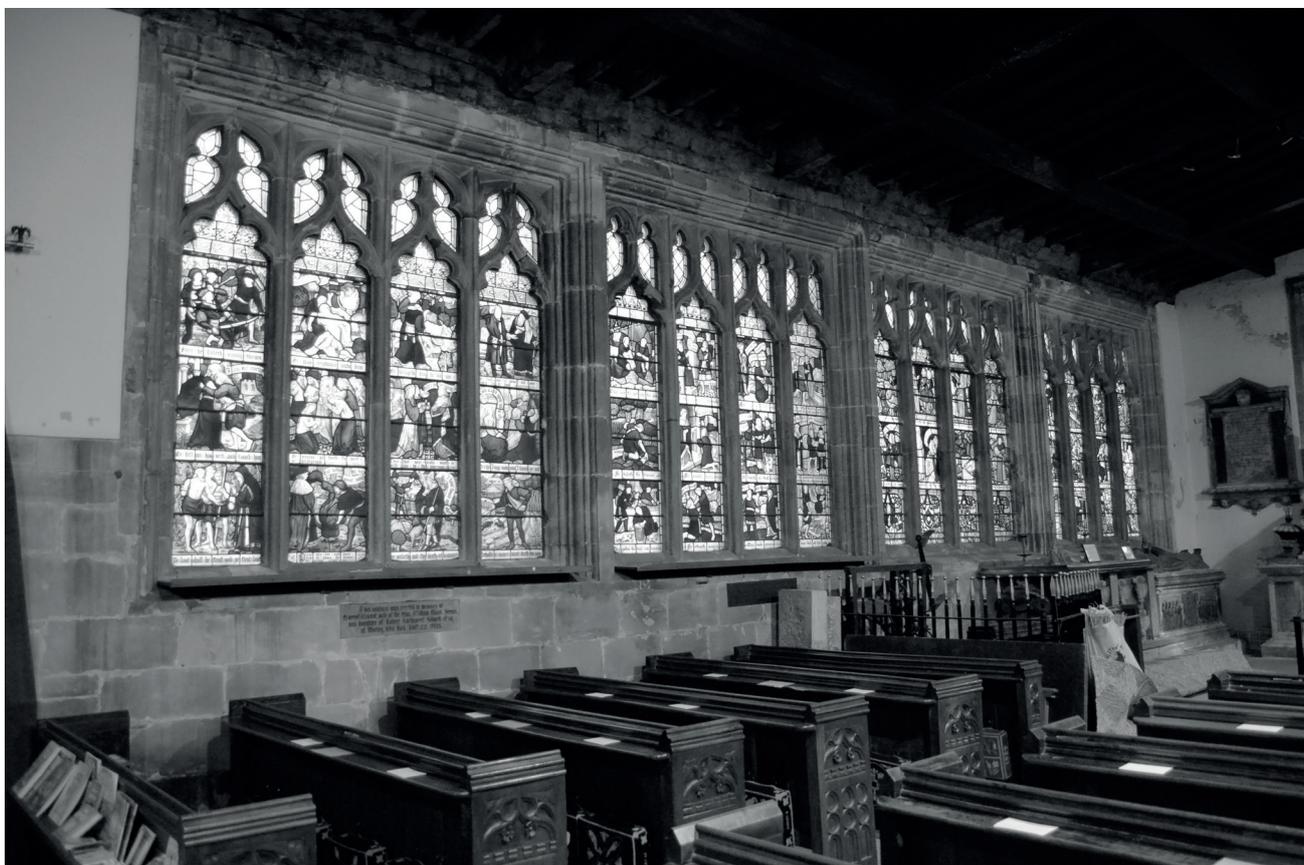


Fig 1 Window glass from the cloister arcade at Dale Abbey now in Morley church, Derbyshire (Image: H. Willmott)

be sortyd. The second sort to be sold. The iii sort to be taken out of the lede and the lede moltern” (Atkinson 1889, 339). That such specialist glaziers were involved in this process seems beyond doubt. Removal of windows would have been a delicate process, and only experienced glaziers would have had the skill to assess the quality and potential of the existing glass.

Detecting the presence of glaziers

The reason most archaeological discussions have tended to ignore the role of the glazier is for the simple reason that such individuals and their activities (beyond the presence of their finished products) are very hard to discern in the archaeological record. But how might they be seen? To answer this question, it is worth thinking what stages of the glazing process, and indeed the deglazing process, might manifest themselves in the archaeological record.

The first requirement for the production of any window was obviously glass. There is much debate concerning the limited extent of English window glass manufacture and the need for import of material from abroad to supply the home demand (see Marks 1991); however, as production can be seen as a distinct activity from glazing this is of less relevance here. That having been said, it is well-documented that the Cistercian monks at Vale Royal, Cheshire established a glass furnace between 1287-1309 to supply the abbey’s refurbishment (Marks 1993, 30). Investigation of a site still known as Glaziers’ Hollow in 1935 on the former abbey’s lands in Delamere forest revealed a furnace dating exactly to this period, which was producing clear, blue, green, ruby flashed and amber window glass (Newstead 1939, 34-5). Subsequent excavations in the 1940s also encountered many fragments with painted grisaille designs (Ridgway & Leach 1948, 133-40). Whilst the presence of this painted and thus ‘fully finished’ window scheme was traditionally interpreted as ‘cullet’, or scrap glass, brought from elsewhere to the furnace to be re-melted, this is now known to be unlikely to be the case; it is extremely doubtful that any medieval glassmaker would risk introducing the significant chemical contamination that painted glass would represent into their new batch, as the smallest amounts of additional trace elements could significantly affect its colour and composition. The presence of painted glass at the site more likely represents secondary preparation of the windows in the same location, indicating that glassblowers, glass painters,

and glaziers might have, in this instance, been operating in close proximity.

This example aside, in most cases the window glass would have reached the glazier as a finished product. As is well known, two types of window glass were produced by the end of the Middle Ages: crown glass, and broad or cylinder glass (Willmott 2005, 60). Both of these pre-formed sheets had to be further cut up by the glazier to create the individual pieces required and resulted in slightly different waste products. Crown glass, formed by spinning a bubble of glass into a circular disc, when cut up resulted in the unusable portions at the centre (the so-called bulls-eye) where the blowing iron had been attached, and the thickened curved edge of the crown. Broad glass, being made from the blowing of a cylinder that was cut down the side and then opened out, had no central bulls-eye, but still had thickened, straighter and unusable edges. Both types of glass thus had elements that potentially could be discarded, and that might be discoverable archaeologically.

The same cannot be said for the decoration of the individual glass pieces, as physical evidence for the processes of painting and staining the glass is extremely unlikely to survive. This having been said, the exception might be the not uncommon findings of oyster shell palettes containing pigments on ecclesiastical sites. Whilst most of these are probably associated with the production of wall paintings or even manuscripts, some, such as examples from Merton Priory in London, contain a red iron oxide similar to that thought to have been used by medieval glass painters (Miller & Saxby 2007, 60).

The final step in the glazing process, of which perhaps the most evidence survives was, of course, the ‘leading’ of the finished scheme, although a small but growing number of analytical studies are showing other metals such as copper and tin might have been intentionally added to the lead to produce a stronger alloy (e.g. Knight 1985, 156). The production of these so-called lead comes required a melting hearth and moulds to cast the finished H-shaped window lead, which in turn occasionally resulted in identifiable casting and trimming waste, surviving examples of which shall be discussed shortly.

Evidence for glaziers at the Reformation

Despite the potential for identifying the presence of glaziers archaeologically, the remains of glass cutting and preparation waste are scant. Perhaps the most notable is the debris from a glazier’s workshop at

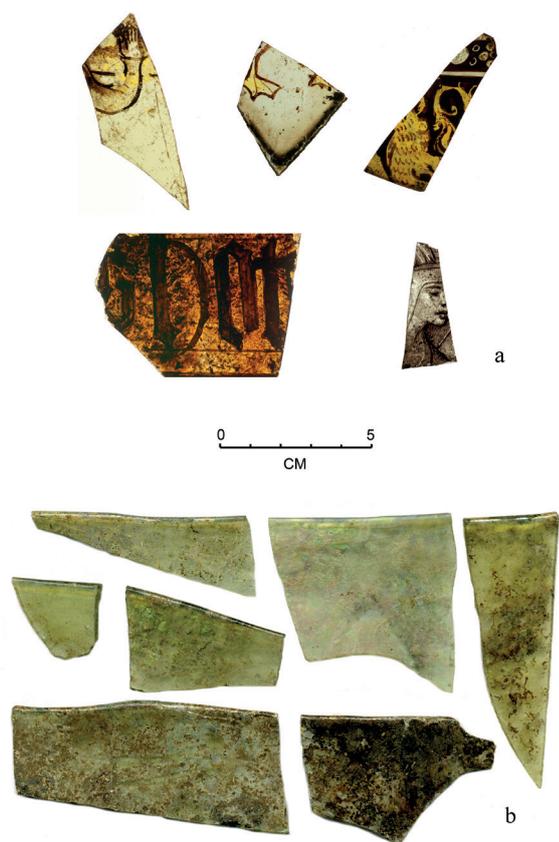


Fig 2 Bishop Lane, Hull. a) old removed decorated glass b) new plain glass off-cuts (Image: H. Willmott)

Bishop's Lane in Hull, East Yorkshire. Excavations here in 2003 revealed a large dump of glass consisting of 7,440 fragments that were deposited at some point during the second half of the 16th century. Although the trench was too small to provide evidence of an associated structure, given the range and types of glass recovered it was suggested that the assemblage had derived from a glazier working in the area sometime after the Reformation (Willmott 2006). Of the whole assemblage, 174 pieces (2%) were decorated (Fig 2a), and these included fragments of foliage painted grisaille, elements of figural drapery and body parts, zoomorphic quarries, architectural borders, and black letter text. The latest datable piece found was a finely detailed fragment of a Flemish-style roundel painted with a woman's face, and this group of decorative glass had clearly derived from a number of different schemes spanning at least a two-hundred-year period. However, of more significance was the remainder of the assemblage, which was plain and clearly post-medieval in date (Fig 2b). Of these 1,197 fragments (16%) were cylinder glass edges, whilst 684 fragments (9%) were distinctive 'cut-outs', cold working waste from the

preparation of shaped quarries. Given this mixture of finished medieval glass and early post-medieval waste, the assemblage can be interpreted as resulting from the removal and possible recycling of old glazing schemes from one or more of Hull's churches, and their replacement with new plain glass.

Interpreting the presence of lead came preparation is more problematic, especially on monastic sites. As noted in almost all archaeological discussions of the Dissolution, the extensive recycling of lead was one of the first activities to take place once the house had been sold. The quantities recorded with meticulous accuracy by Henry VIII's commissioners are at times staggering. At one of the largest houses, Jervaulx, the total was 399½ fother or tonnes (Cook 1965, 137), with an estimated contemporary value of around £1,000 (Greene 1992, 185). Whilst this was admittedly a very large Cistercian house, even a more modest Benedictine house such as Monk Bretton, South Yorkshire had an estimated total of 59 tonnes of lead, which were removed for the King (Willmott & Bryson 2013, 141).

These huge recorded quantities of lead were almost certainly derived from valuations of the roofs and in some cases the pipework of the abbey, and it is very unlikely that the relatively small quantities of lead included within the glazing schemes were incorporated within these calculations of the commissioners. Clearance at Rievaulx in the early 20th century famously recovered four large half-tonne ingots (Dunning 1952), and similar finds have been made at Kenilworth Abbey (Sunley and Stevens 1995, 55) and Ixworth Priory (Barker 1907). Likewise, large-scale furnaces for the casting of such ingots have been excavated at Langley Abbey (Erwood 1922, 70) and Northampton Greyfriars (Williams 1978, 106), but in all these examples, the scale of recycling was such that window leads could only have formed a tiny fraction of the lead being melted, if any at all.

However, found much more frequently on monastic excavations are small lead-melting hearths, always less than 1m in diameter. These were clearly too small to have been used to melt the lead being cast into the large ingots, and are often found away from the church in the cloistral ranges or other ancillary areas of the monastery. It is often assumed, in the face of little supporting evidence, that such hearths were used during the Dissolution for cupellation, to extract naturally occurring silver from the lead, thus maximising the value of the recycled material (e.g. James 1997, 168; Thomas 2006, 206-9). However, such explanations are extremely problematic. Silver had been

extracted from lead deposits in Britain from at least the 1st century AD, and writers such as Agricola outlined clearly the processes involved (Hoover & Hoover 1912, 230). Such was the importance of lead as a primary source of silver in the Middle Ages, Blanchard (1992, 9) has gone as far as to suggest that by the 12th century most lead in circulation in Britain was actually derived as the by-product from silver extraction. Given this, it is inconceivable that the lead used in the construction of ecclesiastical windows would have still contained any appreciable quantities of silver, as confirmed by the trace analysis of surviving window leads. For example, at Battle Abbey window leads were found to contain silver levels of less than 0.1% (Knight 1985, 156).

Given this, these lead hearths appear to have had a different function, and one that can be ascertained by examination of the associated finds. One of the clearest examples is from Beverley Blackfriars. Here excavations revealed three hearths cutting through Dissolution layers within the cloister, so dating to some time after the initial abandonment of the site (Foreman 1996, 86-7). Surrounding these were dumps of discarded window glass and clusters of window leads, some of which had spilled molten lead on top of them, suggesting they were the primary raw material being melted (Foreman 1996, 147). This picture of dismantling and recycling was replicated across England and Wales in the years following the Dissolution of the monasteries. The association between small hearths, lead comes and window glass is repeatedly found at a large number of sites such as Thorney Abbey (Thomas 2006, 209) and Holywell Priory (Bull *et al.* 2011, 90), to name just two more recently published examples. It should be noted that the presence of lead melting hearths is not just confined to monastic sites. Excavations at St Peter's, Barton-upon-Humber, Lincolnshire revealed around thirty small lead hearths at the west end of the church (Rodwell & Atkins 2011, 387), and although none of these could be dated securely it is likely they related to the re-glazing of the church around the time of the Reformation.

The Presence of Glaziers Prior to the Reformation

It is clear that the melting of lead comes and the associated removal of windows was a separate undertaking from the primary stripping of roofs and one that may have taken place sometime afterwards. Given this, it would seem that rather than agents of

the crown dismantling the windows this was probably being undertaken on the initiative of the new owners of the properties, and in all likelihood being carried out by professional glaziers.

However, a closer examination of some of the evidence suggests that this was not a process confined to the years following the Dissolution. At Tintern Abbey, a series of seven lead hearths were found in the former guest hall. Several of these were inter-cutting and their use seemed to have taken place over a more extended period of time. Indeed, close dating of the structures indicated that these features predated the Dissolution, leading the excavator to suggest that they related to a period of repair of the monastic building, and in all likelihood its windows, in the final medieval phase (Courtney 1989, 125).

Such repair and refurbishment can be seen elsewhere. Recent excavations by the author at Thornton Abbey in the floor of the nave of the hospital chapel revealed a well-preserved lead melting hearth. This seemed to relate to the documented repairs and refurbishment of the building in 1322 (Page 1906, 235), which likely saw the replacement of the existing windows. Once completed the hearth was covered over by a new tiled floor, but this was completed robbed at the Dissolution, and it was only through the extremely careful excavation of the thin mortar bed of the vanished floor that the true stratigraphic relationship of the hearth could be seen. Given this, it is entirely possible that similar hearths documented in older excavation reports, which have been assumed to belong to the Dissolution and the result of cupellation, have been misdated and are in fact late medieval in date and used for an entirely different purpose.

Consequently, it is clear that whilst the Dissolution inevitably led to a rapid acceleration in the recycling of windows, small-scale installation and repair work using similar hearth structures would have been an ordinary, if occasional, activity on all ecclesiastical sites throughout their history. Indeed, evidence for such glazing work comes from other sources. The author's excavations at Thornton Abbey also revealed a small series of workshops built within the inner court but tucked away against the precinct wall. Although the functions of some of these were unclear, one was closely associated with the activities of a glazier. In addition to the presence of possible iron glazing bars, evidence for the manufacture of lead comes was encountered. This took the form of numerous examples of casting waste from the top of a mould, which was used to make two separate comes simultaneously (Fig 3). In the 12th century, Theophilus describes in detail the



Fig 3 Thornton Abbey, Lincolnshire, casting waste and off-cuts from lead came manufacture (Image: H. Willmott)

production of lead comes in either a hinged iron mould or a clamped wooden one, suggesting these should be a cubit, or just under half a metre, in length (Hawthorne & Smith 1979, 67-9). The moulding waste from Thornton is all of exactly the same form showing that only a single mould was in operation, although it is impossible to tell whether this was made of metal or wood. As well as discarded casting waste, small sections of came were found with characteristic pinched cut marks to their ends, indicating that the leads were being cut up and fitted to glass quarries in this location too, although there was no evidence for the preparation of glass in this workshop. The Thornton finds are not unique; excavations at Humberston Abbey also revealed over one hundred fragments of waste from the production of comes (Kirkby and Tailby 1974, Section 2.4).

Although occasional repair work can sometimes be identified on ecclesiastical sites, the large-scale preparation of window glass by glaziers during the medieval period is surprisingly rare. One notable exception is a group of glass fragments excavated from a pit at Blake Street, York (briefly summarised in O'Connor 1975). Dating from the late 15th century, this was found very close to Stonegate, the area of York traditionally associated with the York Glaziers (Marks 1991, 275). Reanalysis of the assemblage by the author has shown that the pit originally contained over 2,500 fragments of glass, of which over 90% was 'white' or colourless. However, unlike the later glazier's dump from Hull, the York assemblage also contained a significant proportion of coloured glasses:

ruby flashed (4%), deep blue (4%) and purple (0.5%). Nonetheless, what defined the group as glazing waste was the significant proportion of cut edges, about 12% of the total assemblage, and these waste trimmings were found in the full range of colours present, demonstrating that all types of glass were being prepared on site. Some fragments had clearly been shaped and had evidence for grozed edges, but only eleven fragments of glass had any painting on their surfaces, whilst no waste or other evidence for lead comes casting or preparation were found. Together this points to the activity of a 15th-century glazier who was preparing windows, but not necessarily undertaking the final stages of painting and leading the quarries.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to review the archaeological evidence for the activities of glaziers primarily in the decades around the Reformation. It has argued that there is considerable evidence for the recycling and reuse of windows, which would have required the involvement of experienced glaziers. One of the clearest ways this can be seen is through the presence of small lead melting hearths that are invariably associated with the presence of lead comes, either from the initial installation of the window or its subsequent repair. Evidence from a late 16th-century workshop in Hull also points towards a picture of renewal, where old painted windows were being

stripped down and replaced with new undecorated examples. However, the archaeological evidence suggests that this was a continuation of an existing medieval craft tradition, albeit one accentuated by the Dissolution of the monasteries. Glazing preparation at York, and the presence of lead came production at Thornton and Humberston abbeys, provide glimpses of the continuous role glaziers played in the initial construction, repair, and maintenance of windows throughout the Middle Ages. However, perhaps unsurprisingly, it is with the onset of the Reformation, and the Dissolution of the Monasteries in particular, that the most archaeological evidence for this often overlooked craft becomes most apparent.

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